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**MOLDOVAN COMMUNITIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE  
CONSOLIDATION OF DIASPORA POTENTIAL  
(POLITICAL ANALYSIS)**

**Specialty 561.01 – Theory, methodology of political science;  
Political institutions and processes**

Abstract of the PhD thesis in Political Science

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The dissertation and the abstract can be consulted at the National Library of the Republic of Moldova, Library of the State University of Moldova and on the web page of the NAQAER ([www.anacec.md](http://www.anacec.md)).

Abstract has been sent on 10 March 2025.

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## THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

*Relevance and importance of the subject.* The migration processes that the Republic of Moldova has been actively involved in since the early 1990's have led to the formation of Moldovan migrant communities in the destination countries. The process of transformation of these communities into a diaspora is gradual, diaspora organization are formed, and the process of diaspora institutionalization takes place. The diaspora firstly seeks to maintain the identity, language, and culture of its home country, but at same time it promotes migrant integration into the host country.

The relevance and importance of studying the transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into diasporas within the EU come from the fact that the Republic of Moldova is a direct neighbor of the European Union, and that in the last decades Moldovan citizens are actively migrating to EU countries, being attracted by the availability of employment positions, better salaries, a developed social and democratic system, and inclusive policies towards migrants. Currently the number of Moldovan citizens residing abroad surpasses one million people, 47% of whom are found in EU countries [4]. This fact determines the actuality and importance of the study on the diasporal potential of Moldovan communities in the European Union.

In the last decade, both nationally and internationally great attention has been given to the relationship between migration, diaspora, and development, and efforts have been made to capitalize on the diaspora's potential positive value for the sustainable development of the country of origin. In this regard researching the impact of migration and diaspora is relevant for the Republic of Moldova's sustainable development, as its diaspora provides assistance and support at the national level, and can also be an effective instrument for development at a local level, benefiting the migrants' home communities within the country of origin.

The issue of migration and diaspora is likewise relevant for political sciences. Migration is a multidimensional subject that every scientific field (demography, economy, sociology, political science, etc.) can engage in studying. Moldovan researchers traditionally focus on the subjects of demographics and economic difficulties caused by the workforce exodus from the Republic of Moldova. The directions, fluxes, volumes, and motivations of Moldovan migrants abroad are studied, in particular from a sociological perspective. However, nowadays such issues as migrant flow regulation, decrease of negative consequences of migration, development and implementation of state policies for diaspora consolidation, and return and reintegration of migrants come to the forefront. In other words, the political science perspective is becoming more relevant.

An important aspect of studying the topic of consolidation of EU Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential is the state policy of destination countries. The authorities/ civil

society of the destination countries are interested in the successful integration of Moldovan citizens, in utilizing their demographic, social, financial, educational, and other potential for the destination country's development. At the same time, the Moldovan diaspora can contribute to the development and consolidation of relations between the Republic of Moldova and the destination countries, can promote a positive image of the country of origin on the international arena.

The necessity and importance of a political study of Moldovan communities in the European Union, of the consolidation of their diaspora potential is determined by two primary factors: firstly, the diaspora is identified as a part of the population that resides in another country and has its own strategy of interaction with the host country, and the country of origin. Secondly, there's the establishment of diaspora organizations, whose purpose is to maintain the ethnic identity, language, culture, traditions, etc.

The results of empirical studies show that a significant part of Moldovan migrants will not be returning home. They have socialized and integrated into the destination countries; they have decent salaries and have made investments, they do not wish to return and start over from nothing. As a result, one of the directions of Moldovan state policy on migration, diaspora, and development should focus on the consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora, on utilizing its social and financial capital for the sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova.

All of the above mentioned things determine the relevance of this study and the necessity of a complex and integral approach to the issue of consolidation of EU Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential.

**The extent of research on the topic and the definition of the study's principal theses.** In foreign scientific literature the study of diaspora began relatively recently, yet the number of subjects that have come to the attention of researchers is quite significant. Western researchers such as W. Konnor [26], M. Esman [28], D.A. Armstrong [22], G. Sheffer [34] in their works analyze diaspora activity from a trans-border and trans-cultural perspective. R. Brubaker [23], G. Sheffer [34], W. Safran [31], D.A. Armstrong [22], R. Cohen [25], etc. address the methodological aspects of diaspora study. An analysis of the aforementioned authors' works shows that to this day there has not been a clear definition of the term 'diaspora', which is largely the result of the diversity of approaches to the study of this phenomenon.

The topic of migration and diaspora is examined in the works of Romanian researchers D. Sandu [32; 33], A.T. Șerban-Oprescu [19], S. Stănică [20], M. Drăcea-Chelsoi [8], etc. Meanwhile in Russian scientific literature, authors such as I.V. Arutiunov [41], T.A. Poloskova [50], J.T. Toșenko, T.I. Captikova [53] give a lot of attention to the legal-political status of diasporas, their role and place in the internal and external political life of states.

The study of migration, of Moldovan diaspora and migrant communities abroad is widespread in specialized Moldovan literature. The first scientific articles on the subject were published by Moldovan researchers in 2006.

Currently, the study of Moldovan migrant communities and diaspora focuses on a wide range of issues. The causes and directions for migration of Moldovan citizens in the European Union are studied in the works of both local and foreign authors V. Cîrlig [24], V. Moșneaga [12; 13; 15; 45-47], V. Moraru [13; 14; 49], Gh. Rusnac [14; 49], D. Cheianu-Andrei [3], T. Tabac, O. Gagauz [35] and others. The qualitative and quantitative dynamics of Moldovan communities in the European Union were analyzed in the works of D. Cheianu-Andrei [3], V. Mosneaga [12; 13; 14; 46], V. Țurcan [14], V. Moraru [14; 49], D. Drbohlav [27], N. de Zwager, R. Sintov [39] and others. These authors note that the Moldovan communities in different EU countries are heterogeneous in regards to sex, age, education, professional structure and qualification, and workforce occupation in the destination countries. They also note that there is an on-going process of diversification of spheres of activity, caused by the increasing number of Moldovan citizens with EU diplomas.

Starting with the second half of the 2000's the topic of adaptation and integration of Moldovan migrants into the host society began to be studied in earnest in Moldovan specialized literature. A major contribution to the study was made by local authors V. Moșneaga [14; 48], V. Moraru [13; 14; 49], V. Țurcan [14; 48], D. Cheianu-Andrei [3], V. Cîrlig [24], whose publications address the diverse aspects of Moldovan labor migrant integration in the European Union, with focus on the primary destination countries for Moldovan citizens in the EU.

An important subject of research is the institutional consolidation of Moldovan communities/ diaspora in EU countries. In this regard Moldovan researchers remark that the transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into diasporas is associated with the establishment and consolidation of diaspora institutions (associations).

The establishment of Moldovan diaspora associations is a spontaneous process, tied to the need to solve specific problems of an ethno-cultural or linguistic nature. Yet the increasing integration of Moldovan migrants into the host society, and the broadening of their stated goals both contribute to the associations' gradual transformation into a constituent part of the host country's civil society [53].

The participation of Moldovan migrants from the EU in the political and socio-economic processes of the Republic of Moldova has been studied by R. Rusu [18], N. Putină [17], T. Turco [36], V. Moșneaga [12; 36], D. Vaculovschi [38], etc. These authors have examined the different forms of Moldovan diaspora activity: participation in parliamentary and presidential elections and referendums, monetary transfers, business investments, development of local communities, etc., accentuating the diaspora's transformation from an object of Moldovan politics to an active subject.

In order to study the process of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into the Moldovan diaspora in the European Union it is important to consider the Republic of Moldova's policies in the field of migration and diaspora. Local researcher V. Moșneaga notes that diaspora policy becomes the primary direction of migration policy starting with 2013 [12]. The establishment of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations and the adoption of National strategy "Diaspora – 2025" and of the Plan of action for the latter's implementation demonstrate the increased attention given by the authorities of the Republic of Moldova to the topic of migration, diaspora, and development.

The development of a comprehensive Moldovan policy in the field of migration and diaspora is only possible with the support of international bodies and of the destination countries' civil societies. However, even so, the subject has not been sufficiently reflected in specialized scientific literature, with only certain aspects being addressed in the works of E. Deleu [6; 40], I. Cojuhari [41], M. Cebotari [2].

In spite of the large number of scientific works by both local and foreign authors that tackle various aspects of migration and diaspora, the problem of consolidation of EU Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential is still not sufficiently investigated. This determines the necessity for a complex and comprehensive politological analysis of Moldovan communities in the European Union, the consolidation of their diaspora potential.

The **object** of study of this work constitutes the Moldovan communities in the European Union.

The **subject** of the study is the consolidation of EU Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential.

The **purpose** of this study is to provide a complex politological analysis of Moldovan communities in the European Union, of the consolidation of their diasporal potential. To this end it is necessary to complete the following **objectives**:

- to analyze the historiographic study of diasporas and of migration/ ethnic communities in order to argue and assure the author's objectiveness in establishing the principal theses of the scientific work;
- to establish the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of diaspora and of migration/ ethnic communities by defining the primary categories with which the author will be operating, as well as the approaches and scientific methods at the core of this research;
- to determine the causes and directions for migration of citizens of the Republic of Moldova into the European Union;
- to conduct a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Moldovan communities in the EU;
- to analyze the evolution and current tendencies of adaptation and integration of Moldovan citizens in the EU27+ countries;

- to identify the peculiarities of political and socio-economic participation of Moldovan migrants in the political process and sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova;
- to thoroughly investigate the formation and development of institutional capacities of Moldovan communities/ diaspora in the EU27+ countries;
- to analyze the policies of the Republic of Moldova oriented towards the consolidation of Moldovan diaspora;
- to demonstrate the role of international organizations and destination countries in the formation of Moldovan diasporas in the EU;
- based on the conducted studies, to elaborate recommendations to improve the efficiency of interaction between all interested parties for the consolidation of Moldovan communities' diaspora potential in the EU27+ countries.

**The main theses proposed for defense:**

1. The theoretical-methodological approach of the study of Moldovan migrant communities in the European Union, of the consolidation of their diaspora potential requires the application of specific interdisciplinary methods of scientific research. It is only through the synthesizing of theoretical provisions/ directives based on empirical sociological studies that a comprehensive political analysis of the primary directions and mechanisms of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into a diaspora in European Union countries can be achieved.

2. The principal causes for Moldovan migration into the European Union are economic and social motives, family reintegration, and the desire to obtain a European university education. However, since the beginning of Moldovan citizens' labor migration into the EU (late 1990's – early 2000's) these causes have undergone an evolution, conditioned by the "maturing" of the Moldovan workforce in regards to international labor migration, the realization of opportunities and values. The most attractive EU countries for labor migration from the Republic of Moldova are Italy, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and Romania. Sociological studies show that there is an on-going process of transformation of geographic attractiveness for migration, of countries that Moldovan labor migrants find desirable, and so choose to migrate to other EU27+ countries.

3. The transformation of temporary labor migration into labor emigration has contributed to the formation of Moldovan communities in European Union countries. An analysis of the primary tendencies for Moldovan workforce migration into the EU has shown that Moldovan migrants tend to integrate into the host societies, tying their future to the destination countries. However, integration is a complex process that depends on numerous factors: a migrants will to integrate; the particularities of the immigration policies of the European Union as a whole, and of its constituent counties' in part; the policies of the Republic of Moldova in the field of migration and

diaspora, its cooperation with the host countries, as well as its activities concerning the legal and social protection of Moldovan migrants abroad; the local populace's tolerance towards migrants.

4. The primary directions and mechanisms of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into a diaspora are: participation in the political and socio-economic processes in the country of origin; the development of institutional capacities of Moldovan communities; the policies of the Republic of Moldova concerning the consolidation of Moldovan diaspora; activities of international organizations and of host countries regarding the formation of Moldovan diasporas in EU countries.

The members of Moldovan communities are actively participating in parliamentary and presidential elections in the Republic of Moldova. The economic participation of the Moldovan diaspora in the development of the country of origin is primarily limited to monetary transfers. However migrants hold vast experience, knowledge, competencies, values, and practices that they have accumulated abroad, and with the condition a favorable business climate, are willing to invest in the Moldovan economy at the national and local levels, which will contribute to the sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova.

5. Diaspora organizations can and should play a key-role in the life of diaspora communities. Moldovan diaspora associations are active in most European Union countries. Their activity is mainly concerned with making the diaspora more organized, maintaining the ethno-cultural identity of Moldovan communities abroad, and providing information and legal support to Moldovan migrants.

Studies have shown that a significant part of Moldovan citizens are not involved into the activities organized by diaspora organizations. The reasons for this are that migrants are not adequately informed of such activities, and the high amount of work that they engage in. Taking this into account it is necessary to expand the use of modern technologies to inform Moldovan migrants, to diversify the forms and methods of including migrants into the process of consolidation and functioning of Moldovan diaspora organizations.

6. The policy in the field of diaspora and its implication in the process of sustainable development was identified as a distinct direction of the Republic of Moldova's migration policy starting with 2013. The establishment of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, the numerous programs involving the diaspora, the adoption of the National strategy "Diaspora – 2025" and of the Plan of action for its implementation have significantly contributed to ensuring the rights of the diaspora, and to the consolidation of trust in the public authorities of the Republic of Moldova, as well as to the mobilization, use, and recognition of the diaspora's human potential.

With the support and assistance of international organizations, the Republic of Moldova has joined the international trend of integrating the diaspora into the national policies of development.

This contributes to the consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora, allows for the elaboration of partnership models between the Republic of Moldova and the Moldovan diaspora from European Union countries.

**Research hypothesis.** The transformation of Moldovan communities from the European Union into a Moldovan diaspora is influenced by the actions of diverse factors. The Moldovan diaspora abroad is not only the desire to maintain one's identity, language, culture, or traditions of the country of origin, but also the result of systemic and planned actions by the Republic of Moldova to support and consolidate the diaspora; of the destination countries' interest in integrating Moldovan migrants, of utilizing their demographic, economic, cultural, and education potential for the destination country's development; of specialized international organizations in the field of migration, diaspora, and development.

**The methodological foundation of the study.** Researching the topic of Moldovan communities in the European Union, of the consolidation of their diasporal potential should be conducted based on inter- and multidisciplinary approaches, which will allow a combination of the theoretical and empirical levels of research, as well as the identification of the characteristics of Moldovan communities in the European Union, of the principal mechanisms of consolidation of their diaspora potential.

The methodological foundation of the study was a set of scientific approaches and methods that have allowed for the subject of consolidation of Moldovan communities' diasporal potential to be viewed from a perspective of politological analysis.

The study at hand utilizes the ethnographic, geographic, historic, sociological, and politological, closely-interconnected approaches that have contributed to the complex and multilateral analysis of Moldovan communities from the European Union, and their transformation into a diaspora.

The object and subject of study, the established goals and objectives have determined the choice of utilized methods. The author made use of the systemic, institutional, comparative, synergetic, behavioristic, and sociological methods in order to profoundly and comprehensively analyze the problem at hand. In order to reflect the current state of Moldovan communities in the European Union, the consolidation of their diaspora potential, in their thesis the author also utilizes general-scientific methods such as: logic, induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis. The combination of theoretical and empirical methods contributed to the achievement of results that reflect the current state of the issue of consolidation of Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential in the European Union.

Special attention has been given to empirical sociological methods, gathering of primary data. In order to realize the purpose and objectives of the work, and in order to test out the proposed

hypothesis, two empirical sociological surveys were conducted (in 2016-2017 and in 2022-2023), which provided ample information on the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of Moldovan communities in the European Union; the political and socio-economic participation of Moldovan migrants in the political processes and sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova; the development of institutional capacities of Moldovan communities/ diaspora in the EU; the efficiency of the policy of the Republic of Moldova in the field of migration/ diaspora. The 2022-2023 study saw the surveying of 513 Moldovan migrants from European Union countries, as well as from the United Kingdom, Norway, and Sweden, countries that have significant numbers of Moldovan migrants.

In order to identify the efficiency of the process of integration of Moldovan migrants in EU countries, the author made use of the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which is a unique tool that allows the evaluation of policies of migrant integration in destination countries.

The aforementioned sociological methods were supplemented with the statistical method, which allowed for an analysis of the state and tendencies of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into diasporas in the European Union.

**The scientific novelty and originality of the work.** The work on hand is one of the first comprehensive scientific studies that reflects a political approach to the analysis of Moldovan communities in the European Union, the consolidation of the diaspora potential.

In our opinion, the scientific novelty of the study resides with the following:

- a complex theoretical-methodological and empirical analysis of the transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into diasporas, of the consolidation of their diaspora potential had been conducted;

- based on the empirical studies conducted in 2016-2017 and in 2022-2023, as well as on an analysis of the results of sociological surveys of Moldovan migrants, conducted by international organizations, the motives and directions for migration of Moldovan citizens to the European Union have been clarified, and the qualitative and quantitative characteristics Moldovan migrant communities were determined;

- a comprehensive analysis of the process of adaptation and integration of Moldovan labor migrants in European Union countries had been conducted, and the current tendencies of development have been identified, both using the MIPEX methodology as a base;

- the primary mechanisms and directions of transformation on Moldovan migrant communities into a diaspora had been identified: the participation in political and socio-economic processes of the Republic of Moldova; the formation and development of diaspora organizations;

the policies of the Republic of Moldova, oriented at the consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora with the support and assistance of international organizations and of the host countries;

- based on conducted scientific research recommendations were formulated with the purpose of improving the efficiency of interaction between all parties interested in the consolidation of the EU27+ Moldovan communities' diaspora potential.

The obtained results, which contribute to the solution of an **important scientific problem**, allow the development of a conceptual framework for the study of the subject of the EU Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential consolidation, and of its practical aspect, which made it possible to identify the particularities of Moldovan migrant communities' transformation into a diaspora. This in turn contributed to the development of a set of practical recommendations for the public authorities of the Republic of Moldova and of the host countries, for civil society, and diaspora organizations concerning the consolidation of Moldovan diasporas in the European Union with the goal of their further use by all actors involved in the process of elaboration and implementation of a policy in the field of migration, diaspora and development

**The theoretical value of the work** derives from the fact that the obtained results contributed to the development of already existing achievements in political science in the study of Moldovan communities' in the European Union. The current study implements the author's approach to researching the subject of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into a diaspora in the European Union, and identifies the primary directions and mechanisms of said process.

The thesis offers a comprehensive theoretical-methodological and empirical interdisciplinary analysis of Moldovan communities' from European Union countries, the consolidation of their diaspora potential, which can be utilized for further research on Moldovan diaspora, the policies of the Republic of Moldova regarding diaspora consolidation, as well as the role of the host countries' authorities/ civil society in the formation of the Moldovan diaspora in EU countries.

A comprehensive study of Moldovan communities' in the European Union and of the consolidation of their diaspora potential can be of an interest to the scientific community and to practicing specialists from EU countries where Moldovan labor migrants reside.

The theses and conclusions of this work can serve as foundation for further studies on the subject of consolidation of Moldovan communities/ diaspora in both the Republic of Moldova and abroad.

**Practical significance of the work.** The results of the study present an interest for researchers, specialists, and experts in political science, sociology, study of migration, and other social sciences engaged in the study of problems tied to migration, diaspora, and development.

The primary provisions of the thesis can be utilized in the activity of Moldovan public authorities, responsible for the development and implementation of state policies in the field of migration and diaspora, as well as for civil society organizations that interact with the diaspora. The materials of the thesis can serve as an information foundation for further empirical study and can become the basis for future research in the field of migration and diaspora.

The results of the research can be used in the educational process, to teach specialized courses on the issues of migration and diaspora, as well as for drafting methodical works. The conclusions and recommendations presented within the thesis can contribute to the consolidation of the diaspora potential of Moldovan migrant communities in the European Union.

**Approval of the research results.** The results of the conducted study were reflected in 18 scientific articles that have been published in specialized magazines and collections of articles, edited in the Republic of Moldova and abroad. The principal ideas of the thesis were presented as communications and publications at 4 national and international scientific conferences.

**The structure of the thesis** is determined by its goal, objectives, and the logic with which the materials are presented. The work includes abstracts in Romanian, English, and Russian, an introduction, three chapters, conclusions and recommendations, a bibliography, and appendices. The volume of the thesis is 149 pages of main text. The bibliography includes 287 sources.

## THE CONTENT OF THE THESIS

In the Introduction the author argues the importance and actuality of the researched topic, describes the situation in the field, presents the goal and objectives of the study, the object, subject, and methodological basis of the study, the novelty of the results, argues the theoretical and practical significance of the work and describes the ways in which the results can be approved.

In the first chapter “*The historiographical and theoretical-methodological aspects of the phenomenon of the diaspora*” the author conducted a comprehensive analysis of the history of diaspora and migrant communities research, identified the fundamental concepts of the work. Special attention was provided to the development of the theoretical-methodological foundation, which contributed to the realization of established goals and objectives.

In the first paragraph “Historiographical landmarks of diaspora and Moldovan migrant communities research” the author notes the relevance of the subject of diaspora and migrant communities for the Republic of Moldova, as a significant number of Moldovan citizens have either already gone abroad or intend on doing it in the near future. This leads to the formation of

Moldovan communities abroad, and their gradual transformation into diasporas by way of different political, economic, and cultural mechanisms. Taking into account the fact that currently the majority of Moldovan migrants are traveling to European Union member-states, this paragraph analyses the historiographic aspects of the subject of EU Moldovan communities/ diaspora research.

Studying the diaspora as a phenomenon is relatively recent development from a temporal point of view, but the range of aspects that became the object of researchers' attention is quite large. Thus, western scientists W. Konnor [26], M. Esman [28], D. A. Armstrong [22] study the trans-border and trans-cultural significance of diaspora activity. B. Anderson focuses in particular on the issues of national identity among diaspora members [21].

The concept, characteristics and typology of diaspora are addressed in the works of R. Brubaker [23], G. Sheffer [34], W. Safran [31], D. A. Armstrong [22], R. Cohen [25], S. Lalluka [43] and others. An analysis of the aforementioned authors' works shows that in spite of numerous studies, the term "diaspora" is yet to be clearly defined. One of the reasons for this is that diaspora is the object of study for many scientific fields, and this implies the use of a variety of approaches when studying this complex phenomenon.

The subject of migration and diaspora is addressed in the works of Romanian authors D. Sandu [32; 33], A. Șerban-Oprescu [19], S. Stănică [20], M. Drăcea-Chelsoi [8], who analyze a wide array of problems tied to Romanian communities and diaspora: formation and functioning of Romanian communities abroad, the role of Romanian diaspora in the economic and political life of the country of origin.

Russian authors S.A. Arutiunov [41], T.A. Poloscova [50], V.A. Tișcov [52], J.T. Tosenco [53] research the topic from a sociological perspective, giving special attention to the legal-political status of migrants, their role and place in the internal and external political life of states.

The formation of Moldovan communities and diaspora has been analyzed by local authors since the second half of the 2000's. The first scientific article on Moldovan diaspora has been published by Moldovan researchers A. Morozan and A. Margarint in 2006 [11]. They have noted the role of workforce migration in the establishment of multiple Moldovan communities abroad, and presented the activities of Moldovan authorities in regards to supporting Moldovan citizens outside of the Republic of Moldova. The pioneer of study of the three aspects (migration, Moldovan communities abroad, Moldovan diaspora in the European Union) was V. Moșneaga, who published, both independently and in co-authorship with other scientists numerous works on the subject.

An analysis of bibliographic sources has shown that scientific interest for the study of Moldovan migrant communities and diaspora is concentrated on the following issues: the causes and directions of Moldovan citizens' migration to the European Union (V. Cîrlig, V. Moșneaga, V.

Moraru, Gh. Rusnac, D. Cheianu-Andrei, T. Tabac, O. Gagauz) [24; 12; 13; 45-47; 14; 49; 3; 35]; the quantitative and qualitative dynamics of Moldovan communities in the European Union (D. Cheianu-Andrei, V. Moşneaga, D. Drbohlav, V. Moraru, Gh. Rusnac [3; 12; 13; 14; 27; 48]; the integration of Moldovan citizens in EU countries (D. Cheianu-Andrei, V. Moşneaga, V. Ţurcan, V. Cîrlig) [3; 14; 49; 24]; the institutional consolidation of Moldovan communities/ diaspora in EU countries (T. Turco, R. Svetlicinâi, V. Moşneaga, Slobodeniuc G., Roşca L. [54; 46; 51; 30]; the participation of Moldovan migrants in the EU in the political and socio-economic processes in the Republic of Moldova (R. Rusu, N. Putină, T. Turco, V. Moşneaga, D. Vaculovschi, M. Martinello, E. Marmuleac) [18; 17; 36; 37; 29; 44]; the policies of diaspora consolidation of the Republic of Moldova (V. Donu, V. Moşneaga, M. Cebotari) [7; 16; 12; 47; 2]; the role of international institutions and of the destination countries' authorities/ societies in the formation of Moldovan diaspora in the EU (M. Cebotari, V. Cotilevici, E. Deleu, V. Donu, I. Cojuhari,) [2; 5; 6; 39; 7; 42].

In spite of the fact that there is a large number of local and foreign scientific sources, in the author's opinion it is necessary to put more emphasis on studying the primary directions and mechanisms of Moldovan communities' transformation into a diaspora, the formation and development of Moldovan diaspora and communities' institutional potential in the European Union.

The second paragraph "Diaspora and Moldovan migrant communities: theoretical-methodological aspects" presents a comprehensive analysis of the principal approaches and methods that have permitted the investigation of different aspects and the carrying out of a multilateral analysis of the problem of EU Moldovan migrant communities' diaspora potential consolidation. The interdisciplinary character allowed for the use of a variety of approaches and methods. The complex analysis of Moldovan communities from the European Union and their transformation into a diaspora has been facilitated by the application of ethnographic, geographic, historic, sociological, and politological approaches, as well as of the systemic, institutional, comparative, synergetic, behavioristic, and sociological methods. The combination of theoretical and empirical methods contributed to achieving results that reflect the current state of the subject of consolidation of European Union Moldovan communities' diaspora potential.

The key role in conceptualizing the diaspora is given to the concept of 'diaspora' itself. A study of national and foreign scientific sources allowed the author to characterize the diaspora as an ethno-political and ethno-cultural phenomenon that arises based on ethnic groups residing outside of their "titular" nation. Diaspora is thus identified by having a multiple identity, ethno-cultural ties to both the country of residence and the country of origin (the homeland), and the formation of institutions that assure the conservation and development of the diaspora. The diaspora becomes institutionalized through the collective activity of its members and includes only those migrants that actively maintain their ties to the homeland. In their work, the author uses the following definition

of diaspora: a diaspora is formed out of minority ethnic groups of migrant origin that reside and active in destination countries, while at the same time maintaining emotional and material ties to their homeland (country of origin), having the capacity to reproduce and sustain themselves over time.

The use of several typologies of diaspora based on different criteria allowed the author to unravel the concept of 'diaspora' and allowed them to ample material for characterizing and classifying them, thereby contributing to a more complete image of diaspora existence and functioning.

A comprehensive analysis of national and international scientific sources has shown that a variety of transformation tools for Moldovan communities into diasporas can be identified: the establishment and consolidation of diaspora institutions (associations); political and economic participation of migrants in the political and economic processes in the Republic of Moldova; Moldovan migrants' participation in the development of the origin country's economy and the development of the migrants' "small homeland". Local researchers unanimously hold the opinion that the Republic of Moldova's fairly effective strategy towards the diaspora was possibly largely with the support of international organizations and European community bodies.

The second chapter "*The formation of Moldovan communities in the European Union: realities and problems*" is dedicated to the study of subjects that would permit the identification of the problems of formation of Moldovan communities in the European Union: the causes and directions of Moldovan citizens' migration to the European Union; a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Moldovan communities in the EU from the point of view of geographic dynamics and structural-functionality; the evolution and current tendencies of adaptation and integration of Moldovan labor migrants in EU countries.

The first paragraph "*Migration of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova to the European Union: causes and directions*" analyses the primary causes and directions of Moldovan citizens' migration into the European Union. An analysis of the process of Moldovan communities' formation in the European Union has shown that the primary motives for Moldovan citizens' migration to the EU are of an economic nature, however new trends have surfaced in the recent years as well: study migration is on the rise; family reintegration has become more important. In the context of the visa-free regime between the Republic of Moldova and the EU the importance and volume of circular migration of the workforce is also increasing. However, temporary residence and employment in the destination country generally have no impact on the short-term attitude of migrants to return home.

The COVID-19 pandemic has led to a decline in the volume of Moldovan workforce migration to the EU, as well as to the decline of their incomes and to the return of a portion of

migrants to their country of origin. The war in Ukraine and the closure of transport corridors with Russia has also led to the reorientation of certain Moldovan migrants towards the EU.

The most attractive countries for Moldovan workforce migration are Italy, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, and Poland. At the same time the results of sociological studies show that a transformation of migration geography is taking place, with Moldovan labor migrants establishing themselves in other European Union countries.

In the process of workforce migration Moldovan citizens have used different forms of entry, stay, and professional activity in the EU, both legal and illegal. Circular migration of Moldovan citizens in the EU under the visa-free regime allows them to combine legal entry and illegal employment for a period of 90 days in order to earn money all the while replacing another Moldovan labor migrant and keeping their position on the job.

In the second paragraph *“Moldovan communities in the European Union: a qualitative and quantitative analysis”*, based on the scientific works of local and foreign researchers, as well as the results of sociological studies of Moldovan labor migrants conducted in 2016-2017 and 2022-2023, the author has continuously evaluated the process of formation of Moldovan communities in the European Union. In the first survey (2016-2017) the author investigated four EU countries where Moldovan labor migrants are most represented (Italy, Germany, the UK, and Portugal). In the second survey (2022-2023) the author did not limit themselves to only those four countries, but also interviewed Moldovan labor migrants from other EU countries, as well as from the UK, Norway, and Switzerland.

Among the European Union member-states, the majority of Moldovan citizens are found in Italy. According to experts' estimations their number is of roughly 240 thousands people [12, pp.47-48]. The number of Moldovan citizens in Germany is smaller, but is rapidly growing. In 2020 they numbered at 25.733 people [37]. Experts estimate that this represents 25-30% of the actual number of Moldovans in Germany, as many Moldovan citizens also possess Romanian passports and reside and work in the EU as EU citizens. In Portugal the number of Moldovan labor migrants had reached its peak in 2008, when more than 21.000 people were officially staying in the country. Later this number declined significantly. This was conditioned by the fact that many Moldovan citizens have obtained Portuguese citizenship. In the UK the majority of Moldovan citizens (90-95%) have EU passports. According to the estimations made by the consulate of the Republic of Moldova and by British statistical services, the number of Moldovan citizens in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland approaches 30 thousands people [12, p.56].

A comparative analysis of the key indicators shows that the characteristics of Moldovan communities over the course of a five-year period remain fairly stable and similar in what regards the migrants' sex, age, and marital status. According to the research women are active participants

in the process of migration. The absolute majority of migrants are educated individuals of working age, however their level of education and qualification often surpasses the type of work they are engaged in. In spite of the fact that, at the initial stage there is was a clearly defined gender orientation of labor migration to different EU countries, over time there has been gradual a broadening of the age range, and a standardization of the gender structure of Moldovan communities.

The majority of Moldovan labor migrants apply for the host country's citizenship in order to become EU citizens with full rights and liberties. This is true for Moldovan citizens that already possess Romanian or Bulgarian citizenship, who likewise apply for the host country's citizenship.

In the third paragraph ***“Integration of Moldovans in the EU27+ countries: the evolution and contemporary tendencies”***, using the MIPEX methodology as a base, researches the process of Moldovan migrant integration in the EU27+ countries. The MIPEX is a unique tool that allows the measure of migrant integration policies in EU member-states (including the UK), as well as in other countries.

The MIPEX evaluates the policies of migrant integration in EU countries, in the following fields: labor market mobility, family reintegration, education, healthcare, political participation, long-term stay, access to citizenship and combating discrimination. From both the social and civic standpoints integration is based on the concept of equal chances for all. From a socio-economic perspective, migrants should possess equal chances to lead a dignified, independent, and active life, like the rest of the population. From a civic perspective, all residents are able to engage in and respect the mutual rights and responsibilities based on equality. A sign that the host country trusts migrants is that it grants them civil and political rights.

An analysis of the primary tendencies of Moldovan workforce migration into the European Union has shown that Moldovan migrants seek to integrate into the host society, which is demonstrated by the process of family reintegration that began in the 2010's. Migrant integration is a multifaceted process that includes politico-economic and socio-cultural aspects. By examining integration as a complex bilateral process that includes the host society on one end, and the immigrant on the other, we can observe that it depends on several factors: the migrant's desire, the particularities of the host country's immigration policies, the interaction between state and civil society, the tolerance of the local population towards migrants.

In the author's opinion, despite the European Union's rich experience of migrant integration, the EU countries nonetheless differ significantly in terms of integration policy indexes. In order to create favorable conditions for migrant integration the EU develops joint approaches and harmonizes national practices to community standards. On the other hand the EU countries are expecting migrants to be willing to integrate into their societies. In this regard Moldovan migrants

in the European Union manifest a high degree of adaptation and integration, aspire to become full citizens of the host countries, and do not wish to return to their country of origin, to the Republic of Moldova.

A politological analysis of the transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into the Moldovan diaspora in the European Union entails the identification of the primary directions and mechanisms that determine the structural and functional frameworks of this process. By identifying itself as a part of the people that resides in another country, the diaspora develops its own strategy of interacting with both the host country, and its historic homeland.

In the third chapter *“The transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into the Moldovan diaspora in the European Union: primary directions and mechanisms”* the author examines the political and socio-economic participation of Moldovan migrants in the electoral and political processes, and in the process of sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova and of its local communities, as well as the formation and development of the EU27+ Moldovan communities’/ diaspora’s institutional capacities.

The consolidation of the diaspora depends as well on the policies applied by the authorities of the Republic of Moldova in this direction. An important component of the process of formation and consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora in the EU is the role of international institutions, as well as of state and public institutions in the destination countries.

In the first paragraph *“Political and socio-economic participation of Moldovan migrants in the political and sustainable development processes in the Republic of Moldova”* the author notes that diaspora representatives play an important role in the political and economic life of the Republic of Moldova. This is reflected in the increasing number of Moldovan citizens that participate in parliamentary and presidential elections at voting stations opened abroad. This kind of activity demonstrates the support for the European vector for Moldova’s development, the diaspora’s desire to become an active subject in the process of democratization of the Republic of Moldova, to contribute to the sustainable development of the country of origin.

Compared to the electoral activity of Moldovan migrants, economic projects that contribute to the socio-economic development of the Republic of Moldova have not yet garnered proper attention from the Moldovan diaspora. Its economic participation is limited primarily to monetary transfers that have had, and continue to have a significant impact on the country’s economy. Investments in local enterprises and entrepreneurship, as well as development projects, have yet to receive due attention.

At the same time, as the sociological studies has shown, there are members of the diaspora that are willing to invest into the development of the country of origin. Working abroad labor migrants are earning entrepreneurial competencies that can be used at home. However, the

unfavorable investment and business climate in the Republic of Moldova dissuades migrants and their family members from starting businesses or investing in projects in Moldova.

The presence of investments into the country of origin indicates the existence the migrant's of ties to their homeland and, at the same time, acts as a stimuli for their return home. Unlike monetary transfers, entrepreneurial investments offer diaspora members a direct means of control over how their funds are utilized. Given their ties to the country of origin, diaspora members are often more inclined to participate in risky economic activities or to engage with developing markets compared to foreign investors. Likewise, their familiarity with the local political, economic, and cultural environment, as well as their personal connections and linguistic competences can offer diaspora members a competitive advantage over others when they invest their resources or initiate a business in their country of origin [16, p.115].

The second paragraph *“Formation and development of Moldovan communities'/ diaspora's institutional potential in EU27+ countries”* analyzes the institutional capacities of Moldovan communities in the EU27+ countries. Moldovan diaspora associations are active in the majority of European Union countries and act as an instrument of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into diasporas. According to the Bureau of Diaspora Relations, in total, in EU countries, as well as in Norway, Switzerland, and the UK there are 139 Moldovan diaspora organizations that vary in number, domain and intensity of activity [10].

The activities of Moldovan diaspora organizations primarily concern the preservation of the ethno-cultural identity of Moldovan communities abroad, and providing information and legal support to Moldovan migrants. The weaknesses of Moldovan associations include a reduced level of solidarity, a lack of financial support, lack of the leaders' experience, etc.

According to sociological studies, the overwhelming majority of Moldovan migrants are either completely unaware of the existence of diaspora organizations, or have heard something about them. On the one hand this is conditioned by the reduced visibility of the associations, and on the other hand, by the migrants' own lack of interest in participating in the organizations' activities. Over time diaspora organizations act as a link between the primary actors in the process of integration – the migrants themselves and the countries of origin and destination.

At the same time surveys show that the majority of Moldovan migrants in the EU have a positive attitude towards the different activities of Moldovan diaspora organizations, manifesting the highest degree of support for activities that concern the migrants themselves in the host countries. Firstly this regards the familiarization of migrants' children with the national/ Moldovan culture. This direction opens up a broad field of activity for diaspora organizations that, in collaboration with representatives of the Republic of Moldova in the host countries, can open

Sunday schools, various courses for the study of language, history, literature, and traditions of the Republic of Moldova [54, p.241].

It is important to address the problem of mutually advantageous cooperation between diaspora associations and the Government of the Republic of Moldova. Diaspora associations are the primary vector of democratic change in the Republic of Moldova, its European future. They are capable to promote Moldova's image abroad, its products, culture, and traditions, to contribute to the preservation of their members' ethno-cultural identity abroad. Another field of cooperation could be assistance in the development of new programs for attracting remittances into the Moldovan economy, and of encouraging the return of the workforce. The utilization of the diaspora's financial and social capitals with the purpose of assisting the origin country will likewise contribute to the country's sustainable socio-economic development. Equally important is the diaspora's performance of its political function, which is realized by way of political parties and representation in national and municipal authorities.

In the third paragraph "The policies of the Republic of Moldova for the consolidation of Moldovan diaspora" the author notes the fact that the policy of the Republic of Moldova in the field of migration and diaspora begins to develop in the early 1990's. Cooperation with Moldovan associations/ diaspora begins in the first half of the 2000's, but becomes the main object of Moldovan migration policy only years later, in 2013. The policy in the field of diaspora and its inclusion into the country's sustainable development is identified as a standalone direction of Moldovan migration policy.

The establishment of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations has had a positive impact on the consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora. Numerous programs of work with the diaspora have been developed and implemented. The diaspora gradually becomes an independent actor of migration policy, demanding more attention and institutionalizing its role in the country's life. The National strategy "Diaspora – 2025" and the Plan of action [9] for its implementation have significantly contributed to the assurance of the diaspora's rights and to the consolidation of its trust in the authorities of the Republic of Moldova, to the mobilization, use, and recognition of the diaspora's human potential. The changes of the situation, accumulation of experience, cooperation with international bodies, and the challenges faced in the process of implementation of the Strategy "Diaspora – 2025" have conditioned the transition towards a new instrument of implementation: from the Plan of action to the Program for 2024-2027 for the implementation of the Strategy.

The Republic of Moldova has joined the international trend of integrating the diaspora into strategies for national development, garnering positive results at both central and local levels. In this regard an important instrument for the implementation of policies for migration, diaspora, and development are the various programs, implemented by the state institutions of the Republic of

Moldova (PARE 1+1, DOR, Diaspora Acasă Reușește, Diaspora Engagement Hub, etc.)[1]. This is the beginning of a long-term process that allows the development of policies, programs, and partnerships of interaction between the Republic of Moldova and the Moldovan diaspora.

In the fourth paragraph “The role of international institutions and destination countries in the formation of the Moldovan diaspora in the European Union” the author underlines the fact that the current attitude of Moldovan authorities regarding the issue of migration, diaspora, and development is formed under the influence of international organizations, among which the European Union plays a significant role. With the financial support of external partners the Moldovan authorities are implementing projects and programs that concern both cooperation with the Moldovan diaspora, and the attraction of the diaspora’s financial, social, and human capital for the sustainable development of the origin country.

An important role is played by the bilateral agreements between the destination countries and the Republic of Moldova in various fields that contribute to the regulation and protection of Moldovan migrants’ rights. This in turn contributes to the formation of the Moldovan diaspora in the EU. These bilateral agreements with EU countries concern, first of all, the social protection of Moldovan migrants, yet experience shows that it is also necessary to sign agreements on legal assistance in the field of criminal and civil laws.

The host countries’ governments/ societies are interested in utilizing the diaspora’s potential by including it into different fields of activity. A host country’s policy depends largely of the established historic ties between itself and the diaspora’s origin country, as well as the degree of the diaspora’s integration into the host society. In what regards the Moldovan communities/ diaspora, the authorities and civil society from the destination countries are taking the first steps in this direction. It is very important that all levels of government – global, European, national, regional, and local – are included in the drafting and implementation of integration strategies in order to maximize the efficiency of all interested parties’ actions in the process.

## **GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

As a result of the comprehensive and complex study of Moldovan communities in the EU, of the consolidation of their diasporal potential, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The migration of Moldovan citizens towards EU countries has led to the formation of Moldovan communities and their subsequent transformation into a diaspora through various political, economic, and cultural mechanisms. Considering the complexity and diversity of the diaspora, it is necessary to provide a multilateral and integral analysis of this phenomenon that will contribute to the formation and implementation of diaspora policies both in the country of origin,

and in the host country. In this regard an important research goal is the politological analysis of Moldovan migrant communities in the EU, the consolidation of their diaspora potential from a theoretic and practical perspective.

2. Concepts such as ‘migrant community’ and ‘diaspora’ are key in conceptualizing the diaspora. A study of foreign and national scientific sources has shown that migrant communities represent the foundation for the diaspora’s development. The diaspora persists, consolidates, and develops through the integration and inclusion of members of migrant communities. It is characterized by a multiple identity. The process of diaspora institutionalization takes place through the collective activity of maintaining ties to the country of origin, of consolidation of the ethnic migrant communities in the host country, which is manifested through participation in diaspora institutions’ (organizations, associations) activities.

3. The author has shown, based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Moldovan communities that economic motives are dominant for Moldovan citizens, however that in the recent years there has always been an intensification of other tendencies: study migration is on the rise, the process of family reunification is accelerating. The visa-free regime between the Republic of Moldovan and the EU has led to an increase of circular migration of the workforce, however short-term migrants do tend tend to return home. The war in Ukraine and the closure of transport corridors with Russia have led to the reorientation of certain migrants away from the Russian Federation, towards the European Union.

The most attractive countries for labor migration from the Republic of Moldova are, first and foremost, big countries with developed labor markets (Italy, Germany, France, the UK, Spain, Poland). At the same time, the results of conducted sociological studies have shown that Moldovan migrants are actively exploring other EU countries, successfully integrating themselves into the host societies (chapter 2, paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2).

4. Using the MIPEX as foundation, as well as their own sociological research, the author concludes that Moldovan migrants’ integration into the host society depends of several factors: the migrant’s own volition to integrate, the particularities of the destination country’s integration policy, the interaction between state and civil society, as well as the local population’s tolerance towards migrants. As the studies have shown, Moldovan migrants are well motivated to integrate and find employment in the host country in the EU. Most of them strive to obtain the citizenship of the host country, and this is true even for Moldovan citizens that already possess the citizenship of Romania and Bulgaria (chapter 2, paragraph 2.3).

The EU possesses considerable experience in the field of migrant integration. It implemented policies specifically in this field, developed joint approaches and implemented policies of alignment of national practices with community standards. At the same time the success

of Moldovan citizens' integration in EU countries depends largely on the policies of the Republic of Moldova, or its cooperation with the authorities of the host countries, as well as with international bodies in providing the rights and freedoms of Moldovan citizens, their legal and social protection abroad. The adoption of the National strategy "Diaspora – 2025" and of the Plan of action for its implementation, as well as the drafting of the Program for 2024-2027 contribute to the expansion of the transversal approach of the policy concerning diaspora, migration, and development, providing the integration of the diaspora's human, social, and financial capital into the process of sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova (chapter 3, paragraph 3.3).

5. The transformation of Moldovan communities into a diaspora in the EU is a complex process that covers several directions and mechanisms: the appearance and consolidation of diaspora institutions (associations); the participation of migrants in the political and socio-economic processes in the Republic of Moldova; the participation of migrants in the economic development of their origin country, of their "little homeland".

The author has reached the conclusion that the representatives of Moldovan communities/diaspora are actively participating in the Moldovan parliamentary and presidential elections at voting stations opened abroad. However the diaspora's economic participation is limited primarily to monetary transfers that continue to have a significant impact on the country's economy. At the same time Moldovan migrants are hesitant to invest in the development of businesses and entrepreneurship in the country of origin. In spite of the fact that the programs and projects implemented by the Government of the Republic of Moldova regarding the attraction of financial, social, and educational capital of the diaspora for the sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova do have a positive impact, Moldovan migrants are not rushing to invest in businesses and entrepreneurship in their home country (chapter 3, paragraph 3.1).

The programs and projects implemented by the Government of the Republic of Moldova aimed at attracting the financial, social, and educational capital of the diaspora for Moldova's sustainable development are yielding concrete results. The presence of investments into the origin country's economy demonstrates that migrants are maintaining their ties to their home country, and at the same time these investments act as a stimuli for the migrants to return home.

6. Moldovan diaspora associations act as one of the instruments of transformation of Moldovan communities into a diaspora and as a link between migrants, the countries of origin and destination. In EU countries Moldovan diaspora organizations are represented unequally. The largest number of diaspora associations are found in Italy, France, Romania, and the UK. Their strengths include the desire to preserve the migrants' ethno-cultural identity, promote national values and traditions, and offer information and legal assistance to Moldovan migrants. With all that said, the overwhelming majority of Moldovan migrants are not participating in the activities of

diaspora organizations, and many of them are not even aware of such organizations' existence. Among their weaknesses are the low level of solidarity, lack of financial support, lack of their leaders' experience, etc. (chapter 3, paragraph 3.2).

Considering the national experience obtained from the interaction with the diaspora, the international standards and the best practices, the Republic of Moldova should diversify the channels and levels of diaspora implication in the processes of sustainable development at the central and local levels in the Republic of Moldova and create conditions for the return and reintegration of Moldovan migrants in the origin country.

**The important scientific problem** that the thesis resolves is the elaboration of a conceptual framework for the study of the issue of consolidation of Moldovan communities' diasporal potential in the European Union and its applied aspect, which is what permitted the identification of the particularities of transformation of Moldovan communities into a diaspora. This fact contributed to the development of certain practical *recommendations* for governmental bodies, civil society, diaspora organizations, international organizations, and the national governments of the host countries concerning the consolidation of the Moldova diaspora in the European Union with the goal of their further utilizing by all interested parties that are included in the process of development and implementation of policies in the field of migration, diaspora, and development.

***For the Moldovan public authorities:***

- to develop and adopt legislative acts aimed at stimulating the labor migrants' personal interest for investment on a national and local level in the Republic of Moldova;

- to contribute to providing legal assistance in matters regarding the laws of property, inheritance, goods, etc., in cases of criminal procedure against Moldovan migrants, to make sure that the Moldovan state provides lawyers;

- to offer projects to attract the diaspora to invest in the development of the Republic of Moldova utilizing new informational technologies and financial-economic opportunities, in particular the cashback (for example, by investing in the Moldovan economy a migrant would get 3% cashback onto their personal account);

- to segment the Moldovan diaspora in EU member-states in the sense that all diaspora organizations should have a dedicated field of activity for which it is responsible from an organizational standpoint. The state, in turn, should provide material stimulation to this. Each

Moldovan migrant in the EU can thus become a real and efficient agent of cohesion and activation for the Moldovan diaspora.

This can facilitate the formation of a multilayered diaspora (in terms of territory, community, kinship, profession, age, sex, etc.), employing the strongest mechanisms of social communication (in particular the ties of kinship and community) in different regions of the host country. This will contribute the increase of the diaspora's potential and of its organizations;

- strengthening the informational support of diaspora organizations with ordinary members of the Moldovan diaspora; providing a varied spectrum of assistance in creating organization websites, development of use of new informational technologies, diversification of the forms and methods of implication in the activities of diaspora organizations.

***For civil society:***

- in cooperation with state bodies, to promote the establishment of fruitful and efficient contacts with the Moldovan diaspora from the European Union;

- to contribute to the consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora by way of communicating with the relatives of ordinary members of the diaspora that reside in the Republic of Moldova, utilizing modern informational technologies;

- to utilize known and consistent mechanisms of social integration in order to promote the segmentation and layering of the Moldovan diaspora in EU countries. The increasing influence of the country of origin, of the "little homeland", will also contribute to the consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora, increasing its role in both the EU and the Republic of Moldova;

- to promote the establishment and consolidation of ties between the organizations of civil society in the Republic of Moldova and the Moldovan diaspora associations with similar fields of activity, Moldovan businesses and local businesses from EU countries.

***For international entities:***

- to intensify and promote the modern methods of communication with the Moldovan diaspora in EU countries;

- to increase the number of project focused on the Republic of Moldova, aimed to stimulate the activity of the Moldovan diaspora for the sustainable development of the country of origin. To give special attention to socially-oriented projects and initiatives.

***To the national governments of the destination countries:***

- to stimulate the forms of attraction of Moldovan labor migrants settled in the EU as representatives of foreign businesses (Italian, French, German, etc.) in the Republic of Moldova and the promotion of business development policies, financed by the destination countries.

The process of transformation of Moldovan communities into a diaspora in the EU shows a positive tendency. At the same time, a significant portion of Moldovan citizens is not yet included in this process. The state organizations and civil society of the Republic of Moldova should diversify their cooperation, expand the forms and methods of work with Moldovan communities/diaspora abroad, to attract them to invest their funds, technologies, and competencies into the sustainable development of the origin country, and to encourage their return home. However, for this the Republic of Moldova requires political stability, economic development and the legal protection of its citizens.

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## ABSTRACT

**Mosneaga Gheorghe, “Moldovan communities in the European Union: the consolidation of diaspora potential (political analysis)”, PhD thesis in political science, Chisinau, 2025**

**Thesis structure:** The thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusions and recommendations, a bibliography containing 287 sources, 2 attachments, 149 pages of primary text, 35 tables, and 1 diagram.

**Key terms:** Moldovan communities, Moldovan diaspora, European Union, diaspora associations, policies of the Republic of Moldova for diaspora consolidation.

**Purpose of the research:** to conduct a comprehensive and complex political analysis of Moldovan communities in the European Union, the consolidation of their diaspora potential.

**Research goals:** analysis of historiographic, theoretical and methodological foundations of diaspora and migrant community research; analysis of Moldovan communities in the European Union, as well as of the evolution and contemporary tendencies of integration of Moldovan citizens in EU27+ countries; research of the development of EU Moldovan communities’ institutional potential; analysis of Moldovan state policies in the field of consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora; elaboration of recommendations for improving the effectiveness of interaction between all the interested groups, aimed at the consolidation of the Moldovan communities’ diaspora potential in the EU27+ countries.

**Scientific novelty and originality:** the thesis is a complex theoretical and methodological, and empirical analysis of Moldovan migrant communities’ transformation into a diaspora, in the EU, of the consolidation of their diaspora potential; the causes and directions of Moldovan citizens’ migration into European Union countries were clarified, and the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of Moldovan communities in the EU were identified; a comprehensive analysis of the process of Moldovan labor migrants’ adaptation and integration in the EU was undertaken; the primary directions and mechanisms of transformation of Moldovan migrant communities into a diaspora in the European Union were identified.

**The scientific problem** that the thesis addresses is the development of the conceptual basis for researching the subject of consolidation of EU Moldovan communities’ diaspora potential, its practical aspect, which would allow us to identify the particularities of the processes of transformation of Moldovan communities into a diaspora. This contributed to the elaboration of practical recommendations for the consolidation of Moldovan diasporas in the EU, with the purpose that these recommendations be used in the future by all interested parties that participate in the process of drafting and implementation of policies in the field of migration, diaspora and development.

**Theoretical value:** the author’s approach to researching the subject of transformation of EU Moldovan migrant communities into a diaspora has been realized, the primary directions and mechanisms of this process were identified. The complex theoretical and methodological, and empirical analysis of the consolidation of Moldovan communities in the European Union can be further used for researching the Moldovan diaspora, and the policies of the Moldovan state for diaspora consolidation.

**Practical value:** the results of the research pose an interest to scientists, researchers, and experts in political sciences, sociology, migrant studies, and in other field of social science that study topics dealing with migration, diaspora, and development. The main points of the thesis can be employed in the work of the Republic of Moldova’s government bodies that are responsible for the development and realization of state policies in the field of migration and diaspora, as well as of civil society organizations that interact with diasporas.

Implementation of the results of the thesis. The results of the current research have been reflected in 18 scientific articles that were published in scientific journals in the Republic of Moldova and abroad, and presented at 4 national and international scientific conferences.

## ADNOTARE

### Moșneaga Gheorghe, „Comunitățile moldovenești în Uniunea Europeană: consolidarea potențialului diasporal (analiză politologică)”, teză de doctor în științe politice, Chișinău, 2025

**Structura tezei:** Lucrarea constă din introducere, trei capitole, concluzii și recomandări, bibliografie din 287 surse, 2 anexe, 149 pagini textului de bază, 35 tabele, 1 diagramă.

**Cuvintele cheie:** comunitățile moldovenești, diaspora moldovenească, Uniunea Europeană, asociații diasporale, politicile Republicii Moldova pentru consolidarea diasporei.

**Scopul cercetării:** efectuarea unei analize politologice complexe și cuprinzătoare al comunităților moldovenești în Uniunea Europeană, consolidării potențialului lor diasporal.

**Sarcinile cercetării:** analiza bazelor istoriografice și teoretico-metodologice în cercetarea diasporei și ale comunităților migraționiste; analiza comunităților moldovenești în Uniunea Europeană, precum și a evoluției și tendințelor contemporane în integrarea cetățenilor moldoveni în țările UE27+; identificarea particularităților participării politice și socio-economice ale migranților moldoveni; cercetarea dezvoltării potențialului instituțional ale comunităților moldovenești în UE; analiza politicilor statului moldav pentru consolidarea diasporei moldovenești; elaborarea recomandărilor pentru creșterea eficienței interacțiunii tuturor părților interesate pentru consolidarea potențialului diasporal ale comunităților moldovenești în țările UE27+.

**Noutatea și originalitatea științifică a lucrării:** a fost efectuată o analiză complexă teoretico-metodologică și empirică a transformării comunităților migraționiste moldovenești din UE în diasporă, consolidării potențialului lor diasporal; pe baza cercetărilor empirice s-au concretizat cauzele și direcțiile migrației cetățenilor Republicii Moldova în țările Uniunii Europene, s-au identificat caracteristicile calitative și cantitative ale comunităților moldovenești din UE; pe baza metodologiei MIPEX s-a întreprins o analiză comprehensivă al procesului de adaptare și integrare ale migranților de muncă moldoveni din UE; s-au identificat principalele direcții și mecanisme de transformare ale comunităților de migranți moldoveni în diasporă, în Uniunea Europeană.

**Problema științifică rezolvată** constă în dezvoltarea bazei conceptuale al cercetării problemei consolidării potențialului diasporal al comunităților moldovenești din Uniunea Europeană, și al aspectului ei practic, ceea ce ne-a permis să identificăm particularitățile transformării comunităților moldovenești în diasporă. Aceasta a contribuit la elaborarea recomandărilor practice asupra consolidării diasporei moldovenești din UE, cu scopul utilizării acestora în viitor de către toate părțile cointeresate, care participă la procesul elaborării și realizării politicilor în domeniul migrației, diasporei, și dezvoltării.

**Semnificația teoretică:** a fost realizată abordarea autorului față de cercetarea problemei transformării comunităților migraționiste moldovenești în diasporă, în Uniunea Europeană, s-au identificat principalele direcții și mecanisme al acestui proces. Analiza complexă teoretico-metodologică și empirică al consolidării potențialului diasporal ale comunităților moldovenești din țările Uniunii Europene poate fi utilizat la cercetarea continuă ale diasporei moldovenești, politicilor statului moldav pentru consolidarea diasporei.

**Valoarea aplicativă:** rezultatele cercetării prezintă interes pentru savanți, cercetători, experți în domeniul științelor politice, sociologiei, migrantologiei, și altor științe sociale, care se preocupă de studiul problemelor ce țin de migrație, diasporă, și dezvoltare. Principalele puncte ale tezei pot fi utilizate în activitatea organelor de stat al Republicii Moldova, responsabile pentru elaborarea și realizarea politicilor de stat în domeniul migrației și diasporei, precum și de organizațiile societății civile, ce se preocupă de lucrul cu diaspora.

**Implementarea rezultatelor cercetării.** Rezultatele acestui studiu au fost reflectate în 18 articole științifice, care s-au publicat în reviste științifice din Republica Moldova dar și din străinătate, și au fost prezentate la 4 conferințe științifice naționale și internaționale.

## АННОТАЦИЯ

**Мошняга Георге, „Молдавские сообщества в Европейском Союзе: консолидация диаспорального потенциала (политологический анализ)”, диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора политических наук, Кишинэу, 2025**

**Структура диссертации:** введение, три главы, выводы и рекомендации, библиография из 287 источников, 2 приложения, 149 страниц основного текста, 35 таблиц, 1 диаграмма.

**Ключевые слова:** молдавские сообщества, молдавская диаспора, Европейский Союз, ассоциации диаспоры, политики Республики Молдова по консолидации диаспоры.

**Цель исследования:** проведение комплексного и всестороннего политологического анализа молдавских сообществ в Европейском Союзе, укрепления их диаспорального потенциала.

**Задачи исследования:** анализ историографических и теоретико-методологических основ исследования молдавских сообществ в Европейском Союзе, современных тенденций в области интеграции молдавских граждан в странах ЕС27+; выявление особенностей участия молдавских мигрантов в политическом и социально-экономическом процессах страны происхождения; исследование институционального потенциала молдавских сообществ в ЕС; анализ государственной политики Молдовы по укреплению молдавской диаспоры; разработка рекомендаций по повышению эффективности взаимодействия всех заинтересованных сторон по укреплению диаспорального потенциала молдавских сообществ в странах ЕС27+.

**Научная новизна и оригинальность:** проведен комплексный теоретико-методологический и эмпирический анализ трансформации молдавских мигрантских сообществ в диаспору в ЕС, консолидации их диаспорального потенциала; уточнены причины и направления миграции молдавских граждан в страны ЕС, проанализирован процесс интеграции молдавских трудовых мигрантов в ЕС; определены основные направления и механизмы трансформации молдавских мигрантских сообществ в диаспору в Европейском Союзе.

**Научная проблема,** решенная в диссертации, заключается в разработке концептуальных основ исследования консолидации диаспорального потенциала молдавских сообществ в ЕС, особенностей процесса трансформации молдавских общин в диаспору. Это способствовало выработке практических рекомендаций по консолидации молдавских диаспор в ЕС с целью их использования в будущем всеми заинтересованными сторонами, участвующими в процессе разработки и внедрения политики в области миграции, диаспоры и развития.

**Теоретическая ценность:** реализован авторский подход к исследованию трансформации молдавских мигрантских сообществ в ЕС в диаспору, выявлены основные направления и механизмы этого процесса. Это может быть использовано для дальнейшего исследования молдавской диаспоры, а также политик молдавского государства по консолидации диаспоры.

**Практическая ценность:** результаты исследования представляют интерес для специалистов в области общественных наук, изучающих проблемы, связанные с миграцией, диаспорой и развитием. Основные положения диссертации могут быть использованы в работе государственных органов Республики Молдова, ответственных за разработку и реализацию государственной политики в области миграции и диаспоры, а также организаций гражданского общества, взаимодействующих с диаспорами.

**Внедрение результатов диссертации.** Результаты исследования нашли отражение в 18 научных статьях, которые были опубликованы в научных журналах в Республике Молдова и за рубежом, представлены на 4 национальных и международных научных конференциях.

**MOȘNEAGA Gheorghe**

**Moldovan communities in the European union: the consolidation of diaspora potential  
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