

The economic migration in contemporary world – an explorative analysis of migration and integration behaviour of the Romanians in Paris, London and Rome

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Abstract

In international migration, economic reasons are usually the most important factor while taking decision to move into another country. The Romanians¹ were chosen to make a comparison of migrants' strategies in three European capitals – London, Paris and Rome. A questionnaire method was used as the main research tool and questioning of fifty people in each city was focused on job market, family, lifestyle and transnationalisation.

The results of the study give an insight into everyday life of immigrants, challenges they meet, their desires and their perceptions of the life in motion. Surprisingly, at least half of the respondents said that they were not sending earned money back to Romania. The indecisiveness in terms of returning back to the country of origin indicates satisfaction with this life. The circulatory migration between Romania and the studied countries is likely to continue. Further research could focus on a particular aspect of the immigrants' lives.

Key words: Circular migration – Romanian emigration – Integration of immigrants – European metropolises

Introduction

Population migration is influenced by many factors. Economic reasons are so far the most important motive of migration processes in the world. Migration is defined as a subtype of spatial migration of inhabitants to satisfy various needs. Based on the return rate and regularity of this movement, we differentiate between migration, regular movement of inhabitants and irregular movement of inhabitants. Each of these movements can take place by crossing of any type of borders, which is one of the criteria, according to which we differentiate between types of migration. Other criteria could be for example time or the number of actors.

The basic criterion for immigrant differentiation is legality of their stay in the host country. Legal migrants could be divided for example by the main reason for their stay

¹ This article speaks about citizens of Romania in general. We were not searching people of Romany (Gipsy) origin and we didn't ask the respondents if they are considering themselves to be Romany.

in the foreign country into work and other. Work immigrants can then be divided further into economic and highly qualified. The most usual types of immigrants for other reasons are asylum seekers (refugees), family migrants, seasonal (temporary) migrants, and others. This classification describes the reasons for immigrants' stay in the destination country relatively well, but however, unfortunately combines temporary and permanent immigrants. The share of the individual groups within the framework of all migrants in Europe varies.

The total number of foreigners living in European countries reached 24.6 million (4.5% European population) in 2003. Vast majority of foreigners (23.5 million) lived in Western Europe, where the share of foreigners was 5.5% in the total population. In 2003, there were 10.1 million foreign workers registered in Western Europe, which is an increase by 38% from 1995 (7.3 million). In 2002, 63% (6.2 million) of them lived predominately in four countries: Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom (Salt, 2005).

As an example of economic migrants and for comparison of their strategies in different countries, we decided to focus on Romanians. The aim of this study is then to compare their migration (e.g., preferences, types of migration movement) and integration behaviour (e.g., whether they tend to settle down in the destination country permanently) in three European capitals: Paris, London and Rome.

The main method of finding out the migration and integration behaviour patterns of the Romanians in the selected capitals was a survey focused on the following areas of the respondents' life: I. Labour market (especially searching for a job through a community of fellow countrymen and in its framework, participation in labour market, use of qualifications gained in the origin country, most usual professions etc.), II. Family and lifestyle (whole families in the destination country, mode of living etc.) and III. Transnationalisation (amount of communication with the home country).

Theoretical background

Due to complexity of the current migration streams and problems with the definition of migration itself, there has not been an "all-explaining" theory of migration formed (Drbohlav, 2001). It can be rightly expected that it will not be formulated in the future either, because it would have to contain answers to a great number of questions, which are posed in studies of migrational movements: Who moves? Why do they move? Why do they stay at the new location? Or, why do they come back? Where do they migrate? How? When? What are the consequences of the migration for the migrants themselves, the relevant places and their population? It is much easier to explain answers to just one or two of the above questions and, therefore, there is a number of theories of migration, which can be divided into groups according to approaches (Massey et al., 1993). This research uses mainly the following international migration theories:

- *Neoclassical economics theory*: Its basis is the so-called push-pull model, where migration is a consequence of socioeconomic imbalance between regions, where certain factors act primarily as a push and others as a pull. International migration of labour is according to this theory caused by the difference of wages between countries.

- *New (household) economics of migration*, according to which decisions on migration are done within the whole family – households try to diversify their sources of income for unexpected situations.
- *Dual labour market theory* says that international migration follows from the constant demand for immigrant labour, which is embedded in the structural nature of developed economies. Immigrants then occupy jobs in the secondary sector – the less attractive jobs with lower average wages, higher instability of employment and low chances for promotion.
- *Network theory* builds on the fact that migration networks, which are formed by a number of interpersonal ties, make both migration and adaptation to life in the destination country's community easier.
- *Institutional theory* explores the influence of the various institutions established for migrants on the duration of international migration.

Research questions and hypotheses

On the basis of the acquired theoretical knowledge the following was formulated:

Research questions:

1. What are the forms of migration and models of integration of the Romanian immigrants in the selected EU countries?
2. What are the differences between modes of integration of the Romanians into the majorities of London, Paris and Rome?
3. Do the Romanians tend to settle down in the destination country or do they want to return back to Romania?

Hypotheses:

1. The main reasons for emigration are economic.
2. The main factor to select the location (state and city) is the already existing migration network of fellow countrymen.
3. The first job is gained through the fellow countrymen community and a majority of colleagues are fellow countrymen.
4. Good language skills influence positively successful integration into the community.
5. The Romanians tend to settle down in the destination country.
6. The Romanians, according to the transnationalisation concept, maintain and wish to maintain frequent contacts with the home country.
7. The Romanians will form ethnic enclaves in the researched capitals.

Methodology

Before starting with the work to achieve the objectives of the research, it was necessary to become familiar with the migration situation of observed communities in the selected locations. Several limitations were discovered already in this phase: in case of Rome, there were far more secondary sources and statistics than for the other

capitals because research on the Romanian community has a long tradition there. In case of Paris there were only a few publications (e.g., Diminescu, 2001 and 2003, COLISEE, 2003) and the available statistics were limited only to data from census and to the number of long-term stay permits, as it was the case in London. Because the questionnaire method was chosen as the most suitable one (MPSV, 2004), it allowed us to specify own range of researched topics. Similar research in such scale was not yet carried out in none of the studied countries.

Results gained from the survey carried out in 2005 served as the main source of data for this research. The questionnaires were in all three capitals completed by a directed interview method in the language of the destination country – in French, English and Italian. The questionnaire contained 62 questions divided into 7 sections (the past of respondent, work, relationships with fellow countrymen, family, knowledge of languages, respondent's perspectives, identification indicators) and they combined both a qualitative and a quantitative approach.

The number of respondents in the three capitals was set at 50. The selection of respondents in the capitals was random, but carried out according to unified rules. The respondents were regular attendants of masses in the biggest Romanian church in the respective capitals. It was not possible to eliminate the non-representativeness because it was not possible to get detailed characteristics of all of the potential respondents and thereby put together criteria for a representative sample. The results of the research cannot therefore be applied to the whole Romanian community in the respective capital, however it can be expected on the basis of other similar researches² that the results are credible and they give useful information. The results can also be compared between the studied capitals and they present a detailed picture of this community in the relevant capitals.

Basic parameters for a respondent to be able to participate in the research were as follows: the respondent had to arrive into the destination country after 1989 and had to stay there for at least one year. He or she had to have Romanian citizenship and be more than 18 years old. The selection was limited to only one representative of one family and the ratio of men and women had to be as close as possible to 1:1.

Source country – Romania

For the complex understanding of the whole issue of migration of the Romanians, it is necessary to first have a brief look at the situation in the source country, Romania. Romania is from 1st January 2007 a member of the European Union, but it is the poorest of the Member States. The country has experienced a dramatic economic development after the fall of the communist regime. Between 1990 and 1992 when transformation began, the GDP fell significantly. In 1993–1996 a number of economic stabilization programmes were adopted with a positive impact on economic development, unemployment and inflation. In 1997–2000 the country experienced

another economic fall due to the first results of restructalisation and privatization, which began much later in Romania than in other post-communist countries. From 2000 the economy began to revive slowly. “It is mainly the constant growth of GDP for the seventh consecutive year, decreasing inflation, growing foreign trade, relatively low unemployment and gradually improving image of the country outside” (MZV, 2005, p. 1).

Tab. 1 Comparison of Romania with other countries in selected indicators in 2004

	Romania	France	Italy	UK	Germany	Czech Rep.
Average monthly salary (EUR)	271.8	3503.0	2904.0	3848.6	3747.0	841.6
Life expectancy – men (years)	67.6	76.7	76.8	76.2	75.7	72.6
Life expectancy – women (years)	75.1	83.8	82.5	80.7	81.4	79.0
GDP/ inh. (EU 25 = 100%)	34.9	108.2	100.0	116.3	107.1	75.9
GDP/inh. (Purchasing power parity) (USD)	3900.0	21 000.0	21 400.0	21 800.0	22 700.0	11 700.0
Share of economically active people working in agriculture (%)	37.5	4.3	5.9	1.9	2.7	6.5
Share of economically active people working in industry (%)	32.0	24.9	32.9	20.0	33.1	33.0

Source: Sandu et al., 2004; www.europa.eu.int

In comparison with other EU countries, Romania is one of the poorest countries (see table 1). The average salary in Romania is more than three times lower than in the ten New Member States and ten times lower than in the most developed European countries. Romanian GDP is only 35% of the average of EU25. The life expectancy is also lower than in other EU countries. This is connected to the overall lower quality of life and medical care. There are great differences in the employment structure, which in the case of Romania is comparable to the developing countries due to a high share of economically active people in the primary sector (see table 1).

In the past, Romania was loosing in migration and from the Second World War it has constantly negative migration balance. After the fall of the communist regime in 1990, there was major ethnic emigration, which continued until the second half of the 90s. This concerned mainly Romanian Hungarians, Germans and Jewish. Another feature of international migration was joining of families, when it was possible for the Romanian citizens to follow their relatives to Canada, America or Australia.

More and more people started to abuse the very liberal conditions for travelling to the West (mainly for economic reasons) and so developed countries (such as Germany, Italy, Austria) began to control migration more strictly in mid 90s and they began to refuse requests for political asylum. On the other hand there was an increase in migration of students thanks to international programs and sponsors. Also young people educated in information technology began to leave to countries of Western Europe and North America. This was the so-called “brain drain” (Lazaroiu, 2003).

² See for example Janská (2002) – “Labour migration of Russians” – 70 respondents (in: Janská, E. (2002): *Adaptace cizinců v ČR. [The adaptation of foreigners in the Czech Republic]* Praha: PFF UK).

Tab. 2 Emigration from Romania since 1990

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Permanent emigration	High level (between 30 and 100 thousands emigrants per year)			Average level (around 18 000 per year)				Low level (under 18 000 per year)									
	Emigration to Germany prevails			Still prevailing emigration to Germany				Emigration to North America prevails				Dispersed emigration					
Temporary emigration	Infrequent							More frequent, half legal, popular for a growing number of people				Free movement in the Schengen area					

Source: Sandu et al., 2004

It is evident from table 2 that the development of migration was strongly influenced by economic development and that it can be divided into three periods (1990–1992, 1992–1997 and 1997–2003). Temporary migration became significant in 1996/1997, when GDP fell and inflation and the number of people in poverty grew. Another turning point was year 2002, when free movement of the Romanians was enabled by the Schengen area, which caused a wider distribution of the migrants to a greater number of destination countries. It is evident that there is indirect proportion between permanent and temporary migration. “The simpler the movement across borders is, the lower the probability of permanent emigration.” (Sandu et al., 2004, p. 6). It can be assumed that with continuous economic growth, this indirect proportion will widen further. Information on the impact of Romania’s accession to the EU is not available yet.

Countries to which immigration was the greatest in the 90s were Germany, France, and Israel. These destination countries were relatively soon replaced by other countries. Germany began to control migrants more and it adopted stricter approach, which made almost impossible for Romanians to find a job there. Israeli government also began to implement work limitation for immigrants in the second half of the 90s, which made Israel a less attractive destination. Currently especially Italy and Spain are interesting as destination countries for temporary migration. Italy is attractive particularly for inhabitants of the eastern part of Romania (the so-called Moldavia) and Spain is a destination for inhabitants of mainly the southern and some central and south-western regions (Badescu, 2004). Hungary also became a favourite destination country immediately after the stimulation of the economy, especially for Romanians from the western part of the country (mainly for inhabitants of Hungarian origin). Other post-communist countries were used usually as transit countries on the way to Western Europe (Lazaroiu, 2003).

At the moment the strongest trend is temporary/circulatory migration. Among the main reasons for leaving Romania is economic situation. The length of stay abroad has decreased significantly. The newest strategy is job sharing by two or three Romanians, who after several (usually three) months rotate and thereby avoid penalties for

exceeding the allowed length of stay. This means that one Romanian works abroad for three months on a tourist visa, then returns home and is replaced by one of his or her friends or relatives (Lazariou, 2003).

Another often-used method to migrate was to ask for asylum in one of the transit countries and then cross the borders to the destination country illegally. This was happening in the Czech Republic in the 90s as well, when the Romanians were asking for asylum, hoping to get to Germany afterwards. However, this trend is changing lately because illegal migration is connected to great risks, and so the majority of Romanians try to have contracts legally. However, the supply of vacancies is lower than the demand (Lazariou, 2003).

From 2001 various recruitment agencies for work abroad were established. There were many cases of frauds when these agencies did not do what they promised and kept the money from job applicants. The Romanian government decided to implement rules for the establishment of such companies. A recruitment agency needs a license, which it can receive on the basis of a submitted contract between the employer abroad and itself (Lazariou, 2003).

The government has also established an Office for Labour Force Migration under the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family (government document no. 1320/2001), which has similar functions as the above mentioned agencies. In addition to that the Office also deals with foreigners arriving to Romania. This Office was to increase competition for private recruitment agencies, which naturally opposed its establishment strongly. According to statistics of this Office about 97 500 people have used the Office to conclude contracts for work abroad by mid 2004. The most frequent destination countries were Germany and Spain. The average salary of these agreements was about 35 EUR daily at eight working hours per day (Lazariou, 2003).

There are another three units under the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family, which deal with migration:

- *Unit for Bilateral Agreements and International Relations* is responsible for negotiations and concluding agreements with other countries on the exchange of labour. These agreements are also countersigned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have to be ratified by the parliament. The bilateral agreements refer to the number of migrants in the foreign country, their employment and the supply and demand at the labour market both in the destination country and in Romania.
- *National Office for the Hiring and Placing of Labour Abroad* is a state recruitment agency for work abroad in all countries, whether Romania has a bilateral agreement with them or not. The reason for establishing this office was to lower the payments that the job applicant has to pay to private recruitment agencies and to improve the application of migrants’ rights. There continued to be complaints on the insufficient control of employers abroad, who did not commit to the conditions in the contract (salary, working hours, working conditions, etc.). This office cooperates closely with IOM in Bucharest and with other non-governmental organizations.
- *National agency for Labour* is responsible for continuous monitoring of private companies that deal with recruitment of Romanian labour to foreign vacancies because of the frequent frauds of these companies (Lazariou, 2003).

From the estimated 2 millions of Romanians working abroad, only about 10% of migrants used the state recruitment agencies.

Labour migration is increasingly more beneficial for the Romanian economy. The volume of remittances, i.e., the money sent by the Romanians from abroad to their relatives back home, is growing every year. It is difficult to identify their actual value, but in 2002 the Romanian National Bank declared that about 1.2 billion USD were sent to the country by this way. This covers only the official bank transactions. The real amount is probably much higher. In 2003 CURS Survey carried out a survey, which then estimated the volume of yearly remittances to be 2 billion EUR, which is roughly double the amount of all foreign investments (Lazariou, 2003).

The principal findings of empirical survey

The results of questionnaire survey, the main purpose of which was to give a picture of migration and integration behaviour of Romanians in Paris, London and Rome, first study of this type in such detail, are as follows:

The main characteristics of respondents

The proportion of respondents by sex was relatively well balanced and absolute majority of respondents were aged from 25 to 40 years. The respondents were mainly childless in Paris and in London, while in Rome those formed only 40% of respondents. The married ones predominated in France and in Italy, the singles, on the contrary, in the UK. The most respondents staying illegally were found in France – 25%, less in Italy (20%) and in the UK they formed only 12%, which can be interpreted by stricter conditions of entry into the country due to the insular characteristics of the place, and maybe also by the campaign of International Organisation for Migration (see fig. 1).

The main characteristics of respondents' life in the destination cities

The level of knowledge of the language of the destination country between respondents was in all cases extremely high, which could be due to the average length of their stay in the selected metropolises – 4 years. This high level of language knowledge surely helped the high degree of respondents' community integration into the majority group – with which more than half of the respondents in Paris and London were highly satisfied, and one third had a neutral opinion on this question (see fig. 2). The respondents in Rome saw this question differently: only one third of them were satisfied with their integration into the major society and one half had a neutral opinion. The high level of integration of the immigrants' community into the majority group can be also seen in their spatial distribution within the cities: half of the Paris' respondents declared that there did not live any compatriots in their vicinage, in London one third of respondents declared this. But in Rome, 29% of respondents lived close to more than 10 compatriot families, half of them had from one to ten families in close neighbourhood and only 4% hadn't any compatriots close to their place of living. So, in Paris and in London there is no (and is not likely to be in the future) solely Romanian quarter, in contrast to Rome, where its creation is highly probable.

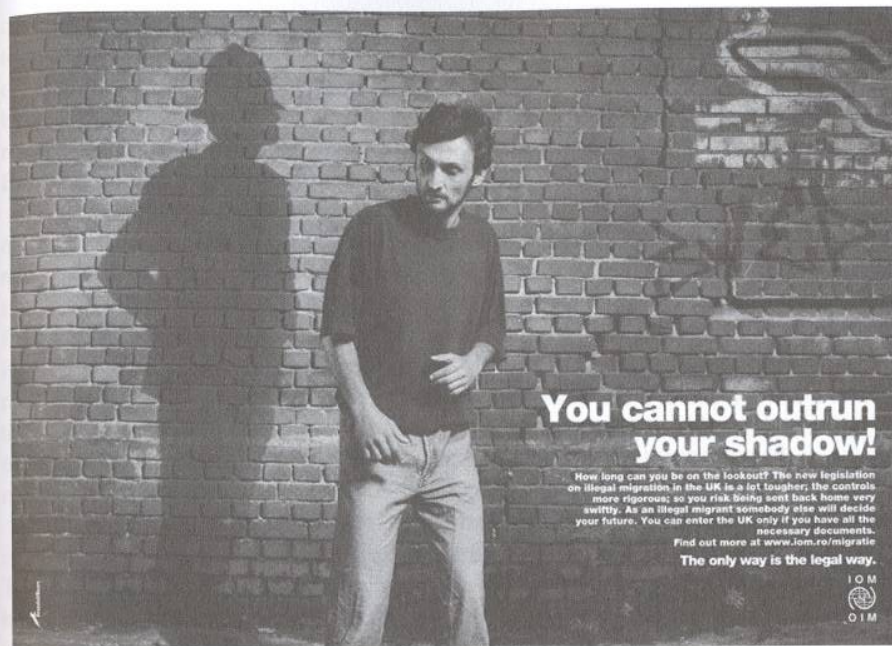


Fig. 1 Poster in support of legal migration of Romanians to the United Kingdom
Source: <http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/knife/illegal%20migration%20poster.jpg>

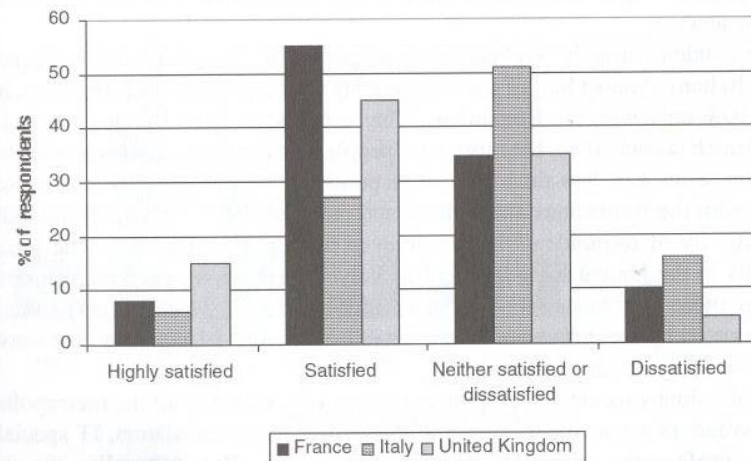


Fig. 2 The satisfaction of respondents with their integration into the major society in Paris (N = 50), Rome (N = 45) and London (N = 50)
Source: Own survey, 2005; Mocek, 2006

The most frequent reasons for leaving Romania were for all the respondents economic and the access to better (further) study. So, the *push* factors in the country of origin (besides those mentioned also the high unemployment rate and poverty) as well as the *pull* factors in the destination country (the possibility of getting a job, higher average earnings) played their role. The destination country (city) were mostly chosen because of the knowledge of French/English by the respondents from Paris and London, better job opportunities (and their bigger number) and because of the presence of great number of respondents' relatives and friends. The respondents from Rome declared as principal reasons also the jobs opportunities, the presence of family and friends and easier availability of visas – but the knowledge of Italian were declared as the main reason only by 7% of respondents. Almost all the respondents from France and from the United Kingdom came to the country alone, when in Italy not even a half. Almost all the respondents from all three metropolises had the voyage prepared before they left Romania for the new country (by family or by Romanian agency). For most of the respondents their stay in the destination country is first such a long-term experience in their life.

Work

High levels of education of respondents in all the metropolises usually did not correspond with the type of their jobs. The biggest proportion of respondents worked in Paris and in London in construction, then in the services (hotels, restaurants) in Rome. The following most frequent sectors of occupation in France were au pair, education and business; then tourist, health and social services and also education in the United Kingdom. In Italy, those were business, construction and health service.

The respondents usually worked for an employer of “national” origin (French or British or Italian). Almost half of the respondents worked mostly with the French and less than 10% only with the Romanians. The respondents from London worked less with the British (about 40%), but more with people of other than Romanian and British nationalities. Similarly, less than 40% of respondents worked with Italians in Rome, 24% both with the Romanians and Italians and only 16% only with the Romanians.

The majority of respondents in all surveyed metropolises had only one job. The respondents in the United Kingdom and in Italy worked on average more hours per week than those in France (41–50 hours in opposite to 31–40 hours), which is probably caused by the difference in law-established length of working time between the countries (only 35 hours in France).

The professions executed by respondents were very varied in all the metropolises – from newsvendors across the masons and the roofers to the translators, IT specialists, university professors, scientists, doctors and priests. But generally, the asked Romanians were employed more in the “secondary sector” – that means that their work was less qualified or unqualified. Only one third of respondents in Paris and in London and one quarter in Rome fully employed in their work the qualification

obtained in Romania. The ties between the members of Romanian community proved to be strong in the search for a job. One third of respondents from Paris and Rome and one half from London obtained their job within first few days after their arrival, because they arranged it ahead – in Paris and in Rome by the intermediary of their relatives or Romanian friends, in London by intermediary agency or also by Romanian friends.

Despite the high level of education of respondents the average monthly earnings of their households were below the average of households in the destination country: nearly 75% of households of respondents in Paris and London had the monthly income smaller than 1 500 EUR (1 049 GBP), and 900 EUR in Rome (see fig. 3). The feeling of respondents of being poorer than the majority in the selected metropolises is then justifiable. In comparison with others Romanians in the country, 70% of respondents felt being on the same level – which can be explained by the fact that they could match those “others” with their Romanian friends, who could be in the most of the cases – in the terms of material being – on the same level as the respondent himself.

Surprisingly, at least half of the respondents in Paris and in London (and one third in Rome) said that they were not sending earned money back to Romania (see fig. 4). Thus, the often-proclaimed conclusions concerning significance of such money for the home regions of immigrants were not confirmed. Those, who are sending the highest amount of such moneys among the respondents in given city, are paradoxically those with the lowest monthly earnings. The amount of this “remittance” corresponded usually to one-month salary of the respondent in all the metropolises.

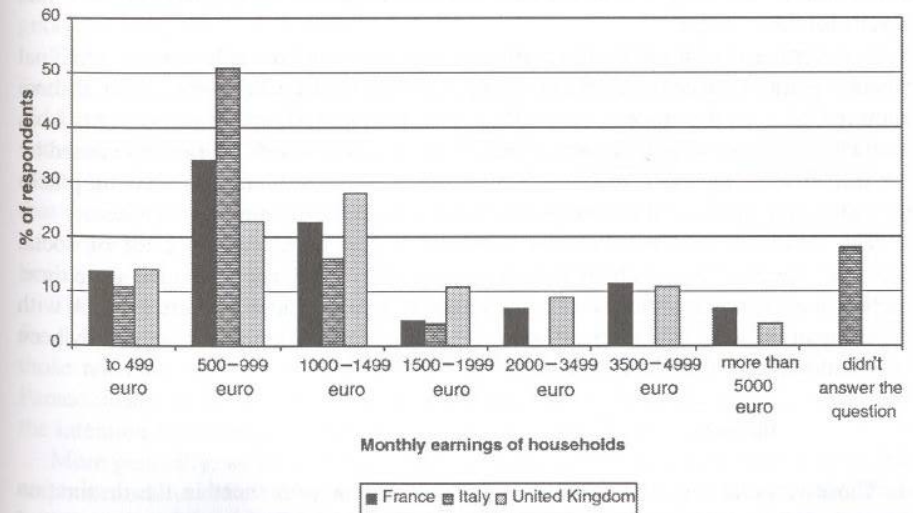


Fig. 3 Net monthly earnings of respondents' households in Paris (N = 50), Rome (N = 45) and London (N = 50)
Source: Own survey, 2005; Mocek, 2006

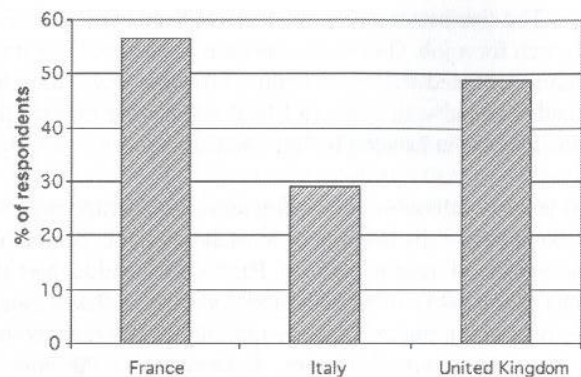


Fig. 4 The proportion of respondents who doesn't send money back to Romania (Paris: N = 50, Rome: N = 45, London: N = 50)
Source: Own survey, 2005; Mocek, 2006

The relations between the compatriots

The cohesion of Romanian community, according to the respondents' answer, was proven to be high in all the cities. Almost 90% of respondents in Paris and Rome are in touch with their compatriots at least once a week, in London 65%. Those, who didn't know anybody in the destination country before their arrival, nearly weren't in touch with their compatriots in Paris (so they were successful in finding "others" friends, by searching based on other criteria than the same origin), in London it was the opposite (that means that the compatriots were mostly frequent by those who didn't know anybody there before their arrival). Any regularity in this fact wasn't found in Rome.

In accordance with the findings of the survey, we can conclude that the principal meeting point of the community in the city is always the Romanian church (or, if there is more than one, the biggest – as in Paris and in Rome). Only few respondents from each city were members of some compatriot association, which is probably caused by the fact that the regular (Sundays') church services are sufficient as meeting places with the compatriots – so for the people there is no need to be more organised.

The unselfish help between the compatriots, the considerable factor of social networks, touched always about 75% of respondents in each capital. At the same time, such type of help was logically more widespread between those who are in touch with the compatriots more often. Therefore, it appears that migration nets have already been built and that they are functioning well.

The family

Those respondents, who didn't have their children with them in the destination country, didn't want to invite them there in the cases of Paris and London – most probably because they were planning to return to Romania soon. From those who settled down in Rome, one half of respondents wanted them to come. Other children

of respondents were attending the type of school that corresponded to their age, which is another proof of a good integration into the majority. Practically all the respondents declared that they are holding at least some Romanian traditions and customs while staying in the destination country, which signifies perpetual strength of ties with the home country.

This strength was then confirmed by the frequency of visits of the relatives who stayed in Romania: most of the respondents from all the capitals were going to see them at least once a year and were in touch with them (by phone etc.) at least once every two weeks. The travelling of respondents for reasons other than the familial ones to countries other than Romania was negligible – these involved mainly holidays in other European countries of richer respondents or business trips. For respondents in Paris and London, the visits of their relatives living normally in Romania, to France/United Kingdom are also negligible, which is probably for financial reasons and in the case of London also by the inevitable interview with immigrant officer while crossing the border. On the contrary, some relatives visit one third of the respondents in Rome at least once a year, especially those who don't move out from Italy.

The respondents' perspectives

Concerning the future life of respondents after the expected accession of their country into the EU, there is no clear conclusion at the time of survey (spring 2005). The respondents in none of the capitals didn't seem to know how their lives would change after Romania joining the European Union – they weren't persuaded of coming back to Romania or to stay in Paris or London or Rome. The groups of respondents thinking *yes*, *no* and *I don't know* about their return to Romania were equal which shows the difficulty of predicting such decision, because for every option there are good and bad sides for everybody.

The respondents from London and Rome were less inclined to returning back to Romania than those from Paris (26.0% and 30.0% vs. 30.6%) and they were more who did not know (38.7% and 37.0% vs. 32.7%), but the differences between the cities are not really significant. This indecisiveness can be interpreted as proving the satisfaction of respondents with their present life (more in Paris than in London and Rome) and that the respondents are so well settled in their new home that even the fact that their country will be member of the European Union won't be of big importance in their lives.

The level of knowledge of the language of the destination country was important for the respondents from London and Rome with regards to the intention to return, those not knowing English/Italian very well wanted return back more than others. Paradoxically, those from Paris saw it differently: those who declared more than others the intention to return back were also those who knew French the best.

More generally, when thinking about the place of their life in the next 5 years, the respondents have different views: 75% of respondents from Rome and 67% from Paris will live – in their opinion – mostly in Italy/France, or they will be still on the road between Italy/France and Romania. Only 25% of respondents from Rome and less than 20% of those from Paris see living themselves only in Romania in next 5 years.

On the other hand, more than 67% of respondents from London see themselves only in Romania and less than 33% wanted to stay in London.

It can therefore be predicted that circulatory migration between Romania and the studied countries is likely to continue and that the respondents from Rome and Paris will tend to stop the circulatory migration and to settle in the destination country. The survey also doesn't show any evidence that the respondents are going to forget about their country of origin.

Today we can predict that – with regards to the recent development of the temporary measures on the free movement of labour force – the number of Romanian “circular migrants” will rise in Italy and France. These two countries didn't apply such measures towards the citizens of Romania and Bulgaria – in France, they can work without any inadequate obstacles in 62 professions and the one-year “transit” period in Italy is more or less formal. On the other hand, the United Kingdom has applied such measures on the citizens of Romania and of Bulgaria even though it didn't do so in the case of the 8 countries entering the European Union in 2004.

The comparison of survey results with the main theories of international migration and with undertaken hypothesis

The neoclassical economics theory proves to be valid in all reported capitals: the respondents declared the economic reasons (mostly high unemployment rate and poverty) to be most decisive factors when leaving Romania. The destination country was chosen because of the variety of opportunities it offers and the possibility to get a job – much better paid than in Romania, even if the income of respondents was below the average of the country. For example, 70.4% of respondents in Paris declared an income below 1499 EUR per month, the French average being 2368 EUR (INSEE, 2006), that means 1.6 times more. The case of respondents in London was similar: 65.0% of respondents declared household income below 1049 GBP per month, the British average being 2040 GBP (OFNS, 2006), that means twice as much.

The new (household) economics of migration theory was valid only partially in all capitals: the family had a significant part in organizing and realizing the emigration, but the amount of remittances wasn't high and corresponded usually to one-month salary of the respondent in all the metropolises. Most of those respondents who declared the intention of coming back to Romania declared their family as main reason for such decision.

The dual labour market theory also proved to be valid – even despite the high level of education of respondents: only few of them got a highly-qualified job, most of them had a less qualified or unqualified work. The biggest proportion of respondents worked in construction in Paris and in London, in Rome then in the services (hotels, restaurants). Neither the fact that only some respondents (one third in Paris and in London and one quart in Rome) fully used the qualification obtained in Romania, this didn't seem to discourage them – because they still earned more than in Romania in their qualified job.

Also *the network theory* has been verified: one third of respondents from Paris and Rome had the voyage prepared in advance by the family. About one third of

respondents obtained their job with the help of their Romanian friends. The unselfish help between the compatriots (financial, material and moral) touched always about 75% of respondents in each capital. Such type of help was logically more widespread between those who are in touch with compatriots more often – at least twice a week. By the intermediary of churches there were also many types of cultural and social events organized, which helped the unity of the community.

Institutional theory was verified indirectly: one third of respondents from London and Rome and one fifth from Paris had arranged their voyage with a Romanian agency. In all of the countries a large network of institutions that helps the immigrants in all the fields of their new life exists.

From the set hypotheses the following were completely confirmed in all three capitals:

- 1) The main reasons for emigration are economic.
- 4) Good language skills influence positively successful integration into the community.

Other hypotheses were partially confirmed:

- 2) The main factor to select the location (state and city) is the already existing migration network of fellow countrymen. (Respondents of Paris and London gave knowledge of the language as the main reason for selecting the given capital – followed by study reasons, or economic reasons. Respondents from Rome said the main cause for choosing the city were family and friends, followed by employment.)
- 3) The first job is gained through the fellow countrymen community and a majority of colleagues are fellow countrymen. (The majority of respondents had their first job secured before leaving Romania through home recruitment agency – the community was however participating at least partially in the search for a job, particularly in Rome.)
- 6) The Romanians, according to the transnationalisation concept, maintain and wish to maintain frequent contacts with the home country. (Respondents communicated with their relatives in Romania at least once in two weeks and at least two thirds in each capital wished to maintain these contacts also in the future. The main motivation was the expected return to the home country and in slight contradiction, there is the lower number of sent remittances.)
- 7) The Romanians will form ethnic enclaves in the researched capitals. (Its creation is likely only in Rome – where 29% of respondents live in the neighbourhood of more than 10 families, almost 50% live close to one to ten families and only 4% said that there were no fellow countrymen living nearby – assuming that the Romanian community is going to grow further and that the newcomers will look for quarters already inhabited by fellow countrymen.)

One hypothesis was not confirmed:

- 5) The Romanians tend to settle down in the destination country. (Only one third of the respondents in Paris declared France as their dream country and less than one

half would like to live mainly in France in the next five years. The majority of respondents in London also do not tend to settle down in the United Kingdom. Those who said that they would like to stay earned usually more than the average salary of the respondents. About one half of respondents would like to stay in Rome and only about one quarter would like to return to Romania. Almost three quarters of them would like to stay in Italy in the next five years. The majority of respondents in London and Paris would therefore like to return to Romania in the future, mainly to their families and friends, but only one half from Rome.)

Conclusion – recommendations and indication of possible future research

Concrete measures how to improve the lives of the studied communities in the given capitals can be summarized into three main points. Firstly, it is necessary to promote what the Romanians have given to the city or country, so that they are not identified with the Roma and thereby also with illegal activities, which are often committed by this ethnic group. It would be worth considering launching a campaign to clarify the situation in order to change the public meaning and to make the immigrants not ashamed of their origin. Secondly, particularly in the case of France, the system of issuing residence permits should be simplified and made more transparent. In all countries it could be useful if this information was also available in other “minority” languages (e.g., in Romanian) rather than in the main few. In the case of the United Kingdom, it would be helpful if the offer of language courses provided by local authorities for a symbolic price was widened. Finally, publication of printed media informing about socio-cultural events organized by fellow countrymen and administrative procedures necessary for legal stay in the country would probably also contribute to a greater cohesion of the community. Distribution of this periodical in Romania could partially correct the sometimes incorrect views on life in the destination countries.

Because this is the first in depth study of this issue, the possibilities of its extension are quite wide. Only a small share of the total number of Romanians living in the given capital was included in the survey due to the selected methodology of directed interviews. In addition to that it was not possible to do the selection randomly. One possibility is therefore to carry out the research with a greater number of respondents on a limited topic, with carefully selected respondents, for which a greater amount of resources would be required. With regards to the relatively wide spectrum of researched questions, another option would be to focus on only one studied area – e.g., relationships with fellow countrymen. Another possibility is the greater involvement of organizations (churches, associations of fellow countrymen, recruitment agencies), which somehow work with the Romanians in the given city into the research – which could be the way provide them with feedback information on their activity. The research could also be repeated and compared to the situation after the accession of Romania into the EU. Similarly a longer time period could be analysed to observe the number of Romanians in the given country and then the changes in their number after

the accession to the EU could serve also for the prediction of migrational behaviour of citizens of other candidate countries to access the EU (e.g., Croatia). Further option is to compare the results of this research with the situations of the Romanians in other countries, e.g., the Czech Republic, Germany, Spain, and Israel. There are numerous possibilities for further research on the basis of this study; there were only the main ones mentioned here.

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Résumé

Ekonomická migrace v současném světě – výzkumná analýza migračního a integračního chování Rumunů v Paříži, v Londýně a v Římě

Cílem výzkumu bylo porovnat strategie rumunských imigrantů ve třech evropských metropolích – Paříži, Londýně a Římě. Dostupnost oficiálních statistických dat byla velmi problematická, a proto byla použita metoda dotazníkového šetření. Toto šetření bylo provedeno mezi 50 respondenty v každém městě a bylo zaměřeno na tři oblasti: trh práce, rodina a životní styl a transnacionalizace.

Výsledky ukázaly, že respondenti jsou velmi dobře integrováni ve většinové společnosti a že v Paříži a Londýně není (a pravděpodobně ani nebude) žádná čtvrť vyloženě „rumunská“, i když soudržnost komunity je velká – na rozdíl od Říma, kde je vytvoření takovéto čtvrti vysoce pravděpodobné. I přes relativně vysokou míru vzdělanosti pracovali dotázaní nejvíce ve stavebnictví a ve službách, což s sebou neslo podprůměrnost jejich příjmů. Nejméně polovina respondentů uvedla, že do Rumunska neposílá žádné peníze „na přilepšenou“ – teze jiných autorů o významu takto zasílaných peněz pro region původu se nepotvrdily. Zdá se tedy, že migrační sítě jsou již utvořeny a dobře fungují. Vstup Rumunska do EU zřejmě nebude mít velký vliv na změnu migračního chování respondentů, neboť většina jich je s životem v cílové zemi spokojena (ve Francii a Itálii o něco více než ve Velké Británii). Cirkulační migrace mezi Rumunskem a danými zeměmi zůstane zřejmě zachována i do budoucna.

Jelikož se jednalo o první výzkum tohoto druhu, tak možnosti jeho dalšího využití jsou poměrně široké: lze např. zopakovat výzkum s větším počtem respondentů *nebo* po určité době a použít ho k predikci migračního chování občanů kandidátských zemí *nebo* ho zúžit pouze na jednu oblast života imigrantů či srovnat výsledky se situací Rumunů v dalších zemích, např. v Česku a Izraeli.

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