



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of International Relations

**LABOUR MIGRATION FROM MOLDOVA
TO RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND TURKEY**

Natalia MAMMADZADA

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2017

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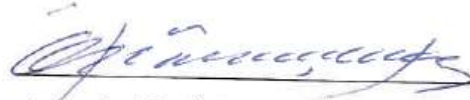
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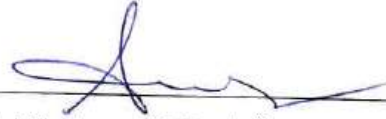
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Natalia MAMMADZADA

ABSTRACT

MAMMADZADA, Natalia. *Labour Migration from Moldova to Russian Federation and Turkey*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2017.

Labour migration tendencies do not represent a new issue on migration agenda. However, with time the type and character of these movements changed and took more dynamic scenario. This became possible mainly due to the course of evolution and various types of developments brought by globalization. Global processes as development of information and communication technology gave a push to the change of migration character. Especially, this affected labor migration trend between developed and developing countries. Being the supplier of labor resources to such countries as, Russia, Italy, and Turkey, Republic of Moldova became one of the bright examples of circular labor migration. Two large-scale group of migrants having different characteristics and 'pull' explanations bear down to Russia and Turkey and gave a new impulse to labor migration tendency in Moldova, that became more and more resemble with circular labor migration. This thesis aims to compare two destinations of Moldovan labour migrants Russian Federation and Turkey and to see how migration tendencies to these countries develop on the way to circular migration.

Key Words

Migration in Moldova, Labour Migration, Circular Labour Migration, Moldovan Migrants in Russian Federation, Migrants in Turkey

ÖZET

MAMMADZADA, Natalia. Moldova'dan Rusya Federasyonu ve Türkiye'ye İşgücü Göçü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2017.

İşgücü göçü eğilimleri göç meselesinin gündeminde yeni bir konu değildir. Fakat zamanla bu tür hareketlerin türü ve karakteri değişti ve daha dinamik bir senaryo haline geldi. Söz konusu ilerleme küreselleşmenin getirdiği çeşitli büyüme ve gelişmelerden dolayı mümkün oldu. Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerin gelişmesi gibi küresel süreçler göç karakterinin değişmesine neden oluyor. Bu süreç özellikle gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasındaki işgücü göç akımını etkilemektedir. Rusya Federasyonu, İtalya ve Türkiye gibi ülkelere işgücü kaynaklarının tedarikçisi olan Moldova, aynı zamanda döngüsel işgücü göçün de en iyi örneklerinden biri. Farklı özellikleri ve farklı 'çekme faktörleri' taşıyan iki büyük ölçekli göç grubu Rusya ve Türkiye'ye yönelmiş ve Moldova'daki döngüsel işgücü göçüne daha da çok benzemeye başlayan işgücü göçü eğilimine yeni bir güç vermiştir. Bu tezde Moldova işgücü göçmenlerin iki hedef ülke Rusya Federasyonu ve Türkiye karşılaştırılacaktır ve bu ülkelere göç eğilimlerin döngüsel göç yolunda gelişmesi incelenecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Moldova'da göç, İşgücü Göçü, Döngüsel İşgücü Göçü, Rusya Federasyonu'nda Moldova Göçmenleri, Türkiye'de Moldovalılar

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ABBREVIATIONS

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ILO	International Labour Organization
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
RM	Republic of Moldova
RF	Russian Federation
SU	Soviet Union
USSR	Union of Soviet Sosalist Republics
USA	United States of America
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank

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INTRODUCTION

“The migration of these workers is of circular character as they work for transitory periods to save money and then to return to their home country, only to return when in need. Their situation can be explained with Morokvasic’s term “settled in mobility”.¹ Nowadays, labour migration plays a great role in global migration movements of people. According to ILO, in 2013 statistics of labour migrants in the world reached 150 millions of the total 232 million of international migrants.² In this perspective Republic of Moldova represents the bright exemple of the supplier of labour resources to various countries. Preliminary results of the 2014 census³, conducted in Moldova gave the number of 329.108 Moldovans who are abroad, International Organization for Migration (IOM) presented the data of 888.610 people in 2015⁴, World Bank (WB) pointed to the 859.4 thousands of Moldovan migrants in 2016⁵, however experts and unofficial sources insist on the fact that, the number of Moldovan migrants abroad can reach 1 million of people employed abroad, outside of Moldova. Russian Federation, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, Spain and other parts of the world became the host countries for Moldovan labour migrants. Over time, Moldovans began to open new directions for labour migration. However, alongside with this diversification the character of Moldovan migration also had suffered some changes. In migration circles, circular character of Moldovan labour migration began to attract interest and to be discussed more and more. Despite the fact that, this phenomenon is not so investigated, such destination countries as

¹ Mirjana Morokvasic, “‘Settled in Mobility’: Engendering Post-Wall Migration in Europe.” *Feminist Review*, No.77 (2004):7-25, accessed May 10, 2017, https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/podzim2013/SOC585/um/43504967/Morokvasic_settled_in_mobility_engendering_post-wall_migrati.pdf.

²International Labour Organization (ILO), *Labour Migration*, accessed March 22, 2017, <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/labour-migration/lang--en/index.htm>.

³ National Bureau of Statistics, *Informative Note Regarding Preliminary Results of Population and Household Census of Moldova in 2014*, accessed March 22,2017, http://www.statistica.md/public/files/Recensamint/Recensamint_pop-2014/Nota_informat_Preliminare_Recensamint_2014.pdf.

⁴ International Organization for Migration, IOM. “Outward Migration from Moldova.” accessed March 22, 2017, https://www.iom.int/countries/republic_moldova.

⁵ World Bank (WB), *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, World Bank Group, 3-rd ed., accessed March 22, 2017. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/23743/9781464_03192.pdf.

Russia and Turkey became two important actors in Moldovan circular labour migration.

Russian Federation is the most important destination country of Moldovan migrants. According to Labour Force Survey, in 2012, almost 300 thousand of Moldovans went to Russia for employment.⁶ Russian direction became the most popular host country for Moldovan migrants, especially for circular migrants. Russian President mentioned about the 500 thousand of Moldovans who work on the territory of Russian Federation. Another destination of Moldovan citizens is Turkey. In 2012, almost 9 thousand Moldovan people preferred to go to Turkey.⁷ However, the current statistics in Turkey show almost the same number of people – 9.164 of Moldovans who lived on the territory of Turkey in 2016 on the basis of residence and work permits.⁸ (See appendix 3) The evolution of Moldovan citizens' entrance to Turkey is demonstrated by the considerable, more than twofold increase between 2000-2016.⁹ This number belongs to official statistics and do not cover migrants who have irregular status. In Turkish statistics Moldova increasingly is determined in the list of circular irregular migrants. Thus, during the period between 2000-2010 this share comprised 50 thousand of Moldovans. Despite the fact that, one destination receives more migrants, and the other is limited only by inconsiderable part, both states Russia and Turkey became receivers of Moldovan labour migrants, particularly circular migrants.

This study concentrates on Moldovan labour migrants, including circular migrants in Russia and Turkey. The subject of the study is Labour Migration from Moldova to Russian Federation and Turkey. The principal research question of this investigation is as follows: How labour migration from Moldova to Russian Federation and Turkey developed after 2000's and did it reach the level of circular labour migration?

⁶ NBS, *Labour Force Survey 2012*, *op.cit.*,17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁸ Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), *Population and Demography Statistics*, accessed March 25, 2017 http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1059.

⁹ Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), *Tourism Statistics*, accessed March 25, 2017), http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1072.

The hypothesis is: despite the fact that, Russian Federation represents more attractive destination for labour migrants from Moldovan than Turkey is, despite some differences in socio-demographic profile of Moldovan labour migrants in these receiving countries, labour migration tendency from Moldova to Russia and Turkey has the character of temporary movements and turned into circular labour migration phenomenon.

The main research question is followed by several sub-questions: What are the main theoretical frameworks for explaining labour and circular migration trends? How migration tendencies in Moldova and in both destination states: In Russia and Turkey had been developed till 2000's? How migration from Moldova to Russian Federation and Turkey was initiated? What push and pull factors that provoked these processes? Why labour migration to Russia and Turkey turned into circular labour migration? The main goals of my investigation are as follows: To identify and disclose the main theoretical approaches that explains the initiation of migration process and keeping it as an on-going process, including models related to the explanation of circular migration; to demonstrate the evolutional stages of migration tendencies in Moldova, Russia and Turkey till 2000's; to analyze the socio-economic situation in Moldova and main migration tendencies and factors of migration processes; to evaluate the role of push and economic and non-economic pull factors in choosing Russia and Turkey for employment; to determine the scale and socio-demographic structure of Moldovan labour migrants flows, especially circular migrants to Russia and Turkey; to analyze the factors, that led to evolution of circular migration tendency from Moldova to Russia and Turkey; to determine how Russian and Turkish migration policies stimulate circular migration of Moldovan migrants and socio-economic motivations for return back to Moldova.

This study is presented by three chapters. The first chapter deals with various theoretical models that present explanation of migration trends initiation and its perpetuation, including circular migration, and also gives a general framework of circular migration and its main causes. The second chapter is devoted to migration tendencies in Russia and Turkey till 2000's, and to migration realities of Republic of Moldova during 1990-2002 years. And finally, the third analytical

chapter presents the analysis of circular labour migration from Moldova to Russia, including push and pull factors, socio-demographic profile of Moldovan migrants in host countries and the main factors for Moldovan circular labour migration to Russia and Turkey. Conclusion will formulate final results and outcomes regarding the labour migration trend from Moldova to Russia and Turkey, and propose future steps and actions for the development of circular labour migration of Moldovan migrants to both host directions.

A large experience of conducting research regarding labour migration in Moldova was accumulated by such sociological institutions as CBS-AXA, CIVIS, and social structures of Moldovan state university. Investigations of CBS AXA made in 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2009 represent the most successful works in the field of migration. These types of studies are financed by international organizations such as International Labour Organization (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), World Bank (WB), UNICEF, etc.

For achieving goals put in writing this research the following quantitative methods, such as analysis of migration literature related to subject, statistical analysis of data presented by Moldovan National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), especially Labour Force Survey (2008 and 2012), and Population Census (2004 and 2014), Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Turkey, Directorate General of Migration Management, Ministry of Interior of Turkey, Federal Service of State Statistics of Russia, data presented by International Labour Organization (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and World Bank (WB), analysis of legislative documentation regarding migration of Moldova, Russia and Turkey, sistematization of collected data, classification of pull factors. For writing the theoretical part of this study the following methods were used: analysis of migration tendencies, information presented by theoretical literature of different periods. Analysis was combined with classification method. All analysed theories were classified into two main groups: theories that explain migration initiation and theories that concentrate on migration perpetuation. This combination determined the logical structure of theoretical chapter, which was divided into two main parts. However, all theoretical sources, including sources of Russian theorists were analyzed and

reviewed. This helped to see the theoretical tendency for explaining migration initiation and perpetuation from different perspectives. The preference was given to these methods in order to see the evolution of theoretical models through the evolution of migration processes.

Empirical part of this investigation contains empirical methods and mainly comparative analysis. This method was preferred in order to see how labour migration from Moldova to Russia differs from migration to Turkey. However, the full picture and outcomes were reached due to the following comparative technique. Firstly, taking a certain characteristic point Russian direction was analyzed then Turkish. This consequence led to see how one host country of Moldovans differs from another from the perspective of a certain aspect. Special attention should be given to surveys conducted by sociological centers as CBS-AXA, CIVIS-IASCI, and to the survey of IOM "Moldovans in Russian Federation" where respondents from Moldova and Russia took part.

Labour migration processes in Moldova were diversified and during the time were changed, through transforming from labour migration to circular labour migration. It was caused by evolutionary changes that we observe today. The relevance of investigated topic is demonstrated by new impulses given to circular labour migration in general and insufficient study of circular labour migration from Moldova to Russia and Turkey, by comparison of migration movements between two destination countries: Russia and Turkey.

This research work consists of introduction, 3 chapters, conclusion, bibliography and appendixes. For preparing this thesis 102 pages of text, 15 tables, 2 figures, and 12 appendixes and 176 literature sources including works of Russian, Turkish, Moldovan and foreign authors. Investigation and analysis of resources was conducted in four languages: Russian, English, Turkish and Moldovan.

Scientific novelty of the study includes the following aspects: An idea regarding the fact that Russian Federation represents more attractive destination for Moldovans because of larger job sectors and higher level of integration was expressed; socio-demographic profile of Moldovan labour migrant in Russia and Turkey, and especially the portrait of circular labour migrant in Russia and

Turkey was formed; the fact that temporary circular migration will keep its growing tendency in Russia as well as in Turkey, that is consisted in temporary migration-to temporary return back to Moldova was mentioned; pull factors quided by Moldovan migrants while choosing the destination for migration, Russia or Turkey were determined; and finally simmlarities and distinctions of Moldovan labour migration to Russia and Turkey were identified.

During the last decades migration issues, including labour migration remain the main pressing aspects that cover social disputes in all levels on the Post-Soviet area. Labour migration tendencies in Moldova were and remain the focus of investigations both from theoretical and empirical perspectives. Labour migration represents movements or flows of population from one state to another for employment purposes.¹⁰ The most old and first mentioning regarding migration starts from Malthus, Marx and Ravenstein. Demographic approach of Malthus,¹¹ demonstrated migration as a regulative mechanism, economic model of Marx¹² determined migration caused by wage differences between countries and Ravenstein¹³ who presented laws of migration similar with migration trends that we observe nowadays. One group of authors: Hicks¹⁴, Stark¹⁵, Piore¹⁶, Wallerstein¹⁷ explain the causes of migration and the others as Kritz & Zlotnik¹⁸ are concentrated on perpetuation of migration tendencies. In terms of theoretical context of migration special attention should be given to Russian researcher Lontsev's classification¹⁹, who combined information analysis from Russian and foreign literature and introduced his own

¹⁰International Organization for Migration, Labour Migration, accessed May 20, 2017, <https://www.iom.int/labour-migration>

¹¹ Thomas Malthus, "An Essay on the Principles of Population". London: 1798, accessed March 24, 2017, <http://www.esp.org/books/malthus/population/malthus.pdf>.

¹² Karl Marx, *Vinujdennaya Migratsiya* (Forced Migration). Marx, K., Engels, F., 2-nd ed., Vol.8, (Moscow: Prosveshenie, 1957), 571.

¹³ E. Georg Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 48, No. 2. (June, 1885):167–235.

¹⁴ Hicks, John. R. *The Theory of Wages*. Toronto: Pilgrave Macmillan, 2-nd edition, 1963.

¹⁵ Oded Stark, *The migration of Labour*, (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell,1991)

¹⁶ Piore, Michael J. *Birds of passage: Migrant labour and industrial societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press,1979.

¹⁷ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System. Vol. III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840's* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1989).

¹⁸ Mary. M Kritz and Hania Zlotnik, "Global interactions: migration systems, processes, and policies,"1992. Quoted in Kritz, Mary M., Lin Lim, Lean and Zlotnik, Hania, eds.: *International migration systems: a global approach*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1992.

¹⁹Vladimir Lontsev, *Mejdunarodnaya Migratsiya Naseleniya: Teoria I Istoria Izuceniya*, (International Migration of Population, Theory and History of Study) (Moscow: 1999), 19.

classification of theories and approaches that contain full spectrum (almost 17 various models) of migration study. Migration appears because of the push and pulls factors that exist in both countries, such as unfavourable economic, political and social conditions, low salaries, high level of employment; pull factors are determined by high wages, access to labour markets, transportation costs and free visa regulations.²⁰ However, the same economic explanation of migration was continued and presented by Borjas²¹ and Massey et.al.²² They insist on the fact that, disparities in wages are the main reason for migration and migrants from low wages states are directed to high level wages countries. Wage differences became the main reason for labour population movements from states with low wages to countries with high wages. However, another more focused aspect is the demand in labour from the part of receiving country is demonstrated by Piore.²³ The widest spectrum of causes presented by Lee²⁴ is limited only with economic factors; non-economic aspects were not taken into consideration. These non-economic approaches were presented by Fielding²⁵ and Kritz & Zlotnik,²⁶ according to whom, there are some connections between states, such as cultural ties, historical, colonial, and technological. Besides this, economic and non-economic umbrella, such context as the existence of social networks viewed by Meyer²⁷ and Portes²⁸ seen as a stimula for migration play a great role. It is important to know not only causes but also the portrait of migrants who take decision for migration. However, socio-demographic

²⁰ S. Lee Everett, "A Theory of Migration." *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1966):47- 57, accessed May 10, 2017, https://emigratecaportuguesa.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/1966-atheory_of_migration.pdf.

²¹ George J. Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1990).

²² Douglas S. Massey, et.al. "Theories of International Migration: Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review*, 19(3):1993:431–466.

²³ Michael J. Piore, *Birds of passage: Migrant labour and industrial societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

²⁴ Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *op.cit.*

²⁵ A.J. Fielding, *Mass migration and Economic Restructuring*, Quoted In: King, R.L. ed. *Mass Migration in Europe, The legacy and the future*, London: Belhaven, 1993: 7-18.

²⁶ Kritz and Zlotnik, "Global interactions", *op.cit.* 3.

²⁷ J-B Meyer, "Network approach versus brain drain: Lessons from the diaspora". *International Migration* 39 (5):91-108, (2001), 93, Quoted in edit.by Honig, Benson, Drori, Israel and Carmichael, Barbara eds. *Transnational and Immigrant Entrepreneurship in a Globalized World*, University of Toronto Press.

²⁸ Alejandro Portes, ed., *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995, Accessed June 10, 2017, <https://www.russellsage.org/publications/economic-sociology-immigration-0>.

characteristics of migrants are studied by Sjaastad²⁹, Castles & Miller³⁰, Ehrenberg & Smith³¹ and Tsapenko.³² Speaking about the person who migrates, special attention should be given to the feminist approach presented by Marinucci³³ and Castles & Miller³⁴ that focuses on migration which is feminizing. Ehrenberg & Smith³⁵, Tsapenko³⁶ and Sjaastad³⁷ insist on the young age of migrants. According to Sjaastad³⁸ migrants are also educated. Perpetuation of migration is provided firstly by the existence of social networks, presented by social networks perspective. Meyer³⁹, Portes⁴⁰ and Massey & Espinosa⁴¹ consider that, people with certain experience in migration are connected with potential migrants and help the lasts to be included into migration flows. However, one of the important social mechanisms is family ties which are considered trustable. (Granovetter⁴² and Tilly⁴³).

Migration represents an on-going process due to the importance of social networks, new technological means brought by transnationalism (Massey⁴⁴ and Faist⁴⁵), particularly transport and communication⁴⁶. These developments

²⁹ Larry A. Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration", *Journal of Political Economy* 70 (5):80-93, (1962)

³⁰ Stephen Castles and Mark. J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Basingstoke Macmillan: Houndmills, 1993),30.

³¹ Ronald G. Ehrenberg and Robert S. Smith, *Modern Labor Economics: Theory and Public Policy*,11th ed. (USA Boston: 2012).

³² I. Tsapenko, *Dvijushie sili mejdunarodnoy migratsii naseleniya//Mirovaya ekonomika I mejdunarodniye otnosheniya* (Driving Forces of International Migration of Population), *World Economy and International Relations*,) 2007, No.3, No.315-316, (2008):3-14.

³³ Roberto Marinucci, *Feminization of Migration*. REMHU. Ano, xv(29), 5-22. p.6, 2007. Quoted in I.Tufan and T. Seedsman, *The Case of Moldovan Female Migrants Providing Home-Based Assistance to Informal Caregivers in Turkey: The Impetus for Aged care Reform*. *International Journal of Humanities*, Vo.5, No.2, (February 2015):40-50.

³⁴ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, *op.cit.*,8-9.

³⁵ Ehrenberg and Smith, *Modern Labor Economics*, *op.cit.*

³⁶ Tsapenko, *Dvijushie sili mejdunarodnoy migratsii*, *op.cit.*

³⁷ Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," *op.cit.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Meyer, "Network approach versus brain drain, *op.cit.*

⁴⁰ Portes, ed., *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*, *op.cit.*

⁴¹ Douglass S. Massey and K.E. Espinosa, "What's Driving Mexico-U.S.Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.102, No.4 (January 1997): 939-999, accessed March 23, 2017. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2782024?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents..

⁴² S.M. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.78, Iss. 6, (1973): 1360-1380, Accessed March 23, 2017. https://sociology.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publications/the_strength_of_weak_ties_and_exch_w_gans.pdf.

⁴³ C. Tilly, "Trust Networks in Transnational Migration," *Sociological Forum March* Vol.22. Iss. 1, (February 2007):1-130, accessed March 23, 2017. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1573.7861.2006.00002.x/abstract>.

⁴⁴ Douglass S Massey, "Understanding Mexican Migration to the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 92, No. 6 (May 1987): 1372-1403.

⁴⁵ Faist, *The Volumes and Dynamics*, *op.cit.*

stimulate temporary and circular migration, as ties with home country can be easier preserved. However, quite different approach was presented by Vertovec⁴⁷, who believes that migration makes more migration.

Circular migration which appears as a new growing tendency began to be discussed more and more and its first definition was presented by Hugo.⁴⁸ Newland analyses circular migration from general perspective and presents its positive side⁴⁹. More critical aspects regarding this new tendency can be seen in the works of Vertovec⁵⁰, Pastore⁵¹ and Vadean & Piracha.⁵² Another quite different approach was demonstrated by Wickramasekara⁵³ who showed circular migration from the vision of migrant's rights. In migration literature circular migration became the central topic of theoretical as well as empirical debates in the works of such researchers as Tienda & Diaz,⁵⁴ Massey & Espinosa,⁵⁵ and Porter.⁵⁶ However, referring to empirical side of the circular migration issue, special attention should be given to the work of Massey & Espinosa⁵⁷, who came to result that moving of Mexicans to USA has circular character.

The relevance of investigations of migration processes in Moldova is determined by the Moldova's establishment as independent state and its

⁴⁶ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration, op.cit.*

⁴⁷ Steven Vertovec, "Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration". (WPTC-02-02, 2002),3.

⁴⁸ Graeme Hugo, "Circular Migration: Keeping Development Rolling?" Migration Policy Institute, Migration Information Source, June 2003, accessed March 21, 2017, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/circular-migration-keeping-development-rolling>. Quoted in Newland 2009:5.

⁴⁹ Kathleen Newland, "Circular Migration and Human Development," Human Development Research Paper, 2009/42.

⁵⁰ Steven Vertovec, "Circular Migration: The Way forward in Global Policy?" International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Working Papers, paper4, 2007, accessed March 23, 2017. <file:///C:/Users/Atilla/Desktop/WP4%20Circular%20Migration%20Policy.pdf>.

⁵¹ F. Pastore, *Circular migration: Background note for the Meeting of Experts on Legal Migration*, Meeting of Experts in Legal Migration, preparatory to the 2nd Euro-African Ministerial Conference on Legal Migration and Development, Rabat, March 4-5, 2008. Conference Note. Quoted in P., Wickramasekara. *Circular Migration: A Triple Win or a Dead End*. Discussion Paper No.15, International Labour Office, Bureau for Workers' Activities (ACTRAV). (GURN discussion paper; no.15). Geneva: ILO, 2011,114.

⁵² F.P. Vadean and M.Piracha, "Circular Migration or Permanent Return: What Determines Different Forms of Migration?" Department of Economics discussion papers, KDPE 09/12, University of Kent: 2009.

⁵³ Piyasiri Wickramasekara, "Circular Migration: A Triple Win or a Dead End", Discussion Paper No.15, International Labour Office, Bureau for Workers' Activities (ACTRAV), GURN discussion paper; no.15, Geneva: ILO, (2011):40.

⁵⁴ Marta Tienda and William Diaz, "Puerto Rican Circular Migration," *The New York Times*, August 28, 1987: A31.

⁵⁵ Massey and Espinosa, "What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration, *op.cit.*

⁵⁶ Eduardo Porter, "Tighter Border Yields Odd Result: More Illegals Stay," *The Wall Street Journal* October 10.2003).

⁵⁷ Massey and Espinosa, "What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration, *op.cit.*

inclusion into global migration processes. Studies related to migration aspect in Moldova approaches to the topic from different perspectives. Thus, some studies investigate migration and development⁵⁸, the others present migration with the socio-economic framework.⁵⁹ Migration agenda of Republic of Moldova varies from short term migration to close countries, to long term movements to such states as USA. (Cebotari, et.al,⁶⁰ CIVIS & IASCI⁶¹)

Special attention should be given to the works of Mosneaga⁶², who investigated labour migration tendencies in Moldova and focused on various aspects of these processes. Migration movements for labour purposes are determined by economic push factors as unfavourable financial and economic situation in the country, low wages and unemployment. (BNS⁶³, Mosneaga⁶⁴) Pull aspects for migrants from Moldova are better living conditions, higher possibilities for development and the existence of certain social circles in receiving states.⁶⁵ According to Goerlich & Trebesch⁶⁶ and Pinger⁶⁷ migration from Moldova is presented by temporary trips and these migrants represent the dominant category. Besides this, temporary migration is expressed by circular migration, and nowadays, labour migration has the circular character. Studies of Crivenco⁶⁸ and Mosneaga⁶⁹ insist on the circularity of migration processes that presupposes return of migrants to their homeland after their goals were realized. Some aspects regarding circular migration and circular migrants in

⁵⁸ CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link between Migration and Development in Moldova*. Centre of Sociological, Politological and Psychological Analysis and Investigations and International Agency for Source Country Information, Report, Prepared for: World Bank within Migration and Remittance Peer Assisted Learning Network (MIRPAL), Chisinau, 2010.

⁵⁹ Valeriu Mosneaga, *Sotsialino-Politieskoye Vliyanie Trudovoi Migratsii V Moldove* (Socio-Political Impact of Labour Migration in Moldova), Scientific Analytical Report 2012/17, CARIM-East RR2012/17, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2012:2.

⁶⁰ Svetlana Cebotari, Carolina Budurina-Goreacii and I. Xenofontov, "Current Migration Tendencies of Moldova Population towards the European Area," *Postmodern Openings*, Vol. 3, Iss. 1 (March 2012): 126.

⁶¹ CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link*, op.cit., 10.

⁶² Valeriu Mosneaga, *The Labour Migration of Moldovan Population: Trends and Effects*, No.3/2007, SOCIUS Working Papers, Chisinau, 2007.

⁶³ National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, *Labour Force Survey 2012*. Chisinau, 2013:10.

⁶⁴ Mosneaga, *The Labour Migration*, op.cit., 2

⁶⁵ CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link*, op.cit., 12.

⁶⁶ Dennis Goerlich and Christoph Trebesch, "Mass Migration and Seasonality Evidence on Moldova's Labour Exodus," *Review of World Economics*, 144(1), (2008):107-133.

⁶⁷ P. Pinger, "Come Back or Stay? Spend Here or There? Return and Remittances: The Case of Moldova," *International Migration*, Vol.48 (5).-(2010):142-173.

⁶⁸ Andrei Crivenco, "Moldova: Country of Mass Labour Outmigration, Migration profiles of the sending (eastern partner) countries," pp.170-190 2014, 181.

⁶⁹ Valeriu Mosneaga, *Sotsialino-Politieskoye Vliyanie*, op.cit., 1-3.

Moldova are underlined by such experts as Mosneaga⁷⁰ and Mukomel.⁷¹ Thus, being the main host country of Moldovans Russian Federation is characterized by temporary flows that began to transform to circular movements between countries. (IOM⁷², Mosneaga⁷³) Male and women prefer different destination countries. This sharing can be explained by the employment possibilities in receiving countries.⁷⁴ The CBS-AXA research⁷⁵ states that, Moldovan women prefer to go to Italy or Turkey but male choose Russian Federation. In Russia, male are employed mainly in construction sector while female in the service fields in such countries as Italy and Turkey. (CBS-AXA⁷⁶)

Both Ghencea & Gudumac⁷⁷ and CBS-AXA⁷⁸ state that, the great majority of migrants have secondary education. Special attention is given to migration networks and private agencies that help migrants' employment abroad. Migration chains presented by relatives, friends, and fellow migrants represent the most trustable mechanism for migration choice and employment abroad.⁷⁹ Remittances constitute one of the important outcomes of migration process. In many studies researchers analyse this aspect and show the major indicators in Moldova. (Mosneaga⁸⁰, CIVIS-IASCI⁸¹, Cebotari et.al.,⁸² Crivenco⁸³) In the study of Ghencea & Gudumac⁸⁴ remittances and savings of labour migrants are analysed in detail. According to them, only 11% of savings are preserved in banks. Moreover, both studies of Ghencea & Gudumac⁸⁵ and CBS-AXA⁸⁶

⁷⁰ Mosneaga, *Sotsialino-Politicskoye Vliyanie*, *op.cit.*

⁷¹ Vladimir Mukomel, *Migratsionniye Protsessi v Rossii 1985-2015* (Migration Processes in Russia 1985-2015), *Migratsiya za posledniye 30 let*, May 12, 2015, accessed December 09, 2016, <http://last30.ru/issue/migration/research/5>.

⁷² *International Organization for Migration, Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii, Sotsialino-Ekonomiceskiy Profil i Vizovi na Urovne Politiki* (Moldovans in Russian Federation, Socio-Economic Profile and Challenges on the Level of Politics). Chisinau: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2013, 24.

⁷³ Mosneaga, *Sotsialino-Politicskoye Vliyanie*, *op.cit.* 33.

⁷⁴ CBS-AXA Consultancy. *Migration and Remittances in Moldova*, Report Prepared for International Organization for Migration mission to Moldova, European Commission Food Security Programme Office, International Monetary Fund Office in Moldova, 2005.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁷⁷ Boris Ghencea and Igor Gudumac, "Labour Migration and Remittances in the Republic of Moldova," Marketing and Research Department, Moldova Microfinance Alliance, Chisinau, 2004, 45-46.

⁷⁸ CBS-AXA, *Migration and Remittances in Moldova*, *op.cit.* 12-13.

⁷⁹ National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, *Labour Force Survey 2008*. Chisinau, 2009.

⁸⁰ Mosneaga, *The Labour Migration*, *op.cit.*

⁸¹ CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link.*, *op.cit.*

⁸² Cebotari, Budurina-Goreacii and Xenofontov, "Current Migration Tendencies.", *op.cit.*

⁸³ Crivenco, "Moldova: Country of Mass Labour Outmigration", *op.cit.*

⁸⁴ Ghencea and Gudumac, "Labour Migration and Remittances...", *op.cit.*, 59.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 63-66.

underline that just 6% of migrant's remittances are provided for business investment. However, remittances support Moldovan economy and since 2005 remittances indicators constituted more than 35% of the total GDP. (Crivenco⁸⁷ CIVIS- IASCI⁸⁸)

Russian Federation is considered one of the main receiving states of Moldovan labour migrants. It is preferred by Moldovan migrants because of accessible transportation costs, visa-free access, and because of the fact that the majority of Moldovan migrants know Russian language, etc.⁸⁹ Moldovan labour migrants in Russia are presented mostly by men from rural areas occupied predominantly in construction sector⁹⁰. Migration flows to Russia has short-term or seasonal character, migrants plan to work in Russia during the periods beginning from 5,5 months to 1,8 years (Cebotari, et.al.⁹¹) However, this duration is much shorter than that of the stay in European countries.⁹² Special interest deserves the research of Mukomeli⁹³, who investigated different categories of Moldovan labour migrants in Russia, including circular migrants. According to him, almost 2/3 of all Moldovans in Russia are circular migrants. The dominant group of this migrant category (61,8%) is employed in Russian Federation illegally.⁹⁴ Return to Moldova is seen by Moldovans as a future action for retirement and represents the temporary departure between Russia and Moldova.⁹⁵

Migration situation in Turkey and migrant issues were analyzed in the works of İçduygu⁹⁶ and Toksöz, Erdoğan and Kaşka.⁹⁷ These researchers presented migration development in Turkey through historical aspects. Thus, at the beginning of the Republic's foundation besides migrants coming from Greece in

⁸⁶ CBS-AXA, Migration and Remittances in Moldova, *op.cit.*

⁸⁷ Crivenco, "Moldova: Country of Mass Labour Outmigration, *op.cit.*

⁸⁸ CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link.*, *op.cit.*13-14.

⁸⁹ Ghencea and Gudumac, "Labour Migration and Remittances., *op.cit.*

⁹⁰ Crivenco, "Moldova: Country of Mass Labour Outmigration, *op.cit.* 182.

⁹¹ Cebotari, Budurina-Goreacii and Xenofontov, "Current Migration Tendencies., *op.cit.*126.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 128.

⁹³ Mukomel, *Migratsionniye Protsessi v Rossii.*, *op.cit.*

⁹⁴ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, *op.cit.*,39.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 91

⁹⁶ Ahmet İçduygu, *İrregular Migration in Turkey*. IOM Migration Research Searches. No. 12, Bilkent University: February 2003.

⁹⁷ Gülay Toksöz, Serhan Erdoğan and Selmin Kaşka, *Irregular Labour Migration in Turkey and Situation of Migrant Workers in the Labour Market*, International Organization for Migration Turkey: 2012, accessed May 14,

2017. http://www.turkey.iom.int/documents/Labour/IOM_irregular_labour_migration_eng_05062013.pdf

the framework of exchange program, migrant groups from Balkans, the region which was under the umbrella of the Ottoman Empire migrated to Turkey. These flows were determined mainly by connections with Turkish culture and language and were strengthened by the state for constructing “homogeneous” format of the nation. (Kirişçi⁹⁸, Erder⁹⁹, Toksoz¹⁰⁰) The groups of Turkish origin and civilization were accepted as “migrants”, the other groups entering into Turkey had the position of “foreigners”.¹⁰¹ While preserving the importance of ethnic and cultural ties in order to become permanent migrant in Turkey beginning with 1980’s migration flows increased due to various reasons (transit or labor migration) and nowadays, Turkey became one of the main target countries in temporary migration. Geographical position of Turkey, flexible visa and border policies had an influential role in such a development. (Içduygu¹⁰², Erder¹⁰³) EU membership process made Turkey began to expand its migration practices by the end of 1990’s.¹⁰⁴ However, this process played a crucial role in the development of migration panorama of Turkey. Toksöz¹⁰⁵ points to economic perspective which affected the migration attitude of Turkey, as through developing commercial relations with neighbouring states Turkey became a “trading state”. During the period of 1923-1997 relatively 1.6 million migrants from Bulgaria, Greece and Caucasus migrated to Turkey.¹⁰⁶ Over the last decades, the nature of Turkish migration had been changed; Turkey the country under the umbrella of migrant-sending country was changed into migrant-receiving state.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ K Kirişçi, Turkey: A Country of Transition from Emigration to Immigration, 2007, Mediterranean Politics 12(1): 91-97.

⁹⁹ Sema Erder, ‘Yabancılaşmış Kurgulan Ülkenin ‘Yabancıları’ İçinde: Türkiye’de Yabancı İşçiler, Derin Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007,6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*,17.

¹⁰¹ Ahmet İçduygu, “EU-ization matters: Changes in Immigration and Asylum Practices in Turkey.” Quoted in Faistand T., Ete A. ed.: *Europeanization of National Policies and Politics of Immigration*. New-York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007:206.

¹⁰² İçduygu, *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, *op.cit.*

¹⁰³ Erder, ‘Yabancılaşmış Kurgulan Ülkenin ‘Yabancıları’’, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁴ Sema Erder and Selmin Kaşka, *Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of Turkey*, Geneva: IOM, 2003.

¹⁰⁵ Toksöz, Erdoğan and Kaşka, *Irregular Labour Migration.*, *op.cit.*, 18

¹⁰⁶ N. Özgür, Modern Türkiye’nin Zorunlu Göçmenleri: Muhacirler, İskanlilar, Mübadiller, İslamlar, Soydaşlar, “G” Grubu, Mülteciler, “Tekne Mültecileri”, İçinde: Küreselleşme Çağında Göç, (İhlamur-Öner S. G. ve Şirin Öner N.A. ed.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012:204-205

¹⁰⁷ Selmin Kaşka, “The New International Migration and Migrant Women in Turkey: The Case of The Moldovan Domestic Workers,” MiReKoc Research Projects 2005-2006, Department of Labour Economy, Marmara University, 2006,23

Turkey's geographical location, flexible visa and border policies had an effective role in the development of this process.¹⁰⁸ During last decades, the aspect of labour migration in Turkey became the main focus and was brightly illustrated on the pages of Lordođlu¹⁰⁹, and Içduygu.¹¹⁰ With the increased demand for migrant labour, Turkey became the destination for labour migrants from such countries as Moldova, Bulgaria, Georgia, Ukraine and some other CIS countries.¹¹¹ Migrants fields of activity vary according to the country they came from. The clear distinction is presented in the study of Içduygu.¹¹² Sex workers came mainly from Ukraine, Russia, Moldova and Romania; household workers from Moldova, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan; restaurant and food industry sectors workers came from such countries as Philippines, Ukraine, Pakistan, Bulgaria and Romania.¹¹³ It has been determined that, nowadays, migrant women in Turkey are concentrated mainly in entertainment industry and housework sectors.¹¹⁴ Turkish employers preferred Gagauz women who speak almost the same language as they do, later when the needs in foreign workers had been increased; migrants from Moldova with different origins were provided with job.¹¹⁵ Consequently, Moldovans occupied the first place in the list of female migrant engaged in the domestic sector.

After 2000's in Turkish migration literature the framework of labour migrant women and women migration from gender perspective began to be analysed. (Gülcür & İlkaracan¹¹⁶, Erder & Kaşka¹¹⁷, Kaşka¹¹⁸, Lordođlu¹¹⁹, Atatimur¹²⁰,

¹⁰⁸ Içduygu, *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁹ K. Lordođlu, "Türkiye'de Yabancıların Kaçak Çalışması ve bu Çalışmaya İlişkin Bir Araştırma," *Toplum ve Bilim*, No.102 (2005):103-127.

¹¹⁰ Ahmet Içduygu, *Turkey and International Migration 2012-2013*, Report prepared for The Annual Meeting of the OECD Expert Group on Migration, Paris, November 2013, İstanbul, 2013.

¹¹¹ Selmin Kaşka, The New International Migration and Migrant Women in Turkey: The Case of Moldovan Domestic Workers. In: Land of Diverse Migrations: Challenges of Emigration and Immigration in Turkey, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, s. 725-804, 2009, 21.

¹¹² Içduygu, *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, *op.cit.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 11,90.

¹¹⁴ Kaşka, The New International Migration, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁵ Kaşka, The New International Migration, *op.cit.*, 5.

¹¹⁶ L.Gülcür and P. İlkaracan, The 'Natasha' Experience: Migrant Sex Workers from the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey, Women's Studies International Forum, 25:411-421, 2002.

¹¹⁷ Sema Erder and Selmin Kaşka, *Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of Turkey*, Geneva: IOM, 2003.

¹¹⁸ Kaşka, The New International Migration, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁹ K. Lordođlu, "Türkiye'de Yabancıların Kaçak Çalışması ve bu Çalışmaya İlişkin Bir Araştırma," *Toplum ve Bilim*, No.102 (2005):103-127.

¹²⁰ N. Atatimur, "Reasons and Consequences of International Labour Migration of Women into Turkey: Ankara Case," Master Thesis, Department of City and

Keough¹²¹, Demirdizen¹²²) However, still there are few sources that reflect the current situation with women labour migrants in Turkey and especially women from Moldova. (Kaşka¹²³ and Tufan¹²⁴) Special attention can be given to the study of Tufan¹²⁵ who noticed the socio-demographic profile of Moldovan women engaged in the domestic sector, and their motivation to return back to Moldova after their economic goals will be realised. Another important contribution to the female investigations and especially Gagauz women in Turkey was made by Keough¹²⁶ who conducted several investigations regarding this important issue. According to her, the main reasons for Gagauz women to choose Turkey as the main destination are the following factors: easy entry, language similarity and the fact that, Turkey is situated very close to Moldova.¹²⁷ Gagauz women enter Turkey with tourist visas which expire after 90 days and generally work illegally in Turkish domestic sector, the fact that gives way to psychological abuses, movement restriction and unpaid salaries.¹²⁸ According to İçduygu¹²⁹ and HWWA¹³⁰ migration of Moldovans to Turkey take the character of circular migration, as these migrants keep ties with their families and plan to return after their economic goals will be realised. However, Moldova remains on the top of the list of circular irregular migrants in Turkey.¹³¹

Regional Planning, Middle East Technical University, 2008.

¹²¹ Leyla Keough, "Driven Women: "Reconceptualizing the Traffic in Women in the Margins of Europe Through the Case of Gagauz Mobile Domestics in Istanbul," *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, Vol.21. No. 22003 Amherst: 2003.

¹²² Derya Demirdizen, Türkiye'de Ev Hizmetlerinde Çalışan Göçmen Kadınlar: Yeni Düzenlemelerle Yarı Köle Emeline Doğru mu? *Çalışma ve Toplum* 2012/3, 325-346.

¹²³ Kaşka, *The New International Migration*, *op.cit.*

¹²⁴ İsmail Tufan and Terence Seedsman, "The Case of Moldovan Female Migrants Providing Home-Based Assistance to Informal Caregivers in Turkey: The Impetus for Aged care Reform," *International Journal of Humanities*, Vo.5, No.2, (February 2015): 40-50.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Keough, "Driven Women..", *op.cit.*

¹²⁷ Leyla Keough, "The Traffic in Gagauz Moldovan Women to Turkey: Experience and Impact in Moldova," University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Department of Anthropology IARO 2004-2005:3, Moldova.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*,4.

¹²⁹ Ahmet İçduygu and B.D. Aksel, *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, Ankara: International Organization for Migration, 2012:25-26.

¹³⁰ Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA). *EU-Enlargement, Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of South Eastern Europe*. HWWA Report 247, Hamburg: HWWA, 2004,78.

¹³¹ İçduygu and Aksel, *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, *op.cit.*,26.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL APPROACH: INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION

International migration is very complex phenomenon, and its theoretical agenda includes various approaches and models from economical, demographical, sociological, and other perspectives. Each of these models made its own contribution to general understanding of migration causes and factors of migration perpetuation. Some studies explain the initial stages of this process, the factors that made them appear and aspects that affected it. The other concentrates mostly on the on-going character of migration. Migration theories include various levels of analysis, micro-level that focuses on individual, migrant itself, macro- that is related to more global factors and meso level. However, among the theories that will be analyzed in this section, such as dual labour market, world systems treat the migration issue from macro level umbrella. Push and pull theory, neo-classical micro level approach the issue from the micro level analysis perspective. It is impossible to examine the problem from the perspective of all these classifications presented above. However, the logical structure of this research will follow the scenario of duration and will examine theoretical context of international migration from the very beginning, focusing on two main stages: on migration initiation and migration perpetuation. For understanding how migration appears aspects that keep it as an on-going process theoretical division will be traced through these two groups. Development of theoretical migration agenda did not follow any specific logical scenario, as well as there is no one single theory that collects all theoretical aspects. In fact, it is impossible, due to the complexity of migration processes. Each next theory complemented the previous one, introducing its own 'mite' to the understanding of international migration study.

1.1. INITIATION OF MIGRATION – THEORETICAL ASPECTS AND MAIN APPROACHES

1.1.1. First Theoretical Attempts to Explain Migration

First explanations regarding population movements from demographic framework were introduced by Thomas Malthus who became popular with its 'Principle of Population'.¹³² In his understanding migration was presented as a regulator aimed at directions of solid population to less populated regions. Of course, an important fact should not be ignored that current migration system cardinally differs from migration with regulative functions during that time. Another vision was presented by K.Marx from economic perspective who insisted on the interstate differences in wages which determine labour migration between states. Wages are higher at the places where production is higher. As a result, migrants movements are directed to the regions where wages are higher so as labour resources are redistributed in the global scale in favor of producers with high labour productivity.¹³³ Lastly, the more clear explanation closer to current understanding of migration was put on the table by English geographer E. Ravenstein. He became the first scholar who formulated postulates of migration. However, his principles and models preserve their importance and some of his points are actual even nowadays. He paid attention mainly to economic causes that present fundamental grounds for call for migration. As a response to Farris vision of migration, according to whom they occur as chaotic Brownian movements, without any specific regulations, Ravenstein, insisted on the existence of general principles and rules according to which migration processes occur. He formulated and presented laws of migration that were published in 1885.¹³⁴ In his explanation and predictions Ravenstein embraces internal as well as external migration. Alongside with other significant aspects of migration, he underlined the fact that, the main

¹³²Malthus, "An Essay," *op.cit.*

¹³³ Marx, *Vinujdennaya Migratsiya*, *op.cit.* 571.

¹³⁴ Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *op.cit.*

causes of migration are of economic origin.¹³⁵ He also underlined clearly and quite objective the major characteristics of migration process. However, he neglected factors that lead to the continuation of the tendency that became the main focus of this study.

1.1.2. Neoclassical Theory of Migration: Macro and Micro Levels

As was mentioned in previous sections, theories are distinguished according to the macro and micro level of analysis. This theory represents the rare case and unites all these two levels. It sets differences in wages as the main calling factor for labour migration. From macro-level context migration tendency occurs because exist geographical distinctions in demand and labour offer. Consequently, wage diversities make labour migration movements from low wages states to be directed to high-wage countries. Flows direction is determined by economic features, if they are attractive the country is involved into immigration, on the contrary-emigration.¹³⁶ As we see, the main paradigm of neo-classical theory lies on the relationship between wage aspects and migration stocks.¹³⁷ Labour market instruments regulate and affect labour migration flows. A special interest constitutes the results of empirical practice that found the following principles. Migration presupposes costs and people who migrate are not poor, and the sending countries are not the poorest one.¹³⁸ However, as was mentioned above there are also micro-level features. In fact, micro level approach continued the ideas presented from more global economic perspective. It is evident that, if there is a wage difference between countries migrant will take decision in favor of the destination that will give to him higher salary than he gets in his home country. Probably, if there was no such a distinction, people will not even thinking about migration. I permit myself to make such an assumption in the framework of this theory, without taking into consideration other factors that also can play not the last role in taking decision

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Massey et. al. "Theories of International Migration", *op.cit.*

¹³⁷ Thomas Bauer and Klaus F.Zimmerman, *Assessment of possible migration pressure and its labour market impact following EU enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe*. IZA Research Report No.3,A study for the Department of Education and Employment, (UK: July 1999).

¹³⁸ Faist, *The Volumes and Dynamics*. *op. cit.*

for migration. Returning back to neo-classical theory and specifically to its micro level section, it should be stated that, before deciding to migrate, people put on the table all costs and advantages of their migration and choose destination country where their earnings will be higher.¹³⁹ People choose territorial movements so that in destination country they could be the most productive, taking into account their qualifications.¹⁴⁰ In countries with low incomes the difference between non-qualification and qualification workers can constitute 20%, while in countries with high incomes this distinction can be much higher. The higher education level the migrants has, the more expectations of benefits from migration. Consequently, it explains the fact that migrants are educated comparing with the sending country's population.¹⁴¹ This explanation of Tsapenko¹⁴² can be arguable issue from the perspective of empirical evidence. At least nowadays, it can be said that migration reached such a big extent that the existence of qualification among migrants cannot be a necessary condition for migration. In empirical part of this research this aspect will be analyzed more detailed and probably it will give quite opposite results. In the framework of neoclassical theory, the conception of Hicks¹⁴³ should be taken into account; he became popular with its theory of wages. Hick examined migration as a decision of rational individual who can see his perspectives on the basis of reliable information. The problems of unemployment and departure costs were not taken into consideration. Differentiation in the levels of salaries between countries is seen as an incentive for migration. However, the role of labour and capital is very important. Migration leads to the leveling of salary levels and stabilization of world labor market. Principles of neo-classical micro level were also developed by human capital theory presented by Sjaadstat, who paid great attention to socio-demographic characteristics of migrants. Another significant vision of human capital model is that the first category who migrates is young and educated people.¹⁴⁴ Such features as age, marital status, gender, skills

¹³⁹ Borjas, *Friends or Strangers*, *op.cit.*

¹⁴⁰ Massey, et.al. "Theories...", *op.cit.*

¹⁴¹ Tsapenko, *Dvijushie sili mejdunarodnoy migratsii*, *op.cit.*,

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Hicks, *The Theory of Wages*, *op.cit.*

¹⁴⁴ Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns," *op.cit.*

play a great role in determining the category for migration.¹⁴⁵ Another important aspect and rather current one regarding the portrait of migrant is concerned with the increased number of women included into migration process.

As Marinucci states:

the changes to women's role in many societies, their insertion in the labor market, their advancement on the emancipation process, and, above all, the increasing number of female migrants make more and more (questioning) arguable and outmoded the reduction of women as just passive agents on the migratory act.¹⁴⁶

1.1.3. New Economics Theory and Approach of New Economics of Labour Migration

Principally another approach to the question why decision making regarding migration takes place on the micro level is proposed by new economics theory. In general, remaining on the position of neoclassical paradigm, this theory put on the center of migration processes not the separate migrant but family or household. Decision for migration is regarded as a collective factor or become the significant part of the family strategy.¹⁴⁷ Underlying the importance of collective forms of decision making representatives of this theory give special attention to the research of household strategies, not to migration itself. Despite the aspirations of separate migrant which can be directed to the maximization of incomes, strategy of households proceeds from the goals of risk minimization. Individual income increase and the decrease of household risks is provided through migration of one or family members.¹⁴⁸ While some of them remain the part of the economy of migration source country, the others are included into international labor market, diversifying the risks of changes in labour conditions and wages.

In general, households and other social units are the focus of migration research, wage aspect is not the necessary condition for migration, and state authorities can change the dimensions of migration, with the help of regulative

¹⁴⁵ Bauer and Zimmerman, *Assessment of possible migration, op.cit.*

¹⁴⁶ Marinucci, *Feminization of Migration, op.cit.*,

¹⁴⁷ Stark, *The migration of Labour, op.cit.*

¹⁴⁸ Massey, Douglas S. et.al., *Worlds In Motion. Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium* (Clarendon Press Oxford:1998).

means. Consequently, a transmission was made from the individual to collective mechanisms of taking decisions of migration which is advantageous for all 'players of the game'. This perspective turned migration into a certain strategy. The main argument from economic perspective is the following: One of the family members is directed to another country or pushed to migrate to another region without taking into account the realities in homeland and during migration process supports the family through sending remittances.¹⁴⁹ Remittances which constitute an important part of migration tendency have a great role and are put at the first place¹⁵⁰. In fact, this explanation opens the way to another approach which continues the remittances paradigm tradition but introducing more global aspects to this issue. New Economics of Labour migration continues the principles of the previous model, and underlines social actors such as migrants families which can affect migrant's decision for migration. Migration step is viewed by the last as a household strategy. It underlines the importance and positive effect of remittances, transmitted by the household members on the country's economic development.¹⁵¹ While New Economics Theory views remittances as a mechanism for supporting families, another Theory of Labour Migration focuses on remittances as resources for countries development. As a result, we can see that scholars became more and more interested in the issue of remittances. NELM stresses more global character and impact of remittances connecting it with the sending countries development. However, the main distinctive characteristics of this approach from other theoretical models are that it uses remittances to connect migration decision and migration effects.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Oded Stark and David E. Bloom, "The New Economics of Labour Migration", *American Economic Review*, 1995, No.75, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the NinetySeventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, (May,1985):173-178.

¹⁵⁰ J. Edward Taylor, "The New Economics of Labour Migration and the Role of Remittances in the Migration Process", *International Organization for Migration (IOM), International Migration* 37(1) (1999):63-88.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² J.Edward Taylor and Peri L. Fletcher, *Remittances and Development in Mexico: The New Labour Economics of Migration: a Critical Review*. Rural Mexico Research Project 2, 2001. Quoted In Hagen-Zanker, Jessica, *Why Do People Migrate? A Review of Theoretical Literature*, Working Paper MGSOG/2008/WP002, Maastricht: Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, (January 2008).

1.1.4. Push and Pull Theory

Theories presented in the previous sections could not explain why people from one country take decision for migration, and the others do not, and why people are inclined to migrate between definite countries. The model of Lee associated with the neo-classical micro level paradigms shed a light on this prospect and focuses on individual choice and finally looks for the equalization of advantages and disadvantages. Push and pull factors seems very attractive as it covers various aspects- important side in the process of migration decision-making, however there exist some contradictory visions. Some scholars underline its universality¹⁵³, the others do not consider it as a theory, stressing its failure from empirical context.¹⁵⁴ Lee alongside with the migration laws of Ravenstein presented the econometric model push/pull factors. According to his statements, each territory possess certain push and pull aspects, which determine arrival and disposal. Some factors affect the majority of people, while several of them only separate individums. He is the first who pointed at factors, which have effect on migration processes. Push factors list include factors of economic character, such as, unemployment, low wage level, high taxes, and socio-political. Pull factors are consisted from high economic development, high wages, security, the access possibility on the labour market (particularly, on the informal market) etc. There are also medium factors as transport expenses, legal regulations of movements, access to the information regarding the destination region. According to Lee, one and the same factors can differently influence the people that underline the selectivity of migration flows. Pull factors are peculiar mostly to high-educated people, who have certain status in their home country; however, they can gain more favourable condition in the destination country. These types of migrants have a high degree of mobility than low skilled people, who are conducted by negative push factors.¹⁵⁵ People

¹⁵³ Thomas Bauer and Klaus F. Zimmermann, *Causes of International Migration: A Survey*, Crossing Borders: Regional and Urban Perspectives on International Migration Ed. by Gorter, P. Nijkamp, P. and Poot J. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998):95–127.

¹⁵⁴Christina Boswell, "Addressing the Causes of Migratory and Refugee Movements: the Role of The European Union", UNHCR: New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, No. 73. (Hamburg: University of Hamburg, 2002)

¹⁵⁵Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *op.cit.*,47-57.

are the main active agents of migration who take decision regarding migration. Certain life stages of a person became significant aspect in desire for migration. The deficiency of Lee's theory is that he does not concentrate on non-economic factors; he pays attention mainly to economic points.¹⁵⁶ Push and pull model was considered a dominant theory due to its simplicity. Generally two main forces that create push and pull factors are determined: the one is demographic that is used to explain internal migration as well as international migration (population aging in the developed countries and growing tendency of population in developing states), the other is economic, which includes differences in wages and employment perspectives.¹⁵⁷

1.1.5. Theory of Dual Labour Market

The attempt was made to discover correlation between the destinations and sending country, this step was reflected in the dual labour market theory. Dual labor market was developed as a response for overcoming the deficiencies of neoclassical theory. In accordance with this theory, international migration stems from its own needs of modern industrial society's labor market. This theory was formulated by M. Piore in 1979, according to which demand for immigrants work, and especially in developed countries represents the main aspect of international migration. Demand for immigrant's labour M. Piore connected with some fundamental features of modern society of economic character.¹⁵⁸ Employers prefer to engage migrants mainly for secondary sectors where they need migrants labour as local population are employed in the primary sectors where better conditions are provided.¹⁵⁹ In this model interests of capital are regarded as dominant, and little attention is paid to the interests of people involved into migration trends; people are considered as passive actors. M. Piore focuses only on pull factors, losing side of the push factors, related to

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Ronald Skeldon, *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 681, accessed February 19, 2017, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ElqPBAAQBAJ&pg=PT86&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q=681&f=false.

¹⁵⁸ Piore, *Birds of passage*, *op.cit.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

demographic transformations in developing countries and does not consider decision-making mechanisms.

1.1.6. World Systems Theory

This theory became famous due to Wallerstein's understanding of reality, according to whom the world (or country) is demonstrated by a certain system presented by periphery and center. Capitalism brought some changes to periphery, the process of taking of lands from peasants, and urban development take place. Globalization accelerates migration processes; through making big cities need labour of migrants.¹⁶⁰ As economic relations enter to periphery, non-capitalist states form mobile movements intended for migration abroad. Age represents a significant factor; it is regarded as the limitation for all potential migrants and is considered as the main limitation for movements of labour force on national as well as on international levels. Thus, according to Ehrenberg and Smith there is a great tendency for migration between young people of 20-24 years old.¹⁶¹

1.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MIGRATION PERPETUATION

1.2.1. Network and Institutional Theories

In migration studies network theories examine communicative processes as structures that coordinate resources of various social actors. Networks are certain form of social capital through which people reduce costs and risks during migration, but expected gains from migration are increased.

While the number of migrants raises the spread of networks minimizes wages and migration risks, so as migration perspectives raises and following movements causes other new networks. When migration process is launched, social networks became the causes of migration, as promise to decrease risks

¹⁶⁰ Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System.*, *op.cit.*

¹⁶¹ Ehrenberg and Smith, *Modern Labor Economics*, *op.cit.*

and costs related to migration movement.¹⁶² Decision of migrant for certain destination is based on the existence of networks or representations in that country.¹⁶³ Migration networks are understood as established relations between migrants in receiving and destination countries connected by kinship, relationship and common homecountry.¹⁶⁴ These networks connect compatriots who live in homeland or other countries. They represent the social capital, according to which they can make decision for migration.

Meyer found that:

Connections with earlier migrants provide potential migrants with many resources that they use to diminish the risks and the costs of migration: information about procedures (technical as well as legal), financial support, job prospects, administrative assistance, physical attendance, emotional solidarity.¹⁶⁵

The existence of these types of social circles in destination countries also increases the possibility for migrants to return to homeland. This model makes an attempt to show why international migration is a continuing process. It continues the principles of network model for understanding why international migration is an ongoing process. In each destination country there exist institutions which try to preserve relations between host and receiving countries, particularly cultural ties. These types of organizations help migrants who reside in the host countries and strengthen the process of international migration.

1.2.2. International Migration Systems Approach

States which are involved into migration processes and which share large migrants movements between each other are collected under the umbrella of international migration system.¹⁶⁶ Speaking about connections between states, Fielding¹⁶⁷ mentions cultural and material ties. Cultural connections comprise the colonial history and language similarities, material cover geographical

¹⁶²Tatiana Iudina, *Sotsiologiya migratsii: uchebnoye posobie dlya vuzov* (Sociology of Migration: Textbook for High schools) (Moscow: Russian State Sociological Institute, 2006)

¹⁶³Vertovec, "Transnational Networks, *op.cit.*,3.

¹⁶⁴ Douglas S. Massey, et.al. "Theories, *op. cit.*,448.

¹⁶⁵ J-B Meyer, "Network approach versus brain drain., *op.cit.*,93"

¹⁶⁶ Douglas S. Massey, et.al. "Theories, *op.cit.*, 448.

¹⁶⁷ Fielding, *Mass migration and Economic Restructuring, op.cit.*

aspect such as distance between states and costs of trips between countries. Besides this group, he also expresses vision about the direct effect (positive or negative) of linkages presented above, policy (political situation, migration rules), economy (income, engagement and human capital), and society (cultural, social, and demographic) on international migration.¹⁶⁸ All the above mentioned factors can have an impact on return migration. The most detailed analysis will be presented in the empirical part, through examining the case of this research.

1.2.3. Theoretical Explanation of Return and Circular Migration

Many theories, approaches and models were concentrated mainly on the questions what are factors that initiate migration? What are forces that preserve migration as on-going process? But few attempts were made to explain why the return takes place? And if migrants return, will they migrate once again?

In fact several theoretical models shed light on this context. It is impossible to examine all explanations and details of researchers in the framework of this thesis; however, I will concentrate on the most important aspects related to the topic of this study.

As was mentioned previously, neo-classical approach underlined the aspect of high salaries in host country, as a result migrants expect they will be paid accordingly and will gain much more than in their homecountry. Return migration from this perspective will take the form of “unsuccessful story” when migrant failed to earn money, so that he is compelled to return back.

Another quite different vision of this issue is demonstrated by New Economics of Labour Migration which sees return of migrant as an outcome of the fulfilled project, when the main actor of migration earned money, had sent it to households so return migration is seen as a natural outcome and not the failed experience. Movements of migrants to Germany during 1984-1997 was taken as an exemple by Constant and Massey¹⁶⁹, who came to conclusion that

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Amelie Constant and Douglas S. Massey, “Return Migration by German Guestworkers: Neoclassical versus New Economic Theories”, International Organization for Migration, *International Migration* Vol.40

migrants who sent remittances have high levels of engagement on host countries and the existence of spouse in their homeland increases their intention to return. From the context of stay duration, new classical representatives argue that people migrate permanently to increase their wages, while New Economics of Labour Migration is based on temporary movements made by migrants. However, according to the last stay will hang upon the needs of the households, protection, financial ability to buy products and savings.¹⁷⁰ Return migration does not happen suddenly, there exist certain factors that led to this step. The above mentioned approaches concentrated mainly on the migrant's experience, but we should not ignore the fact that return is not a one-sided phenomenon.

Migrant returns to the home country, so the perspectives and the context of country of origin also should be taken into consideration. This attempt was made by structural approach which had shifted the focus from migrant to the country of origin.¹⁷¹ It should be stated the most important difference from two previous theoretical models, which lies in the degree of returnees influence on their home countries, if the return action had place.¹⁷²

Francesco Cerase¹⁷³ distinguished four types of migrants who return; those who could not integrate in destination country; migrants who satisfied their needs and earned money, they return back to their previous life and keep their lifestyle; people who return for retirement and those who are fully equipped with new skills gained abroad during migration process, this category of migrants believe that homecountry will open them perspectives they expect.

Logically, understanding of structuralisms was continued by transnationalism. Transnationalists move on and created theoretical context for larger

(4) (2002): 27-28, accessed February 20, 2017, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2435.00204/pdf>.

¹⁷⁰Jean-Pierre Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited", *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 6, no. 2, 253-279, (2004): 255-256, accessed February 02, 2017, <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01237439/document>.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 257.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁷³Francesco P. Cerase, "Expectations and Reality: a Case Study of Return Migration From the United States to Southern Italy", *International Migration Review*, 8 (2): 245– 62, (1974): 251.

understanding of ties between the host states and sending countries.¹⁷⁴ (See table 1)

Table 1. Theoretical Vision of Return Migration

a) Neo-classical theory- NELM		
Experience of Migrant	Neo-classical Theory	New Economics of labour Migration Approach (NELM)
Return as:	Unsuccessful migration experience, failure Unexpected outcome	Anticipated action after goals were reached Natural result of migration
Duration of Stay as:	Permanent	Temporary
No indications regarding the environment in home country		
b) Structural Theory – Transnationalism		
Experience of Migrant	Neo-classical Theory	New Economics of labour Migration Approach (NELM)
Return:	One ended action (no repetitiveness)	Does not represent the end of migration process Is a part of circular system Is possible: after economic and usefull resources were collected in case of favourable conditions in the home country
Destination country: Country of origin:	Examined not from the perspective of migrant's experience but from social aspects presented in the country of origin	Migrants preserve ties with both destination and home countries Reintegration through periodic visit Strong ties with families in the country of origin

Instead of one single migration trip from home to host country, we can observe that such processes as return and repeat migration became occupy more and

¹⁷⁴ Cassarino, *Theorizing Return Migration.. op.cit.*, 261.

more interest among theoretical circles. Despite its unexplored character both from theoretical as well as from empirical perspectives one of the forms of repeat migration, circular migration became more popular and preferable way of migration among migrants. Thus, examining migration process from Mexico to USA investigators came to result that the majority of migrants are circular, and this tendency is much more popular than that of return migration, that includes only one circle of migration.¹⁷⁵ We find a very simple explanation of this development. Connections between migrants and other people in home and destination countries are provided through these systems. They strengthen circular migration and minimize risks related to migration process. Theory of cumulative causation continued the principle mentioned above, supporting the idea of “migration maintain itself through making more migration”.¹⁷⁶

Massey¹⁷⁷ underlined the importance of social networks in circularity of movements between Mexico and USA. But such characteristics of migrants as age, education, family and marital status are regarded as unnecessary factors for making the other migration trip.¹⁷⁸ Circular migration can be confused by return migration. It should be clearly indicated the difference between these two notions.

Return migration is one migration circle that presupposes the end. It means that people migrate and return to their homeland without making other additional trips. Migration process is considered as a one-time action. On the contrary, circular migration is a continuous movement that aims at improving financial, social and individual status at any time. Circular migration can open the way for using possibilities both in homeland and destination country. This new type of migration gives migrants the choice to keep relations in both states and remain open for any perspective came from homeland as well as from the host country.¹⁷⁹ Circular migration shows that migration process passed the stage of

¹⁷⁵ Massey and Espinosa, “What’s Driving, *op.cit.*”

¹⁷⁶ Douglass S. Massey, “Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration”, *Population Index*, 56 (1):3-26.

¹⁷⁷ Douglass S. Massey, “Understanding Mexican Migration to the United States”, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 92, No. 6 (May 1987): 1372-1403.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*,

¹⁷⁹ Amelie Constant and Klaus F. Zimmerman, “Circular Movements and Time Away from the Host Country”, Discussion Papers, DIW Berlin, German Institute for Economic Research, Berlin, (December

sustaining itself and had risen to another level that presupposes periodic trips to destination country and the most important mobility of migrants turned into circularity.

The appearance of new term, transnationalism, is related to the processes of globalization, development of new technological mechanisms belongs to current migration theories.¹⁸⁰ New technological means help to preserve connection between the sending and destination country. According to such authors as Faist, regularity and steadiness of contacts, departures and activities between countries are principal distinctive features of transnational migration.¹⁸¹ Vertovec underlines the aspect of circular migration, stating that it is the migrant himself who creates circular migration. According to him, they are not 'first time movers', moving from home country to receiving country for engagement. The first experience of migrants will stimulate him to the second one, which will turn into continuous movement. With each movement migrant become more experienced and gets more information about the migration. From the perspective of remittances, he underlines the fact that remittances to homelands are transmitted mainly by circular migrants for their use after return.¹⁸² Nowadays, there are several common conditions under which transnational migration is developed. Currently, migrants are more informed about the possibilities of other countries. Material and non-material costs of migration are decreased; there are less institutional barriers for migration, especially in the case of high-qualified and temporary migrants, world economic integration increased and real costs of communication and trips are reduced. As was mentioned above, transnational migration gives some perspectives regarding the circular migration aspect. It can be said that, circular migration appeared from these transnational principles. Despite the fact that, circular migration is not presented in many legislative documents, however, it takes place in today's reality and became more and more developed. Circular migrants are transnational migrants, who move from destination country to their

2003):3, accessed February 21, 2017. https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/diw_01.c.41109.de/dp390.pdf.

¹⁸⁰Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, *op.cit.*,30.

¹⁸¹Thomas Faist, "Trans Nationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*", Vol. No.23(2),(*Taylor & Francis Ltd*, March 2000):189-222.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

homeland where they have a certain receiving society, making repeating departure between two countries.

As a result, transnationalism that became the result of globalization frameworks represents important prospects for discussing circular migration and circular migrants, actors of circular migration movements. Development of communication, transportation, information exchange – all these factors led to the development of circular migration.

1.2.4. Main Aspects and Principles of Circular Migration

Circular migration is divided into two types: managed and spontaneous. Managed circular migration is occurring in the framework of regulated mechanisms (agreements on labour migrant's exchange). A bright example of such type of migration is German guest workers programmes after 1960. During that time, Turkey sent many of its citizens to Germany according to agreement signed with Germany.¹⁸³ The second type of circular migration includes migrants who make a decision for migration, for a period of stay and return. It comprises spontaneous, natural migration type, not regulated by any mechanisms.¹⁸⁴ From this perspective, it can be said that, Republic of Moldova is involved into 'spontaneous' circular migration and represents a bright example of circular migration movements to different CIS and European countries. Spontaneous type of migration can be divided into two patterns; the first one, migration of workers from sending country of legal or irregular type and the second one is presented by the movements of long-term citizens of destination country that migrate to home countries. The last type belongs to spontaneous as their decision is voluntary not regulated by any mechanism.¹⁸⁵ Circular migration is also related with temporariness, so when we speak about circular migration, we mean temporary migration from the perspective of migration's duration. It should be stated that even if circular migration in its

¹⁸³Wickramasekara, *Circular Migration...*, *op.cit.*,40.

¹⁸⁴United Nations, (UN), *Defining and Measuring Circular Migration*, Final Report of the Task Force on Measuring Circular Migration, Economic Commission for Europe, Luxembourg, (January 19, 2016):1, accessed December 20, 2016, goo.gl/2lWYUv.

¹⁸⁵Wickramasekara, *Circular Migration...*, *op.cit.*,16.

character is a type of temporary migration, these migration types have certain distinctions. In circular migration paradigm lays the repetitiveness of temporary stay. In this framework return is a constitutive circle of circular movements.¹⁸⁶ Another important feature of circular migration is seasonal migration. It is based on certain seasonal programs. According to Newland¹⁸⁷, many circular migration scenarios proposed by developed states include mainly seasonal migration projects. However, non-seasonal programs are generally made in accordance with certain agreements as in case of Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.¹⁸⁸ From perspective of migration effects and advantages circular migration became popular with its 'triple win' phenomenon. According to win-win-win, circular migration provides a lot of advantages to three actors: sending, destination countries and migrants. These effects of circular migration help destination country to meet labour shortages, for country of origin to guarantee remittances for state's development and for migrants themselves to engage and to control their wages.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸⁷ Kathleen Newland et al., "Learning by doing: Experiences of circular migration", *Policy Brief, Migration Policy Institute*, (2008).

¹⁸⁸ Irena Omelaniuk, *The GFMD and Migration and Development*, 2010, Quoted In Massimiliano, Cali Nicola Cantore, *The Impact of Circular Migration on Source Countries*. A simulation exercise, Overseas Development Institute, (November 2010):6.

¹⁸⁹ Steven Vertovec, "Circular Migration: The Way forward in Global Policy?" International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Working Papers, paper 4, (2007):2, accessed March 23, 2017, file:///C:/Users/Atilla/Desktop/WP4%20Circular%20Migration%20Policy.pdf.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PANORAMA: MIGRATION TENDENCIES IN RUSSIA, TURKEY AND MOLDOVA TILL 2000's

2.1. MIGRATION PHENOMENON IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND TURKEY TILL 2000's

2.1.1. "Transparent Borders" in Migration Realities of the Soviet Union

The end of 19th century was marked by the agrarian factor that became one of the most important components of movements in Russian Empire. The number of migrants, constituted 9,0 millions by the beginning of 20th century. According to population census of 1897, 14,6% citizens of the empire lived in other places.¹⁹⁰ Urbanization that took place during that period brought some changes and replaced agrarian factor. Concentration of movements in urban places; processes of resettlements from rural places to urban sectors became the most significant aspect of migration realities of that time. Soviet Union was a 'closed' territory and all events and development within the territory of the SU were under strict control and regulation of the state. However, population movements were accurately controlled by the state. There was no talk about the liberalization of exit-entrance procedure which became possible only after 1990's. Soviet time, which became the most important stage not only in migration but also in other sectors, became famous with such development sectors as industrialization and construction of communication means in the North parts of Soviet territory and some Soviet republics. Taking into consideration the fact that, migration can have different forms, migration system in Soviet Russia represented a combination of organized and forced migration.

¹⁹⁰*Naseleniye, Migratsiya Naseleniya* (Population, Migration of Population), accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.novrosen.ru/Russia/population/migration.htm>.

Organized migration which was conducted and regulated by the state itself was widely used in practices of economic construction in the SU. During 1950's, agrarian flows to Kazakhstan and West Siberia had an important meaning from the perspective of migration development. A considerable part of labour resources were directed to the development of fallow lands in North Kazakhstan Region and South Siberia. Mobilization of labour force was organized routinely for big construction objects of the country, oil and gas sector and other industrial facilities built in the North Siberia and Far East. At the same time, movements were formed from SU to the Republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, territories which suffered lack of qualified personnel for engagement in industrial companies. The above mentioned period was also characterized by the population flow from European Russia to North and Soviet republics which lasted till 1970's.¹⁹¹ During the period 1950-60's industrial modernization in Ukraine, development of heavy industry and land reclamation in Kazakhstan, and mastering of Siberia occupied the main place in the agenda of Soviet's expansion. These evolutions needed large amounts of people resources that were finally provided mainly by Russia and Belorussia.¹⁹² By the mid of 1970's petroleum and gas developments in Western Siberia made Russia the main attractor of migrants. State policies and strategies were directed to encouragement of people who went previously to Kazakhstan and Central Asia to return back.¹⁹³

Special attention on the agenda of migration panorama of SU should be devoted to forced migration provoked by the totalitarian regime of that time. Forced migration was related to forced resettlement of people during Stalin's repressions in 30-50's and deportation of whole nations from their home places to regions of Siberia, Far East and Kazakhstan. Hundreds of thousands of farmers were sent in exile, Germans during the war were pushed to leave their homeplaces, and at the end of the conflict North Caucasus nations as Kalmiks, Ingushs, Crimean tatars, turks-mekhetians and other nations became the

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Mihail Denisenko and Oliga Ciudinovskih, *Migratsii mejdu stranami SNG* (Migration between CIS countries), *Demoscope Weekly*, No.533-534, Institute of Demography of National Research University High school of Economics, accessed December 10, 2016, <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2012/0533/analit04.php>.

victims of forced migration actions implemented by authorities.¹⁹⁴ The majority of them were finally returned to their historical homelands, however, the situation was not fully resolved and this factor caused a number of ethnic conflicts. Another, obligatory migration flows of the Soviet system, was migration that was directly connected with education sector. Many students after graduating university were sent by the state to other districts for 3-4 years, so called program for distribution of students. The majority of them did not return back to home. This obligatory resettlement became the source of migration flows that occurred between the regions of the Soviet Russia as well as between Russia and other states.¹⁹⁵ Even nowadays, in the former Soviet Republics there are many teachers and professors who came to work and remained in the destination place for whole the life creating families and continuing their missions. However, as Ivakhnyuk states that: “Distribution of graduates (*raspredelenie*) – is an administrative mechanism of the migration policy used in the USSR, and aimed at providing economic projects and remote areas with required number of specialists (engineers, technicians, teachers, doctors, etc)”.¹⁹⁶

Millitary events that took place during 20th century had important role in creating migration agenda of the SU. Thus, one of such aspects is related to movements of Germans in 1940's. The first flow took place according to bilateral agreements between Russia and Germany in 1939. The second wave was characterized by movements of Germans - citizens of the Soviet Union in 1934-1944. Consequently, 1939-1944 years in Soviet Union became the source of outflow of more than 600 thousand of ethnic Germans. Another event, Soviet-Finland war 1939-1940 resulted in number of 424 thousands of migrants who went to Finland.¹⁹⁷ Besides military factor, Soviet Union was attractive for foreigners from employment perspective. It was possible for foreign workers

¹⁹⁴Maria Nozhenko, *Russian Federation, Country Profile*, Focus Migration, No.20, Hamburg: Hamurg Institute of International Economics (HWWA), (July 2010):2, accessed May 30, 2017. http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/uploads/tx_wilpubdb/CP_20_RussianFederation_01.pdf.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁹⁶ Irina Ivakhnyuk, “The Russian Migration Policy and Its Impact on Human Development: The Historical Perspective, Scientific series “International Migration of Population: Russia and the Contemporary World”, Human Development Research Paper 2009/14, Vol. 22. Moscow: MAX Press, (2009):3.

¹⁹⁷Alexandr Pronin, *Rossiiskaya Emmigratsiya v otecestvennih dissertatsiyah 1980-2005*, (Russian Emigration in Russian dissertations 1980-2005), Bibliometric analyses LAP (Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011), 29.

from Western countries to be engaged in the territory of Soviet only through legal mechanisms as technical support agreements. This tendency got its culmination during 1930's.¹⁹⁸ As was mentioned previously, migration tendency in the Soviet Union was under strict control, however, the fact that there were some illegal movements into Soviet territory should not be ignored. This aspect was presented by illegal flows specifically from neighbouring Finland during 30's.¹⁹⁹ Despite the fact, expressed above about the close border policies of USSR it should be stated that, closer to 80-90's political refugees appears as a category of migration stocks. This was due to the initiative made by the Congress of USA which adopted a law that contributed to the flow of refugees from the Soviet territory. Germany, USA and Israel became the main donors of Soviet emigrants. Higher wages, better conditions for scientific and technical development in destination countries provoked the outflows of Soviets to other continents.²⁰⁰

2.1.2. New Migration Stage in Russian Federation (1992-2002)

Fall of the great Empire led to the end of transparent borders migration. Old migration 'traditions' had been replaced by new aspects, developments and dimensions. Russian Federation continued intensively its development on the way of migration evolution. New significant steps were made especially in legislative domain that included various mechanisms that Russia began to implement after 1992's. In 1992, Federal Migration Department that controlled and regulated migration processes in Russian Federation was created. Other important efforts were made by the government that adopted legal regulative mechanisms such as, Federal Law No.114 "On the procedure of exit from Russian Federation and entrance to Russian Federation".²⁰¹ One can argue about the effectiveness of these legal structures and mechanisms. However,

¹⁹⁸ Auvo Kostianen, "Illegal Emigration to the U.S.S.R. during the Great Depression", (2012), accessed January 06, 2017, <http://www.genealogia.fi/emi/art/article237e.htm>.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Alexandr Pronin, *Rossiiskaya Emmigratsiya...*, *op. cit.*, 33.

²⁰¹ International Center for Migration, "O Poryadke Vyezda Iz Rossiiskoy Federatsii I Vyezda v Rossiiskuyu Federatsiyu No.114", (*On The Procedure of Exit from Russian Federation and Entrance to Russia No.114*), accessed January 09, 2017, <http://migraciya.msk.ru/folder2/folder18/>.

this issue will be the focus of another research. Internal migration into external one, which was occurred with ex-former Soviet Republics.²⁰² After USA and Germany, Russia became the 3rd leading migration center. Small migration flows during the Soviet Union began to turn into more massive and more varied movements directed Russian Federation. The question here is not about labor migration stocks; this trend will gain its culmination only close to 2000's. However, first indicators of this process appeared in 90's when the number of legal labour migrants worked in Russia in 1994 constituted 129 thousands of people.²⁰³ During the period 1990-2000, forced migrants and refugees became the main players on the migration arena in Russia. Migration flows to Russia increased due to political tensions, military and ethnic conflicts appeared during that time. First massive refugees movement that took its start during Soviet period was provoked by the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan (1987-1991). This was followed by military tensions in Central Asian countries as Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan during 1989-1990. The decline of the SU brought series of military conflicts as, civil war in Georgia (1991-1993), battle for Nagorno Karabach (1991-1994), conflict in Abkhazia (1992-1993), and South Ossetia (1991-1992), military conflict in Transdnestr (1992) and Tacikistan (1992-1997) and the first Chechen war in Russia (1994-1996).²⁰⁴ A range of political developments, followed after the proclamation of independence by former Soviet States, adoption of state language laws, the raise of local nationalism have accelerated the outflows of Russian speaking population from Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Caucasus and Moldova to Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belorussia. The peak of outflows was between 1992-1996. A considerable part of migrants were granted asylum in Russia. As a result, in total 1,3 million of people from former Soviet states received refugee and forced migrants status.²⁰⁵ Immediately after the decline of the SU, volumes and structure of interstate migration flows in its territory have been dramatically

²⁰²Iontsev, *Mejdunarodnaya Migratsiya Naseleniya*, *op.cit.*,41.

²⁰³Elivira Mamontova, *Osobennosti Sovremennoy Migratsionnoy Situatsii v Rossii* (Features of Modern Migration Situation in Russia), (Tambov State Technical University, (2013):78.

²⁰⁴Global Security, "First Chechnya War-1994-1996", accessed March 23, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/chechnya1.htm>.

²⁰⁵Nikita Mrcrcian, *Desiatiletie Vinujdennoy Migratsii, Cto Takoye Vinujdennoy Migratsiya* (Decade of Forced Migration, What is Forced Migration), *Demoscope Weekly* №71-72, July 17-30, 2002, accessed January 15, 2017, <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2002/071/tema01.php>.

changed. The main phenomenon was the transformation of Russia into the main center of attraction for hundreds of thousands of permanent and temporary migrants from former Soviet Republics. According to Russian statistics, during 1992-1999 Russia received almost 3,917.6 thousands of migrants from these states.²⁰⁶ Movements to Russia were composed by two major groups of migrants. At the beginning it was a group, who left their home countries because of certain conflicts, then, it gave way to forced migrants, came to Russian Federation from Central Asian region. Their first intention was to be adapted to Russian society; to take citizenship of Russia or to get status of forced migrant. In comparison with the first group, the last one can be considered repatriates who could not prove the forced character of resettlements as the law requires.²⁰⁷ Besides these two groups mentioned above, a significant part of refugees came from the territory of Ukraine. Tragedy in Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station made people, so-called ecological refugees seek asylum in Russia.²⁰⁸ Registration of forced migrants became possible only in 1992 and reached massive extents. After the mid of 90's a tendency of decrease can be observed, and at the beginning of the new century it was almost stopped. Thus, if in the mid of 90's, hundreds of thousands of people received the status of refugee or forced migrants, in 2003 this number constituted only 4.7 thousand of people.²⁰⁹ Russia continued to remain both sending and receiving country. According to various international institutions on migration at the beginning of 1990's Russia along with a small group of other countries was characterized as the country of emigration and immigration. After the political shift that took place in 1990, Russia began to reconstruct all economy sectors including reconsideration of migration approaches and politics. Two main internal demographic and economic factors dictated migration course in post-Soviet Russia.²¹⁰ Demographic deterioration observed in Russia after 90's put migration on the top of strategically factors in the

²⁰⁶ *Emmigratsiya iz Rossii v Strani Blijnego Zarubejija: Istoriceskiye I Sovremenniye Osobennosti* (Emmigration from Russia to Near Abroad Countries: Historical and Current Features), accessed March 22, 2017, <http://www.cisdf.org/TRM/Ionzev/book-4.2.3.html>.

²⁰⁷ Mukomel, *Migratsionniye Protsessi v Rossii*, *op.cit.*

²⁰⁸ Iontsev, *Mejdunarodnaya Migratsiya*, *op.cit.*, 41.

²⁰⁹ Mukomel, *Migratsionniye Protsessi*, *op. cit.*

²¹⁰ Mamontova, *Osobennosti Sovremennoy*, *op.cit.*, 78.

agenda of country's development.²¹¹ Main outflows from Russia and the development of new types of migration were characterized by economic problems in the country. Transition market economy could not provide job opportunities for people remained without work, consequently, one part of migrating population; mainly high-qualified specialists leave the country for better opportunities abroad. Another group of migrants made Russia get acquainted with such a tendency as circular migration. Many people who remain without job were included into business trips to such countries as Poland, Turkey; however, these trips became periodic and gained the status of circular.²¹² Besides this, outflows from Russia had the evident ethnic character that included the domination of the Germans, the Jews, and Greeks. Interesting fact should be mentioned regarding this aspect; at the beginning of 90's half of the migrants left Russia belong to Moscow and Saint Petersburg cities. According to Statistical department, more than 1 million of people (1076,4 thous.) left Russia during the period between 1987-1999.²¹³ Russia improved its legislative framework concerning migration however, it should be stated that where there is laws, undoubtedly there are also violations. The tendency of illegal migration that Russia began to face gained momentum by the end of 90's. According to data that is not so optimistic, for one legal worker in Russia there were 10 illegal migrants.²¹⁴ From migration perspective Russia entered into new era after the great political crisis 'fully equipped'. Till 1994 it completed its efforts regarding legislative and mechanisms for migration regulation. Remaining the country of immigration and emigration, during the period 1992-2002 Russia was surrounded by the flows of forced migrants and refugees, who could resolve demographic problems in the country on the one hand. By the outflows of its citizens to more developed countries and by appearance of shuttle migration, that evidently showed the economic problems in which Russia was wallowed. Moreover, Russia began 'to feel the smell' of illegal and labour migration,

²¹¹ Janna Zaionckovskaya, "Migratsiya v Sovremennoy Rossii. Migratsiya v Rossii 2000-2012" (Migration in Contemporary Russia, Migration in Russia between 2000-2012),(2013),4.

²¹² Nozhenko, *Russian Federation...*, *op.cit.*,4.

²¹³ Mukomel, *Migratsionniye Protsessi...*,*op.cit.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

processes which will be developed after 2000's and will get new more massive characters.

2.1.3. Turkey: Migration as Ethnic Resettlement and Guest Worker Programms Till 1990's

Migration panorama of Turkey is rather 'motley' and diversified. During all its migration history Turkey encountered with various types and forms of migration. Migration aspect goes back to 20's of the last century when Turkey left behind the Empire and formed its Republic. During that period all sectors suffered radical changes. Migration flows were determined by political and demographic aspects. Due to its 'rich' migration past, Turkey is familiar both with emigration and immigration tendencies. Migration tendencies in Turkey were characterised by forced resettlement movements after the Ottoman Empire was fallen that referred to Turkish societies remained in various parts of Balkans 'labour hands' exchange with European countries. The peak of migration stocks fell to the period between 1923-1960. According to the exchange between Turkey and Greece, dated 1922, the massive flows of migrants came from Greece. Besides this, Turkey became the permanent homeland for Turkish speaking Muslim population from Bulgaria, Turks, Tatars, and circassians from Romania, Turks, Bosnians and Albanians from Yugoslavia.²¹⁵ During the period 1923-1997, Turkey received almost 1,6 million migrants.²¹⁶ Historical ties of Turkey with neighboring countries determined the migration scenario for certain groups of migrants who saw their future within the borders of Republic of Turkey. The process of migration and resettlement was coordinated by the Law adopted in 1934.²¹⁷ Law on Settlement (Law No. 2510, dated June 14, 1934) was presented as one of the significant legal documents that established the

²¹⁵Sema Erder, *Noviye Tendentsii Mejdunarodnot Migratsii Naseleniya I Opit Turtsii* (New Tendencies of International Migration of Population and Experience of Turkey), Quoted in İontsev, V. *Mejdunarodnaya Migratsiya Naseleniya: Rossiya I Sovremenniy Mir* (International Migration of Population: Russia and Modern World). Ed.4, Moscow: Max Press, (2000): 2, accessed May 27, 2017. <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2002/079/analit04.php>.

²¹⁶Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey: A Transformation From Emigration to Immigration". *Migration Policy Institute, Migration Information Source*, (November 1, 2003), accessed May 20, 2017, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/turkey-transformation-emigration-immigration>

²¹⁷Toksöz, Erdoğan and Kaşka, *Irregular Labour Migration..op.cit.*, 17.

contingent of people who can immigrate, take a residence, live or get the refugee status in Turkey.²¹⁸ Muslim communities who speak Turkish were covered by this document. Migrant status was received by the population of Turkish origin and culture; the other groups who migrated to Turkey and wanted to get residence were named 'foreigners'.²¹⁹ In fact, such a distinction between migrants who came to Turkey was the conservative approach of the authorities who tried to create a homogeneous structure of population in Turkey.²²⁰ Turkey received the great amount of migrants from these countries and Turkish demographic situation was radically changed as the major part of these movements got residence and gained certain rights in the territory of Republic of Turkey. After 1945, European countries were focused on reconstruction and evolution of their economies after the post-war processes that needed the attraction of workers from other parts of the world. This was implemented mainly through legal mechanisms as intergovernmental agreements, on the grounds of contracts. Turkey became the crucial 'figure' in this scenario and gained the status of labour force supplier to these countries. The peak of migration flows was alongside with the adoption of plans regarding economic evolution of Turkey. Exit of these workers had the positive factor for Turkey. Politicians of that time believed that flows of low-skilled workers from Turkey to Europe will give them the chance to get new knowledge and experiences will bring a large contribution to country's industrialization.²²¹ Obtaining higher qualification abroad and getting new knowledge regarding the exploitation of high-tech equipment in future will help them use these skills in Turkish companies after their return. However, it should be mentioned that, beginning with 1960's remittances of migrants had a great effect on country's economy. Movements of labour force were mainly due to the initiative of the receiving side. In 1961, Turkey signed an agreement with the West Germany that

²¹⁸ Ahmet İçduygu and Deniz Sert, *Turkey, Country Profile*. Focus Migration, No.5, Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA), April 2009, accessed May 30, 2017, http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/uploads/tx_wilpubdb/CP_05_Turkey_2009.pdf.

²¹⁹ İçduygu, "EU-ization matters..", *op.cit.*, 206.

²²⁰ Ahmet İçduygu, "Türkiye'de Uluslararası Göçün Siyasal Arka Planı: Küreselleşen Dünyada "Ulus-Devleti İnşa Etmek ve Korumak", Quoted in Pusch B, T. Wilkoszewski der.: *Türkiyeye Uluslararası Göç* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 32-33.

²²¹ Nermin Abadan Unat, "Turkish Migration to Europe," Quoted in Cohen, R. (ed.): *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1995):21.

became the dominant destination for Turkish migrants for many years. According to this document, initially 2.500 of Turks went to Germany for work. Nowadays, there are more than 2 million Turks in Germany.²²² Turks migrated to Germany made a contribution to Germany's economy as well as to Turkish. Due to currency accumulation in destination country Turkish citizens could get movable or immovable property in their homelands. Such process had an influence on economy's development, led to investment growth and population employment. After this important step with Germany, Turkey concluded bilateral agreements with such countries as Austria, Netherlands, France and Sweden.²²³ Constitution adopted in 1961 gave more liberty for Turkish citizens in terms of rights for free movements to other countries. That period was marked by the phenomenon of mass migration of labour force to West European countries. An important development that changed migration course was oil crisis of 1973-1974 that finished the 'golden age' of migration stocks to Europe and legal employment of Turkish workers in Europe was limited. The only legal migration ways to Europe lied on the family reunification prospects.²²⁴ Despite the fact that, during the crisis the process of migration stocks were almost stopped, wives and children of Turkish workers continue to come. Starting to supply Europe with low-skilled workers, the wave of migration flows from Turkey changed its character turning into migration for family reunification. The above mentioned migration flows to Turkey had the legal character when migrants gained certain status and remained in Turkey on legal basis. Another important factor that Turkey faced and continues to face nowadays was irregular migration. From historical perspective there are several periods of irregular migration in Turkey, the first two periods fall to the period between 1979-1993.²²⁵ The first wave belongs to 1979-1987. After Iranian Revolution in 1979 large stocks of migrants, the movements of which were politically motivated, were directed to Turkey. These were mostly transit migrants who

²²² Turkey's Parliament, *Almanyaya göçün öyküsü* (The story of migration to Germany), accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.turkmeclisi.org/?Sayfa=Haberler-Yorumlar&Git=Haber-Goster&xHbr=1583>.

²²³ Erder, *Novıye Tendentsii..op.cit.* 21.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

aimed to enter the third country through Turkey. Another, the second maturation period included two different waves of migration flows: massive migration stocks of Iraq and Bulgaria, and movements of migrants from ex-Soviet states with economical motives. These movements laid the foundation of various migration traditions at that time, encompassing asylum seeking, transit and shuttle migration.²²⁶ During the period between 1923-1990 legal migrations mechanisms that existed in Turkey were presented by several important documents such as, the Law on Settlement (1934), focusing on settlement possibilities for foreigners, Turkish Law on Foreigners (Law No. 5683, dated 15 July 1950) and Law on the Residence and Travel Activities of Foreigners (Law No. 7564) regulating residence status of foreigners in Turkey.²²⁷ Refugee and asylum-seekers status in Republic of Turkey is coordinated by 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. After signing it in 1962, Turkey takes some responsibilities regarding refugees and asylum, and put a territorial limitation concerning the origin of this group of migrants.²²⁸ Taking the above mentioned aspects into consideration, it should be stated that, Turkish migration picture between 1920-1990's flourished, covering immigration as well as emigration processes. Flows to Turkey were presented principally by migration for further settlement of ethnic Turks from neighboring countries for resolving demographic structure of population which aimed to be homogeneous. This resettlement side was changed by movements from politically and economically problematic countries. As a result, closer to 1990's Turkey turned into the country that began to receive circular migrants from Soviet Republics. However, these tendencies continue and even gain momentum nowadays when Turkey became the mega center for labour migrants from these countries. The geographical factor in all above mentioned processes did not play the last role. The 'other side of the coin' that included flows of 'labour hands' from Turkish Republic to European countries became the advantageous variant for both sending and receiving parties. Further situation with migrants from Turkey came to naught and was characterized by family reunification factors to Germany and

²²⁶ İçduygu and Aksel, *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, *op.cit.*,12.

²²⁷ İçduygu and Sert, *op.cit.*, 3-4.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*,5.

other European countries as well as by insignificant number of migrants who left Turkish territory.

2.1.4. Turkey from Transit Country to Labour Migration Center (1992-2002)

Due to its geographical location, that put Turkey in a privileged position, migration acquired new shapes. After 1990's Turkey positions itself first of all as a transit country.

Thus, in 1995, Turkey was proclaimed as a transit country:

Migration route that passes by transit through Turkey can be regarded as the most spread of all recently appeared mobility flows between Asia and Africa on the one hand, and European countries on the other. It is evident that, thousands of migrants coming to Europe from developing countries use Turkey as a transit zone for their route to the countries of preferred settlement.²²⁹

The collapse of the SU led to change of internal migration that was limited only by the Soviet territory to external. Persian crisis made many foreign workers from Iraq and Kuwait leave their countries and choose Turkey. Almost 60 thousand of migrants from developing countries came to Turkey through Iraq-Turkey border during the period august 1990-april 1991. However, sooner, when certain conditions were fulfilled by their governments these flows left the territory of Turkey.²³⁰ Another group of transit migrants is presented by Bosnian migrants, the flows of which were initiated at the end of 1992. The majority of Bosnians received refugee status in Western countries, the others returned back to home country and only a small part remained in Turkey. There is no exact statistics regarding this movement, but supposedly it was between 20-25 thousands. By the end of 90's Turkey became temporary shelter for Albanian refugees from Kosovo. Seeing Turkey as a country for temporary stay, finally

²²⁹ International Organization for Migration (IOM). *Transit Migration in Turkey*. Budapest: IOM Migration Information Programme, 1995,4. Quoted in Molodikova I., and Duvell, F., *Tranzitnaya Migratsiya i Tranzitniye Strani, Teoria, Praktika i Politika Regulirovaniya, Migratsiya v Evropu: Obzor* (Transit Migration and Transit Countries, Theories, Practices and Regulation Politics, Transit Migration to Europe: Overview), (2009):37.

²³⁰ Ahmet İçduygu, "The Politics of International Migratory Regimes: Transit migration flows in Turkey", (*UNESCO*,2000):362.

these migrants returned back to Kosovo and only almost 1 thousand people remained. Transit migrants came from Middle Eastern countries. The dominant group of such migrants came from Iraq, Iran, Africa and Bosnia.²³¹ Political, military conflicts, ethnic intolerance, and political tension aspects were on the top of the list of main push factors that made transit migrants come to Turkey. Alongside with the above enumerated points, economic factor also played a significant role in choosing Turkey as a destination.²³² Focusing on irregular migrants in Turkey, İçduygu presented main five countries Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan that became providers of irregular migrants of transit type beginning with 1995.²³³ (See appendix 4)

Migration connections between Turkey and Russian Federation, and particularly new formed states were strengthened during that time. This relationship was formed and consolidated during 90's, passing through such forms as shuttle migration and business trips. After this great shift and easy borders policies Turkey found itself as the main destination country for suitcase traders from post-Soviet states. They did not belong to transit migrants; however, there were cases when these migrants made periodic movements to countries that surround Turkey. This aspect gives the right to say that, suitcase traders partially can belong to transit migration context of Turkey. During 10 years number of migrants increased and reached almost 3 million till 1999.²³⁴

Important point in analyzing Turkish migration panorama refers to irregular migration trend that Turkey began to face even earlier, before 90's. According to classification of irregular migration in Turkey expressed by İçduygu A., period between 1994-2000/2001 that is the third-saturation period is marked by a great number of transit migrants as mentioned above. Moreover, those migrants filled into irregular position. Now, Turkey became the principal destination for irregular transit migrants. These factors made Turkish government takes some efforts and adopt certain instruments; pursue more active policy in order to fight this phenomenon.²³⁵ In 1999 Turkey's efforts in migration field was related to

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 363.

²³² *Ibid.*, 363-364.

²³³ Ahmet İçduygu, *The Labour Dimensions*, *op.cit.*,20.

²³⁴ İçduygu, *The Politics..*,p.363.

²³⁵ İçduygu and Aksel, *Irregular Migration*, *op. cit.*, 12.

the state's initiatives for candidate condition to EU membership, however, this perspective continued its relevance till recent time.²³⁶ Formation of independent states was accompanied by various economic problems made people search for new job possibilities abroad. On this way, Turkey, due to its geographical proximity with some post-Soviet countries began to propose labour possibilities for such countries as Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia and others. Even if this process gained its culmination much later, it can be said that it was initiated after 90's and with time reached huge scales that turned Turkey into a big destination center for labour migrants. During 1995-2005 first irregular labour migrants flows were directed to Turkey from Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation and Ukraine.²³⁷ Due to unpreparedness of Turkish migration system for such flows and the absence of certain legislative instruments in migration field, Turkey received migrants the majority of which worked in Turkey illegally. This factor led not only to illegality of migrants, but it provoked also such phenomena as human trafficking, and labour exploitation of migrants. Legal initiatives were created only after 2000's when labour migration trend got the massive character. However, productivity of such initiatives was not so high, and this can explain the fact why Turkey has so many illegal labour migrants on its territory.

2.2. MIGRATION REALITIES OF REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA BETWEEN 1990-2002

2.2.1. Socio-Economic Development of Moldova

Moldova is an Eastern European country that has common borders with Romania and Ukraine. The territory of the country constitutes 33.8 thousand km*²³⁸, 4,0 thousands km of which is under the control of unrecognized Transnistria (Pridnestrovie). Moldova was part of the Soviet Union 'family' and

²³⁶ Erder and Kaşka, *Irregular Migration...*, *op.cit.*

²³⁷ İçduygu, *The Labour Dimensions*, *op.cit.*,21.

²³⁸ International Organization for Migration, IOM, "For Emmigrants, About Moldova, Geography", accessed December 06, 2017, <http://www.migratie.md/ru/page/o-moldove>, <http://www.migratie.md>.

after its decline proclaimed its independence on 27 august 1991.²³⁹ According to current data, presented by Bureau of Statistics, permanent population of Moldova is 3 millions and 553 thousands people. (Excluding Transdniestria and Bender).²⁴⁰ Preliminary data of Population Census organized in 2014 constituted 2.913.281. However, 329.108 from this number are abroad.²⁴¹ After getting its independence, Moldova came face to face with a line of complex problems of political, economic and social character and attempted to resolve them using its potential and resources. State formation and self-determination took place under the umbrella of socio economic crisis and economic system transformation. Despite the fact that, Moldova practiced fast economic growth and made important advances in reduction of poverty and raise of prosperity, it continues to face economic problems and fluctuations of economical instability. According to World Bank, beginning with 2000's Moldova had a stable growth on average by 5 % every year. However, during 2010-2014 this number was raised till 5,4 %. 2015 year was characterized by a downturn, (-0,5% growth in countries GDP) following by small positive changes in 2016.²⁴² Moldova had no experience in resolving economic and social crisis 'shocks', in conducting reforms, political situation in the country and territorial disintegration. Soviet Union's collapse led to the elimination of economic relations, to the appearance of some obstacles to circulation of goods, to restrictions in access of new independent states to new formed markets. Moldova tried to make first steps towards its independent and prosperous future. The attempt to construct a prosperous country turned into economic crisis, inflation, unemployment and "cloudy" prospects for the bright future for Moldova citizens. All these factors opened 'window' for many people who became unsatisfied with the development course in Moldova and countries economic instability. This 'light at the end of the tunnel' gave them the chance to change their economic situation

²³⁹ Presidency of Republic of Moldova. "Declaration Regarding the Independency of the Republic of Moldova", accessed March 22, 2017, <http://www.presedinte.md/rus/declaration>.

²⁴⁰ National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, *The Number of Permanent Population of Republic of Moldova*, accessed December 06, 2017. <http://www.statistica.md/newsview.php?l=ru&idc=168&id=5156>.

²⁴¹ National Bureau of Statistics, *Informative Note...*, op.cit.

²⁴² World Bank (WB). *Moldova Poverty Assessment 2016, Poverty Reduction and Shared Prosperity in Moldova: Progress and Prospects*. World Bank Group, Report No.105722-MD, (May 2016):1.

and make the country at least to stabilize its national economy. During the period when it was called “flowering Moldavia” began to transform to country which will lose its population later as a result of mass migration process. Many people could not imagine than, that they will be later called migrant or ‘gasterbaiter’ being employed far from their homeland on legal, and in most cases illegal grounds. But nowadays, it’s a reality that affects almost every family in Moldova.

2.2.2. Dynamics of Migration Processes and Main Factors

The period after 1990’s, which was characterized by various important political changes in the world, particularly decline of the Soviet Union and proclamation of independence by Republic of Moldova became the activator of migration processes in the country. Migration phenomenon in Moldova goes back to 1990’s, to the ethnic conflicts (specifically conflict in Transnistrian region) which provoked migration related to ethnical reasons to Russia and Ukraine.²⁴³ In general, one can state that during the period after Moldova gained its independence, from 1993 till 1997 year, the vast majority of migration flow (approx., %97 of official emigrants) comprised people leaving the country for permanent residence, as a rule according to programs of state repatriation (as in case of Israel or Germany) or for some other post-Soviet states on ethnic ground (as in case of Ukraine, Russia and partially Belorussia).²⁴⁴ Only starting with the second half of the 90’s, a step was done towards the organized and consistently growing economically motivated process of migration. The main reasons of such increase were the economic situation in the country that was not very favorable, stable low GDP growth rates, as well as elimination of many industrial and agricultural enterprises. Final results of this tendency became evident in 1997-1998, when volume of industrial and agricultural production,

²⁴³CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link between Migration and Development in Moldova*, Centre of Sociological, Politological and Psychological Analysis and Investigations and International Agency for Source Country Information, Report, Prepared for: World Bank within Migration and Remittance Peer-Assisted Learning Network (MIRPAL), (Chisinau: 2010):9.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

export indexes was fallen.²⁴⁵ As was mentioned above, the aspect of migration in Moldova gained the massive character due to economic causes. Several tendencies of migration are recognized in literature. Economic crisis in 1998 in Russian Federation, traditionally important partner of Moldova aggravated economic situation leaving the considerable part of Moldovan population below the extreme poverty line. Under these conditions flows of migration from Moldova began to change, from ethnic repatriation to economically motivated migration. Consequently, economic crisis in Russian Federation in 1998 provoked this tendency which lasted till the end of the 2000's and which appeared as a reaction to poorness. The first wave was commercial migration consisting in periodic trips of Moldovans for getting cheap goods to be resold on the domestic market.²⁴⁶ However, by the end of 90's tightening of the border crossing regime and establishment of parity price led to disappearance of these types of movements. Due to these changes, commercial migration in Moldova has almost stopped as a type. Beginning with 1999 till nowadays the above mentioned trend was replaced by organized as well as illegal labor migration that constitutes the main ground of migration movement of Moldova citizens.²⁴⁷ Current trend in migration processes of Moldova became the 'echo' to the chances presented by international labour markets which can be perceived as a great contribution to poverty reduction in Moldova.²⁴⁸

Migration trends in Moldova became the main focus of wide analysis during all its development and evolution. IOM distinguished four stages of migration, which in general coincides with the above mentioned migration aspects. The first period between 1990-1994, the second 1995-2000, third 2001-2006 and the

²⁴⁵Valerii Mosneaga, *Premisele dezvoltării economiei naționale în contextul crizei economice* (Economic Crisis and Migration: Case Study Republic of Moldova), Materialele Conferinței Științifico-Practice Internaționale, May 28-29, Balti, (2010):12-15.

²⁴⁶ Valerii Mosneaga with reference to Evdokimova L., *Kommerceskaya migratsiya naseleniya Respubliki Moldova: osnovniye etapy i ih karakteristika* (Commercial migration of the population of the Republic of Moldova: main stages and their characteristics). *Naseleniye Moldovi i trudovaya migratsiya: sostoyanie i sovremennyye formy* (Moldovan population and labor migration: status and current forms). Chisinau, CAPTES, 2000, 65-83.

²⁴⁷Valerii Mosneaga, *Naselenie Moldovy v kontekste sovremennykh migratsionnykh protsessov, Moldova – Pridnestrov'e: Rabotaya vmeste radi us- peshnogo budushchego* (Moldovan Population in the Context of Current Migration Processes, Moldova – Transdnistria: Working Together for a Prosperous Future), Chisinau: Publishing House, (2009):156-172.

²⁴⁸Elina Eskola, *Investing in a Brighter Future Abroad? The Need for a Domestic Alternative in Moldova*, SIDA, Chisinau: 2007.

final started from May 2006.²⁴⁹ Even if each of these stages has its own specific features, economic factors and labor migration remain the main points that represent general ground for development of migration phenomenon. Besides migration on ethnic grounds, migration for trade purposes and labor migration-several models expressed above, and educational migration began to develop. The last type of migration became widespread from the end of 90's when young people preferred to get education abroad. After finishing their studies many of them did not return to Moldova. They preferred to find a job in the country where they get studied. Experts point the fact that, educational migration is transformed into the leaving channel for permanent residence in another country. Universities from Moldova sign agreements with foreign educational institutions. Even if they are obliged to return back to Moldova, according to the points of agreement, the majority of students obtaining better conditions of life abroad and better scholarship decide to remain there. Many students come back to Moldova, but unfortunately after some time and at the first opportunity they leave.²⁵⁰ Republic of Moldova provides movement freedom for its citizens and this aspect is stated in the Constitution, according to which "citizens enjoy the protection of their State both at home and abroad". Article 27 of the Constitution states that: "Every citizen of the Republic of Moldova is guaranteed the right to choose his or her place of residence anywhere within the national territory, to leave, to emigrate and to return to the country".²⁵¹ (see appendix 5)

There are several important aspects, so called 'push and pull' factors among the mechanisms that stimulate migration. Migration from Moldova to a great extent is due to economic reasons. (Push factor for more than 72% of migrants).²⁵² Migrants from Moldova are pushed mainly by poverty, lack of appropriate job opportunities, low salaries and unstable economic situation in the country. Moldovans who leave the country are 'inspired' mainly by such pull

²⁴⁹ International Organization for Migration (IOM). *Extended Migration Profile of the Republic of Moldova. Migration Trends and Policies in the Black Sea Region: Cases of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine*, Chisinau: IOM, 2008.

²⁵⁰ CIVIS & IASCI, *op.cit.*,46.

²⁵¹"The Republic of Moldova's Constitution, 29 July 1994, Art.18 & Art.27." Published in Monitorul Oficial No. 1, art No.: 1, August 18, 1994, accessed March 17, 2017. <http://lex.justice.md/viewdoc.php?id=311496&lang=2>.

²⁵²European Training Foundation. "The contribution of Human Resource Development to Migration Policy in Moldova." 2008.

factors as high level of earnings, better standards for living, wide opportunities for personal development and people-migrants with 'successful stories' who live abroad (relatives and close friends).²⁵³ Another significant aspect related to 'pull' factors, especially referring to CIS states is geographical proximity and cheap trip costs, possibilities of visa free movement²⁵⁴, close language environment and common cultural values.

2.2.3. Effects and Causes of Labour Migration Tendency

The phenomenon of mass labour migration in many respects became a "lifebuoy" for many people from ex-Soviet states. However, migration in Moldova in this list is not an exception. It became the most remarkable aspect that changed not only the life of certain people, migrants, but which help the country to save its economy through remittances sent by labor migrants and to remain as a country on the global map. Economic problems that Moldova began to face at the beginning of 1990's of the last century brought the country to population poverty (42% of population was below the poverty) which turned for Moldova into massive labor migration of population. Consequently, external labor migration became for Moldova citizens a real mechanism for survival under the umbrella of new economic conditions. Integration of Moldova into the global economics changed the social and economic system of society, proposed new variants of population conduct strategy in the framework of economic transition. The global economic crisis reinforced by such local factors as economic problems of post-Soviet states and the absence of political stability in recent years in Moldova just strengthens the economic pressure on country's population that increasingly choose the route of temporary labor migration or

²⁵³M. Walewski et.al. *The impact of migration and remittances on the rural areas of Moldova and Case Study on migration management in Poland*. Centre for Social and Economic Investigations (CASE), 2008, p.21. Quoted in CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening the Link between Migration and Development in Moldova*. Centre of Sociological, Politological and Psychological Analysis and Investigations and International Agency for Source Country Information. Report, Prepared for: World Bank within Migration and Remittance Peer-Assisted Learning Network (MIRPAL). Chisinau, 2010,12.

²⁵⁴ Matthias Luecke, Toman Omar Mahmoud and Pia Pinger, *Patterns and Trends of Migration and Remittances in Moldova*, The CBSAXA Survey 2006, International Organization for Migration (IOM) & Sida,(2007): 25-26.

finally leave the country choosing other regions for its permanent residence. The uniqueness of the situation lies in the fact that, the mechanism to go abroad for labor purposes was developed on the grounds of 'private' (and in most cases illegal) level, where all advantages and benefits of employment abroad have long been created. If at the initial stage this process had shuttle and border character, with time the development of migration acquired more permanent character and such destination states were determined as: CIS countries, mainly Russia and later non-CIS countries. Developments of the second half of 90's and particularly economic and financial crises of 1998 gave a new impulse to labor migration tendency from Moldova. Nowadays, the scale of labor migration has epic character to the country. A great majority of population is involved into this process. It affects all spheres of Moldova society's life, including economics, social life, and demographics. Experts of International Labor Migration (ILO) consider that economic situation in the country is the main push mechanism that gave start to such a massive process.²⁵⁵ Other factors that can be also mentioned are: deindustrialization of Moldova economy and as a result, reduction of work places in the real economy sector. Problems in social infrastructure (education, health) particularly in villages and towns are expressed by service quality decrease and reduce of their accessibility. In studies, conducted in 2007, the share of Moldovans who wanted to migrate in future is rather high as 44,2% of the population want to migrate, particularly to European countries.²⁵⁶ Mosneaga V. presents results of sociological studies. Thus, monitoring data conducted by sociologic company CBS AXA in 2008-2009 showed that this tendency remains in force. People continued to dream and wished to go abroad for a work. Moreover, during the crises aspirations of these people have gained impetus.²⁵⁷ Crises of 2008-2010 showed that; mass return Moldavian labor migrants to Moldova do not take place. Furthermore, economic crisis gave new impulse to push factors as a result of which many Moldovan people remained without work. Under these

²⁵⁵ (IOM). *Extended Migration op.cit.*,26.

²⁵⁶ CIVIS & IASCI, *op.cit.*, 17.

²⁵⁷ Valerii Mosneaga, *Sotsialno-Politieskoye Vliyanie Trudovoi Migratsii V Moldove* (Socio-Political Impact of Labour Migration in Moldova), Scientific Analytical Report 2012/17, CARIM-East RR 2012/17, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, (San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2012):2.

conditions migration potential was growing: practically every third respondent intended to search a work abroad or even did not know what to do.²⁵⁸ Moldova citizens who have biometric passports can travel to Schengen countries without visa and stay there for some months without employment. Liberalization of this regime became the optional factor for migration. During the period 2000-2011 the increase of intensity in labor migration is observed; the share of population that lived temporarily outside the country for job or job search was increased from 3,8% till 8,3%, but in proportion to economically active part of population from 8,4% till 25,2%. During the period between 2006-2008 the intensity of migration processes slightly decreased, which was caused by such aspects as tightening of visa regime within expanding the boundaries of the European Union, and global financial crises. But in general, the above mentioned causes did not affect the dynamics and directions of migration flows (to CIS and EU states). Labour migration of Moldovan population affected economic, social and demographic situation in the country. From economic perspective remittances sent by labour migrants from abroad save state's economy. According to WB, despite the fact that remittances decreased beginning with 2010, in 2015 it constituted 23,4% of GDP.²⁵⁹ Remittances constitute almost fourth part of Moldovan GDP. Moldova has its place in the first 5 countries dependent from remittances, after Tajikistan, Liberia, and Kirgizstan. However, taking into account that these are only official data, remittances sent through official means, there exists informal side of this aspect that proves that the real dimensions of remittances can be much higher. Another important impact of labour migration is its influence on social groups especially children and elderly, who represent the most vulnerable levels of society. The numbers of children remained without supervision remains high and constitute one of the current problems of Moldovan society. On the one hand, migration has positive affects on the state's economy, raise of migrants level of life, however, on the other side its intensity and duration has a lot of negative social and economic consequences.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁵⁹ World Bank (WB), "World Development Indicators, Moldova", accessed December 21, 2016, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS&country=MDA>.

2.2.4. Circular Migration and Return of Moldovan Labour

Migrants

Moldova got acquainted with such tendency as circular labour migration. It belongs to temporary migration when migrants are engaged in seasonal works like in Russia, circulating between home and destination country. Circular type of migration grows from year to year and gains more and more attention from the side of researchers and politicians. Many Moldovans prefer this type of migration that provides them opportunity to work abroad and to remain close to Moldova. The importance and severity of the problem with massive population flows encourages Moldovan authorities to seek various instruments for reducing negative results of migration process and make migration work in favour of state's development. Meanwhile, for a long time migration policies were not included in priorities of the country's authorities. Large flows of remittances from abroad were seen as a mechanism for poverty reduction that partially compensated the low efficiency of state social politics. It is involved into these processes, but it has a very limited agenda regarding this type of migration. From managed circular migration point of view Moldova has only one regulative mechanism - a bilateral agreement with Italy.²⁶⁰ The other cases constitute more spontaneous, seasonal or temporary circular migration aspects. These are labour migration movements from Moldova to Russian Federation and from Moldova to Turkey. However, these tendencies were not investigated and the statistics about how many migrants are involved into this process is rather scarce. Moldova made some attempts in this direction, but the much more efforts should be done in order to 'maintain' its citizens in the country and reduce all negative effects of labour migration.²⁶¹ In order for Moldova to turn labour migration into circular migration various plans and actions should be put on the table. Moldova initiated actions in the field of circular migration and proposed to take part in pilot project. In 2008, Moldova was selected for the

²⁶⁰Tatiana Ciomas, *The Legal Framework for Circular Migration in Moldova*, CARIM-East Explanatory Note 12/74, Migration Policy Center, September (2012): 8.

²⁶¹*Ibid.*,8.

implementation of project in the field of circular migration.²⁶² However; in general there are more than 70 projects in this sector.²⁶³ Despite the fact that, there are no certain results regarding this tendency, Moldova continues to work in this direction. Step by step, Moldova realizes projects related to the stimulation of return of labour migrants from abroad; however all these initiatives remain passive as many people still migrate for the better future.

²⁶²Valeriu Mosneaga, *Circular Migration of Population of Republic of Moldova*, Socio-political Module, CARIM-East Explanatory Note 12/68, European University Institute, Robert Schuman, Centre for Advanced Studies, Chisinau: September, (2012):6.

²⁶³Ekaterina Buracek, *Moldova: Sozdati Usloviya dlya Vozvrasheniya Migrantov domoy* (To Create Conditions for Return of Migrants Back to Home). *Migration XXI*, №2 (11), March- April, 2012, 12-14. Quoted in Mosneaga, Valerii. *Circular Migration of Population of Republic of Moldova, Socio-political Module*. CARIM-East Explanatory Note 12/68, European University Institute, Robert Schuman, Centre for Advanced Studies, Chisinau: September, 2012.

CHAPTER 3

CIRCULAR LABOUR MIGRATION FROM MOLDOVA TO RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND TURKEY: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

3.1. GENERAL CONTEXT

Russia and Turkey had been and remain two important host countries for labour migrants from Republic of Moldova. While ones prefer to migrate to Russia, the other contingent of Moldovan population chooses Turkey for employment. Despite the fact that, these two destination countries both are included into labour migration tendency of Moldovans, Russia continues to preserve its leading position among all “last stations” of migrants till nowadays. In 2016, Russian Federation continued to remain the leading country of Moldovan people for employment. According to current statistics presented by National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)²⁶⁴ the total number of migrants who worked or were looking for work abroad in 2016 constituted 319 thousand people, from which 184,8 (28,96%) thousand people choose Russian Federation as host country. In this list, Turkey can be seen by inconsiderable share comparing to Russian direction, this number is 10,4 thousand (1,64%) of Moldovans. The above mentioned picture shows the same tendencies presented by Labour Force Survey in 2012.²⁶⁵ (See appendix 6)

As a result, the majority of Moldovans choose Russian Federation for employment, and only a small group prefers to go to Turkey. Russian Federation appears as an important actor on Moldovan labour migration arena.

²⁶⁴ National Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Databank, Labour Force and Earnings, Labour Force Migration. Accessed May 30, 2017.
http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/pxweb/en/30%20Statistica%20sociala/30%20Statistica%20sociala_03%20FM_03%20MUN_MUN070/MUN070200.px/table/tableViewLayout2/?rxid=b2ff27d7-0b96-43c9-934b-42e1a2a9a774

²⁶⁵ National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey 2012, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

It is necessary to mention that, in case of both states, statistics regarding the number of migrants faces some problems and practically impossible to know the precise data regarding the number of Moldovans because many of them work or stay illegally on the territory of host countries. In Russia as well as in Turkey many migrants prefer to remain invisible; as they have registration on the territory of Russia and residence permits in Turkey but they have no legal documents for employment, or there is a contingent which is completely irregular. Consequently, it is impossible to enumerate all these invisible and irregular Moldovan migrants that form a great part of migrants engaged in host countries labour markets. Taking into account the above mentioned aspects, one should ask why some migrants prefer to go to Russia, and the others choose Turkey?

3.2. PUSH AND PULL FACTORS IN CHOOSING RUSSIA AND TURKEY

As we noticed from the theoretical part of this study, migration process does not appear by itself. For understanding why some labour migrants from Moldova migrate to Russian Federation and the others to Turkey, it is necessary to examine in general the factors that push them to migrate and in particular, whereby their migration to certain direction is motivated. In this analytical part of the research I will try to analyze the principal push and pull factors regarding labour migration from Moldova to Russia and Turkey. As Lee mentioned in his postulates, migration process is initiated due to 'push' and 'pull' factors. It is interesting to see the power of Lee's approach in explaining the study case of this thesis. Will it completely clarify the panorama of migration factors to two destinations or only a part of his principles are currently in force we will see in the following pages. By the end of this section we will have a general idea about the success of this model in explanation of labour migration to Russia and Turkey that became the focus of this chapter. However, let us return back to our topic. It became clear from the previous chapter that Moldovan migration, as well as migration in other regions, is motivated by various push and pull

aspects. And taking into consideration that, after the decline of the Soviet Union Moldova faced economic problems that caused high unemployment rates, economic and political instability; low wages, absence of any production, and socio-demographic problems became the main activators of migration tendency.

3.2.1. Economic and Social Factors

Firstly, it is necessary to clarify that on the root of any migration and particularly of labour migration cases lays economic causes. Case study of my thesis is not an exception; migrating to Russia and Turkey Moldovans are conducted by economic motives, which were clearly expressed by Ravenstein and Lee. Statistics show that, Moldovans are pushed to go to Russia because of such economic problems as unemployment and low salaries in home country.²⁶⁶ (See table 2)

Table 2. Distribution of migrants by the reason for leaving abroad and by groups of countries where they worked, gender and areas

Thousand people

	Country groups			
	Total	EU 27	Russia	Rest of the world
Total	318.3	91.5	195.5	31.2
Low salaries	145.7	45.3	87.8	12.6
Jobless	164.0	42.0	104.7	17.3
Other reason	8.6	4.2	3.1	1.3
Men	210.0	42.2	153.0	14.8
Low salaries	94.4	18.9	69.7	5.7
Jobless	111.9	21.5	81.7	8.7
Other reason	3.7	1.7	1.5	0.0
Women	108.3	49.4	42.5	16.4
Low salaries	51.3	26.3	18.0	7.0
Jobless	52.1	20.5	23.0	8.6

²⁶⁶National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, *Labour Force Survey 2008*. Chisinau, (2009):16.

Other reason	4.9	2.5	1.5	0.0
Urban	103.6	34.6	56.7	12.2
Low salaries	56.7	20.4	31.2	5.1
No jobs	43.4	12.6	24.3	6.5
Other reason	3.5	1.7	1.2	0.0
Rural	214.7	56.9	138.8	19.0
Low salaries	88.9	24.9	56.5	7.5
No jobs	120.7	29.5	80.3	10.9
Other reason	5.1	2.5	1.9	0.0

Source: NBS, *Labour Force Survey 2008*.

According to the survey conducted in Russian Federation in 2012²⁶⁷, interviewed Moldovans mentioned the following causes for their departure: 73,2%-unemployment, 64,7% earning money for daily needs, 44,8%-for education and treatment, 37,9%-for high-priced needs of households members, 30%- social instability in Moldova, 24,1%-for investment in migrants households. The above mentioned aspects correspond with Lee's vision of push factors conducted by economic framework.

However, while analyzing push factors that have a decisive role in choosing Russia or Turkey; from the economic framework we can mention the same umbrella for both destination countries. From this perspective, economic factors that make Moldovans to go to Russia and to Turkey are unsatisfactory living and working conditions, difficulties in finding the job place for financing themselves and their families. Speaking generally, outflows of labour migrants from Moldova to Russia and Turkey are conditioned by unsatisfactory financial situation of population that does not permit to meet even daily needs. Migrants are conducted by the same economic motive.

One of the important economic aspects between Moldova and host countries lies on wage differences. Despite the fact that, the spectrum of migration area for migrants from Moldova is much diversified, Moldovans are employed in countries of European Union, in USA, etc. Moldovan migrants rarely migrate to developing countries that cannot provide them necessary conditions for

²⁶⁷ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii, op.cit.,27*.

employment however they prefer to go to destinations rich of economic opportunities in contrast to Moldova. The first and the most important incentive for their migration decision are high wages. In Russia and Turkey the economic climate and development prospects allow the employers to pay to Moldovans wages that are higher in comparison with the salaries they get in homecountry. Wages aspect was presented in Lee's pull factors and also continued by the representatives of neo-classical theoretical approach, such as, Hick²⁶⁸, who ignoring some important pull factors insisted on the fact that distinction in wages level represents a stimula for migration. As a result, people from the states with low wages migrate to the states with high salary levels. And Moldovan case represents a bright example of this explanation. Flows of Moldovans are directed to Russia and Turkey where they can have higher wages. It is necessary to mention that in case of Russia, as presented in table 3, the majority of Moldovan migrants who are engaged in this destination country earn monthly the sum between 500-1000, the second big group more than 1000 USD.²⁶⁹

Table 3. Monthly salary of Moldovans abroad

Average amount of monthly salary	Total	Group of countries		
		EU 27	Russia	Rest of the world
Total	410.4	88.1	286.5	35.9
Till 500 USD	36.7	3.4	29.4	3.9
501-1000 USD	182.6	34.3	132.6	15.6
1001-2000 USD	52.6	19.0	30.1	3.6
More than 2001 USD	1.9	1.0	0.7	0.2
Refused to answer	136.6	30.3	93.7	12.6

Source: NBS, *Labour Force Survey 2012*.

²⁶⁸ Hicks, *The Theory of Wages, op.cit.*

²⁶⁹ National Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey 2012, op.cit.*,44.

According to Keough²⁷⁰, in 2005 Moldovan migrant women's salaries in Turkey varied around \$300 per month. However, in 2014 Akalın²⁷¹ underlined that migrant women who are engaged in domestic sector take the amount between \$400-800. Taking into consideration that the majority of women from Moldova and especially from Gagauzian region work in domestic sector, and the fact that during several years currency had suffered some changes one can suppose that the average monthly salary of Moldovans in Turkey constitute \$500-1000. These sums are considered a dream for Moldovan migrant who earn scanty sums in homecountry. The average monthly salary in Moldova in 2015 constituted 4.538,4 MDL²⁷². These numbers show a great discrepancy between wages in Moldova and both host countries. As a result, higher salaries in Russia as well as in Turkey became the attractive factor for choosing these countries for labour migration.

Besides high wages, another aspect that became the stimulating motive for Moldovans migration is the access to labour markets in Russia and Turkey. Migration reality in both countries is demonstrated by the presence of Moldovan migrants which can be explained first of all by the possibility of their access to formal as well as informal employment sectors. Access to labour markets of Russia and Turkey matched with the principles of dual labour market, which insisted on the demand for labour force. Certainly, if Moldovans can access to market and be employed, it means that there is certain demand. Taking into consideration that this approach rejects the significance of push and pull factors, it insists on the needs of states and their demand in labour resources. If the first part of this view does not correspond to the realities of this research case, as the push and pull factors occupy an important role, the second part, which can be put into line with pull factors, quite clearly explains the situation with Russia and Turkey. It also corresponds with Lee's principle that consists in access to labour market. The development of construction sector that became the result of the growing economic boom in Russian Federation

²⁷⁰ Keough, "The Traffic in Gagauz Moldovan Women, *op.cit.*

²⁷¹ Ayşe Emel Akalın, "Türkiye'de Göçmen Ev İşçilerinin Çalışma Koşulları," Hacettepe University, 2014, 335.

²⁷² National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, *Statistical Yearbook 2015*. Chisinau: 2016, accessed February 12, 2017, http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronice/Chisinau/Anuar_Chisinau_2016.pdf.

raised the demand of law-skilled workers. It is impossible to imagine the employment of Moldovans in Russia without this important stage.²⁷³ Thus, as for Russia, its labour market attracts labour 'hands' practically from all over the post-Soviet area, including Moldova. As we saw from the previous paragraphs, it 'swallows' more than 50% of Moldovan migrants from Moldova which points to the need in labour migrants.

As in case of Russia as well as Turkey, when the issue comes to migrants, including Moldovans it is unlogically to expect the engagement on the primary sector that can be accessed only by citizens of host countries. Turkish system does not provide migrants possibilities in job sectors where they can cross with local population.²⁷⁴ Markets propose employment possibilities that requires law or medium-skilled specifications. However, due to the fact that Russian legislation is much more liberalized than Turkish in terms of providing citizenship for Moldovan migrants, the chances of Moldovans to be accepted to more so-called 'high-level' jobs as Russian citizens is much higher in Russia than in Turkey. Moldovan workers are employed in the works that the local population does not want to do or require high salaries from employer. As is commonly believed, so-called 'dirty' works are performed by migrants, and Moldovan migrants also take part in this types of engagement. They are used to work in low-level jobs, such as construction in Russian case which is the main field where men from Moldova are involved, and domestic and sales in case of Turkey. These are job sectors that require low or medium level of accomplishment²⁷⁵.

Labour Force Survey²⁷⁶ indicates that construction and commerce sectors represent the main occupational focuses for Moldovan migrants in Russia. If men are mostly occupied in construction, women on the other part, work in commerce and construction²⁷⁷. (See table 4)

²⁷³ Alin Chindea, et.al., *Migration in Moldova, Country Profile 2008*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration, October (2008):45, accessed May 27, 2017, http://iom.hu/PDF/migration_profiles2008/Moldova_Profile2008.pdf.

²⁷⁴ Toksöz, Erdoğan and Kaşka, *Irregular Labour Migration in Turkey*, *op. cit.*, 23.

²⁷⁵ Luecke, Omar and Pinger, *Patterns and Trends of Migration*, *op.cit.*

²⁷⁶ National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey, *op.cit.*,31-32.

²⁷⁷ National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey, *op.cit.*,31-32.

Table 4. Employment sectors by destination regions, gender and areas*Thousand people*

Employment Sectors	Country Groups			
	Total	EU 27	Russia	Rest of the World
Total	312.6	90.3	191.5	30.8
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	7.6	5.3	1.3	1.0
Industry	16.5	4.0	10.7	1.7
Constructions	165.8	25.9	130.2	9.7
Commerce	35.5	4.2	27.6	3.7
Hotels and restaurants	8.4	3.4	3.8	1.2
Transports and communications	9.9	2.3	7.3	0.0
Services in private households	61.2	42.7	6.0	12.4
Other activities	7.7	2.5	4.5	0.0
Men	205.5	41.3	149.6	14.6
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	6.6	4.8	1.1	0.0
Industry	10.3	2.3	6.7	1.4
Constructions	152.1	25.8	117.4	8.9
Commerce	17.3	3.1	12.2	2.1
Hotels and restaurants	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transports and communications	9.4	2.0	7.1	0.0
Services in private households	3.4	1.0	2.0	0.0
Other activities	4.6	1.6	2.8	0.0
Women	107.1	49.0	41.9	16.1
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Industry	6.1	1.8	4.1	0.0
Constructions	13.7	0.0	12.7	0.0
Commerce	18.2	1.0	15.4	1.6
Hotels and restaurants	6.8	2.6	3.4	0.0
Transports and communications	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
Services in private households	57.7	41.7	4.1	12.0
Other activities	3.1	0.0	1.7	0.0

Employment Sectors	Country Groups			
	Total	EU 27	Russia	Rest of World
Urban	101.6	34.1	55.4	12.0
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	2.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Industry	5.0	1.6	2.7	0.0
Constructions	46.7	9.3	33.8	3.6
Commerce	15.8	2.7	11.3	1.9
Hotels and restaurants	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transports and communications	4.3	0.0	3.1	0.0
Services in private households	21.1	15.3	1.5	4.3
Other activities	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rural	211.0	56.1	136.1	18.8
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	5.7	3.7	0.0	0.0
Industry	11.5	2.4	8.0	1.0
Constructions	119.1	16.6	96.3	6.1
Commerce	19.7	1.5	16.3	1.8
Hotels and restaurants	4.8	2.0	2.5	0.0
Transports and communications	5.6	1.2	4.2	0.0
Services in private households	40.1	27.4	4.6	8.1
Other activities	4.6	1.3	3.0	0.0

Source: NBS, Labour Force Survey 2012.

It should be mentioned that, construction works in Russia are divided into two groups: hard works, as construction of buildings and other facilities that presupposes men engagement, and reparation services, where women from Moldova can be employed.

In Turkey, migrants from Moldova and particularly Moldovan women, that represent the major migrants category alongside with other migrants from post-Soviet countries became popular in such sectors as house services / house keeping, looking for children and the elderly people, textile and entertainment.

Nowadays, the domains where Moldovans can find work are rather varied as they can be employed in shops, cargo companies²⁷⁸. Taking into account that, Turkey is considered a country with high level of production, it can say that Moldovans do not suffer problems in finding jobs. However, all the works they perform require low level of qualification. Main occupation fields in Turkey presuppose women 'hands'. The needs of Turkish market are oriented mainly to women jobs, leaving men behind the 'boat'. This aspect represents a difference between Russia and Turkey in terms of Moldovans, while the first proposes jobs both for men and women, the last attracts mainly women. However, the presence of Moldovan men in Turkey should not be ignored even if this number represents an inconsiderable category of Moldovan migrants.

As was mentioned above, Moldovans have access to Russian and Turkish formal as well as informal markets. In the following paragraphs, the focus will be put on migration realities referring to these two important pull factors. Moldovans have access to formal market and this possibility presupposes legal employment on the territory of host countries and formalization of certain work permits provided and regulated by state authorities. In Turkey, Ministry of Labour and Social Security is the responsible state body that provides work permits. Work permits for foreigners (for definite and indefinite periods) in Turkey are regulated by the Law on Work Permits of Foreigners No: 4817 adopted in 2003²⁷⁹. Currently, the share of Moldovan migrants with work permits in Turkey is rather high, comparing to the previous years.²⁸⁰ (see appendix 7) As demonstrated in table 5, during the period 2011-2016 the number of work permits given to Moldovans by Turkish responsible authorities increased almost fourfold.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸Görkem Dağdelen, "Changing Labour Market Positions and Workplace Interactions of Irregular Moldovan Migrants: The Case of Textile/Clothing Sector in Istanbul, Turkey. Middle East Technical University. August, 2008.

²⁷⁹Law on Foreigners Work Permits, accessed February 12, 2017, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4817.pdf>.

²⁸⁰Minister of Interior, Directorate General of Migration Management, *Migration Statistics*, accessed May 23, 2017, http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/ikamet-izinleri_363_378_4709_icerik.

²⁸¹Ministry of Labor and Social Security of Turkey, *Work Permits, Labour Statistics 2011*, 153, accessed December 17, 2016. (<http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/home/contents/istatistikler/calismahayatiistatistikleri/>).

Table 5. Work Permits issued for Moldovan migrants between 2011-2016*(number)*

Year	Total	Work Permits for Moldovans	
		Female	Male
2011	496	-----	-----
2012	889	757	132
2013	1825	1653	172
2014	1907	1699	208
2015	1778	1555	223
2016	1815		

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security of Turkey, Labour Statistics.

This fact shows the tendency to the increase of Moldovan workers with legal and regular status in Turkey. However, the situation with informal engagement in Turkey still remains high and represents one of the serious problems for migrants and Turkey itself. Despite the raise in the number permits for performing a certain job in Turkey, a considerable share of migrants still have problems with taking work and residence permits. One can ask why it is so problematic. Why Moldovans have problems with legal employment in Turkey? Does the Turkish system put some barriers for all migrants and for Moldovans? Certainly, it is impossible to analyze all moments regarding the procedure of taking permits in the context of this study; however, it is necessary to demonstrate the principal way that Moldovan should follow for legal engagement in the Turkish territory. The scenario will have the following explanation. Moldovan Migrant, Employer (The Company), Work Permit. In Turkey it is the company, which is presented as the main and important agent in getting work permits, not the migrant. Company should correspond with various state regulations and conditions in order to take a work permit and to employ legally a Moldovan citizen. In most cases companies have no the potential to employ Moldovan migrants or some employers do not want to legalize them in order not to pay taxes to the state. Turkish migration system, built on the

advantageous position of employer and not the migrant, opens the way to various violations of Moldovans rights and their exploitation. Comparing to Turkey, the principle of getting patent so-called work permit for Moldovans in Russian Federation is much easier. Russian patents are issued for a certain work sector, and migrants appear as the most important 'agents'.²⁸² Moldovan migrant, Patent, Employer. Moreover, Russia welcomes engagement of labour migrants in general and especially Moldovan workers if these activities are covered by law and are performed according to state migration regulations. Labor migration in Russian understanding is a stimulated process which is done in legal framework. This is one of the aspects that separate Russia from Turkey. Despite the fact that Turkey organizes various migration activities to combat with irregular migrants, It seems that, the state itself closes the eyes to migrant's issues, but from legislative framework Turkey is powerless. In 2012, in Russian Federation 60,0 thousand of Moldovans were issued work permits²⁸³. As a result, Moldova entered into the first 5 post-Soviet countries which got work permits. (see table 6)

Table 6. Number of Foreigners who received work permits in Russian Federation, 2008-2012

States	Thousands					% 2012/2011
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
Work Permits, Total	1353,9	1060,2	864,2	1220	1403,6	115,1
CIS countries	985	786	659	1015	1183	116,6
Azerbaijan	38,8	28	19,1	26,46	26,54	100,3
Armenia	51	37,3	30,7	45,9	46,1	100,4
Kazakhstan	6,1	5,6	4,2	5,1	0,6	11,8
Kizrgizstan	105,5	71,8	58,5	82,7	91,5	110,6
Moldova	60,5	48,1	34,9	54,6	60	109,9
Tajikistan	213	171,2	134,6	199,6	218,1	109,3

²⁸² *Patent i Rabota, Patent na Rabotu Dlya Grahdan Moldovi* (Patent and Work, Patent for Employment for Moldova Citizens), accessed March 13, 2017, <http://patent.rabota.ru/oformlenie/patent-na-rabotu-dlya-grazhdan-moldovy/>.

²⁸³ *Data of Federal Migration Service of Russia*. Quoted in Ciudinovskih, Oliga., Denisenko M. and Mkricean, N. *Vremenniye Trudoviye Migranti v Rossii* (Temporary Labour Migrants in Russia). No.579-580, 16-31, (December 2013:4).

Turkmenistan	1,5	1,2	0,7	0,6	0,7	116,7
Ukraine	117,8	101,6	86,8	127,8	151,2	118,3
Uzbekistan	390,3	320,7	289,7	472,3	588,6	124,6
Other states	369,4	274,7	205,0	204,9	220,3	107,5
Vietnam	48,7	44,2	17,8	14,7	14,8	100,7
China	168,8	128,8	117,8	93,2	97	104,1
North Korea	17,7	18,6	19,8	21,6	26,3	121,8
Turkey	67,1	30,8	25,1	25,5	36,6	143,5
Serbia	-	-	6,5	7,5	10,2	136,0
Others	67,1	52,3	18,0	42,4	35,4	83,3

Source: Federal Migration Service of Russian Federation.

As we noticed from previous sections, the number of Moldovans with work permits in both states is quite considerable. However, Moldovan migrants who are involved also in irregular migration process should not be passed by. In Russia as well as in Turkey this number continues to remain high. According to Labour Force Survey²⁸⁴, 6.300 of Moldovan citizens had irregular status in Turkey in 2012, while in Russia, two categories can be distinguished, the major group of 198,6 thousand of people with temporary registration and 23,1 thousand of people with irregular status. (See table 7)

Table 7. Moldovan migrants by residence status in Host Country, by Gender and Territory

Thousand people

Gender, Destination state	Total	Residence status in host country					
		Host country citizen	Resid. and work permit	Only resid. permit	Only temporary registr.	Irreg. status	Un- known
Total	426,9	7,1	115,1	26,8	202,6	50,2	25,0
EU 27	95,0	3,3	46,9	22,9	0,4	15,2	6,4
Italy	60,5	0,4	31,9	13,9	0,2	10,1	4,0
France	10,0	-	2,0	3,7	-	3,3	1,0
Portugal	3,9	0,6	2,2	0,4	0,2	0,5	0,1
Greece	3,3	-	3,0	0,2	-	0,1	-
Germany	2,8	-	1,1	1,7	-	-	-
Ireland	2,6	-	1,1	0,6	-	0,3	0,6

²⁸⁴ National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey 2012, *op. cit.*, 46-47.

Czech R.	2,5	-	1,6	0,9	-	-	-
Romania	2,6	2,1	0,6	-	-	-	-
Spain	2,1	0,3	0,2	0,7	-	0,6	0,4
Russia	295,4	2,9	54,2	1,5	198,6	23,1	15,1
Rest of the world	36,5	0,9	14,1	2,4	3,7	11,9	3,6
Israel	10,6	-	8,3	0,5	-	1,3	0,6
Turkey	8,9	-	0,6	1,3	-	6,3	0,6
Ukraine	7,4	0,9	-	-	3,5	2,0	0,9
USA	5,9	-	3,9	-	-	0,8	1,2
Men	288,7	5,0	65,9	13,3	160,3	28,6	15,5
EU 27	39,8	2,2	18,8	11,3	0,2	5,1	2,3
Italy	15,9	-	9,1	4,4	-	2,0	0,4
France	7,0	-	1,7	2,8	-	2,0	0,5
Portugal	2,7	0,6	1,5	-	0,2	0,2	0,1
Greece	1,3	-	1,3	-	-	-	-
Germany	2,3	-	0,8	1,5	-	-	-
Ireland	1,9	-	0,8	0,5	-	-	0,6
Czech R.	1,7	-	0,8	0,9	-	-	-
Romania	1,8	1,5	0,3	-	-	-	-
Spain	1,7	0,1	-	0,7	-	0,6	0,4
Russia	234,0	2,6	43,0	1,4	156,7	18,7	11,6
Rest of the world	14,9	0,2	4,1	0,7	3,5	4,8	1,6
Israel	2,0	-	1,1	-	-	0,8	-
Turkey	1,0	-	-	0,3	-	0,8	-
Ukraine	5,9	0,2	-	-	3,4	1,6	0,7
USA	3,4	-	2,2	-	-	0,3	0,9
Women	138,2	2,1	49,2	13,5	42,3	21,7	9,5
EU 27	55,2	1,2	28,1	11,6	0,2	10,1	4,0
Italy	44,6	0,4	22,8	9,5	0,2	8,2	3,6
France	3,0	-	0,3	1,0	-	1,3	0,4
Portugal	1,2	-	0,6	0,4	-	0,2	-
Greece	2,0	-	1,7	0,2	-	0,1	-
Germany	0,5	-	0,2	0,2	-	-	-
Ireland	0,7	-	0,3	0,1	-	0,3	-
Czech R.	0,7	-	0,7	-	-	-	-
Romania	0,8	0,6	0,2	-	-	-	-
Spain	0,4	0,2	0,2	-	-	-	-

Russia	61,4	0,2	11,2	0,2	41,9	4,4	3,5
Rest of the world	21,7	0,7	9,9	1,7	0,2	7,2	2,0
Israel	8,7	-	7,1	0,5	-	0,5	0,6
Turkey	7,8	-	0,6	1,0	-	5,6	0,6
Ukraine	1,5	0,7	-	-	0,2	0,4	0,2
USA	2,5	-	1,7	-	-	0,4	0,4

Source: NBS, Labour Force Survey 2012.

Irregular status is also accompanied by informal engagement as many migrants do not make written agreements with their employers. As statistics shows²⁸⁵, in Russian Federation as well as in Turkey the majority of Moldovans have no written contracts on their workplace but only oral agreements for a limited period (see table 8).

Table 8. Moldovan Migrants by relation types on last workplace, by destination state and gender

Thousand of people

Gender, Host country	Total migrants	Type of job relations in the last workplace abroad				
		Perman. labour contract (non-limit.per.)	Temporary labour contract (perioadă limitată)	No labour contract (oral agreement) for non-limited period	No labour contract (oral agreement) for limited period	Un-known
Total	342,6	32,0	58,2	96,5	124,5	31,2
EU 27	83,1	20,1	20,6	23,8	11,6	6,9
Italy	55,4	13,9	13,7	16,9	7,2	3,8
France	7,4	0,5	1,1	3,6	1,7	0,5
Portugal	3,1	1,9	0,3	0,5	-	0,4
Greece	3,1	1,2	1,6	0,2	0,1	-
Germany	2,0	0,6	0,2	0,5	0,7	-
Ireland	2,4	-	0,1	1,1	0,2	1,0
Czech R.	3,1	1,2	1,6	0,2	0,1	-
Romania	1,6	1,0	0,3	-	-	0,2
Spain	1,7	0,5	-	0,2	0,9	-
Russia	226,2	8,8	26,9	66,9	102,0	21,7

²⁸⁵ National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey 2012, *op. cit.*, 37-38.

Rest of world	33,3	3,1	10,8	5,8	11,0	2,6
Israel	10,4	1,6	6,5	0,6	0,9	0,7
Turkey	8,9	0,6	-	2,6	5,3	0,3
Ukraine	5,0	0,2	-	1,7	3,1	-
USA	5,5	0,7	3,2	-	0,3	1,3
Male	219,7	14,6	32,7	56,6	95,8	19,7
EU 27	31,0	6,9	8,7	6,5	5,4	3,3
Italy	12,4	2,6	3,9	2,8	2,1	0,9
France	4,3	0,3	0,9	1,4	1,3	0,5
Portugal	2,4	1,6	0,3	0,2	-	0,4
Greece	1,3	0,7	0,6	-	-	-
Germany	1,7	0,6	0,2	0,5	0,4	-
Ireland	1,7	-	0,1	0,8	-	0,7
Czech R.	1,3	0,7	0,6	-	-	-
Romania	1,1	0,8	0,3	-	-	-
Spain	1,2	0,1	-	0,2	0,9	-
Russia	175,7	6,8	20,7	47,6	84,9	15,6
Rest of the world	13,0	0,9	3,3	2,5	5,5	0,9
Israel	1,7	-	1,1	0,2	0,4	-
Turkey	1,0	-	-	0,3	0,7	-
Ukraine	4,4	0,2	-	1,3	2,9	-
USA	3,4	0,7	1,5	-	0,3	0,9
Female	122,9	17,3	25,5	39,9	28,7	11,4
EU 27	52,1	13,2	11,9	17,3	6,2	3,6
Italy	43,0	11,3	9,8	14,1	5,1	2,8
France	3,0	0,1	0,2	2,2	0,5	-
Portugal	0,7	0,4	-	0,4	-	-
Greece	1,8	0,5	1,0	0,2	0,1	-
Germany	0,2	-	-	-	0,2	-
Ireland	0,7	-	-	0,3	0,2	0,3
Czech R.	0,5	-	0,5	-	-	-
Romania	0,5	0,2	-	-	-	0,2
Spain	0,4	0,4	-	-	-	-
Russia	50,5	1,9	6,1	19,3	17,0	6,1
Rest of the world	20,4	2,2	7,5	3,3	5,5	1,8
Israel	8,7	1,6	5,3	0,5	0,5	0,7
Turkey	7,8	0,6	-	2,3	4,6	0,3
Ukraine	0,6	-	-	0,4	0,2	-
USA	2,1	-	1,7	-	-	0,4

Source: NBS, Labour Force Survey 2012

Russian migrants work without written contracts and the tendency to make oral agreements for a limited period is widespread. This is related mostly to temporary/seasonal migrants, who do not want to burden themselves with agreement. From the above indicated data, we can see that even if the number of irregular Moldovans in destination countries remains high, a certain shift from irregular status to at least legal residence is observed in Russian Federation as well as in Turkey. This leads to the transformation of Moldovans from irregular to invisible migrants, who have no legal rights for performing labour activity but have permits for temporary residence in the country. As a result, Russia and Turkey both provide Moldovans access to formal and informal sectors, however, they propose quite different working fields for employment. Russian direction is known by men-dominated 'hard' works, and sectors for women, while Turkish route is full of 'female-hands' dominated job sectors, with the participation of inconsiderable male part. Even if a considerable part of Moldovans have work permits, the number of irregular migrants still continue to remain huge in both destination countries, with the tendency to change to 'invisible' status.

Another reason why Moldovan migrants give preference to Russian and Turkish directions is geographical aspect which presupposes low transportation costs as the distance between Moldova and both directions is rather small. Movements from Moldova to Russia and Turkey represent the best and the bright exemple of one of the Ravenstein's statements who argued that the majority of migrants move to short distances. In Lee's vision this aspect represented one of the intermediate factors alongside with push and pull factors. Another approach from macro-level perspective was presented by Fielding, who underlined the importance of material linkages that includes also costs between states.²⁸⁶ It is evident that, before deciding where to migrate, Moldovans take into account the position of the host country. Firtly, if the state is closer to Moldova, it will take him little time and consequently, minimum costs for departure, secondly, due to the fact that the majority of Moldovans have families and relatives remained in Moldova, in case of any problems they can

²⁸⁶Roel Peter Wilhelmina Jenissen, *Macro-economic determinants of International Migration in Europe*, University of Groningen, Amsterdam: (2004):37, accessed March 09, 2017, <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal/files/9799531/thesis.pdf>

without problems return back. Moldovans can use all the above mentioned advantages in terms of both directions. Geographical factor, low transportation costs – all these factors not only give a start to migration to host countries but helps to keep migration process alive finally turning it into the circular migration. However, in the following sections, analyzing circular migration characteristics i will return back to this point. Proximity aspect presupposes low costs for transportation and moreover the easier reach provided by transportation companies that activate on the territory of Moldova. There are several air companies which make everyday flights to Russia as well as to Turkey, total time for Istanbul constitute only 1 hour 15 min. and tickets vary from 70 to 250 Euro both ways. The duration of flight to Russia takes is 1 hour and 50 min. and prices vary beginning from 130 Euro to both ends.²⁸⁷ As a result, Russia and Turkey are considered the closest migration partner for Moldova and preferable destination for labour migrants. Consequently, from this perspective there are no obstacles for departure to Russia or to Turkey.

One of the attractive factors in both states continues to be easy entrance and flexible visa regulations for Moldovans. Entrance to Russia and Turkey is easy due to liberal visa procedures applied for Moldovan citizens. It was also mentioned by Lee, who considered this aspect to have a role in taking decision for migration. The entrance regulation instruments don't put any obstacles for crossing the border in Russia as well as in Turkey. It became a popular practice for Moldovans to enter the destination state and then after expiring of legal period, to fall under irregular status. And this trend we can observe in Russia and in Turkey too. The same regulations activate, as Moldovan citizens can legally stay in these states not more than 90 days during 180 days. The above mentioned aspects show 3 principal scenarios that Moldovans prefer to follow: Legal entry-Legal Residence and Work; Legal entry-Legal residence +Illegal work (Invisible Moldovans); Legal entry-Irregular Status; Illegal Entry (few cases). The last category which enter the destination states illegally comprises few cases, thus in Turkey between 2006-2008, the total number of Moldovans

²⁸⁷ Air Moldova, "Flight Costs from Chisinau to Moscova", accessed June 10, 2017, <https://www.airmoldova.md/>.

who illegally crossed the border of Turkey was only 57 people.²⁸⁸ (see appendix 8) This development stresses to the fact that, the majority of Moldovans enter Turkey legally, in accordance with visa regulations.

Before deciding to migrate people put on the table all necessary instruments that will help them to take decision for this step. In most cases, potential migrants try to reach the more information they can have in order to take a decision for departure. Besides the main pull factors, and such aspects as transportation costs and liberal visa procedures, access to information regarding the destination state and any other knowledge related to migration to the host country is considered important for migrant. Access to information represents one of the intermediate factors presented by Lee that also partially coincides with the postulates of the network theory giving a great importance to the network's role in migration tendencies. In the case study of this research the aspect of access to information expressed by Lee will be continued by more developed context. And if Lee took into consideration access to information only for making decision for migration, this study will show its double role both in initiating and keeping migration as an on-going process; however the details of this part will be presented in the following sections. Migration trend in Moldova is not a new tendency; some Moldovans were involved into this process earlier, the others- later, using the experience of the firsts. Consequently, it is necessary to distinguish two categories: those without migration experience and the others with some migration information behind. This distinction will help us to see how the process of access to information of Moldovans regarding the host country. As we will see below, there is a very 'strong' and dynamic existence of social networks, relatives or friends in Turkey as well as in Russia who can provide information for potential Moldovan migrants. Taking into account the gender factor, demonstrated in Turkish case by Moldovan women from rural area and in Russian case by men from the same territorial aspect- villages where people know each other, the access to information is provided by the fellow migrants who gained certain experience in host countries. Access to information in Turkey is provided according to the following two scenarios: The

²⁸⁸ Ahmet, İçduygu, Rethinking Irregular Migration in Turkey, Some Demo-Economic Reflections, CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2008/72. Migration Research Programme (MiReKoc), Koç University. 2008, 21.

first interaction is between women with migration experience who can provide some information regarding job opportunities and conditions in Turkey after their return to the home country for women from Moldova who want to migrate for the first time. This is important from the perspective of migration initiation. There are cases, when women returning from abroad after some time, advise the others to come to Turkey for earning some money. The above mentioned aspects represent a certain information box for the potential migrants and consequently affect their decision for migration. The second scheme is possible between two categories of Moldovan women with migration experience who meet each other in centers like Istanbul, where the majority of women are employed. Gagauz women club that exists in Turkey strengthens mainly migration perpetuation. However, logically, one can ask how these relatives and friends gained the access to information during the time when they migrated for the first time? In this context, we can suppose that those Moldovans were conducted by other pull factors that affected their decision strongly and did not have social networks with migration experience which could help them in providing information. As was mentioned in previous sections, Russia comparing to Turkey provides seasonal works for labor migrants from Moldova and the majority of Moldovans are men from rural area. As the last investigation showed, the above indicated category involved into such types of activities in Russian Federation is rather informed and possess all necessary information regarding the migration and the job possibilities before leaving for Russia.²⁸⁹

As was mentioned in the previous chapters, potential migrants can use the resources of more experienced migrants and these relations give them a lot of prospects. In this framework analyzing the importance of networks in case of Moldovan migration to Russia and Turkey it should be stated that networks not only provoke Moldovans for migration, but also have great role in supporting them during migration process in the host country. In case of Russia as well as Turkey social circles play double role, firstly, for stimulating migrants for migration and keeping them in migration process. Firstly, social circles in Russia as well as in Turkey give the migrants access to information related to the host

²⁸⁹IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, *op.cit.*, 37.

countries and this aspect will be highlighted more detailed in the following section. Secondly, as statistics demonstrate Moldovans find jobs in Russia and Turkey through these channels. In Turkey, Kaska mentioned, about the existence of a certain 'club' of Moldovan women, especially women from Gagauzian region widespread in Istanbul, who periodically meet each other and share information, especially regarding the performed job and possible job opportunities for those who searches work²⁹⁰. This high level of solidarity helps Moldovan women to keep their workplaces when they need to go home as their friends or relatives replace them during their absence in the work place. In Russia, we can see almost the same situation, investigations²⁹¹ and statistical data²⁹² show that Moldovans are employed due to relatives and friends. (See table 9)

Table 9. Method to find a job abroad.

	Total	Host country			
		EU 27 States		Russia	Rest of the world
		Total	Italy		
Per cent					
Method	100	100	100	100	100
Private employment agency in Moldova	4.5	7.7	6.8	1.8	11.9
Private employment agency in the destination country	3.0	3.6	2.8	2.0	7.4
Public ation/reply to announcements	10.3	11.8	10.4	9.7	10.1
Direct contacting of employers	16.9	11.7	11.8	19.0	19.5
Friends, relatives, acquaintances	58.6	55.9	58.3	62.9	39.3
Persons who facilitate departures of employment abroad	3.5	6.3	6.5	1.7	6.7
NGO, charity and religious organizations	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Other	1.4	1.7	2.1	1.2	2.4
Has not undertaken anything	1.7	1.2	1.0	1.8	2.8

Source: NBS, Labour Force Survey 2008.

²⁹⁰ Kaska, The New International Migration, *op.cit.*, 60.

²⁹¹ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, *op.cit.*, 37.

²⁹² National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey, 2008, *op. cit.*, 9.

In Turkey as well as in Russia, it became a common practice to be employed through the help of relatives and friends. This practice is directly connected with the access to information provided to potential migrants by these categories.

3.2.2. The Role of Cultural, Ethnic and Linguistic Aspects

Approaching to the given context from the macro-level, it is necessary to underline the position of Fielding²⁹³, who considers that migrants make a decision in favour of the country that is connected with his homeland by cultural linkages. This vision brightly explains the study case with migrants from Moldova in both host countries. It is well-known that till 1990's Moldova was part of the Soviet Union and its population lived with Soviet culture. Moldova shares with Russia the same values, remained from the Soviet Period. Proceeding from this, it is easier for Moldovans to go to Russian Federation than to some other countries without any ties and where migrants will have no problems from this perspective. Closeness to Russian culture, understanding of mentality of Russians, the same religion in a certain way determines Moldovans decision in favour of Russian Federation. Another destination state - Turkey have common past with Moldova Gagauzs who are connected with Turkey by common roots. This explains the fact why Gagauz women choose Turkey for migration.

Impossible to pass and to say that, even if at the beginning of labor migration process from Moldova to Turkey, only Gagauz women came to Turkey and till nowadays they preserved this predominance, during the evolution of migration trend women from different parts of Moldova began to enter Turkey. But this number is inconsiderable. 70% of women from the Gagauzian Autonomous region rural areas went to Turkey.²⁹⁴ In this case ethnicity has some influence on the destination preference. Migration circles are discussing 'feminization' of migration processes, and in case of Moldova it is brightly presented how the

²⁹³ Fielding in Wilhelmina, *Macro-economic determinants...*, op. cit., 41.

²⁹⁴ Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA). *EU-Enlargement, Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of South Eastern Europe*. HWWA Report 247, Hamburg: HWWA, 2004.

host country became the target of this new trend. However, this trend will be discussed in more details in the next section.

Gagauz women remain the brightest example of how the ethnic and linguistic factor can at certain level determine the choice to host country. As studies show, they prefer to come to Turkey, and linguistic aspect here plays its role.²⁹⁵

If in Russia the linguistic factor goes back to the Soviet times, when it was considered the universal language for all people living on the Soviet territory despite their ethnic origin, in Turkey the case of Gagauz people represent the rare case, as they speak the same Turkish language. These interesting facts can be found in the archives from Hamdullah Suphi time, when he mentioned that Gagauzs and Turks speak one common language.²⁹⁶ In fact, from linguistic perspective it is necessary to argue that, in general the majority of migrants have the knowledge of Russian and Turkish languages before departing to these countries. Gagauz population of Moldova speaks both Russian and Gagauz language which is similar with Turkish, consequently they have the potential choice and privilege to go both to Russia and to Turkey for job. Those who prefer to work in Russian direction speak fluently Russian language, and those who want to be employed in Turkey understand and speak the host country's language.²⁹⁷ (See table 10).

Table 10. The Level of Language Knowledge in Host Country Before Departing and by Destination State

Thousand of people

Destination state	Total	Level of language knowledge in destination state				
		Do not speak Do not understand	Understand but did not speak	Understand/ Speak/ communicate	Speak fluent	Do not know
Total	426,9	42,2	44,6	138,8	195,3	6,0
EU 27:	95,0	33,7	27,4	24,6	6,0	3,3
Italy	60,5	21,7	19,1	16,0	2,3	1,3
France	10,0	3,3	3,0	3,0	0,7	-

²⁹⁵Keough, "Driven Women..", *op.cit.*, 2.

²⁹⁶Yonca Anzerlioğlu, Bükreş Büyükelçisi Hamdullah Suphi ve Gagavuz Türkleri, Ahmet Yesevi University Board of Trustees, No.39, 31-51, 2006, 37.

²⁹⁷National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, Labour Force Survey 2012, *op.cit.*,32.

Portugal	3,9	2,6	1,0	-	0,3	-
Greece	3,3	2,1	0,3	0,9	-	-
Germany	2,8	-	1,5	1,3	-	-
Ireland	2,6	0,7	0,2	1,1	-	0,6
Czech R.	2,5	0,8	0,9	0,3	-	0,5
Romania	2,6	-	-	0,3	2,4	-
Spain	2,1	1,2	0,7	0,2	-	-
Russia	295,4	0,3	10,9	99,8	84,0	0,4
Rest of the world:	36,5	8,2	6,3	14,4	5,4	2,2
Israel	10,6	6,6	1,1	1,5	-	1,4
Turkey	8,9	0,8	2,5	4,5	0,8	0,4
Ukraine	7,4	0,1	1,1	3,3	2,9	-
USA	5,9	-	1,1	3,5	1,0	0,2

Source: NBS, *Labour Force Survey 2012*.

Nowadays, Russia preserves its leading destination status and remain to be the 'old' and reliable migration partner for Moldova, without linguistic and cultural barriers.

3.3. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF MOLDOVAN CIRCULAR LABOR MIGRANTS IN RUSSIA AND TURKEY

From the previous sections the active participation of women in Moldovan migration processes to Russia and Turkey was observed. Moreover, Turkish direction is characterized by the dominance of this gender group. Various researchers stressed on feminization of migration, thus, general vision was proposed by Castles and Miller who underlined that flows of people are 'globalizing, accelerating, diversifying and feminizing'²⁹⁸. Marinucci²⁹⁹, mentioning the role of women view women as active participants in labour markets during last decades. This process mainly affected Moldovan migration trend to Russia and Turkey, as the female migrant's number increased in Russia and became the dominant migrant group in Turkey. As Kaska

²⁹⁸ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration...*, *op.cit.*,8-9.

²⁹⁹ National Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey 2012*, *op.cit.*,32.

mentioned, Turkey became the second preferable destination for women of Turkish speaking minority.³⁰⁰

However, there is an evident difference between participation of Moldovan women and men in Turkish labour market in 2016. Moldovan female representatives in Turkey constitute 71,1%, men is presented only by 28,9%. However, both gender groups are from rural area.³⁰¹ (See table 11)

Table 11: Distribution of Moldovans in Russian Federation and Turkey by Gender and Territorial Segment (2016)

Thousand persons

Destination State	Total	Men		Women	
Russian Federation	184,8	143,0 (77,38%)		41,8 (22,62%)	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
		40,3	102,7	11,3	30,5
Turkey	10,4	3,0 (28,9%)		7,4 (71,1%)	
		0,7	2,3	1,4	6,0

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, NBS, 2016.

In Russian Federation the share of Moldovan women involved into circular migration increased till 46%.³⁰²(see appendix 9) In 2016, Moldovan male migrants were demonstrated by 77,4% and women by 22,6%. These migrants are predominantly from rural area.

Data presented above coincides with the other investigation of CBS-AXA³⁰³ conducted in 2005 which demonstrated approximate the same indicators As a result, we can conclude that feminization phenomenon of Moldovan migrants did not occur during the last 2-3 years but demonstrated itself from the very beginning of Moldovans engagement in Turkish market. Even if we see the developed perspectives of feminization in both countries, the general distribution of men and women can be demonstrated by the following

³⁰⁰ Kaška, *The New International...*, op.cit.,40.

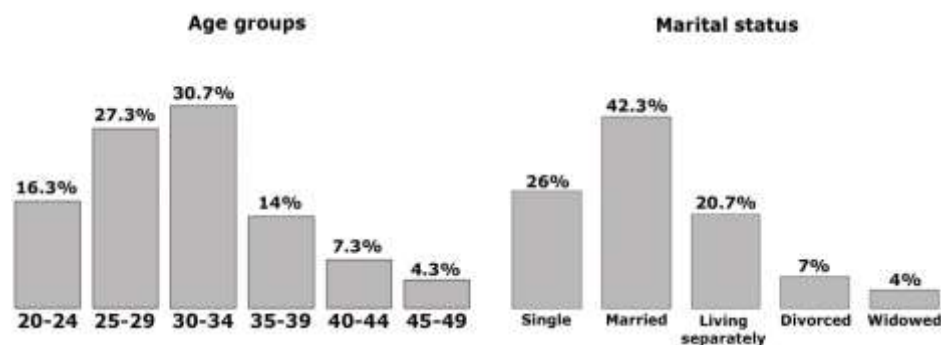
³⁰¹ National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Statistical Databank, op.cit.

³⁰² IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, op.cit.,20.

³⁰³ CBS-AXA, *Migration and Remittances in Moldova*, op.cit.

panorama: In Russia Moldovan men are more active, and there is a considerable number of women employed there, while in Turkey female are more active and more dominant, but the number of men is inconsiderable. Taking into account the above mentioned context, it should be underlined that besides the feminization of migration, destination countries Russia and Turkey became male and female dominated. In this case we can speak about ‘masculization’ and ‘feminization’ of Moldovan labour migration in both directions. If previously women were involved into migration process through family reunion and the migration was male dominated, currently women migrants’ case in Russia and Turkey clearly demonstrated that women began to occupy an important role alongside with the male migrants in labour migration tendencies. Some scholars as Ehrenberg and Smith³⁰⁴ insisted on the specific age for migration tendencies. It is evident that when the migrant is younger, it is easier for him to migrate. However, according to their principles in most cases people between 20-24 years are tending to migrate than people of other age categories. According to survey, organized in Russian Federation in 2012 the contingent of Moldovans is rather young and includes people till 30 years³⁰⁵. (See appendix 9) In Turkey, analyzing the age and marital status of Moldovan women, Tufan³⁰⁶ came to conclusion that two major groups are between 25-35. (See figure 1)

Figure 1: Age and Marital Status of Moldovan Women in Turkey (2015)



Source: Tufan and Seedsman, “The Case of Moldovan Female, 2015.

³⁰⁴ Ehrenberg and Smith, *Modern Labor Economics*, *op.cit.*

³⁰⁵ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, *op.cit.*, 20.

³⁰⁶ Tufan and Seedsman, “The Case of Moldovan Female, *op.cit.*,44.

In 2016, two age groups of labour migrants were noticed in Russia and Turkey. However, the first and the dominant category were shown by young Moldovans of 25-34 years old.³⁰⁷ (See table 12) This aspect shows that migration from Moldova to these states includes young and middle aged people.

Table 12: Age Groups of Labour Migrants from Moldova in Russia and Turkey (2016)

Thousand of people

Destination State	Total Moldovan Migrants	Age Groups		(%)	
		25-34 years old	35-44 years old	25-34	35-44
Russia	184,8	72,4	41,0	39,18	22,19
Turkey	10,4	4,3	2,0	41,35	19,23

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, NBS, 2016.

Consequently, in current migration processes young and middle-aged people from Moldova to Russia and Turkey participate. Almost all age groups are included into migration process; but the tendency of replacing more middle-aged migrants by young people is observed. Civil status of Moldovan circular migrants in Russia is characterized by the prevalence of unmarried people, as 51,4% of migrants are unmarried, the other 48,6%-married.³⁰⁸ (See appendix 9) In Turkish case, according to the survey conducted by Tufan in 2015³⁰⁹, the majorities of women is married and have families in Moldova. (See figure 1) It is interesting to know not only the Moldovans gender and age but also their educational level, as the representatives of neoclassical migration approach believes that the migrants are more educated comparing with the home country's population. From statistical data became evident (See table 13) that in both directions Moldovans have gymnasium level of education. However, while in Turkey migrants with secondary level of education prevail in Russia this

³⁰⁷ National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, Statistical Databank, *op.cit.*

³⁰⁸ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, *op.cit.*, 20.

³⁰⁹ Tufan and Seedsman, "The Case of Moldovan Female", *op.cit.*,44

dominance goes to secondary specialized education.³¹⁰

Table 13. Level of Education of Moldovan migrants in Russia and Turkey

Thousand people

Destination State	Total Moldovan Migrants	Education Level			(%)		
		Gymn.	Second. Proff.	Second			
Russia	184,8	57,5	48,2	45,4	31,11	26,08	24,57
Turkey	10,4	4,0	0,9	3,8	38,46	0,8	36,54

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, NBS, 2016.

These aspects show the contradictory stream to the theoretical explanations and demonstrate that Moldovans of low level of education can take benefits of their engagement in Russia as well as in Turkey. Both host countries are presented by the share of Moldovans who have gymnasium, secondary and secondary professional levels of education.

3.4. 'SETTLED IN MOBILITY' OR CIRCULAR LABOUR MIGRATION TO RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND TURKEY

3.4.1. General Context and Factors of Circularity

In order to understand why labour migration of Moldovans to Russia and Turkey is circular in its character, and can we name it circular labour migration, various factors that strengthened this type of migration in both countries and had certain impact on mobility between states should be studied. Taking into account the observations made in the previous sections, where we noticed that the majority of Moldovans in Russia and Turkey have temporary stay, work, permits, and temporary agreements with employers we can conclude that Moldovan labour

³¹⁰ National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, Statistical Databank, *op.cit.*

migration tendency in these two countries has temporary character. As Mosneaga demonstrated, Moldovans stay in Russia nearly 7 months.³¹¹

In Turkey, the character of Moldovan movements is also temporary and Içduygu refers to Moldovan migrants who choose to come to Turkey, earn money, go back to Moldova and then return back when there is a need³¹². Due to the fact that Moldovans are involved into temporary migration, I will next argue that movements between host country and home land achieved the level of circular character. In the survey, conducted in Russia and in Moldova, and organized by IOM we can see different categories of circular Moldovans in Russia³¹³.

Besides this, circular migration of Moldovans is expressed differently in Russia and Turkey. In accordance with the classification made by Pastore³¹⁴, who distinguished four types of mobility in the context of stay duration, the investigated case of this research will have the following groups in destination countries.

Consequently, we have 3 groups of circular Moldovan workers in Russia and only one category in Turkey. Russia provides seasonal work for Moldovans; however, in Turkey there is no such a possibility. (See table 14)

Table 14. Types of Circular Migrants in Both Host Countries by Duration of Stay

	Russian Federation	Turkey
Duration of Stay	Circular Migration From Moldova	
Under 6-9 months	1.Seasonal migrants (who works in construction sector) 2.Seasonal migrants who come for 3 months (during holidays-students)	1.Circular migrants
Under five years	2.Circular migrants	

³¹¹Mosneaga, *Sotsialino-Politicskoye Vliyanie..*, *op.cit.*,18.

³¹² Ahmet Içduygu, "Circular Migration and Turkey. An Overview of the Past and Present-Some Demographic Implications", CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2008/10, 2008,4.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 20.

³¹⁴Pastore, *Circular migration*, *op.cit.*

Circular movements of people are not coordinated or bound by migration legislation between Moldova and host countries, and consequently, we speak about the spontaneous circular tendency, not the managed one. However, we need to note here that, Moldova and Russia Federation made an agreement on labour migration and social protection but this document covers only labour migration, and not manages the seasonal engagement of Moldovans into Russian market. (See appendix10) In Turkey initiatives regarding labour agreement are only on negotiation level, and till now are not turned into reality. Unlike Russia, those Moldovans who works legally on the territory of Turkey (however, we are speaking about the minority group) do not benefit from the social protection advantages and it is not clear what will happen with their paid insurance, because of the absence of any labour agreement as in case with Russia. Moldovan circular migration to Russia and Turkey can be explained by theoretical models of Massey,³¹⁵ demonstrating that movements of Moldovans to host countries turned into continuous movements, and generally to circular labour migration. While migration took place once it perpetuates itself. And taking into account the fact that the Moldovans migration to Russia and Turkey gained its momentum after 2000, 17 years is an enough period for saying that this tendency reached the level of circular character and moreover, became the strategy for Moldovan migrants in both destinations. So why labour migration in case of Moldova to two destination countries turned into circular migration and what factors stimulated it? However, we should revise the factors brought by globalization.

Analyzing pull factors some points regarding the circularity were put on the table. While there are factors those initiate migrations, of course exist instruments that keep this process on-going. However, globalization gave a new impulse to communication and transportation that help migrants to keep circularity and be more mobile between country of origin and receiving country. Hugo insisted on the fact that, easy communication between the migrant and his homecountry that includes easy travel, transportation and minimum sources

³¹⁵ Massey, "Social Structure, *op.cit.*

for sending remittances develop mainly circular migration not permanent.³¹⁶ Due to the development of communications Moldovans can easily circulate between Moldova and Russia and Moldova and Turkey. Many transportation companies provide them good conditions and best prices. The development of various types of transportation between Moldova and two host countries got down barriers and currently Moldovans can return to homecountry when they want with adequate costs and minimum efforts. Castles and Miller³¹⁷ insist on the fact that the above mentioned transnational developments open the way for temporary and circular migration, as ties between two countries are easy to preserve.

Another important point is related to the role of networks as social networks not only involve potential Moldovans to migration to Russia and Turkey, but also strengthen migration process, as we saw in the case of women club in Turkey. However, according to Bauer and Zimmerman³¹⁸ ethnic groups positively affect the return of migrants.

From this perspective one should mention that Moldovans mobility between host countries is rather high. On one side, rather powerfull Gagauz women club in Turkey, on the other the existence of social circles of Moldovan workers from the same village in Russian Federation.

3.4.2. Migration Policies and Mechanisms in Russian Federation and Turkey for Moldovan Labour Migrants

Moldovan migrants in Russia as well as in Turkey have certain relations with the state, and firstly with migration regulations and rules of these countries. Regarding principles of Portes this type of relationship represent the first level of incorporation.³¹⁹ Below, I want to discuss the principles of incorporation in both

³¹⁶ Graeme, "Circular Migration, *op.cit.*

³¹⁷ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 2009, *op.cit.*,30

³¹⁸ Bauer and Zimmerman, (1995) in Jenissen Wilhelmina, *Macro-economic determinants*, *op.cit.*40

³¹⁹ Alejandro Portes, ed. *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, (1995), accessed June 10, 2017. <https://www.russellsage.org/publications/economic-sociology-immigration>
[0.](#)

countries and the political shadow of migration systems of these host countries towards Moldovan migrants.

Russian Federation promotes migration if this process is covered by migration legislation. Moldovan migrants are not exclusion. It attracts Moldovans from different perspectives, and we saw it from the first pages of this section. From the framework of circular migration, Russia gives more opportunities for Moldovans for integration, thus encouraging them to turn from temporary circular labour migrants to permanent circular migrants. This can be explained by the voluntary resettlement programs initiated by Russian Government in 2006.³²⁰ (See appendix 11) Thus, the number of Moldovans who went to Russia for permanent residence showed the raise during the period between 2007-2012. Turkey even did not take place in this list of destination countries. And it is explained by its migration policy applied to migrants that will be analyzed in the following sections. However; this initiative does not embrace migrants who choose short-term or seasonal engagement in Russia. In future these perspectives can become a reality for many Moldovans. But in general, the program introduces new wave and new impulses to circular migration from Moldova to Russian Federation. The above mentioned points demonstrate the fact that, Russia needs labour migrants in order to resolve its demographic problems.

Turkish system otherwise, applies a 'pragmatic' migration attitude towards the migrants, including Moldovans and view Moldovan migrants as temporary workers giving them little chances for integration, promoting circular migration of Moldovans and making this process more dynamic. Speaking about circular migration of Moldovans in Turkey and their mobility we cannot ignore the role of Turkish migration legislation. The changes done in the The Law on Foreigners Residence and Travel No.5683³²¹ in 2012 brought some innovations to Turkish

³²⁰Presidency of Russian Federation, *Ukaz Prezidenta Rossiiskoy Federatsii o Merah po Okazaniyu Sodeistviya Dobrovolinomu Pereseleniyu v Rossiiskuyu Federatsiyu Sootecestvennikov, Projivayushih Za Rubezom* (Decree of the President of Russian Federation on Measurea regarding Voluntary Resettlement of Compatriots Living Abroad to Russian Federation No.637, from 22.06.2006), accessed December 20, 2016, <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/23937>.

legislation that intended to put legal ban on the mobility of migrants, including Moldovans. Before 2012 year Moldovans could stay 90 days on legally basis, however, before the day their visa will expire they left Turkey and entered again, thus refreshing visa for 90 days more. So Moldovans followed 2 ways: either they went to Moldova, or to the closest country of Turkey. And taking into account the geographical proximity and low transportation costs Moldovans preferred to go to homecountry. Does this mobility represent the part of circular migration that we are referring in this thesis? In the framework of this research I will permit myself to name it “forced pseudo-circular migration” - mobility appeared as a result of deficiencies of Turkish migration mechanisms.

Another level of incorporation with the state mentioned by Schierup et.al. underlines the ‘political-administrative’ context of migration process.³²² This can be clearly followed in Russian migration approach to Moldovan labour migrants, which is much ‘politicized’. This fact shows the difference with Turkey, which had no such points in relations with Moldova. Moldovan labour migrants issue was put into table after Russia’s reaction concerning Moldova’s inclusion into Association Agreement with EU in 2014. Russian Government made it clear that the popular slogan of squares at the beginning of 90-s ‘Suitcase..Station..Russia’, can turn into ‘Suitcase..Station..Moldova’ that can become a catastrophic reality for labor migrants from Moldova and Moldova itself. The perspectives and problems of Moldovan labour migrants in Russian Federation always became the main focus of high-level meetings between Moldovan and Russian leaders. As a result of bilateral meeting with Russian leader V.Putin in the January of 2017, Moldovan President declared about the amnesty for 250.000 moldovans who violated migration regulations on the territory of Russian Federation and who are threatened by deportation to Moldova, and the annulation of ban for entrance to Russia, applied for 17.5 thousand of people.³²³ While the relations between two states become warmer, it immediately affects migrants. This excessive ‘politicisation’ of Moldovan

³²²Carl-Ulrik Schierup, Peo Hansen and Stephen Castles, *Migration, citizenship, and the European welfare state: a European dilemma* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

³²³*Ya Migrant, Amnistiya Dlya Grajdan Moldovi, Informatsionny Kanal dlya podderjki Inostrannih Grajdan v Rossii* (I am a migrant, Amnesty for Moldovan Citizens, Informative channel for supporting Foreign Citizens in Russia), accessed March 17, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGSG6Z2dJmM>.

workers in Russia, influences generally the labour migration trend and particularly the mobility of Moldovan circular migrants to Russia.

Coming to the Turkish case, even if it had not direct political ambitions with Moldova, one important issue should be mentioned in terms of 'supporting the ones and ignoring the others'. The last can be explained by state's attitude towards Syrian refugees during the last years. Moldovan migrants, who entered Turkish market even before 2000, have a very long migration history. While only during last years Moldovans were issued a high number of work permits, however, another part still faces problems in getting it. But other side of the coin, regarding the policy towards Syrians demonstrates that after entering Turkey they received many advantages from the part of state authorities, while the other migrants do not have these benefits.

Thus, in 2016, Syrian migrants were placed on the 2nd place after Georgia, who had residence permits on the basis of work permits, while Moldova with its 17-20 years migration experience with Turkey is placed only on the 8th.³²⁴ The panorama is quite clear shows the priorities of the state. And as i mentioned, Turkey applies the migration policy 'supporting the ones and ignoring the others'.

3.4.3. Social and Economic Prospects for Return of Moldovans from Russian Federation and Turkey

The first indications regarding circular migration of Moldovans in general go back to 2004,³²⁵ however, nowadays, we can observe the same tendency in terms of Moldovans in Russia and Turkey. Circular migration is characterized by regular trips of migrants and return to homecountry one of the important components of this type of migration. It is interesting to know where Moldovan labour migration to Russia and Turkey is situated from the framework of circular

³²⁴Republic of Turkey Minister of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, *Migration Statistics, Residence Permits*. accessed March 20, 2017. http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/ikamet-izinleri_363_378_4709_icerik.

³²⁵Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA), *EU Enlargement*, *op.cit.* 78.

migration, on what phase and under what conditions return (temporary or sustainable) or integration takes place. Evolution of family responsibilities motive in 2012 demonstrated that it is remained and continues to be the most important intention for Moldovans return.³²⁶ (See appendix 12) This point quite clearly shows that, Moldovans follow the tendency to preserve ties and connections with homecountry, where their family and relatives remained.

From social perspective, Waldorf insisted on the role of connections with homecountry that represent a significant feature for return migration.³²⁷

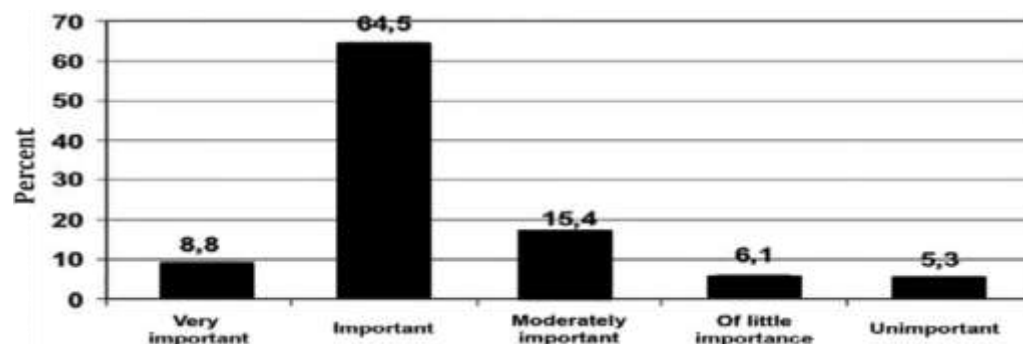
However, he did not mention what will be character of this return: temporary or sustainable. Waldorf's explanation will be more appropriate for temporary return and his approach will better explain return from the framework of circular migration. Taking into account that, the majority of Moldovan women in Turkey are married and have families in Moldova, their temporary return can be explained by this motive. In case of Russia, due to wider integration perspectives of Moldovan labour migrants in Russian Federation ties with Moldova will strengthen only temporary return and a small group of seasonal migrants from Moldova will choose sustainable return due to family ties. Another vision of Waldor included the fact that, adaptation and assimilation negatively influence the return of migrants. In Turkey, Moldovans are seen as temporary workers, and have little possibilities for integration and assimilation. Turkey does not propose perspectives for Moldovans resettlement as Russia does; consequently no adaptation occurs that leads to the positive affect on Moldovans return. Russia, which represents more complex case, on the one hand, gives wider chances for assimilation, in the form of resettlement future, on the other hand, promotes return of seasonal Moldovans. In general, for those who will be integrated into Russian society temporary return to Moldova will happen, for those temporary Moldovan migrants employed in seasonal works and not assimilated in Russia temporary return will occur and finally in future sustainable return that is seen in Russian case mainly for retirement.

³²⁶National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, Labour Force Survey 2012, *op.cit.*,48.

³²⁷Waldorf, *Assimilation and Attachment.*, *op.cit.*,41.

Russia where temporary circular Moldovans have the tendency to turn into circular migrants with permanent status, we can conclude that the return of labour migrants will take place, but it will be temporary return rather than sustainable. Investigation shows that almost 80% of Moldovan migrants (permanent and the major part of circular labour migrants) interviewed in Russia and in Moldova demonstrated tendencies for integration in Russian Federation. Every third Moldovan migrant have no plans for returning to Moldova during the next five years and this category represented the significant potential for integration in Russian Federation.³²⁸ In this context, Waldorf's explanation will have the following power: adaptation and assimilation influences temporary and sustainable return of Moldovan migrants in both countries. Supporters of New Economics of Labour Migration model, view return as a part of the circular system and insist on two important circumstances under which this return will happen. These circumstances are of economic character. The first condition for return is related to the accumulation of economic and usefull resources in the host country. According to this prespective, migrant's plans will be determined by the earning and remittances, they plan to spend for their households in Moldova. According to survey conducted in Turkey, the majority of Moldovan women (64,5%) underlined the importance of reaching economic goals in their plans for return.³²⁹ (See figure 2)

Figure 2. The Level of Importance Shown by Moldovan Female Migrants in Achieving Economic Goals as a Part of Return Plan



Source: Tufan and Seedsman, "The Case of Moldovan Female, 2015.

³²⁸ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii*, *op.cit.*, 85.

³²⁹ Tufan and Seedsman, "The Case of Moldovan Female...", *op.cit.*, 46.

Taking into account that currently remittances sent to Moldova from host countries are used consumerly, on micro-level, in Russia a small part of Moldovans will decide to invest collected resources for business. Daily needs and small investments in house and car purchasing presuppose permanent work of Moldovans. The second reason for return presupposes creation of favourable conditions in the home country. In order for Moldovans to return from Russia and Turkey, and use all the potential they received there, firstly the socio-economic atmosphere in country should have favourable conditions and provide them opportunities for living and working in Moldova. However, as we see the current economic situation in Moldova leaves much to be desired. Moreover, it should pass a long time in order for Moldova to put on the way its legislative base for performing own business for Moldovan returned migrants. As many Moldovans comply, such problems as corruption, high level of bureaucracy and non-effective legislation became the most important barriers for conducting affairs and open a business upon return to Moldova.³³⁰ If the homecountry could not provide employment for returned Moldovans they will come back to Russia or Turkey, choosing temporal status and circular migration. Realization of return plans for Moldovan migrants in Russian Federation will be determined by favourable social and economic of social and economic development in the country.

Sustainable return to Moldova is possible only for retirement.³³¹ Analyzing temporary and sustainable return of Moldovans, we observed that currently, Moldovans will use temporary return that is the part of their circular migration system to Russia and Turkey.

Temporary employment abroad used by majority of them allow them do not break with families for a long period of time. Speaking generally about the foreign workers from post-Soviet states, where Moldova is part of it, circular type of migration is the most popular tendency for these countries. Moldovans come to Russia and Turkey, work and return back to Moldova, and this circle repeats several times, turning labour migration to circular labour migration. For

³³⁰ CIVIS & IASCI, *Strengthening..op.cit.*,28.

³³¹ IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii, op.cit.*,91.

Moldovan migrant's circular migration, became the way of life and the strategy they pursue. Nowadays, it is the advantageous type of migration for Moldovans who go to Russia and Turkey, to be 'here' and 'there', working, earning money and at the same time keeping ties with their families in Moldova. In this framework, in accordance with Newland's stages, in case of Moldovan circular migrants in Russia and Turkey we have the panorama presented in the table 15.

Table 15. Types of return from Russia and Turkey back to Moldova

Priorities for Return	Migration	Return	Explanation
Russian Federation			
Main 1:	Temporary	Temporary	In case of seasonal and circular Moldovan labour migrants
Main 2:	Permanent	Temporary	Moldovans who migrated to Russian Federation on the grounds of resettlement programs
Complementary:	Temporary	Sustainable	In future (on retirement)
Turkey			
Main 1:	Temporary	Temporary	In case of circular labour migrants
Complementary:	Temporary	Sustainable	In future

If in case of Russia we have two main options of circular migration for Moldovans, in Turkey we see only a single main way in which circular migration is developed. Consequently, taking into consideration all these explanations, and returning back to the Moldovan circular migration it is necessary to mention that, sustainable return from both destination countries almost does not take place, only temporary return is observed, and integration perspectives are seen more in Russia than in Turkey. Return of migrants to Moldova is also connected with the aspect of remittances that occupies an important role not only on migration agenda but in general on the development of Moldova. The first chapter demonstrated the tendency of circular migrants to send more remittances to homelands, so that after their return they can use them.

Regarding the use of remittances, in accordance with New Economics Theory savings play a great role in supporting families and New Economics of Labour migration, looks at this point from macro-level perspective and underlines the

importance of remittances for countries development. In general, remittances transmitted to Republic of Moldova, are used mainly on micro-level and only little part of these transfers is used for investments and business. Particularly this refers to circular Moldovan labour migrants who are engaged in Russia and perform temporary or seasonal works. Remittances are used to support families to meet daily needs and to purchase or renovate the house.

According to the data presented by National Bank of Moldova in 2016, remittances sent from Russia through banks of Moldova in 2016 (December) constituted 34.07 million \$, from Turkey 15.97 million \$.³³² Transfers from Russia formed 96,6% from the total number of transfers made from CIS.

³³²National Bank of Moldova, *Transfers of money from abroad, made to individuals Through Banks of Republic of Moldova in 2016, (net payments)*, accessed March 05, 2017, https://www.bnm.md/ru/content/perevody_denezhnyh-sredstv-iz-za-granicy-osushchestvlyonnye-v-polzu-fizicheskikh-liccherez.

CONCLUSION

In 2016 Moldova celebrated the 25-th anniversary of the proclamation of Republic's independence. These 25 years became the period of migration processes development. On the one hand successful, on the other hand, unsuccessful migration stories and processes became the reality of Moldovan social and economic life. Moldova had been changed, and this is undeniable question. The changes occurred because migration aspects and prospects suffered a lot of variations. Migration movements took new dimensions and gained new features and characters. General overview of theoretical models demonstrated that the evolution occurs from the explanation of migration initiation to the approaches of return and circular migration. However, current theoretical models are much more originated from migration practices of states included into migration processes.

Moldova, Russia and Turkey became the states included into migration processes, that felt the same course of migration explained by theoretical models, however, each region has its own migration realities and evolution that brought them to this stage of migration. Formation of interstate social networks gives to current migration one more new specific attribute. It loses the character of one-side movement and gets more increasingly features of transnational process. As a result, the basis of migration decision constitute economic motives, but choosing the destination country in most cases are determined by personal factors, which under current conditions are formed through the system of social networks. Migration tendencies in Russian Federation and Turkey were developed under different conditions and nowadays, have different migration realities in general, and particularly in terms of Moldovan migrants. Migration processes in Soviet Russia were under strict control of government, had more internal character including movements between the territory of the USSR, comprising various states of the SU. These processes were mainly affected by state policies, especially forced migration flows and organized movements. Decisions for migration were taken by state governors and emigration to Russia was provided through legal mechanism, excluding the

phenomenon of illegal migration, as Russia suffers nowadays. Liberal character of migration flows became possible after the decline of the Soviet Union that brought wide scale movements from various independent states to Russian Federation after economic instabilities and crisis, faced by their states as a result of transit economy processes. Till 2000, Russian migration system suffered various changes and fluctuations. Due to political instability and ethnic conflicts, appeared after the decline of the SU, Russia became the last destination for forced migrants, asylum seekers and finally, labour migrants from former Soviet states. Another destination state of Moldovan migrants, Turkey had other migration realities based on ethnic resettlement programs concerning mainly the neighboring countries that had Muslim communities. This context was explained by demographic aspect for creating homogeneous structure of Turkish population. However, this tendency was replaced by quest worker programs to Europe that made Turkey a popular importer of workers to this part of the world. The character of migration movements was managed, not spontaneous. In spite of it, the major part of these migrants continues to live in Europe with their families and keep ties with Turkish homeland. The last stage did not foresee migration realities brought by some important political and economic events and developments occurred in different parts of the world that stimulated large migration flows of transit and labour migrants. Special place in this stage is given to the decline of the SU that stimulated large migrants' movements to Turkish direction. In our research of migration evolution we came to conclusion that, the collapse of the Soviet Union became the turning point in changing and directing flows from developing countries to developed, and especially from Republic of Moldova to such countries as Russia and Turkey. The facts presented above in terms of migration flows to Russia concerned also Moldova that became popular origin country of labour migrants to different parts of the world.

Massive tendency with considerable affects is labour migration, developed in Moldova in 1994. Suffering economic problems during the transit economy period, Moldova faced political instability and economic crisis that led to the migration process seen by many Moldovans as main solution of existing

problems and way for survival. All these problems opened the way for regular as well as irregular migration of Moldovan population abroad. Moldova began to feel the result of labour migration, on the one hand positive, as remittances sent by migrants affect their household, and the development of the republic in general, on the other hand, negative, from the social and demographic perspectives. Moldova was turned to the country dependent on remittances, however, the major part of remittances went to the daily needs, and had little affected the potential of republic economy's development. Despite the fact that, migration tendencies in Moldova are distinguished by various types as temporary, long-term, seasonal, currently, they acquire more and more the character of circular migration, especially to such countries as Russia and Turkey. Returning back to the main subject of this study, it can be underlined that: migration of Moldovans to these countries is determined by economic motives as push factors, and economic and non-economic as pull factors. In both directions economic pull factors: high wages, transport costs (geographical proximity), liberal visa procedures, access to labour as well as to informal markets, labour demand, access to information, existence of social networks in host countries have the same effect on migration decision for choosing Russia or Turkey. However, in terms of non-economic factors; Russia occupies more privileged position than Turkey. Due to its cultural proximity to Moldova, the same Soviet values and mentality the majority of Moldovans prefer to go to Russia. Turkey is mostly preferred by ethnic minority group presented by Gagauzs living in Moldova. The number of labour migrants from Moldova who goes to Russia is much higher than those who prefer Turkey. While Russian destination is characterized by the engagement of both men and women, however, men is a dominant group, Turkey is chosen mainly by women and especially of Gagauz origin. These aspects demonstrate the prevalence of women in Moldovan labour migration trend and high degree of feminization. However, we can see 'masculization' effect in Russia and 'dominant feminization' in Turkey. Socio-demographic profile of Moldovan labour migrant in Russia is presented by young and middle-aged men with gymnasium and secondary professional level of education, while in Turkey it is a woman of

middle age with gymnasium and secondary school. However, both migrant group in Russia and Turkey represent the share of low-skilled people. In Russia as well as in Turkey, Moldovan migrants are involved into temporary and circular migration. In this respect, Russia involves several migrant categories, as it provides seasonal work for Moldovans, while Turkey is limited only by one migrant group. Labour migration achieved the level of circular migration in both countries and is provided by such factors as: the development of communication and the existence of networks.

This was due to changes made by globalization and new character of migration processes that are determined by economic factors, social, political, demographic that finds itself in the theoretical models of economic and social approaches. However, incorporation context in Russia and Turkey has its own effect on labour migration and particularly on circular migration, or return. During the research, factors that affect labour and circular migration were determined. These factors are presented by Resettlement programs in Russia and ‘forced pseudo circular migration’, that stimulated mobility in Turkey. One of the reasons why Moldovans prefer to go to Russia lies on the resettlement programs basis. These types of initiatives promoted by Russian government influence the status of migrant and circular migration, in which he is included. More perspectives for integration in Russia transform the types of migration and return in the framework of circular migration phenomenon. In Turkey there are no such possibilities that also promote circular migration, and appeared as a result of ineffective migration legislative instruments put on the table by Turkish representative. Another aspect that influences labour migration in both countries is the high-level of politicization in Russia and ‘supporting the ones and ignoring the others’ policies of Turkey. These mechanisms show quite different approach of migration policies towards labour migrants from Republic of Moldova.

In Russia and Turkey return of migrants to Moldova, that represents the important constitutive of circular migration is demonstrated by temporary departures, that points to the circular character of both migration tendencies. Social perspective of return migration is demonstrated by ties with home country, taking into account the fact that Moldovans in Russia and Turkey are

married and have families, this keeps them in certain circularity between Moldova and host country. Integration perspectives for Moldovans in Russia, and the little perspectives of assimilation in Turkey influence the type of return. Temporary migration to Russia and temporary return, and permanent migration to Russia and temporary return, both contexts points to the prevalence of temporary return and as a result preference to circular migration of Moldovans in Russia. The investigation showed that Turkish case have more simple scenario, explained by the existence of one migrant's group-circular migrants, who choose temporary migration and consequently temporary return. Only a small part of migrants is integrated into Turkish society. Return of Moldovan citizens is also explained by economic point of view, while in Turkey the majority of Moldovan women see return after they will realize their economic goals, in Russia Moldovans show the tendency for return explained by the provision of favorable conditions in Moldova. And sustainable return will take place only for retirement. We came to conclusion that, the only remained option preferred by Moldovans in Russia and in Turkey is to remain 'settled in mobility', earning money in destination country and keep ties with Moldova. Sustainable returns practically do not take place and is seen as a future action, dependent on many factors. Remittances are one of the most important aspects in connection circular migrants with Moldova. Moldovans send money from host country, generally these earning are used on macro-level for daily needs, that points once again that Moldovan migrants in Russia as well as in Turkey will remain circular. These aspects bring us to conclusion that; circular labour migration trend from Moldova to Turkey will remain growing and dynamic. The practical importance of my research consists of the investigation of main aspects of labour migration from Moldova to Russia and to Turkey, similarities and distinctive features, socio-demographic profiles of labour migrants, their intentions for return in the framework of circular migration.

Taking into account that the empirical part demonstrated the shift to circular migration in terms of both directions: Russian and Turkish, these issues should be promoted and taken under control. Nowadays, there is a problem with circular migrants' statistics. First of all, destination states should include this

concept into their migration legislative and normative documents, in order to control these migrants and to have the exact statistics regarding the number of such labour migrants. The second step should include some initiative related to the management of these processes. It is related to bilateral agreements that brought successful results such as Moldova had done with Italy and Azerbaijan. Taking into account that, circular migration to Russia and Turkey did not appear during last decades states should manage it in a way, putting these migrants into legislative frameworks. As a result spontaneous circular migration will become managed circular migration. In this case, Russia and Turkey will resolve the problem of irregular Moldovans on their territories and the home country, Moldova will control these migrants and keeps them and their resources. And finally host countries: Russia and Turkey should accept this term circular migration in their migration priorities and manage it in order that Moldovan migrants could benefit from their employment, as nowadays they are not secure and face various violations of their rights from social perspective. In the case all these three dimensions will be realized the problem or invisible circular migration phenomenon will be much more developed and will bring more advantages to all parties.

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Appendix 1: Thesis Originality Report

	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TO THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	
Date: 22/06/2017	
Thesis Title / Topic: Labour Migration from Moldova to Russian Federation and Turkey.	
According to the originality report obtained by my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options stated below on 21/06/2017 for the total of 102 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 11 %.	
Filtering options applied: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Approval and Declaration sections excluded 2. Bibliography/Works Cited excluded 3. Quotes excluded 4. Match size up to 5 words excluded 	
I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.	
I respectfully submit this for approval.	
22.06.2017  Date and Signature	
Name Surname:	Natalia Mammadzada
Student No:	N12123075
Department:	International Relations
Program:	International Relations
Status:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Masters <input type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.
ADVISOR APPROVAL	
 APPROVED.	
Assist. Prof. Dr. Özlen ÇELEBİ <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> (Title, Name Surname, Signature)	

Appendix 2: Ethics Board Waiver Form for Thesis Work

 <p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK</p>
<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY</p>
<p>Date: <u>22.06.2017</u></p>
<p>Thesis Title / Topic: Labour Migration from Moldova to Russian Federation and Turkey.</p>
<p>My thesis work related to the title/topic above:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people. 2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.). 3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity. 4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).
<p>I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.</p>
<p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p>
<p><u>22.06.2017</u> <u>H. Mammadzada</u> Date and Signature</p>
<p>Name Surname: Natalia Mammadzada</p> <p>Student No: N12123075</p> <p>Department: International Relations</p> <p>Program: International Relations</p> <p>Status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Masters <input type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.</p>
<p><u>ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">  Approved Assist. Prof. Dr. Özlen ÇELEBİ _____ (Title, Name Surname, Signature) </p>

Appendix 3: Distribution of Moldovan Migrants Living in Turkey

(According to results of address based population registration system)

Moldovan Migrants in Turkey	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total	5450	6664	7028	8441	9164
Istanbul	3687	4502	5150	6235	6824
Antalia	502	624	579	739	762
Ankara	260	352	327	357	346
Izmir	187	231	179	213	227
Mugla	111	133	121	135	144

Source: TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute)

Appendix 4: Transit Type of Irregular Migrants to Turkey;

Top 5 source Countries, 1995-2005

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Afghanistan	24	68	81	921	2,476	8,746	9,701	4,246	2,178	3,442	2,363	34,246
Bangladesh	113	322	301	2,408	1,193	3,228	1,497	1,810	1,722	3,271	1,524	17,389
Iran	252	362	364	1,116	5,281	6,825	3,514	2,508	1,620	1,265	1,141	24,248
Iraq	2,128	3,319	5,689	14,237	11,546	17,280	18,846	20,926	3,757	6,393	3,591	107,712
Pakistan	708	435	307	1,798	2,650	5,027	4,829	4,813	6,258	9,396	11,001	47,222
Total (five)	3,225	4,506	6,742	20,480	23,146	41,106	38,387	34,303	15,535	23,767	19,620	230,817
Others	8,137	14,298	21,697	8,946	24,383	53,408	53,978	48,522	40,684	27,380	24,221	325,654
Total	11,362	18,804	28,439	29,426	47,529	94,514	92,365	82,825	56,219	51,147	43,841	556,471

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from UNHCR Ankara Office (2002--2005). Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (2000-2005).

Appendix 5: Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, Title II. Fundamental Rights, Freedoms and Duties

Chapter II. Fundamental rights and duties

Article 24. Right to Life and Physical and Mental Integrity (1) The State guarantees every individual the right to life and physical and mental integrity.

(2) No one may be subjected to torture or to any cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment.

(3) The capital punishment is abolished. No one may be sentenced to such a punishment, nor executed.

Article 25. Individual Freedom and Security of Person (l) Individual freedom and security of person are inviolable.

(2) Searching, detaining in custody or arresting a person shall be permitted only in cases and pursuant to the procedure established by the law.

(3) The period of detention in custody may not exceed 72 hours.

(4) The arrest shall be carried out under a warrant issued by a judge for a period of 30 days at the most. An appeal may be lodged against the validity of the warrant, under the law, at the hierarchically superior court of law. The term of the arrest may only be prolonged by the judge or by the court of law, under of the law, to a period not exceeding 12 months.

(5) The person detained in custody or under arrest shall be immediately informed on the reasons of his/her detention or arrest, and shall be notified of the charges brought against him/her as soon as possible; the notification of the charges shall only be made in the presence of a lawyer, either chosen or appointed *ex officio*.

(6) If the reasons for detention in custody or arrest have ceased to exist, the release of the person concerned must follow without delay.

Article 26. Right to Defence (l) The right to defence is guaranteed.

(2) Everyone shall be entitled to respond independently by appropriate legitimate means to an infringement of his/her rights and freedoms.

(3) Throughout the trial the parties shall have the right to be assisted by a lawyer, either chosen or appointed *ex officio*.

(4) Any interference with the activity of the persons carrying out the defence within legally established limits shall be punishable by the law.

Article 27. Right to Free Movement (1) The right to free movement within the country is guaranteed.

(2) Every citizen of the Republic of Moldova is guaranteed the right to settle his/her domiciles or place of residence anywhere within the country, to travel abroad, to emigrate and to return to the country.

Source: Official Website of the Presidency of the Republic of Moldova, <http://www.presedinte.md/titulul2#>

Appendix 6: Moldovan Migrants by Host Country, Gender and Territory

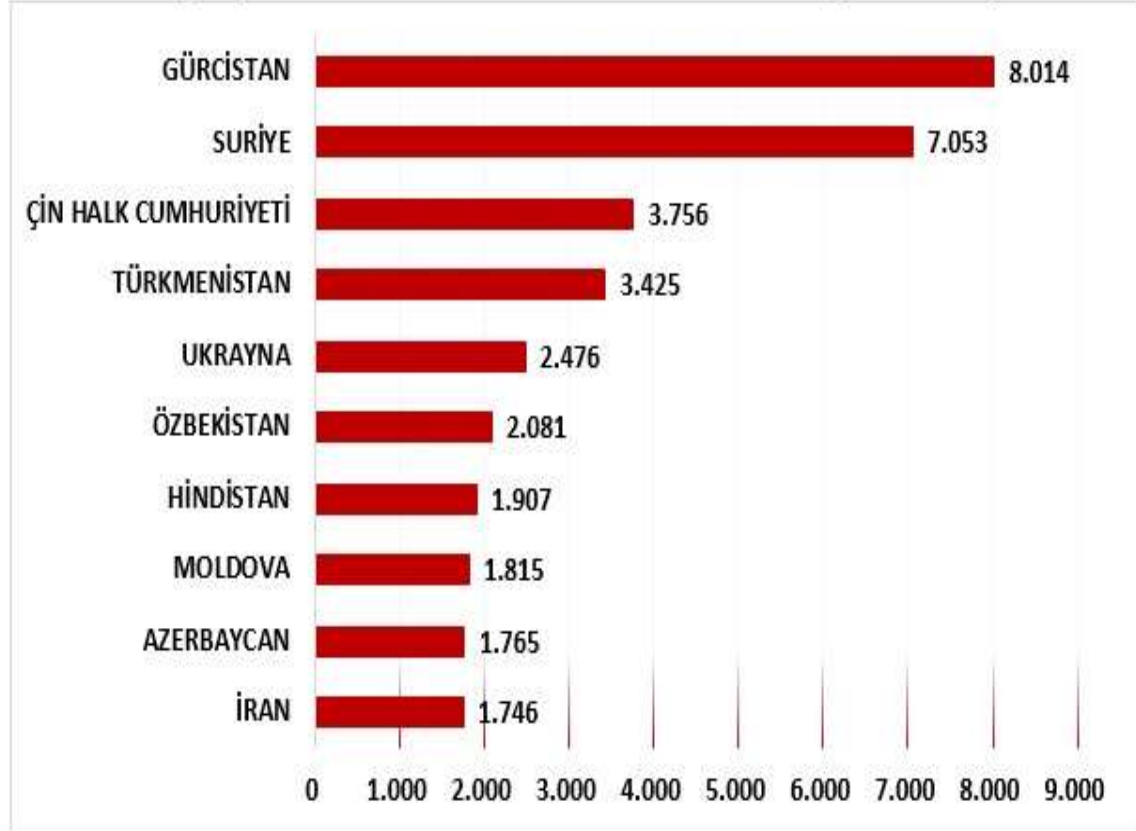
Thousand people

Destination State	Total	Men	Women	Urban	Rural
Total	426,9	288,7	138,2	106,5	320,4
EU 27	95,0	39,8	55,2	31,2	63,8
Italy	60,5	15,9	44,6	20,3	40,2
France	10,0	7,0	3,0	2,4	7,6
Portugal	3,9	2,7	1,2	1,6	2,3
Greece	3,3	1,3	2,0	2,0	1,3
Germany	2,8	2,3	0,5	0,4	2,4
Ireland	2,6	1,9	0,7	1,0	1,7
Czech Republic	2,5	1,7	0,7	-	2,5
Romania	2,6	1,8	0,8	2,0	0,7
Spain	2,1	1,7	0,4	0,6	1,6
Russia	295,4	234,0	61,4	64,3	231,1
The rest of the world:	36,5	14,9	21,7	11,0	25,6
Israel	10,6	2,0	8,7	1,4	9,2
Turkey	8,9	1,0	7,8	1,9	7,0
Ukraine	7,4	5,9	1,5	2,5	4,9
USA	5,9	3,4	2,5	4,2	1,7

Source: NBS, Labour Force Survey 2012.

Appendix 7: Foreigners with Work Permits in Turkey in 2016 (The First 10 Countries)

2016 YILINDA ÇALIŞMA İZİNİ İLE TÜRKİYE'DE BULUNAN YABANCILAR (İLK ON ÜLKE)



Source: Minister of Interior, Directorate General of Migration Management, Migration Statistics.

Appendix 8: Illegal Border-Crossing 2006-2008

September 2006 - February 2008																			
	2006				2007												2008		
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Total
Afghanistan	41	72	33	83	14	24	38	174	706	527	639	665	979	461	518	211	128	83	5396
Algeria	10		7			2		1		3	5	6	5	1	2	8	13		63
Azerbaijan	1					2			2	1	1	8	20	5	14	13	7	23	97
Bangladesh	7	9	5			20	5	28	28	36	47	36	62	32	38	28	41	12	434
Burma										19	11	51	109	235	700	638	615	214	2592
China		8	8	18	14	33	8		13	34	45	36	59	45	17	35	74	21	468
Egypt			1		2	1			1	4	4		2	9	5	1			30
Eretria									3	78	85	198	131	73	67	74	4	38	751
Georgia		19	13	17	16	29	34		77	89	64	100	81	80	99	77	61	80	936
India		4	1	3			2		2	9		10	3	10	2	2	5	1	54
Iran	11	20	16	30	25	11	34	50	76	40	107	111	107	78	97	83	97	63	1056
Iraq	294	412	246	197	144	141	182	568	540	770	1024	1202	1510	611	321	373	322	124	8981
Lebanon	1	2							3	1		3	2	1	8				21
Mauritania	73	100	104	101	48	47	29	158	233	308	352	493	647	800	1038	233	190	90	5044

Moldova				2					1	2	10		4	14	14		3	7	57
Morocco	1		3	2	3	3	4	4	6	9	3		2	5	10	5	9	2	71
Pakistan	17	62	16	6		81	9	275	399	337	222	430	964	1086	479	120	127	73	4703
Palestine	44	57	122	226	133	237	488	534	536	891	1122	949	1917	897	873	369	397	408	10200
Rwanda									3	6	7	28	17	10	10	3	4	3	91
Somalia	82	106	138	338	98	130	172	209	156	166	199	308	550	391	243	129	83	192	3690
Sri Lanka				6						21	11	11	24	17	8	4	5	4	111
Sudan		1			2				22	2	9	3	4	2	1				46
Syria	19	21	50	79	42	62	111	15	102	93	104	57	117	69	17	47	48	46	1099
Tunisia	1	3	2		1	11	3	3	2	9	2	1	4	4	6	3		1	56
Turkish	55	54	51	53	32	75	123	94	159	118	135	98	173	75	47	54	60	54	1510
Turkmenistan									1		2		10		4	5	4	7	33
Unknown	707		1									2			2				712
Total	1364	950	817	1161	574	909	1242	2113	3071	3573	4210	4806	7503	5011	4640	2515	2297	1546	48302

Source: General Command of Gendarmerie and the Coast Guard Command

Appendix 9: Socio-Demographic Profile of Moldovans in Russian Federation

		Long-term	Circular	Incl. seasonal
Type of Respondents	Total	62,4	37,6	6,6
Gender	Male	38,6	54,1	42,3
	Female	61,4	45,9	57,7
Age	Till 30	28,9	37,8	69,2
	30-39	29,7	25,1	15,4
	40-55	35,0	33,1	15,4
	Older than 55	6,5	4,1	0
Education	Primary and incomplete secondary	10,6	12,8	30,8
	Secondary, lyceum	20,7	16,2	11,5
	Secondary special/professional	55,6	50,0	34,6
	High School (incl.incomplete)	23,2	20,9	23,1
Civil Status	Unmarried (incl. widowers and divorced)	39,0	51,4	61,5
	Married (incl. cohabitation)	61,0	48,6	38,5
Period of stay in Russian Federation during the last 12 months		More than 12 monts.	1-12	1-3

Source: IOM, *Moldavane v Rossiiskoy Federatsii, Survey 2014,20.*

Appendix 10: Agreement on Labour Migration between Moldova and Russian Federation

СОГЛАШЕНИЕ

между Правительством Российской Федерации и Правительством Республики Молдова о трудовой деятельности и социальной защите граждан Российской Федерации и Республики Молдова, работающих за пределами границ своих государств

Правительство Российской Федерации и Правительство Республики Молдова, именуемые в дальнейшем Сторонами, стремясь к всестороннему развитию сотрудничества в области трудовой деятельности и социальной защиты граждан, работающих за пределами границ своих государств, согласились о нижеследующем:

Статья 1

Действие настоящего Соглашения распространяется на лиц (далее именуются - работники) и членов их семей, являющихся гражданами или имеющих постоянное место жительства на территории одной из Сторон (далее именуется - Страна выезда) и осуществляющих свою трудовую деятельность на условиях трудового договора (контракта) с работодателями на территории другой Стороны (далее именуется - Страна трудоустройства).

Статья 2

Возрастные ограничения, установленные для приема на работу граждан, определяются законодательством Страны трудоустройства.

Статья 3

Органами, уполномоченными представлять Стороны в реализации настоящего Соглашения (далее именуются - уполномоченные органы), выступают:

со стороны Российской Федерации - Министерство труда Российской Федерации;

Appendix 11: Decree of the President of Russian Federation on Resettlement Programs for Compatriots Living Abroad

У К А З

ПРЕЗИДЕНТА РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

О мерах по оказанию содействия добровольному
переселению в Российскую Федерацию
соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом
(В редакции указов Президента Российской Федерации
от 10.03.2009 г. N 262; от 30.06.2009 г. N 716;
от 12.01.2010 г. N 60; от 14.09.2012 г. N 1289;
от 11.07.2013 г. N 621; от 04.04.2014 г. N 201;
от 01.07.2014 г. N 483; от 25.07.2014 г. N 531;
от 19.12.2014 г. N 792; от 25.02.2016 г. N 82;
от 27.09.2016 г. N 502; от 07.12.2016 г. N 656)

В целях создания дополнительных условий для обеспечения добровольного переселения в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом, п о с т а н о в л я ю:

1. Утвердить прилагаемые:

а) Государственную программу по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом;

б) план мероприятий по реализации Государственной программы по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом.

2. Образовать Межведомственную комиссию по реализации Государственной программы по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом.

3. (Утратил силу - Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 11.07.2013 г. N 621)

4. Председателю Межведомственной комиссии по реализации Государственной программы по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом, в месячный срок представить в установленном порядке проект положения о Межведомственной комиссии и предложения по ее составу, предусмотрев включение в него представителей федеральных органов государственной власти, Администрации Президента Российской Федерации и Аппарата Правительства Российской Федерации.

5. Определить координатором Государственной программы по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом, Министерство внутренних дел Российской Федерации, наделив его полномочиями по координации деятельности федеральных органов исполнительной власти и органов исполнительной власти субъектов Российской Федерации, а также по нормативно-правовому регулированию в установленной сфере. (В редакции Указа Президента Российской Федерации от 07.12.2016 г. N 656)

6. Правительству Российской Федерации:

а) в месячный срок:

утвердить типовую программу субъекта Российской Федерации по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую

Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом;
представить предложения по внесению изменений в акты
Президента Российской Федерации в соответствии с настоящим Указом;
привести свои акты в соответствие с настоящим Указом;
б) при составлении проектов федерального бюджета на 2007 год и
последующие годы предусматривать в установленном порядке средства
на реализацию Государственной программы по оказанию содействия
добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников,
проживающих за рубежом.

7. Высшим должностным лицам (руководителям высших
исполнительных органов государственной власти) субъектов Российской
Федерации до 1 января 2007 г. представить в Правительство
Российской Федерации на согласование проекты программ
соответствующих субъектов Российской Федерации по оказанию
содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию
соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом, за исключением высших
должностных лиц (руководителей высших исполнительных органов
государственной власти) Красноярского, Приморского и Хабаровского
краев, Амурской, Иркутской, Калининградской, Калужской, Липецкой,
Новосибирской, Тамбовской, Тверской и Тюменской областей, которым
проекты указанных программ представить до 1 сентября 2006 г.

8. Федеральным органам исполнительной власти:

а) обеспечить в пределах своей компетенции реализацию
Государственной программы, утвержденной пунктом 1 настоящего Указа;

б) осуществлять взаимодействие с органами исполнительной
власти субъектов Российской Федерации при выполнении плана,
утвержденного пунктом 1 настоящего Указа.

9. Настоящий Указ вступает в силу со дня его официального
опубликования.

Президент Российской Федерации

В.Путин

Москва, Кремль
22 июня 2006 года
N 637

УТВЕРЖДЕНА
Указом Президента
Российской Федерации
от 22 июня 2006 г.
N 637
(в редакции Указа Президента
Российской Федерации
от 14 сентября 2012 г.
N 1289)

Appendix 12: Motives for Moldovans Return by Gender and Territory

Thousands of people

Main motive for return to Moldova	Total Returned migrants	Men	Women	Urban	Rural
Total	168,9	118,9	49,9	41,7	127,2
Holiday/Vacation	19,3	11,6	7,7	7,8	11,5
Registration /preparation of documents for	17,3	12,8	4,5	3,4	13,9
Family Responsibilities	46,2	27,3	18,9	12,7	33,6
Expire of the contract/work permit	10,1	7,3	2,8	3,7	6,3
Health Motive	15,9	10,6	5,3	3,8	12,2
Did not find work abroad	17,6	15,2	2,5	3,0	14,6
Seasonal Work	10,0	9,1	0,9	1,4	8,6
Initiation of Business in Moldova	0,7	0,4	0,3	-	0,7
Realization/reaching the scope	15,3	10,6	4,7	3,1	12,2
Expulsion	1,4	1,1	0,2	0,0	1,4
Unfavourable work conditions/law	6,2	5,3	0,9	2,1	4,2
Insecurity/Instability exploitation/deception/theft	6,0	4,9	1,1	0,3	5,7
Other	2,8	2,5	0,2	0,4	2,4

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey 2012