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International Organization for Migration (IOM)
The UN Migration Agency

RESEARCH SERIES: DIASPORA MAPPING, IV

MAPPING MIGRATION FROM TRANSNISTRIA



MAPPING MIGRATION FROM TRANSNISTRIA

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International Organization for Migration (IOM)
The UN Migration Agency

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For the purposes of the present report, the term "diaspora from Transnistria" is to be understood as the community of people who were previously living in Transnistria and who are residing on the territory of foreign countries at the time of research. Neither IOM nor the authors of the present study attribute to the term of "diaspora from Transnistria" any distinct ethnic or linguistic connotation or identity, the term referring solely to a previous territorial/geographic appurtenance/attribution of a group of persons born or who previously resided in Transnistria.

International academia uses the term "Diaspora" to "describe practically any population that is considered "de-territorialized" or "transnational"- that is, which has originated in a land other than that in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic, and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe" (Steven Vertovec, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* Volume 6, Number 3, Winter 1997 pp. 277-299 | 10.1353/dsp.1997.0010).

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The activities of the respective project were implemented within the confidence building measures designed to facilitate the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict by increasing confidence between Chisinau and Tiraspol through joint initiatives involving local authorities, civil society organizations and other stakeholders from both sides. None of the terms/definitions employed in this document prejudices on the principled decision on the future status for Transnistria, to be adopted by the relevant actors under a comprehensive, peaceful settlement of the Transnistrian conflict.

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The territory of Transnistria is located on the crossroad of countries and civilizations. It has been a place of movement of various peoples over many centuries. This is made evident by the modern ethnic structure of Transnistria, where representatives of many nationalities live: Russians (33,8%), Moldovans (33,2%), Ukrainians (26,7%), Bulgarians, Belarusians, etc. (6,3%)¹.

The territory of Transnistria has been shaken by political, military, economic crises over the last three decades. It has been transformed from a territory which was previously attracting population, into a territory of intensive population outflow.

Currently, there is no a reliable record-keeping system of external migration from Transnistria. Therefore, it is not possible to identify exact figures of the number of migrants, to describe their social and demographic profiles. The current report is an attempt to describe the peculiarities of diaspora from Transnistria alongs 6 routes (Russia, Italy, Germany, Israel, Portugal, and Great Britain) on the basis of the findings of sociological research carried out by the authors on the territory of Transnistria, as well as in the above-mentioned countries.

The notion used “*diaspora from Transnistria*” should be understood as the community of people who were previously living in Transnistria and who are residing on the territory of foreign countries at the time of research (with the exception of people who are on business trips and tourists).

The main body of the book consists of 10 chapters. Each of the chapters contains a description of the obtained findings of the research, which were acquired through formal interviews, experts' interviews, individual interviews and focus groups.

Methods, methodology and survey sample are described in the first chapter “Basis for research”.

Classification of the main types of migration of the population from Transnistria is presented in the second chapter “Types of migration from Transnistria”: namely ethnic, political, economic, study related and migration for family reunification.

The choice and the process of migration are analyzed in the third chapter “Migratory routes from Transnistria”.

The description of the legal and economic position of migrants from Transnistria is presented in the fourth chapter “Adaptation and integration abroad of migrants originating from Transnistria”.

¹ Статистический ежегодник Приднестровья– 2016: Статистический сборник (за 2011 2015 гг.) / Служба статистики Ведомства экономического развития Приднестровья – Тирасполь, 2016. Стр. 19. [Statistical yearbook of Transnistria– 2016: Statistical yearbook (2011-2015) / Statistical Service, Agency of Economic Development from Transnistria – Tiraspol, 2016. p. 19.]

The fifth chapter “Strategies of self-presentation abroad for migrants originating from Transnistria” describes the perception of natives from Transnistria abroad and their self-presentation strategies.

The sixth chapter “Interaction abroad of those originating from Transnistria” assesses the social interaction of natives from Transnistria residing abroad.

The seventh chapter “State of diaspora from Transnistria” describes the specifics of the institutionalization of diaspora from Transnistria abroad.

The eighth chapter “Return migration to Transnistria” defines connections of natives from Transnistria with the territory. The potential for return migration is considered.

The ninth chapter “Remittances and investment potential of diaspora from Transnistria” reveals the situation related to the remittances transferred by diaspora from Transnistria to the motherland, its investment potential is considered.

The potential for regulation of the processes of migration by the Transnistrian authorities is assessed in the tenth chapter “Migration regulations”.

The conclusions issue some suggestions and recommendations to official institutions, non-government organizations and business structures on the work with diaspora originating from Transnistria residing abroad.

The research results target public officials, researchers, representatives of non-governmental organizations (including international ones), entrepreneurs, students, as well as a large circle of readers, who are interested in this topic of work.

This research was possible due to the IOM project on supporting the implementation of the Mobility Partnership component and harnessing its benefits for the residents of Transnistria, funded by the European Union and implemented by the International Organization for Migration, Mission in the Republic of Moldova.

Chapter 1. BASIS FOR RESEARCH

The work on mapping the diaspora from Transnistria has started in autumn 2015 in the framework of the International Organization for Migration, Mission to Moldova project on supporting the implementation of the Mobility Partnership component and harnessing its benefits for the residents of Transnistria.

The main goal and objectives of the project were identified, the geography of the research was defined and its methods and methodology were developed within a three-month period.

The experience of researchers who study the situation of Russian², Moldovan³⁴, Ukrainian⁵, Mexican diasporas⁶ abroad and the situation of migrants in all the world in general⁷ was considered when developing methods and methodology, as well as when selecting methods of presenting the obtained results.

The goal of the research “Mapping migration from Transnistria” is to reveal migration tendencies and patterns of the population from Transnistria and to develop recommendations on the work with diaspora originating from Transnistria abroad.

The key objectives of the research are:

1. Description of the social and demographic structure of diaspora originating from Transnistria;
2. Revealing patterns of migration types and migration routes;

² Рязанцев С.В., Гребенюк А.А. «Наши» за границей. Русские, россияне, русскоговорящие, соотечественники: расселение, интеграция и возвратная миграция в Россию. – М.: ИСПИ РАН, 2014. – 238 с. [Ryazantsev S.V., Grebeniuk A.A. “Ours” abroad. Russians, Russian nationals, Russian speakers, compatriots: settlement, integration and return migration to Russia. – М.: ISPI RAS 2014. – 238 p.]

³ Мукомель В., Кеяну-Андрей Д. Молдаване в Российской Федерации: социально-экономический профиль и вызовы на уровне политик. МОМ. 2013. 100 с. [Mukomeli V., Keyanu-Andrey D. Moldovans in the Russian Federation: socio-economic profile and challenges on the level of policies. IOM. 2013. 100 p.]

⁴ Cartografierea diasporei moldovenești în Italia, Portugalia, Franța și Regatul Unit al Marii Britanii // Ciclu de studii «Cartografierea diasporei moldovenești» II. OIM Moldova. 2013. 140 p. [Mapping of Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and Great Britain // Cycle of studies “Mapping of Moldovan diaspora” II. IOM Moldova. 2013. 140 p.]

⁵ Бабута М.Н. Формирование и современное состояние украинской диаспоры (конец XIX - начало XXI вв.) // Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук / Томский государственный университет. Томск, 2008. [Babuta M.N. Formation and present status of Ukrainian diaspora (end of XIX – beginning of XXI) // Thesis for a Candidate Degree in Historical Sciences / Tomsk State University. Tomsk, 2008]

⁶ Politicas Puplicas sobre Migracion Laboral. Herramientas y buenas practicas // OIM México. 2010. 313 p. http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index.php?main_page=product_info&cPath=47&products_id=839

⁷ Migrant Well-being and development // World migration report 2013. International Organization for Migration (IOM). 2013. 220 p.

3. Reflection on the process of departure of the natives of Transnistria abroad;
4. Examination of political and legal, social and economic situation of diaspora originating from Transnistria abroad;
5. Analyses of the situation of diaspora institutions of the natives originating from Transnistria abroad;
6. Forecast of the perspectives of the return migration;
7. Analyses of behavior in the field of remittances;
8. Consideration of investment potential of diaspora originating from Transnistria in Transnistria;
9. Reflection on the potentialities of working with diaspora originating from Transnistria.

There were 5 countries chosen for conducting field research at the initial stage of research planning: Russia, Italy, Germany, Portugal and Israel. The choice of Russia was determined by its status in the migration processes of the natives from Transnistria. In accordance with the statistical data on remittances, as well as with the findings of the sociological research conducted earlier by the author, the main vector of the migration from Transnistria is directed to Russia and is around 85-90%.

Albeit a small number of individuals, the choice of some do emigrate to Italy, Portugal, Germany, and Israel for specific reasons regarding their political and legal status in these countries. For instance, economic migrants have been streaming into Italy from the end of 90s of XX century. Their legal situation has been outside the law for a long time. Economic migrants were also oriented to Portugal. However, there was possible to legalize and get citizenship faster and easier due to more liberal legislation compared to other European countries. Both economic migrants and natives of Transnistria of German and Jewish ethnicity oriented to Germany and Israel. They moved to these countries on the bases of state resettlement programs.

The referendum on the UK's membership in the European Union (BREXIT) was held in the Great Britain in June 2016. 51.89% of UK citizens voted in favor of the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. In accordance with some assessments, the referendum's results were influenced by unwillingness of British people to host new waves of migrants in their country. BREXIT's results led to the extension of the geography of research and, as follows, Great Britain was added to the 5 chosen countries.

Methods of research were defined from the quantitative and qualitative sociological methods.

From a series of quantitative methods we have decided to use the formalized (standardized) interview.

The form of a formalized interview contained 6 thematic blocks:

1. General information (social and demographic);

Table 1.

Methodology of research

| Places of field research | Experts | Individual interview | Focus groups | Questionnaire |
|--------------------------|---------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Transnistria | 7 | - | - | - |
| Russia | 10 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| Italy | 6 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| Germany | 3 | 5 | - | 30 |
| Israel | 3 | 4 | - | 30 |
| Portugal | 2 | - | 1 | 30 |
| Great Britain | 2 | 2 | 1 | 30 |

2. Information about departure and residing abroad;
3. Links with Transnistria;
4. Support to Transnistria;
5. Remittances;
6. BREXIT (only for the Great Britain).

The interview form counted 86 closed and open questions (including 3 questions only for the respondents from Great Britain).

In the lack of statistical information on aggregated population of the natives of Transnistria residing abroad, it was decided that the sampling of interviews conducted for Russia and Italy will be 100 respondents for each country, and 30 respondents for other countries. In total, 320 formalized interviews were conducted over the Internet and face to face on the territory of the selected geography of research and within Transnistria itself (during the Easter holidays and summer vacations) from March to September 2016.

Open and half-closed questions were formalized. Information collected in the course of interview was introduced in the computer software SPSS, version 22. Processing of the interview results was carried out separately on each country and presented with the help of tables and figures.

Demographic, educational, professional, resettled and ethnic characteristics are presented in the **Annexes 1 to 4**. They show that research sampling encompassed men and women of various ages, marital status, education, profession, who lived previously in all regions of Transnistria, representative of all main ethnic groups. Uneven distribution of the indicated variables alongside migration routes characterize the specifics of the flow of migrants in these countries. (*Please see Chapter 3. Migratory routes from Transnistria*).

Expert non-formalized interviews and focus groups were selected from the number of qualitative methods.

Expert interviews were designed for 3 groups of experts: managers in the area of migration (including researchers), diaspora leaders, representatives of diaspora from among entrepreneurs. The interview's forms were designed for each of them.

The form of non-formalized interview for the managers in the area of migration (including researchers) contained 5 thematic blocks:

1. Social and demographic profile of the interviewee
2. Diaspora originating from Transnistria abroad
3. Cooperation in organizations, specialized in migration
4. Priorities of Transnistria and required changes
5. Diaspora organizations

The form of non-formalized interview for diaspora leaders (including researchers) contained 5 thematic blocks:

1. Social and demographic profile of the interviewee
2. Diaspora originating from Transnistria abroad
3. Impact of local public authorities, other non-governmental organizations on migrants life
4. Immigrants' life and social environment of the natives of Transnistria abroad
5. Plans for the future

The form of the non-formalized interview for the representatives of diaspora from among entrepreneurs contained 6 thematic blocks:

1. Social and demographic profile of the interviewee
2. Migration abroad
3. Business environment
4. Individual entrepreneurship
5. Cooperation with diaspora organizations/associations of fellow-countrymen
6. Plans for the future

33 expert interviews were carried out in total, of which there were 7 participants from among representatives of official institutions, research community and civil society, who reside in Transnistria.

Focus groups acted as another qualitative research method. They took the form of 6 thematic blocks:

1. Social and demographic portrait of participants
2. Migration in this country
3. Migration policies
4. Diaspora organizations
5. Links with relatives/friends in Transnistria
6. Plans for the future

Carrying out focus groups in Germany, Portugal, Israel and Great Britain was hampered by searching for participants of the focus-groups as the

number of natives of Transnistria in these countries is insignificant and, in addition, is characterized by the territorial dispersion. It is for this reason that the goal and the objectives of the focus groups were met with the assistance of the method of individual non-formalized interview in these countries.

Another shortcoming of carrying out focus groups became the topic for discussion itself. The questions that are not reflected in migrants' public opinion were difficult to discuss (for example, migration policies and diaspora organizations) were not brought forward for discussion by the participants. On the other hand, the questions related to the personal migration experience turned to be a pressing issue. However, not all participants were ready to discuss them in public.

In the author's opinion, it may have been more appropriate to overcome described shortcomings of carrying out focus groups through replacing this method by non-formalized interviews.

The main language of the research was Russian. The research was carried out in Moldovan (Romanian) and English languages for a small portion of respondents and experts.

Information obtained through qualitative methods of research was recorded on Dictaphone. All audio recordings were decoded in the text variant. It is presented in this text in selected quotations.

Anonymity and confidentiality of the presented information was guaranteed to all participants.

Bibliographical and statistical methods acted as additional research procedures. Bibliographical sources on the topic of migration from Transnistria, as well as official statistical information, which directly relates to the examined theme, were used in the paper.

As a result, selected methods and methodology of research, even with indicated difficulties, permitted the achievement of the goals and objectives. As migration behaviour of population from Transnistria has certain dynamics and is under the influence of both external migration policies and intra-diaspora development, it is recommended to research diaspora on a regular basis. Firstly, there is a need for a wider geographical study of migration from Transnistria alongside the main routes of departure of the natives of Transnistria abroad. It seems opportune to carry out field researches on the territory of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Turkey, USA and Canada. Secondly, it is necessary to improve methods and methodology of research of the migrants' community with the replacement of the focus group method with the conduct of individual non-formalized interviews. Thirdly, there is a need for a complex study of migrants originating from Transnistria depending on migration types. It would seem appropriate to examine economic migrants as the most significant group of migrants, as well as the community of study migrants, who, in our opinion, have the potential for the institutionalization of diaspora development.

Chapter 2.

TYPES OF MIGRATION FROM TRANSNISTRIA

Several types of migration from Transnistria have taken shape over the past three decades (since the end of the 80s until now): ethnic, political (refugees), economic, study, migration with the aim of family reunification. A wide spectrum of migration types from Transnistria reflect the particularities of its population and is largely a consequence of political and economic turbulences.

Ethnic migration

The ethnic composition of the population from Transnistria is a mixture of ethnic groups. Demographers from Transnistria present a summary table of the ethnic structure of Transnistria based on the data of statistical surveys of different years. A retrospective analysis of the data shows that the proportion of the ethnic groups in the overall population structure is a consequence of the political-military and social-economic events of the XX century: the creation of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR, 1924-1930); World War II (1941-1945); The famine (1946-1947); rapid economic development of Transnistria (60-80s); self-proclamation of Transnistria (1990), the disintegration of the USSR (1991); military conflict (1992)⁸.

Table 2.

Ethnic composition of Transnistria in different years⁹

| Year | Share, % | | | | Total, thousand people |
|---------------|-----------|----------|------------|--------|------------------------------|
| | Moldovans | Russians | Ukrainians | Others | |
| 1926* | 30,1 | 8,5 | 48,5 | 12,9 | 572,3 |
| 1939* | 28,6 | 10,2 | 50,7 | 10,9 | 475,1 |
| 1989** | 33,5 | 30,5 | 28,3 | 7,7 | 678,2 |
| 1993*** | 34,1 | 30,1 | 28,0 | 7,8 | 712,5 |
| 1995*** | 33,5 | 28,8 | 28,0 | 9,7 | 696,1 |
| 2004 (census) | 31,9 | 30,3 | 28,8 | 9,0 | 550,0 |

* Within the borders of the MASSR as a part of the USSR.

** As a part of the MSSR, with clarifying adjustments^{10 11}.

*** Within the current Transnistria.

⁸ Кривенко А.В., Фоменко В.Г., Бурла М.П. Этнический состав населения Приднестровья : ретроспективный и перспективный анализ /// Вестник приднестровского университета. Сер.: Физико-математические и технические науки: № 3(51), 2015. – Стр. 169-178 http://spsu.ru/images/files/science/vestnik/Vestnik_2015_3.pdf [Krivenko A.V., Fomenko V.G.,

Table3.

**Ethnic composition of the population of Transnistria
in accordance with the census of 1989, 2004 and 2015¹²**

| | Census of 1989 | | Census of 2004 | | Census of 2015* | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | % | people | % | people | % | people |
| Total | 100 | 678281 | 100 | 555347 | 100 | 475,1 |
| Moldovans | 33,5 | 227084 | 31,9 | 177382 | 33,2 | 157,7 |
| Russians | 30,5 | 207219 | 30,4 | 168678 | 33,8 | 160,6 |
| Ukrainians | 28,3 | 192078 | 28,8 | 160069 | 26,7 | 126,9 |
| Bulgarians | 2,2 | 14616 | 2,5 | 13858 | 2,7 | 12,8 |
| Gagauz | 0,7 | 4691 | 0,7 | 4096 | 1,2 | 5,7 |
| Belarusians | 0,8 | 5357 | 0,7 | 3811 | 0,6 | 2,9 |
| Germans | 0,7 | 4467 | 0,4 | 2071 | 0,3 | 1,4 |
| Jews | 1,9 | 12926 | 0,2 | 1259 | 0,1 | 0,7 |
| Other | 1,4 | 9843 | 4,4 | 24123 | 1,4 | 6,4 |

* For the year of 2015 – calculation is made on the basis of preliminary data of population census in Transnistria in 2015

Burla M.P. Ethnical structure of the population of Transnistria: retrospective and perspective analyses // Gazette of Transnistrian University. Series: Physic-mathematical and technical sciences: № 3(51), 2015. – p. 169-178.] http://spsu.ru/images/files/science/vestnik/Vestnik_2015_3.pdf

⁹ Кривенко А.В., Фоменко В.Г., Бурла М.П. Этнический состав населения Приднестровье: ретроспективный и перспективный анализ // Вестник приднестровского университета. Сер.: Физико-математические и технические науки: № 3(51), 2015. – Стр. 170. [Krivenko A.V., Fomenko V.G., Burla M.P. Ethnical structure of population of Transnistria: retrospective and perspective analyses // Gazette of Transnistrian University. Series.: Physic-mathematical and technical sciences: № 3(51), 2015. – p. 170.] . http://spsu.ru/images/files/science/vestnik/Vestnik_2015_3.pdf

¹⁰ Всесоюзная перепись населения 1926 г. Народность и родной язык населения СССР. – М., 1928. [All-union population census, 1926 year. Ethnicities and native language of the population of the USSR. – М., 1928.

¹¹ Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 г. Основные итоги. – М., 1992. [All-union population census, 1939 year. Main results. – М., 1992.]

¹² Составлено по материалам Кривенко А.В., Фоменко В.Г., Бурла М.П. Этнический состав населения Приднестровья: ретроспективный и перспективный анализ // Вестник приднестровского университета. Сер.: Физико-математические и технические науки: № 3(51), 2015. – Стр. 172. http://spsu.ru/images/files/science/vestnik/Vestnik_2015_3.pdf и Статистический ежегодник Приднестровья – 2016: Статистический сборник (за 2011 – 2015 гг.) / Служба статистики Ведомства экономического развития Приднестровья – Тирасполь, 2016 – 185 с. Стр. 28. [Compiled on the basis of materials of Krivenko A.V., Fomenko V.G., Burla M.P. Ethnical structure of the population of Transnistria: retrospective and perspective analyses // Gazette of Transnistrian University. Series: Physic-mathematical and technical sciences: № 3(51), 2015. – p. 172. http://spsu.ru/images/files/science/vestnik/Vestnik_2015_3.pdf and Statistical yearbook of Transnistria – 2016: Statistical yearbook (2011-2015) / Statistical Service, Agency of Economic Development for Transnistria – Tiraspol, 2016. p. 28.

The outflow of the population was facilitated by the opening of borders and the disappearance of the USSR and, to a large extent, implementing the program of repatriation of the representatives of Russian, Jewish and German ethnic groups from Transnistria. 4.4 thousand people of German ethnicity, representing 0.7% of the total population, were living on the territory of Transnistria at the moment of the population census of 1989. By the 2004 population census, this figure had halved. Ethnic Germans counted 2 thousand or 0.4% at that time. The number of Germans on the territory of Transnistria was 1.4 thousand or 0.3% of the total population in 2015.

The involvement of ethnic Germans and members of their families in repatriation programs to Germany began at the end of the 1980s (from the moment of the fall of the Iron Curtain) and is still ongoing.

Besides ethnic Germans, Germany, in accordance with the state repatriation programs, hosts ethnic Jews in the country.

Nevertheless, the main destination of Jews is Israel. The population census of 1989 counted 12.9 thousand of Jewish ethnicity or 1.9% of the total population on the territory of Transnistria. The population survey of 2004 showed this decrease by ten times. Ethnic Jews numbered 1.2 thousand people or 0.2% at that time. The Downsizing of the number of Jews is continuing. Their number was 0.7 thousand or 0.1% of the total population in 2015.

The State Programme of return of compatriots in Russia was adopted in 2006. Notwithstanding a significant number of migrants originating from Transnistria who streamed to Russia, this program was not popular among the natives of Transnistria. First of all, this happened due to a particular political climate in Transnistria, when it was possible to get Russian citizenship for a long time. Respectively, this Program attracted those who had citizenship of any other country, except Russia, mainly of the Republic of Moldova and frequently of the representatives of non-Russian ethnicity (Moldovans and Ukrainians).

It is not possible to evaluate statistically the outflow of the natives of Transnistria under this program. Data of the population census of 2015 showed the increase of the share of population of Russian ethnicity in the population structure.

I feel that the Program "compatriots" is growing more and more in popularity in the recent years. I have acquaintances who moved under this program. Moreover, this is not an isolated case. And the more it is disseminated among people, the more it is popular because it may not help migrants from the economic perspective on the new place, but when it refers to the paperwork, it really helps. People have to take advantage of this. I do not know the statistics on these persons. (El, Russia).

Interviews and focus groups showed that this type of ethnic migration of people from Transnistria is typical for the modern stage of development. However, the outflow of people along this migration channel is diminishing every year in comparison with 1990s.

The repatriation procedure of German ethnics and resettlement program of Jews to Germany has its country particularities. For instance, repatriation to Germany occurs under the mediation of the German Embassy in the Republic of Moldova (previously through the German Embassy in Russia and Ukraine). The repatriates and resettled receive financial assistance for the housing rental and satisfaction of their daily needs at the first migration stage on the territory of Germany. They are also included in a number of social programs on German language training, vocational education and employment.

I moved to Germany in 2004 as a part of Jewish emigration. Paperwork took place through the German Consulate in Chişinău. There was a choice to move to Israel, but I refused. First of all, as there is a war there. Secondly, the heat. Thirdly, I simply didn't want to live in the Near East. There was no sense to remain in Transnistria by that time. The metal lithograph plant that I used to work at was closed. (II, Germany).

Repatriation to Israel takes place with the support of the public organization "Sohnut". It assists with paper work and pre-migration training that foresees language-training and the study of Judaism.

Departure documents were arranged through Sohnut (city of Chisinau). I attended language courses in the town of Bendery in the regional branch of Sohnut. However, those few weeks of studies went to waste and I did not learn anything. The only useful turned to be preparations for the issues with the neighbors in the shared households. (II, Israel).

Repatriates pass through a similar procedure of integration and adaptation to the country on the territory of Israel as the repatriates and resettled to Germany. The particularity of staying on the territory of Israel is linked to the requirements for religion – conversion to Judaism as well as the need to serve in the army for both men and women.

The justification for Israeli army service is not only from the point of view of patriotic feelings. It has also a utilitarian part: entitlement to citizenship, payment for the first stage of education (bachelor degree), and financial security.

I go to school in the city of Jerusalem. I am waiting for recruitment into

Israel army in one week. The service itself should start, supposedly, in summer 2017. I'm happy with the perspective to pay the duty to the motherland and do not understand my former classmates, who remained in Transnistria or left to Russia for studies. They are very patriotic in words, but in reality none of them doesn't plan to server in the army. (II, Israel).

The right to participate in the repatriation and resettlement programs to Germany and Israel is conferred also to the members of the families of repatriates and resettled even in the case that they are not ethnic Germans or Jewish. With the purpose of preventing sham marriages, certain requirements related to the marriage partners of the repatriates exist.

There was a condition during my repatriation: if we want to arrive, we had to live together minimum for 3 years as we registered marriage. If we would leave earlier, I would have to wait the citizenship for 5 years. But otherwise I accomplished all conditions for repatriates, waited here. And I got citizenship two weeks after my arrival to Germany. (II, Germany)

It is important to highlight that not repatriation itself, namely reunification with the ethnic motherland, but improvement of social-economic conditions for life abroad, was a priority for the majority of interviewed participants, who have experience of repatriation to Russia, Germany and Israel.

In 2007, we decided that it was possible to move and to try to get on with our life in Germany. As it was considered at that time that it is more or less good in Germany as concerns social sphere. (II, Germany).

I lived in a middle class family. There was no assurance that I could enter the university on the budget. Repatriation to Israel 4 years ago was a single chance to escape from the region and to start an independent living at that time. (II, Israel).

I came to Israel in 1990. I had been living in Bender for 26 years before that. I was in the army. I studied in Chisinau. In 1989 I came in a visit to Israel and said that I would never come to this country. It didn't impress me. Then all Jews of our town stood up and left. Then it was already uneasy in Bendery. The family stood up entirely, children, grownups, seniors. Three generations stood up and left. Nobody remained in Bendery. (AI, Israel).

Currently, ethnic migration under repatriation and resettlement programs from Transnistria to Germany and Israel is decreasing in numbers.

The main cause is the drop in the number of ethnic Germans and Jewish on the territory of Transnistria. In the same time, depending on the social and economic situation in Russia, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, as well as the changes of political status of Transnistria, there is a good chance of a new wave of ethnic migration that would cover the representatives of three main ethnic groups of Transnistria: Moldovans, Russians, Ukrainians. Changes in the direction of foreign policy development, and in the cultural, linguistic and educational areas could generate forced ethnic migration and change the well-established ethnic structure of Transnistria.

Political migration (refugees)

The migration situation in Transnistria was linked to a large extent with political events of the end of 1980s – beginning of 1990s – self-proclamation of Transnistria and the military conflict of 1992 became causes for migration from Transnistria for political reasons, and in some cases political asylum-seeking in the Western countries not only for the natives from Transnistria but also for those from the right bank of Moldova. According to the information of the researcher of Moldovan migration, V. Mosneaga, the departure of about 100 thousand refugees from the war zone was registered during the conflict. The main flow was hosted by Ukraine (more than 60 thousand people, half of them were children), Russia (slightly more than 17 thousand), Belarus (almost 1 thousand) and faraway states (about 20 thousand people)¹³.

My mother is from family with many children – 12 children. They lived in Stefan-Voda. Almost all went to Tiraspol for studies after leaving school and remained to live there. My parents took part in fightings on the part of the Republic of Moldova during the conflict of 1992. My dad is a military man, my mom is a doctor. They were accused, respectively, in Transnistria that they attacked Transnistria. That's why we had to move to Chisinau. What happened destroyed our relations in the family. We attempted to explain ourselves and to get relationship back on track, but, in the end, we communicate only with one of the sisters of my mom. I have about 30 cousin-brothers and cousin-sisters. They have different identities. Someone identifies himself as Moldovan, someone as Russian, someone as native of Transnistria. (EI, Great Britain).

It is noteworthy that request for political asylum as a follow up of Transnistrian conflict was occurring years later, when residing on Transnistria was not causing threat to life and health in connection with the military

¹³ Mosneaga, V. 2. 2013. Asylum-seekers, refugees and displaced persons in Moldova: Problems of recognition, social protection and integration. Socio-Political Module. CARIM-East Explanatory Note 13/103

conflict. Mainly irregular economic migrants benefited from the right to get asylum on the territory of recognized countries. In such a way they were able to legalize abroad.

I found myself in Germany in 1997. I was living illegally, working in construction, agriculture. I was captured by police and put in jail in 1998. I spent about 20 days in jail. I hired a lawyer and he advised me to apply for political asylum. Ground for this was the fact of my residence in Transnistria and death of my twin brother from a gunshot wound in April 1992 during Moldovan-Transnistrian conflict. (II, Germany).

It transpires from the materials of the interview that the procedure of acquiring political asylum was mainly carried out bypassing official institutions from Transnistria.

Official German authorities did not have any contacts with Transnistria. All documents were collected from the official sources of the Republic of Moldova. The whole procedure lasted for 5-6 months. All that time I was in liberty and was receiving social assistance from the German state. Political refugee status provided me with lifelong visa for Germany. (II, Germany).

In 1994-1995 departure of natives from the territory of Transnistria for political reasons was linked with the conflict between the Russian general A.I. Lebedev (commander of the 14th Guards combined arms army, member of the legislative body of Transnistria of the 1st legislature) and leaders of Transnistria headed by I.N. Smirnov. Disagreements between these two parts of the conflict were connected with different visions on the politics of Transnistria¹⁴. Along with A.I. Lebedev, his colleagues from among military men, officials, political activists also left.

The results of elections in 2011 and 2016 of the Transnistrian leader resulted in the change of political elite and marked the next stages of departure of people from Transnistria for political reasons. Among those who departed for these reasons were officials and political activists, who didn't fit into the new power conjuncture, specialists who didn't agree with the politics on the ground: former heads of institutions from Transnistria, oppositional journalists etc^{15 16 17}. The main route of this category of migrants from Transnistria was to Russia.

¹⁴ Полушин В.Л. Битвы генерала Лебедея. Записки соратника: в 2 кн. Сер. Двуликая Клио: Версии и факты // М.: Терра-Книжный клуб, 2005. 1152 с. [Polushin V.L. Battles of general Lebedi. Notes of comrade: in 2 volumes. Series bifacial Clío: versions and facts//M.: Terra-Book Club, 2005, 1152 p.]

¹⁵ Роман Коноплев: « Мы не дадим поблажки властям Приднестровья. Не дадим себя арестовать» // РИА «Днепр» от 29.04.2012. Режим доступа: <https://www.Nistru.ru/node/>

I had a successful career of oncology specialist – surgeon in Tiraspol. Besides professional activity, I was managing a public organization “Oncology specialists of Transnistria”. I was a member of the Public Chamber of Transnistria. I left for Moscow on September 9th 2013. My medical career in Tiraspol ended up on the ground of disagreements with the Agency of economic development from Transnistria. I would rather not leave outside Transnistria, but there was no other choice. (EI, Russia).

Another group of natives of Transnistria found themselves abroad for political reasons. It consisted exclusively of those from the former political establishment of Transnistria. Their staying abroad is linked with the limited opportunities for return to the motherland. Legislation of the Republic of Moldova interdicts and punishes actions associated with separatism and the appropriation of power, which is what political leaders and officials from Transnistria can be accused of.

For this reason, representatives of the political circles of Transnistria had been using Odessa airport for the trips to Russia to avoid the difficulties of interaction with law enforcement agencies of the Republic of Moldova for many years. However, following events in Ukraine in 2014, Ukraine banned entry of Russia's male citizens up to 60 years old, and other Russians on its territory in some cases (absolute majority of former political activists of Transnistria has Russia's citizenship). Thus, the only corridor on the way to Russia remained Chisinau's airport. There were cases for several years, when the natives of Transnistria, representing the above-mentioned group, were forbidden to enter the territory of the Republic of Moldova and they were deported back to Russia¹⁸.

6935 [Roman Konoplev: „We will not give easy time to authorities of Transnistria. We'll not allow to be arrested”//RIA “Dnestr”, dated on 29.04.2012. Link could be accessed: <https://www.Nistru.ru/node/6935>]

¹⁶ Политические преследования в Приднестровье. Случай Коноплева // РИА «Днестр» от 28.04.2012. Режим доступа: <https://www.Nistru.ru/node/6933> [Political persecution in Transnistria. Cases of Konoplev//RIA “Dnestr”, dated on 28.04.2012. Link could be accessed: <https://www.Nistru.ru/node/6933>]

¹⁷ Экс-глава службы безопасности Приднестровья похищен неизвестными // Московский Комсомолец в Молдове от 23.02.2017. Режим доступа: <http://mk.kn.md/articles/2017/02/23/eksglava-kgb-pridnestrovy-pokhishhen-neizvestnymi.html> [Ex-chair of security service of Transnistria is kidnapped by unknown//Moscowskiy Komsomolets v Moldove, dated on 23.02.2017. Link could be accessed: <http://mk.kn.md/articles/2017/02/23/eksglava-kgb-pridnestrovy-pokhishhen-neizvestnymi.html>]

¹⁸ Приднестровского генерала Олега Гудымо депортировали из Молдовы в Россию // ИА «Тирас» от 13.06.2015. Режим доступа: <http://tiras.ru/evrazija/43366-pridnestrovskogo-general-a-olega-gudymo-deportirovali-iz-moldovy-v-rossiyu.html> [Transnistrian general Oleg Gudymo was deported from Moldova to Russia// IA „Tiras” dated on 13.06.2015. Link could be accessed: <http://tiras.ru/evrazija/43366-pridnestrovskogo-general-a-olega-gudymo-deportirovali-iz-moldovy-v-rossiyu.html>]

In my past – work in the official institutions of Transnistria, active political activity: leadership in a political party, work as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet, participation as a candidate in the election of the President of Transnistria. I together with my family left for Odessa on March, 1 2013. Decision on departure was a forced one – because of political reasons. (EI, Russia).

The same category of banned people to Transnistria by reason of limited entry to the territory of Ukraine and the Republic Moldova included a part of the former political establishment of Transnistria, who took up senior political positions in the self-proclaimed republics of Donetsk and Luhansk¹⁹.

The research sample included cases when departure from Transnistria was caused by the crises conditions of the society, threat of becoming the victim of violence, fear for safety of life and health.

I was violated, when I had 17 years old. I was not attending institute for one month, and I drop it out later. This was my main reason for migration. I was repelled by that society, where I lived. This hopelessness is because of the fact that there is no protection. (FG, Italy)

To evaluate the number of people who left Transnistria in such a way and who do not have a chance to return for political reasons it is not possible. Nevertheless, due to the public status of some individuals, we can see cases of this type of migration.

Economic migration

The economic sector was developing sustainably in the first years after the self-proclamation of Transnistria. However, the ambiguity of the political and legal status, lack of institutional bodies and legal basis of the macroeconomic management, as well as crises conditions of the main economic partners of Transnistria resulted in the appearance of various critical phenomenon²⁰.

Statistical service publishes statistical data on the development of Transnistria on a daily basis²¹. Their analyses of dynamics allows us to capture

¹⁹ Приднестровский десант в ДНР // Интернет-портала 2000.ua (Газетный комплекс «Интернет-медиа») от 3.09.2014. Режим доступа: <http://www.2000.ua/v-nomere/svoboda-slova/reallii/pridnestrovskii-desant-v-dnr.htm> [Transnistrian airlifted force in DNR//Internet-portal 2000.ua (Newspaper complex "Internet-media") dated on 3.09.2014. Link could be accessed: <http://www.2000.ua/v-nomere/svoboda-slova/reallii/pridnestrovskii-desant-v-dnr.htm>]

²⁰ История Приднестровья. Т. 2, Ч. II. – Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 2001. 299-300 [History of Transnistria, V. 2, P. II. – Tiraspol: RIO PGU, 2001. 299-300]

²¹ Ежегодники Службы статистики Ведомства экономического развития Приднестровья //

some employment tendencies and social and economic situation of the population, which played a significant role in the population involvement in economic migration.

First of all, the population structure of Transnistria has transformed – the proportion between economically active population and inactive population has changed. It amounted to 232.9 and 103.4 thousand people in 1996; in 2016 - 136.6 and 145.6 thousand people, respectively. Such a disproportion reflects systemic problems of the labor market and witnesses migration outflow of the population.

Secondly, the structure of the number of employed persons by sector is changing – mainly decreased employment in the branches of the real economy sector. Thus, for example, there were 31.6% of the total employed population in industry in 1996; in 2016 – 20.8%. Agro-industrial sector is also marked by the crises – the share of employed in agriculture amounted 22.4% of the total employed in economy in 1996; in 2016 – 6.6%.

Crises phenomenon in agro-industrial complex significantly affects the employment of social and demographic population groups and changes the practices of livelihoods of the rural population²². Some rural settlements face fast moving depopulation²³.

Migration affects ethnic composition of population from Transnistria. If to analyze data of the census of 2015, then we will see that the number of all ethnic groups has decreased. Exceptions to this are Gagauz people. Their number has even increased. Interesting is the change of the share of ethnic groups. The share of Moldovan population was higher over several decades. The census of 2015 registered that the share of the Russian population is higher comparing to Moldovan one. In the meantime, in comparison with the census of 2004, the share of Moldovan population

<http://www.mepmr.org/gosudarstvennaya-statistika/informacziya/122-ezhegodnik-gosudarstvennoj-sluzhby-statistiki> [Yearbook of Statistical Service of the Agency for Economic Development of Transnistria // <http://www.mepmr.org/gosudarstvennaya-statistika/informacziya/122-ezhegodnik-gosudarstvennoj-sluzhby-statistiki>]

²² Фоменко В.Г. Особенности отраслевой структуры, территориальной организации и пути реформирования агропромышленного комплекса Приднестровья // В сборнике: Аграрная география в современном мире К 90-летию юбилею Виктора Николаевича Тюрина. Под редакцией В.Н. Тюрина. Краснодар, 2014. С. 171-173. Стр. 173. [Fomenko V.G. Peculiarities of sectoral structure, territorial organization and ways of reforming of the agro-industrial complex of Transnistria//In collection: Agrarian geography in contemporary world. By the 90th anniversary of Victor Nikolaevich Tiurin. Under the editorship V.N. Tiurin. Krasnodar, 2014, p. 171-173, p. 173]

²³ Кривенко А.В., Бурла М.П., Фоменко В.Г. География Каменского района Приднестровья. — Тирасполь, 2009. — 191 с. [Krivenki A.B., Burla M.P., Fomenko V.G. Geography of Kamenka region of Transnistria, - Tiraspol, 2009 – 191 p.]

has increased, but the share of Russian population has increased even more. It has come to exceed at a minor proportion, less than 1 %, the share of Moldovan population. 33,1% of Moldovan population and 33,7% Russian population. The share of Ukrainian population decreased, which we were treating all the time as the third equal part. They are about 26% for the moment. What is the link with the migration processes? The link is direct as both Ukrainian and Moldovan population make up a considerable part of rural population. And that so far the rural population suffers in a greater extent because of push migration factors it is obvious that this population is lost faster. (EI, Transnistria).

Thirdly, there are low salaries in the region. In 1998 the average monthly was 58 USD; in 2016 - 335 USD. A salary lower than average has been set up for the whole range of economy sectors (65% of all employed people). Low incomes are typical, including the sectors where highly qualified specialists are employed.

The first reason for migration is the economic one, lack of employment opportunities, impossibility to realize their economic needs as the level of life falls catastrophically. These results in labor migration, which ends up in either that people do not return, or return periodically. There reasons that could be called political or the reasons linked with instability in political plan. In this regard, people have to resort to acquiring various citizenship to depart abroad. Therefore, such a mess appears when there are many documents and it is necessary to navigate somehow between one and another state. (EI, Russia).

There is not work there and this is very sad. There are no perspectives there. There is certain protection from Russia, but it is not sufficient, because it is very difficult. (FG, Russia).

To find a job is very difficult in Transnistria. And this is relevant both for the politics and exchange rate. It is very difficult to live there. Impossible. Very difficult. The salaries are very small. You pay 35 USD for the kindergarten. And this is a lot as the salary is 150 USD. (FG, Italy).

It is a hard time in Transnistria now. We have been buying everything either from Odessa or Chisinau for one year. It is hard from all parts, the prices are high. I do not see a future for my children in Transnistria. (FG, Italy).

People are leaving Transnistria, because they have no means of subsistence. There are no conditions for life. I feel that the economic, social crisis in going on. That is why people have to do this. (FG, Portugal).

Thus, the long-established trends reveal that the employment situation has been worsening every year. From the point of view of employment, the most vulnerable on the labor market tend to be the labour resources residing in the rural areas, having been employed in agricultural sector previously, and qualified workers employed in industry.

From the point of view of well-established incomes, highly qualified specialists employed in such strategic sectors as education and science, public administration health were a part of the vulnerable groups that are not able to ensure fully for themselves and for their families needed life level.

We have a certain staffing problem. Specialists in the field of education, health, industry are leaving us. Consequently, there is a lack of specialists on the local labor market. We are also losing that part of population that is characterized by the entrepreneurial activity. If the wage situation, the situation linked with the providing conditions for entrepreneurial activity is not changed, then we will be facing brain drain. (AI, Tiraspol)

The unfavorable situation on the labor market is also typical for the labor resources of young people with a higher education. It is caused by low competitiveness of young people arising from the lack of experience, sufficient qualification on graduating educational institutions, incapacity of educational institutions to offer relevant knowledge to the future specialists. As a follow up of this, the employer does not want to bear the financial expenses linked to the professional training of young people²⁴.

Thus, large segments of the population who had been facing unemployment and low incomes swelled the ranks of economic migrants. interviews and focus groups conducted show that economic migration passed through several stages in its content.

The first stage of the economic migration happened at the end of 1990s –beginning of 2000s. The migrants' flow consisted mainly of the people discouraged by the unemployment and low incomes in the homeland and forced to look for earnings abroad. The choice of economic migrants fell on Russia, Germany, Italy, and Portugal at that time.

Political and legal as well as social and economic situation of the natives of Transnistria at the first stage of economic migration was characterized in the majority of cases by disadvantages. Legalization in the countries of migration was lacking; the fear of capture and expulsion from the country was high. Employment was mainly in specific niches of the labor market, where fraud and exploitation of labor force occurred. Social and living conditions of

²⁴ Терзи Н.В. Особенности молодежного рынка труда в Приднестровье // Бизнес в законе. Экономико-юридический журнал. 2009. № 1, с.435-439. [Terzi N.V. Peculiarities of youth labor market in Transnistria // Business in law. Economic and legal journal. 2009. № 1. P. 435-439]

residences were precarious. Opportunities of official receipt of legal assistance and health services was lacking

The second stage of economic migration took shape by the mid-2000s. A liberalization of migration policies occurred in most of the countries of entry of the natives of Transnistria by that time. It became easier to get legal status abroad. Respectively, employment conditions improved, incomes increased, the quality of life abroad changed.

It is worth mentioning, in particular, economic migrants who were departing to Russia. Due to the special status of Transnistria, it became possible to get Russian citizenship. In that way a considerable part of economic migrants who departed to Russia subject to availability of Russian citizenship were equalized in rights with other citizens of Russia. They had the same conditions as Russian citizens, who were participating in the internal migration processes.

Economic migration is currently in the third stage of its development. It is characterized by a careful choice of migration country, arrangements for departure, legalization abroad, employment in sectors similar to or closer to their specialty, preserving standards of the quality of life abroad. Thus, a change of political and legal as well as social and economic status of economic migrant happened: from a guest workers into labor migrants and to a free professional later.

Study-related migration

Study-related migration is a traditional type of migration for young people from Transnistria. This type is distinct from repatriation and economic migration, and was typical for prosperous soviet times. This was facilitated by the unique education system in the USSR, proximity of major educational centers: city of Chisinau, city of Odessa. Besides indicated cities, major cities in Russia were popular directions of study-related migration at that time: city of Moscow, city of Saint-Petersburg; Ukraine: city of Kyiv and city of Kharkiv.

A specific model of study-related migration has currently formed. Its distinctiveness is conditioned by the unrecognized status of Transnistria, when a considerable number of the population receive documents certifying the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova or get the Russian and Ukrainian citizenship, and its specific features of the educational system – match with educational standards of Russia and complexity of recognition of educational documents on the territory of the faraway countries. There is a lack of structured information on prospective university students from Transnistria, who enrolled in higher educational institutions outside of Transnistria.

The main routes of study-related migration from Transnistria are Russia, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, and occasionally faraway countries.

The majority of graduates remain in Transnistria, but there is a part of children, who choose education in neighboring countries and far away outside of Transnistria. The geography of education is very wide.

Many graduates leave to Russia, enter the best universities of the country: MSU, Timireazev academy, Bauman MIPT, Military Humanitarian Academy, Saint-Petersburg's military-medicine academy, Moscow's pedagogical universities. There are children who did post-graduate studies in these educational institutions and teach there.

Children originating from Transnistria also enter Ukrainian Universities in the city of Kyiv and Odessa. Enter universities in the Republic of Moldova in the city of Chisinau, mainly in the Slavonic academy and Testemitanu Medical University. There are cases of education in Belarussian Universities. There are graduates who are oriented towards matriculation in the countries of far abroad. Thus, I know several people, who graduated on the Universities in Sophia, they are mainly ethnical Bulgarians. There are those who studied in Poland, Czech Republic, Germany, Israel, USA, Canada. (EI, Transnistria).

The plans of the study migrants regarding matriculation and education abroad are mainly realized through the system of allocated quotas for the natives of Transnistria through individual matriculation on the basis of general competition, matriculation through the system of preliminary selection (following the results of competitions, Olympiads).

Russia, Republic of Moldova and Ukraine allocate quotas for budgetary education on different levels of vocational education for the prospective students from Transnistria on an annual basis.

Quotas for education in Russian Universities are allocated free of charge and are offered by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. The number of allocated quotas depends on the territory of the country. For example, for Belarus, as distinct from Transnistria, the number of quotas is a lot more. At the same time, the quotas, allocated for the right bank of the Republic of Moldova and Transnistria, are almost equal, although the numbers of population from Transnistria is much less comparing to the number of population from the right bank. This is due to the fact that the key criteria to obtain the quota for education in Russia is knowing Russian language. And there are less functioning schools with instruction in Russian language on the right bank, comparing to left bank (Transnistria).

The decision on the number of allocated quotas for every specialty is

taken depending on the mutual interests. Russian takes into account the needs of its educational institutions. Transnistria derives from considerations of prioritizations, status value of specialties. A reverse causality exists in such a way. However, it cannot be said exactly who dictates more any conditions. (EI, Transnistria).

The distribution of Russian quotas to get vocational training is a preoccupation of the Agency of Education from Transnistria.

Information on quotas is in public domain on the sites of the Rossotrudnichestvo and Agency of Education from Transnistria. A working group that is responsible for quotas distribution is created under the office on annual basis. It communicates the information on quotas to the departments of public education in the towns and regions of Transnistria. The information reaches schools, high schools seniors and their parents further on. Candidates on Russian quotas prepare portfolio – a set of documents. An innovation has been acting since recent times – registration of candidates on informational and educational portal “Russia-edu.ru”, where a desired level of education, specialty and University are indicated.

An interdepartmental commission is created following submission of documents. An inter-agency commission is created after submission of documents. It examines portfolio of an applicant and takes a decision on allocation of a quota to a specific participants through the procedure of vote. An average score of educational attainment, diplomas and certificates of merit for participation in the Olympiads for the last 3 years, participation in conferences are taken into consideration as assessment criteria. It is important to mention that ethnicity and citizenship of applicants for quota are not taken into account during the selection process.

The Commission selects applicants only for the educational quota in Russia, whereas the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation identifies higher educational institution, for which this quota is going to be allocated. This is an innovation of the last years. That is why, when applicants for quota are registering on internet portal, they have an opportunity to indicate several options of a desired higher educational institution.

Deriving from the experience of last years, competition for quotas is about 2 applications per place. The most demanded professions are

jurisprudence, economy, architecture, service, tourism, journalism, mechanical engineering. (EI, Transnistria).

Quotas for education in higher educational institutions in Ukraine are provided with the mediation of public organizations of Ukrainians at Transnistria and the Ukrainian Embassy in the Republic of Moldova. Schoolchildren from Transnistria who have Ukrainian citizenship are entitled to quotas for higher professional education on the territory of Ukraine after obtaining certificates on the “Status of a foreign Ukrainian”²⁵.

Distribution of education quotas in the Republic of Moldova is under the authority of the Ministry of Education. In accordance with the information from the web-site of the Ministry, the following groups are entitled to quotas to the higher educational institutions of the Republic of Moldova: (1) schoolchildren-graduates of the schools from Transnistria with instruction in Moldovan (Romanian) language on the basis of Latin script and, in accordance with curricula of the Republic of Moldova; (2) schoolchildren, who were trained in the localities of the Republic of Moldova, situated next to Transnistria; (3) graduates of the secondary educational institutions from the left bank (Transnistria)²⁶.

Another channel for the study-related migration abroad is independent matriculation. Due to the applicants' availability of the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova, Russia and Ukraine, it becomes possible to enter education along with other citizens of these countries.

A project Russian school was operational in the lyceum over a period of 7 years. Thanks to it, many children obtained Russian graduation certificate, passed the UNE and got an opportunity to choose independently Russian higher educational institutions for entry. A remote center of Moscow's government was also functioning on the basis of lyceum. (EI, Transnistria).

I could not say on the experience of last years, but there was a period when our graduation certificates were not requiring 12 years of education. We have been participating in Moldova's Olympiads for the 20 years. Our

²⁵ Вопрос о выделении квот на обучение в ВУЗах Украины для приднестровских школьников урегулирован // <https://novostipmr.com/ru/news/13-07-19/vopros-o-vydelenii-kvot-na-obuchenie-v-vuzah-ukrainy-dlya> [The issue on quotas allocation in Ukrainian higher educational institutions for Transnistrian children has been resolved // <https://novostipmr.com/ru/news/13-07-19/vopros-o-vydelenii-kvot-na-obuchenie-v-vuzah-ukrainy-dlya>]

²⁶ In atentie absolventilor din raioanele de est ale Republicii Moldova // http://edu.gov.md/sites/default/files/in_atentie_absolventilor.pdf [In attention of graduated from the Eastern regions of the Republic of Moldova // http://edu.gov.md/sites/default/files/in_atentie_absolventilor.pdf]

pupils traditionally win prizes on informatics, literature and Russian language. (EI, Transnistria).

It is known that a number of secondary educational institutions in the big cities of Transnistria are specialized in preparation of schoolchildren for entrance in the foreign higher educational institutions.

The entire training system in lyceum is directed to increase of possibilities of entry of its graduates in Russia's higher educational institutions. Our curricula differs from the school one. It contains all subjects of the basic cycle and elective components, which consists of specialized subjects. There are special courses of study, which orient schoolchildren to occupations in a given area of activity. That's why, schoolchildren from Moldova, who are oriented to entrance in Russia, study in the lyceum. An important attention is being given to professional training. Many teachers attend distance learning courses, participate in conferences. (EI, Transnistria).

Representatives of Russia's higher educational institutions, where study students from Transnistria, say that these students have a very good basic education, literate knowledge of the Russian language. Better comparing to the CIS's students. That's why, prospective students from Transnistrian are very highly appreciated. (EI, Transnistria)

2-3 people seek advice on weekly basis on education in the higher educational institutions of the far abroad. These are schoolchildren who are graduating (mainly these are schoolchildren who study in Tiraspol humanitarian and mathematical gymnasia and Tiraspol theoretical lyceum №1) or students. Economics, buess, and medicine are more demanded among specialties. (EI, Transnistria).

I studied in Tiraspol humanitarian and mathematical gymnasia with advanced learning of English language. In ninth grade, I heard from an acquaintance about the possibility to graduate on a school abroad. I became interested and started to look through Internet appropriate schools in the European countries. The Great Britain was chosen on the grounds that English secondary school education is the most prestigious one and, in addition, documents confirming the knowledge of the English language and often requested, when entering in prestigious universities. (II, Great Britain).

Another mechanism to enter in foreign higher educational institutions is the participation in preliminary selection of prospective students through

participation in Olympiads and competitions conducted by higher educational institutions throughout academic year. Thus, several of Russia's higher educational institutions on the territory of Transnistria carry out a complex admission campaign.

The lyceum is cooperating with several higher educational institutions from Russia. Stankin was conducting entrance examinations for children on the lyceum's basis at one time. Now serious contacts with the Higher School of Economics have been set up – a cooperation agreement was signed. Three lyceum's teachers attended refresher courses in the HSE. 5-6 people were enrolled to this University, even without passing the UNE. They were accepted to this institution on subsequent on the results of Olympiads. The MIPT's representatives come to the lyceum, conduct career guidance activities with schoolchildren, and organize workshops. Our graduates are enrolled to this higher educational institution on subsequent on the results of Olympiads. (EI, Transnistria).

An important factor when making decisions on education abroad is the financial situation of the family of the future students as study-related migration, even though the system of quotas or entrance on the budgetary basis, is linked with high financial expenses.

Graduates from Transnistria are relatively well prepared for studies abroad sue to the quality of education. The only thing is financial difficulties. Nevertheless, our children are very purposeful and they understand the degree of responsibility. They teach how to earn money; some of them even manage to help parents during their studies. (EI, Transnistria).

The issue of financial security is particularly important when prospective students from Transnistria enter in faraway higher educational institutions of the far abroad.

The majority from simple families desire to leave and consult on the different aspects of education in the higher educational institutions of the far abroad. And those who decide on certain paid programs, they are from wealthy families. As a rule, European countries are demanded for studies (the Great Britain is the most demanded from among them) and the USA for the exchange programs. The final choose of the country for studies depends on financial situation of the family of the aspirant to the education abroad and knowledge of foreign language. (EI, Transnistria).

Limitations related to the financial expenses of a family, as a consequence of education in faraway higher educational institutions, could be neutralized by

the opportunity of free education and getting a scholarship. In the majority of cases, that is possible with a good knowledge of the foreign language.

In order to pretend to free studies and get a scholarship, knowledge of the language of the country of studies is needed. If an applicant knows only English language, then it is more challenging as English language programs are mainly fee-based. To leave for studies to both the Great Britain and the USA only with the knowledge of English language is very expensive. That is why schoolchildren prefer mainly France, Germany, Poland, and Czech Republic. If a schoolchild wants to study in a specific country and he does not know the language, then he should take a preparatory language course for one year. A preparatory course is not included in the scholarships system and it should be paid for it. Therefore, not many people from Transnistria follow this path. (EI, Transnistria).

Preparations for relocations lasted for almost one year: search for a school, correspondence with administration, submission of characteristics, certificates. As there was a reliance on getting a scholarship, there was necessary to present parents' income certificate and besides it a conversation was organized to pass additional exams. A part of expenses (accommodation, alimentation and tuition) was secured by the school. Parents funded buying clothes, entertainment. There was no question of a lot of money. (II, Great Britain).

An important factor of free education in Western Universities is awareness of the peculiarities of the educational system of specific countries by a future student.

Many graduates even do not try to entry Western Universities on graduating school. They are guided by fear that this is very expensive. That is an exaggeration. Every student who study in Italy has the possibility to work on the basis of a "part-time" system or in the evenings. I was not receiving a scholarship in the first year I missed this opportunity because of weak awareness of all rights. That is why, there was vitally necessary to have any earnings. I have been working at reception in hotels for the first two years. Currently I am working as a waiter in a café in the evenings. It is not so difficult to combine education with work. You study during the day and you work in the evenings. An easing for education in Italy was also the fact that the University offered a dormitory. It is paid from the scholarship. (AI, Italy).

Another obstacle on the way towards education in distant higher

education institutions is the procedure of legalization of documents obtained in Transnistria.

Generally, it is necessary to highlight that schoolchildren/students who aspire to studies in the Western countries are ambitious, study well, know languages but, in fact, few of them decide to leave. Around 10 people leave per year. There are difficulties with paperwork related to unrecognized status.

Schoolchildren need to graduate 12 grades to entry Western universities. Under the system of secondary education from Transnistria of 11 years, it is necessary to complete studies in the Republic of Moldova and get certificate of secondary education of 12 grades or present documents that confirm studies in the higher educational institution for at least one year in addition to certificate of secondary education of 11 grades. Documents issued on the territory of Transnistria require legalization in the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova. The whole procedure lasts for almost two months.

There are no refusals related to legalization of school certificates. There are problems related to legalization of university education obtained in Transnistria. It is required the marks to comply with Moldovan ones, to exist a certain list of missing subjects. As a result, there are many refusals. (EI, Transnistria).

To get a scholarship is necessary to show parents' annual income as well as real estate in property and other assets. At the stage of preparation of documents for entry, a series of problems related to documents issued by official institutions from Transnistria appeared. The notary from Varnitsa village refused to legalize the translation of documents, issued by authorities from Transnistria. The refusal was received also from the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova. Only the Embassy and Consulate of the Republic of Moldova in Italy helped. (EI, Italy).

A separate phenomenon is the school system of training in Moldovan (Romanian) language on the basis of Latin script. It is under the management of the Republic of Moldova and their educational activity is carried out under state standards of the Republic of Moldova.

Eight schools of this type are functioning. These schools are situated geographically over the entire territory of Transnistria.

Pupils in these schools are children of ethnic Moldovans. Interviews and focus groups conducted showed that the main contingent of study migrants with the purposes of pursuing higher education in the Western countries (including Romania) is formed from the graduates of schools with Latin script.

Many school colleagues of mine from the “Alexandru cel bun” lyceum are abroad. A part of them entered Italian and French universities immediately after graduating the lyceum. Another part obtained initially higher education in Chisinau or in Romania and continued education in the higher educational institutions in Western countries later on. (AI, Italy).

A number of circumstances favors this:

- Receiving secondary education in the framework of the Bologna system that is recognized all over the world;
- Obtaining educational documents in line with the standards of the Republic of Moldova, which are passed more easily through the legalization procedure;
- Information campaigns to make schoolchildren aware of the opportunities to enter higher educational institutions in the West are carried out on the basis of these schools, as well as across the secondary education system;
- Economic migration of parents in the Western countries. Graduates reunify with the family through study-related migration on graduating a school;

Thus, education in the schools with Latin script for ethnic Moldovans who know Moldovan (Romanian) language is an acceptable opportunity to continue studies in the higher educational institutions of Western countries.

I am a graduate of the lyceum “Alexandru cel Bun”. I was considering several options for specialties and cities (countries) for matriculation after graduating the school. I submitted documents to the Faculty of Medicine in Chisinau (Republic of Moldova), but I did not succeed to entry. Later on, I sent a set of documents to Bologna (Italy) to the Jurisprudence Faculty and to Bucharest (Romania) to the Public Administration Faculty. First notification on matriculation was received from the Legal Faculty of Bologna University “Almamater Studiorum”. After moving to Italy and first days of studies, a matriculation confirmation letter arrived also from Bucharest. I took a decision to remain in Italy. I was thinking that if I would not succeed over the year then I would transfer to another university as a last resort. (AI, Italy).

At the same time, it is worth mentioning that for migrants' children who reside on the territory of Russia, training in the Transnistrian schools with Latin script becomes an additional obstacle in their adaptation to the social and educational space of Russia due to linguistic, curricula and other distinctions.

My dad had left for earnings to Moscow several days before 1 September, when I went to the first degree. Mum went to dad a year later. The first three grades I was studying in one of the Transnistrian schools with Latin script. Parents changed their mind to return home by that time and decided to prepare me to life in Russia, I was transferred to the school with training in Moldovan language on the basis of Cyrillic alphabet by fourth degree. A year later after learning Cyrillic alphabet, I was transferred to a Russian school. I studied three more grades there. Eighth and ninth grades I studied in Moscow school nr. 707, region of Izmailovo metro station.

It was really hard in Moscow first time. From the very beginning, the class didn't accept me. The reason was that my classmates were studying in the same class from the childhood. I was a "Newcomer" for them. In addition, I was from the province. My classmates were dressing "cool", they were going to the cafes. I didn't even know what "ICQ" means by that time.

And other newcomers were studying in my class. From Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Caucasus. One of the hooligans of the class was permanently bullying me. He could throw the bag or was tagging along and telling "Die, you bitch!". I remind with horror that time. I had nervous breakdown. The ambulance and my mum were called. The leadership of the school took respective measures. They called the parents of the boy to the school, conducted educational talks. Bullying stopped after that. I started to communicate more with my colleagues by the nine grade. However, we didn't become the friends until the end. Then I entered the medical college. I had no problems with adaptation there. I was "alfa" and I was "driving" with the student group. (II, Russia).

Study related migration from Transnistria as a complex social phenomenon has both advantages and disadvantages. Study in foreign higher educational institutions allows for increase of human and social capital of a study migrant on their return. This category of migrants might contribute significantly to socio-economic development of the country. From another point of view, study migrants from Transnistria, as a rule, naturalize outside the country. Consequently, this causes a phenomenon, which is commonly referred to as "brain drain". That is why, the issues of feasibility of support of study-related migration from Transnistria appear in public discourse.

Family reunification

The Intensification of migration flows has become a motive for the separation of people who are in interpersonal relations: parents-children-

grandchildren, spouses, lovers. This need for family reunification is now mainstreamed within the departure from Transnistria.

It was good enough for me in Transnistria. It just happened that I married with a native of Odessa, who turned to be a German. In fact, I really miss it. I would remain to live there. Only I know what I am going through in Germany. Simply, where the husband is, the wife is. (I1, Germany).

It may be that I would never find myself in Italy. But I was meeting with a Moldovan boy at that time and he left to Italy to earn money. And six months later he insisted that I came to him. I was studying in institute, I was supposed to have a good profession, I was expected to be an English language interpreter, but because of this love, I gave up everything. (FG, Italy).

Interviews and focus-groups conducted showed that migrants originating from Transnistria (with the exception of those who participated in resettlement programs and left Transnistria for political reasons) were characterized by an individual's migration at the initial stage of departure. In other words, one of the members of a family was leaving abroad for earnings. The aim was to earn a certain amount of money, then return to the family, and continue to live in the home country.

This scenario suffered essential adaptations for a significant number of migrants. From one hand, intra-family relations were failing during the separation: spouses being far away from each other were starting amorous extramarital affairs; children were deprived of fully-fledged parental education and control.

The process of distance upbringing is a new format of relations. It is a complex one and I would say that it is deformed. Distance upbringing is always linked with certain disruption of family functions. Teenagers see either mum or dad single in the family, who exercise all functions of another parent. And a distorted image about the family itself is formed by a child, its wrong family. And if to follow further development of the family, then it would be possible to presume that these children could have similar distance relations. (A1, Transnistria).

On the other hand, conditions of staying abroad were becoming better; a possibility to get a legal status, to buy housing appeared. As a result, the whole family was following that member of the family who was abroad.

The right for family reunification is also requested by those migrants,

who have already had a migration experience on the territory of country of request as, for example, an economic migrant (in some cases illegal). The basis for request is marriage with the citizen of the country or own childbearing on the territory of the country.

I went to Portugal with Russian passport. I had been living unofficially for many years. I was not going to the home country for that reason. There were attempts to deport me. A year ago, I arrived to Transnistria and the Republic of Moldova for the first time in a long time. I arranged a biometric Moldovan passport for me in the Republic of Moldova. It is against the law. They do not have any right to separate me from the members of my family (my wife and daughters who were born on the territory of Portugal). To prevent new attempts of deport, I addressed to different Portuguese authorities, but they remained indifferent to the problem. And then I wrote to the Human Rights Court in the city of Strasbourg. I am an ordinary worker, construction worker, but because of the threat of deport from the country and separation from the family, I had to go into legal nuances. Now the case is under consideration. (FG, Portugal).

Decision on departure from the country in 2014 was a difficult one. I got a higher education of a lawyer and prefer to work in accordance with my specialty. There are very few similar opportunities abroad. As it happened, my boyfriend, future husband, went to the Great Britain and called me with him. Here our daughter was born. We hope that our family is not under the threat of expulsion as a follow up of BREXIT's results. Our nearest plans is to obtain UK's citizenship for the entire family. One of the opportunities is child's status. British certificate of birth is issued in the name of daughter. I heard that to get a British citizenship is necessary to live on the territory of the country for 5 years. I am not aware of the entire procedure. (FG, Great Britain).

Different regimes regulating the procedure of family reunification have been formed in Russia, Germany and Israel – the countries for emigration of the natives of Transnistria under repatriation programs.

I married 3 years ago. The marriage was registered in Transnistria. My husband is from Odessa, but his grandmother is German and he has been living in Germany for a long time. That is why we found ourselves in Germany, having benefited from the programs of "late resettled" and "family reunification". (II, Germany).

The procedure of obtaining documents for people participating in

repatriation and resettlement programs on the basis of the right for family reunification foresees slightly different order of obtaining citizenship.

I will obtain German citizenship in one month. However, that is not where are we: you got a citizenship, foreign passport and you are going anywhere. Here I am getting only the residence permit for 3 years. However, they have the residence permit a passport itself. I receive it for 3 years. It means that I am entitled to live for 3 years here. My husband has full citizenship. He has both the foreign passport and full citizenship. And my husband authorizes me to live every three years. There is such a law here. And I am entitled to obtain full German citizenship after six years. (II, Germany).

In Israel, comparing to Russia and Germany, the procedure of family reunification has a more complex character.

My bride is a Jewish who repatriated to Israel and made me call. Israeli's authorities did not allow us to create a family. I have the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova. Therefore, I had to return and register marriage in Moldova. After returning to Israel, the wife made me a call as her official husband. The visa was opened for 3 months and prolonged later on. Seven years passed before I was allowed to obtain Israeli's citizenship. The entire procedure turned to be very complex. (II, Israel).

Another channel of departure and staying abroad typical for women is marriage to a foreigner, albeit infrequently used. Evolution of Internet has opened opportunities to long-distance acquaintance making. Therefore, a relocation is taking place for those who benefit from the right of family reunification.

I met my future husband very trivial through the Internet. This happened 11 years ago. I have obtained already the UK's citizenship. But everything was very complex. There was very hard even to leave to the Great Britain. They were not allowing. I got a refusal in the Embassy. We even were not able to marry on the territory of Moldova, because there were so many obstacles there. We chose for marriage the country that was in Schengen zone. We got our registered certificate that was confirming that we were husband and wife and only after that, we submitted repeatedly the documents to allow me to come to him. And I had to prove that there was not a sham marriage. That was the whole story. I even wanted to write a book about this. (EI, Great Britain).

There were cases of sham marriages with the purpose to obtain Russia's citizenship, when there were difficulties in obtaining Russia's citizenship at the beginning of 2000s. When obtaining citizenship of this country for the natives of Transnistria had become more accessible, the registration of sham marriages lost its relevance.

Interviews and focus groups Conducted showed that family reunification as an official way of migration in a country is typical largely for all researched countries, with the exception of Russian. The reason seems to be a weak development of this institute of migration in this country (in contrast to, for example, countries of the European Union) and availability of other channels of migration to Russia from Transnistria. In general, it can be assumed that this type of migration will tend to increase due to an increase in the number of migrants originating from Transnistria abroad and their desire to bring their family members (spouses, children, parents) with them.

To summarize all mentioned types of migration typical for the natives from Transnistria, it is necessary to mention that a certain migration type (with the exception of, perhaps, the natives of Transnistria participating in the resettlement programs to Israel and Germany) is not a pre-determined nor homogenous one. In a significant number of cases, respondents interviewed by us were recognizing the change of the status throughout their migration experience. Thus, illegal economic migrants in the European Union countries were legalizing through obtaining a refugee status, obtaining citizenship of Romania, on the basis of the right of family reunification, etc. The same category of migrants in Russia were changing their status through obtaining Russian citizenship. Study migrants were swelling the ranks of the economic migrants after obtaining education.

Chapter 3.

MIGRATORY ROUTES FROM TRANSNISTRIA

Several migration routes have been shaped in Transnistria in three decades. Remittances statistics, official emigration statistics²⁷ (deregistration from Transnistria)²⁸ and the results of sociological researches show that most of them lie in the following countries: Russia, Ukraine, Germany, Israel, Italy, USA and Canada. This tendency is confirmed also by the results of expert interviews with the representatives of official institutions from Transnistria, who are specialized in delivering services to citizens going abroad.

The absolute majority of applications for services of the Consular Service of the Transnistria is related to legalization of documents concerning relocation in Russia. However, there are applications related to relocation in the European countries, Canada, USA, Italy. (EI, Transnistria).

The transitional migration cases were revealed in the research, when a native of Transnistria had migration experience alongside different routes.

Transnistria-Ukraine-Russia

I settled together with the family for political reasons in the city of Odessa in March 2013, and then one year and nine months later we moved to the city of Moscow, also for political reasons. (EI, Russia).

Transnistria -Russia-Germany

I lived in Moscow from 2002 to 2011. I worked construction. I went to Germany as in excursion to see the world, rather than to work. However, it happened that it is better with work here comparing to Russia and I remained in Germany. (II Germany).

Transnistria-Russia-Italy

There are many our compatriots in Russia. However, if earlier they used to work and they were earning 1,5 thousand USD, now they earn only 500 USD due to the rate. It is too little. My husband with his father have a

²⁷ Волкова О.А., Оставная А.Н. Характеристика и назначение денежных переводов трудовых мигрантов Приднестровья // Каспийский регион: политика, экономика, культура. 2015. № 1 (42). Стр. 242–252. [www.kaspy.aspu.ru/files/1\(42\)/355-365.pdf](http://www.kaspy.aspu.ru/files/1(42)/355-365.pdf) [Volkova O.A., Ostavnaya A.N. Characteristics and destination of remittances of labor Transnistria migrants // Caspian region: policy, economy, culture. 2015. № 1 (42). p. 242–252. [www.kaspy.aspu.ru/files/1\(42\)/355-365.pdf](http://www.kaspy.aspu.ru/files/1(42)/355-365.pdf)]

²⁸ О демографической ситуации в Приднестровье // <http://mer.gospmr.org/gosudarstvennaya-sluzhba-statistiki/informacziya/o-demograficheskoy-situaczii-v-pmr.html> [On demographic situation in Transnistria // <http://mer.gospmr.org/gosudarstvennaya-sluzhba-statistiki/informacziya/o-demograficheskoy-situaczii-v-pmr.html>]

legal business in Moscow, namely a transport company. But crisis began there, ruble fell, US dollar raised, it's necessary to pay taxes. I was not working there. We were living on his earnings. I was insisting to leave, as it is hard to live there. We were not entitled to the use of a day-care service, as we did not have Moscow registration. I was pressing as I like Italy, I like living and working here. (FG, Italy).

Transnistria-Czech Republic-Germany

I went to the Czech Republic on the basis of guest visa (8 days) as a part of a group of men in 1997. I had been working construction for 3 months. The conditions were bad and I decided to transfer to Germany together with other compatriots (II, Germany).

Transnistria-Russia-Israel

I left in search of money to Moscow at the end of 1990s. I was working in accordance with my specialty – carpenter. I was acquainted with a woman of Jewish ethnicity in Moscow. She moved to Israel to her mum (repatriated as early as the beginning of 1990s) in 2002. In consequence, we married and moved for permanent residence to Israel. (II, Israel).

I had been working in Moscow for 2 years. I did not like it. The climate is cold there. I had nothing there. No apartment, nothing. The prices are similar to Israeli ones. There was unrealistic to take a child there. I have Russian citizenship and 6-7 years ago, I arrived together with my daughter to Israel in a pilgrimage tour. I have been living illegally here since then. (II, Israel).

Transnistria-Czech Republic-Poland-Russia-Great Britain

I started leaving in search of money immediately after graduating the college. I succeeded in visiting Poland, Czech Republic, Russia before the Great Britain. I was facing fraudulent means everywhere. The Great Britain was not an exception. (FG, Great Britain).

Transnistria-Italy-Portugal

The decision to leave Transnistria was my individual choice. Initially, I had to travel across Europe. I lived in Italy in passing. There was information that initial requirements towards migrants are not so complex in Portugal. It turned out to be truth. (FG, Portugal).

The change of migration route is linked with different peculiarities: political, legal, social and economic situation and adaptation in migration country and, in general, reflects the mobility of the modern generation.

As my research show, a migrant has multiple life strategies and plans. Escaping once, they might escape further – go to Europe, for example. And their resources are directed to different objectives: to build a house at home and simultaneously to apply for a Russian citizenship (AI, Russia).

After I got married with an Englishman, I took the son to me. He received a prestigious education here. But he didn't want to remain in England as he is a Russian man. He was waking up with Russian songs. I didn't know that he would love the patriotic songs so much. The boy who was attending the clubs in Tiraspol and suddenly he, being in England, began listening patriotic songs. Russian spirit in him began beating the band and jagannath pull him out from England to Russia. He lives only there. (AI, Great Britain).

Cases when members of one family were migrating alongside different routes were revealed in the research. For instance, housefather in Portugal, wife in France, son as a student in Russia, teenage daughter in Transnistria or housefather in Transnistria, wife in Italy, daughter with granddaughter and son-in-law in Great Britain, daughter as a student in Romania, son in Russia. These cases reflect the specific pull factors of each country: age, gender, political and legal, linguistic and other factors.

Grounds for the choice of a certain route are varied. They are related to both social and demographic characteristics of migrants and the peculiarities of the migration country, its migration policy (peculiarities of migration regime, possibility to obtain citizenship, etc.), economic situation of the country, the level of xenophobia, etc.

Russia

According to the different estimate, 85-90% of the natives of Transnistria are gravitating to Russia. This is characterized by all migration types. Its attractiveness is determined by a complex of factors:

Political and legal determinants:

- Possibility to obtain Russian citizenship in advance of migration start and lack of mandatory residence experience on its territory.

I have been living in St. Pete since summer 2011. I obtained Russian citizenship in 2006. I have been living permanently with few interruptions on the territory of the country since 2008. I have a temporary registration and full set of required documents. (FG, Russia).

The Program “Compatriots”

I chose the program “Compatriots” because there was a good relocation allowance at that moment. Another plus is that the one could obtain the citizenship in six months. The program foresees passing through several stages. The first stage is job search in Russia. The second is sending your data in a certain region in Russia. I chose Mariy-El. I was choosing a job in accordance with my education there, but there was nothing suitable for me. They offered me a job of a nurse. As agreed as it was necessary to emigrate. (II, Russia).

Economic determinants:

- Availability of jobs. Employment opportunity in accordance with the specialty.

Good specialists get into any problem. They are appreciated. Even those who have a Moldovan passport. (FG, Russia).

- High salaries.

I earn 10 times more by my profession in Russia, than in Transnistria. (FG, Russia).

Social and cultural determinants:

- The absolute majority of the natives of Transnistria are Russian speakers.

I think that the natives of Transnistria are choosing Russia, first, on the grounds of knowledge of the Russian language. (FG, Russia).

People leave to Russia, first of all, because it is not necessary to learn a foreign language. (FG, Russia).

- The natives of Transnistria identify themselves in a massive way as a part of a large Russian world with common mindset, ideals, and way of life.

We do not consider ourselves migrants as we are in our own country. I came to Russia, I feel good here. This is my historical motherland. (AI, Russia).

Mainly soul mates live in Russia. (FG, Russia).

- Presence of relatives, friends, acquaintances in Russia;

It is very difficult to start from scratch in Russia, without acquaintances. If I would not have a husband here, I would not come. It is also not so sweet. People also work for 100 USD per month. (I1, Russia).

I live with my boyfriend here. He also came from Transnistria. I have an aunt here. She lives with her family in suburb (she also immigrated 7 years ago here). I have acquaintances from Transnistria here, but they have been for a long time here. (FG, Russia).

- Positive perception of the natives from Transnistria by the public opinion of Russia's population.

One of the motives of choice is initial loyalty of Russia towards Transnistria (recognition, humanitarian assistance, etc.) and perception as alma-mater by Slavic and Russian part of Russia's population. (FG, Russia).

Russians have a loyal attitude towards the natives of Transnistria. The natives of Transnistria are perceived closer comparing to natives from surrounding regions, apart from Russia's regions. (FG, Russia).

Germany and Israel

Attractiveness factors of Germany and Israel as migration countries depend on a migrant's status. Legal status of resettlement and inclusion in social programs to support repatriates, in some cases ethnic identity of repatriates – language and culture knowledge – have a greater significance for ethnic repatriates. Social and economic conditions of resettlement are significant for all the categories of migrants of this direction of emigration.

Political and legal determinants:

- Opportunity for representatives of respective ethnic groups and members of their families to emigrate under the programme of resettlement.

I am kind of German, Russian German. In our village Andriyashevka lived almost 70% of Germans. We had relatives in Germany. We asked for an invitation from them, it happened that then began to leave out, and people started to leave. This was the year of 1988. I had 18 years old and we left together with parents. (I1, Germany).

Family's motivation for departure from Tiraspol to Israel was different. The grandmother was radical Zionist. Therefore, we decisively included in this wave of Jewish migration as a consequence of the Soviet

Union's collapse. I personally did not care where to leave at that time. The main thing was to go anywhere and to see the world. Parents' motivation was tied up on me. They were extremely feared by the Soviet army, whereas the Israeli army was seen well by them. (II, Israil).

- Possibility of registering as a refugee.

The status of political refugee provided me with a lifelong visa in Germany. I have not applied for German citizenship and I am not going to. Today my right as a non-citizen of Germany is limited only in part of the right to participate in political elections, but frankly speaking, I do not need this. (II, Germany).

- Availability of Romanian citizenship, which entitles to legal staying and employment on the labor market of the European Union.

It is easy for labor migrants now. They don't need to apply for a visa to Europe. If you have Romanian citizenship, then even better. And back then in 1997-1998 everything was very difficult. I was making visa in Kyiv. I went there and spent a lot of money. (II, Germany).

Economic determinants:

- Availability of social programs for immigrants.

I do not work and I am on welfare now. In principle, it is sufficient for life. There are people who can even save. Cigarettes are very expensive here, but I smoke and this is expensive for me. (II, Germany).

Comparing to us, they will never allow you to starve to death in Germany. Having insurance, we as immigrants have many privileges. Our doctors, ambulances are free. Hospital are clean with a good attitude. My dad checked into a hospital in Dubossari and I was paying a considerable sum of money both to paramedics and to nurses to look after. (II, Germany).

There is a good saying "There's no place like home". However, I don't regret that moved to Germany under resettlement program. My parents lived and live very well here. There have never been so much care after elderly people as here. (II, Germany).

A quality education is available for newcomers. Everything is very simple. The only problem is the language. (AI, Germany).

Initially, we received social assistance. We certainly worked on this. We were collecting a bulk of documents, were living in a dormitory until we allocated the money for a month to us to live on them, so that to search for an apartment. And only when we are already presenting the documents that we found an apartment on a certain sum of money, here in accordance with the law, here, we are three people - I, my husband and daughter - in accordance with the law, we are entitled to two bedroom apartment. After that, they are agreeing this contract and even are paying for a half. In one word, they offer an opportunity to live. However, you have to learn language after a certain time. Then to train for a profession, then to work. Besides it, we have to report permanently on what we are doing. (II, Germany).

We receive funds on housing. Authorities will provide us with the opportunity to study German language half a year later. They pay for these studies. If you learn at least the spoken language for half a year, they offer you an opportunity to choose profession. They pay for the studies. Issue a certificate. They offer you a job later. (II, Germany).

“Sausage motivation” proved to be efficient. My grandmother went to Israel on quest invitation for exploration in 1989 – simply to see. At that moment many our relatives were living in Israel, including grandmother's “mates”, with whom she was studying together in Chisinau's gymnasium back in 1940s and with whom she was regularly corresponding. She returned home with bright impressions and many gifts. (II, Israel).

- Availability of job places, possibility for employment.

Germany is not a honey pot definitively. And I wouldn't say that everything is brilliant. However, both young and old people at least work here; there is a possibility to find any job. There is nothing as you stay at home and do nothing here. All are equal here. (II, Germany).

- High salaries

There is one good thing in Germany - good opportunities to earn good money. (II, Germany).

- High quality of life.

That system tries to make people happy in view that you work, you have food, you have accommodation and an individual does not need anything else. And an individual doesn't think what is happening in politics. They will be told on TV for whom to vote, they will go and vote. The most

important thing for them is that this is not taken away because it is much worse in other countries. (II, Germany).

The food prices are equal both here and there, but earnings are different. However, the food quality is different, there is much worse. (II, Germany).

Social and cultural determinants:

-Presence of Russian speaking and Moldovan speaking community in Germany and Israel.

The other Moldovans also work in Hannover where I live. For example, our firm cooperates with other construction company, where only Moldovans work. But I personally communicate with more Russian Germans. They are good-natured. For example, some Russian Germans helped me with furniture, when I was moving from one apartment to another. Now I attend tennis trainings. On Sundays, I attend football. I have made acquaintance with folks Russian Germans. There are different people from among them. There artists, musicians. I was going to their concerts. (II, Germany).

There are many families from Andriyashvka in our town Moyars. Only I have 10 families of relatives who live here. There are about 300 Russian speakers in the town. We are communicating more with ours, with Russian speakers. We are certainly communicating more with Germans at work. It is necessary to maintain minimal contacts. (AI, Germany).

There are many Russians from Ukraine and Moldova in Israel, because this is a multinational country, there is no nationalism. (II, Israel).

-Public opinion on repatriates.

Conflicting assessments related to the local population's behavior towards the newcomers, including repatriates, were obtained in interviews: from positive attitude to alienation and lack of will of local population to help the newcomers.

All had different attitudes. Some people were looking with animosity. However, many people had a normal attitude. Everything depends on the district. I know such district, where a very bad attitude was. (AI, Germany).

As I noticed everyone is on himself in Europe. Sometimes will not tell you everything or will not explain the law, or will sit and will pretend that they do not understand. (II, Germany).

They have just a joke “you are newcomers here, we are at home”. (II, Germany).

I was working in house of a very rich person. He is obviously a fine fellow from his part, he was taking care. If you help a German and do it honestly, he will give you back twice. (II, Germany).

Yes, they are welcoming initially, smiling. However, will not do appropriate, will not tell everything somewhere. You can judge on the man what is the mood. I have already learned all their smirks. (II, Germany).

People are different. There are Germans who originate from the GDR. They are elderly, but have a nice attitude, smile. However, there are also unkindly people. Like us, there are both normal people and those who are bad mouth. (II, Germany).

Israeli society turned to be very hospitable and ready to help if a problem arises. I had only 20 euros on arrival to Israel. A sum sufficient to travel from the airport to the school. I lost the money on my way. However, taxi drivers did not leave me alone in trouble and paid the fare. Israelis were keen to help me in that and another situation. (II, Israel).

In some cases, in accordance with the participants in research, they were victims of fraud and sabotage.

There could not be friendship between us, newcomer Germans and native Germans, because native Germans consider themselves higher comparing to us. Perhaps, you have to eat a pood of salt to become native, they to accept you. However, you will be never on the same stair with them. Let us say, I take my granddaughter to sport. She is a very talented sportsman in the Olympic reserve school. I come to the training and I am looking how my granddaughter is trained for 3 hours. And there is a trainer. She is older than me. She does not greet me demonstratively. I see that she is simply ignoring me. They are not all the same, of course. But there are such people and a conclusion can be drawn. (II, Germany).

- The wish to become a part of a different political, legal and social culture with mentality and behavior patterns more favorable than those in Transnistria.

After all adventures and difficulties related to move to Germany that I passed through (prison, registration as a refugee), if to return clock back,

then I would anyway pass through with pathway from scratch. I do not regret that I left. Everything is against man where we are. In Germany, even if you are stopped by a policeman, then there are no any problems. And how policemen talk to you where we are? They are used to be bribed. And this couldn't be eradicated quickly. Even if they get a salary of 2000 euro, nothing will change anyway, because he is trained in such a way. It is necessary this generation of people to die if we want something to change. (II, Germany).

Women have a lot of rights in Germany. And not only women, all have. One can be beaten where we live and no one will have any objections and nothing will happen. It is differently in Germany. (II, Germany).

People are more understandable and at the same time more discreet in Germany. They are not reacting as our people are, for example, raising their voice. My children will be different. They live in this society and absorb this mentality. (II, Germany).

My biggest surprise was related to the police. If they stop a car, they ask why are you driving so fast? They are not struggling to get a bribe, although you will be anyway fined. They try everything to be well. In addition to it, the police does not make difference if a member of the parliament is going or a simple citizen. All are equal. (II, Germany).

Italy

The factors of Italy's attractiveness as the migration country for the natives of Transnistria:

Political and legal determinants:

- Availability of documents certifying the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova, which entitles for a visa free stay on the territory of the European Union for the period of three months.

I chose Italy as that was a country that could be reached more easily. The visa was opening exactly for Italy, and not for Spain or Portugal. (FG, Italy).

- Availability of Romanian citizenship, which entitles one to legal residence and employment on the labour market of the European Union.

I arrived to Italy in 1995 and was staying illegally for about 10 years. I

have three deportations. I have been living legally here since 2010, when I received Romanian passport, when there was not threat to go to jail anymore. (FG, Italy).

Economic determinants:

Availability of job places, which do not require qualification and recognition of education documents, mainly in the housework sector. Italians are a bit lazy people as workers. It is understood that migrants who occupy their roles quickly, are successful. Our people may be better. We are used to get out of difficult situation, and they are used to everything prepared. Up for grabs. Understandable that their brain is more limited. This is the reason for our successes. (AI, Italy).

95% of those who arrive to Italy are women. They are caring for grandparents, involved in cleaning or, in the best-case scenario, in hospital service, or as a waiter, or as a dishwasher. Men were coming to a construction site previously or agriculture, although this sector is worse paid. However, there is an advantage there – they receive accommodation. No rationale to come now. The crises has been lasting for many years. Construction is frozen. (AI, Italy).

An individual, who is coming in nowhere here, he, as a rule, fulfils any job. I have been illegal for many years here. Nobody was employing me without documents. I was accepted in a nightclub. However, my education did not allow me to go there. I was taking care of grandmothers. I also was washing toilet bowls. (AI, Italy).

-High salaries.

I was working in a bar; I was cleaning from 7 pm to 1 am. Afterwards, I was waking up and going to clean the stairs. I was tiring a lot. However, I was earning well. (FG, Italy).

Social and cultural factors:

-Ease of learning Italian language by the natives of Transnistria of Moldovan ethnicity.

- Possibility to have a quality education in Italian Universities.

Insufficient investments are made in the educational system in the home country and, therefore, the society receives such specialists, which is capable to educate. I had an option to remain and study in the home

country and to become the same specialist like all or to “move my elbows” and leave abroad, and obtain better knowledge comparing to the home country. In addition, there is another educational system abroad. There is confidence in employment. Higher educational institution maintains contacts with employers, places mandatory each student's CV on its web site. Thus, ultimately, if a student is interested in his future, then his efforts will lead to the desired result. (AI, Italy).

- Existence of big diaspora communities of economic migrants from the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine in Italy.

I think that if anyone comes to Italy now, then they come to someone who has been staying for many years here. They come only to parents or relatives in Italy. (AI, Italy).

My aunt is from Chisinau. She was one of the first migrants. She had been staying for 4-5 years there until made documents. She was calling me when I had 19 years in 2007 and was proposing to come. I arrived, signed contract, found an atelier and I have been working for 5 years like this. (FG, Italy).

Portugal

Portugal's factors of attractiveness as a migration country for the natives of Transnistria also have a complex character.

Portugal turned to be attractive for Transnistria migrants, first of all, because the language is similar – Latin graphic. Who speaks Moldovan, he feels easier. Secondly, people is very tolerant in Portugal and for centuries Portuguese people has been passing through the same problems as the natives of the soviet republics. Thirdly, they were not used to host migrants until the beginning of 2000s. There were not migrants as such in Portugal. However, later they made acquaintance with migration, with the natives of the former soviet republic. There was, perhaps, a sympathy at initial stage. This was something new. Later the natives from the former colonies started to come. Fourthly, the country on its own is attractive, calm, with good climate. (FG, Portugal).

Political and legal determinants:

Accessibility of a visa.

I with husband chose Portugal, because we were granted a visa in this country and the visas to other countries were not granted. Exactly on the

basis of this visa we arrived. My husband found a job, began to earn well. I arrived later. (FG, Portugal).

Portugal is not so wealthy and there were few migrants here. Respectively, there was not such a control. Rules of staying in the country have become more complex, when an inflow of migrants began (mainly Brazilians). Nevertheless, I consider if people arrive, do not conflict with the law, then everyone could arrange here. (FG, Portugal).

Migrants from Transnistria, who come to the European countries, have mainly Moldovan documents. They facilitate migration. I also had Moldovan documents. Therefore, I did not have problems as such. The only thing is that I followed a long way of legalization of my vocational education of operating surgeon. I had to legalize my diploma as a migrant from outside the European Union. It was necessary to follow repeatedly the same way, which is followed by a person here when he gets a degree. I was a general surgeon. However, I had to change specialization and now I am maxillofacial surgeon. I had been studying for 6 years and 1 year of internship training. I was working in different clinics at that time. (FG, Portugal).

- Possibility to obtain Portuguese citizenship and subsequent transit to the territory of the countries of the European Union.

The country suffers from crises that is why people are emigrating from Portugal to other countries. These are those who have forces to undertake the second invasion. (FG, Portugal).

Economic determinants:

- Effect of social programmes concerning settlers.

I believe that the conditions in Portugal are closer to those that were in the Soviet Union, from the point of view of social programs and relevant to humans. (FG, Portugal).

I had problems with language at the very beginning. I was studying in the workplace – in cafes, restaurants. I was studying under a state program – I was attending free linguistic courses in Lisbon. Later there was necessary to be able to work on PC for work purposes and I was studying at free evening school. (FG, Portugal).

Social and cultural determinants:

- Ease of language acquisition by the natives of Transnistria of the Moldovan ethnicity.

I did not have problems with language. I learnt quickly Portuguese language. I was already working on third day. I was already speaking in Portuguese language on second week. Honestly, not fluently. Portuguese could not believe that I learnt language so quickly. (II, Portugal).

- Existence of Russian-Moldovan language community of settlers.

I went to Portugal in 2002 after my older brother. I was looking for a stable income. I made acquaintance with a woman there, who came in search of earnings from Ukraine. We felt in love with each other. We married. We're raising two daughters. One has 10 year, the second one has just been born – newborn. We are more communicating with migrants from Ukraine. We celebrate the holidays together (New Year, Christmas, Easter, and Farewell), visit the Orthodox Church together. (FG, Portugal).

When we had just arrived to Portugal, there were acquaintances from Transnistria and Moldova, who also had come to that country. Now there is no any compatriot in our circle, because they came to Portugal, legalized, arranged and later they changed the country – departure to Spain, Italy, France. (FG, Portugal).

- Positive perception of immigrant community among Portuguese public opinion.

There is no difference between them and us: the same laws, the same rules. They respect us. It is necessary to have a soft spot for them and everything will be well. (FG, Portugal).

There was hard from the beginning. They were afraid of us in first years. Later they changed their attitude towards us, began to open the gates for us. The state was supporting us. I appreciate this very much. I heard in 2002-2003 how one of Portuguese MP said about us “Do not forget that these are not Africans who are coming to us. People from the Soviet Union are coming to us: educated, with education”. (FG, Portugal).

Great Britain

Political and legal determinants:

- Availability of Romanian citizenship that entitles one to legal residence on the territory of Great Britain.

I came to the Great Britain on the basis of the Romanian passport. (FG, Great Britain).

Economic determinants:

- Availability of job places, namely in the services sector.

Our Moldovans and the natives of Transnistria are in demand even in England. I know the people who were working in Russia in the field of reparation and maintenance of vehicles. And they have already moved to England. Exactly this area is in demand. They earn very good. (FG, Russia).

- High salaries, quality of life.

It cannot be said that my family earns a lot of money in the Great Britain, but they are provided with basic needs: accommodation, food, and clothing. I am outraged by the huge difference in profits in the Great Britain and Transnistria as well as by the fact that prices in the Great Britain are lower comparing to Transnistria in some cases. I can't wrap my head how could that be? (FG, Great Britain).

Social and cultural determinants:

- Social protection

In the Great Britain the state takes care of its citizens, population not because it is good or has a big soul. They have such a mentality, it is a custom. I am convinced that my girl's rights will be in communication for us. British people became accustomed with migrants and are not critical towards a poor English; they do not shy away from newcomers. I did not feel a bad attitude towards me because I am a foreigner in the majority of cases. This is possibly a consequence of the fact that I with husband settled in Birmingham and many migrants live there. The local population of the city is accustomed with migrants. It is possible that in London, the capital of the Great Britain, everything is differently. (FG, Great Britain).

The analysis of social, demographic, educational, professional, settlement, ethnic and civic profiles of the representative sample alongside their migration routes determined by the geography of research (**Annex 1**) provides guidance on the aspects of the flows of migrants originating from Transnistria in every country.

For instance, from a gender point of view, Italy stands out as the country which is most attractive for female migration. This could be explained by a specific labor market niche for migrants in this country – domestic workers (cleaning, caring for children, elderly and incapacitated persons).

From an age perspective, the interest of young migrants (from 17 to 34 years) towards such countries as Russia, Germany, and Great Britain, where conditions of staying in these countries are more attractive is obvious. The

share of migrants over 45 years) is high in Italy, Portugal. A significant share of migrants over 45 in these countries, most probably, indicates that these migrants came in the first wave of economic migration (end of the 1990s - beginning of 2000s).

It is interesting, from an ethnic characteristics point of view, that the majority of migrants from Transnistria are ethnically Moldovan. In all the countries examined except Russia. This fact could be explained, first of all, from the point view of the linguistic factor: Romanian language enters in the same group with Italian and Portuguese languages. This facilitates the linguistic adaptation of Moldovans in Portugal and Italy.

Secondly, the choice of migration routes depends largely on the social network of a migrant. Moldovans from Transnistria preserve kinship and friendly relations with the Moldovans of the right bank of the Republic of Moldova, who mainly migrate to Italy, Germany, Portugal, Israel, Great Britain and “pull” them along their network.

Thirdly, it could be assumed that there are no obstacles to prevent the recognition of education documents in the Western countries and Israel for the migrants from Transnistria of Moldovan ethnicity, a part of whom received education on the right bank, unlike the graduates of Transnistrian vocational institutions, whose documents are recognized only on the territory of Russia.

Fourthly, in recent years migrants from Transnistria, predominantly of Moldovan ethnicity, have had an opportunity to obtain Romanian citizenship that allows easy staying and work on the territory of the countries of the European Union.

Therefore, the research revealed that the migration routes of the population of Transnistria, from one hand, are made up depending on the personal characteristics of migrants, such as gender, age, ethnicity, knowledge of the language, ambitions, capacity to adapt, social network. From another hand, an important migration factor is the country of emigration, its political and legal regime relevant to migrants, social and economic situation, peculiarities of cultural, spiritual and linguistic environment.

Chapter 4.

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION ABROAD FOR MIGRANTS ORIGINATING FROM TRANSNISTRIA

Research findings showed that the adaptation and integration of migrants originating from Transnistria abroad depends to a large extent on chosen route and migration type.

The research aimed to study the specifics of the legal and economic situation of a migrant originating from Transnistria abroad.

The Legal situation of a migrant was analyzed by questions indicating the existence of:

- Residence permit in the emigration country;
- Citizenship of the emigration country;
- Work permit in the emigration country;

The distribution of responses on the question related to the existence of a residence permit in the emigration country suggest that migrants originating from Transnistria are largely legalized abroad. However this proportion is lower in Great Britain and Israel, which are countries with a stricter immigration regime.

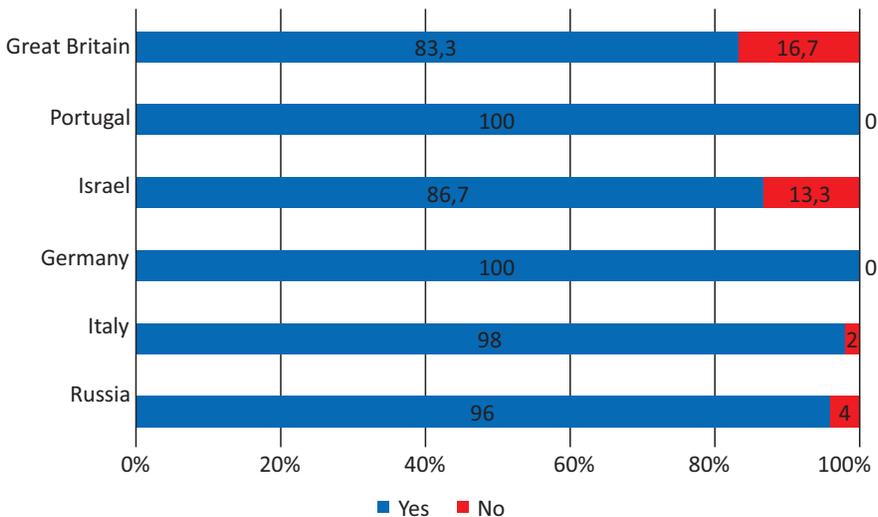


Fig. 1. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you have residence permit in this country?" (%)

Ambiguity of the political status of Transnistria has resulted in the fact that documents issued by Transnistrian institutions are not recognized outside of Transnistria, so its population must obtain documents certifying its citizenship of recognized countries. The motives for obtaining these

documents could be ideological, regarding ethnic identity and political preferences. In addition, obtaining them could have exclusively a utilitarian character, when the passport of an internationally recognized country allows having a legal status outside Transnistria. There is a lack of any statistical data on the number of citizens in Transnistria who simultaneously have citizenship of several countries. However, sociological research shows a massive acquisition of the citizenship of Russia and of the documents certifying the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova. From a migration perspective, the Russian citizenship is obtained by those who migrate to Russia; and the documents certifying the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova by those who migrate to the countries of the European Union. The research revealed that migrants oriented to the countries of the European Union often obtain Romanian citizenship.

Analyses of the formalized interviews showed that holding citizenship of the country of emigration by migrants originating from Transnistria differs from country to country. The most favorable situation is among migrants originating from Transnistria who reside on the territory of Russia – 88% of them indicated that they had Russian citizenship.

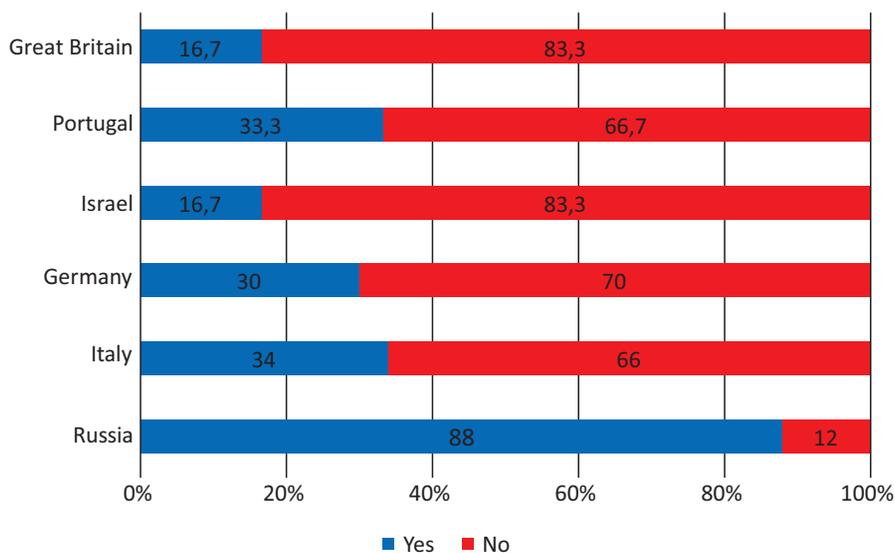


Fig. 2. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you hold the citizenship of the country where do you live now?" (%)

The legal situation of migrants originating for Transnistria in Russia is interesting. Despite the fact that most of them hold Russian citizenship, participants in research were mentioning the issues of legal character related to restoring official documents, obtaining internal Russian passport,

registration on the territory of Russia, and the recognition of documents issued by official institutions from Transnistria.

It was tough initially, after move to Moscow. It was necessary to solve the issues related to paperwork, arranging children in the school, search for housing and source of income.

These problems are typical for the majority of the natives of Transnistria staying abroad. I was personally contacted on the issues related to registration, obtaining Russian citizenship, employment. I'm mentality linked with the natives of Transnistria and try to help people. I was personally trying to go into their problems. I was explaining proceeding, directing to specialists. I personally employed several people. (AI, Russia).

The situation is different in relation to work permits. As in previous cases, migrants who stay longer in Great Britain or Israel do not have a work permit in the host country compared to migrants originating from Transnistria from other countries.

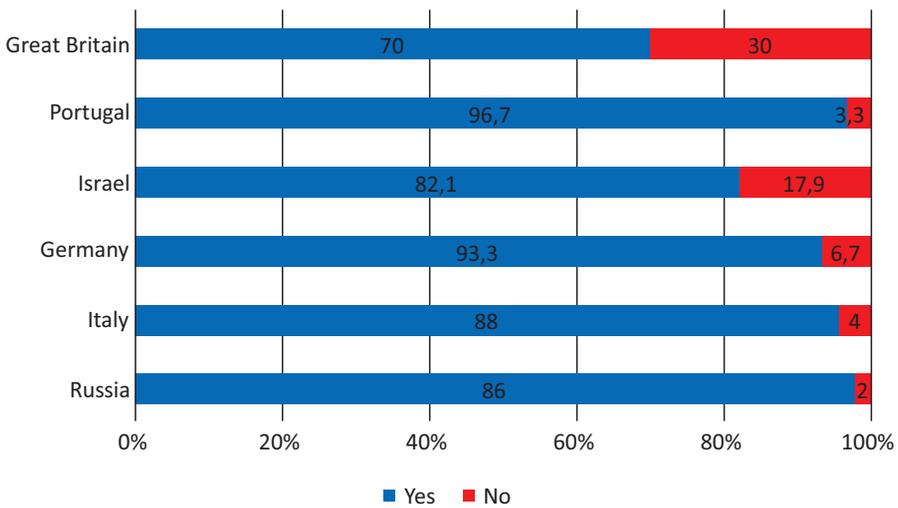


Fig. 3. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you have a work permit in this country?"

Therefore, deriving from research findings on this set of variables, it is possible to state that migrants originating from Transnistria are generally within the legal framework of the migration country.

It is understandable from the interview and focus-groups materials that the modern legal situation of migrants originating from Transnistria abroad is more favorable compared to the early stages of migration. In particular, this is typical for those migrants who have the experience of staying on the territory

of the countries of the European Union. Their migration experience was linked with illegal ways of entry and employment in the country, vulnerability towards fraud, deporting from the country.

I went to Italy to my boyfriend in 1999. They gave me Dutch visa and I went to Europe with a group of musicians, who were going to France to a concert. I was registered as an interpreter. We arrived in a tiny village to a Festival and I was living with them for 10 days. Let us say I was cheated and did not make it to Italy. Thanks to my English and French languages, I decided to get to Rome individually by the train Paris-Rome. I was living with the acquaintances of my boyfriend, friends from Moldova at first. Six of us in a tiny room. Then we decided to change our conditions and we addressed to Romanians we knew. They were making good money on us. We were paying 1000 euros per housing bed space. And we were sleeping in one bed. When Romanians observed that I was pregnant, they got us kicked out. It appears that there is such a law in Italy that it is forbidden to get you kicked out if you are pregnant. But we didn't know that. I was transferred to "Caritas" (a church where you can live; a house for single mothers) through friends. However, the conditions were terrible there. Sisters of mercy did not like me because I began to rebel. I wanted to get at the truth. They were giving us terrible food. Then I stayed in bed rest for a week as I had diabetes. When I gave birth, I was not entirely lucky. I had C-section. And later I was septic. I was staying for 6 months there. At that time my boyfriend was working with an Italian, he was making good money. However, the employer did not manage to make him a contract. And we started to look for other options. We decided through friends that my boyfriend had to marry. To arrange a sham marriage with an Italian woman. We agreed a sum of 3000 euros. There is such a law in Italy that they check you after you marry. And my boyfriend had to go to sleep to her every night. I was sending him to spend the night there, but he was categorically refusing to go there. The Italian lady turned to be very tricky. She was older than he was and, presumably, she was harassing him. She set us up a month later. Carabinieri came to us at night. Moldovan friends were living with us. Also without documents. We all were deported. They said not to show up in Italy any more. I had 3 passports. I am staying in Italy on the basis of Romanian passport now. (FG, Italy).

The Legal situation of migrants abroad and their degree of legal protection depends in many cases on the specifics of the legal situation of that country, and in particular on the availability or non-availability of citizenship of the migration country.

I was addressing to Russia's official structures seeking for solution of my problems. With no answers and no reactions... But I was addressing as Russia's citizen, whose rights were infringed. There are many different problems. One of it referred to the child allowance. The child didn't receive fully all payments until 1,5 years as the registration had expired by that time. I did not submitted the documents once again. This is very problematic. You have to collect a bunch of certificates. I write letters only to the President. They are forwarded to relevant authorities from there. And already a letter from the authority comes with the following text: "We fully sympathize with you and understand". And zero decision. A refusal does not come. The answer does not contain any practical information. Propose to address to authorities again. But you haven't to work, to do nothing and only to walk from one authority to another. Bureaucratic red tape. (II, Russia).

That fact that I am migrant in the UK does not deprive me of the rights. In all the time I was working (in the field of mechanical engineering), there were not any problems related to infringement of the labor rights (work in hazardous conditions, overtime, etc.), delays or non-payments of wages. The Great Britain differs from other countries visited by me to earn money (Poland, Czech Republic, Russia).

However, I faced Internet fraud. I bought spare auto parts, transferred money and was deceived. I did not receive the goods. I addressed to the police on this matter. An investigation started. Now I am waiting for an answer from the law enforcement agencies. (FG, Great Britain).

The legal situation on the territory of the migration country leads to the need of interaction with the representatives of the state's public authorities. As acknowledged by the participants of research from country to country, the contacts with officials may have a different character from case to case: from hostility to bloomy acceptance.

I as a settler addressed primarily to the FMS (Federal Migration Service). I got accepted with a kind of contempt in an office initially, where the newcomers are accepted. However, when the paperwork itself started, then they observed that I was fluent in Russian language, quite competent concerning the laws, everything became fine. (II, Russia).

I was quite neglected in the FMS. I stood in line for one hour, then

turned around and left. I wrote a letter and the next day I went to the chief, she put me a stamp. (FG, Russia).

Indeed, we had to deal with officials at the early stages. This is a state machinery, which should survive. I cannot speak about hostility towards us, because everywhere proper frameworks and behavior rules are respected. People were suffering mainly because of the fact that they were not speaking language and there was no basis for a full-fledged contact. The vulnerability was also related to the lack of knowledge of the rights. The problem was mainly reflected in temporary delay in paperwork on the part of officials. (FG, Portugal).

People who are involved in paperwork are a machinery and it has to exist. The problems do arise. In most of the cases, this is delay, temporary, but in such a way that it would not happen with local organizations. (FG, Portugal).

The legal situation on the territory of migration, particularly within the European Union, has a direct impact on the degree of social protection of a migrant.

The participants in the research were stressing the changes in the degree of social protection related to migrants as a consequence of refugee inflow in Europe.

If you work in a company, than the insurance is covered in the proportion of 50/50. If a dismissal from the work is expected, in my case in connection with non-seasonality of works, then I have to address to the job center two weeks before the end of the work and communicate them about my dismissal. In such a way, I could receive the allowance from them. However, now I will be lucky if they cover at least a part of my insurance due to refugees flow. It is 160 euros per month. This is a big sum for me. (II, Germany).

It should be examined the situation in the Great Britain as a consequence of BREXIT's results. The results of formalized interview with migrants who are in the Great Britain showed that they were concerned by potential BREXIT's results.

I believe that referendum showed such a result, first of all, because of the fact that population is not happy that the Great Britain allocates huge amount of money to the European Union on annual basis. They consider

that these sums might be used for the needs of Britain. The consequences of withdrawal of the Britain from the EU might be rather lamentable. Above all investments in the Britain will reduce that has already influenced the exchange rate of the pound. And now the Britain needs to support its economy through all means. (AI, Great Britain).

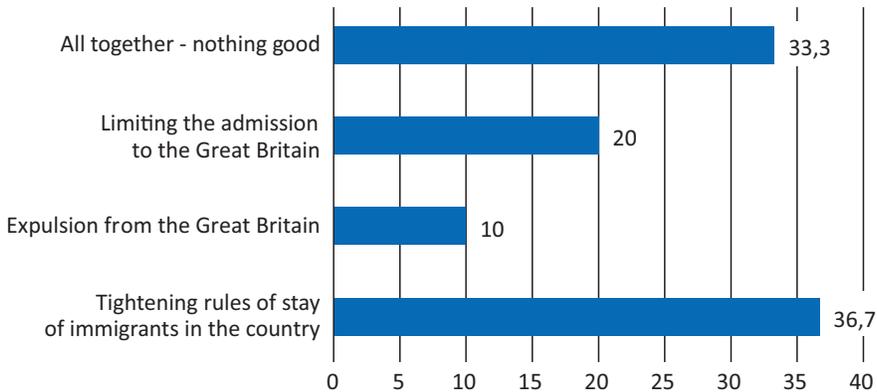


Fig. 4. Distribution of the responses to the question "In your opinion, what are the consequences of the British referendum on exiting the EU for migrants originating from Transnistria?" (%)

Despite awareness of potential problems related to the BREXIT, ¾ of respondents showed that their situation in the Great Britain would not change.

The Great Britain became the shelter for many of those who doesn't want to work and want to benefit of all social benefits which are offered by the country. Notwithstanding potential consequences of the Brexit on exiting the EU and a tougher politics on migrants' entry, the country needs migrants, cheap labor resources. (FG, Great Britain).

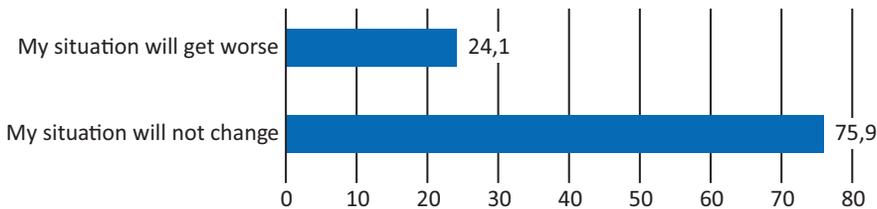


Fig. 5. Distribution of the responses to the question "What do you think the results of the British referendum on exiting the EU (BREXIT) will have an influence on your position as a migrant in the Great Britain?" (%)

The majority of interviewees intends to fight for the possibility to stay on the territory of the Great Britain. Or, if necessary, to move to another country.

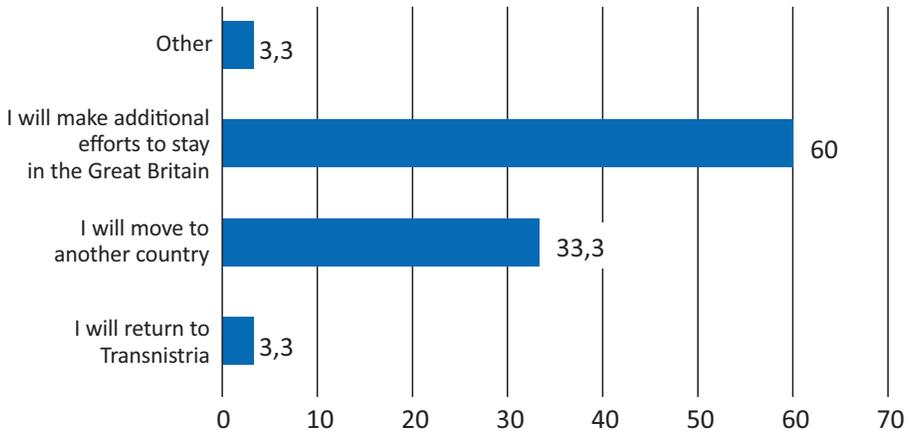


Fig. 6. Distribution of the responses to the question "In the event that it will be impossible to live and work on the territory of the Great Britain further, what are you going to do?" (%)

Brexit will have a high impact both on economy and education in Britain and the European Union. First of all, Europeans will have to get visas to study in the UK and vice-versa. This will impede students exchange. As a result, the British student will lack communication with foreigners. The number of foreign students will decrease sharply because of more difficult matriculation in British higher educational institutions. This will influence the revenues of these institutions as foreigners pay a higher sum comparing to local students. (AI, Great Britain).

The economic situation of a migrant was analysed through the questions about:

- Migrant's labor market type;
- Match between migrant's work and his specialty;
- Economic sectors of labor market, where the migrant is employed;
- Match between migrant's work and his qualification.

The interview showed that a certain part of migrants originating from Transnistria works in an enclave labour market (where migrants are mainly involved). This situation is typical for migrants in Israel, Italy, Great Britain, and Portugal.

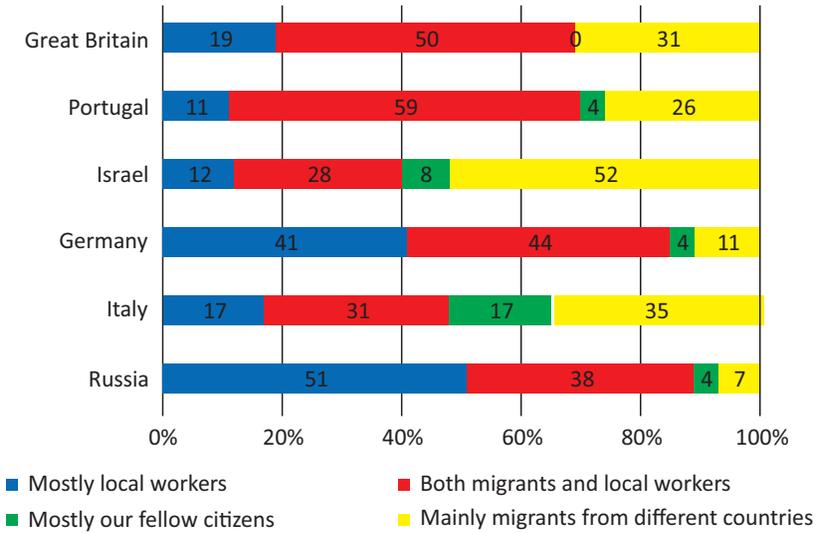


Fig. 7. Distribution of the responses to the question "Who works at the enterprise firm where you work?" (%)

The majority of migrants originating from Transnistria does not work on their speciality. This circumstance is frequently typical for migrants who live in Italy, Israel, and Portugal.

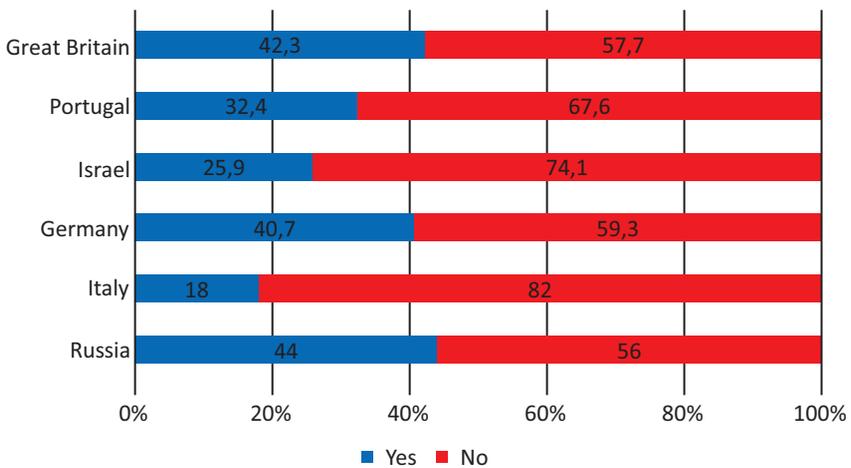


Fig. 8. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do your work according to your speciality?" (%)

Employment according to the speciality, as acknowledged by the research participants reflects, from one hand, the specifics of the labor market, which is either opened or closed in relation to migrants in certain niches.

If young people come, then the first where they go is waiters, deliverymen, etc. If they are older people, if they are men, then a construction site. If they are women, then in a family. As a rule, both young and old people, few of them employ officially. It is simpler “working for the man”, who will be giving you money. (FG, Russia).

I know that the natives of Transnistria are involved in commerce, repairing the vehicles, service, pit stop, construction, mainly interior decoration. (FG, Russia).

I graduated on the light industry college in Bender. I was specializing in shoe leather. I had been working in the public amenities center for 10 years. I have been staying in Italy since 2000. I have been working all this time. I was washing dishes in a bar. They do not offer you according to your specialty here. I have been recently working with a grandmother of 90 years old. (FG, Italy).

On the other hand, the situation on the labor market is also linked with the personality of a migrant himself, his level of training, personal qualities, and the degree of adaption to the country.

There is a possibility to realize yourself in all respects and directions in Moscow. The most important is a good motivation. I personally achieved more comparing to Transnistria. (AI, Russia).

Those who are connected to home, to a customary mental environment, do not last long here. Those who adapt, as a rule, they know what do they want. These are strong personalities. In my case, these are musicians, radio presenters, performers, and not guest workers and similar to them. The complexity to adapt is proportional to the personal fulfilment and putting yourself in your environment. The environment is shaped from the same newcomers, from different regions, but these identical interests. (FG, Russia).

For instance, when I was seeking employment, I was not indicating at all that I was studying, I have an education. I simply came – young, smart, knowledge of PC, confident users, initial knowledge of 1C, and, of course, citizenship. I became a chief 2 month later. (FG, Russia).

I studied in a university on the specialty “Foreign languages”, “English language and literature” back home. However, I dropped out of university and went to Italy. My boyfriend promised to buy a Diploma for 500 USD and

that I would be a translator. Notwithstanding I dropped University, my studies helped me very much in my work. I work in a fashion center at "Piazza di Spagna". I speak 5 languages: Moldovan, Russian, English, French and fluent Italian. This is an advantage. And some kind basic culture that I have. And also physical characteristics influence, because people should be handsome, styled. Casting among thousands of candidatures is conducted in luxury stores. It is understood that the main reason I was selected is the fact that I speak Russian. Chinese, Arabs and Russians are our main customers. (AI, Italy).

I think the lower the status of a person was the tougher life he had at home. He finds himself in a paradise here. In addition, if he has an easy disposition, in sense that he stoops his head. (AI, Italy).

Those who as the result went all the way and study in the West, they have mainly positive feedback on their experience. Depending on the child's character, it happens that they miss first time, but it comes and goes later. In these countries where they go, everything has already been done in order the children feel comfortable. Therefore, from adaptation's point of view, everything is very easy. A part of graduates remains abroad following the results of studies. A part is returning home and apply their tallents back home. (AI, Transnistria).

Some natives of Transnistria work as self-employed professionals, when high skills are demanded abroad, regardless of the citizenship of an individual.

I am an architect and after graduating the institute, I was working according to my specialty all the time and all my life. My work was in Odessa until 2014. I could periodically travel there. I was doing what I had to do on the ground and I was designing at home. Later these events were finalised. I was not going to leave Transnistria, but my acquaintances recommended me in Saint Petersburg and, after a Skype interview, I was in Russia literally one week later. There are more opportunities here. I manage people and I've learned a lot. The workload is huge, a lot of money rolls through. I am not able to work on small objects any more. For instance, if this is an apartment's interior, then I'm not interested in this as the scale is bigger. Many of us have double citizenship. However, I was granted just one and only Moldova's. Now I am working on the basis of a patent. All these citizenships are invented conditionality to make us slaves, I believe. It does not really means anything for me were it whether in Greece, Italy, Russia or in Ukraine. (AI, Russia).

The main niches of the labour market for the natives of Transnistria are the areas of domestic services, construction, trade and public catering, transport and communication, etc.

Table 4.

**Distribution of the responses to the question
"In which sectors you are employed/
what is your activity?" (%)**

| | Russia | Italy | Germany | Israel | Portugal | Great Britain |
|---|--------|-------|---------|--------|----------|---------------|
| Industry | 6 | 2 | 10 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 3,3 |
| Agriculture and silviculture | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3,3 | 0 |
| Construction | 3 | 7 | 3,3 | 20 | 26,7 | 13,3 |
| Transport and communication | 5 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 6,7 | 3,3 |
| Trade and public catering | 18 | 12 | 6,7 | 10 | 6,7 | 20 |
| Information and computing service | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6,7 |
| Housing and utilities sector and services to the population | 11 | 6 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 13,3 | 13,3 |
| Health protection, physical culture, leisure and tourism | 7 | 6 | 3,3 | 3,3 | 10 | 6,7 |
| Education, science, culture and art | 4 | 0 | 10 | 3,3 | 0 | 6,7 |
| Intellectual services and management | 5 | 4 | 16,7 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| Entrepreneurship | 5 | 2 | 10 | 3,3 | 3,3 | 3,3 |
| The sphere of domestic services | 7 | 34 | 3,3 | 20 | 6,7 | 3,3 |
| Unemployed, housewife | 2 | 3 | 3,3 | 3,3 | 3,3 | 0 |
| Pupil, student | 14 | 5 | 10 | 0 | 3,3 | 6,7 |
| Other sectors | 10 | 7 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 3,3 | 6,7 |

A significant share of migrants work on their specialty but below their qualification. The worst situation is characteristic for migrants who live in Italy, Great Britain, and Israel.

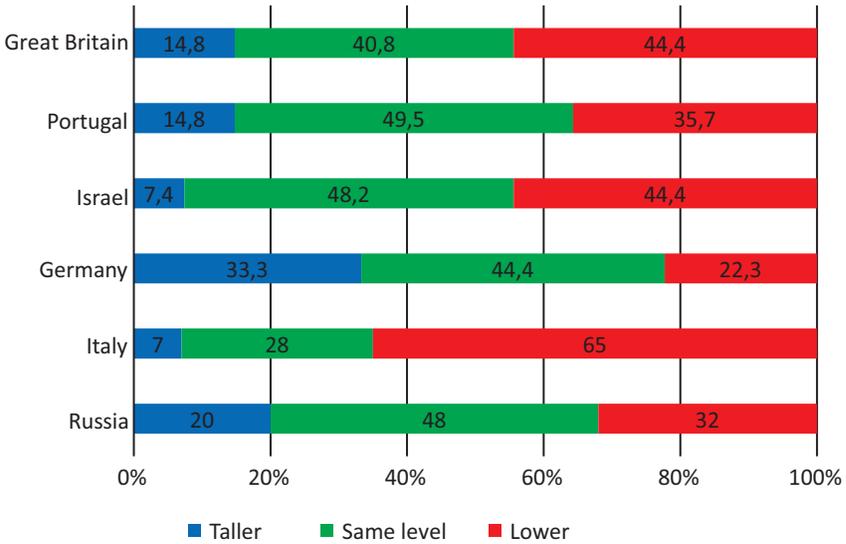


Fig. 9. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you work above or below your qualification?" (%)

It is clear from listed figures that the economic situation of migrants originating from Transnistria alongside all four variables is the most favorable in Russian and Germany. Therefore, the research showed that, despite the favorable legal status of migrants originating from Transnistria abroad, the very fact of migration acts as a factor of professional marginalization – employment contrary to speciality, with the downgrading of qualification in an enclave labor market.

The cases when the natives of Transnistria found themselves in business abroad were revealed in research. As a rule, this is an entrepreneurship activity that it is related to the niche employment of the natives of Transnistria abroad: construction, gardening, transport, and public catering. As a rule, similar business is carried out among compatriots or migrants from other countries and often targets the migrants' consumer group.

It is easy to start up a business in Germany. There no obstacles. I practice apartments renovations. Romanians, Bulgarians and Lithuanians work for me. The prices have decreased in the recent years. That is why I work with migrants. (AI, Germany).

I was working as carpenter, hotel employee, and worker at the meatpacking plant, being legalized. I own my business over the last 5 years (renovations and landscape design). It's very easy to open a business. You need 20 euros and everything is ready in 2 minutes. (II, Germany).

I had labour career of a baker, washer of bus stops, changing advertising on big posters, bridges, pedestrian crossings and restaurants. I was working as a cook in a hotel's restaurant and then the restaurant "White stork" was opened. 17 years already. This is my restaurant. Mostly Russian Jews, natives of the former Soviet Union, attend him. And there are many like me. And business areas are very diverse. There are companies that produce orthopaedic shoes, furniture manufacturing and dentists. (AI, Israel).

The economic situation of a migrant abroad is connected to a large extent with a migrant's capacity towards social integration in a hosting society. First of all, through learning a language. The majority of participants in research in all the countries except Russia, mentioned the problems related to learning a foreign language during interviews and focus groups.

Although it was said that Moldovans should not learn language as it is very similar to Italian, but it is not similar in reality. I wanted to go to school to study it, but I had no time. I was taking a piece of paper first time and was drawing on the paper and learning. Then I began to tie the words together. It was difficult. I was sitting and writing every evening. Therefore, I learned. I even do not remember how I began to speak. Signora, for whom I had been working for 10 years, said: "Tanya, you learned quickly the language. I began to speak one month later". (FG, Italy).

Obviously, there were difficulties with language acquisition. I was working with a grandfather who had 92 years old. I had to say "Grandfather, raise your leg". I had a notebook for all phrases. And I was saying something in a week. I am a teacher and I was understanding that had to learn only what I needed. I, of course, attended courses later. They were funded by an Italian bank. They are interested us in speaking. Two teachers were teaching. Everything was very organized, very accessible. We were studying elementary things. Later I attended additional courses. It is insufficient to know Italian language on basic level, because there is such a thing here that they are laughing at you, try to insult you. (FG, Italy).

I had a really hard time initially. I needed about half a year to learn the language, to get used to the country, to the educational system, textbooks. It would be possible to avoid problems, if there would be more information on entrance in foreign higher educational institutions, possibility to pretend for scholarship, etc. (AI, Italy).

I know bad German language. I try to learn it, but this is not as easy as it seems to be. When I had just arrived to Germany, they proposed me to attend language courses, but I refused, as it was expensive. Now I am listening to audio lectures on my way to work. Language's knowledge will offer me a chance for an independent work. I want to work for myself and not to dependent on anyone. (II, Germany).

Communication in English language was problematic first time as I was feeling embarrassed to speak, because of language barrier. It was difficult to maintain records in English language, memorize and use terms in particular on such subjects as geography and economy. However, these difficulties should not discourage. They are temporary. Class fellows, teachers are treating with understanding and are ready to assist. Teachers are available any time. Moreover, there is a man in every house, who could be addressed in view of solution to any problems. (II, Great Britain).

I think that all have common problems. The ways of their overcoming are various. Therefore, notwithstanding the country of emigration, I believe the language is first of all, search for work follows. These are main elements for integration. Another important factor for integration is assimilation of customs, because our customs differ from Portuguese ones. (FG, Portugal).

Language adaptation occurred easier for those migrants who benefited from pre-migration language training or participated in the programs of language learning on the territory of migration country.

I knew that I would go to Italy. I had been attending courses in Chisinau for 3 months. I knew the basics. Arrived and immediately started to work. We were sewing clothes. Superficial communication was required there. However, I started to speak quickly. (FG, Italy).

Everyone has to speak language. And "badante". I did "badante"'s course attached to Moldovan consulate the last time. However, generally, there are "badante" courses attached to a University. This is free of charge. I had to respond on 24 questions in 15 minutes. This course enables to work in social structure. This offers an advantage, because you are entitled for a higher category. (FG, Italy).

Separately, it should be examined the specifics of adaptation and integration of repatriates from Transnistria. As their migration behavior was

accompanied by support from the country of repatriation, then their situation in the migration country is slightly better compared to that of economic migrants.

Firstly, pre-migration training programs for repatriates are carried out. They include paperwork, language learning, and learning about the country of repatriation.

Pre-migration training for Germany includes paperwork at the German Embassies in Ukraine (city of Kyiv) and Russia (city of Moscow) and in recent years in the Republic of Moldova (city of Chisinau). In some cases, one must pass language proficiency examinations.

Documents for resettlement were formalized in Russia and Germany. All necessary documents were submitted to Moscow. I passed German language first level proficiency examination also there, attached to the German Embassy in Russian. We received the positive answer and left for Germany. We were assisted with applications, translations by our relatives there. (II, Germany).

The pre-migration trainings for Israel are performed through the Permanent representation of Jewish agency "Sohnut".

I was attending Hebrew courses in Tiraspol. But I should recognize that I was understanding nothing in the language. However, that provided a certain fundament, which allowed me to "capture" quickly language in Israel. (II, Israel).

Secondly, the legal situation of a repatriate and positive reception are guaranteed upon arrival to the repatriation country.

When my family arrived to Israel, we all received passports in the airport. (II, Israel).

When you come to Israel, you feel that you are at home in no time. An atmosphere of that you came to the motherland is created in Israel. The major part of people welcomes you and attempts to help you. However, this stopped when Russians turned to be too many. (II, Israel).

Thirdly, the state of repatriation assumes the responsibility on social protection and a repatriate's integration in the host society over a certain period. It includes benefits payment, funding rental housing, health protection, providing an opportunity of free language and professional learning, and employment.

The one-time sum is allocated for arrangement in a new place, rental housing, furniture purchasing under compatriots programs. (II, Russia).

When we arrived in Germany, we settled in integration camp. These camps were all over Germany before our arrival. Now they are only in one place. We had to attend mandatory a six monthly course of German language, which lasted from Monday to Friday, from 8 am to 2:30 pm. We were coming to the courses as to work and we were paid for that. As a result, we passed language proficiency examination on certain level, which is required to work and integrate rightly in the society. (II, Germany).

The state was paying for the apartment, utilities and minimum living wage, approximately 350 euros per person. I attended one more German language course throughout the year. This paper would help me to study in a University. However, I did not enter an University. A friend proposed me a vacant job at the BMW factory. And I started to work, for the first time in two and a half years since I moved to Germany. (II, Germany).

We as immigrants had to register mandatory in Germany. This organization offers us job, pays money and does not leaves alone. Look how many years do I have. I have to come mandatory and they have to offer me a job. It has to be said that they have always a good attitude towards us, although, possible, they do not like all this inside them. (II, Germany).

My mother went ahead at the very beginning of my arrival to Israel and arranged me in the camp for young people opened at Sohnut. It was for free and very good; a big canteen, swimming pool. However, it was situated close to the Egyptian border. Therefore, there were spiders and snakes there (there were barchans around). I had to study Hebrew in the mornings. (II, Israel).

Nevertheless, information was obtained in the research regarding the challenges faced by repatriates.

First of all, difficulties related to the lack of knowledge of language and poor knowledge of the local language.

There is a unique difficulty at first as you do not know the language. My parents are less scared. There were communicating in German at home and I was not communicating in German. We were offered 8 months to learn German at that time. However, it makes no difference. Possibly, it

makes difference for someone. It did not make a difference for me. I learned to understand the language when I started to work. I learned quickly. (AI, Germany).

It is difficult with language, with documents. You are a Russian or Moldovan who has arrived and do not speak language, just to go to the school. Alternatively, you got lost, took a map and is not able to read it. (II, Germany).

Secondly, the legal registration of a repatriate's members of family appeared to be complicated. One particularly complex procedure is for the spouses of Israeli repatriates.

My mother and grandmother have an understanding about Jewish culture, religion. Grandmother was attending Synagogue as a child. I was an atheist at the moment of departure. When we came to Israel, we immediately received passport. There was a blank space in the column religion in the internal passport. My grandmother made noise. She went to Rabbinate and a record "Jewish" appeared in my passport after a while. I have never been kicked by anybody for religiosity (atheism), although there were attempts to return to the roots. Thus, I grew a beard and when I came to a hairdresser, he praised me. He said that three bones had to be hidden in the hair, although I had just grew the beard. All this has a reversed side. If I want to marry in accordance with Jewish custom, then this religiosity washed my brain. However, I discovered how to bypass this – both times I married abroad (in Bulgaria and in Cyprus). (II, Israel).

Thirdly, some participants referred to difficulties in recognizing documents on vocational education issued in home country.

Participating in compatriots program, I feel free. The only our documents that are not accepted in all organizations is the birth certificate, for example. They all are in Russian language, but after you start insisting, they became more open. (II, Russia).

I pursuit higher education on the faculty of physical education in Transnistria. In Germany, I applied for recognition of diploma. Ultimately, the diploma was recognized but this was a tough and not easy way. In such a way, I could work as a gym teacher. However, I refused. First of all, I was fully satisfied with my work for the BMW. Secondly, having looked at the educational program in Germany, I understood that I would not be able to work with our mentality as children could do everything there, but the

teachers could not. It is forbidden to yell at them, nothing can be done. I fulfilled myself in my specialty anyway later. Simultaneously with my work at the factory, I was earning a bit on the side as basketball trainer. (II, Germany).

My daughter was graduating on a higher educational institution in Chisinau. And there are problems related to legalization of documents until now. She is a teacher of "Romanian language and literature", but she works in a kindergarten, teaches Russian language. (II, Germany).

Our people who arrived in Germany mainly work in production. It is very difficult to enter educational and medical sectors. Only if they were trained for this here. (AI, Germany).

Fourthly, they mentioned the difficulty of integration into the culture, traditions, and mentality of repatriation country while preserving an identity that was formed in the motherland.

Germans are a pedantic people. If in their instruction is written how to proceed, they will do as requested. It does not matter what it will influence at, he will do it properly and at the same time, he will insure himself that he complied with all instructions. Our people are different. Our Russian, if breakage occurs, then he will figure something out quickly. They strictly comply with social ladder. The chief is the chief. You have to listen to him. They are not talking about this, but you can feel it in the deeds. A lot depends on how you integrate in the collective. If you treat them as they do, they will accept you. However, they like very much when people bend over for them. And if you are not like anyone else in Germany, then you will become a black sheep. You need to be very strong to safeguard your interests. However, all these feelings in society, sexual minorities – please, all this. In addition to it, politics. If the countries are not friends on geopolitical level, then the attitude to them is respectful. (II, Germany).

When I received my first salary slip, then I noticed a tax charged in the interest of church. The tax was 50 euros per months. I approached my employer and asked what that was? I was told that that was a church tax and it would be possible to refuse. I told them that I was going to refuse and signed a paper, refused. Later I made acquaintance with a girl who also refused at the time. Later she wanted to return it. However, it could no longer be done. There was not possible to marry in the church, to baptize children and when you die, they will not read the burial service. I simply asked myself, "do they sell the God to me". I have to pay to address to the

God? And when I asked Germans about the payments, everyone was paying and all this is true. And I asked, "do they sell the God to me?" and I saw blurred vision. They are not thinking about this, if it is necessary, then we should. They are fooling a lot around, but fooling around nicely. (II, Germany).

They fight to tell nothing to children. I was in one social institution. A black woman with a child was there. He began to behave badly. Ten grownups were sitting and anyone said anything. I could not handle and said "what is that". It is a custom here. It is forbidden to intervene in someone else's education. (II, Germany).

It is difficult to communicate for Alia with Alia. These are different nationalities. Many people acquired more features of their previous habitats comparing to common Jewish ones. You stop to be a Jewish in Israel. You are, first of all, the one where you came from and only then you are a Jewish. (II, Israel).

The longer I was living in Israel, the less I was feeling Israeli. (II, Israel).

Fifthly, the complexity of integration in a local community when faced with a negative attitude towards you from the local people, and non-admission to the specific labor market's niches in certain cases.

The principal psychological barrier is related to the knowledge of language. You can verbally say everything in your head, but when you come somewhere and try to say something and you are nervous, then you face negative attitude in 60% of cases. Allegedly, "Arrived in large numbers again!". They do not say it openly, but you can read it on their faces. (II, Germany).

The German teacher told us: there you came. I have to tell you where to buy a travel pass but I am confident that you have already discussed this information among you. But Germans are different. They will not share this information with you. The same was at work. I was trying to learn everything quicker. When I was approaching and asking about something, I was being told "later". Then I approached to a Russian and they told me that they did not want you to learn so quickly as there had been trained for three-four years and you learned everything during one month. And they try not to share this information. They want to remain one-step above. In addition, we are new comers and we are smarter comparing to them. It is annoying for them. (II, Germany).

There have been times when I was working. But this cannot be called work. The work in a nursing home and cleaning at best. I was unable to find any other works in my age. (II, Germany).

I was in the army. And even I have been trained as electronic engineer, I was sent to repair auto vehicles. I didn't pass through security check. Russians are considered unreliable in Israeli army. To tell the truth, the assessment as unreliable one was also linked with the fact that I have not become a religious Jewish. (II, Israel).

There is such a saying in Israel "Israel likes aliyah, but it doesn't like aliyah". In one word, they like immigration, but do not like immigrants. It is so and not so. Let us take the Soviet Aliyah. Millions of people who arrived from the former USSR. It is understood that everyone understands that these are people who have changed significantly Israel both in science and art, and sport, and culture and in any area. In politics, we see the number of Russian people in key government posts, ministries. The number is through the roof. From another part, there are always such people who do not like Russians or there are Russians who do not like Jews. Such xenophobia exists. It is caused by zero tolerance to other language, culture and style of life. (AI, Israel).

As acknowledged by some participants, the attitude towards repatriates results from the behavior of repatriates themselves, which are frequently not separated from other migrants.

Germans are such a people. They are not informed very well and they know nothing about this program. And even if they know, then they have such an attitude not towards this program, but people, because, as a rule, black sheep occur in all families. The routine destroys many newcomers. As a result, Germans paint all new comers with a broad brush. (II, Germany).

Those repatriates and resettled, who had not been able to integrate in the hosting society until the end have mainly found themselves rejected, first of all, because of insufficient language knowledge.

The process of adaptation and integration of migrants occurs easily in the hosting country for the generation of repatriates and resettled who settled abroad at a young age or for the second generation of migrants.

Children have adapted. And when they were coming to Dubossary, they were counting the days when they would go back. And say that they

do not want to go there. And I'm waiting for the May to go to my village. I have not sold anything. All my friend who departures, sold everything. They thought that there would be helped here, would receive houses. Anything like that. Everyone regrets. (II, Germany).

The specifics of adaptation and integration of migrants originating from Transnistria abroad influences their well-being on the territory of the country of migration and largely determines the life plans of migrants. Problems with adaptation and integration, as a rule, lead either to change of the country of migration or to return back home.

Chapter 5.

STRATEGIES OF SELF-PRESENTATION ABROAD OF THOSE ORIGINATING FROM TRANSNISTRIA

A specific perception of Transnistria and its natives has emerged abroad. It mainly depends on the level of awareness of the population in the specific country about Transnistria.

As it would be expected, Russia's public opinion is more informed about the situation of Transnistria compared to the public opinion of the other countries researched. The military conflict of 1992, which was widely reflected in Russian mass-media, modern representation of the topics linked with the status of Transnistria, namely Transnistrian settlement process, tensions on the Transnistrian section with the Ukrainian border, electoral campaigns, etc., contributed to this.

It should be noted that interviewed experts pointed out the fact that awareness on Transnistria in Russia does not include all the country's public. Thus, it was highlighted that the young generation of Russia's citizens know less comparing to the generation who remember the events of the 1990s.

I was teaching in several higher educational institutions in Russia. Communicating with students, it was necessary from time to time to touch Transnistrian topic. The information is mostly minimal. They do not know the problems which exist in Transnistria. There is a certain understanding that it exists somewhere, but far away and this is linked with certain conflicts. That is all. (AI, Russia).

Experts also mentioned that in many cases awareness of Russians about Transnistria has a limited character – they have no knowledge of the ethnic structure of Transnistria, or commonly used languages of communication that are applied in educational system.

Initially in Russia's capital, I had to deal with complexities of psychological type – to get rid of illusions that Russian knows about Transnistria and perceives the natives of Transnistria as a part of the Russian world. It was necessary to prove that Russian language in Transnistria is the main language of communication, that the educational curricula in Transnistria follows Russian templates. I needed 10 months to prove that the Diploma issued by T.G. Shevchenko University from Transnistria is equivalent to the Russian one. (AI, Russia).

Despite the above mentioned, experts and participants of the focus-groups were widely mentioning a positive image of the natives of Transnistria

that, in many respects, is determined by Russia's specific role in relation to Transnistria and its population. In their opinion, Russia undertakes complex military, political, social, economic and cultural support Transnistria. An operational group of Russian troops (OGRT) is located in Transnistria. Russia is a permanent participant in negotiations on the Transnistrian settlement. Russia invests in social, economic and cultural infrastructure of the region. Russia's patronage policy of Transnistria is accompanied by a positive attitude of Russia's citizens towards the natives of Transnistria. Experts and participants of the focus groups were highlighting a specific approach towards the natives of Transnistria, even that some of them could have citizenships of Ukraine or the Republic of Moldova.

I hold a degree in sociology. I deal with migration theme, mainly research of labour migrants from Central Asia. Migrants from Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova seldom propel into the orbit of our interest. They are less problematic, less visible in the city. Their presence is not a subject of public debates and they are less visible in academic space. They have been insignificantly researched. They are as such, less visible. However, I think that there are challenges. (A1, Russia).

Ethnic criminality is one of the problems of Saint Petersburg. Migrants commit many crimes. As a rule, these are migrants from the Central Asia. Therefore, the attitude towards them is a respective one. We, the natives of Transnistria, couldn't be distinct from typical residents of Saint Petersburg. I have never been asked to show my passport during my stay. Therefore, I have never felt a negative attitude from the residence of Saint Petersburg. I know there are people who come to Saint Petersburg and do not know how say where are they from and name Moldova. And this is perceived as a negative. Moldovans and Tajiks are, as usual, construction workers. Azerbaijanis are marketers. This is in consciousness. I believe that it is critical to show your own attitude "who are you?". "I am from Transnistria", I would say. They say "from Moldova?". "No, from Transnistria – this is Transnistria". (A1, Russia).

In other researched countries, experts and participants of focus groups were highlighting that awareness of Transnistria is very low.

I spoke to many Germans. They even don't know what Transnistria means. In documents, questionnaires there was a question where did I come from. According to my documents, I am from Transnistria. However, I was writing Moldova as they didn't know Transnistria. (I1, Germany).

As a rule, in Germany, Israel, Italy, Portugal and Great Britain awareness about Transnistria is very low. Awareness is mostly formed both from migrants themselves, and from significant Russian and Moldovan speaking communities in these countries. In the research conducted, the information was obtained that the natives of Transnistria are, as a rule, identified as “Russians” or arrived from the CIS countries, or as “Moldovans” who arrived from the Republic of Moldova.

Portugal is situated on the outskirts of Europe. The main part of population doesn't have any information about our region. Therefore, a will to generalize appears. Initially we were called Russians. Later another definition appeared – people from the East. (FG, Portugal).

We all are Russians for them. (II, Germany).

A certain level of awareness of Transnistria is typical for the narrow circles of politicians, journalists, researchers. However, the character of this awareness is mainly a negative one.

When we were talking about Transnistria, depending on who is staying in front of me, if this a lawyer, a professor, then there are more chances that this person will know anything. Otherwise, nobody knows nothing about Transnistria. (AI, Italy).

Once there was a journalistic story about Transnistria broadcasted by BBC. That was broadcasted about 7-8 years ago, when Smirnov was here at home and a parade was there. By the way, they showed my farther and were showing him for 1 minute. He was sitting directly in the stands. My farther is a general. They showed colourfully Transnistrian parade, that it is unrecognised, that people are of the old school, a patch of the soviet state and all like this. And I have no seen any more information. (AI, Great Britain).

In public discourse of the Great Britain if anything about Moldova is mentioned, then Transnistria is mentioned as well. It is known about Transnistria that this is a territory not controlled by Moldova. Those Russian troops are located here. There are articles mentioning that Transnistria is a museum of the Soviet Union, for example, with Lenin's monuments. Such articles have mockery character and to be honest I personally do not like this. In general, it can be said that Transnistria does not have a good reputation in Europe. And this can be understood as they are skeptically looking on everything Russian. And Transnistria is something analogical to Abkhazia and Crimea for them. (AI, Great Britain).

It is clear from the **Annex 4 Ethnic and civil characteristics of the sample** that migrants originating from Transnistria are represented by three main ethnic groups from Transnistria: Moldovans, Russians and Ukrainians and, respectfully, mostly by three citizenships. The logical is the fact that speaking about social interaction, experts and participants of the focus groups recognized different strategies of self-presentation – simultaneous use of ethnonyms, polytonyms and toponyms.

One of the self-presentation strategies sounds like “Transnistrian” that simultaneously is a polytonym (in the sense of belonging to Transnistria, presence of Transnistrian documents) and a toponym of staying in Transnistria, in some cases of staying on the territory of Transnistria, which is under the formal control of Transnistria. Therefore, for instance, the natives from the villages Koshnitsa, Pirita, Kochiery, etc. were presenting themselves as a “Transnistrian” at the stage of identification of the research's participants, who in substance are not “Transnistrians”.

I have Russian citizenship. However, I present myself as the native of Transnistria in Moscow. Notwithstanding my expulsion from Transnistria, I'm still a patriot and love Transnistria. I come home 2-3 times per year and I have a wish to remain. I feel empathy towards my compatriots who live in poverty and have to migrate. (AI, Russia).

Another strategy of self-presentation of the natives of Transnistria abroad occurs through the toponym, polytonym and ethnonym “Moldovans”, respectively, in the meaning of the natives from the territory of the Republic of Moldova (MSSR), citizens of the Republic of Moldova, representatives of Moldovan ethnos.

Ethnonym “Russian” is used to refer to the natives of the CIS countries (former USSR), Russian speakers and representatives of Russian ethnos. Polytonym “Russian” as a citizen of Russia.

Our people have total absence of feeling that you are a migrant. We are in Russia, in our big country, because the Russian components is very strong in Transnistria. My move from Transnistria to Saint Petersburg differs a little from, for example, the move from Tiumen region. The very notion of “migrant” is a negative one for us, because the guest from the Central Asian republics, who do not speak Russian language, execute hard, often strange, works and receive modest salary are often perceived as migrants. (AI, Russia).

Despite inclusion of the natives of Transnistria of Ukrainian ethnicity, who have Ukrainian citizenship, ethnonym and polytonym “Ukrainian” is

rarely used in the self-presentation strategies of the natives of Transnistria, with the exception of cases, when we are talking about paperwork.

We didn't meet the cases of self-presentation through the use of ethnonym and polytonym "Romanian", despite the fact that a part of the natives of Transnistria who emigrated along all researched routes, with the exception of Russia, has Romanian citizenship as a part of the study.

Such a variety of self-presentation strategies is arising from the specifics of identity, which is multilevel and consists of a combination of regional, ethnic and civic statuses. The consequence of this is the fact that a native of Transnistria who resides abroad is characterized by situational identity, for example, the presence of several identities, which are changing under the influence of external factors and available benefits of its bearer.

The development of situational identity, in our opinion, has a positive impact on the situation of an individual abroad. On the one hand, preserving basic identity removes problems, connected with self-awareness and relations on micro (in family, among family members and acquaintances) and macro level (in diaspora community abroad, with compatriots who remained back at home). On the other hand, acquiring a new identity allows for a quicker integration in the hosting society, to become a "crony" from the point of view of legal status and evaluation on behalf of the public opinion.

I believe it cannot be said who I am now. Of course, there is a perception of cultural roots, language you have been always speaking in and thinking, attitude towards the relatives. This is very important for me. However, I do not feel myself a Portuguese as well, because you began to understand the local culture, to feel yourself a part of a whole, to respect and like certain moments you have not been understanding earlier. (FG, Portugal).

The evolution of a new identity also reduces the chances for social marginalization – life in closed ethnic enclaves that ultimately has an impact on the employment status, revenues, quality of life, and perspectives for new generation of family (children).

I studied in boarding school in the Great Britain. I was lucky to live in the same house with friendly children, with whom I maintain relations even after graduating the school. The peers in the house were mainly from local guys. The fellows from the CIS (Russian speakers) were not forming among them their personal circle of communication. First of all, everyone was trying to be among local guys to learn quicker the English language. Secondly, it is considered bad manners in the Great Britain when

representatives of one language groups communicate among them in their language and the others do not understand them. (II, Great Britain).

People, which live with their past, partly loose the possibility to change something in the present and to strive to the future. (FG, Portugal).

Ethnonym “Russian”, in contrast to ethnonyms “Moldovans” and “Ukrainians”, in the conditions of migration of the natives of Transnistria has the highest sustainability and is subject to changes extremely rarely. Despite a long-term residence and strong linguistic, socio-cultural integration in Italy, Germany, Portugal, Great Britain, participants of the focus-groups of Russian ethnicity recognized the preservation of their ethnic identity. Moreover, they were continuing to cultivate it among their children: through the language training, reading fiction books, watching international versions of Russian TV channels, introduction to moral norms and orthodox religion.

I have Russian citizenship. However, I present myself as the native of Transnistria in Moscow. Notwithstanding my expulsion from Transnistria, I'm still a patriot and love my country Transnistria. I come home 2-3 times per year and I have a wish to remain. I feel empathy towards my compatriots who live in poverty and have to migrate. (AI, Russia).

However, evidence of identity linked to the ethnonym “Moldovan” reveal changes in lifestyle as a consequence of emigration . It happens what could be named a “revival of ethnicity”, though a specific person could have no kinship relation with the ethnic group of Moldovans. The absolute majority of the participants in research who have been settled both on the territory of Russia and on the territory of other countries mentioned a preservation of traditions of Moldovan cuisine in the family. Many participants in research only while abroad accepted for themselves elements of Moldovan traditions and customs – New-Year's and Christmas' folklore, Martsisor holiday, etc.

We speak only in Russian language in the family with daughters, sons-in-laws and granddaughter. Son-in-laws categorically interdict children to speak in German language as the language is forgotten. I teach them letters and reading. We teach them both Russian and Moldovan language. (II, Germany).

We preserved our traditions and customs in the family. We celebrate Christmas and Easter both according to our custom, and according to German one. My daughter knows Christmas carols in Moldovan language,

goes around carol-singing in the family, godfathers, who also moved to Germany, grandparents via Skype. 90% of all our domestic food is Moldovan one. I have a separate house. I grow tomatoes and cabbage in the vegetable garden. I pickle products. (II, Germany).

We in Germany preserved Moldovan cuisine. The children are already Germans. They have already been used to local cuisine. However, we try to cook more our food. (II, Germany).

If to be honest, I don't know who I am. To say honesty, I don't feel myself anyone. Yes, I'm ethnic German, I have a German nationality. In Moldova it could be that I don't feel myself a German. I do feel myself as a Moldovan. (II, Germany).

The identity of repatriates in Germany and Israel is illustrative. Their ethnic identity in Transnistria had in many cases a conditional character. In contrast to elderly generation, Germans and Jewish who were born in Transnistria, were recognizing that, while residing in the region they did not know neither German, nor Hebrew languages.

Also, religious socialization in accordance with Catholic/Protestant or Judaism canons was low.

Moving to Germany and Israel was predicated by a pre-migration training – namely the attendance of language and cultural courses of related to Germany and Israel. As acknowledged by the majority of interviewees, they were less efficient for them. On arrival to historical motherland, if necessary, the training could keep going as such programs are funded by the state.

The final result of re-socialization of repatriates depends on many factors – age, particularities of character, etc. The re-socialization process for most of repatriates who returned to the historical motherland in adulthood turned out to be difficult.

If I would move in 1990s and if I would have this opportunity, then, probably, it would have been easier for me. When I moved (I had under 50 years old, now I am 59 years old), first of all, I didn't know the language. To know the language fluently, it is necessary to be born here. I have not had and don't have a work as such. Of course, it might be found. However, I was not accepted at any courses at my age. Those six months courses that I was attending did not help me. Only what we were teaching in Dubossary had an effect. We were hiring a tutor. Everything remained at that level. Everything was to such an extent close to me, everything was great in our village there. On arriving here, I was thinking that everything would be the

same. Anything like that. Even if there was a more or less communication in the first year, then everyone began living his or her life. It is good that I have children, grandchildren and I live with this. But other than that I want to say if to migrate, then it is necessary to migrate in young age. But not in my age. (II, Germany).

The identity change occurs quickly for young repatriates. Denying one's Transnistrian identity tended to be a result of socio-economic situation in Transnistria.

I am a Jewish woman and I am ashamed of my Transnistrian origin. Could it be different when a pension in Transnistria is 100 USD, when a teacher with a higher education earns monthly less comparing to weekly earnings of a person without education in Israel? (II, Israel).

The process of adaption to a new country with a perfect climate, legislation, fiscal, educational systems, etc. also turned out to be a problematic one. Many of those who repatriated to Germany and Israel have not integrated with indigenous population and continue to live in enclaves of similar repatriated citizens (as usual, Russian speaking) and/or are a part of diaspora communities, consisting of economic migrants from the Republic of Moldovan and from other CIS countries.

As a consequence of all above mentioned aspects, repatriates in Germany and Israel, instead of consolidating their ethnic identity, are passing through the process of strengthening of social and cultural identity obtained back at home. Thus, the natives of German and Jewish ethnicity with few exceptions were recognizing that they are feeling “the native of Transnistria”, “Moldovan” or “Russian” in Germany and Israel.

I will never feel myself a German. I do not have German blood inside me. I am an ordinary Christian who grew up in Transnistria. We with husband are both Orthodox. We have a chance to go to the church. We celebrate our Orthodox Easter, New Year, try to maintain these traditions. (II, Germany).

I know one young lady. She has been living in Germany for a long time. She is also from Transnistria. She forgot about her motherland. But there are people like me, who will never forget Transnistria and will consider it their motherland. To be honest, I do not feel that Germany is my home. (II, Germany).

I am a German. However, I like Russian language. I'm a Russian in the

soul and in the heart. In one word, I feel myself a Russian more. (AI, Germany).

One of the options to solve a similar conflict for repatriates to Germany and Israel, who's similar contradictions with identity are having an impact on their well-being and relationships with others, is life in two worlds, namely on the territory of two countries or return back home.

It is worth mentioning that the emergence of identity related to the new place of residence is a separate episode. There were cases in research when participants in research were using polytonym "Portuguese" and "Italian", what meant obtaining the legal status of a citizen of those countries, as well as inclusion in Portuguese, Italian (to a lesser extent) society, their mindset and culture.

"I, for example, feel myself more a Portuguese than a Moldovan. We cook different dishes at home both Moldovan and Portuguese cuisine. My son-in-law is a Portuguese. His parents are also migrants. They migrated in 1948 from Venezuela. My daughter-in-law is from Riga. We speak only in Portuguese language at home." (Portugal, FG).

England has already become my second motherland. It has already accepted me and I, of course, will remain there. I do not know, but we live all over the world. We have a property here in Tiraspol and in other country. As luck would have it, I am a citizen everywhere. (AI, Great Britain)

As migration history from Transnistria and establishing abroad have been counting for about three decades, the natives of Transnistria also became a factor of shaping the image of Transnistria and its population abroad. Students who are the natives of Transnistria construct a positive image. They are mostly study migrants oriented to Russia. Being a Russian speaker who studied in Transnistria in accordance with Russian educational standards, they, contrary to other foreign students, are adapting quicker abroad and demonstrate high educational performances.

The social and economic situation of the migration country as well as migrants' behaviour itself and their style of life influences significantly on the perception of migrant.

The basis for migrants' perception is the following: a) economic problems when there is a deficit of certain resources, a wish to find a foreign one appears always; b) and sure enough mass media that stress the problematic character of migration. A migrant's image is formed, an image of a guest worker who comes exclusively to work, who doesn't have

a family, no demands, who lives on construction sites. It all becomes a basis for everyday xenophobia. If a migrant comes with his family, children also pretend for a place in a kindergarten and a school, somehow carry out their leisure, and then this image of migrant is destroyed. (AI, Russia).

Both professional migrants, who are employed in the public administration, education, medicine, information technologies, and labor migrants, who are representatives of working professions, mainly constructors, mechanics, housekeepers from economic migrants enjoy a positive reputation.

The natives of Transnistria have mainly a positive image. There no a certain train of events or any fraudulent schemes. (AI, Russia).

I have been working as child nurse in the family of a businesswoman from the capital. People like me are demanded in the sector of childcare and rising in rich Russian families due to the knowledge of Russian language, general cultural, traditions. (FG, Russia).

As acknowledged by experts and participants in the focus groups and interviews, it can occur that the natives of Transnistria appear in criminal news informational bulletin. However, due to the fact that this happens very rare and persons named in similar stories are identified in accordance with the present citizenship, these episodes have little influence on the image forming of the natives of Transnistria.

An unpleasant case has recently happened, when one of my acquaintances from Transnistria got to a jail. But he was registered as a native of Moldova and not of Transnistria there. (AI, Russia).

Of particular note is the image of Transnistria and its population following the launch of the book of Nikolai Ilyin "Siberian education" on the territory of Italy. It was a bestseller in Italy and was extensively discussed by population. The book's author participated in various talk shows. In carrying out the research, several participants mentioned this book, as well as that harm that was caused by its author to the image of Transnistria.

If I speak to an Italian, I start playing. If I want, I will mention that I am from Moldova. If I want, then I will mention that I am from Transnistria. They have never heard about Transnistria earlier. Now thanks to the native of Transnistria Nikolai Ilyin, he wrote a fairy-tale book, on which a movie "Siberian education" has been released. They already know about Transnistria.

My friend wrote me in 2008 that he was shocked by that book. I understood that it was necessary to buy and read it. There is such a robust plot there. It is narrated about criminals, who were expelled from Siberia to Transnistria. This is an interesting story. However, everything is extremely spuriously there. Thus, this is a novel. But he launched that book as a true story. But how he could write that true story, if the author doesn't know about 1990s. He is 8 years younger than me. Therefore, this is such theatrically. I have suspicions that he did not write himself this book. I counted that he even would not be able to learn well Italian language while he was staying in Italy, rather than writing a book. This means he began telling something to someone and they wrote. I read 50 pages and left the book. I will not read these fairy-tells. (AI, Italy).

From another part, positive effects of a similar image have also been mentioned. Thus, a young woman, residing in Rome, recognized in an interview that she had been using the mentioning of that book as a tool to deter romantic interest.

Migrants' self-presentation strategies generate significant interest, first of all, due to the link with the multilevel identity of the natives of Transnistria, which is changeable in relation to the migration situation. Secondly, the motivation of choice of one or other self-presentation strategies is connected with the perception of the reputation of a group of migrants who are the natives of Transnistria, on the territory of researched countries. The research showed that the natives of Transnistria abroad have a wide spectrum of identities. The basic ethnic or regional identity is preserved for the first generation of migrants. The regional identity connected with Transnistria, as a rule, is lost for the second generation of migrants, migrants' children. The new motherland is becoming their basic polytonym.

Chapter 6. INTERACTION ABROAD OF THOSE ORIGINATING FROM TRANSNISTRIA

Ongoing quantitative and qualitative researches show that the majority of the natives of Transnistria had social contacts in the specific emigration country before emigration, in particular relatives and friends, colleagues, neighbors. Interviewees who showed a lack of any contacts in the emigration country tended to be the study migrants, repatriates, economic migrants who used the employment services abroad.

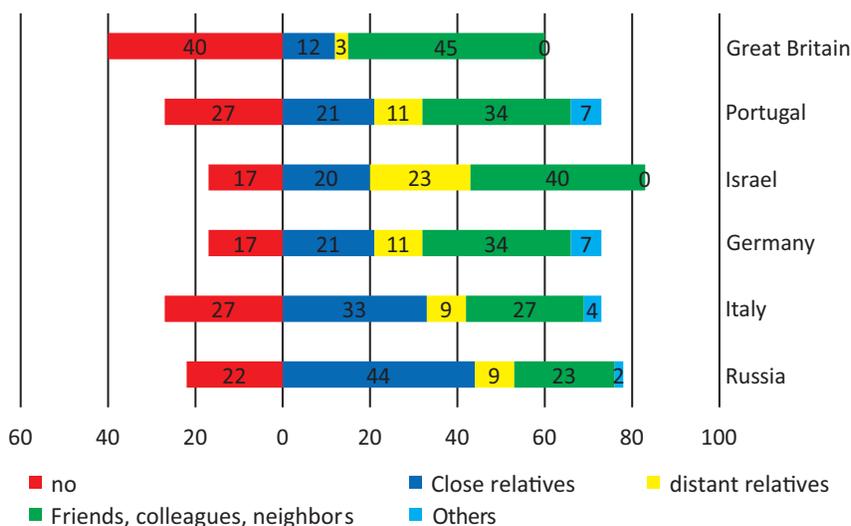


Fig. 10. Distribution of the responses to the question "Have you had contacts in this country before your departure?" (%)

As appears from the **Fig. 10** most of the interviewed persons had contacts among their relatives on departing to Russia, Germany, and Italy. The majority of those who emigrated in the Great Britain and Portugal, had contacts among friends, colleagues, neighbors.

These differences could be explained from the point of view of the scale of migration flows to specific countries and during a specific migration period. For example, Russia is a main destination of migration for the natives from Transnistria, and Germany and Italy are popular migration routes for the natives from Russia, Ukraine and from the right bank of the Republic of Moldova (the natives of Transnistria are included in family and kinship relationships with their respective population). Therefore, the social environment of the natives of Transnistria who migrated to these countries is considerably larger than in the Great Britain and Portugal. In addition,

representatives of the young generation emigrate to Great Britain and the choice of Portugal as the emigration country was taking place in the first wave of economic migration when departure abroad didn't have contemporary scale and when a solitary migration type rather than family one was typical.

I live together with my girlfriend in the Great Britain. She is also the native of Transnistria. We live in accordance with the routine typical for the home country: we speak in Moldovan language, cook traditional Moldovan food, and celebrate traditional holidays. We have never met any native of Transnistria in all that time we have been living in this country. There is an acquaintance from the Republic of Moldova and a married couple from the Baltic States. We communicate with them mainly through phone and Skype. We have a sheltered existence. Our relationships with surrounding persons relate only to work. Such a juncture is connected to a poor knowledge of the English language. (FG, Great Britain).

The results of the conducted focus groups reveal the role of social contacts in the country of destination of migration flows:

- Primary adaptation of an immigrant in a foreign country (assistance in language learning, familiarization with the country (city), search for job and accommodation).

There are many problems. The issue of search for accommodation takes some time. The paperwork as well. If you have Russian documents, then, respectively, everything is well. However, if you have Moldovan or Ukrainian ones, then it is more complicated. If the migration card has expired and terms of residence, then a work permit is necessary, insurance and anything else. Presence of acquaintances helps here. (FG, Russia).

We could hire a lawyer and also an interpreter, and a consultant, but our grandmother has been living for a long time here. And she is dealing with everything here. She knows many things. (II, Germany).

On arrival to Israel, there were two alternatives. Those who had no any connections were accommodated in the Boarding House. We were taught Hebrew over several months. At the same time, we needed to look for an apartment and the source of income. They were not kicked out from there until they were not finding any job. Those who had relatives in Israel and had acted with dispatch earlier were benefiting of the program of direct absorption. My family of respondent chose this way. We went directly to the rental apartment. Furthermore, a certain sum of money to purchase furniture and electrical appliances was allocated. Those, who

benefited of direct absorption, could attend a free course to learn a language. My grandmother and mother, unlike me, knew Yiddish. It is radically differs from Hebrew by the fact it has German grammatical basis. The grandmother was in years. She had already 70 years and she was not able to learn it. However, she was not striving to learn. She was listening to Russian radio, watching Russian TV channels. There was possible also to watch Russian TV channels on cable television. There were many relatives, acquaintances and simply Russian speaking repatriates, which were creating a linguistic environment for her. Besides Yiddish and Russian language, the grandmother knew Romanian language (she graduated on Chisinau's gymnasium in 1940s). Therefore, these three languages were sufficient for her. (AI, Israel).

It has been really hard in the first wave of migration. However, all stand by one another. Someone for money, someone free of charge. I do not know as it is now, but even the job places were sold. Some people were earning on our Moldovans. Those who was coming had been paying 3000 euros to come. (AI, Italy).

People used to finding job by word of mouth earlier. Women, which were taking care of grandmothers and grandfathers, had a day off on Thursday and Sunday. Moldovans and other nations have places where they are gathering, for instance, where the cars with packages departure. They are wondering about accommodation and jobs. Nowadays this is not exactly relevant, because there is Internet. I found my job through CV. (AI, Italy).

- Preservation of traditions and customs.

I know around sixty natives of Transnistria. We are in contact. We congratulate each other with the holiday on the Day of Transnistria (2 September).

It would be good to have organizations of diasporas from Transnistria. I think that it does not worth to give up this opportunity. In principle, these are rather interesting opportunities taking into account that they would contribute to forming positive image. However, we have to understand that an initiative should come from those who will unify. We could not force people. (AI, Russia).

There are many natives of our village in our town. There are about 300 Russian speakers in total. We do not have any association. However, we are

meeting on holidays. We celebrate the New Year, Old New Year. Rent a restaurant. Many people do that. Simply Germans do not celebrate a lot here. They celebrate Christmas more. But old new year is simply a Russian habit. (AI, Germany).

I celebrate holidays, visit Orthodox Church. I am confident that no need to forget traditions and customs of your people, motherland. Another issue is that that it is difficult to keep them and many things are forgotten. Several more families from Transnistria/Moldova live in Nazareth. We celebrate Orthodox Easter, New Year together with them. On invitation of representatives of Israeli diaspora, the natives of the Republic of Moldova participate in the holiday Marsisor. (II, Israel).

The majority of interviewed people had a solitary migration start. They are mainly the natives of Transnistria, which began their migration process in the first waves of economic migration. At that time, the motivation of migrants left was connected with temporary short-time employment abroad in view of solving financial problems with subsequent return home. In consequence, the motivation of migration behavior suffered significant changes, in particular in favor of increasing the terms of staying in other country or final residence abroad. In addition, an important factor of the solitary migration, typical for the first waves of emigration, is migration's risks and threats and the difficulties of adaption of a migrant abroad.

A significant part of the natives of Transnistria emigrated as two or more persons, together with relatives, friends, colleagues and neighbors.

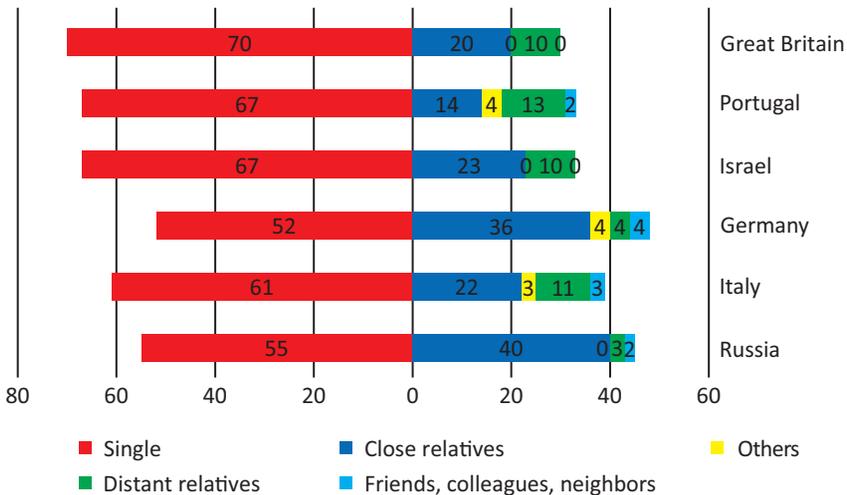


Fig. 11. Distribution of the responses to the question "With whom you came to this country?" (%)

The formalized interviews among migrants allows us to consider the matrix of interaction among the natives of Transnistria abroad. As can be seen from the Fig. 12, a considerable part of migrants originating from Transnistria came with their close relatives (parents, spouses, children, brothers/sisters).

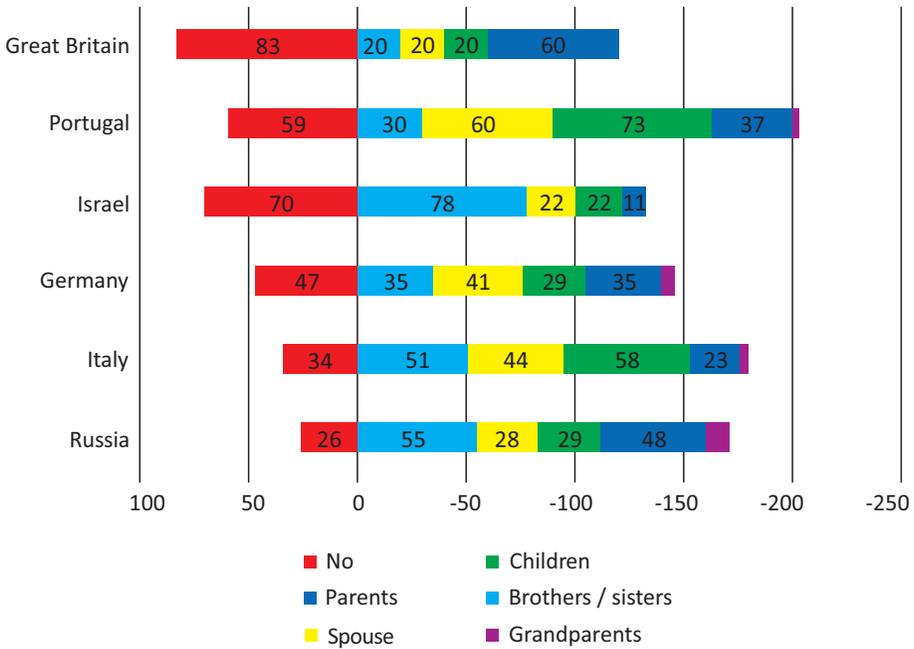


Fig. 12. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you have close relatives in this country? If yes, which of your close relatives is with you in this country?" (%)

The tendency of employment in a labor market enclave, where mainly migrants work, is typical of the employment sector. This feature is characteristic of the natives of Transnistria who reside in Russia, and Portugal, to a lesser extent. This could be explained by migrants' social and legal status in these countries and, as a consequence, by the possibility of accessing different sectors of the employment market along with local population. (Please, see. **Fig. 7 Distribution of the responses to the question "Who works at the enterprise firm where you work?"**, Chapter 4. **Adaptation and integration abroad of migrants originating from Transnistria**).

The opposite trend could be traced in the free time area. From one part, a close interaction with local people that, for example, is characteristic for migrants who reside in Russia, Italy and Germany, Israel. From another part, interaction within their diaspora, as, for example, it happens in Italy, Portugal or interaction within migrants' environment from other countries, as, for example, in Great Britain, Israel and Germany.

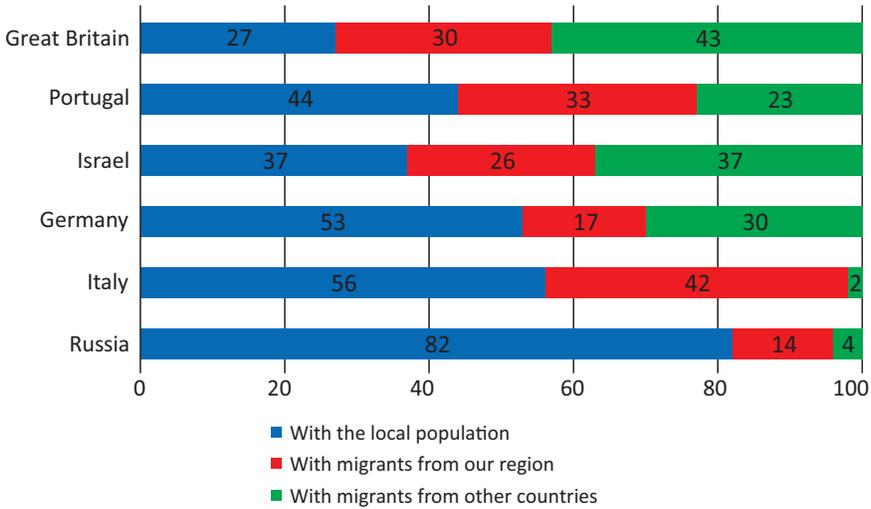


Fig. 13. Distribution of the responses to the question "With whom you mainly communicate in your spare time?" (%)

The matrix of interaction of migrants on the territory of foreign countries influences one of the key elements of ethnic identity of an individual. In the sphere of labor relations, the use of Russian language is preserved in the absolute majority of cases related to migrants residing in Russia. The same tendency, but to a lesser extent, is typical to Israel, where migrants become a part of a big post-soviet diaspora that has preserved Russian language as the language of inter-ethnic communication. The language of migration country dominates in the area of labor relations in Italy, Great Britain, and Portugal.

Participants in research were recognizing that while in a foreign-language country they often interact with the community of migrants' groups close to them: Russian, Ukrainian, and Romanian. From one part, this facilitates interaction with them from the point of view of language knowledge, as well as from the point of view of housing rental or unofficial employment in the absence of necessary documents. From another part, it is often these migrants' groups who abuse the situation of economic migrant in the country.

In Chisinau, next to the train station, there was an office, where visas were opening. I addressed and paid 1200 USD. As a result, I and four more women were sent to Napoli. One was offered a field work. Another one was sent to Sicilia. I was not offered a work place. Those, who had already been offered, were denuded of money. My acquaintance said that it was necessary to leave until we were denuded of money. We went to Rome. We knew nobody. Where to go, where to move? Heard Moldovan mode of speech. However, they were Romanians. We asked where it would be

possible to sleep? They say “We have a house for the whole world!”. We went to them and hooked up for a few nights until one of Romanians found a job for us. (FG, Italy).

When I just began to work in Germany, I did not have a Romanian passport. I was working illegally. I worked for Russian Germans. They want the work to be done both quick and for less money. For instance, I was laying the tile. I was trying to. I was working in such a way that the work that is usually performed in one day, I was performing in half a day. He was very happy because of such a speed. However, instead of saying “thank you”, he was saying that it would be necessary to do something further. Initially, it does not bother, as you understand that you are in search of money and it is necessary to work. However, it is more and more difficult to deal psychologically with such a situation on a later stage. (II, Germany).

As acknowledged by the experts, the life in a closed community of compatriots and failure of a migrant to integrate in the local community leads, in some cases, to marginalization of migrant and his criminalization.

A massive inflow of migrants is in Europe. They are coming from Africa, where there are no rule, where a woman is nobody. They arrive without culture. There are many of them and it is difficult to adapt for them. If he is one among many, then he accept the rule and adapts. However, when this is massive, then they do not change. Moldovan men, who arrived to Italy among first migrants were not working, they were stealing. The first year, two, three, then they adapted. (AI, Italy).

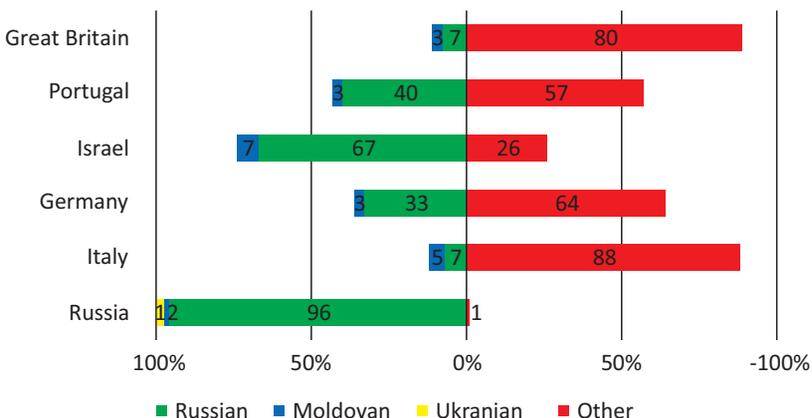


Fig. 14. Distribution of the responses to the question "In what language do you mainly communicate with your colleagues at work?" (%)

The positions of foreign language in a daily communication of the natives of Transnistria is slightly lower in the areas of interpersonal communication. Nevertheless, the following fact attracts attention – a certain share of participants of research communicate among them in a foreign language.

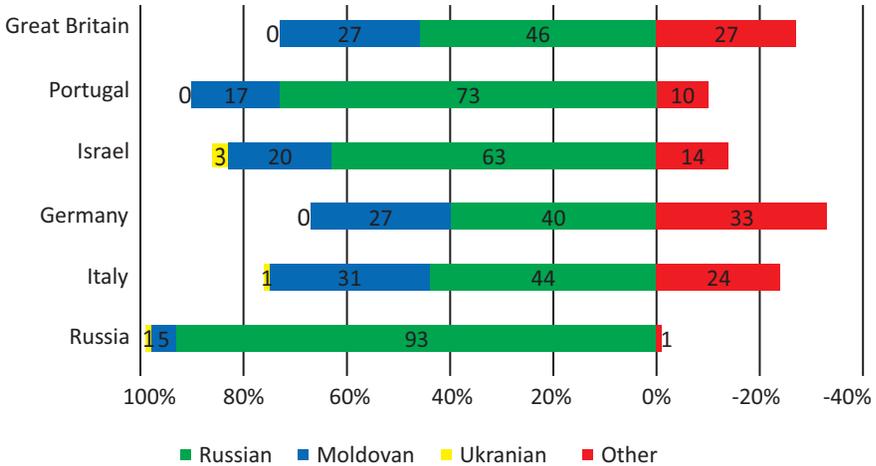


Fig. 15. Distribution of the responses to the question “In what language do you mainly communicate with whomever you live in the same household?” (%)

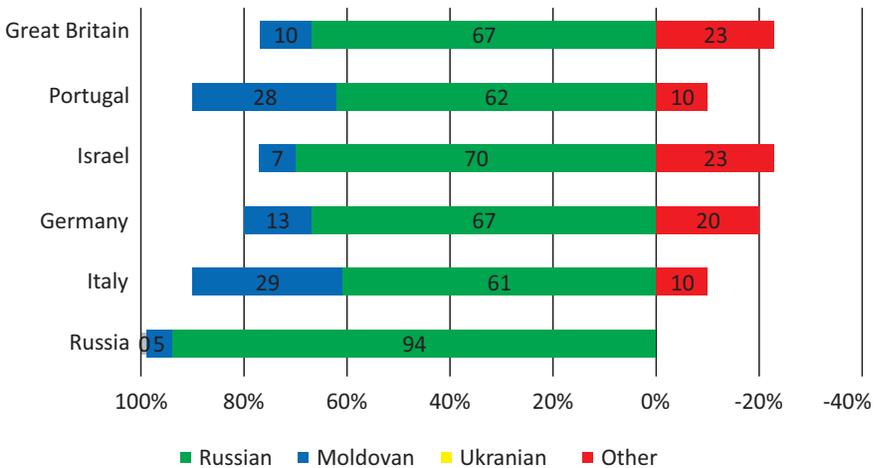


Fig. 16. Distribution of the responses to the question “In what language do you mainly communicate with migrants origination from Transnistria?” (%)

The specifics of interaction of the natives of Transnistria who left under the repatriation programs to Germany and Israel is interesting. The research

revealed the cases of social mimicry of migrants, when a migrant tries not to break cover as a newcomer and deliberately escapes from the community of economic migrants from Transnistria.

There are such people, who come, say that I am a German and that is all, and they try even not to speak in Russian. (II, Germany).

I have no one, except my husband and daughter. I communicate with no one here. I am not going to side with Russian community for the time being. We do not need this, we want to be closer to Germans. (II, Germany).

There are guest workers from our region. As a rule, these are men, who work on different building sites. Everyone tries to anchor and remain here. Honestly, I do not understand the rationale. We have a rationale as we have a social status here. However, these people, who are on the basis of Romanian passports here, I don't understand what they are counting on. We do not communicate with such people. If we get acquainted with them, then we, of course, do not repel. However, we have our own circle of communication. (II, Germany).

In recent years, the number of Moldovan citizens who came to Israel to earn money has increased. I was communicating with brigades of Moldovan construction workers in Tel-Aviv. They are happy with their situation: high salaries (comparable to that I am receiving), provided with housing. They do not pay any taxes. However, I pay many taxes as an Israeli's citizen (II, Israel).

If I was meeting, then only briefly. And it was not transforming into friendly relations. Even there was not such an opportunity as people were working. I was living with another life. This is completely different world. People are working. They have not time. They have preoccupations. However, I came with a totally different aim here. I did not have to work. (AI, Great Britain).

Thus, research's findings showed that a significant number of migrants originating from Transnistria preserve sustainable contacts with their compatriots while abroad. Nevertheless, an institutional infrastructure of diaspora organization, created for their needs, has not been formed over an extended period of staying abroad.

Chapter 7.

STATE OF DIASPORA FROM TRANSNISTRIA

Results of conducted research showed interaction between migrants from Transnistria, who settled on the territory of different countries, and which has mainly the form of interpersonal (relatives, friends, colleagues) and fraternity interaction (neighbours, fellow compatriots).

The notion of *diaspora from Transnistria* was practically not used at the initial stage of the research. On the one hand, this is connected with the difficulty in the definition of “diaspora”, which, in accordance with canons of traditional diasporas of Jews, Armenians and etc., should correspond to a variety of criteria (separation from the historical motherland and contribution to its development, preservation of national, religious and ethnical distinctness, resistance to assimilation, existence of organizational forms of its functioning, social protection of its members). That is way, it is used with caution among researches.

Diaspora is a very complex category. I use the following categories in the description of the research: social network and public organization. In one word, diaspora is an institutionalized social network, which, for one reason or another, assumes a certain name, occupies a certain segment, a certain niche in this activity, performs various functions, follows various objectives, declared or not. (AA, Russia).

On the other hand, this is linked with the lack of diaspora organizations from Transnistria abroad which define themselves as diaspora and, therefore, it has not infiltrated in the public discourse.

We have succeeded in identifying 4 organizations of the natives of Transnistria on the territory of Russia, which could be defined as diaspora, during carrying out focus groups and experts' interviews as well as through the analyses of information placed on the Internet. The first one was founded with the support of legislative institution, the second and third organization were under the protection of the Foreign authority of Transnistria, the forth one appeared on the basis of a civic initiative.

1. Regional public organization to assist the solidarity of the natives of Transnistria “Transnistria community”. Chairman: O. Gukalenko. The need to create a Transnistria community in Moscow that consists of the compatriots who, due to various reasons, live outside Transnistria, was mentioned at the creation of this organization. Help and assistance to the natives of Transnistria in Russia and reciprocal support were declared as targets of the

community²⁹. The Organization's leader is an active participant of the events at various level aimed at supporting Transnistria from the part of Russia^{30 31 32}.

2. Public organization “Center of cooperation “Transnistria”, which serves as the Official representation of Transnistria in the capital of the Russian Federation, city of Moscow. It was founded in 2006 as a structure of the foreign authority of Transnistria. The activity of this structure was ended because of financial reasons by 2012. In accordance with the information from the Internet, its activity was mainly directed to the assistance of cooperation between the regions of Transnistria, Moscow and central public authorities of Russia; assistance in the study of interaction between centuries-old Russian culture and culture of people which live on the territory of Transnistria; preservation and development of the culture of Transnistria people, its integration in Russian and world culture, familiarization with its achievements representatives of other people; facilitation of exchange of information between authorities of Transnistria and authorities of Russia; assistance to the residence of Transnistria in establishing social, cultural and other links; maintaining direct contacts with public authorities in Moscow, interaction with other public organizations; facilitation of creation conditions for more active participation of the natives of Transnistria in public policy, social, economic and cultural life; assistance in preparing radio- and TV programs for its theme; contribution to strengthening peace, friendship and consent among peoples; supporting in implementation of programmes and events for its theme; providing comprehensive assistance within its mandate³³.

²⁹ По инициативе законодательного органа Приднестровья в Москве создана Приднестровская община // <http://www.vspmr.org/news/photos/sobitiya-i-meropriyatiya/2011-god/po-initsiative-verhovnogo-soveta-pmr-v-moskve-sozdana-pridnestrovskaya-obschina> [A Transnistrian community has been created in Moscow upon an initiative of legislative body of Transnistria // <http://www.vspmr.org/news/photos/sobitiya-i-meropriyatiya/2011-god/po-initsiative-verhovnogo-soveta-pmr-v-moskve-sozdana-pridnestrovskaya-obschina/>]

³⁰ Совместное обсуждение будущего Приднестровья // <https://tiras.ru/evrazija/23878-sovmestnoe-obsuzhdenie-buduschego-pridnestrovya.html> [Joint discussion of the future of Transnistria.// <https://tiras.ru/evrazija/23878-sovmestnoe-obsuzhdenie-buduschego-pridnestrovya.html>]

³¹ Молдова и Приднестровье: необходим компромисс // <https://novostipmr.com/ru/content/moldova-i-pridnestrovoe-neobhodim-kompromiss> [Moldova and Transnistria: a compromise is required // <https://novostipmr.com/ru/content/moldova-i-pridnestrovoe-neobhodim-kompromiss>]

³² РОО «Приднестровская община». Гражданско-патриотический форум «Отечество – единое мое!» // <https://mdn.ru/report/roo-pridnestrovskaya-obshhina-grazhdansko-patrioticheskij-forum-otechestvo-edinoe-moe> [RPO “Transnistrian community”. Civil and patriotic forum “My only motherland!”// <https://mdn.ru/report/roo-pridnestrovskaya-obshhina-grazhdansko-patrioticheskij-forum-otechestvo-edinoe-moe>]

³³ Официальное представительство Приднестровья в столице Российской Федерации г. Москва отмечает свое пятилетие // <http://mfa-pmr.org/ru/nBL> [Official representation of Transnistria in the capital of the Russian Federation c. Moscow celebrates its fifth anniversary// <http://mfa-pmr.org/ru/nBL>]

3. “Transnistria-Moldovan fraternity”. Chairman: S. Kartavyi. According to the proceedings of events conducted, the activity of organization is directed largely to image forming of Transnistria, carrying out cultural events, preserving common cultural, historical and scientific heritage of Russian and Transnistria³⁴.

In accordance with the estimation of the experts, creation and activity of these organizations followed political scopes and were not directed to the needs of migrants originating from Transnistria.

I was present at the launch of diaspora. Later I participated in several events: Immortal regiment on 9th May, Parade of Kozakdom and march against Maidan. (FG, Russia).

There is no diaspora from Transnistria in Russia until now because such objectives were not assigned. Certain unions and associations were created. However, their activity was linked with the electoral campaigns and other political procedures. If it would set the goal to protect the interests of diaspora, then it would have a consulting room, where lawyers, social workers, psychologists, HR specialists would work and would assist all natives of Transnistria. (AI, Russia).

4. The Centre of legal and social assistance of the natives of Transnistria in Russia. It was registered on the territory of Russia in 2017. Its leader is B. Chumak. It appeared as a personal initiative of several natives of Transnistria, who settled in Russia. Its pre-history is linked with the maintaining of a Facebook page „Transnistrian group of mutual assistance in Russia”. Activity of the centre is to consult the natives of Transnistria as regards their travel to Russia, peculiarities of border check; employment in Russia; housing rental; addressing legal issues; addressing issues related to health protection and medicine; leisure and organization of free time.

It was revealed in the course of research that a high activeness in diaspora activity is characteristic of the natives of Transnistria who reside abroad as study migrants. Two of them, in Moscow (Russia) and Bologna (Italy), are leaders of students' organizations, which are oriented to the work with foreign students.

I am the head of the Union of the foreign students of the Higher School

³⁴ «В Приднестровье живут люди не только с российским паспортом, но и с русским сердцем» – в Москве прошел круглый стол с участием деятелей культуры и науки // <http://mfa-pmr.org/ru/nKg> [“People with both Russian passport and Russian heart live in Transnistria” – a round table with the participation of artists and scientists was organized in Moscow // <http://mfa-pmr.org/ru/nKg>]

of Economics. It includes students from almost all countries, who arrive here. However, most students are from the CIS countries. Many students are from Uzbekistan. We occupy the second place.

Based on my experience of being a student, I knew that there were many problems, when you move, when you start studying. Both adaptation and cultural shock. We started to build gradually a new organization together with a student from Uzbekistan, on the bases of the association of students from CIS countries and Baltic states and an organization that was working with the students from far abroad. More than 1100 students are registered today. We assist in solving administrative issues, if there are problems with studies – we find consultants.

Events are carried out on monthly basis, where arriving students share how do they live in Russia, which difficulties they were mainly facing. We organize events that relate to employment issues. We invited an expert lawyer on migration issues. He explained which facilities for students are on employment in Russia.

The main scope of organization is integration of foreign students in Russian space, adaptation. We act as intermediates of inter-cultural national communication so that student communicate among them in times that are more recent. This is an inter-cultural cross-national diplomacy.

8 September is the birthday of the University. We organized a parade of nationalities in the Gorki Park in Moscow. More than 300 students took part in it. They marched in national dresses. Some of them were singing their songs, anthems. About 100 students from Transnistria study in the Higher School of Economics. They were presenting Transnistria at that parade. They were dressed in national dresses, prepared some national items, food and were marching with them in their hands. (AA, Russia).

Association “Gaudeamus”, on the basis of Bologna University, was created in 2012. Creation of diaspora organizations occurs, deriving from different considerations. For some of them this is a preservation of cultural traditions. For others this is a mutual assistance on the issues of employment, search for housing, adaptation abroad. Our Association is oriented to the assistance of perspective and current students without reference to their ethnicity or the country of origin. Therefore, Association has a large target audience and receives requests from the Republic of Moldova, Romania, and Russia.

The idea to create Association appeared following multiple problems faced by foreign students. There are many opportunities: scholarship, awards, and employment opportunities. All information can be found on the web sites of the universities. However, this information, as a rule, is in a

foreign language that is not always accessible for our secondary school students. Therefore, the mission of the Association is to inform all those, who desire to study abroad and assist in adaptation of those who are already a student and face different challenges.

Its website and Facebook group were created from the very beginning of the work of the Association. A guide for prospective students, which includes main steps to be taken at the stage of entering and studying at a university (required documents, financial budget, possibilities to get a scholarship), was published several years ago. (AA, Italy).

Only 3% of respondents who emigrated to Russia indicated in the formalized interview that they were members of a Transnistrian organization in that country. 2% of the respondents from the same category of the natives of Transnistria pointed out that they were active members of a diaspora organization from Transnistria. 1% pointed to the infrequent participation in the event of a diaspora organization. 11% acknowledged that they were following events and news of diaspora organizations, but did not participate actively. The motives of reduced diaspora activeness in each country bears its peculiarities and are mainly linked with the lack of interest towards diaspora's life, lack of diaspora organizations from Transnistria, and misunderstanding of the importance of participation in their activity.

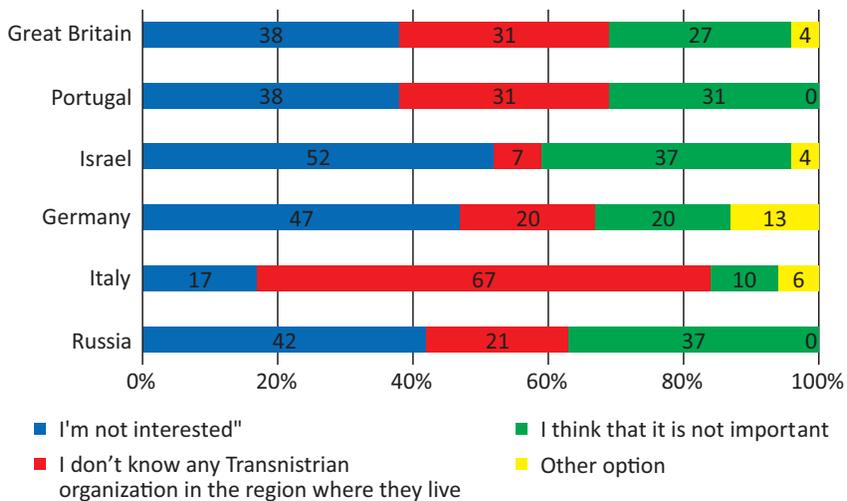


Fig. 17. Distribution of responses to the question "Why don't you participate in the activity of diaspora organizations from Transnistria?" (%)

The Findings of the focus groups and expert interviews showed that the causes of low diaspora activeness are also linked with infrequency of diaspora

events that would interest research's participants, lack of interest and time for similar meetings.

I was at the launch of the “Transnistria community”. However, I will tell you honestly that I am contacted and invited, but I cannot make it always. Sometimes difficulties happen – you either drove off, or departed. (FG, Russia)

I have no diaspora, nostalgic contacts. I do not follow any news. I am preoccupied by personal creativity and education. (FG, Russia).

I have been living in Portugal since 2002. I work as a surgeon. I have no any diaspora activeness. I do not participate in any events. The life style is such here. My work does not allow as the workload is high. (FG, Portugal).

The Analyses of the results of the interviews showed that, in the lack of diaspora infrastructure from Transnistria, a small share of the natives of Transnistria were involved in Russian, Moldovan and Ukrainian diaspora events.

We were acquainted with the representatives of Moldovan diaspora in an orthodox church. We were simply communicating from the beginning. Later we started to attend their events. (FG, Portugal).

Our Moldovan church is registered as cultural and religious society. We organize many big holidays. Both Moldovans, and Russians and Ukrainians come to us. We organize holidays of all countries, where we represent Moldova, once per year. We also raise the question about the social protection of migrants, how are we treated. (AI, Italy).

I, for instance, participate practically in all cultural, social and political events of Moldovan diaspora. We do not separate diaspora from Transnistria and Moldovan diaspora. We do not see a big difference in this. We meet at these events, as it was a unique Moldova. We are connected here. These disagreements are being felt more at home. We are connected abroad. We are brothers and sisters here. We are people of one land. (FG, Italy).

We personally do not have acquaintances from Transnistria to unite with. We are Russians and we have Russian citizenship. However, we are not members of the Russian community, because, perhaps, they are few here. The only thing is that we participate in church orthodox holidays, children's activities to show children our traditions, as everything is very

different here. We have many acquaintances from Moldova, but we do not participate in their diaspora life, as we do not speak Moldovan language. (AI, Italy).

Expert interviews and focus groups' findings offer an understanding of the insufficient development of diaspora organizations of the natives of Transnistria abroad.

First of all, due to the motives caused by an ambivalence towards notions of Transnistrian community: ethnic, regional or national.

Diaspora associations are created on grounds of nationality. The theories that this is such a „Transnistrian nationality” exist today. However, I feel that this is a collective concept as people have lived the most of their life within the boundaries of an unrecognized state. And now they have already moved and it is possible to create such a representation of the natives of Transnistria just on the basis of this. And why there is not such an aspiration to create diaspora associations? People simply do not need them. (AI, Russia).

The fact that the natives of Transnistria do not create a diaspora abroad could be explained by the unrecognized status of Transnistria. This is the problem of identity. Transnistria has always been a part of a huge country. Therefore, there is no Transnistrian identity. (AA, Portugal).

Secondly, due to the integration and assimilation with local population. This is particularly relevant for migrants originating from Transnistria who settled in Russia.

Those who arrived from Transnistria are already referring them to Russia, Russian citizens. I know that there are mainly some diasporas of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Chinese here. These are diasporas whereas we are the natives of Transnistria. We are Slavic. We are at home here. (AI, Russia).

It happened that there are many our people abroad. However, the diaspora from Transnistria has not been formed yet. I see the reason in the fact that there are almost no differences of the natives of Transnistria from Russians. I personally do not differ a lot from Petersburgers. Neither by character, no by the colour of the skin. I live the same they live. I likely have an accent, which I do not observe, and I do not like their food, but this is nothing. Those who arrive to Russia from Central Asia or our people who departure to the USA, they differ a lot from the native people and they do need diaspora. My classmate lives in America. They organize tea party,

some “Matryoshka” style events. This a kind of self-expression for them, assistance. (AI, Russia).

The natives of Transnistria are not unified in diaspora because we all are a post-soviet space. Everyone is understandable to each other. We speak the same language. We have the same mentality. (AI, Russia).

Diaspora is connected with ethnicity largely. I do not really imagine how it would be possible to form diaspora from Transnistria. Caucasian fraternities are clear. However, public organizations of people who came from Tiraspol, who all have Russian passports. I do not really imagine. Of course, it is possible to create special-interest cycles, to gather and recall the taste of the beer “The old castle” and celebrate the day of Transnistria. However, I do not see much use in, except as a modality to spend time together. I do not see a temptation to organize such organizations, simply because there is no an aim. I can see my classmates by myself. (AI, Russia).

Oposing views concerning the need to support institutionalization of diaspora organizations of the natives of Transnistria abroad have been revealed in the course of research.

In Western countries, the reason why some oppose the development of diaspora structures of the natives from Transnistria is because the functioning of Moldovan diaspora organizations which are able to integrate the migrants originating Transnistria.

In fact, I do not know if there is a need in the diaspora organizations from Transnistria. There are not so many migrants from Transnistria in Padova. And if any issues arise, then it is easier to settle them via Moldova. (FG, Italy).

There were cases in Paris and London, when I observed how people were presenting as regional diaspora, for instance, “Moldovans from Costesti”. I haven't heard about such identity among the natives of Transnistria. And, speaking frankly, I see no reason to create any association of migrants-natives of Transnistria. There are few of us Moldovans in the Great Britain. It is not feasible to separate us additionally. (AI, Great Britain).

Simultaneously however, there were participants of the focus groups which insisted on the need to separate migrants originating from Transnistria into a distinct group of recipients of diaspora's assistance, as they have specific problems related mainly to the recognition of documents issued by official Transnistrian authorities.

I think there is more need for legal advice for the natives of Transnistria as I personally faced problems related to the recognition of Transnistrian documents. It was very hard and lengthy to collect documents. It was particularly difficult with the daughter's documents as she was born in an unrecognized country. I had to legalize all documents, initially in Moldova and later in Italy. My higher educational diploma issued in University from Transnistria has not been recognized until now. (FG, Italy).

The institutionalization of diaspora organizations requires several conditions: public needs, aims and objectives, leaders and initiative groups.

Migrants' interviews showed that diaspora organizations of the natives of Transnistria abroad are demanded in order to execute various functions:

1. To support education of children from Transnistria (language, history, literature, etc.);
2. To support the natives of Transnistria to organize their life here;
3. To support initiatives to exchange knowledge, technologies, innovations, etc.;
4. To inform the natives of Transnistria about the situation in Transnistria;
5. To support links with Transnistria of the natives of Transnistria;
6. To carry out development activities in the motherland;
7. To help participate in the development of Transnistria;
8. To carry out charity events for socially vulnerable groups of population;
9. To facilitate the formation of the image of Transnistria in the framework of cultural events: expositions (local/international);
10. To support credible representatives of diaspora (representatives of culture and art, doctors, teachers, engineers, volunteers, etc.);
11. To facilitate respect for the human rights of the representatives of diaspora;
12. To ensure social and cultural integration of new migrants;
13. To establish relations of cooperation with similar associations/initiative groups/communities that share similar scopes from other countries;
14. To promote community consolidation.

Analyses of the interviews results showed differences in the needs of migrants from different countries, depending on migration country. Please see **Annex 5-10**.

In accordance with the opinion of participants of research, the necessity to institutionalize diaspora from Transnistria corresponds to a large spectrum of needs:

- Awareness of new migrants about the peculiarities of migration process.

I will go home soon. I would like for the young people that diaspora inform the newcomers. Our press from Transnistria should write about everything needed. About the location of hostels, how to use metro, about any social issues that would help to adapt quicker in Moscow. Than you will not have to walk the streets of Moscow and search for something. (FG, Russia).

- Legal support to a migrant during documentation.

Diaspora organization of the natives of Transnistria might be centrally exercising many functions. To help with documents, moving, to get medical assistance. (AI, Russia).

I see the work of diaspora in assistance with documentation. For instance, to agree that the natives of Transnistria might obtain Russian citizenship. (FG, Russia).

Awareness, adaptation, employment. Here it is what we need. The trouble is that when a challenge arises, everything is settled at the level of everyday life. We insufficiently access diaspora. Therefore, it is only our fault here. I saw what was happening in the FMSSD (Federal Migration Service Directorate). There are own lawyers for Tajiks. However, nobody informs the natives of Transnistria. We sit as hermits there. (FG, Russia).

- Assistance in employment.

To assist in employment. Official employment. (FG, Russia).

- Assistance in opening a business.

There is a need to organize a diaspora from Transnistria in Russia. Notwithstanding predominantly favorable situation of the natives of Transnistria in Russia, comparing to the natives of other countries, anyway they experience various problems connected with education, job search, opening a business. (AI, Russia).

- Assistance in addressing the challenges connected with social insurance on the territory of migration country. Arranging children in kindergartens and schools, public health service, support to socially vulnerable groups of populations, organizing burials.

There is such a proposal – to open a medical center, where our citizens

could address. Not necessary to be free of charge, but for reasonable money. (FG, Russia).

Organization is needed to resolve all problems on the grounds. There are long queues in school, kindergarten. If you do not pay a bribe to anyone, then, needless to say, the children are accepted to nowhere. (FG, Russia).

People who come here, they need assistance with education. (FG, Italy).

My acquaintance died in Italy. Her relatives appealed to funeral home and this is very expensive. They appealed to the Consulate of Moldova. There are funds for diaspora and they were assisted with funerals at the cemetery. (FG, Italy).

- Preserving identity, and cultural and religious traditions.

It is necessary to consolidate diaspora from Transnistria. Our family still celebrates holidays from Transnistria, but it would be better if they would be celebrated all diaspora as Ukrainians, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Iranians, etc. do it, for example, in a centralized manner. (AI, Russia).

National diaspora exists for a reason. They should accomplish function of familiarization with culture, traditions and national peculiarities of that country, from which moved out the family, for children. (AI, Transnistria).

Particularly pressing is the issue of preserving orthodox religious identity for the natives of Transnistria who live outside the Orthodox Church. Participants in focus groups and experts mentioned issues related to visits to Orthodox Churches and, as follows, in some cases gradual involvement in traditions of other Christian Churches.

I came to England being deeply Orthodox. My husband also became an Orthodox and we got married in a Cathedral. When we lived in Taunton, we were visiting an orthodox temple. Now we live in other town and the closest Orthodox Church is in London. However, this is far away from us. I am visiting church only when go to Tiraspol or when visit my son in Moscow, and attend the church where Matronushka rests. (AA, Great Britain).

Catholics and Orthodox Christians have a difference in the calendar of religious holidays. We do not celebrate our holidays, because we are at

work. We will not be granted a day off to celebrate your holiday here in Italy. (FG, Italy).

When I am sick at heart, I will visit and Catholic Church will stay and will pray. I see no deep division between our churches. (FG, Italy).

- Formation of the image of Transnistria.

If there is a certain push and certain diaspora organization, then it will be possible to enlighten the residents of Saint Petersburg about what Transnistria is. In fact, nobody knows what it means, where it is. If diaspora organizes some kind of action, then it will show that we are the natives of Transnistria and we are cool. (FG, Russia).

We organized a Parade of Nationalities on Gorky Park in Moscow on 8 September on birthday of Higher School of Economics. More than 300 students took part in it. They were carrying certain items in their hands, national food. (AI, Russia).

Diaspora should unify people for support. I was doing postgraduate studies and my friend was attending the meetings of Tatar diaspora. In such a way, she was not feeling herself alone. They were celebrating both religious and secular holidays there. That was a great support to her. (AI, Russia).

Focus groups and interviews showed the need to create diasporas of migrants originating from Transnistria in different formats.

I am pledging to create one organization following the example of a trade union. To create a trade union of the natives of Transnistria, specifically in Russia. (FG, Russia).

In opinion of several participants in research, the Church should become the basis of diaspora life.

I participate in the activity of Moldovan cultural and religious organizations. It is possible to connect people of the same nationality only with the assistance of Church. There is no such a force that would connect people as Church does it. Social-political organizations are not sustainable. (AI, Italy).

Church is the place where people meet and this is a motive to be among your people. (FG, Italy).

Assistance to the natives of Transnistria abroad through Internet network is efficient.

The idea to administrate a Facebook page came of its own accord. I know many people from Transnistria, who face various problems in Russia. I know the ways to solve them. We unified our efforts and resolve the problems of our compatriots together with the acquaintances from different areas – journalism, law, medicine. The page is very popular. 1263 users subscribed to it in the first month. We plan to develop similar pages in the social networks “Odnoklassniki” and “VKontakte” in the future and to create a separate website further. Functioning of this page is connected with users' trust at the initial stage. This is the first and only project targeting migrants from Transnistria now. Users treat us with suspicious, are worried by the goals of the initiative group. They are worried of fraud and use of users for political reasons. (AI, Russia).

Several experts who participated in research shared the experience of initiative to create diaspora organizations of the natives of Transnistria abroad and existing challenges.

First of all, ambiguity of perception of leadership in diaspora organizations and objectives pursued was highlighted.

I personally raised the issue of meetings and diaspora organizations for several times. However, I did not receive a proper feedback among compatriots. My activeness could be assessed as an activity pursuing political objectives, though I have no already political goals related to Transnistria. I even have no a possibility to go home. (AI, Russia).

If to speak about migrants, who have been living in Russia for a long time and who could use their resource of ethnicity and be a guide for their recently arrived compatriots, then even if they declare about their role of guide, then a big question is the degree to which they correspond to this role? They have other interests. In addition, as the research of central Asian migrants shows, they prefer to communicate little with the formal organizations and get information through informal relations. They have more trust to spoken word. It is a different matter if there is a large-scale migration and if there is a story of their existence, and then an infrastructure appears gradually that works for this network. These are newspapers, this is café, and these are discotheques. This infrastructure exactly works for them. The information may be disseminated there. (AI, Russia).

Secondly, the system and regularity of diaspora work is mentioned.

I see people in my head, which I might call and say "come to diaspora", but they will spin their finger to their head. I believe that that meeting should not be the first and the last one. It is necessary to interest people and to explain that this is consistent. (AI, Russia).

An example for Transnistria could be Caucasus, Central Asian diasporas that work very efficiently. They are organized. They have leaders, clear structures, events. I am acquainted with the experience of work of Uzbek diaspora. They are organized in the Congress of Uzbeks and Epistants of Russia. They organize teleconferences with 52 regions of Russia on weekly basis, on Saturdays. Not every Ministry does this. They celebrated cultural holidays; carry out cultural exchange (dance, music). They permanently work with young people, with veterans, disabled people. (AI, Russia).

Migrants' organizations deal with various challenges. These are mainly human rights activities, awareness raising, assistance with legalization, organization of language courses, support to identity and local solidarity, assistance to people in a difficult life situation (somebody is ill, somebody died and it's necessary to send home), medical assistance, assume intermediary function, settle conflicts...Lawyers, doctors, anyone may work in these organizations... As a rule, these are representatives of their community. Ethnic identity forms the resource of trust to these specialists in this case. The services are offered both on a paid basis and free of charge. (AI, Russia).

Thirdly, the need of financial support of such projects is pointed out too.

I had a thought on the foundation of the own organization of the natives of Transnistria at one time. However, its creation requires resources. There is a need in real actions and not in a fake organization. It possible to live in Transnistria on the bases of altruism, but not in Moscow. (AI, Russia).

The role of entrepreneurs from among the migrants themselves and the role of official authorities, including from both the countries of origin and host countries, was highlighted as the sources of funding diaspora organizations.

The state is interested in creation of ethnic organizations. There is a wish for feedback from migrants, want to influence on migrants in Russia. Authorities believe that the best conductor will be an institutionalized network. An organization where there is a chief and which could be called to work with his people. This organization perform an intermediary function between the state and migrants. The majority of organization

occupy exactly this niche in Petersburg. I did not see self-assistance groups that would organize. More correctly, I saw one migrants' trade union, which was organized by one Tajik female activist. However, its activity did not last for a long time. There are human rights organizations that deal with migrants, but they are local and not ethnic. (AA, Russia).

Fourthly, the need to officially institutionalize diaspora organizations of the natives of Transnistria in order to attract a larger number of participants and material resources was highlighted.

A project is necessary to create officially diaspora organization of the natives of Tansnistria in Russia. It should start with setting a target, forming organizational committee, initiative group. It is necessary to organize constituent assembly, to approve a name, regulations, program, to choose governing bodies. A certain leader should appear who will unify everybody. A philanthropist should be identified who will help with resources. There should be an understanding of the Transnistrian authorities themselves on the need to work with their diaspora. If there is no work in this direction, then the natives of Transnistria will lose their identity and will assimilate in Russia. A coherent work with mass media, other diasporas, public authorities should be carried out mandatory. Both the start and the work to be on a solid level. I made several attempts in this direction. I was meeting and communicating with compatriots, including those who occupied high-ranking positions in Transnistria before migration. However, so far I have not received a feedback. (AI, Russia).

I know how Tatars works. Their diaspora connects both politics and business to assist those who are in need. Nobody walks without supervision next to them. (AI, Russia).

Diaspora should be not simply a crowd of people. This should be interesting. There should be a place, where it would be possible to come. For instance, there is only one Moldovan restaurant in Moscow, but it is attached to the Moldovan Embassy and it is improper to the natives of Transnistria to go there. (AI, Russia).

Thus, the research showed that there is a need for diaspora organizations abroad for the natives of Transnistria. There are leaders and initiatives on the institutionalization of diaspora life. However, in the lack of systemic, organizational, informational and, in particular, material support, a low number of the natives of Transnistria is involved in the activity of diaspora organizations.

RETURN MIGRATION TO TRANSNISTRIA

The Research results showed that the natives of Transnistria maintain mainly relations abroad with partners and relatives who remained in Transnistria. It could be seen from the Figure that the loss of connections with Transnistria is typical to a greater degree for the natives of Transnistria who settled in Israel and Portugal.

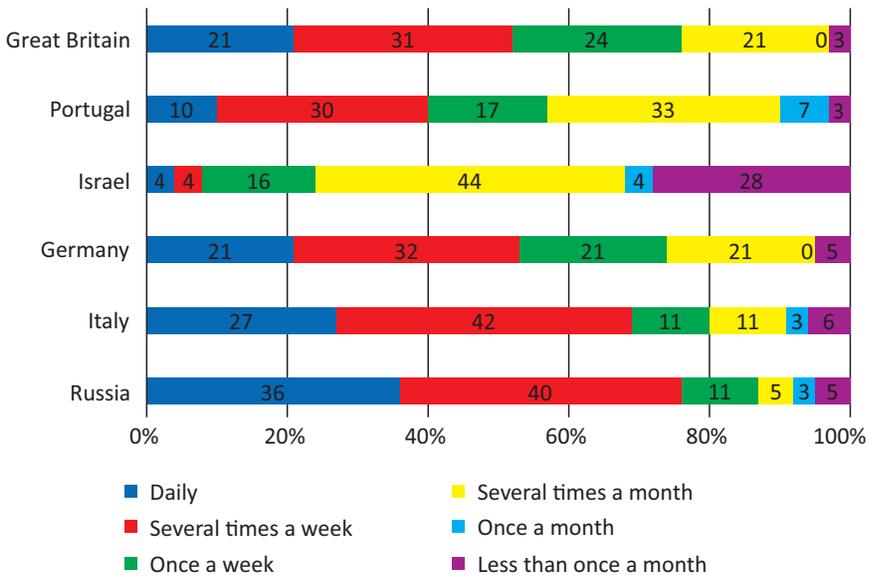


Fig. 18. Distribution of the responses to the question "How often do you communicate with family members / friends in Transnistria?" (%)

Internet and phone connection act as the main communication tools with the relatives and acquaintances in Transnistria.

Financial situation of my family could be hardly called prosperous. I run of money. I have debts. My parents, sister, nephews are in Transnistria. I seldom visit my motherland because of financial reasons and I do not have any opportunity to help them financially. Nevertheless, I do not loose connection with the relatives. I communicate with them via Internet. (II, Israel).

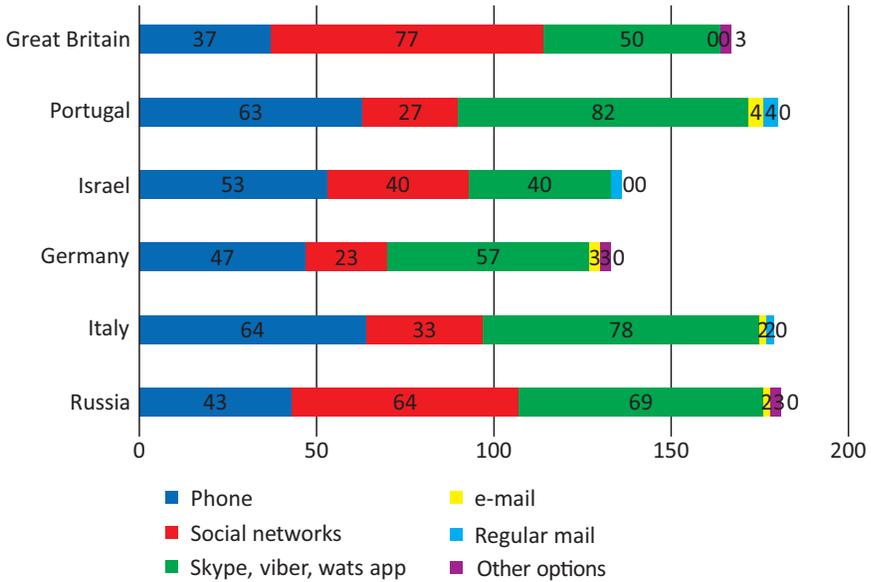


Fig. 19. **Distribution of the responses to the question "How do you mainly communicate with your family / friends in Transnistria?" (%)**

The research shows that a significant number of the natives of Transnistria, even in the cases of a long-term stay abroad, remain in the informational space of Transnistria – they follow the news, participate in debates on the pressing issues for population.

I actively participate in Internet discussions on Transnistria's future: external and internal politics. I have a desire to help the natives of Transnistria to get rid of the iron heel of Shevchuk and, possibly, to return to Transnistria. I have in my plans to come to the elections of the leader of Transnistria. About 7-8% of my network plan not to miss this event. The rest of the people would vote in Moscow. However, the natives of Transnistria who reside abroad are not entitled to electoral rights. (AI, Russia).

We communicate a lot with my mother on the topic what is happening in Transnistria now. She is complaining from time to time that the shelves are empty in Sheriff, that there is a blockade from the part of Ukraine, and that there are no jobs. My father and mother work in their old jobs, but the income is not the same. (II, Germany).

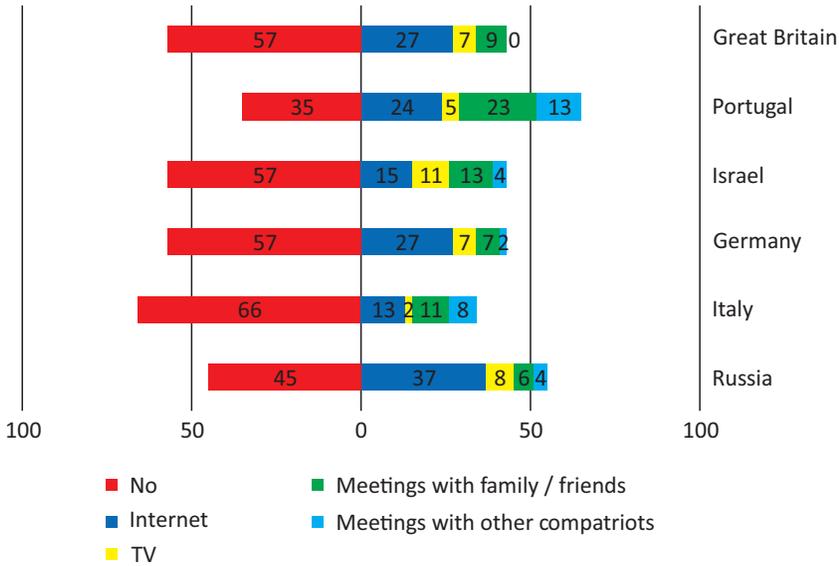


Fig. 20. **Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you follow the political, economic, social situation in Transnistria? If yes, which means do you use to follow the situation in Transnistria?" (%)**

Chances to visit Transnistria depend on many factors: willingness to come, presence of relatives and friends, economic possibilities for travel, potential problems on the territory of Transnistria.

If political persecutions would stop, then I would have motives to visit motherland. I have my father's grave, school, where I studied, university, remain of trenches where I was sitting while defending Transnistria there. (AI, Russia).

Every time when I visited Transnistria I was hold for some three hours at customs. I had to fill in some papers, which, in my opinion, are useless for anyone, just because my car has German number plates. You enter for 2-3 days. But you have to pay a tariff for 30 days. There are no other tariffs for 5 or 10 days. First of all, this is expensive – 30 euros. Secondly, this is a long story. They leave you to wait there, when there are cars with Transnistria number plates everyone is let in. That is why I was taking the car of my father-in-law form Nisporeni in more recent times. It has Moldovan number plates. (II, Germany).

I have not been in Moldavia for 26 years. I was in Odessa now in December for the first time and passed through Bendery. I got homesick.

My children were born in Israel. I was considering that it would be better to go visiting Paris, London, Amsterdam, America rather to go and visit Chisinau. I visited many countries. The tickets to Chisinau cost double, comparing to tickets to Paris. And, instead of donating USD 700 for a ticket, I would better fly to Paris for USD 300. And I will fly to Austria for skiing even cheaper. And I went to Bulgaria for USD 60, in fact. Now I was in Odessa. My close friend opened a restaurant and I was 100 kilometres away from home. How not to stop by? My farther is buried there. (AI, Israel).

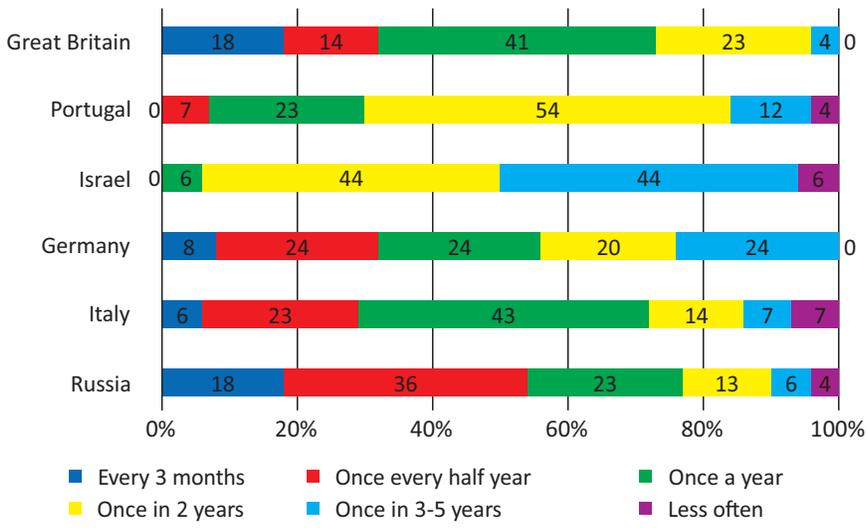


Fig. 21. Distribution of the responses to the question "How often do you visit Transnistria?" (%)

The motive of visiting Transnistria is mainly related to the family and relatives.

I do my best to visit Dubossary once per year. I maintain relations with my colleagues, friends. They are waiting when I come. Then I gather all people, organize a big party. I feel exited of communicating with my friends, my nature, and the joy because I came and I can sit in my courtyard. I came home. Says it all. (II, Germany).

I have been just 5 times in Transnistria over 4 years of my staying in Israel. My emotions in this regard are linked exclusively with the fact that Transnistria is my native home. I am a Jewish and do not feel my belonging to Transnistria. I do not have any feelings to the country, though I feel sorry for the people, particular pensioners. 2-3 days in Tiraspol are sufficient to me to get a depression and I am simply crying. (II, Israel).

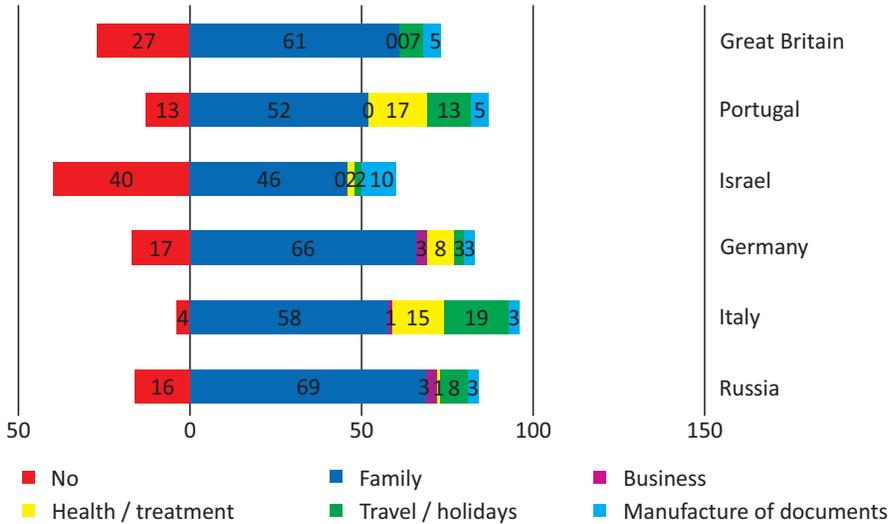


Fig. 22. Distribution of the responses to the question "Have you visited Transnistria since you have been in this country? If yes, what are the main motives of your visit to Transnistria?" (%)

A growing number of countries implement the policy of encouraging return migration. Multiple programmes concerned with the return of the population to the territories of origin are carried out. They aim at:

- Statehood consolidation (Israel³⁵);
- Solution of the demographic problems (Russia³⁶, Canada³⁷);
- Fostering economic development (Mexico³⁸, Philippines³⁹).

³⁵ Закон О возвращении 5710 (1950) (Израиль) // Кнессет. Режим доступа: <http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/return.htm> [Law on return 5710 (1950) (Israel)] // Кнессет. Linked could be accessed: <http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/return.htm>

³⁶ Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 22 июня 2006 г. № 637 г. Москва «О мерах по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом» // Российская газета, 28 июня 2006 г. Режим доступа: <https://rg.ru/2006/06/28/ukaz-pereselenie.html> [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated on 22 June 2006 № 637 с. Moscow "On measures of assistance for voluntary resettlement in the Russian Federation of compatriots residing abroad" // Russian Gazette, 28 June 2006. Link could be accessed: <https://rg.ru/2006/06/28/ukaz-pereselenie.html>]

³⁷ Владимирова, М. А. Законодательные основы иммиграционной политики Канады // США. Канада: Экономика, политика, культура: Ежемесячный научный и общественно-политический журнал. 2002. № 9. С. 109-121 [Vladimirova M.A. Legislative basis of immigration policy of Canada//USA. Canada: Economy, policy, culture. Monthly scientific and public policy journal. 2002. №9. p. 109-121]

³⁸ T. Lothar Weiss and P.A. López Chaltelt Mexico: Public Policies Benefiting Migrants // Organización Internacional para las Migraciones Misión México, 2011. Link could be accessed: http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/oim_pp_en.pdf

³⁹ Регент Т.М., Королёва А.В. Международная миграция как источник стратегии экономического роста Филиппин // Вестник Российского нового университета. Серия: Человек и

These objectives are relevant for Transnistria.

In Transnistria, emigration statistics (external migration) for 2012-2014 are now publicly available⁴⁰. As it follows, a decline in the migration population is typical for all towns and regions for both men, and women, predominantly of working age. The main emigration countries are Russia, Ukraine, Germany, USA, Israel, etc.

The results of the research conducted showed that migrants have a certain potential of return migration, which, as follows from the **Fig. 23**, have specific country features. In the interview, a willingness to return was expressed by:

- Half of interviewed respondents, who migrated to Italy;
- Less than one third of interviewed, who migrated to Russia and Germany;
- Less than a quarter of interviewed respondents, who migrated to Portugal and the Great Britain ;
- Less than fifth of interviewed respondents, who migrated to Israel.

Return back home is viewed as a long-term perspective by respondents in the majority of cases, namely for 10 years and later.

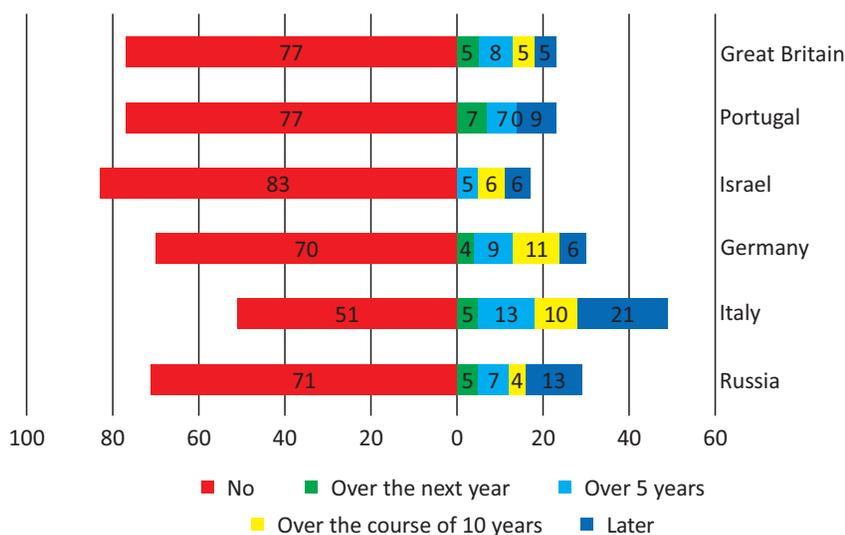


Fig. 23. Distribution of the responses to the question "Do you want to return to Transnistria?" (%)

общество. 2014. № 2. С. 166-171. [Regent T.M., Koroleva A.V. International migration as a source of economic growth of Filipinnes//Bulletin of the Russian new university. Series: Individual and society. 2014. № 2. p. 166-171]

⁴⁰ О демографической ситуации в Приднестровья // Служба статистики Приднестровья. Режим доступа: <http://mer.gospmr.org/gosudarstvennaya-sluzhba-statistiki/informacziya/o-demograficheskoy-situacii-v-pmr.html> [On demographic situation in Transnistria // The Statistical Services of Transnistria. Link could be accessed: <http://mer.gospmr.org/gosudarstvennaya-sluzhba-statistiki/informacziya/o-demograficheskoy-situacii-v-pmr.html>]

Those who do not return intend to bring their close relatives to join them.

I would love to take all. I have many relatives. I would do this with great pleasure. However, after even many years I do not have this right. There is such a law here. The only thing is that there is a law here, if anyone of the parents died and another parent is still alive, then I could take him here only in this case, under condition that you will be fully supporting him. You can take one of the parents under this condition. (II, Germany).

I do not consider the possibility to return to Transnistria. Conversely, I have a desire, over time, when I get back on my feet, to support the move of my mother and sister to Israel (II, Israel).

As results from the formalized interview show, the complex political and legal factors (status of Transnistria, patriotism, legal position abroad, legal protection in Transnistria), economic and household factors (employment, incomes, living standards, entrepreneurship, housing, climate, lifestyle), cultural, psychological and family factors act simultaneously both as a motivation and barrier for migrants' return to the home country. They relate both to Transnistria and to the countries of emigration and serve as push and pull factors. For more details, see **Annexes from 11 to 15**.

Focus groups conducted and experts' interrogation showed that particularities of the probability of return migration, according to the countries of residence of the natives of Transnistria, depend on:

- Purposes of migration. The natives of Transnistria who emigrated abroad because of economic considerations were acknowledging that their initial purpose were savings and subsequent return to the home country. However, a certain part of temporary migrants become long-term migrants whilst acquiring citizenship, social protection, real estate, and getting used to the new community in the host country.

In 1998, when we with husband left to Portugal, we thought that we would go, earn money for an apartment in Chisinau and the search for money would end at that. Did not end. We bought an apartment, returned home, but the conditions were not the same. Therefore, we bought an apartment in Portugal and took the children with us. Daughter and son started their families and settled in Portugal. (FG, Portugal).

I was focused on arrival and departure of parents at the beginning of my research of issues related to remote family. However, there has been recently noticed parents' aspiration to identify a job place abroad and to take children with them. (AI, Transnistria).

- Legal status and legal protection in the country of emigration and in Transnistria.

I married with a good man in Italy. I have three children, I took them all here. I have already Italian citizenship. There are no obstacles to live here. (FG, Italy).

In my age, you start appreciating those things you have become attached to. If I had leaver earlier, then I, most probably, would come to Dubossary and sell everything. And now I'm even afraid to live in Germany. There is no stability. Everything could happen. Inflow of these refugees. I admit that when retiring, I will live for a half a year there, half a year here. However, I do not want to return back home. (II, Germany).

- the social and economic situation in the emigration country and on Transnistria;

I'm not going to return to Transnistria. Move to Moscow opened new opportunities for my professional activity in the area of political technologies. It is one thing when you work on Transnistrian market with less than 500 thousand people. Another thing when you work on the market of 140 million people. (AI, Russia).

The likelihood of return to the motherland of the natives from Transnistria who are successful abroad is equal to zero. There is another spectrum and range of work abroad, without red tape, with another remuneration. There are no perspectives in Transnistria. Even if the power changes, the development doctrine is not changing. (AI, Russia).

I do not consider the possibility to return home after so many years of living in Portugal. There is no work in Transnistria, and even if there is than the salaries are small and overall devastation. You cannot also go to my spouse's small motherland. She is from Donetsk, and the war is there. (FG, Portugal).

I would return home, native town of Bendery, which I like very much. However, I am weighing on political uncertainty of Transnistria. I was considering the opportunity of employment in the Ministry of Justice in Chisinau. However, I am embarrassed by the level of salaries. After 5 years of studies, I do not deserve a salary of 2-3 thousand MDL. It is far more real and with better prospect to remain in Europe. To get practical experience. If I would have the opportunity to employ in accordance with the subject of my

graduation paper in the area of consulting of international entrepreneurs on the issue of business operations in Transnistria. Herewith, the idea to return to the motherland, nevertheless, remain. It is possible to try in the Representation of the OSCE in Tiraspol, after several years of work in Europe. (AI, Italy).

The very few returns to the motherland from those graduates who study abroad. Today young people create families and they need money to live on. Young people want money immediately and big money. And they are not oriented to the fact that a carrier is being done gradually, that this is a process. While all the binderies are opened, every individual is citizen of the world. He cannot be forced. He is entitled to choose. (AI, Transnistria).

- Degree of social protection in emigration country and on Transnistria;

I would not line my daughter to live in Transnistria. Simply saying, you live there where it is better. Even if the EU disintegrates, Germany will survive. Even if life in Transnistria is as in Europe, what is the point of returning there if we are all right here. (II, Germany).

I am not a great patriot of Transnistria. When I was 17 years old, I witnessed the war. I saw how a woman with a buggy was begging. You do not have that in Israel. They like their children here, take care of them. Men do not leave their children alone here. If he leaves, then he is imprisoned and he has to pay 1000 USD per month. All people love their country here. There is no a notion of beggar here. There are free flophouses, free canteens, where they feed with red fish. There is no such a perception here that an individual is already old when he is 28 years old and it is too late to get married. Here people just begin to marry when they are 44 years old, when they stand on their own feet. Therefore, I do not want to return to Transnistria. I do not like the mentality. (II, Israel).

- Level of social, cultural, psychological adaptation in the country of emigration and in Transnistria;

I would like my children to be born in Germany, to be granted citizenship and live until three years old there. They have a very good medicine there. And then mandatory to return to Transnistria. I do not want my children to be stuck with their education, their mentality. But they will have citizenship and they will speak at least 2 languages. (II, Germany).

If to speak about the future of my children, then I would like my

daughter to have Transnistrian/soviet education. It is the best in the world. However, I understand that it won't be the same. For children born in Portugal the native language is Portuguese, regardless the native language of their parents. (FG, Portugal).

I cannot live in that mentality anymore. That town is small for me. It is quiet. It is run-of-the-mill for me. As a rule, back home the people who remained unemployed return. In other words, they have nowhere to go and they return to their housing. (AI, Italy).

- Social surrounding of a migrant, presence of close family members.

I do not have such a notion as house any more, as it was when I lived in Transnistria. Many people stay in rental flat. I would like to live in a country with a good climate, good people, without a conflict. I do not have such a notion in what country to live any more. The important thing is how to live and with whom. I am going to live there where my daughter marries. If her husband is an Israeli, then I will remain here. If a French man, then to France. (II, Israel).

The Research sample included cases when the natives of Transnistria who participated in the repatriation programs (in Israel, Germany) were among returned migrants. Their initial aim was to change the residence country. However, while staying in the other country, they had not become accustomed and returned back home.

I came to Transnistria in 2011. I had not been there for 10 years and I was hit by nostalgia. When I come to Transnistria, my heart fills with joy. In the beginning, when I was staying in Transnistria for half a year, I was feeling that I was at home. You are driving, such a beauty, and different air. I was simply hooked by nostalgia. I cannot explain this. (AI, Germany).

One of interviewed respondents repatriated to Germany, being of a working age, but did not wait for the retirement there and instead lives his life in two countries right now.

I left to Germany in 2007. I succeeded in integration. I feel free there, but I have not integrated in my soul, morally. I dry up mentality there. I have been in Transnistria for a year now. And I live differently now. I like communicating. I have been grown up here. Everything is familiar here. I feel easy here. Despite current difficult situation, I tried to overcome this moment thanks to German economy. Now I will leave to Germany once

again because I have a possibility for a health check from A to Z there, free of charge. I will go, check my health there. However, I will not live there. This is a kind of back-up option. Unfortunately, it is hard to earn money in our country. I have to leave. (II, Germany).

The Rethinking of life plans of migrants and their refusal to return to the motherland happened in 2014. Inflation of the ruble occurred in Russia – the country, where the majority of the natives of Transnistria migrated. The natives of Transnistria, who had savings in USD or euro, got an opportunity to buy property. The remittances flow to Transnistria has significantly reduced since that period. Even net outflow of capitals was witnessed in the mid-2016⁴¹. An inflation of offers on the real estate market happened, largely through migrants, who said the last farewell to plans for life at home and put their property on the market⁴².

The research showed that the probability of return migration is demonstrated by the following groups of the natives of Transnistria:

Economic migrants. Initially the majority of them were planning their departure from the country to be of temporary character – until the savings plan is accomplished or a certain level of family welfare is achieved.

I want to be granted the UK's citizenship, but I doubt that I would like to live the whole life there. Initially we planned to go to the Great Britain for a period, supposedly for 10 years. To earn money and to return home. This is a foreign country, after all. However, when I think about how things stand in the home country, I push away the thoughts to return home. (FG, Great Britain).

The natives of Transnistria who reached old age. From among economic migrants, are those who did not acquire citizenship and housing in the country of emigration, worked illegally and cannot count on a pension in the country of emigration. Also, representatives of all types of migration, who were not able to adapt to the life in the new country – to the laws, compatriots, their traditions and customs, climate, etc. – return home.

⁴¹ Платёжный баланс Приднестровья за 2016 год // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2017. – № 4 (215). – С. 12-18. Стр. 10. Режим доступа: <http://www.cbpmr.net/data/prbvd214.pdf> [Payment balance of Transnistria for 2016// Bank of Transnistria Bulletin – 2017. – № 4 (215). – p. 12-18. p. 10. Linked could be accessed: <http://www.cbpmr.net/data/prbvd214.pdf>]

⁴² Драгоценные метры. Сколько сегодня стоит жилье? // ИА «Новости Приднестровья» от 29.05.2017. Режим просмотра: <https://novostipmr.com/ru/news/17-05-29/dragocennye-metry-skolko-segodnya-stoit-zhile-v-ridnestrove> [Precious metres. What is the price of housing today? // IA “Novosti Pridnestrovia”, dated on 29.05.2017. Link could be accessed: <https://novostipmr.com/ru/news/17-05-29/dragocennye-metry-skolko-segodnya-stoit-zhile-v-ridnestrove>]

I do not exclude that I will return to live in Transnistria in retirement. Anything can happen. Everything depends on my homeland. What development will be there. If, for example, my farm will provide me a subsistence level, why not. I can live there. I am a free person and now I am looking for a wife from Transnistria as I don't think that a woman from Germany will wish to go to Transnistria with me. (AI, Germany).

I plan to live in my village in Glinnoe in retirement. I am native of Tiraspol, but a small house remained from grandparents. There are many bans in Germany. You need a permission for fishing. It's forbidden to make a fire. You will not cook barbeque. You will not play music. (II, Germany).

The life has difficulties everywhere: there is no work in the home country. There is work in Israel, but money rapidly run out. I might return to the motherland, if there are possibilities for employment, receiving a decent salary, improvement of living standards. Return to the motherland is more likely in retirement. I have a pension account in Israel. It would be possible to ensure safe ageing for me on Israeli pension. (II, Israel).

The natives of Transnistria who preserved sustainable relationships with their relatives and close ones. If economic motives serve as main push factors and barriers for return home, then the inclusiveness of a migrant in social networks with compatriots who remained at home – this is the main factor to attract a migrant to life back at home.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that, in our opinion, the return migration policy could become a part of social and economic policy of Transnistria. It will contribute to the settlement of a whole number of systemic issues:

Demographic issues:

Firstly, population has been decreasing. The most alarming situation is in rural regions⁴³. Migrants' return to the motherland might slow down population decrease.

⁴³Фоменко В. Трудовая эмиграция как фактор депопуляции сельской местности Приднестровья // Современные миграционные процессы: состояние и основные формы. Материалы международной научной конференции, Тирасполь, 17 декабря 2015 года. – Кишинев, Международная Организация по Миграции, Миссия в Республике Молдова, 2016. Стр. 139-145 [Fomenko V. Labor emigration as a factor of depopulation of rural area in Transnistria // Contemporary migration processes: status and main forms. Proceeding of international scientific conference, Tiraspol, 17 December 2015 – Chişinău, International Organization for Migration, Mission in the Republic of Moldova, 2016, p. 139-145]

Secondly, population ageing is fast moving⁴⁴. Return migration, particularly of migrants' categories from among economic active citizens, will contribute to the change of proportion of age cohorts of population.

Migration outflow is a very serious problem in various areas. If demographic problems are concerned, then these are caused by the depopulation of localities. Certain localities disappear due to natural and migration decline. People who live in rural area are most likely under a greater pressure. More push factors force them to leave. This could be explained to a greater extent by depopulation of rural areas of Transnistria and increase of urbanization level. The demographic structure of population is broken. I am not aware about age structure, but, most probably, to a less extent. Concerning age structure, due the fact that population in reproductive age demonstrates most frequently migration activity, then we have population ageing. These are big enough challenges, which lead to the fact that the demographic pressure increases considerably in Transnistria. (AI, Transnistria).

Economic issues:

Firstly, lack of investment is registered⁴⁵. Money from migrants, regardless of how it is used (business or consumption) might contribute to the development of the economy of Transnistria.

Secondly, there is a need to develop programmes of citizens' involvement in entrepreneurial activity⁴⁶. Migrants might become a target group for similar

⁴⁴ Кривенко А.В., Фоменко В.Г. Проблемы миграции населения Приднестровья // Материалы II Междунар. научно-практич. конференции «Проблемы устойчивого развития Республики Беларусь и сопредельных стран». – Могилёв: УО «МГУ им. А.А. Кулешова», 2012. Стр. 266-270 [Krivenko A.V., Fomenko V.G. Migration issues of population of Transnistria // Proceeding of II International scientific-practical conference „Issues of sustainable development of the Republic of Belarus and neighbouring countries”. – Mogilev: EU „A.A. Kuleshov” MSU, 2012. p. 266-270]

⁴⁵ Савенко Л.В. Состояние экономики Приднестровья и пути ее стабилизации // Материалы международной научно-практической конференции «Тенденции экономического развития в современных условиях», посвященной 25-летию образования экономического факультета им. Т.Г. Шевченко. – Тирасполь: Ликрис, – 2015. 308 с. Стр. 222-231. [Savenko L.V. The state of the economy of Transnistria and ways of its stabilization// Proceeding of international scientific-practical conference “Tendencies of economic development in contemporary conditions”, consecrated to 25th anniversary of foundation of economic faculty of T.G. Shevchenko – Tiraspol: Lycris. - 2015. 308 p. P. 222-231]

⁴⁶ Глебов В.И., Смоленский Н.Н. Развитие экономики и обеспечение экономической безопасности Приднестровья // Вестник Приднестровского университета. Серия: Физико-математические и технические науки. Экономика и управление. 2016. Т. 3. № 3 (54). С. 109-120. [Glebov V.I., Smolenskiy N.N. Development of economy and ensuring economic security of Transnistria // Gazette of Transnistrian university. Series: Physic-mathematical and technical sciences. Economy and management. 2016. V. 3. № 3 (54). p. 109-120]

programmes as they usually succeeded in accumulating a certain capital and acquired necessary skills and knowledge, in many cases innovative for the region, which might help them to start entrepreneurship during their staying abroad. It is important to note that the migration process, being mainly a problematic one, requires a high level of adaptation and overcoming difficulties from a migrant, and forms a certain type of character, which could ensure the success of an entrepreneur.

Thirdly, researches of the labor market of Transnistria note the lack of specialists of high qualification in those areas that require innovations⁴⁷. Return migrants might ensure a leap for the development of Transnistria through their skills and abilities acquired abroad. This equally relates to the governance, production and services delivery.

Encouraging return migration should happen alongside economic and social reforms:

- Increase of the number of jobs;
- Increase of the level of salaries;
- Improvement of quality of life of population;
- Qualitative work on the social infrastructure of Transnistria;

If to speak about the policy of return of citizens to the motherland, then relevant conditions should be created for that: well-paid jobs, social guarantees, guarantees that there will not be war again. In fact, the expert is questioning the efficiency of return policy and evaluates rhetoric of institutions from Transnistria in this regard nothing more nor less than "empty, washed-up populism". He argues this position in the following way. Initially Transnistria was an industrial center, where labor collectives counted from 6-8 to 16 thousand workers. Today labor collectives have ceased to either exist integrally, or work on 15-20% from their capacity. Correspondingly, it is impossible to organize reindustrialization, even if the leader of Transnistria is be a genius there and all of the legislature consist of ascetic saints, they nothing can do because geopolitics, labor economy, distribution economy, marketing economy, etc. have changed. It is impossible to enter twice in the same river and nobody will build these plants, factories, what was done in the USSR. Correspondingly, a native of Transnistria, who adapted abroad, has already become an entrepreneur, public official, member of the parliament, found a normal well-paid work

⁴⁷ Смоленский Н.Н. Состояние занятости как индикатор состояния экономики // Состояние и регулирование рынка труда в Приднестровье. Научное издание. Тирасполь: Изд-во «Ликрис», 2012. С. 5-27. [Smolenskiy N.N. Employment status as indicator of economy's status // Status and regulation of labour market in Transnistria. Scientific publication. Tiraspol: Publishing House „Lycris”, 2012. p. 5-27]

will not return to the motherland. He lifted to a higher stair of development. Staying in Transnistria is a deliberate isolation of a person, who says, "I feel well there". However, if an individual is oriented to achievements, he will not find himself there. (AI, Russia).

Otherwise, massive return migration will increase the level of employment in the country, will influence negatively the salary, and will deprive migrants' families from incomes generated by remittances; and the multiplicative effect of migrant remittances on the economy of the country will decrease.

Chapter 9. REMITTANCES AND INVESTMENT POTENTIAL OF THE DIASPORA FROM TRANSNISTRIA

Information on remittances transferred by physical persons is regularly published in the Bank of Transnistria Bulletin⁴⁸. A detailed examination of the statistics of remittances of the population in Transnistria shows that, despite its unrecognized status, the banking infrastructure of remittances functions. There are 13 systems of international transfers in arsenal of local banks. The most popular is SCL “Agroprombank”⁴⁹.

Remittances are transferred from almost 140 countries of the world. About 85% are transferred from Russia. On average, 1.5% from Turkey, USA, Ukraine and Israel⁵⁰.

A rapid increase of remittances was observed in Transnistria in the period 2001 – 2013. In 2001 remittances flow was of 28.9 mln. Transnistrian Rubles and in 2013 they increased nearly 9-fold and amounted to 2531,7 mln. Transnistrian Rubles. Correspondingly, in 2001 remittances amounted to 1.9% of GDP, and in 2013 – 21.6%.

A decrease of remittances transferred home has been registered since 2014. They amounted to 2353,7 mln. Transnistrian Rubles in 2014. This decrease was mainly determined by the devaluation of Russian ruble in autumn 2014⁵¹.

The Bank of Transnistria has stopped publishing information on remittances to Transnistria since 2015. However, judging from the decrease of the population's incomes from the foreign currency sale, one of its main sources were remittances, the amount of remittances that arrive in Transnistria from abroad continued to decrease in 2015 and 2016⁵².

⁴⁸ Архив номеров журнала «Вестник Приднестровского банка» // <http://www.cbpmr.net/content.php?id=28> [Archive “Bank of Transnistria Bulletin” // <http://www.cbpmr.net/content.php?id=28>]

⁴⁹ Рынок денежных переводов: тенденции, потенциал и вклад в экономическое развитие Приднестровья. // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2013. №3. Стр. 13-14. http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd166new_2.pdf [Remittances' market: tendencies, potential and contribution to the economic development of Transnistria. // Bank of Transnistria Bulletin. – 2013. №3. p. 13-14. http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd166new_2.pdf]

⁵⁰ Рынок денежных переводов: тенденции, потенциал и вклад в экономическое развитие Приднестровья. // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2013. №3. Стр. 13. http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd166new_2.pdf [Remittances' market: tendencies, potential and contribution to the economic development of Transnistria // Bank of Transnistria Bulletin. – 2013. №3. p. 13. http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd166new_2.pdf]

⁵¹ Денежные доходы и расходы населения в 2014 году // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2015. – № 4 (191). – Стр. 80. Приложение Стр. 79-84. <http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd191.pdf> [Cash income and cash expenses of population in 2014 // Bank of Transnistria Bulletin. – 2015. – № 4 (191). – p. 80. Annex p. 79-84. <http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd191.pdf>]

⁵² Денежные доходы и расходы населения в 2015 году // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2016. – № 4 (203). – Стр. 21-28. http://www.cbpmr.net/data/prbvd202_n.pdf [Cash income and

Table 5.

**Comparative analyses of financial incomes
of the population from Transnistria,
mln. Transnistrian Rubles⁵³[1]**

| Year | Money from remittances | Incomes from foreign currency sale | Proportion of incomes from foreign currency sale in the structure of monetary incomes of the population, % | Proportion of salaries in the structure of monetary incomes of the population, % |
|------|------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| 2001 | 28,9 | 97,2 | 7,5 | 33,8 |
| 2002 | 66,0 | 215,3 | 12,3 | 29,3 |
| 2003 | 173,5 | 268,3 | 12,8 | 33,4 |
| 2004 | 313,2 | 509,4 | 15,5 | 31,1 |
| 2005 | 482,7 | 933,1 | 19,2 | 30,2 |
| 2006 | 800,1 | 1294,4 | 22,0 | 31,8 |
| 2007 | 1124,7 | 2239,0 | 27,4 | 29,2 |
| 2008 | 1641,6 | 276,6 | 27,1 | 30,1 |
| 2009 | 1210,7 | 2239,3 | 28,5 | 36,9 |
| 2010 | 1689,6 | 2511,5 | 26,8 | 38,2 |
| 2011 | 2030,5 | 3019,3 | 27,5 | 36,4 |
| 2012 | 2408,2 | 4285,9 | 32,3 | 34,7 |
| 2013 | 2531,7 | 5341,6 | 35,5 | 34,5 |
| 2014 | 2353,7 | 3980,8 | 27,2 | 37,3 |
| 2015 | - | 2209,1 | 20,1 | 43,5 |
| 2016 | - | 1042,1 | 10,7 | 50,7 |

cash expenses of population in 2015 // Bank of Transnistria Bulletin. – 2016. – № 4 (203). – p. 21-28. http://www.cbpmr.net/data/prbvd202_n.pdf

⁵³ Составлено по материалам Архив номеров журнала «Вестник Приднестровского банка» // <http://www.cbpmr.net/content.php?id=28> [Compiled on the basis of archive of the issues of Journal “Bulletin of Transnistrian Bank” // <http://www.cbpmr.net/content.php?id=28>]

A number of factors influenced the dynamics indicated. First of all, the socio-economic crises of 2014 which influenced employment and migrants' incomes, particularly that significant part of them who were residing in Russia and whose incomes decreased following the devaluation of the Russian ruble. Secondly, a banking crises marketed by currency deficit, double foreign currency exchange rate (official foreign currency exchanged rate was smaller by a factor of almost 1.5 compared to the real currency rate that was on the black market), giving remittances in proportion of 30% in foreign currency and 70% in rubles, in accordance with the official rate of the Bank of Transnistria began in March 2015. These circumstances led to the use of informal channels for remittances and redirection of remittances in the financial system of the Republic of Moldova. Thirdly, the devaluation of the Russian ruble allowed migrants from Transnistria who reside in Russia and have savings in foreign currency to buy real estate and settle abroad. Thus, the level of remittances was stopped or decreased. In accordance with the information of the Bank of Transnistria, a net-outflow of financial means was observed in mid-summer 2016⁵⁴.

The Survey taken by migrants showed that a significant part was sending money back home. Financial and consumerist behaviour, which implies earnings abroad and consumption at home, is typical for economic migrants abroad.

I worked in my home country, but I was not succeeding to save as it happens abroad. The incomes are, of course, lower at home, but there a lot of expenses. I want these and other. While abroad, you know that you are in search of money here and it is necessary to raise a certain sum of money. (Il, Germany).

Country-specific features of remittances are linked with the peculiarities of migration in one or other country. Thus, a large part of respondents (54%), who settled in Israel and pointed out that they were not sending remittances is due to the fact that migrants flow in this country is formed not from economic migrants, who are characterized by remittances, but from emigrants of Jewish ethnicity, who found themselves in Israel as a part of repatriation programs. Irregularity of remittances for a considerable share of the natives of Transnistria who reside in Portugal is explained by settling of this group of migrants in this country, which had long been the only EU member-country, where it was easier and faster to legalize and acquire citizenship.

⁵⁴ Денежные доходы и расходы населения в 2016 году // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2017. – № 4 (215). – Стр. 10. <http://www.cbpmr.net/data/prbvd214.pdf> [Cash incomes and cash expenses of population in 2016 // Bank of Transnistria Bulletin. – 2017. – № 4 (215). – p. 10. <http://www.cbpmr.net/data/prbvd214.pdf>]

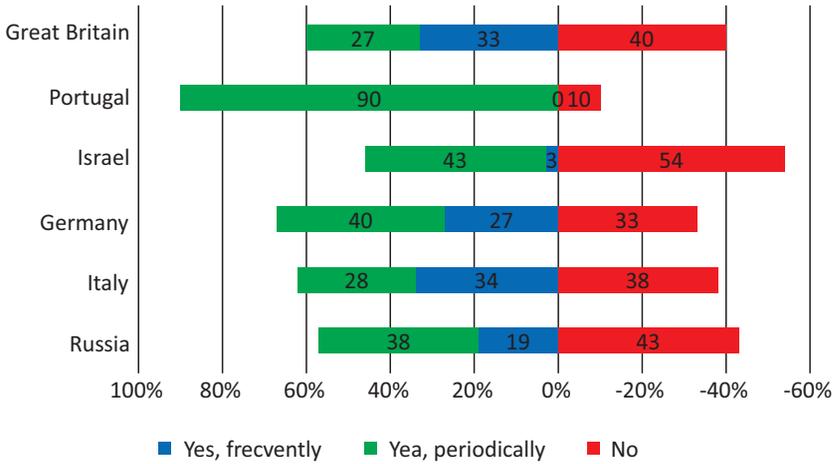


Fig. 24. Distribution of the responses to the question “Do you send money home?” (%)

The survey showed that the natives of Transnistria use both official (banking and postal order), and unofficial (individual bringing of money, through friends/relatives, through a bus driver), channels for remittances when sending money back home. The Functioning of unofficial channels for remittances is connected with migration features – the work abroad has a seasonal character for a part of the natives of Transnistria. In recent years, the redirection of remittances from official to unofficial channels is determined by the above-described problems of the banking sector of Transnistria.

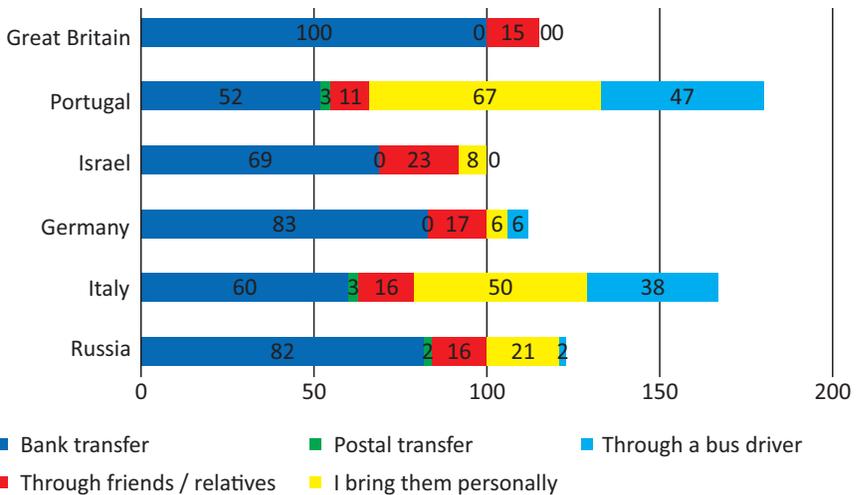


Fig. 25. Distribution of responses to the question “How do you typically send money home?” (%)

The Primary recipients of remittances are migrant families.

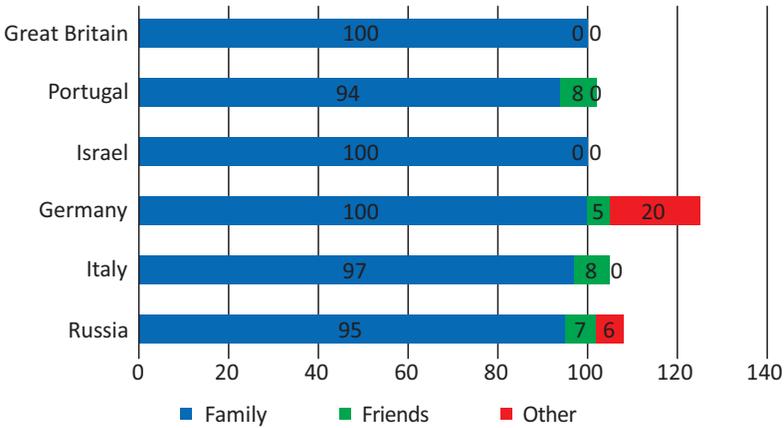


Fig. 26. Distribution of responses to the question "Whom do you send money to?" (%)

Migrant remittances have a positive impact on welfare of recipient households. They satisfy the needs of families in reparations/construction of houses, alimentation, health, education, etc.

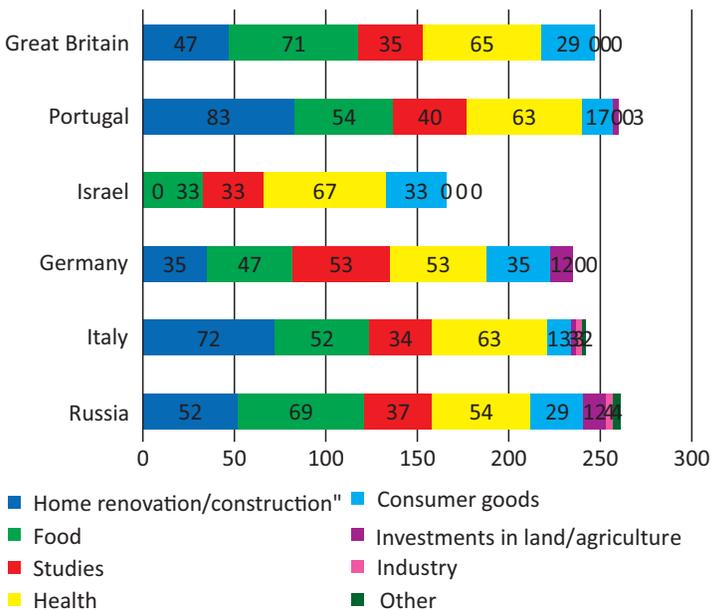


Fig. 27. Distribution of responses to the question "For what mainly the money have been spent?" (%)

In interviews, migrants recognized their responsibility for their family members.

I took my mother on full social welfare. (II, Germany).

I do not lose the connection with the motherland. I communicate with my mother-pensioner. I help her all I can. I maintain relations with other family members. (FG, Portugal).

It is noteworthy that the remittances of natives of Transnistria are rarely directed for investments. In accordance with the evaluation of the Bank of Transnistria, the issue of attracting migrants' money in the economy of Transnistria is relevant. This is due to the unrecognized status of Transnistria and impossibility of getting investments from international financial institutions. Meanwhile, the amount of remittances from abroad was almost 1230 mln. USD in 2001-2012. This exceeds foreign investments almost three times. In that regard, financial analysts notice the necessity of increasing the quality of information on remittances, boosting flows of money from unofficial to official channels. In accordance with their assessment, remittances have a greater effect when they are simply spent on the current households' needs. The remittances are invested in those areas where the capital might have a considerable multiplicative effect. Its value largely depends on the existence of government programmes in this area⁵⁵.

The interviews showed that the absolute majority of the natives of Transnistria who reside abroad do not have any investments in the motherland.

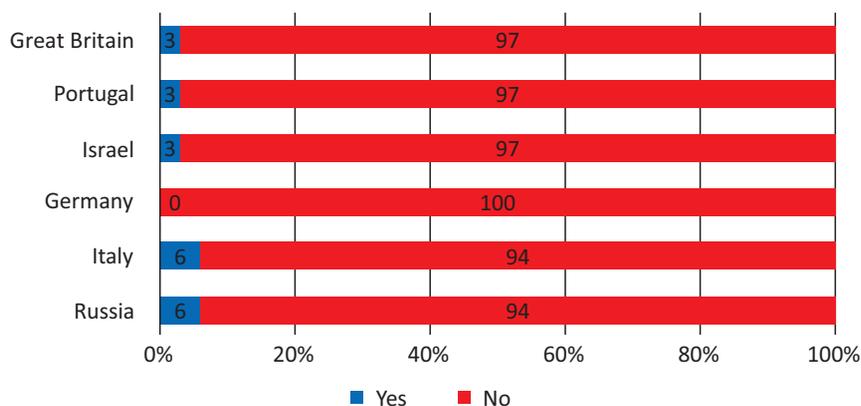


Fig. 28. Distribution of responses to the question "Do you have any investments in Transnistria?" (%)

⁵⁵ Рынок денежных переводов: тенденции, потенциал и вклад в экономическое развитие Приднестровья. // Вестник Приднестровского банка. – 2013. №3. Стр. 18. http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd166new_2.pdf [Remittances' market: tendencies, potential and contribution to the economic development of Transnistria // Bulletin of Bank of Transnistria. – 2013. №3. p. 18. http://www.cbpmr.net/resource/prbvd166new_2.pdf]

The most common investments of migrants originating from Transnistria in the motherland are investments in agriculture and transport.

Interest in investment activity on Transnistria is also low and is within from 7% to 26% from country to country. The sectors, linked with services, agriculture, transport and production happened to be the most attractive for investments.

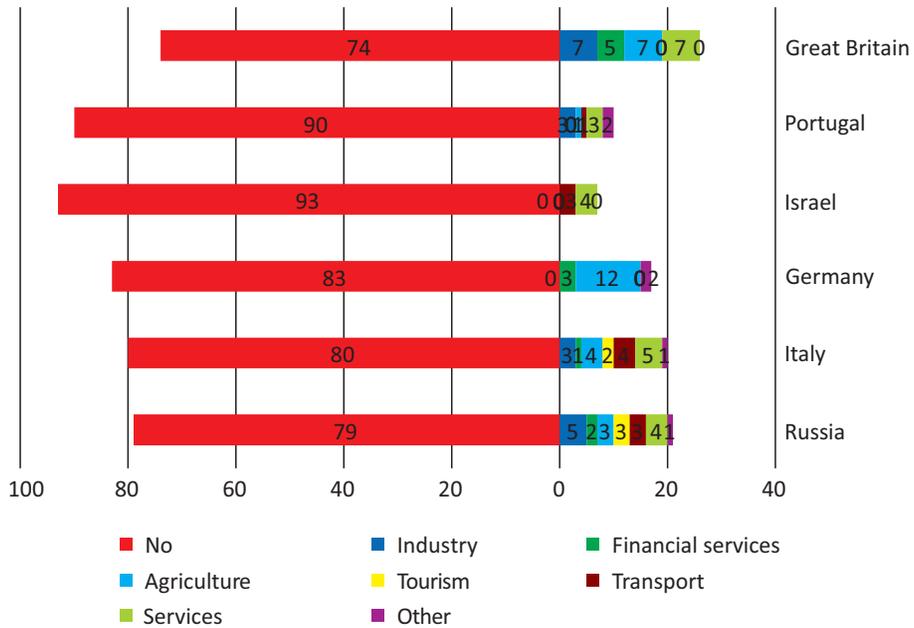


Fig. 29. Distribution of responses to the question "In case if you would have enough money would you like to invest them in your own business at home?" (%)

A set of patriotic and family factors contributed to investment activity of the migrants originating from Transnistria in Transnistria, whereas the political and economic situation prevailing in Transnistria impedes how attracted the natives of Transnistria are by investment activity in the Motherland. **For more details please see the Annexes 16 and 17.**

Interviews and focus groups show different factors of business attraction for migrants. These are taxes, labor resources, and the territory itself of Transnistria.

Let us assume that I see from my part. Nobody wants to pay taxes in Transnistria. Although I will tell you honestly, they are not so high. It is possible to say that it is pitiful. The taxes in Germany are approximately 55%. These are very high taxes. But they don't pay anywhere. This might be

such a mentality. I cannot explain. However, any mentality could be changed. Other things are related to officials. Their attitude and behavior only impedes business. Every check wants something from this...If it would be different, everything would be cheaper. The main sector for economic development of Transnistria is agriculture... If the agriculture would work locally, then this would facilitate the life of people. Simply, the government should be interested. (AI, Germany).

From the other part, a series of barriers that impede entrepreneurship activity were mentioned. These are red tape, corruption, and public opinion.

When I returned to Transnistria, I opened a business in the sphere of automotive industry. However, the challenging times had come, I took precautions, sold everything and decided to wait for a while. (II, Germany).

I decided to start up a business in Transnistria. But red tape impedes an entrepreneur to develop. This is a huge problem. In 2013, I began to raise sheep. I like it. This sheep are of royal breed. Investments have continued on annual basis since then. Initially I wanted to open up a farm in my native village Andriyashevka, but people didn't want. I don't want the reason – either because of envy, or because of something else, but they began to create obstacles. Therefore, I opened the farm in other village, in Malayeshty. (AI, Germany).

Entrepreneurs from those countries, where the natives of Transnistria have migrated, might become investors in economy. Through other migrants, they obtain information about the country of origin, about opportunities for business, about quality and value of labor resources. Thus, migrants become agents to attract investments in the motherland. Experts have promoted the use of such an opportunity for investments to Transnistria. However, on the basis of the experience of other countries, these experts have also noted the possible shortcomings of such a initiative, in particular the exploitation of local population.

Six people work at my farm. Now there is little work in Transnistria. You can always find workers on the basis of announcement. It's a different matter that people have become lazy and don't want to work. (AI, Germany).

There are certain foreign investments in Transnistria. However, due to the political instability, they are minimal. I consider that when a foreign company comes to the region, the executive body should introduce the

threshold of minimal salary in order to people could earn money at home, increase their quality of life. These brands become richer at expense of our people's work, which is nearly worthless. I know that there are many companies in Moldova, which belong to Italians. There are low salaries and intolerable working conditions there. Outwear our people for nothing. In one word, they "make it with us" here abroad and they "make it with us" at home. (AI, Italy).

Formalized interviews showed a low interest in development projects on Transnistria among respondents. Willingness to invest in this area was expressed from 3% to 23% of respondents from country to country. The most attractive for investment turned out to be sectors connected with infrastructure and business.

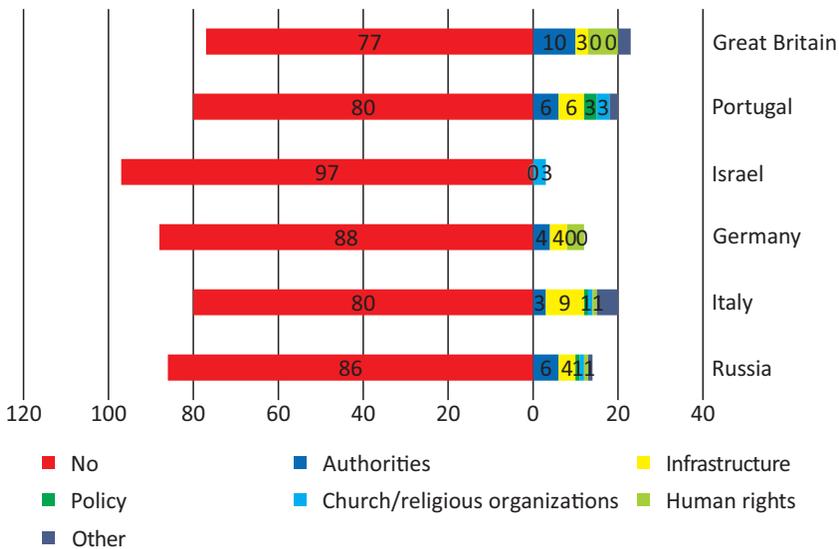


Fig. 30. Distribution of responses to the question "Would you like to invest your money in development projects in the home country? And if yes, in which development projects would you like to invest?" (%)

Controversial opinions on the participation of migrants in development projects were obtained in interviews. As a rule, this reflects migrant's attitude to Transnistria and its population.

Natives of Transnistria, residing abroad, could help Transnistria and its population. They can share their experience how to move forward, to help in addressing social challenges. I continue the mission of organization

“Transnistria oncologists” in Moscow. I work with the board of trustees of the organization, which consists of the clergy, politicians, etc. Patients themselves, Transnistria colleagues seek medical help. The support in receiving medical assistance by the patients with cancer is offered by the natives of Transnistria, namely member of the State Duma of the RF Aliona Arshinova, Archbishop of Tiraspol and Dubossary bishopric in 1998-2010 Iustinian, Archbishop of Tiraspol and Dubossary bishopric Savva, etc. I have a project for the natives of Transnistria. Its core is the help to the patients from Transnistria. I will not speak about it. I am superstitious and have such a character – first do, then speak. (AI, Russia).

I have no interest in Transnistria. I do not consider the perspective to help the country and its citizens. I am confident that the majority who left Transnistria are guided by the principle “I left and I'm lucky”. (II, Israel).

Migrants' remittances form a considerable part of the financial flows of Transnistria. They have a positive influence on the quality of life and a family's welfare on micro level.

Remittances have a high potential for use as investments. However In case of the existence of a series of barriers and a lack of targeted information and support programmes, migrants' remittances are rarely used as investments. Nevertheless, they have a multiplier effect on the economic development on the macro level, as they drive the consumer economy.

There is a need for a Targeted programme on migrants' inclusion in entrepreneurship activity in Transnistria. It is necessary to differentiate migrants as a group of potential entrepreneurs, to motivate and build perspectives for entrepreneurship activity, and to include returned migrants in training programmes on entrepreneurship activity.

If I were the Government, I would offer targeted credits and would help not with exports, but with their realization. Here, I can see that prices in Transnistria are the same as in Germany where we live. However, we have very different earnings. If to support entrepreneurs smartly, then the prices could be reduced three times. The same thing as milk may be sold to people on the price of 5 rubles. That is why I am nervous because of these prices, when I come. They drive me crazy, as people do not save anything. Let us admit, if I would open a good dairy farm and would produce the same thing as cheese, dietary meat. The point is that this should be recompensed itself that this to be affordable for local population. If I would be supported, I would sell this meat on the price of 3 USD. I think that everyone would afford himself such a price. (AI, Germany).

In addition, there is a need to involve migrants in development projects, connected with both entrepreneurship activity, and support to legal, civic, social and cultural infrastructure.

Implementation of these measures will allow for a shift in the migration effect from shortcomings to the benefits of migration in Transnistria and, in such a way, will transform migrants into a development resource.

Chapter 10. MIGRATION REGULATIONS

The migration situation in Transnistria namely the outflow of the population abroad has been a constant trend over the past decades. This process needs regulation.

The two-fold situation related to the following assessment of the migration of the population from Transnistria: From one hand, it is perceived as an inevitable follow up to the contraction of the labor market and decrease in the income of residents. On the other hand, the priority of preserving human resources in Transnistria is declared.

Taking into account the policy, which is designed by Transnistria, then, of course, the policy is about people not to go abroad as much as possible, particularly in search for a job. It is clear that there is, let us admit, students exchange, education. All this is understandable. However, the idea is people to remain here, work, create families, and develop. However, we have such a two-fold situation that can seem to be a wrong one. For example, we have never forbidden. Conversely, we have even contributed to registration of foreign citizens, taking into account that a visiting Consular point of Russia, Ukraine works in Tiraspol. We, the Transnistrian side, create conditions for functioning of consular missions here. We create conditions for people to be granted the same Russian citizenship and leave. (AI, Transnistria).

Migration policy implies activity of different branches of power. Certain separate elements could be traced even in educational, economic and social policies. All this combined should suggest some migration components. Here we can divide migration policy into 2 parts. The first one is linked with possible barrier for people to leave Transnistria. If, with the support of legislative acts, to increase the number of certain documents that would impede the natural movement of work force that would no benefit. The second part should be directed to creation of attractive conditions for the economically active population to come to Transnistria as it was in 1980s. (IA, Transnistria).

This Controversial evaluation of migration behavior, in our opinion, discourages the adoption and implementation of migration policies for migrants originating from Transnistria: such as the adoption of a normative framework, the implementation of social programs, and the creation of infrastructure for work with migrants.

In 2017 a series of laws regulating migration issues was adopted: *On citizenship*⁵⁶, *On administration of the entry and exit*⁵⁷, *On legal status of*

foreigners and stateless persons⁵⁸, *On migration registration of foreigners and stateless persons*⁵⁹, *On the right of citizens to freedom of movement, choice of address and place of residence in the limits of Transnistria*⁶⁰. As follows from

⁵⁶ Закон *О гражданстве* от 19.06.17 г. <http://www.vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/konstitutsionniy-zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-grajdanstve.html> [Law *On citizenship*, dated on 19.06.17 [http://www.vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-grajdanstve.html](http://www.vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/konstitutsionniy-zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-grajdanstve.html)]

⁵⁷ Закон *О порядке въезда и выезда из Приднестровья* от 19.06.17 г. <http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-poryadke-vyezda-v-pridnestrovskuyu-moldavskuyu-respubliku-i-viezda-iz-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-.html> [Law *On the procedure of entry and exit from Transnistria*, dated on 19.06.17 <http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-poryadke-vyezda-v-pridnestrovskuyu-moldavskuyu-respubliku-i-viezda-iz-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-.html>]

⁵⁸ Закон *О правовом положении иностранных граждан и лиц без гражданства в Приднестровье* от 19.06.17 г. <http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-pravom-polojenii-inostrannih-grajdan-i-lits-bez-grajdanstva-v-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respublike-.html> [Law *On legal status of foreigners and stateless persons in Transnistria*, dated on 19.06.17 г. [http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-pravom-polojenii-inostrannih-grajdan-i-lits-bez-grajdanstva-v-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respublike-.html](http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-pravom-polojenii-inostrannih-grajdan-i-lits-bez-grajdanstva-v-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respublike-.html)]

⁵⁹ Закон *О миграционном учете иностранных граждан и лиц без гражданства в Приднестровье* от 19.06.2017 // <http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-migratsionnom-uchete-inostrannih-grajdan-i-lits-bez-grajdanstva-v-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respublike-.html> [Law *On migration registration of foreigners and stateless persons in Transnistria*, dated on 19.06.2017 // <http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-migratsionnom-uchete-inostrannih-grajdan-i-lits-bez-grajdanstva-v-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respublike-.html>]

⁶⁰ Закон *О праве на свободу передвижения, выбор места пребывания и жительства в пределах Приднестровья* от 19.06.17 г. // <http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitutsionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-prave-grajdan-pridnestrovskoy>

the names of the laws, it predominantly regulates issues related to immigration to the territory of Transnistria and the internal movement of citizens.

The *law on combatting human trafficking*⁶¹ reflects largely the needs for legal and social protection of the natives of Transnistria who turned out to be the victims of human trafficking. The law defines the key notions used in the law, the scope of combatting human trafficking, the basis of policy in prevention areas; international cooperation on combatting human trafficking; the grounds and limits of responsibility for activity connected with human trafficking; subjects and forms of human trafficking; social rehabilitation and protection of human trafficking victims; control and supervision of combatting human trafficking.

A separate unit, whose mission would be working with migrants abroad, is lacking in the system of official institutions of Transnistria. Nevertheless, there are units in the institutions of Transnistria which work with various categories of migrants.

Thus, for example, the Agency of Education from Transnistria works with study migrants, in particular with graduates who strive for obtaining education on the territory of Russia, through the system of quotas that are to allocated to those who have graduated from schools from Transnistria.

In accordance with the information on the Agency of Education from Transnistria web site, it provides informational support to graduates wishing to enter Russia, resources to conduct comparative testing of candidates to quotas, and participates in the allocation of quotas⁶².

The official work with study migrants from Transnistria heading to Russia is carried out by an officer of the Representation of Rossotrudnichestvo in Transnistria.

moldavskoy-respubliki-na-svobodu-peredvijeniya-vibor-mesta-prebivaniya-i-jiteljstva-v-predelah-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-.html [Law *On the right to freedom of movement, choice of address and place of residence in the limits of Transnistria*, dated on 19.06.17//<http://vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-v-sfere-konstitucionnogo-stroya-osnov-pravoporyadka-a-takje-deyatelnosti-organov-gosudarstvennoj-vlasti-i-upravleniya/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-prave-grajdan-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-na-svobodu-peredvijeniya-vibor-mesta-prebivaniya-i-jiteljstva-v-predelah-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-.html>]

⁶¹ Закон *О противодействии торговле людьми* от 28.07.2010 // <http://www.vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-v-sfere-ugolovnogogo-tamojennogo-administrativnogo-prava/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-protivodeystvii-torgovle-lyudjmi.html> [Law *On combatting human trafficking*, dated on 28.07.2010 // <http://www.vspmr.org/legislation/laws/zakonodateljnie-akti-v-sfere-ugolovnogogo-tamojennogo-administrativnogo-prava/zakon-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki-o-protivodeystvii-torgovle-lyudjmi.html>]

⁶² Квоты - 2017. http://minpros.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3584 [Quotas - 2017. http://minpros.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3584]

Rossotrudnichestvo has been working since 2002. It has extended its activity on Transnistria since that period. A representative of Rossotrudnichestvo has been working on permanent basis in Tiraspol since 2013. Rossotrudnichestvo's services in Transnistria include conducting various activities involving presentation of educational institutions, organizing various competitions, allocation of quotas, rendering assistance, cooperation with organizations of Russian compatriots. (AI, Transnistria).

Currently, natives of Transnistria living abroad have an opportunity to prepare their documents through the Consular service from Transnistria. The Receipt of requests is carried out through phone calls, mails, including emails. In accordance with the expert interviews, appeals to the consular service revolve around the legalization of documents, and the application for citizenship of recognized countries.

Those, who would like to leave, contact with regard to the issue of obtaining foreign passports and citizenship of other countries. First of all, concerning the issue of obtaining Russian citizenship. This is determined by the peculiarity of our legal status and our Transnistrian passport, on which entering other countries is limited. That means they need to arrange any other passport. (AI, Tiraspol).

The Region's status impacts the specifics of the work of the Consular Service as the legalization of documents from Transnistria is not accepted everywhere.

Another interesting issue for those citizens who leave is the issue of recognition of Transnistrian documents abroad. In connection to this, the requests with regards to the issues of recognition, legalization of documents are received. For example, we have an additional function of legalization of Transnistrian documents for their validity outside the republic. Not all countries, of course, accept this in its pure form. However, there are countries that accept them without problems. For example, documents on education were accepted without any difficulties in Bulgaria. We know exactly that a number of Middle East countries accept out documents. They are many, but mostly civil registry and notary ones. (AI, Transnistria).

Services of the Consular Service are extended to those natives of Transnistria who were in emigration and decided to return to the motherland. Their requests are mainly related to the recovery of lost documents and acquiring citizenship.

Also contact with regards to the issues of return to Transnistria. In the absolute majority of cases, such persons, citizens of other countries, namely they are residents of Transnistria, but they left on the grounds of Moldovan, Ukrainian passports. The passport was lost, expired, etc. in other country. In one word, they could not return to Transnistria. Of course, we are ready to issue them documents, on which they could travel to us. However, the problem is that the transit countries are either Moldova, or Ukraine. They simply will not be let in on these documents. Respectively, these people have to address to the Consulate of the country, which issued the documents certifying their citizenship, besides Transnistria. However, we had cases when people were addressing to us, who in some way, whether when it was possible to travel on the basis of soviet documents, whether illegally found themselves in other country and are not able to get out officially from there. They are unable because they do not have either documents, or citizenship of a recognized state. There was a case, when such a naive and resident of Transnistria, addressed to the Moldovan Embassy in Russia in search for a certificate for return. However, he got a refusal. Then Transnistrian part issues him Transnistrian certificate for return and appealed to the Moldovan colleagues in order to issue him a permit. He should return home. After that, Moldova reviewed its approach. The citizen was invited to the Embassy, where a certificate was issued. Later he returned to us in Transnistria. (AI, Transnistria).

In accordance with expert interviews, authorities from Transnistria deal with issues related to the return home of the migrants' children.

We have one more pressing problem here. This is return of children of the residents from Transnistria. Most frequently, these are children, which were abandoned by parents. For example, a resident of Transnistria, who has documents certifying the citizenship of Moldova, left to Russia. A child was born there. The mother left him. Russian part knows where she arrived from. This child is not a Russian citizen. That is why, repatriation procedure is applied. They are, of course, repatriated to Moldova, taking into account that the mother is a Moldovan citizen. Moldova, in her turn, cannot determine the form of child's protection. All his relatives live in Transnistria. As a result, the Transnistrian side follows-up on this child's destiny. (AI, Transnistria).

A separate group of returned migrants is represented by repatriates in Israel and Germany. A part of them left Transnistria before 1990s or didn't manage to obtain documents of Transnistria. Years later, when returning to Transnistria, migration service registers them as foreigners and, therefore, the

procedures of their legalization in Transnistria, benefiting of social protection – education, medicine, etc. – are complicated.

Repatriates originating from Transnistria in Germany and Israel, if they want to return to Transnistria, then in such cases the majority of them contact in a written way. They are interested in the question how to obtain Transnistrian documents, including some people do this for their selfish goals. This is taxation. We, of course, offer consultations and redirect their requests to respective Departments. For example, on migration issues, which is responsible for certification, etc., as the Agency of foreign affairs from Transnistria is not responsible for these issues. (AI, Transnistria).

Limitations of the work of Consular Service, which are connected with the status of Transnistria, affect the demand for similar services.

The number of applications is different. When some news appear that the regime is simplified or the efforts are being made to simplify the regime for obtaining Russian citizenship, then there could be dozens of applications per week. Sometimes happens a few per week. (AI, Transnistria).

The issue of recognition of Transnistria affects the possibilities of cooperation of Transnistrian official institutions with public authorities of different countries regards to the migrating population.

We mostly work with the Embassies, Consular offices, which consular district includes territory of Transnistria. These are mainly the Embassies that function in Chisinau. Let us admit some of them are in Bucharest, Kyiv. Everything depends on the country. Sometimes the political position of some countries does not allow certain structures or the Embassy itself to accept our documents. Therefore, difficulties appear here. (AI, Transnistria).

In accordance with expert interviews, support to such cooperation depends on the resources of Transnistria (legal, economic).

In accordance with the law “On citizenship”, the Transnistrian public authorities have an obligation to provide protection and patronage on its territory and outside in relation to its citizens. There are no certain approved programs on protection of the citizens on the territory of foreign countries. Anyway, we take measures to provide protection of such people abroad. (AI, Transnistria).

Currently, Transnistria has representations in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Similar representations were in Moscow and Kyiv until 2012, but they were temporarily closed due to economic reasons.

This year the President, taking into account tempos of cooperation with Russia, instructed to examine the issue of resumption of work of the representation in Moscow. However, the solution of this problem, on top of everything else, comes down to the need of its material and technical support again. (AI, Transnistria).

However, in accordance with expert interviews, despite these objective limitations, the official institutions from Transnistria identify opportunities for the protection of the natives of Transnistria abroad.

Last year, before the New Year, all the documents were stolen from the resident of Transnistria, possessing documents certifying the citizenship of the Republic of Moldova, who stays in Abkhazia, and he was not able to get out from there. The issue was that he was not able to get a Moldovan certificate. He had to travel to Moscow. They were ready to let him go from Abkhazia on the basis of Transnistrian documents, but how he will travel to Russia? The leader of representation of Transnistria in Abkhazia was offering necessary assistance to the citizen over the overall period of resolution of the issue. He was placed in the military hospital when he got ill. Later he was taken to the airport.

There were cases, when citizens were founding themselves in the situation, when their documents were not recognized by certain structures. We were addressing directly to a relevant authority, which had not been accepting one or another document, were offering explanations. We resolve the issue. (AI, Transnistria).

Contrary to tensions in relations between Transnistria and right banks of the Nistru River from the point of view of protection of citizens abroad, parties find the space for cooperation.

There was a case, when criminal proceedings were initiated against two our citizens for the use of forged documents in FRG. These were driving licenses. The Moldovan part asked for information. We prepared the templates of driving licenses and sent them to the Embassy to be passed to the police authorities of Germany. The issue was resolved after that. We are ready to cooperate. (AI, Transnistria).

One of the possibilities for the protection of the natives of Transnistria abroad is connected with the institute of double citizenship. Being citizen of

another country, a native of Transnistria could invoke this to protect their rights.

Transnistria does not have direct agreements and signed treaties in relation to cooperation in the area of population movement. However, we have one additional resource. What is Transnistria's peculiarity? All people, who left legally from Transnistria abroad, they are simultaneously citizens of recognized countries. We, in such a case, together with the relevant state resolve the emerged difficulties. If he, let us admit, is the citizen of Ukraine or Russia, then we maintain contacts with these bodies. We are involved to offer assistance in protection of rights. For example, a militia officer Maxim Kuzimichev was detained in Athens. We, of course, were clanging all bells, contacted all international organizations that are responsible for human rights. He is the citizen of Russia. Therefore, we were addressing to Russia, offering necessary information, so that Russian part would be easier to maintain a dialogue. We had a situation, when, if I am not wrong, fighters captured a group of people in Syria. A residence of Transnistria, who is simultaneously the citizen of Moldova, was among them. We also reacted in no time. We wrote an appeal to the Moldovan part. She was finally released. In principle, we use this channel, because we are not able to do this independently. (AI, Transnistria).

In accordance with expert interviews, the resources of international organizations, for instance, the International Organization for Migration, are rarely used for the social protection of the natives of Transnistria residing abroad.

In my experience, I have never met a case, when we would recommend to the natives of Transnistria to address to an international organizations. Although we interact with some nongovernmental organizations, because sometimes citizens do not address to us. They address to them or people simultaneously address to both them, and us, and we begin to work. (AI, Transnistria).

International organizations as a resource for legal and social protection of migrants originating from Transnistria residing abroad are used through the system of non-governmental organizations. For example, the public organization “Interaction” has been working in the area of preventing human trafficking, migration and helping those who are in a complicated situation outside the republic for more than 10 years. The hot line has received more than 11 thousand appeals during this time. According to expert's information, the number of appeals to the hot line has been decreasing every year. This is

linked with the awareness raising among the people willing to go abroad for employment.

“Interaction” actively cooperates with international organizations on migration in various countries, whereby assistance was offered to the affected natives of Transnistria who were staying mainly on the territory of Syria, Arab Emirate, Turkey, Indonesia. Main infringements were linked with the limitation of freedom and right to choose the job⁶³.

A wide range of activities to prevent illegal migration and combat human trafficking in Transnistria is implemented also by other NGOs: Informational agency “Social aspect”, Center of psychological support “Lada”, center “Women initiatives”, Regional training center “Synergy”, Centre “Resonance”, Centre of social services “Perspective”⁶⁴.

One example is the “Permanent Representation of the Jewish Agency “Sohnut” NGO, which has existed for many years in Transnistria. Its activity is directed, among others, to offering information and consultative support to the citizens of Jewish origin who decided to settle in the State of Israel⁶⁵. The Organization participates in pre-migration training of future repatriates: paper work, inclusion in Jewish culture, religion, language.

A series of entrepreneurship structures also offer services to migrants. They are mainly represented in Transnistria by individual entrepreneurs who provide services in the area of passenger transportation along the Russian route to Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

A certain spectrum of commercial services are provided to the natives of Transnistria who plan to migrate to the territories of distant countries. These are services of foreign language training, paperwork, finding employment abroad.

⁶³ Защита прав и свобод граждан – главный приоритет // <http://www.vspmr.org/news/supreme-council/zaschita-prav-i-svobod-grajdan-glavny-prioritet.html> [Protection of rights and liberties of citizens – the main priority // <http://www.vspmr.org/news/supreme-council/zaschita-prav-i-svobod-grajdan-glavny-prioritet.html>]

⁶⁴ Алистратова О. Взаимодействие официальных и общественных институтов в Приднестровье в осуществлении мероприятий по противодействию торговле людьми // Политика и практика регулирования миграции в условиях современных вызовов. Материалы международной научно-исследовательской конференции. Тирасполь, 27 января 2017 года – Кишинэу, Международная организация по миграции, миссия в Молдове, 2017. Стр. 118-123 [Alistratova O. Interaction of official and civil society institutions in Transnistria in carrying out events on prevention human trafficking // Policy and practice of migration regulation in conditions of modern challenges. Proceedings of international scientific-research conference. Tiraspol, 27 January 2017 – Chisinau, International Organization for Migration, Mission in Moldova, 2017. p. 118-123]

⁶⁵ Постоянное представительство еврейского агентства «Сохнут» // <https://www.jcm.md/ru/permanent-representative-office-of-jewish-agency-for-israel-in-moldova> [Permanent representation of the Jewish agency “Sohnut” // <https://www.jcm.md/ru/permanent-representative-office-of-jewish-agency-for-israel-in-moldova>]

This market of commercial services for migrants is not very large as the main mass of migrants are oriented to Russia.

In interviews, migrants were expressing their concerns about receiving commercial services related to migration issues, as fraud often occurs in this area.

I was departing to the Great Britain on the basis of Romanian citizenship. I addressed to an employment agency that was providing assistance to migrants from the Republic of Moldova in order to go there, to complete the paperwork, to search for a job. In the end, the agency has failed to comply with obligations. I had to resolve all issues on the spot. To look for information through internet. Non-fulfilment of its obligations by the agency is an opportunity to earn more money. They are interested that migrants know as little information as possible in order to agree with available housing and employment offers as well as in order to call to these places as many people as possible. In such a way, they will increase their income. (FG, Great Britain).

There were many problems linked with documentation at the stage of arrival and registering in the Great Britain. I was seeking for paid services in this area, but ended up cheated. (FG, Great Britain).

My parents got married in the mid-1990s. They built a house. Incomes were low. They became infected by the idea to leave to Italy in search of money. They benefited of the services of an intermediate – a woman who turned to be a swindler in the end. Money and time were wasted for paperwork (they had even to go to Kyiv), attempts to study Italian language, etc. (II, Russia).

The situation in the area of migration policy of Transnistria in relation to population living abroad has directly influenced the results of migrants' survey.

The majority of interviewed migrants originating from Transnistria are poorly aware of the possibilities for legal and social protection abroad or of opportunities to receive assistance from specific initiatives of Transnistria. Only 13.3% of respondents from Germany, Russia and Italy indicated that they know of some initiatives from Transnistria targeting diaspora from Transnistria abroad. In an open question on the concrete initiatives of Transnistria, only two answers were received: on the recognition of diplomas of the natives of Transnistria and business relations with Russia.

Participants in the research expressed their opinions on the need for more active involvement of authorities in support of compatriots abroad.

For the beginning, it is necessary to acknowledge that about 50% of population is in temporary or permanent migration. Then, based on the experience of other countries, to offer state support to own diaspora abroad. (AI, Russia).

I was a volunteer to provide social assistance to the refugees from Ukraine in Moscow. Our citizens also need protection of their rights and social assistance. Fellow residents face different challenges, which need to be addressed: food, housing, paperwork. Many offer their help: through personal connections or in the framework of legislation in force. However, an institute to protect the rights of the natives of Transnistria in Russia is required. (AI, Russia).

Transnistrian authorities should not be indifferent to the challenges faced by the natives of Transnistria abroad. They should work more actively with Russian mass media in order to develop social networks of the natives of Transnistria in VKontakte and Facebook, so that they could access information, communicate with each other, share information. (AI, Russia).

I cannot find a way to regularly receive a pension in Transnistria. Every three months they demand from me a certificate that indicates that I am live. It must be obtained here in Italy, translated into Russian and legalized in Tiraspol. The whole procedure costs me 50 euros. It's expensive for me. In order not to go every three months home, I made a power of attorney for my sister and now she is dealing with bureaucracy in Tiraspol. (FG, Italy)

Therefore, we could conclude that a series of regulatory measures are implemented in relation to migrants originating from Transnistria. However, due to the unrecognized status and limited resources of Transnistria, they inadequately reflect migrants' interests and needs. Civil society organizations have been involved in working with migrants in recent years. The Development of migration programmes and initiatives in Transnistria is promising, in order to support the migrants abroad, increase interaction between official institutions of Transnistria and civil society organizations and attract international organizations.

CONCLUSION

In the past three decades, the intensive outflow of population from Transnistria abroad has formed a community of people which were defined as “diaspora from Transnistria” for the purpose of this research. It includes the natives of Transnistria who emigrated and settled in other places of residence; namely economic and study migrants from Transnistria. It is impossible to count the number of diaspora originating from Transnistria who settled abroad. However, its size might be comparable with the number of all the population of Transnistria (500 thousand people).

The policy of institutionalization and work with its own diaspora is characteristic for many countries whose current population is extensively involved in migration processes. The Experience of many countries such as Israel, Armenia, Ireland, Mexico, etc. shows that the implementation of a package of policies related to diaspora influences both diaspora itself and the reputation and image of a state, including its investment attractiveness and economic growth, polycultural and democratic development.

In our opinion, there is a need to implement special programs targeting the diaspora originating from Transnistria. The agents of implementation might be official institutions of Transnistria, civil society organizations (including international), entrepreneurial entities, and representatives of the scientific community and mass-media.

Specific steps in this direction might be:

- **Pre-migration training of potential migrants.** It should include: information for potential migrants on the activity of institutions responsible for migration issues, conducting training on necessary skills and rules of residence in the host country, requalification depending on the needs of the labor market of the destination country, mediation with the hosting country (migration authorities, employers).

- **Social support of migrants abroad.** Including: registration of all types of migrants, creation of communication network between migrants, monitoring of migrants' situation abroad, offering various social services (legal support, assistance in emergency situations, services related to remittances, etc.).

- **Institutionalization of diaspora from Transnistria.** It is necessary to support the creation of initiative groups and public organizations in the localities where the natives of Transnistria have settled abroad. These institutions should carry out a range of functions to support diaspora abroad and ensure connections with the motherland through diaspora organization.

- **Target program for study migrants.** It is necessary to address the issues faced by the study-related migration. For the period of study – to organize support of students studying abroad: to help in adaptation, to support when a problem emerges, to use a student's higher educational institution as a base for scientific research relevant and specific for the challenges of Transnistria. To ensure on-the-job training in the organizations of Transnistria and to guarantee the employment of young specialists.

- **Work with the members of migrants families who remain in Transnistria** (in particular children and elderly parents of migrants). Work with migrants' children should derive from the following objectives: prevention of homelessness, consultation on education, control over education, and prevention of deviant behavior. In relation to elderly parents of migrants – their social protection and social welfare.

- **Targetted programme of employment for returned migrants.** The Modernization of the entire system of recruitment and staff distribution. Reduction of the role of social networks of the worker and prioritization of his skills and productivity. Potential for employment of returned migrants in accordance with their area of activity and qualification achieved should be identified. Positive experience of a migrant's employment abroad should be replicated at home.

- **Targetted programme of involvement of returned migrants in entrepreneurship activity.** It is necessary to define migrants as a group of potential entrepreneurs. To motivate and develop aspirations for entrepreneurial activity. To include returned migrants in training programs for entrepreneurial activity.

- **Socio-cultural and psychological adaptation of returned migrants to the new life in the motherland.** While residing abroad, certain changes in migrant's character occur. Rethinking of values of life occurs. Change in patterns of family behavior occurs (for example, women becoming financially independent, and want equal relations in family). And our society has been subject to change. It is necessary to provide psychological assistance to migrants and assist them to be integrated in the community of compatriots in the early stages of return. Spouses, parents and children need psychological assistance.

In combination, carrying out these initiatives with migrants originating from Transnistria could change the effect from the present migration situation – to capitalize on its benefits.

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Social-demographic characteristics of the sample

| | Russia | Italy | Germany | Israel | Portugal | Great Britain |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|--------|----------|---------------|
| What is your gender? | | | | | | |
| man | 48 | 34 | 43,3 | 46,7 | 50 | 50 |
| female | 52 | 66 | 56,7 | 53,3 | 50 | 50 |
| What is your age? | | | | | | |
| 18-30 years | 59 | 20 | 50 | 20 | 26,7 | 43,3 |
| 31-40 years | 20 | 26 | 20 | 33,3 | 26,7 | 30 |
| 41-50 years | 17 | 23 | 16,7 | 26,7 | 30 | 20 |
| 50 and more years | 4 | 31 | 13,3 | 20 | 16,6 | 6,7 |
| What is your marital status? | | | | | | |
| single, not married | 49 | 17 | 36,7 | 26,7 | 26,7 | 43,3 |
| officially married | 32 | 63 | 40 | 36,7 | 43,3 | 36,7 |
| informal marriage | 9 | 5 | 13,3 | 10 | 6,7 | 0 |
| divorced | 8 | 9 | 6,7 | 20 | 13,3 | 0 |
| widow | 2 | 6 | 3,3 | 6,7 | 0 | 0 |

Annex 2.

**Educational and professional characteristics
of the sample**

| | Russia | Italy | Germany | Israel | Portugal | Great Britain |
|--|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| What is your education? | | | | | | |
| secondary school (lyceum) | 30 | 14 | 20 | 20 | 6,9 | 13,3 |
| vocational School (college) | 18 | 30 | 13,3 | 30 | 34,5 | 26,7 |
| bachelor's degree (College) | 12 | 31 | 10 | 13,3 | 20,7 | 13,3 |
| Diploma Specialist / Master's (University) | 38 | 25 | 56,7 | 36,7 | 37,9 | 46,7 |
| the candidate degree of Doctor of Science | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| What was your last profession (occupation) in Transnistria? | | | | | | |
| industry | 11 | 13 | 3,3 | 16,7 | 23,3 | 13,3 |
| agriculture and forestry | 1 | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 3,3 |
| construction industry | 3 | 3 | 3,3 | 0 | 10 | 16,7 |
| transport and communication | 3 | 7 | 10 | 6,7 | 10 | 6,7 |
| trade and catering | 8 | 11 | 3,3 | 10 | 13,3 | 10 |
| information and computer services | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3,3 | 0 |
| housing and utilities, and non-productive types of public services | 1 | 3 | 3,3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| health and social security, physical education, recreation and tourism | 7 | 9 | 6,7 | 0 | 0 | 3,3 |
| education, science, culture and art | 13 | 12 | 20 | 20 | 10 | 6,7 |
| leadership | 1 | 7 | 6,7 | 10 | 0 | 6,7 |
| law enforcement agencies, the army | 3 | 2 | | 3,3 | 0 | 0 |
| entrepreneurship | 3 | 3 | 3,3 | 3,3 | 0 | 3,3 |
| studding, research, culture and arts | 32 | 23 | 20 | 10 | 6,7 | 23,3 |
| unemployed, housewife | 7 | 4 | 6,7 | 13,3 | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| home maintenance services | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| other industries | 4 | 0 | 6,7 | 0 | 10 | 0 |

Settlement characteristics of the sample

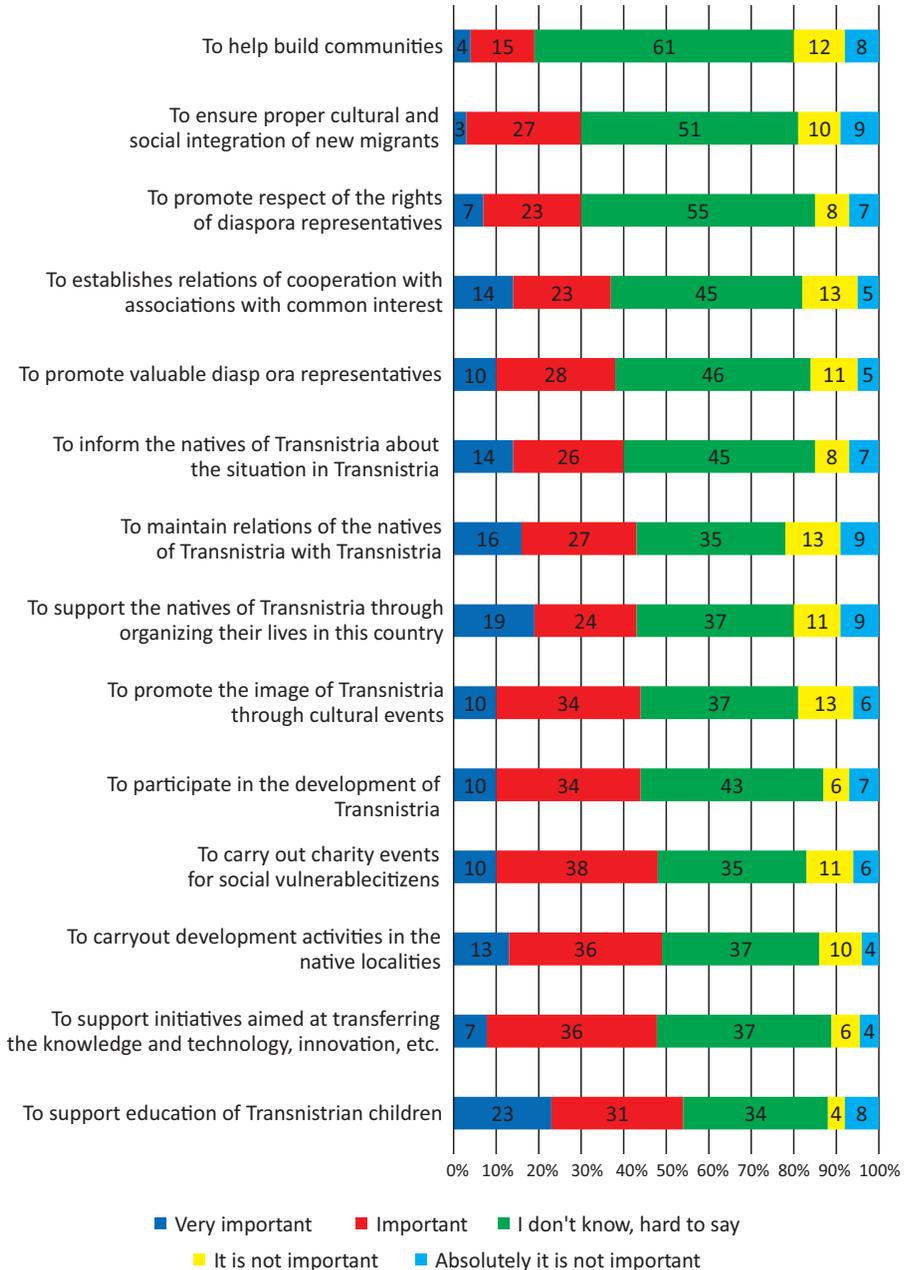
| | Russia | Italy | Germany | Israel | Portugal | Great Britain |
|---|--------|-------|---------|--------|----------|---------------|
| Where were you born? | | | | | | |
| Transnistria | 85 | 82 | 90 | 100 | 86,7 | 100 |
| Moldova, right bank | 5 | 16 | 6,7 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Ukraine | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3,3 | 0 |
| Russia | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Germany | 0 | 0 | 3,3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Latvia | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Where have you lived in Transnistria, before you went abroad? | | | | | | |
| Tiraspol (Bender, Rybnitsa) | 64 | 57 | 43,3 | 53,3 | 53,3 | 36,7 |
| small town | 16 | 21 | 30 | 23,3 | 13,4 | 33,3 |
| village | 20 | 22 | 26,7 | 23,3 | 33,3 | 30 |
| In what rayon of Transnistria have you lived before you went abroad? | | | | | | |
| Tiraspol | 37 | 24 | 20 | 43,3 | 24,1 | 20,7 |
| Bender | 13 | 31 | 16,7 | 20 | 13,8 | 6,9 |
| Rybnitsa | 10 | 9 | 6,7 | 3,3 | 10,3 | 20,7 |
| Kamenska | 5 | 6 | 6,7 | 13,3 | 10,3 | 13,8 |
| Dubossary | 6 | 16 | 16,7 | 6,7 | 31 | 24,1 |
| Grigoriopol | 11 | 5 | 10 | 3,3 | 3,4 | 6,9 |
| Slobozia | 18 | 9 | 23,3 | 10 | 6,9 | 6,9 |

Annex 4.

Ethnic and civil characteristics of the sample

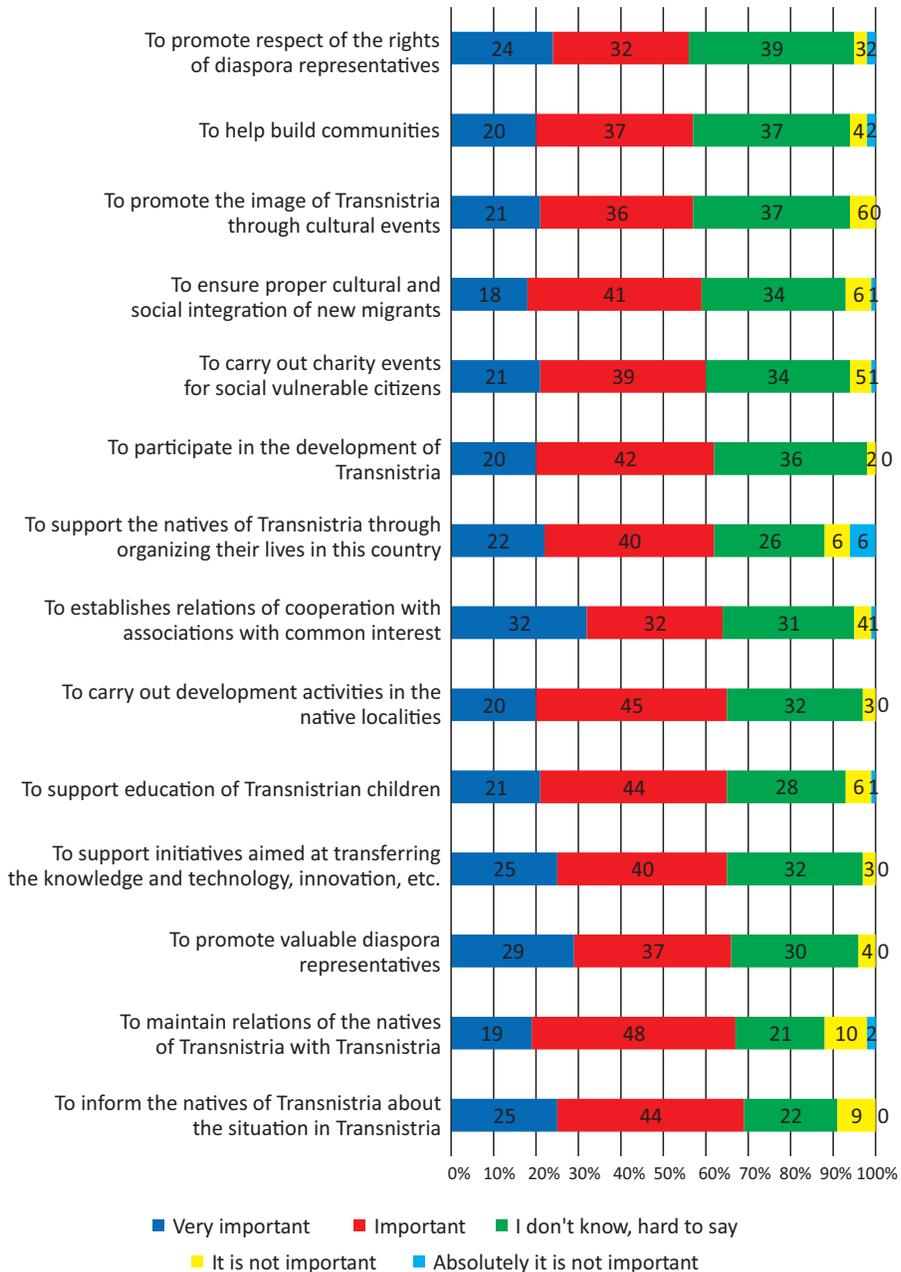
| | Russia | Italy | Germany | Israel | Portugal | Great Britain |
|--|--------|-------|---------|--------|----------|---------------|
| What is your nationality? | | | | | | |
| Russian | 56 | 21 | 36,7 | 43,3 | 40 | 50 |
| Moldovan | 27 | 67 | 43,3 | 40 | 46,7 | 43,3 |
| Ukrainian | 17 | 8 | 13,3 | 10 | 13,3 | 6,7 |
| other | 0 | 4 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 0 | 0 |
| What is your native language? | | | | | | |
| Russian | 83 | 39 | 60 | 70 | 43,3 | 63,3 |
| Moldavian | 17 | 55 | 36,7 | 30 | 50 | 30 |
| Ukrainian | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| other | 0 | 4 | 3,3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| What is your citizenship? (Any number of responses) | | | | | | |
| Russia | 90,4 | 18,4 | 36,8 | 42,1 | 25,0 | 26,1 |
| The Republic of Moldova | 13,8 | 79,6 | 68,4 | 57,9 | 66,7 | 56,5 |
| Ukraine | 8,5 | 1,0 | 5,3 | 0 | 2,1 | 0 |
| other | 2,1 | 35,7 | 34,4 | 42,1 | 37,5 | 43,4 |
| Do you have the citizenship of the country in which you reside now? | | | | | | |
| yes | 88 | 34 | 30 | 16,7 | 33,3 | 16,7 |
| no | 12 | 66 | 70 | 83,3 | 66,7 | 83,3 |

**Distribution of the responses to the question
„Asses how important are challenges faced by Transnistrian organizations
in this country (Russia)?“**

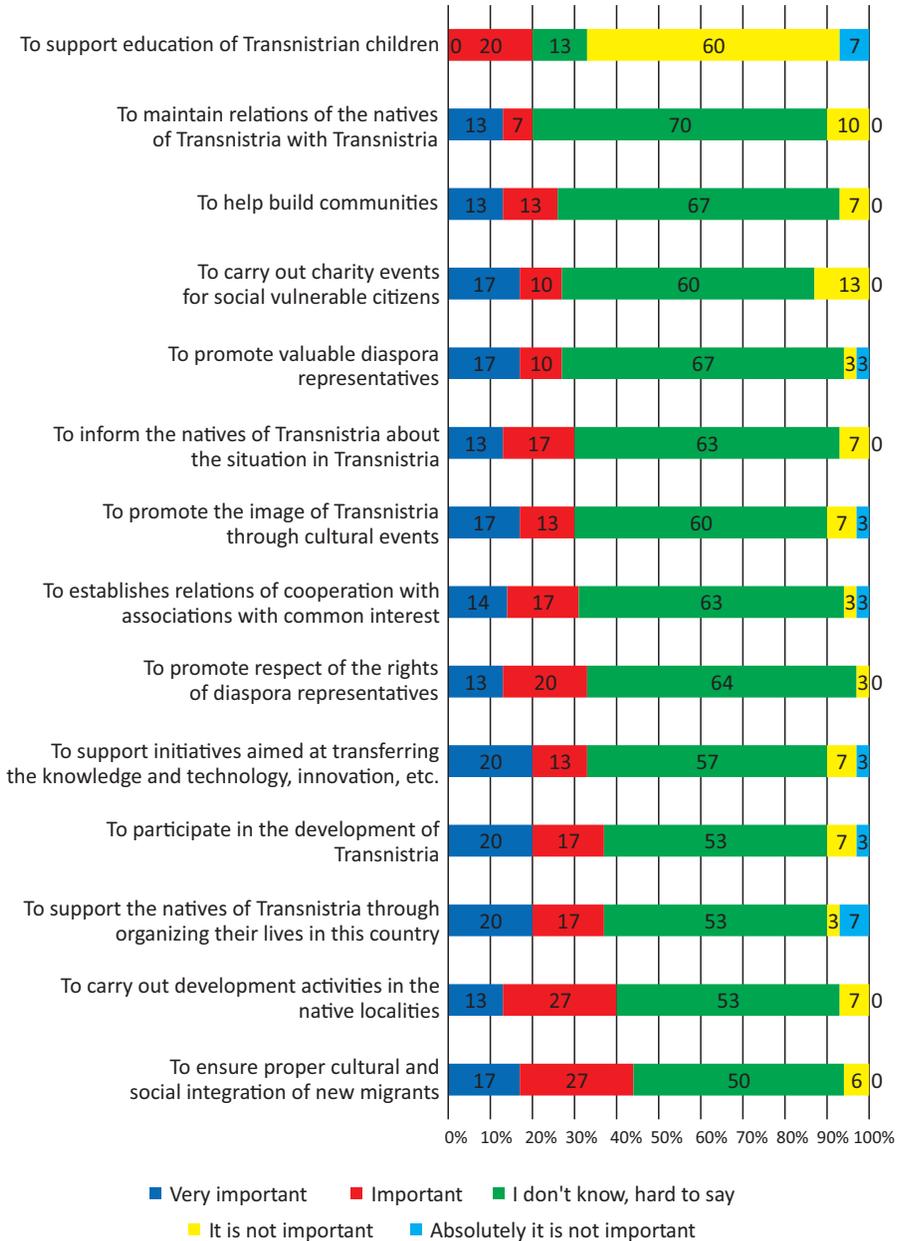


Annex 6.

**Distribution of the responses to the question
„Assess how important are challenges faced by Transnistrian organizations
in this country (Italy)?“**

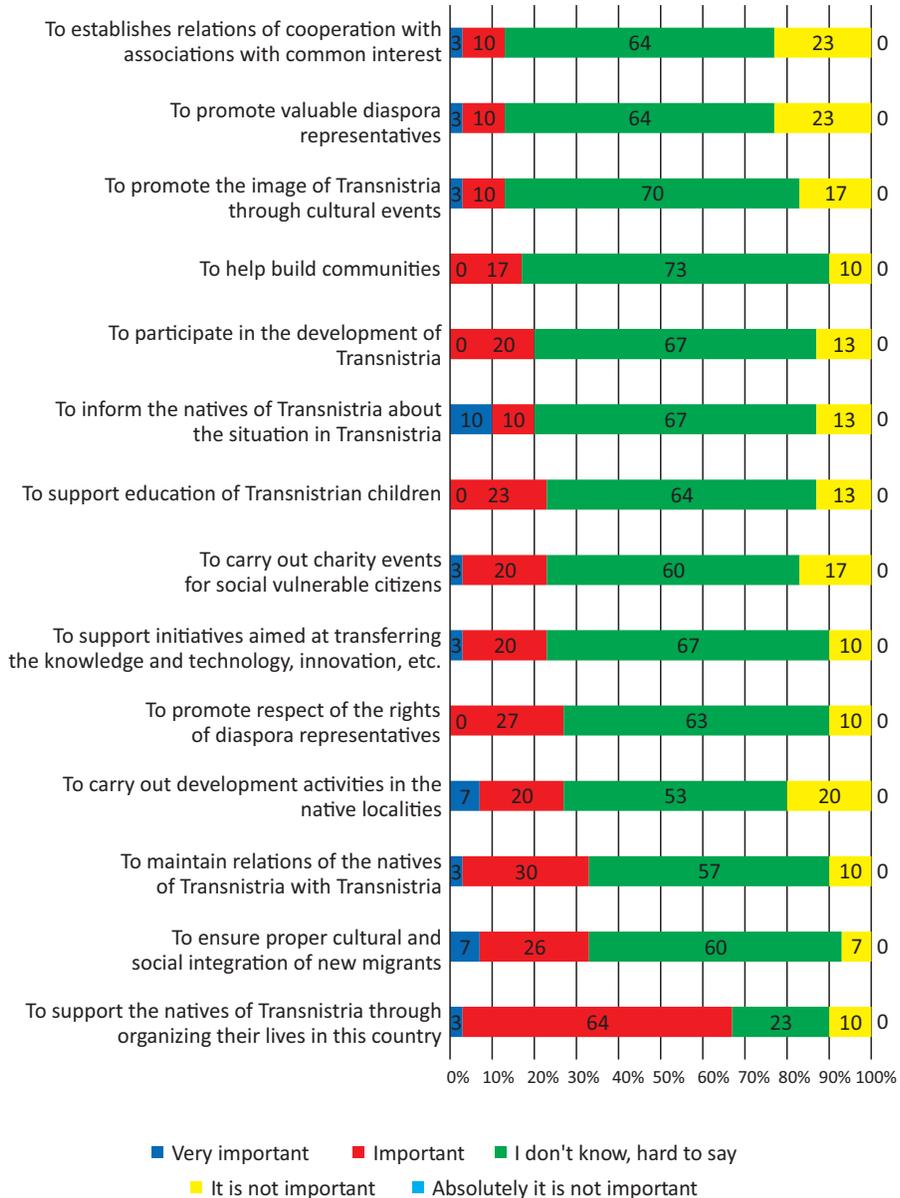


Distribution of the responses to the question „Assess how important are challenges faced by Transnistrian organizations in this country (Germany)?“

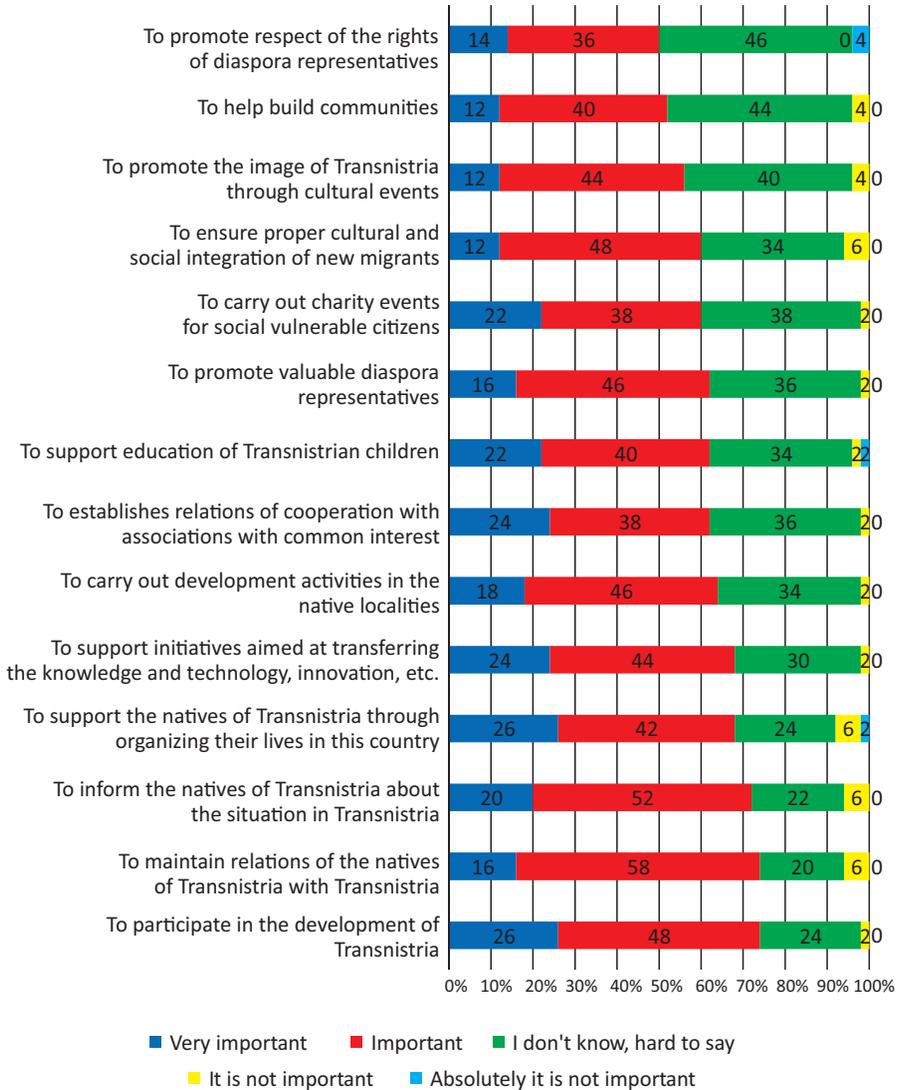


Annex 8.

**Distribution of the responses to the question
„Assess how important are challenges faced by Transnistrian organizations
in this country (Israel)?”**

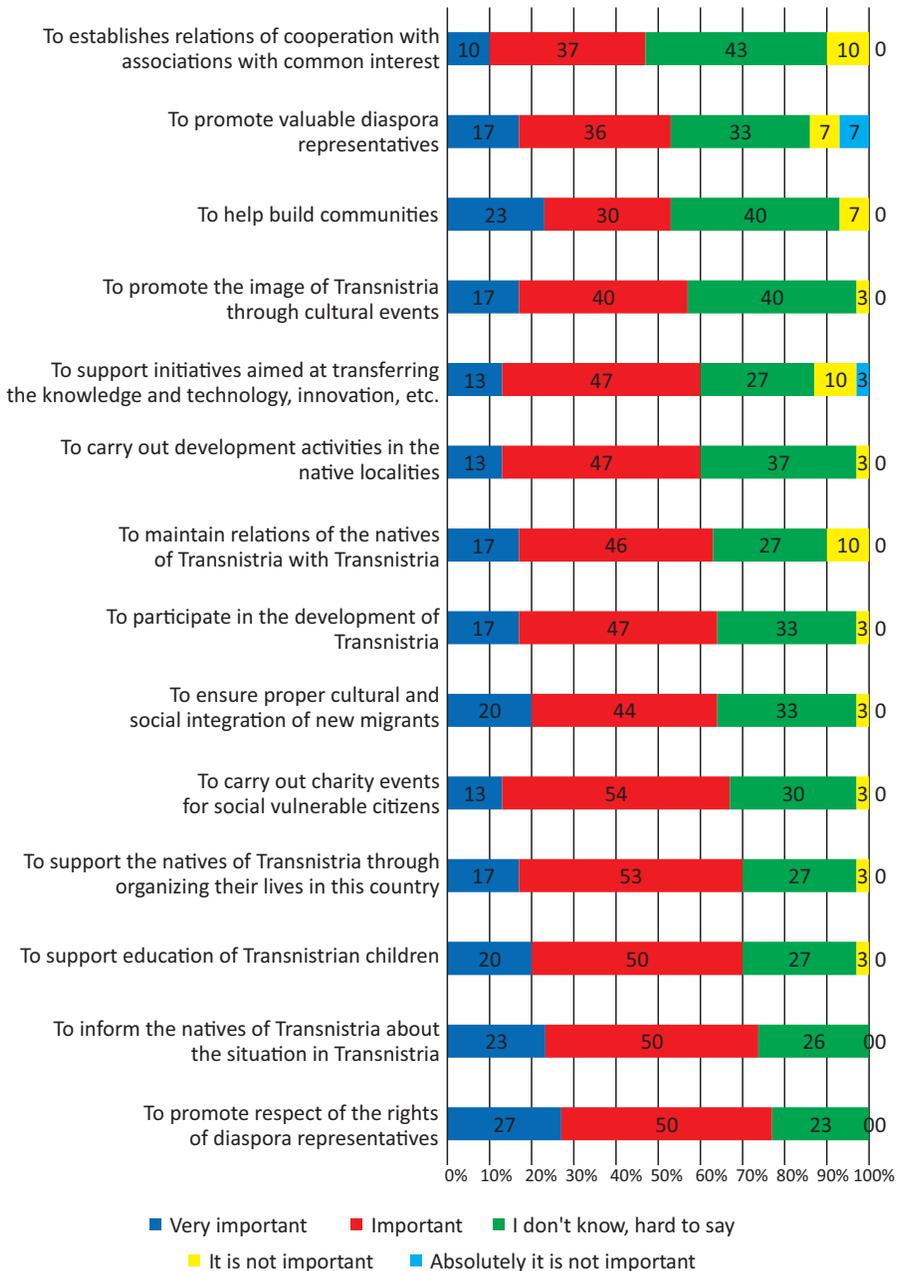


**Distribution of the responses to the question
„Asses how important are challenges faced by Transnistrian organizations
in this country (Portugal)?“**



Annex 10.

**Distribution of the responses to the question
„Assess how important are challenges faced by Transnistrian organizations
in this country (Great Britain)?”**



**Responses to the open question:
"Why did you return home?"**

Political motives

1. Status of Transnistria. *Stable political situation. Improvement of the situation.*
2. Patriotism. *I love my motherland.*
3. Legal motives. *I can't legalize abroad*

Economic motives

1. Employment. *Not much, work abroad. Following job loss abroad. To work in accordance with profession. When there is an opportunity for investments. To start up a business.*
2. Incomes. *Sustainable economic development. Work with a decent salary. Salary's increase.*

Household motives

1. Accommodation. *Own property. Comfort life.*
2. Climate. *Natural conditions.*
3. Way of life. *To take care of my health. To take a rest. To be at home when retired. It is always better at home.*

Cultural motives. *Culture. Mentality. Religion.*

Psychological motives. *I feel comfortable at home. I miss my motherland.*

Family motives. *To return to the family. To live with the family and children. All my family is at home. I miss my parents. My relatives are here. Friends.*

Annex 12.

**Responses to the open question:
"Which changes in the personal/family life would contribute
to your return home?"**

Legal motives. *Problems with documents, if citizenship is abolished.*

Economic motives.

1. Employment. *Incapacity for work. Lose of job. Career. Good job in accordance with profession.*

2. Incomes. *Increasing in financial situation. Financial independence of the family. Good salary. If the child supports me.*

Family motives. *Relatives' illness. The family returned. To marry. If the wife and the children return. If the children decide to live in the home country. If the parents insists. If the family's members insist. Completion of the studies by children. Have no one to keep the child. My relatives need help. Emigration of all the relatives. Health problems of relatives. Threat of divorce.*

Other motives. *Willingness. Decision to return. Completion of studies.*

**Responses to the open question:
"Which changes in Transnistria might have contributed
to your return?"**

Political motives.

1. Status of Transnistria. *Political situation in the region. Political stability. Settlement of conflicts. Rapid development. Relations building with foreign countries. Development of Transnistria.*

2. Attitude to power. *Right politics. Competent politics. Governance, which takes care of people. Change of power.*

3. Legal motives. *Human rights. Laws that work.*

Economic motives. *Economy's development. Improvement of economic situation. Economic stability. Economic development.*

1. Employment. *More job places. Possibility of employment. To find a well-paid job. A perspective job. A job place with decent salary. A job place in own area.*

2. Incomes. *High salary. Decent salaries. Increase of salary. Stable income. Reduction of prices and wage growth. A decent level of life. Improvement of the quality of life. Better conditions for living. Availability of accommodation.*

3. Entrepreneurship. *Opportunities for business. Development of small business. Conditions for business.*

Family motives. *Return to relatives.*

Other motives. *Opportunities for development. Infrastructure development. Available medicine. Development of public health service. Social programs. Accessible housing. Availability of housing. Modernization. Development of culture. Confidence in future.*

Annex 14.

**Responses to the open question:
"Why you will not return home?"**

Political barriers

1. Status of Transnistria. *Tensioned situation, it's impossible to live calm. A conflict zone. Unrecognized status. Difficult political situation. Total destabilization.*

2. Attitude to power. *No support from the authorities of Transnistria. Corruption.*

3. Legal barriers. *Silly laws. Legal disorder. No documents. No justice. Lack of higher educational institutions, which diplomas are recognized.*

Economic barriers

1. Employment. *There are no places at home, where it would be possible to employ. No work that would suit me. No good work. It is difficult to find work in accordance with specialty. I want career advancement. There is work abroad.*

2. Incomes. *It is difficult with earnings at home. Low salaries. The pension is very low. I want to raise some money. I need to support myself. The salary is higher abroad. I send money from abroad to children. No means to live.*

3. Quality of life. *Low level of life. Low level of social support. Low material situation. Poor organized social security. Living standards are better abroad.*

Household barriers

1. Housing. *My house is abroad. We bought a house abroad. I got a job abroad.*

2. Way of life. *It is much better abroad. We are used to live differently. I like living in other country. I used to another country. I want to live in a developed country.*

3. Climate. *Climate. Health problems.*

Cultural barriers. *No conditions for a civilized life.*

Psychological barriers. My future is abroad. I see no reason. Lack of opportunities. I do not want. No desire. No perspectives. No perspectives for the children. No sense. No confidence. Lack of perspectives. I am disappointed. I will not be able to live there.

Family barriers. *My soul mates are in other countries. No soul mates are in other country. Married with a foreigner, settled here. Children and family decided to stay abroad. All my family is abroad. I want to take all soul mates with me. I want to marry abroad.*

**Responses to the open question:
"What could impede you to return to the home country?"**

Political barriers. *War. Closed borders. Unclear political situation. Lack of recognition. Instability.*

Legal barriers. *Lose of documents. Citizenship of other country. If I obtain work permit. To obtain citizenship in other country. Problems with Ukrainian customs.*

Economic barriers. *Crises. Bad economy of the region. Deterioration of economic situation. Economic catastrophe.*

1. *Employment. Unemployment. If I do not find a job in Russia, I will return. Work availability abroad. Studies, work later on. A good job.*

2. *Incomes. Poverty. Salaries. Low material situation. Low living standards. If I am not able to support children. A good salary. A good pension.*

Household barriers

1. *Accommodation. Own property. Personal housing (not rental).*

2. *Way of life. Good life in Europe. Good health.*

Family barriers. *Departure abroad of all relatives and soul mates. If the family decides to leave abroad. Creation of family. Lack of relatives and soul mates. Death of relatives.*

Annex 16.

**Responses to the open question:
"Why are you ready to invest your money
in business back home?"**

Patriotic factors. *I believe in Transnistria. For the development of the town. For the development of the country. A beautiful town, many decent people. Patriotic feelings. To raise the economy up. To help people. Because I link my future with the Motherland. Because I am accustomed with population from Transnistria. I believe that this region has opportunities. I want to make my motherland a better place. To live at home in my country.*

Family factors. *To be next to the parents. To be with the family. For children. To support family. To work at home.*

Purposeful rational factors.

I see the future. I see the perspectives. I know my job. Easy to get money, if you have your own business. Easy to work in the motherland. Personal interest. Because we have a poorly developed business. Broadening of outlook. Have capacities to become a businessman. To return and to work. When I got home, to have something to do.

**Responses to the open question:
"Why you are not ready to invest money in the business
in Transnistria?"**

Political factors. *Bureaucratic red tape. Do not support small business. Authorities do not allow to develop. The war, no stability. High tax burden. Corrupted officials. The laws do not work. I do not trust authorities. Opportunities for business are not developed. Unstable political situation.*

Economic factors. *Poverty of the population. Business will be strangled. High risks. A high number of problems. Possible failure. Because of the crises. Poor people. Little profitability. Monopoly. Taxes. Unprofitable: you will lose more. Not so profitable as in other countries. Complex peculiarities of the local business. Fear to lose money. Difficult to create own business. I have no money to start thinking.*

Personal factors. *Wrong age. I am not interested in this. I do not have time for this. I see no reason. I will not live in the Motherland. I am not ready to start entrepreneurship. I do not understand business. I have no interest in. I do not have a clue. I do not want to risk. I got on in years, I have no forces. I have a business abroad.*

