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Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe

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1. Socio-economic and Political Overview

The Republic of Moldova is a parliamentary state situated in the South-Eastern Europe, bordering Romania to the West and Ukraine to the East. It has declared its independence on August 27, 1991, until then having been a part of the USSR. Currently, the country political organisation is of liberal-democrat type with the vector oriented towards the EU integration. Since 1992 Moldova has one territorial division, currently outside its control, the so-called Transnistrian region located in the area east of the Dniester river alongside the border with Ukraine. The armed conflict of 1992 and the subsequent events have triggered the internal migration of population from the Transnistrian region to the country's capital, in particular. The settlement of the Transnistrian conflict remains to be one of the main desiderata of Moldovan political forces. One of the most pressing problems, the Republic of Moldova is confronted with is the presence of the so-called Russian peace corps on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, to jeopardize not only the territorial integrity of the country but also the proper conduct of the conflict's settlement (Grosu et al., 2009)

For eight years (2001-2009) Moldova has been governed by the Communist Party to be considered as having had an unclear foreign policy. After the parliamentary elections in 2009, the country is governed by the liberal-democratic Alliance that enjoys declared external support, both from the EU and the USA. Notwithstanding the above, since 2009 a political crisis has been unfolding in the country, the government having repeatedly failed to elect a president and, as a result, the Republic of Moldova has been governed by an acting president for two years already. In the early parliamentary elections of 2010, votes coming from abroad, incl. those of migrant workers, were predominantly the anti-communist ones. The uncertain political situation in the country affects, as it may be expected, economic activities as well as the conduct of the required reforms.

The territory of the Republic of Moldova¹, from the administrative point of view, is organized in villages and towns². The law³ provides that some towns may be declared cities. The administrative-territorial division of the country is arranged in two levels: the first one comprises villages (communes) and towns (cities), the second one comprises districts. Thus, rural areas are considered to include villages (communes), while urban areas encompass towns (cities), incl. the country's capital (Chisinau). Since 2006 Moldova is divided in six development regions⁴, according to the administrative context and geographical placement (Table 1.1.).

According to the official statistics, the Moldovan population amounts to 3,563,695 mln. people (NBS, 2011a), excluding Transnistria⁵. The ethnic composition of the population of Moldova observed during the 2004 census reveals that Moldovans represent 75,8% of the total population, Ukrainians – 8,4%, Russians – 5,9%, Gagauzs – 4,4%, Romanians – 2,2%, Bulgarians – 1,9% and other nationalities a percentage of 1,0% of the total country's population. There was no nationality registered for 0.4% of the inhabitants of the country (NBS, 2004a). Some citizens of Moldova have dual citizenship (14.7% Romanian citizenship, 5.1% Russian) and about 17% of respondents declared that they were in the process of regaining Romanian citizenship. Romanian citizenship enables them to travel freely in the EU, and the Russian citizenship offers incentives to those who work in the Russian Federation (GeoPol/CBS-AXA, 2012).

¹ Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, adopted on 29 of July 1994, art. 110, Administrative-territorial organization.

² For the definitions of the concept of administrative-territorial sub-division of Moldova, see Annex. For classification of the administrative-territorial units of the Republic of Moldova (CUATM), see: <http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=ro&idc=385> (accessed on 10.04.2011).

³ Law of the Republic of Moldova with regard to the administrative-territorial organization of the Republic of Moldova, no.764-xv of 27.12.2001.

⁴ Law No. 438-XVI dated 28.12.2006 on Regional Development of the Republic of Moldova: North, Centre, South, ATU Gaguzia, Chisinau municipality, Transnistria.

⁵ This report will refer only to the right bank of the Nistru River, the region from the left bank of the Nistru River is not controlled by Moldovan authorities. Sociological studies, incl. official statistics, from recent years do not include the Transnistrian region.

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The majority of the population (58.6%) lives in rural areas - 2,087,014 inhabitants compared to 41.4% or 1,476,681 inhabitants in urban areas (Table 1.1.). Moldova is considered to be the poorest country in Europe, while the reduction of the country population (without Transnistria) from 3,657,000 inhabitants in 1989 to circa 3,383,000 inhabitants in 2004 represented one of the most unfavourable trends for the Moldovan labour market evolution, which, in principle, was caused by the dramatic cut of the economic activity, a decline in life quality and social polarisation and labour force emigration as well (ADEPT/Expert Group, 2007). The employment rate in the Republic of Moldova decreased from 54.8% in 2000 to 38.5% in 2010 (NBS 2011b). The rural areas are the most affected in this regard, where the employment rate dropped from 59.4% to 35.4% during the reference period (NBS, 2011b). In 2010 the nominal value of GDP was EUR 4.38⁶ million (MDL 71.85 million⁷) or per capita EUR 1,230 (MDL 20,171) (NBS, 2011c). The unemployment rate accounted for 7.4%⁸ and the average monthly salary (incl. taxes) amounted to about EUR 181.20 (MDL 2,971.7⁹).

Gaining of sovereignty in the year 1991 involved the necessity to undergo a series of administrative, economic and social reforms. One of the biggest challenges proved to be the transition from planned economy to the market one, based on private property.

During the period 1991-1999 the Republic of Moldova has undergone a steep economic decline, with the level of production having fallen in real terms by over 65% (UNDP, 2006, p. 6). In 1992 the GDP was only 58.6% of its value in 1990, while the inflation rate at the end of 1992 and 1993 reached 1,670% and 2,777%, respectively (Cruc et al., 2009). The voucher privatization's failure led to bankruptcies and the closure of a considerable number of enterprises¹⁰. The majority of the population, incl. budgetary sector employees, would have its wage payments regularly delayed, the social insurance system was facing financial incapacity to pay its obligations accumulating outstanding pension debts (in 1998 and 1999 only 40% of the elderly entitled to a pension received some benefit (World Bank, 2007b). The years 1998-1999 in particular were marked by a severe economic crisis, which led to job losses, unemployment emergence, which, in their turn, resulted in spreading of poverty and inequality, significant differences in development between the areas of residence, etc. According to the results of researches conducted on the matter, in 1999 approximately 73% of the country's population lived in poverty (GoRM, 2006).

Since 2000 a certain improvement in socio-economic situation of the country can be noticed. During the period 2000-2008 the Republic of Moldova has registered a GDP growth, ranging between 2.1% and 7.8% annually, the GDP's structure having undergone a considerable alteration as well (NBS, 2011c). A rapid growth of the contribution of economic activities to the formation of GDP from constructions (from 2.7% to 5%), transport (9.5% to 12.1%), trade (from 12.5% to 13%), and other sectors has been recorded as well as a considerable decrease of incomes generated by agriculture (from 25.4% to 8.8%) and manufacturing industry (from 14.2% to 11.3%) (NBS, 2011d). The vulnerability to external factors, showed by agricultural and industrial sectors, the latter one in Moldova basically consisting of manufacturing industry, determined an extremely low production level, registered by these sectors, as well as particularly low incomes, respectively. The afore-mentioned circumstances have driven the country's population to switch over to other types of activities to guarantee a constant and timely income (like intermediary activities related to retail trade), or to emigrate. During the mentioned period, the share of population that left the country in

⁶ 1 EUR = 16.4 MLD, http://www.bnm.md/md/medium_exchange_rates (accessed on 07.04.2011).

⁷ Gross Domestic Product and Gross Value Added by Economic Activities, Years and Prices, see: <http://www.statistica.md/category.php?l=ro&idc=191> (accessed on 07.04.2011),

⁸ According to LFS methodology, the unemployment rate represents the ratio between the total number of the unemployed people registered according to ILO criteria and the total active population, expressed in percentage.

⁹ Average nominal monthly salary per employee in economy, in territorial aspect (2008-2010). See: <http://www.statistica.md/category.php?l=en&idc=452> (accessed on 05.12.2011).

¹⁰ The voucher privatization refers to the privatization of state-owned industrial assets after the break-up of the Soviet Union and independence of the country. The citizens were provided with vouchers (or Patrimonial or Estate Bonds) in 1993, endowing them with a share of the total industrial wealth based on years of employment in the economy. See Law No. 1345-XII dated 17.03.1993. "The Estate Bonds were devised as nominative government securities issued to citizens of the Republic of Moldova, having granted them the right to buy part of state assets (shares, including at their nominal price, up to 20% of the undertaking costs) and to use them as per the legislation in force", <http://lex.justice.md> (accessed on 07.12.2011).

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search for better paid jobs increased and beginning by 2004 approximately one quarter of the working age population was working or looking for work abroad (Figure 1.1). Most experts in the field as well as the related research attribute the country's economic growth to the increase in consumption demand, determined by the increased inflow of remittances coming from abroad, their share in GDP having reached by now a considerable proportion, accounting for about 36.2% of GDP in this period (World Bank, 2008).

It is also necessary to mention the low level of the social and economic infrastructure existing in the rural area. Thus, in 2006 only 12% of the population residing in the rural settlements had access to the water supply system, 6% had access to the sewerage system, 4% had access to the centralised heating system, and 1% had access to the hot water supply system; 2% of the local roads were in a relatively good condition; 31% of households had got cars, 10% had computers and only 3.5% had connection to the Internet. These data portray the social ground of the population migration from the rural area (Galbur, 2011).

Agriculture has always been the main area of activity in the Republic of Moldova. During the period 1992-1999 an agricultural reform has been implemented, which presumed the dissolution of collective farms and the land's allotment to farmers; it was an absolutely needed reform, which, however, had a number of lacuna to be discussed by society even today, the main ones being excessive parcelling of lands, labour force erosion and an exodus of agricultural specialists from the sector into other more attractive sectors, reduced competitiveness of agricultural enterprises and their products and low possibilities to apply large-scale, cost-effective agricultural technologies (UNDP, 2011, p. 43 and Chivriga, 2009).

More than a decade having passed after the reform's implementation, the agricultural sector still remains to be vulnerable, and is considered to be unprofitable, securing the lowest wages per country. The average monthly wage in agriculture (incl. taxes) for 2010 was about EUR 100 (MDL 1,638.6)¹¹. The agricultural sector continues to be one of the main areas of activity, yet, although in 2010 the majority of the economically active population was employed in agricultural, hunting and fishing sectors (27.5%), the share of population employed in agriculture has significantly decreased if compared to figure for the year 2000, when over half of the population (50.8%) was employed in this field¹². The low wages secured by the employment in agricultural work, reduced incomes received from working on one's own lot of land, lack of employment opportunities have led all together to the reduction of the number of population employed in agricultural sector and its related activities, and contributed to the exodus of workforce from rural areas.

2. Migration trends

2.1. Main emigration trends

The labour migration has been a widespread phenomenon during the past two decades in the Republic of Moldova. It is estimated that about 600,000 people (IDIS Viitorul, 2008a) i.e. one in three able-bodied people from the country, participated in the migration process. Given the circulatory character of the phenomenon at the same moment, about 300,000 to 400,000 people were counted as working abroad (NBS, 2011e) between 2004 and 2010. According to an estimation of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), the total average annual number of persons aged 15 years and over, working or looking for work abroad in 2010 was 311,000 (or 8.5% from the total resident population of Moldova) (ibid.). It is to be noted that emigration figures may vary depending on the reference period of the year since labour migration can be, to a certain extent, characterized as having a seasonal pattern. For example, a large part of labour migrants, working in Russia, return to Moldova during the cold season due to low demand for workforce in the construction industry, in which the majority of Moldovans are employed. During the period of 1999-2005 the number of people

¹¹ The average monthly salary of a national economy employee in 2010 was EUR 184.6 (MDL 2,972.2), <http://www.statistica.md/category.php?l=en&idc=452&>, Average nominal monthly salary per employee in economy, by economic activities (2003-2010), (accessed on 6.12.2011).

¹² <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/EN/03%20MUN/MUN02/MUN02.asp>, and own calculation based on: [Employed population by economic activities, level of education, age groups, sex and area, 2000-2010](#) (accessed on 6.12.2011).

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involved in the emigration increased by about 50,000 persons per year (Table 2.1). The labour migration phenomenon reached its peak in 2005, followed by stagnation (Figure 2.1.).

According to official statistics, about 7,000 people per year have emigrated definitively during the last decade (Tables 2.2), but this number underestimates the real numbers of permanent emigration. The official statistics of the Republic of Moldova do not include those individuals who initially left for abroad to work and, afterwards, obtained sojourn permits from the hosting country and decided to settle in those countries. Also, the statistical data do not comprise any information about Moldovan citizens who have got several citizenships and are not obliged by any means to declare the change of residency in another country. Qualitative sociological surveys (IOM/CBS AXA, 2006; IOM/CBS AXA 2008a and Vladicescu et al., 2008) show that a significant share of the citizens who work in the EU countries purchased dwellings in the host country, reunified with their family and do not intend to come back. A panel survey conducted by the IOM in 2006 and repeated in 2008 (IOM/CBS AXA, 2008a) estimated that about 100,000 people (incl. children) had left Moldova permanently during these 2 years; about 60,000 people out of them were part of entire families that left Moldova.

Experts in the field have identified several stages (IDIS Viitorul, 2008a) of Moldovan citizens' (economic) migration development, depending on emigration policy in force at the moment; the main forms of it were commercial migration (for international petty trade), illegal labour migration and regulated migration.

First stage (years 1990-1994). In this stage, emigration restrictions ceased to be effective in Moldova like in other countries of the former USSR. The first half of the 1990s was characterised by commercial ("shuttle"-type or „celnok") migration (ibid.), which was dominant during that period of time. The main destination countries of commercial migration were Turkey, Russia, Romania, and Germany. However, the introduction of the visa regime of September, 1 in 1993¹³, a hardening of customs control, the balancing of prices within the former Soviet Union countries and the involvement of large and medium-sized enterprises in the import and export transactions made the commercial migration of population disadvantageous. Therefore, commercial migration decreased gradually in the course of the following years and was replaced by the labour migration. Besides this, the emigration processes of this period were also marked by permanent emigration of most of the Jewish people from the Republic of Moldova (this trend had already started in the late 1980s). Likewise, important flows of emigrants of German, Russian and Ukrainian origin were recorded during the same period of time. Most of those emigrations were based on national/ethnic principles or on family reunification, and the armed conflict of 1992 had an important impact on this phenomenon. In particular, the emigration flows were oriented towards Israel, the USA, Germany, Russia, and Ukraine. In general, these countries hosted more than 95% of all these permanent migrants from Moldova during the period 1990-2003. The share of each state in the total Moldovan permanent emigration flow was as follows: Israel – 42.93%; the USA – 18.58%; Germany – 15.64%; Russia – 11.99%; and Ukraine – 7.29% (Mosneaga et al., 2006).

The *second stage* (years 1995-2000) may be characterized by the process of integration of the Republic of Moldova into the global emigration and immigration trends, yet, primarily, the European ones. The social-economic reforms conducted in the country, accompanied by the economic crisis of the corresponding period, had a negative impact on the country's economic situation, which resulted in worsening the job market for the labour force. The population got involved in migration processes having no support and protection from the governmental institutions; hence, labour migration increased significantly accompanied by soaring irregular migration. Due to the clandestine nature of these migration flows, neither the statistics of receiving country nor those of the country of origin give a clear indication of the most relevant receiving countries. Interviews with state officials, migration experts, and returned migrants indicated the following countries as most important destinations (in decreasing order of importance): Russia, Italy, Ukraine, Rumania, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Israel (Jandl, 2003). At that time foreign currency inflows started to augment,

¹³ On 19 June 1990 was signed the Convention on Implementing the Schengen Agreement, which entered into force on 1 September 1993. See: http://www.migratie.md/topics/schengen_agreement

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and people showed greater interest towards migration processes, the governmental institutions began to undertake measures aimed at regulating labour migration processes.

During the *third stage* (2001-2006) the intention of governmental institutions was to promote the legalization of the "illegal" labour migration as well as the protection of migrant workers' rights in host countries. The Republic of Moldova and receiving European countries tried to implement measures regulating labour migration. Thus, an array of dialogues was initiated with 19 countries during the aforementioned period, bilateral agreements on labour force migration and social protection of migrant workers were signed, and consulates of the main states which were recipients of illegal migrants were established in Moldova (Portugal, Greece, and Italy). By the end of this period seasonal labour migration soared. According to data gathered in a large household survey in Moldova, Russia was hosting the majority of labour migrants from Moldova, followed by Italy as by far most important receiving country in the European Union by the end of this period, with all other countries being of relatively minor importance (Luecke et al., 2009). Migration to Russia was dominated by men working in construction, while migration to Italy was dominated by women working in domestic services.

During *stage four* (since 2006) there has been a focusing on rethinking the conceptual approaches to the labour migration's regulation, on developing an institutional reform and establishing a more close cooperation with the European Union. Once the European Union convergence course was launched by Moldova, substantial endeavours were made to regulate migration processes; illegal labour migration was replaced gradually by the regulated migration. According to official statistical data, during the period between 2006 and 2010 the main destination countries continued to be Russia and Italy, where more than two thirds of Moldovan migrants emigrated (Table 2.3.). Migration flows to other countries having a significant share of Moldovan migrants (Turkey, Ukraine, Portugal, Romania and Greece) displayed a downward trend (Table 2.3). These trends have been also confirmed by an ILO survey on labour migration¹⁴ (ILO/NBS, 2008) (see Figure 2.2.). Eurostat data on population by citizenship indicate a significant increase of the number of Moldovan citizens in Italy from about 48,000 to 106,000¹⁵. This is probably mostly a legalisation effect. New legal migration and legalisation of earlier irregular movements played a major role in this period. During the last years, most people have been emigrating legally. The "business" of organizing illegal emigration to the EU countries was very widespread during the time period 1990-2005. This phenomenon decreased gradually due to the increased security of borders, as well as opportunities of legal emigration through the created social networks, family reunification, Romanian citizenship reacquired by some Moldovan citizens, etc. Moldovan citizens do not need an entry visa to travel to the CIS countries, while they were crossing borders to EU Member States illegally; parts of them however entered the EU legally, as tourists, acquiring the status of illegal immigrants once the established legal terms expired. A sociological study (IOM/CBS-AXA, 2010¹⁶) conducted at the beginning of 2010 showed that approximately one fifth (19.8%) of those who worked abroad did not have a legal status of stay as well as 17.9% of those who migrated to the CIS countries and 26.6% of those working in the EU. Nevertheless, the share of individuals with illegal sojourn abroad dropped by circa 10 percentage points in comparison with figures recorded in 2008 (30%) (Luecke et al., 2009), being significantly lower as compared to the level recorded in 2006 (35%) (according to IOM/CBS-AXA, 2006¹⁷). The number of illegal migrants has also decreased because of the opportunities of legalization provided by some EU receiving countries. Since 2006 many Moldovan migrants in Italy and Spain, among others Western European destination countries, have benefited from legalization initiatives and obtained legal residence status and employment (Luecke et al., 2009). In contrast, the share of irregular residents has increased in Russia (Luecke et al., 2009, p. 19). However, the possibilities of obtaining a regular residence permit in Russia are still relatively good. The Russian Government approves a quota for foreign workers (in 2010 it was set at 1.25 million people) and, although the quota

¹⁴ Period of data collection: November 2007; sample: 4,000 households.

¹⁵ Eurostat (2011): Population by sex, age and citizenship (migr_pop1ctz), in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), International migration and Asylum, Population by citizenship and country of birth (accessed on 22.05.2011).

¹⁶ Sample: 1,090 migrants.

¹⁷ Sample: 3,940 households.

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had been decreased compared to the year 2009, it was not exhausted. Russia allows a legal stay of 90 days on its territory, provided that in the course of three days from the day of entry into the Russian Federation a Moldovan citizen registers at one of the territorial offices of the Federal Migration Service. In case an employer offers a job to an illegal immigrant, he runs the risk to pay about EUR 800 for the immigrant's repatriation. At the same time, Russia offers to its immigrants (Moldovans included), a series of other opportunities. For instance, since July 2010 physical persons have the possibility to secure themselves employment on the Russian Federation's territory based on a patent¹⁸, which can be procured by paying a monthly tax of about EUR 50, regardless of the quota for foreign workers.

Facilitations for a legal stay but also some restrictions imposed by host countries have fostered the development of circular migration. In Russia, the labour migration bears a seasonal character, decreasing significantly in winter time, because the construction works are very low in this period. At the same time, the Russian legislation obliges Moldovan migrants (particularly those who have only a stay permit) to go back to Moldova every 3 months. A survey performed by the NBS as part of the Labour Force Survey (ILO/NBS, 2008) showed that migrants stay 2.1 years on average (incl. short visits), with the average being higher for the EU countries - 2.7 years; the average is 1.8 years in case of Russia.

The world economic crisis does not seem to have impacted significantly emigration from Moldova; neither did it determine a massive return of migrants. Statistics show that the number of persons working or looking for work abroad in 2008 decreased only by 8% and, respectively, by 12% in 2009 compared with 2007. In 2010 this figure increased again and was only by 7% lower in comparison with 2007 (Table 2.3).

Although some countries responded to the economic crisis through more severe immigration policies this didn't determine return to the homeland, but rather caused problems for the Moldovan emigrants, such as difficulty to find a job and/or reach a proper salary (Table 2.4.). For instance, the Russian Federation decreased the number of work permits from 4 million down to 2 million for 2010¹⁹. In several European countries programs were initiated to encourage the migrants' return back home. However, those measures did not reach the expected outcomes. The migrants think that these measures are inefficient as long as the standard of living and work in the Republic of Moldova does not ensure them at least the subsistence level (NBS, 2011f). Usually returned people invoke personal reasons such as health issues or family relations. According to an IOM survey from early 2009, 16.3% of migrants came back because they lost their workplace, while other 9.7% gave up working abroad because their wage was decreased (IOM, 2009). Even during the crisis, the intention to go abroad still exists among returnees and people who have not been involved in migration before, particularly among the youth. Migrants perceive the economy of their destination countries as being much stronger and steadier than the one of Moldova and they think that the standard of living in Moldova will still remain much lower than in the receiving countries affected by the crisis (ibid.). Although there has been some analysis to assess the impact of the economic crisis on Moldova (UNDP/WB/UNICEF/IOM, 2010), which has estimated a certain increase in the number of migrant workers who have returned home after losing their jobs because of the crisis. It was expected that some 100,000 to 150,000 Moldovans working abroad could return home over 2009 (Otter et al., 2009), esp. from the Russia these estimations were not confirmed. It seems that a larger part of migrant workers managed to preserve their jobs by accepting to be paid lower wages, while the remitted money has continued to be used predominantly for covering consumer expenditures.

¹⁸ A patent is a state nominative document that certifies the right of an entrepreneur to carry out a certain type of activity stated by it for a fixed period of time.

¹⁹ http://www.minzdravsoc.ru/docs/mzsr/migration/4/Prikaz_1008n_ot_221209_prilozheniya.doc (accessed on 06.12.2011): Order of the Ministry of Health and Social Development of the Russian Federation № 1008n of December 22, 2009. The distribution by subjects of the Russian Federation approved by the Government of the Russian Federation in 2010 of the quota for issuing working permits to foreign citizens Registered with the Ministry of Justice on December 29, 2009, No. 15 873 (Приказ Минздравсоцразвития России №1008н от 22 декабря 2009 г. : О распределении по субъектам Российской Федерации утвержденной Правительством Российской Федерации на 2010 год квоты на выдачу иностранным гражданам разрешений на работу; Зарегистрировано в Минюсте 29 декабря 2009, № 15873).

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Return migration is difficult to monitor, especially as far as it concerns people who emigrated to the CIS countries, but also those who have acquired the citizenship of Romania or obtained a resident permit in the host country for 5-10 years, since these migrants can leave to work abroad or return on short periods according to their necessities.

2.2. Main internal migration trends

During the Soviet period a residence visa was strictly required in order to secure oneself employment, especially in urban areas, when moving within the territory of the country. Currently, any person may reside and be employed in any district, regardless of the permanent residence address, which may be registered in any other district of the country. However, the armed conflict in Transnistria in 1992 fostered forced migration, the emergence of refugees and movement of individuals from the Eastern districts of the country. According to experts' estimates, circa 100,000 refugees were recorded, of which over one half moved internally (Mosneaga, 1995). The main flow of refugees was oriented towards the central part of the country, in particular, to the capital city Chisinau. The majority of those refugees returned to their home-residence, while circa 4.5% of the officially registered refugees did not, and the main reasons for not returning to their place of living were the destroyed houses and political grounds (Mosneaga et al., 2006).

It should be noted that it is difficult to study the intensity and major directions of internal migration of the population in Moldova, due to the reform of the population migration statistics (1994-1995) that halted the registration of this segment in the national statistics (CNPD/UNFPA, 2009). With reference to the information on internal migration of the population, during the period of statistical registration (before 1995), the following can be concluded:

- in terms of internal (urban, rural) migration each year up to 80-90,000 people changed their place of residence (CNPD/UNFPA, 2009);
- Distribution by direction was as follows: town to town - 24%, town to village - 26%, village to town - 35%, and village to village - 15% (ibid.). It may be noted that the greatest share of migration occurred between urban and rural areas, which together represent 61%.

The intensity of internal migration of the population varies by region; it is higher in the Northern and lower in the Southern region, the main direction remaining however from the North and the South towards the Central region, leading to a concentration of population in this region (UNFPA, 2009).

The latest population census (NBS, 2004b) shows that 2,479,600 people (73.3%) have been living since their birth in the settlement where the census was conducted. 55.4% of the population in urban areas has been living in urban areas since their birth and 84.5% of the rural population has been living in rural areas since their birth. Therefore, it can be concluded that the internal migration is oriented towards towns, particularly to the large ones. The census shows a positive migration balance only for Chisinau and Balti municipalities and Cahul town. The citizens migrate mainly to Chisinau municipality. The capital city gains from both internal and external migration. People seeking for jobs not included into the external migration outflows, are usually oriented towards the capital. This category of individuals is joined by the young people who continue their studies in higher education institutions after graduating from secondary schools. Once graduated, they are employed in Chisinau and do not return to their home villages. Their parents work mostly abroad, gather money and invest it into real estate in Chisinau or in the neighbouring districts, thus, having contributed to the concentration of population in that area.

During the period 2002-2004, 44,400 persons from different villages and towns of the country moved to Chisinau, while 5,600 people moved from Chisinau to other settlements²⁰. The towns that recorded an increase in the number of population as a result of internal migration are the ones with universities, where a significant part of young people remain after graduation. The higher employment opportunities, better developed infrastructure, the

²⁰ Results of the 2004 population census on population migration. See: www.statistica.md/recensamint/migratia_ro.doc (accessed on 18.11.2010).

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possibilities to spend the leisure time etc. are factors that mobilize the young people to migrate to these towns. It should also be mentioned in this context that an important number of people who migrated de facto from rural to urban areas, remain de jure inhabitants of villages, therefore the urbanization process seems to be stronger than the official data show.

The urbanization tendency has increased after the Constitutional Court had ascertained in 1997 that the notion of “residence visa” would be in contradiction to the constitutional norms and principals, and that “it had become an obstacle in the way of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova to exercise their right to freedom of movement”²¹. Since then, it is possible to migrate internally without residence visa. However, there is the requirement to change the place of registration. However, a considerable number of graduates from higher education institutions as well as from secondary special educational institutions remain and work in urban areas, while having their permanent residence registered in native villages. According to the HBS data, there is a clear trend of migration of individuals aged 16-29 years towards the urban areas. As a consequence, people aged 19-29 years make up 19.6% of the urban population and only 13.6% of the rural population (Bologan, 2010). Likewise, persons, who are capable of work but who cannot find a source of income in rural areas, search for employment in urban areas, incl. district centres, and, consequently, rent temporary lodgings there. A sociological study²², carried out based on a nationally representative population sample confirms higher rates of internal population relocation than indicated above. It shows that 44.6% of the population between 15 and 60 years of age was residing in other than their native districts at the moment of the study’s conduct. More than a half (55.2%) of those residing in urban areas, as compared to 36.4% of those residing in rural areas, would mention that they were born in other locations than those of current residence.

The absolute numbers of the active rural population continue to decline and in 2010 it was 34% lower than in 2000, while in urban areas the active population decline was less pronounced, by only 13.2% (see Table 2.1). The activity rate is also in progeny (see Table 2.5). These factors indicate the existence of a risk of rural depopulation, especially for small villages with weak social infrastructure.

2.3. Main characteristics of migrants

Since there is no information about characteristics of internal migrants in Moldova, the following developments focus on international emigrants.

The difficult economic situation in Moldova, particularly the lack of jobs (51.5%) and the low salaries (45.8%) (as well as delayed payment of salaries) were and still are the main reasons for the emigration of the Moldovan citizens abroad (Figure 2.3). Almost one in two migrants

(49.7%) (ILO/NBS, 2008)²³ was unemployed before emigrating for employment purposes. The foreign employment is perceived by most Moldovan citizens as the unique solution to improve the standard of living. Another study (IPP/IDIS Viitorul/ICPS, 2008) mentions following factors as the main reasons to migrate: lack of job opportunities (34.27%), consumption grounds (46.78%), and poverty (20.51%). Recently the tendency to emigrate for purposes of family reunification has become more and more obvious. According to the ILO survey conducted in 2008 this reason was mentioned in 2.1% of cases (ILO/NBS, 2008), while in previous sociological studies by IOM in 2004 and 2006 this emigration purpose was

²¹ Constitutional Court, Decision Nr. 16 of 19.05.1997 on the control of the constitutionality of the provisions of art.10 par.2 of the Regulation on the procedure of granting and issuing of identity documents of the National Passport System.

²² CBS-AXA Omnibus (nationally representative sample – 4,060 persons, 15-60 years old. Data collection period: 8 September-7 November 2010).

²³ *Labour Force Migration (LFM)*, supplementary module to the basic survey Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted by ILO/NBS, 2008. Survey was conducted by NBS in the framework of the project “Elimination of human trafficking from Moldova and Ukraine through labour market based measures”, implemented by the IOM jointly with the International Centre for Migration Policy Development and in partnership with the Ministry of Economy and Trade. The sample of the survey was formed of a) the basic LFS sample for the 2nd quarter of 2008 and b) the sample of LFS households, which in 2007 had at least one member who was abroad for work or looking for a job. In total, 12,430 households took part in the survey. Data was collected from 5,730 persons who “at the moment of the interview or during the last 12 months prior to the interview, were abroad, for work or looking for a job”.

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not mentioned. Qualitative research²⁴ conducted in 2011 reveals that family reunification was declared a factor that determines the departure from Moldova. Those labour migrants, who settled abroad and managed to legalise their sojourn, would like to reunify their family.

A large share of emigrants abroad is from **rural areas**. Rural residents make up about a bit more than half of the active population in Moldova, while they accounted for 70.9% of persons who are working abroad or looking for work abroad in 2010 (Table 2.1). Likewise, differences regarding migration are noticeable when looking at regions of origins. It is the population from the South of the country who mostly emigrates from the country for working or looking for work abroad (about 39.5% of active population in the region), a lower percentage of emigrants going abroad come from the capital (about 8% of active population) (Table 2.6.). It should be noted however that the share of migrants originating from the South, although still the highest, has been decreasing between 2007 and 2009 and increased again in 2010, while the share of migrant population coming from the North and Central regions continued to grow. A steady decrease of the migration phenomenon was registered in the Municipality of Chisinau.

According to several sociological surveys on labour migration²⁵, the migrants' **average age** is 35-36 years (ILO/NBS, 2008)²⁶ (Table 2.7). Both men and women are involved in migration processes, but the number of men that leave is higher (Table 2.8): among migrants 66% are men and 34% women.

Over 50% of the people that left for work abroad have either secondary vocational, or specialized secondary or higher (tertiary) education (Table 2.8). However, unqualified migrant workers have a higher share in the migrant population (22.3%) than in the employed population of Moldova (16.9%), qualified workers from industry represent 17.8% as compared to 8.7%, in the employed population and those employed in services represented 13% (as compared to 11.2%) (Table 2.9).

There is no official data available in Moldova with regard to migration trends depending on the **ethnicity** factor; however, sociological studies reveal a clear interrelationship between emigration and the linguistic factor. These have found out that ethnic Gagauz would migrate predominantly to Turkey, largely due to the fact that the language spoken by this group resembles a lot the Turkish language, being actually considered to be a Turkish dialect; they would also rather migrate to CIS countries since most of the Gagauz people are also Russian speakers. Likewise, ethnic Ukrainians and Russians would rather choose the CIS countries as migration destination. People, who identify themselves as being of Romanian ethnicity, would rather opt for EU countries (IOM/CBS-AXA, 2008b).

The structure of migrants by **countries of destination** reveals significant differences. Migrants leaving for CIS countries are younger (Table 2.8), mostly men, less educated people and they usually work in constructions. Persons leaving for the EU are mainly women, of older average age, people with higher (tertiary) qualification and they get employed mostly in housekeeping or caretaking business (Tables 2.7, 2.10). Results of the LFS survey 2008 reveal that work performed by Moldovan migrants in EU countries is predominantly in the sector of services provides to private households (Table 2.11) and that over a half (53.9%) of the total women residing abroad worked in this field (in the commercial sector their share constituted 17% and in constructions about 13%) while employment within the construction sector prevails in the CIS countries (68%) with a wide majority of men (74%) working in this sector (NBS, 2008b). The average age of migrants working in EU countries is 37 years; the share of persons with secondary specialized or high education is 37.1%, as

²⁴ In-depth interview with public servant (April 2011) and Qualitative Study HIV Knowledge, Attitude, Practice (KAP) and Study on teenagers with parents working abroad 2011 (3 focus groups, 8 in-depth interviews with experts).

²⁵ Survey was conducted by NBS in the framework of the project "Elimination of human trafficking from Moldova and Ukraine through labour market based measures", implemented by the IOM jointly with the International Centre for Migration Policy Development and in partnership with the Ministry of Economy and Trade. The sample of the survey was formed of a) the basic LFS sample for the 2nd quarter of 2008 and b) the sample of LFS households, which in 2007 had at least one member who was abroad for work or looking for a job. In total, 12,430 households took part in the survey.

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compared to 34 years and 15.6% respectively the same indicators for Moldovan migrants in Russia (Table 2.10) (ibid.). The choice of a CIS country as a country of destination is made because of specific following reasons: low emigration costs, knowledge of the Russian language, the possibility to come back home frequently, alternative activity for people working in agriculture as well as for students during vacations, etc. Persons going to the EU choose this destination usually because somebody can provide them with assistance for emigration and because these countries offer better working conditions, more attractive salaries, better living conditions and relations with the authorities. The social networks from the host country are very important for the choice of the destination; 57.4% migrants stated that relatives or friends helped them to emigrate compared to 13% who used the services of people specialized in the organization of emigration, and the others left on their own (ibid.).

Around 16% of migrants live abroad in makeshift dwellings: trailer homes, basements, unfinished constructions (IOM, 2009). Poor working conditions, without adequate equipment, as well as the length of the working day pose special risks. Thus, six out of ten migrants, worked more than eight hours a day during their last stay abroad, and eight out of ten worked more than five days a week. The incidence of job-related accidents among Moldovan citizens working abroad is ten times higher than on the Moldovan labour market.

3. Nation-wide labour market and social development trends under the influence of emigration

3.1. Economic and labour market developments

Despite the fact that the Republic of Moldova is one of the countries most affected by the emigration for employment purposes, the impact of emigration on the developments of the population in Moldova is hardly reflected in the population statistics. The population in Moldova has kept growing in the 1970s and 1980s reaching its peak in the year of independence 1991 (4,364,077 inhabitants) before starting a downward trend until today. Official statistics indicate a decrease in population of about 80,400 persons (2.2% of the population) during the last 10 years (between 2000 and 2010)²⁷, thus confirming a pattern of (moderate) demographic degradation (NBS, 2010e) which seems to have been caused mainly by a continuing negative rate of natural increase over the same period (Table 3.1).

The age structure of the population is characterized by a process of demographic ageing²⁸ (assumed to be mainly caused by a decrease of the birth rates), which has determined both an absolute and relative reduction of the young population in Moldova. One can notice a decrease of the share of the young population (0-14 years) from 23.8% to 16.7% (-270,300 persons) and an increase of the share of the elder population (65 years and over) from 9.4% to 10.1%, incl. 85 years and over (- from 0.45% to 0.69%) between the beginning of the year 2010 and January 2000 (UNFPA, 2010a). However, during the same period the share of the working age population (from 15 to 56/61 years) has been continuously increasing from 59.8% to 66.7%: This leads to the assumption that emigration of the working age population is not caught by the population statistics since many migrants of working age remain registered in their place of origin while actually living and working abroad.

The negative factor of population ageing²⁹ is felt particularly in rural areas, considered to be an important reservoir of labour, where ca. 60% of the country's population is concentrated. Two-thirds of the total number of elderly people lives in rural areas where the ageing coefficient was 15.2% (2010) as compared to 13.2% in urban areas (Table 3.1). At the same time the share of the working age population in rural areas (63.9% in 2010) is lower than the share in urban areas of the country (70.5%) (Table 3.2).

²⁷ Resident population by sex and areas, as of 1 January 1970-2011. See: <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/EN/02%20POP/POP01/POP01.asp> (accessed on 06.12.2011),

²⁸ UNFPA, Population and Development: <http://www.unfpa.md/images/stories/pdf/populatiedezvoltare%20nr2%20eng%20v2.pdf> (accessed on 07.12.2011).

²⁹ Number of people aged 60 and above per 100 inhabitants. According to G. Bojio-Garnier scale, the indicator value of 12 and above is qualified as "demographic ageing", NBS.

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For many settlements labour migration abroad means not only loss of human, but also of social capital. The social relations are affected, social networks are being destroyed; the communication, the contact with those who are working abroad, except for the family members, is seldom (IOM/CBS-AXA, 2007).

Employees from all economic sectors chose to go to work abroad, incl. people from sectors with demands for higher qualification such as public administration, education, healthcare, social insurance, etc. (Table 3.3). A share of 51.7% of migrants has higher, specialized secondary or vocational education (Table 2.7). The largest migration outflow was registered in the sphere of agriculture and constructions (NBS, 2008). The migrants from these two branches represent over a half of the total number of migrants who were employed before departure. At the same time, these two areas register higher percentage among the employed population of Moldova, creating a shortage of labour force, particularly qualified labour force in this area.

The transition period of the nineties was especially traumatic for both the education and health systems which budgets and expenditures were drastically reduced (EC DG EMPL, 2010)³⁰. This resulted in a deterioration of the systems' infrastructure and a massive exodus of the **teaching staff** and health professionals from the system through migration (or for other reasons, like professional reorientation). Between 1995 and 1999, according to official data, over 12,000 teachers left the education system (NBS, 2002); unofficial data indicates that this number could be even over 20,000 (UNDP, 2000). These trends negatively affected the availability and accessibility of quality education, particularly in rural areas³¹.

Also, over 9,000 **health professionals** (doctors and nurses) left the healthcare system during the period 1996-1999³². After the introduction of the compulsory medical insurance system³³ in 2001 and mechanisms of hospitals optimization, the financial situation of the system improved a bit and the exodus of medical personnel from the system slowed down. During the period between 2000 and 2008 more than 12,000 physicians and paramedical personnel left the system (NCMH, 2010) which represents about 28% of the total number of health professionals in Moldova (Table 3.5.). This migration trend among health professionals has particularly affected the rural areas of Moldova, official statistics showing a slight but continuing reduction in the provision of the rural population with physicians and paramedical personnel; this trend has aggravated the situation of rural areas where staffing of the health sector is 2.5 (physicians) to 5 (paramedical personnel) times lower than at national average (Table 3.5). The majority of Moldovan health specialists worked abroad as unqualified specialists. Data of the State University of Medicine and Pharmacy "Nicolae Testemitanu" (SUMP) shows that a total of more than 7,000 graduates from the 37,000 trained specialists of this institution (i.e. 18.9%) are employed abroad. From October 2009 to April 2011, the SUMP implemented a project on "Migrants' capacity for the Moldovan health system development"³⁴, in Moldova. For the first time, they succeeded in attracting Moldovan doctors, who work abroad in the activities related to the development of the health system (JMDI, 2011).

It should be mentioned that the standards of the Moldovan education system are incompatible with those of the countries of destination of migrant workers, due to which fact most emigrants with higher education find themselves constrained to opt for employments below their qualification levels, and to pass a series of examinations that would enable them to reconfirm their qualifications. Although since 2005 Moldova has adhered to the Bologna Process, the reforms aiming at the adjustment of the higher education system still continue to evolve.

³⁰ Social Protection and Social inclusion in Belarus and Moldova. See: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=89&newsId=662&furtherNews=yes> (accessed on 07.12.2011).

³¹ The student/teacher ratio fell from 14.6 in the school year 2001/2002 to 11.8 in the school year 2008/2009 (Table 3.4.) which indicates that the developments in the educational sphere have also been driven by a reduction in the number of students.

³² See: MoH, 2009 and authors' own calculations.

³³ Law on compulsory health insurance no.1585-XIII of 27 February 1998 and Law on the amount, manner and terms of payment of premiums for compulsory health insurance, no. 1593-XV of 26.12.2002.

³⁴ For more information about the project see :www.medconnect.md.

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The qualification of emigrants is lost by the course of time. Young people, who left immediately after graduation from educational institutions or even schools, lose their qualification because they don't practice in the area they studied. Most migrants working abroad perform unskilled jobs in the host country; men are mainly involved in constructions and women - in housekeeping and household services. According to the LFS survey for 2008, the migrants, who managed to find a job abroad, were employed, in particular, in the construction field (53.0%), private household works (19.6%) and in trade (11.4%) (NBS, 2008a). This distribution however varies depending on the host country. Thus, in Russia 68.0% of migrants worked in the construction sector (in the EU only 28.6%) while almost a half (47.3%) of persons working in the EU was employed for domestic services in private households. The commercial sector is also more practiced in Russia than in the EU (14.3% versus 4.7%) (Table 2.11).

In the emigrational context of the Republic of Moldova we can speak rather of "brain loss" than "brain drain" (ILO/NBS, 2008) because qualified workers are employed like non-qualified workers abroad. For example, every second migrant who worked in education or health services before departure abroad, works in household services in the destination country. The same applies to those who were employees of public administration authorities previous to emigration, and who work in the construction field (47.9%) or in household services (24.9%) abroad (Table 3.6).

Labour migration diminished the pressure on the labour market and contributed significantly to a decrease in the unemployment rate in Moldova. Statistical data shows the decreasing of the unemployment rate in 2008 by 4.5 percentage points comparing with 2000 (Figure 3.1). One in two migrants went to work abroad as they were unemployed in the Republic of Moldova, only a third of migrants were employed (*ibid.*). At the same time, according to an IOM study (IOM, 2009)³⁵, the migrants' expectations relating to remuneration are much higher than the salaries offered on the Moldovan labour market; many of them couldn't work anymore with the remuneration offered in Moldova, the average salary they earned abroad being 3-4 times higher than the average salary in Moldova. Thus, 78.1% of population appraised negatively the employment opportunities in our country (*ibid.*:9).

Labour migration has a significant role in economic terms due the huge remittances inflow. In 2010, Moldova ranked third in the world (after Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) (Slay and Bravi, 2011) by the share of remittances in the GDP. In 2007 these accounted for 36.2% (World Bank, 2007a), while in the first 9 months of 2008 they reached 38.3% of the GDP³⁶. According to the National Bank, the impact of the international crisis was also expressed in a significant reduction of official transfers from abroad. After a constant increase until 2008, during the last quarter of 2008, according to the balance of payments, the remittances decreased by 16.5% compared to the previous quarter and recorded an increase of only 3.8% as compared to the same period of 2007 (Otter et al., 2009). Declining trends continued in 2009 as well and the transfers from abroad through the banking system decreased by 28.8%, compared to the 2008³⁷. The economic crisis affected mostly the income of people working abroad, subsequently the amount of remittances has decreased. The IOM survey performed at the beginning of 2009 found out that 20% of families with migrants were not receiving remittances anymore and 45.5% stated that the amounts they receive from abroad are smaller (*ibid.*). A significant increase of transfers from abroad was recorded again in 2010, and the amount of money inflows equalled to 1.24 billion US Dollars (EUR 0.94 billion)³⁸, 5.2% more than in 2009.

The remittances are found in community-level investment, mainly oriented towards repairs of public buildings, such as churches, schools, etc. (Figure 3.2) On the whole, 15% of migrant have made donations during the last year (Luecke et al., 2009). It should also be mentioned

³⁵ Nationally representative sample, 2,027 persons, the data collection period: 10-28 March 2009.

³⁶ <http://economie.moldova.org/news/moldova-a-leader-by-share-of-remittances-in-gdp-165583-eng.html>:

Moldova – a leader by share of remittances in GDP, 17 November 2008 (accessed on 09.12.2011).

³⁷ Annual Social Report 2009: http://mpsfc.gov.md/file/rapoarte/Raport_Social_2009_eng.pdf, based on data of the National Bank of Moldova.

³⁸ Amount in Euro calculated on the basis of the reference exchange rate of the European Central Bank for 2010 (1 US \$ = 1.3257 EUR).

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however that there aren't any clear institutionalized mechanisms (organizations, foundations) that would facilitate this (Vladicescu et al., 2008). Some positive effects of migration, i.e. the transfer of technology and experience, are also noticed, but it seems that these are not capitalized since the business environment in Moldova is perceived as hostile for the start-up and development of a business (BCI/IFAD and CBS-AXA, 2010; Vladicescu et al., 2008). Nonetheless, a survey on investments and business opportunities carried out in 2008 that there are some positive experiences of invested remittances, which have created new jobs: 1.2% of the households involved in the survey mentioned the investments in businesses as the primary factor of migration, whilst 7.4% - as the secondary factor (BCI/IFAD and CBS-AXA, 2010)³⁹.

The magnitude of the crisis impact was considered to be larger in the rural areas, where the reduction of income was influenced by both the natural calamities and the cut in the volume of remittances (UN/World Bank, 2010). Likewise, there has been a decrease in the share of households' incomes, secured by the money from remittances, thus recording only 17% of the total disposable income in 2009 versus 19% in 2008 (Figure 3.3).

There is still not enough (statistical) evidence on migration in Moldova and as regards returning migrants in particular there is currently no valid data or analyses on their financial potential and entrepreneurial activities.

3.2. Social security

For the large part of the 1990s, Moldovan citizens migrated and worked abroad without benefiting of any assistance from the Government. For this reason the coordination of social insurance systems became an important component of social policies promoted by the State. In order to respect the rights and offer social guarantees for the Moldovan migrant workers the signing of bilateral social security agreements with the main destination countries was needed. During 1990s, Moldova signed agreements in the fields of pension insurance with some states of the post-soviet area being the most important destination countries for migrants from Moldova as the Russian Federation (1995) and Ukraine (1995), as well as with Belarus (1995), Uzbekistan (1995) and Azerbaijan (1997). One of the basic principles of the above-mentioned agreements, is the principle of *territoriality*, according to which, the pensions are established and paid by the state on which territory the person lives, regardless of its contribution to the system of social insurance of this resident state. This principle however was soon overcome due to the social and economic changes that took place during the last 10 to 15 years. Therefore, Moldova was forced to start the revision of these agreements, moving from the principle of territoriality to the principle of proportionality of contribution which allows each state where pension contributions were made to pay a pension in proportion to these contributions.

In 2004, the Moldovan Government sent a number of requests to several countries to sign bilateral agreements on migration. In the following agreements on labour migration and social protection of citizens employed abroad were signed with several countries⁴⁰ where the number of Moldovan migrants is however insignificant. Further, during the period 2008-2011, seven bilateral agreements in the field of social security insurance were concluded with Bulgaria (December 2008), Portugal (February 2008), Romania (April 2010), Luxembourg (June 2010), Austria (September 2011), Estonia (September 2011), Czech Republic (November 2011). Moldova is also engaged in an advanced process of negotiation to sign social security agreements with Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania⁴¹. A series of other states expressed their will to regulate their relations in the field of social insurance and to sign bilateral agreements with Moldova (MLSPF, 2010)⁴². This includes Italy as one main destination country for Moldovan migrants with which negotiations are on-going but have not yet been finalised. Due to the absence of a bilateral agreement between Moldova and Italy

³⁹ Survey that covers 4,000 households, conducted in October 2008.

⁴⁰ Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, Albania.

⁴¹ Information provided by Diana Cebotaru, Head of the Agreements Division, Policies and Social Insurance Department, Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family.

⁴² Greece, Italy, Latvia, Turkey,

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up to now, Moldovan migrants in Italy have to rely on provisions of the Italian legislation as regards the possibility for portability and exportability of social security benefits.

Currently, the Republic of Moldova intends to increase the number of states to regulate its relations in the field of social insurance. For this purpose the Government through a decision taken in October 2007⁴³ has approved the template of the Intergovernmental Agreement on Social Security⁴⁴. The Agreement aims at ensuring a framework of social security guarantees for (Moldovan) migrant workers and eliminating the negative effects arising after the return home. The template of the Intergovernmental Agreement contains non-discriminatory provisions in relation to citizenship or residence and is to be applied to national legislations of contracting states in respect of benefits in case of maternity and sickness, accidents at work and professional diseases, old-age, disability and survivors' pensions, death grants and unemployment benefits. As a basic principle the Agreement requires the payment of social insurance contributions in one contracting state only (as a rule the state of gainful activity). Other principles are: equal treatment of citizens of each party, determination of applicable legislation, aggregation of insurance periods and, maintenance of acquired rights and export of benefits. In the next years bilateral social security agreements are planned to be negotiated and signed with 25 European countries on the basis of the principles set out in the template of the Intergovernmental Agreement⁴⁵. The negotiation and conclusion of bilateral labour and social security agreements is planned to be supported and facilitated by the EU among others via training of Government officials and specialists.

In December 2006 amendments⁴⁶ were made to the Moldovan Law on State Social Insurance Pensions by introducing the individual insurance contract, which is concluded directly with the National Social Insurance House (NSIH). This contract was introduced as an opportunity for all citizens who at the moment do not contribute to the social security system, to insure their future retirement. There is an option to pay retroactively for 13 years of contribution in the form of a fix amount, annually estimated⁴⁷. Migrants can make use of this possibility to insure their old-age pension too, although only a few persons of the total uninsured population use this opportunity. For example in 2010, only 1,320 individual insurance contracts were signed with the NSIH⁴⁸, which represented only 0.01% of the total 1,599.1 insured contributors⁴⁹. The amount of the contribution is expressed as a lump sum amount which is annually approved by the Law on state social insurance budget. This measure is not very popular among people due to the following main reasons: (i) the one pillar social insurance system structure (based on solidarity) discourages contributors⁵⁰; (ii) it provides an option only for a minimum pension and a death allowance; (iii) there is no option to insure other social risks such as sickness and maternity, and (iv) there is a lack of knowledge and insufficient mediatisation of information among the population on the possibility of voluntary individual insurance.

In terms of access to health insurance protection also Moldovan migrants remain a vulnerable group. Since a high share of Moldovan migration abroad remains illegal, most irregular migrants do not have any health insurance in the hosted countries (even if they

⁴³ Government Decision No. 1170 from 29 October 2007.

⁴⁴ Developed based on the European Convention of Social Insurance and according to general rules set by Regulation 1408/71/CEE on the coordination of social security schemes for employed persons, independent workers and their family members moving within the EU.

⁴⁵ According to Annex 1 of the Government Decision no. 1170 from 29 October 2007, bilateral social security agreements are to be negotiated and signed with following countries: Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, UK, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Hungary. As explained bilateral agreements have already been signed with some of them. See:

<http://lex.justice.md/index.php?action=view&view=doc&lang=1&id=325641>

⁴⁶ Art.2 amended by LP 399-XVI of 14.12.06, MO39-42/23.03.07 art.169.

⁴⁷ For 2011 it was about EUR 275 (MDL 4,368).

⁴⁸ Out of which 1,235 were signed with owners of agricultural lands.

⁴⁹ See MLSPF (2011) Annual Social Report 2010 (<http://mpsfc.gov.md/md/rapoarte/>) and NSIH activity report for 2010 (<http://www.cnas.md/lib.php?l=ro&idc=417&>).

⁵⁰ As the medium pension amount represents only 56% of the living subsistence. In 2010, 860,000 persons contributed to the social security system but the number of beneficiaries was 627,000. The proportion of contributors to the number of beneficiaries was 1.37:1; experts estimate that the proportion necessary for ensuring sustainability of the pension system however should be around 4:1 – 5:1 (Cantarj, 2011).

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might have access to medical services provided by aid organisations) and they postpone their visits to a doctor and the solution of health problems for the time when they return to Moldova. A recent study on Moldovan migrants' health (IOM/CBS-AXA, 2010) indicates that the main reason for this is the economic situation, which encompasses both the high costs for health services abroad and employment constraints (inability to leave the workplace, financial losses due to absence, fear of losing the job, etc.). Whereas involvement in the migration process entails a number of (higher) risks to the health and the psycho-emotional integrity of migrants (illegal migration, poor working conditions, separation from family), Moldovan migrants are more careless about their own health status and more rarely have contact to the health care system (either abroad or in Moldova) than the non-migrant population.

According to the national legislation, the citizens of Moldova who **left to work abroad can buy in each year their mandatory health** insurance policy to be able to benefit from health care services provided in Moldova as insured persons⁵¹. The prices for insurance policies are revised annually by the National Health Insurance Company. In 2010 the costs of the health insurance policy was around EUR 156.10 (MDL 2,478) (NHIC, 2011). However, only one quarter of migrants have health insurance (Figure 3.4). Data shows, that due to the high prices of these insurance policies the share of people who buy them is low and in 2008 they represents only 1.4% of the total number of insured persons⁵².

Moldovan migrants lacking old-age coverage when returning to Moldova as elderly persons are often seen as a burden to the social system in Moldova to the extent that having not contributed to the social insurance system in Moldova while being abroad they increase the burden on the contributors employed in Moldova during their absence and put additional pressure on the social assistance system as (potential) recipients of assistance benefits.

3.3. Poverty and Social Exclusion

In 2010 approximately one quarter of the active population is out of the country for work or in a search for a job abroad (Table 2.1). Along with an increase in salaries and social benefits, remittances have contributed to a steady decrease of absolute poverty from 67.8% in 2000 to 26.3% in 2009⁵³ (Figure 3.5.). Remittances had/have a special impact on the welfare of Moldovan citizens, particularly of the households benefiting of remittances, although they are mainly used for consumption. Indeed, the HBS⁵⁴ 2006-2009, show a significant discrepancy between migrant households and non-migrant households in terms of poverty incidence (Figure 3.6). The income from remittances is mainly invested in dwellings, particularly in the capital city (Garștea, 2011). According to expert opinions (Bârlădeanu, 2008), about 80% of the flats purchased during recent years have been acquired by Moldovan citizens working abroad or by the money sent home by them (NBS, 2009b). This has a dual impact - on the one hand it led to the development of the construction sector, which has recorded a significant increase during the 2000-2007 years and, on the other hand, it contributed to an increase of the prices of real estate, which decreased the access to dwelling, particularly for young families that have not accumulated financial resources to purchase a house or flat. As a consequence, by facilitating access to property of dwellings for households with migrant members, remittances have at the same time also contributed to increasing housing difficulties, in particular for the inhabitants of the capital city Chisinau.

⁵¹ This insurance package enables to access basic medical services and does not offer full coverage.

⁵² See: <http://www.cnam.md/?page=48>, Report on the use of means from the mandatory health insurance funds in 2008 (*Raportul privind utilizarea mijloacelor din fondurile asigurării obligatorii de asistență medicală în anul 2008*, accessed on 29.12.2011).

⁵³ A comparison of poverty indicators by 2009 cannot be made. The poverty evolution will be presented for two periods (1998-2005 and 2006-2009) as different methods of data collections, HBS methodologies and instruments have been used.

⁵⁴ Household Budget Survey, provided annually by National Bureau of Statistics. The sample includes 129 localities in 150 research centres, are surveyed 9768 households per year, monthly sample includes 814 households. Half of the households are part of the sample panel, which involves observation of these households in the same month of the initial selection of over 4 consecutive years. Data collection is monthly, compilation - quarterly and annually. To collect information in the HBS are used main household questionnaire and the household register.

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The transfers from abroad contribute to the decreasing of poverty by 11.7 percentage points, in rural areas this impact is even higher (13.9 percentage points) (MoE, 2010). The dependency of the level of welfare on remittances is obvious (Figure 3.7). After a continuous increase, starting from 2000, the volume of remittances dropped by 17% during the fourth quarter of 2008 in comparison with the previous quarter. During the year of 2009 the volume of remittances decreased on average by circa 37%. The cut in transfers from abroad has impacted directly on the poverty level. Along with the decrease in remittances, the poverty rate started to augment in the fourth quarter of 2008 and reached the highest level in the first quarter of 2009, when the lowest volume of remittances was recorded. Beginning with the second quarter of 2009, remittances from abroad started to rise again, while the poverty rates followed a downward trend (ibid.). The transfers from abroad contribute with 16.8% to the disposable income in 2010⁵⁵ (NBS, 2011). The distribution of the households by quintiles points out the gap between the poor and the rich group of the population. Incomes of persons from the first quintile are twice lower than the national average income, and incomes of persons from the fifth quintile are 1.7 times higher than the national average income. Significant differences are also registered in the income structure of these households. While incomes of persons from the first quintile are mainly set from salaries and social benefits (to a proportion of 32.5% and 27.2% respectively), households in the fifth quintile benefit mainly from salaries (to 51.2%), being followed by transfers from abroad (to 18.4%) (ibid.).

Researches show that in crisis situations (sickness, deaths, other in case of need), the Moldovan people with low income ask for the assistance of their relatives working abroad, who lend or give them money. According to the IOM study about 30% of households benefit from remittances (IOM/CBS AXA, 2008a and IOM 2009) (about 1.5 million persons live in households that receive remittances). The survey (IOM, 2009) also shows that one in five households benefiting of remittances (21.8%) depends on them, as over 80% of the income of these households is represented by the money received from abroad. According to the HBS data, in 2009 are benefited from remittances predominantly households from rural areas, that amount 60.5% of all surveyed households, receiving remittances (Figure 3.8).

Households with migrant family members are discriminated in terms of access to social support offered by the State to families whose overall income is lower than the guaranteed minimum income. Indeed, according to legislation⁵⁶, if one member of the household has left to work abroad, the social support is calculated without taking into account the migrated person as a person in need. Moreover, sometimes, social workers simply assume that the income of the migrant's family exceeds the amount of the guaranteed minimum income, because of migration. As a result, usually if a member of a family that receives social support leaves to work abroad, the provision of social support is ceased, without taking into account potential risks caused by migration in finding a job, the lack of remuneration for work and the effective existence of remittances or not, etc.

4. Labour market and social development trends in net migration loss / gain regions

4.1. Identification of net migration loss / gain regions

The Republic of Moldova is a small country and out-migration affected all localities. However, the Southern region which is a disadvantaged region from a social-economic point of view and the poorest one in Moldova, has seen a large proportion of its population people moving to work abroad. Furthermore, small villages from all over the country have been particularly affected both by internal and by external migration, contributing significantly to population aging. Chisinau, the capital city, for its part is a main internal migration gain region as it is an economical and cultural centre with a consecration of population and resources. People from all part of countries, especially younger persons, come here because of better life conditions.

⁵⁵ Aspects of the standard of living of population in 2010:
http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronice/aspecte_nivelul_trai/Aspecte_Nivelul_Trai_2010.pdf
(accessed on 10.12.2011).

⁵⁶ Law no. 133-XVI of 13 June 2008 on Social Support.

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The Southern region of Moldova has been particularly affected by out-migration: Approximately 40% of the active population aged 15 years and over in the region was recorded as working abroad or searching for a job abroad in 2010 (Table 2.6), which is largely above national average (of 25.2%)⁵⁷. Even if the share of active population working abroad has been slightly decreasing since 2008, the Southern region remains the region with the highest proportion of emigrants in Moldova. Between January 2007 and the beginning of 2011, this region has lost 1.2% of its population (Table 4.1)⁵⁸. Main reasons of migration from these parts of the country are related to their economic and geographic conditions: poorly diversified economy does not offer economic opportunities, agriculture suffers from frequent droughts and the profiles of vocational institutions are not adequate to the needs of the local economies.⁵⁹ The Southern region of Moldova has been noticed also for the large share of young people who left to work abroad in the total number of individuals who left temporarily the region, e.g. Autonomous Territorial Unit (ATU) Găgăuzia (37.1%), districts Taraclia (35.3%), Cahul (33.5%), and Cantemir (33.5%) (Bologan, 2010). Thus, in this part of the country, more than every third individual who left the country to work abroad is aged between 15-24 years. For comparison, this share is only 21.6% of persons leaving for foreign countries for Chisinau, while it is also lower in the Northern region⁶⁰ (Bologan, 2010).

Rural areas (villages) are the settlements most affected by labour migration in Moldova. The departure of the labour force from villages has weakened the living conditions in rural areas and the socio-economic transition as well has contributed to a deterioration of the living standards of the rural population. The social and economic upheavals, (incl. internal and external migration), have especially severely affected the small villages with feeble infrastructure located far away from towns. There are approximately 200 villages with a number of inhabitants under 120 persons in Moldova, out of which approx. 30 villages comprise only 20 inhabitants, while 40 villages have about 20-25 inhabitants (MoE, 2009a).

During the incipient stages of migration, departure of individuals from a community to work abroad in a certain country determined directly (through social networks – attraction of relatives, acquaintances) or indirectly (positive examples) the departure of other community members to the same destination countries. Thus, there are settlements, which inhabitants left for a specific country, Russia or Italy, for instance, but also Spain or even France and Germany⁶¹. Depending on the available jobs in the countries of destination, there are Moldovan villages that have become „feminised”, where the majority of men left the community, and there are “masculinised” villages where the majority of women of labour active age left for abroad to work. There are no statistical data available on such communities, but this phenomenon could be noticed through qualitative studies⁶² which state that in case where a large part of the village inhabitants emigrate to Russia, then the community is “feminised”, while in case the village inhabitants leave for EU Member States⁶³ - the community is “masculinised”. As a consequence, substantial changes in the population structure have been recorded by area of residence and by gender during the last years. A reduction of circa 5 percentage points was recorded in the number of women living in rural areas in 2010 as compared to the year of 2000, and the number of men in urban areas has dropped by approximately the same value (Table 4.2).

⁵⁷ The share of active working or looking for a job abroad is only around 8% for the capital city Chisinau persons.

⁵⁸ Since Moldova was divided into the current existing regions only with the Law No. 438 of 28.12.2006, there is no regional data available for previous periods.

⁵⁹ In-depth interviews with economic expert, Victor Prohntitchi.

⁶⁰ In Râșcani 20%, in Bălți 23.4%, in Edineț 23.2%, in Ocnița 24%, and in Drochia 24.9%.

⁶¹ Social network – for example, in the village Corjeuti (<http://www.protv.md/stiri/social/bienvenue-la-corjeuti.html>) the majority of migrants are in France (there is a route Corjeuti-Paris). From the ATU Gagauzia, migrants principally migrate to Turkey and Russia due to the fact that the Gagauz language is similar to Turkish and that the Gagauz are also Russian speakers.

⁶² Voice of poor 2004, Voice of poor 2006, UNICEF/CBS-AXA, 2007.

⁶³ An example, in the village Cârpești of Cantemir District, 2,006 women of active age left in 2004 for abroad to work, incl. the Mayor's spouse, the Priest's spouse, etc.

4.2. Labour market development in net migration loss / gain regions

In the short- and medium-term, migration affects primarily the labour force, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Statistics show that the total economic activity rate had a particularly sharp decline; the employment rate at national level fell from 54.8% in 2000 to 40.0% in 2009 (Table 2.5). The changes in the distribution of the labour force by regions and by sectors have got an important impact on incomes derived from the communities and regions involved in the migration process, and also on the relative distribution of the production. The period of transition significantly influenced the GDP structure with a fast growth of trade and transportation services outputs and a sudden decrease of incomes generated by agriculture and industry (Figure 4.1.) (Vaculovschi et al., 2011).

In rural areas the situation is even more difficult. The changes in the availability of the labour force by region, territory, and those occurring in the population structure may lead to the creation of settlements with no future. Such villages are inhabited mostly by aged people with low pensions; moreover, it is impossible to implement any infrastructure development projects there because there is no social and economic infrastructure, i.e. schools, kindergartens, healthcare/medical settlements, etc. As already indicated, the share of the working age population in villages is lower than in towns. In the rural areas the share of people above working age (ca. 16%) is higher than in urban areas (around 14%) (Table 3.2).

During the period of between 2000 and 2010 access to the labour market in rural areas has deteriorated considerably. In 2009 in rural areas both the activity rate and the employment rate have decreased, by approximately 22 percentage points (Table 2.5) as compared to figures for the year 2000. While in 2000 both the activity and the employment rate in rural areas exceeded those in urban areas by more than 10 percentage points, then in 2009 the situation has completely reversed (Table 2.5). These indicators reveal that in rural areas the possibility of entering the labour market is particularly weak. Even though the unemployment rate is lower in rural areas if compared to the urban ones, the above does not mean at all that in rural areas the situation on labour market is better. Shortage of employment opportunities, low incomes, limited access to consumer goods and services, in addition to the lack of opportunities to commercialize agricultural products, represent main disadvantages of a life in rural area. The young people who do not possess their own lot of land, which would ensure them the minimum amount of food for subsistence, are facing serious problems in particular, all the above emphasizing even more their limited opportunities to enter the labour market, thus contributing to the exodus of workforce from rural areas.

The labour force indicators show large discrepancies by regions and especially a difficult situation in the Southern part of the country: while activity and employment rates are lowest in the Southern region of the country, the worst situation was recorded by women living in this region (with an economic activity rate being at 34.9% in 2010 and an employment rate at 33.3%, compared to 38.6% and 36.4%, respectively at the national level), followed by the women from the Northern region (Table 4.3).

There are no data regarding migration of the labour force at the levels of districts in Moldova. However, statistics collected for a more recent period (2010 versus 2007) on the population distribution by districts (incl. distribution by urban and rural areas), showed a „loss” of over 2% in the number of inhabitants in the Northern districts, i.e. Donduşeni, Glodeni, Rîşcani, and Şoldăneşti. As for the Southern region, Cimişlia district could be distinguished with a circa 5%-decline in the number of urban population (Table 4.4).

An increase/stability has been recorded in Chisinau and Balti Municipalities and in Cahul District. Aside from the more developed infrastructure in comparison with other settlements, higher education institutions are located in these settlements as well. Likewise, the number of stable population living in the districts located in close proximity to the Capital is also on rise, incl. Străşeni, Ialoveni, Criuleni, and Anenii Noi, which could be explained by the fact that prices for dwellings in this area are much lower in comparison with Chisinau, and individuals employed in Chisinau, de facto purchase houses and live in the Capital suburbs.

4.3. Poverty and social exclusion in net migration loss/gain regions

In Moldova there is a gap between the development level of different regions of the country, with the least developed being the Southern region. The poverty incidence, estimated based on the HBS 2009, as well as the access to utilities, has also recorded geographical differences. The highest poverty rate in 2009 (38%) and its greatest increase since 2007 (by 8.5 percentage points) was recorded in the Southern region of the country (Table 4.5); while poverty rates have been declining or at least stabilising in all other regions of Moldova, poverty has been on the rise in this regions since 2006. As regards access to utilities the greatest difficulties are faced by the population in Chisinau (Figure 4.3.). More than half of the Moldovan citizens said they could not afford sufficient heating during the cold season, but the most affected in this context are the inhabitants of Chisinau and the Northern region of the country. The largest share of households having difficulties in paying for utilities was also registered in Chisinau (about two thirds of the population). At the same time it should be noted that the poverty rate in Chisinau is almost five times lower than the national average, amounting to 5.3% (compared to 26.3%) (Vaculovschi et al., 2011). Likewise, the size of available income varies by regions, reaching the highest level by individuals from Chisinau, followed by the Northern region (Table 4.6). The share of remittances in the available income of the population is highest in the Southern region (26%) and in the Central region (22%). After Chisinau, the access to different facilities is better provided for the population from the Southern region, incl. the ATU Găgăuzia, while the population living in the Northern region has reduced access to water supply, hot water and natural gas (Table 4.7).

The absolute poverty rate remains very high in rural compared to urban areas, and in 2009 it grew by nearly 2 percentage points as compared to the previous year (Table 4.5.). Generally speaking, absolute poverty has even increased in rural areas over the last years whereas urban areas have experienced an important decrease of poverty (Table 4.5). A considerable negative impact of migration is the deterioration of human capital and rural areas in Moldova are particularly hit in this respect. In addition to a high above average population ageing index (Table 3.1), rural areas also record a lower life expectancy at birth than average this being even lower by more than 4 years as compared to urban areas (in 2010 registered 67.4 years versus 72.0 in urban areas and 69.1 at national level), as well as a high negative natural increase (-2.3 versus -0.9 for the whole country). As per regions, the most affected in this context is the Northern region, with a bigger negative natural increase equal to -3.3, followed by Southern region (-1.4)⁶⁴.

The population's access to goods and services is also worth being noted, as it is particularly low in rural as compared to urban areas. Thus, there are very few households with water supply, sewerage and central heating systems in rural areas (Figure 4.2.). Large amounts of money required to build such systems in rural areas, limited financial resources of mayor's offices and of the population, especially in small settlements, with a high share of elderly population, contribute to the limited access to relevant conveniences.

In small villages all over the country, incl. the Southern region, access to education, pre-school education included is low. The lack of kindergartens and schools due to the small number of children lead to their limited opportunities to acquire proper education. As education institutions in Moldova are funded based on the "per child/pupil" principle, this type of fund appropriation, is pretty inconvenient for small preschool institutions because it is difficult to maintain the premises and pay salaries to the employees. There are discussions held concerning the education institutions streamlining, so that schools located in villages with small number of pupils and teaching staff are closed down, and the pupils attend the schools located in larger neighbouring villages where they could benefit from better education conditions. In order to pursue this concept and establish district schools it is necessary to provide the pupils with free transportation; however, the Mayor's offices are not able to cope with this necessity (Barbarosie, 2008). The existing examples confirm that the rural Mayor's offices make significant efforts to address these issues, ensuring, where

⁶⁴ <http://www.statistica.md/newsview.php?l=en&id=3421&idc=168>, Demographic situation in the Republic of Moldova in 2010 (accessed on 11.12.2011).

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possible, transportation of children to the neighbouring villages. It seems that such practices of children transportation to the education institutions located in the neighbouring villages would get impetus. Thus, according to a study conducted in 2010, the average number of children from small villages to be enrolled in the first grade during the next five years would not exceed 10 individuals, whilst for “large” villages this number would be circa 30 individuals (IPP/CBS-AXA, 2008). Parents also contribute, although indirectly, to the schools close-down, having enrolled their children in larger education institutions to ensure higher quality of studies or preferring to settle in larger villages or towns. The education institution restructuring and streamlining process has been launched in the 2011-2012⁶⁵ school year. This reform, being absolutely necessary, was suggested by the International Monetary Fund as a prerequisite to relieve the next funding tranches.

Access to education and health services in rural areas is worsening upon the involvement of young people both in internal migration to big cities and their external migration, which determines more young people to leave rural areas. This is a vicious circle: lower share of active population, fewer resources for community development and a higher tendency for migration of young people. Thus, the closure of schools is required due to the small number of children, and the lack of this service in the community increases the migration potential of these communities. To be mentioned that the smaller number of physician are registered in the Southern region, that is equal to 14.8 persons per 10,000 inhabitants compare with Chisinau 28.5, and the Northern region - 20.2 persons⁶⁶.

Population’s migration to big cities creates pressure on the housing fund. Most people tend to buy apartments in Chisinau, where the infrastructure is more developed, opportunities for education and development of children are numerically and qualitatively higher than in other localities, there are more alternatives for leisure activities, etc. Among other factors, this has led to a continuous increase in the price of housing. Real estate experts estimate a six fold price rise as compared with 2001⁶⁷. Renting of housing in Chisinau is also very expensive in relation to the average salary of the population (EUR 170), the monthly rent in 2011 for a studio ranging from EUR 140 to 200⁶⁸.

Another obvious aspect of population’s concentration in cities is the situation in pre-schools that are overcrowded, which is a typical phenomenon for Chisinau and Balti. The kindergartens in Chisinau have, on average, 30 children per group, while the current requirements provide for not more than 20 children (IDIS Viitorul, 2008b).

5. Impact of migration on vulnerable groups

The impact of migration upon different social groups must be viewed from two perspectives: on the one hand through the direct involvement in the process of emigration and the risks that the migrants themselves are exposed to, and on the other hand - as a group affected by emigration of other people related to it. In this context, each population group faces specific problems resulting from the migration phenomenon, particularly the work abroad.

5.1. Women

It is considered that the social-economic situation of women in Moldova differs insignificantly from the one of men. In 2010 the unemployment rate was lower for women than for men (5.7% in comparison with 9.1⁶⁹), but the share of women in the inactive population is higher (60.2%)⁷⁰. Usually women work in public administration, education, health and social

⁶⁵ The National Action Plan for the Implementation of the Structural Reform in Education.

⁶⁶ Number of physicians, in territorial aspect, 2003-2010

(<http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/EN/08%20SAN/SAN01/SAN01.asp>, accessed on 11.12.2011).

⁶⁷ Source: Lara Real Estate Company.

⁶⁸ Lara Real Estate Company. The analysis of the market of real estate for 2010 (Chisinau). See: <http://www.lara.md/main/analytics/?lang=english>.

⁶⁹ NBS, Database (2010): <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/EN/03%20MUN/MUN06/MUN06.asp>, Unemployment rate by sex, area and quarters, 2000-2011 (accessed on 11.12.2011).

⁷⁰ NBS, Database (2010): <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/EN/03%20MUN/MUN08/MUN08.asp>, Inactive population aged 15 years and over by main reason for not working, level of education, age groups, sex and area, 2008-2010 (accessed on 11.12.2011).

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assistance (30.2%), in the field of agriculture (24.5%), trade, hotels and restaurants (21.8%)⁷¹. Reforms and transformation of the agricultural sector, accompanied by migration of the labour force specifically from this sector have affected the structure of women employment in Moldova. Up to 2008 the agricultural sector was the main area of activity for Moldovan women; during the 2000s the number of women working in the sector continuously decreased and more than halved in one decade (Table 5.1); as from 2009 the share of women employed in public administration, education, healthcare and social assistance, exceed the proportion of women in the agricultural sector (Table 5.1.). It is worth mentioning that the lowest salaries are paid in the agricultural sector (the gross average monthly salary reached approximately EUR 100 – MDL 1,638.57⁷² - in 2010), and this fact has caused a continued reduction of the share of population engaged in this sector; in 2010 only 40% of the total population engaged in agriculture in 2000 was still working in this sector⁷³.

Although most women who migrate do so because of financial shortcomings, there is a part of them is leaving due to the desire to escape abuse and domestic violence. It is difficult to estimate their number because women in this situation only admit this in the qualitative researches (UNICEF/CBS-AXA, 2007; UNAIDS, 2009 and UNFPA Moldova, 2010). The same studies show that women who have left Moldova to work abroad, especially to EU countries, are often more likely to find a new partner in life and thus may leave or keep their families in Moldova just formally (UNAIDS, 2009).

Often the perception of women by society, especially of the young ones leaving to work abroad, is based on stereotypes, these consisting among others in considering that they have practiced prostitution abroad. This perception might be based on the fact that some women from Moldova effectively provide sexual services (especially in Turkey, Cyprus, but also in Ukraine and Russia) being also victims of trafficking and exploitation. These stereotypes and suspicion of having provided sexual services can cause women who have returned to Moldova some difficulties in partner identification, and for the married ones it can lead to conflicts and even rejection by their family of origin (UNAIDS, 2009; UNFPA, 2010b).

Women left behind at home by their husbands who migrated to work abroad, take over their (new) role within the family (and society) more easily than men left behind by migrating women (UNICEF/CBS-AXA, 2007 and UNAIDS, 2009). But in some situations, they face financial constraints, when the husbands impose an extremely severe financial control on them. Women left behind are often constrained by their migrating partners who ask them not to get employed, the main reason being their low salary (UNAIDS, 2009).

From the psychological point of view, due to their specific relation towards children, women suffer more when they are separated from their children, and this thing is felt at the level of their relationship with the children, who are also more affected usually when the mother leaves to work abroad than the father (UNICEF/CBS-AXA, 2007 and Creința, 2011) (see Figure 5.1 and developments under 5.2).

5.2. Children

On average, every fifth family with children has at least one member working abroad. The share of such households is 25.5% in rural areas, as compared to 12.7% in urban areas (MLSPF, 2010) According to the number of children, 48.9% of the families with children with at least one migrant, have one child, 30.3% - two children, the rest have 3 or more children (ibid). On 31 December 2010, the official data show a number of 90,710 children left without parental care in Moldova, of whom 29,681 children were without the care of both parents,

⁷¹ NBS, Database (2010): <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Databse/EN/03%20MUN/MUN02/MUN02.asp>, Employed population by economic activities, level of education, age groups, sex and area, 2000-2010.

⁷² NBS, Database (2010):

<http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Databse/EN/03%20SAL/SAL01/serii%20anuale/serii%20anuale.asp>, Gross and Net average monthly salary by economic activities and forms of ownership, 2004-2010 (accessed on 11.12.2011).

⁷³ NBS, Database (2010): <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Databse/EN/03%20MUN/MUN02/MUN02.asp>, Employed population by economic activities, level of education, age groups, sex and area, 2000-2010 (accessed on 11.12.2011).

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who work abroad⁷⁴. A sociological survey (UNICEF, CBS AXA, 2007) conducted in this area show a much higher number of children left without parental care: in July-August 2006 about 177,000 children⁷⁵ were counted who had parents working abroad, of whom 22,000 children had both parents abroad. The majority of these children (80%) lived in rural areas (ibid.). Another sociological survey conducted among school children of the grades 1-9 (up to 16 years) (UNICEF, 2010)⁷⁶ showed that at the moment of the survey, 7.5% of children had both parents working abroad, 17.9% of the school children had one of the parents working abroad and only 38.1% never had parents working abroad. Another study (NCHM, CBS AXA, 2011)⁷⁷ conducted in schools amongst adolescents aged 12-18 years, showed that at the time of the study, 39.8% of the youngsters had at least one parent abroad (both parents of 6.8% of the students had left to work abroad, 19.4% of them had their father left to work abroad and 13.6% had their mother left to work abroad) while 60.2% had not experienced migration of the parents abroad. Although, there is no definite estimation of the number of children left without parental care because of migration of the parents, the aforementioned data and experts' opinions⁷⁸ show that it is a widespread phenomenon in Moldova. When both parents migrate, children remain in the care of elderly in 91% of the cases, and when one parent migrates - in 36% of the cases. Elderly people are usually not just *de facto* but formal guardians of the children since in 34.7% of the households with several generations affected by migration they have *de jure* guardianship or the custodianship of the children (UNICEF Moldova/Help Age International Moldova, 2010).

All children whose parents work abroad, regardless of age are affected psycho-emotionally by the parents' departure, particularly in case the mother leaves: surveys reveal that usually young children attach to their new caregivers and/or feel abandoned by their own parents; the elder ones become cold and distant from people around them, more introvert, and depressive (UNICEF/CBS AXA, 2007 and IOM/UNFPA, 2011). To a great extent, the children whose parents are working abroad have a less healthy nutrition, their school achievements are lower (ibid.), they have a higher risk to get in conflict with the law and are more vulnerable to the negative influence of marginal groups. The mother's departure contributes significantly to the "loss" of some roles in the family; some tasks of the mother are taken over by adult members, others by children (Figure 5.1). In 14% of families with a migrant mother, the children perceived that nobody took care of them, but this was the case in only 3% of families with a father abroad (Figure 5.1). This also applies to other areas of family life in which women traditionally play significant roles like helping with homework and taking children to the doctor⁷⁹. The separation of children from parents determines the children's excessive accountability, stress, lack of safety and satisfaction of emotional needs.

Teenagers left without parental supervision are particularly exposed to social risks. Having significant financial resources generated by remittances sent by parents, they often do not continue their education (Vremis et al., 2009). Thus, the share of youth aged 15-24 who stated that they did not take part in education in the month when the survey was conducted, evaluated based on their parents' education degree, exceeds the share of those teenagers in households with no migrants (ibid.). The number of young people who do not attend the education system is even higher in households comprising migrant parents who have general and specialized secondary education degrees, exceeding over a period of three years by more than 15 p.p. the share of those teenagers in households with no migrants. The state of things is somewhat better in homes where the mother has a higher education

⁷⁴ Informative Note on the state of juvenile delinquency and the activity of services for minor of the field units during 12 months of 2010 (*NOTA INFORMATIVĂ cu privire la starea delicvenței juvenile și activitatea serviciilor minorilor a subdiviziunilor teritoriale în perioada 12 luni ale anului 2010 - Protecția drepturilor copiilor*), <http://www.mai.md/node/7007> (accessed on 29.12.2011).

⁷⁵ Calculated from a sample of the IOM Study 2006 (3,940 households), the proportion of families with children from the sample extrapolated to all families with children.

⁷⁶ Sample of the UNICEF survey: 1,179 students, November-December 2010.

⁷⁷ The questionnaire of the NCHM/CBS-AXA survey was self-administered, being filled in by 4,893 12-18 year-old students.

⁷⁸ Civil servant; expert in social protection (see Annex, Table of Interviews conducted in the Annex).

⁷⁹ In 23% of families with migrant mothers, no one took children to the doctor and in 14% no one was responsible for educating them.

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degree, the difference being of less than 10 p.p. as compared to young people from families with no migrants (ibid.).

Almost every fourth household with children and with a member of the family working abroad is part of the well-off households and only 10% are in the least well-off group of households. The situation of households with children but without migrants is almost opposite: every fourth household belongs to the category of least well-off households and only 17.3% are among the category of well-off households (MLSPP, 2010).

The situation of children left without parental care is perceived by 45.7% of the population as being the most difficult problem caused by emigration in Moldova, followed by the exodus of young people (29.5%) and brain drain (15.6%) (IOM/CBS AXA, 2008b)⁸⁰ (Table 5.2). The destruction of families, and the creation of a type of families with children, who in fact are single-parent families since the second parent has migrated (and in some cases lost the contact with the family), are felt to influence negatively the country's human capital.

In some situations, parents who have been working abroad for a long time lose the emotional contact with their children, thus they only have the concern to send money for the necessities but end up not being able anymore to discuss or communicate with their children. Qualitative studies (UNICEF/CBS AXA, 2007 and IOM/UNFPA, 2011) conducted in this area show a reduction in the volume and quality of communication between children and parents who left to work abroad. More children whose both parents left to work abroad mentioned that they are forced to find solutions themselves for the problematic situations (Credința, 2011) that occurred; they felt that they were deprived from necessary support/assistance by the family and that their social support network was affected (IOM/UNFPA, 2011).

The UNAIDS study (UNAIDS, 2010) reveals that the respondents perceive teenagers with parents who left to work abroad as a vulnerable group for HIV infection, giving arguments through different examples of risk behaviours. The mass-media have presented many cases with different risk situations for teenagers left behind by migrating parents, as regards sexual life. The share of school youngster who started their sexual life as a teenager is higher among school youngsters whose mothers left to work abroad (22%) and among those whose both parents emigrated (19.7%) in comparison with those school youngsters whose parents stayed in the country (15.9%) (Credința, 2011). The departure of mothers to work abroad represents an indicator of increased vulnerability in terms of knowledge about HIV/AIDS, this situation being comparable with the one when both parents left to work abroad (only 13% of the respondent teenagers answered correctly to all four questions⁸¹ comprised by the HIV/AIDS knowledge integrated indicator). In cases where fathers have emigrated, the situation is similar to the cases where none of the parents left to work abroad, the indicator reaching the level of circa 17% (ibid.).

Sexual abuse of children is the most mediatised form of exploitation of children left behind by migrating parents but there are also cases of violence and child abuse, however few of them get to the attention of the public, only the most severe cases⁸². Several qualitative studies (UNICEF/CBS AXA, 2007 and IOM/UNFPA, 2011) have identified situations of child abuse among children left behind by migrating parents and a lack of intervention by local authorities.

⁸⁰ Sample size is 1,953 persons, data collection period: 22 July-12 August 2008.

⁸¹ Share of respondents who gave correct answers to each of the following questions: „Could the risk of getting infected with HIV be diminished by correct use of condom during each sexual intercourse?”; „ Could the risk of getting infected with HIV be diminished by having only one sexual partner who is faithful and HIV-negative?”; „Could HIV infection be passed by sharing the utensils for serving food with a HIV-positive individual?”; „Could an apparently healthy individual be a carrier of HIV?”

⁸² Several cases were reported in the media: a boy of 14 years old, with parents who left to work in Russia, was sexually abused by a man who had to take care of him; in another situation 4 boys (incl. a minor one) raped a young girl in the house of some youngsters whose parents had been working for 6 years abroad. Other cases have occurred: in October 2010, a girl of 2.5 years old was raped by her uncle who was under the influence of alcohol in February 2011 the case of a boy aged 1.5 years abused after he had been beaten up by his uncle for educational purposes. The mother of the child stated that she sent 300 USD to her relatives in order to take care of the child. Even if the boy was in the care of the relatives for more than 5 months already, the local authorities and social assistant as well as the mayor declared that they did not know that the family had a child in care.

5.3. Elderly

The ageing coefficient of the population at in January 2010 was 14.4% at the national level, for rural population this indicator was higher - 15.2% (NBS, 2010c)⁸³. The elderly are affected by the migration of the economically active population abroad; most of them are forced to work even though they have a poor health. The main reasons for this are the low pensions with which they can hardly survive on the one hand and the lack of specialists in specific fields on the other hand (such as teachers in rural areas due to migration abroad and the refusal of graduates of educational institutions to go work in the villages), which leads older people to take up work in such specific professions. Six of ten teachers from primary and secondary school from rural areas are over 45 years and 11.6% have passed retirement age (World Bank/Ministry of Education, 2010).

The elderly represent a group indirectly affected by migration: the departure of children abroad deprives them of a quiet oldness and they are deprived of the children's care on the one hand; on the other hand, they take care of the grandchildren. As indicated above, the elderly play an important role in raising and taking care of children, whose parents migrated, often being the sole guardians (UNICEF/Help Age International, 2010).

All elderly people are included in the system of the mandatory health insurance, but it does not cover all the expenses for healthcare. Thus, a part of the elderly population remains unable to pay medical treatment in case of serious illness or surgeries. Almost one third of them (29.3%) have declared that they had not asked for medical assistance because of their difficult financial situation (NBS, 2008). At the same time, expenses for medical assistance have record a sufficiently high share in the total expenditures of these persons (7.93%), a fact that can be explained by the poor health condition that requires a high amount of expenses and by the rather small income out of which such expenses must be paid. Every second elderly person (50.7%) from households with several generations of remittance beneficiaries state that in the last 12 months there were some situations in the households when he/she could not afford to purchase the prescribed medicines. In households with several generations which do not benefit from remittances however this percentage is even higher - 58.4% (UNICEF Moldova/Help Age International Moldova, 2010) which might suggest that the receipt of remittances supports elderly people in having effective access to medicines and medical treatment.

Housing conditions of the elderly persons have an influence on the extent of their expenses. Having a quite large living room for one person (27.93 square m.) as compared to other households, the elderly people incur significant expenses for the payment of housing (UNDP, 2009). Thus, in comparison with other social groups, the share of elderly people who face difficulties in paying for electricity, heating and gas is quite large (30.6% in 2008), and their number is rising because of the annual increase of the fees for these services. About 67% of the total number of households that cannot afford sufficient heating in winter, have neither running water, nor sewage system in their homes, are represented by elderly persons. Under these conditions, about 68.8% of the households with elderly people use alternative sources for home heating during the winter season, a situation which is most typical for the rural areas (NBS, 2008). As a rule, children are those who help their aged parents financially in Moldova so that the latter could survive, and in the case of migrant children, the elderly material possibilities are higher. The elderly that receive remittances spend for living expenses with 8% more than the elderly that don't receive remittances (UNICEF/Help Age International, 2010).

5.4. Roma

The number of Roma living in the country is a debated issue. Statistics on the number of Roma in Moldova is limited to the Population Census (Table 5.3) data only. These about 12,271 persons⁸⁴ in 2004, a number which might well underestimate the effective number of

⁸³ <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/RO/02%20POP/POP01/POP01.asp>, Aging factor of population, 1980-2010 (accessed on 12.12.2011).

⁸⁴ <http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=en&idc=295&id=2234/>, Population by nationalities and localities, in territorial aspect.

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Roma, as they often avoid identifying themselves as Roma, in order to escape prejudice or stigmatization. According to some sociological surveys, there are around 15,000 to 20,000 Roma in Moldova (CBS AXA/UNDP, 2007). 380 localities count at least one Roma person living in it, while two villages in Moldova have a Roma population of more than 80%. In four localities Roma populations constitute 20%-40%, in 20 localities amount of Roma population is between 2-7%.⁸⁵

The Human Development Index⁸⁶ is one fifth lower for Roma than for non-Roma (CBS-AXA/UNDP, 2007) in Moldova. However, the GDP⁸⁷ Index for Roma is still 18% lower than non-Roma (Table 5.4). Findings of the CBS-AXA and UNDP sociological survey on Roma in Moldova estimate that Roma face a two times higher risk of poverty than non-Roma. Five of ten Roma live in extreme poverty. At the same time, it is worthwhile mentioning that the difference in GDP Index is not as dramatic as in Education Index⁸⁸, which is one-third lower for Roma than for non-Roma (ibid.).

The characteristics of those part of the Roma population involved in migration do not differ significantly from the general population as regards the amount of those who left abroad and the repartition by sex. However, the migrant contingent of the Roma population is younger with an average age of 33 years (against 35-36 years old among the general population). Their destination countries are in a higher proportion Russia and Ukraine, 68% from the Roma migrants work in these countries, although each fifth Roma migrant has Italy as a destination country (ibid.). A part of the migrants of Roma origin have been changing the direction of migration towards the EU countries, this tendency has been observed in the last two years in the opinion of the civil society⁸⁹. The phenomenon is caused by the "positive practices" of the members of Roma communities who declare that the EU countries have better weather conditions (warmer as compared to Russia), and provide some social services (like food, sleeping shelter and bathroom, etc.). The leaders of Roma NGOs in Moldova estimate that there are around 2,000 Roma working abroad. As opposed to Russia, where the working migration lasts for several months, the Roma migrants leave for longer periods of time in the EU countries, even several years due to the high costs of migration⁹⁰.

The living conditions of the Roma population are generally worse comparing to the total population, in this context the weight of remittances used for current expenses and housing investments is significantly higher than for the total population (Figure 5.2). Due to the fluctuant character of migration, the reduced costs for migration and the easy way to pass the borders of the CIS countries where Roma from Moldova mainly migrate to, it is difficult to quantify the numbers of Roma returning to the country.

Migration of Roma people is specific in the sense that they, usually, leave abroad for certain periods with their entire family, incl. children. In most cases, children are not sent to school in the destination country, and the schooling of the children is a problem for this community. In addition to the difficult social-economic situation that compels the majority of the citizens of Moldova to leave to work abroad, representatives of the civil society consider that Roma are forced to work abroad because they are discriminated on the labour market in Moldova. Another specific aspect of migration of the Roma community is the organization of groups of beggars; the heads of these groups earn well and are interested in attracting more persons. Vulnerable people in this regards are people with disabilities and the women with small

⁸⁵ <http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=en&id=2234&idc=295>, Population Census from 2004: Population by nationalities and localities, in territorial aspect (accessed on 12.12.2011).

⁸⁶ The Human Development Index (HDI) emerged as a composite index to operationalize the concept of Human Development. It was proposed by UNDP economist Mahbubul Haq in 1990s in replacement of the GDP index to measure social development. The HDI includes some indicators, see annex Table 5.2.

⁸⁷ GDP for Roma was estimated at the level of 60% of national GDP based on the ratio of Roma/Non-Roma incomes from the survey. GDP for non-Roma is assumed to be equal to national GDP due to small size of the Roma population.

⁸⁸ Both components of the Education index (adult literacy rate and gross school enrolment rate) are lower for Roma, reflecting a vicious cycle of education deprivation for the Roma.

⁸⁹ According to Marin Alla, President of the Union of Roma Young People from the Republic of Moldova „Tarnă Rom”, General Secretary of the Coalition „Vocea romilor” (The Roma Peoples’ Voice), (Annex, Table on Interviews conducted).

⁹⁰ Ibid.

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children who can sensitize the passers-by. Further, Roma children living abroad are involved in begging in the destination countries.

5.5. Other vulnerable groups

Men: Men whose wives leave to work abroad can be considered as particularly vulnerable to migration from several perspectives. Due to the education and the social tradition of leaving most of the household responsibilities and the education of children to the women, men left behind find it difficult to take over the roles of their absent wives. Many husbands whose wives are mostly in the EU countries and come home usually once or twice a year, experience a feeling of abandonment and the fear that their wife will not come back and will find a partner in the receiving country. Under these given conditions, a large part of men fall prey to alcohol; some of them become extremely jealous, a feeling which can be materialized through violence or even murder. Some situations have been reported where women start a new life abroad and abandon their families and even children in Moldova. Still a large part of the women who decide to settle abroad, try to take the children to the countries where they work. Often it creates conflict situations with the ex-partners, the fathers of the children that can lead to tragic situations⁹¹.

In a different context, the fact was emphasized that men are exposed to economic violence, “half of the women coming back from Italy, abuse the men (by blackmailing them with money), the phenomenon is similar to a snowball because in the respective conditions the woman is the only one bringing money to the family” (UNAIDS, 2009). According to some experts⁹², men are also affected psychologically by migration of their wives since they are traditionally used to the fact that they have the role of breadwinner of the family and the woman has to deal with care and education of the children, thus it is difficult for them to accept this situation.

Graduates of the residential institutions (adolescents that do not have family support, incl. orphans): Children graduating from residential institutions have a higher risk of becoming victims of migration for labour exploitation or of trafficking of human beings. The vulnerability of this group is represented by the fact that after graduation, most of them do not have a place where to live and can hardly find a job. Although there are some projects implemented by non-governmental and international organizations (e.g. IOM, SIDA) to support these people, there is no clear, coherent and systematic mechanism for social inclusion of this group.

Disabled persons: Disabled persons, whose household members left to work abroad, can afford the services of care and recovery to a greater extent. Some migrants asked in the frame of an IOM survey mentioned that the presence of a disabled family member (child or spouse) determined them to take the decision to leave and work abroad⁹³. On the other hand, other persons interviewed pointed out that the very fact that there would be no one to take care of the disabled person in case of migration is a main obstacle for going abroad to work in order to improve their living standards (UNICEF, 2011).

6. Policy responses

6.1. Encouragement of circular migration

Most of experts in the field have noted the much delayed implication of governmental institutions into the issue of emigration management and regulation. In their opinion the issue was ignored due to economic interests involved – a series of networks, specialized in organizing illegal labour migration, became the basement for the development of profitable

⁹¹ „We had severe cases when the woman coming back from abroad, did not go home but stopped at her brother’s and called to bring her the children, the husband took the shotgun, shot her and killed himself” (expert, MAI). See: UNAIDS, 2009 as well as http://www.adevarul.ro/moldova/actualitate/copil-spanzurat-casa-matusii-Causeni_0_607739645.html and <http://cuvantul.legco.md/article/751>.

⁹² In depth interviews with a public servant and social expert. The findings are confirmed by the qualitative study of UNAIDS, 2009.

⁹³ From the qualitative component (focus group discussions) of IOM/CBS AXA, 2010.

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business enterprises; likewise, the money remitted from abroad considerably contributed to the growth in consumption growth, thus fostering the development of trade. Therefore, migration policies of Moldova were adopted partially under the pressure exerted by international bodies, but also under the pressure of demographic and social issues which have arisen as a result of an ever growing number of citizens leaving the country.

Moldova's migration policy is being developed in the context of EU migration initiatives⁹⁴. A new stage in the relations between the EU and Moldova started in June 2008, when the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership was launched⁹⁵, the Republic of Moldova (and Cape Verde) being the first pilot countries. This partnership provides for a number of actions and initiatives in the areas of migration and development, promotion of legal migration and the fight against illegal migration.

An on-going three-year project focused on minimizing the negative effects of migration and enhancing its positive effects, is the project "*Supporting the implementation of the migration and development component of Mobility Partnership*", (2010-2012) financed by the European Commission within the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument and implemented by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). This project includes:

- Improvement of communication channels and modernisation of web pages of Moldovan diplomatic missions.

Many web pages remain to be outdated, difficult to access and navigate and the project is supporting the structural change of those websites. Unfortunately, some of the diplomatic missions have not changed the content of their websites yet. A training was also organized for 23 consular officers on different aspects of consular assistance;

- *Creation of an Extended Migration Profile* for Moldova which will support the creation of mechanisms for permanent reporting of migration trends.

Besides this the Migration Profile will be used to monitor the impact of the Mobility Partnership EU-Moldova. A working group was created, consisting of representatives of the central public administration, whose activity presumes a tangent implication into the migration-related issues, and who possess or may possess database on the concerned matter. Available data sources as well as methodologies, used to assess relevant indicators, were evaluated and a report on the results of the evaluation was drafted. A set of indicators to describe Extended Migration Profile was proposed and discussed. The elaboration of the Extended Migration Profile is extremely important for the proper and effective regulation of the migration process, and it represents one of the basic conditions (imposed by the EU) in the course of negotiations regarding the liberalization of the visa regime. Although there have been disputes with regard to the choice of indicators as well as attempts have been made to shift responsibility from one government institution to another, yet there is a genuine profound interest to this project's component, on all government levels incl. the highest ones.

- Consolidation of *relations with Diaspora*:

A grant programme was launched for capacity building of the Moldovan Diaspora associations abroad⁹⁶; in this frame ten Diaspora associations benefited from financial assistance between February 2011 and February 2012 for actions aiming at the

⁹⁴ Within those initiatives the following can be mentioned: the global approach towards migration in Eastern and South-Eastern regions, neighbouring the EU; partnerships regarding mobility and circular migration; the European instrument of neighbouring and cooperation; the EU Mission for border assistance (EUBAM); the "Black Sea Synergy"; the new thematic programme of cooperation with third countries regarding migration and refugees, creating a unique EU visa centre as well as the agreement for facilitation of the visa-regime and readmission.

⁹⁵ The Republic of Moldova and Cape Verde were the first pilot countries.

⁹⁶ The IOM launched a Call for Proposals for Diaspora Associations and initiative groups under the Diaspora Small Grants Mechanism. The initiative aims to support the communication between Diaspora associations and migrants in their destination countries, to develop existing or create new ways of communication between Moldova and migrants abroad, to create service platforms for migrants in destination countries and to strengthen the institutional capacities of Diaspora associations and initiative groups. The total amount of support will be EUR 50,000 or maximum up to EUR 5,000 per project. (Source: <http://www.iom.md/index.php/en/media-center/147-call-for-proposals-for-diaspora-associations>). There were other projects also targeting the Diaspora strengthening, funded by the UNDP, IOM, EU, etc.

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consolidation of the Moldovan Diasporas from different countries, at the enhancement of the relationship between them and at the creation of service platforms, these being financed or co-financed by EU funds⁹⁷. For the beginning, the programme succeeded in creating a network of Diaspora associations from different countries, several meetings between them having been organized. Within the Bureau of Interethnic Relations of the Republic of Moldova was created a separate division with specific competence in the field of interrelations with the Diaspora, which, although existing for more than 13 years, has always focused its activity predominantly on the socio-cultural component. The short-term existence of the Moldovan Diaspora did not permit Moldovan communities to create their own economic and social base, like other global Diasporas of centuries-old history had done. In this context, the support and elaboration of measures, meant to increase the involvement of the Moldovan Diaspora in the development of the country, were made one of the issues, discussed at the Fourth Congress (which took place at the end of 2010 – BIR, 2010)⁹⁸. The congress ended with a resolution identifying concrete steps that would strengthen relationships between Moldovan migrants and their country of origin. These are: the creation of a specialized State Agency of the Diaspora and a Diaspora Council with a consultative role for the Moldovan government; the involvement of Diaspora leaders in Moldovan official delegations; support to the creation of Moldovan Cultural Centres in cities with large number of Moldovan migrants and the promotion of policies which would better involve the Moldovan Diaspora in the social, economic and political affairs of their home country⁹⁹. The provisions of the resolution will be included in the National Diaspora Action Plan.

- Financial assistance for implementation of the government programme *PARE 1+1*:

This programme aimed at stimulating the set-up of small and medium businesses by migrant workers and their relatives in Moldova. The programme is based on the 1+1 rule, meaning that each invested MDL from remittances shall be complemented by a MDL in the form of a grant. Initially, the IOM provided financial support to several projects from European funds, and, afterwards, other financing sources were identified, incl. governmental ones. Since the launch of the programme in October 2010 and up to 28 July 2011 applications requesting funding were approved, and over 1,500 consulting¹⁰⁰ services were provided. Besides financial issues, the main obstacles to the project's implementation are: (i) communication barriers; (ii) eligibility barriers – only first degree relatives of migrant workers are eligible to apply, except brothers and sisters (usually, when parents have gone abroad, the children left in the country are too young to be able to run a business, while in cases where children have migrated, their parents often prove to be too old to venture a business's launching); (iii) lack of knowledge in drawing up business plans (the cause of most of the applications being rejected); (iv) excessive paperwork barrier – too many documents to be provided, the biggest challenge being the provision of documents confirming that money invested originates from work abroad. Although the program's participants have been offered various opportunities to benefit from it, in case of illegal emigration it is hard to prove that a person works outside the country (there is not even a stamp in the passport), likewise it is difficult to prove the source of funds invested (money, sent by car or carried upon oneself in cash, cannot be taken into consideration)¹⁰¹.

⁹⁷ See information "The Diaspora small grants mechanism reaps fruitful results for the benefit of migrants and their homeland" on the web site of the IOM: <http://www.iom.md/index.php/en/media-center/press-releases/195-the-diaspora-small-grants-mechanism-reaps-fruitful-results-for-the-benefit-of-migrants-and-their-homeland>:

⁹⁸ 110 Moldovans living in 31 countries have participated in this congress.

⁹⁹ See summarised information on the Fourth Congress at the website of IOM

<http://www.iom.md/index.php/en/media-center/143-congresul-iv-al-diasporei-moldovenesti>

(accessed on 24.11.2011).

¹⁰⁰ Those 28 beneficiaries of pilot programme, who concluded non-refundable funding contracts, altogether have made investments to the amount of EUR 325,000 (MDL 5,200,000), incl. the grant amount requested from PARE 1+1, currently reaching MDL 2.2 million. Hence, it is estimated that MDL 1 invested in the Programme attracted MDL 1.7 of migrant workers' own resources (Source: Programme Coordinator Tatiana Chiriac).

http://www.arena.md/?go=news&n=6827&t=Programul_Pare_1+1_chemam%C4%83_acas%C4%83_tot_mai_mul%C8%9Bi_moldoveni, the Program PARE 1+1 calls home more and more Moldovans.

¹⁰¹ Interview with the coordinator of the Organization for Development of Small and Medium Business (ODIMM), see Annex.

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- Implementation of a *professional temporary or permanent placement* programme for young graduates:

This programme concerns young Moldovan graduates of foreign institutions; it is carried out in partnership with several ministries¹⁰² and the National Employment Agency of Moldova.¹⁰³ Within this programme, 30 young graduates benefit from support in identification of possible employers both in the public and private sector, covered transport costs from the destination country, and a monthly allowance – EUR 200¹⁰⁴, for a period of up to 6 months

- Implementation of a *temporary return programme* for representatives of the Moldovan *scientific Diaspora*:

A temporary return programme for expatriated Moldovan scientists, is being implemented in partnership between the IOM and the Academy of Sciences of Moldova within which short-term visits for 30 Moldovan scientists living abroad to Moldova for the purpose of carrying out research activities and sharing experience and accumulated knowledge with their Moldovan colleagues are being funded.

At government level efforts are being made to liberalize the EU visa regime for Moldovan citizens. One of the main goals of the current Moldovan government coalition is European integration. An agreement on facilitation of visa issuance for citizens of Moldova has been in force since November 2008, in June 2010 the EU and the Republic of Moldova have initiated discussions on the liberalization of the visa regime and in December 2010 an Action Plan was approved regarding the abolition of the visa regime for citizens of Moldova. In April 2011 the European Commission has received a mandate of the Council for Justice and Home Affairs to start negotiations with the authorities of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova on the amendment of agreements regarding the facilitation of visa regimes. A significant progress has been recorded in meeting of conditions of visa regime by means of securing the country's frontiers and in this context, the introduction of mandatory biometric passports has become an important measure, meant to counteract illegal emigration. The Moldovan authorities had hoped to be able to lift the visa regime before the year 2012, in which case an important step would have been made in the process of promoting circular migration between Moldova and EU countries as well as in improving the demographic situation in the country (by diminishing flows of permanent emigration,).

6.2. Encouragement of return migration and support of integration of returnees

Within the framework of the Mobility Partnership with the European Union a project has been initiated ("*Strengthening Moldova's capacity to manage labour and return migration*") which is currently under implementation¹⁰⁵. Its main objectives are to: (i) to facilitate the smooth reintegration into the Moldovan labour market of Moldovans voluntarily or forcibly returning home from the EU, and help Moldovan migrants to make the best possible use of the skills and resources acquired through the experience of migration for the benefit of their own and Moldova's development and (ii) to encourage Moldovans willing to migrate to EU countries to make use of legal channels of migration and facilitate for them the finding of jobs in compliance with their skills or the acquisition of skills for the proposed jobs. In this frame a job fair was organised in Padova, Italy in May 2010 targeting particularly migrant workers from Moldova in order to attract them to return to their home country. Employers from Moldova participated in this fair offering a total of 2,700 job opportunities with wages ranging between 200-1,500 EUR, depending on a candidate's qualification level. A similar event was held in Germany. A businesswoman, who had taken part at job fairs organised in other destination countries of Moldovan migrant workers, declared that the project had not have the desired impact, since employers have failed to recruit migrant workers with secured

¹⁰² Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Education.

¹⁰³ <http://www.migratie.md/news/1599/>, Program to promote the return of young Moldovans studying abroad.

¹⁰⁴ According to the statement of Viorica Olaru-Cemartan, local consultant for this project, the grant is offered for wages not exceeding 500 Euro, till December 2011 - 25 young specialist benefit from this support, the majority activate in real sector, 8 persons were employed in public sector. Total number of applicants was 94 persons.

¹⁰⁵ See: http://legal-in.eu/images/stories/news_pdf/Inception_Report/Inception_Report_ro.pdf (accessed on 27.12.2011), PRELIMINARY REPORT "Strengthening the Moldova capacity to manage labour and return migration", Project financed by the European Union.

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employments abroad but have rather attracted the migrant workers' relatives who at the moment had been in search for employment in those countries¹⁰⁶. Besides this, she considered the event to have rather been a tool for promoting the country's image abroad and for inspiring confidence of Moldovan migrants in the fact that things were changing in their home country. Interviewed experts from the public administration¹⁰⁷ have qualified the programme as having been ineffective from a cost-benefit point of view, considering that the advertisements regarding job vacancies could have been distributed through embassies, consular offices and relatives, while support and facilitation should have been offered only at the stage of an interview between an employer and a candidate, with a view to better promotion of local job vacancies.

In October 2008 the "Action Plan on Incentives for Return of Moldovan Labour Migrants from Abroad" was approved by the government¹⁰⁸. In 2011 the time frame of the Action Plan has expired, and a new plan was adopted -Action Plan for fostering return and reintegration of Moldovan labor migrants (2012-2014). The 2008 Plan did not have the expected impact, therefore public authorities hope that the new plan will have a stronger impact, also because there will be a financial support (IOM) from international bodies¹⁰⁹. Some of the planned actions are currently in the process of implementation¹¹⁰.

A temporary return programme for expatriated Moldovan scientists is being implemented with EU funding and support from IOM within which Moldovan scientists living abroad will share their experience and accumulated knowledge with their Moldovan colleagues.

The National Employment Agency is responsible for providing the service of assisting returnees in finding an employment, however, this service records practically no request for, and the overall activity of the National Employment Agency is perceived by Moldovan citizens as being inefficient. Although the agency can offer a free-of-charge retraining as well as assistance in launching and running of a business activity, there are no specific services targeted at returnees. On the other hand, return migrants can benefit from virtually any existing public service, without being discriminated. It is worth mentioning however, that there are specific assistance programmes for the victims of human trafficking. As regards children, special support programmes, destined to children who have been trafficked or exploited as child labour (begging), which are promoted by NGOs in particular, do exist. Most government programmes as well as projects of the civil society focus on assisting children left in the country without parental care. Since there is only a small percentage of children who returned to the country from abroad, there are no dedicated services to support returning children in Moldova.

6.3. Development of net migration loss/gain regions

Statistical data as well as analytical reports indicate that villages are the territorial units mostly affected by both internal and external migration. The excessive vulnerability of the agricultural sector to climatic factors, the slow and unstable development of the private sector in agriculture, the simplification of agricultural production structures, the increase in the volume of imported agricultural goods and the insufficient crediting – these are the additional factors to aggravate the economic situation in rural areas. A set of documents was elaborated and policies implemented in order to minimize the effects of the above factors: The National Strategy for Sustainable Development of the Agro-industrial Complex (2008-2015), the concept of subsidy system destined to agricultural producers (2008-2015), The Regulation on the management of subsidy fund destined to agricultural producers. Their objectives are to be attained through the following policies: the revision and improvement of the existent system of subsidies in agriculture, the continuous adjustment of internal standards to those of the EU and the insurance of food safety standards, the development of

¹⁰⁶ In-depth interviews with businesswomen (Annex, Table on Interviews conducted).

¹⁰⁷ In-depth interviews with civil servants (Annex, Table on Interviews conducted).

¹⁰⁸ Government Decision No. 1133 of 09.10.2008.

¹⁰⁹ Civil servant (Annex, Table on Interviews conducted).

¹¹⁰ For example: assistance for professional integration of returned citizens on the labour market; programme for attracting remittances into the economy development "PARE 1+1" and PNAET; negotiation of bilateral agreements in the area of social security; etc.

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the state's institutional capacity in agriculture as well as the development of agricultural market. Achieving these goals would contribute to the return of the workforce into rural areas.

However, according to the UNFPA Report "State of the World Population 2007", Moldova continues to be the most ruralised country in Europe. Rural development policies have been included in a number of strategy papers: the Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (EGPRSP), the National Programme "Moldovan Village", the strategy for development of the agri-food sector for the years 2006-2011, the National Development Strategy, some of these did not have an expected impact due to their declarative nature or due to lack of financial coverage.

Rural-urban disparities are more prominent, the access to various services is limited partly because of shortages of professionals for specific services in the educational and health sector in particular. For these reasons, the Government has been promoting policies to attract young professionals in educational¹¹¹ and healthcare¹¹² institutions in villages through a mechanism of grant allocation. In addition, other facilitations were offered to them, like the provision of rental dwellings, payment of utilities, etc. During 2007-2010 the number of young health professionals who received a grant allocation registered some positive dynamics, but still, a number of them preferred to pay back the allocation and leave the offered work. However, these policies have proved to be ineffective so far, especially because salaries for young professionals in these sectors remain poor and working and living conditions are unsatisfactory¹¹³. The Ministry of Education has estimated more than 700 vacancies for teaching staff for the academic year 2012-2013. An analogical situation is observed in the health system, as at the end of 2011 about 250 rural settlements did not have a family physician.

In the frame of the GEA: Program "Effective Management of Business" (*Programul Național de Abilitare Economică a Tinerilor* PNAET) programme trainings for young people from the rural sector, incl. from socially vulnerable categories, have been organised on issues of business launch and management, as well as on the provision of grants in the form of equipment for business development. The effects of these programmes are perceived to be null as long as there is no regulatory basis to support small businesses. An example would be the granting of tax exemption, but an understanding of the way of running that type of enterprises would be necessary in the first place. At the moment, however, their activity is perceived to be impossible without a tax evasion, given the existence of a huge number of institutions of control, responsible for tax collection, which often impose informal taxes, the latter ones not being reflected in the official business plans of enterprises.

6.4. Support to vulnerable groups related to migration

The social policy targeting the vulnerable groups affected by migration was ignored by the state bodies for quite a long time (IOM/UNFPA, 2011). Currently, policies of public authorities focus on those children who were left with no parental care as a result of parents' migration, and on elderly people left alone because their children work abroad. The other groups identified as being affected by migration processes (the migrants' partners/spouses, children from residential institutions, etc.) are tackled insufficiently or even not at all by the policies in question.

The legislation of the Republic of Moldova started to tackle the issues relating to **children left without parental care** back in 2008 with the adoption of the Labour Migration Law¹¹⁴. According to this piece of legislation, the working migrant parents were obliged to submit a proving document to the National Employment Agency stating that their minor children who stayed in the country were registered by the competent body (local public administrations) for

¹¹¹ Law No. 418 dated 16.12.2004.

¹¹² Decision on the granting of facilities for young specialists with medical and pharmaceutical studies, No. 1345 from 30.11.2007.

¹¹³ The Government decided to allocate a one-time grant, in three stages, for those who get employed in educational institutions in rural areas. Incentives were also offered to those who get employed in healthcare institutions. The sum of the grant was about EUR 1,875 EUR (MDL 30,000), but the monthly salary of young specialists does not exceed EUR 100-120.

¹¹⁴ Law No. 180 dated 10.07.2008.

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child protection in the parents' district/sector of residence. The Ministry of Labour, Social Protection and Family deals, in particular, with the cases of those children who are left without parental care as well as the Ministry of Education in the context of ensuring access to education and school performance of such children, while the Ministry of Health deals with the general standards for children' health supervision (IOM/UNFPA, 2011).

The issue of children without parental care has been addressed at among specialists by drawing the attention of the public opinion to the risks of this phenomenon; it has also been in the focus of the media, particularly when serious situations occurred (suicide, rape, torture, etc.). In March-April 2010 a wide public awareness campaign¹¹⁵ on the situation of children without parental care was conducted by a TV station ("I want my parents back home"), which mobilized some local and central authorities, and central authorities promised to take action in that respect. A National Action Plan on the Protection of Children without parental care for the years 2010-2011¹¹⁶ was then developed. This plan comprises measures aimed at protecting the children left with no parental care, incl. cases of children whose parents' migrated to work abroad, and at ensuring the observance of the children's rights. It provides also for inter-ministerial cooperation¹¹⁷ and the local public administration authorities are advised to intensify their actions in order to identify and protect the children left without parental care. It has to be noted however that many of the provisions of the plan have remained on paper because of the lack of financial resources to cover proposed activities. Nonetheless, a campaign was organised to ensure that all children left without parental care while their parents work abroad, have passed prophylactic medical examination. Research studies showed that in case illnesses are detected, children are subject to a monitoring, otherwise there is no continuous monitoring on them (IOM/UNFPA, 2011).

Educational institutions keep record of these children, teachers having been sensitized to the increased attention such children require. Information has been coming up at local public administration level regarding the vulnerability of these children and the attention of mayors, social assistants, family doctors was drawn to the issue, yet effective and efficient possibilities and mechanisms of intervention have not been clearly identified so far. For example, if at the level of primary schools the situation is known, at least in terms of their share of children at school, there is practically no information whatsoever available regarding the situation of small children of pre-school age, as the obligation imposed on migrating parents to register their children (as described above) does not seem to function in practice. These children are being left in third hands' care, and parents bear no responsibility to inform anyone on the matter; usually, local administration bodies are being informed and get the chance to interfere only in serious cases, which sometimes end up with a child's death. In this respect it is necessary to mention that, as a rule, the parents do not notify the authorities about their intention to leave for abroad (as foreseen by the law as described above); moreover, they try to minimise the involvement of local institutions (IOM/UNFPA, 2011), although the latter are accountable for monitoring the situation of children left without parental care. According to the Moldovan legislation, prior to their departure from the home-country, parents should have established a temporary guardianship over the minor children. However, this requirement is not observed¹¹⁸, and currently there have been no significant changes in this context¹¹⁹ although the issue has been discussed under different circumstances. Experts believe that this phenomenon occurs due to the lack of parents' awareness about the possibility to establish guardianship and about its advantages for both

¹¹⁵ Every evening the TV station broadcasts reports on a case of children who were left without parental care; in parallel, the reporters visited those countries where the parents in question work, and recorded feature reports in the receiving country. Likewise, topic-related broadcasts were conducted with experts' participation.

¹¹⁶ Decision of the Government of the Republic of Moldova No. 450 dated 02.06.2010.

¹¹⁷ Decision endorsed by the Minister of Labour, Social Protection and Family (the Ministry accountable for the enforcement of this Decision), Minister of Education, Minister of Health, Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Youth and Sports, Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Minister of Information Technologies and Communications, and by the Minister of Justice.

¹¹⁸ The situation was confirmed by the experts interviewed during the IOM/UNFPA study 2011, - "many say they are tutors, but they have no document proving this statement"; "in 119 cases out of 1,800 the guardianship was established in Chisinau Municipality".

¹¹⁹ Findings made by the UNICEF/CBS-AXA study conducted in 2006 (see: UNICEF/CBS-AXA, 2007) were confirmed by the study conducted in 2010 (See: IOM/UNFPA, 2011).

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children and parents, and also because procedures (involving time and documents) to establish guardianship (ibid.) are cumbersome.

The situation of **elderly left behind without any care** because their children migrated is addressed at neither by legislative documents, nor by the social services rendered by state institutions. The task to identify these categories of persons within the community is assigned to social workers since children are not obliged to notify the public administration that their old parents remain alone. Both the governmental and the territorial structures, which render partially services to aged people, focus mainly on those individuals who encounter difficulties in terms of existential problems, extreme poverty and severe health problems¹²⁰, without a distinction between the aged people whose children work abroad and those who do not have anyone working abroad. In this case, the rendered social services are limited, being focused on the most severe cases, due to the shortage of both material and human resources. Those services, targeting a wider range of aged people, exclude many elder people from the category of beneficiaries of remittances because their children work abroad, although they have a much higher need to communicate and to get psychological support.

In general, effective needs for the provision of paid social services for elderly care (parents of migrants workers, for example) can be identified, the main target group of such services being migrant workers who can pay for the services offered to their elder parents. Although on the official level such services can be offered, the distrust in state institutions and the poor-quality of the services determine migrants to draw on neighbours or relatives for the care of the elderly, the latter ones not always getting the best treatment in result, which fact, however, is rather difficult to monitor and evaluate.

6.5. Best practice examples of policy responses

Many of the programmes, migration regulation projects and returnees' support projects are still in course of action and their effective impact can thus not be assessed yet. Therefore, at the moment only the efficient cooperation between the EU and the Moldovan authorities in view of a liberalization of the visa regime as well as the efforts of the government and international institutions in attracting remittances into the country's economy and in supporting vulnerable groups (children and elderly left behind without care) can be mentioned as good practice examples. Besides this, among the programmes, whose positive results can be already seen, following could be named:

The *Single Visa Centre* by the Embassy of Hungary in Moldova, which was opened in April 2007 currently liberalization issues visas to 15 countries¹²¹; this opportunity is highly appreciated by Moldovan citizens who previously were obliged to travel to neighbouring countries in order to obtain visas to the concerned EU states. The main Centre's deficiency is the limited number of participant countries, and, although their number is continuously growing, such states as Italy, Spain, Portugal, which account for a considerable share of Moldovan emigrants, are not represented there yet. Though, it positively influenced the aspiration of EU countries to open own Embassies on Moldova's territory. The activity of this unique visa-centre in Moldova has been positively evaluated by the EU and as a result of experience gained; the EU has opened such centres in other countries.

Moldova through common efforts of state institutions and organisations, foreign donors (IOM, EU, UNDP, etc.) and the interest of the migrants working abroad has made significant progress as regards of the consolidation of the Diaspora. In October 2011 the Prime Minister signed an order for solving the problems that the Moldovan citizens are confronted with when living abroad that foresees the creation of an Agency for the Diaspora, thus implementing a recommendation which was formulated by the Fourth Congress of the Moldovan Diaspora in 2010. The intention is to establish it as an administrative authority subordinated directly to the cabinet of the Prime Minister, responsible for the elaboration and promotion of the

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Austria, Belgium, Greece, Denmark, Estonia, Island, Finland, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Slovenia, Slovakia, Sweden, Hungary and Croatia.

policies of Moldova in the field of migration, as well as for ensuring the connection between Moldova and its citizens abroad¹²².

7. Key Challenges and policy suggestions

7.1. Key challenges of the social impact of emigration and internal migration

Migration remains an attractive opportunity for Moldavians and the propensity to migrate is still (and will probably remain) high. Remittances continue to play an important role both in households' budgets as well as in forming the state's budget. Although some efforts have been made by governmental and international organisations to stimulate the investment of remittances, nevertheless the remitted money is still being spent predominantly on covering consumer expenditures. Governmental policies, aiming at attracting migrant workers to return into the country, do not seem to have had any effect up to now, given the country's political instability, a feeling of distrust towards public institutions and a very poor infrastructure if compared to the one of the migrant workers' destination countries.

The main pressing issues as regards social impacts of emigration abroad and internal migration in Moldova are following:

- Migration, both internal and external one, is more extended in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Small villages in particular, are on the threshold of deprivation both from the demographic point of view due to the decrease of the population's number and ageing, as well as from the economic, social and cultural point of view.
- External migration leads to deterioration of human capital in the form of a massive brain- and skills-drain (agriculture, constructions, education, health-care), affecting the public and the private sectors. Furthermore, a large part of graduates, incl. those with higher education, emigrate to work abroad, where they accept to be employed at unskilled jobs; as a result, Moldova offers young people the possibility to receive education but it cannot benefit from their qualification.
- Family relations are affected, incl. the relationship between spouses and between children and parents as well. The phenomenon of children left behind by migrating parents is prominent in Moldova. Children from migrant families face both social and emotional problems; teenagers from migrant households have a higher rate of early leave from the education system, and, to a greater extent, run the risk of adopting a deviant behaviour. This also leads to a deterioration of human capital in the medium and long-term. Moreover, the elderly are often left behind without the necessary care. Existing government policies do not provide for effective solutions for these categories of people. Currently, there are no clear and sufficient mechanisms in place which help to identify and monitor those people who have become vulnerable because of migration. Specific social policies and services are indeed provided to children with migrant parents only, but those services are rather underdeveloped. Other categories of people (aged individuals, migrants' partners/spouses) do not benefit at all from specifically tailored services.
- Emigrants do not contribute to the social insurance system of their home country Moldova while being abroad, thus increasing the burden of financing social insurance on the active population in the country. Further, because of irregular migration and the absence of bilateral social security agreements signed with (some of) the main destination countries of Moldovan migrant workers (Italy, etc.) emigrants often do not have any pension rights acquired abroad. In cases where they return to Moldova by attainment of the ages for retirement, they can only benefit from a state social allowance, paid from the state budget to persons who are not entitled to a retirement pension from the state social insurance system¹²³, thus putting an additional pressure on the Moldovan social protection system.

¹²² See communication posted on the website of the Government of the Republic of Moldova, dated 01.10.2011 (<http://www.gov.md/libview.php?l=ro&idc=436&id=4327> – accessed on 24.11.2011).

¹²³ To obtain a state social insurance pension the insured have to meet the main following conditions: reaching the standard retirement age (57 years for women / 62 years for men) and having completed a contribution period

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- The health of emigrants is also a concern since most of them do not visit the doctor in the country of work and postpone their visits to the time when they return to the home country. Further, emigrants mostly do not have health insurance policies, due to the fact that they did not contribute to the system of health insurance¹²⁴ and do not opt for the purchase of health insurance after return since this does not ensure effective access to health services due to a high degree of corruption in the health care system¹²⁵. In these conditions, returned migrants choose to benefit from health services by making informal payments most of the time. Medical services are thus more accessible for migrant workers but informal payments contribute to stimulate corruption in the health system.
- Income from remittances contribute essentially to a better welfare of people, however, they are mostly directed to consumption, rather than to the development of businesses that would have a sustainable impact. Migrants do not and cannot participate actively enough with their savings in the economy due to a weak investment environment. Although some attempts have been made to motivate people to invest remitted money in the development of small or medium businesses (PARE 1+1, PNAET¹²⁶), the local business environment is perceived as being quite risky as the result of a business-unfriendly tax policy and an excessive number of control mechanisms and bodies.
- Even though migrants come from rural areas, a large part of remittances are targeted to urban areas, especially to the capital city, and the main type of investment is the purchase of apartments, which has led to a considerable increase in housing prices and critical housing situation for inhabitants of Chisinau.
- When back to Moldova, returnees face little employment opportunities, the local labour market being unattractive for them, both from the point of view of available job vacancies and of wages offered. Support measures that could be offered to them are not requested for by returnees. As a result, perspectives for reintegration in employment are low.

7.2. Policies to be taken by different actors

a) Government policies

- Establishment of precise mechanisms for monitoring internal and external migration. Internal migration is neither monitored nor regulated in Moldova although public funds are being distributed among the territorial units on a “per capita” basis. Holding of information on the emigrants’ shares and their profile could significantly contribute to a more correct orientation of strategies and a better targeted distribution of public money.
- The awareness of migrants (media campaigns, parental education) needs to be raised even more concerning the risks to which their children and family are exposed to as a result of migration. Mechanisms are necessary, incl. legislative ones, to keep parents accountable for establishing guardianship over their children left without care. Mechanisms and capacities of actors in the social field need to be developed to detect and assist children lacking parental care. Educational programmes for migrating parents on the maintenance of communication and relationships with their children over distance are necessary as well as psychological assistance. Children under the care of other individuals need to be monitored and supported more systematically and intensively, involving representatives of public authorities into this process to a greater extent. Finally,

of 30 years (minimum 15 years). The amount of state social allowance for the elderly is too low; in 2009 it was approximately 5.4 EURO (89.69 lei MDL) per month.

¹²⁴ The contribution for health services is paid by all employees, for 2011 being of 7%, 3.5% for each employee and employer, or it can be purchased for a fix sum of 142 EUR (2,277 MDL) per year (by the persons who are not employed).

¹²⁵ The Transparency Studies (2009-2010) conducted for the Corruption Perceptions Index (unpublished as separate data) show that the health system in Moldova is among the main domains affected by corruption; approximately 60% from the population declare that at the last visit to the doctor they made informal payments. The situation is the same as 2008 see Iana Spinei et al.: Corruption measure from survey to survey, Chisinau.

¹²⁶ National Programme of Economic Empowerment of Youth (NPEEY) for years 2008-2013/ Programul Național de Abilitare Economică a Tinerilor (PNAET).

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families caring for children of migrants, especially grandparents must be better supported.

- Mechanisms of compulsory notification of educators/teachers and of family physicians about the parents' departure abroad need to be put in place. Both the teaching staff and the health professionals shall be provided with continuous training concerning the approach to be followed in working with children whose parents left to work abroad. It is necessary to effectively implement primarily the provisions of the National Action Plan on the protection of children without parental care for the years 2010-2011, in terms of parents' accountability according to law and the engagement of school psychologists, as well as the development and implementation of a computerised system which keeps records on emigrants and children left behind.
- Provision of assistance through various social services to other vulnerable groups affected by migration (migrants' partners/spouses, aged individuals left behind), incl. services covering specific needs of these groups. They need primarily psychological support, communication, medical assistance and other specific services such as legal support. The development of mechanisms and of a legal framework enabling the purchase of social services by individual persons abroad for their family members (IOM/UNFPA, 2011) in Moldova would be helpful.
- Efforts should be focused on the development of entrepreneurial skills, economic education of population how to manage the funds properly and the creation of a favourable environment for the development of small-to-medium businesses in Moldova. In this context, existing programmes and projects should not favour migrants, as non-migrants can be regarded as potential emigrants should they not be offered an alternative. Opportunities for diversified business development in rural areas leading to job creation need to be created and efforts put in attracting foreign funds, directing them to the development of sustainable businesses. Tax exemptions for periods from 3 to 5 years, to be granted to newly-created enterprises shall be granted. A clear and transparent policy of financial control incl. the establishment of competent institutions is needed.
- Establishing more formal links between the Moldovan society and the Diaspora and assisting migrants under pressure in host countries through enhanced consular services.

b) Policies of host countries

Moldovan migrants are confronted with various problems depending on the destination country chosen. Those who emigrate to the CIS countries, mainly to Russia, often run the risk of being exploited at work and usually avoid getting in contact with any institution of control or with the police because of the risk effectively encountered in some case of being subject to extortion of money. Those, who migrate into the EU, face difficulties in obtaining visa for entering the country of destination.

- CIS countries, Russia in particular, shall support the establishment of dedicated support services to emigrant workers suffering from exploitation at work, while employers, who have profited from the migrants' work, should be subjected to heavy sanctions. At the same time, increased monitoring of the activities of security forces and the police in their relation to migrants.
- A liberalization of the visa regime between the EU and Moldova would contribute significantly to the establishment of a circular migration trend, and as a consequence to diminishing the share of irregular migration between EU countries and Moldova¹²⁷ and should thus be promoted at a faster pace. Circular migration would encourage family members working abroad to keep in touch with those who stay in the home country and reduce the number of those who intend to settle for good in the receiving country.
- Destination countries of Moldovan migrants, in particular those with high number of migrants should show an increased interest in signing bilateral labour agreements (e.g.

¹²⁷ An example in this matter are Moldovan emigrants with Romanian citizenship.

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for the construction, housekeeping, home care sector), incl. social security agreements
The establishment of cooperative relations with Moldova, a country that provides
workforce, could contribute to a better solution of various problems related to its citizens.

ANNEX

Note 1: Administrative-territorial subdivision of Moldova

The *village* is an administrative-territorial unit, comprised by rural population united by common territory, geographical conditions, economic and socio-cultural relations, traditions and customs. Two or more villages can be merged to form a separate administrative-territorial unit called *commune*. The *town* is an administrative-territorial unit, which, in comparison to village, is more developed from the economic, social and cultural point of view, which has a specific urban structure, and disposes of appropriate administrative, industrial and commercial entities, the population of which, in large part, is employed in industrial and public service sectors, as well as in various fields of intellectual activity, culture and politics. The *city* is an urban-type settlement, playing a major role in the economic, social, cultural, scientific, political and administrative spheres of a country's life, having important industrial and commercial structures as well as educational, medical and cultural institutions.

According to the legislation in force the status of city was assigned to Chisinau, Balti, Bender, Comrat, and Tiraspol. The district is an administrative-territorial unit composed of villages (communes) and towns, united by common territory, economic, social and cultural relations. A district's governing body is seated in a town to be conventionally called a district's centre. Law No.764-xv of 27.12.2001 with regard to the administrative-territorial organization of the Republic of Moldova, provides a special status to Gagauzia, which is an Autonomous Territorial Unit (ATU Gagauzia) and to the territorial administrative unit on the left bank of the Dniester river, named Transnistria.

For classification of the administrative-territorial units of the Republic of Moldova (CUATM), see: <http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=ro&idc=385> (accessed on 10.04.2011).

According to the Law No. 438-XVI dated 28.12.2006 on the Regional Development of the Republic of Moldova, six functional development regions were defined (Northern, Central, Southern regions, ATU Gagauzia, Chisinau municipality, Transnistria, as well as the interregional cooperation, the institutional framework, specific instruments for regional development policy, the resources for creation and operation of developing regions. For the distribution of districts by regions see map.



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Tables

Table 1.1: Resident population by area, according to regions and districts, as of 1 January 2010

	Total population	Persons of which:		In % to the total	
		urban	rural	urban	rural
Total	3563695	1476681	2087014	41.4	58.6
Municipality Chişinău	786232	717171	69061	91.2	8.8
<i>Northern region</i>	1010317	354576	655741	35.1	64.9
Municipiul Bălţi	148156	143257	4899	96.7	3.3
Briceni	75708	15424	60284	20.4	79.6
Donduşeni	45603	10687	34916	23.4	76.6
Drochia	90620	20318	70302	22.4	77.6
Edineţ	83324	25988	57336	31.2	68.8
Făleşti	92907	16592	76315	17.9	82.1
Floreşti	90627	19220	71407	21.2	78.8
Glodeni	62176	11707	50469	18.8	81.2
Ocniţa	56312	19478	36834	34.6	65.4
Rîşcani	70515	15926	54589	22.6	77.4
Sîngerei	93670	18775	74895	20.0	80.0
Soroca	100699	37204	63495	36.9	63.1
<i>Central region</i>	1064752	204564	860188	19.2	80.8
Anenii Noi	83088	8586	74502	10.3	89.7
Călăraşi	79064	15976	63088	20.2	79.8
Criuleni	72992	8297	64695	11.4	88.6
Dubăsari	35204	...	35204	...	100.0
Hînceşti	122791	16798	105993	13.7	86.3
Ialoveni	98596	15311	83285	15.5	84.5
Nisporeni	67084	14677	52407	21.9	78.1
Orhei	125866	33279	92587	26.4	73.6
Rezina	52930	13533	39397	25.6	74.4
Străşeni	91481	21591	69890	23.6	76.4
Şoldăneşti	43613	7597	36016	17.4	82.6
Teleneşti	74639	8228	66411	11.0	89.0
Ungheni	117404	40691	76713	34.7	65.3
<i>Southern region</i>	542228	136046	406182	25.1	74.9
Basarabeasca	29398	12513	16885	42.6	57.4
Cahul	124395	39399	84996	31.7	68.3
Cantemir	63111	5997	57114	9.5	90.5
Căuşeni	92613	24536	68077	26.5	73.5
Cimişlia	62219	14228	47991	22.9	77.1
Leova	53820	15720	38100	29.2	70.8
Ştefan Vodă	72275	8664	63611	12.0	88.0
Taraclia	44397	14989	29408	33.8	66.2
TAU Găgăuzia	160166	64324	95842	40.2	59.8

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

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Table 2.1: Active Population aged 15 years and over by area of residence, in thousand persons, annual average

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Active population, thousand persons											
Total	1654,7	1616,7	1615,0	1473,6	1432,5	1422,3	1357,2	1313,9	1302,8	1265,3	1235,4
From them , thousand persons											
Urban	686	666,3	671,9	662,7	645,9	646,1	617,8	589,4	591,9	595,7	595,7
Rural	968,6	950,3	943,1	810,9	786,7	776,2	739,4	724,5	710,9	669,6	639,6
as a percentage											
Urban	41.5	41.2	41.6	45.0	45.1	45.4	45.5	44.9	45.4	47.1	48.2
Rural	58.5	58.8	58.4	55.0	54.9	54.6	54.5	55.1	54.6	52.9	51.8
Population working or looking for work abroad, thousand persons											
Total	138,3	172	231,3	291	345,3	394,5	310,1	335,6	309,7	294,9	311,0
From them as a percentage											
Urban	40.6	39.5	34.0	30.8	30.9	28.4	29.9	30.7	31.4	30.3	29.1
Rural	59.4	60.5	65.9	69.2	69.1	71.6	70.1	69.3	68.6	69.7	70.9

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

Table 2.2: Emigrants by country of destination, in number of persons

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Left the Republic of Moldova – Total	6446	6592	7376	7166	6827	6685	7172	6988	6663	4714
<i>of them to:</i>										
Ukraine	1350	1531	1712	1853	2057	2350	2663	3163	2952	2227
Russia	2575	2913	3316	3252	3310	2890	3110	2663	1866	1162
USA	941	627	1084	1082	568	612	695	588	899	523
Israel	482	290	235	218	220	201	140	137	278	232
Germany	861	964	731	487	373	253	253	195	264	220
Belarus	110	123	140	128	184	222	187	122	125	100
Czech Republic	5	1	3	5	9	27	24	40	77	57
Kazakhstan	8	22	16	24	19	22	20	14	31	33
Italy	1	1	4	1	0	0	1	1	23	27
Bulgaria	3	1	4	1	5	2	4	14	26	19
Austria	2	4	13	15	15	42	13	1	10	15
Romania	20	14	16	17	15	8	4	5	11	15
Netherlands	0	1	2	1	3	2	8	0	12	12
Slovenia	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	2	4	12
Lithuania	3	0	0	2	1	2	6	5	16	7
Canada	64	86	79	60	20	18	12	5	10	5
Other	21	14	21	16	26	33	26	33	60	48

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

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Table 2.3: Population from Moldova aged 15 years and over, working or looking for work abroad, in thousand persons

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
All countries	310,1	335,6	309,7	294,9	311,0
Greece	6,1	5,2	2,5	3,0	2,5
Israel	3,4	4,9	8,0	8,4	8,2
Italy	54,7	62,4	55,4	54,8	58,6
Portugal	9,6	7,4	5,6	6,4	5,1
Romania	4,5	3,6	2,1	2,4	2,3
Russia	192,5	210,8	191,1	177,2	191,9
Turkey	12,4	10,7	7,9	8,4	9,0
Ukraine	8,3	10,2	10,9	8,6	6,5
Other countries	18,6	20,3	26,3	25,6	26,9

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

Table 2.4: Changes that migrants have experienced lately in the host country, 2009

	% which indicated
Many migrants have begun to lose jobs	62.7%
Migrant wages have started to decline	61.7%
The increased cost of living	53.6%
Many migrants have begun to lose their accommodation	46.6%
Host country authorities have become stricter	43.2%
The attitude of local people became more cautious / negative	37.1%

Source: IOM, 2009

Table 2.5: Labour force Indicators by area of residence, annual average, in %

		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Activity rate	Total	59.9	57.9	57.2	51.6	49.7	49	46.3	44.8	44.3	42.8	41.6
	Urban	57.7	55.9	56.2	54.8	52.9	52.5	49.7	47.1	47.1	47.4	47.2
	Rural	61.5	59.3	57.9	49.3	47.4	46.4	43.7	43.1	42.2	39.3	37.5
Employment rate	Total	54.8	53.7	53.3	47.5	45.7	45.4	42.9	42.5	42.5	40	38.5
	Urban	48.6	48.2	49.4	48.1	46.5	46.6	45.2	43.8	44.5	43.6	42.7
	Rural	59.4	57.7	56.2	47.1	45	44.5	41.2	41.6	41	37.4	35.4
Unemployment rate	Total	8.5	7.3	6.8	7.9	8.1	7.3	7.4	5.1	4	6.4	7.4
	Urban	15.7	13.8	12.1	12.2	11.9	11.2	9.2	6.9	5.5	8	9.6
	Rural	3.4	2.7	3	4.5	5	4	5.8	3.6	2.7	5	5.4

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

Table 2.6: Population aged 15 years and over, working or looking for work abroad by region, as a percentage of active population, in %

	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total	25.5	23.8	23.3	25.2
Municipality of Chisinau	9.5	9.6	8.0	7.9
Northern region	27.5	25.1	25.3	26.8
Central region	28.8	29.1	29.9	32.9
Southern region	42.4	35.9	34.9	39.5

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

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Table 2.7: Characteristics of migrants by the directions of emigration

		CIS	EU	Other countries
Residence place:	Urban	29.7%	38.0%	42.3%
	Rural	70.3%	62.0%	57.7%
Age:	15 - 24 years	23.4%	16.7%	16.2%
	25 - 34 years	28.2%	27.6%	29.7%
	35 - 44 years	27.6%	26.4%	24.5%
	45+ years	20.9%	29.3%	29.5%
	Average age, number	34.4	36.7	36.3
Years of studies:	Average, number	10.67	11.65	11.25
Occupational status before departure:	Employed	33.4%	40.5%	35.3%
	Unemployed, in search for job	56.0%	39.4%	29.5%
	Student	3.1%	6.4%	8.3%
	Housewife	5.9%	12.4%	23.0%
	Retired	.2%	.3%	.9%
	Others	1.3%	.9%	3.0%

Source: ILO, NBS, 2008

Table 2.8: Distribution of international migrants by residence area (rural/urban), sex, level of education, in %, 2008

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Sex	100	100	-	-	100
Male	62.0	67.9	-	-	66.0
Female	38.0	32.1	-	-	34.0
Residence area	100	100	-	-	100
Urban	-	-	30.6	36.4	32.5
Rural	-	-	69.4	63.7	67.5
Level of education	100	100	100	100	100
High	15.1	6	7.3	12.1	8.9
Specialized secondary	18.1	11.4	11.1	18.4	13.1
Secondary vocational	33.5	27.9	33.2	22.9	29.7
General secondary	23.5	29.1	26.1	29.6	27.3
Unfinished secondary	9.5	25.3	21.9	16.7	20.2
Primary	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4

Source: NBS, 2009b

Table 2.9: Last occupation of migrants before departure (as compared to occupation of employed resident population), 2008

	Migrants	Employed resident population*
Chiefs and senior officers	1.7%	5.7%
Highly qualified specialists	7.9%	11.5%
Middle qualified specialists	7.6%	7.3%
Administrative officers	0.9%	2.0%
Employed in services, house management and services, trade and other similar occupations	13.0%	11.2%
Qualified workers in agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing and fish breeding	16.6%	29.0%
Qualified workers from big and small industrial enterprises, handcrafting, constructions, transportation, telecommunications, geology, geological planning	17.8%	8.7%
Unqualified workers	22.3%	16.9%
Others	12.2%	7.6%

Source: ILO, NBS, 2008

* Statistical Yearbook of Moldova, 2007

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Table 2.10: Distribution of migrants by socio-demographic characteristics and by destination countries, 2008

	EU 27 States		Russia	Rest of the world
	Total	Separately for Italy		
Number of migrants, thousand persons	91,5	58,1	195,5	31,2
Average age (years)	37	38	34	36
Share of young migrants (15-24 years), %	16.6	16.4	23.1	22.5
Share of persons with secondary specialized or high education, %	37.1	37.2	15.6	23.1

Source: NBS, 2009b

Table 2.11: Migrants' fields of activity abroad, according to group of destination countries, in %, 2008

	Total	CIS	EU	Other countries
Constructions	53.0%	68.0%	28.6%	7.7%
Services provided to private households	19.6%	3.1%	47.3%	65.5%
Trade	11.4%	14.3%	4.7%	12.2%
Manufacturing industry	5.1%	5.6%	4.3%	2.9%
Hotels and restaurants	2.7%	1.9%	3.7%	6.1%
Transportation and communication	3.2%	3.6%	2.6%	0.5%
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	2.4%	1.0%	5.8%	1.7%
Other activities	2.6%	2.5%	3.0%	3.4%

Source: NBS (2009b)

Table 3.1: Demographic indicators by area of residence (rural/urban), 2000-2010

	Ageing coefficient			Natural increase			Life expectancy at birth (in years)		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
2000	13.6	11.0	15.5	-1.1	-0.4	-1.8	67.6	68.8	66.8
2001	13.6	11.2	15.3	-1.0	-0.2	-1.6	68.2	69.6	67.3
2002	13.9	11.6	15.5	-1.7	-0.3	-2.7	68.1	69.7	67.1
2003	13.9	11.8	15.4	-1.8	-0.5	-2.7	68.1	69.8	67.1
2004	13.8	11.8	15.2	-1.0	0.5	-1.9	68.4	70.4	67.4
2005	13.6	11.8	14.8	-1.9	-0.4	-3.0	67.9	70.0	66.5
2006	13.2	11.8	14.3	-1.5	-0.1	-2.6	68.4	70.4	67.2
2007	13.7	11.6	15.2	-1.4	-0.1	-2.3	68.8	70.5	67.8
2008	13.7	12.0	14.9	-0.9	0.6	-1.8	69.4	71.2	68.2
2009	14.0	12.7	15.0	-0.4	1.1	-1.4	69.3	71.5	68.0
2010	14.4	13.2	15.2	-0.9	1.1	-2.3	69.1	72.0	67.4

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)

Table 3.2: Population by age groups and residence area (rural/urban) in 2010, in %

	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	100	100	100
Below labour force age (0-15 years)	18.0	15.3	20.0
In labour force age (16-56/61 years)	66.6	70.5	63.9
After labour force age (57/62+ years)	15.4	14.2	16.1

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

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Table 3.3: Distribution of migrants by economic sectors, in % 2008

	Occupations of migrants before departure
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	37%
Constructions	15%
Small trade, Hotels and restaurants	13%
Public administration, education, health, social assistance	18%
Industry	8%
Transports and communications	5%
Other activities	4%

Source: NBS, 2009b

Table 3.4: Pedagogical staff, schools, gymnasium and lyceums 2000 - 2009

Public and non-public institutions	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003	2003/ 2004	2004/ 2005	2005/ 2006	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008	2008/ 2009
Pedagogical staff – total, in thousands	42,4	42,6	41,7	42,7	41,1	41	40,1	38,7	37
Number of pupils – total, in thousands		620,3	605,2	580,5	548,5	519,0	493,5	462,8	436,1
Student / teacher ratio (number of student per teacher)		14.6	14.5	13.6	13.3	12.7	12.3	12.0	11.8

Source: NBS, 2010c

Table 3.5: Medical staff, 1998-2010*

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Physicians (numbers), MoH system	13,886	11,370	11,224	10,978	10,753	10,833	10,767	10,646	10,757	10,761	10,619
Paramedical personnel (numbers), MoH system	32,406	25,614	25,384	24,458	23,581	23,510	22,678	22,648	22,658	23,141	23,003
Degree of provision with physicians (number per 10,000 inhabitants)	32.6	31.4	31.0	30.4	29.9	30.2	30.1	29.8	30.1	30.3	29.8
Urban	64.0	67.1	66.1	64.8	63.6	64.5	65.1	63.8	64.4	65	63.7
Rural	6.5	6.1	6.2	6.2	6.1	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.8	5.7	5.7
Degree of provision with paramedical personnel (number per 10,000 inhabitants)	76.0	70.6	70.2	67.8	65.5	65.5	65.1	63.4	63.5	65	64.6
Urban	137.1	135.4	130.4	125.4	119.9	120	120	116.6	117.8	121.3	125.6
Rural	25.3	25.0	27.5	27.1	27.1	27.1	26.5	25.9	25.2	25.1	24.7

Source: NHSM, 2010

* Only the institutions from the system of the Ministry of Health (excepting health institution subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Defense and private institutions)

Table 3.6: Activity fields before emigration and abroad according to economic sectors, 2008

Activity field abroad \ Activity field before emigration	Agriculture	Manufacturing industry	Constructions	Services provided to private households	Trade	Hotels and Restaurants	Transportations and Communications	Other fields
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	4.3%	4.0%	65.5%	12.7%	7.0%	1.0%	.8%	4.5%
Constructions	2.4%	3.3%	85.2%	2.4%	1.0%	.8%	2.3%	2.6%
Small trade	.8%	4.9%	24.0%	37.7%	26.7%	3.3%	1.0%	1.5%
Education	1.2%	.6%	24.2%	62.2%	5.2%	3.6%		3.0%
Industry	1.2%	16.0%	35.6%	25.8%	15.4%	1.8%	1.8%	2.4%
Transports and communications		2.1%	43.5%	4.1%	5.7%	.3%	41.0%	3.3%
Health		3.4%	18.3%	59.7%	1.7%	6.1%		10.9%
Public administration	2.3%	2.9%	47.9%	24.9%	8.2%	2.6%	1.0%	10.3%

Source: ILO, NBS, 2008

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Table 4.1: Population dynamics, according to regions, as of January 1, number of persons, 2007-2011

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2011/2007, %
Total	3,581,110	3,572,703	3,567,512	3,563,695	3,560,430	99.4
Mun. Chisinau	780,298	785,087	785,600	786,232	789,534	101.2
Central region	1,070,404	1,066,429	1,065,194	1,064,752	1,062,848	99.3
Northern region	1,023,100	1,017,946	1,013,717	1,010,317	1,006,622	98.4
Southern region	547,508	543,524	543,101	542,228	540,756	98.8
ATU Gagauzia	159,800	159,717	159,900	160,166	160,670	100.5

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

Table 4.2: Trend on population by sex and residence area (rural/urban) reported to 2000 year, in %

	Total			Urban			Rural		
	both	male	female	both	male	female	both	male	female
2000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2001	99.8	99.8	99.7	98.2	98.3	98.1	100.9	100.9	100.9
2002	99.6	99.6	99.5	98.1	98.1	98.0	100.6	100.7	100.5
2003	99.3	99.4	99.2	98.0	98.0	98.0	100.2	100.3	100.1
2004	99.0	99.1	98.9	97.6	97.6	97.6	100.0	100.1	99.9
2005	98.8	98.9	98.7	97.5	97.5	97.5	99.7	99.9	99.6
2006	98.5	98.6	98.5	97.1	97.0	97.1	99.5	99.7	99.4
2007	98.3	98.7	97.9	97.6	95.1	100.0	98.7	101.2	96.5
2008	98.0	98.5	97.7	97.5	94.9	99.9	98.4	101.0	96.1
2009	97.9	98.3	97.5	97.5	94.9	99.9	98.2	100.7	95.9
2010	97.8	98.2	97.4	97.5	95.0	99.9	98.0	100.5	95.7

Source: Own calculations based on National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

Table 4.3: Labour force indicators by region and sex, 2010, in %

		Activity rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total	both	41.6	38.5	7.4
	male	45.0	40.9	9.1
	female	38.6	36.4	5.7
Municipality Chisinau	both	52.9	47.4	10.4
	male	61.7	54.0	12.4
	female	45.8	42.0	8.2
Northern region	both	37.8	35.6	5.7
	male	39.7	36.9	7.0
	female	36.2	34.6	4.5
Central region	both	40.0	37.3	6.8
	male	42.5	39.0	8.3
	female	37.7	35.7	5.2
Southern region	both	36.6	34.4	6.2
	male	38.5	35.5	7.7
	female	34.9	33.3	4.6

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

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Table 4.4: Population by districts and residence area (rural/urban) in 2010 reported to 2007, in %

	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	99.5	99.9	99.2
Municipality Chisinau	100.8	100.7	101.3
Municipality Balti	100.7	100.7	100.0
Anenii noi	100	99.8	99.9
Basarabeasca	99.3	98.5	99.9
Briceni	98.3	98.9	98.2
Cahul	100.2	100.5	100.1
Cantemir	99.2	99.9	99.2
Calarasi	98.5	97.4	98.7
Causeni	98.9	97.7	99.4
Cimislia	97.5	95.5	98.1
Criuleni	100.1	96.5	100.6
Donduseni	97.2	99.0	96.7
Drochia	98.1	98.2	98.1
Dubasari	99.4	0.0	99.4
Edinet	98.7	100.0	98.2
Falesti	98.4	91.7	100.0
Floresti	98.5	100.1	98.1
Glodeni	97.8	96.7	98.0
Hincesti	98.8	97.7	99.0
Ialoveni	101.1	104.2	100.6
Leova	98.8	97.6	99.2
Nisporeni	98.9	96.6	99.6
Ocnita	98.4	99.9	97.7
Orhei	99.4	98.8	99.7
Rezina	99.1	100.2	98.7
Riscani	97.9	97.7	98.0
Singerei	98.8	99.9	98.5
Soroca	99.4	99.7	99.2
Straseni	100	100.4	99.8
Soldanesti	97.8	100.0	97.3
Stefan voda	98.5	97.3	98.6
Taraclia	98.9	99.3	98.7
Telenesti	98.7	98.0	98.8
Ungheni	100.1	100.2	100.0
ATU Gagauzia	100.2	98.5	101.4

Source: Own calculations based on National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), database

Table 4.5: Absolute poverty rate* by area of residence (rural/urban) and region, 2006-2009

	Absolute poverty rate, %			
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total population	30.2	25.8	26.4	26.3
including:				
Urban area	24.8	18.4	15.2	12.6
Town	20.6	14.0	10.9	7.0
Cities	30.1	23.8	21.2	19.7
Rural area	34.1	31.3	34.6	36.3
Region				
Northern region	32.7	30.4	30.0	28.3
Central region	33.5	30.2	31.2	33.2
Southern region	34.1	29.5	35.2	38.0
Municipality Chisinau	19.7	11.4	8.5	5.3

Source: NBS, based on HBS survey data

* The evaluation of poverty indicators in the national context is based on absolute method, the poverty line being determined through the basic needs approach. An indicator of population welfare are the consumption expenses, the OECD scale : 1; 0.7; 0.5 being applied; MET, Poverty and Policies' Impact Report 2006, Annex 4: Note on poverty measuring, developed by the National Bureau of Statistics, Chisinau, 2007

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Table 4.6: Amount and structure of disposable income by region, 2009

	Chisinau	North	Centre	South
Disposable income per person, total, in MDL	1,716.2	1,037.2	990.1	973.6
<i>From them in percentage</i>				
Employment	66.8	34.1	35.0	34.6
Self-employment in agriculture	0.4	13.4	14.3	10.8
Self-employment in non-agricultural sector	6.0	5.6	9.1	5.2
Property income	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
Social protection payments	12.1	23.6	16.8	19.6
..pensions	10.0	20.8	14.1	16.2
..child allowances	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.8
..compensations	0.3	1.0	0.8	1.1
Other incomes	14.4	23.2	24.7	29.7
..remittances	7.7	18.3	22.2	26.3

Source: NBS, HBS survey

Table 4.7: Main characteristics of dwellings, by region, in 2010, in %

	Chisinau	North	Centre	South
Electric lighting	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.7
Aqueduct	98.3	43.7	52.8	66.7
Of which within the dwelling	96.3	34.1	32.6	43.6
Hot water	87.7	18.8	21.0	31.4
Of which central system	41.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Central heating	69.8	8.9	0.6	-
Own heating system	20.3	11.9	12.5	22.7
Gas facilities	90.1	29.7	40.5	64.6
Water closet	89.6	23.7	14.9	20.1
Sewerage system	97.0	35.7	34.0	45.0
Of which central system	89.1	21.6	11.2	13.4
Bathroom or shower	91.3	27.6	24.5	36.0
Telephone	95.9	82.1	82.6	89.6

Source: NBS, HBS survey

Table 5.1: Women's occupation by fields of activity, 2000-2010, in thousand persons

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	381,8	383,6	376,6	290	274,4	277,5	200,8	188,1	176,8	145,8	139,6
Industry	71,6	71,5	76,6	75,8	73,6	73	71,5	70,3	74,9	69,2	64,4
Constructions	6,7	6,3	6,8	7,2	5,9	6,2	6,4	7,1	9,5	8,7	6
Small trade	95,8	95,7	102,4	104,2	108,5	108,9	112,8	117,1	121,8	123,8	124,3
Transports and communications	15,8	15,5	15,6	15,1	16,5	18,6	18,2	19,7	17,7	17,5	14,5
Public Administration, Education, Healthcare and Social Assistance	161,6	157,6	162,7	165,3	162,9	163,4	173,7	176,1	172,9	172	172,3
Other	33,9	32,3	33,5	37,7	42,8	41,4	45,3	47,3	48,8	49,7	49,1

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) database

Table 5.2: Main negative consequences of labour migration in 2008, in% of respondents

Children left without parents / broken families	45.7%
No Youth left in Moldova	29.5%
Brain drain (no professionals left)	15.6%
Crime / criminal network / traffic	2.4%
Lack of investment in Moldova	2.3%
Inflation as a result of remittances	1.0%
Other	2.0%
Don't know/ No answer	1.5%

Source: IOM, CBS AXA, 2008b; The survey was carried out based on a national representative sample, counting for 1953 persons, aged 14 years old and over,

http://iom.md/materials/studies_reports/2009_01_19_how_moldovan_eng.pdf

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Table 5.3: Evolution of Roma population (number of registered Roma as per Censuses carried out in the second half of the 20th century)

Census (year)	Nr. of Roma registered	Growth	Growth per annum
1959	7,265		
1970	9,235	27.1%	2.5%
1979	10,666	15.5%	1.7%
1989	11,517	8.0%	0.8%
2004*	12,271	6.5%	0.4%

Sources: *National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)*

*Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Moldova, 2006*

Table 5.4: Roma and Non-Roma population, comparison of indicators, 2007

Indicators	Non-Roma	Roma	Moldova (HDR2006)
Life expectancy at birth, years	68.1	65.3	68.1
Adult literacy rate, %	94.9	74.9	98.4
Combined gross school enrolment rate, %	83.1	42.4	70.0
GDP, PPP (in US \$)	1,729.0	1,037.4	1,729.0
Life Expectancy Index	0.718	0.672	0.718
Education Index	0.910	0.641	0.889
GDP Index	0.476	0.390	0.476
Human Development Index*	0.701	0.568	0.694

Sources: *CBS AXA, UNDP, 2007*

* Human Development Index (HDI) emerged as composite index to operationalise the concept of Human Development. It was proposed by UNDP economist as replacement of GDP index to measure social development.

Table 6.1: Number of young specialists from medical institutions receiving employed facilities

	Physicians					Nurses					TOTAL
	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total	2006	2007	2008	2009	total	
Employed	53	71	71	78	273	87	131	254	230	702	975
Withdrawn	-2	-8	-4	-3	-17	-3	-11	-8	-5	-27	-44
TOTAL	51	63	67	75	256	84	120	246	225	675	931

Source: *GoM, 2010, accounts of MoH*

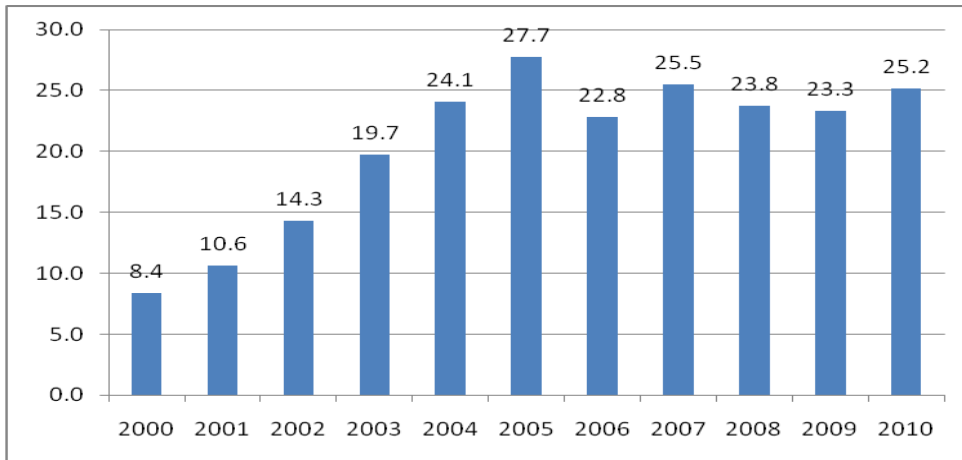
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Interviews conducted:

Name	Organisation	Function	Type of consultation and form of documentation	Date and duration of consultations
Eugenia URSU	Organisation for Development of Small and Medium Business (ODIMM)	Coordinator	Personal interview (phone)	07.04.2011 20 minutes
Alexandra CAN	Artima, Leather Factory, Chisinau	General director	Personal interview (phone)	12.04.2011 15 minutes
Diana LAVRIC	Policies and Social Insurance Department, Division of Agreements, Ministry of Labour, Social Protection and Family	Consultant /public servant	Personal interview (face-to-face)	13.04.2011, 25 minutes
Larisa ROTARU	Demographic Policy Division, Ministry of Labour, Social Protection and Family	Section Chief, Secretary of the National Commission on Population and Development / public servant	Personal interview (face-to-face)	13.04.2011, 45 minutes
Valeriu PROHNITCHI	Expert-Group, independent Think-tank http://www.expert-grup.org/	Economic expert	Personal interview (face-to-face)	18.04.2011, 30 minutes
Ghenadie CRETU	IOM Mission to Moldova	Programme Coordinator	Personal interview (face-to-face)	19.04.2011, 50 minutes
Marin ALLA	Tarna rom Union of Young Romas of Moldova	President, General secretary of the "Voice of Roma" Coalition	Personal interview (face-to-face)	19.04.2011, 25 minutes
Viorica TOARTĂ (Craievschi)	UNDP expert	Social expert	Personal interview (face-to-face)	19.04.2011, 55 minutes
Viorica OLARU-CEMARTAN	Project Promoting Definitive Return of Moldovan overseas graduates http://www.iom.md/index.php/en/media-center/news-archive/148-promoting-definitive-return-of-moldovan-overseas-graduates	Local consultant	Personal interview (phone)	29.12.2011 15 min

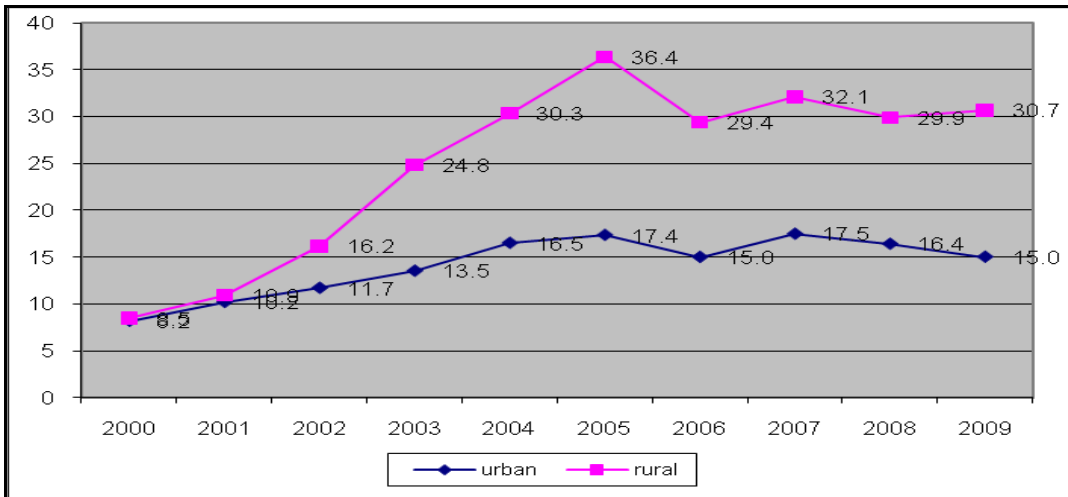
Figures and diagrams

Figure 1.1: Trend of population aged 15 years and over, working or looking for work abroad, as a % of active population, 2000-2010



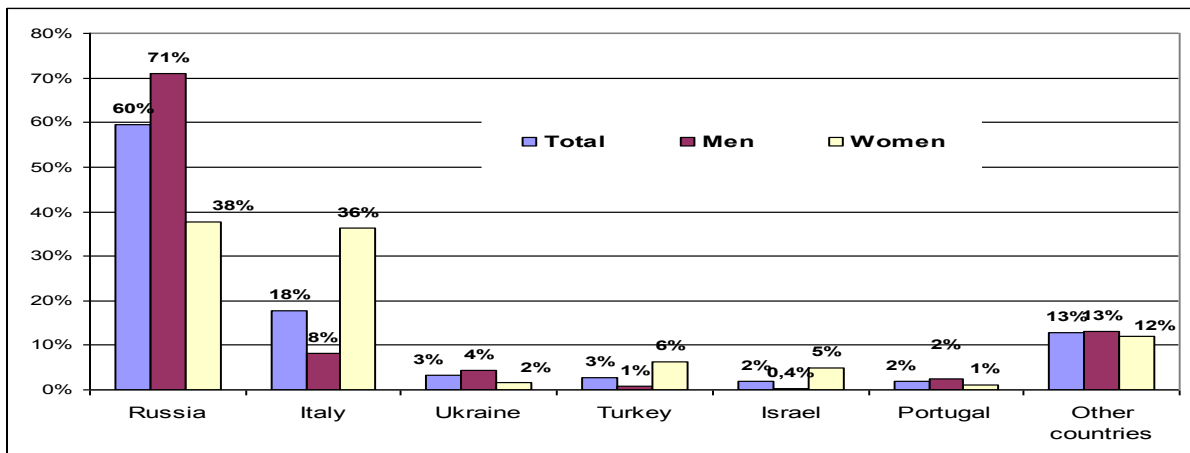
Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)

Figure 2.1: Population aged 15 years and over, working or looking for work abroad by area of residence (rural/urban), in % of active population, 2000-2009



Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)

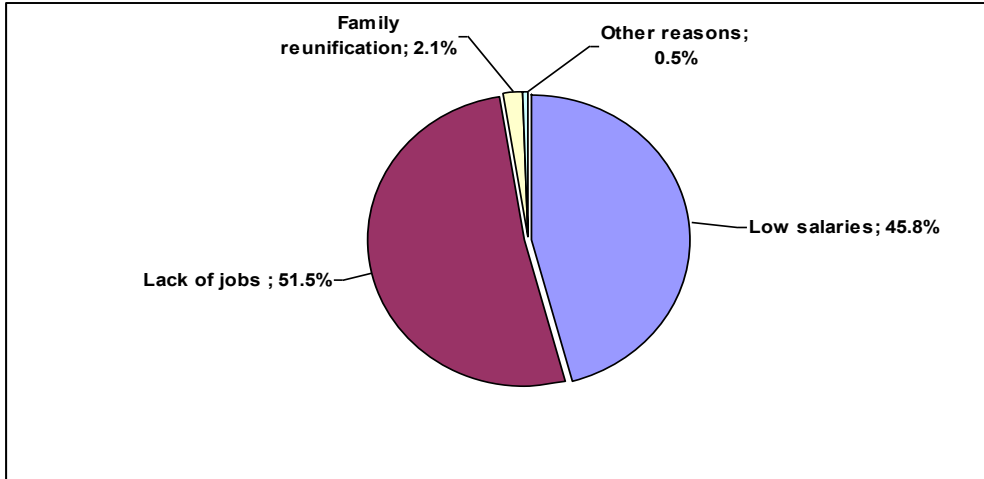
Figure 2.2: Countries of destination for Moldovan migrants



Source ILO, NBS, 2008

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Figure 2.3: Reason for leaving Moldova, 2008



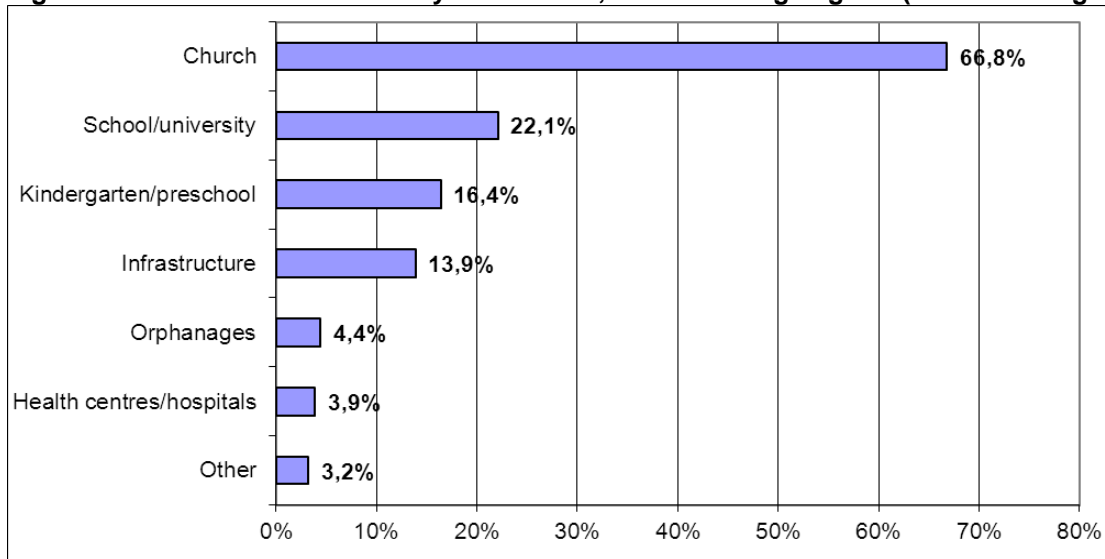
Source: ILO, NBS, 2008

Figure 3.1: Dynamics of unemployment rate, ILO definition, 2000-2010, in %



Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)

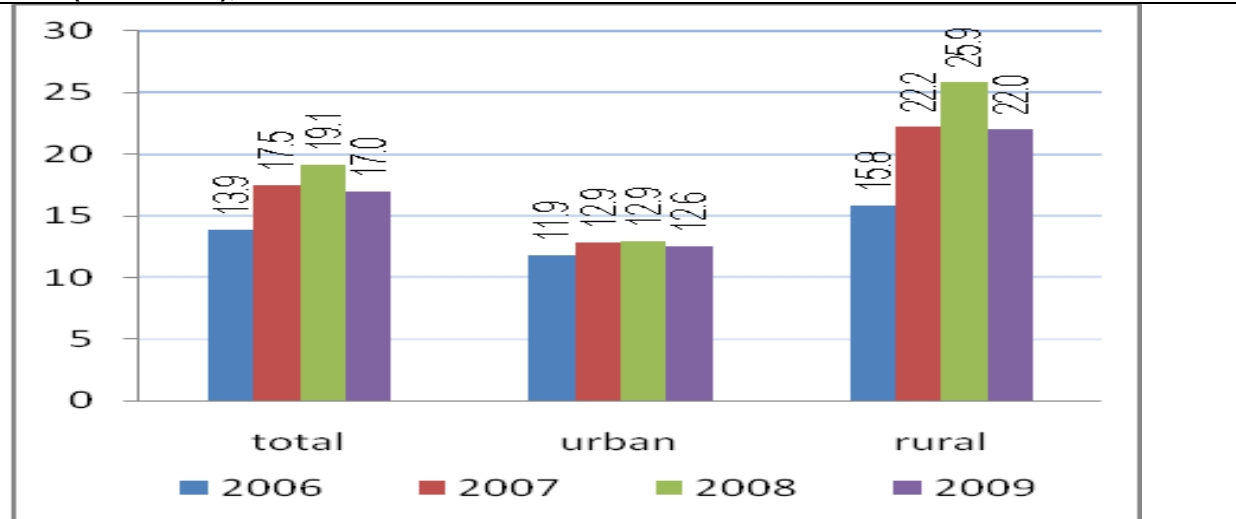
Figure 3.2: Donation to community institutions, % of donating migrant (15% of all migrants)



Source: IOM, CBS AXA, 2008a

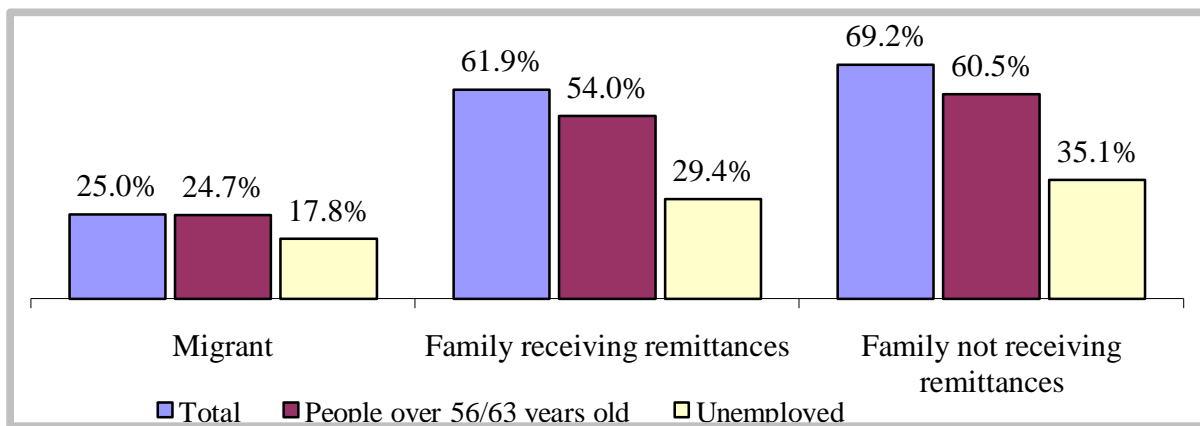
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Figure 3.3: Rate of remittances in the disposable income of households, according to residence area (rural/urban), 2006-2009



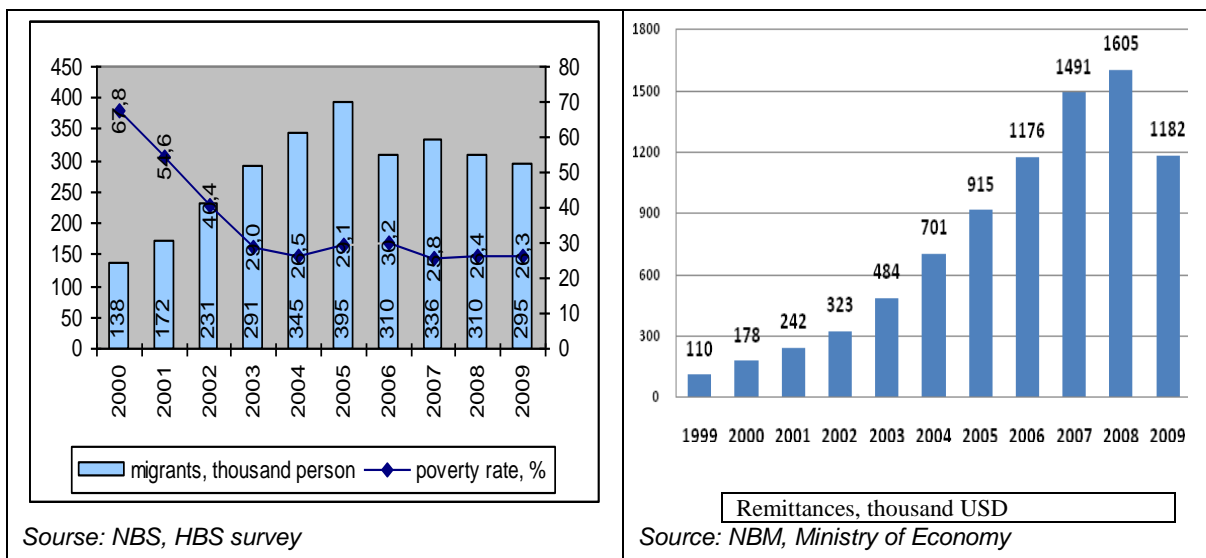
Source: NBS, <http://www.statistica.md>

Figure 3.4: Medical insurance coverage rate per categories of respondents



Source: IOM, CBS AXA, 2010

Figure 3.5: Poverty rate trend and migration (2000-2009) and amount of remittances (1999-2009)

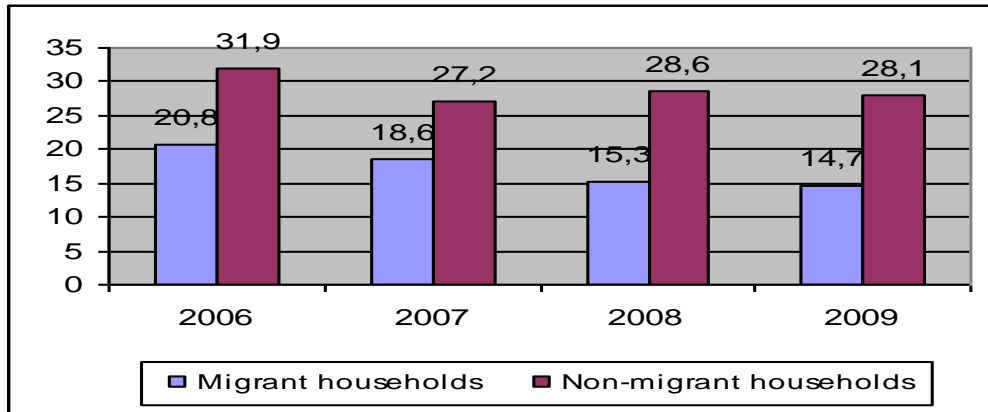


Source: NBS, HBS survey

Source: NBM, Ministry of Economy

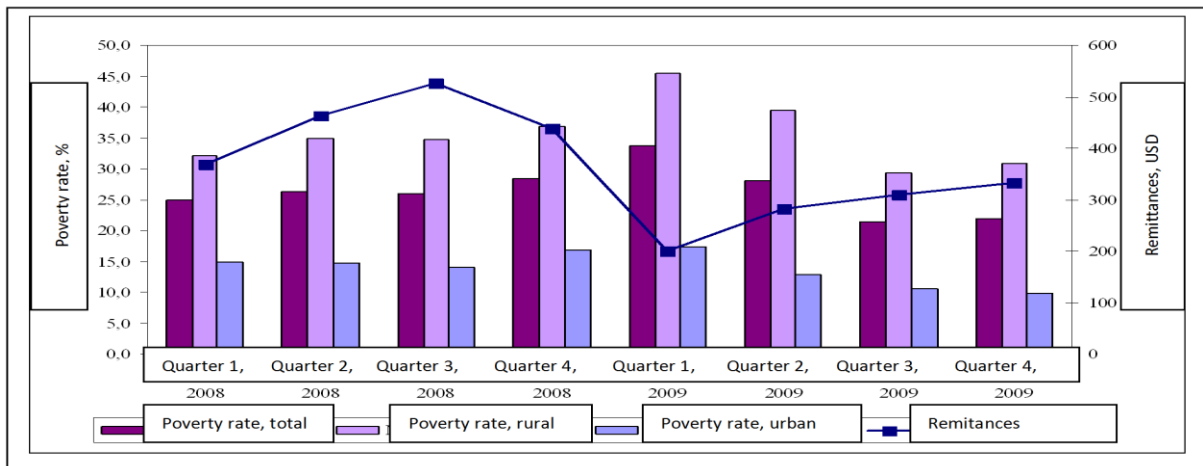
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Figure 3.6: Poverty incidence by household type, 2006-2009, in %



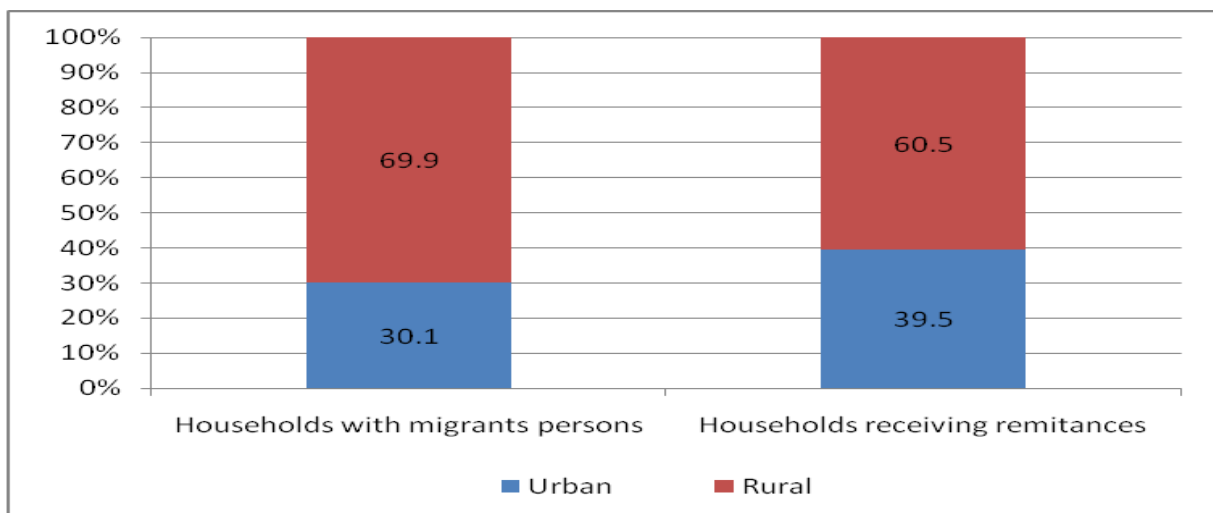
Source: NBS, Ministry of Economy

Figure 3.7: Remittances and poverty incidence, evolution by place of residence (rural/urban) (1st quarter, 2008 – 4th quarter, 2009)



Source: Ministry of Economy based on HBS and NBM data, 2010

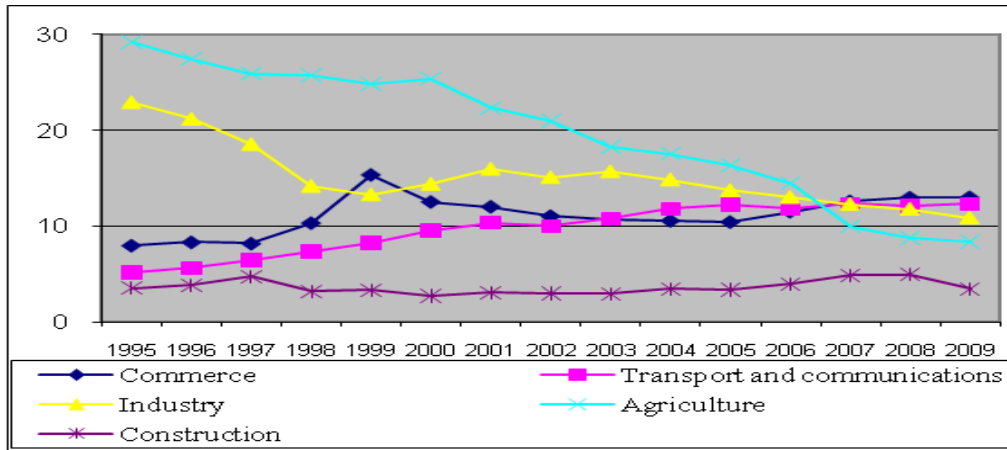
Figure 3.8: Migration related to residence areas (rural/urban), in %, 2009



Source: NBS, own calculations based on HBS, 2009

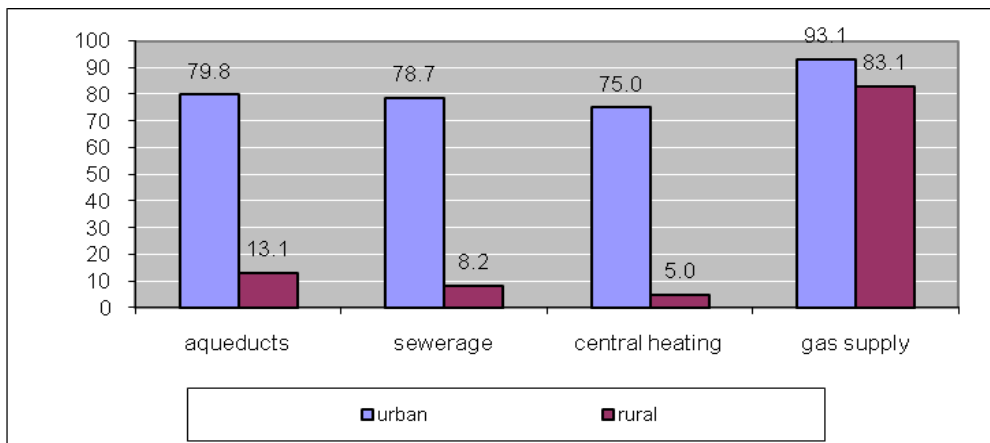
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Figure 4.1: Trend of contribution to GDP by economic activities, 1995-2009, in %



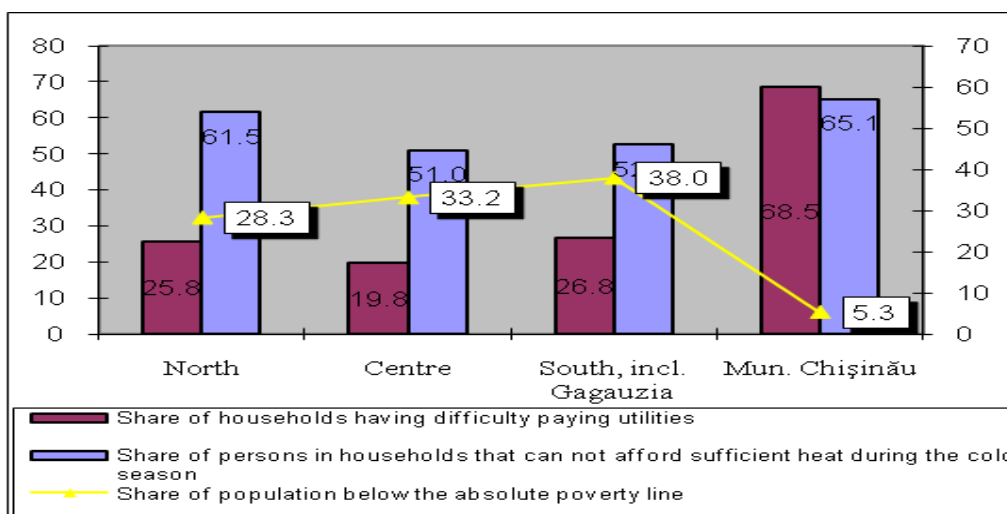
Source: NBS

Figure 4.2: Housing endowment in %, as per January, 1, 2009



Source: NBS

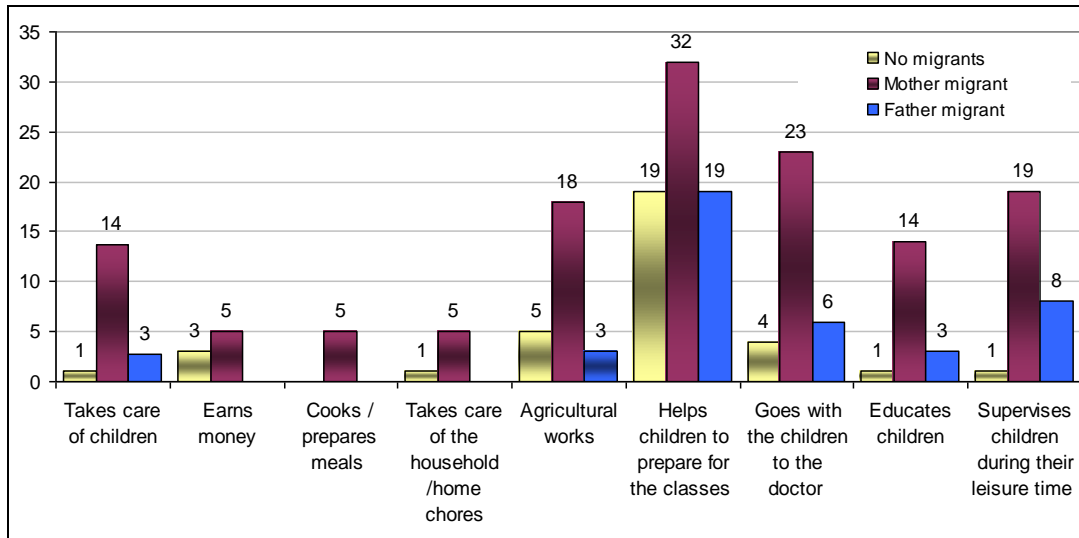
Figure 4.3: Poverty and access to utilities by regions, 2008, in %



Source: Vremis et al., 2009

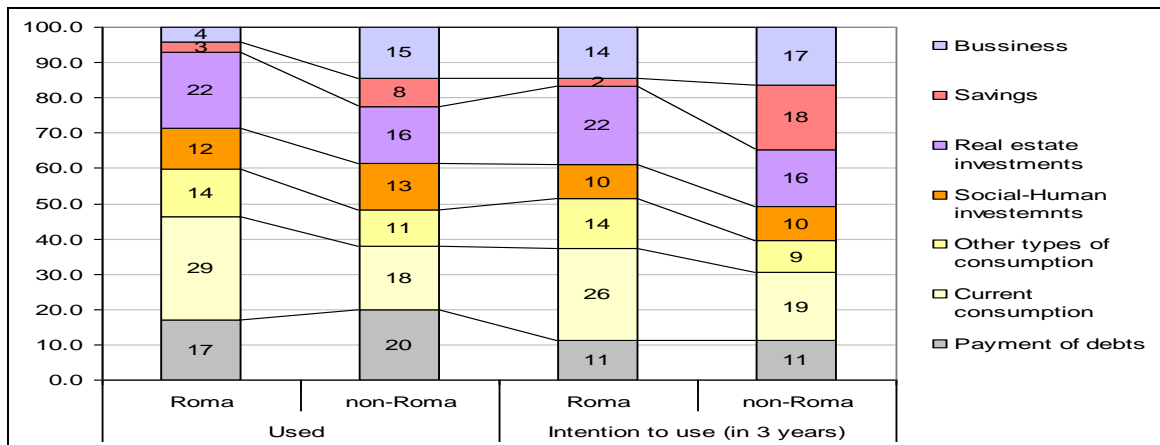
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Figure 5.1: Percentage of children saying family roles not filled regarding the type of activities, 2006, in % of respondents



Source: UNICEF, CBS AXA, 2007

Figure 5.2: Use of remittances by Roma and non-Roma Population, 2006 in %



Source: CBS AXA, UNDP, 2007

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