

**A Stage Approach to Transnational Migration  
Migrant Narratives from Rural Romania**

---

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department  
of Sociology at the University of Osnabrück**

**By  
Ruxandra Oana Ciobanu  
From Constanța**

**Osnabrück, 2010**

PhD thesis defended at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Osnabrück, under the supervision of Professor Dr. Michael Bommers, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Osnabrück and Dr. Christina Boswell, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Edinburgh

*To my extended family*

## *Acknowledgements*

For me sociology is a life style and the interaction with others is an everyday reality without which it is very difficult for me to exist. This has been proven in the spring of the year 2007 when I was writing up my PhD thesis and I was forced to live alone, because my flatmates left for their fieldworks. The advantage was that I was fully immersed in the writing, whereas when they returned I was more immersed in our conversations. I thank them for encouraging and distracting me when necessary. I think I am a very lucky person because I have had the honour to meet wonderful people. Many of them influenced me and my work more or less intentionally. I thank very much all those who discussed with me, smiled to me and encouraged me in my work.

Migration is not only a subject of study for me. It overlaps with my biography – given that I experienced internal migration for studies by moving to Bucharest, and later on lived in Budapest, Hamburg, Edinburgh, Geneva and Lisbon. The present thesis is an outcome of my constant interest in migration research beginning with the second year of university (2001). Since then I participated in many research projects coordinated by Professor Dumitru Sandu who has become a mentor to me. There are not enough words to thank him. In spite of generously offering me a lot of his time, he was happy for me to conduct my PhD under the supervision of Professor Michael Bommers.

I met Professor Michael Bommers while I was participating in the project “Expanding the Knowledge Base of Migration Policy Making in Eastern Europe” supported by a Marie Curie Excellence Grant. He later on became my supervisor. He inspired me a lot in my theoretical research and showed me how to make the most of my empirical data. I thank him for all the revelatory discussions that we had.

During the above mentioned project I conducted the fieldwork in Romania and in Spain that I could later on use in my own PhD research. I thank the project coordinator, Dr. Christina Boswell and my colleagues Tim Elrick, Emilia Lewandowska and Dragoş Radu for the long discussions and the cycling rides we took together. My PhD research benefited also from the financial support of the University of Bucharest that offered me a scholarship.

I am also very happy to have been part of two migration research groups; the Migration Research Group at the Hamburg Institute of International Economics and the Migration and Citizenship Research Group at the University of Edinburgh. Both of them constituted places for discussion where I presented my work in progress and received valuable feed-back. I am also very grateful to Professor Lynn Jamieson, Dr. Pontus Odmalm,

Professor Jo Shaw, Professor Liz Stanley, and Professor Lynn Staeheli from the University of Edinburgh. Another milieu that I was very lucky to be part of was the IMISCOE network – International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion. This network facilitated my participation in conferences and workshops where I presented different bits and pieces of my PhD research. Special thanks to Dr. Pascal Goeke who made accessible for me some important texts of the German sociology. The last hundred meters of my PhD benefited from the financial support and scientific input from the TOM network –Transnationality of Migrants. Special thanks also to Catherine Grosvenor who did miracles with the language of my PhD thesis. I would like to thank Professor Margarida Marques for her thorough comments and support in the final changes of the thesis.

The inhabitants from the two villages<sup>1</sup> – Luncavița and Feldru – were very open to me, and helped me greatly in my stay there, as well as in Spain. They were the ones that made possible my research. In the following pages I will say their story the way I understood it.

My eternal gratitude goes to my mother Maria who has been next to me day and night encouraging me in the hardest and most irrational moments and to Vitaliano for his patience and understanding of my territorial mobility. In the loneliest moments and when I felt very remote from the world, my friends have been there listening to my whining. I thank you for understanding and accepting what I do and not look at me in a strange manner and pose the unposable question ‘*And ... when will you get a normal job?*’ In the name of all the ‘oppressed’ PhD students I want to stand up and say ‘This is as normal as I can get!’ Working for my PhD has been a great adventure and has enriched me both intellectually and humanly. I have never felt that my work was a burden, all I felt is that I am alive and I am lucky to do what I am doing.

---

<sup>1</sup> The names of the respondents to the interviews are fictional in order to assure the anonymity of the migrants.



## Table of Contents

<b>CHAPTER I: Introduction</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>CHAPTER II: Revisiting theories of international migration</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>II.1 Concepts and theories</b>	<b>20</b>
II.1.1 Circular / temporary migration	20
II.1.2 Transnationalism	21
II.1.3 Social connections	27
<b>II.2 A stage-approach to migration</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>II.3 Systems theory in migration research</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>CHAPTER III: Research Methodology</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>III.1 Methodologies in migration research</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>III.2 Narratives / Biographical interviews / Life stories</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>III.3 Selection of the Sites</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>CHAPTER IV: Migration Narratives: The Analysis of the Migration from Luncavița and Feldru to Spain</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>IV.1 Context in the origin community</b>	<b>52</b>
IV.1.1 Location factors	53
IV.1.2 Socio-economic milieu	54
IV.1.3 Cultural context	58
<b>IV.2 Family narratives: the Romanian migratory landscape as seen through family stories</b>	<b>63</b>
IV.2.1 The Banu family	65
IV.2.2 The Pop family	71
IV.2.3 Comparison of the two family structures	77
<b>IV.3 Migrants' stories</b>	<b>81</b>
IV.3.1 Cornel and Luiza	81
IV.3.2 Sebastian	101
IV.3.3 Mioara	115
<b>CHAPTER V: Community narratives of Luncavița and Feldru: migration patterns, economic integration and life in Spain</b>	<b>122</b>
IV.4.1 Luncavița	122
IV.4.2 Feldru	131
<b>V.1 Stages in the migration from Luncavița and Feldru</b>	<b>135</b>

<b>CHAPTER VI: Migration Policy Making in the Country of Origin</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>VI.1. Migration Theories and Migration Policies</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>VI.2 The country of origin</b>	<b>143</b>
<i>VI.2.1 Remittances and investment</i>	146
<b>VI.3 Romanian migration policies</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>VI.4 Grounded policy making</b>	<b>155</b>
<i>VI.4.1 Community level</i>	155
<i>VI.4.2 National level</i>	156
<b>VI.5 Systems theory approach to migration policy making</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>CHAPTER VII: Conclusions: The meta-narrative of Romanian migration</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>VII.1 Methodological conclusions</b>	<b>164</b>
<b>VII.2 Migration projects</b>	<b>167</b>
<i>VII.2.1 Disparate social connections</i>	168
<i>VII.2.2 Family migration</i>	168
<i>VII.2.3 Community networks</i>	170
<b>VII.3 Patterns of migration</b>	<b>170</b>
<i>VII.3.1 1990-1995</i>	172
<i>VII.3.2 1996-2001</i>	176
<i>VII.3.3 2002-2006</i>	178
<i>VII.3.4 Post-2007</i>	181
<b>VII.4 Romanian migration in a systemic approach</b>	<b>182</b>
<b>APPENDIXES</b>	<b>185</b>
Appendix 1: Abbreviations	185
Appendix 2: Respondents to the interviews	186
Appendix 3: Fieldwork methodology	193
Fieldwork one – Reconnaissance (December 2005)	194
Fieldwork two (April – May 2006)	195
Fieldwork three (August 2006)	198
Fieldwork four (February 2007) in Spain	198
Appendix 4: Explanation of the notations from the Banu family tree	203
Appendix 5: Explanation of the notations of the Pop family	203
Appendix 6: Spanish vocabulary and a succinct analysis	204
Appendix 7: Visual fieldwork	206
<b>References</b>	<b>218</b>
<b>Abstracts</b>	<b>229</b>

## **TABLES and FIGURES**

TABLE 1: Occupations and small businesses in Luncavița.....	55
TABLE 2: Occupations and small businesses in Feldru .....	56
TABLE 3: Statistical data on migration for Feldru.....	59
TABLE 4: Statistical data on migration for Luncavița .....	59
TABLE 5: Theories regarding the initiation of migration (Massey et al. 1998) .....	142
TABLE 6: Measures towards development of the migrant home community .....	150
MAP 1: Map of Romania with the two villages where I conducted the fieldwork .....	17
MAP 2: Fieldwork locations in Spain .....	49
FIGURE 1: Family tree for the Banu family from Feldru.....	64
FIGURE 2: The family Pop in its migration from the village Luncavița to the village Santa Maria de Palautordera in Spain.....	70



## CHAPTER I: Introduction

At a film festival in Corsica I saw a moving film about one day in the life of a father who went fishing with his daughter. Fishing and spending time together was the aim in itself and not the actual catching of the fish. In fact, the father forbade his daughter to eat the fish. However, when the father fell asleep the daughter put a fish on the fire, cooked and ate it. The father woke up, saw her and furiously took out the fish from her mouth and tried to make her vomit. Parallel to their story, the film portrays the Coast Patrol who threw irregular migrants attempting to enter France or Spain by sea into the sea. In fact, the father forbade her daughter to eat that fish because the fish might have eaten these people.

In an international photo project from 2007 entitled ‘Youth in the Country’<sup>2</sup>, Romanian students presented photos depicting the generalized absence of young people in the Romanian countryside. Many villages are now populated mainly by the elderly and the children of the migrants. Migrants return home once a year to build ‘castle’ houses that they erect with the money earned abroad. These monumental houses constitute a symbol of their achievement and a strong incentive to return.

These are two representations of migration among many others that I will only shortly enumerate. They illustrate the variety of domains in which migration raised interest. In 2002, the Anthropological Film Festival in Sibiu presented a film about the Romanian community from Maramureş living in Paris. In 2006, Alejandro González Iñárritu’s film “Babel” came out which presented accidental encounters between four life stories from four continents, one of them depicting migration from Mexico to the United States. The German TV channel ZDF presented a series of films on migration, among them the tragic story of a trafficked woman from Ukraine entitled “Lilya 4-Ever”. In 2006, the History Museum in Berlin hosted a large exhibition about 200 years of migration to Germany. The organization “Migration Online” from the Czech Republic coordinated a large project entitled ‘Life is Elsewhere’ that culminated in a large photo exhibition about labour migration<sup>3</sup>. Even crime novels have started to include migration in their themes: Dona Leon’s novel “Death in a Strange Country” is about the death of a Romanian migrant in Italy.

---

<sup>2</sup> More details about this project and the exhibition can be found at: <http://yitc.picturetank.com/>

<sup>3</sup> More details about this project and the exhibition can be found at: <http://www.plotki.net/wie/cms/article/2/project>.

Migration is not a new phenomenon; nonetheless, it appears now to be at the forefront in many areas from art, including cinema and literature, to daily media such as internet blogs, caricatures and journalism, to academia and policy making.

Migration from Romania has an age-old tradition. I will start by briefly illustrating the Romanian migration from the area of Răşinari to the USA at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the early 1900s in southern Transylvania<sup>4</sup> there were many shepherds who left with their sheep in ‘transhumanţă’, that is, during the winter they took their sheep to regions with better pasture. Common destinations were Russia, or Ukraine and Dobrogea, which were closer. The aim of these ‘migrants’, who were mainly men, was to make enough money (about \$1,000 in one trip to the USA) in order to buy an entire mountain in the area of Răşinari and let the sheep graze free. Their strategy was to travel to Berlin, where they would get a contract with the Missler Bremen Company and then travel by boat to the USA. Some men made up to five trips and most of the migrants had two homes – one in Romania, and the other one in the USA, commonly in the areas around Cleveland, Ohio and Michigan. This is an example of strong circulatory migration, if not transnationalism. It appears that many of the migrants from that time returned to Romania, which they referred to as another ‘America’<sup>5</sup>. Besides these flows towards the USA, Romania had a strong diaspora in France in the 1930s.

The first decades of the twentieth century were marked by intense migratory flows. During communist times, it was very difficult, if not almost impossible, to obtain a passport. However, there were many Romanians who fled the country and were accepted as political refugees in Western Europe and the USA where they afterward settled. Free emigration from Romania became again possible after 1989 following the fall of the Iron Curtain when the borders of the country opened. After the fall of communism, labour migration became a widespread life strategy for communities stuck in a difficult economic transition. This is just a short incursion into old Romanian migration patterns that allows us to see Romanian migration in a long term perspective. Romanian migration provides us with an exemplary case study, as we are currently witnessing its evolution, which is influenced by its prior patterns. Migration is a phenomenon that cannot be studied ‘hic & nunc’, without knowing its history and evolution. Moreover, the migration patterns from one moment in time have

---

<sup>4</sup> Significant towns and villages for the phenomenon that I refer to are Făgăraşi, Răşinari and Viştea.

<sup>5</sup> These insights are from a discussion with Prof. Rodica Boţoman, who migrated from Făgăraş to the US in 1979. She became professor at Ohio University. She told me that the migrants considered that there was another ‘America’ waiting for them back in the area of Răşinari, meaning that the area was very wealthy. Her father went to the USA and returned, and from her husband’s family, of seven brothers who had all gone to the USA, only one stayed there permanently. In fact, later on he facilitated the migration of Rodica’s family to the USA.

incorporated previous patterns in themselves. In other words, we can say that migration is a phenomenon which has its own history built in.

The questions I set to answer in this thesis stem from my fieldwork research experience and the existing literature on Romanian migration. A snapshot of the Romanian migration from rural communities today would lead to the conclusion that there are major differences among migrant communities. At the same time, literature on Romanian migration identifies over the past 20 years a few migration patterns that all rural communities experienced with a different intensity. To draw the limits between migration patterns and stages of migration, I would say that on the one hand, migration patterns are associated with strategies to migrate and certain destinations. For example temporary or permanent migration would be such patterns of migration. A stage of migration, on the other hand, is associated with a larger group – in the present case – migrant communities, and they include more information also regarding migration networks, costs of migration, risk taking, number of migrants abroad, and so on. Also, the stages are embedded in socio-economical and cultural factors. Thus, they have an analytical bite. Migration patterns are subsumed in stages of migration, and one stage can include several migration patterns. For example, in a first stage, the migration from one village can have a very high selectivity and high costs of migration, and people only migrate for short-term to neighbouring countries. In a second stage, the short-term migration is still present, however there are more people migrating due to the reduction of costs, and there are also other groups migrating to new destinations.

The questions are embedded in this dichotomy of convergence vs. divergence of migration patterns across communities. The first question enquires “What are the stages migrant communities go through along with the development of migration?” The question assumes that migrant communities on the long term converge to similar migration patterns and one can identify stages in this development. And the convergence occurs because of cumulative processes from the local level. The thesis examines thus to what extent two different communities showed any syncretism through cumulative structural effects.

The second question asks “How do cultural and socio-economic contexts determine the dynamics of migration?” Studying the cultural and socio-economic context, or in other words, the structure of opportunities in the origin communities, helps us understand why communities are different from one another at a given moment in time, and moreover accounts for the dynamics of migration. By socio-economic context, I refer to the economic activities specific to the inhabitants from a village, the social structure and characteristics based on which the villagers can form social networks and the level of development of the village. By cultural context, I refer to the history of migration from a community and region.

The thesis does not want to underestimate the importance of the context at the destination. Migration policies in different Western European countries (Arango and Jachimowicz 2005, Elrick and Ciobanu 2009, Finotelli 2008), labour market structures (Reyneri 1998) and cultural and linguistic differences across countries play a significant role in shaping migration flows. Nonetheless, the focus of this thesis is to look at different contexts at the origin and the way they impact migration patterns to the same country of destination: Spain.

This research will demarcate stages of migration, verify the assumption of divergence and later convergence, and also underline the significance of the structure of opportunities by means of a comparative research. I contrasted two villages that appeared different to each other with respect to migration at the time the research was conducted.

I have used a research methodology that largely involved case studies and biographical narrative interviews. This thesis is a story: about the labour migration from Romania after 1989, about migration to Spain, about two Romanian villages, about two migrant families and about the migrants from these villages and their projects of migration. Because migration is a multi-level process, my research focuses on different units of analysis to lead to a comprehensive analysis. Putting together all these levels, it is possible to reconstruct the puzzle of the Romanian migration patterns and its relation to the context from which they emerge.

As researchers we do not have direct access to the process of decision-making and the first steps adopted by a person in order to live abroad. These are the basic, but key questions asked by migrants and potential migrants: “Can I come to Spain?”, “Will you help me find a job?”, “Can I stay in your house until I find something?” Other strategic steps for migration include the visits of elderly and respected relatives to established migrants. Ethnological research, participant observation, and long stays in the migrant community facilitate the access to such rich data, yet the mere presence of the researcher distorts the type of interactions and restricts them. Narrative biographical interviews constitute the main source of information for the present research, and the researchers should perceive them as the respondents’ constructions of the reality of migration. In order to keep the distortion of the data to a minimum, I present some of the interviews as such. They constitute the migrants’ narrations of their biographies beginning with school. Not all the stories are interesting, funny, creative and full of information; however they all present events significant to the life of the person. The narrator – in this case the respondent to the interview – presents a series of events, however, he or she also expresses his/her opinions and ideology of migration, exaggerates some things, and intentionally omits others. All the stories need to be read bearing in mind that these stories were told to a young, female PhD student. In this context,

the migrants' stories developed a logic of their own that restricts the access to some events 'in' the story.

These stories constitute the starting point of the thesis. Following themes that recur in the migrants' narratives, interviews with local authorities, and the existing literature, I build narratives regarding the other levels, such as the narrative of Romanian patterns of migration, and village narratives of migration and cultures of migration. To validate and confirm these constructed narratives, the data were triangulated using the existing literature on Romanian migration. The narration goes both ways: on the one hand, deductively from the regional and local contexts in which migration emerged to the village narratives of migration, family narratives and migrants' own stories. On the other hand, I also constructed the narratives inductively. Based on the migrants' life stories and the family stories, one can make inferences about the village patterns of migration, and even about national patterns. I put together all these elements of the puzzle and tried to build one complex, yet coherent story of the Romanian labour migration to Spain.

The literature on migration shows us the richness of the field. Migration studies can focus on the origin, on the destination, on economic, social or cultural aspects, on integration, on causes or consequences and many other factors. Nonetheless, one can notice the lack of emphasis on the context in which migration emerges. Economic theories show that people from less economically developed areas migrate to more economically developed areas, yet there are only vague specifications regarding the socio-cultural milieu in which different types of migration emerge. Thus, the first objective of this thesis is to specify the local environment in which migration takes shape. By presenting the context at the origin, we can better understand the evolution of migration from the two villages. This constitutes the second objective of the thesis, which I had to separate into several levels of analysis. Firstly, I compare two family migrations, each representative of a village. These capture the migration patterns from the two villages. Secondly, I explore the migrants' projects and distinguish between three migration projects based on recurrent themes in the interviews. These allow me to see the ways in which migrants internalize knowledge of the economic and legal systems into their practices. Together, these two levels of analysis facilitate me to build a narrative of Romanian migration from two villages. Thirdly, I build inductively on the first two levels of analysis and compare the two villages against the background of national patterns of migration (Sandu 2006). This enables me to understand the patterns of Romanian labour migration and examine whether different socio-economic contexts determine different migration patterns and whether the contexts are responsible for the variant evolution of migration.

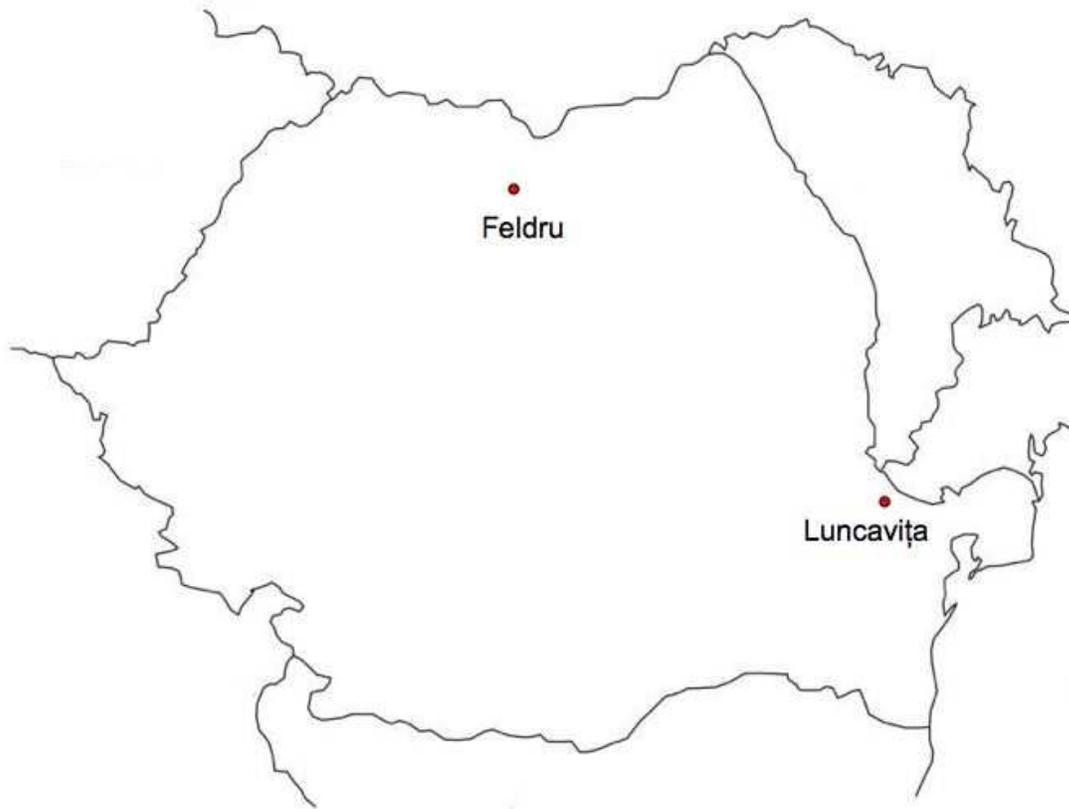
Thirdly, the analysis attempts to draw conclusions of a more applied nature concerning migration policy making. With regard to policy making, there are two key aspects that I am mostly concerned with: the grounded nature of policies – migration policies that take into account individual migration experiences – and the argument that migration policies should not only regard the receiving country, but also the country of origin, which has only recently got the attention of researchers (see de Haas 2005, 2006) is most often left aside.

As I have already mentioned, the fieldwork research<sup>6</sup> took place in two Romanian villages. Over the last few years I have conducted extensive fieldwork in the villages of Luncavița and Feldru. My past research experience in other rural locations has greatly contributed to my ability to select the communities and do fieldwork, as well as enriching the analysis. In my past research projects I conducted fieldwork in Jebel (Timiș county), Gogoșu (Drobeta Turnu Severin county), Dobrotești (Teleorman county), Borșa (Maramureș county) and Negrești-Oaș (Satu Mare county). Although these locations are not central to the analysis, their migration patterns are part of the background story.

---

<sup>6</sup> I conducted the fieldwork in these two villages as part of an EU Marie Curie Excellence Grant ‘Expanding the Knowledge Base of Migration Policy Making in Europe’, KnowMig (MEXT-CT-2003-002668). The project was coordinated by Dr. Christina Boswell.

**MAP 1: Map of Romania with the two villages where I conducted the fieldwork**



The existing literature on Romanian international migration is very broad, involves both quantitative and qualitative data collection, and deals generally with migration patterns (Diminescu 2003, Michalon 2005, Potot 2002, 2006, Sandu 2000, 2004, Șerban and Grigoraș 2000, Radu 2001); but it lacks a comparative character. To avoid over-homogenization characteristic of methodological nationalism, and to respond to the need for focused case studies in a comparative manner, the present thesis concentrates on only two communities of migrants.

With regard to the theoretical approach of migration stages, the thesis incorporates Massey's suggestion (1994) to look at communities not as being different but as placed on a continuum, and enquires whether the two villages are at different stages of migration. The analysis of stages of migration provides an impression of the dynamics of Romanian migration, and allows for a detailed specification of such stages, which cannot be found in Massey's work. Furthermore, the thesis uses the theory of cumulative causation which shows that migration produces more migration; in other words, in spite of the different contexts in which migration is 'born', it perpetuates itself in time. Cumulative causation is strongly connected to migration networks involved in the initiation or perpetuation of migration. Each

act of migration contributes to the changes in the social structure which sustains further migration, creating what has been called “network mediated migration” (Olwig 2007: 10). The theory of migration networks also is a static theory, lacking the tools to explain the evolution of migrant networks (Bommes and Tacke 2006a, 2006b). This is a second limitation that the thesis addresses by explaining the dynamic usage of migrant networks in the development of migration from the two villages.

To put together these partial theories and also to grasp a multi-faceted social phenomenon, I argue that it would be more useful to explain it using a theory of society – such as systems theory – rather than limited analytical tools such as transnationalism or migration networks, which are more and more frequently used to explain the present migration flows from Romania. Systems theory (Luhmann 1995) in the way it was adopted by Bommes (2005) and Bommes and Tacke (2006a, 2006b) to migration research applies both to the understanding of the migration patterns, and also to the analysis of migration policies and actions of the local authorities in the migrant communities. In other words, the thesis tackles the interplay between economic and legal systems and the migrants who are part of the environment. On the one hand, migrants shape their projects according to the expectations they have from systems, but on the other hand, systems reorganize themselves in interaction with the environment.

## CHAPTER II: Revisiting theories of international migration

There is a lot of literature about migration theories beginning with Ravenstein's laws in the 1880s. A century later, Massey and his collaborators (1998) distinguished between theories referring to the initiation of international migration and the perpetuation of the movement. Each of these two large categories refers to four sub-theories. The former is divided into four theories: the neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, the dual-labour market and the world systems theory; whilst the latter consists of network theory, institutional theory, cumulative causation, and migration systems theory. As it appears in the introductory chapter, the thesis examines the socio-cultural and historical factors around the phenomenon of migration. Therefore, it only grapples with some concepts from the above mentioned theories.

The theories which have been used to explain the Romanian migration are dual-labour market economy and cumulative causation which includes the culture of migration as a perpetuating factor in the international movement of people. Furthermore, network theory (Elrick and Ciobanu 2009, Michalon 2009, Potot 2006, *inter alia*), and recently transnationalism<sup>7</sup> have also been applied to Romanian migration (Potot 2002, Sandu 2000).

To theorize Romanian migration, one needs first to operationalize it, and circumscribe the field. Throughout the thesis, I use several concepts and theories which explain facets of the Romanian migration phenomenon. These are circular migration, transnationalism, migration networks, and culture of migration. At the same time, my work focuses on the context from the origin in shaping migration flows. In the first part of the present chapter, I will extensively dwell on these concepts, discuss their explanatory power and show their interplay with the socio-economic and political context in the home community. In the second part of the chapter, I bring forth Massey's stage approach to migration (1994) to show how it can grasp the fine differences between migrant communities. In order to bring together the empirical and theoretical puzzle, I will complement the specific theories on migration with Luhmann's systems theory in the way it has been adapted by Bommers and Tacke (2006a) to address the migratory phenomenon. This theoretical approach is useful in order to: integrate into the explanation, the context in the community of origin – as elements of the environment – and to present migrants' projects. These are embedded in the context from the origin, and at the same time emerged as a reaction to the possibilities of inclusion in the system.

---

<sup>7</sup> Whether this is a theory or not will be discussed later on. For the moment I leave from the assumption that it is a theory as it appears in the works of Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc from 1995

## II.1 Concepts and theories

During the fieldwork it appeared that the main current types of migration from Romanian rural areas were circular migration for work emerging more and more into transnational migration with a strong emphasis on the importance of migrant networks. Whilst the former is just a type of migration, transnationalism is also considered to be an analytical tool (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992, 1995). These two types of migration are not to be considered as opposed one to the other. On the contrary, transnationalism emerges out of circular migration. Migration networks – with its various types of ethnic, friendship, or religious networks – play a very important role for the Romanian circular and transnational migration, and also for the reproduction of migration. All of these contribute to the formation of a culture of migration. In the following pages, I will discuss these four concepts which later in the empirical analysis will enable me to better specify the findings.

### *II.1.1 Circular / temporary migration*

Pressat defines migration as “the movement of a person that presupposes a change of residence” (Pressat 1979: 118). An important characteristic of migration resides in the fact that it is a particular form of mobility involving at the same time territorial and social mobility. In other words, it can be defined as a process through which a person changes her/his position in society by changing permanently or temporary the permanent residence.

During the last century, migration was conceived as a permanent process involving dislocation and resettlement. Presently, for various reasons, including economic development, capitalism and growing globalization, as well as development in transportation means, people can circulate more often and move for short periods of time between an origin and a destination. Migration passed in time through changes with regard to the distance between the origin and the destination and with regard to the scope of migration. It became more flexible in the sense that due to communication and transportation developments, migrants can travel for work over long distances for short periods of time. As a consequence, the emphasis turned from ‘movement’ and/or ‘settlement’ to ‘circulation’ or ‘temporality’. We are faced with flows of migrants that are institutionalized, in the sense that they reoccur with a certain frequency and there is a continuous movement back and forth between countries.

This circulatory movement can be attributed to migration policies such as those found in the German policy from the mid-1950s to early 1970s which welcomed guest workers. Guest workers were assumed to come to Germany for work and when their contract would end, they would return to their home. Such policies never envisioned settlement, but

supported a temporary migration. Being faced with a lack of labour force especially in seasonal work, and other jobs that are refused by the local population, countries, like France, Germany, Spain and Switzerland, developed special programs to attract workers from abroad. Other examples of circulatory migration reinforced by programs are the *bracero* program from the USA that attracted Mexican migrants, and the migration of the Poles in Germany in and out of the area east of the Elbe (Kivisto 2001). These last two migration flows mark the conversion of circular migration into transnationalism as a consequence of the intensified reoccurring movement between origin and destination.

With reference to the Romanian case, we notice that in post-communist Romania, migration emerged as a wide life strategy for dealing with a difficult transition. The migration policies of the destination country and in general those of the European Union construed the type of migration and imposed on it a circular character. The regulation that migrants should not live at the destination for longer than three months had two consequences. On the one hand, it determined a back and forth migratory flow. On the other hand, it was associated with a stock of migrants who remained irregularly in Western Europe. At the same time, the regular status of the migrant allowed them not to fear the frequent return in the home community. The fact that Romanians still needed a visa to enter Western European countries before 2002, made circulatory migration difficult. Most often regular Romanian migrants working in Western European countries travel home a few times each year. Thus, state policy created this circularity between the origin and the destination with a regularity of about three months. Another pattern of migration predominant in the 1990s was permanent migration, however specific to the ethnic groups; e.g. Romanian of German, Hungarian and Jewish origin.

In the following part I will present a definition of transnationalism and discuss some of its criticisms. I will conclude by showing that circular or temporary migration can evolve into transnational migration. Patterns of migration can evolve one into another and they can be specific to a certain stage of migration. As Massey et al. (1994) argue, we can either regard the communities displaying these migration patterns as being either divergent or as passing through the same stages and converging towards a common core of migration patterns.

### *II.1.2 Transnationalism*

The concept of transnationalism emerged at a time of high levels of labour migration from economically less developed nations to the more developed ones and from high levels of political refugees fleeing conflicts and instability in former communist and Third World nations (Castles and Miller 2003). The persistence of migration associated with technological

development made accessible travelling on long distances and therefore determined a context which favoured the emergence of transnationalism.

Transportation and communication technologies make possible today's time-space compression unheard of in earlier times. What we need to be careful about is to differentiate between the present types of migration patterns and not to consider that all the present migration is transnational, as assumed by Glick Schiller et al. (1995). The emergence of technologies that have an impact on migration meant that other types of migration like seasonal circular migration or permanent migration could be associated with transnational practices. These patterns of migration are not exclusive. They describe different practices and strategies of migrants.

The concept of transnationalism was firstly used by theoreticians in international relations and was later adopted by migration scholars in the 1990-1994. In this context migration is not defined as a singular event, but as a recurrent flow between an origin and a destination. Moreover, migration is transnational if it can associate cultural models that transcend a nation and leads to dual life styles (Portes 1999).

The anthropologists Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch and Szanton Blanc assume that transnationalism is an entirely new phenomenon and they articulate a new conceptual model for analysing contemporary migration (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). They make a historical and a theoretical statement. Historically they assert that the present migrants are qualitatively different from the migrants of the past century. Whilst the former migrants are assumed to have "broken off all homeland social relations and cultural ties, and thereby locating themselves solely within the socio-cultural, economic and political orbit of the receiving society" (Kivisto 2001: 552); the present migrants are considered to have lives that encompass the home and host society; and whose "lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 1). Based on these historical arguments, they support the introduction of two new concepts; i.e. 'transnationalism' and 'transmigrants'. Transnationalism is defined as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (ibid. 1). Transmigrants are those who "build social fields by maintaining a wide range of affective and instrumental social relationships spanning borders" (ibid.).

Glick-Schiller and Fouron define transnational migration as "a pattern of migration in which people, although moving across international borders, settle, and establish relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated. In transnational migration people literally live their lives across transnational borders". In these conditions, "a new class of persons, economic entrepreneurs or political activists, who conduct cross-border activities on a regular basis that lies at the core of the phenomenon that

this field seeks to highlight and investigate” (Glick-Schiller and Fouron 1999: 344 in Portes, Guarnizo and Haller 2002: 2-3).

Migration can have different units of analysis. The permanent migration focuses primarily on the individual, the region or the state. Transnational migration takes a different approach. Some authors consider the individual or the individuals and their support network to be key elements; others focus on the community (characterized by population, locality and resources) or the family and so on. Faist (2000) places the focus on the meso-link between macro and micro approaches to migration. In this case, the unit of analysis becomes the transnational immigrant community and the ties established between the migrants, in other words, a transnational space (Faist 2000).

In the sense of a migration that impacts on the social and cultural milieu from the origin, transnationalism overlaps the theory of cumulative causation. “The cumulative model of transnational migration outlines how, once initiated, the process builds upon a growing base of knowledge, experience, social contacts, and other forms of social and cultural capital in a self-reinforcing manner. It argues that the process of migration alters origin and receiving localities in such a way that further migration is encouraged. Subsequent migration is done to and from communities that are undergoing profound cultural, economic, social and even physical changes” (Massey et al. 1994: 1503).

Massey et al. consider that cumulative causation accounts for empirical regularities in time and they explain this in the case of the Mexican migration to the US:

Migration tends to increase in prevalence and become more diverse because transnational movement causes relatively permanent changes in individual motivations, social structures, and cultural milieus, and these changes cumulate over time to alter the context within which subsequent migration decisions are made. As information about migration grows and networks connections to the United States ramify, the costs and the risks of international movement drop and migration becomes more attractive. As more people are induced to migrate, knowledge and network connections expand further, inducing more people to migrate, and so on. In time, migration becomes a generalized social and economic practice (Massey et al. 1994: 1528).

As the element which led to the changing of the present migration possibilities Portes and his colleagues (1999) underlines the development in transportation and communication. This made possible the almost ubiquitous action. The presence of an external factor causing transnationalism raises a strong criticism. Such an external factor questions the existence of

identical groups besides the case of the Mexico – USA migration where there is a clear proximity, and on the persistence of such links in the second generation.

The European migration provides examples to test the emergence of transnationalism in the first generation and already there is a growingly mature second generation. With regard to the Romanian migration, we can only limit to observing transnational practices within the first generation, the second one being still very young.

R. K. Merton (1987) elaborates on the concept of middle-range theory, which is placed between the empirical generalization and a general theory as having a role to explain a certain domain or process in society. This is the situation of the concept of transnationalism, whose hypothesis has an empirical base. Merton's contribution with regard to theory building is used to validate the creation of a new concept; that of transnationalism; i.e. 1) if a significant percentage of immigrants are involved in the process; 2) if the activities they engage in, exhibit persistence over time; and 3) if existing concepts fail to capture the content of these activities (Portes et al. 1999: 218-219).

More moderate than Glick-Schiller, Portes et al. decide to do justice to the diversity of the present migration types, and consider that transnationalism “includes only those activities that involve continuity of social relationships across national borders over time” (Portes et al. 1999: 217). To support their statement they bring examples of what is not transnational migration in spite of being similar; i.e. such one time events like sending home presents or building a house in the home community. The novelty of transnationalism resides in its possibility of “boundary – breaking social fields by serving as the facilitators making possible the development and possible institutionalization over time of various translocal economic, political and cultural ties” (Portes et al. 1999: 228-9).

In the discussion on transnationalism, Guarnizo puts the focus on the actual transnational practices and the consequences of migration. He argues that the social, cultural, economic and political relations of migrants to their homelands have significant effects not only on the development of migrants' localities and of the countries of origin, but also on the global macroeconomic processes, including financial arrangements, international trade and the production and consumption of culture (Guarnizo 2003: 667). Therefore the attention in Guarnizo's article goes towards “the multiple macroeconomic effects that migrants' transnational economic and noneconomic connections generate and, thus, underestimates migrants' agency and their influence at the global level” (Guarnizo 2003: 667).

For a succinct overview of central linchpins for transnationalism I will concisely present the concept of remittances and consequences of migration. I return to this discussion in Chapter VI which deals with migration policy making. Monetary remittances represent “long-distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity and obligation that bind migrants to their

kin and friends across state-controlled borders” (Guarnizo 2003: 671); also called “bounded solidarity” (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). The volume (the amount remitted is highly significant for many national economies), and stability that remittances have acquired transformed them in the most important private transaction in the global economy.

Another consequence of transnationalism is directed towards the community. More than before migrants join hometown associations and aim to contribute to support local community development projects and send money in case of disasters. These actions are not motivated by kinship ties, “but rather by a combination of socio-cultural and political factors, including migrants’ identity and sense of solidarity with their place of origin, reciprocity with the homeland, and often an eagerness to gain status and recognition in the place of origin” (Goldring 1998 in Guarnizo 2003: 677). Local governments enter in partnership with migrant associations to promote local development initiatives. The local governments from the two villages I studied contacted migrants and want to mobilize them to the interest of the home community. The effects of such actions are symbolic, as well as practical. For example, migrants invest in the construction of churches, water systems, streets. This point again has a two-fold significance. The empirical relevance is that in the Romanian villages where I conducted fieldwork, the local administration becoming aware of the size of the migratory phenomenon started to involve migrants in different activities in the home community. The more policy oriented relevance will later on be reinforced in the migration policy making chapter which aims to involve the local practices of the migrants into migration policy making. Therefore, the theoretical foundation of the relation between local government activities and development in communities of origin is vital.

This was an overview of the literature on transnationalism applicable to the Romanian case study. The same authors acknowledge the drawbacks of the concept of transnationalism. In the following part I will present the critique of transnationalism within migration research. One of the main critiques regards the random use of the concept. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) draw attention to the cautious use of this concept. Portes et al. (1999) show how it is used presently to name practices that have been in place for a long time. The gifts and parcels that are sent from the destination back home or one time investments like houses in the home community are clear examples of classical migrant practices that are not part of transnationalism. Similarly, Itzigson et al. pointed out that “occasional contacts, trips and activities across the national borders of members of an expatriate community also contribute to strengthening of the transnational field but by themselves, these contacts are neither novel, nor sufficiently distinct, to justify a new area of investigation” (Itzigsohn et al. 1999: 219).

Nonetheless, Portes acknowledges the emergence of such a phenomenon and argues in favour of its distinct character; i.e. “what constitutes truly original phenomena and, hence, a

justifiable new topic of investigation, are the high intensity of exchanges, the new modes of transacting, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustained basis” (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999: 219).

What are the drawbacks of the concept of transnationalism? As it can be seen from the previous pages, the concept of transnationalism cannot be a descriptive concept which cannot be used to analyse and explain the differences between migrant communities. Transnationalism attempts to look beyond the national boundaries and show that migration is not limited to one nation state and that it covers a broader space. One of its critiques to the existing migration literature referred to the methodological nationalism. Transnationalism theorists explain the necessity to use a new concept because the existing literature defined migration in relation to ‘nation state containers’, whereas they argue that the new concept expands over the nation state and refers to the space created between the two locations of the migrants (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). However, the new concept is still limited to the nation states, its only novelty being the bringing together of home and destination communities. The reference for the transnational space is still defined in relation to the condemned national container.

The understanding of the concept of transnationalism is significant both for the line of argumentation in the empirical analysis and for the formulation of the research questions. Too easily transnationalism can lead to a dichotomist categorization of communities of origin into ‘transnational’ and ‘not transnational’. This has led Massey (1994) to argue for a stage approach to migration and Portes (1999) for the significance of comparative research within transnationalism. Furthermore, the concept of transnationalism is descriptive, it limits itself to naming a type of migration, however cannot account for the context that leads to the emergence of certain migratory flows. Nonetheless, it is important to understand the concept’s limitations and search for theories that can help us find an answer with regard to the socio-economic and cultural environment at the origin and its impact on migration.

A concept that is in a close relationship with transnationalism and that will be the focus of the following sub-chapter is the one of social capital and migration networks. Transnationalism is highly dependent on social capital, meaning that those persons “with higher levels of social capital would be more likely to forge transnational linkages than those with less capital” (Kivisto 2001: 562). Nonetheless, it is worth discussing the different types of ties (Granovetter 1973) in the context of migration. As Granovetter (1973) shows, strong ties, as well as weak ties play a significant role and give access to different pools of information.

### *II.1.3 Social connections*

A discussion on Romanian migration is highly dependent on theories of social connections / interactions. These appear to be the basic resource in the perpetuation of migration, especially due to the late appearance of regulatory frameworks to channel migrants. Along this theoretical sub-chapter I will introduce examples that specify the empirical material, and underline the necessity of the present theoretical discussion. The most frequently used concepts in the migration literature in relation to ties are migration networks and social capital. However, I aim to use what I consider to be the essence of social networks; i.e. the simplified concept of social connection. I make this distinction rather for a didactic purpose, as the concepts social connections or ties, social capital and social networks are closely intertwined. Social ties or connections are intrinsic part of social networks and social capital.

A social connection names any type of connections or links between two addresses. The concept of address (Bommes and Tacke 2006a) is also significant, as it can refer to both individuals and institutions, or formal and informal actors. Social networks constitute the connections between addresses, in other words ties of different qualities. And also, connections are based on social capital. In the following part I will discuss in turn all these terms and show the limits of the existing literature.

The term social connection is neutral, in the sense that it makes no evaluation on the quality of the connection. There are social connections both between family members, between old friends, but also between sporadic acquaintances and old school colleagues. The reason for using this concept derives from the empirical research when I encountered that from the village Luncavița people migrated based on acquaintances, work colleagues and people they had known from the neighbouring towns. Also, the migrants from Luncavița use extensively extra-local ties, which is less usual for Romanian departures. These types of contacts fall under the concept of weak ties elaborated by Granovetter (1973). Granovetter's concept of weak ties is defined by contrast to the strong ties. He underlines the cohesive power of weak ties. Weak ties are specifically used in the analysis of the interaction between groups and social structure segments that cannot be easily defined as primary groups (Granovetter 1973). What he tries to prove is the power of interpersonal ties to influence macro phenomena such as social mobility, political organization and social cohesion. The power of a tie is characterised by a combination between time, closeness of the relation, emotional intensity and reciprocal services characterising that relation. Regarding the diffusion of the information, Rogers (1962 in Granovetter 1973) assesses that the first to adopt the information are the ones who are marginal in the network and once it is taken over by those included in the network, it is quickly disseminated.

Nonetheless, in the villages I studied, people used what I called disparate social connections. In other words, potential migrants use the help of persons that they know very little, and these contacts are (re)established based on availability and chance; meetings on the bus to town, in the market or while standing in a queue. These social connections constitute the main source of information, and not a diversification of the sources – which is the case of the weak ties.

The concept of weak ties is still very relevant and needs mentioning also in relation to migration. Burt (1992) builds on Granovetter's concept of weak ties and shows how it strengthens the information benefits of structural holes. Structural holes denote the space between nonredundant addresses. In other words, the connection between nonredundant addresses provides “network benefits that are in some degree additive and not overlapping” (Burt 1992: 18). In this context, it is relevant to also introduce the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. The former refers to intra-group relations and the latter to extra-group ties. In the absence of bridging social capital, bonding groups can become isolated, which can lead to the marginalisation of the immigrant groups (Bolin et al. 2004). To integrate at the destination, weak ties and bridging social capital are more relevant.

An important clarification relevant for the analysis refers to the distinction between primary group such as the family, and social networks. Granovetter precisely used the idea of weak and strong ties to refer to other groups than the primary groups. In this sense the family as a primary group is not a social network. Whereas, the social network literature superficially places the family in the category of social networks. One of the limits of social network theory is that it names every interaction a social network. This specification is relevant for the empirical analysis due to the fact that in the village Luncavița there is a group of migrants who have all left for the same town in the north-west of Spain and all are part of an extended family.

Social capital is formed of “social obligations and links” (Bourdieu 1985: 326). Bourdieu (1985) operationalizes social capital as trust. It represents what people can achieve together, and would not succeed individually. Social capital plays a double function. It facilitates the cooperation between individuals, on the one hand, and creates links between individuals and social structures, on the other hand. Also, social capital contributes to the mobilization of other forms of capital; cultural or economic. Social capital is not a simple attribute of social actors. “The quantity of social capital of an individual from a certain moment depends on the size of the social network that can be mobilized and the quantity of economic, cultural and political capital that the network members possess” (Hammar, Bochmann, Tamas, Faist 1997: 200). Thus, one can speak about network capital which refers

to the size of the network and the volume of other types of capital of all its members. It is a collective good shared by several persons.

For Bourdieu (1985) any type of capital – including social capital – can be partly transformed in economic capital. The case of migration is particular, as most times social capital is a prerequisite for the accumulation of economic capital. The lack of some access to social networks makes very difficult the investment of other resources, such as money, in a manner that would bring about profit and benefits.

The issue of trust, which is the base of social capital, is taken over by Putnam who underlines its transitive character: “reciprocal trust is passed over” (Putnam 2001: 189). This characteristic of social capital can be identified in social networks. I would like to offer an example from migration to support this transitive character of networks. The pioneer in the migration to Spain can be contacted by former work colleagues and asked for support for the former’s son in his attempt to migrate also to Spain. Because of the relationship and trust between the colleague and the pioneer, the pioneer will help the third person, although previously there was no relationship between the two persons.

The literature considers that most of the forms of social capital, among which trust, represent “moral resources” (Hirschman in Putnam 2001: 190). These are resources that grow when they are used rather than diminish and disappear when they are not used. In comparison to the other types of capital, social capital does not consume itself; on the contrary, it amplifies if it is used (Lin 2001, Putnam 1999). To build on this assumption, we notice that social networks become stronger and expand in their capacity to facilitate migration for their members simply by functioning. This statement, however, can be challenged as the literature does not fully analyse the process of networks’ structuring. More recent studies show that networks appear as an attempt of a group to stabilize in relation to the outside (see Bommers and Tacke 2006a). Similarly, Portes and Sensenbrenner refer to bounded solidarity as “those situational circumstances that can lead to the emergence of principled group-oriented behaviour quite apart from any early value introjection.” (1993: 1324). Such a stabilization presupposes a partial closure in relation to the outside. The stabilizing factors can be religion, ethnicity, the community of origin, friendship and so on (Bommers and Tacke 2006a). These factors of cohesion are embedded and defined in a certain context, the origin community of the migrants, where the network emerges. The literature fails to address the changing nature of social networks when they move away from the context in which they emerged. We can observe the fact that the same stabilizing factor can become a burden, or what Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) called negative social capital. In this case, the value of social capital that has its roots at the origin may decrease, and also new connections appear. At the destination, migrants interact with persons outside their networks and sometimes these

connections might be even more significant for their integration in the host community. Thus, social capital can change its nature over time.

Migration networks are forms of self-simplification in stabilizing the inside to the outside (Bommes and Tacke 2006a, 2006b). That is why they create both a possibility and a restriction. To stabilize the network in relation to the outside, the members use various self-references such as ethnicity, religion, proximity, the community of belonging and so on. And as mentioned above, some of these ties are sometimes activated in relation to an aim – in the present case, migration. At some point this self-reference and reciprocity can become burdening, as persons who can legitimately make this claim are only using it when they need the support of the rest of the network. In this case people can limit the self-reference and redefine it.

There are two types of departures: when leaving with the help of a person who resides and/or works at the destination (network departures), and in the absence of such a person (independent departures). The majority of migrants have left based on social networks built at the origin. However, these networks expand and in time include persons also from the destination. They help the migrants to receive the necessary residence permits, facilitate their hiring by supporting him/her with recommendations, and so on.

In this context it is useful to speak about the distinction between migrant and migration networks. Migrant networks include only the migrants who help each other along the migration chain, whereas migration networks are more inclusive. There are the migrants, other persons from the origin and the receiving communities and/or countries who also provide help more or less directly in the migration process. In other words, migration networks refer to both migrants and non-migrants who are providing help to those migrating.

Depending on the country of destination, there can be specialised networks for each country or diffuse ones (common social networks for any destination). In general, the literature on migration networks shows that there are always more networks, with variations in their structure that connect the origin and the destination and help migrants in both locations (Portes and Böröcz 1989). Furthermore, they unite the origin and destination, and facilitate the formation of transnational communities (Glick-Schiller, Szanton and Basch 1995, Vertovec 2001). Migration networks function all along the migration flow from origin – where migrants help each other to leave the country with visa or with money; at destination – where they share apartments and help each other in finding a place to work. Networks have to be understood also in terms of power relations. The position somebody has in the network constellation is also associated to the possibility to influence more, and provide more significant credentials. In the empirical part we shall see how these aspects of social

connections, social capital and social networks are to be found in the migration from the two Romanian villages.

#### *II.1.4 Culture of migration*

A historical and socio-cultural context of long history of migration – whether internal or international – even intense commuting – and changes in the labour market determine people in a community to positively regard migration and accept it normatively as a part of the life cycle. In other words, there emerges a culture of migration.

Both Massey and his colleagues (1994, 1998) and Heering et al. (2004) show that culture of migration is closely linked to a history of migration and migration networks. Massey et al. (1998) in the thesis ‘Worlds in Motion’, define culture of migration in the paradigm of path dependency and cumulative causation. In other words, the present flow of migration is attributed to the past history of migration. A more recent study by Kandel and Massey (2002), based on questionnaires attributed to school children from Mexico, shows how migration is closely connected to the history of migration of the community and of the family. Heering et al. (2004) found similar results in Morocco. Moreover, the role of networks is significant in the mechanism of diffusion of values related to migration and in the socialisation of the young.

Culture of migration consists of a set of norms and beliefs that are internalized by members of the community and strongly influence life strategies. As migration assumes a greater role in the community, it becomes increasingly important as a rite of passage for young men, providing an accepted means of demonstrating their worthiness, ambition to others and as a transition to manhood, in addition to being a widely accepted vehicle for economic mobility (Reichert 1979; Alarcon 1992 in Massey et al. 1994, Kandel and Massey 2002, Sayad 1977).

The same normative character can be found in the writings of Heering et al. (2004); the culture of migration involves not just high rates of migration, but also the transformation of migration in a normative behaviour. “Migration is accepted as a desirable method for achieving social and economic mobility, a higher income or an improved lifestyle, which cannot be sustained exclusively by dependence on local resources; [...] over time foreign labour migration becomes integrated into the structures of values and expectations of families and communities [...] young people not considering anymore other options at all” (2004: 325).

In order to be such a strong motive for action, it is necessary that the community has a set of beliefs and values towards migration, in other words a discourse regarding the behaviour, which becomes diffuse, widespread and generalised. “Within this culture,

migration is considered to be the only way to improve one's standard of living, that is, those who stay are losers, and those who leave are winners" (Heering et al. 2004: 335). In this sense, the reasons behind migration are not only economic, but relate to the social hierarchy in the community, and the fulfilment of social and cultural expectations.

To link these concepts to the empirical outcome of my fieldwork, I will briefly refer to some of the findings. During the fieldwork I noticed that migration appeared as a generalized and accepted life strategy in Feldru. Even the website<sup>8</sup> of the village mentions the high number of persons from the village who live and work abroad in several Western European countries. Also, a previous fieldwork in which I took part in the town Borșa, confronted us with the situation that school children wanted to become "Italians" (Boswell and Ciobanu 2009). To these two examples can be added more, all of them showing that in the Romanian society there is a change of attitude, migration being regarded as a way to better oneself. The culture of migration contributes to the perpetuation of migration and subsequently it feeds on the existing migration. The variable that distinguishes between the two case study communities and needs to be taken into account in the culture of migration is the history of migration, and more precisely for the Romanian context, commuting. If many of the respondents from the village Feldru remember the nine buses that were transporting every morning workers from the village to the industrial platforms in the neighbourhood of the town Bistrița; in Luncavița most villagers were involved in agricultural work and fishing in the village. Thus, the concept of culture of migration is an added value to the specification of the fieldwork findings.

The culture of migration is the triggering element in the formation of transnational communities (Massey et al. 1998, Faist 2000). Transnationalism, and as I will later show culture of migration, "causes relatively permanent changes in individual motivations, social structures and cultural milieu and these changes cumulate over time to change the context within which subsequent migration decisions are made. As information about migration grows and network connections (...) ramify, the costs and risks of international movement drop, and migration becomes more attractive" (Massey, Goldring, Durand 1994: 1527-1528).

It may correspond to the attitudes of the community (norms, values and ideologies) assessing the migration and migrants (Horváth 2008), particularly to values attached to movement and stability. In communities where foreign wage labour has become fully integrated into local values and expectations, people considering entry into labour force literally do not take into account other options: they expect to migrate frequently in the course of their lives and assume they can go whenever they wish. Sayad (1977) found that Algerian

---

<sup>8</sup> The website of the village is: <http://www.feldru.rural-portal.ro/>

men did not even look for job opportunities in their own country before migrating to France, in spite of the availability of jobs in Algeria.

When looking at the empirical data, these mid-range theories – social networks, transnationalism and culture of migration – are highly dependable on the context from the origin as well as the one from the destination in which migration emerges and develops itself. In the case of the present thesis, the interest lies in the context from the origin in framing migration. With regard to social networks, and particularly migration networks, the context at the origin with its specific social structures provides the resources to form social networks specialized for migration. For example in ethnic diverse communities, this characteristic provides the base for closure, which allows the formation of social networks. Social networks emerge in relation to a scope, which can be finding a work place on the local labour market, or finding a work place in Spain. Similarly, religious diversity and particularly some religious denominations are more likely to facilitate the formation of social networks. In general we can observe that the pre-existence of groups within one community is more likely to favour the emergence of social networks. The absence of some sub-communities within the villages makes harder the formation of social networks. This is best exemplified by the case of Feldru, a village with ethnic and religious diversity. The opposite situation is to be found in Luncavița where the absence of social diversity – the predominance of the Orthodox religion, majoritarian Romanian community – makes the people in Luncavița lack the characteristics that they can activate to form social networks. In this case, they have been using family ties in migration. As we can see the social context from the origin is essential for the type of ties people can activate for migration. With regard to the culture of migration, the social history in the home community plays the key role. The fact that people have already experienced migration makes them more likely to accept it as a lifestyle. Although internal migration and commuting is different from international migration, the former have created the context for people to credit migration as a successful strategy, and have also created the social structures that people can activate and adapt for international migration. With regard to the role of the context from the origin for the emergence of transnationalism, the history of migration again plays a significant role. The fact that people used to migrate and always had as a landmark the home community, makes it more likely for the present generations to develop a similar pattern of migration involving maintaining the contact to the home village. Also, very important is the attitude towards migration and the way the local community and local administration are trying to involve or not the migrants. A very proactive local administration in the home community is more likely to create the incentive for the migrants to keep in touch, to start small companies in the villages of origin and to get involved in projects

developed by the authorities. To sum up, we can see that the context in the home community is essential for the emergence and the subsequent development of migration.

## **II.2 A stage-approach to migration**

Massey noted that there are many differences in the strategies to migrate between communities of migrants from Mexico (1994). In order to resolve the “tension” between earlier findings of intercommunity differences, Durand and Massey (1992) reviewed studies from 25 Mexican communities. They found that “apparent inconsistent generalizations about Mexico – USA migration are not necessarily contradictions when they are examined in comparative perspective. Rather, diverse outcomes occur in various communities when common processes of migration are shaped and differentiated by structural variables operating at the community level” (Massey et al. 1994: 1494).

The community-level differences with regard to migration were attributed by Massey et al. (1987) to “structural factors that shaped the course of migration at each location” (Massey et al. 1994: 1493). Therefore, “fruitful comparisons must take into account prior migration histories” (Massey et al. 1994: 1494).

Migration appears to be clearly linked to the history of migration in that community. This positively correlates with the migration networks, the knowledge of migration practices and so on.

People living in communities where migration has just begun, for example, generally face significant deterrents to international movement. Since the number of migrants is small, few non-migrants have friends and relatives who have been abroad, and even if they do, the migrants are likely to have limited knowledge about jobs, housing, and transportation at destination sites. In contrast, people living in a community characterised by a long history and high prevalence of out-migration are very likely to be connected socially to people who have been abroad, and these people tend to have considerable knowledge about conditions and resources at points of destination. In communities with well-developed migratory tradition, in other words, non-migrants have access to valuable social capital that can be used to facilitate movement (Massey et al. 1994: 1494-1495).

All these have an impact on the availability of migration as a life strategy and thus on the selectivity of migration. “International migration is a costly and risky enterprise and those who undertake it are usually selected on demographic, social, economic, and psychological grounds. Social capital, however, plays a powerful role in mitigating these costs and risks and its accumulation over time tends to reduce the selectivity of migration. Variation in the amount and quality of social capital can, therefore, produce very different migration streams over time and across communities, making migration patterns appear to be discrepant when, in fact, they reflect the same underlying process” (Massey et al. 1994: 1495), just at different stages of development.

This can be illustrated with two family stories in Luncavița and Feldru. In the migration process, the role of the family changes; whilst at the very beginning (Luncavița), family is essential in the migratory process, fulfilling the functions of a migration network, with the increase of the number of migrants (Feldru), its role becomes more loose given the existence of various networks that facilitate migration (networks based on religion, friendship, neighbourhood or even broad community networks). In the case of Luncavița, the narrative of one family’s migration involves all the people from one extended family who have migrated to the same village in Spain, whereas, the story of the family from Feldru refers to eleven brothers who have migrated to different destinations using different networks available in the village, and some of them have never migrated, however, they have all played an important role in the life of each other. From this angle we can again reinforce the importance of the structural differences that allow us to understand why given the same time period, the process of migration takes shape differently. The relevance of comparing these two families is the apparent different characteristics and potential for contrasting. This allows us to verify the same conundrum with regard to the stage approach to migration.

National researches on Romanian migration (Sandu 2005) bring forth regional differences in the migration destination, structure of the migrant population and types of networks used by migrants. However, some studies show that the past 17 years of the Romanian migration bears four main periods (see VII.3 Patterns of migration, pp. 170). In spite of the differences, there can also be observed a common evolution. This strengthens the use of Massey’s stage approach in the context of Romanian migration.

Across communities there can be seen “common migration processes [...] although their expression might be shaped by factors operating at the community level” (Massey et al. 1994: 1529). The local factors will be at large explained in the first part of the empirical chapter.

Massey et al. (1994) argue for the existence of a common developmental pattern of migration, and communities might fall in different stages. If we think in these terms as stages

in the migration development and based on the previous analysis of the contexts that allowed the emergence of migration in the two Romanian communities, we would therefore regard the two communities as being just at different stages. In other words, all the conditions were favourable for the development of migration in Feldru. Subsequently the selectivity of migration is very low, the networks are extended to the level of the entire community, and practically anyone who aims to migrate can do it. In Luncavița the context at the origin was not so enhancing for the emergence of migration. The system of transportation is very difficult, people do not have the resources to migrate, the selectivity is still quite high and the examples may continue. Nonetheless, if we look at the practices the difference between the two villages are not so dissonant. The people from Feldru build houses in the home town, send money home for everyday consumption, and return migrants started businesses in the home community. In the case of Luncavița migrants build houses at home, and one migrant started in February 2007 a company both in Romania and in Spain and was then planning to build the gas system in the village. Therefore we witness an emerging transnationalism in both villages.

All of these concepts can be put together and reinterpreted in the perspective of a grand theory of society such as the systems theory. This allows me to propose one inclusive theory and not a patched image made of more or less limited conceptual tools.

### **II.3 Systems theory in migration research**

The aim of systems theory is to understand society (and all social phenomena) as a modern world society; i.e. a society that is functionally differentiated in different realms (the economy, politics, law, science, education, health etc.) and modern organizations. The chances of individuals to participate and to get access to social resources are mediated by these differentiated social systems. We can assume that “cultural pluralisation processes as well as national closure or transnational opening are contextually dependent on the structural development of social systems” (Bommes 2005: 4). In other words, either the national or transnational concepts are redundant, and more useful is to understand society in terms of functionally differentiated systems in which individuals aim to become included. This provides us with a definition of migration as “the effort to find access to social systems at a different geographical place by means of migration” (Bommes 1999 in Bommes 2005: 5).

The concepts that I presented earlier draw on three different, but not mutually incompatible, theories. The notion of transnationalism focuses on the macro- and meso-conditions facilitating the maintenance of social, economic and political ties between emigrants and their places and communities of origin. The concept of migrant networks

explains the retention of ties in terms of individual calculations of costs and opportunities. And lastly, the concept of culture of migration looks at the permanent changes that migrant communities incorporate and that make migration a 'rite of passage'. All these can be reinterpreted in social system terms. In the following part I will precisely discuss again especially the migration networks and transnationalism to show their limitations in explaining the phenomena.

From the point of view of systems theory, circulatory labour migration is nothing but an adaptation of the migrants to the structural opportunities or norms inherent in the economic system. By structural opportunities I refer to laws and policies addressing migration directly, or indirectly. Migrants have expectations in relation to the system and accordingly adapt their behaviour to become included in the economic system. In other words, a certain type of migration policies shaped the pattern of migration to be circular (Elrick and Ciobanu 2009). For example, the regulation that a person should stay for only three months in an EU country without residence permit reinforced a three months rotation of two women migrants who are kin or friends between Romania and Spain / Italy / France (Lazaroiu 2004). If someone stayed longer than three months without having a regular status ahead the person was risking to be caught by the police and expelled from the country, and upon return to Romania, the migrant would either receive an interdiction to leave Romania for up to nine years, or would have had to bribe the guards at the border. Moreover, because very few women would accept to stay away from their children and family for a long period of time, in coping with the legal framework, they developed a rotating strategy, which allows them to earn money abroad, and also spend time with their families. Nonetheless, the relationship between the domestic worker and the person she takes care of is usually very strong, and there may develop a feeling of duty. Also, there are cases in which women are afraid that they might lose the job. All these make them overstay the three months limit and enter an irregular situation. Upon return to Romania, they need to bribe the border patrol in order not to get an interdiction to exit again. There are various patterns of migration which people develop to adapt to migration policies.

With regard to transnationalism, it still refers to the national state, and therefore has no theoretical concept of society (Bommes 2005: 10), this constituting the main critique to the approach. The name of *trans-nationalism* implies a cutting across nation states, and also the fact that the actual locations in terms of nation states are relevant. Looking from the point of view of systems theory, and as I defined earlier the phenomenon of migration, migration is only the movement from an origin to a destination, in order to integrate in the economic system, or in other sub-systems. Looking at the present analysis, the migrants from both villages migrate predominantly to Spain. Nonetheless, they do not choose Spain; they choose

a place where they can integrate on the labour market. It is the likeliness to integrate on the labour market, which makes migrants choose a place over the other. This underlines the limits of the concept of transnationalism.

With regard to transnationalism, there are several issues that can be challenged from the point of view of social systems theory. Systems theory, in spite of having very abstract concepts such as unity, difference, function, code, communication and so on, precisely defines these concepts. At the other end, transnationalism has a very limited vocabulary, which is descriptive. Moreover, terms like transmigrant or transnational living do not have any theoretical significance from the point of view of systems theory. These are very limited concepts which name just a state of someone's existence or a set of practices. Similarly, transnational livelihood names just one component of someone's life. All these concepts are descriptive and lack a theoretical support (see also Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004).

Another critique refers to the unit of analysis. In the case of transnationalism, this is sometimes taken to be the individual and its support network, and in other cases, the community. Although transnationalist adepts underline the importance of "the history of immigration and the modes in which migrants are received as a context for the direction that their activities, transnational or not, will take" (Portes 1999: 464), transnationalism as such cannot explain how the context contributes to the differentiated patterns of migration, or to the emergence of even particularities across transnational communities.

With regard to social network theory, Michael Bommers and Veronika Tacke (2006a, 2006b) provide a thorough critique and interpretation of social networks and ties. Bommers and Tacke argue that network theory fails to make two specifications. Firstly, they do not distinguish networks from other forms of social connections and primary groups. Broadly, social networks refer to a set of connectivities between different social addresses. A network simply denotes any set of persons who are communicatively accessible to an individual. Bommers and Tacke (2006a) argue that this broad definition has no analytical capacity, since it remains at a highly generalised level of description. They suggest that what should distinguish networks from other sets of relations is their reflexive element; i.e. addresses become relevant only in relation to certain purposes. Bommers and Tacke (2006a) specify more clearly the social network theory by adding the fact that individuals, at any point in time, have a certain number of addresses which are available, and in certain situations these addresses are mobilized in relation to a purpose.

Secondly, the social networks theory does not grasp the passage from pre-modern to modern society. The important distinction between the pre-modern and modern society is that the potential for mobilization of social networks only becomes relevant in modern societies, which are separated into functionally differentiated systems. Bommers and Tacke argue that in

pre-modern societies, there was no need for networks in the sense defined. In such stratified societies, the societal inclusion and participation of individuals was conditioned by their birth and status, specifically class, family, affiliation or profession. Modernization imposed a different set of requirements for societal inclusion. In modern societies, inclusion is conditioned by the ability to integrate into functionally differentiated spheres: education, health, the economy, politics, law and so on (Luhmann 1995, 2002). Thus, it becomes more important to combine different addresses in order to integrate into differentiated systems and sub-systems. To get in touch with other people from outside the primary groups (relevant for the pre-modern society) means to potentially integrate.

Access to systems can be facilitated by contacts with those already integrated into the system in question. Existing members of a system can provide information or new contacts that facilitate the access. For example, a migrant can recommend a doctor, or an employer can provide information about letting accommodation or a lawyer. In this context (migration) networks become relevant. “The crucial and initial point of network emergence is the observation that addresses – the capabilities they represent in communications – can be combined” (Bommes and Tacke 2006a: 286). In other words, social addresses can be mobilized to facilitate access to other systems. Indeed, “addresses gain social contour and individuality only from an individual’s current inclusions and exclusions” in particular systems (ibid. 288). The utility of networks derives from their potential to facilitate societal inclusion.

For the systems theory the basic concept is communication and networks are based on communication between individuals. In other words, from the point of view of systems theory, the concept of networks becomes redundant, because there is another concept, that of communication which fulfils a similar type of function. The relevance of social systems theory for the present thesis is theoretical. Firstly, it aims to integrate the other concepts which have a limited analytical capacity into one theory of society. Secondly, it leads to the formulation of the research question of the present thesis: whether different socio-economic contexts determine a different dynamic of migration. The answer to the variation amongst migration patterns between communities resides in the interpretation of contexts as structures of opportunities and/or as part of the environment in which systems exist, whereas the other concepts and theories do not have the theoretical capacity to provide an answer, nonetheless are relevant for the description of the migration patterns in the two villages.

## **CHAPTER III: Research Methodology**

The first two chapters have outlined the empirical and theoretical puzzle that this thesis seeks to unpack: i.e., to explain the internal dynamics of the current migration patterns in two villages by examining the context in which they emerged. In the present chapter I will show how I gathered the data which was necessary to understand the migration dynamics in Romania. Firstly, I will show how I expected to collect data to answer my questions and the methods I found relevant for this. Secondly, I will explain the process by which I chose the two migrant communities that are compared in the thesis. The sequence goes from a broad set of presumptions on the migration dynamics that I operationalize and further in this chapter I move to more concrete examples from the two villages. Later, I move again to a more abstract level and differentiate between three migration projects from these villages.

### **III.1 Methodologies in migration research**

The aim of data collection is to produce data which the researcher then uses as a basis for finding answers to different questions or building and testing theories with different degrees of generality. The present research collects data in order to build a comprehensive image of the context in which Romanian migration is taking place and of the migration patterns in two rural communities. Different types of data are necessary depending on the topic of research.

Migration is an interdisciplinary field of research. It cuts across disciplines from anthropology, ethnography, history, sociology, psychology, political sciences, social policy, geography, economy and demography and many more besides. Therefore the methods used to approach it are adapted to the research questions and transgress different disciplines. Nonetheless, it is broadly possible to separate methodologies into the two traditional perspectives of quantitative and qualitative and group the disciplines around these perspectives. Moreover, a review of the literature on migration shows the preponderance of quantitative methods. On the one hand, quantitative methodologies are used in the study of integration, development and remittances (Straubhaar and Vădean 2006), social networks (Colleyer 2005), migration patterns (Massey, Goldring and Durand 1994, Sandu 2004) and on the other hand, qualitative methodologies are used preferentially for the study of transnationalism (Kyle 2000, Levitt 2001) as well as legality and illegality issues (Bommes and Alt 2006, Düvell 2004).

Nonetheless, as Portes (2003 a) emphasizes, “a combination of methods – ranging from the analysis of existing official and census data, to longitudinal surveys, to ethnographic work – offers the best promise of moving forward the study of transnationalism” (889). For the selection of the villages I used an existing database on international migration from rural Romania, which provides a series of parameters on migration. The actual data collection for the analysis of migration stages is based on qualitative fieldwork research.

The present research has two main dimensions: firstly that of the communities and their contexts of migration emergence as well as their migration patterns and current practices, and secondly the migration policy recommendations from the prism of the country of origin. With regard to the first dimension, narrative biographical interviews appear to be a suitable methodology given that they provide both objective and subjective information. Furthermore, the in-depth interviews with local authorities, the literature on Romanian migration and the existing quantitative data complement the information obtained during the fieldwork, and complete the picture of the migrant communities. Also, the different interview partners – migrants, non-migrants and local authorities – allow for a triangulation of the information collected in the fieldwork.

When it comes to policy recommendations, one might say that qualitative methodologies do not allow for extrapolation and therefore it is rather difficult, if not impossible, to formulate migration policy recommendations. However, the literature in the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia suggests that more and more researchers are using narrative research for the purpose of formulating policy recommendations to improve different systems. These narratives frequently refer to the interplay between the organizations and their ‘clients’. Researches that use life stories for policy reasons concern the health system (Bingley 2007, Thomas 2007), public services (Lapsley 2007<sup>9</sup>, Czarniawska-Joerges 2004), and organizational analysis (Czarniawska 2004) to offer a few examples.

Due to the broad question posed by the present thesis, and to the need to understand the general dynamics of the migratory phenomenon, however, wanting to avoid an overgeneralization, I chose two villages for the analysis. There I conducted extensive fieldwork research consisting of participant observation, in-depth interviews and biographical narrative interviews. Also, the population that I discussed with belonged to various categories in terms of age, education, income, experience and knowledge on migration, and so on. I used

---

<sup>9</sup> The references to Amanda Bingley, Carol Thomas and Hilary Lapsley are to conference presentations. They all presented in a Narrative Studies Seminar entitled ‘Organizational Practices and Testimonial Narratives of ‘Other’ Lives’. University of Edinburgh, 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2007, <http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/NABS/seminar2orgpractices.htm>.

in-depth interviews as a way of gaining access to the field and creating a general impression of each community.

Narrative biographical interviews with migrants constituted the main method used in the second stage. This was twofold relevant: on the one hand it helped me find out information from the migrants without leading their answers; and on the other hand I was able to fit together the pieces of the puzzle and direct myself towards new questions that would contribute to my narrative of Romanian migration from the two villages. The relevance of biographical narrative interviews is that they provide longitudinal information and thus allow me to understand a longer period associated with more stages in migration. Further, the advantage of narrative biographical interviews derives from the fact that storytelling constitutes a natural way of communication, meaning that the interview situation can be transformed into a casual conversation and no longer has an artificial character, narrative biographical interviews being less intrusive. Moreover, the information received through stories is not limited to events that took place and the factual experience of migration, but includes also attitudes, values and beliefs. A further benefit is that the stories are contextualized by the migrants and the migration picture is thus more consistent. Therefore, the information as a whole received through narrative biographical interviews is very rich, providing the researcher with contextualized material and dense information.

The participant observation in the villages enabled me to construct an image of the way migration is perceived in the two communities, and examine whether there was a culture of migration or not. This constituted the background information in constructing the narratives of migration from the two villages.

Too often some of the scholars in migration speak about Mexican migration to the USA, or Peruvian migration to Spain based on quantitative studies carried out in a limited number of communities. Furthermore, the fieldwork very often focuses on only one location, disregarding migrants' transnational living and multiple residences. The present thesis does not address Romanian migration in general; it only aims to understand the transnational practices and the similarities between two migrant communities. With this purpose I conducted fieldwork in the home communities, and followed the migrants to their destination. In addition to an emerging transnational space between Romania and Spain, we can notice very clear 'sub-spaces' between Luncavița and Santa Maria de Palautordera, or Feldru and the various locations of the Feldrihani<sup>10</sup> in Spain. These spaces do not overlap, because the migrants moving between the locations and the locations manifest distinct characteristics.

---

<sup>10</sup> 'Luncăvițeni' and 'Feldrihani' are the names of the population from the villages Luncavița and Feldru.

Also, the entire thesis uses comparisons at various levels: among villages, among families of migrants, and among migration projects.

The understanding of locations in the framework of systems theory is very different than the one of the transnationalism approach. The latter places still the accent on the nation state, in spite of trying to avoid it. The systems theory applied to migration regards locations as structures of opportunities that provide migrants with likelihood to integrate on the labour market (Bommes 2005). The migrants from Luncavița do not choose Palau as their destination because of the place itself, but because there they have the social connections that allow them to find a place to work and a place to live. Hypothetically they might also find a place to live in the surroundings of Madrid, however, in the absence of social connections it might be more difficult to find cheap accommodation. Therefore, from the point of view of systems theory, the locations are not important, but the possibilities a person has in those locations. In this sense, again, the present thesis does not want to generally speak about the Romanian migration to Spain. It aims to unpack the structures of opportunities embedded at the origin and destination of the migrants, and this is the frame in which the ‘sub-spaces’ need to be understood.

### **III.2 Narratives / Biographical interviews / Life stories**

The narrative approach is central to the thesis as a method: narrative biographical interviews. Life records as complete as possible constitute the perfect type of sociological material (Thomas and Znaniecki 1996). In the following section, I underline the utility of this method for my research.

In spite of story telling being intrinsic to human nature, narratives have only become a central methodology in social research during the last fifteen years, a phenomenon researchers call the ‘narrative turn’, to paraphrase Kuhn (1962). One of the promoters of this ‘life story’ technique was the Italian sociologist Franco Ferrarotti (see Ferrarotti 1981). The narrative biographical interview as a method refers to the fact that the interviewer poses questions that induce a narrative. This opens the discussion, and the respondent feels free to say his opinion and also argue the way the events developed, and not just say a year or the job that s/he undertook while living in a certain location. Examples of biographical documents can be diaries, letters, fictional texts, and even newspaper articles.

With regard to the *reliability* of the method, an important element that must be acknowledged, and that appears as tautological, is that stories are stories. What this means is that what we find out from people is their story of the migration experience. They might choose to embellish their account with details which may be more or less true, or they might

leave out things because they do not fit in with the narrative logic. Stories are not only made by placing events in a sequence, they are also complemented by ideologies, attitudes and feelings. To understand the reliability of stories one needs to understand the concept of ‘narrative truth’ (Spence 1982, 1986 in Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber 2006) which can be strongly related to, vaguely similar, or totally different from ‘historical truth’ (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber 2006: 19). This does not mean that one should not use narratives; it simply means that the aspects outlined above have to be taken into account in the analysis (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber 2006: 19).

The stories / narratives can be induced – through an interview situation – or can be non-induced – literary pieces, letters, intimate journals, autobiographies and so on. The migration research of Znaniecki and Thomas (1996) is an example of letters as narratives.

After having conducted the fieldwork and analyzed the interviews I abstracted three types of migration projects by looking at recurrent themes in the interviews. However, in presenting these three projects I choose to render the migrants’ own narratives. It is important to mention that reading migrants own stories contributes to the understanding of the migration from the two villages, however, we do not have access to the actual biographies; we only have access to what migrants say. Later, in the concluding chapter I analyzed and compared the migration projects. Also, these narratives constituted the base when presenting the migration patterns from the two villages.

### **III.3 Selection of the Sites**

If the typical destinations of Romanian migrants were shown on a map, the destinations would appear to be scattered ‘randomly’ in Western Europe. Given this diversity, what communities should one choose if one’s aim is to achieve a broad understanding of the phenomenon? In order to avoid an over homogenizing approach to the analysis of migration, I narrowed down the analysis to two case studies. I thus start from a heuristic assumption that by taking two villages that are distinct, I will understand their internal dynamic of migration and moving back to an abstract level, I can thus understand the migration dynamics in the country.

The first step is to use quantitative data to identify the cases. Three main sources of information guided me in the selection of the sites for fieldwork:

- The quantitative data available at village level,
- The hypothesis of the research project, and
- The existing literature on Romanian migration.

In 2001 the International Organization of Migration (IOM Bucharest) coordinated a research entitled “The Study of Migration at the Community Level” (for a detailed analysis see Sandu 2000). As part of the research, questionnaires were sent to all 12,700 villages in Romania, and the results were collected in a database made available to all the participants in the project. This quantitative data provided me with information about the number of migrants, the prevalence rate<sup>11</sup>, the main destinations of the migrants, the distance to the nearest city or town, and the demographic, religious and ethnic structure of the population.

With regard to the expectations and needs of the research, I wanted to conduct fieldwork in regions and counties where very little research had previously been carried out. In this sense I chose the regions of Dobrogea and Transylvania. This gave me a first delimitation of the regions. When looking within these two regions I compared the prevalence rates and decided to focus on the counties of Tulcea (in Dobrogea), and Bistrița-Năsăud (in Transylvania) and then further narrow the search by choosing the villages with the highest prevalence rates in each county. The prevalence rate needs to be understood in the context of each county. The prevalence rate correlates with the history of migration. The existing literature on Romanian migration (Diminescu 2003, Michalon 2005, 2009, Potot 2002, 2007, Sandu 2000, 2004) analyzes the different histories of migration at a regional level. The literature shows us that Moldavia and Transylvania have a longer history of migration, whereas Dobrogea and Muntenia have a shorter migration history. Because I wanted to compare regions with different histories of migration, and because Transylvania has a longer history of migration than Dobrogea does, it was already expected that the prevalence rate would be higher in the Transylvanian villages. However, choosing communities with a high prevalence for their context allows for comparability.

The quantitative data illustrated that the village from Bistrița-Năsăud with the highest prevalence rate had a majority Hungarian population. This posed a problem, as the ethnic Hungarian population has a prevalence migration to Hungary and this type of migration is a very particular one. Comparing it to a community with migration to Spain, Italy or the United Kingdom would be highly problematic. Therefore, I decided to focus on the village of Feldru, which has the second highest migration prevalence rate in the county. In Tulcea County I chose the village of Luncavița, one of the villages with the highest migration prevalence rates

---

<sup>11</sup> Massey defines the prevalence rate of migration “for every year [...] as the number of people with international migratory experience divided by the number of people alive. It can be calculated retrospectively for any year in the recent past given just two pieces of information about every community member: date of birth and the date of his or her first foreign trip” (Massey 1994: 1495). This “provides a simple indicator of how widespread migratory experience has become at any point in time” (ibid.). Also, it is used for comparing communities and it is a very strong indicator of future migration.

in the county. Similarly, in Dobrogea there are villages of Turks and Tatars with high migration prevalence rates, but to allow for comparability I decided to avoid cases that would have very particular characteristics.

With regard to the emergence of migration, the literature on the Romanian case shows us that the neo-Protestant and German ethnic networks have played a significant role for migration (Michalon 2009, Sandu et al. 2004; Şerban and Grigoraş 2000). Therefore, I was also keen to have a neo-Protestant and/or a former ethnic German community in one or both of the villages<sup>12</sup>. Choosing the county Bistriţa Năsăud was relevant because there had formerly lived a German ethnic community. On the religious composition I did not have any data, therefore it was important to know that at least I had a high probability of having networks that used their German acquaintances in the first migration departures. All these variables underlined my choice of the villages Luncaviţa and Feldru.

### **The fieldwork research**

With regard to the term “field” as Olwig (2007) shows, it “calls to mind an enclosed territory”. Migration research in particular requires a multi-sited fieldwork at the origin and the multiple destinations of the migrants, including both migrants and non-migrants who may still be very relevant for the emergence of migration projects. The names of geographical locations and villages, towns and regions that will reoccur throughout the text are: Luncaviţa, Feldru, Palau (Santa Maria de Palautordera), Alcalá de Henares, Meco, Arganda del Rei and Barcelona and Madrid. However, these are not just points on a map and as Olwig mentions, they have to be understood in relation to each other. The migrants from Luncaviţa go to Palau (Santa Maria de Palautordera), close to Barcelona, and I conducted fieldwork both at the origin and at the destination. As I will show, the migrants from Feldru are spread throughout Spain, and I decided to limit my fieldwork to the communities around Madrid: Alcalá de Henares, Meco and Arganda del Rei (See Map 2: Fieldwork locations in Spain, pp. 49). As a clarification for the reader, when I refer to migrants in Luncaviţa and in Palau, the population to which I refer is the same: the Luncăviţeni. Similarly, the migrants from Feldru to Alcalá de Henares, Meco and Arganda del Rei are the Feldrihani. All this does not mean that in the locations mentioned in Spain there are only Luncăviţeni and Feldrihani and not other

---

<sup>12</sup> The choice Transilvania, as an area where there had been ethnic German communities was determined by the fact that most of the ethnic German population from Romania left in the 1960s for Germany in response to an agreement between the Romanian and German States. Even if absent from the community, the ethnic Germans kept in touch with the population from their former communities and provided the first invitations that enabled Romanian emigration to Germany and Austria immediately after 1989.

Romanians. It is just that the Feldrihani and Luncăvițeni constitute one of the dominant populations of Romanians at these destinations. Therefore, Luncavița and Feldru constituted just the first locations from which the research grew to encompass ties to different locations across Spain.

I conducted three pieces of fieldwork in each community (for a detailed presentation of the aims of each fieldwork, population investigated, interview guidelines and themes of interest; see Appendix 3 – Fieldwork Methodology, pp. 193). The fieldwork trips in Romania took place in 2005 and 2006. Because I wanted to interview persons who had experienced migration and moreover who were still migrants, I conducted the fieldwork in Romania at times when many migrants were at ‘home’: Christmas and New Year’s Eve, Easter and the month of August<sup>13</sup>. In the fieldwork I did not interview potential migrants, I only focused on current migrants and only some of the pioneers are return migrants.

The first fieldwork trip, which was a reconnaissance trip, allowed me to scheme out the community, and decide whether to progress with the research or not. At that stage I conducted in-depth interviews with local authorities and other people who possess information about the village, such as school teachers, priest and pastors from other churches and confessions, small business owners and so on. In the following fieldwork trips I conducted narrative biographical interviews with migrants, adding up to a total of about 60 interviews (for more details see Appendix 2 – Respondents to the interviews, pp. 186). The ongoing participant observation in the villages facilitated me to gain knowledge of the perceptions people from the village had about migration and thus to explore the emergence of a culture of migration (Kandel and Massey 2002; Heering et al. 2004; and Fuglerud and Engebriksen 2006; Evereti and Zontini 2006).

The subsequent stage was to follow the migrants to their destination communities in Spain where I conducted fieldwork in 2007. The migrants from Luncavița are mainly located in Santa Maria de Palautordera, whereas the migrants from Feldru are located in satellites of Madrid such as Arganda del Rei, Alcalá de Henares and Meco. In the fieldwork trip in Spain I conducted narrative biographical interviews with migrants. At the same time, I also conducted expert interviews with people who had relevant information on Romanian migration to Spain. This group included the priests or pastors in the migrant communities (e.g. the Orthodox priest in Alcalá de Henares), heads of school and Spanish employers of Romanian migrants (for a detailed listing of all the interviews see Appendix 2 – Respondents to the interview, pp. 186). The selection of the migrants that I interviewed was based on

---

<sup>13</sup> August is a popular holiday month in both Spain and Italy and many migrants return to their home communities at this time.

snowball sampling and availability<sup>14</sup>. At the same time I tried to make sure that each sample included migrants of different ages, a balance of men and women, migrants going to different locations in Spain, and representative for all the observed patterns of migration from the village. There are 30 interviews with migrants from Luncavița out of which 16 women and 14 men. Regarding the destinations of the interviewed migrants, 22 of them go to Spain and eight to other destinations: Greece and Italy. With Feldrihani, I conducted 24 interviews, 14 with women and ten with men. Out of the 24 interviewees, three had a migration experience to Ireland, Italy and USA, and the rest of 21 were migrants to Spain.

I began all my interviews with migrants by simply asking them to tell me their life stories. All of them outlined the main events in their life and because they knew from before my interest in migration, focused on the migration story. The length varied from a quarter of an hour to more than one hour. When migrants appeared to be stuck and also when they diverted to very different topics, I would try to reformulate their sentences about migration and ask for more details, ask for clarifications and/ or supplementary information on topics which did not occur in the interview, but were of interest to me (for a list of the questions which I had prepared as follow-ups, see the Appendix 3: Fieldwork methodology which has detailed presentations for each of the four Fieldwork trips, pp. 193).

---

<sup>14</sup> The sample was put together based on availability; nonetheless, I organized my trips according to the migrants' schedules and their trips to Romania.

## MAP 2: Fieldwork locations in Spain



Several methodological questions formed the starting point for this PhD project: how do empirical evidences contribute to theory and what is the sequence in which the hypothesis takes shape: before the fieldwork or in contact with social reality? How does a new theory appear? What is the contribution of sociological research, of the social reality with which we are in contact, and which is the importance of the already existing literature, as well as the personal background of the researcher?

The initial aim was to use the grounded theory approach. As I researched this methodological approach I began to see both its advantages – the empirical foundation for theory, the four categories of analysis: conditions, interactions between actors, strategies and tactics and consequences (Strauss 2003: 28) – and at the same time its disadvantages – the fact that it starts from an assumption of *tabula rasa*. In other words, the researcher goes into the fieldwork and aims to discover a population and a phenomenon. Only in the forthcoming fieldworks will s/he use the information from the previous ones. The opposite is true for the life stories approach which is based on the contextual understanding of knowledge production.

To conclude by answering the questions set out in this chapter, present and future research should make the greatest contribution possible to advancing the existing knowledge in migration research, narrowing it down to specific case studies and addressing new questions. Nonetheless, qualitative research is based on hypothesis and uses pre-existing expertise through all the stages of research. There should be a constant back and forth movement from assumptions to the fieldwork and afterwards a redefinition of assumptions. It is not useful to force the assumptions onto the material, and at the same time it is not useful to underestimate or deny the existence of assumptions.

## **CHAPTER IV: Migration Narratives: The Analysis of the Migration from Luncavița and Feldru to Spain**

Migration is a multi-level process, and one can focus on different units of analysis. The present thesis looks at the community, the family and individuals in order to understand Romanian migration patterns to Spain from two villages. Because the research is based on narrative biographical interviews, the analysis constitutes a narration in itself. However, only the interviews as such are stories of the migrants – themselves a constructed reality – whilst the presentation of the migrant communities is a narrative, my construction of migration from the two villages according to the way I perceived it during the fieldwork and reflected on it later on.

The present chapter has *three directions of analysis*. When examining the literature, I noticed that the literature on transnationalism looks at the impact of migration on the origin and the receiving communities. Another body of literature refers to the initiatives of home governments to take advantage of their diasporas and access their resources (Brand 2006). All these refer to the conditions necessary for the emergence of transnationalism: the development of communication and transport that enables rapid movement across national borders and even continents (Glick-Schiler, Basch 1995, Faist 2000, Portes et al. 2002). Very little attention is paid to the logic of the emergence of transnational fields. My assumption is that the structure of opportunities at the origin influences the development of transnationalism. Therefore, my first objective is to explore the socio-economic and cultural contexts in the migrants' communities of origin in which transnationalism is shaped. In order to do this, I will present the economic, political and socio-cultural characteristics of the two villages. I will conclude this part with a reflection on the attitudes of local administrative bodies towards migration. This represents a significant actor in the facilitation or inhibition of transnationalism.

The literature on Romanian migration (Potot 2002, Sandu 2005b) accounts for the emergence of transnationalism in Romania. I will present four migration projects in order to examine whether we can observe an emerging transnationalism in the case of either or both villages. The qualitative approach to transnationalism and to a certain extent the choice of putting figures on a secondary position when analysing transnationalism derives from the idea that transnational migration does not mean that there is a critical mass of people who migrate; more important are the types of relationships between those people and their connections or affiliations to their home town.

Massey et al. (1994) suggest that if when one analyses communities, they appear as different, than it is necessary to look at them in a longitudinal perspective, as if they were at different stages in the same evolution of migration. Following this approach, I will investigate whether the two villages in the present analysis have divergent migration patterns or if the migration patterns are converging in time. In order to address this question, I shall delve in detail into the migration narratives of the two communities, based on the migrants' practices over the past twenty years, and further on specify the stages of migration. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the analysis is based on the fieldwork research I conducted between 2005 and 2007 in Romania and Spain.

What are the economical, political and socio-cultural contexts in which transnationalism emerges? How have the patterns of migration evolved over time? How do migrants internalize the differences in the context from the community of origin and develop migration projects? What are the migration projects of the migrants in the two Romanian villages? What can a family unit tell us about the migration patterns of a village? These are the questions that I will answer in the present chapter. The chapter is organized into four main parts. Firstly, I present the contexts from the origin in which migration is 'nurtured'. This does not explicitly refer to migration, however, this is the context that hosted the development of the phenomenon. Secondly, I take the family as a unit of analysis and present two families and their migration. Thirdly, I present migrants' own narratives of migration and all these layers contribute towards the migration patterns from the two villages. The background narrative is formed by my own fieldwork experience and reflections both during the fieldwork and later during the data analysis. There will be a continuous movement between the sections as they very much interact with and depend on each other. There are many repetitions between the layers which have to be considered reinforcements rather than redundancies. Both the migrants' projects and the migration of the two families are embedded in the contexts from the origin, and contribute towards the stage approach to migration.

#### **IV.1 Context in the origin community**

Migration decision making is not an individual process; it is very much embedded in community structures. In addition to individual characteristics that most migrants, especially pioneers, possess, like strength and spirit of adventure, and also a certain economic status; community characteristics play a significant role in the development of migration. In the following part I will tease out and identify the characteristics of the two communities, distinguishing between three dimensions: socio-economic, cultural, and geographical parameters. The community narratives build on the economic, political and socio-cultural

contexts in which migration, among other phenomena, is accommodated and migrants self-select. These dimensions are not distinct and there are correlations between them.

The literature shows that “the social structure of the community and the experience of internal or external migration function as blocks of final variables, with indirect influence on the transnational migration phenomena” (Sandu 2005b: 557). Therefore, I will now present the milieu in which migration has emerged.

#### *IV.1.1 Location factors*

As Demolins (1901) said: ‘The road makes the social type [life]’. The relation between proximity to a European, national or main road and migration has been previously explored in Sandu’s 2001 study: “The relation between the isolation of the village and migration abroad is indicated by the distance between the village and the closest town as well as by the location of the village within the borders of the country. The farther the village is located from a town and the closer to the edge of the county – areas poorly served by public transport, health care and postal services – the lower the rate of circular migration abroad. The findings confirm that migration is a phenomenon of human communication stimulated or hindered by the presence or absence of other communication forms” (Sandu 2005b: 569). Whilst the distance to the nearest town is similar for the two villages in our analysis, the quality of roads that passes through the villages and access to public transport differs.

The variables road quality and access to public transportation correlate. The roads in Romania are separated in four types: communal, county, national and European roads. The communal roads are not paved, some of them are covered with stone, and others are still earth paths (see the Appendix 7: Visual fieldwork, pp. 206). There are no buses either private or state owned going on these roads, even if some remote villages are still connected to the main road or to the nearest town by such a road. The county and the national roads are paved, however they are peripheral and there is little traffic going on. Usually private bus companies use these roads to connect some villages. The state owned bus companies cover only the main routes which are most of the time European roads. And the private companies came to complement the state companies by expanding the network. Private busses thus pass both on the European as well as the county and national roads. Regarding the cost and frequency of the buses, the services provided by the state and private companies are very similar. It is only that the villages crossed by a European road have more available busses and better connections. In this context the type of road passing through the village is very significant for the connection to town. It is important to mention that most Romanian villages are constructed along one road which has then small ramifications. Both Luncavița and Feldru

follow this spatial organization. As mentioned earlier, the two villages are different with respect to the type of road passing through and public transportation.

Feldru has better access to public transport due to the fact that the European road from Bistrița to Sângeorz-Băi (the closest small town and also a mountain resort) passes through it. Both state and private buses pass through the village, connecting it to the other towns in the county. Luncavița, on the other hand, is crossed by a national road and has a very poor infrastructure with only private buses passing through the village. In order to get to Galați, the nearest city, one needs to go to the European Road which is five kilometres away, and from there take a bus.

Access to transport not only influences the development of migration, but is also influenced by it. In Feldru, one former migrant has started a transport company which has buses that leave every week and take migrants directly to the villages in Spain. This has had a huge impact on the circulation of migration, on remittances and the parcels that migrants send home by reducing the associated costs.

#### *IV.1.2 Socio-economic milieu*

In this dimension I refer to characteristics such as social and economic capital that can be activated by migrants in their migration projects. Whilst these are characteristics of migrants, they are also resources that can be transferred between migrants and converted into other forms, according to Bourdieu (1985). For example, if A has economic capital and A is friends with B, then B can 'borrow' economic resources from A. Similarly, if C has ties with X and C is friends with D, D can also access C's ties to X. Also, the economic capital is not only an attribute of individuals, but can be measured at the community level.

An important community variable which correlates positively with migration evolution is the level of development of the community (Massey 1994). Migration presupposes a mobilization of resources which is possible first in richer counties and only secondly in poorer counties. The same situation occurs at an individual level: within counties or villages, richer people are among the pioneers and then as the costs of migration decrease, migration becomes more available to others. However, this section is concerned predominately with the community level of development.

Luncavița is a village in the south-east of Romania, in a region called Dobrogea. It is close to the Danube and the river has been an important source of income through fishery for many years. There are two bigger towns near the village: Tulcea which is 50 kilometres away and Galați which is 20 kilometres away. In spite of Tulcea being the county capital, it appeared that Galați plays a more important role for the everyday lives of the migrants and

the other Luncăvițeni – buying or selling products at the market, access to means of transport like trains or buses, studying and other activities. The distance to the nearest towns is very relevant to the labour market and also to education. The rather close distance to Galați and Tulcea has made it possible for people to commute to either of the two towns. During communism, industry was highly developed in both Tulcea and Galați and many people from the surrounding rural areas were attracted to the work opportunities there. At the same time, agriculture and fishery in the village were also highly developed. These factors combined meant that people in Luncăvița did not need to migrate for work to other parts of the country, the only form of migration being commuting to one of the neighbouring towns. In this context, migration emerged only after 1989. The almost non-existent history of migration meant that people were less open to migration.

The table below illustrates the economic activities that the people from Luncăvița were engaged before and after 1989. This is correlated both with the economic development of the village and also with the history of migration, whether internal and commuting, or international.

**TABLE 1: Occupations and small businesses in Luncăvița**

<b>Before 1989</b>	<b>After 1989</b>
<p><b>Local activities</b></p> <p>People worked the land in the agricultural cooperative. There were fishermen (before the lake was drained in the 1980s).</p>	<p><b>Local activities</b></p> <p>The main source of incomes is agriculture and keeping livestock (agriculture fields are under the administration of the town hall, but they are rented out to some farmers who applied for grants from the International Monetary Fund, or other European funds. There are around 50 to 60 people who are contracted to work on these farms).</p>
<p><b>Extra-local activities</b></p> <p>There were workers at the shipyards in Tulcea and Galați – history of commuting</p>	<p>Local industry (46 commercial units) employs around 34% of the inhabitants in pottery, furniture, clothing (there are enterprises run by Turks, Italians and Koreans in the neighbouring towns of Măcin and Tulcea, but also local enterprises).</p>

**Extra-local activities**

Construction which involves commuting to neighbouring towns.

Feldru is situated in the north-east of Transylvania, 40 kilometres from Bistrița, the county capital, which is the biggest town in the area and which used to play an important role in the life of Feldru. Many people in the village recalled that every morning there used to leave nine buses from the village with workers commuting to the big industrial platforms on the outskirts of Bistrița. Because it is located in the mountains, people do not have gardens and the climate is not favourable for agriculture. Therefore most people keep animals. At the same time, they used to migrate to Banat or Dobrogea for agricultural work in autumn. This allows us to infer that there is a history of migration in the area. Another element which reinforced migration was the presence of the Germans in the county before the mid 1970s. The ethnic Germans returned to Germany at that time, however, there were ties maintained with friends and colleagues from the Romanian villages. They facilitated the emigration from Transylvania, in general, twofold: firstly, from a psychological perspective migration became an accepted strategy to be followed and secondly, in pragmatic terms, the Germans who had already emigrated provided invitations that allowed people to obtain visas to enter the Schengen Space before 2002, and also find jobs later once at the destination. At the same time, the historical and ethnic context provided the means for the emergence of migration, and accordingly a culture of migration. The role played by Germans in the emergence of migration is explained in greater detail below.

Again, I present a table with the areas of economic activity in the village Feldru, which I will put in relation to the history of migration and the economic development, as already mentioned above.

**TABLE 2: Occupations and small businesses in Feldru**

<b>Before 1989</b>	<b>After 1989</b>
<b>Extra-local activities</b>	<b>Local activities</b>
Five buses used to go from the village to industrial sites in the county every morning.	Several small businesses have opened: Plastics in the 1990s
The industries were: mechanics/car repair garages, heavy industry, electrical appliances, carpets (Beclean), ferrous metallurgy (Promet Siderurgia, Laminor),	Over ten wood manufacturing businesses: sawmill/frame saw, timber manufacturing since the 1990s
	Four furniture businesses.

plastics, clothing and mining in Rodna (the mine gradually reduced its activity beginning in 1993 and was shut down completely in 2000. It carried out complete mining of copper and gold).

Two car repair businesses.

Four civil construction businesses.

Two plumbing and electrical installation businesses.

One meat processing plant meeting EU standards which was opened with a PHARE programme in 1991, with a second one following in 2000.

Five bread and milk processing businesses.

In the case of Feldru, we can see that the most important sources of income pre-1989 were extra-local, which means that people had to commute in their daily lives. This caused people to regard migration as a natural part in their lives. Also now there are more dynamic economic activities in Feldru. People have already established small businesses and know about funding opportunities. This can be considered to be a consequence of the contact with western countries, not only as a financial investment, moreover as a change of mentality and a more entrepreneurial way of thinking.

Social capital is based on trust and reciprocity and is dependent on group relations (Coleman 1990, Lin 2001). I therefore consider it to be a community variable and of significant importance to migration projects. As shown in the theoretical chapter, social networks appear to be a necessity for any group which wishes to stabilize itself in relation to the outside. Different characteristics are used in this stabilizing process of closure (Bommes and Tacke 2006a, 2006b). For the Romanian migration, it appears that religious and ethnic structures of the population of a community play an important role in the migration process.

The data of a 2001 survey conducted in all Romanian villages “support the idea that at the level of villages with maximum prevalence rates, the proportion of ethnic and religious minorities among the total number of migrants is much higher than in those communities with limited migration” (Sandu 2005b: 565). Networks played a significant role in the migration from Feldru as previously set out. The two main bases on which networks emerged were those of religion and ethnicity. Migration emerged within the Pentecostal community and among those who had ties with ethnic Germans who had returned to Germany. Both these networks evolved over time to include people from the entire community: friends, neighbours and so on. The only difference between the two types of networks is that the latter is country specific (Germany or Austria), whereas the former is more extensive. Nonetheless, it could be also observed that people using the ethnic German network made contacts in the first

countries they went to – Germany and Austria – but later on when it became difficult to gain regular status in these two countries they reoriented to other destinations.

Ethnic Germans in particular played an important role in the migration of autochthons as many of them acted as intermediaries after their emigration to Germany in the 1960s (Michalon 2009). They sent invitations to Romanian friends in their former communities, which facilitated the departure of migrants. The ethnic Germans then hosted Romanian migrants in Germany and helped them to find work. The Feldrihani benefited from their emigration, whereas people from Luncavița did not have such opportunities as there were no ethnic Germans in that part of the country.

Religious structure is another significant element distinguishing the two communities. In Luncavița the majority of the population is Orthodox. In Feldru the variety of religions is much broader, including Pentecostals, Baptists, Greek Catholics and Orthodox. Presently there are migrants from all the Romanian confessions; however my fieldwork found that the pioneer migrants of Feldru were Pentecostals. There were already Pentecostal gatherings in Western Europe and these provided migrants with their first contacts. In this way, it was possible for following migrants to obtain support from pastors by obtaining invitations which helped them to depart more easily and get help at the destination. By contrast, there was not an Orthodox community in Western Europe and believers only gathered together once there was a critical number in the same location at the destination. Thus, the Orthodox migrants did not benefit from the same support networks as the Neo-protestants.

It can be seen that the religious and ethnic structures of the population are parts of the environment which have affected migration patterns of these two communities. Due to the fact that these characteristics distinguish different groups among the communities, they also created very strong ties among their members and to a certain extent, formed a closed circle of relations. Over time, in the context of migration, these ties and the reciprocity and trust characteristic of close groups have been activated to support migration.

#### *IV.1.3 Cultural context*

Because of my aim of contrasting the two communities, the cultural context is particularly relevant to the analysis here. By ‘cultural context’, I refer to the migration history as a crucial factor in enabling new migrations. In order to compare communities with different histories and levels of migration, Massey et al. suggest the use of an analytical tool called the migration prevalence ratio. The prevalence ratios from different years can be used as a proxy for the stage a community has reached in the migration process as outlined in the theoretical

part above. This means that the communities in question differ according to the stage of development of migration networks and, hence, migration practices.

**TABLE 3: Statistical data on migration for Feldru**

	Population 2001 <sup>15</sup>	Prevalence Rate 2001
<b>Feldru</b>	6,386	153/1,000

**TABLE 4: Statistical data on migration for Luncavița**

	Population 2001	Prevalence Rate 2001
<b>Luncavița</b>	3,856	38/1,000

Our field work revealed a rise in the intensity of migration over the last four years in both villages, with migration more than doubling in the case of Luncavița (to about 300 migrants) and rising to over 3,000 migrants in the other community. From the statistics, one can see that the prevalence rate of Feldru is much higher – almost four times the rate of Luncavița, meaning that migration is very widespread as a strategy in Feldru.

History of migration under the form of commuting, internal migration to the nearest town and return migrants from the cities (Sandu 2005b: 557) played thus a significant role in the emergence of international migration after 1989.

#### IV.1.4.1 Structural development of a culture of migration at the origin

The two origin villages of the migrants hold divergent attitudes towards migration. At one end is Luncavița, where migration is looked down upon and in the first interview I did with the mayor, he did not even acknowledge the existence of migrants. At the other end is Feldru

---

<sup>15</sup> These data are the result of an IOM research from 2001 coordinated by Prof. Dumitru Sandu. The research was based on questionnaires sent to all 12,700 villages in Romania. The questionnaires were completed by Town Hall authorities, policemen, school teachers and doctors. Based on the quantitative research, nine communities were chosen where in-depth interviews with migrants were conducted and the validity of the questionnaire answers was also verified.

where the mayor has established formal contacts with the village of Mecu in Spain where many Feldrihani are working (about 300 Feldrihani, according to the mayor). Now the two communities are twin villages. The village Feldru also has a website and migration features as a kind of advertisement, as being one of the main aspects describing village life.

The first interview I conducted in Luncavița was with the mayor. When I asked about migration as an alternative source of income for the villagers, the mayor responded that there were very few if any migrants from Luncavița. I was puzzled, given the data I had access to which showed a significant rate of migration for Dobrogea. This resistance to acknowledge migration reappeared later in talks with my host and school teachers. However, both my host and the mayor found it very easy to name people who had migrated abroad, or who lived abroad, and even mentioned one migrant, Nicu, who had taken 'all the good construction workers in Luncavița' with him to Spain. Therefore, it appeared that migration is not a desirable, nor a respected life strategy. It is important to understand more about the people who did not validate migration as a life strategy and why migration is not appreciated.

The mayor is a key person in the life of the village, especially given that Luncavița is a rather small village of just 3,800 inhabitants. The mayor needs labour force for various projects organized by the local council. In spite of this, he cannot pay wages that would be high enough to motivate people to stay in the village. In 2004 there was an initiative to start stone quarrying in a local site. Sebastian, a 37 year old migrant, had just returned from Italy when he heard about this opportunity. The mayor was keen to attract young men who had previously migrated and so hired three former migrants (out of ten available jobs), among them Sebastian. However, the quarry has never been put into operation. Recently, the mayor has received EU funding for the introduction of gas pipes in the village. During the same period, Doru, one of the pioneer migrants to Spain, started his own construction company in Spain. Whilst he was home visiting his family in Luncavița, the mayor invited Doru to discuss the possibility of subcontracting the implementation of the gas in the village to his newly started company. When I met Doru in Spain, he had already started organizing the logistics for building the gas pipe. Doru plans to have a business both in Spain and in Romania with his wife as the administrator and contact person, maintaining the connection between Romania and Spain.

As shown previously, Luncavița has witnessed very little migration before 1989. As a consequence people are used that one can find jobs in the village or its vicinity. This has made people less likely to migrate and also less open to accept migration as a respectful life strategy.

To sum up, the first accounts of migration in Luncavița from 2005 have been of denying the existence of migration. The mayor said that there was little, if any, migration

from Luncavița, a view shared by other people. The informal discussions with people in the village revealed the same lack of acknowledgement of migration. At the same time, the mayor did mention the migration of the best workers from Luncavița and his recruitment of workers and their families who had migrated to Spain. In other words, migration is accepted when it is a success strategy, while it is not mentioned if it is a failure.

As mentioned previously, the attitude towards migration in Feldru is totally different. Whilst preparing for the fieldwork I phoned the town hall to introduce myself and let them know when I would be visiting the village. When I mentioned that I was interested in exploring migration from Feldru, the mayor proudly said that they had a website that I should look at, adding that there were more than 2,500 villagers living in Spain and other countries. The website itself provides information about international migration from the village. All these factors show that there is a culture of migration in Feldru, whereas in Luncavița there is a weak culture of migration.

A further measure taken by the town hall to encourage migration is the initiation of a census of migration currently being conducted by a sociologist employed by the town hall. In the application process for regular work and residence in Spain or Italy, migrants need various documents from their home communities such as birth certificates, marriage certificates and so on. By having a data base with all the migrants from Feldru, the migrants' application process for documents from the community of origin would be much faster. However, there has been no indication that the town hall has any benefit from migration.

In the preceding paragraphs I have talked about the attitudes towards migration of the local authorities in the home community. What can be noticed is that in Luncavița the local authorities are still focusing on the return to the community with the aim of involving migrants, whereas in Feldru the local authorities are projecting a positive image and making attempts to facilitate migration. All these elements that I have presented – both the more objective with regard to the population, level of development, and infrastructure, as well as the more subjective attitudes towards migration – constitute the structural context in which migration emerges and that fosters or not transnationalism.

The argument of the culture of migration and cumulative causation resides in the fact that each event of migration creates the social structure needed to sustain more migration. Therefore, it is an argument about numbers, which can also be observed in the evolution of migration from the two Romanian villages. The appearance of a culture of migration resides in the increasing number of migrants. When they return to the community of origin, their presence in the public sphere determines an intensification of the discourse on migration. This theme penetrates in the public discourse and this brings about the acceptance of migration as a life strategy and the emergence of a culture of migration.

#### IV.1.4.2 Local authorities in Spain

Romania became part of the EU in January 2007, and Romanians who reside in various EU countries have the right to vote in the local elections from the destination. Given the significant concentration of Romanian migrants in some parts of Spain, their vote can greatly influence outcomes in the communities where they live abroad. In time, migrants might be able to influence policies towards migration from the destination. So far, Romanian migrants and especially the migrants from the two villages I study have not organized themselves in associations or parties.

During the fieldwork in Spain I conducted interviews with school teachers in the villages where the migrants were living, as these are directly in relation to migrants. The impression I got from these interviews is that the general attitude is one of acceptance and integration. The school director in Palau provided me with an overview of the educational programmes in relation to children of migrants. The school teacher explained to me that because the number of Romanian children in the school is not very high, they can spread them across different classes and therefore reinforce their integration. In a school of 400 students, there are only thirty foreigners, among them nine Romanians. There are no classes especially for Romanian or other migrant children; in other words, even if they do not speak Spanish, they will be placed in a normal class and have extra Spanish classes, a few times per week, according to each child's needs. Any child who is a newcomer, whether Spanish or with a migration background, will be assessed by an education expert and placed in a certain group accordingly.

From the interviews with the migrants I found out that there are different policies and programmes run by various town halls in Spain. Some regions have to deal with labour force shortages and therefore are more open to migration. One migrant to Palau had previously lived in the town Burgos, where migrants can attend Spanish classes organized by the town hall and are assisted in the search for a job. Similarly, in the region of Huelva, the local authorities have various programmes to assist migrants. Whilst many migrants in other regions of Spain talked to me about the importance of hiring a lawyer to help them in the application for documents, in Cartaya, the local authorities help migrants with their application, which saves them large sums of money. At the same time, in Huelva, the local authorities organize language and cooking courses with the participation of both locals and migrants. These measures aim to encourage integration and knowledge exchange within the larger community. In addition, there are many anti-discrimination campaigns.

Despite all these inclusive measures, in the discourse of the head of the social department of the town hall, migrants appeared solely in terms of being a labour force. He mentioned that 2007 was the first year that his authority had had to deal with a shortage of labour from Romania, resulting from the Romanian state's decision to reduce the number of contracts for work in agriculture. I asked him how they planned to deal with this situation and he explained that they have already made contacts in Bulgaria – a country with only a small number of migrants to Spain – and in Morocco to recruit workers. Therefore, there appears to be no interest in maintaining the same migrants, in spite of the existing integration projects. In other words, the local authorities function as recruiters of labour for local activities.

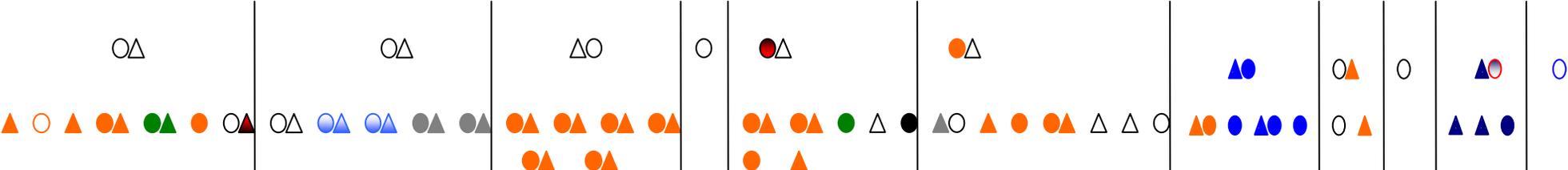
This part has shown the context in which migration emerged in the two villages. The narration moves onto the actual migration process observed and analysed at different levels. Due to the still traditional environment from rural Romania, the family plays an important role and I will start with a presentation of migration narratives portrayed by two family stories.

#### **IV.2 Family narratives: the Romanian migratory landscape as seen through family stories**

During the first two fieldwork trips, I familiarized myself with the two rural communities. The interviews from those field trips made me aware of the difference in the importance of the family in the migration process. This led me to take two family histories during the subsequent stage of fieldwork and create a visual representation of the families. At first, the two families appear to be different. In the case of Feldru, the members of the extended family are leaving to various destinations in Europe, with or without the help of the other family members. In the case of Luncavița, it appears to be rather like a network in which people are related, but not all of them directly. This naturally led me to question whether family ties are activated in some migration contexts, but not in others, or whether family ties are more important in different stages of the migration development and why the role of the family varies in different communities. The present section aims to give an account of Romanian migration from rural areas building inductively on the life stories of the members of two migrant families. It thus complements the general focus of the thesis on the comparison between two villages.

I will present the story of both families starting with a visual representation of each, the way the family members portrayed it and then move on to draw comparisons between the two families.

**FIGURE 1: Family tree for the Banu family from Feldru**



## **How to interpret Figure 1**

In the first generation, there are eleven siblings and their spouses. The second generation represents their children, some of whom are married. The third generation represents the grandchildren, only four, out of which two are married. The colours stand for the migration destination and the shape for the gender of the person, the circle marking men and the triangle marking women. See Appendix 4 (pp. 203) for a more detailed guide to the meaning of the colours and shapes.

### *IV.2.1 The Banu family*

Mr Abraham Banu (the fourth sibling in the family tree) hosted me during my fieldwork as arranged by the mayor. Abraham is a 54-year-old man and a former worker in a factory from the neighbouring town. On the last day I asked Abraham to tell me the story of his family. He liked to talk, so he was flattered and accepted.

It was a tradition in rural areas in Romania that the parents chose one child to stay in the home village and take care of the household. The ‘household’ refers to the land, the animals, the house as such and, most importantly, the aging parents. In the case of the Banu family, Abraham was the one chosen to do this. According to tradition, this person inherits the parents’ house, while the rest of the property is divided between the siblings. Most parents choose a son, because girls move to their husband’s house after marriage, while a son is supposed to bring a wife home. Mr Abraham is not married, and today has a large household and also looks after the house of a sister who works in Italy. Moreover, he also took care of her children when she was away and they were still at school. The first time I stayed with him, his brother Ioan (the fifth brother in the family tree) was also at home, and I was able to spend time with him and his family. It was interesting that although they helped me make contacts in the village and get in touch with people for the interviews, they were reluctant to talk to me, apart from small talk during lunch or other occasions. Moreover, Ioan’s son once said that he himself had tried to enter Ireland with one of his brothers, who lives there, and was rejected at passport control at the airport. His mother looked slightly angry when he mentioned this, told him he was silly and talking nonsense and changed the topic of the conversation. Ioan, the head of the family, was himself a former migrant to Germany and Austria, had often travelled to Spain, and presently imports cars from Germany and sells them in Romania. I tried to interview him several times, but never successfully.

The Banu family occupies almost an entire street of the village, on the right of the town hall, on a hill. All the land once belonged to the parents, and now it is divided between the eleven brothers and sisters. Some of them have left the community to move to the nearest

town, or to neighbouring villages, others are abroad and return to the community at least every year, and one sister married a foreigner and settled abroad.

I divided the tree into three generations: the eleven siblings (who are aged between 45 and 60), their children, and lastly the grandchildren, of whom there are only four and who are very young.

Of the first generation there are four people with an experience of migration. Among the remaining seven, there is one case of internal migration to another town in Romania, two deceased, two with no experience of migration, one who has failed and returned home, and one (my host Abraham) who goes abroad periodically, each time for less than three months, to make some money before returning home. His role is more concerned with taking care of the houses left in Feldru. In the second generation, there are 37 people (excluding spouses). Of those 37, there are 28 with an experience of migration; this leaves only nine who have not gone abroad. If we compare the absolute numbers for the two generations, it can be seen that the migrants from the second generation (the younger one) are significantly more numerous, which is logical. Nonetheless, bearing in mind the general characteristics of Romanian migrants from rural areas (Sandu 2005a), we notice that the number of migrants in this family even in the first generation is very high. There are two factors for the large number of migrants from this family: the ethnic ties and the religious diversity, particularly the fact that the Banu family belongs to the Pentecostal church. Migrants from the Banu family activated and used complementarily different types of ties. Social networks formed based on the different stabilizing factors are not mutually exclusive. People can access different social networks and implicitly different pools of information. Also, different types are more relevant for certain destinations; e.g. the ethnic German ties have been relevant for the departure and integration in Germany and Austria, whereas others are not so country specific. For example the Pentecostal networks facilitated migration both to France, Italy and Spain.

As it appears in the literature, ethnic and religious networks appear to be very significant in the migration process in rural Romania, significantly reducing the selectivity of migration (Michalon 2009, Sandu 2005a). The members of the Adventist, Baptist or Pentecostal denominations had links abroad that facilitated their emigration earlier than the Orthodox community. Many people even converted to such denominations in order to be able to migrate. However, when looking closer at the level of the nuclear families, we notice that the religious ties do not play anymore the main role, and the members of the nuclear families are clustered in the same place at the destination; i.e. the family of Magdalena (the seventh sister in the family tree) is in Italy, the family of Gheorghe (the first brother in the family tree) is in Spain, although Gheorghe has not migrated and so on.

During my second visit I managed to interview one of Abraham's sisters; Magdalena, however did not manage to talk to her husband who was one of the migration pioneers to Germany.

From the interviews I learned that the members of the first generation return regularly to the village, are building houses, and investing in their lives in Feldru. They believe that in a few years they will return to live in the village, however, this is very much intertwined with age, as the age range of the third generation is from 45 to 60 years. The second generation is showing a stronger tendency to invest at the destination: they have houses either in Spain or Ireland, have luxurious cars and rarely return to the village in Romania. When one of the 37 cousins arrived home, I spent an evening with some of them in a very modern kitchen, in Magdalena's house. Three of Gheorghe's daughters were also there. Two of them are in Spain and one has stayed in the village where her husband has a business. One of the sisters who is in Spain talked about her irregular stay in Germany and the fact that she could not go to her cousin's wedding in Italy: *'If the police caught me, what could I do, instead of having to come here to the end of the world I preferred to be stuck anywhere.'*<sup>16</sup>

What intrigued me at first sight about this family is that its members are spread across Europe. Was it a choice or an unintended outcome that over 40 members of one family are spread across Europe? The country destinations correspond to the destinations of Romanian migrants after 1989 and the different waves of migration. The countries that this family have emigrated to are: Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland and Spain. I was also puzzled by the fact that the family members are not clustered in the same towns or areas in the destination country. In Spain, for example, Banu family members are in Tenerife, Alcalá de Hennes, Meco and Valencia. I mentioned previously that the Pentecostals were among the first to migrate abroad, and the Banu family are Pentecostals. Therefore, it appears that in the process of migration religious ties prevail before kinship ones. In other words, the ties that the family mobilized were their ties to the Pentecostal gathering. These facilitated their migration and integration on the labour market abroad. As a consequence they are not clustered at the destination, although they do live in communities with other Pentecostals.

The members of the Banu family were among the first to emigrate from the village; brothers Ioan and Magdalena's husband were the first men who left Feldru travelling to Germany. They went there for work, moved between Austria, Germany and Switzerland and returned home. In this case, the ethnic ties facilitated migration. Presently, with entrance to Germany being visa-free, Ioan (the fourth brother) imports cars to Romania. In Germany he is

---

<sup>16</sup> This constitutes a note from the fieldwork in August 2007.

hosted by a woman who originally comes from Romania but is of German ethnicity. To maintain the link, he invites her to Romania for over a month every summer.

In the late 1990s Magdalena's husband had a harder time to find work in Germany and Austria, than before. Realizing that the prospects of becoming a regular resident were very slim and hearing about possibilities of regularizing his status in the South of Europe, he decided to change the destination. He was among the first people from the village to switch from the traditional destinations of Austria or Germany and go to Italy. He bought a visa for the Schengen Space, went to Austria where he still had friends and entered Italy as an undocumented person. He was followed by his wife who bought a visa to enter Italy. Subsequently, all their children followed as soon as they had graduated from high school. I was repeatedly told that although the children were very good and did well in school whilst in Romania, it was impossible to find work in Romania once they had left school. I carefully tried to find out whether they had in fact ever attempted this. Studies on Moroccan migration show that men do not even attempt to find jobs on the local labour market, but leave for France as soon as they have finished their studies (Sayad 1977). The situation proved to be identical here: each child would leave high school in July, and arrive in Italy at the beginning of August. Because of this, they did not try to find a job in Romania, particularly because their parents were abroad and could guarantee a job at the destination. Magdalena who is 51 years old works as a domestic help in several houses. Her husband and their sons work in the same construction company. The daughter who is also a domestic worker is married to a Pentecostal man from a different town in Romania. They all live close to Florence, Italy and apart from the married daughter, they all live in the same apartment.

To return to the family as a whole, we notice that there are migrants to Greece, Ireland, Italy and Spain from the third and fourth generations. Greece is a marginal pattern; two brothers migrated there with their wives, and the brothers helped each other with the migration process.

The majority of the cousins are in Spain, and left both before and after 2002, which implies that some of them bought illegal visas to enter the Schengen Space. The migrants from the third generation are already settled there: most of them have become regular, own houses there, and return to the community quite rarely. In the village everyone knows a migrant and moreover has a migrant in the household. After the first stage of fieldwork I was certain that there is a strong migration network, and I also associated this with a clear segregation of the Feldrihani at the destination in Spain. As a consequence, during the second stage of the fieldwork I aimed to conduct interviews among members of the same network and delimitate between the migration networks. This proved to be very difficult as people are scattered across different regions in Spain. The same pattern, as mentioned earlier, can be

observed with the Banu family whose members are in various places in Spain. This is the present configuration of migration, however, the first two migrants from the family – Ioan and Magdalena’s husband – went together to Germany. Also, each nuclear family is located as shown by the colours in the figure, in the same country. Therefore, migrants have been initially clustered and only later spread to different locations within the same country. For the departure of the pioneer, religious ties played the most important role. Further, migrants use a combination of family and religious ties.

It can be stated that migration appears as a generalized phenomenon in Feldru and that it has built a path dependency (Epstein and Gand 2004). The network to facilitate migration exists and in time migration gave birth to a culture of migration which has contributed to the perpetuation and growth of the phenomenon.

Presently, in Feldru, the presence of women in the migration process is equal to that of men. This is further evidence for the level of development of migration in this village, compared to Luncavița. In the second generation women used to follow their husbands. The presence at the destination of the third generation allows young women to migrate in a safe environment, following their parents or other members of the family. It is common that they meet men from Romania, and moreover from the same denomination, and marry once they are abroad.

To conclude, the destinations that the migrants from the Banu family migrate to are at the same time the most common destinations for other migrants from the village: Austria, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy and Spain. Accordingly, the patterns of migration of the Banu family are representative of the patterns of migration specific to the rural areas of Romania (see Sandu 2000, 2005a), and also grasp the evolution of migration from the village Feldru.

**FIGURE 2: The family Pop in its migration from the village Luncavița to the village Santa Maria de Palautordera in Spain**

Nicu, Doru and Luiza are brothers.

Nicu and his family Doru and Maria Luiza and Cornel



Cousins and their wives



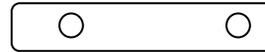
Mircea (Friend) Mircea's brother Friend



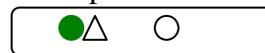
Maria's sisters and their families



God-father Brother

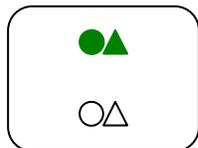


nephew with his wife and brother



Gabriel and Dana

Dana's brother and his wife  
(they are Doru's God children)



cousins and three wives



brothers and their wives



## **How to interpret Figure 2**

In this case not all the persons in the figure are directly related. There are siblings, spouses, cousins, aunts and uncles, godparents and godchildren and so on. All the migrants are in Spain in the village Santa Maria de Palautordera and in two more neighbouring villages. In green are marked the migrants I interviewed. Those families or persons who are grouped together are either living together, or helping each other on a regular basis. (See Appendix 5, pp. 203)

### *IV.2.2 The Pop family<sup>17</sup>*

Nicu migrated to Spain in 1999 with the help of a friend from a neighbouring village. The pioneer from the other village in Romania developed a network parallel to that of Nicu. I will not focus on it, because I did not investigate this network. Nicu started to bring members of his family step by step, first the men, who would then in turn bring their wives and children and so on. They are all clustered in the village of Santa Maria de Palautordera, close to Barcelona. Recently, they extended in two more villages close to Palau. To sum up, migration to Spain started based on a weak tie, and later grew to be based on kinship relations.

In the following part I will refer to the members of Nicu's family who are in Palau. What I found interesting is that when asked to speak about his family, a migrant member of this extended family referred exclusively to the migrants. A possible explanation for this is that he might have wanted to reply in accordance with my expectations, as I had made it clear that my interest lay in migration.

From interviews with other villagers I was told that Nicu is one of the best workers in the village, and has brought about 70 people from Romania to Spain. This is still a small number if we think about the extent of migration in other communities. Nonetheless we have to keep in mind that it was predominantly members of his family which he brought with him, and therefore the phenomenon requires a new understanding. In this sense, the size of the traditional extended families can explain the large number of migrants. During the fieldwork I found out that godchildren, third cousins and relatives of the nephews are also called family. Nicu first brought all his brothers and brothers-in-law to Spain. Over time the group enlarged to include cousins and godchildren and by 2005 Nicu had brought to Spain only one person who was not a member of the 'family': Mircea. Mircea is a man in his mid-40s whose family

---

<sup>17</sup> Given that this is an extended family and the story refers only to those members who have migrated abroad, members do not all have the same family name. The family includes sisters, brothers, spouses, sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, godchildren (symbolic kinship) with different family names but I will generically refer to them as the Pop Family.

stayed in Romania. He has a 16-year-old-son and an 18-year-old daughter and felt that it was not good to take the children from Romania and send them to school in Spain, nor was it good to be away from the family. Therefore, he decided to return to Luncavița. In the spring of 2006 when I met him in Romania, he was building houses for the other migrants. He said that he earned almost as much doing that as he used to do when he was living abroad. The income, and also the possibility to be with his family, made Mircea prefer to stay in Luncavița. The presence of only one person from outside the family in Santa Maria de Palautordera stands as proof that the group of migrants is selected by Nicu who, as he mentioned to me, only takes people that he trusts, namely, his family.

However, the last stage of fieldwork in February 2007 confronted me with a change in the group of migrants. During the autumn of 2006 Nicu and his brother Doru had started two construction companies. Some of the Luncăvițeni had started to work for them, whilst others had continued to work for their former employers. Nicu and Doru needed more labour force which led them to invite more Luncăvițeni to come to Spain. Friends joined the family group in Santa Maria de Palautordera. This contributed to the emergence of a migration network out of the former family migration. However, the opening of the two construction companies is not the main explanation. Rather, the emergence of the network is related to the growing number of migrants from Luncavița and also an increasingly positive image on migration. The existing migrants have already started building houses in Luncavița and this sends positive messages about migration as a success strategy. As a consequence, also the discourse on migration became positive.

As I have mentioned, Doru and his brother were the first Romanian migrants to start construction companies in Palau. Doru has a Spanish business partner, while his brother is the sole owner of his business. This marks an important change in the strategies used to migrate from Luncavița: it is only now that people from outside the family are being helped to come to Spain. Doru's plans are to have the construction company operating in both Romania and Spain. He thinks that by training Romanian migrants in Spain and developing a 'work ethic' in them, he can then send them to work in Romania where they will transmit this same work ethic to others. In this sense of having training in Spain and having workers that travel within the same construction company between Romania and Spain, and most of all by building a value system around work done in Romania to Spanish standards, Doru's case sets a path for a transnational project.

The migrants are very alike in terms of demographic structure. They are young, all aged from 21 to 43. They are married to women from Luncavița, and migrated together with their spouses and children or brought their children over later. The first impression is that all the migrants are in Palau together and there are kinship bonds that link all of them together.

When diving deeper into the fieldwork, one notices that the siblings are very close together forming small nuclei. These nuclei are comparable with the nuclear families from the Banu family tree. In spite of the differences between the two families, one can discover similarities, which account for the stages of migration of the two communities. In other words, the migration patterns of the Pop family are similar to the migration of the Banu family from a few years ago.

Before 2002 Romanians needed a visa to enter the Schengen Space which was very difficult to obtain. One strategy was to buy a visa on the black market. This however implied very high costs for migration: interviewees said that a visa used to cost the equivalent of €1,000-1,500. Nicu was the only individual from Luncavița who managed to buy a visa and migrate in 1999. 2002 marked a sudden growth in migration, reflecting the introduction of visa-free entry for Romanians in the Schengen Space.

It emerged from the interviews that the family has a very coercive role in migration by selecting who can come and who cannot. As I mentioned in the theoretical chapter, a group of people is stabilized by a self-reference. In this case the self-reference is the sense of belonging to the family. However, some 'unwanted' family members can become a burden and create a pressure on the existing migrants to be accepted and helped at the destination. It seems that family members who are abroad create rules to constrain the possible imposition of other members from the origin who attempt to migrate. The ones who are abroad call for a new migrant to come, host him (it is generally the men who come first) at the beginning and help him to find work. This negotiation between a non-migrant and a migrant was presented to me recurrently in variations of the following sentence: *"One cannot just show up here, first you call, you see if there is a place for you and then you can start to make plans."*

From the moment one decides to go to Spain to work to the actual departure there are several steps that one needs to follow. There is an entire sequence of events known to any person who comes from a village that has had some migration. One does not simply go to Spain. After the decision to migrate, an older person from the potential migrant's family talks to the parents of an existing migrant and asks the migrant to help by providing a job at the destination. If the answer is positive, then the potential migrant phones the actual migrant and finds out when he should go. There are many cases in which migrants have arrived in Spain on Saturday and started work on Monday. In the case of the network to Luncavița, there are very few cases of migrants who did not follow this sequence. During my fieldwork in Spain I only encountered one man who had come to Palau without asking anyone in advance. Other people in Palau criticised him for doing so and everyone agreed saying that this is not the correct way to migrate. Everyone was surprised at this type of behaviour and considered it risky for the migrant. Two families who share a flat let him stay in their living room. They

told him however that he should return to Romania. On the last day of my stay in Palau, I paid a last visit to Doru. He said he did not need any more workers, and could not hire this man, but he had got in touch with another entrepreneur and would try to help him. All of the migrants apart from the pioneer migrated in a safe environment and did not have to face any risks. They also questioned my own visit there, as I was a single woman who had simply arrived in Spain, without having a particularly clear idea of where I was going to go and what to expect. Many of the migrants in Palau have never left the village, in spite of its proximity to Barcelona and the coast. Those who have been there for a longer period of time – more than four years – go to the coast and have seen Barcelona at least once, but none of them has gone to Madrid or other parts of Spain. It could be argued that they are reproducing behaviour from the home village. Both in Spain and in Romania their existence is very local. The migrants travel only from Luncavița to Palau and back home. One can say that where there are strong and closed migration networks, the phenomenon has this character of strong territorial attachment.

Because the focus of the thesis is on labour migration, another set of strategies refers to the search for work. There is a clear occupational differentiation here between men and women. Men work in construction and women work mainly in domestic services. The fact that there are no women working in factories is proof of the fact that women have only recently been legalized. It is possible to work as a domestic help without having any documents, whereas in a factory it is necessary to be regular due to the police controls. Job-hunting strategies are gendered, reflecting the labour market. Whilst men are ‘called’ to come to Spain where it is certain that they have a job in the construction industry, women often come to be with their husbands and take care of them, to cook, and clean the house. Only after having arrived in Spain do they actively start to look for a job. The most common strategy is to use the help of other women who already have a job and then to gain the trust of the first employer who will then recommend the migrant to other friends and relatives.

Curran and Rivero-Fuentes (2003) show how gender networks play a differentiated role in internal and international migration from Mexico. Whereas gendered networks are decisive for international migration, with female migrants tending to migrate within women’s networks and men within men networks, for internal migration, female networks play equally important function for both male and female migrants. The proliferation of gendered networks in international migration can be explained by the segregated labour market at the destination. In other words, women find jobs for women and for men it is easy to find jobs for other men. This situation is similar to the case of Romanian migrants also. However, Curran and Rivero-Fuentes’s article does not mention the fact that there are cases when a woman migrates (that is, makes the actual move) in a network, whether that be a religious network, one formed by

family or friends or any other type, and later on looks for a job based on female networks. In other words, for Luncăvițeni, the migration network is mixed, while the network for job searching is segregated by gender.

The story of the migration from Luncăvița highlights the fact that migration networks function both in terms of facilitating migration and of restricting the flow of people and information (Elrick and Ciobanu 2009). Access to the family based network is restricted, there are gate-keepers and there appear to be clear rules concerning how one should behave in order to be accepted and helped in the migration endeavour. The situation in Feldru is different, due to the low selectivity of migration and the generalized access to migration networks.

It is important to mention that people play different roles in the chain of migration. Some have more power and can bring people to Spain; others can only 'put in a good word for a friend or relative' and others cannot do anything and are passive players. If a person does not respect his position in this chain, s/he is likely to be marginalized. The relations between migrants are very complicated and exemplify many power relations. These positions in the network structure are relevant for migrating in general, finding work and renting a flat.

One example of such complex relationships between migrants is represented by the story of Gabriel, a 29-year-old man who came to work in Spain with the support of Nicu. Nicu provided Gabriel with both work and a flat. Later on, Gabriel's wife Dana, who is 22, joined him in Spain. Currently, they are both regular. Gabriel works in a Spanish construction company where many Romanians have previously worked. Unlike many other Romanians in Palau, Gabriel did not move to the construction businesses owned by the Romanians in Spain after September 2006. In 2005, Dana's brother George also came to Spain with the support of Nicu's brother Doru. George came with his girlfriend, worked in Doru's construction team, and lived in the same flat with Dana and Gabriel. However, they were renting their house from Nicu. This situation of receiving help from different key migrants in Palau created a conflict. Nicu asked Dana to stop hosting her brother, as he had been helped by somebody else in his migration from Luncăvița to Palau. Dana decided to leave the house and they all moved into a different flat. This story shows the informal social order and the hierarchical structure of the migrant community.

A very close yet complex relationship exists between the first four male migrants to Palau. The first to join Nicu in Palau were Doru, Cornel and Ivan. Doru is Nicu's brother, Cornel is their brother-in-law and Ivan is Doru's brother-in-law. The three men stayed in a house rented by Nicu in Sant Celoni, a village five kilometres from Palau. After an argument, the three had to leave the house and stayed in the only hotel in Palau, for three months (See Visual Appendix, Photo six, pp. 211). I conducted interviews with these three men but not

with Nicu. Although he was willing to talk to me, circumstances made it difficult to meet. In the interviews with the other three men the fact that they had had an argument was never mentioned. This information surfaced in other different interviews. When I met Doru again, he looked at his wife and said: 'We had some problems and had to move from Sant Celoni'. I did not want to pry further. Nonetheless, this story again underlines power relations among migrants but also duties of respect and trust within the family.

I will now present various extracts from the interviews which all account for the respect and loyalty of the migrants to Nicu. As I mentioned, Nicu helped his brother Doru, his sister's husband and his brother's brother-in-law to migrate. Afterwards it was Doru who brought most of the next wave of migrants. In spite of this, all the migrants mentioned Nicu as the key person in the initiation of migration from Luncavița and as the person who helped them migrate. During the fieldwork in Romania, I was certain that Nicu was the most important figure in the Luncăvițeni's migration to Palau. When I got to Spain, I formed a better understanding of the relationships between the brothers. Doru now emerged as a significant character in this migration space. Moreover, it emerged that Nicu had distanced himself from the rest of the migrant community by moving to a neighbouring village. On the last day of my stay in Palau, I spent the afternoon in a park with six women migrants. While we were talking, one made a comment which did not seem to be related to any other part of the discussion:

*Whatever people say, if Nicu had not come to Spain, none of us would be here now (Palau, February 2007, female).*

While I was in Spain I met Mircea whom I already referred to as the only person from outside the family who was helped to migrate to Spain. I interviewed Mircea twice; first in Romania upon his return from the first migration experience and second during my fieldwork in Spain in February 2007. At our first encounter, he had told me that he would never migrate again due to his marital status and the children's age. I was therefore surprised and happy to meet him again in Palau. He explained that he had not intended to migrate again, but his brother had wanted to come and work in Spain. When Mircea went to Doru and asked for his help, Doru agreed to take Mircea's brother, on condition that Mircea came too as a qualified worker. When I had interviewed Mircea in Luncavița, he had told me that Nicu had helped him, whereas the next time he came with the support of Doru. I asked him why he had not asked Nicu for help again, given that they already knew each other and Nicu had also started a construction business. He told me:

*I asked Nicu for help in 2003 and then after eight months I returned to Romania. I somehow disappointed him, and did not feel that it would be right to ask him again (Palau, February 2007, male, 43).*

As migration grows, Spanish people are also being introduced to the network. The above mentioned hotel, where I also stayed in Palau, belongs to a Spanish family who has hired many Romanians. A particularly relevant detail about the hotel is that many of the migrants had stayed there before having found a flat. Moreover, when Romanian citizens needed a proof of hotel reservation to show at the border control when entering Spain, the hotel owner had provided them with this, regardless if they stayed or not in the hotel. After 2002, Romanians did not need a visa for the Schengen Space, but they had to present either proof that they could support themselves financially, proof that somebody else was sponsoring their trip or show a valid hotel reservation and return ticket.

The migration of the Pop family is not representative for the migration from Luncavița, but rather captures one of the important migration strategies from this village. Taking all the above points into consideration, it seems that Luncavița is at a different level in the migration process (Massey et al. 1994) than Feldru. Although there is a significant number of migrants from the village, migration is still very selective and is not available to everyone, as appears to be the case in Feldru.

#### *IV.2.3 Comparison of the two family structures*

The first question that I would like to address at the beginning of this comparison is what the people in the two villages understand by family. In both cases, people referred to the extended family. This includes spouses and siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles and so on. In the Romanian rural areas, the family has a more inclusive character. In other words, the marriage and birth godparents, and even their family are also considered to be part of the extended family. Moreover, during the interviews it appeared that sometimes alliances of symbolic religious parenthood (like the godparents) are made with the scope of migration. This underlines the idea that families are coalitions from which people try to obtain something. Another observation from the fieldwork was that sometimes people called someone a cousin and in reality the person was just a good friend. Thus, the term family needs to be understood in a very broad sense.

In the theoretical sub-chapter referring to social connections I made the distinction between families as primary groups and social networks. To some extent, there are similarities, in the sense that both of them are characterised by trust among the members,

although different kinds of trust. Moreover, the family is a primary group and it would be redundant to use a new term to name it. At the same time, there are also differences between the two. Because the family is a primary group, trust and duties inherent in family ties are much stronger than in a network. In the case of the networks, these are counterbalanced by reciprocity. We notice in this part that both families and networks play a very important role in migration, and moreover that their relevance for migration changes with the development of migration in a community. Therefore, the key element to explore, and to which I will refer in the following part is the shift from family migration to network migration.

There are differences between the two families. In the family from Feldru, the family relations are clearer and all people who have migrated are directly related; whereas in the family from Luncavița, the family ties are looser and not all the migrants are related. Moreover, in the case of Feldru, the structure includes family members who have not migrated but who have nonetheless played an important role in the migration process, whereas in the case of the family from Luncavița, the structure includes only the web of relatives and the way each member is connected to the others. The migration of the Pop family therefore shows the restrictive character of the migration from Luncavița.

The difference between the migrants from the two families refers to the age group migrants belong to and their marital status. Migrants from Feldru are of all ages and marital statuses, whereas, in the case of Luncavița, they are aged between 20 and 35 and are married. In demographic terms, the family of migrants from Luncavița overlaps with the third generation of the family from Feldru. As I mentioned about the third generation in the family migration from Feldru who are focused on their life at the destination; similarly, the Luncăvițeni are also investing in Spain.

Power relations appear more obvious in the migration from Luncavița than in Feldru. This can be explained by the more restrictive character of migration from Luncavița, whereas, in Feldru people can use various networks to migrate. This diversification of the networks playing a role in reducing the power tensions between present and potential migrants.

In spite of these differences, there can be also observed strong similarities between the migration experiences of the two families. To notice the similarities, one needs to compare the Banu brothers with the first four pioneers who migrated from Luncavița – Nicu, Doru, Cornel and Ivan. All these are pioneers for their villages and the ones who created in their turn other migrants. Another similarity is that when we look at one nuclear family from the Feldru village, they are all at the same destination, like the families from Luncavița.

At first site, the difference between the two families appears to be that the migrants from Feldru are scattered in Europe, whereas, the ones from Luncavița are concentrated in one village in Spain – in fact it is just an exemplification that the two villages are at different

stages of migration. Also, the type of ties people use to migrate plays an important role in the territorial dispersion. While family ties and a closed group make people cluster at the destination, the use of diverse migration networks are associated with a higher probability to spread at the destination.

What I hope to have shown is that the role of the family in the migration process changes, and that while kinship ties may be essential to the migratory process at its very beginning illustrated by the situation in Luncavița, the role such ties play becomes looser in more developed stages exemplified by the situation in the village Feldru. This is followed by a reintensification of the role of the nuclear family, when the members of the nuclear families live clustered in the same places. Luncavița, which has a bit over 300 migrants and has known migration for the past seven years still relies on the role of the family. Whereas, from the village Feldru the number of migrants is very large – about 3,000 persons – and the village has experienced over 15 years of migration to various destinations.

Migration became available to all Romanians in 1989, however it developed differently throughout the country in accordance to the context in the home community, as well as migration policies of the different Western European countries. The history of migration in the home communities is one of the significant factors that differentiated the development of the migration flow from the two communities. Feldru has a long history of internal migration and commuting, whereas, Luncavița has experienced only very little migration prior to 1989. As a consequence, migration became an institutionalized and accepted strategy much later in Luncavița than it did in Feldru. Even at present, in Luncavița migration is regarded as a failure to integrate on the local labour market. Apart from contributing to the culture of migration, the history of migration provided social links, trust and reciprocity among community members for the new patterns of migration. In Luncavița, all these aspects can only be found at the family level, whereas those who migrated with the help of friends or acquaintances experienced exploitation and failure in their migration experience.

It is important to consider how community members meet the cost of living. The answer to this question gives us an indication of the labour market from the origin and also of their reasons to migrate. In Luncavița I asked Cornel, a 28-year-old male migrant to Spain from the same network, why he had not left for Spain before, given that he left eight years after his brother-in-law had. He replied that at that time he had had a job and only decided to migrate when he lost the job. Most people in Luncavița look for a job in the village or the neighbouring towns at first and afterwards explore the possibilities to migrate. In the case of Feldru, the situation is the opposite. People no longer consider the possibility of finding jobs at home; the statement ‘there are no jobs in Romania’ has become an axiom. Having assisted

at many evening meetings of the Banu family in Feldru, I noticed that all their conversations were about life abroad, organizing trips and investing the money which had been earned either in Ireland, Italy or Spain. Romania does not feature anymore as a place where one could earn money.

In the introduction to this chapter, I argued that family plays an essential role in the migration process. I have presented one family whose members meet in the home community, keep in touch wherever they are, travelling to attend weddings and baptisms, but live spread across several countries, and a second family who is clustered in one village in Spain, and whose strategies with regard to migration are limited to the extended family. It is correct to say that family has always been an institution through which risk and uncertainty is reduced. In spite of this, as migration as a life strategy is generalized in the entire community, and as migration networks have become increasingly institutionalized, the role of the family has been reduced. Its functions and the characteristics of its relations such as trust and reciprocity are being taken over by networks. Therefore, the two communities are at different stages in the development of migration. To understand why, given a similar time span, the process of migration is shaped differently, the accent of research focused in a previous sub-chapter on the structural differences, of which the history of migration is most underlined in the family migration comparison.

Family relations in both Luncavița and Feldru also account for the emergence of transnationalism. People in these two communities go back and forth between the home and destination communities and start businesses at home and abroad, yet transnationalism appears to manifest itself with different intensities in the two migrant groups. In Feldru, buses take migrants from Feldru to the villages where they live in Spain. Migration is mentioned as an important life strategy on the village's website and Feldru has a twin village in Spain, i.e. the village Meco. Although migration is less intense in Luncavița, migrants are investing in houses in their home village. Also, five years after the emergence of migration from Luncavița, the mayor has invited a migrant (Doru) who has set up a construction company in Spain in partnership with a Spaniard to coordinate a project to introduce gas in the village. Such an enterprise constitutes an example of a transnational activity.

The fieldwork allowed me to confirm the hypothesis concerning the stage approach to migration. In the following two parts I will triangulate the family narratives with information obtained from other interviews to reinforce the inferences I have made so far. The differentiated role of the families stands as further evidence for the stage approach to migration. In the community where migration is very young, the role of the family is essential; whereas in the community with a long history of migration, the role of the family has faded in time or changed from functioning as a closed migration network and started to

incorporate more people from the destination also, which together with the large number of migrants determined a diversification of the destinations.

### **IV.3 Migrants' stories**

The fieldwork allowed me to distinguish between three types of migration projects. These types represent a synthesis of the migration practices from the two villages, bringing to the foreground both the similarities and the differences amongst migrants. In essence these migration projects account for the different levels of migration development.

There are three migration projects: firstly, the family migration from Luncavița which is slowly emerging into a migration network; secondly, the migrants who employ disparate social connections and who risk the most in their migration projects, also facing more uncertainties. These two patterns are to be found in Luncavița. Thirdly, there are migrants who use established migration networks based on religion, community, neighbourhood and friendship. This migration project accounts for most, if not all the migration from Feldru. In order to intervene as little as possible and for the reader to have an unmediated reading of the migration stories, I will now present the migration stories of three migrants each representing a type of migration project. The reader can thus have access to the actual interviews with migrants, the “raw” story as told by the migrant; however the reader should not forget that the interviews are a situation of re-telling a story and rationalizing a personal history in accordance with the present situation and the interviewer.

#### *IV.3.1 Cornel and Luiza*

Cornel, a 28 years old male migrant, was among the first migrants to Palau, Spain. Afterward he also brought to Spain his wife, Luiza 26 years old. They have a son, Dan, who also lives in Spain. The interview is from the fieldwork in Luncavița, Romania from August 2006.

***I<sup>18</sup>: Can you please tell me your life starting with you school years here in the village?***

Luiza: So, I went to school here, I went to a professional school because I was the youngest in my family and my father would not let me leave the village and go to the city. You know how it is like in the country side. So, after all he let me attend a professional school in Galați for two years, and I moved there for school. Afterward I returned home, here in the village, in the countryside. I started working in agriculture; I had the simple life specific to the countryside,

---

<sup>18</sup> “I” stands for interviewer.

just work. After, I got married and soon had a child. I had the bad luck that my father died, he was our main support. After he had died, we barely managed with money. It was very hard. For my mother it was also very hard. In the end, we had managed to send Cornel abroad to work. After he had left abroad, he managed to take us one by one and settle us there. My husband went there alone, and after a year he could take us as well and this is how it started our life abroad. There among foreigners it is very hard. It is hard because nobody knows you at the beginning. Also, it was hard with the language both for us and for the child. We first put the child in a nursing school. Soon after this I also managed to find a job. What can I tell you? Slowly, step by step everything started getting better and better. At the beginning, we were living with one of my brothers but each one of us, after some time wanted to have its own place, its own home. After a while we had moved alone, I work much better, I organize my things around the house, the child made it through and he is in kindergarten now. He speaks Catalan and the children there love him and he even tells me that Catalan is his language. When we left he was two years old only, and he could only say mother and father in Romanian; that was all. He had some difficulties speaking and his language is Catalan. Even it is harder with Romanian. We barely manage with him and doing the homework is also difficult for us, because he is struggling, he cannot speak Romanian, he is struggling to speak and....

***I: Can you tell me a day of your life there?***

Luiza: A day, for me starts at six o'clock in the morning. My husband has to be at work at seven and I have to wake up to make his lunch box, he does not come home at 12. He eats there at work. I just prepare for him the lunch box to take with him. After my husband leaves at half past six, I clean the house a little bit and I prepare Dan. I have to prepare the package for the child to take for lunch at school, the child's clothes, he wakes up, he eats, he has breakfast and afterward we are off to the kindergarten, at nine o'clock. The kindergarten is a newly built one. It is very close to our house and we leave the house at five minutes to nine and at nine we arrive there. After this I go straight to work. From nine to 12, I go to one house that I clean. Well, to be precise, I get to the houses at a quarter past nine and I leave at a quarter past twelve. I work three full hours. The persons whose houses I clean understood me, and it is not a problem if I am ten minutes late. They understand I have a child. A bit after 12 I get home, it depends because I work in some houses which are a bit further away. I clean different houses in different parts of the village or in the neighbouring villages. I get back to my house and I eat really fast. In the afternoon from one to four I go to a different house. At four I come back home and I take a shower, I take my child from kindergarden, I leave him with a Romanian friend and from five to nine I go work in this store, I work as a shop seller. At nine my husband comes to pick me up because I am dead tired after ten hours of work. We

have dinner at home together or sometimes we go out when I really do not manage to cook and he is also tired. All the time he helps me: he also cooks, he takes care of the child, or he cleans a bit. He comes from work at six o'clock. They used to work more but they thought they would much rather work on Saturdays in order to work less each day. During summer in constructions it is very hard as it is very hot outside. During winter it is too cold for them to work outside, but they have to work outside both during summer and winter. And in the evening we are so tired and we get to sleep at 12 or so, because we cannot manage otherwise. And the following day all over again, from Monday till Saturday all we do is just to work, work and work. On Sunday we agreed on making an effort and not to work anymore. At the beginning, my husband used to work on Sundays too. We would not have been able to manage otherwise. We were all three living from only one salary as for a while it was just him working. And we could not manage with just one salary with the child and me to support there. So, he had to work on Sundays also. We could not manage. We could barely live: pay the rent and eat, and that was all. But one does not go there only for that. Is it not? One goes there in order to be able to come home in the country and make something here because still we think all the time about our country here. We do not know for how long things are going to work there. It can last until tomorrow and afterward what do we do? Thus, we have to work, of course. My husband left since we could not manage otherwise. He did not leave because he was too happy. On the contrary, he left because he was too unhappy. Right after he had left, he suffered; it was very hard at the beginning. He was staying in a hotel, he paid the hotel, two weeks he sat the beginning, he did not work, he was going around by bike, and he was looking for work. My brother was in Spain, but he could not host him. My husband went to Spain with my brother-in-law and his brother-in-law, so they were three men. So, my other brother who was already in Spain could not host three men. They came, but he could not host them. Afterward they found a house. They were five people living in there. And after one year I managed with a lot of struggle to take our son to Spain as well. It was hard. One needs a lot of documents. So for one year, my husband was in Spain alone. That year when he was there alone was very hard for him. They were three men; none of them had the wives with them. They could not come home. It was hard. In fact, my husband could not come to Romania for four years and a half, four years and a half he did not come home. I already had my documents for Spain last year, so in 2005. My husband's documents were a little bit late but he said it is too late to come home in October and there is not any sense. In order to be able to start the work at the house here in the village, I came home last year and I bought an apartment in Galați and this year we decided to make a little bit of work around and to go back because the money you know how it is like ... It finishes ... you work for a year and you finish it here in one month ... yes. All the expenses ... it is very expensive the life here in

Romania. There, it is very expensive there as well but the incomes are much higher than here and your work pays off and is respected regardless of what work it is.

***I: Can you give me a few examples of expenses?***

Luiza: I will give as an example the child. We do not pay for the kindergarten; it is not a private kindergarten, so we only pay the food. If I let him from nine in the morning until half past four in the afternoon, than I pay the food. If not, I do not pay anything but I have to take him home for lunch and bring him back to the kindergarten in the afternoon from three to half past four. And if I work I do not have the time to do this, if I would not work I could have taken him. But still it is very cheap, €100 a month for food and if I am working, in one afternoon I can make over €100. I earn and I can afford to let him eat there. It is also very good that he can speak Catalan with the children there. He expresses himself really well and he likes it and he always asks what is the name for this, for that, how is this like? The other Romanian children are in school, so they only meet on week-ends.

***I: You said that you leave your child with a Romanian friend a few hours a day ...can you tell me more about this?***

Luiza: She is Romanian, from here, from Luncavița. In the evenings from five till six we leave him [Dan]<sup>19</sup> there at that girl's house. At six my husband comes home and takes him. It is good for her too, I pay her something, and she is at the beginning, she just arrived in Spain. You understand what I mean, because when one is at the beginning and no one knows her it is hard until she wins their trust ... So it is hard until she finds a house. The most important thing is that you have what to do. At the beginning when one goes there, one thinks that nobody will hire them without documents and no one will look at them even for cleaning their houses. There were some cases when Spanish people asked a Romanian whether they have documents so they would let them clean. And when one goes there for the first time one thinks, 'would you please help me find another house to help me pay for my food'. And if you found one house you can bet you are going to find another one. This happens of course if they start knowing you as a good worker. There are a lot of *extrajeri* and from one place to another the Spanish employers have from whom to choose, so they start trying out the new employee. When I went to clean for the first time they told me that for two weeks I would be on trial. If they liked me than I would be hired, if not, they would just pay me for those two weeks and that would have been all. After two weeks he said that it is good and I should come once a

---

<sup>19</sup> In square brackets are explanations that help the understanding of migrants' stories. In the flow of the story, and also in the interaction with the interviewer, some things might not be clear for the reader; for example, when migrants say 'last year', the reader does not know that the reference year is 2006, or 'here' could be either of the two villages, Romania in general or Spain, due to the fact that I conducted fieldwork in several locations. Therefore I make in brackets these specifications.

week, and later he told me to go twice a week. So I was accepted. Afterward, he asked me to go and clean also his mother's place, his sister's house and his sister's-in-law house. This is how it happened. Then, my child is very outspoken. When we walk, he says 'Ola, Ola' to the other people. And there in Spain, children are, how should I say this, they are above all, you understand what I mean? Because here, one would spank a child, but there you are not allowed to do such a thing. It is something strictly unimaginable. And because my child is so open and smiling to the other people, the people in the village started becoming fond of him. And this is how I came to find some other houses where I work as a domestic help now. I made some friends and I was passing by this store, the store where I work now. At the beginning I was washing the meat machine. After a year he needed someone and he asked me. I said I did not have any experience in selling, I speak Catalan very poorly, I do speak Castilian but Catalan is very hard and I speak worse than Castilian. Catalan is spoken in the region where we are in Catalonia this is how they call it. In Barcelona it is the area, how should I say this, just like the Hungarians speak it. As they are very close to us, there they speak Catalan and it is entirely different from Castilian. There are some words ... Catalan sounds a lot like Romanian, actually there are some Romanian words in Catalan. Yes and they took me at the store and now I have to start speaking Catalan because I do not, they did not tell me, people know me, it is like we were in this little village and the people know because you are an *extrajer*. And they speak Castilian to you. But the thing is that I got to Spain, and as I was working in houses I was not really interested in learning Catalan as such. And you do not meet other people, you are all alone, I even have my own keys to the houses I clean and I use them to enter in houses. I do my job, I lock the door; I rarely meet the people for whom I work. And I do not get the chance to speak Catalan. With whom can I get to speak since I work alone? But since I am working at the store I started little by little to learn. There are some old people who speak Catalan with me. And one learns a lot, not only Catalan, one learns a lot of other things. How to say? You know, I grew up in the country side and I did not have a lot of opportunities to learn lots of new things. But there I can see a lot of new things that I knew nothing about and I did not have access to them. But I learn, and I like it every day more and more. And my boss told his mother who is with us all day in the shop that she should speak with me in Catalan. You see it is a big shop and they have lots of clients, so the mother of the boss is all the time there to help out. And my boss told her that I understand Catalan, so she speaks all the time with me in Catalan. Of course, they also speak Castilian and Castilian I understand and I can speak without a problem. You know, they have the Catalan language running through their veins and for them Catalan is the most important. I went to this store when I had about five months of living in Spain. I was barely starting to speak Castilian, you understand. I was ashamed to speak because I was at the beginning, and I

was not so fluent. And the lady at the counter asks me: 'do not you speak Catalan?' I said I did not because I was there for such a short time. And she said: 'Oh, how can you not speak Catalan when you are in Catalonia? You must speak Catalan!' But to come back to what I was saying about the jobs ... The employers have to trust you, if you just walk the streets and ask around no one is going to take you. I went by bike in a village close by. I went at those agencies, the ones that one must have documents for. They were asking for documents everywhere and to tell you the truth an old man helped me, an old man on the street he saw me walking with the kid by my hand, I was looking for a flat to rent. When I had first arrived in Spain I had stayed at my brother's place as I told you, at Doru's. After eight months we decided to move on our own. We went there where they have many letting agencies, they are how to call them, real estate agencies, like that, but one would not find, there was a time when it was very hard to find a flat. If one would want to rent a flat, they would ask them for documents. But we did not have any documents at that time. So, all we could do was to kept asking people around on the streets, in shops, to leave announcements, there are places where one can leave an announcement with the telephone number and everything: "I am looking for a place to rent or I'm looking for a job", one can leave an announcement. But this did not work for us. And we were going on the street and asking around people and some of them would say "I honestly do not know but if I hear of something I will let you know". However, as I was walking on the streets I was all the time running into this old man. He saw me with my child always since I was not working at that time. One day, after a long, long time I asked him. And he said: "I heard something about someone renting a house, it is a free apartment". He said that we should check and see it. We went there to see it. It was a two floor apartment building: the ground floor and the second floor. I went to its owner but he said he gave it to an agency to find somebody to rent the flat. He said we should go on our own to the agency. The agency was in a different village, we did not have a car, and I did not know the village where to go to. It was very hard, you can imagine. My husband was coming late in the evenings from work, then he was working until seven and later than that and after that in the late evening he was going by bike to the agency. And once we decided to go there together. And they did not really want to rent us the flat because the people who had lived there before they had left it in a very bad shape, or maybe they had not paid the rent. I went there with my son and asked them nicely: "please trust us we are good people we keep our word, not just for the cleaning, I am going to paint it, I will fix it". Finally we were able to take the apartment. At the beginning I paid €1,000. One has to pay there when taking the flat in charge. I had to pay the rent two months ahead and the contract and only afterwards we could move in. If the apartment is all right in the end they would return us the money. But if the apartment is not all right they would deduct as much as they think from that amount of money that we had given

at the beginning. Now we have everything we need. It is a pretty big flat. We are satisfied with it. We pay a reasonable amount of money for it in comparison with the market price now. This was the story of how we found the apartment. I was really lucky and I have always thanked this man for having helped me and I will always be thankful. And this is how it was; he got to trust me and helped me. After, I said to myself: 'well look next to your house: there is this big house and they have a construction company'. So, I thought to try it out. I went to their doorstep, I rang the bell, and although I was very shy, the need made me leave the shame aside. So, I went to them and asked if they happen to need someone to clean the house. He took me to his office; the house was pretty big, with plants, a pool in the yard, and a yard a back yard which was pretty large too. And he told me to return the next day and start the trial period. The woman who had cleaned that house before me was older than me, and she had thought that because I was younger and I lacked the experience. But since I was coming from the countryside, I knew what it means to work a lot and I knew how to work. Now it is almost three years since I have been cleaning in their house. And also since I had started they gave me presents for holidays, for example for Christmas. They do the same with the construction firm; they give presents to the workers. It is very nice of them, but it is not only them. They do this also at the other houses. At some point I was cleaning in ten houses and I had received more than ten bottles of champagne, you can imagine. For Christmas I received sweets, *jamon* - it is pork leg, traditional for them. They gave us a lot of attention and when we moved in the apartment we did not have anything and they were the ones who gave us furniture and many other things. Now I feel very fulfilled and happy. People there have been very good with us. It is very different from Romania. In Spain people take their time to explain to you, they are very patient, they help you, whereas in Romania one go into a store and how do they treat customers? 'What do you want? Come on lady, move it faster, come on!' In Romania they treat customers very rude. But, I should tell you how I got to work in that shop. There is a family: the mother and her two adult children – a daughter and a son. They have a store together where they sell meat. I went there because I was shopping there. Next to this shop, they have another one where they sell fruits and all kinds of seeds, nuts, peanuts, things like this. I used to buy mostly fruits. And as I was going to the market there and all the time saying '*ola, ola*', they asked me where I was from. They are very communicative also and they talk to everybody. And they had asked me why I decided to leave from Romania, how was life in Romania. I told that it was hard, that people earned very little money and that it was hard to find a job. After a while, when I was going there not daily, but almost, I dared to ask them if they knew someone who needed a domestic worker. They saw me with my son and they knew me. So, after I had told them that I need a place to work, they said that did not know, but in case they heard of something, they would let me know. After a while the daughter of the

owner told me she would need someone to wash her windows of the stores every two weeks. This is how I started. At the beginning I was washing the windows. Afterward, they separated the *carniceria* from the fruits' store, so that now they have two shops one across from the other. And after they saw that I like to finish things fast they asked me if I would also clean their house. They also asked me if I worked in another house. And I said I was working in the house of Calan about whom I spoke. Calan is my neighbour who has the construction company and had put me on trial for two weeks. Everyone knows him in our village, you can imagine. She was surprised and as you can imagine she met Calan's wife and asked her, because Calan's wife had told me. Calan's wife and I talk a lot when we meet. We sit and talk a little bit about our things. And this is how I started going there once a week too. I am going in the morning, I am going there at the *fruteria* to sell fruits, they give me the key and I go alone in the house. I work for three hours, I give him the key back and they pay me. Besides this, there is also the little daughter of one of the sisters. I went to stay with the little girl. I usually stay for two hours every two weeks, from eight till ten at night. Sometimes they ask me to stay until twelve at night. And after a while the brother who owns the *carniceria*, he is the one who manages the *carniceria*, and he told me: 'Luiza, I would like you to come on Fridays and Saturdays and wash the machines, the windows, the crystals, to help us wipe the floor because we are very tired after we finish at eight in the evening and we work slower. So if you came help us we would not be here later than nine at night. We want you to come for an hour on Fridays and Saturdays.' I had been there for a year, a whole year when the girl who used to be working there could not come anymore. She fell into this depression and could not come anymore. So they asked me if I could go every day to wash the machines and help them clean. Of course I said yes. Why not, because I earn more, it is tiring you know to work day and night, for an hour is very tiring. Because I also live almost outside the village and they live right in the center so it takes me a bit of time to get home after work. But they looked for someone, how should I say this, they would not let anyone take that job. In our village people go to the town hall and put an announcement that they need someone for a job. They say for what the job is and how much they would pay. And people who want to work also put announcements with a curriculum and a picture. And people go there and check the announcements and find someone to work for them. At the shop, they had a girl before. She was more like a lady type, you know. She did not like the work because there were lots of things to do there. She found this perfume shop where she was a salesperson and of course she preferred to work there. And now that I sell in their shop it is great. And what can I tell you, I even sold to the mayor and I had no idea he was the mayor. And for me it is something great to sell to the mayor. You can imagine where I am coming from and now selling in a shop in Spain. After I had been working for a while and cleaning the shops, they told me 'why

will not you try it?' To me, it sounded more like a joke. I was laughing I did not believe it. I was an *estranjera* and afterward they asked me again: 'well if you do not want to, then whom could we get, recommend us someone?' I said I would have wanted to, but I did not take the offer seriously at first. And they were very understanding and they said that I can first try it, and they would show me how to do it. 'Ok, well I will try it out, so I will come for a week to try'. And I went there for a week. The first day I did pretty well, oh my God the first day, those who came and saw me there, I was making some mistakes, naturally. It took me a while to learn how to work with the machines. You see, there are also a lot of types of salami, a lot of types of cheese and I had no idea about anything, I did not know any of them. And I also had to take care with the slicing machine, how thick or thinn to cut something and to get it right. I needed to learn the number, some people wanted salami thinner, others thicker. But in time I learned the number and I manage to get it right. Besides this, there were also many prices I had to memorize. I stayed there for a week. They told me that I had to pass the test and they wanted to make me the contract. I was still nervous to accept the job and the contract. And also it is a bit hard to work every night. I wanted to have a night free to be able to do the shopping with my husband. When he goes alone he buys the things which are on the list, but he is a man. And they were very understanding with me and gave me Wednesdays off to be able to do my shopping for the week. When one lives in a city you can get all things at ones from one shop. When one lives in an apartment building, everyone buys everything. Nobody grows anything, not even one onion leaf or a tomato in soil, there everybody buys everything. I've been working at the store for six months. And of course after six months of work, one is not entitled to get a holiday. But still they made another exception for me. They have two more salespersons working in the shops, and they said 'oh my God, you are going away for one month and you know that you aren't entitled to'. I know this, but still had they not let me go on holiday, I would still have gone because I had known there were a lot of things to do home and I had to be here [Luncavița]. And there it is different. How should I tell you? Women there ... I will tell you my opinion as a girl coming from the countryside. There women go alone, they have their coffee, and they stay there in the bar, just like in the city. But here in the countryside it is really something different. How can a woman go alone in a bar or how can one see a woman going to the disco alone? There it is something normal, the woman goes, she drinks a beer, and they do not stare at you, look at that one she's drinking a beer alone. There people do not stare at each other on the street. Everyone wears whatever he or she wants to, everyone is free. It is good there. Here also there are people who have money, but you need a job, you have to have a place to work. And even if we bought this apartment [in Galați] we still have to pay here, pay there because they improved I do not know what for the apartment building. How can people here pay because we are talking about billions, how

can people afford it here? We think about it, I do not know how they can manage, what people can eat here. It is very hard, it is terrible and we compare the prices here with the ones there, they are almost the same. The salaries are not the same of course, there I am telling you, and one can afford to eat anything, to wear whatever clothes one pleases...

***I: You were saying that there are many other Romanians living there ...***

Luiza: Yes, there are a lot of us. We're spread ... where one can find flats to rent. And they live mostly downtown because there it is closer. How should I tell you, there are various apartment buildings, now they are building new ones and they put them out to rent immediately and they are also downtown or close by. They rarely build any at the edge of the village or so. There are many Romanians from here from Luncavița, but there you can find many black people and Moroccans. More than Romanians because you know how black people are, even if you have no relationship with them you are still their brother, they are all brothers, they always stick together. The Romanians are a little bit more, more, how should I say this, the Romanian when s/he sees himself there s/he forgets where s/he came from, do you see what I mean? They are a little bit more envious and even more when you come from the same village. If one has more than the other, if one got further than the other, this is how it goes. That is why it is good to be with the family. The family sticks together. I have two brothers there, Doru and Nicu. And my husband when he went to Spain, he went with Doru and Barbu. Barbu is brother-in-law with Doru, the wives are sisters. But you should ask me more things, otherwise I do not know what to tell you more ...

***I: What plans do you have?***

Luiza: What plans, the plans for future they are first finishing everything we started here, going back, for now we do not plan to move back to Romania because there it is very good and if things keep going well and we finish what we have to do here, we want to buy an apartment there so we would not have to pay rent because with every year the money for the rent goes away. That money goes away, and instead of paying rent we would have to pay an interest. And we can afford to pay the interest but it is too hard to afford to pay the whole apartment there and to do something in Romania. It is just impossible. I thought that after we are done with building the house here in Romania, what else do we have to do? There we still have a lot we can work both of us, buy an apartment and get furniture for it and it will be all ours.

***I: How about the documents there ... can you tell me more about it ...?***

Luiza: Yes, we were lucky with that law from last year in February [2005]. They gave a law through which they asked for some documents that you had to have been registered at the Town Hall. What else did we need, we needed a work contract. If we did not have a job, for example how it happened to me, to have at least 24 hours of work per week and so I had to

give them how should I say this, we made this table with all the houses I was working in. And we wrote what we had to work to have the three houses and 24 hours of work per week. And what else did we need for the regularization? I went to each of the houses to ask each and every employer, I went to all of them and they wrote, each and every one of them gave me their identity card, they signed and they wrote for me, 'well she is working for me that many hours a week' and I had to add up to at least 24 hours. They would not give me the documents for less than that. And even though I could have added some more hours because then there were people who said I worked for more hours than I actually did. I went to the authorities with the signitures from at three of the houses, I went there with their identity cards and they gave me the original document because that is what I needed. And with this *empatronamiento* proof from the Town Hall, the passport, I needed the passport and I kept making copies page by page and that was pretty much, well and some taxes that I had to pay and which are written in that proof of *empatronamiento*. It was necessary that a person had been registered at the Town Hall for least seven months. If one had less than seven months it would not have worked. The most important thing was this registration. And a lot of them, many people did not have it. And my husband also, he did not have that. I already had registered because my brother had made it for me where my husband was living, when I went there after a year, my older brother had, the one who lives here he had the apartment on his name. And he came with me and with our son and he made us both the registration. I also had at the beginning, I had a *tarjeta*, from the doctor and after a while after I saw that a lot of *estranjeros* do not have the registration, and they could not get the documents, there was a huge problem with that. So the state even had to pass a different law, saying that if they did not have the registration, people should prove it somehow, that they have more than seven months since they had arrived in Spain, without leaving the country. They asked for specific documents, not just anything, not from a bank, because one can get a bank account and not live in a country. It does not work with the bank, and there was this thing that if one had a child and s/he goes to kindergarten, before a certain date, before August, do you understand, in February they passed the law, they passed it and before next August they had to have that period of time spent here, do you understand? The child needed to be registered in school before August. And this was the case of my child. He was registered, I do not know when, I think in June. So we had such a big luck with this that it was this possibility. We asked from the kindergarten for this document. The head of the kindergarten helped us a lot, she made this document for us, she wrote it for me, she put a stamp on it and with that we both - my husband and I - could get documents even two weeks before the thing was closed. My husband went and applies and this is how he managed to get documents too.

***I: And from whom and how did you find out when they passed this law or the other law regarding regularizations?***

Luiza: Well from TV. They show it on TV, always about *estranjeros* and about Romanians in particular. There are a lot of Romanians living there, lots and lots of Romanians live there. And then they make the announcement that they are going to pass this law for foreigners. The law was not given particularly for Romanians. We are supposed to get documents here [in Romania], much easier and without even leaving the country. We need to apply there for the documents and then come back for a short time and we receive the documents here. We had to submit the documents to the embassy in Barcelona. We live in Santa Maria de Parautordera, it is like the distance from here [Luncavița] to Tulcea.

***I: I know that sometimes people look it up on internet to find themselves, they check online to see whether their request for documents has been approved or not.***

Luiza: Yes, yes, so after some time, two months after you go there and you apply, they send you this number, a code. I forgot the name this code has. And with that number and the address, one can log in. All the data of every person is written there and you can see it when you log in. For mine it said, wait, let me think how was it written, oh God so it was in the data base and it said that it was approved, I do not know, I do not remember. Now, I went and I asked for the second *tarjeta* and they said it might take between three and six months before getting it. There are already six months since I applied and I do not have it yet. It is possible to have received it at home. One goes to the administration, and applies for renewal of the *trajeta*. I had to leave lots of documents for this. But after that one needs to go and check whether they have accepted the application so that to take the new *tarjeta*. They send an envelope, a letter, they approved it and with that one has in the *resguar*, it is called *resguar* what one has when one applied. And it is very important to make photocopies of all the documents. With that and with the registration document you go back to them. There are a lot of papers. And again I had to go there and leave my finger prints. They gave me a *secular*, and after a month I had to go there to pick up the answer. I had to go with the passport and they gave me the card. I had to stand in an endless queue. One never knows how long it takes. It can take a day, two and three. And of course I had to take off those days. This was the bad side but well. The worst side is when one loses money. I did not work, I did not get paid. But the people understood me and they let me take days off and go to do my documents.

“Look your husband came!”

Cornel: We build now the house here ... the house is small. We wanted to do something to build a house or re-build the old house. But no, after all we decided to build a house after our desire. And also, we are gone for all the year and we only stay here for a month. This is why it is not worthy to have something big.

***I: Yes, but it is nice. ... well, could you also tell me about your life in Spain ...***

Cornel: Well, it is different from home. It is a normal life but totally different from what it was in Romania. There people are very polite. They are so ... they have a lot of willingness to help the others. They helped us with everything. We looked for a house to rent. For the first time when I arrived there, we stayed in a hotel. I left at the same time with my brother [in fact it is his brother-in-law, but in the rural areas, people consider relatives to be sometimes closer than they are, therefore even cousins would be called brothers], with Doru. We both stayed in a hotel for a little while. Afterward we found through someone from there a house. Because a man knew we were living in a hotel, we were there since a month and a week, he came to get us. We used to earn almost €900 per month, all the money was going on living, the hotel was expensive and we were also paying for food. We could not cook in a hotel.

Luiza: He was spending all the earnings on the hotel.

Cornel: Because at the hotel they included breakfast too. It did not matter if we went or not, we would have to pay for breakfast. They served breakfast at nine o'clock. But we had to go to work earlier. We started work at seven o'clock. We had found jobs and we could not go for breakfast. But, that was the price for the hotel, and we had to pay. For a while, we did not have another place to live. Then it started to get better, we found more work to do and we started to manage better.

***I: And how did you find work? Because your wife already told me that you were looking ...***

Cornel: So her elder brother [Nicu] was the first to leave from Romania. He said he could not stand it anymore and he left. 'I cannot stay here!', he said. Nicu lives here, next door from us. And with his help, we all got there, all of us: her brothers, then I helped one of my brothers to get there.

***I: Yes ... but before you left, what were you doing here?***

Cornel: When I was young, I graduated from high-school from the steel engineering profile, electro-mechanics and maintenance. After this, I worked for a mill here in the village, and afterward we were a little short on cash. I got married and I started working in construction with her father. I preferred working in construction because the payment was good and we got to earn enough. Some time later her brother left working there. Back here in our village, he was also working in constructions. At some point he came in the country when he made his residency permit, he set all his documents straight, all the things he needed. Then, I talked to him and asked him different things I needed to know. After that he left with an uncle of mine who was a driver on the bus. After a while I decided I would go to visit my brother-in-law. I left with my uncle and I got there. I got there and I stayed for two weeks just like that without having to work. I looked for something but he did not have something for me. Because he did not tell me 'you know you should come because you have a job'. Yes, he had no way of doing

that. Meanwhile, I had some money to spend, and slowly I found a place to work and I kept it, because you have it you have to know how to keep it. We work, Romanians, Africans too, for example now I am working with this African guy and with a Romanian, a boy from Guinea Bissau, it is Guinea Conakry Guinea or ... I do not remember. And they are of all different kinds. There are Romanians who are good people too, and others who are not exactly ok. And the same is the case with the Africans. Everyone and everywhere is the same. So, we are working for a firm, but within the team I am working with people from everywhere. There are also people from our village here. He arrived here two years ago, he is an unskilled worker, and came there to learn how to do the work, but it goes pretty slow. And we have a lot of work: we work sometimes at one house, sometimes at two houses, two big mansions.

***I: Can you tell me a day of your life?***

Cornel: So, we go to work early, and at nine o'clock there is what they call it the *morcar*, the breakfast, there is a half an hour break. One can go wherever they want to, in a bar to drink a coffee, in a restaurant to have a meal ...

Luiza: To eat a sandwich.

Cornel: Or, I do not know, but one can do whatever one wants. There is a half an hour break for oneself. Then at two, from two till three is the lunch break. And it is the same. One can go wherever one wants, do whatever one pleases.

Luiza: Because with the prices they have there, people can easily afford to eat out. And people earn enough to afford to have lunch at the restaurant.

Cornel: I am telling you honestly, when I first entered the country, now when we came to Romania, I stopped in Arad. We had a soup and some fried chicken, we were the three of us, our boy and the two of us. We had only the chicken and we paid 1,800,000 lei [€55], this is how much we paid.

Luiza: Welcome to Romania!

Cornel: It was not a gas station it was just a restaurant, that's all. It is the border control from Nădlag [one of the border towns between Romania and Hungary] and we drove for 100 km after this town. Let us say, but I do not think it was as far as 100 km. And we decided to stop and have something to eat. And then we thought we would still go for a while and then stop and eat. It was about six in the afternoon. I am telling you honestly, they ripped us off. Anywhere in Europe from Spain till here and still it was not so expensive. In Spain, with €15 we would all eat and really well. A meal, there for the workers is €8.5-9 and that's including the coffee and all. So it contains: appetizers, main course, a bottle of wine for the table - they count it in whether you drink or not - a bottle of water for one table and bread and coffee.

Luiza: The food there is very good and varied, they have so many types of salami, and cheeses, and how should I say this, cheese with nuts and all sorts. And it is very good. There

are a lot of them, so we were there for Christmas, for the holidays that was. The people we work for invited us for dinner, and they cooked for us. Then I was working only on Saturdays and Sundays, I was cleaning and he invited me as well for the Christmas dinner. 'Come on here with us, aren't you ours too?', he said. And I tried this and that, all of their foods. We had *jamon* with *melon*, with *caune*, meat with *caune* you can imagine. Or they eat *cupina*, *jamon cupina* with *pineapple*. And in the evening they eat mostly salads mostly *amanira*...

Cornel: You know how it is in the area where we live? We live in Catalonia and they speak Catalan. The Spanish is different and we speak a kind of Spanish, they speak Catalan but sometimes they ask me for how long have I been living in Spain and I tell them that there are almost five years, 'oh that long and you do not speak Catalan?' I can almost understand them, now I understand them. But it is hard for me to speak because for example I have to think about one word in Romanian first, in Spanish afterwards and then to translate it into Catalan.

***I: So, when you left ... did you need a visa ...***

Cornel: No, I left right after we did not need a visa anymore, four years and a half, five years in February, four years and a half. I left exactly after the visa.

***I: But why did you not leave before?***

Cornel: I could not afford to leave.

Luiza: And he had no place to go.

Cornel: Nicu had left a year before us, exactly in that year with the visa, he left right the year before the visa waiver was introduced and then after a year he got a visa. And then the other two of us we also left.

Luiza: They were, they were... how many Romanians were there in that village, they were three Romanians.

Cornel: Six, I was the 6<sup>th</sup>.

***I: And now ... there are more people from Luncavița ... can you tell me more about this... how they come ...***

Cornel: There are a lot of them because each brings his family.

Luiza: There are a lot who are about to leave again now, there are a lot of them leaving to the same village. And because he [Nicu] also helped us too ... you know, one helps someone else, but the first thing is that when someone offers his / her help, they have to make sure that s/he has a place to sleep and afterward to find them a job. The responsibility is very big because one does not have a lot of time available, one also has to work. And without documents is difficult to find them a job now. All of us that we are there we have documents, I think.

Cornel: It is like this: one gets a job offer, comes back home and get all the regularization done here locally. Here one gets a visa and then one leaves back to Spain. The most important thing is to get the job offer.

***I: Who has to make the offer?***

Cornel: No, they give it to you very easily, for example ‘what are you, a carpenter, you go to one of those workshops, and you say that you are looking for a job and you talk to someone there: look I have this guy, he is looking for a job, and he says, yes I need someone to work for me or I do not, but you can go see this other person because he needs a carpenter’. They guide you, they are very helpful. And they ask you: ‘Do you have documents?’, and if you said you did not have documents, then they gave you a job offer. With this, one needs to go immediately and see a lawyer. It might be a little expensive. One needs to go to a lawyer and get all the papers. After that, one gets all the papers signed. From there on it takes about two weeks for the proper forms to be released. They go to the government, from the government they have to come back here in the country [in Romania]. Here it is a little bit more complicated but still, at the Spanish Embassy. Oh, and one needs to go to the ... I do not know the name and ask for the criminal record. Another thing is to pay some taxes at the IRS<sup>20</sup>. The good thing there is that, in Spain if one needs a document for example, one does not have to go in ten places. I needed a document to let someone sign something for me, I went to the notary here in Romania and he said, ‘yes, you go to this place and you get your document’. It was a central notary office where one could get a stamp from the Hague and it was necessary to know exactly where to go. And I went there and right away in two days they said, he said I can give it to you tomorrow. There one does not have to go, pay at a different office. One just needs to go in one place.

***I: And you mentioned the criminal record. Did you have to get it from Romania?***

Cornel: We empowered a cousin of hers who lives in Tulcea and we were four people; me, her, my brother and my sister-in-law, four people. We all sent her cousin. And they released, but we needed that apostille from the Hague so they would recognize that it was really our legal empowerment. After that we had to translate it and legalize it. So they had to go even to Constanta [over 160 km] and all that for just a stamp, from Tulcea to Constanta for just a stamp. Whereas there in Spain, there is a big building, and on one floor there are lawyers, on another floor there are the notaries. You find everything there. I do not know how they call it at home. Anyway, there are a lot of them and each one with his field of expertise; for example the firm accountants. One knows where they are and it is easy to find it. Everything is easily planned there.

***I: And how did you decide to go ... tell me more about it ...***

Cornel: This is how it was meant to be. In February ... so, at the beginning of February my brother-in-law [Nicu] came home for documents, and on the 27<sup>th</sup> I also left. So, I spoke to the

---

<sup>20</sup> IRS is the Romanian tax office.

people here, I said, 'yes, you know you should come there and I will help you with everything'. So it was there on the spot; 'let us go, we leave everything behind and' ...

***I: But had you tried to leave abroad before that?***

Cornel: I would not have dared. I had an uncle who still when I went there he has done some things for me. Well, now he has quit doing those things, but before that he would make trips to Italy, Greece, Spain by bus, so he had a very big opening wherever he went so everywhere he went. When we got married, and we had our wedding, he said, 'look, I can get you a visa with the money you got on the wedding, I can get you a visa and I can take you abroad, I will leave you with someone.' I thought to myself, I would not dare, still I was earning some money here, I was managing, how should I put his, I was keeping myself on top, you know, you could not ... I was working in construction to tell you the truth, I was building some things for myself, to tell you. But it was still hard, it was. And I said that I would not actually take the chances yet but than if it did not go well, than I would leave. So he had told me the visa was €1,000 or \$1,000, it turned out to be €1,200 including the trip, about this amount. Well, he was my uncle and everything and he was telling me that he would leave me with someone he knew. But I said I would not yet take the chance, I had just started a family too, I had just gotten married. And I stayed, but the opportunity came again.

Luiza: Really, now we are really very satisfied, really. Now, we'll see for how long it is still possible.

Cornel: For how long we will be able to. It is good, what can I say? Now everything is fine, if one works and if one saves money it is good. I met a lot of people who came there, I saw them they were working for three months and they would spend half of the money they earned in discos, bars, having fun. Then, they came back in the country and they spent some more and they finish the other half of the money. After they ask me to help them get back there because they do not have any money anymore. I did not like this at all. I said to myself that for the time being it is better for me to stay there and do something as long as it is still possible. Afterward, who knows, maybe I come back here and I start my own business, who knows. Now I know lots of things about constructions. Maybe I start a small enterprise in constructions. I would open a small one with three to four people, just like I am working now. Slowly, slowly so I can manage here too. But for the moment it is best for me to stay there ... it is better. See, one man who came and worked there with us, he now returned. But is it more profitable for him to work here? It is true that it is best for him. It would be good for me too, for all the people who are good at what they do. I know him, he is good, so I hired him to make our house here in the village. He will work over winter at our house here. He works at other houses here in Luncavița. He is the only one for example he worked for Nicu whole summer, no one bothered him he just left him the keys but when he came back, the walls were

ready the floor was ready too, the plumbing was ready too, and everything else, everything was done. He left everything done without bothering anyone. He said what is the price for the work. Now we want to leave and we have been talking to him: 'what are you going to do, are you going to stay and help us finish?' I know him because we've been working together in Spain. This is how things are for him here in the village. But when he was initially in the village before having had migrated, he was saying more and more often that it had been very difficult because he was running from one house to another. And he came back now, and he put some money aside during the eight months he stayed there [Spain], bought some very nice tools too, as far as I understood. He also fixed his house.

***I: This is what I wanted to ask you, did you have to buy tools?***

Cornel: No, the company gives you everything, they give you everything. Only at the beginning because I was working on Sundays too, I had to buy some tools.

Luiza: He participated to a contest too.

Cornel: Yes, I also went to a contest.

Luiza: They organize this contest every year and they participated with the owner of the enterprise at the contest.

Cornel: With our boss and I came on the 4<sup>th</sup> place.

Luiza: And they gave out, for the 4<sup>th</sup> place, presents and a *mistrie*<sup>21</sup> in silver.

Cornel: A very nice one.

Luiza: We took pictures...

Cornel: I also like very much the photo cameras, and all those things, so I bought a lot of things like that. At the beginning I bought one of those optical ones one that opens afterward. I got a digital camera with the screen on the back because I like these things. And there one can get them, there one can afford to get them. We were sitting just like that, we had just moved in our home, and I said: 'you know something; we should get something, whether it is a TV set or a washing machine for you'. Because she had a hard time with the old machine, 'let us get these things'. And from one salary we bought the camera and from another salary, the washing machine.

Luiza: Now we want to buy a house there also. And the interest rate for the house could reach up to €1,000, which is a lot, it depends on ... it depends on the house we would buy. And we would have to pay for it for 25 years, or even 30. It depends on what we decide to do and also on the type of the apartment. His brother bought an apartment. It costed €210,000 and he pays around €900 and something per month. But, one cannot invest both there and here. His brother gave up investing in Romania. He spends most money in investing there. Oh well,

---

<sup>21</sup> Mistrie – the tool that is used to make the wall even.

they live in Tulcea, at her parents' house. They have the house on their name but for now they are young, her mother and father live in a house in Tulcea and they do not have why to come to Romania, they have no reason to. And they gave up and they said, 'we are staying, we are going to get an apartment and do whatever we want. If it is not good for us after all we sell it, we get the money and we go back to Romania'. But it is like depositing money in a bank. If you pay rent, you throw the money away, pay 4,000 to 5,000 per year, when just adding that up you have 25,000 in five years and so the money adds up. And it is money you have because you can sell the apartment and get the money back.

[They showed me photos from Spain]

Luiza: We usually go to the beach on Sundays, we go to the beach, because it is close. Our child likes it a lot. Once we took his friend with us, and the boys had a lot of fun.

***I: Where is his friend from?***

Luiza: He is Spanish. And my boy went there in their house. We communicate, we get along well. And all the mothers from his group, we decided to have dinner the three of us. Each of them was rushing to say something. I was sitting and not saying anything. I was listening. And they asked me why I did not say anything. 'I am listening what can I say?' Look [to a photo], here is another contest but in a different year, he participated. These boys are from our country too, and they also participated. Well they were building and here is my baby, my son and this other child.

But to tell you more about the documents. Everyone needs a person to guarantee for them and also a lawyer. I did not need a lawyer because I helped a lot of people. So, this family about whom I already told you about the ones that tried me out and who has a construction firm; he has a secretary and the secretary gave me paper and explained to me what to do. The table that I needed to fill in was already made. I went to the three houses where I cleaned and they signed it for me but I needed that paper if not I would not have managed alone.

Another woman: Maybe he got it over the internet too.

Luiza: Yes or if this family had not helped me, I would have had to go and pay a lawyer. Do you understand? So I was supposed to pay extra, but because she gave me that paper I managed without paying.

***I: And who pays your insurance?***

Luiza: So for example for me that I work on my own, I am supposed to pay the insurance. But since I started working at the store and I am there as an employee, and I do not work as a *limpiesa* to clean up, but I go to the store to sell, now I do not pay the insurance because the employer should pay it for me. I could have kept both insurances, but in the end someone explained that I can keep both but for the pension fund they will only consider one of them. They will consider only the one from where I work. There was no point in me paying for the

insurance because it was €130 per month and that is a lot. And I gave my *debaja*, how they call it and now the employer pays it for me. He pays the insurance. It depends on how many hours I work. The holiday is a holiday, and they have to pay it. They pay it because I am entitled to it and I have a contract. I have a six months contract and he tells me ‘you should give up the houses’. But what if I do give up the house and one never knows. What if in the worst case I end up losing my job here. I never know. After a period of time, one can never know. Because in my contract is written only six months. Afterward, if it works fine, than you can make it permanent. If I do not like it anymore, then I can change it. One should be careful that when the time comes they will sign the contract for an unlimited period of time. When I told one of the ladies where I clean that I cannot go there anymore she started crying, ‘how could you leave me?’, she said. I am not saying I do not want to but I cannot do it anymore because it is very tiring for me to go in a different village by bike. It is very tiring.

Cornel: For the first and second year when I was there, I was earning just from the work at the firm, I was earning €1,300 – 1,400. That was how much I was taking in my hand. And with €1,400 we could all afford to live, all our family. But I was thinking that I had to save some money too. I wanted to do something because this was what I went there for. I had job offers for Sundays. So, I got used to go on Sundays to work. I was earning about €80 per day. And with €80 we almost had our food for one week.

***I: It was worthy ... and how did you get this job offers, from friends ...***

Cornel: Friends, people I knew, they were Spanish friends, Spanish people who were saying, how are you, do you want to come on Sundays for work, there are so many of them who work on Sundays or during the holidays. When they have a legal holiday, they usually respect it. You can imagine, we have been living there four years and a half in one village. And it is not a big village. I am telling you for sure that Luncavița is bigger. Our village there is smaller than this village; let us say half of it. They all know each other, so there is a certain environment. When I am walking the street, even if people do not know me, and I do not know them, everybody still says *Ola*. It is just a way to show respect, hello, hello. And people asked me where I was from. And I tell them that I am from Romania.

Luiza: And people also ask for long we have been there.

Cornel: This type of things. And there are a lot of people who gather there for a coffee and that. And there it is easy to ask if peoply know something for work. And they ask you also if you know someone who needs a job, so, they are very open. And they say I do not know but I will ask around or you get to see them again, well I did not find, I do not know or they call and...

***I: But you cannot put announcements there like someone is looking for ...?***

Cornel: Yes, there are plenty of them ...

Luiza: There are a lot of postings and a lot of women. I think women do this more.

Cornel: Most of them as house keepers ...

Luiza: Or babysitters or other things ...

Cornel: Talking care of older people.

***I: And I have one last question, your brother how come he went to this village [Palau] and he did not go to Madrid or in any other part of Spain, how did he decide to stay there?***

Cornel: How did he get to live there and in no other part, in another village? When he left, he knew that there is another person. In other words, he went to a person. But he did not find work, so he had to go to some other place. The man to whom he had gone called another person he knew in the village where we live, Mr Ionica, and he asked him, 'I have this good boy, he knows how to work in constructions, he is good in construction, can you find him a job?' That guy was a driver and he was driving a truck, by truck he was travelling in all the countries up North, he knew them and after a while they called to tell him that there was only one Romanian in the village, this Mr Ionica, and my brother-in-law could also go there to work. So Mr Ionica was the only one and then Nicu was ... the second one.

#### *IV.3.2 Sebastian*

In the following part I will present the story of a migrant illustrating how he had to deal with uncertainty and the type of relations he had with other migrants / non-migrants. Sebastian is a 37-year-old male migrant from Luncavița that I interviewed in the fieldwork in April 2006.

***I: Tell me actually your life beginning with the school years...***

Sebastian: I attended the vocational school, one year at car mechanics in Galați after which, immediately after school I got a job. That was when I was 17 years old, something like that, in 1985. I was working as a crane operator in Ploiesti. After that when I reached 18 and I could take my driver license I also got married, I had not even gone in the army, I got married in May, then at the beginning of July, in 1988 I went to the army to do the military service. After which in 1988 came already the first child, the first little girl. I continued my military stage, I spent one year there, and ... I finished my military stage after which I returned home. I took a new job again, I worked. I got to know a little of the Ceausescu's period, a few years. At the revolution I was still working on the crane. In 1991 I was already crane operator driver, and I said to myself to try to do trade. It was good because my father was managing a shop. I took it over, he got ill and he could not do it anymore, after which in 1993 I was obliged to give up the shop, because simply it was not working. There were other shops; more and more shops were starting up here in the village. I was at the road out of the village. There people

did not come anymore, only now and then. During Ceausescu's time it was still working, but later it did not work anymore. There was a bar, a camping right in that valley where there is a well. Now there is nothing there. There was very beautiful, there were a few very big trees, a shade, during the summer. People used to come from the field, and our shop was working. That was a good business. I came back to my profession as a driver crane operator. In the year 1993 I got a job again after I had left the shop. I kept on working, and meanwhile the second child arrived. Also a little girl and I was managing quite well at that time. I also remained without father as a young man, I was only 23 when my father died and I had already two children. It was in 1991 that my father died, it was hard for me, it was hard because I was left only with my mother and the times were as they were. After having worked for four years, I was left without a job. The owner simply kicked me out. He told me that if I wanted to work, I could go to the ditch, to the shovel. And I said 'mister, my profession is driver, yes if you need drivers fine, if you need shovel hire a man for that'. I left and later I found again a job. God helped me and in 1998 I saved some money and I was able to be a Godfather for a young couple. The job was as it was, I was working at an employer I did not actually earn too much. He kept sending me to work in different places, it was not convenient. I told him 'mister, I cannot do this way anymore, I have a family, if I cannot be at home with my family, I understand that I am not at home but at least I need to be able to earn something'. After that he said 'you boy, I cannot keep you anymore, you want me to put you in unemployment?' And he fired me. What could I have done? I took unemployment benefit. It was little, but there was something. I said to myself 'let us manage with this also'. It was as it was, because the children were young and they did not understand that we did not have much money, they were in school in the village only. And in 2000 I started making an application to go to Israel, in 2000 I struggled the whole year to leave for Israel. I went to Bucharest, I do not exaggerate but I think that I went monthly plus I do not say how many telephone calls and promises I heard, wait that is coming the company that has to take you, I must do I do not know what, finally in 2000 in February 2001 I have succeed to leave for Israel, you can see, I wanted to go to Israel as a driver or as a crane operator. And when I saw that there is no job for me, what did I say to myself, I will go anyway. The woman there at the company said to me 'you will go as smith-concreter'. Fine, what could I say, 'I will go as a smith-concreter, what is the problem?' I will go to earn money, so I will go to work, and I left in 2001 in February. It was like that God kept me strong and I found good people I did not even know them. We left from Tulcea and we were several men, and none of us was working in his own profession. They were hairdressers or policemen, or I tell you the truth, foresters or ... all kind of people coming for money, for money to earn a bit of money so they can live in Romania because this was the situation. And I stayed there until February 2002, I had a contract with them for two

years. Meanwhile, I did not go home, the longing for my family was very strong, we talked every week, it did not count how much money I gave for the telephone card. But I called home at least to hear their voice if I could not see them. Plus they have sent me photos. Meanwhile there started the attacks. They were very strong. So, until 2001 there were not, but when I saw it, poor me, but I will go home. What, did I come here to die, to be killed by the Palestinians? I left because what scared me the most was that walking to the market from our caravan where we were sleeping, I was on a bus. The one that passed by there, let us say at about 100 meters maybe two, I do not know, a bus with 40 people exploded just I saw its roof flying up and people spread, I could not see anything else. It could have been anyone; my colleagues or I. And when I saw that I said: 'come, it is finished, immediately, already at the beginning of the February I have announced the company and I said it is over'. I left Tel-Aviv on the 26<sup>th</sup> February 2002. I came back in the country. It was hard, because the entire year 2002 I stayed at home, I had finished all the money I had saved, because if one does not have a job, of course the money was used, it could not remain ... when one takes from his pocket and does not put back, of course one gets poor. In 2003, in the summer of 2003, in July, I *did my first visa*<sup>22</sup> for Italy. 2003, therefore 2001-2002 was a year of Israel and in 2003 I left for Italy. For Italy I just left, not to a safe or sure place, I just went there. When I arrived there, it was very hard. If someone has an animal in the courtyard, one can yell at him, but I was treated very badly, worse than had I been an animal. Therefore, I arrived on Saturday night, I was tired, you can imagine. I had travelled to Italy by bus, to travel two days and two nights, almost three plus we arrived in the morning at five in Rome and stayed until the afternoon at five, we have been staying another 12 hours waiting to come the boss to take me from there, and I did not know him, nor did he know me. I was together with another man, we were told on the telephone that a man – a little old – would come and he would tell us how to get to that place. When we met him in the afternoon he got us in the train and told us, 'you will get down at that station, whatever it was called in Italian, there, you will travel quite a bit', he told me the hour, how should I know Italian, nor did I know English, he told me the train leaves at five o'clock, at 6:30 it arrives in the station you must get down but it was ...so the Italians, in comparison to us, I do not know now, maybe here now, I did not travel by train so much, therefore the hour when you leave and the hour when you arrived, therefore when you arrive in the town you need, they say the name of the town and the hour 18:38 or 17:38, I was looking at the watch, I was looking at the station names too, not to pass by, I did not know where to go. We got down finally. There, another person was waiting for us, he got us on a car and took us to a farm. There, the same as before, my new job had nothing to do with my

---

<sup>22</sup> This is a very frequent way the migrants refer to their trips abroad. They consider that a 'to do a visa' means to be three months in a country, this being the legal duration of one's trip to a country within the Schengen Space.

profession, when we went, we have arrived Saturday night, I said about 7:30 – 8, his first concern was to take off our clothes and to go to work and I told him, ‘Yes, we will go to work, nothing to say but we are tired, hungry, we have got to have some food first!’ It was summer time, you know how much food you can take along and we did not have money, Euro to spend on food too much. He understood somewhat, I said in a way, he left us on Saturday but Sunday morning at six, woke us up to go to work, I said, oh, God here one does not have Saturday, nor Sunday. Only work, and the work I went to was in agriculture to pick tobacco, tobacco from which the cigarettes are made of. I have never seen something like that, the tobacco was very big, a leaf of 80-90 centimetres, well, we picked as much as we picked, but he was not pleased because we did not pick well with our thumb, because one cannot pick anything, and I have been working all that Sunday, in that Sunday I said that I cursed the day I was born, because my mother gave birth to me. With the other boy, I said, ‘what are we going to do tomorrow?’ He said: ‘I am not staying anymore, I will go back home’. He was much younger than me; he was about 23 or 22 years old. I took my bag and I went out in the street and in the street what could I do, where to go, as I have told you, I did not know the language, whom to ask, what to ask, I went my own way together with the other boy, the boy said, ‘man, Sebastian, I cannot resist here, I will go and surrender to the *carabineers*’. I asked him ‘what are you going to tell them, you fool, what can you tell to those *carabineers*?’ ‘Well, I will go to tell them that I came here on a visit.’ ... well, they would take his passport and send him home, he did not have interdiction, because we had a five-days insurance, therefore everything was paid, so nobody could blame him for anything in five days, what could they do to him, but he went the next day, what did the *carabineers* do to him, I do not know anything about that boy, because he is from Tulcea, and I have not met him again. Meanwhile, I have met other Romanians who were around there and they have told me that that there would be something to work there, but of course, nobody will take me until I had a recommendation. Everybody asks: ‘who is that person?’ They do not know you ... and there was a very large region with tobacco. For this, everybody needs men for example for cows, many have cattle farms. But everybody was saying, yes, he came, but who is this man, how could they take me? They were right. I was a foreigner therefore they are simply afraid to take a stranger, because they were seeing on television that the Romanians so these and these things. There are some, there were some people dealing with different things, but I went for work, to earn money and for my family. I did not go for anything else. A whole week I went around to find something to work but it took me some time to find a family that told me ‘I will give you a place to sleep and a dish of food or more, but I cannot give you something to work because I do not have’. He had already hired somebody before and he did not need another man, he had only some land. I was happy, I had where to sleep, well where we are

now [he refers to the place where the interview took place], here it is the comfort not one but 14. Where I slept, I was sleeping in an old abandoned house, no light, the owls were singing, they were singing during the night, you were staying, you were waiting somebody to come, not to come to take or not take you in the night, you were thinking about all sort of things, I am telling you, at night, when I was lying in bed, what bed, let us say that I had a bed but it was not a bed and I was simply crying, because I could not think, what did I do wrong in this life and why did I go there, what to do? But until I got here two days, what did I do, when I left with this so called colleague of work, I crossed a field but there everything was private therefore it was somebody's land. Even if one has no house there, still the land was private, so we were not allowed to pass through their land. And if someone knew or caught us, they could have called the *carabineers*. I did not know about the *carabineers*, after that another boy told me, another boy who was working there, he said 'Man, the whole night the *carabineers* have been looking for you because somebody has declared that some foreigner passed through his land'. I found a place under a tree, some straws, how did they thresh the wheat, the barley and I slept in those straws. I would go and sleep there because the whole days I was looking for work and could not find anything. And two nights and two days I stayed there, during the day I was going around and at night I was sleeping there. I was eating only bread because I had only some bread. Well, I could afford to buy one or two cans, yes ... but I said not to spend money. In the end I was lucky to have found this family that I told you about and the man kept me one week. Then there was another man who gave me a bicycle to ride through the village, because you know, it was a village like Luncavița. And I was going from family to family, what should I say, the Romanian I met had been there for a year and a half and he wrote me on a paper, when you arrive to a family what to say - *bongiorno senior* or *seniora*, 'I want to work', he was telling me, I was writing, I want to work, *voi de lavoro*, the way I have to say, or if I wanted to say that I wanted food, if I ask for food, maybe they give me, *voi de mangeara*, I have started to learn Italian. Not really, but I needed to learn just a few sentences to manage. I did not know anything and I was going around in this way one week, after one week I found at the tobacco, in agriculture, and the man had also cows. They were very pleased, I worked there two months and a half until the campaign was over. At that time, they said they did not need him anymore: 'we do not need you, if you want to go home, fine'. Meanwhile I was talking to the owner: 'Mister, if you know somebody for another profession, another work after I finish here I can move to the other family', but it was as it was, they did not find anything for me. In the end I found myself always working for this family or a neighbour, he was working in construction; 'Mister, I asked' ... he invited me to drink a coffee in his home, they drink coffee more than we drink water, the whole day they make coffees, a coffee, a glass of wine, a cigarette, something good, I do not know what and

he asked me when I would finish the work for the other man. I told him, as I was speaking in Italian, my poor Italian, I told him that I finish at the end of or at the middle of October. I finished the work there, the campaign was over and after that I was available. Meanwhile he talked with the employer, he had an enterprise in constructions I do not know of what kind, and in this way I found a Romanian. What did he tell him there, that I had no place to stay, to eat, that I did not have anything, and he took me. He led me in an apartment, a very poor apartment. I had to clean it, to arrange it. And I moved there and he told me to wait there and he would take me to work. A day passed, two, a week, two weeks. I was crazy, the money I have earned for my two months and a half work in agriculture I started to spend on this side, because I was staying and waiting to be taken for work and he did not come anymore, the colleague of the work who got me hired, that Italian boy still came and said wait because tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow and in this way tomorrow passed, tomorrow passed, I was calling home every day, it was good with the money I have sent. The money I had sent home was good, it was enough. I cannot say that it was enough because out of €500 I was earning there for a month, to be more precise, the first time he gave me €400 and the next month he gave me €500, because at the beginning he told me I shall give you €400, a place to sleep and something to eat, sleeping without light in an abandoned house, but now I was pleased even to sleep on the ground, just to have something to work, to earn money, so it was not so bad. And what do you think Miss, I found so well that I was glad, I was saying: 'Oh, I was born again'. I started in November. After having waited for two weeks I started to work. It was for me a gain. The only problem was that I was in the wrong area of Italy. I was in the south part of Italy, close to Napoli. There they paid less, people were paid less somewhat €600 for a month, but I was glad because he gave me the house, I had the apartment, I did not pay the light, the gas, water, nothing. I cooked the food myself, I procured it by myself. We had a normal schedule as those working on a construction site: we started at seven o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon, which means nine hours of work, with a break of an hour from 12:00 to 13:00. For the first visa to Italy I left in July 2003 and I came in February 2004 because I could not do it anymore, I could not resist anymore. I said that I had something to go home, I missed my family. I say, to myself: 'I stay here, what the heck, I did not leave in those three months of visa, and I leave now after seven months of staying here'. I thought, I could not resist anymore without my family. I was wondering: 'How much would cost to go back home?', I gave and I go back home because I did not think about money because I had earned, I am poor or I am not poor, I want to see my family. But the boss, he told me that he did not want me to leave because he needed me, he needed an unskilled labourer, to carry with the wheelbarrow, to make materials, to do anything for him, he saw that I work, that I mind my business that I am not a good-for-nothing who today goes, tomorrow does not go. I

do not drink, I do not smoke. Now, everybody drinks a beer, a glass of wine as anyone else, but not more than that. When I saw that the boss would not let me go, I started thinking about a reason to tell him that I must arrive at all costs in Romania and I come back. I did not know what to do. One morning, actually during the night the idea came to me, the next day in the morning, I had a face as I was saying that the sky is falling down, that Italy is being destroyed, Mussolini is coming, everybody looking at me, 'Sebastian, what had happened?', 'last night I had called home and ... and my wife is sick, she is in the hospital', how, I translated to him so well than I was started to believe myself. They believed everything, well, they were some foreign women who knew what it was in my mind. And good, the boss takes the telephone immediately, he calls my home, I put myself on the desk, nobody was in the office, with my wife, 'hello, how are you doing dear' and such things. I was talking to her every morning for half of hour. Well, I say, now it is my turn to 'translate' you. You laught at me until now; now it is my time to laugh at you. At the end of February they gave me my money. I told them at the end of February that it was over and that I spoke with the transport company, I have to arrive in Rome, I have a train to Rome, I have to go, I paid the ticket, I was telling them whatever I had to, for me it is over. They asked me when I would come back. I said I had to see the situation at home, how my wife was feeling. I told them that as soon as I know something, I will inform them. I left at the end of February and I arrived in the country. The trip took about three to four days. Therefore, I left on Sunday and I arrived on Tuesday night. The boss immediately called to ask me. On Saturday the boss call me, 'Sebastian how did you arrive, how is everything well at home, family, the wife?' I said she was in hospital. I was managing with the Italian. The boss asked me: 'what are you doing, are you coming or not?' It is normal that way, to tell the man, you go, you do not go anymore. If not, he hires another person. But, he could not hire because he could not afford, to an Italian employee he would have had to give €2,000 or 1,500, whereas he was paying me €600 and he hardly could wait, he wanted me back. Finally I told him that I would go back to Italy. I said that I would stay at home for Easter, April was coming, the Easter was coming something like that, or I do not know, it was on 1<sup>st</sup> of May in that year, I do not actually remember and after Easter, immediately I would go back to Italy. And so it was that, I did the Easter, I finished with the agriculture home because I went I sowed the whole land, what did I have here, to leave for my wife to work because she could also work, to keep an animal, there the corn was needed, whatever we had and I left again for Italy in 2004. And since 2004 I did only the normal visa, I did not stay longer than the normal visa (stay more than three months) because at the first visa when I overstayed those seven months I was very afraid, simply. I was afraid I might have been given an interdiction [to enter the Schengen space], I was not thinking of something else but of the interdiction. One gets an interdiction, it is terrible, five years of not

being allowed to enter the Schengen Space. In such a case, it is over. I have managed to pass the customs, things are the same both here in Romania and everywhere else. The driver and the customs officer knew each other. Everybody was doing the same and we were glad to be able to reach our homes. At the same time, they were glad to receive some money. Well, otherwise it would have been terrible. After returning from Italy, and staying home for a little while, I went back, I worked again for three months, and I returned in August 2004. I returned in August because they have holiday there, they have two weeks of leave. So, I had to come home too. At the same time the three months visa had expired also. I was overstaying my visa and it was not convenient for me. So, I came home. In the meanwhile here, at the mayor's office it was announced that a stone pit will be open in our place at Rachelu<sup>23</sup>. The announcement said that an entrepreneur from Tulcea would come to open it together with a German company and they needed drivers, crane operators and mechanics. So, of course, I applied too. They accepted me and I left for one month to Germany. They said initially that they would send us to Germany for schooling, for a specialization. They said that we would be sent to a specialization to see how is a stone pit in Germany, so we can go back and do it here. We left on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 2004 for Germany. We had an interpreter from Râmnicu Vâlcea, I think, something like that, I do not know anymore where he was from. And we stayed exactly one month, but what could we do there, we went there, we looked to the left, we looked to the right and the boss of the site asked, 'what do you know to do?' 'Well, anything, let us do it, what should we do?' At the beginning we were five workers from Romania. And he divided us between the different things that needed to be done: one to the excavator, one to work on the bull-dozer, one to drive the car, and so on. I am telling you, the Germans were staying like this and they could not believe their eyes. All these big European countries believe that we do not know anything. And for one month we have done their work. One day the stone breaker broke down. Everybody was wondering what to do. They said, it has to come the team. But they could not repair it, and we did: they did not have a crowbar from iron, a big one, made of ferro-concrete, a thick iron able to undo something there. So we got started, we made some iron, weld, cut, we have welded it there. They looked at us and there were some of them who were working there and who said: 'but you can do all of these!' 'So, if you are driver you know how to do other things also?' 'Well yes, this is how we do things.' In Romania, if we do not do this, the next day the boss tells you, 'hey boy, find your work in some other place'. But in the first day when I was there, the electric board fell. The electrical board there was very sophisticated. It was just a door, a door that big. The electrician was a man from Tulcea and they asked us if he could repair it. It took three hours,

---

<sup>23</sup> Rachelu is a village part of the commune Luncașița.

but it took longer until they went to the town and came back. They had to go to the company and bring the sketch of the board in order for the worker from Tulcea to see how are the condensers, diodes, whatever the electrical board has. After this, it took him another three hours to solve the problem. When everything was solved and working they told the interpreter that if the firm would have come to do what the worker had done in three hours, it would have taken almost €4,000 or 3,500. But they did not give us not even a glass of water or a beer. I said that is how people are, and we minded our own business, we went on, we worked and a month has passed. Normally when we went there we were told that we go for a specialization and from there we would come back with equipment; that is a bull-dozer, a machine and other things like this. Well, they assured our housing there, we stayed at a family in a big house, and we had breakfast there, and then we received €10 a day to pay for the other expenses, it was hard to work and not have a warm lunch, one month without a warm lunch. It was not much money, I limited myself to one package of cigarettes for two, three, five days. I could not smoke. I could not afford to give €4 for a package. I said €4, I buy bread and something else to eat. €10 is not a large amount of money for buying food. It passed; we came back in the country. After that I do not know what happened. The German boss did not want to do the business anymore. He said that it is too expensive, our travel was too expensive, I do not know what. But we had worked for him and he did not pay us anything. They just paid for our accommodation, and gave us the €10 a day for food and other expenses. But that was a little amount of money compared to the work we did. So, to go on with the story, in 2004 I came back from Germany in October. In 2004 I stayed the whole year at home and I was waiting. In March 2005 I was waiting. But, I said to myself that I should let the winter pass. 'Where should I go now in the winter?' In Italy I had lost the contact with the boss. At some point I had told them that I would not come anymore. I had told him that a building site would open up here and it would be good with the money I would take. But I forgot to tell you that the Italian boss, what had he told me, he said that he had an Italian doctor who had worked in Romania or, in any case, he said that he had a Romanian friend, and he said to me, 'Sebastian, you with the €600 for a month in Italy, your family in Romania lives well'. Well this is what he thought because he knew the prices here and he knew how much things cost. But I told him, 'Out of the €600, I need to spend money for food, let us say that would cost €150, than it was also the phone card, I also smoke a cigarette, let us say another €200'. And he said, 'but with €400 that you send home every month, your family lives well'. Yes, but I told him, that my family lives well indeed, but only one of my girls costs me €100. She is in high school and I pay for boarding and I pay the meals and I pay the transportation. There are many expenses when you have children in school. And, also, I said that I sacrifice myself by living in Italy at 2,500 kilometres distance from Romania. Anyone goes to work in order to earn

money, to save something in the bank. But for me, at the end of the month there is nothing left to put aside, because the money that I send to Romania are all spent. I put aside almost nothing. From the work in Israel I managed to put aside money for a car. When I came back from Israel in 2002 I bought a car, a Dacia Nova<sup>24</sup> and that was all. In 2005 my passport was expiring. So I said that if I have to go somewhere these people would not let me go. Because in order to leave the country, I need to have minimum six months until the passport expires. After that I would have to renew my passport and therefore pay more money again. So, I was wondering whether to go or not to go. In the meanwhile I met a man. He told me that they need a driver in Iași<sup>25</sup>, just there, in Iași. And the driver had to drive between Iași and Bucharest with a microbus, to transport people. I left for Iași, I went to pass the test there, to see. Because he had told me, 'come, the boss will see you, how you drive, he gives you a driver as a shift and you do a trip to Bucharest'. I went there and I arrived in the afternoon. And he said 'the next day in the morning at six o'clock you drive to Bucharest'. The following morning I woke up, and at six o'clock I left. But I had to get to Bucharest at half past one, or two the latest. He told me that I had to be in Bucharest in six hours, six hours and a half at most. That was very hard, it was impossible, I was driving madly<sup>26</sup>. I said oh, 'Mother of God, and after one day I took my things and I left from there. They drove very dangerously, without any responsibility, although they have 10 or 15 persons in the car. I told my boss that I am sorry but I have to leave because I could not resist. I left but meanwhile I was talking to my wife. We were talking if it would be better for me to leave again for Italy, where to go in Italy. And she was upset because she said that she would be again left alone. But I charmed her because I told her that I would earn some money. So, in the end I went again to Italy in April 2005. I have worked as I have never worked in all the previous visas I had been in Italy. I had made many trips to Italy: three, four. Maybe not so many, but if I add Israel also, they were four, I think. I worked a lot, but it was visible when it came to the money. I was earning almost €1,000 for a month, but I did not have Saturdays, I did not have Sundays. This time I worked in agriculture, and it was our interest to work on Sundays also. They asked if we wanted to go on Saturdays and that said that would give us €40 for a day. And I said to myself to work on Sunday too. And I did not overstay the visa, and I came home at the end of July 2005. But when I came home, I did not know what to do. In August it was a test here for the position of fireman in Luncavița. I passed the test, and I was hired exactly on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, and started as a fireman in Luncavița and since then I am here.

---

<sup>24</sup> Dacia is a Romanian car maker subsidiary of the Renault group. It can be considered a symbol or a national car.

<sup>25</sup> Iași is a city in the north-east of Romania, more than 300 kilometers away from Luncavița.

<sup>26</sup> The distance from Iași to Bucharest is of about 400 kilometers.

***I: And you had documents, you could stay anywhere in Italy.***

Sebastian: No, I never managed to get the documents, and the boss, he was afraid, because if I had documents I could go anywhere and then I could choose. And also it is expensive to get documents. I do not know, but I heard something, that it would cost a lot, maybe as much as €2,000. So, it was too much for me, and I just wanted to stay some time, make money and come home to my family. And for this I was earning enough. I had found five Romanians, I rented an apartment and it was convenient for me to pay for that apartment €500 together with them. I would give €100 for a month, and besides that there was the food. So in total, I was spending €200 or €250. And in comparison to how much I was earning, about a thousand, for me it is was good. And now back here. Living in Romania is hard I, I would go abroad tomorrow, maybe. It is said to be better, let us say that it would be better, but I have become tired. I do not know, it is good abroad too, nothing to say, I tell other people, if one is young, even when people have a family and the child is little or if the children are young, than it is a good time to go abroad, not when they are older. Because when they grew up, it is not worth to go abroad and torment oneself alone there. And all the money one can earn there, are going over here. So, one can go abroad when he is young, when there are many needs, to make a house, for example, to arrange it, to buy a Dacia, save some money. Than, one has money, one knows that there are 100, 200, 300 millions in the bank, CEC<sup>27</sup>, wherever one puts the money, under the mattress, well, the banks of today are not worthy anymore.

***I: To go back to your trip to Israel ... can you tell me more?***

Sebastian: I left there through a company. The company was in Bucharest, somewhere close to Piața Unirii. To be honest, I cannot remember although it was not many years ago. I found out from my wife's cousins who had left in 1997 or 1998. And when my wife's cousin left for Israel I lent him some money. Regarding myself, my children were young I had a quite good job, I was working, home, every night home, I said to myself, 'why do I need to leave for Israel?' I did not leave at that time, I gave him money, I helped him, I cannot remember how much money I gave him. After he came back from abroad, he bought a car and he renovated his flat. He lives in Măcin, close to here. And then I thought it would be a gain. That is why I decided to go also. One could take \$700 or \$800 on a month. Therefore I was sending money home every month. And they test us in Romania to see if we were good at what we were doing and they also did a medical test and at the end, they gave us a kind of card, so called card. But well, not with the photo, it was the name of the hospital, the stamp, everything, you were able for the work in Israel. Only in this way it was done, otherwise it was no way to go. Of course, that there was a charge to be paid, as for every company, so you could not go, I

---

<sup>27</sup> CEC is the Romanian House for Savings.

paid a charge plus the flight ticket. I paid \$900 charge, out of which \$300 if I remember correctly, I have the contract at home. It was specified that in those 24 months one remains with the company or minimum 12 months, when one returns will receive back \$300. Because many people wanted to arrive in Israel, and therefore they gave how much they gave through the company, and there having a brother, a brother-in-law, or a cousin, I do not know what and they would leave the company to work elsewhere. Because they gave us \$3 on an hour, that was all we were left with in the hand for a day. The company in Israel was called Keneton, it was that big company because everybody received an invoice, like in Romania and specified, that amount of money out of which it was reduced for accommodation. One would take the paper, signed every month. When one returns home after one year or 24 months, one receives those \$300. I did so. When I got back I went to the company and they gave me back as it said in the contract the \$300 and it seemed to me as something very, very correct. Because it cost me actually \$600, out of which one hundred and something or \$200, God knows how much it was the flight ticket. But, I told you it was dangerous and I decided to come back. And in December 2001 was the last visa that Sharon approved for Romanians in Israel. Since 2002 nobody left anymore. I came to Romania, but after a while, I called again, I applied again to go back because I saw that a month, two, three, four have passed and I did not find work. So I thought that in Israel I had saved some money, but if I stayed home and I did not have any work, I would spend it all. So, I had to go back abroad. And my wife, at first she said, that I should do what I want but I should think more about that. But I said that I can go one more year and at least we could arrange a bit our house and save some money. I was hoping that we could put aside about \$10,000 ...

***I: Going back to the people you have travelled with in Europe, can you please tell me where you met the man with whom you went to Italy the first time ...***

Sebastian: We have met in Tulcea when I went to leave. It was only then that we met. We were put in touch by the same person. I have met him there. W [?] and hey, where do you go, all over the world Italy, Spain, that depends that where does he find, Italy, where, well, he would not know where, I leave for Italy, and when do you leave, well, on Wednesday, I leave on Wednesday too and after that after that I met him again in the coach station, at the same coach I left with, he left too, that person who put us in touch, sent us to a sure place in Italy. What it was written for me on the paper this man gave me, it was written on his paper also. We were glad to be going together, just because we were not going alone, but with somebody else. He had never been in Italy before, and the same for me as I had never been in Italy. The fact that I had been in Israel was different. We went together and being two of us was better than being alone. We had many adventures during the travel and the fact that we arrived there simply as if we had fallen from the Moon and none of us knew a bit of Italian. And the man

who sort of helped us to go to Italy, well, that was another story. I went to Tulcea to a person who had a cousin there, in Italy, married to an Italian. Therefore, relationships of this kind. But in my village you could not ask anybody who has been abroad or to help somebody. Those who were from my village and whom I asked to help me, they said that they did not have where to direct me, there were no jobs, that it was very difficult to find accommodation. If it is not difficult to find a job, than it is difficult to find accommodation or the other way around. One sort of helped me, I found out through somebody else about this relation from Tulcea and I went to her. I told her who I was and how I knew about her and that I would also like to leave the country. She said that I need to wait a little and I had been waiting about three weeks or even more, I think. Maybe it was a month until this place was opened. Because for the same type of job she also had two Moldavians, two Ukrainians who did not speak Romanian and a Bulgarian, so in totally there were about five people at that person to whom we went to Italy. They remained, but we left. It was not convenient for us, so we left. And I told you, that in spite of the terrible time there I was determined. In 2003, when I left for the first time in Italy, so, I was, I already had the file put in Bucharest at Mirona [a company mediating the labour migration to Israel] for leaving to Israel and I kept calling to the company. I would call every two-three weeks for more than a one month and they told me to wait for a while, maybe the visas comes. But all the time it was 'maybe'. But already Sharon gave a law not to give any more visas for Romanians.

***I: I wanted to ask another thing, you said that from Italy you have sent however money, home. How could you send money?***

Sebastian: So, having the passport, one can send money without problems. The first time I was there, I used to send money by mail. So, I was going to the post office, I was talking to the lady in Italian, I was telling her that I want to send money to Romania and the money arrived in Tulcea, at the Commercial Bank without any problem. They gave me something, a proof, because I did not have an account there. They gave me a paper of payment how can I say this. It was a paper that I gave the money, they gave me a secret code, made of six figures, which I had to tell to my wife. Without the code she could not draw the money and she went at the bank and got the money. After that, the last time when I went to *Western Union* to send money it was easier to send. That is easier, although it was the same form. But the problem was that one had to pay a charge that was known. I had to pay a fee there. Here, my wife did not pay anything. So when I sent money to her, they did not retain anything from the bank, but I paid there depending on how much money I sent to her. Usually, it is that the more one sends, the more it costs. Even I was sending, I was sending once and I was sending so, a sum of €300, €400 and that was all. This money was to manage until I would come. Because if I was staying three months, I was coming home at every three months, I was coming with the

money, because it was not convenient to give €25 to €30 how much I had to pay to the post or to the bank for sending the money. I remember it because it was almost one million in our country. One could do something with this amount of money. So, all together I had a lot to earn out of it. When I was going three months with three months I was going to a sure place. The first visa was the hardest one, then I really had troubles. But the following two, it was without problems, I went for sure, I learned the language, I knew what train to take, I started learning how to do things. When I went by the metro for the first time in Italy, it was like I went through Bucharest. It was the same: I went to buy the ticket for the metro, €1, I went, I paid the ticket, I passed the bar there, and did not have any problem.

***I: Have you ever thought to go to Spain based on the contracts for work...***

Sebastian: Yes, you just give me the possibility to say another story; this time about Spain. So, before leaving for Italy, I cannot remember sure, but one time before leaving for Italy or after the first visa, but I do not think that before leaving for Italy, somebody from Tulcea had found a company in Bucharest. But I do not remember anything else about this company. But, just to say that I arrived there with great difficulty. I went to Bucharest, I got to the statue of Mihai Kogălniceanu. Well, that one I remember even now, that I took a bus to go there and on the way back I remember taking the bus to go to take the metro for Gara de Nord. And I made a contract to leave for Spain. This was in 2003. I went there and submitted a file to leave for Spain as a crane operator. I submitted the file, copies of the passport, of the license, of the work record, of I do not know what, everything, and he told me to wait. When the intermediary comes and the Spanish owner needs new workers, they would announce me. From 2003 to 2006 there were three years, and I do not exaggerate, but one month ago I received a telephone from Bucharest, then, at that time, in 2003 I did not have a cell phone, but I was not really tempted to buy a mobile. It was immediately when I left the next visa for Italy that I bought a mobile. We had decided to give up our former landline with Romtelecom<sup>28</sup>. As we live in a village, we did not used to have a direct line, so one needs to call the central line of the village and ask to make a call to another number. And I told my wife at the telephone, immediately to take a cell phone, because I call from there. And, coming back to the story about the company in Bucharest. So, to the company in Bucharest when I made my file, I had given my sister's telephone number, and she lived in Tulcea. And a woman called my sister one day asking to talk to me, saying that they have my application for a job as a crane operation in Spain, and if I could go to Bucharest because the boss comes for the interview. And my sister gave them my number and this is how they reached me. I told that I could not give them any answer because I was in the office, and I have a job, however I

---

<sup>28</sup> Romtelecom is the one of the companies that provides telephone land lines in Romania. It is the only company in the rural areas, as initially it was state owned and only recently became private.

told them that I would go home to consult my family, my wife. Of course, when one has a family, one cannot just make a decision alone. So, I arrived home and my wife said that she would not like me to go abroad again. Of course that the lady from the company called me again. And she asked me if I want to go to the interview, because there are more crane operators and that it was not only me with the application as a crane operator, there were several applications. He maybe needed only one or two, he did not need ten crane operators. What would he do with ten crane operators? And he wanted to test us: what do I know how to do, what crane did I work on, if I left before, if I had known the language, especially. I would have gone, I would have known Spanish too. I do not know why I was sure that I could go. But when I heard that there were several: 10, 15 people, I chucked it up, and I said: 'Miss, I do not have money to make a trip to Bucharest to come for an interview.' And she had also told me that the boss did not speak Romanian. And then, I gave it up. However, I was thinking that leaving with a profession, certainly, one can earn money. Because in Italy too, I have found a job as a driver and as a crane operator, but he asked me from the beginning about the documents. I only had the passport. So, he asked me how could he put me to work or send me on the road. And I quitted, I said for the moment I gave up going abroad, and I think that I give up for good, once the years pass by. And here in Romania there is a limit of the age until when a boss hires you, these ones too will start to say until 45, until 40, until ... well, there are people of 50 and maybe of about 60 who go to work, for example as it is in the agriculture, where I was, they did not mind, just to be able to work, not to be sick, things like that, well, this is how it is.

***I: Yes, well, I thank you very much.***

#### *IV.3.3 Mioara*

Mioara is a 29 year old woman who has migrated to Spain where she met her husband. Her parents are also working in Spain. She is from the village Feldru. I conducted this interview in August 2006.

***I: Could you please tell me your life beginning with the school years?***

Mioara: I finished the pedagogical high school in Năsăud. I did five years. I was sent to the children school from Teaca. After that I moved to the elementary school from Parla and actually, I did work only in the elementary school from Feldru six years, as a primary school teacher. After six years of teaching I left for Spain ... where I stayed almost four years. And I used to come back in the country almost every year ... after one year in Spain I came back in the country and I got married. We went back ... we were working there ... we were investing

money back home in Romania. Now I returned to the village and I took a job here at the school.

[I: I knew from a friend of her that her husband had died and that was the reason she decided to come back home. I did not ask her in the interview about this decision.]

***I: Tell me, how was your life in Spain...***

Mioara: It was very beautiful ... I think that except the excessive heat during the summer, I liked everything. Well, people, relationships with people, relationships with the institutions, the tolerance, the civilization, the public transportation, the fact that people got in the buses in the order they had arrived to the bus stop and did not crowd there, the possibility to do almost everything you want on the material plan, you can buy everything your soul wishes, so the work conditions, you have the satisfaction of your work because the efforts are really financially rewarded. After that I got also the residence permit, after two years. I did not travel too much there but I... I lived in a small town close to Madrid, 20 minutes from Madrid and we went almost every week to Madrid. There are a lot of emigrants and Arganda, where I used to live, there are several thousands of Romanians actually, the area is as if Romanian. I was in Barcelona too, and I liked it even more because there is the sea and besides, the proximity to France makes it different. Moreover, there are not so many emigrants from South America as in the area of Madrid, where dominate Ecuadorians, Colombians and others. And it is very different from what people say here in Romania. They said that Romanians go to Spain to pick up strawberries. This is a totally wrong conception, so who was not there does not know. The Spanish and the Romanians do the same jobs. Maybe in south, indeed in the area in Morsia, where they do agriculture there, the Romanians work more in agriculture, but for the rest men work in constructions, as the majority of Spanish people do, because these years there has been enormous development in constructions there. The salary that Spanish men have, a Romanian has too, if he is in the situation to have the right to work and residence permit, and the same rights there is no discrimination from this point of view. They have the possibility to buy a flat or a car in leasing, as any Spanish person, and they even buy. I know lots of people who bought there apartments and very expensive cars with loans approved by banks without any problem. They have loans for 24 years. They do not necessarily plan to stay there, or they might, who knows, but people take it as a form of investment. So, instead of living there and renting and actually throwing the money out on the window, one pays, even if one gives a bit more money, one pays the mortgage for the flat. Well, if it is not convenient anymore, after one year, two, three, four, five years, one can sell it, and anyway one gains in these years. The flat grows in value and one would have an amount of money that one would not have been able to save only by working every day. So, it is a kind of business. I know ... I had acquaintances who bought an apartment, let us say, five, six years

ago. They sold it last year and they remained with €80,000, 100,000 in their hand, the difference from prices, which one needs years or decades and with the condition that one does not invest in something else. Besides there are ... in the Madrid area, where we used to live, the prices of the apartments are extremely high. But there are apartments in areas in the suburbs or in villages, or in the area of Valencia or even in the area of Barcelona where the prices were not that high. And besides, one is given loans for furnishing the flat or in the case one runs out of money one has at their disposal I do not know, a sum of €8,000 I heard, which one can use at any time. The only thing one needs in order to be able to go to a bank and make a credit is that the salary goes into the account, and then they know how much you earn every month and they can give you a credit. It is true that to make a credit one needs to have documents, to be regular, whereas to open an account, one does not need. To open an account, one only needs a proof from the police that they are a resident and they can deposit the money in the bank, it is not a problem. But, I do not know, there are very few without documents, especially after the new regularization, from last year. I think that, let us say, 80 per cent out of Romanians who are in Spain have documents. About eight hundred thousands and more of emigrants got documents with the regularization from 2005. Plus there were another two laws of regularization before.

***I: But how do you find out about these regularizations?***

Mioara: They make propaganda on television. It is announced, or there is a law called *poraraibo*, so you can obtain documents if you prove that three years you did not leave Spain and there are lawyers specialized in this, and there are offices for emigrants which are free, so they advise one what to do, to what Ministry to go, where to submit the file. And there have been many people who have not left from Spain for long periods of time. There are different solutions to become regular. The laws were different; for the second regularization I do not know what were the necessary documents, but about the first ones, I know that the only condition was that until May 1999, to have entered Spain and everybody got documents, no matter what they worked or did not work, that they had a job, or did not have one. It did not matter. So, if you proved, with your passport, that you entered Spain before the given date that was enough. Now, the last law was more complicated. The Socialists gave it; they came in power after the Populares and it is more complicate because you had to prove that you are *impatronat* in a town in Spain, no matter what town. So you, in the moment when you arrive in Spain, if you decide that you want to stay more, you go to the mayor's office from that town and they ... register you in their data base that you live in that town or in that village. This was a condition to prove that you are *impatronat* ... and, you had to prove also the record from the police in Romania that you have a clean criminal record, which before was not the case. Here it was a complicate situation. Why did it become complicated? Because the

Romanian Embassy intervened and of course it mixed the things up. The Romanian Embassy took the pledge that for all the emigrants who need the criminal record, they go to the Embassy, hand in an application, and the Embassy takes all the necessary steps. They send the papers to Romania, from Romania it will come the criminal record to the Embassy. You go to the Embassy and get the criminal record. They said that in two weeks you would have your criminal record and it took so, there was a time limit until you could hand in the application for your documents. The Romanian realized that the Embassy has delayed the things. It was craziness. I was there personally for five times: I was waiting my father's criminal record, my father was there. But he was in another region of Spain, he was very far, three hours from Madrid. The embassy being in Madrid, I was the one going to get the record. We were not given any information, there was turmoil, the Romanians were cursing and with good reason, they come ... there were people coming from 600, from 800 kilometres distance. They did not receive any information, did not know when the criminal records would arrive, when they have to come again. And the consul did not come out to clarify. There were just two doorkeepers. So they did not have any idea about what was going on. It was crazy, especially that the other countries, so Ecuador that had the most numerous emigrants regularized with this law, in three days they had the criminal record. I, so I speak as a person who is very much informed because I am telling you, I went to the embassy for five times, and the time limit was approaching. In the end I succeeded.

***I: And, how else is the Romanian embassy in Spain useful for the immigrants?***

Mioara: ... for these, for documents. So, to make an authorizing or to send in the country, also the embassy is in charge, but lately, so after this thing with ... people prefer to go to a Spanish person and to make their documents there, to send them, and the people in the country solve them and send them back because it is much more operative. To enter the Embassy you need, so for any document, you need to have an appointment. We went in September to make an appointment for a change of passport and they gave me an appointment for the 18<sup>th</sup> of January. So you can imagine. The passport was expired. There was no notice board to say what documents I need to take and show at the Embassy, there was only a notice board with the charges that are collected, that are anyway very high, for a passport changing it was €95, the same for an authentication or an authorizing. It would not cost you less if you would send in the country.

***I: You know better ... and other information, how does it circulate; for example when are regularizations, where the passports are changed, how to do the impatronament?***

Mioara: So, firstly you find out from the others. Then you go to the City Hall and generally the institutions there are very efficient and in the service of the citizens. Even if you did not find the right institution you are told 'It is not here the place but look, go to that address' and I

did not meet a clerk in Spain to be grumpy or to speak badly to you or to ignore you. At the police, hospital, ministry for *estraheri*, wherever you went ... you were given the necessary information.

***I: And how about your family?***

Mioara: They are there temporary, so my mother goes from time to time. My father works there. He is in a county that is close to Portugal ... he works in a *finca* ... in a farm of sheep, because he is 50 years and more and he cannot work anymore in constructions. And in that area ... there is an area good for agriculture and he works there. So he first came in the area of Madrid, but he did not find work in the field, something suitable for him. And he went there to some acquaintances. He telephoned them. Because in general Romanians keep in touch or ... if they know a place of work somewhere they tell each other; if one knows somebody that does not have a place to work ... well this was especially at the time when they were not regularized because now, with the documents, it is not really a problem to find work. And one does not need somebody's recommendation any more if they have documents. One presents himself or herself at any institution and, if there is a need for people and there are places of work, they take them. So, once one has documents, one has the same rights with everyone.

***I: But let us say that look, I go to my brother and I do not find a place of work. But I enter before a certain date, the regularization law starts, I am in the country and they give me documents. But I do not have a place of work, then what it is written on the tarjeta?***

Mioara: No, with this regularization that was made last time it was compulsory. The employer to hand in an application that he needs you and has a place of work for you. Before it was not necessary, but now it was. So because it was a terrible need for places of work, and even if the documents were ready, and one was in Romania, if one presented him/ herself in Spain one could go anywhere. It was convenient for one to get a job. At the last regularization one needed a job offer. So, my father went to Spain five years ago in November there will be five years since he left. This means 2001.

***I: In 2001 he needed a visa?***

Mioara: Yes, but he left with ... an invitation from Austria, he had an invitation from a person from Austria. He got the Schengen visa and left for Spain. He did not stay in Austria at all.

***I: And do you know people from here who went based on bilateral agreements between Romania and Spain?***

Mioara: I think that Romanians from this region do not go to Spain based on contracts established in Romania. Maybe in other regions they do, but not from here. Do you know how these things worked? For example ... they brought each other, a brother left, announced him when he found a place of work he brought a friend or the other brother or the things worked in this way. That is why they group themselves depending where they come from in Romania.

Generally the relationships with those from the village are maintained, but I had friends from Maramureş, for example, very good friends. In Arganda, where we used to live, there are, I can say about 400 persons from Nepos, the neighbouring village to Feldru. And you will not find Nepos inhabitants in other regions of Spain. From Feldru they are close to Valencia, there is a village Aelo, afterward nearby Madrid, there are people from Feldru in Meco and Arganda del Rei, Alcalá de Henares, there are in the area of Barcelona in the village *Vila Nova* in *Lagentru*, there are a lot from Feldru, in Talavera de la Reina, a big town where there are many *Feldrihani*. They had to spread, Feldru is a big village, you know, and ... let us say Nepos ... it does not have, not even a quarter of the population of Feldru. So, it was much smaller and so people could group themselves. And there are much less people abroad from there. Whereas from Feldru there are many people abroad. Of all ages, especially the young people, so those which attended a high school and did not find a secure place of work. All of them ... men and women, and whole families have departed. And people of my father's age. My father left when he was 50 years and more because he worked for 33 years in a factory in Bistriţa, the factory was closed. He worked for a private company, he had a salary of a few millions, my sister had just begun the university in Romania and it was impossible to support her. He did not want by all means to go, but he had also the chance to obtain the invitation. It cost less than to buy a visa. And then he left. I left in 2002 when I did not need visa or invitation any more. And in the months following the opening of the borders, so the borders were opened in January, in March, April, May, there was an exodus.

***I: Can you tell me more about work in Spain?***

Mioara: Yes ... yes, maybe there is a wrong conception, Romanians really work very hard. The Spanish people work very hard too. So, there, work is work. The work schedule is work schedule. Eight o'clock is eight o'clock. And I saw the Spanish people as very hardworking people. Despite of what the Romanians say. Because there are Romanians that call them gipsy and lazy 'We came to work for them', but I did not see a Spanish person to call the Romanian to work, in exchange I saw lots of Romanians looking for work at Spanish employers. It is true Romanians are appreciated a lot.

***I: And how, how did you were legalized there?***

Mioara: I was legalized through family regrouping. So because my husband was regular I received my residence too. So, there was this possibility. If one of the spouses has the residence, the other one receives it too. Or for children, the same, they obtain their residence, on the base of their parents' documents. I asked only for the residence. But having the residence you have the possibility to go in any day to de Ministry for work and hand in an application for work and automatically you obtain the right to work too. So, the path is open. It does not mean that if you obtain only the right to residence you never obtain the right to

work, or that you have to wait a law of regularization for the right to work. In the situation when you have an offer for a job and want to work and go to the Ministry for work then you obtain very easy the right to work having the residence.

***I: And in your spare time to whom did you stay or how did you spend your spare time?***

Mioara: Visits to the friends. We went to Extremadura to my father. We went to Barcelona where I have a very good friend from our village. We went very often to visit Madrid, because there are a lot of things to see. We had friends in Granada, who came to us, so, in the south, in the south of Spain. For me they are the same friends from my childhood. Almost all my friends have emigrated, but I do not know, we were all spread all over Spain, because I was in Madrid, one was in Barcelona and another one in Granada, therefore in three geographical points very distant and far one from each other. But we kept in touch, even if between Madrid and Barcelona there are 800 km. Still we visited each other twice a year. You see, if we are all now regular we can be spread, we do not need to help each other. It was at the beginning. But in the situation when you have the rights, you do not need either the help, you see? But the relationships now at the present times are formed. Maybe at the beginning when at the beginning it was hard. Now there are Pentecostals and Orthodox from Feldru everywhere. It was important to help with somebody at the beginning when we did not have documents, but now it is easy. In Arganda there are three Pentecostal churches and an Orthodox church. So, now you find people grouped according to the region where they come from in Romania. So there is an area where there are many Moldavians. And for example my father, he went initially to a friend, but now he is regular, he can do what he wants, he just wants to stay in agriculture as it is easier for him.

I: Well, thank you very much.

## **CHAPTER V: Community narratives of Luncavița and Feldru: migration patterns, economic integration and life in Spain**

In the previous chapter I present the empirical material to fundament the discussion of the patterns of migration and the stages of migration emerging from the two villages. In this chapter I bring together the migration projects to create a clearer picture of the migration patterns from the two villages. The background for this part is informed by Massey's approach towards migration patterns in comparing communities. Massey suggests that communities are not different from the point of view of migration, just at different stages of the same evolution. If we regard them from a longitudinal perspective, they pass through the same stages and in the long term converge towards a common pattern. Another theoretically relevant discussion concerns Portes' critique of transnationalism. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) criticize the extensive use of the concept of transnationalism. They show how it is currently being used to name practices that have been in place for a long time. The gifts and parcels that are sent home by migrants or one-time investments like building houses in the home community are clear examples of classical migrant practices that are neither novel nor account for transnationalism. Similarly, Itzigson et al. (1999) point out that occasional contacts, trips and activities across national borders of members of a diaspora contribute to intensifying connections and thus transnationalism, nonetheless, these contacts are neither new, nor sufficiently distinct, to legitimize a new area of investigation (Itzigson et al. 1999).

Nonetheless, Portes and his colleagues acknowledges the emergence of such a phenomenon and argues in favour of its distinct character: "what constitutes truly original phenomena and, hence, a justifiable new topic of investigation, are the high intensity of exchanges, the new modes of transacting, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustained basis" (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999:219). Having in mind these theoretical considerations and critiques, I will analyze the migration from Luncavița and Feldru.

### *IV.4.1 Luncavița*

#### IV. 4.1.1 Pattern of migration

In both pieces of fieldwork, I contacted my respondents based on a snowballing sampling method. In Luncavița I was surprised that although people recommended other contacts to

me, the respondents did not seem to form a network, to have helped each other in their migration experience or even be sharing information about potential jobs at the destination. Each respondent was an atom with his/her own migration experience. In the absence of communication, people still form expectations, but these can be distorted. There was one case of a woman, Marta, who had helped her sister to migrate, although Marta herself had migrated without the help of anyone from the village. All the interviewees from the fieldwork in April (ten respondents) apart from one (who migrated based on contractual work as a nurse in Italy) mentioned the usage of disparate social connections in their first attempts to make links with the destination, regardless of the destination. They were helped by acquaintances from Tulcea or Galați (the two towns in the vicinity of Luncavița), former colleagues from school, and their relatives' colleagues, to mention but a few. All the ties were extra-local. Moreover, there were cases of cheating, which is rare behaviour in rural parts of Romania because of the closed and traditional communities. One of the respondents from the fieldwork in Luncavița told me that she asked another villager for help to migrate and find a job abroad, and when she reached Italy she was taken to a farm and was exploited. She had to pay a lot for the accommodation and the food on the farm and even for water (Luncavița, April 2006, woman, 40).

Given the individualistic character of migration, people from Luncavița are migrating to various places in Italy, Spain or Greece. I grouped this category of migrants under the second category of the three ideal projects that I entitled 'disparate social connections' and which accounts for almost half of the migration from Luncavița (See life story two, migration based on disparate connections, Sebastian, male, 39, Luncavița, April 2006). In the case of Luncavița, many people migrate based on disparate social connections, which transform migration into a 'game of chance'.

To reinforce this individualistic pattern of the migration from Luncavița, I will briefly refer to the case of Dinu. He is a 39-year-old migrant who had attempted to migrate several times but had only managed to save money on one out of his three trips abroad. After the other two trips, he had returned home in debt. He was irregular throughout his time abroad, and because his stays exceeded the legal period, he had to pay a fine or bribe the border guards in order not to have his passport stamped as invalid. Because of this, he was also often cheated by bus drivers who promise irregular migrants to pass them the border control without getting an interdiction on their passports for an amount of money. Each time he had migrated he was helped by acquaintances or friends of acquaintances from Galați. On two of his trips, even these very thin linkages broke and he was helped by Romanians he had met through chance encounters at the destination. Dinu speaks about the difficulties encountered as an irregular migrant:

*For men who do not have documents it is very difficult to find a job, the people who had called me would have put in a good word and found me work, maybe I would have managed. If a Spaniard does not know you, he does not take you on for work, if you had worked for him before, he takes you in, if you have not worked, he does not take you in because he does not know whom he would be dealing with but if my acquaintances to whom I went in Spain went with me and gave a Spanish employer their guarantee, 'hey, I know this man, take him on because he works, he is good ... it could have been different, but they did not want to do that (Luncavița, April 2006, male, 39).*

Later on in the research I came across one extended family whose members have helped each other migrate, and which I presented extensively in the second section of this chapter. This family migration which constitutes another type of migration project – family migration developing into migration networks – accounts for a large part of the migration from Luncavița.

The migration pioneer to Spain was Nicu. He left in 1999 with a visa bought on the black market. Later on, he helped the 'best workers' from the village migrate (as locals say); many of whom subsequently brought their wives over. Significantly enough, the best workers are also his relatives. His close relatives tried to buy fake visas in order to go to Spain, but were cheated. As a consequence they only migrated after 2002, once there was no visa requirement for the Schengen Space. This opened up opportunities for the entire village and migration emerged as a strategy in the context of this political change.

In the August fieldtrip, I interviewed some of the people from this extended family and established links that allowed me to visit them in Spain. The fourth part of the fieldwork took place at the destination of the migrants, the village of Santa Maria de Palautordera. This allowed me to get a complete picture of the transnational character of migration from Luncavița. At first, I had the impression that there was not a culture of migration, and that migration was not a strategy that one would embark on if there were local opportunities. In spite of the lack of a culture of migration, people still chose idiosyncratically migration. Given the failure of many people while migrating, the conclusion that I reached at the end of my fieldwork research in the home community was that it would be inaccurate to refer to transnationalism among the Luncăvițeni. However, the fieldwork in Spain in Santa Maria de Palautordera challenged and contradicted my ideas about the migration and of the emergence of a transnational space between Luncavița and Palau.

The migrants from Luncavița that are part of this extended family all live close to Barcelona in the Montseny region (See life story two, family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006), mainly

in the village Palau. The Luncăvițeni constitute the largest community of Romanians in Palau. Besides them, there are other Romanians from the county of Râmnicu Vâlcea in the south of the country, but these are a small number of about five families. Palau is a village, but it is very prosperous and has many small businesses. Many of Palau's inhabitants commute to Barcelona which is 40 minutes away by train. During the interviews with the school director and migrants, I was told that in Palau there is a large community of Moroccans, particularly men, and a smaller community of Peruvians. The people from Palau and in general from Catalonia are open to migrants as most of them have experienced migration as part of their own lives. In the 1960s there were large migration flows from Andalusia in the south of Spain to the industrialized and wealthy north. In this context of internal migration, the local administration built some apartment buildings to house the newcomers. These are 'strategically' located opposite the police station and the local town hall. They have been rented since then to migrants and some of the Romanian migrants presently live in these apartments.

The migration projects of the Luncăvițeni are very simple and repetitive: men arrive first and within the first year of their migration the wives and children join them. There are less than five cases of men from Luncăvița who are alone in Spain. I met three of these men, who shared a flat together. One of them is single; one has children at high school in Romania who need to be looked after, so the wife rests with them in Romania, and the last one is planning to bring his wife to join him.

The patterns of migration have a strong impact on the patterns of living accommodation. If several single men arrive together, they share a flat. Later on, they move into a flat with their wives and children or share a flat with another family, and the former flat is taken over by newcomers. The Luncăvițeni pass the flats on to each other, so that there are flats that have only been inhabited by various families from Luncăvița for the past six years. Because the migrants are not residing legally in Spain when they first arrive, the flats are mostly rented by those who are legal. Nicu and Doru, the first and most influential migrants from Luncăvița to Palau, have rented the majority of flats for the others. Therefore, the situation of overcrowding that exists in other communities does not exist in Palau. The low rent of only €300 per month for a flat means that migrants do not need to live in overcrowded accommodation.

In terms of the areas in town where the Luncăvițeni live, apart from the social housing provided by the local administration mentioned above, they live in the village centre on two of the main streets. There are more affordable apartments in this part of the village, as the rest of the village consists of houses and villas, which are more expensive (See life story two,

family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006).

Looking at the migrants in Palau, obvious differences between them become apparent, depending on the duration of their stay at the destination or the personal history of migration. Those migrants who have lived in Spain for more than four years are more settled, have their children with them, and are considering staying there for the active part of their lives and only returning to Romania when they are pensioners. At the other end of the scale are those migrants who have only recently arrived and who miss the home community, Romanian food, and who have not yet brought their children with them.

#### IV. 4.1.2 Work

Since their arrival in Palau, the men from Luncavița have been working in construction. There are three important construction companies in Palau, two of them owned by Spaniards and one by a Russian. Most of the migrants have worked in all three. Since Doru and Nicu started their own construction companies in September 2006, most Romanians have come to work for them. Their strategy is to subcontract work from the three bigger construction companies.

The women from Luncavița have varied occupations and sometimes one woman has several jobs in order to earn well (See life story two, family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006). Women's occupations depend on their legal status. In the first phase, as an irregular migrant, the most common practice is to work as a domestic help. To be domestic workers, migrants only need to speak a little Spanish. More importantly is for them that there are no controls on migrant workers in people's houses. So that, even if they are irregular, it is very little likely to be caught when working on someone's house. Later on, when the migrants become regularized, they start working in small shops, restaurants or bakeries where there are checks for irregular migrants.

To become regularized one needs a contract. The strategy among domestic workers is that the migrant becomes self-employed and has individual contracts with each employer specifying the amount of work hours. The migrant pays her own social contribution to the state. Once the migrants are regular, and apply for the second *tarjeta o autorización de residencia* (residence permit), and based on contacts established among Spanish employers, they are more likely to change jobs and move into factory work or retail. The work is much easier and better paid than domestic work (See life story two, family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006). In order to fight irregular migration, the Spanish state fines employers €50,000 for each irregular

migrant found working in their company. It is harder to check employers of domestic workers because of the private character of work and because it is difficult for somebody to enter in a house and check the legal status of a migrant. Employers therefore usually require migrants to have residence and work permits and may even apply for these permits themselves on behalf of the migrant.

Because they feel a sense of attachment towards the Spanish families where they work, and also due to the low income of a cook or shop assistant, women are domestics in a few houses where they work over the week and as a shop assistant. Therefore they have several jobs. To provide a few examples, I will refer to some of the women from Luncavița whom I interviewed: Laura, 31 years old, is a domestic worker in the house of one Spanish family and also cleans the shop on the ground floor of their house. Her sister, Maria, works as a domestic in several houses and cooks in a canteen on Sundays. Their sister-in-law is also a domestic in several houses and works in a delicatessen in the afternoon (See life story two, family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006). We can draw two conclusions from these examples: the main and initial occupation for women is domestic work; the second step is that to start working in shops, restaurants and factories through the acquaintances that they make among Spanish people.

What I expected given the above description is that as older women migrants moved into different sectors of activity, recently arrived women would take over the work as domestics. However, this was not entirely the case. There are two reasons for this. In most cases Spanish employers prefer their employees to be regular, even for domestic work, for fear of having troubles with the authorities or having to pay a considerable fine. Secondly, because they are used to domestics who speak Spanish, they require a minimal knowledge of Spanish that the new migrants do not yet possess. This being the case, a recommendation is still what counts most when it comes to being offered a job. This is the case for all types of jobs, regardless of the regular or irregular status of the migrant (See life story two, family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006).

Therefore, the question that arises is: why are the majority of newly arrived immigrant women in Palau unemployed? An interesting observation that came out of the fieldwork in Palau is the fact that women act as gate-keepers in order to limit the expansion of migration. In a previous section on the empirical analysis, I offered a visual representation of the way the migrants from Luncavița brought one another to Palau. As I have previously mentioned, all the migrants in Palau are related, with friends only starting to come recently. When the migration to Palau started, the expansion of migration took place within the extended family

and specifically within the women's families. They brought their sisters, brothers, cousins and so on (this is best illustrated in the figure of the kinship ties in the section on Family Stories, pp. 63, see also life story two, family migration emerging into network migration, Luiza, female 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006, pp. 81-101). The expansion was slower among the men's families.

It is important to notice the different character of work among men and women. All men are employed and work together, because of the particular nature of their work in construction. Also, men come to Spain only when there is a position available for them to start working. Whereas, women follow their husbands; their aim is primarily to take care of them, to cook and clean, with earning money only a secondary aim. They actively look for a job only once they got to the destination. This determines the different access to the labour market of women and men.

Another detail that supports the idea that women are gate-keepers is the fact that many women are unemployed, while the employed ones spread the idea that it is difficult to find jobs for women. The two situations appear to be coherent. Nonetheless, I witnessed a discussion between one woman and her husband during which she was wondering whether to accept another job or not. What she did not discuss was whether she could give up one or two houses where she works as a domestic for one of the newcomers. Similarly, Luiza (female, 26, Luncavița) complained that she had days when she left the house at seven in the morning and returns at nine in the evening. She is a domestic in several houses and at the same time works in a shop.

Subsequently, there are newcomers who are working, having been helped to find a job by women who have been in Spain for several years. These examples support two arguments: firstly that migration networks do not only facilitate, but also restrict access to migration in general and the labour market in particular; and secondly that due to the structure of the labour market at the destination, women rationally restrict the arrival of new migrants to Spain.

#### IV. 4.1.3 Legality

Legality issues are relevant for several reasons; firstly they relate to the legal residence and work permits that bring a series of liberties – free movement between Romania and Spain, greater ease with finding jobs, access to social and health provisions and so on. Secondly, permits raise the probability of being employed with a contract which again gives access to other rights such as unemployment benefits and holiday entitlement. Most importantly, contracts make it very difficult for an employer to fire a regular worker, because the employee

could claim unfair dismissal and unless there is a strong case that the worker is not fulfilling his duties, he is likely to win the case.

Especially in men's work in construction there is a high risk of accidents. If an accident happens, in the absence of a contract, employees have no rights to any kind of social benefits. In Spain access to medical care is free, but a worker will not be paid for any time he cannot work if he has an accident and is hospitalized.

The number of regular migrants, both men and women, has grown over the last few years, especially after the 2005 regularization. As a result, the pool of regular workers is so large that the employers have a large choice of already regular workers to choose from. This makes access to the labour market very difficult, if not impossible, for those who are not yet regular.

For men the main strategies used to acquire regular status are through regularizations or work contracts. The regularizations are actions of the Spanish Government to regularize the status of migrants who are already in the country. There have been five regularizations which have directly affected Romanian migrants: in 1991, 1996, 2000/1, 2002 and 2005 (Arango 1999, Elrick and Ciobanu 2009). Regularization based on contracts is slightly different as one can apply for this at any time. Migrants who are in Spain receive an employment contract and the employer applies to the government to have a particular employee accepted. If the application is successful, the migrants receive the documents in Romania. They go to the Spanish Embassy in Romania and receive a work visa. With this, the person receives the first *tarjeta o autorización de residencia i trabajo* (residence and work permit). This document is valid for one year and the migrant is only allowed to work for the employer who applied for his/her regularization, therefore it is impossible to move to another city without losing the tarjeta. After one year the person can renew his/her *tarjeta o autorización de residencia i trabajo*. The second one is valid for one or two years. It allows more freedom, as the migrant can change jobs. The third *tarjeta o autorización de residencia i trabajo* is again valid for two years, and the fourth one is valid for five years. Only after completing this entire process, can one become a permanent resident. It therefore takes a total of ten years to become a permanent resident.

Because women follow their husbands to the destination, they have an additional way of becoming legal besides regularization or work contracts: family reunification. This strategy is particularly widely used in Feldru. Many women come to Spain based on the legal status of their husband. This allows them only legal residence; they are not granted a work permit. If they have a contract they can apply for a work permit later.

As I have already stated, most women work in domestic services when they arrive in Spain. In order to become legal, they need a work contract for a certain number of hours a

week. Domestic work often involves various jobs in multiple households (cleaning, ironing, cooking, doing laundry, and so on), so the women are paid by the hour in each house where they work. In order to obtain a suitable work contract, the women have to become self-employed. They can then draw up a single contract in which each employer fills in the number of hours that the domestic works in his/her house. Added together, the working hours allow the migrant to apply for a *tarjeta o autorización de residencia*. A drawback to this system is that whereas in the other types of contractual work, the employer pays social contributions and taxes, self-employed workers have to pay these themselves.

An institution that is particularly interesting in the Spanish context, in relation to legalizations, is that of the lawyer. One needs a lawyer in order to apply for regularization, and of course this increases costs<sup>29</sup>. Nonetheless, the benefits of becoming regular are high enough to make the cost of legalization worthwhile.

#### IV.4.1.4 Children in the migration context

The discourses of the migrants polarize when it comes to the education systems in Romania and in Spain. Those whose children are in Spain praise the Spanish system. Those who have not brought their children with them say that the Romanian system is much better. As proof of this, they mention that when Romanian children arrive in Spain and are assessed for school, they are placed in higher classes than Spanish children of their age group, due to the high quality of Romanian schools. In the interviews, migrants commented that there are 'strange' measures in Spain whereby children are taken to an educational advisor before they can start school, and placed in classes accordingly.

Another indicator that I considered to be a marker of settlement is childbearing in Spain. In the interviews, migrants who were planning to have children mentioned that they would return to Romania when the child reached school age (six or seven in Romania). However, those who have young children say that they still have up to seven years time to work in Spain and only later return to Romania for the child's school.

I met a man who is in Spain and shares a flat with his wife and brother. The men were regular and worked in construction, whereas the wife had only recently arrived, did not have a job, was irregular and heavily pregnant. The fact that she was irregular and about to give birth in Spain surprised me. I knew from migrants that medical services are free of charge; however, giving birth in a foreign country seemed more serious to me than having flu and

---

<sup>29</sup> In some Spanish municipalities there are NGOs, local associations or even a social office of the town hall, which provides migrants with the legal assistance necessary to regularize one's status. There are however municipalities where migrants need to find their own lawyer and pay for the services.

going to see a doctor. The woman in case explained that she had seen a doctor and that there did not appear to be any problems with the pregnancy or giving birth there. Moreover, if she gave birth in Romania she would not be able to be with her husband, whereas her mother could come and help her in Spain. Furthermore, under Spanish law citizenship is not acquired by *ius soli*, therefore the child will be Romanian born in Spain. Thus, my initial hypothesis about giving birth in a foreign country and the implications of this for settlement were not substantiated.

#### *IV.4.2 Feldru*

##### IV.4.2.1 Current pattern of migration

From the very first interviews in Feldru, it was obvious that migration was a generalized life strategy. Everyone in the village who wants to migrate can do so; people from Feldru meet up at the destination and keep in touch among themselves and with the villagers from home. The impression I got was that there is a migration network that has spread its tentacles through the entire community. Just as in the case of Luncavița, in Feldru the network started within very narrow family groups and expanded over time to the entire community. The selectivity of migration is very low at present, so that anyone who aims to migrate can do so in a safe environment using various links and the knowledge from existing migrants.

During the second stage of fieldwork in Feldru I decided to narrow down the group of migrants and conduct interviews with those who go to the same location in Spain. This proved to be difficult. There is a large population from Feldru who has migrated. Also, people are clustered in a few locations in Spain. Even within the same family, or on the same street in Feldru, there are migrants going to various destinations such as Extremadura and Naelo de Malferite near Madrid and so on (see life story 3, community migration, Mioara, female, 29, Feldru, August 2006). The fact that the migrants are not grouped – as the case of the Luncăvițeni in Palau – does not mean that the migrants do not have strong ties and are not part of an extended network (see life story 3, community migration, Mioara, female, 29, Feldru, August 2006).

The long history of migration together with the large numbers of people who are in Spain determined a diversification of the destinations. This is also due to the fact that the labour market in one location has a limited capacity to absorb new workers. This meant that people had to become very mobile at the destination. Mioara (see life story 3, community migration, Mioara, female, 29, Feldru, August 2006) told me how all her friends from school are in Spain, nonetheless, they are all spread and they sometimes travelled to visit each other.

In Romania people appear to be very settled and focused on their home village, to the extent that they do not even buy apartments in the neighbouring towns and prefer to buy land or build houses in Feldru. However, as Marian, a 33-year old migrant said, the Feldrihani are very mobile within Spain:

*I live in Valencia, and I have a contract and a secure place to work, but before I had my tarjeta I travelled all through Spain. I worked with a cousin close to Madrid, I went to Extremadura after two years and finally a friend found me a good job in Valencia. I stayed here, it was a good job. I went there to make money, that is why I went (Feldru, August 2006, male, 33).*

Other emerging destinations for Romanians, and also for other migrant groups from Central and Eastern Europe, are the UK and Ireland. Whilst the Luncăvițeni have migrated only to the habitual destinations in South Europe, the Feldrihani have already started migrating to North-West Europe. The migration to Ireland started in early 2000. There were initial attempts to go to the UK, but a connection that facilitated entrance to Ireland channelled the flow to Dublin. The first migrants bought visas, and since 2004 when the EU expanded to include Eastern and Central Europe, Romanians procured documents that enabled them to enter the UK and Ireland. This fact can be explained by the presence in migrants' networks of persons from the countries which entered the European Union in 2004. Despite these events, migration to Ireland or the UK is still costly, and something which people from Luncavița cannot afford. In addition, there are no networks in place in either Ireland or the UK to offer support.

#### IV.4.2.2 Work

Similarly to migrants from Luncavița, many men from Feldru work in construction. As I mentioned in the narrative of the migration from Luncavița, migrants who work in construction are exposed to high risks. I was very surprised while I visited the Orthodox Church in Alcalá de Henares to see that there were many men with physical disabilities. I shared this observation with the priest during the interview with him. He mentioned that men often take risks and do not use all the protective measures at work as they want to seem brave and to be noticed by employers. In the same interview, as well as in interviews with construction workers, I tried to find out if employers were taking advantage of the irregular character of the migrants by getting them to do dangerous work. The answers were not conclusive. On the one hand, employers want building work to progress quickly and therefore encourage the migrants not to use all the safety equipment and scaffolding in order to save

time and therefore money. On the other hand, the workers themselves are often reluctant to take even the basic precautions of wearing gloves and helmets. If there is an accident and an irregular worker suffers injuries, and needs to be taken to hospital, the medical service is provided free of charge. In conclusion, all the interviewees suggested that the blame for such accidents that occur equally among both Romanian and Spanish workers could not be taken solely by the employers.

The only difference that can be noted in terms of work is that in the region around Madrid or Valencia where there is a high concentration of Romanians, many construction companies are owned by Romanians. This fact contrasts with Palau where there are just two construction companies that have very recently opened.

Most of the Romanians who work in Spain are employed in similar areas. Men work in the construction sector and women in domestic services. Some women have recently started working in shops, bars and restaurants and also in factories. There is a small number of migrants who have recently started small businesses that provide services specifically for increasing numbers of Romanian migrants, such as arranging transportation of people and parcels between Romania and Spain as well as selling Romanian food in shops and restaurants (see Visual Appendix, Photo ten, pp. 215).

Just like the Luncăvițeni, the migrants from Feldru also underlined the importance of recommendations in the process of getting a job. Another way of looking for jobs are the announcements posted in 'locutoriu' or small shops. I found out more about this situation from Raluca. She is a young woman whose parents had been working in Spain for a few years when she had decided to migrate. Initially she only wanted to work for the summer and return to Romania in September, as she was a medical student. However she stayed longer, got married, became regular and at the time of the interview in April 2006 was pregnant:

*I: How did you find out about these houses where you clean?*

*Raluca: The first time I started with two hours working in one house. And, as my boss liked me, I kept insisting to get more work hours, I needed it, and she recommended me to her friends, her neighbours. I went from one to another. Eventually I got to work on one street only. So my houses are all on one street only. I had two other houses in Madrid. One was the sister of my first boss and one of her friends, in another area of Madrid ... and, so, I got my jobs through people who knew people, through my bosses. I had received recommendations from the families that I was working for. You get into one family, they recommend you to another. This is the simplest way. If you are alone it is very hard to find work if no one recommends you (Feldru, April 2006, female, 24).*

#### IV.4.2.3 Legality

The opportunities to become regular are the same for migrants coming from the two Romanian villages (see life story 3, community migration, Mioara, female, 29, Feldru, August 2006). Nonetheless, in the context of the same structure of opportunities, the two groups have behaved differently (see life story 3, community migration, Mioara, female, 29, Feldru, August 2006). This has been influenced by the context in the community of origin that is extensively presented in the first section of the Chapter IV (pp. 52-63). Therefore, variables like history of migration and migration networks have greatly influenced not only the number of Romanians in Spain, but also their information channels and capacity to become regularized (Elrick and Ciobanu 2009).

As people from Feldru started migrating to Spain in the early 1990s, by the time the 1996 regularization took place, they had built up large transnational networks between their origin community and diverse locations in Spain. Therefore, many Feldrihani applied for regularization applications. Thus, while most of the Feldrihani regularised their status before 2004, the Luncăvițeni benefited mainly from the 2005 regularization (Elrick and Ciobanu 2009).

#### IV.4.2.4 Children in the migration context

When I was visiting Alcalá de Henares, I went to Sunday mass at the Orthodox Church. Two observations appeared to be significant for the migration patterns of the Feldrihani and other Romanians in that church. I noticed that there were many women who were either pregnant or with young babies. As I mentioned before, this has not proved to be an indicator of settlement in the case of Luncăvițeni. The conclusion I reached by comparing Luncăvița and Feldru was that it is more an indicator of the age structure of the migrant population and of their economic means. In other words, the migrants who have accumulated the necessary economic resources afford starting a family. Another inference was that the larger number of children of the migrants from Feldru than of the migrants from Luncăvița was another indicator of the long history of migration and legalization of the migrants' status in Spain amongst the Feldrihani. People with a regular status are more willing to have a child than those in a condition of irregularity.

Migrants' attitudes towards children's education are very similar in the two Romanian villages. To illustrate, I will present Ion's story. Ion is a 40-year-old man who has three children, one of whom was born in Spain. The whole family lived in Spain until this year

when he and his wife decided that she would return to Feldru so that the oldest boy could go to school in the village:

*Yes, my wife will stay home with the children. Dan will start first grade. He used to go to kindergarten in Spain, there. But I want him to go to school here. School is better here. What they learn ... it is better here* (Feldru, April 2006, male, 40).

When comparing the opinions of migrants towards education, I found that these fell into two age-related groups: the first consisting of migrants aged from their early 20s to around 35, and the second of migrants over 35. The first have children and send them to school in Spain. They are younger and more oriented towards their life in Spain. The second category prefers their children to go to school in Romania. These two age groups correlate with the occupation of the children's grandparents. While for those in their 20s the grandparents are active on the labour market, for those in their 30s the grandparents are retired and can take care of the grandchildren, which is a very common practice for Romanians.

### **V.1 Stages in the migration from Luncavița and Feldru**

When looking at a snapshot of the current migration from the two villages, one would say that there are significant variations between communities. At the same time, researches on the past twenty years of Romanian migration show that there are four main periods of migration (Sandu 2006). In other words, in spite of the differences, one can also spot common patterns across migrant communities. Massey's conclusion when comparing nineteen Mexican communities was that in the long term, inconsistencies between communities are levelled. My aim in comparing Luncavița and Feldru was to understand the internal logic of migration and to examine to what extent two different communities showed any syncretism through cumulative structural effects. The biographical narrative interviews allowed me to take a longitudinal perspective on the migration from the two migrant communities.

First and foremost, I should clarify the concept of stage, which Massey (1994) does not clearly develop. In migration there are a few regularities. For example, the people with a higher economic capital are the first ones to migrate from a community. Similarly, we can say that inside a community, migration starts within a small, closed niche. There is also a high selectivity at the beginning, which decreases over time making migration available to almost everyone. This is a very simplistic image of migration that I will try and refine in the analysis of the two villages. After having done the fieldworks and analysed the data, I abstracted three

stages in the migration from the two communities: firstly, the 'pioneer stage'; secondly, the 'exclusive stage' and lastly the 'inclusive stage'.

The pioneer migrant has some social contacts that enable his first move to the destination and sometimes s/he might not even know anyone. Individual characteristics such as spirit of adventure, courage, entrepreneurship, skills and so on prevail in this stage. The 'pioneer stage' is marked by high costs of migrating and high risks. The name of the second stage – the 'exclusive stage' – refers to the fact that some people are excluded from participating in migration, while others are supported. In the development of migration, each pioneer brings several migrants with him or her. He is the first one to make a selection according to a set of criteria. This is the starting principle of a migration network: a group of persons stabilizes itself in relation to the outside and this stabilization is based on a group of criteria. Over time there is a growth in migration as a life strategy, and if initially the pioneer brought a few migrants, each of the new migrants brings new people. However, the migration selectivity is still high, and family and migration networks play a very important role in the process. The number of migration destinations is limited and migrants are clustered at the destination. This is mainly due to the fact that the number of migrants at this stage is still small. In the 'inclusive stage', migration becomes institutionalized as a life strategy, and selectivity is low. I named this stage 'inclusive' because at this point migration becomes available to almost anyone in a community. In this stage, strong ties are still important, but the criteria for closure of the migration networks are more diverse. Weak ties also play an important role in accessing addresses. The development of networks plays a significant role in the transformations that occur from one stage to the other. As numbers of migrants grow, migrants start moving to other towns from the destination in order to be able to integrate in other labour markets.

To be more concrete, I will present the two case studies following the logic of the stages. The village of Luncavița was at the 'pioneer' stage for a long time due to the lack of economic resources. The pioneer migrant to Spain left in 1999, but was only followed by his brother and two brothers-in-law in 2002. This moment marked the change into the 'exclusive stage'. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter on family migration, the migration from Luncavița during this stage was restricted to one extended family that went to the village of Palau in Spain. Thus, we notice both a high selectivity; i.e. people from outside the family cannot access migration, and also a concentration of migrants at the destination. Very slowly, migration grew among the Luncăvițeni and the network expanded beyond the family. The increase of migrants going to Spain has contributed to a change of attitude towards migration and implicitly strengthened the culture of migration. This marked the start of the third stage that I named 'inclusive'. A few non-family members came to Palau, a few migrants have

already moved to neighbouring villages in Spain, and two migrants have started their own construction enterprises.

In Feldru, due to the openness towards migration, there was a quicker progression through the stages. The pioneers date from early 1990, and they went to several destinations: Germany, Austria, the US and Spain. Very soon, they were followed by their families and the switch to religious, friendship and vicinity networks happened faster than in the case of Luncavița. One could place the second stage as early as the mid-1990s. With large migration networks and with more possibilities to regularize their status, the migration from Feldru has entered into the 'inclusive stage'. The Feldrihani are currently migrating to several locations in Spain: in and around Madrid, in and around Barcelona, Valencia, Tarragona, Burgos and so on; there are also migrants to Italy and Ireland.

One way to explain the change from family migration to networks would be the number of migrants and the emergence of a culture of migration. An alternative answer resides in the systems theory. As I mentioned in the theoretical chapter, the social network theory is a static theory and does not explain the passage from the pre-modern to the modern society. The systems theory grasps this change to a functionally differentiated society. If we think in terms of the migration from the two villages to Spain, we notice that the family plays a very important role at the origin due to the rural society in which migration is originated. At the very beginning, family maintains its role in migration. Nonetheless, in the contact with a modern society – Spain – migrants have to adapt to the functionally differentiated systems in order to be included in the economic, social, education systems and so on. This differentiation imposes a diversification of the ties. In time migrants learn that it is not only useful to socialize with the people from their own home village, but also with the Spanish employer who can help one get a loan, and also one can find a flat by just going to the letting agency and not through friends and family. This change appears only when the migrants are already regular at the destination. In this context, broad networks which include both Romanians and Spaniards and persons of other nationalities are included and most of all migrants use also institutions to be included in the different sub-system, and not only one to one connections.

Comparing the two migrant communities, we see that Feldru is in a very advanced third stage, whereas Luncavița is only now slowly passing from the second to the third stage. Migrants from Luncavița are still clustered in Palau and three more villages in the vicinity. In spite of the fact that there are some friends of the extended family who have arrived in Spain, migration is still not available to everyone from the community. Apart from the context at the origin which facilitated or inhibited the emergence of migration, the migration policies of the Spanish state, as well as the Schengen Space regulations greatly contributed to the changes in the migration patterns from the two communities (Elrick and Ciobanu 2009). In other words,

the passage from the pioneer stage to the selective stage in Luncavița was facilitated by the elimination of the visas for Romanian citizens at the entrance in the Schengen Space in 2002.

Romania joined the EU two months before my last fieldwork. In spite of the fact that I could already make a few observations, this moment will surely trigger many changes in the migration patterns of Romanians. It will be interesting to see how the migrant communities in Spain develop. The hypothetical evolutions and question marks with regard to migration refer to whether migration can retrogress from the third stage back to the second stage. Further questions concern whether a return migration will appear or will an integration of the Romanian migrants at the destination occur, will enclaves of Romanians develop a transnational profile or will some of the Romanian migrants remigrate to other locations.

## CHAPTER VI: Migration Policy Making in the Country of Origin

The term migration policies refers to a range of actions taken by different political bodies from origin and receiving countries to supranational bodies like the European Union (EU). Various kinds of policy can come under this large umbrella. One group of policies addresses migration directly through regulations that facilitate, control or restrict the movement of people. There is a second group of policies which are not designed to address migration, but have a direct impact on the territorial mobility of persons. Lastly, there are policies which are meant not to impact mobility as such, but rather the population of migrants and their needs, like development and social policies. Such policies include also the issue of integration, however, this is not relevant to the present discussion. The types of migration policies that are the object of the present chapter are the ones initiated by the home country to protect its own citizens, on the one hand, and to bond migrants and involve them in development at the origin, on the other hand. The most important role these policies should play is to respond to mobility patterns and migrants' practices concerning work, (ir)regular status, remitting and keeping in touch with home. Concerning this, Portes says that "studies on migration have to offer a basis for development policies" (2003 a: 889) and not only. In other words, he shows on the one hand, the importance of research for policy making and on the other hand, the role played by migration in development, and thus, the fact that some policies might not directly target migration, however might indirectly affect the migrant population. Examples of such broader policies are the Schengen Space regulations or the EU enlargements which are not thought to impact migration alone, but migration is affected colaterally.

The present chapter aims to fill several gaps with regard to migration policy making. Firstly, it appears that the majority of migration policies are initiated by receiving countries. Typical examples of such policies include invitations and recruitment of labour migrants, and programmes concerning integration, regularization, or other related issues. In order to address the lack of policies in origin countries, I will focus on this end of the migration flow, and particularly on the Romanian case. To underline the fact that the literature on emigration policies is scarce, I will quote Brand (2006) who tackles the subject of emigration and the state with a focus on the Middle East and North Africa:

Most of the diaspora literature deals only in passing with the home state and its role, preferring instead to focus on the family, community, village or immigrant association level. Yet, the perpetuation or reconfiguration of ties between the expatriates and his/her homeland

must be understood to take place in this context, not only of unequal North-South political economy relations or new forms of mobility and contract that facilitate the maintenance of a range of ties with the home society, but also in the context of a state that at its most basic level continues to control citizenship and to allow entry and exit as part of its exercise of sovereignty. Hence, given the current foci of literature, the challenge is two-fold: to think more systematically about state policies and institutions (as opposed to focusing on development in the international political economy), and to think about such policies in terms of the sending, as opposed to just receiving, state (Brand 2006: 5).

Hein de Haas (2006) is another author who focuses on migrants' involvement and the potential of remittances for development of the origin country. Nonetheless, his extensive work "Engaging Diasporas. How governments and development agencies can support diaspora involvement in the development of origin countries" looks still at the governments in destination countries – particularly seven European countries - multilateral organisations and development agencies and their policies around migrants and development (de Haas 2006). The added value in his study is the acknowledgement of diaspora and migrant association and their involvement in policies of development.

Furthermore, many migration policies appear to be reactive and reluctant to anticipate and address the social reality. Existing policies are not geared towards responding to patterns of emigration, which vary at local level (Boswell 2007). This chapter argues for a model of grounded policy making that uses knowledge produced through fieldwork research in the process of migration policy making. The study of Hein de Haas (2006) also is built on the idea that national and international actors in development need to learn from the diaspora organizations and involve their concepts in development programmes.

In order to provide policy makers with the necessary data, research needs to use varied methodologies, and more importantly, methodologies which are appropriate for policy making. One of the issues that I try to examine in relation to grounded policy making and migration research refers to identifying the relevant research methodology. The main methodology of the present research is constituted by narrative biographical interviews with migrants. The other methods – focus groups and in-depth interviews with local authorities and other informants on migration – are meant to complement the narrative interviews and provide information on the general framework in which Romanian migration is entrenched. The questions that rise from the encounter between narrative methodology and migration

policy making are: “How can and do political and educational systems use stories?” and “Do they want to use stories at all?” When it comes to dealing with migration, states tend to be interested in figures: numbers of migrants, irregular and regular migrants, shortages on the labour market, demographic changes, structure of the population and so on. Stories do not provide this type of information. However, narratives are being used more and more frequently in the UK, Australia and New Zealand to improve national health systems or social security programmes (Bingley 2007, Lapsley 2007, Thomas 2007). Thus, for grounded policy making, the actual practices of the migrants is the only information of interest. After having figured the relevant methodology to use, the second aim is to translate narrative biographical interviews into policies.

As shown in the literature on policy making (Block 1980, Mouffe 1979, Dahl 1961, Mills 1956.), the stakeholders are mostly the formal actors: local authorities, states, and supra-state organizations such as the EU. The role of informal actors (in this case migrants) and moreover the importance of taking their practices into account is acknowledged only by researchers (Boswell 2007; Zincone, Caponio, De Gregorio 2006) and less by practitioners. In other words, different stakeholders have varying degrees of power, and therefore also a varying intensity of impact on actual policy making.

The scope of the present chapter is firstly to build on the previous chapters which refer to the configuration of Romanian migration to Spain (together with the interplay between the local authorities and the migrants themselves, as well as the larger context formed by the nation states and their policies) and secondly to propose migration policy recommendations for the meso and macro levels based on the knowledge of migrants’ practices. By emphasizing communities with divergent migration patterns and legal statuses of the migrants, this chapter aims to show that policies of response to migration should be more varied and be grounded in the repertoire of local strategies.

The present chapter is divided into four parts. Firstly, I present the theories of migration – as an abstraction of the social reality – and the ways in which they can be translated into policies. Secondly, I look at the existing literature on emigration countries, remittances and the relation between migration and development. Thirdly, I give a brief outline of the Romanian administrative structures which addresses migration, and finally conclude with an attempt to suggest migration policy recommendations from the perspective of the origin country and based on migrants’ projects.

## VI.1. Migration Theories and Migration Policies

Each migration theory offers a way of understanding phenomena and interpreting reality, and can therefore be associated with a particular migration policy. Massey and his collaborators (1998) in the book “Worlds in Motion” correlate all the migration theories relating to the initiation of migration to policies.

**TABLE 5: Theories regarding the initiation of migration** (Massey et al. 1998)

<b>Theories regarding the initiation of migration</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Policies of migration</b>
<b>Neoclassical Economics of Migration</b>	Macro theory Discrepancy between the origin and destination in terms of economic development.	Governments can influence migration by regulating and influencing the labour market both at the origin and at the destination.
	Micro theory Discrepancy between the origin and destination in terms of incomes.	Policies that can influence the incomes that migrants can earn either at the origin or at the destination.
<b>New Economics of Migration</b>	The household is the unit of analysis and decision. Migration appears as a reaction to diversify risk. The theory takes into account other markets such as the credit market, insurance market and others besides the labour market.	Policies that can influence the labour market, but also other markets (insurance, pensions or credit) either at the origin or at the destination. Policies that can influence the distribution of incomes at the origin and at the destination, and therefore also influence relative deprivation.
<b>Dual Labour Market Theory</b>	The emphasis lies on the receiving country whose labour market is segmented into jobs accepted by the local population, and other jobs known as ‘3D’ (dirty,	Governments have a low probability of influencing migration as labour force demand is structurally constituted in modern and post-industrial economies.

	dangerous and degrading) that are only accepted by the migrant population. This segmentation of the labour market initiates migration.	
<b>World-System Theory</b>	Migration is not intertwined with wages and different levels of development; it is considered to be founded on the dynamic of the labour market and the political structure of the global economy.	Political and military interventions of capitalist countries to protect investments and to support foreign governments determined another form of migration: refugees.

It is more difficult to associate the theories regarding the perpetuation of migration with migration policies. These theories cover areas such as the theory of social capital (migration networks), the institutions that support migration, cumulative causation and the culture of migration. The assumption for these theories is that once migration has started, it produces more migration through its own mechanisms and this makes state intervention difficult. Also, the efforts of the border control to be stricter and stricter leads to a black market of immigration and exploitation of migrants by other migrants and this is one of the reasons why humanitarian organizations oppose overly strict border control policies.

Whilst existing migration policies up to now have mostly focused on regulating and restricting the movement of people, what appears to be new is the “role some homeland governments [...] are playing in attempting to encourage ongoing connections with their expatriate communities” (Kivisto 2001: 563). In this model, governments and local authorities in the home country do not condemn the decision of migrants to live abroad, but rather “work to create relationships with the immigrants that are beneficial to the homeland” (Kivisto 2001: 563). This type of action, if perceived by migrants as beneficial to them, may contribute to the development of transnational social fields.

## **VI.2 The country of origin**

The literature that I surveyed for this chapter concerns migration policy making from the point of view of the home country. The literature on this matter is quite sparse, the main materials being represented by one set of recommendations of the International Labour

Organization (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and World Bank (WB). An element that I want to bring to the foreground in migration policy making refers to migrants' practices. I take this term to include strategies to migrate, regularity versus irregularity, remittances and investments. The aim of the chapter is to bring together the recommendations of the organizations above mentioned and the migrants' practices in policy recommendations, so that migration policies do not remain at an abstract level, but are grounded in the social reality.

According to the ILO, IOM and OSCE Handbook (2006), which partially structures my later argument, there are four main issues that countries of origin should focus on when addressing emigration in order to facilitate an 'orderly migration'. Firstly, countries of origin should protect migrant workers from exploitative recruitment and employment practices. This can be done by offering assistance to migrant workers in terms of pre-departure, welfare and on-site services (2006: 35). Secondly, the countries have to maximize the benefits of organized labour migration by reducing remittance costs through formal channels, and enhancing the development impact of this process. Thirdly, the countries have to develop relations both within home ministries and with ministries from the destination countries. This facilitates the response to the challenges and changes of the labour market. Fourthly, the countries need to increase collaboration and information exchange with the destination countries in order to protect labour migrants and prevent irregular migration (2006: 35). It should be noted that the policies, if meant to contribute to development; do not limit the state's regulating and protecting function.

The main aim of both origin and receiving states is to reduce irregular migration. Irregular migration has a series of disadvantages. It is associated with exploitative and unpleasant conditions, or the well known 'three Ds' (dirty, dangerous and degrading work), perpetuates the informal economy, has a negative impact on the lawful labour force because of lower wages, evades the tax system, and sometimes involves trafficking and smuggling. Given all these factors, it is in the interest of both origin and receiving countries to contribute to an 'ordered' migration. Therefore, a central facet of policy making is the legal status of migrants, with irregular migrants forming the central target population.

In spite of adopting the above mentioned typology, it is not exclusive. It addresses central aspects, however there are other social, cultural and economic features that are important for the origin and the receiving states. What complicates the analysis and the formulation of migration policy recommendations is the fact that states have different interests in the outcomes of migration and even when signing the same documents they might be interested in different consequences. The following part of this chapter looks more closely

at the literature on states of origin and the measures that they can adopt to respond to migration flows. Brand (2006) provides several examples of origin state policies addressing the diaspora:

The paucity of the detailed treatment of the home state in the literature is particularly striking given the increasing interest sending states have manifested since the 1980s in their nationals (and in some cases their descendants) abroad. To cite just a few examples from various parts of the world: in 1982, the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs began sponsoring a youth festival for young people of Chinese descent who are citizens of foreign countries. In 1995 the Russian Duma established a Council of Compatriots, an analytical-constitutive body charged with representing the interests of Russians (and their descendants) residing abroad. In 2000, the newly elected Mexican president, Vicente Fox, created a cabinet-level office, the Office of the President for Mexicans Abroad, charged with promoting closer ties between Mexican emigrants and both the USA and Mexico. In 2002, Syria established its first Ministry of Expatriate Affairs (Brand 2006: 2-3).

Most often, states of origin are concerned with setting policies regarding the exit and re-entry of nationals, which constitutes a subset of border control policies. Emigration policies need to be understood as not only state policies regarding exit, but also a state's policies towards those who have exited (Brand 2006: 7).

Traditionally, embassies and consulates deal with the needs of their citizens abroad. Currently, we can see a growing phenomenon of the establishment of other state institutions "charged with the responsibility for some aspect of expatriate community affairs" (Brand 2006: 3). Examples of such activities taken over by novel institutions are language training, investment advice and parliamentary representation of emigrants. Moreover, countries with a long history of migration have specialized ministries or government departments to deal with migration; examples are provided by Haiti, Mexico or Serbia in Europe.

Eastern European countries are in a transition state from communism to the market economy, a transition that as already mentioned appears to be very difficult. Migration seems to be a strategy commonly adopted by people dealing with deindustrialization and a lack of jobs. Transition states have two main options to reduce the unemployment rate: either create jobs at the origin or 'adopt policies, legislation and structures to promote foreign employment as part of their workforce and generate remittances [...] as part of the national development

strategy to take advantage of the global employment opportunities and generate foreign exchange' (Brand 2006: 36). Therefore, the state needs to decide whether to use or not labour migration as a development tool. Such a decision should be followed by policies and administrative structures to support migration.

As mentioned earlier, the type of migration that this thesis focuses on is circulatory migration for work from the rural areas of Romania. By defining migration as a life strategy, the approach to migration becomes a rational one. As in the theory of new economics of migration (Massey et al. 1993, 1998; Portes 1997b), people make a calculation of the costs and benefits of migration by comparing the origin and the destination. To obtain information about the destination, people use different sources: social connections of different intensity, the closest being represented by migration networks or institutions (town hall, offices for foreign labour and so on). These different approaches to the same broad strategies constitute the practices of migration. However, these practices cover not only the process of decision making, and the change of domicile, but also the activity of the migrant both at the origin and at the destination: places of work, accommodation, remittances, ties to the home community and to the community from the destination, investment or other activities in the home community (building houses, consumption and so on). Therefore, in the following paragraphs I will discuss these practices in relation to policies that can be adopted. Besides the legal status of the migrant which is underlined above as very significant, remittances and investment as a way of contributing towards development, should be taken into account by policy makers in relation to the emigrant population.

### *VI.2.1 Remittances and investment*

There are three flows of money defined as remittances by the International Monetary Fund (IMF): workers' remittances, compensation of employees, and migrant transfers (Brand 2006: 71). Discussions about brain drain and remittances in terms of knowledge transfer, or social remittances are also increasing, but in this thesis, I will adopt the IMF definition of remittances.

The literature on remittances is vast; moreover, the connection between remittances and development (Durand, Kandel, Parrado and Massey 1996. de Haas 2006) has been subject to continuous variation. The 1970s were marked by a generalized agreement on the positive impact of migration and remittances on development, while in the 1990s it was considered that remittances only "exacerbate the dependency of home communities by raising material expectations without providing the means of satisfying them, other than more migration" (Brand 2006: 72-73). More recently, migration has become central to the discussion on

development. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the flow of remittances has become sufficiently high to be able to enhance development, and secondly the theoretical understanding of remittances has changed dramatically (Brand 2006: 72).

Policy makers and analysts have often called the consumption of remittances ‘irrational’ or ‘wasteful’. However, de Haas raises attention that “even consumption and ‘nonproductive investments’ [...] can have significant positive multiplier impacts on economic growth and employment” (de Haas 2005). De Haas argues that “the idea that remittances are predominantly spent on excessive consumption has proved to be rather inaccurate. Furthermore, there seems reason to criticise the inclination to denote expenditure on housing, sanitation, health care, food and schooling as unproductive and non-developmental. After all, such improvements in well-being and human capital also have the tendency to increase their productivity, freedom of choice and the capacity to participate in public debate. Consequently they also constitute ‘development’, at least if we adopt a broad definition of this concept, which puts improvements in people’s actual capabilities and well-being first” (de Haas 2005: 7).

At the other end, because remittances were considered to be ‘misused’ by migrants, recommendations were made “to grant the state control over migrant remittances in order to channel them toward more “rational” uses in order to foment development, such as promotion of small business investment and other tantamount initiatives in order to increase local production and combat unemployment” (Guarnizo 2003: 674). An alternative is formed by the “state-migrant partnerships introduced by local state governments in Mexico as well as exploratory debates and multilateral meetings sponsored by multilateral agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank and European Commission seeking to maximize and channel migrants’ economic potential to support local development” (Guarnizo 2003: 674). Important, however, would be to channel the transmission of remittances through formal channel (de Haas 2006), and reduce as much as possible the informal transmission of remittances.

Carling (2004) operationalizes remittances in relation to their variable potential for development. This operationalization can function as a first step towards the formulation of policy interventions.

- Intra-family transfers, remittances. In this case, money is sent by a migrant worker to his or her relatives in the country of origin. The control of the remittances belongs to migrants. Also, if given to migrant’s family as mainly a gift, it then becomes their right to manage it.

- Personal investment transfers that can take the form either of regular deposits or the investment of all a migrant's savings upon return. The control of the remittances belongs in this case to the migrant.
- Collective transfers through hometown associations usually have a clear target or scope. In this situation, migrants put together money for a common project such as the renovation of buildings in the hometown or improvements to streets or gas or water pipes.
- Social security transfers for old age pensions and other benefits constitute a long term investment carried out by the migrant for his or her own benefit (Carling 2004: 7).

For my fieldwork only the latter is not a common practice yet, especially because most migrants are still very young and are not thinking about long-term consequences, and also as of January 2007 Romanians being EU citizens have guaranteed the transferability of social contributions.

There are also several variables that influence the quantity of remittances and also the way in which they are spent. The length of migrants' residence and level of integration at the destination appears to have an effect on the sum of money people remit. The money from remittances seems to have different utilities: either consumption of primary goods, or of long-term goods and sometimes investment in small businesses at the destination. Furthermore, studies have shown that depending on the length of migration, status of the migrant and level of development of the community of origin, remittances are used for different purposes (Ciobanu 2006, Sandu 2004).

Migrant organizations play a significant role in the relation between remittances and investments. Organizations like the 'Migrant Welfare Fund' address migrants' needs in case of an accident, but are also concerned with the promotion of small credits to start a business, as well as offering vocational training at the origin to meet the labour market needs from the destination).

Nonetheless, when designing policy recommendations that incorporate remittances, it is very important to remember that remittances constitute private money and it belongs to the migrants. The main stakeholders who produce and spend remittances are migrants, their families and friends and the migrant collectives. They are allowed to spend this money in the way they consider best. Therefore, policies can only provide people with options on how to spend their money. Policies can contribute firstly by facilitating the flow of remittances by reducing costs, so that the money transfer channels are cost-effective, reliable, accessible and quicker, and secondly by channelling the remittances in certain directions. Mexico is a country with a long history of migration and there is a correspondingly vast literature on

migration and development based on the Mexican example (Massey 1988, Massey et al. 1994). The Mexican state has initiated a project called ‘Three for One’ in which a local administration designs a local infrastructure project and attracts one third of the money from migrants, with the state contributing the other two thirds.

Therefore, an important question to ask is under what circumstances and through which mechanisms the development impact of remittances is susceptible to policy interventions (Carling 2004: 3). Multilateral agencies, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the IOM have also examined different policy options and recommendations. The implicit targeting can be focused on restricting migrants’ investment in particular to the geographical areas of out-migration (Carling 2004: 5). This is commonly the case, as migrants think locally in relation to their home country, but act on a global scale in relation to their destination. In my study I observed that most migrants build houses in their home towns and this has led to rising prices for land. These houses have no practical value, as no one lives in them during the year, except during the month of August and the major Christian holidays when the migrants sometimes return to their home villages. It is very rarely the case that migrants buy property in neighbouring towns – where it would be expected that property may constitute an investment. This behaviour is dependent on the migrants’ relations with their home towns and also their plans. During fieldwork I conducted in the town of Borşa<sup>30</sup>, one of the differences that appeared between the migrants to Italy and those to the UK was that the so-called ‘Italians’ used to build houses and buy property in their home town, whereas those who had migrated to London were more likely to buy flats in the larger towns surrounding Borşa. This is a reflection of the type of relation migrants have with their home town. In other words, the migrants to the UK retained only weak ties to Borşa, returning home mainly to visit their parents, and focused all their efforts on integrating at the destination, where they were keen to make friends with British nationals or migrants of other nationalities. At the other end of the scale are the migrants to Italy who were very much connected to their home town (Boswell and Ciobanu 2009). This example illustrates two important points: firstly, the importance of qualitative research for drawing good policy implications, and secondly the difficulty of formulating policy recommendations.

Policy measures directed towards migration flows (such as bilateral labour migration treaties) have a wider scope. Policies stimulating transnational connections or loyalty (such as dual citizenship legislation) have a somewhat narrower scope, while a number of the measures listed above specifically target remittances only (Carling 2004: 5). Remittances are

---

<sup>30</sup> Borşa is a small town in the north of Romania, in the county of Maramureş, with a population of 27,021 (as recorded in the 2002 Census). The town has experienced a massive migration to Italy and a small, but growing migration to the UK.

part of migration; however, other facets of migration have to be taken into account in policy making. The following table constitutes an inventory of policy measures to enhance the development impact of remittances (Carling 2004: 6).

**TABLE 6: Measures towards development of the migrant home community**

Objective	Measure
Capturing a part of remittances for development purposes	Taxation of emigrants Duties or levies on remittance transfers Voluntary check-off for charitable purposes (on transfer forms)
Stimulating transfers through formal channels and/or stimulating capital availability	Remittance Bonds Foreign Currency Premium Interest Rate Accounts Promoting/Enabling Finance through microfinance institutions (MFIs) Promoting financial literacy/banking the unbanked
Stimulating investment of remittances	Outreach through MFI (microfinance institutions) infrastructure Outreach through migrant service bureaus Tax breaks on imported capital goods Small and Medium Enterprises schemes (financial, infrastructural, innovative) Training programmes
Outreach to migrant collectives (Migrant hometown associations)	Matched funding Public-private ventures Competitive binding for development projects
Influencing consumption patterns	Promoting consumption of local goods and services Enabling migrants to spend on their relatives' behalf
Securing future remittances	Promoting continuing migration Promoting transnationalism / diaspora management

For policy making it is important to identify and acknowledge the multitude of forms remittances can take. Furthermore, remittance-related policies have to be adapted to individual, community or regional contexts.

There are various ways in which one can distinguish and categorize remittances and their utility. One potential distinction could be made between investment and consumption or productive versus unproductive remittances. A second potential distinction can be made between “benefits by means of their temporal and social distribution”. The way remittances are defined has an impact on different policy objectives and therefore recommendations.

The temporal dimension refers to the short or long term impact of remittances. For poor communities, in their first stage of migration, remittances will constitute a very important source of income for everyday consumption. People become dependent on the incomes from migration. Only over time can remittances contribute to benefits in the context of poorer communities. One way to contribute to development, even in the context of consumption, is if the remittances are spent locally on goods and services produced in the community or the region. To give an example, in the village of Luncavița, migrants have already started building houses. Construction is a labour intensive activity that involves many low-skilled and semi-skilled men from the village and there are already local enterprises in construction in both villages. In Feldru, a former migrant has started a transportation company which runs weekly buses from Feldru and the neighbouring villages to the villages in Spain where migrants live. Yet all these small enterprises are still dependent on migration. The ultimate aim however is that local jobs will become independent from remittances and migration. In other words, in the event that migration stops, the local enterprises should become self-sustainable. In a World Bank policy paper, David Ellerman refers to this relation: “In a community now largely dependent on income from migrant remittances, development would mean building local enterprises that would not live off remittances directly or indirectly (via the multiplier) so that local jobs could be sustained without continuing migration and remittances” (Ellerman 2003: 24).

Who are the actors who hold an interest in the way remittances are spent besides the most important ones, the migrants themselves?

- Authorities of the remittance-receiving countries
- Migrant associations
- NGOs in the host and origin countries

These first three actors can contribute the most to the channelling of remittances by facilitating orderly and reasonable transfer mechanisms and encouraging hometown associations. NGOs in particular can collect and distribute information about the remittance

service providers. This is a very significant initiative to increase competition between such companies and reduce the costs. Such initiatives can come from multilateral agencies or host country authorities: development agencies like DFID (UK), SIDA (Sweden), NORAD (Norway). These agencies can assist home country authorities in formulating policies (Carling 2004: 9).

Remittances have indirect consequences as well: “in many countries, savings and banking accounts in dollars, import tax exemptions, and other similar financial and fiscal provisions have been introduced to facilitate migrants’ business transactions and transnational living arrangements” (Guarnizo 2003: 684). Migrants also demand an array of services in order to keep in touch with their family and friends, to travel and to engage in political activities. All these create a need for communication and transportation services.

“Governments in the sending countries have started to perceive their expatriate communities as a source of investments, entrepreneurial initiatives, markets for home country companies and even political representation abroad” (Portes 1999: 467). Additional attention is given to remittances which are not considered to be novel, however: “the homeland governments are increasingly likely to embrace their expatriate communities when such an embrace can be economically beneficial” (Kivisto 2001: 553). This is a very important observation, as it constitutes an action with a direct impact on transnationalism.

There is substantial research on remittances and development, nonetheless, this knowledge is rarely incorporated into policy making by the home country. In the following parts of this chapter, I will firstly outline the Romanian administrative and political setting in relation to migration. Secondly, I will look at the divergent migration practices in the two Romanian communities which this study focuses on, and highlight the knowledge relevant for policy making.

### ***VI.3 Romanian migration policies***

As shown by Baldwin-Edwards (2005: 1), in the negotiation process between Romania and the EU, Romania immigration policies were aligned to the *acquis communautaire*, a set of norms and regulations imposed by the EU as a condition of Romania’s process of accession to the EU. The policies addressing emigration, however, are very narrow and lack a framework or a central line. The actors relevant for emigration in the years before 2001 were various NGOs, inter-governmental organizations like IOM and private recruitment agencies. The latter were very important in providing help to the Romanians who wanted to emigrate or migrate temporarily.

In 2001 the Romanian state established the Office for Migration of the Labour Force (OMFM), part of the Ministry of Labour and the Family. This institution is responsible for mediating contractual work abroad, mainly based on bilateral agreements between the Romanian state and other countries. Romania has ratified several bilateral recruitment agreements with different countries, among them Germany (1990, 1993, 1999), Portugal (2001) and Spain (2002) (Baldwin-Edwards 2005: 5). The bilateral agreement on temporary labour migration to Spain covers only the agricultural sector. Except for these agreements, there are no other policies in Romania which deal with emigration. For the present thesis I will briefly present the bilateral agreement with Spain. It is important to mention that the two signatories of the bilateral agreement have different interests. Spain aims to cover its labour market shortages with a cheap labour force, whereas Romania aims to reduce its unemployment rate and provide a legal context for Romanians migrating abroad.

One of the functions of OMFM is to protect emigrants from exploitative recruitment and employment practices, both before they leave Romania as well as at their destination, and to combat trafficking. At the same time the institution has a monopoly over the contracts of Romanian migrants in Spain. On the one hand, this centralized process has advantages as migrants cannot be abused or overcharged by various recruitment agencies. On the other hand, the process is slower, because of the large number of applications, and more difficult, because people from all over the country have to travel to Bucharest. In contrast to the Romanian example, in traditional countries of emigration such as the Philippines, there are over 1,300 licensed recruitment agencies.

Currently, the Office for Migration of the Labour Force (OMFM) does not exist and its activities have been taken over by the newly established National Agency for the Occupation of the Labour Force (ANOFM). Two offices: the Office for the Protection of the Rights of Romanian Citizens Working Abroad and the Office for the Evidence and the Monitoring were reorganized.

Romania's policies on migration are still rather limited and should be expanded to address not only the exit or entrance of migrants, but also issues of social security and development. These issues have entered the attention of Romanian authorities especially in the context of Romania's accession to the European Union. Currently, the ANOFM<sup>31</sup> has an activity focusing on the distribution of information regarding the existing legislation, the rights and obligations they have as employees on a foreign territory. The ANOFM has three main components directed towards Romanian emigrants: EURES, the Office for International Relations – Social Security for the Migrant Workers that travel within the EU and the Office

---

<sup>31</sup> [http://www.anofm.ro/146\\_munca-in-strainatate](http://www.anofm.ro/146_munca-in-strainatate), site searched on 15/03/2010.

of the Implementation of Juridical Bilateral Instruments. EURES is a network of cooperation between the European Commission, public services for the occupation of the labour force and the EU member states and Norway, Iceland and Lichtenstein, as well as other partner organizations involved on the labour market – trade unions and employers’ associations. The Office for International Relations – Social Security for the Migrant Workers that travel within the EU started its activity after January 2007. Its activity focuses on the implementation of the EU legislation (1408/71 and 574/72) with regard to social protection. The Office of the Implementation of Juridical Bilateral Instruments is responsible for the bilateral agreements regarding the labour force exchange between Romania and other countries<sup>32</sup>.

ANOFM has several offices across the country: 41 county agencies, the agency of Bucharest, 88 local agencies and 156 work points. Then dealing also with the social security of Romanians working abroad functions the National House for Pensions and Other Rights to Social Security<sup>33</sup>. The function of these institutions related to migration which play the same role as recruitment agencies is to offer migrants the information necessary to make a decision.

Nonetheless, at the local level there are other factors influencing the way people access information, and their level of information. The latter depends on the history of migration in that community and the social networks that are in place. These two variables correlate positively; among themselves and also with the knowledge on migration. The longer the migration history, the more likely that there are migrant networks and that migrants have a very good knowledge of the practical, social, legal and economic consequences associated with migration. All the respondents in this study said they had found out about the 2002 elimination of visas for Romanian ‘tourists’ entering the Schengen Space from Romanian television, whilst their knowledge of bilateral agreements was very vague. This shows that the Romanian office for migration is not spreading information about migration. This can be due to the large number of Romanians migrating, which becomes already a worrying situation on the Romanian labour market. With regard to the regulations in the Spanish or Italian legislations, most migrants stated during the interviews that they had found out about them from friends and other villagers, as well as from Spanish or Italian TV programmes. Another important means of communication at the destination are newspapers.

A second set of policies deal with immigration. Romania has very little immigration; there is an asylum programme, but the number of emigrants is significantly higher than the number of immigrants. This policy can only be explained by Romania’s accession to the EU and the adoption of these policies. The principal countries of the recipients of asylum are Iraq, India, Iran, China, Somalia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Palestine and Pakistan. To sum up, the

---

32 [http://www.anofm.ro/146\\_munca-in-strainatate](http://www.anofm.ro/146_munca-in-strainatate), site searched on 14/04/2010.

33 <http://www.cnpas.org/>, site searched on 15/03/2010.

policies should be embedded in the migration patterns and be targeted to the needs of the migrant population. In time, and especially in the context of Romania's accession to the European Union in January 2007, Romania has expanded its array of migration policies (both emigration as well as immigration) to adapt to the EU requirements in the field.

#### **VI.4 Grounded policy making**

I will make recommendations on the basis of the reports of international organizations like ILO, IMO and OSCE. There are two levels where action can be taken with regard to policies: the meso, or community, level and the macro, or state, level. At the meso level, it is more accurate to talk of programmes of the local authorities, rather than policies as such. In spite of this, there can be pressures to facilitate the fluidity of migration, soften the impact of migration on the community and minimize the negative impact. I will briefly address each of these elements. The rest of the thesis sheds light on migrants' practices by contrasting two communities with different patterns of migration. These practices should be the starting point for policy recommendations.

##### *VI.4.1 Community level*

In this part I address three directions that such actions can take: transport and communication, remittances and the children of migrants. As I mentioned earlier, in the case of Luncavița, the journey to Spain is quite difficult as migrants first have to travel to neighbouring towns or even to Bucharest which is over 300 kilometres away. The lack of a local transportation company makes it difficult, if not impossible for migrants to send parcels home from Spain. If a significant number of people were to put pressure on a transportation company either to open a local branch, or even start up a route which passed through remote villages such as Luncavița, this would make migration more accessible.

Neither Luncavița nor Feldru has a bank branch or a MoneyGram office, which are among Romanian migrants popular ways of arranging money transfers. The local authorities could provide space for such offices in the town halls. This would have a direct impact on the amount of remittances coming into the region and therefore also on local development.

One negative aspect of migration that could be observed in both communities concerns the children of migrants who are left at home with grandparents or other relatives. It emerged during the fieldwork that children's education is one of the reasons behind the migration decision. Migrants want to have money to send their children to high school in the neighbouring towns and later on to university. As a consequence, most remittances are spent

on children's education. However, because the children are left with other relatives who often have less authority than the children's own parents, many such children drop out of school or neglect their school work. A potential initiative would be for schools to start programmes of afternoon classes or supervised study when the children could do their homework. The bank branch and the educational program represent actions that local authorities could start based on the needs of migrants.

#### *VI.4.2 National level*

At the macro level, the situation is more complex. The first question which must be answered is: 'what is the scope of the policies?' What appeared from the interviews to be extremely relevant to the lives of migrants, and what the literature also underlines, is the issue of legal status. According to the ILO, IOM and OSCE Handbook (2006), the country of origin needs to increase collaboration and information exchanges with the destination country in order to protect labour migrants and prevent irregular migration (2006: 35).

At present, many Romanian migrants have managed by personal means or policies of the destination country (regularizations) to reside and work regularly at the destination. Moreover, they have jobs or have started their own businesses. Therefore, policies facilitating migration are of no interest to the authorities in Romania. It is important to make a distinction between communities with a long history of migration and those with a shorter one given that the history of migration is associated with knowledge on migration, we can also infer that programmes that provide migrants with information are relevant for communities with a shorter history of migration. On the contrary, in communities with a long history of migration, with a low selectivity of migration and high remittance levels, development programmes to channel remittances are more relevant. Another type of policy could cover social and medical insurance and pension schemes. Policies like these offer migrants more options and security. If migrants cannot work because of health reasons and are irregular they are not paid and risk losing their jobs. Therefore, measures that can facilitate or help migrants become regular appear to be of fundamental importance. Romania joined the EU in January 2007, however the free movement does not apply yet to Romanians. At the same time, Romanians cannot be any more subjects of regularizations – as they were before in Spain and Italy. Therefore, the Romanian state cannot establish agreements with Spain or other countries. This would have only been possible before 2007.

A second direction also regarding the security of migrants in the long term deals with social benefits such as pensions, unemployment benefit and so on. Romania should establish agreements with the destination countries of Romanian migrants that would allow migrants to

collect pensions and social security payments. The accession of Romania to the EU has already impacted on the rights Romanian citizens have in the EU. The regulations 1408/71/EC and 574/72/EC are the main laws to assure a coordination between the national social security systems. Thus, those who have already acquired regular status at the destination and contribute towards social benefits will be able to have a pension even if they return to Romania or migrate to a third country. With regard to the working rights of Romanian citizens, in both the Treaty of Accession from 2003 and the one from 2005, there is a clause about a transition period before workers from the new member states – this being the case of Romanians – can be employed on an equal, non-discriminatory terms in the member states. The old member states have the right to impose such transitional period for two years, and afterwards decide if to extend it for additional three years with one more possibility of extension with two more years in exceptional cases.

Besides the protectionist side, another aspect that needs to be taken into account in migration policy making regards the maximization of remittances. There are two dimensions that need to be addressed: firstly the channels through which migrants remit and secondly what people spend this money on. Migrants tend to send money home through unsafe informal channels, avoiding formal channels due to high costs. Reducing remittance costs would thus directly impact on the money that arrives at the destination. Furthermore, people may be more likely to remit if they were certain that the money would reach their family. As mentioned earlier, the families of migrants and migrants themselves spend most of their money on everyday consumption. In later stages of migration, when migrants have already built a house and have cars, they also engage in entrepreneurship. However, if there were policies or programmes to enhance the development impact of remittances, migrants might become involved in entrepreneurship or sponsoring of local development projects earlier. Such programmes involving remittances or channelling them into entrepreneurial activities do not yet exist in either village.

It is very hard to draw a clear boundary between migration, development and social policies. I would like to conclude this part with two observations. Firstly, the fact that the social reality offers us proof that migration is intertwined with development and the welfare state. And secondly, migration policy making should be a rather technocratic process, informed by migrants' practices "rather than by the national culture or ideology of the sending and receiving societies" (Olwig 2007: 6).

### *VI.5 Systems theory approach to migration policy making*

How can migration policy making be interpreted in a social systems perspective? How can migrants' practices be communicated to actors in the systems and transformed into policies? How is the political (sub-)system (local administration and the State) adapting according to the individuals participating in it (migrants)? The empirical analysis suggests that the cultures of migration shape the attitudes and policies of the local administration in the home communities, and in the long term can contribute to changes in the legal system. I will now develop this argument by examining this relation using the systems theory approach (Luhmann 1995). Based on their autopoietic character, systems redefine and change their norms. This can happen through communication in the process of receiving signals from researchers, media and migrants. Information from researchers and media is a type of mediated information about migrants. Are there other means through which migrants can 'speak up', and influence policy making and therefore the system? One alternative<sup>34</sup> answer would be to say that migration creates a culture around itself that permeates to the level of the local administration and influences the way migration is addressed.

Each system has a distinctive identity that is constantly reproduced in its communication and depends on what is considered meaningful and what is not. Luhmann (1995) called this a process of reproduction, from elements previously filtered from an over-complex environment. Luhmann likens the operation of autopoiesis (the filtering and processing of information from the environment) to a program, in other words, a process which makes a series of logical distinctions. Each system works strictly according to its own particular code and has no understanding at all for the way other systems perceive their environment. The sub-system is also exposed to other systems. Systems pick up signals from their environments which they then interpret according to their own system of communication. There is no objective 'information' that is passed between systems, since each system constructs its own understanding of reality.

Having seen the evolution of migration projects from the two villages, I ask which type of migration projects translate into culture(s) of migration? Furthermore, when will these cultures of migration change the attitudes of the local authorities towards migration? In the following part I will successively address each of the two questions and sum up the argument, returning to the initial question set out above.

---

<sup>34</sup> Other alternatives to influence policy makers could be others: mobilizing around political parties, paying for lobbyists, using the diaspora's influence at the transnational level, and others. All these can be thought of as acts of communication which can be transmitted to the (sub)system.

All migration projects influence the expectations that the others have from migration. Whether migration is a success and migrants return home with cars and show photos from their holiday on the Spanish coast, whether they go and work for three months in agriculture and return home to look after their children, or whether they return home with no money because they had to give some to an official at a border crossing and use the rest to pay off their debts, all these send messages about migration. Individuals take in these signals and according to the resources available to them – economic, social and so on – evaluate the possibility to migrate, weigh up alternative migration projects and adopt migration as a life strategy or not. Moreover, the situation might also change in the context of different migration policies that in turn alter migrants' projects.

The first type of migration project, i.e. based on migration networks (see Life Story two, Luiza, female, 26 and Cornel, male, 28, Luncavița, August 2006 and Life Story 3, Mioara, female, 29, Feldru, August 2006) is associated with the greatest success depending on the access to migration networks. At the same time, the migration based on networks is also the most adopted strategy. This project has the highest probability to contribute to the development of a culture of migration. Migration becomes a generalized strategy and produces more migration especially because it contributes to a change of the values, norms and attitudes towards migration. Due to high number of migrants on the one hand, and the positive effects experienced as a consequence of migration, on the other hand, the attitude towards migration is a positive one.

Both migration projects described above contribute to the formation of a positive attitude towards migration in the origin community. The only migration project that supports the idea that one should not leave the community is of course represented by the situation when migration is a failure (See Life Story one, migration based on disparate connections, Sebastian, male, 39, Luncavița, April 2006).

The fieldwork in the two communities allowed me to notice the emergence of a culture of migration with different degrees of intensity in each village. The village of Luncavița has a shorter history of migration and also the number of migrants is smaller. Moreover, due to the fact that there were numerous cases of failures when migrating, people are less likely to observe the existence of migration and also less likely to adopt this life strategy. From the interviews it appeared that living and working in the home community was seen as a virtue, and one of the most appreciated and secure employers was considered to be the Romanian state; in other words, a very traditional, non-risk taking approach. Because the village is close to the border, many people work for the border control and in military units. However, as a result of the family migration which so far has proven to be successful, migration is gradually becoming more and more accepted by the Luncăvițeni. With the opening of the two

construction companies by Luncăvițeni, also the number of migrants has increased. This has determined the expansion of the ties from the extended family unit to other friends and neighbours. However, it is important to note that one of the brothers wants his business to co-exist both in Spain and in Romania. The conclusion that can be derived from this is that social recognition in the home community is very important for migrants. This is also reinforced by the fact that they build large houses in the home community as a sign of economic and symbolic status (See Visual Appendix, Photo two, pp. 207).

The situation is very different in the village of Feldru. The long history of migration even before the fall of communism has meant that people accept migration as a viable life strategy. People of all ages are migrating – from eighteen-year-olds who have just finished high school to sixty-year-old villagers who either migrated in the first waves of migration directly after 1989, or have left more recently to help their children. Just as in the case of Luncavița, people still invest in the home community to exhibit their newly acquired economic capital and this again underlines the positive consequences of migration (See Visual Appendix, Photos seven and eight, pp. 210-211). All these validate migration as ‘the thing to do’ and confirm the presence of a culture of migration with a higher intensity than in Luncavița.

Having briefly summarised the migration projects from the communities of origin, we can now proceed to the second question. Migration projects change the other villagers’ attitudes towards migration and thus shape cultures of migration. However, there is a long way from this step to changing the attitudes of the local authorities. To explain this process, I regard the local authorities as sub-systems of the political system, and the migrants with their projects as part of the environment. The emerging culture of migration in the environment starts sending signals to the political system. The sub-system acknowledges these signals and interprets them according to its system of communication. Later on, the sub-system may consider reinterpreting its norms or not. Only if the norms are reinterpreted can the sub-system change. In other words, a change in this context would mean that the local authorities would adopt more positive attitudes towards migration and accordingly start different actions to favour, help and address the frequent movement of persons.

In the empirical chapter I presented the actions of the local authorities in the home community. I mentioned that the attitude of the mayor in Luncavița is to provide migrants with opportunities to integrate on the labour market in the village. An example is the fact that for the construction of the gas pipes in the village he did not look for a business from the neighbouring town, instead asking Doru (Luncavița, male, 29) who has only started a construction company in Spain to start a branch in the village. Therefore, we can conclude

that even the slightest signals that migration is a failure are much stronger than the positive ones.

In Feldru the culture of migration has permeated to the level of the local administration. An institutionalized action that comes to respond to migrants' needs is the census of migration initiated by the local administration. Through this census, the local administration wants to create a database of migrants and also find out which type of documents they need to apply for residence and work permits in Spain. By doing so, they aim to make the application process for such documents easier for migrants.

To conclude, the sub-system of the local administration is first and foremost bound to the political system. In this sense, the strongest messages it receives come from the national policies to address migration. As can be observed from the presentations of these policies, the only policies the Romanian state has developed to address migration regard bilateral agreements. Besides this, there are no other actions that are concerned with the social welfare of migrants or channelling their remittances. Countries with a tradition of emigration such as Mexico, the Philippines and more recently northern African countries, have policies that aim to attract migrants' remittances back to the home communities (Brand 2006). The information received from the political system has a high relevance for the sub-system. This sub-system interacts with the environment, to which migrants belong. The sub-system can be exposed to migrants if they gain a more formal status such as through organizations and actors which the sub-system can then interact with in the process of policy formulation and implementation. Nonetheless, Romanian migrants are not grouped at the level of such small administrative units, neither in rural areas nor in the cities. Therefore, a hypothesis to be explored in future research would be whether the means of Romanian migrants to contribute to change in the political (sub-)system could be through the emerging cultures of migration.

## CHAPTER VII: Conclusions: The meta-narrative of Romanian migration

Figures about the number of Romanians abroad are very vague and most times researchers refrain from giving any estimation. The estimated number of Romanians living and/or working abroad, without having definitely left Romania is of 2,000,000. Besides these migrants, there is estimated to be another group of 300,000 – 400,000 who are going abroad for short periods of time or visiting relatives (Sandu 2007a). After 2002, the flows of migration from Romania start focusing on a few destinations: Italy (50%), Spain (24%), Germany (5%) and Hungary (4%) (ibid.).

A rapport from 2006 coordinated by Sandu and entitled “Living Abroad on a Temporary Basis. Economic Migration of Romanians: 1990 – 2006” did a national survey based on a household sampling and provides few data and an analysis of the changes that have taken place in the structure of the migrant population. The authors argue that by sampling at the household level, those households whose members are all abroad are not taken into account, and thus the number of migrants is underestimated. They rapport on the whole Romanian migration that from over 1/3 of the country’s households (7,300,000) one member has travelled abroad from 1989 – 2006, meaning a total of 2,500,000, and from 1/5 a member has worked abroad, meaning another total of 1,500,000. Changes observed refer to the fact that over time the participation of women in migration tripled and the number of singles grew four times. The balance of rural and urban migrants is equal, and the dominating age group has changed from 30 – 54 (initially) to 15 – 29 (now).

With reference to the main destinations of Romanians – Italy and Spain – the number of migrants is also difficult to estimate. For Italy, the main destination of Romanian migrants, the number of residence permits in 2006 was of 324,200, according to the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs (Șerban and Toth 2007). In Spain, according to the National Institute of Statistics<sup>35</sup>, the figure of Romanians residing there is of 407,159 in 2006. This figure is based on the Romanians who registered with the local authorities in the town / village where they live. Due to the need of proving their residence upon applying for regularization, most migrants register upon their arrival in Spain. Therefore, this figure includes also a part of the clandestine migration. All these figures provide us with a general image of the size of the migratory phenomenon.

---

<sup>35</sup> [www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es)

A discussion about transnationalism emerging from the two communities is twofold relevant given that in the fieldwork I firstly identified the communities in Romania, conducted fieldwork at the origin and afterwards followed the migrants to their destination. Therefore the image of transnationalism can be followed in all migration stages. A 2001 study of Romanian rural migration showed that 60% of Romanian migrants originate from only four per cent of the Romanian villages (Sandu 2000). This is associated with a very high intensity of migration in some communities. In spite of this, the large number of migrants does not constitute transnationalism by itself. That is why it is necessary to contextualize the migration phenomenon in the socio-cultural and economic environment, as well as to understand the type of connections migrants develop between the origin and the destination and the policies that have shaped these relations.

There are two sets of variables: migration policies in the origin and receiving countries, together with policies from supranational bodies such as the EU or the Schengen Space; and the context of the origin in which migration emerges. The migration policies are constant, as the same set of policies applies to all Romanian migrants. What varies and fosters the migration projects are the contexts in which migration emerges or what systems theory refers to as the environment.

The spatial, socio-economic and cultural context in the communities of origin constitutes the structure of opportunities that shapes migration. Although some variables such as the level of development of the community and history of migration have been extensively addressed in the literature (Massey et al. 1994), others have enjoyed less attention. Variables like religious diversity and ethnic composition of the community have been less explored. In the analysis of Romanian migration they prove to have a high explanatory capacity for the emergence of migration flows.

Migration itself triggers migration and as a consequence through cumulative structural effects a form of grass-roots transnationalism (Guarnizo 2003) emerged. As this causes a demand for information and cultural goods, a Romanian newspaper called 'Român în Lume' (Romanian in the World) and a Romanian radio station appeared in Spain. These were established to help migrants deal with their everyday transnational problems or provide them with other transnational services such as news about Romanian cultural, political and social events. Both the newspaper's offices and the radio station are located in Spain and both use the Romanian language. These channels of data dissemination are primarily relevant for the migrants who are more or less settled in Spain. Examples of other enterprises that have been set up as a consequence of migration becoming an institutionalized life strategy include transport companies, enterprises that facilitate the sending of remittances and parcels, shops in Spain selling traditional Romanian goods and Spanish translation offices in the home

community. In the case of Feldru there are already return migrants, due to the longer history of migration. Upon returning, they started different small businesses in the county. In the neighbouring village, Rebrișoara, a Pentecostal family has started a transport company that travels from Bistrița County to Spain. There are buses going directly from Feldru to Alcalá de Henares, Meco and Valencia every week for €150. There is also a shop selling construction materials and a butcher's shop also set up by migrants. The other use of remittances is for building houses.

Practices stand as proof of the emergence of transnationalism: people from Feldru build houses in their home town, send money home for everyday consumption, and return migrants have started businesses in the home community. In the case of Luncavița, people are also slowly starting to build houses. In addition, one migrant has a company in both Romania and Spain and has been contracted to construct a gas system for the village.

The elimination of visa requirements for the Schengen Space had a strong impact on Romanian migration by increasing the number of migrants and intensifying the circulation. The Spanish regularizations have also indirectly stimulated the emergence of transnationalism by allowing migrants to become regular, and therefore enabling frequent movement between the origin and the destination and hence the dual life that characterizes transnationalism. In this sense, migrants from Feldru could establish a transnational space faster, and the migrants from Luncavița are now following.

“Like any other type of social action, transnational practices and relationships are embedded in and simultaneously affect historically and geographically specific socio-political and spatial hierarchies and contexts. These local contexts affect (i.e. may limit, encourage, empower, disable) transnational action, making them, for the most part, trans-local (i.e. local-to-local) relations” (Guarnizo 2003: 690).

## **VII.1 Methodological conclusions**

The methodological reflection that fuelled my research refers to the role and position of hypothesis in the course of a sociological research, as well as the role of the existing knowledge about the researched topic. After having presented in the methodological chapter the grounded theory and the narrative approach – both emphasizing the importance of fieldwork in the construction of hypothesis – and after myself having chosen the narrative method for the production of knowledge for my PhD research, I now want to discuss my position with regard to the elaboration of hypothesis. I believe that the existing literature and the previous experience of the researcher constitute the starting point for every new research.

Looking retrospectively at the PhD research, I will now reflect upon the moment when I formulated the hypothesis and what was its role for the evolution of the research.

How are the two villages different and how does this difference enrich the comparison? In selecting the two case studies, the starting assumption was that in Transylvania, there was a culture of migration because of the long history of migration, unlike in Dobrogea where there was no tradition of migration before 1989 (neither internal nor external). This is why it took longer for migration to be accepted as a life strategy for the Luncăvițeni after 1989. This variation in migration history would therefore account for the divergent patterns of migration in the two villages. The fieldwork confirmed this hypothesis. Among the migration strategies, migration networks appear to be the main resource for the inhabitants of Feldru, while for the people from Luncavița, disparate social connections, and only secondarily networks make migration possible. Family ties are important for the inhabitants of both villages; for the family migration to Palau and for the network starting in Feldru and expanding in various locations in Spain. The different character of using kinship ties derives from the stage at which the two villages are rather than from the local culture. Another characteristic that distinguishes the migrants from the two locations and could be identified only after the fieldwork concerns their legal status. This depends on the strategies used to migrate and the length of stay. Therefore, the migrants from Feldru are regular at the destination, whereas those from Luncavița are more likely to be irregular with the exception of those who have migrated through the only existing network. By choosing communities with divergent migration patterns and migrant statuses, this thesis aims to show that policies of response to migration should be more varied and incorporate social knowledge in policy making. Because of the extended migrant networks, anybody from Feldru who wants to migrate can do so, whereas in Luncavița only those who are part of a small and rather closed network can migrate for work. The rest have to make greater efforts to find out about ways of migrating and make several trips to Bucharest; in other words, the costs of migrating and the associated risks are much higher. All these social and cultural aspects have to be taken into account in policy making. In other words, migration policies should not address a national level, but be embedded in regional practices. This will constitute the focus of the last chapter.

Another variable that I identified in the fieldwork that helps us differentiate between the two villages is the selectivity of migration. This is a variable for which the temporal dimension is very important as it captures the modifications in migration, the history of migration and the different policy changes. Both villages started with a high selectivity of migration: in Feldru migration was first accessible to members of the Pentecostal Gathering and in time the network expanded to include friends and neighbours so that now, after seventeen years of migration, the selectivity is so low that migration has become available to

anyone. In Luncavița the selectivity of migration was very high and only those who were part of a small and closed family could migrate for work. As a consequence there are people who migrate using disparate social connections and are often unsuccessful in their attempts. With the opening of construction companies by two migrants from Luncavița in Palau and Vallvorghina, the network has started to expand and provide help to migrate for friends of the network members. The selectivity is still high but is decreasing. I have only given a brief overview of the characteristics of the two villages here, with the aim not so much of contrasting them as seeing them being involved in the same process of evolution, as converging towards a similar outcome.

The thesis suggests two methodological conclusions. The first assigns a significant role to the formulation of hypothesis prior to data collection – the field research in the current case. Hypotheses are present in a research from the formulation of a topic – we as researchers consider that there is a gap in the literature, or that there is an empirical puzzle that needs further exploration. I assumed that there is a relation between the context in which migration emerges and the patterns of that migration. I also felt that the family expresses the migration patterns of its home village. These assumptions are based on the existing literature – either on Romanian migration, or looking at other case studies. An important role is also played by the sociological imagination (Mills 1959). At a later stage in the research, hypotheses also play a very important role in the selection of case studies. Once the data is selected a back and forth movement takes place between the insights from the fieldwork and the literature. In this process the hypotheses are reshaped and rethought. These points are not meant to disprove the idea that research cannot exist without hypotheses. It is merely that much more time is needed in order to focus the research results.

The second conclusion that I would like to offer again refers to the use of narrative biographical interviews as a method in migration research. The advantage of this approach derives from the fact that storytelling constitutes a natural way of communication, meaning that the interview situation can be transformed into a casual conversation and no longer has an artificial character. Moreover, the information received through stories is not limited to events that took place and the factual experience of migration, but includes also attitudes, values and beliefs. A further benefit is that the stories are contextualized by the migrants and the migration picture is thus more consistent. Therefore, the information as a whole received through narrative biographical interviews is very rich, providing the researcher with contextualized material and dense information.

The following section brings together the existing literature on Romanian migration patterns and the migration patterns from the two villages in order to show the possibility of a stage approach to migration. In fact, one can notice a unifying red line going through the

Romanian migration and that can be identified at the level of all communities. The process of choosing the communities brings me back to the question I posed at the beginning of the thesis.

## **VII.2 Migration projects**

Migration projects in the context of Romanian economic migration need to be understood as strategies used by migrants to integrate on the labour market in a different location than their home. From a systems theory perspective, migration constitutes the means by which one can “find access to social systems at a different geographical place” (Bommes 1999 in Bommes 2005: 5). Migrants have certain expectations in relation to the systems into which they aim to integrate or in relation to organizations they want to become members of. These expectations are constructed through the interaction with other migrants and in a specific socio-cultural and economic context; being a combination of direct and indirect interactions and experiences. An alternative kind of system is that characterized by norms, as discussed earlier. Adopting norms offers a proven way for an individual to integrate into a system. However, a discrepancy between norms and expectations can appear. Migration projects are the materialization of expectations and it is in this framework that we need to understand the following four projects.

In Luncavița I identified two types of migration projects. The first of these projects describes migrants who migrate through an established network. Its members are all part of one extended family and they migrate in a safe environment. The second concerns migrants who employ disparate social connections and who risk a great deal in their migration project, as they face more uncertainties. The migration which originated in Feldru can be accounted for mostly departures based on social networks. I differentiate between the first type of migration project in Luncavița, i.e. that of the extended family, and the project using social networks from Feldru because networks vary significantly in maturity from one community to another and also because the family is not a social network. In the following part I will analyze each type of migration project and discuss its particularities as well as commonalities. Although the migrants’ destination from Luncavița and Feldru are similar, the strategies are different, and moreover, as previously presented, there are stages that succeed one the other, this bringing me back to my previous argument that the two villages are at different stages of migration.

### *VII.2.1 Disparate social connections*

During the fieldwork in Luncavița some of the migrants knew each other and they recommended me with whom I could do interviews. Nonetheless migrants never mentioned leaving together with someone else from the village. Most migrants referred to people from neighbouring villages or towns, friends or family from other parts of Romania or colleagues from work who had helped them to leave and sometimes find work in Spain or Italy. There are disparate links that tend to break once the migrant reaches the destination. Disparate social connections are not characterized by the reciprocity and trust found in migration networks. Therefore the risk is higher, and migrants have to deal with more uncertainties.

What is interesting is that people choose to migrate based on what they hear from others. In spite of knowing both advantages and disadvantages related to migration and also the legalities involved, the success of only few people motivates them to migrate.

### *VII.2.2 Family migration*

In February 2002, immediately after visa requirements for the Schengen Space were eliminated for Romanians, Doru – then 28 – left for Spain together with two of his brothers-in-law. They all went to Nicu, Doru's brother. Five years after their arrival in Santa Maria de Palautordera (Palau), a small village in the vicinity of Barcelona, Nicu and Doru have their own construction companies, have brought about 50 to 70 families<sup>36</sup> with them – all of them part of their extended family – and have recently started to bring friends as well. The family migration has developed into a network of both family and friends, connected with the two brothers setting up their own companies and their corresponding need for labour. Nonetheless, it is a closed network, to which one has little access. The pioneer of the network and his brother choose who they will bring to Spain, and who they will not. Clearly, accessibility to the network is limited and also strictly controlled.

The male migrants to Palau migrate in a safe environment. They arrive in Girona, somebody picks them up from the bus stop and either Doru or Nicu rent apartments in their name so they have a place to live. After a couple of days they start work in construction. Finding a job is much easier for men than women, however most women who have been there for more than half a year have found work. Most migrants are regular, and those who have arrived since 2006 have already applied for documents.

---

<sup>36</sup> From the first to the last fieldwork the number of families referred to grew and also different persons gave me different estimations regarding the number of families helped by Nicu and Doru to migrate and living in Palau.

With regard to the days when Doru did not have documents, he remembers he was stressed:

*I did not worry about the police. They know us, they knew us when we did not have documents, as well as they know us now when we have residence and work permits. This was not a problem. If they see that you leave in the morning for work and come back in the evening and you go for a beer, they did not make you any problems. There are problems if you steal. Why I was stressed? The boss can let you go at any time. There are many people who want to work, they can choose. I could never say I want to earn more money, he can let me go. I never asked for a pay rise that was not something one would talk about. Also, if one gets sick, one cannot stay at home, you make no money, and this is why we are here. If I have documents, I can get sick leave, I know my rights. It is a different story (Luncavița, February 2007, male, 33).*

Another aspect that Doru complained about was travel to Romania and the opportunities for remitting. Luncavița is a rather small village and there is no bank or post office. One needs to travel to Măcin (40 kilometres), Galați (40 kilometres) or Tulcea (50 kilometres) in order to take money out from a bank or a MoneyGram office. Migrants also have to go to these neighbouring towns to start their trips to Spain, as there are no buses leaving from the village. Until recently, communication was also difficult, but mobile reception is now improving, although not for all networks. These two factors make links between Luncavița and any other location quite difficult. This also underlines the short history of migration, and the fact that remitting and transport mechanisms are not very well developed.

As I have mentioned, Doru and his brother were the first to start construction companies in Palau in late 2006. Doru has a Spanish business partner, while his brother owns his company by himself. Doru's plans are to have the construction company operating in both Romania and in Spain. He thinks that by training Romanian migrants in Spain and instilling a work ethic in them, he can then send them to work in Romania where they will transmit the same work ethic to others. In this sense of having training in Spain and having workers that travel within the same construction company between Romania and Spain, and most of all by building a value system around work done in Romania to Spanish standards, Doru's case constitutes a type of transnational project. On his last visit to Romania, he also took his Spanish friend and business partner, Manuel. They were invited by the mayor to discuss a possible construction project. The local authorities in Luncavița have received funding for the introduction of gas in the village and they want to give the contract for this to Doru.

### VII.2.3 Community networks

For my third fieldwork visit in Feldru I decided to focus on one migration network from the village. My assumption (which turned out to be wrong) was that if I interviewed people who had all migrated to the same location in Spain I would be able to build a complete picture of the network. I started my interviews and each migrant had a different destination within Spain: Arganda del Rei, Extremadura, Valencia, Naelo de Malferite, Tarancon and the list goes on. As Marian, a 33-year old migrant says, the Feldrihani are very mobile within Spain.

In Feldru, migration has become a mass phenomenon. Established networks based on friends, religion or neighbourhood make migration available to anyone from the village. However, the Feldrihani are also migrating to other destinations apart from Spain. Migration to Ireland started in early 2000. There were initial attempts to go to the UK, but a connection that facilitated entrance to Ireland channelled the flow to Dublin. The first migrants bought visas, and since 2004 when the EU expanded to include countries in Eastern and Central Europe, Feldrihanis have managed to procure themselves documents which allowed them to enter the UK and Ireland.

Return migrants have started different small businesses in the county. In the neighbouring village of Rebrîșoara, a Pentecostal family has started a transport company that travels from Bistrița County to Spain. This was facilitated by the frequent and good priced transportation connections between Feldru and the various destinations in Spain: Alcalá de Henares, Meco or Valencia. There is a shop which sells construction materials and a butcher's which are also run by migrants. The other use of remittances is for building houses. Apart from these things, no other impact on village life is obvious in. Because migration is such an extended life strategy, people start businesses that would on the one hand make migration more fluid, and on the other hand reap the benefits from the large number of people who use these services.

### VII.3 Patterns of migration

The Romanian migration provides a great case study for the evolution of migration, as we can witness its development *in vivo*.

The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by emigration flows to North America. The emigrants were predominantly from Transylvania: "a quarter of a million inhabitants of this province (with a total population of 4.8 million in 1900) emigrated to the United States" (Varga 1998 in Horváth 2007). The history of Romanian migration was also significantly influenced by the change of borders between Romania and Hungary, and by

the turbulences of the first and second world wars (see Horváth 2007, Poledna 2001, Rotman 2004, Stola 1992).

The Communist period from 1947 to 1989 was marked by a restrictive policy towards emigration; “passports were held by the police, and prior approval from the authorities was required in order to obtain the travel document. Those applying as emigrants to various embassies in Romania had social and economic rights revoked and were stigmatised and harassed by authorities” (Horváth 2007), nonetheless, there occurred emigration. The largest groups to emigrate were part of the ethnic minorities: Jews, Germans and Hungarians (for more details see Horváth 2007). “[...] although ethnic Germans represented only 1.6% of the population in the 1977 census, they constituted 44% of the emigrant population between 1975 and 1989. The emigration of Romanian Jews began immediately after the Second World War, and under the Communist regime the majority of the Jewish community (between 300,000 and 350,000 persons) moved to Israel or the United States” (Horváth 2007).

Right after 1989, ethnic minorities of whom Germans and Hungarians particularly, were over-represented in the legal emigration flows: “for example, 60,000 out of a total of 97,000 emigrants registered in 1990 were Germans. In the case of ethnic Germans, this emigration was encouraged by the assistance offered by the Federal Republic of Germany” (Horváth 2007). In 1989 with the opening of the Romanian border, in the context of a difficult economic transition, labour migration became a wide-spread life strategy. A large part of the migration to follow was migration for economic reasons to Western European countries. Consequently, there were large flows of highly skilled migrants to Canada and the United States, as well as France, the United Kingdom and Germany most importantly for permanent migration (for a more detailed presentation of highly-skilled emigration to Canada, see Nedelcu 2009).

In the following section I will focus on labour migration patterns to Europe. Each destination had its specific category of migrants in terms of age, gender, socio-economic background and education; structure of occupations taken over by migrants; type of relation to the home country and community and so on. Some destinations have been permanent, whilst others have ceased to be of interest to migrants. Some migrant communities have had flows towards all the destinations listed above, others only to some. This complex image complements the previous presentation of the stages of migration in the two origin communities and leads me back to my original question: ‘Are the communities different or are they following a similar path at a different tempo?’ To answer this question I will attempt to order the migration patterns and destinations of Romanian migrants specific to the rural areas.

These patterns of migration are shaped both top-down and bottom-up. The top-down element refers to policies, such as the regularizations and amnesties. There are however, also other policies which have affected migration collaterally such as the Schengen Space regulations and the EU enlargements. The bottom-up elements are represented by different types of networks and economic capital of the migrants as well as the context in the community of origin which is presented in the first part of the Chapter IV (pp. 52-63). Each period can be characterized by several patterns of migration, and I will sum up each period trying to find key words.

Looking longitudinally at Romanian patterns of migration from rural areas, after 1989, Romanian researchers agree that four main periods can be distinguished: 1989-1995, 1996-2001, 2002-2006 and post-2007. The set of questions that I will answer in relation to each period give us information about who the migrants are, what their destinations are, how they travel there and become included in the labour market, how often they return to the home community and what their projects are. Two large scale researches on Romanian migration, with both quantitative and qualitative components, took place in 2000/1 and 2006 (Sandu 2000, 2006). The literature on Romanian labour migration draws on the data produced from these two studies. In the following pages I will use this information and complement it with the qualitative insights from the fieldwork I have conducted between 2005 and 2007.

### *VII.3.1 1990-1995*

During this first period the main destinations for Romanians were Germany, Austria, France, Turkey, Hungary, Serbia and Israel. I grouped these into categories depending on the pattern of migration. These destinations presupposed different patterns of getting to the destination, different strategies for finding work and varying frequency of travel between the origin and the destination. In the following part I will group the countries and discuss each group separately.

#### *Turkey, Hungary and Serbia*

These three countries are spatially very close to Romania. Hungary and Serbia border Romania and Turkey is only separated by Bulgaria. Romanians used to go to Turkey and Hungary for commerce and sometimes to work irregularly for short periods of time. In the case of these two countries, people were engaged in illicit cross-border trade, travelling by bus for one or two days, selling goods in bazaars or open markets and buying other objects to sell in Romania. The choice of destination was dependent on geographical proximity and ethnicity: people from Transylvania, which borders Hungary, would travel to Hungary,

whereas people from the south would mainly go to Turkey. In Transylvania there is a large Hungarian community which speaks the language and has contacts in Hungary. Many of the ethnic Hungarians migrated between Romania and Hungary, however, there were also many Romanians without an ethnic Hungarian background who migrated to Hungary. The population which participated in informal cross-border trade was very heterogeneous: women and men participated equally; migrants came both from rural and urban areas and there were also both highly skilled and low skilled people. The migration to Serbia on the other hand focused on work in agriculture and construction. It engaged migrants from various places in Romania with a slight predominance of the southern regions. Work was mainly irregular and predominated by male migrants from rural areas. Due to the territorial proximity and also due to the trans-border activities, these destinations created a circular migration.

With regard to the two migrant communities that I am focusing on, the national patterns can be easily recognized. Migrants from Luncavița were going abroad for illicit cross-border trade and a few even to work in small factories in Turkey. There were also some migrants travelling for seasonal agricultural work in Serbia. The northern community saw migration to Hungary for cross-border trade and also migration to Serbia.

#### Israel

The migration to Israel was based only on work contracts mediated by recruitment agencies. Migrants had to pay a sum of money as a guarantee to the recruitment company. The guarantee would be paid back to migrants upon their return to Romania at the end of the contract. The fear was that once workers reached Israel they would leave the job which had been arranged for them by the recruitment agency and find a better paid job on the black market. This type of migration ceased in 2002 because of the risk of attacks. Of the two migrant communities, only Luncavița had migrants going to Israel (See life story one, migration based on disparate connections, Sebastian, male, 39, Luncavița, April 2006). This can be explained by the fact that the migration to Israel was in a secure environment, and in the absence of local migration networks that would facilitate departure and working abroad, people opted to use recruitment agencies.

#### Germany, Austria and France

These three were the main destinations for irregular long distance labour migration<sup>37</sup>. Because of regulations, these destinations were associated with high costs and thus migration was

---

<sup>37</sup> Germany was the first destination for ethnic legal migration; the case of the Aussiedler migration policies (Michalon 2009). However, the ones who were not ethnic Germans would obtain visas to enter Germany and then overstay the visa, becoming thus irregular.

selective. Romanians needed a visa to enter these countries during this time, which was very difficult to obtain. The main ways of entering these countries were either to go on a tourist trip and obtain a visa through the travel agency, to buy a visa on the black market or to receive an invitation based on which one could apply individually for a visa. Many migrants who overstayed their visa had to choose between bribing border control officials or staying at the destination. Therefore, many were effectively trapped at the destination for long periods of time – up to seven years – hoping to be regularized in time. Due to the necessity of entering with a visa for a limited period of time and also to the difficulties of becoming regular, many migrants overstayed their visas. Over time the migration changed towards permanent migration also for those who managed to become regular migrants. The difficult conditions required for regularizing one's status led migrants to redirect towards new destinations and thus the migration to France, Germany and Austria diminished in intensity.

Migration networks played a very important role in the migration to these destinations. In order to buy a visa or receive an invitation, besides the financial possibilities, one needed to have access to information and thus to migrant networks. The data of the 2001 census conducted in all Romanian villages “support the idea that ethnic and religious channels predominate for the first waves of international and later on transnational migration: at the level of villages with maximum prevalence rates, the proportion of ethnic and religious minorities among the total number of migrants is much higher than in those communities with limited migration” (Sandu 2005b: 565). Ethnic Germans played an especially important role in the migration of autochthons to the destinations mentioned above. The German Aussiedler migrated from Romania to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s. Later on, many of them acted as intermediaries sending invitations to Romanian friends from the areas they used to come from; these invitations were needed to facilitate the departure of migrants. The ethnic Germans then hosted Romanian migrants in Germany for some time and helped them to find work. As the areas around Feldru used to be inhabited by ethnic Germans, the Feldrihani benefited from their emigration, whereas the people from Luncavița did not have such opportunities in the absence of ethnic Germans in that part of the country.

In the 1990s Romanian migrants had a variety of occupations from construction, agriculture and domestic work to begging and even street performing.

As I have mentioned, the Feldrihani explored these destinations due to the presence of ethnic networks. Today, over ten years since the departure of the first migrants to these destinations, there are migrants who have settled in Germany or Austria and are married to nationals of these countries. Other elderly migrants who used to work in Germany in their late 20s and early 30s have now changed their pattern of migration. They now live in Romania and import second-hand cars from Germany and sell them in Romania. Luncavița experienced

no migration to these destinations partly because the costs of migration were too high and partly as a result of the absence of migration networks. These destinations constituted the first step towards Italy and Spain.

#### Spain, Italy and Greece

In the mid-1990s, Italy, Spain, and Greece emerged as new destinations for labour migration. These grew slowly in popularity and over time the first two became the main destinations for Romanian migrants. This was mainly due to the fact that both countries had an extended informal labour market; there was a boom in the construction sector requiring labour force, there were also periodical possibilities to become regularized and the Latin language was quite accessible to Romanians. However, as in the case of Germany and Austria, Romanians needed a visa to travel to either of these countries. The orientation of Romanians towards these countries does not mean that over the past fifteen years of migration to these destinations, there have not been many cases of expulsion and refusals to admit in all three communities.

The labour market at the destination is segregated by gender. Male migrants worked usually in construction and very little in agriculture or on animal farms. Women mostly worked in domestic services and in providing care. Currently, they are slowly moving towards work in shops and restaurants.

The Feldrihani started migrating to Spain in the early 1990s. If the main role in the migration to Germany was played by migrant networks, religious networks played the main role in the migration to Spain. The community of Feldru experienced long-distance internal migration throughout the communist era to meet their economic needs and could therefore, guided by the churches, build up strong networks of social support especially in regard to migration. Indeed, religious structure is a significant element distinguishing the two communities. In Luncavița the majority of the population is Orthodox. In Feldru the variety of religions is much broader as there are Pentecostals, Baptists, Greek Catholics and Orthodox. According to the interviews, the pioneer migrants of Feldru were the Pentecostals. The Pentecostal church quickly established religious services at the destinations. Therefore it was possible for following migrants to obtain support from pastors and other church members by getting information about migration to a certain destination, acquiring invitations from them which facilitated departure and integration at the destination. In contrast, the Orthodox needed considerably longer to establish those support networks. This is also due to the fact that Pentecostal communities are more close-knit than Orthodox ones. The lack of a factor that grouped people – such as religion in the case of Feldru – the migration from Luncavița took longer to emerge and before 1996.

In relation to the two churches and their migration I identified two sequences. In the case of the Pentecostal Gathering, in Western Europe there was a nucleus of believers and there were gatherings. These were the first to facilitate the migration of Romanians of the same belief. Later, there were also Romanian Pentecostal pastors to migrate and provide service in Romanian. In the case of the Orthodox Church, first there were the migrants going to various destinations in Western Europe and because of their need to have a church, the Romanian Patriarchy asked priests to go abroad. This sequence is important in understanding the migration dynamics.

### *VII.3.2 1996-2001*

Migration during this period was highly selective, and only those with higher economic status and resources could afford to emigrate given that Romanians needed a visa to enter the Schengen Space. To accrue the money necessary to migrate, some people sold land, animals or borrowed money. However, economic recourses alone were not sufficient. One also needed social ties to find out how to obtain or buy a visa on the black market, or receive an invitation from abroad and so on. The inequalities between the two villages determined the different evolution of the migration from the two villages under study, and also from Romanian villages in general. Because a visa granted one access to all countries in the Schengen Space, the country through which it was obtained was not necessarily also the country of destination. For example, a visa obtained through the German Embassy by invitation could then be used to enter Spain. In other words, the Feldrihani used their previous ties with traditional destinations, like Germany, to facilitate the migration to new emerging destinations, i.e. Spain. During this stage of migration, movement from Feldru was expanding and growing into a culture and thus developing into a recognized life strategy. In the case of Luncavița on the other hand, emigration was only in an incipient stage.

This period is marked by the growth of Spain as one of the main destinations for Romanian migrants. To explain the concentration of Romanian migrants in Spain I will make reference to the migration policies of the Spanish state. It was only in the 1980s that Spain became an immigration country. Facing large numbers of newly arrived migrants, politicians wanted to regulate the inflows. In the following years took place five regularizations in 1986, 1991, 1996, 2000/1 and 2005, a new “Foreigner Law “ introduced in 2000 and a reform of that law in 2004 (Arango & Jachimowicz 2005). The principle of regularizations was to permit irregular migrants to obtain temporary residence and work permits. These permits granted migrants basic social rights and also meant that they did not have to fear expulsion. Regularizations were the policies that facilitated the highest number of migrants from the two

communities under study to acquire a regular status. They started playing a significant role for Romanian migration flows in 1996. The requirements for the 1996 regularization were proof that a migrant had entered Spain before 1<sup>st</sup> January 1996 and had the economic means for their planned stay in Spain, meaning had a work contract (Kostova Karaboytcheva 2006: 12). If these requirements were met, the migrant would receive permission to reside and/or work. The regularization of 2000/1 stipulated that applicants were to be registered at the *Padrón Municipal*, the local registry office. This regularization facilitated also family reunion which was extensively used by migrants from Feldru. After 2002 the migrants from Luncavița also used family reunion to regularize their status (see Elrick and Ciobanu 2009).

As the Feldrihani had begun migrating to Spain in the early 1990s, by the time the 1996 regularization was implemented they had already built up large networks between their origin community and diverse locations in Spain. They had been waiting for the regularization while working irregularly. The migrants were informed about the start of the regularization programme by the Spanish government through Spanish television and newspaper announcements. Moreover, during the fieldwork I encountered migrants who accounted me that friends still living in Romania or in Germany and Austria, where it was more difficult to regularize one's status, were called to come to Spain to benefit from this regularization. The migration networks played a very important role provided them with the documents needed for the regularization. This meant that there was a great expansion of the legal migration flow of the Feldrihani to Spain.

There were still many irregular migrants during this period. For them, migration still meant high costs. A visa could cost as much as the equivalent of €1,000 today and even more. Only one person from Luncavița migrated during this period due to the high cost of a visa on the black market. We can therefore see that social and economic capital continued to play an important role in the initiation and maintenance of migration.

The change in the status of migrants impacted on patterns of migration. Regular migrants could develop a circular migration with frequent trips between their communities in Romania and in Spain. Romanian migration has a strong regional character. This is relevant for two reasons. Firstly, Romanian migrants are very linked to their home community and if they invest or send money home, there is a strong emphasis on the origin community. Although it would probably be more advantageous for them to invest in a town or to buy property in a town, migrants still build houses and buy land in their home villages. This has caused prices to rise significantly so that the cost of land in Feldru is comparable for example to the price of land in urban areas or even in resorts by the Black Sea, €20-30 per square meter. Secondly, due to the importance of networks and to the strong effects they have on migration, inhabitants from some communities and even counties go to one destination only.

A destination may be a country but also a village or town, depending on the number of migrants. In the case of Luncavița, the migrants are mostly concentrated in one village in Spain. This is due to yet the small number of migrants who can be assimilated by the labour market of only one locality and it is an indicator of the stage of migration that the migrant community from Luncavița is at.

During this period, migration to Italy also grew in intensity following the 1998 Turco-Napolitano Law no.39 which gave migrants the possibility to become regular. However, migration to Italy is not relevant for the present study as there is only one family of migrants from Feldru who are presently living and working in Italy, and this is obviously a marginal case, and a few migrants from Luncavița who have worked in Italy.

The population of migrants did not change very much compared to the previous period. At this time it was still mainly men migrating, with women migrating only within the family – usually together with their husbands. The types of jobs also remained the same. The patterns of migration that characterize this period are circular migration for work, or long term migration for work – in those cases where returning to Romania would have eliminated the possibility of further migration.

### *VII.3.3 2002-2006*

This is one of the densest periods in Romanian migration in terms of migration policies, or policies in general which have had a strong impact on migration flows. It therefore also marks many changes in migration patterns.

The first policy change which had an extensive impact on migration flows from Romania by drastically reducing migration costs was the elimination of visa requirements for Romanians to enter the Schengen Space in 2002<sup>38</sup>. This meant that only those persons who wanted to stay longer than three months, or work, still needed a visa.

In order to travel within the Schengen Space, Romanian citizens only needed to present one of the following items at the border control: a hotel reservation for the destination location; €500, or an invitation that gave evidence of financial support for the guest. For many migrants, presenting the money was the easiest option. Sometimes the €500 did not even

---

<sup>38</sup> In 1985, five EU countries agreed to the gradual abolition of passport checks at their common borders. This agreement evolved into the Schengen Convention, which was signed in 1990. By December 2007, all EU countries (except for the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Romania and Cyprus) and the non-EU members Norway and Iceland will have eliminated passport or ID checks at common borders.

belong to the migrant, but to a bus driver who had offered to lend them the money for a small fee.

This moment marked the emergence of migration from communities where people had previously not been able to afford to migrate to Western Europe. This was the case in Luncavița, which in 2002 only had one migrant to Spain. Most migrants started leaving after visa requirements for the Schengen Space were eliminated.

As I have just mentioned, there was one regulation which stated that migrants without a work or residence permit could only stay for three months. Overstaying incurred considerable costs when returning to Romania. If caught at the border control, a migrant risked being banned from entering the Schengen Space for up to five years. To avoid this, several strategies existed: the migrant could ask the bus driver to help as the drivers often knew people who could be bribed at the border control; the bus driver could be asked to use a different route; for example when travelling from Western Europe to Romania, one of the routes goes through Austria (where border controls are harsher and bribery difficult), so migrants would ask the driver to avoid Austria, and travel through Slovenia (trip which took nonetheless longer). These strategies were risky, thus migrants had to pay large sums of money to avoid being expelled. As one woman told me, a month's salary had to be included in one's plans to cover the trip back home.

The elimination of the visa regulation altered migration practices as well as the costs of migration. Given that Romanians were only allowed to stay for three months as tourists, some migrants adapted their practices to the migration policy. This caused the emergence of a circular migration. For women it was particularly easy to circulate because of the types of jobs they had, working predominantly as domestic workers or taking care of children or elderly and ill people. Two women could form a 'rotating couple': two women who were family or close friends could share one job, alternating every three months. In this way they could spend time with their family, and at the same time earn a good income in Spain or Italy.

Another migration policy implemented in 2002 was that of the bilateral agreements between Romania and Spain. Temporary migration to Spain under bilateral agreements is restricted to agricultural work, such as strawberry picking and work in vineyards. Recruitment is organized by the OMFM, which cooperates with Spanish employer associations. In order to apply for a contract, the applicant needs to provide several documents, with authenticated translated copies of each. This entails considerable extra costs, especially for those living in rural areas. Because offices for translation and authentication mostly exist only in bigger towns, rural inhabitants have to bear even higher costs.

When looking at the context at the destination, the study of Calavita (2005) shows that the legislation with regard to migrants is highly ambiguous. This ambiguity of the legislation,

at the same time, allows for the growth of informal economy and the entrance and irregular residence on the Spanish / Italian territory (Calavita 2005). She also stresses that economies like the one of Italy or Spain are heavily relying on informal work in the underground economy, and because of this reason immigrants are welcomed to fill the unwanted three Ds informal jobs. Migration laws in Spain and Italy underlines the similarities between the two countries and the gap between the rhetoric of policies and law. Calavita (2005) concludes that immigration laws in both Spain and Italy treat migrants as workers whose legal status is dependent on a precise working place. Italy and Spain welcome migrants solely as workers; nonetheless they deny them the permanent residence and implicitly any possibility to settle. What appears also in both countries it is a double marginality of the migrants, both in economic and legal terms.

#### The 2004 EU Enlargement

After the Schengen Convention, the next change to affect migration flows from Romania was EU enlargement. This refers to the accession in 2004 when Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Cyprus and Malta joined and which had indirectly affected Romanian migration.

The 2004 enlargement process did not include Romania, nonetheless, Romanian migrants had already established friendships with migrants from the new accession states, and their presence in Romanians' migration networks gave Romanians access to documents which allowed them to enter EU countries not participating in the Schengen space (particularly the UK and Ireland). The 2004 accession thus opened up for the Feldrihani, in particular, a new migration route to Ireland.

A visible change took place among the population of migrants from Feldru. If in the past it was mainly men in their 30s, now the population encompassed both genders and all age groups, from children who either migrated with their parents or who were born in Spain to people in their 60s who have joined their children abroad either to help in the household or work somewhere else. The difference between Luncavița and Feldru can be seen in the fact that people of all ages have migrated from Feldru. Also, there are many young people in their early 20s migrating for work. In Luncavița, the population is still predominately formed by over 25 whose wives have stayed in Romania; there are no single women who have migrated to Spain from Luncavița.

The types of labour that Romanians are engaged in have changed little over time. Men usually work in construction, as they have done since their arrival in Spain. The emergence of construction companies owned by Romanians differentiates again the two villages. The Feldrihani started two such companies in the period 1996-2002, but the Luncăvițeni did not

set up construction companies until 2007. The occupations of women are correlated to their legal status. There are still many women who work as domestics and take care of old people and children. However, those who have become legal are increasingly working in factories, restaurants and shops. Besides the importance of the regular status, the variable that influences the type of job that a migrant does is the acquisition of language.

Another policy which had an impact on the same period of Romanian migration was the 2005 regularization. Besides the usual requirements of a work contract and proof of registration at the *Padrón Municipal*, migrants also had to present a clean criminal record from the country of origin. The requirement that particularly affected migrants from both Feldru and Luncavița most was the *empadronamiento*, mandatory registration on the municipal register, which had to have taken place six months before the regularization. Because of the low number of migrants who applied for the regularization, the Spanish state decided to extend the application deadline and relax the requirements by accepting various other forms of proof of residence. In the interviews, the respondents remembered having presented as part of their application for regularization documents such as school or kindergarten registration of their child or passport stamps proving entry in the country. This time, migrants not only from Feldru but also from Luncavița benefited, as migration from the latter community to Spain slowly took off after 2002.

#### *VII.3.4 Post-2007*

In January 2007 Romania and Bulgaria became part of the EU. Because the last fieldwork took place in early 2007, it has only been possible to gain limited insights into the effects of the 2007 EU enlargement. In addition, this period is too short to be able to evaluate it. Nevertheless, the legal structure of opportunities after 2007 allows some speculation on the consequences of accession on the Romanian-Spanish migration. In spite of being easier for Romanians to enter Spain, it is no longer easy to find work. Because of the large number of Romanian migrants who have already become regular, some of whom are on their second or third *tarjeta de autorization de trabajo y residencia* (work and residence permits) employers have a large pool from which to select employees. The possibility of integration on the labour market for newcomers has therefore become very difficult. Moreover, because Romania is an EU-member-state, Romanian migrants will not be able to benefit from future regularizations. The only possibility still open to Romanian migrants who want to regularize their status is to obtain a contract while they are in Spain and based on this to apply for work and residence permits. However, this is difficult because few employers are willing to offer a work contract

to an irregular migrant, when they can hire a migrant who is already regular. The other possibility which remains open is to apply for family reunification.

The observation that I made during my last fieldwork trip in February is that some of the migrants from Feldru are already considering returning to Romania; they are saving money, building houses in Romania and considering starting a business. The migrants from Luncavița on the other hand have not yet managed to prosper economically so much. The migration is much younger and although they are influenced by the same policies and political changes – such as the accession to the EU – as the migrants from Feldru, other social variables should be taken into account for the slower emergence of migration and for the different reaction to the same stimuli.

Massey et al. (1994) argue for the existence of a common developmental pattern of migration, and communities as being at different stages. As I tried to show at the end of each section on the different migration periods, the two communities can be seen to exhibit different migration patterns. However, if we look longitudinally we can see that they are actually at different stages on the same path. The two communities develop based on cumulative structural effects, and the social structure on which they base migration was initially different. The context in which migration emerged in Feldru (presented in Chapter IV, pp. 51) and the presence of networks of various types resulted in a faster development of migration and the diversification of destinations. As a consequence, the selectivity of migration is very low, and practically anyone who wants to migrate can do so. The situation is different in Luncavița where both the context and the absence of local opportunities determined a slower migration development. Migration was more difficult at first, taking place only within one extended family, however the Luncăvițeni now appear to be catching up, and the number of migrants has significantly increased over the past five years. My conclusion is therefore that migration from almost any community passes through the same patterns, with the local contexts and the migrants' expectations as expressed in migration projects determining its speed.

#### **VII.4 Romanian migration in a systemic approach**

Using the definition of transnationalism as a dual life at the origin and at the destination, with reciprocal implications between locations, and a developed culture of migration that institutionalizes international migration as a life strategy, we can assert that the migration from both Luncavița and from Feldru has a transnational character. One transnational space encompasses the migrants from Luncavița to Santa Maria de Palautordera. The ties that they have are strong family ties and their integration in various differentiated social systems –

labour market, legal system, educational system, and so on – is dependent on them. On the other hand, the migrants from Feldru are scattered across Spain, due to the fact that they constitute a large group. During the interviews most migrants referred to institutions when asked about their means of information. This shows that the migration from Feldru has a different character than the migration from Luncavița.

This brings me to a critique of both network theory and transnationalism. The social networks approach neglects the processes of societal differentiation. “The functional form called ‘functional differentiation’ is possible only when the individual no longer takes over one position in a social structure that defines the horizon of their social options (affiliation, total inclusion), but are able and forced to participate in diverse contexts of communication, each of which operates under its own restricted criteria of the individual’s relevance (partial inclusion)” (Bommes and Tacke 2006: 285). To apply this to the present analysis, in Feldru migrants integrate in functionally differentiated systems using multiple links, not only the ones to which they used to belong, but also others which become relevant only at the destination. Such links can be with Spanish nationals or migrants from other origin countries, and they can provide a new set of information about the inclusion in functionally differentiated systems.

The migrants from Luncavița travel only from Luncavița to Palau and back home. Both in Spain and in Romania their existence is bound to one location. Given the limited access to migration and the closed networks, the phenomenon developed this character of strong territorial attachment. The opposite is to be found in the case of the migration based on disparate social connections, where migrants are dispersed across several countries and within each country in several communities. The lack of ties makes such migrants vulnerable and their chances of success and inclusion in the economic system at the destination depend mostly on chance or personal characteristics. The situation is very different in the case of Feldru. There people have access to extensive networks. This also determines the dispersion of migrants across countries. Their chances of success are enhanced by the existence of networks involving people from both the origin and the destination. The reason for dispersion is not, as in the case of disparate social connections, the scarcity of information received and the use of any potential tie. On the contrary, it is the access to other networks and therefore other structures of opportunities and the larger number of people involved in migration. If the labour market from one of the destinations cannot absorb enough migrants, people disperse. Thus migration is just a territorial mobility with the aim of integrating in different systems, the economic systems being the most important for the Romanian migrants (Bommes 1999 in Bommes 2005).

Locations need to be understood in this sense. Migrants from Romania do not choose Spain in particular; they choose the place where they can integrate on the labour market. And if they have social connections in Spain, therefore this will be their destination. Similarly, people from Luncavița migrate to Palau, because there they have a good likelihood to integrate on the labour market. The locations loose in importance, while the structure of opportunities and the possibilities to become included in different systems or sub-systems are primordial.

The context at the origin constitutes the environment in which the migration projects are being shaped. This refers to variable such as the social, economic, and cultural dimensions. More concretely; the social ties between persons from the same locality, as well as the ethnic and religious structure of the population, the type of economic activities – with the distinction between state owned vs. private enterprises – and the history of migration; all these contribute to the structure of opportunities that migrants take into account in shaping their life projects. Given the fact that there are the same migration policies for both groups of migrants from Luncavița and Feldru, these above mentioned variables are the only ones contributing to the emergence of migration projects.

## APPENDIXES

### *Appendix 1: Abbreviations*

ANOFM – National Agency for the Occupation of the Labour Force

ILO – International Labour Organisation

INE – Instituto Nacional de Estadística / National Statistical Office in Spain

IOM – International Organization for Migration

OSCE – Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

OMFM – Office for the Migration of the Labour Force

WB – World Bank

*Appendix 2: Respondents to the interviews*

**Table 1: Interviews with authorities and informants on migration in the December fieldwork in Feldru**

Interview with the vice-mayor

Interview with the head of the high school

Interview with the history teacher and with the electrotechnics teacher

Interview with the Orthodox Priest

Interview with the Pentecostal Pastor

**Table 2: Interviews with authorities and informants on migration in the December fieldwork in Luncavița**

Interview with the mayor

Interview with the head of the high school

Interview with the physical education teacher and history teacher

Interview with the Orthodox Priest

Interview with one of the first entrepreneurs

**Table 3: Respondents from the April fieldwork in Feldru**

<b>Number of interview</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Members of family abroad</b>	<b>Destination</b>
IF 1	M	40	Professional school	Married	4	Spain

IF 2	F	58	4 classes	Married	2	Spain
IF 3	F	24	Highschool	Married	6	Spain
IF 4	M	57	University	Married	5	Spain
IF 5	M	29	8 classes (general school)	Married	8	Spain
IF 6	M	55	University	Married		USA & Ireland
IF 7	F	24	Professional school	Married	1	Spain
IF 8	F	54	8 classes (general school)	Married	2	Spain
IF 9	M	40	8 classes (general school)	Married	1	Spain
IF 9	F	34	10 classes	Married	1	Spain
IF 10	M	38	College	Married		USA & Ireland

**Table 4: Respondents from the April fieldwork in Luncavița**

Number interview	Gender	Age	Education	Marital status	Members of family abroad	Regular / irregular	Destination
IL1	F	62	8 classes (General school)	Widow	1	Regular	Italy

IL 2	M	37	Professional school	Married		Irregular	Italy
IL 3	M	43	Highschool	Married		Irregular	Spain
IL 4	M	39	Married	Married	1	Irregular	Spain
IL 5	F	24	University	Cohabitation	1	Irregular, then regular	Spain
IL 6	F	21	Highschool	Married	1	Irregular, then regular	Spain
IL 7	F	40	Highschool	Married	1	Irregular	Italy

**Table 6: Respondents from the August 2006 fieldwork in Feldru**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Form of living</b>	<b>Members of the family abroad</b>	<b>Regular / irregular</b>	<b>Destination</b>
<b>IF 1</b>	F	33	10 classes	Married	With parents	All siblings	Irregular	Spain
<b>IF 2</b>	F	29	8 classes	Married	With parents	Husband	Regular	Spain
<b>IF 3</b>	M	44	8 classes	Married	With parents	Child	Regular	Spain
<b>IF 4</b>	F	45	Professional school	Married	With parents	Everyone except for the father and the	Irregular	Spain

						brother		
<b>IF 5</b>	F	34	High school	Married	With parents	Everyone	Irregular	Spain
<b>IF 6</b>	F	31	10 classes	Married	With parents	Just the wife's family	Regular	Spain
<b>IF 7</b>	F	29	High school	Widowed	With parents	Everyone except for the brother	Regular	Spain
<b>IF 8</b>	M	33	Professional school	Single	With parents	Everyone (mother and two brothers)	Regular	Spain
<b>IF 9</b>	F	51	8 classes	Married	With parents	Everyone	Regular	Italy
<b>IF 10</b>	M	23	8 classes	Single	With parents	No one else	Regular	Spain

**Table 8: Respondents from the August 2006 fieldwork in Luncavița**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Form of living</b>	<b>Members of the family abroad</b>	<b>Regular / Irregular</b>	<b>Destination</b>
<b>IL 1</b>	F	24	8 classes	Single	With parents	None	Irregular	Spain
<b>IL 2</b>	M	30	High school	Married	With parents	None	Regular	Greece
<b>IL 2</b>	F	25	Vocational school	Married	With parents	None	Regular	Greece
<b>IL 3</b>	F	40	Professional school	Married	With parents	Husband	Irregular	Italy
<b>IL 4</b>	M	56	Professional	Divorced	Alone	None	Regular	Italy

			school						
<b>IL 5</b>	F	34	Professional school	Married	With partner	Entire family	nuclear	Regular	Italy
<b>IL 6</b>	M	33	High school	Married	With partner	Entire family	nuclear	Regular	Spain
<b>IL 6</b>	F	31	Professional school	Married	With partner	Entire family	nuclear	Regular	Spain
<b>IL 7</b>	M	28	High school	Married	With partner	Entire family	nuclear	Regular	Spain
<b>IL 7</b>	F	26	Professional school	Married	With partner	Entire family	nuclear	Regular	Spain

**Table 9: Respondents from the February 2007 fieldwork Spain**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Form of living at the destination</b>	<b>Regular – Irregular</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>Previous migration experience</b>
IPL1	F			married	with husband	Irregular	Palau	No
IPL2	F			married	with husband	Irregular	Palau	No
IPL3	F			married	with husband	Irregular	Palau	No
IPL4	M	29	professional marine school	married	with husband and one more family	Regular	Palau	No
IPL5	F	22	High school	married	with husband and	Irregular	Palau	No

					one more family			
IPL6	M				with husband, child and one more family related to them	Regular	Palau	No
IPL7	F	27		married	with husband, child and one more family related to them	Regular	Palau	No
IPL8	M	27	8 classes	not-married	with brother and friend	Irregular	Palau	Turkey
IPL9	M	44	High school	married	with brother and friend	Irregular	Palau	Spain
IPL10	M	32	High school	married	with brother and friend	Irregular	Palau	No
IP11	M	36	High school	married	with a family	Irregular	Palau	Turkey
IPL12	M	33	High school	married	with the family	Regular	Palau	No
IPL13	F	29	3 years of university	married	with the family	Regular	Palau	No
IAHF14	M	49	professional school	single	with other people from the village	Regular	Alcalá de Henares	
IMF 15	F	26	High school	Married	With extended family	Regular	Meco	
IMF 16	F	38	High school	Married	With the family	Regular	Meco	

**Table 10: Interviews with officials from Spain**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Location in Spain</b>
1	Head of the school	University	Spanish	Palau
2	Orthodox Priest	University	Romanian	Alcalá de Henares

*Appendix 3: Fieldwork methodology*

**Table 1: Fieldwork planning**

	<b>Topic of research</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Population</b>
<b>Fieldwork one – Reconnaissance December 2005 Romania</b>	Reconnaissance trip on patterns of migration and attitudes of migration	Open interviews	Local authorities School teachers Religious representatives: priests and pastors
<b>Fieldwork two – April 2006 Romania</b>	Migration projects Attitudes towards migration	Narrative biographical interviews	Migrants and their families People of different ages and professions from the villages
<b>Luncavița</b>	Migration based on disparate social connections Migration based on contracts as nurses in Italy		
<b>Feldru</b>	Migration based on strong ties (religious and community)		
<b>Fieldwork three – August 2006 Romania</b>	Migration projects with a focus on networks	Narrative biographical interviews Family Narratives	Migrants
<b>Luncavița</b>	Family Migration		
<b>Feldru</b>	Network migration		
<b>Fieldwork four – February 2007 Spain:</b>	Migration projects in the context of the destination	Narrative biographical interviews	Migrants
<b>Barcelona</b>	Settlement Circulation vs. Transnationalism		Local authorities Head of the school

	Family migration vs. Migration networks	
<b>Madrid</b>	<b>Settlement</b> <b>Entrepreneurship</b> <b>Circulation vs.</b> <b>Transnationalism</b>	Priest of the Orthodox Church

*Fieldwork one – Reconnaissance (December 2005)*

The scope of the fieldwork was to validate the choice of the villages based on the Census of the Romanian migration<sup>39</sup>. A secondary scope was to grasp a general image of the migration patterns and the attitude towards migration in the village.

**Population investigated**

- § *Key informants with regard to migration:* drivers, professors, priest, teachers, policemen
- § *Formal leaders:* mayor

**Interview guideline**

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Sub-themes</b>
The village	Economic development of the village
	History of employment
	Institutions of education
Population	Economic and socio-demographic structure
	Gender, religion and ethnicity
Temporality	Beginning of migration
	Moments in the changes of migration flows
	1997 – strong disponibilizations all through Romania 2002 – Schengen Space and the elimination of visas for Romanians
Destinations	Countries
	Particular regions / cities

<sup>39</sup> The Census of the Romanian migration is the result of an IOM project coordinated by Dumitru Sandu in 2001. It undertook a survey in all the 12 700 villages of Romania. The team of researchers who coordinated in the project was also made of Dana Diminescu, Monica Serban and Sebastian Lazaroiu.

Migration selectivity	The profile of migrants in the first wave
	The profile of migrants in the second wave
Decision-making	Economic, social, cultural
Social networks	“Local pioneers“
	Roles in the networks, changes in: role performances, duties, status in network, economic & living conditions
	Size of the network – number of people / households / involved and relation between them (i.e. relatives)

***Fieldwork two (April – May 2006)***

At this stage, the scope was to interview migrants and listen to their life stories. Thus depicting the differences and the similarities between the two villages and their population of migrants.

**Population investigated**

People to conduct interviews with: migrants – women and men, all ages, various destinations, various jobs at the destination, various education levels, various marital statuses, different waves of migration (right after 1989, or more recent).

**Interview guideline**

**Introduction**

Thank you very much for having agreed on this interview. My name is Oana Ciobanu. Within my PhD project I talk to people in Luncavița / Feldru. I am interested in the life of the people from here; this is why I will generally ask you to tell me about your life.

I assure you that our talk will be just for scientific purposes. Your name will not appear anywhere. If you agree I would like to record our talk, as it is hard for me to make notes, and I want to listen to you. Also it will be easier for me to listen to the interview later on.

Once again, thanks a lot for being here; I am here just for you, so feel free to take your time. I am very interested in all you want to tell me, and there is no right or wrong.

## **Questions**

Could you talk to me about your life beginning with your school years?

Please tell me about the most recent time you went abroad.

Could you tell me how it happened that you went abroad?

How did you learn about this possibility?

How did you organize it?

Please tell me about the time before last time you went abroad.

Could you tell me how it happened that you went abroad?

How did you learn about this possibility?

How did you organize it?

Could you describe a regular day in your life at the “destination”?

You were saying about your family here in Luncavița / Feldru; could you tell me more about how you keep in touch with them when you are away?

Do you send packages? How often and how?

And money, do you help them financially?

Could you tell me how you see your life in the next years?

What do you plan to do with the money you have saved / save now?

For how many more years do you plan to migrate?

What do you think that you learned from your migration experience?

## **Auxiliary themes to be addressed if they are not touched upon by the respondent**

§ Work

§ Housing

§ Acquaintances

§ Leisure time

§ Help / Migrant networks

## **Additional questions**

§ Could you dwell on this a little further please?

§ Could you, please, go back to that and explain what you meant?

§ May I, very briefly, summarize what you have said just now: ... Do you agree?

**Rounding-off question**

I have no further questions at the moment. Thank you very much for having had time for me. It was a really interesting talk we had. Do you have anything more you want to bring up, or ask about, before we finish the interview?

**Group discussion guideline****Introduction**

Thank you very much for having agreed on this interview. My name is Oana Ciobanu. Within my PhD project I talk to people in Luncavița. I am interested in the life of the people from here; this is why I will generally ask you to tell me about your life and the village in general. I assure you that our talk will be just for scientific purposes. Your name will not appear anywhere.

If you agree I would like to record our talk, as it is hard for me to make notes, and I want to listen to you. Also it will be easier for me to listen to the interview later on.

Once again, thanks a lot for being here; I am here just for you, so feel free to take your time. I am very interested in all you want to tell me, and there is no right or wrong.

**Questions/Stimuli**

Some people of the commune leave their home for a longer or shorter period in time to go abroad. Could you tell me please how this affects the life in village?

Could you tell me please how the life in the village has changed since some of the people in the village started to go abroad for work?

**Additional questions**

§ Could you dwell on this a little further please?

§ Could you, please, go back to that and explain what you meant?

§ May I, very briefly, summarize what you have said just now: ... Do you agree?

**Rounding-off question**

I have no further questions at the moment. Thank you altogether for having had time for me. It was a very interesting discussion. Do you have anything more you want to bring up, before we finish this round?

### *Fieldwork three (August 2006)*

The scope in this fieldwork was to focus on networks and the different types of network that migrants use in their migration projects.

#### **Guideline for the interview**

<b>Networks</b>	Please tell me, without mentioning names who are the people who helped you in your trip from Romania to Spain. When I say this, I refer to people that you consulted before your departure, but also the bus driver, or the first Spanish people you met, others Romanians who were living in Spain and any other people that you remember about.
	Can you tell me more about your job? For those who are not employed, can you tell me more about how you try to get a job? 'Locutoriu' – Can you tell me about "locutories"; what kind of information is displayed there, have you ever used them, or have you ever displayed information there, who started them, how often do you go there, how many are therein your village, and anything else related to them ...  How do you choose the bank where to open an account? How do you choose the letting agency through which you look for flats to rent / buy?

### *Fieldwork four (February 2007) in Spain*

Based on the previous fieldworks I decided to focus during the fieldwork from the destination on four topics; i.e. networks, settlement, migration projects and the impact of policies on the migration projects. I grouped the types of interviews according to the destination.

**Interview with migrants from Luncavița who have migrated in a network in Santa Maria de Palautordera**

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Question</b>
<b>Networks</b>	Please tell me, without mentioning names who are the people who helped you in your trip from Romania to Spain. When I say this, I refer to people that you consulted before your departure, but also the bus driver, or the first Spanish people you met, others Romanians who were living in Spain and any other people that you remember about.
	Can you tell me more about your job? For those who are not employed, can you tell me more about how you try to get a job? <i>'Locutoriu'</i> – Can you tell me about “locutories”; what kind of information is displayed there, have you ever used them, or have you ever displayed information there, who started them, how often do you go there, how many are therein your village, and anything else related to them ... How do you choose the bank where to open an account? How do you choose the letting agency through which you look for flats to rent / buy?
<b>Settlement</b>	Please tell me about your life in Spain.
	Investment in houses in Spain Please tell me more about your housing situation. Have you bought a house / are you planning to? Have you bought furniture or electrical equipment? Do you borrow money from the bank to do this?
	Can you tell me more about the entire process of becoming regular in Spain?
	Benefits What do you know about social benefits in Spain? How did you inform yourself? Are you entitled to benefits? Do you know if you are eligible for pension? How did you inform yourself?
	Savings Remittances

	<p>Can you tell me more about your savings?</p> <p>What do you plan to do with them?</p> <p>What have you done so far with the money that you saved?</p> <p>Have you invested money back home in Romania?</p> <p>What do you invest in at home? (for those who mention to invest money home)</p>
	<p>Interest in the life in Spain:</p> <p>Can you tell me more about whether you watch the TV, read newspapers, listen to the Radio in Spain?</p> <p>Did you do this in Romania?</p> <p>Do you watch Romanian channels?</p> <p>Have you voted in the last Romanian elections? Where were you living then?</p> <p>Would you vote in Spain (given that now as an EU member country citizen, Romanians have the right to vote in the local elections)?</p>
	<p>Citizenship – have you ever thought to apply for Spanish citizenship?</p>
	<p>Social activities</p> <p>Can you tell me more about the way you spend your spare time?</p> <p>Do you spend time with Spanish people or with people of other nationalities?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the last birthday of your child (where there is the case)? Were there invited Spanish children also?</p>
<b>Migration projects</b>	<p>Can you please tell me how you have organized the trip to Spain?</p> <p>Can you please tell me about the first months in Spain?</p> <p>How do you travel home?</p>
	<p>How did you find the place where you work?</p> <p>Is your work dangerous? Can you tell me more about this?</p> <p>How did you find your accommodation?</p> <p>How did you become regular? Can you tell me more about your lawyer?</p>
	<p>What plans do you have? Have you done something concrete?</p> <p>Do you consider to go and work in another country? Where?</p>

**Interview with migrants from Feldru who are in Meco, Alcalá de Henares and Arganda del Rei**

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Question</b>
<b>Networks</b>	<p>Please tell me, without mentioning names who are the people who helped you in your trip from Romania to Spain. When I say this, I refer to people that you consulted before your departure, but also the bus driver, or the first Spanish people you met, others Romanians who were living in Spain and any other people that you remember about.</p>
	<p>Can you tell me more about your job?</p> <p>For those who are not employed, can you tell me more about how you try to get a job?</p> <p><i>'Locutoriu'</i> – Can you tell me about “locutories”; what kind of information is displayed there, have you ever used them, or have you ever displayed information there, who started them, how often do you go there, how many are therein your village, and anything else related to them?</p> <p>How do you choose the bank where to open an account?</p> <p>How do you choose the letting agency through which you look for flats to rent / buy?</p>
<b>Settlement</b>	<p>Please tell me about your life in Spain.</p>
	<p>Investment in houses in Spain</p> <p>Please tell me more about your housing situation.</p> <p>Have you bought a house / are you planning to?</p> <p>Have you bought furniture or electrical equipment?</p> <p>Do you borrow money from the bank to do this?</p>
	<p>Can you tell me more about the entire process of becoming regular in Spain?</p>
	<p>Benefits</p> <p>What do you know about social benefits in Spain? How did you inform yourself? Are you entitled to benefits?</p> <p>Do you know if you are eligible for pension? How did you inform yourself?</p>
	<p>Savings</p> <p>Remittances</p>

	<p>Can you tell me more about your savings?</p> <p>What do you plan to do with them?</p> <p>What have you done so far with the money that you saved?</p> <p>Have you invested money back home in Romania?</p> <p>What do you invest in at home? (for those who mention to invest money home)</p>
	<p>Interest in the life in Spain:</p> <p>Can you tell me more about whether you watch the TV, read newspapers, listen to the Radio in Spain?</p> <p>Did you do this in Romania?</p> <p>Do you watch Romanian channels?</p> <p>Have you voted in the last Romanian elections? Where were you living then?</p> <p>Would you vote in Spain (given that now as an EU member country citizen, Romanians have the right to vote in the local elections)?</p>
	<p>Citizenship – have you ever thought to apply for Spanish citizenship?</p>
	<p>Social activities</p> <p>Can you tell me more about the way you spend your spare time?</p> <p>Do you spend time with Spanish people or with people of other nationalities?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the last birthday of your child (where there is the case)? Were there invited Spanish children also?</p>
<b>Migration projects</b>	<p>Can you please tell me how you have organized the trip to Spain?</p> <p>Can you please tell me about the first months in Spain?</p> <p>How do you travel home?</p>
	<p>How did you find the place where you work?</p> <p>Is your work dangerous? Can you tell me more about this?</p> <p>How did you find your accommodation?</p> <p>How did you become regular? Can you tell me more about your lawyer?</p>
	<p>What plans do you have? Have you done something concrete?</p> <p>Do you consider to go and work in another country? Where?</p>

***Appendix 4: Explanation of the notations from the Banu family tree***

- Male
- △ Female
- Male migrant to Spain
- Male migrant to Ireland
- ▲ Female migrant to Ireland
- Male migrant to Germany
- ▲ Female migrant within Romania
- ▲ Female migrant to Italy
- ▲ Female migrant to France
- Male migrant to Spain who has returned home
- ▲ Female migrant to Greece
- French citizen

***Appendix 5: Explanation of the notations of the Pop family***

- Male
- △ Female
- Respondent

## *Appendix 6: Spanish vocabulary and a succinct analysis*

Most people who do fieldwork learn the language of the people they do fieldwork among. My case was fortunate, as I conducted fieldwork among Romanians, and therefore we were speaking our native language. This allowed me to conduct in-depth interviews. The first fieldwork took place in Romania and later on I went to Spain to interview the same migrants, just at the destination. In order to discuss with their Spanish employers, friends or school teachers I used my knowledge of French, English and my basic Spanish. Through the text you came across some Spanish words that the migrants used in the interviews. I kept them on purpose as it is very relevant to see what type of words they do not translate, not because of the lack of a Romanian correspondent, but because they only came across that word in Spanish. It is a kind of socialization given that they formed the concept only in Spanish, and therefore use them even in Romanian. Such words refer to the legal frameworks of migration such as: *tarjeta*, *empadronamiento*, *Appuntamento*, *in sita la Guvern* (to be noticed in this case the combination of Spanish with the usage of the Romanian preposition); words related to food: *pinia* (pineapple), *hamon*, *chorizo* and particular types of cheese. These name foods which are less frequent in Romania. Also specific rooms of the house like *comedor*, or cities: *Parigi*, coming from the Italian name for Paris or *Firenze* instead the Romanian ‘Florența’, this due to the fact that they never used these names in Romanian. In the case of the Romanian migrants in Spain, the names of towns are the same in the two languages – for example Madrid or Barcelona.

### Vocabulary:

*tarjeta* – it only means card and in Spanish it is used all the time together with an attribute such as ‘*tarjeta de empadronamiento*’, ‘*medical tarjeta*’ and so on, however the migrants used it on its own when referring to the document that allowed them to reside and work regularly in Spain. The most common *tarjeta* to which they refer is the *tarjeta o autorización de residencia*; i.e. residence permit.

*empadronamiento* – registration at the town hall that proves the person resides in that town. Although this exists in Romania also, it is largely ignored. In Spain it is very important as a document proving the *empadronamiento* was a condition for all the regularizations.

*Appuntamento* – appointment or unit within the Town hall, such as the Social department (*Appuntamento Social*).

*in sita la Guvern* – this refers to the documents which are part of the application for the work and residence permit, and it means that the application has been forwarded and waits for approval by the Government.

*Solicitud* – when someone takes the responsibility for a person and guarantee for them.

*Debaja* – how they call it and now the employer pays it for me he pays the insurance and the hours it depends on how many hours I have to take on how many hours I work and how many hours will the insurance cover for me

*Resguard* – it is a document that you can have with you, because the police will take you or there is a control.

*Pinia* – pineapple

*Hammon* – bacon

*Chorizo* – particular type of Spanish sausage

*Caune* – melon

*Amanira* – salad – in Romania the salad is not a dish on its own

*Comedor* – living room, room for serving dinner, lunch brake or the school canteen

*Finca* – farm

*Limpiesa* – domestic worker

*Carniceria* – butchers

*Ola* – Hello

*Estranjer* – foreigner

*Esecular*

*Morcar* – breakfast

It is relevant for the analysis that the word does not really exist in Spanish. The word that exists is ‘amorzcar’ and it means to have lunch. In other words, sometimes migrants also invent new words.

*Appendix 7: Visual fieldwork*

Photo 1: Disparate social connections and migration in Luncavița





Photo 2: House of a migrant

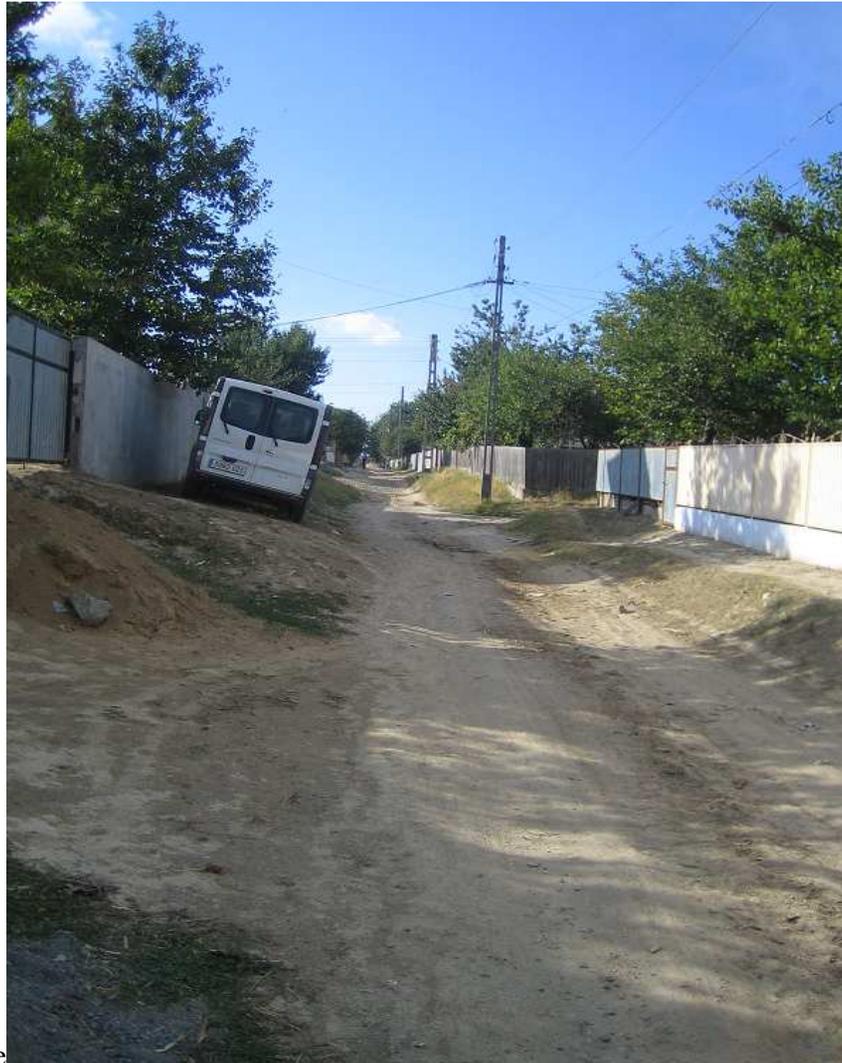


Photo3: The road in front of the house



Photo 4: Communal roads

Photo 5: Social Housing in Santa Maria de Palautordera



Photo 6: Hotel in Santa Maria de Palautordera (many migrants lived here upon their arrival in the village and also the hotel provided migrants with documents necessary to show at the border control)



Photo 7: The new house of a migrant from Feldru



Photo 8: Business started by a migrant and his house in Feldru

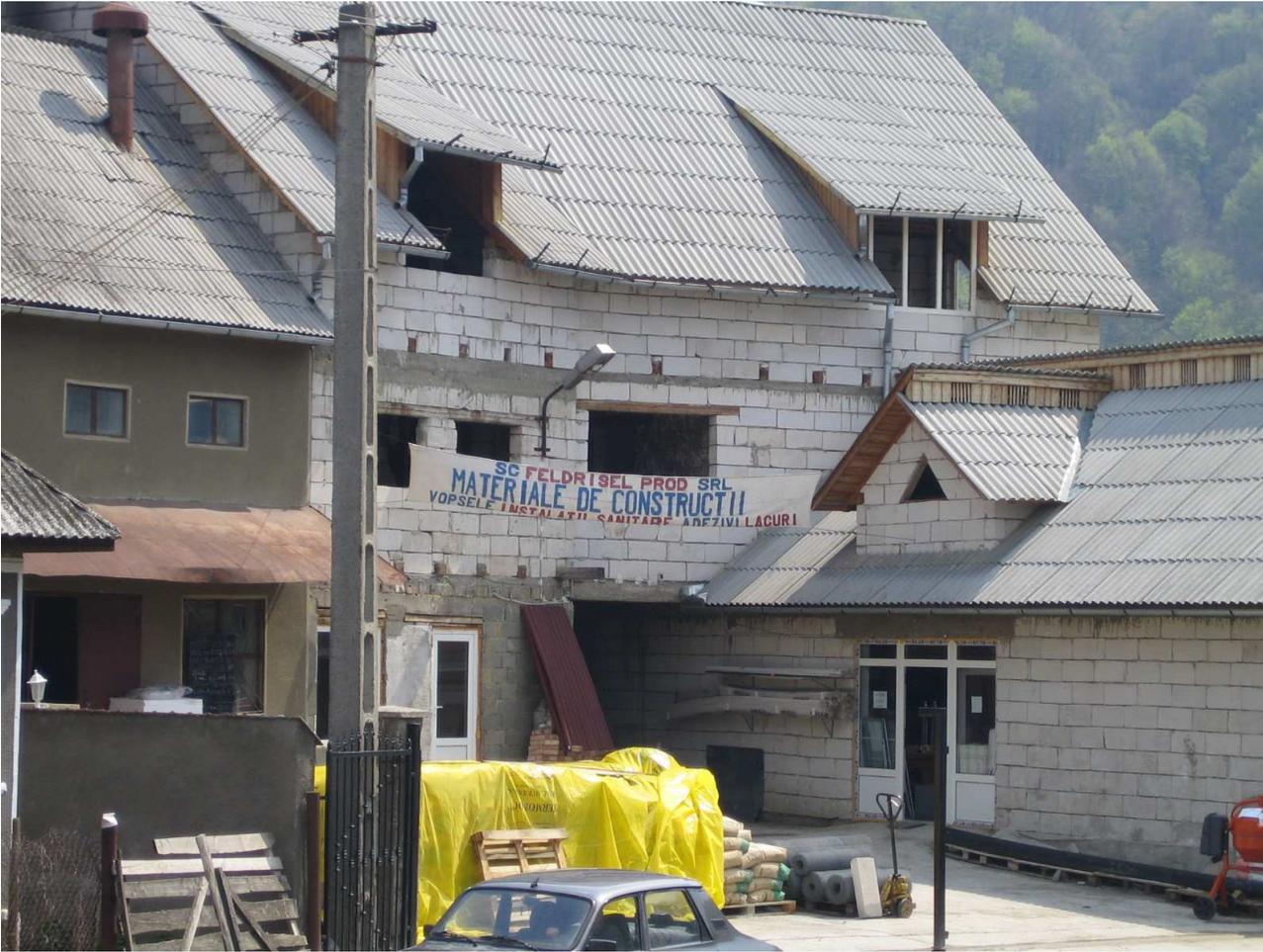


Photo 9: Transportation Company started by a migrant in Bistrița-Năsăud



Photo 10: Butchers shop in Alcala de Henares



Photo 11: Meco – construction site that has the infrastructure and is waiting for the Romanian construction teams to come to build the houses



Photo 12: Construction site in Arganda del Rei



## References

- Al-Ali, Nadje/ Black, Richard / Koser, Khalid (2001). The Limits to 'transnationalism': Bosnian and Eritrean refugees in Europe as emerging transnational communities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 24, Number 4, pp. 578-600.
- Arango, Joaquin (1999). Becoming a Country of Immigration at the End of the Twentieth Century: the Case of Spain. In King, R./ G. Lazaridis/ C. Tsardanidis (Eds.) *Eldorado or fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp. 253–276.
- Arango, Joaquin/ Jachimowicz M. (2005). *Regularizing Immigrants in Spain: A New Approach*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington, DC.
- Baldwin-Edwards, Martin (2005). Migration Policies for a Romania within the European Union: Navigating between Scylla and Charybdis. Panteion University (Eds.), Athens: University Research Institute of Urban Environment and Human Resources. Mediterranean Migration Observatory Working Paper 7, ([http://mmo.gr/pdf/publications/mmo\\_working\\_papers/MMO\\_WP7.pdf](http://mmo.gr/pdf/publications/mmo_working_papers/MMO_WP7.pdf)).
- Baruah, Nillm/ Cholewinski, Ryszard (2006). *Handbook on Establishing Effective Labor Migration Policies in Countries of Origin and of Destination*. Jointly produced by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the International Labour Office (ILO) Vienna.
- Bertaux, Daniel (1981). *Biography and Society. The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.
- Bingley, Amanda (2007). Developing narrative research in supportive and palliative care: engaging with the illness narrative. Conference presentation 'Organizational Practices and Testimonial Narratives of 'Other' Lives'. University of Edinburgh, 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2007, (<http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/NABS/seminar2orgpractices.htm>).
- Block, Fred (1980). Beyond Relative Autonomy: State Managers as Historical Subjects. *The Socialist Register*. pp. 227-242.
- Bolin, Bob/ Hackett, Edward J./ Harlan, Sharon L./ Kirby, Andrew/ Larsen, Larisa / Nelson, Amy/ Rex, Tom/ Wolf, Shaphard (2004). Bonding and Bridging: Understanding the Relationship between Social Capital and Civic Action. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Volume 24, pp.64-77.
- Bommes, Michael (2005). Transnationalism or Assimilation? *Journal of Social Science Education*, ([www.jsse.org/2005/2005-1/transnationalism-assimilation-bommes.htm](http://www.jsse.org/2005/2005-1/transnationalism-assimilation-bommes.htm))

- Bommes, Michael/ Alt, Jörg (2006 a). *Illegalität: Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der Migrationspolitik*, VS-Verlag Wiesbaden.
- Bommes, Michael/ Tacke, Veronika (2006 a). Luhmann's Systems Theory and Network Theory. In Seidl, David/ Kai Helge Becker (Eds.) *Niklas Luhmann and Organization Studies*, *Copenhagen Business School Press*, Copenhagen, pp. 282-304.
- Bommes, Michael/ Tacke, Veronika (2006 b). Das Allgemeine und das Besondere des Netzwerkes. In Hollstein, Betina/ Florian Straus (Eds.), *Qualitative Netzwerkanalyse. Konzepte, Methoden, Anwendungen*, Wiesbaden, pp. 37-62.
- Boswell, Christina (2007). Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way? *International Migration Review*, Volume 41, number 2, pp. 75 – 97.
- Boswell, Christina/ Ciobanu, Oana (2009). Culture, Utility or Social Systems? Explaining the Cross-National Ties of Romanian Emigrants from Borsa, Romania. *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 32, Issue 8, pp. 1346-1364.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1985). *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Brand, Laurie A. (2006). *Citizens Abroad. Emigration and the State in the Middle East of North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bretel, Caroline B./ Hollifield, James F. (2000). (Eds.) *Migration Theory. Talking across Disciplines*. New York / London: Routledge.
- Burt, Ronald S. (1992), *Structural holes: the Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Calavita, Kitty (2005). *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race and Exclusion in Southern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carling, Jørgen (2004). Policy options for increasing the benefits of remittances. Working Paper No. 8 (WP-04-08), University of Oxford.
- Castles, Stephen/ Miller, M. J. (2003). *The age of migration*. 3. edition, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ciobanu, Ruxandra Oana (2006). International Systems of Migration. From Theory to Social Reality. *Sociologie Românească*, no. 1/2006.
- Coleman, James. S. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Collinson, Sarah (1993). *Beyond Borders: West European Migration Policy towards the 21st Country*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Collyer, Michael (2005). When Do Social Networks Fail to Explain Migration? Accounting for the Movement of Algerian Asylum-Seekers to the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 31, Number 4, pp. 699–718.

- Curran, Sara R./ Rivero – Fuentes, Estella (2003). Engendering Migrant Networks: The Case of Mexican Migration. *Demography*, Volume 40, Number 2, pp. 279-307.
- Czarniawska – Joerges, Barbara (2004). *Narratives in Social Science Research*. London: Sage.
- Dahl, Robert (1961). Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 89-103, 223-228, 271-275, 305-328.
- Demolins, Edmond (1901). *Les grandes routes des peuples: essai de géographie sociale, comment la route crée le type social, Les routes de l'antiquité*. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- De Haas, Hein (2005). International migration, remittances and development: myths and facts. *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 26, Number 8, pp. 1269-1284.
- De Haas, Hein (2006). *Engaging Diasporas. How governments and development agencies can support diaspora involvement in the development of origin countries*. International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- Diminescu, Dana (2003). (Eds.) Introduction, in Diminescu Dana, *Visibles mais peu nombreux. Les circulations migratoires roumaines*, Paris : Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Doomernik, J./ Gsir, S./ Kraler, A. (2005). Prospects on Migration Management - Opportunities and Pitfalls. IMISCOE, Hrsg. *International migration and its regulation. State of the art report Cluster A1. IMISCOE Working Paper*, Amsterdam, pp. 35-46.
- Durand, Jorge/ Kandel, William/ Parrado, Emilio A./ Massey, Douglas S. (1996). *International Migration and Development in Mexican Communities. Demography*, Volume 33, Number 2.
- Düvell, Frank (2004). Polish undocumented immigrants, regular high-skilled workers and entrepreneurs in the UK. A comparative analysis of migration patterns, strategies and identity processes. *Prace Migracyjne*. Warsaw, Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University.
- Ellerman, D. (2003). *Policy Research on Migration and Development. Policy Research Working Paper, 3117*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Elrick, Tim/ Ciobanu, Oana (2009). Evaluating the Impact of Migration Policy Changes on Migration Strategies. Insights from Romanian-Spanish Migrations. *Global Networks*, Volume 9, issue 1, pp. 100-116.
- Epstein, Gil/ Gang, Ira N. (2004). The Influence of Others on Migration Plans. IZA Discussion Paper Series, no. 1244.
- Evergeti, Venetia/ Zontini, Elisabetta (2006). Introduction: Some Critical Reflections on Social Capital, Migration and Transnational Families. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 29, Number 6, pp. 1025-1039.

- European Commission (August 2005). Abolition of internal borders and creation of a single EU external frontier. ([http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/freetravel/frontiers/fsj\\_freetravel\\_schengen\\_en.ht](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/freetravel/frontiers/fsj_freetravel_schengen_en.ht)).
- Eurostat (2007). Population by citizenship. ([http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/extraction/evalight/EVALight.jsp?A=1&language=de&root=/theme3/migr/migr\\_st\\_popctz](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/extraction/evalight/EVALight.jsp?A=1&language=de&root=/theme3/migr/migr_st_popctz)).
- Faist, Thomas (2000). *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferrarotti, Franco (1981). *Storia e storie di vita*. Roma, Bari: Laterza.
- Finotelli, Claudia (2007). *The economic integration of immigrants in Southern Europe. The results of the Spanish amnesty of 2005*. Brighton: University of Sussex. Presentation at the IMISCOE Annual Conference: Cluster B4 Workshop, 8 September.
- Freeman, Gary P. (1995). Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States. *International Migration Review*, Volume 29, Number 4, pp. 881-902.
- Fuglerud, Oivind/ Engebretsen, Ada (2006). Culture, Networks and Social Capital: Tamil and Somali Immigrants in Norway. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 29, Number 6, pp. 1118-1134.
- Glick-Schiller, Nina/ Basch, Linda/ Blanc-Szanton, Christina (1992). Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration. Glick-Schiller, Nina/ Basch, Linda/ Blanc-Szanton, Christina (1992). *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: race, class, ethnicity and nationalism reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences. pp. 1-24.
- Glick-Schiller, Nina/ Basch, Linda/ Blanc-Szanton, Christina (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Volume 68, pp. 48-63.
- Granovetter, Mark (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 78, Number 6, pp. 1360-1380.
- Granovetter, Mark (1985). Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 91, Number 3. pp. 481-510.
- Guarnizo, Luis E. (2003). The Economics of Transnational Living. *International Migration Review*, Volume 37, Number 3, pp 666-699.
- Hammar, Tomas/ Brochann, Grete/ Tamas, Kristof/ Faist, Thomas (1997). *International Migration, Immobility and Development. Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford/ New York: Berg.
- Heering, Liesbeth/ van der Erf, Rob/ van Wissen, Leo (2004). *The Role of Family Networks and Migration Culture in the Continuation of Moroccan Emigration: A Gender*

- Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 30, Number 2, pp. 323-337.
- Horváth, Istvan (2007). Country Profile: Romania, Number 9, Focus Migration, Hamburg Institute of International Economics, ([http://www.hwwi.org/uploads/tx\\_wilpubdb/CP\\_09\\_Romania.pdf](http://www.hwwi.org/uploads/tx_wilpubdb/CP_09_Romania.pdf)).
- Horváth, Istvan (2008). The Culture of Migration of Rural Romanian Youth. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 34, Issue 5, pp. 771-786.
- Itzigsohn, J./ C. Dore/ E. Hernandez/ O. Vazques (1999). Mapping Dominican Transnationalism: Narrow and Broad Transnational Practices. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 22, Number 2, pp. 316-339.
- Kandel, William/ Massey, Douglas S. (2002). The Culture of Mexican Migration: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. *Social Forces*, Volume 80, Number 3, pp. 981-1004.
- King, Russel (1995). Mass Migration in Europe. The Legacy and the Future. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kivisto, Peter (2001). Theorizing Transnational Immigration: a critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 24, Number 4, pp. 549-577.
- Kostova Karaboytcheva, M. (2006). Una evaluación del último proceso de regularización de trabajadores extranjeros en España (febrero-mayo de 2005). Un año después. Real Instituto Elcano (Eds.), Madrid. Documentos de Trabajo 15, ([http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/documentos/252/252\\_Kostova\\_Regularizacion\\_Extranjeros\\_Espana.pdf](http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/documentos/252/252_Kostova_Regularizacion_Extranjeros_Espana.pdf)).
- Kuhn, Thomas S. (1962). The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kyle, David (2000). Transnational Peasants. Migration, Networks and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador. Baltimore/ London: John Hopkins University Press.
- Lapsley, Hilary (2007). Talking Cures? Narrative Research in Mental Health's Recovery Era'. Conference presentation. 'Organizational Practices and Testimonial Narratives of 'Other' Lives'. University of Edinburgh, 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2007, (<http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/NABS/seminar2orgpractices.htm>).
- Lăzăroiu, Sebastian et al. (2004). Volume IV – Romania More: 'Out' than 'In' at the Crossroads between Europe and the Balkans, European Commission Project "Sharing Experience: Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries and Lessons Learned from the 'New Countries of Immigration' in the EU and Austria", IOM.

- Lăzăroiu, Sebastian/Alexandru, Monica (2008). Chapter VII: Romani. Hönekopp, E./ Mattila, H. (Eds.). Permanent or Circular Migration? Policy Choices to Address Demographic Decline and Labour Shortage in Europe. IOM, pp. 215-255.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul Felix (1955). The language of social research: a reader in the methodology of social research. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Levitt, Peggy (2001). Transnational Villagers. Berkeley; London: University of California Press.
- Levinson A. (2005). The Regularisation of Unauthorized Migrants: Literature Survey and Country Case Studies Regularisation programmes in Italy. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, ([http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/pdfs/Non\\_WP\\_pdfs/Reports\\_and\\_Other\\_Publications/Country%20Case%20Italy.pdf](http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/pdfs/Non_WP_pdfs/Reports_and_Other_Publications/Country%20Case%20Italy.pdf)).
- Lieblich, Amia/ Rivka Tuval-Mashiach/ Tamar Zilber (2006). Cercetarea Narativa. Citire, analiza si interpretare [Narrative Research. Reading, analysis and interpretation]. Iași: Polirom.
- Lin, Nan (2001). Social capital: a theory of social structure and action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Luhmann, Niklas (1995). The Social System. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Luhmann, Niklas (2002). Theories of Distinction: Rediscribing the Descriptions of Modernity. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Marcus, G. E. (1998). Ethnography through thick and thin. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Massey, Douglas S./ Alarcón, R./ Durand, Jorge/ González H. (1987). Return to Aztlán: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Massey, Douglas S. (1988). Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective. *Population and Development Review*, Volume 14, Number 3, pp. 383-413.
- Massey, Douglas S./ Arango, Joaquin/ Hugo, Graeme/ Kouaouci, Ali/ Pellegrino, A./ Taylor, J. Edwards (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, Volume 19, Number 3, pp. 431-466.
- Massey, Douglas S. Luin Goldring and Jorge Durand (1994). Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of Nineteen Mexican Communities. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 99, Number 6, pp. 1492-1533.

- Massey, Douglas S./ Arango, Joaquin/ Hugo, Graeme/ Kouaouci, Ali/ Pellegrino, A./ Taylor, J. Edward (1998). *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Merton, Robert K. (1987). Three fragments from a sociologist's notebook: establishing the phenomena, specified ignorance, and strategic research materials. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Volume 13, pp. 1-28.
- Michalon, Bénédicte (2005). Dynamiques frontalières et nouvelles migrations internationales en Roumanie, *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, 2005, Volume 36, Number 3, pp.1-28.
- Michalon, Bénédicte (2009). Cât de specifice sunt migrațiile germanilor din România? Etnicitate, rețele și circulație migrațională [Les migrations des Allemands de Roumanie sont-elles spécifiques? Ethnicité, réseaux et circulation migratoire]". In Anghel, Remus Gabriel/ Horváth Istvan (Eds.), *Sociologia migrației. Teorii și studii de caz românești*, Iași, Polirom, pp.86-104.
- Mills, Charles Wright (1956). *The Power Elite*. New York/ London: Oxford University Press.
- Mills, Charles Wright (1959). *The sociological imagination*. New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mines, Richard/ D. S. Massey (1985). A Comparison of Patterns of US Migration in Two Mexican Sending Communities. *Latin American Research Review*, 20, pp. 104-123.
- Mouffe, Chantale (1979). Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci. In Mouffe, Chantale (Eds.) *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 168-204.
- Olwig, Karen Fog (2007). *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks*. Baltimore/ London: Duke University Press.
- Portes, Alejandro (1997 a). Globalization from Below: The Rise of Transitional Communities. ([http://www.transcom.ox.ac.uk/working\\_papers.html](http://www.transcom.ox.ac.uk/working_papers.html)).
- Portes, Alejandro (1997 b). Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities. *International Migration Review*, Volume 31, Number 4, pp. 799-825.
- Portes, Alejandro (1999). Conclusion: Towards a New World – the Origins and Effects of Transnational Activities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 22, Number 2, pp. 463-480.
- Portes, Alejandro (2003 a). Conclusion: Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, Volume 37, Number 3. pp. 874-892.
- Portes, Alejandro (2003 b). Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, Volume 37, Number 3, pp. 874-892.

- Portes, Alejandro/ Böröcz, József (1989): Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation. *International Migration Review*, Volume 23, Number 3, pp. 606-630.
- Portes, Alejandro/ Guarnizo, Luis E./ Landolt, Patricia (1999). The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 22, Number 2, pp. 217-237.
- Portes, Alejandro/ Guarnizo, Luis E./ Haller, William (2002). From Assimilation to Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants. Princeton University. The Centre for Migration and Development: Working Paper Series.
- Portes, Alejandro/ Sensenbrenner, Julia (1993). Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Dynamics of Economic Action. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 98, Number 6, pp. 1320-1350.
- Potot, Swanie (2002). Les migrants transnationaux: une nouvelle figure sociale en Roumanie. *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest*, Volume 33, Number 1, pp.149-178.
- Potot, Swanie (2006 a). Les migrations, vecteurs de changements sociaux en Roumanie. *La Nouvelle Alternative*, Volume 21, Number 71, pp.35-46.
- Potot, Swanie (2006 b). Le réseau migrant: une organisation entre solidarité communautaire et 'zone de libre échange'. *Migrations société*, Number 105-106, pp.49-74. (<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00080694>).
- Potot, Swanie (2007). Vivre à l'Est, travailler à l'Ouest. Les routes roumaines de l'Europe. Paris, L'Harmattan, coll. Aujourd'hui l'Europe.
- Pressat, Roland (1979). Dictionnaire de Demographie. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Pries, Ludger (1999). Migration and Transnational Social Spaces. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Putnam, Robert D. (1999). Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of the American Community. New York: Touchstone Publishing House.
- Putnam, Robert D. (2001). Cum funcționează democrația. Tradițiile civice ale Italiei moderne [Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy]. Iași: Polirom.
- Poledna, R. (2001). Sunt ut sunt. Aut non sunt? Transformari sociale la sasi ardeleni, dupa 1945. [Social Transformation amongst the Transylvanian Sasi (Ethnic German), after 1945]. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitara Clujeana.
- Radu, Cosmin. (2001). De la Crangeni – Teleorman spre Spania: antreprenoriat, adventism si migratie circulatorie [From Crangeni – Teleorman to Spain: Entrepreneurship, Adventism and Circulatory Migration]. *Sociologie Românească*, Volume 1-4, Number 17.

- Reichert, Joshua/ Douglas S. Massey (1979). Patterns of U.S. Migration from a Mexican Sending Community: a Comparison of Legal and Illegal Migrants. *International Migration Review*, Volume 13, pp. 599-623.
- Reyneri E. (1998). The mass legalization of migrants in Italy: permanent or temporary emergence from the underground economy? *South European Society and Politics*, Volume 3, Number 3, pp.83-104.
- Rostás, Zoltán/ Stoica, Sorin (Eds.) (2006). Tur – retur. Convorbiri despre muncă în străinătate. Vol. I and II [Back and Forth. Conversations about Work Abroad]. București: Curtea Veche.
- Rotman, L. (2004). Evreii din Romania in perioada comunistă 1944-1965. [The Jews from Romania during the Communist Period 1945-1965]. Iași: Polirom.
- Salt, J. (1989). A Comparative Overview of International Trends and Types, 1950-80. *International Migration Review*, Volume 3. pp. 444-445.
- Sandu, Dumitru/ de Jong, Gordon F. (1998). Political Change, Ideology and Migration Intention. *Romanian Journal of Sociology*, Volume 9, Number 1.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2000). Migratia transnationala a romanilor din perspectiva unui recensamant comunitar [The Transnational Migration of Romanians from the Perspective of a Community Census]. *Sociologie Românească*, Numbers 3-4, Volume 46, pp. 5-52.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2004). Cultura si experienta de migratie in satele Romaniei [Culture and Migration Experience in Romanian Villages]. *Sociologie Românească*, Volume 2 (3), Number 22, pp. 179-201.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2005 a). Dynamics of Romanian Emigration. After 1989. From a Macro to a Micro Level Approach. *International Journal of Sociology*, Number 35, Volume 3, pp. 36-56.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2005 b). Emerging transnational migration from Romanian villages. *Current Sociology*, Volume 53, Number 4, pp. 555-582.
- Sandu, Dumitru/ Radu, Cosmin/ Constantinescu, Monica/ Ciobanu, Oana (2004). A Country Rapport on Romanian Migration Abroad. Stocks and Flows After 1989. Migration Online:35  
([http://aa.ecn.cz/img\\_upload/f76c21488a048c95bc0a5f12deece153/Romanian\\_Migration\\_Abroad.pdf](http://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/f76c21488a048c95bc0a5f12deece153/Romanian_Migration_Abroad.pdf)).
- Sandu, Dumitru (eds.) (2006). Living Abroad on a Temporary Basis. *The Economic Migration of Romanians: 1990 – 2006*. Bucharest: Open Society Foundation, ([www.sfos.ro/en/program\\_articol.php?articol=34](http://www.sfos.ro/en/program_articol.php?articol=34)).
- Sandu, Dumitru (2007 a). Populatia si Dezvoltarea Romaniei. Prognoze si Posibile Solutii. Migratia Romanilor in Strainatate [Population and Romania's Development. Prognosis

- and Possible Solutions. The Migration of Romanians Abroad]. Premise pentru Politici Publice. UNFPA, ONU Fund. Newsletter 3/ 2007.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2007 b). Populatia si Dezvoltarea Romaniei. Prognoze si Posibile Solutii. Impactul Migratiei asupra Natalitatii, Divortialitatii si Constructiei de Locuinte [Population and Romania's Development. Prognosis and Possible Solutions. The Impact of Migration on the Rates of Natality, Divorce and the Appartments' Construction]. UNFPA, ONU Fund. Newsletter 4/ 2007.
- Sayad, A. (1977). Les trois "âges" de l'émigration algérienne en France. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, Volume 15, pp. 59-79.
- Schaefer R.T. (2003), *Sociology: A Brief Introduction*, Glencoe: McGraw Hill.
- Sills, David L. (Eds.) (1968). *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. Volume 7 and 8. New York: The Macmillan Company and Free Press.
- Solé, C. (2004). Immigration Policies in Southern Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 30, Number 6, pp. 1209–1221.
- Stola, D. (1992). Forced Migration in Central European History. *International Migration Review*, Volume 26, Number 2, pp. 324-341.
- Straubhaar, Thomas/ Vadean, Florin (2006). International Migrant Remittances and their Role in Development. In: OECD (Eds.). *International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI 2006*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Paris.
- Strauss, Anselm L. (2003). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Șerban, Monica/ Grigoraș Vlad (2000). Dogenii din Teleorman în țară și în străinătate. Un studiu asupra migrației circulatorii în Spania [The Dogeni from Teleorman Home and Abroad. A Study of the Circulatoty Migration to Spain]. *Sociologie Românească*, Number 2, Volume 30, pp. 30-54.
- Șerban Monica / Alexandru Toth (2007). *Piata fortei de muncă în România și imigratia* [The Labour Force in Romania and Immigrtion]. Bucharest. Open Society Foundation.
- Șerban, Monica / Melinda Stoica (2007). *Policies and institutions in international migration: work migration in Romania: 1990 – 2006*, Bucharest: Open Society Foundation, (<http://www.osf.ro/ro/publicatii.php?cat=15#>, 19/02/2008).
- Taylor, J. Edward (1999). The New Economics of Labour Migration and the role of Remittances in the Migration Process. *International Migration*, Volume 37, Number 1, pp. 63-88.
- Thomas, William I./ Znaniecki, Florian (1996). *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. A Classical Work in Immigration History*. Edited by Eli Zaretsky. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Thomas, Carol (2007). Narratives of living and dying with cancer: sociological perspectives. 'Organizational Practices and Testimonial Narratives of 'Other' Lives'. University of Edinburgh, 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2007, (<http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/NABS/seminar2orgpractices.htm>).
- Tönnies, Ferdinand (1957). *Community and society*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Vertovec, Steven (2001). Transnational social formations: Towards conceptual cross-fertilization. Paper presented at Workshop on "Transnational Migration: Comparative Perspectives", June 30-July 1, 2001, Princeton University.
- Vertovec, Steven (2003). Migration and Other Modes of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization. *International Migration Review*, Volume 37, Number 3, pp. 641-665.
- Viruela Martínez, Rafael (2006). Inmigrantes rumanos en españa: aspectos territoriales y procesos de sustitución laboral. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, Universidad de Barcelona. Volume X, Number 222.
- Viruela Martínez, Rafael (2008). De este a oeste: La Inmigración. Desde los nuevos países comunitarios (Rumania y Bulgaria), *Cuad. de Geogr.* Number. 84, pp. 127-134.
- Zincone, Giovana/ Caponio, Tiziana/ De Gregorio, Luigi (2006). The Multi Level Governance of Migration. The State of the Art. IMISCOE paper ([www.imiscoe.org](http://www.imiscoe.org)).
- Waldinger, Roger / Fitzgerald, David (2004). Transnationalism in Question. *American Journal of Sociology*, V 109, 5, pp. 1177-1195.
- Weber, Serge (2004). Exploring Some East-West Migration Networks and Their Distant Local Dynamics, Ukrainian, Polish and Romanian Migrants in Rome. In Baganha, M. I./ M. L. Fonseca (eds.), *New Waves: Migration from Eastern Europe to Southern Europe*. Lisbon: Luso-American Foundation, pp. 41-69.
- Werbner, Richard (1991). *Tears of the dead: The social biography of an African family*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Wimmer Andreas/ Glick-Schiller, Nina (2002). Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks*, Volume 2, pp. 301-334.

## **Abstracts**

### **A Stage Approach to Transnational Migration. Migrant Narratives from Rural Romania**

If one takes a snapshot of Romanian migration, the first observation might be that the home villages or communities are very different. This is also the conclusion that Massey et al. (1994) first reach when comparing Mexican communities. However, if one compares migrant communities in a longitudinal manner, it can be seen rather that they are converging towards similar migration patterns rather than diverging. To explore this, I conducted fieldwork research in two villages from different socio-cultural regions of Romania, and for the second phase of the research followed the migrants to their destinations in Spain. In total I conducted more than 50 biographical narrative interviews with migrants and fifteen in-depth interviews with representatives from local authorities and other key informants on rural Romanian life. The biographical narrative interviews allowed me to take a longitudinal perspective on the migration from the two villages.

The aim in comparing the two villages was to understand the internal logic of migration and examine to what extent two different villages showed any syncretism through cumulative structural effects. Analysing migrants' projects, the family migration and the general migration from the two villages – each accounting for different levels of analysis – allowed me to specify the stages of migration. In the thesis, firstly I explain the socio-economic, cultural and geographical context in the origin community that shapes migration. Secondly, I compare the migration patterns of two families from the two villages, and thirdly I abstract three migration projects specific to the two communities. All these allow me to show that the two villages are at different stages in the migration process (Massey et al. 1994) and also to explain the mechanism of passing from one stage to the next.

So far, the literature on migration policies has looked at the receiving countries. Few references are made to the origin countries, and these refer to Mexico, the Philippines and some of the Northern African countries, countries that have an active policy of promoting migration. Literature with regard to the European cases – for example Serbia, which has a Ministry of the Diaspora, or Poland, a country with a very long history emigration – is absent. Moreover, topics such as grounded migration policy making or the local dimension of policy making are still new in the reflexion of scholars. The thesis fills this gap with respect to

migration policies of bonding migrants and involving them in development in the home community.

The theory that holds together all these components is Luhmann's systems theory (1995), in the way it was adapted to migration research by Bommers (2005) and Bommers and Tacke (2006a, 2006b). Using systems theory allows me to perform a critique of concepts like migration networks and transnationalism, which are very often used in the analysis of migration.

### **Ein Etappenzugang zur transnationalen Migration. Migrationsnarrationen aus dem ländlichen Rumänien**

Eine erste Momentaufnahme der rumänischen Migration vermittelt den Eindruck von sehr unterschiedlichen Migrantengemeinden oder Migrantengemeinschaften. Eine Erkenntnis zu der schon Massey et al. (1994) in ihrer ersten vergleichenden Forschung zwischen zwei Migrantengruppen in Mexiko kamen. Vergleicht man die Migrantengruppen und ihre Migrationsmuster jedoch im Zeitverlauf, so sind es die Konvergenzen und nicht die Divergenzen, die auffallen. Um genau diese Annahme für das rumänische Migrationsgeschehen zu untersuchen, forschte ich zunächst in zwei rumänischen Dörfern mit sehr unterschiedlichen soziokulturellen Hintergründen. In einer zweiten Forschungsphase folgte ich den Migrantinnen und Migranten aus den Sendegemeinden und begab mich nach Spanien. Insgesamt wurden mehr als 50 narrative Interviews mit Migranten und 15 Experteninterviews mit Repräsentanten von lokalen Behörden und anderen wichtigen Einrichtungen. Speziell die Erhebungsmethode der narrativen Interviews ermöglichte es, die Migrationsprozesse aus den beiden Dörfern im Zeitverlauf vergleichend zu untersuchen.

Ziel der Untersuchung war es zum einen, die innere Logik der Migration aus den beiden Sendegemeinden zu verstehen und zum anderen der Frage nachzugehen, ob sich die zwei ausgewählten Gemeinden durch kumulative strukturelle Effekte über die Zeit angleichen. Dazu wurden die verschiedenen Migrationsprojekte, die Familienmigration und die allgemeine Migration aus den beiden Sendegemeinden analysiert. Die Ereignisse konnten so in verschiedene Migrationsstufen gegliedert werden.

In der Dissertation werden zu Beginn die Sendegemeinden in ihren sozioökonomischen, kulturellen und geographischen Kontexten dargestellt. Dies geschieht stets mit einem Blick auf ihre Migrationsgeschichte. Anschließend werden die Migrationsmuster von zwei Familien aus den beiden Dörfern, vorgestellt und verglichen. Insgesamt lassen sich drei Migrationstypen ableiten. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird gezeigt,

dass die beiden ausgewählten Dörfer auf unterschiedlichen Stufen im Migrationsprozess stehen (Massey et al. 1994).

Die Forschungsliteratur, die sich bis dato mehrheitlich der Wirkung von Migrationspolitiken in den Zielländern verschrieben hat, kann so um eine Perspektive auf die Sendeländer ergänzt werden. Dies ist speziell im europäischen Kontext von Bedeutung, denn während es einen überschaubaren Corpus an Literatur zu Sendeländern wie Mexiko, den Philippinen oder nordafrikanischen Staaten gibt, fehlt eine solche Literatur zu Europa, obwohl Länder wie Polen mit einer langen Emigrationsgeschichte oder Serbien mit einem Amt für Diasporaangelegenheit sehr aktiv auf diesem Gebiet sind. Darüberhinaus hat auch die Wirkung von Migrationspolitiken oder die lokale Dimension der Migrationspolitiken bislang wenig wissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit erfahren. Die Arbeit schließt diese Forschungslücke und stellt die Bedeutung der rumänischen Migrationspolitik für die Bindung der Migranten an ihr Heimatland und ihre Einbindung in Entwicklungsprozesse in Rumänien heraus.

Die übergeordnete Theorie, mit der die angesprochenen Aspekte gefasst werden, ist die soziologische Systemtheorie wie sie von Luhmann (1995) ausgearbeitet und von Bommes (2005) und Bommes and Tacke (2006a, 2006b) für die Migrationsforschung angepasst wurde. Vor diesem Theoried Hintergrund werden bekannte Konzepte aus der Migrationsforschung, wie der Netzwerk- und Transnationalismusansatz neu bewertet.