Migration in Europe: Case Studies: Bulgaria and Romania

Oana-Valentina Suciu: Migration and demographic trends in Romania: A brief historical outlook

Romania: Background Information

Capital: Bucharest. Official language: Romanian Area: 237,500 km2
Population (2002): 21,680, 974 Population density: 90.9 inhabitants per km2
Population growth (natural increase): -1.9 % (2005), -1.7% (2007) (the 18th year of negative demographic growth)
Foreign citizens as percentage of total population: 0.2 % (MIRA)
Labour force participation rate (2005): 62.4 % (INS)
Unemployment rate: 7.7% (May 2010), 4.5 % (April 2007), 5.4 % (2006), 5.9 % (2005) (INS)
Religious denominations (2002 census): 86.8 % Romanian Orthodox; 4.7 % Roman Catholic; 3.2 % Reformed; 1.5 % Pentecostal 0.9 % Greek Catholic; 2.7 % other; 0.2 % no religion, atheist or not stated
Net Migration Rate (2005-2010): **-** 1.9 migrants /1,000 population
Immigrants (2010**):** 0.6% Women as a Percentage of Immigrants (2010): 51.3%

Introduction[1]

Historical Trends in Emigration and Immigration

During the past century Romania has been mainly a country of emigration rather than immigration, with quite an impressive record regarding the number of persons subjected to the phenomenon of migration, with various and sometimes surprising migratory arrangements. As in other new-established states in the region, migration in Romania was, at least until the early 1990s, closely linked to the ethnic minorities – which were mainly the first to emigrate, especially after the establishment of the communist rule: Germans, Jews, Armenians, Hungarians, Greeks, etc. These minorities were not simply refugees: they moved to countries where they had historical ties (e.g. Germany, Hungary, Israel, Greece, US in the case of Armenians), both as a reaction to general and particular ethnic-based discrimination in Romania, and also in the hope for a safer and better life in the countries of their ancestors. The omnipresent political violence and physical deprivations, chiefly generated by an ineffective and totalitarian system, were further reasons for many Romanians to emigrate during and immediately after the demise of the Communist era.

Aspects of migration before Communism

What is defined as Romania, in its present-day shape, is actually a composition of various territories, former autonomous political entities, with different histories and a mosaic of nationalities: the result of wars, emigration and economic relations. Hungarians and Saxons in Transylvania, Jews in all regions, Armenians and Greeks in Moldova and Ţara Românească, Slovaks, Czechs and Ruthenians in Western Transylvania, Turks and Tatars in Dobrudja, and Roma, scattered all over the place;

[1] The author would like to thank the following for support provided in identifying information and comments: Radu Moţoc (Soros Foundation, Romania), Mălina Voicu (Institute for the Quality of Life), Radu Cristescu (Centre for Institutional Analysis and Development), Dana Berdilă (The Romanian Cultural Institute).
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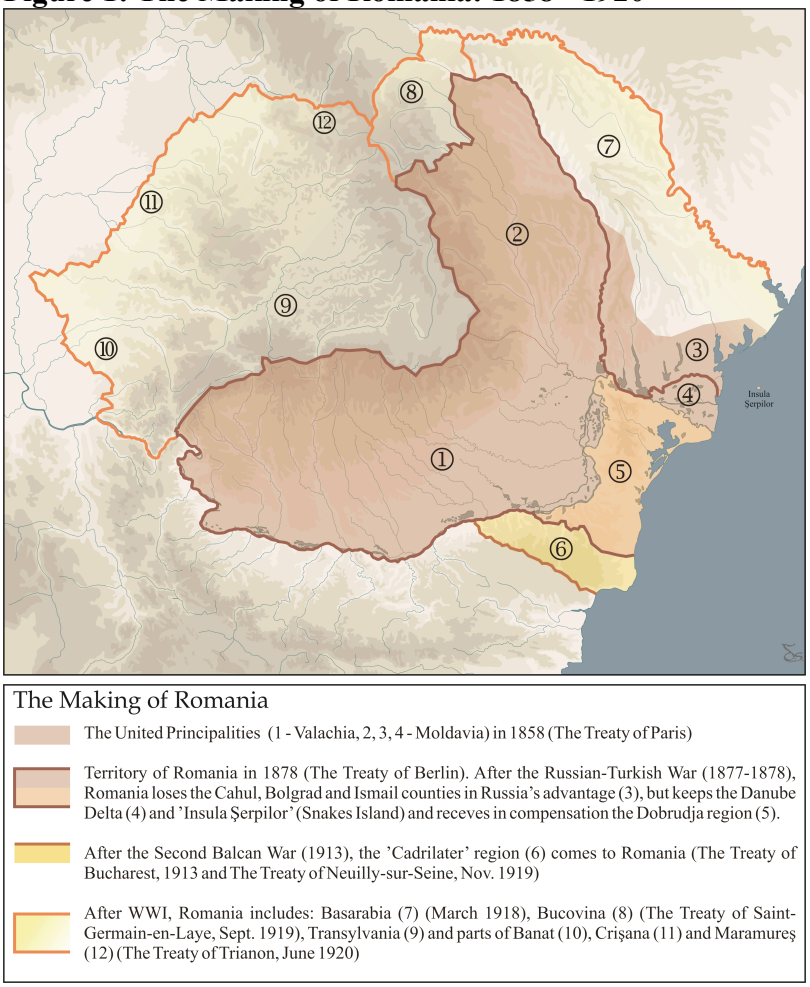
they all settled throughout the centuries in what came to be known as Romania. The population increased from 4,800,000 in 1880 to 7,300,000 in 1913 - it doubled in less than 25 years - a demographic progress that stemmed out from economic development. In 1918, at the end of World War I, Romania was one of the largest sovereign territories of Central and Eastern Europe. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Romania was predominantly a country of emigration. In this period, the first large-scale outflow occurred in the context of the great wave of Eastern European migration to North America. It was mostly the population of Transylvania (incorporated into Romania after 1918) that emigrated; in the first decade of the 20th century alone, 250,000 people from this province (with a total population of 4.8 million in 1900) emigrated to the United States, especially during the famous Gold Rush.[2] Approximately 200,000 ethnic Hungarians left Transylvania (which had been passed from Hungarian to Romanian authority) between 1918 and 1922.

Even though Romania was on the winning side in World War II, it never regained the territories lost to the Soviets. Part of the territories won in 1918, and a significant proportion of the Romanian population were lost, but the Romanian state succeeded in retaining Transylvania and all territories in the west of the country; the north of Bucovina was incorporated in Ukraine, while Bessarabia was to become the Soviet Republic of Moldova.[3]

[2] A famous story of this period is of the "Woman in Red", a Romanian lady who had emigrated from Banat and became the companion of John Dillinger, Public Enemy No. 1. It is said that she helped the US authorities to catch the famous perpetrator. Her story inspired one of the most interesting novels in Romanian contemporary literature – "Femeia în Roşu", by Mircea Mihăieş, Adriana Babeţi and Mircea Nedelciu.

[3] Oana-Valentina Suciu, "The Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities through Ethnic-based Parties", unpublished doctoral thesis, 2008

Figure 1: The Making of Romania: 1858 - 1920



Romania experienced large-scale population transfers. The bulk of the Jewish population living on Romania's present territory was deported (by either Romanian or Hungarian authorities); the Holocaust reduced Romania's Jewish population of 780,000 persons by half. Following the Second World War, approximately 70,000 ethnic Germans were deported to the Soviet Union, and many more were forcibly relocated within Romanian territory, in the plain of Bărăgan.

The Communist era (1947-1989)

During Communist rule, Romanian authorities exercised restrictive exit policies, severely limiting international travel. Passports were held by the Militia and prior approval from the communist authorities was required to obtain a travel document. Those applying as emigrants to various embassies in Romania had their social and economic rights revoked and were (together with their families and sometimes even their friends) harassed by authorities.

Between 1946 and 1948, immediately after the installation of the communist regime, a part of the political, economic and cultural elite managed to leave, although there are no exact figures. Moreover, most of the regime's potential opponents ended up in prison, to be offered parole only in 1965. The forced migration went on for

approximately 40 years. Moreover, dissidents and prospective protesters were encouraged, although not in an obvious way, to leave the country. The communists hoped they could minimize the impact that these protesters might have had in the population at large. Many members of these families, especially of the bourgeoisie, are currently either living abroad or share their time between Romania and another Western country, with dual nationality, so keeping count is extremely difficult.

Although the regime kept the emigration under strict control, it still occured, sometimes even in respectable numbers. This is not as bizarre as it looks at first sight, since emigration per se was not forbidden, but the possibility that this could change into a migration wave based on asylum applications (often, these people were considered political refugees). The communist authorities were afraid that asylum-seeking by a large number of Romanians would discredit the regime and threaten its legitimacy as a functional political system, in the eyes of both foreign governments (especially Western ones) and those people who did not or could not leave the country.[4]

Ethnic minorities (Jews, Germans and Hungarians) were clearly over-represented among those who legally emigrated from Romania during Communist rule. Immediately after WWII the communist authorities literally started to sell the Romanian citizens of German and Jewish descent to Western Germany and to Israel respectively. Under communist rule the majority of Romanian Jews (between 300,000 and 350,000 persons) emigrated to either Palestine/Israel or the United States. The emigration of both the ethnic Germans and Jews came under close scrutiny by the communist authorities. The reason was quite simple – Germans and Jews were a priceless commodity in the Western markets. During the last years of the communist regime, the measures against the ethnic minorities reached a peak hard to imagine by an outsider - the "allogenic" elements from all the public institutions were purged. On top of that, Ceauşescu literally sold the minorities to their kin-states – Saxons to Germany and Jews to Israel. In the case of the Jewish population, this type of deal was not new – en masse emigration had also been encouraged in the late 1950s. By 1958, hundreds of thousands of Romanian citizens of Jewish descent were granted permanent emigration visas to Palestine, despite furious protests coming from the Middle East. Only the fact that the USSR was also interested in the region forced the Romanian communist government to halt the emigration[5], although only briefly. In 1961, in return for huge sums of money paid by the Israeli state, Jewish families were granted passports in order to leave for Western European countries – it was absolutely clear, nevertheless, what was their final destination![6] The deal continued under the Ceauşescu regime – the minimum sum paid for a person was 2,000 US dollars. The memoirs of various Securitate officers, who defected, mention that the sums ranged from 15,500 US dollars up to 250,000 dollars per capita, depending on the applicants' age, educational and professional credentials. For those released from prison, an extra tax was levied. The "business" was so profitable, that Ceauşescu decided to apply the same tactic with the German population, after establishing diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1967.[7] The policy was clear: whoever wished to

[4] Istvan Horvath, *Romania: Country Profile,* in Focus MIGRATION, No. 9, September 2007
[5] In countless cases, people who have sold all their property and informed their employers (the State in all the cases) that they were emigrating, found themselves in a situation of no-return and no-forward.
[6] Ghiţă Ionescu, *Comunismul în România*, Editura Litera, Bucharest, 1994
[7] Dennis Deletant, *Ceauşescu şi Securitatea*, Editura Humanitas, Bucharest, 1998

emigrate (from the ethnic minorities) was welcome to do so – it was profitable and was helping to create a homogenous Romanian population.

The same sources mention the fact that Nicolae Ceauşescu had at the end of 1989, just before his fall, approximately 400 million dollars in his accounts from the taxation of legal emigrants from the country.

German Ministry of Interior Statistics show that between 1950 and 1989 approximately 240,000 Romanian citizens settled in Germany[8]; even if Saxons and Schwabs represented only 1.6% of the population in the 1977 census, they constituted 44% of the emigrant population between 1975 and 1989. Ethnic Hungarians were in a slightly different situation, considering that their home country was a communist state. However, beginning in 1985, Hungarians and Szeklers emigrated in increasing numbers across the border. In this case the vast majority of those leaving used mainly illegal (at that time) strategies such as crossing the green forest border with no papers, living in Hungary with no residence permit, etc.). Obviously, this migration was not approved by the communist Romanian authorities, who were rather nervous about the latent negative effect of a potential big and uncontrolled migratory loss on the country's international reputation and image.

Table 1: Emigration from Romania 1975 - 1989

	Share of general population (1977 census)	**Share of emigrant population (1975 – 1989)**
Romanians	87.0%	35.5%
Germans (Saxons)	1.6%	44.2%
Hungarians	7.9%	12.8%
Jews	0.1%	5.5%
Others	3.3%	2.1%

Source: National Institute of Statistics, Romania (INS)

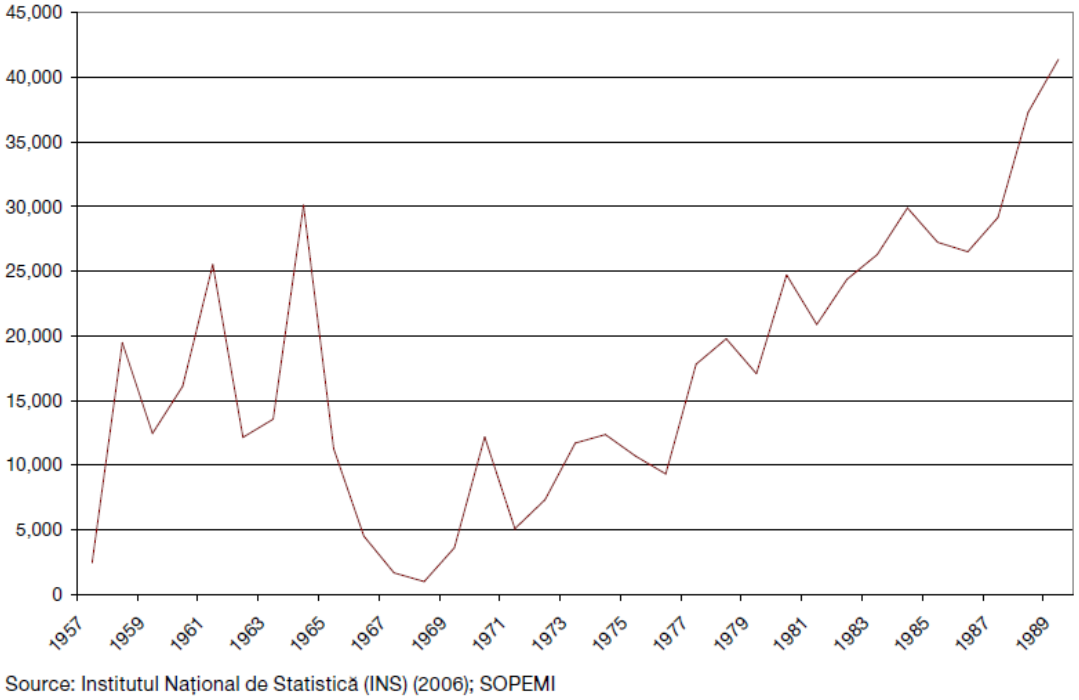
One can identify a few patterns of temporary migration even during Communist times, notably for the purposes of education and work. "Labour migration was exclusively state-managed, and a large majority of Romanian workers headed to the Middle East, particularly to the Persian Gulf area, where their labour activities were tightly regulated and family reunification forbidden."[9]

The inflow of foreign migrants was somewhat limited during the Communist era, as any alien – especially those from "unfriendly" countries – was considered by the authorities to be a potential threat. Visiting foreign citizens were monitored closely, even those who visited their friends and family members; Romanians had the legal responsibility to report to the authorities any non-Romanian citizen visiting their homes.

[8] http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Broschueren/EN/Migration_und_Integration_en.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

[9] Horvath, op. cit.

Figure 2: Romanian emigrants, 1957-1989



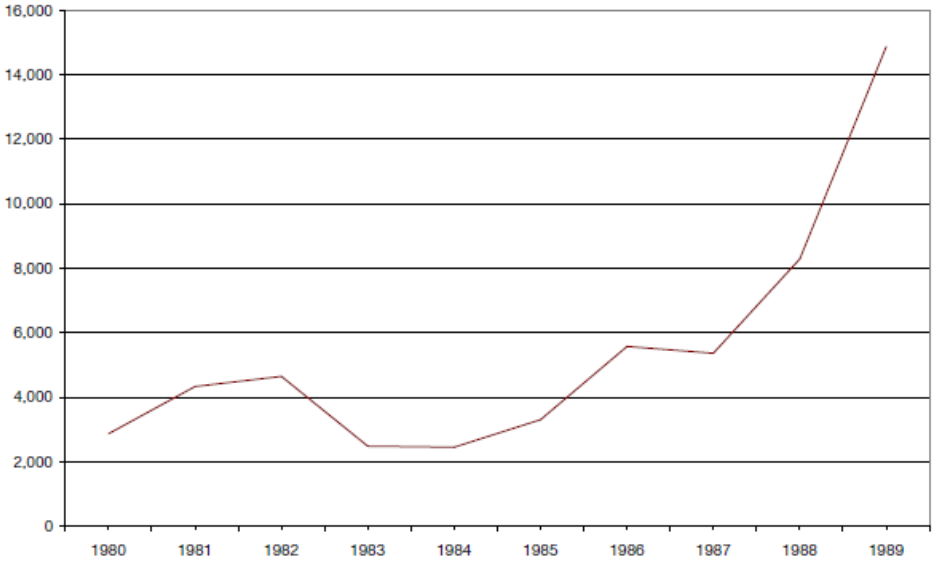
Source: Istvan Horvath - Institutul Naţional de Statistică (INS) (2006); SOPEMI

Table 2: Main destinations of permanent migration between 1980-1989

Germany	USA	Hungary	Canada	Italy	Austria	France	Israel	Sweden	Greece	Australia	Other	Total		
149,544	33,931	27,250	7,495	3,128	9,275	4,593	14,629	4,909	3,131	3,646	26,622	287,753	N	Tota 1980-8
52%	**11.8%**	**9.5%**	**2.6%**	**1.1%**	**3.2%**	**1.6%**	**5.1%**	**1.7%**	**1.1%**	**1.3%**	**9.3%**	**100**	**%**	

The wave of emigration from Romania presents two phases: the first between 1957 until 1965, with a peak of approximately 30,000 people leaving in this year. The trend decreased for a few years, after the so-called liberalization brought forward by the new management of the Romanian Communist Party and Nicolae Ceauşescu's appointment to the party leadership. There was almost non-existent emigration in 1968, when many Romanians, especially intellectuals, were taken aback by Ceauşescu's public condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The phenomenon did not last, since what was believed to be a more liberal view of communism proved to be a hoax, and was soon followed by the adoption of the Asian communist models from China and North Korea. The results were multiple and multi-layered, with terrible effects on Romanian society – one being the increased wave of emigration, that reached its peak in 1989, with over 40,000 people legally escaping the system. One should also keep in mind the numerous defections (tourists travelling abroad who never returned). Some were translated into asylum applications in various OECD countries with a peak, again, in 1989. It should be noted that these are the figures for the so-called "legal" migration, i.e. people who have applied for a passport to leave the country permanently; what is not known is the number of the "illegal" emigrants, the "rescapes", those who decided to defect without applying to emigrate, as such, but just failed to return after a trip abroad, usually in the West.

Figure 3: Asylum applications by Romanian citizens in OECD countries, 1980-1989



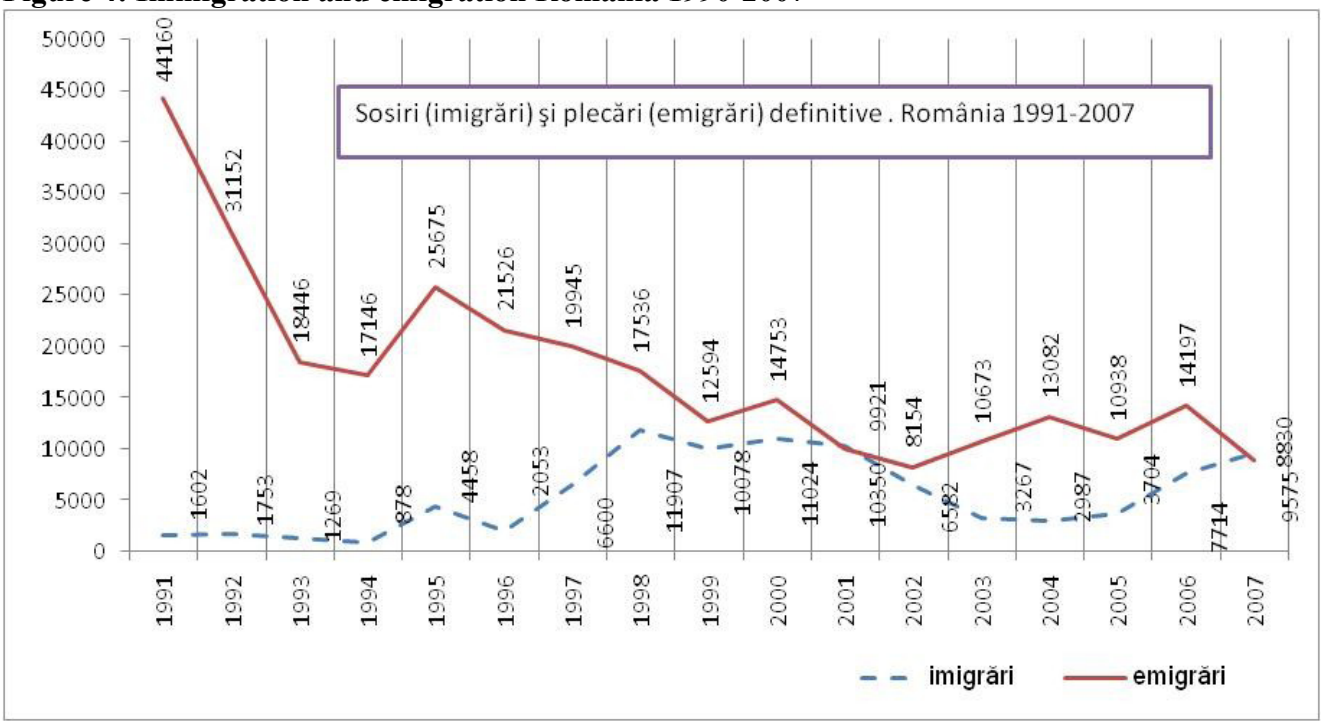
Source: UNHCR

As a counter-balance to the permission granted for some Romanians working or studying abroad, there were some exceptions to this suspicious attitude toward aliens: foreign students, especially from the Middle East and African countries, were well represented at Romanian universities from the 1970s onwards. At its peak, the annual stock of foreign students rose to 16,900, representing 7-8% of all students registered at Romanian universities in 1981.

Migration after 1989

The migration phenomenon continued after 1989, although the conditions that led to the previous migration waves had either disappeared or were improving. On the other hand, the new political and economic circumstances generated other social prospects that were translated into three types of migration: the first is represented by the continued emigration to Western countries, although this was no longer political, but mainly economical; the second is represented by immigration. Romania had begun to be attractive, at least in the last five years, to nationals from third party countries, and also to Westerners working in multinationals; last but not least, an initially unexpected phenomenon, one with the increased harsh employment in the urban areas, some people started to move back to the countryside, where they or their ancestors came from.

Figure 4: Immigration and emigration Romania 1990-2007[10]



The permanent emigration wave from Romania started to decrease steadily in 1991, after the last bulk of migrations of the Saxons/Germans from Transylvania and Banat in 1990-1992 and some Hungarians from the middle of the country. The German emigration continued at an average of approx. 20,000 per year between 1993 and 1998, and a much lower level after 1999, especially since the remaining population has diminished. Permanent migration continued to North America, particularly after 1999, although an identifiable pattern is very difficult, as it is spread throughout the US and Canada.

Immigration, on the other hand, began to increase slightly on a yearly basis, and by 2007 the emigration rate was approximately the same as the immigration rate. Once there was a transition to a market economy and the freedom to bear passports and travel, Romania encountered a new phenomenon, or rather a repetition of that at the beginning of the 20th century: i.e. the temporary work migration.

[10] Dumitru Sandu, Monica Alexandru, *Migraţia şi consecinţele sale*, in Marian Preda (ed.). *Riscuri şi inechităţi sociale în România*, September 2009, http://cparsd.presidency.ro/upload/CPARSD_raport_extins.pdf

Emigration from Romania 1990-2010

Over the past two decades, the lengthy and socially burdensome transition process from a centrally-planned economy to an efficiently functioning market-economy has enhanced a drive for many Romanians to seek employment in other parts of the world. The chaotic transition generated a lower number of available jobs in the Romanian labour market; as a result, over 2 million people oriented themselves, over time, towards the Western European labour market. The results are two-sided: on one hand, the results of the work abroad can be seen in the level of money transfers back home, which steadily increased from year to year, only to decrease in 2008, when the economic crisis started to show in the Western labour market as well. On the other hand, the fact that young people, aged between 20 and 50, left the country has a negative effect on the Romanian economy. If we couple these effects with an aging population (Romania is subject to a negative demographic increase for the last 20 years), the result is translated through a need of labour immigration in the near future[11]. This is another challenge that the Romanian authorities face i.e. coping with a potential outflow of labourers from third-party countries, developing policies for their integration in the labour market, considering the limited experience Romania has in this field.

Also, as well as the economic migrants, Romanian students after 1990, had the opportunity to go and study abroad in Western Europe and in North America; many of them stayed in the respective countries after graduation, especially since the labour market in their field of activity was more developed in those countries than at home.

[11] The presumption put forward by sociologist Istvan Horvath in 2007 proves to be right, especially if we look at the fact that in the field of constructions, for instance, because of the increasing lack of domestic qualified labourers, the work force is replaced with immigrants from China and Pakistan.

Table 3: Emigration from Romania 1990 - 2008

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<tr><td rowspan="2">PERMANENT EMIGRATION</td><td colspan="3">high level: between 30,000 to 100,000 emigrants per year</td><td colspan="6">average level, around 20,000 per year</td><td colspan="11">low level, around 11,000 per year</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">high German emigration</td><td colspan="6">still prevalence of German emigration</td><td colspan="4">prevalence of North American Emigration</td><td colspan="7">dispersed emigration</td></tr>
<tr><td>TEMPORARY EMIGRATION</td><td colspan="6">low rate, early adopters of migration abroad as innovative life strategy</td><td colspan="6">higher rate, semi-legal, highest dispersion of destinations, high selectivity</td><td colspan="6">free short term circulation in Schengen space, highest rates, decreasing selectivity; 50% in Italy and 25% in Spain</td><td colspan="2">Post EU accession period, more visible, structural changes. 30% in Spain, 40% Italy</td></tr>
<tr><td>PERMANENT MIGRATION BETWEEN VILLAGE AND CITY</td><td colspan="2">sharp, artificial increase of rural-urban migration, between 40% to 70% out of total internal migration</td><td colspan="5">systematic decrease of rural to urban migration, from 35% to 25% out of total internal migration</td><td colspan="7">sharp increase of urban to rural migration as to reach more than 25% out of the total internal migration ; period of negative net rural-urban migration ; high prevalence of city to village return migration</td><td colspan="4">urban to rural migration is no more the dominant domestic stream. Urban to urban one starts to be dominant</td></tr>
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Source: adaptation from D.Sandu, C.Radu, M.Constantinescu, O.Ciobanu , 2004, *A Country Report on Romanian Migration Abroad: Stocks and Flows After 1989, http://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/f76c21488a048c95bc0a5f12deece153/RomanianMigrationAbroad.pdf*

One should ask several questions in connection with migration; questions that provide the social and demographic profile of the people who choose to be more mobile in terms of employment. The questions are: How many, who, how, where, what and when? [12]

[12] Dumitru Sandu, *Living abroad on a temporary basis. The economic migration of Romanians*: 1990-2006, Bucharest, November 2006, study for the Soros Foundation, Romania Before going more in-depth, one should define some of the concept that they are working with: for instance a "migration wave" is a stream of migrants that is of significant volume and variation in the context of total emigration or immigration. Romanians are an example of wave-streams due to their sudden variation in time, in specific periods; a "social world" is a life-space that is highly institutionalized, in formal or informal terms, by dominant action or thinking patters that brings a high probability of social identity (Sandu, 2009); last but not least the "migration social worlds" are those social worlds of the migrants that could be built in interaction with destination (native population at the destination, other immigrants) and origin groups (former migrants at origin, non-migrants at origin).The key reference groups in the construction of the social world of Romanian migrants in other countries: the "native" citizens, other immigrants in the respective country, returned migrants in Romania, non-migrants in Romania. (Dumitru Sandu)

Data collected throughout the years by specialists in migration, especially the studies of the sociologist Dumitru Sandu, provide us with the following portrait of Romanian emigrants:

• it is the young people, rather than the adults or the older people, who have gone to work;

• the number of men was higher than the number of women in the labour emigration;

• for the group of men aged 18 to 59, the most frequent departures have been from the rural area.

• for women, the migration residential pattern is rather different: the temporary emigration is stronger for young women aged 18 to 29 from rural areas, than women of the same age group, in urban areas; on the other hand, the temporary emigration is stronger for women aged 30 to 59 from urban areas compared to those from rural ones.

Table 4: Who left to work abroad (%)

		stages			**Total**
		1990-1995	1996-2001	2002-2006	**%**
gender	women	12	15	44	**34**
	men	88	85	56	**66**
urban	Rural	41	48	49	**48**
	Urban	59	52	51	**52**
nationality	Romanians	92	89	94	**93**
	Hungarians	8	10	4	**6**
	others		1	2	**1**
Civil status	Married	88	76	60	**66**
	Not married	7	19	31	**26**
	others	5	6	10	**7**
education	Primary	3	3	1	**2**
	Grammar	2	8	16	**13**
	Vocational and secondary	78	79	77	**77**
	University/college	17	9	7	**9**

Source: TLA survey, temporary departures to work, Dumitru Sandu

Table 5: Departures to work abroad on residential environments, age and stages

Departures from	**Age category**	**stages**			**total**
		1990-1995	1996-2001	2002-2006	**%**
Rural	15 - 29	5	12	26	21
Rural	30 – 54	31	33	23	26
Rural	55 - 64	5	3		1
Urban	15 - 29		12	22	18
Urban	30 – 54	49	39	27	32
Urban	55 - 64	10	1	2	3
		100	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: TLA (Temporarily Living Abroad Survey, 2006, Soros Foundation Romania) survey, temporary departures to work, people aged 15-64, Dumitru Sandu

As a first conclusion, the profile of the temporary worker abroad is: a young man, rather than an adult or an old one, or a young woman from a rural area and a mature woman from the town or city. Until 2002 they were mainly married men, initially more from urban areas than the country, with vocational and high-school training; the percentage of young single men started to increase after Romanians were able to travel in Europe without visas. Those who usually go to work are aged between 30 and 54 (during 1990-1995), when almost half of the migrants came from cities and towns. On average, one third of migrants are from this category, but young to middle-aged people from the rural areas also represent a quarter of the total migration. From 2002, more young people started to leave for temporary work contracts.

The early 1990s were extremely hectic for a Romanian population that was rediscovering the taste for democracy after almost half a century. The novelties were numerous, including the disappointment brought forward by the speed of the political and economic reforms, the manner in which the government coped with the demands and high expectations of the population. A new social phenomenon appeared at that time, with the character of a "social innovation", i.e. the labour emigration. Although emigration rates were still high, the economic emigration did not exceed 5% in the first 5 years after 1989. This rate increased after 1996, when the speed of the privatization process brought changes in the relationship between employers and employees. The emigration rate continued at approximately 6-7%, only to erupt after 2002, when Romanians were permitted to circulate freely in the countries of the Schengen area. Working abroad turned into a mass phenomenon, 28% being the rate of temporary migration. The preferred destinations were Italy and Spain respectively. In 2004, the number or Romanian residents in Italy, was double compared to 2003, only to reach approximately 300,000 people in 2005.

Romania's membership of the EU in 2007 has generated different migration flows from before, especially when the labour markets of Finland, Sweden, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia were immediately opened to potential applicants. The services provided by the National Agency for Employment and Labour (the public body meant to support potential applicants to search for work abroad) are not too efficient, since less than 10% of people living abroad have found jobs through this public network.[13] However, official figures, besides being scattered and uneven, highly underestimate emigration, since most of migrants do not use official-mediated channels and do not report their movements to the authorities, so analysis of this data is unreliable.

Immigration data from the main destination countries after 2007, Italy and Spain respectively, suggest a continual increase in emigration from Romania. According to the Italian National Institute for Statistics, at the end of 2007, the number of Romanians residing Italy was 1,016,000 persons, three times more than in 2006 (when it was about 340,000), making Romanians the largest foreign resident community. The situation in Spain is very similar, where the number of Romanian nationals with labour permits continued to increase in 2007. On January 1st 2008, Spanish municipal registries recorded a total of 729,000 Romanians, 38% more than in the previous year. In both Spain and Italy, however, many of those registered as

[13] http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/42/39/44068113.pdf

inflows in 2007 were already in the country before January 2007[14].For the time being (2009-2010), more than 700,000 Romanians work legally in Italy, but the figures are probably much higher, somewhere around 1 million.

Table 6: the evolution of vacant work places received from National Agency for Labour from the European employers, in 2009, by country[15]

Month:	*Number of received vacant work places*	*Out of these, most of the offers were received from:*	*Out of these, most of the positions were offered for the following qualifications :*
January	644	Denmark, 504	504, unqualified workers in agriculture
February	871	Spain, 850	850, unqualified workers in agriculture
March	20	Cyprus, 10	10, technicians in electronics, telecommunications
April	116	Cyprus, 57	26, electromechanics , menders for electrical equipments
May	107	Cyprus, 87	35, electromechanics , menders for electrical equipments
June	141	Germany, 80	50, doctors
July	16	France, 15	15, doctors GP
August	30	Spain, 29	28, plumbers and welders
September	30	Belgium,12	10 aluminium carpenters
October	45	Denmark, 10	10 doctors (Neuro-psychiatry, Radiology, Neurology)
November	30	UK, 22	22, au pair
December	82	UK, 68	50, unqualified workers in agriculture
Total	**2122**		

Source: Agenţia Naţională pentru Ocuparea Forţei de Muncă

Most of those (approx. 51%) who applied for jobs abroad through this EURES service[16] had primary, grammar or vocational school education; only 11.4% held a university degree, usually in the medical or IT field. The bulk of applications located came from the South of the country (the so-called „South region") , followed by the South-West and the South-East respectively (all in all, approx. 6,000 people). The capital, Bucharest, and the West of the country (Banat) gave the lowest figures in terms of job applications abroad, since these areas offer more employment opportunities compared with the rest of the country. Most positions that were obtained through these mediating services are short-term, usually un-skilled in agriculture (93%), especially in Spain.

The councillors working for EURES mention that the main obstacles confronting Romanian labourers are insufficient knowledge of the main languages of the EU, and low level of knowledge about the work and living conditions in the respective states. It is understandable that the main migratory waves from Romania head towards to Latin-speaking countries, Italy and Spain respectively, where the ability to learn the language quickly is highly probable.

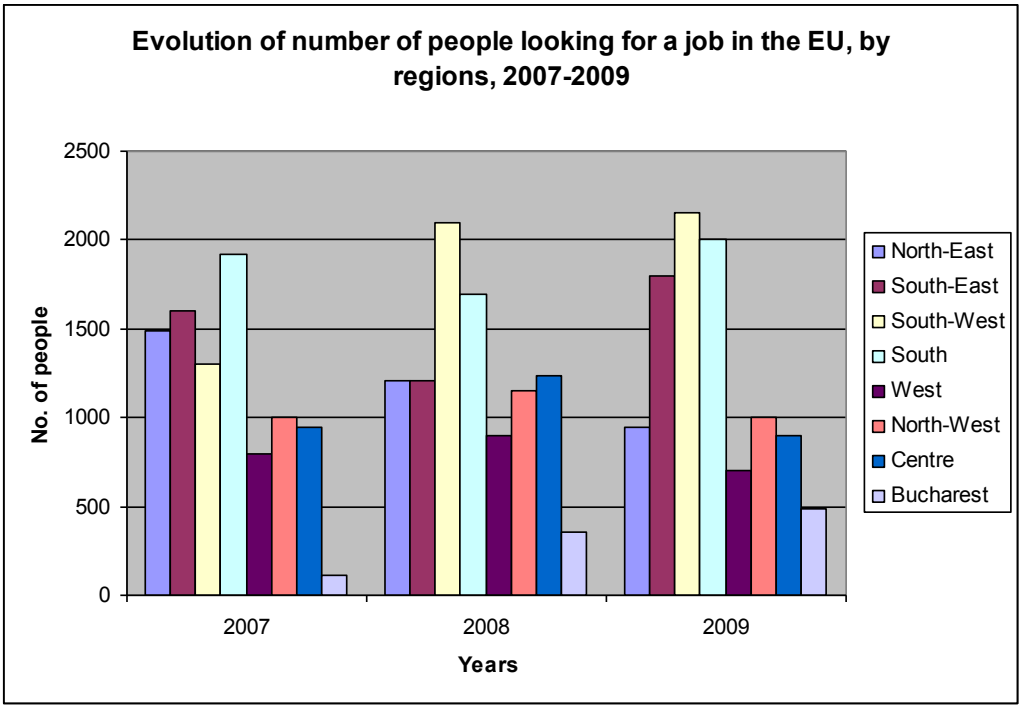
[14] Table 2 shows the type of requested work from various EU countries. Spain is the biggest employer, with most of the positions in agriculture. Spanish government figures show a much higher number of Romanian labourers who are engaged in agricultural work. Back home, in Romania, they are called "căpşunari", i.e. "strawberry pickers", from "strawberry" – "căpşună".

[15] *Raport de activitate al Agentiei Nationale pentru Ocuparea Forţei de Munca pe anul 2009*

[16] EURES is the European system of job inquiries.

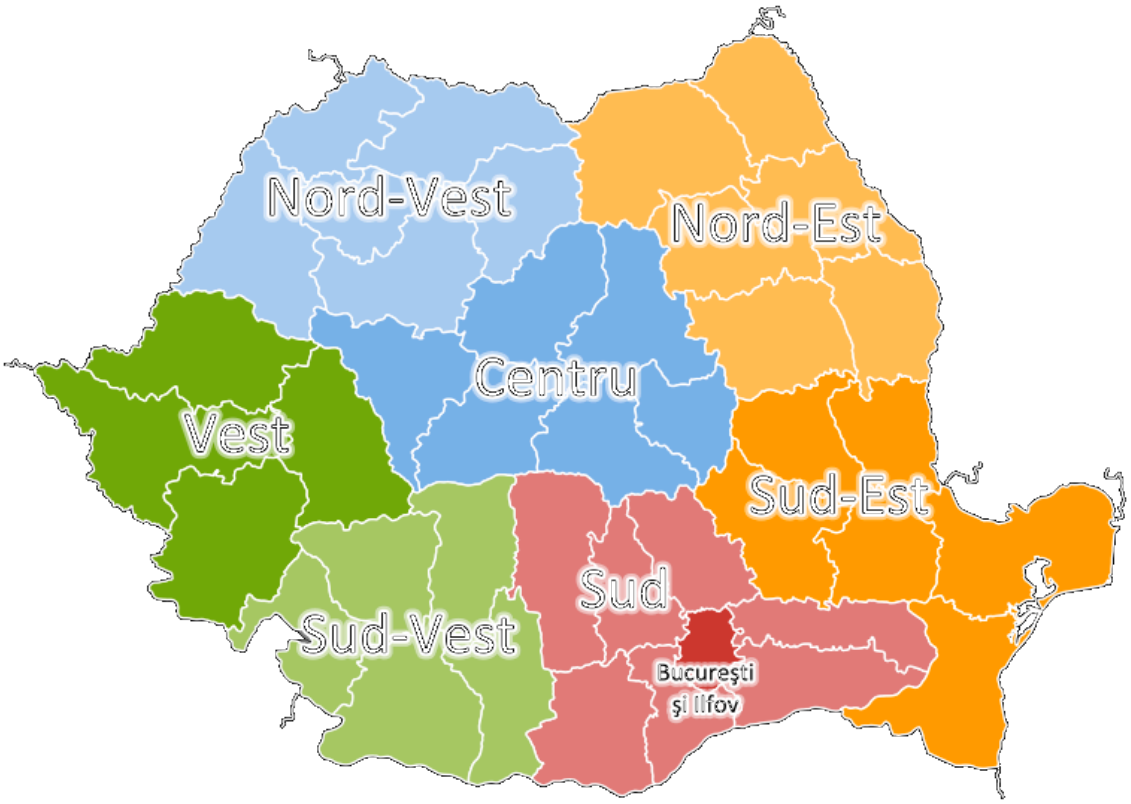
Different European statistics show that Romanian men as last wave emigrants are mainly construction workers. Early immigrants, such as those to Britain, are mainly employed in services. Those in the last wave of emigration to Spain are mainly employed in industry. Three quarters of the women are employed in services.

Figure 5: Evolution of nomber of people looking for a job in EU/SEE countries, that applied for a place offered the the EURES councilors, by regions, between 2007-2009



Source: Agenţia Naţională pentru Ocuparea Forţei de Muncă

Figure 6: Development regions in Romania



Data regarding the real number of migrants abroad is not easy to pull together in Romania's case – various official statistics provide contradictory data; what is known though is that Romanian immigrants represent approximately 8% of the emigration wave in the EU, second only to the Poles. In Hungary, for instance, Romanian passport holders represented, in 2006, 35% of the country's immigration. Similar figures can be met for countries such as Italy and Spain. In one of his electoral speeches, Mircea Geoană, at that time president of the Social Democratic Party, even declared that Italy and Spain are the host-countries of over 2.5 million Romanians, a "mini Romania, comparable to Slovenia". A surprising statement nevertheless, as Romanian authorities continue to send abroad an insufficient number of voting papers (approximately 620,000).

This is the reason why in the 2004 and 2008 national elections many candidates running for office realized the importance of these communities and started electoral trips to the large Romanian communities in Italy and Spain. Once with the uninominal electoral system, 4 colleges have been created for the Chamber of Deputies (1 for Europe, 1 for Asia, 1 for Africa and the Middle East, and 1 for the Americas) and 2 colleges for the Senate.

The belief that migrants are completely assimilated by their adoptive countries is rather simplistic, as migrants do maintain various ties with their home countries, including political links. The most visible aspect is voting. Under these circumstances, the expansion of voting rights to co-nationals living abroad could be translated into a less "territorial' concept regarding sense of belonging to a certain country. According to Baubock[17], this state of affairs leads to so-called "ethnic nationalism", through which voting rights are extended to the migrants' offspring. This issue is controversial nevertheless, especially since there are universal practices in the field: nations grant these rights in different ways, varying from the practice itself to their mode and scope of implementation – from local elections to national and European elections, from direct voting to voting through representatives, by post, in capital cities only or all over the territory, etc.

However, statistics show that the number of people who decide to vote is insignificant compared with the total of Romanian immigrants abroad (39,000 people in the general elections in 2004, 21,000 citizens for the EU elections, a little over 20,000 in the 2008 general elections). However, the expression that "each vote counts" seems to hold in the case of the Romanian Diaspora – President Traian Băsescu was elected in the second round of the 2009 presidential elections thanks to the votes he received from the colleges abroad, narrowly defeating the opposition.[18] This illustrates the fact that the satisfaction regarding how democracy works and the declared support for political pluralism between migrants and the population at home is far from being self-explanatory. Moreover, various surveys taken among the Romanian immigrants prove that conditions mandatory for civic involvement, such as optimism and social trust, are more present in migrants than in those who did not emigrate.

All in all, figures prove that the mobility of the Romanian electorate living or working abroad is not a very high one. For Romanians living in Florence and Rome, for instance, the main information sources are the internet and satellite TV, with programmes from Romania, followed by the Romanian media in Italy and the information campaign organized by Italy's Party of Romanians. Most of those questioned do follow political events in the home country.

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[17] Reiner Bauböck, *Migration and Citizenship. Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation,* Amsterdam University Press - IMISCOE Reports

[18] Băsescu obtained 115,831 votes, whereas his counter-candidate, the social-democrat Mircea Geoana, got only 31,045 votes, which means 79% to 21%. Most of Băsescu's votes came from the Moldovans with a Romanian citizenship (93%) and from the Romanians working in Spain (81%) and in Italy (78%).

Table 7: The age structure of the population of Romania in March 18th 2002

Age group	Population of Romania at the march 18th census 2002	The flat external migration btw. January 7th 1992 and March 18th 2002 - %	The components of the external flat migration – structure in %			
			Age group	All flat migration	The statistical recorded migration	The statistically un-registered migration
Total	100	100	**total**	100	100	100
0 – 19 years	25	15	**0 – 19 years**	15	36	11
20 – 39 years	30	62	**20 – 39 years**	62	48	65
40 -59 years	25	15	**40 -59 years**	11	1	13
60 years and over	19	8	**60 years and over**	12	15	11

Source: study by Vasile Ghetau[19] based on the data from: CNS, 1994; INS, 2003b; 2006a.

Another question that should be posed concerns direction**:** Where from /where to?
As one can see from the data presented in Table 8, between 1990 and 2006, the dominant migration direction has changed with time – there are three stages in the migration waves that began developing early in 1990. The first stage was in the early 1990s, when Israel and Turkey were the most attractive places for Romanians who intended to work abroad; except for the permanent migration of the Saxons to Germany, this country, together with Italy and Hungary were secondary destinations. Almost one fifth of the total work departures, between 1990 and 1995 headed towards Israel (places of origin and destinations Table 8). Later on, in the second stage (1996-2001), Italy became *the* leader in attracting Romanians who wanted to work abroad. Israel fell to second place in order of preference during that period. In the third stage, which began in 2002, the preferences changed again, with Italy and Spain as the most popular. The departures of the temporary labourers for Italy, during this period, were as high as 50%, the departures for Spain are at 25%.

The paths of Romanians in search of work abroad (mainly in Europe, but also in Canada and the USA) tend to concentrate on a small number of countries, not in a linear way, but following the continuation of the search:
• in the first stage, 1990 -1995, there were five main destinations with a share over 7% of the total departures i.e. Israel, Turkey, Italy, Hungary and Germany;
• in the second stage, 1996-2002, Canada and Spain were added to the five countries from the first. The social innovation was expanding towards the Western limit of the European continent and towards America.
• in the third stage, 2002 to the present, one can easily notice a bulk of the temporary work emigrations. After having tested the life and work conditions at multiple destinations, Romanian labourers eventually decide and focus, in particular, on two

[19] Vasile Gheţău, *Declinul demografhic al populaţiei.. O perspectivă asupra populataţiei României în secolul 21*, Editura Alpha MDN, 2007

Latin-language countries, Italy and Spain respectively. How much this decision has been influenced by the type of labour force demand, the ease to pass from Romanian to the language of the destination, and how much by the legislation and tolerance of the place of arrival, remains to be determined. It is highly probable though that the ease of passing the language barrier was a determinant in this choice.

The changes that occurred between these stages were not only related to the migration field. The volume of departures also changed. In the pre-Schengen period, the intensity of the phenomenon doubled compared to the 1990-1995 stage. In the period after 2001, compared to the previous one, the intensity of the phenomenon of work migration has tripled, as can be seen in the table below (e.g., in the case of Italy, the percentage moved from 26 to 76 for the people from Moldova).

Table 8: Main destinations of temporary emigration on historical regions, 1990-2001, 2001-2006

	Moldova		Muntenia		Oltenia		Dobrogea		Transylvania		Crisana-Maramures		Banat		Bucharest		Total	
	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006	1990-2001	2001-2006
Israel	26		15		7				15		57						17	
Italy	26	76	11	21	20	62	29	75	20	42	14	41		43	6	75	17	50
Hungary	3								28	17	14	6			6		9	4
Turkey	15		19		7				3								8	
Spain	3	14	7	54	13	21			13	17		29		4	6		7	24
Germany	5	1	11	8			29	13	5	3	7	3		29			6	5
Canada			7		27		14										4	
Greece			7		7	3				1				18	12	13	3	2
Belgium	4		20														2	
Serbia	3												22				2	
Austria									5				11				2	
Sweden													22				1	
France		1		1		3				3		3						2
Others	8	6	5	14	0	6	14	13	8	13	0	12	11	7	41	13	11	10
NR	13	2	4	3		6	14		5	4	7	6	33		29		11	3
		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100

Source: TLA Survey, folder with departures from work between 1990-2001 (N=168) and 2001-2006 (N=360) respectively, compilation from Dumitru Sandu

Various statistics also show that around 30,000 children accompanied their parents abroad, applying for school places in the respective countries. Half left for Italy and one third for Spain. The poorer areas, such as Moldova and Oltenia, give the profile of those emigrating to Italy, whereas Muntenia and Transylvania showed a trend towards Spain. Approximately 40% of the children were in primary school, 40 % in grammar school and 20% in secondary school. Most of the departures occurred between 2006 (10,000) and 2007 (13,000); the beginning of the economic crisis saw a decrease in departures to around 6,000[20].

[20] Sandu, op. cit. 2009

Table 9 : Migrants' children, from primary, grammar and secondary school cycles, together with their parents abroad, 2006-2008

	total departures	% departures to Italy	% departures to Spain	% departures to other countries
Moldova	10,663	17	72	11
Oltenia	2,079	26	58	16
Dobrogea	1,421	34	50	16
Crisana-Maramures	2,132	30	38	32
Muntenia	6,850	45	36	19
Transilvania	5,844	46	32	21
Banat	426	28	31	41
Total	29,415	32	51	17

Sources: MECI, Dumitru Sandu

The demographic effects of the temporary migration abroad are mainly linked to the number of marriages, the birth rate and the divorce rate. An analysis performed by Dumitru Sandu[21] has found that in the villages with a high emigration rate, in a relatively short interval, of around 3 years, the following trends:

- a decreased birth rate
- increased marriage and divorce rates
- more newly-built houses/apartments
- rapid demographic aging due to the fact that second generation migrants do not return, especially when they have studied abroad.

The temporary migration also has consequences upon disparities that begin to appear between various regions and communities. Initially, the temporary migration was not a phenomenon linked to personal or community poverty. Those looking for work abroad were people of average economic condition, from villages near cities and towns, from counties with an average development rate[22]. As a consequence, the amount of support that went to the poor villages and counties was relatively low and, moreover, eventually led to an increased community and regional disparity. To be more precise: the poor areas became poorer, while the more developed ones, that benefited from remittances became, if not wealthier, at least slightly better. In terms of the results from the work abroad, the quantity of money transfers back home between 2006 and 2008, as reported by the National Bank of Romania, the sums represented an important percentage of the foreign currency that entered the country and 5% of the national budget [23](Table 10):

[21] Sandu, 2009a
[22] Dumitru Sandu, *Community selectivity of temporary emigration from Romania***,** in "Romanian Journal of Population Studies", vol I, 1-2, 2007, pp.11-45
[23] Sandu, 2009a

Table 10: The structure of private money transfers from abroad to Romania, based on expedition countries (% of the total of transfers that entered Romania)

	2006	2007	2008
Italy	34	38	38
Spain	24	29	27
UK	5	6	6
USA	12	3	5
Germany	4	5	4
Greece	3	4	3
France	2	2	2
Austria	1	2	2
Cyprus	1	1	2
Others	15	10	10
Total transfers %	100	100	100
Total transfers billions of EUROs	5 280	6 172	6 307

Source: National Bank of Romania, merged data sources

In terms of the life profiles and solutions used by the temporary labourers, a survey conducted by the Soros Foundation Romania in 2006 is highly illustrative (Tables 11 and 12):

Most of the jobs in Spain are found through relatives, whereas those in Italy through relatives and friends equally. Other percentages are given by direct application to the employer, or through intermediaries in Romania. Friends are the source of employment in the case of Hungary and Turkey; while the intermediate Romanian-based companies play an important role in employment in Israel, Greece and Germany.

Table 11: "How did you manage to find work abroad, through…." (%) (1,400 interviews)

Country where he/she worked	Contracts through the Labour Force Office	Labour intermediation companies in Romania	Relatives abroad	Friends abroad	Asking employer directly	other	NA	Total %	Total N
Spain	6	4	32	23	21	11	3	100	95
Italy	0	11	29	31	13	8	8	100	213
Hungary	3	3	27	40	13	13	0	100	30
Turkey	0	6	13	38	19	13	13	100	16
Germany	6	29	9	18	18	18	3	100	34
Israel	19	66	3	0	0	3	9	100	32
Canada	0	0	0	40	10	50	0	100	10
Greece	0	42	0	8	25	8	17	100	12
Other countries	12	14	14	14	12	27	8	100	66
Non-response	4	4	0	44	19	4	26	100	27
total	4	14	21	26	14	12	8	100	535

Source: TLA survey, 1,400 household interviews with people who have worked abroad, 2006

If in Italy the importance of both relatives and friends increased after 2001, up to approximately one third each, and in Spain it can be observed that a transfer of the importance of relatives to the direct application to the employer. This is a sign of social learning by potential applicants, who began to adapt more successfully to the rules of the Western labour market (Table 12). In both cases one can notice the extremely low, most of the time non-existent, importance of Romanian institutions in providing information on available jobs in Italy or Spain. The Romanian authorities, in the last three years attempted to fill the gap, in the sense that the domestic agency meant to deal with employment (ANOFM) also provides information regarding work abroad (see Table 6 – in 2009 850 people found work in Spain through this service, although the figure is tiny compared to the real number of labourers, that reaches, according to various sources, around 1 million people).

Table 12: Ways to find a job in Italy and Spain, on stages (%)

	Time period	Contracts through labour force office	Labour intermediation companies in Romania	Relatives abroad	Friends abroad	Asking employer	others	NA	Total %	Total N
Spain	1996-2001		20	50	20	10			100	10
	2002-2006	7	2	30	24	23	11	4	100	84
Italy	1996-2001		17	21	21	13	21	8	100	24
	2002-2006		11	31	32	14	6	6	100	176

Source: TLA Survey, temporary departures to work, people aged 15 to 64

Data are proof to the fact that interpersonal connections and the mutual support have gradually created large social networks of labour migration, highly adapted to the globalization of the European economy[24]. A study conducted by the *Caritas/Migrantes*[25] association in Italy in 2007 showed that Romanians represented 15.1% of the foreign population, more than double than in the previous two years.

[24] Swanie Potot, *Romanian Circulation: Networks as informal transnational organizations,* Published in Corrado Bonifazi, Marek Okolski, Jeannette Schoorl, Patrick Simon, *International Migration in Europe. New trends and New Methods of Analysis*, Amsterdam University Press- IMISCOE, 2008, pp. 87-106

[25] http://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/romeni.htm

Table 11 Where and how did the migrant work?

		stages			total
		1990-1995	1996-2001	2002-2006	
What fields did you work in?	agriculture	14	14	16	15
	constructions	41	42	28	32
	housekeeping	0	7	28	20
	others	44	32	26	29
	NR	2	5	3	3
Did you work legally or illegally throughout this departure?	legally	53	57	31	39
	illegally	34	31	53	46
	both legally and illegally	8	7	9	8
	NR	5	6	7	6
Did you legalize your situation during that departure to work?	no, I didn't even try	68	58	53	55
	no, although I tried	0	10	28	23
	yes	12	28	13	15
	NR	20	5	6	7

Data source: TLA Survey, temporary departures to work, people aged 15 to 64.
For each question there are calculated the percentages during that stage, on columns. Example of reading: 41% of the departures to work between 1990 and 1995 were for construction work.

The TLA Survey research shows a decrease in the amount of legal work, from more than half between 1990 and 2001 to less than one third after 2002, in all sectors: agriculture, construction, housekeeping, etc. What is even more worrying is the fact that the number of people who do not even attempt to legalise their labour situation is only slowly decreasing, with over half of those questioned saying they are content with their illegal work status. At the same time, Italian researchers[26] stress the fact that the Romanian residents have a high level of education (59.2%, compared with 33.4% of the Italians).

Despite all these, integration is difficult, partly because of the inadequate migration policies, partly the lack of coherence of the European integration model, also levels of criminality of both Romanian and Italian criminal organizations and of the highly repressive measures. In many EU countries, this often chaotic legislation related to migration, both political parties and the mass media's roles in misrepresenting a complex social and cultural phenomenon, create a mutual biased perception, fear and intolerant attitudes and behaviour.

[26] Enzo Rossi, Fabrizio Botti, *Migration as a Factor of Social Innovation and Development: the Case of Romanian Migration to Italy,* Revista Inovaţia Socialş nr. 2/2010 (iulie-decembrie), p. 20

Conclusions on Romanian emigration

Romanian emigration has a long and painful history. Confronted with either political or economic hardships, sometimes both, people fled the country both legally and illegally, making exact figures almost impossible to asses. It is also true that the permanent migration continued to decrease after 1991, but only to allow another new social phenomenon: temporary migration with the main purpose of working abroad to support financially the families at home.

Sociologists have noticed a powerful "wave effect" that influences the attitudes and behaviour of Romanian emigrants. Often this is more relevant than the place of origin of these people, although certain patterns of migration have been identified through the years (mostly people from the South, not necessarily from the poorest areas, etc). People of the last wave, the newcomers (as is the case of Romanians in Spain and Italy) tend to be younger, less adapted to the immigrant society – that is why they are ethnically labelled, even if most of their characteristics are due to being latecomers. Although these communities are more tolerant towards the Romanians, various violent incidents have led to a less positive assessment of all the workers from the country. One can notice the formation of "Romanian towns", not only in the southern European countries, but also in the UK or France, who are more open to the Romanian skilled professionals.

The key lines of differentiating social worlds of immigrants in are the waves of immigration and also ethnicity and place of origin. These social worlds of immigration are again separated into various sub-worlds mainly represented by the levels of education, income and family situation. The life strategies of the Romanian migrants are redefined on a continuous basis in terms of family, use of status resources and context evaluations (as job opportunities and performance of the institutions at home compared with host societies)[27]. Belonging to a 'Romanian group' or to 'a Romanian migrant group of workers' is alleged only when migrants clearly identify another population/social category that they wish to be seen apart from. For example, Romanian Roma, highly stigmatized by the majority Romanian population, represent a real threat to the identity of the other Romanian migrants. The attitude is explicable by the fact that many western societies often perceive Romanian migration as being a Roma activity, with the consequence of middle-class Romanians being regarded abroad as Roma.[28] The corollary is that social networks play a highly important role in the creation of these worlds and sub-worlds of the migrants.

[27] Dumitru Sandu, *Social Worlds of the last wave immigrants: the case of Romanians in Spain,* presentation at the international seminar "Migration Flows among South East Europe, Spain and Catalonia", Autonomous University of Barcelona, 21-23 September 2009

[28] Potot, op. cit. p. 7

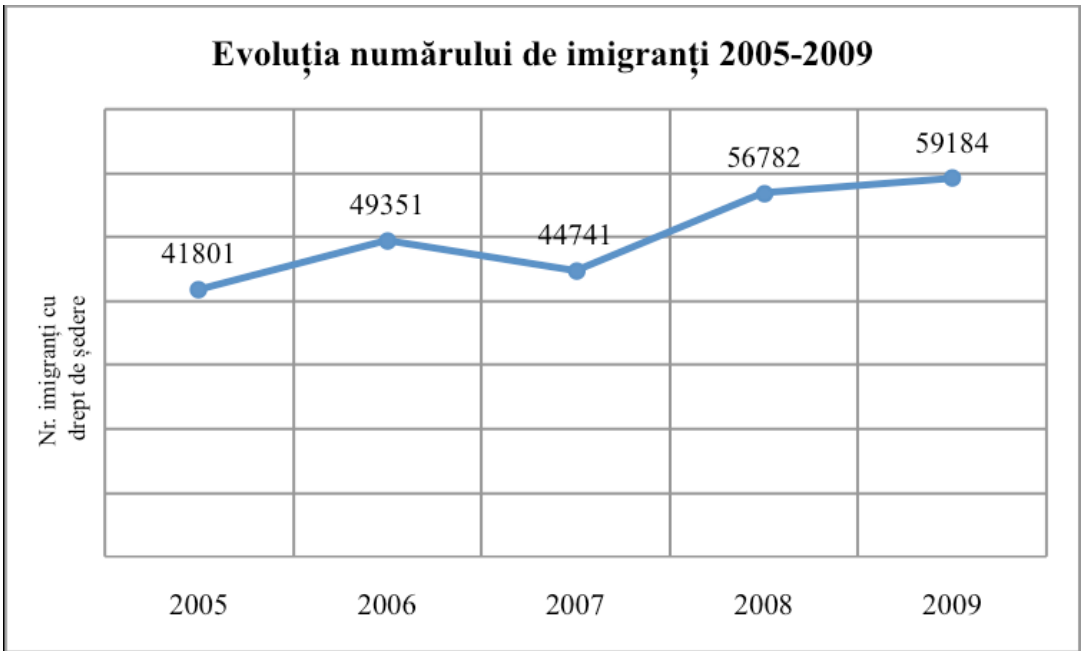
Immigration to Romania after 1989

Inflows of migrants to Romania remain modest compared to western standards. According to official data from various sources, the number of immigrants in Romania fell slightly in 2007, in order to increase in the next two years.[29] In 2007, the total number of foreign citizens (either from third countries and EU/EEA) with valid permits amounted to 49,775, 4,225 less than in 2006. However, the number of persons with permanent permits rose by about 18% (from 5, 429 in 2006, to 6, 652 in 2007). The main origin countries of temporary migrants remained Moldova (11,852), Turkey (6,227) and China (4,336). Temporary residents from EU/EEA come mainly from Italy, Germany and France. Most of the permanent migrants originate from China (1,070), Turkey (976), and Syria (757). As far as the number of work permits granted to foreigners is concerned, official data from the Romanian Office for Immigration (created in 2007), 3, 638 work authorizations (as work permits were renamed) were issued to foreigners in the second half of 2007, with a high increase in 2008 (14,389 work permits – see Figure 9), only to decrease to the level of 2005 (approximately 4,000 work permits) in 2009. The applicants are mainly Turkish citizens (49%), followed by Chinese (17%) and Moldavians (15%). Both in terms of number of authorizations granted, and of countries of origin, the situation is stable. About 74% of the work authorizations issued in the second half of 2007 were for permanent workers, 21% for posted workers (Figures 8, 9, 10, 11, Table 14).

Under the National Strategy on Immigration for 2007-2010, administrative procedures regarding the employment and posting of foreigners have been simplified, and special procedures now apply for admission of highly skilled third-country nationals. During 2008, 10,000 new work authorizations were issued to non-EU nationals as posted workers employed by foreign entities. An action plan with the purpose of encouraging the return of Romanian citizens was initiated in 2007 and adopted at the beginning of 2008 by a Government Decision.

[29] Combined sources : http://www.insse.ro/cms/rw/pages/index.ro.do , http://www.mai.gov.ro/engleza/english.htm http://ori.mai.gov.ro/

Figure 7: The evolution of the number of immigrants in Romania



In the first quarter of 2009, almost 60% of the total numbers of non-EU aliens holding the right of residence in Romania were from three countries: Moldova (28%), Turkey (17%) and China (14%). Region-wise, the countries of the Near East represent the main source of immigration to Romania. Almost one out of three aliens with legal residence in Romania comes from this region.[30]

Data from the various waves of the European values Survey and the World Values Survey[31] show that in 2008 in favour of discrimination on the labour market seem to be more widespread as compared to 2005 (69% compared to 65%) although more Romanians (23%) adopt a position against discrimination according to this criterion (in the 1993-2005 interval only 14-15% were against discrimination). Those who still support discrimination on the labour market are people close to retirement or even retired (the 60-80 year old age group), with basic education and from small villages/communes. The data support the theories according to which the lack of direct and frequent contact with foreigners (favoured in this case by the residence milieu), the low mobility (favoured by old age) and the low educational level are determinant factors for foreigners' discrimination.

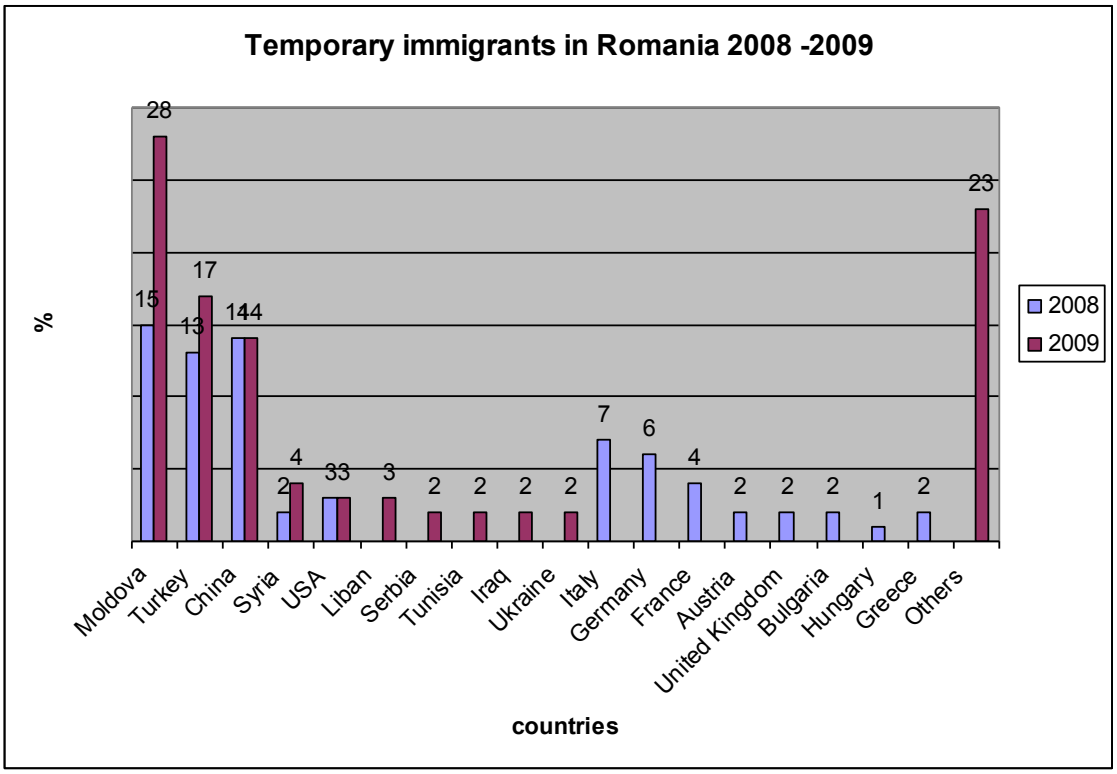
If we look at the previous waves of the EVS/WVS and at the European average from 1999 (15%), in 2008 the tolerance of Romanians towards the immigrants/foreign labourers is comparable to other European countries; if in certain countries (Spain, Sweden, Slovenia, Estonia) the tolerance level is almost unchanged, in other countries (France, Germany, the Netherlands) intolerance is increasing trend, whereas in countries such as Romania, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Latvia) it is

[30] Iris Alexe (ed.), *Immigrants' Information Needs in* Romania, Soros Foundation Romania research report, Raluca Popescu, Georgiana Toth, November 2009, p. 8
[31] Newsletter, *Valorile românilor*, No. 6, september 2009, http://www.iccv.ro/valori

decreasing (from 33% in 1993, to 21% in 1999, to 17% in 2005). As far as discrimination related to the work place is concerned, Romania presents a rather discriminatory attitude, both in 2005 and in 2008; although in 2005 there also was a high percentage of undecided (20%). This aspect is in line with another trend identified through these surveys, i.e. that the emotional attitude is one of the main explanatory variables for one's identity, less than the civic attitude. What is important though is that, in order to obtain Romanian citizenship, for instance, the fact of being born in Romania and having Romanian ancestors is more important than having lived in the country or respecting the political institutions and laws.

If the relation of the immigrants with Romanian institutions is characterized by most of the immigrants living in Romania as having problems, living with Romanians, interacting with them during the everyday life is usually positively evaluated. On the other hand, the substance debates led by the researchers of the Soros Foundation Romania revealed rather the contrary. In reality, Romanians' attitude towards aliens (and other races in particular) is assessed as a rather closed one, stereotyped and revealing a high level of discrimination. As a consequence, most of the immigrants, in particular those from very different cultures, tend to isolate themselves, living in closed communities resulting in integration problems. The need for information is actually experienced by both – immigrants and the domestic population. In addition to the fact that aliens should know the habits and beliefs of the Romanians, and adapt to their culture, Romanians too should know and respect the values and identity of the immigrant cultures. The cultural differences should be known, understood and respected in an open and tolerant society.[32]

Figure 8: Temporary immigrants in Romania, 2008-2009



Source: combined, calculations of the author

[32] Alexe, op. cit., pp. 44-45

As one can see in the figures presented below, the data and statistics dealing with immigration and asylum seekers are highly unequal. The phenomenon of migration has a somewhat complicated dynamic, since it must adapt itself to continuously changing circumstances, challenges and vulnerabilities. One of the main issues, identified by various reports in the field, are related to the need of co-ordinating domestic legislation and practices to the wider practices of the European Union member states, both in managing the labour force and the flows of communication and information respectively. Another issue is the need to correlate the management of national and regional labour force mobility.[33]

Romania expects an increase in the number of immigrants in the coming years, especially after it joins the Schengen. Nevertheless, a fact that the authorities must cope with is that this "attractiveness" will be the same for both legal and illegal immigrants, requiring an increase in human and in technological know-how. Another challenge is complying with the various rights and freedoms of different categories of immigrants (minor asylum seekers, victims of human trafficking and labour exploitation, immigrants coming for work purposes); this would mean support for people with special needs, social and legal assistance, health care, housing, employment, language course, etc. Last but not least, the public discourse on immigration in Romania must avoid creating or enforcing the stereotypes and negative representations of immigrants among the population, a state of affairs confirmed by public opinion polls conducted by the Institute for the Quality of Life.[34]

Table 14: Sources of foreign workers in Romania 2005 - 2006

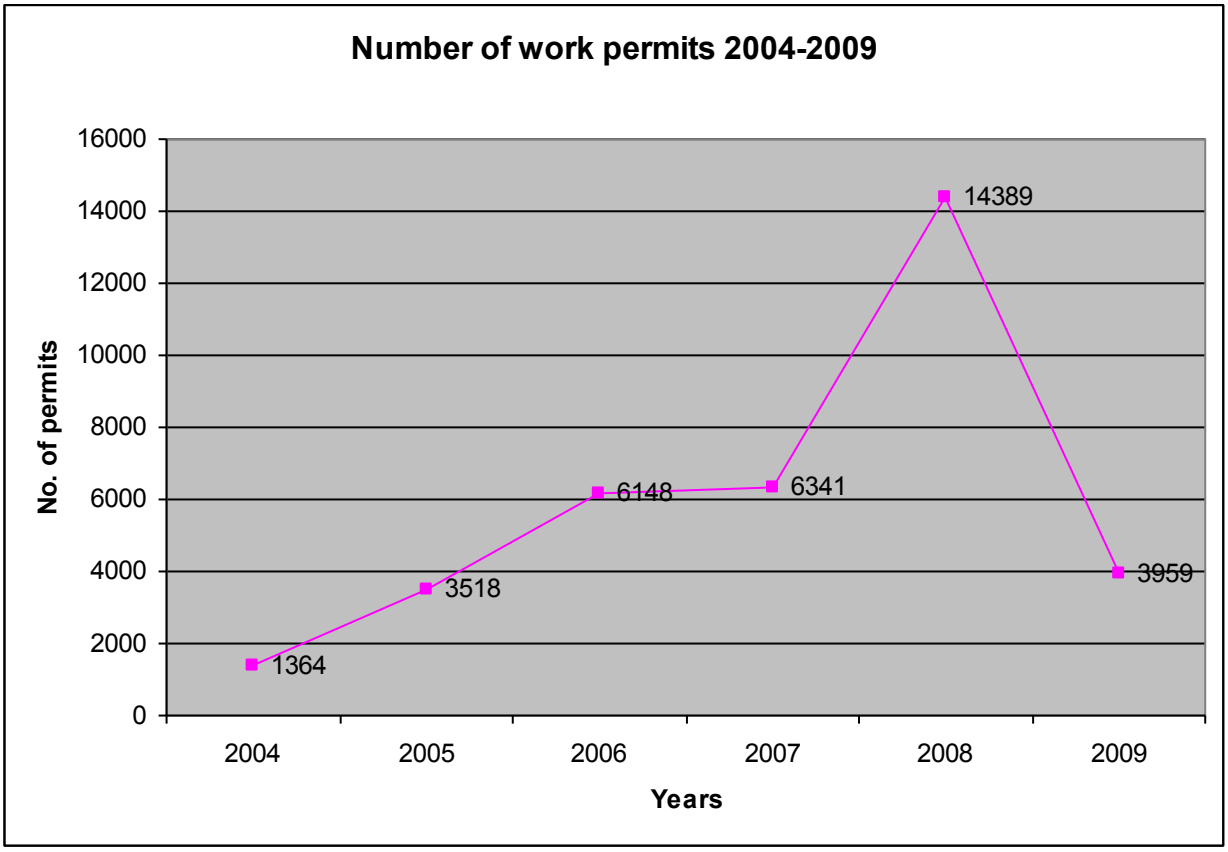
	Year	
Country	**2005**	**2006**
1. Turkey	1,481	1,721
2. China	529	1,129
3. France	155	310
4. Germany	55	200

Source" Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reforms" (MIRA) (2007)

[33] Iris Alexe (ed.), *Gestionarea benefică a imigraţiei în România*, Soros Foundation Romania 2010, pp. 168-169

[34] Newsletter, Valorile românilor, No. 6, septembrie 2009, http://www.iccv.ro/valori

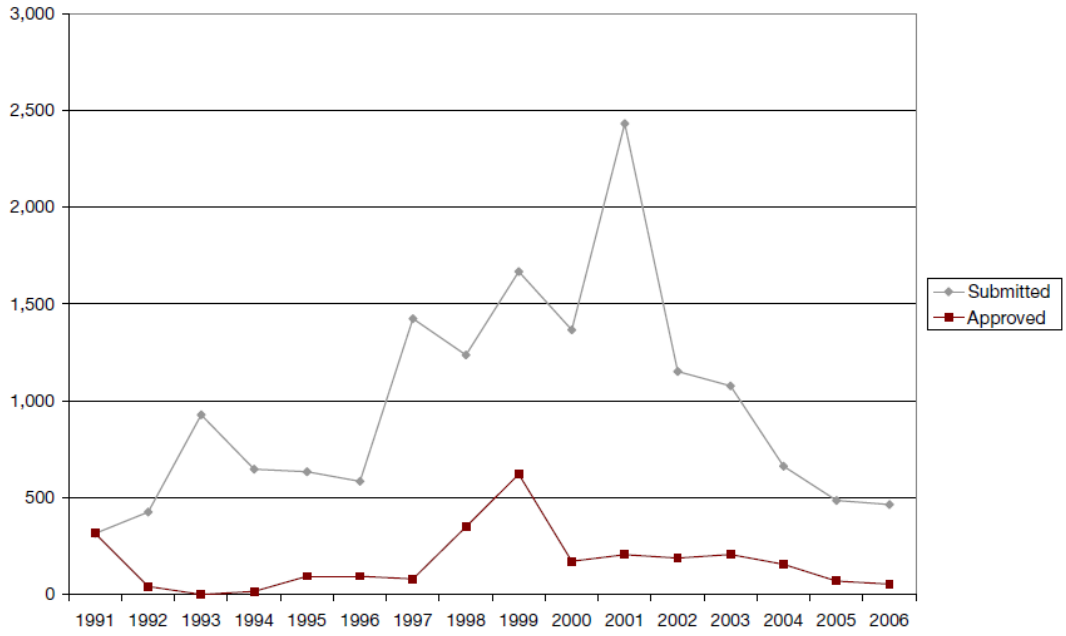
Figure 9: Number of released work permits in Romania 2004 -2009



Source: http://ori.mai.gov.ro/detalii/pagina/ro/Statistici-si-publicatii/147, design OVS

Some of these immigrants are refugees, their numbers remaining almost unchanged between 2007 and 2009, despite the fears of the officials and analysts' predictions that these figures would increase once Romania officially joined the EU (Figure 12, Table 14). Most come from third-party countries (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, China, Iraq, Syria), but also from Western countries, such as the USA, Italy, France and Germany. In the case of Western countries, it is generally the development of multinational firms that generates this inflow of people settling, even if only for a few years in Romania, mainly in Bucharest, but also in other cities, such as Cluj, Constanta and Timisoara (Figure 11). Although not a representative sample, this trend can be observed in the request for Romanian language classes that are provided mainly in Bucharest (by the Romanian Cultural Institute ICR) and in Cluj (by the Romanian Language Institute of Cluj University). Starting with 2008, ICR increased its offer of courses from semester to semester, reaching approximately 350 per year, mainly for people from multinationals, diplomats, graduate students, translators and interpreters and also their spouses.

Figure 10: Asylum in Romania 1991-2006



Source: Ministerul Internelor şi Reformei Administrative (MIRA), Autoritate pentru Străini (ApS)

Table 15: Number of refugees and application for asylum 2008-2009

	Year		
	2007	**2008**	**2009**
Number of refugees	1,658	1,757	1,596
Applications for asylum	659	1,172	835

Source: Gestionarea beneficе a imigratiei in Romania, Iris Alexe (ed.), Soros Foundation Romania 2010

As is seen in Tables 15 and 16, the data regarding the number of asylum applications is contradictory, one potential explanation being that the sources are from various institutions, Romanian and international as well. One solution could be to create a coherent system of registration for the data regarding individuals who settle or transit Romania.

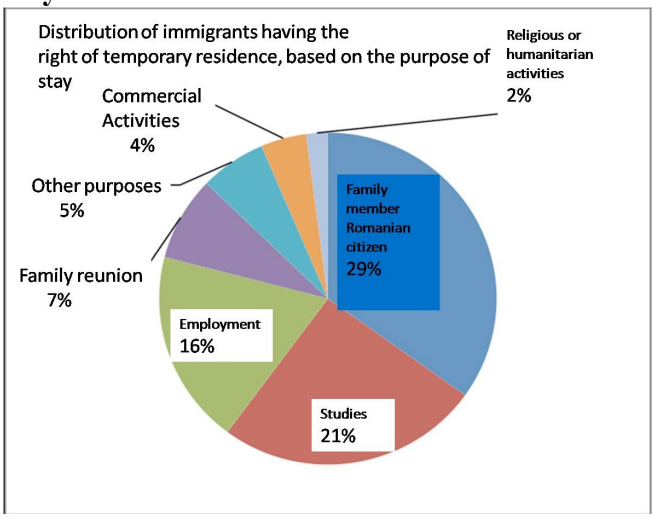
Table 16: Applicants for asylum in Romania – the first 10 nationalities

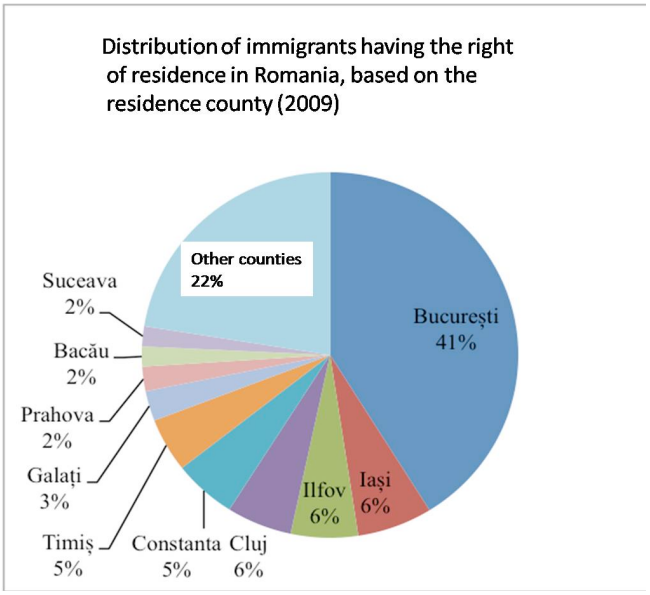
2008		**2009**		**2010***	
Pakistan	252	Republic of Moldova	136		
Bangladesh	172	Pakistan	92		
India	141	Afghanistan	87		
Iraq	133	Turkey	82		
Turkey	79	Iraq	71		
China	53	China	61		
Georgia	43	India	41		
Cameron	25	Bangladesh	41		
Serbia	25	Georgia	26		
Republic of Moldova	15	DR Congo	23		
Total	**938**	**Total**	**639**		**398**

*Source: Gestionarea beneficе a imigratiei in Romania, Iris Alexe (ed.), Soros Foundation Romania 2010, apud. UN Refugee Agency in Romania, *http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e48df96.html , as of January 2010 – total residing in Romania 1,773*

Half of third-country citizens who were granted the right of temporary residence in Romania in 2009 either had a family member who is Romanian citizen or had come to study. Employment in Romania was the purpose of being granted the right of residence in the case of only 16% of the non-EU citizens.[35]

Figure 11: Distribution of immigrants in Romania according to their purpose of stay and the location



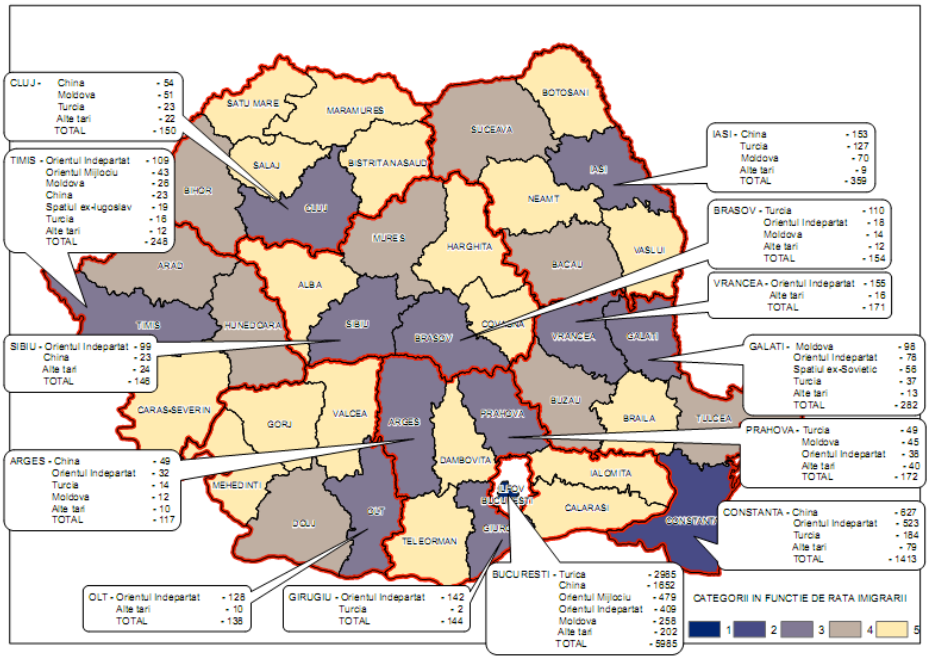


Source: Romanian Immigration Office, data reported on 30.06. 2009

Immigration has a high territorial concentration. 41% of aliens with the right of residence are in Bucharest, whereas other 33% live in counties including the main urban settlements: Iaşi, Cluj, Constanţa, Timiş, Galaţi, Prahova. 80% of the immigrants are, in practice, concentrated in Bucharest and in 9 other counties.

35

Figure 12: The territorial concentration of immigrants in Romania in 2009



Source: Romanian Immigration Office, data reported on 30.06. 2009

The main sources of information used by immigrants are those relying on the relational capital of the immigrant - kinship and friendship networks, ethnical and religious affiliation. In terms of information accessibility, the public institutions are experiencing most of the problems. The third-country nationals in Romania are in critical need of information, as experienced from the very first moments of their arrival to Romania, at the point of entry and where the immigrants are faced with the lack of information about public transportation.[36]

[36] Alexe, ibidem, p. 43

General Conclusion

The Romanian migration changed from a circulatory flow, in the 1990s, to a cyclical and not permanent phenomenon. Migrants from Romania move, most of the time, to compensate for the economic crisis. The biggest migrant communities, from Italy and Spain, are usually made up of workers with previous experience not only of external migration, but also internal migration, generated by the two internal domestic migration flows: one from the late 1980s, when the communist regime moved hundreds of thousands of people from the countryside to the outskirts of the big cities, and the second flow, when the closedown of many industrial sites created an inverse flow, from the urban to the rural areas, especially in the North-East of Romania.

Nevertheless, in spite of the fears of the developed EU countries, no uncontrolled migration from Romania took place after 2007, in spite of the increase with 150% of the residence permits for Romanians in a country like Italy.[37] The migration flows from Romania indicate, despite all concerns, a potential pattern of integration in Europe: a circular, professional migration that is able to generate a type of "horizontal cultural exchange" and new concept of European citizenship. The migration balance shall, most probably, re-equilibrate itself when not only the success stories will circulate back home, but also those of failures. History, as well as migration, is more cyclical than we think – it is also possible that the economic crisis will generate an inverse phenomenon, of an increased nationalism, translated into a decrease of the migration flow.

As far as immigration to Romania is concerned, what is noticeable is that most of the foreigners with a legal status come, overwhelmingly, from Moldova and they usually settle in the capital, Bucharest, where most of the work permits are released, but also the return decisions were issued by the Romanian authorities.

The Romanian state began to be more interested in the issue of migration starting in 2004-2005, when several organisations were set up to deal with the potential inflows – from a simple condemnation of illegal migration, a step has been taken to respond to the migrants' needs in order to know, protect, regulate and guarantee their rights. However, there is still much to be done until issues such as the impossibility of hiring refugees and asylum applicants in their first year in the country remains unsolved. Moreover, the recognition of degrees other than the ones from the EU countries is still a problem for foreigners who settle in Romania looking for a job.

Another issue that is linked to the migration is the opportunity provided to the temporary workers abroad to re-integrate in their home country on their return, since their un-conditional return is not possible, nor desirable, especially since the emigration policy is not correlated with the regional and community development policies in Romania.

[37] Rossi & Botti, op. cit, p. 19