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Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ANITP – Agentia Nationala Impotriva Traficului de Persoane [National Anti-Trafficking Agency]

ANPDC – National Authority for Protection of Children Rights

EEA – European Economic Area

EHIC – European Health Insurance Card

ENI – Spanish Statistical Institute

ESF – European Social Fund

EU – European Union

FES – Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

FDIs – Foreign Direct Investments

FRA – Fundamental Rights Agency

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

HoReCa – Hotel, Restaurant, and Cafe

HHs – Household(s)

IASCI – International Agency for Source Country Information

ICCV – Institutul de Cercetare a Calitatii Vietii [Institute for Quality of Life Research]

IOM – International Organization for Migration

ILO – International Labour Organization

LFS – Labour Force Survey

MAFRD – Ministerul Agriculturii si Dezvoltarii Rurale [Ministry of Rural Development and Agriculture]

MDRT – Ministerul Dezvoltarii Regionale si Turismului [Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism]

MLFSP – Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection

NAPSI – National Agency for Payments and Social Inspection

NEA – National Employment Agency

NGOs – non-governmental organizations

NHHI – National House for Health Insurance

NHPOSIR – National House of Pensions and Other Social Insurance Rights

OECD – Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

SFR – Soros Foundation Romania

SMEs- small and medium enterprises

SOPHRD - Sectorial Operational Programme on Human Resources Development [POS DRU – Programul Operational Sectorial Dezvoltarea Resurselor Umane]

T&C – textile and clothing

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WHO – World Health Organization

1. Socio-Economic and Political Overview

With 21.5 million inhabitants Romania belongs to one of the largest new Member States of the European Union. According to the last census of 2002, Romanians constituted the largest population with 89.5 % followed by Hungarians (6.6%) and Roma (2.5%). However the figures on Roma are deemed to be highly underestimated since many of the Roma have dual identities or hesitating to officially declare Roma affiliation.

Following the fall of the communist regime (December 1989), Romania engaged in the process of market transition and democratization and in 2007 acceded the European Union. However hindered by the legacy of totalitarian control combined with the legacy of a very personalized (sultanistic) leadership (Linz & Stepan, 1996), the transition from a totalitarian regime to a functional democracy proved to be troublesome. The first years of the political transition were marked by episodes of politically motivated violence and ethnicization of politics (Gallagher, 1995; Tismăneanu, 1997). In the 90's, political volatility and state tolerated violence frustrated many young intellectuals fuelling their motivations to leave the country. In such political environment ethnic minorities were also targeted, many ethnic Hungarians of Romania choosing to relocate to Hungary (Horváth, 2005).

“The slow pace of privatization of industry[...], the prolonged subsidization of loss-making industry out of state budget [...], the failure to restructure agriculture, [...], the inability to attract long-term private capital inflows” characterized the process of economic transition during the nineties (Smith, 2001, p. 127-128). In due circumstances the Romanian transition from a centrally planned economy to free-market (compared with other Central and Eastern European countries) was hesitant and enduring (Balcerowicz & Gelb 1994, Sirbu, 1994). During the 1990's, 2.5 million jobs vanished (representing a decrease by one third of the labour market), the most of them in the industrial sector (Vidovic, 2002, p. 36), and many of the industrial workers were forced either to return to subsistence agriculture (see Figure 1), or to engage in (shorter or longer) episodes of labour migration (Sandu and Jong, 1996). Only with the new millennium the Romanian economy started to expand (a steady growth from 2000 until 2008 being registered) but still the differences between Romania and other EU member states remained considerable. In 1996, Romanian GDP per capita (expressed in Purchasing Power Standards) represented only 33% of the EU27 average, until 2000 drop to 26%, in 2005 reached 35%, and finally in 2010 reached to 46% of the EU27 average.¹ Since 2002, employment rates (LFS) have been oscillating around 58-59%, i.e. 5-6 percentage points lower than EU-27².

The high rates of poverty and the enlarging income gaps resulted in a rather considerable segment of poor (or at risk to become poor) population and were intensified by extremely low levels of public spending (Sotiropoulos, 2002, p. 223). It should be mentioned that „Roma have been disproportionately affected by trends of rising unemployment, growing poverty, shrinking social assistance”; during the nineties the share of Roma becoming (and staying) poor was more than twice as high as that of the non-Roma population (Ringold, Orenstein & Wilkens, 2004, p. 223). The burden of poverty and social exclusion resulting from the market transition persisted, even in 2010 the at-risk-of-poverty rate was among the highest within the EU (the indicator for Romania was 21.1% while EU27 average was 16.4%).³

In terms of demographic development Romania's post 1990 population dynamics is characterized by a sudden and enduring decrease of the life births, and a slow and relative

¹ EUROSTAT database <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en> (date of extraction 19 Oct 2011).

² EUROSTAT database: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=lfsa_ergan&lang=en (date of retrieval 5 December 2011)

³ EUROSTAT database: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en> (date of extraction 11 January 2012).

steady increase of life expectancy.⁴ According to demographic projections the aging of Romania's population will rapidly accelerate in the next decades. The dependency rate (the number of persons older than 65 divided by the number of individuals aged 20 to 64, expressed as a percentage) that is approximately 24% in 2008 could raise to 30% in 2025 and up to 54% until 2050 (Ghețău, 2009, p. 285).

However it seems that the natural processes have only a relatively reduced contribution to Romania's total population loss. According to demographers' calculations, only 27% of the total population loss of 1.1 million registered by the 2002 census was caused by the decline of fertility, the rest of 73% (approximately 825,000 persons) is a result of external migration (Ghețău, 2007, p. 3).

2. Main emigration and internal migration trends and patterns

2.1. Main emigration trends

After 1989, several markedly distinct phases of the Romanian international emigration are identified (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005; Lăzăroi, 2004; Sandu, 2006). For a synthetic overview, see also table 1 in the annex.

(1) The first phase lasts roughly from 1990 to 1993, characterized by the migration of ethnic minorities and asylum seeking. As during the communism the international travelling in general, and especially emigration was tightly controlled (people were allowed to travel abroad only from time to time), one of the first measures of the new regime was the liberalization of the regime of international travels. As a consequence hundreds of thousands of Romanian citizens travelled abroad many of them looking to temporarily or definitively move somewhere more westward from Romania. Only few categories were successful in finding regular emigration options: those having relatives abroad and persons belonging to German and Hungarian minority communities. Germany actively supported, Hungary welcomed and offered some assistance for their kin ethnics willing to resettle (Brubaker, 1998; Horváth, 2005). Apart from that, many used the asylum system as a way to achieve at least a temporarily regular stay. In the first half of the nineties about 350,000 Romanians applied for asylum in various Western European countries (three quarters of these in Germany, with Austria, France and Belgium as other important countries of application); Romanians were (after citizens of the former Yugoslavia) the second largest group applying for asylum in Europe in that time period (UNHCR, 2001, p.: IX, 78, 82). Among the Romanian asylum seekers the Romanian Roma were in high numbers, estimates speak about 140,000 persons of Roma origin looking for refugee status in Germany (Bade, 2003, p. 311). However for only few of the applicants the refugee status was granted and many of the asylum seekers were repatriated to Romania.

(2) In the period 1993 to 1996, EU countries introduced a restrictive visa regime for Romanian citizens, thus in the mid nineties westward migration had relative low levels. Hungary, Turkey and Israel became target countries for shorter or longer term labour migrations. Israeli firms setting up labour recruitment companies and in Hungary Romania's ethnic Hungarians were able to enter to the Hungarian (informal) labour market (Horváth, 2005). However, in spite of the difficulties to penetrate the EU states boundaries, migration (mostly to Germany and France) continued, mostly in a circular way: relatively short episodes of working abroad (frequently involving irregular employment) were followed by shorter or longer episodes of staying at home (Diminescu, 2003).

⁴ In 1990 the indicator for life births per 1000 inhabitants was 13.6; in 2009 was only 10.4. The 1990 value of life expectancy was 69.6 year; the 2009 value was 73.3 years. Source TEMPO ONLINE (INSSE)

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(3) Between 1997 and 2001 the importance of the migration towards non EU-countries decreased while migration to EU countries considerably increased. The importance of Germany and France as countries of destination declined, and new countries of destination for the Romanian labour migration started to emerge, namely Italy and Spain (to somewhat lesser degree Ireland and United Kingdom). The outflows towards Canada and United States increased too: official emigration, family reunification, application to different schemes for obtaining visa (Visa Lottery), student work and travel programmes, study and work (mostly highly qualified professionals). However, in terms of the volume the outflows to overseas destinations were far less important than those heading to EU countries. Specific for this period is a change of the patterns of the Romanian labour migration. At the mid of the nineties labour migration was mostly irregular, short term and circular and destination countries were not necessarily considered as countries of possible settlement (Stan 2005). In this period an increasing number of persons developed strategies for a prolonged (though still mostly irregular) staying and considerably large immigrant stocks of Romanian origin started to emerge (especially in Italy). In parallel with this process, as Romanian citizens still needed visa to enter in the EU countries, human smuggling and trafficking became rather widespread, raising serious domestic and international concern (Kane, 2005; Lăzăroiu, 2000). Starting with 1999 attempts to regularize the flows are undertaken, officially endorsed recruitment policies are commenced (foremost by Spain and Germany). There are initiated corroborated international and national efforts to overcome human trafficking.

(4) 2002-2007. In October 1999, the European Commission recommended starting accession negotiations with Romania and as a part of the integration process in 2002 Romanian citizens have been exempted from visa in the majority of the EU countries. The costs and risks of emigration reduced and consequently significantly more people engaged in migration. In parallel various destination countries initiated programs of regularization of the irregular immigrants started (Italy in 2002, Spain 2005), and prospects of long-term legal residence become achievable for considerable number of Romanian migrants. As a new development could be mentioned that if during the nineties emigrants were originating mostly from urban areas and from the wealthier (western) regions of Romania, after 2002 the eastern (less developed) part of the country becomes the major region of origin for the Romanian emigration, and the population originating from rural areas becomes increasingly connected with various streams of emigration (Sandu et. all 2006: 19, 24).

(5) In the beginning of 2007 Romania became EU member. The outcome of the new legal status of Romanian citizens within the EU was both an increase in volume and the regularization of Romanian emigration. In Spain the number of legally registered residents of Romanian citizenship almost tripled in 2007 compared to 2006, rising from 211,325 to 603,889.⁵ Also in Italy the number of those staying with a valid residence permit rose from 278,582 (in 2006) to 625,278 in 2007 (Ricci, 2010, p. 20).

The recent financial and economic crisis diminished the number of new emigrants without inflicting considerable return migration of the Romanians living abroad. As data on the inflow of the Romanian citizens to selected EU countries (see Table 2) the number of those receiving residence permits in 2009 considerably lowered if compared with the previous two years (at least in the case of some major destination countries like Spain, Italy or Hungary). However, the recession combined with high unemployment did not convince many to return. The stock of the Romanian residents still increased both in 2009 and 2010 (see Table 3).

Perhaps the most significant impact of the crisis is reflected by the dynamics of remittances sent by the Romanians. This lowered by 42% in 2010, compared with 2008 (see Table 4). However media reports on the worsening situation of Romanians working abroad (including the shift to a more adverse treatment on behalf of the central and local

⁵ Data source INEbase / Demography and population / Migrations
http://www.ine.es/en/inebmenu/mnu_migrac_en.htm#1 accessed on 24 April 2011

administrations in some of the destination countries), and reports on the waves of repatriation of Romanian citizens from some countries are indicators of a process that (if continued) might have a long term inhibiting impact on Romanian migration. Also it should be mentioned that repatriation was selective in ethnic terms, the repatriates were mostly persons of Roma origin, or persons living from marginal resources (e.g. begging) or illegal activities. The case of the repatriation of Romanian citizens of Roma origin from France in 2010 became the best known (and probable the most controversial) example.⁶ Nevertheless the interest in emigration is continuously high in Romania. According to a survey taken in 2010, 31% of Romanians declared their interest to emigrate and 11% declared intending to engage in emigration in the next 12 months.⁷

The Romanian statistical office defines emigrants as those persons who change their permanent residence from Romania to another country. However different categories of emigrants are not compelled and have no motivation to register their residential status they get hold of in a foreign country. Thus official registration is clearly underestimating the volume of emigration. In these circumstances only the estimates or the official immigration data of the receiving countries can offer an approximation of the stock of immigrants of Romanian origin. Based on such sources World Bank estimates the stock of emigrants of Romanian origin (in 2010) around 2.8 million (approximately 14-15% of the population), more than half (57%) concentrated in Italy and Spain, with significant stock of emigrants (more than 100,000 persons) in Germany, Hungary, Israel and USA.⁸ Nevertheless even these figures can be considered as underestimating the stock of emigrants. For example, the World Bank estimates for 2010 approximately 813,000 Romanians in Italy, while other sources (based on various Italian statistics) approximate the number of Romanians in Italy at 1.1 million persons (Ricci, 2010, p. 19). Migration had and still has a considerable impact on the Romanian population. According to various surveys 21-24% of the Romanian households had at least one person who used to work abroad, and the share of households with at least one person working abroad when the surveys was taken was around 13-14% both in 2006 and 2009 (Abraham and Şufaru, 2009; Bădescu et al., 2009, p. 276).

Though we have only erratic data on the Romanian emigrant stock we can make an educated guess on the makeup of this population. On the one hand we have the long-term emigrants (engaged in migration before 2007): persons with durable migrant record, who already consider their country of destination as a country of usual residence (at least one third up to half of the stock). The second category (engaging in migration after 2007) is composed of new emigrants strategically aiming for a long term or permanent relocation, but who would consider return under favourable conditions (approximately a quarter or a third of the emigrant stock). And finally we have the category of the persons occasionally or recurrently making use of various (formal or informal) temporary migrant schemes, alternating episodes of working abroad with home staying (roughly one third of the stock). If the first category has (financial, social and institutional) resources to endure the risks involved by the worsening labour market conditions generated by the financial crisis, the second one could be affected on a medium term and consider returning to Romania.

⁶ For a synthesis of the events and political reactions see the BBC synthesis Q&A: France Roma expulsions <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11027288> (retrieved at 24 October 2011)

⁷ GALLUP Report: *One in Three Britons Would Like to Leave the UK* <http://www.gallup.com/poll/145208/One-Three-Britons-Leave.aspx> (retrieved on 24 October 2011).

⁸ The World Bank (2011) Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011 and the database Bilateral Migration Matrix to be found at <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:21122856~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html#migration> (last visited 19 April 2011)

2.2. Main internal migration trends

In the last two decades the internal migration in Romania had a rather interesting dynamic. The first specific feature is the change in the rates of migration. The very beginning of the 1990's represented a period in which a considerable number of people changed their residence. This peak was a reaction to the mobility policies of the communist regime (internal mobility prior to 1990 was very low with a ratio close to 1% with an annual migration of approx. 190,000 persons). During the sixties and the seventies the regime fostered urbanization, and during the eighties forms of temporary mobility were encouraged: commuting of the rural population to nearby urban centres, or temporary relocations of the workforce to the major infrastructural investments. In the last decade of communism a rather rigorous control on the change of the locality of residence was imposed: either by limiting the access to certain urban centres or by restricting mobility of some occupational groups. An example for such control was the institution of labour allocation for university graduates: the state compelled the young intellectuals to take jobs in given regions and to fill them for a considerable period, if refusing to do so their rights to practice their profession was limited. In general, a considerable number of jobs were administratively relocated in a rather centralized manner, severely hampering people's freedom to pursue their preferences in terms of place of residence. In due circumstances immediately after the breakdown of communism these relocations or displacements are reflected by the high rate of internal migration registered for 1990, when 3.4% of the population changed residence (see Figure 2).

Compared with the year 1990 the rest of the 1990's were characterized by relative low rates of internal migration. A slow increase (related to the improvement of economy) emerges starting with the beginning of 2000's.

During the last two decades a remarkable change of patterns occurred in the Romanian internal migration. From the 70s until the 90s, the prevailing direction of migration was from rural to urban. But starting with 1992 a change of direction is observable, the number of those moving from rural areas (villages) to urban centres (cities)⁹ started to decrease, conversely the mobility in the opposite direction (from urban to rural) increased, and in 1997 the number of migrants from urban to rural became higher than the number of those moving from rural to urban centres. This change of pattern is considered to be a phenomenon determined by the process of deindustrialization. One of the first reactions of the population to the shrinking labour market was the return to the villages of those (or the children of those) who in previous decades moved from rural to urban areas. The bulk of these return migrants to rural areas became active in agriculture, but mostly engaged in subsistence farming (Ghețău, 2007, p. 36-37; Ronnas, 1995). A major consequence of the (re-)migration to rural areas was the further decrease of the economic opportunities in the villages (already severely affected by the decrease of the job opportunities in the nearby urban centres). In due circumstances after 2000 more and more villagers started to emigrate (Sandu, 2004). In the first decade of the new millennium relative high rates of urban-rural migration persisted also due to increasing real estate prices in the urban areas. Many moved from rapidly developing urban centres to nearby villages determining a process of suburbanization of these areas.

The regional distribution of the internal migration is rather uneven. There are a few major regions that are attractive and many more are only source region for internal migration. In order to outline the gains and losses of different regions we calculated the cumulated migratory balance (the sum of yearly differences between the internal immigrants and the internal emigrants) of each county (according to the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics: NUTS III)¹⁰ for the period 1990-2010 and we calculated the ratio of the cumulated

⁹ According to legal definition a village can be declared a city if it has at least 5,000 inhabitants and the active population is predominantly working in other branches of economy than agriculture.

¹⁰ The county is an administrative division of Romania including several cities and communes (clusters of several villages integrated in one administrative unit). The size of the Romanian counties ranges from 220,000 to 820,000

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migratory balance as the share of the population of the given county at the beginning of the analyzed period (population of the county at 1st January 1990). According to the results (see Table 5) we classified the counties according to the relative amount of their population loss or gain, as seen in the Figure 4.

The two highest net migration loss regions/counties are Vaslui (net migration loss 12.3%) and Botoșani (9.4%). The other five southern countries (Olt, Teleorman, Giurgiu, Călărași, and Ialomița) had also high losses. Hunedoara as a former centre for mining and metallurgy lost more than 5%. Three other counties (Maramureș, Sălaj and Tulcea) lost also more than 5% (between 5% and 6.4%) of their 1990 population as a result of the negative internal migratory balance. The four counties having high (over 10%) net migration gains are Timiș (15.4%), București (11%), the Ilfov region at the fringes of the capital city (10.4%) and Arad (10.3%). The existence of the following patterns for the territorial distribution of internal migration should be highlighted:

- a) With few notable exceptions a high concentration of the counties of origin (those who registered high or moderate loss in the process of internal migration) is in Northern – North Eastern – Eastern and Southern peripheries of Romania. Or in terms of Romanian development regions (NUTS II): the most affected regions are North East, South East and South.
- b) Those counties that registered population gain concentrate in the central axis and western part of Romania with the two notable exceptions of the region of the capital city and Constanța county (major commercial, industrial and touristic region at Black sea coast).

The relation between the internal and international migration has some rather particular aspects¹¹. The first aspect is the paradox of a rather limited internal migration coexisting with significant external migration (World Bank, 2008, p. 30). The second aspect is the change of the sending regions for external migration over time. At the beginning of the nineties emigration was more specific for the regions/counties that gained population through internal migration (mostly the development regions from central and western part of Romania). After 2002, when the number of international labour migrants significantly increased, the poorest regions that already registered relatively high numbers of population due to internal migration (from eastern and southern periphery of Romania) became the foremost areas of origin for international migration (Sandu, 2004).

Research data from 2009 (Stănculescu et al., 2009)¹² confirms previous findings: regions having high level of net (internal) migration loss are the major source regions for external migration too. 71% of the Romanian local administrative units (cities and communes) offered approximates regarding the share of the local population working abroad in 2009. According to these estimates in 34.6% of the localities, less than 2.5% of the local population worked abroad, in 24.2% of the localities administration reported a rate of emigrant workers being somewhere between 2.6-5%, in 17.6% of localities their share was between 5-10%, in 13% of the localities 10 to 20% of population was considered emigrant, and in 10.5% of the localities the share of those working abroad was assessed to be above 20%. Approximates

inhabitants. The county is the intermediary administrative unit between the central and the local government since the NUTS II level (the development region) is only a statistical registration unit (includes 4-7 counties, with 2 up to 4 million inhabitants), having no administrative competences. See Figure A1 Romania's development regions and counties.

¹¹ As regards the connection between the internal and external migration a specific methodological problem should be mentioned. The data on internal migration are taken from the official population registers and are reflecting the situation at county level. The data on the source regions of external migration are approximates based on different types of surveys and (due to the volume of population included in the survey) we have data only for development regions and not for counties.

¹² The research *The access of local authorities to EU funds 2009* was organized by Soros Foundation Romania. The questionnaire was addressed to each Romanian local administrative unit (3185) receiving responses from 3008. For the purpose of the present study we have received permission to use the data base of the research.

on the regional distribution of the emigrated population can be seen in Table 6. Both in the South and North East regions (experiencing high loss due to internal migration) the proportion of localities with more than 10% of the population working abroad is considerably high.

2.3. Main characteristics of migrants

The characteristics in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and marital status of international migrants significantly changed over time.

In the first years of the nineties the predominant stream of migration was the ethnic migration, the relocation of the ethnic Germans and the ethnic Hungarians of Romania to their respective kin states, and the attempts of various other segments of Romanian society to relocate. This stream was rather heterogeneous in terms of age - people of a variety of age groups left Romania and in many cases entire families were involved.

As labour migration emerged¹³, the profile changed considerably: at the beginning, mostly urban resident adult males (between the ages of 30-50 years), with previous records of occupation in industry were leaving for shorter or longer periods of work. Later (especially after 2002), the share of females emigrating rose considerably (Vlase, 2004) and the very young and young adult cohorts became the prevalent age group within the emigrant population. Thus, 50% of Romanian emigrants are between 26-39 years old while 14% is between age group 18-24 years old (Ghetau, 2009). Often, these persons had no or only limited working experience and qualification in Romania. For example, according to a set of surveys taken among Romanian immigrants in the receiving countries 29% of those living in Italy (in 2007) and 24% of those living in Spain (in 2008) were inactive (university or high school student, looking for first job, housewife, etc.) before becoming migrant (Metro Media Transilvania, 2007, 2008). In addition, the number of emigrants from rural areas started to increase significantly especially after 2002 (Sandu, 2006, p. 20). We can observe changes also in terms of marital status of the emigrants. At the beginning of the nineties, mostly males migrated leaving their families behind. Later on, single or married females became migrants, too; the married females sometimes left their families behind. During the 2000's, a process of family reunification started: first, wives joined their husbands; then, in time, their kids became emigrants as well, and lately (though not very frequently), even the elder parents joined their sons or daughters. Also, as the emigrants became younger and younger, more and more singles migrated; some of them got married while living abroad. The Romanian emigrant is likely to work (estimates from 2005) in construction (36%), agriculture (28%), as household employee (15%) or in HoReCa¹⁴ approximately 12% (IOM, 2008, p. 20).

In terms of level of education we don't have recent data on the profile of emigrants. The World Bank data on the stock of emigrants according to their level of education revealed that in 2000, more than one third (34.9%) of the stock of officially registered emigrants of Romanian citizenship (469 thousand persons) possessed a university diploma¹⁵. This was a considerably high rate if considered that the share of graduates in the whole Romanian population was in 2002 less than 10% (8.1% of the population aged between 15-64). Though relatively recent studies on Romanian citizens residing in Spain and Italy are indicating that the share of graduates among emigrants are not necessarily higher than the country average (Metro Media Transilvania, 2008, p. 69), still this implies a considerable amount of highly skilled leaving the country. Recently cases of brain waste (graduates working in non-

¹³ Starting with 1994.

¹⁴ HORECA - Hotel, Restaurant and Café

¹⁵ Extracted from data base *Bilateral Migration Database 1960-2000* of the World Bank *Migration and Development* project

<http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTPROGRAMS/EXTINTERNATION/AL/0,,contentMDK:22691826~pagePK:64168182~piPK:64168060~theSitePK:1572893,00.html> (retrieved 15 December 2011).

graduate jobs or unskilled work) are documented too, without having information on the extent of the phenomenon (Csedő, 2008).

The active population of the young and young adults (approx. between the ages of 20-45) is pronouncedly represented among those migrating from rural to urban, while the elderly and the very young are highly represented within those moving to villages. The preference of senior citizens to move to villages become more pronounced in the second half of 2000's. It seems that villages are less attractive for a population of working age, while elderly are more attracted to move from the cities to villages. Though we have no evidences, this higher share of the elderly people moving from the cities to villages might be considered as both a form of internal return migration (after retirement villagers living at cities turn back to their village of origin), and an economically motivated mobility (the costs of living in villages are lower).

As regards ethnically motivated migration, the case of Roma people of Romania should be briefly mentioned. On the one hand various segments of this (rather heterogeneous) community is living in rather marginal situation, often facing discrimination and confronted with popular violence directed against them (for recent reports referring to the conditions of Romanian Roma see EU-MIDIS, 2009; FRA, 2009a; 2009b; ICCV, 2011). Though during socialism considerable segments of Roma were connected with industrial and agricultural labour they were the first victims of the economic transformations of the nineties: the first ones to be fired the last ones to be hired (Ladányi and Szelényi, 2001; Pons, 1999; Revenga, et al., 2002; Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993). Thus various segments attempted from early nineties to emigrate, many of them applying for asylum and later on entered and stayed mostly as illegal residents. Though figures are inaccurate and controversial the number of Roma entering in the very first years of the nineties in various Western European countries probable exceeded 100,000 (Bade, 2003; Matras, 1996). From the very beginning of the nineties their migration faced popular violence and authorities rejection (for an account for the nineties see Sobotka, 2003), an attitude that did not change in the last two decades.

3. Nation-wide labour market and social development trends under the influence of emigration

3.1. Economic and labour market developments

Emigration, a massive national phenomenon affecting all geographical regions and all social categories in Romania, has significantly influenced the evolution of the demographic situation and the national labour market. At the same time, as emigration is a continually process, its effects may suffer transformations and, what was assessed as a benefit of migration in a short run, might become a disadvantage for the country of origin.

While from the economic and cultural perspective, Romanian labour emigration's impact is predominantly positive, this is quite the opposite when we look from the demographic angle. Experts say that this is the price that Romania has to pay on the long run to enjoy the fruits of migration. Data for 1991-2002 show that the share of the most fertile age groups 20-40 years old in total Romanian migrant population represents 62% (Ghețău, 2009). This is confirmed by a representative migrant survey conducted in 2010 which reported that the average age of migrants was 34.6 years. According to the same study the Romanian migrant population is fairly evenly divided between men (53%) and women (47%) and only 62% of Romanian migrants are married while the average migrant household size is 2.1 persons abroad, indicating a high level of family reunification (FSR and IASCI, 2011). The female led migration as future trend that characterizes Romanian emigration will create important effects on the country's demographic evolution, too.

Besides the actual population losses and delay of marriages and births because of emigration as observable influences on the demographic composition of Romania, it is

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important to underline the snow-ball effect that emigration produces on demography. Several determining factors are as follows: the number of children born abroad, the tendency of emigrants to stay permanently in the place of migration, this may include also the second-generation of emigrants, number of mixed marriages (quite high among Romanian women migrants) along with change of migration purpose and decision to remain abroad from other different Romanian emigrants such as students, mobile researchers. Eurostat¹⁶ informs that, by 2010, there were around 40,000 Romanian children born in Italy and approximately 57,000, in Spain.

The emigration impact is even harder because Romania's demographic situation was already deteriorating. Beginning with 1990, the total population has decreased each year with an average rhythm of 0.2% annually. The negative values of the natural increment together with those of permanent external migration caused the population to decrease by 958 thousand persons in the period 2000 to 2009, namely a relative decrease of 4.2%. Data shows over the last decade (2000-2009), a relative drop of 21.5% for the age group less than 14 years and a relative decrease of 15.5% for the age group 15-24 years cumulated with relative increases of 5.3% and 8% for the age group 55-64 years and, respectively age group over 65 years (Eurostat, 2011).

As regards the impact of emigration on the labour market two distinct periods should be demarcated: first, the 90s including the very beginning of 2000s and the second starting at the mid 2000s. In the first period due to the economic transition, the number of available workplaces radically dropped and migration emerged as a reaction to the incapacity of the Romanian economy to create jobs and absorb the existing labour force. Seen from the perspective of the state, migration functioned as a safety valve, since significant strata of population at the risk to become recipients of social assistance left the country. Thus migration lowered both the social costs of the transition and reduced the risks of social tensions (Horváth and Anghel, 2009, p. 395).

During 2001 to 2008, the Romanian economy grew with an impressive average rate of 6.2% annually, among the highest in the region. Economic growth was fuelled by increased investments and domestic consumption, which, in turn, were the result of strong wage raises, increased volume of remittances and rapid expansion of credit. The structure of the Romanian economy went through important changes, essentially consisting in a transfer of activities from industry and agriculture initially to services and subsequently to constructions. The growth of these sectors was accompanied by a raise in the demand for qualified workforce. The most affected sectors were the T&C (textile and clothing) industry, constructions and HoReCa sectors. According to a survey taken in 2007 approximately 15% of the firms active in these fields reported personnel deficit, the most severe problems being reported by the firms active in the T&C sector (Şerban and Toth, 2007, p.6). These labour shortages were also directly linked to the Romanian labour emigration. Romanians preferred to work abroad in constructions, commerce, and hospitality, domestic and care services (including women who worked in textile industry in Romania) and earn at least twice they could get doing the same job at home.

When Romania registered economic growth, with an internal labour market profoundly affected by emigration, with several sectors (constructions, ship building, T&C, commerce) facing labour shortages which could not be filled in by local workers transferred from other economical sectors or by returned emigrants, Romania resorted to immigration as the best

¹⁶ Eurostat (2011): Population and Social Conditions. Statistics in focus 34/2011. http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-11-034/EN/KS-SF-11-034-EN.PDF (retrieved on 10 April 2012)

solution to respond to this immediate need. In this sense, there were 15,000 work authorizations issued in 2008¹⁷, the year when the economic boom was at its peak.

In 2009, the Romanian economy experienced one of the sharpest contractions in its recent history. GDP fell by 7.1% after going up by the same magnitude a year before. The crisis hit Romania very hard. In 2010 the economy dropped by 6.6% and in 2011, there was a small recovery, an economic growth of 2%. Even in the crisis context, the Romanian labour market failed to meet the needs of employers, and in this respect the shortage was above the average both in a European or a global perspective. For example in 2010, 36% of the firms in Romania declared having difficulties filling the job vacancies, facing major difficulties in the following domains: engineers, skilled traders, sales representatives, drivers (Manpower, 2009, 2010). Analysts consider that the causes of the deficiency are structural, mostly related to emigration and forecast an absolute shortage in roughly 20 years (Ghețău, 2009; Șerban and Toth, 2007).

As regards human capital development in migration or possible brain waste traced in the occupational status of migrants in Romania compared to the one in the place of migration, a representative survey performed in 2008 on the Romanian migrants in Madrid¹⁸ provides relevant information regarding Romanian emigrants' employment below their professional qualifications. The research findings are correlated with data offered by the Spanish Statistical Institute (ENI). For some of the Romanian migrants, migration is associated with "losses" in terms of employment status and occupational prestige that are not necessarily accompanied by lower income. While ENI outlines that in 2007, 40% of the Romanian migrants in Spain had a lower occupational status compared to what they worked in Romania, the 2008 survey found out that this applied only for 14% of the Romanian migrants in Madrid (Sandu et al., 2009). In this context, the study reveals that there are significant differences between the occupational trajectories in the migration process between men and women and respectively between young and older migrants. Migrant women have on average occupations with a lower prestige than migrant men, and, although both migrant groups improve on average their occupational status in the transition from the occupation in Romania to the last employment in Spain, the „gains” of status for men is higher than for women, further deepening the differences that were already at the moment of leaving Romania. Younger migrants are more disadvantaged as regards the occupational status than the older migrants at the moment of migrating from Romania. Nevertheless, the improvement rate of their occupational status when they access the Spanish labour market and later on during their work in Spain is much higher than for the older migrants (Sandu et al., 2009).

Brain drain (the migration of the skilled workforce) is a very recent trend that characterizes the Romanian migration. Several major categories of emigration of highly skilled should be mentioned: the migration of the IT sector specialists, engineers, researchers and other professionals in the technical sector, the migration of the health care sector specialists (both physicians and nurses) and the migration of teachers and other professionals in education. Though many Romanian IT specialists became migrants, the process not necessarily hindered the development of the IT sector in Romania since many of them returned; moreover universities made significant investments in this field, thus the migration of IT specialists resulted in a positive effect: the brain drain induced development of the IT sector in the sending region (Baga, 2007; Ferro, 2004).

¹⁷ <http://ori.mai.gov.ro/detalii/pagina/ro/Statistici-si-publicatii/147> (retrived on 10 April 2012)

¹⁸ Data collected in September 2008 in four communities (Alcala de Henares, Coslada, Arganda del Rey, Torrejon de Ardoz) in the autonomous community of Madrid, the Spanish region with the largest number of Romanians, about one quarter of all Romanian immigrants in this country. The Madrid region includes 179 municipalities and Romanians were in 169 of them, in early 2008. The sample used for the research consisted of 832 Romanian immigrants over 17 years old. In each of the four communities, about 200 immigrants chosen randomly by the "respondent driven sampling" technique were interviewed. The sample was representative of the Romanian communities in the vicinity of Madrid, with a margin of error of 3.5% for a confidence level of 95%.

Conversely, emigration of the Romanian health care specialists has generated problems in this sector. Compared to the EU average, Romania has rather poor indicators regarding the health care sector. In 2006, while the EU average was 321 physicians per 100,000 inhabitants, in Romania the ratio was 214 physicians per 100,000 inhabitants. The discrepancies were even higher in the case of nurses, where the Romanian figure is 397 nurses in comparison to 746 in the EU (Galan et al., 2011). A major cause of this stagnant situation is thought to be the rather high fluctuation of personnel. Yearly exits from the health care system range between 10-30%, many of those leaving the system preferring to work abroad (Astărăstoie et al., 2008, p. 53-54).

Stock data collected from the OECD countries show that the number of Romanian medical doctors working abroad was above 5,000, roughly 10% of the medical doctors active in the Romanian health care system in 2000 (SOPEMI, 2007, p. 214). Following Romania's EU accession the situation became even more problematic, since only in 2007 more than 10% of the practicing medical doctors applied for diploma verification to work in EU member states, many of them being registered to medical chambers from France, United Kingdom, Germany or Italy. A recent WHO publication on health professionals' mobility states that 1000 Romanian medical doctors registered in France between January 2007 and July 2008; similar figures are reported from the German medical chamber (927). Following the economic crisis the health sector in Romania introduced additional disincentives for health professionals in 2010 such as a 25% salary decrease and staff reduction. Unofficial data show that requests for verification certificates considerably increased in 2010 and reached an average of 300 applications per month (Galan et al., 2011; p. 447-452).

A similar development is being observed in the case of nurses and midwives. Official data report on 2,896 applications of nurses and midwives in 2007 which is equal to 3.4% of the workforce in these professions. However, information from the destination countries suggests that out-migration is higher than that reported by official Romanian data.¹⁹ Also, it is highly probably that, since not all the EU countries request verification certificates, not all nurses and midwives who emigrated have applied to obtain them (Galan et al., 2011; p. 452 f.).

For the last two to three years and after the cutting of salaries in the public sector, media reported a rather considerable number of teachers who emigrated to work abroad, customarily performing jobs under their qualification, thus a spectrum of considerable process of brain waste is configuring. The process of migration of teachers can further worsen the problems faced by rural education where there are already significant vacancies filled by substitute teachers, and with a subsequently poor performance of the educational process (Miclea et al., 2007).

Besides easing the burdens on social budgets, Romanian emigration had another important impact on living standards: the remittances sent by the emigrants. Different national representative surveys estimate that around 60% of the Romanian emigrants sent regularly money to relatives living in Romania (Metro Media Transilvania, 2008; FSR and IASCI, 2011; Alexe et al., 2011a). One of these surveys conducted in 2010 allows a further analysis regarding the migrants' propensity to remit. It was found out that, on average 60% of all migrant HHs transferred money (including hand-carry) over the preceding 12 months, only 40% migrants outside EU (particularly in the USA) sent remittances over this period. Many of the migrants not transferring money left Romania until 2000, mainly outside EU (FSR and IASCI, 2011). The same research highlighted that the preferred means for Romanian migrants to remit money are money transfer operators (MTOs), 55% prefer this channel followed by hand transfers (36%). An average of 29% of annual remittance values was transferred with the specific purpose of being saved or invested in Romania. Contrary to common perception, only two-thirds of the remittances value is sent home with the express purpose of being consumed, which include home investment (FSR and IASCI, 2011).

¹⁹ In Italy, the diplomas of 2,420 Romanian nurses were recognized in 2005. The Federal Employment Agency in Germany registered 606 nurses from Romania (Galan et al., 2011; p. 453).

An accurate assessment of the amount of remittance sent by Romanian emigrants is provided by the National Bank of Romania (see Table 4 and the references). Thus the amount of remittances of the Romanian emigrants increased slowly but steadily during the 90s, the growing tendency accelerate in the mid 2000's, and (as a result of the recession) a decrease is observable for 2009 and 2010. The share of remittances in the GDP was 2.3% in 2001, rising to 4.53% in 2005 (Copaciu and Racaru, 2006, p. 18) and is estimated at 4.4% in 2009.²⁰

The remittances represent the major income source for the household of migrants, customarily the money is spent for enhancing the standards of their household (durable consumer goods like household electronics, cars, etc) and refurbishing or even building new houses (Grigoraş, 2007). Economists calculated that approximately 10% of the money yearly spent for durable consumer goods at national level was from remittances (Roman and Voicu, 2010, p. 61-62). Of course not all the money goes for consumption. Empirical data suggest that there is a higher propensity of returnees or households with migrants abroad to engage in entrepreneurial activities. For example, according to a national representative survey taken in 2006 over the last five years, only 3% of the Romanian population made entrepreneurial investments, whereas 10% of (former and actual) migrants' households invested in businesses (Toth and Toth, 2007, p. 50). Besides responsible remitters, migrants are successful savers, too. They accumulate wealth to build a home (23%), secure a pension (18%), educate children (13%), start or support a business (6%) (FSR and IASCI, 2011).

Of course there is also a downside of remittances, since they might create a culture of dependency and this is not only a theoretical possibility: there are reports (especially from rural areas or small cities) of increasing dependency on the remittances.

3.2. Social security

In Romania the social protection of migrants and their families is ensured by the national legislation in the field, the European Regulations regarding the coordination of the social security systems (Regulation 1408/71 and 574/72; Regulation 883/2004 and 987/2009 since May 2010) applicable in the 27 Member States plus Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland, and respectively, the provisions stipulated by the bilateral agreements that Romania had concluded until now.

Among the countries with whom Romania signed bilateral agreements on social security we mention²¹: Republic of Albania (1965), Algeria (1982), Austria (2005), Czech Republic, France, Germany (since 2005), Greece, Hungary (since 2005), Korea, Libya, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Moldova, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, South Korea, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Spain (since 2006), Turkey. We must highlight that Romania did not conclude bilateral agreements on social security with Italy and the United Kingdom although these countries belong to the Romanian emigrants' top five countries of destination.

Under EU coordination rules, the Romanian migrants and their families benefit from the (ex) portability of the social rights and benefits and the instruments developed such as the European Health Insurance Card (EHIC). They enjoy better and easier access to social security benefits than in the case of a bilateral agreement; insofar the application of the EU regulations has improved social security coverage of Romanian migrants and their families, in particular for those working and living in the main destination countries of Romanian migration with whom no bilateral agreement applied.

²⁰ The World Bank (2011) Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011 and the database Remittances Data_Inflows_Nov10(Public).xls available at <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/migration-and-remittances> (last visited 11 April 2011).

²¹ See for more details: <http://www.muncii.ro/ro/articole/0000-00-00/acorduri-bilaterale-in-domeniul-securitatii-sociale-711-articol.html> (last visited 10 April 2012)

Social security has started to be perceived by Romanian emigrants more and more as an essential aspect of their migration process and, in some cases, it can even influence their migration pattern. When choosing a destination country, besides the labour market opportunities, Romanian emigrants take increasingly into account the quantum of the state allowances for children or child benefits, unemployment benefits, health facilities, pension levels and schemes. This becomes even more important in times of economic crisis and uncertainty of employment and jobs.

To address the need for information about social security rights, the Romanian relevant authorities undertook, between 2008 to 2011, targeted actions at Romanian emigrants and their families left behind regarding the provision of information on EU coordination of social security systems, the benefits they are entitled to, rules and procedures they have to follow, where to ask for support, how to access their rights and use the European forms. Among these, we mention the national information campaigns and through the channels of Romanian embassies and consulates, Diaspora and the Church in the destination countries information provided on the state child benefits, the EHIC and unemployment benefits. In addition, the Ministries (MLFSP, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) produced and disseminated leaflets, posters and guides²² on the theme of social security within the EU coordination system, on medical assistance in the EU²³ and brochures on the social security particularities for emigrant workers in different sectors (for example, workers in domestic and care services).

Public Pensions

The National House of Pensions and Other Social Insurance Rights (NHPOSIR)²⁴ is the Romanian central public administration under supervision of the MLFSP that manages the public pension system and other social insurance rights (e.g. the scheme for work accidents and occupational illnesses). NHPOSIR has in its subordination the 42 county pension houses and the Pension House of Bucharest. All country branches of the NHPOSIR have competencies in keeping and processing pension records and requests for funeral grants for migrant workers.

Before adoption of the Law 19/2000 regarding public pension system and other social security rights, Romania registered a small number of pension beneficiaries who were living abroad. The previous law in force²⁵ contained discriminatory provisions based on territoriality and/or citizenship: pension rights were limited to Romanians residing in Romania and pension payment was suspended for the period in which the pensioner had established residence in another country. In order to comply with EU coordination regulations applicable as of Romania's EU accession in 2007, the Romanian law was amended and the territoriality and citizenship criteria eliminated. Moreover, in the spirit of equal treatment for all beneficiaries of the public pension system, Romania enabled also the payment of public pensions to the territory of non-EU Member States.

In 2008, NHPOSIR estimated that the total number of beneficiaries of pensions and benefits abroad accounted for about 29,000 persons, distributed as follows: 10,000 in Germany, 5,000 in Austria, 4,000 in Hungary, 3,000 in Italy, 2,000 in the United States and about 5,000 in other states. First payments abroad were operated in July 2008 to test the transfer procedures. In the framework of EU coordination system, statistics for 2009 showed that 7,060 pension files were received from the institutions of other Member States, while 6,811 pension files were sent to county pension houses. Moreover 200 requests for work accidents and occupational illnesses were registered from the institutions of other Member States. Concerning the applications of European forms in 2009, information for 6,574 persons was

²² <http://www.mmuncii.ro/ro/articole/0000-00-00/ghid-practic-privind-legislaia-aplicabila-lucratorilor-2314-articol.html> (last visited on 10 April 2012)

²³ <http://www.mae.ro/node/1552> (accessed on 10 April 2012)

²⁴ See for more details: <http://www.cnpas.org> (last visited on 10 April 2012)

²⁵ Law 3/1977 on pension insurance and state social assistance

introduced in the National Register, after the insurance code was generated as requested through the forms E202, E204 (NHPOSIR, 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010).

The analysis of the statistics above should be considered in the light of Romania's emigration characteristics, the continuous reform of the national pension system and the implementation of EU coordination that is quite recent. On one hand, from the age perspective, the majority of Romanian emigrants are within the working age group (clustered in the age group 20-40 years), therefore, we should expect an increase in pension claims in 10 to 20 years time. In addition, Romania's Report on National Strategy on Social Protection and Social Inclusion (MLFSP, 2006; 2007; 2008) draws attention to the fact that a large number of Romanian emigrants work in the informal economy in the host countries and neither contributed to the foreign pension system, nor to the Romanian one. Therefore, they are at risk of receiving a small pension when they will retire, of becoming social assistance recipients or most likely eligible for the minimum guaranteed income and putting extra-pressure on social budgets.

Under these circumstances, the EU provisions on social security coordination together with the evolution of the migration phenomenon should be taken into account for reforming and designing the new national pension system; this will ensure an efficient use of the human capital and workforce in the long run and to contribute to a real improvement of the living standards for elders and to their economic and social autonomy.

Unemployment benefits

In 2007, with the introduction of the EU coordination framework, only few Romanian migrants used the possibility to transfer unemployment benefits while looking for a job in Romania or in other Member States (E303), to certify insurance periods accomplished (E301) or to provide information about the situation of their family members back home (E302). In 2008, there was an increase in the number of migrants resorting to the European forms, especially for cases of certification of insurance periods and for benefit re-calculation, which reached 1,429 claims (against 100 claims in 2007). The majority of claims were from Italy (1,038) (NEA, 2007, 2008).

In 2009 as well as in 2010, the National Agency for Employment (NEA) received around 3,000 claims for certification of insurance periods, and an ascendant trend was also visible as regards claims for the transfer to unemployment benefits (E303). A significant rise was registered in the case of E302 forms (731 claims in 2009 to 3,394 claims in 2010)²⁶.

An aspect related to the features of Romanian emigration that is in direct correlation with the unemployment benefit should be emphasized for migrants working in Spain as domestic workers (mostly women). According to Spanish regulations domestic workers do not pay contributions to unemployment insurance and consequently they would not benefit from the payment of unemployment benefits, unless they pay these contributions on their own.

Health care and related benefits

The institution in charge of health care is the National House for Health Insurance (NHHI) and its territorial agencies. Under the Romanian provisions, the health care insurance system includes those who pay the health contributions and their family members, and the vulnerable groups such as children, the young and students under 26 years, pregnant women, refugees, asylum seekers, etc.

The current Romanian legislation stipulates that, in order to be insured, a person who had no earnings in the past 5 years has to pay the legal contribution for the past 6 months. A person who had taxable income in the past 5 years but is not able to demonstrate the payment of the health insurance contribution is obliged to pay the corresponding contribution for the entire period of 5 years to obtain health coverage (NHHI, 2007). In this context, health

²⁶ The largest amount of E301 was issued for Italy (1,593 in 2009 and 1,092 in 2010); as regards claims based on the E302 form, most of them concerned Spain 709 in 2009 and 3,330 in 2010 (NEA, 2009; 2010).

insurance coverage for Romanian migrants that return home can be problematic for those who had legal obligation to contribute to the health insurance system, but cannot proof the payment.

In 2010, most commonly used EU forms were E106 certifying entitlement to sickness and maternity insurance benefits (2,753) and E121 certifying enrolment of pension beneficiaries and their family members (2,837). Main regional agencies of the National House for Health Insurance that issued these forms were from Bucuresti, Timis, Constanta and Mures (NHII, 2009; 2010).

Family Benefits

Although after 1990, social assistance in Romania has made significant progress, the national system does not fully meet the requirements and demands for social stability and to ensure support for the most disadvantaged groups. Since 2001 when the first law in the field was adopted, the social assistance system has undergone continuous reforms. The national social assistance system encompasses social benefits (measures of financial redistribution to persons or families who meet the eligibility requirements provided by the law, and social services), measures and actions taken to address the social needs of individuals, families, groups or communities to prevent and sustain them to overcome difficult situations, vulnerability or dependency, to increase the quality of life and promote social cohesion.

The National Agency for Payments and Social Inspection (NAPSI) is the Romanian liaison body competent for the management of all family benefits payment in the frame of EU coordination. The state child allowance, parental allowance or monthly incentive and the special allowances for disabled children represent the main types of family benefits covered by the EU Regulation that Romanian migrants can export.

The NAPSI statistics indicate that in 2010 there were 19,007 claims from other Member States as regards family benefits²⁷ while in 2011 they amounted to 22,233 suggesting an increasing use of EU coordination mechanisms for the field of family benefits.

3.3. Poverty and Social Exclusion

Poverty in Romania is widespread and affects large areas and segments of the population including the regions and households affected by migration. According to Eurostat data, in 2010 Romania registered one of the highest at risk of poverty rates of 21.1% (as compared to only 16.4% of the population in EU-27) measured in terms of being below 60% of median disposable income. Poverty risks were considerably higher for categories of population which might be affected by migration as the elderly (16.7%) and single parents (31.9%). In addition, 31.0% of Romania's population (8.1% of the EU-27 population) was severely materially deprived with living conditions characterized by a acute lack of resources while 41.4% of Romanians (as compared to 23.5% of the EU-27 population), were touched by at least one of the three forms of social exclusion (poverty, material deprivation, low work intensity).²⁸ In this sense, the Romanian Strategy regarding the reform of the social assistance system draws attention to the fact that the state's expenses on social security doubled in the period 2005 to 2010, from 1.4% share in GDP to 2.86% (MLFSP, 2011).

Considering this general situation, emigration acted rather as a solution than an option for a lot of Romanians and it constituted a survival or development that supported the families and communities left behind. As documented by a recent study²⁹ on the impact of the economic

²⁷ 10,736 claims were sent from Romania to other EU Member States in 2010 (9,519 claims in 2011).

²⁸ Eurostat: <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>;
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=t2020_53&language=en
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=t2020_50&language=de
(accessed on 5 April 2012)

²⁹ National representative survey for six counties: Calarasi, Dolj, Maramures, Neamt si Vaslui selected based on the estimations regarding return migration rates. Quantitative data collection took place in August 2010 and the

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crisis on the Romanian labour force migration (Alexe et al., 2011a), for the six counties under survey, out of 100 households, 14 receive money from relatives working abroad and 9 receive other goods. For about half of these households (around 11%) the remittances ensure a large part of the monthly income and in the absence of this source of income the respective households could not manage.

Moreover, another national representative survey conducted in 2010 provides interesting information regarding the households income and expenditure in Romania, including differences between households with migrants and non-migrant households and households that receive remittances and those that do not receive them (FSR and IASCI, 2011). The research results highlighted (See also figure 5) that households with migrants and receiving remittances had an average monthly income of Euro 534 out of which remittances made up nearly a half (at average Euro 245 per month). Families with one or more member in long term migration, but not receiving remittances, had an average income of Euro 357. The income of families without migrants (control group) was between these figures at Euro 410. The interesting finding is that households with migrants but without remittances had the lowest overall income. On the other hand, because of lower numbers of household members the income and expenditure per person was the same as the control group (households without migrants) at around Euro 130, but markedly lower than households with remittances (Euro 191). Differences in expenditure between households with remittances and without are most pronounced in food, clothing, home furnishing and education. Less pronounced were allocations for health services and utilities.

The savings rate of households receiving remittances appears to be much higher than among the other two categories, while investment rates between the three categories of households were not notably different in terms of value and percentage of the household income. Households with migrants indicated that they saved and invested (including farm expenses, repaying debt, etc.) about Euro 171 per month in contrast to migrant families not receiving remittances (EUR 85).

Still, emigration has reduced inequalities and alleviates poverty while increasing the chances of next generations to education and health care by providing the financial means and better living conditions. At macro level the economic and social effects of emigration have proved positive, at least on the short run. Remittances were constant direct investments in the local economy that resulted many times in the creation of work places without any other public or private funds; they supported consumption of goods helping the local economic sectors (agriculture, food industry), the buying of HH appliances helped the local industry that produces these equipments and the refurbishing and building of homes sustained the growth of the construction sector (Alexe et al., 2011; FSR and IASCI, 2011). The effect of the current economic crisis has caused a drop in overall remittances values sent and received in the country because of the deeper recession in Italy and Spain, the two main destinations for Romanian emigrants. However, the options of cutting back remittances and consuming savings are less preferred by the Romanian emigrants. The emigrants' coping strategies are more likely to include further economies from HH budgets in the place of migration combined with a search for other employment.

A forecast made by UNICEF and World Bank (2009) warned that the growing recession in EU countries, which affects major sectors in which Romanians work abroad, will decrease the funds transferred from abroad to Romanian families living in the country. Also, as a further effect, the study argued that this will most probably lead to an increase in the number of children living in absolute poverty - from 256,000 to approximately 350,000 children, while the number of people living in absolute poverty will reach 1.6 million. The report also states

sample included 2970 cases selected from 71 communes and 30 municipalities. The sample was stratified at county level and by the size of locality. Categories of population researched: (A) HHs without migrants in August 2010; (B1) HHs with migrants in August 2010; (B2) HHs with migrants and migrants were spending their holiday in Romania in August 2010; (C) HHs with returned migrants (not holiday) in the last 12 months, who plan to stay in Romania for at least 3 months (irrespective of their intention to re-migrate for work abroad in the future).

that 75% of these children will be from rural areas, under the age of 14 and from families with three children or more.

A further impact of emigration that can significantly contribute to Romania's future development and consequently to poverty alleviation is represented by the emigrants' savings. According to the concomitant national representative surveys undertaken in 2010 on Romanian emigrants and HHs (with and without migrants), it was estimated that while the annual remittances to Romania valued 2,867 million EUR, the annual savings of Romanian emigrants amount to 11,981 million EUR. Yet, emigrants distrust financial institutions in Romania and leave savings in the country of work (FSR and IASCI, 2011). Moreover, the emigrants find the business environment as disincentive, and for that, they postpone or do not take into serious consideration opening a business in Romania, at least, under the present conditions.

4. Labour market and social development trends in net migration loss / gain regions

4.1. Identification of net migration loss /gain regions

Generally speaking (and assuming the existence of few notable exceptions) the regions mostly affected by population loss due to migratory processes are those from Eastern and Southern Romania. The attractive spots are the Western periphery (Timis), the centre of the country, the capital city and the touristic and commercial region at the Black Sea coast (Constanța county). The regions with high internal migration loss are usually regions of origin for external migration too. Table 5 shows net migration loss and gain regions (internal and external migration).

Analysing the relationship between the natural demographic (table 9) and the migratory process, a typical pattern can be observed. The North Eastern extremity of Romania is characterized by a high out-migration and a positive balance of natural population increase. However, there are significant internal differences that should be emphasized. The counties Iași and Suceava are somewhat compensating their migratory losses by rather high rates of natural population growth. At the same time, counties with high migratory loss such as Botoșani and Vaslui have negative rates of natural increase. In the South-Eastern region (with the notable exception of Constanța county), Buzău, Tulcea and Vrancea are heavily affected by population loss both due to migration and low fertility rates. In the Southern part of Romania (South and South-West regions) the situation of counties like Călărași, Giurgiu, Teleorman, and Ilt should be underlined as having above average population loss both due to migration and low fertility rates. Moreover, some urbanization (migration to more densely settled regions around the biggest cities) had been observed for Constanta, Brasov and Hunedoara, along with high level of ruralization and population decline in the case of Dambovita, Giurgiu and Teleorman. In the Central and the two Western regions (North West and West), the general trend is to compensate to some degree the negative ratios of natural population increase with internal migration. Nevertheless, Sălaj, Hunedoara and Maramureș counties are making an exception while not being very attractive for immigrants from other counties and having rather negative rates of natural population increase. It has to be mentioned that for all these counties with high population due to migration, the losses are much more significant in the rural areas of these counties than in the urban areas, especially the case of Vaslui, Botosani, and Tulcea counties (table 6).

The regions with significant population losses have a GDP per capita below (in some cases even far below) the country's average. The counties of North East region (with the notable exception of Iasi county), have a GDP per capita that makes up only 40-50% of the country's average. The lowest GDP per capita share is registered for Vaslui (46.2%) and for Botosani

(50.8%), both counties in the North East region. Also other counties identified above as high migration loss regions indicate a low GDP per capita share such as Giurgiu (53.8%) from the Southern region, Vrancea (58.5%) from the South East region and Olt (60%) from the South West region (table 13).

Considering all data Vrancea, Botoşani, Tulcea, Giurgiu and Teleorman represent the counties most severely affected by the conjoint results of migration (both internal and external) and negative natural population increase. All these counties have an above average rural population (see Table 10). For example if at country level the share of rural population in 2010 was 44,94%, it was 58.09% in Botosani, 50.75% in Tulcea, 62.43% in Vrancea, 68.82% in Giurgiu and 66,4% in Teleorman.

It is worth to be noted that the regions and respectively, the counties levels of development are strongly correlated to their dependence of agriculture, the existing local infrastructure and what the industries can be found in the area. Regions with the highest share of the population employed in the economic primary sector are the South-West, South and North East (over 35%). Bigger disparities can be observed in some counties such as Giurgiu, Teleorman, Botosani, where the population employed in agriculture can reach over 50%. Other counties with large segments of their population in the rural area and employed in the primary economic sector are Olt (45%), Vaslui (46.9%) and Calarasi (47.1%). On the contrary, the smallest share of population in agriculture is registered in the regions Center, West and North West (between 20% and 30%) and in Bucharest-Ilfov, the capital city area (under 5%). The distribution of the employed population in the rural-urban area is directly reflected in the development of the region/county. The lesser developed the region/county is, its population will be found in the rural area, working in agriculture and in reverse, in more developed regions/ counties employed population is urban, employed in industry and tertiary sector (Bakk and Benedek, 2010).

In terms of age structure the highlighted regions present a considerable degree of variability. Taking as an indicator the ratio of persons aged 65 and older per persons aged 15 and younger (see Table 11) we can see that in 2010 the value of the indicator for Romania is close to 1 (relatively equal volume of the two age groups). Botosani and Tulcea are below country average, meaning that the volume of young persons in these counties exceeds that of the seniors (65 and above) persons. Vrancea is close to the country average, and Giurgiu and Teleorman have indicators reflecting a predominance of the elderly. The case is especially pronounced in Teleorman where the value of the ratio in 2010 was 1.66.

Although placed among the last in Europe as regards the foreign direct investments (FDIs), Romania is the first in the seven countries in South-Europe to have attracted FDIs. The territorial distribution of FDIs in Romania shows major inequalities between the regions and counties. In 2004, out of 12.8 billion Euros, more than a half (7.6 billion EUR) had been directed to Bucharest-Ilfov region (FDI/inhabitant > 500 EUR), while the South and the North-East regions are the less attractive for investments (FDI/inhabitant < 155 EUR). The investors prefer those counties where the infrastructure is developed and, implicitly that are characterized by a higher accessibility, where the workforce is qualified (not necessarily cheaper) and where there is a tradition in the field of industrial products with favourable local business environment (Bakk and Benedek, 2010).

4.2. Labour market development in net migration loss/gain regions

Our further analysis of the labour market development in net migration loss/gain regions, as highlighted from the first part of this chapter will continue more focused on the North East region (Botosani), the South-East (Vrancea) and South (Teleorman and Giurgiu counties).

In the last decade the employment rate went down in the majority of Romania's regions. However the decrease was rather uneven reinforcing the existing regional differences. For example, the North East region characterized by high losses of migration had registered,

according to Eurostat³⁰ a decline of the employment rate in the region from 65.2% in 2001 to 62.0% in 2010. In contrast, unemployment is higher at national average (7.3%) than in the North East region (5.8%).

The net migration loss regions identified above had a rather particular evolution. At the very beginning of the transition period (in 1990) with the exception of Giurgiu county all the net migration loss regions identified had employment rates either close to national average (Teleorman, Tulcea) or even above (Botosani, Vrancea). Over time however the situation changed considerably while in these counties (with the exception of Teleorman) the shrinking of the labour market was more substantial than at national level in general, thus these counties become counties with a below average employment rate.

However employment does not necessarily safeguard from poverty. It is important to mention that the Eastern and Southern regions of Romania supply the most of the working poor (a person aged 15 or more, employed and living in a HH with incomes below the absolute poverty line). In the period 2003-2006, the North-East and South-West regions have had working poor rates considerably higher (of 9% and 7% of population respectively, in 2006) than other regions (Stănculescu, 2008; p. 10). In particular in the rural areas and small towns of these regions the precariousness of employment (in terms of effective incomes) is a widespread phenomenon. The high rates of working poor in these region is connected with the high employment shares in agriculture, mostly subsistence agriculture, does not provide a decent living for the HHs. Furthermore, rural areas are characterised by high rates of self-employment (36.0% of the rural employed population), and a considerable share of unpaid family workers (25.1%) which again indicates the high vulnerability of the population in these regions.

A representative survey at the level of six counties (Brasov, Dolj, Neamt, Maramures, Calarasi, Vaslui) conducted in August 2010 clearly shows the losses in working age population at county level, especially North-East region. At the same time, higher rates of return migration were registered for the counties in Moldova (Neamt and Vaslui), over 7%. The return rate had not differed by the development level of the community or by the area (rural-urban) but, rather the return rate is directly connected with the rate of emigration. However, we must stress that emigration and return migration are dependent on the economic and employment opportunities that the area/ county/ region of origin is offering. In this sense, the research points out that for the surveyed counties the emigration and return migration were higher in the localities with a less developed economy. The more developed and diversified the local economy is, the less is the chance for return migration (Alexe et al., 2011a).

4.3. Poverty and social exclusion in net migration loss/gain regions

In Romania, the coverage of social protection system is very high affecting all the regions. Over 84% of the population enjoys at least one financial benefit, directly or indirectly (as members of the HH by income sharing). Almost half of the individuals have in the HH at least one source of income from the contributory social protection benefits and more than 57% of the population enjoys, directly or indirectly non-contributory benefits (Preda, 2009).

The 2007-2013 National Rural Development Programme (revised in 2010) highlights the fact that 'poverty incidence is significantly higher in rural areas (28.3% as against 8.7% in the urban area, in 2009) and among those employed in agriculture (MAFRD, 2010). More than 70% of the poor are located in rural areas. Economic difficulties in the rural areas view aspects related to subsistence agriculture, unemployment and informal labour, low and uneven coverage of health and education services, return urban-rural migration and poverty.

³⁰ <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tgs00007&plugin=1> (last visited 10 April 2012)

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The groups at higher risk of poverty are the self-employed, the same strategic document emphasized that, in 2009 the at-risk-of-poverty rate for the self-employed including agricultural workers was 40.6% as against 32.9% for the self-employed excluding agricultural workers. The North-East region shows a higher than national average poverty risk amounting at 26.1% in 2009 (MLSPF, 2010). By area of residence poverty risk is higher in the NUTS III regions South West (37.4%) and North-East (31.5%), the regions identified as considerably affected by out-migration and for those living in rural areas, especially in the thinly populated areas (33.1%).

Rural areas are characterised by a scattered population and very low quality infrastructure – for example, in 2009, only 33% of rural residents are connected to a water supply network and only 10% to a sewerage system, while only 10% of rural roads are considered to be of “adequate standard”. As regards housing 39.8% of the rural inhabitants live in houses built of inadequate materials as compared to 8.9% in the urban areas. Around 74% of the rural inhabitants (58.6% in the North-East region, 55.4% in the South region) live in houses with no bathroom/shower as opposed to 12.3% in the urban area (MRDT, 2007).

Moreover, in the regions that we analysed the situation is even worse. In the North-East region, in 2004 only 2.1% of the total number of localities was connected to the gas distribution network and only 6.9% of North East localities to the thermal energy distribution network. Both the water supply and sewerage networks were insufficiently developed: the percentage of localities with water supply in the North East region was only 17% as compared to the national average (20.2%). As regards the South region, in 2004 big discrepancies are observed at county level: for example if Giurgiu has over 40% localities connected to the water supply system, Ialomita and Teleorman had below 10%. The wastewater sewerage networks were present in 4.6% of the total number of localities, including the 43 cities of the region, but most of them were underdeveloped, under dimensioned and degraded. (MRDT, 2007).

Access to services is the first step to social inclusion. Still, in Romania, the basic social infrastructure (health care and education systems, finance and credit provision, elderly care and other public social services) is poor and less developed in rural compared to urban areas, which has an effect on the quality of life in rural areas impeding economic development and increasing out-migration. This situation is also characteristic for the two regions that we have identified with more disparities as against the other regions and the national average. For example, in 2004, the North East region registered the highest number of new born children in the country (5.4% of the total national), but child care facilities were not sufficiently developed. This had further negative effects and had not stimulated the reintegration of parents on the labour market. In addition, this explains why grandparents are the main resource for the children of the emigrating Romanians. At the same time, taking into consideration that among the eight development regions, North-East region had the highest percentage of population and scholar population (17.2% and respectively 19.48%), the number of regional educational units is low, representing only 18.75% of the total number of national education units (MRDT, 2007). In the South region the education infrastructure is better compared to the North East region. Still, the main problem in the region is that the education units are in the obsolete buildings with low level of endowment, that do not allow the existence of optimal conditions for an adequate and efficient educational process.

As regards participation in the educational system there are notable differences between rural and urban areas: as regards the age specific school enrolment rates. For example at national level the rate of enrolment in the primary education (years 1-4 of the compulsory education) was in the school year 2009-2010 of 97.6%, but for the rural areas 92.8%. For the secondary stage of the primary education (years 5-8 of the compulsory education) was 98,9% at national level, for the rural areas 89.5% (MECTS, 2010, p. 51). The gap between the school enrolment of the youngsters from urban and the rural areas become even more enlarged at the level of the high school, and consequently at the level of tertiary education. In the university year 2009-2010 out of the age group of 19-23 years 56,3% of the urban

youngsters were enrolled to a university, while only 27,2% of the youngsters of same age groups residing in rural participated in a form of tertiary education (MECTS, 2010, p 6).

From this point of view, it must be stressed that teachers and educators emigration, emerged as a new phenomenon for the last two-three years, makes the national educational system even more problematic.

In both North-East and South regions, the health infrastructure has a precarious situation, the technical endowments of hospitals are obsolete and do not correspond anymore to the current needs. Furthermore, the reform in the sector at the beginning of 2011 hit hardy the health care system and contributed to further decrease in the access to health care, especially in the rural areas and small towns. The reform translated in 200 hospitals serving mainly rural and small localities being closed or given to the local authorities to be transformed (if the funds are found in the local budgets) in elderly homes, the salaries of the health care personnel were cut by 25% and hiring of new personnel was limited. Confronted with unemployment, the health care professionals followed the road to emigration, an option that had already proved successful for so many Romanians working in this sector. Migration of the medical doctors thus leads to the widening discrepancies between the regions, and in particular between rural and urban areas: the number of patients served by one physician is six time higher in rural areas, approximately 100 villages have no local access to a doctor (Astărăstoiaie et al., 2008). If at national level, only 23.5 physicians covered 10000 inhabitants, the value in Giurgiu was only at 10.1, for Vrancea and Botosani 13, Teleorman 13.1 and Tulcea 14.1 (for details and source see Table 14). And it seems that the medical doctors migration contributed to the further deterioration of the indicators in these counties, in particular in the Eastern and Southern regions of Romania. The highest proportion of application of diploma verification came from medical doctors in the Iasi district in the North-East region, one of the most deprived and least developed region registering high out-migration. A similar development was observed in the case of nurses and midwives that migrated massively from the North-East region as well as from small towns and rural areas (Galan et al., 2011, p. 459-461).

Therefore, we can emphasize that emigration and especially emigration of highly-skilled (health care professionals, educators and teachers) is both a cause and result for the rural-urban gap.

5. Impact of migration on vulnerable groups

5.1. Women

There are very few gender and migration researches targeting Romanian emigration and its impact on Romania as country of origin. However relevant data can be extracted from general emigration studies that provide their results split on the gender variable. For example, in the communes with high emigration rate, a visible decrease of the birth rate cumulated with an increase of the divorce rate were registered shortly after people got engaged in the migration process (Sandu, 2009).

As regards the impact of emigration on relationship between partners, a national survey conducted in 2006 showed that the actual influence of migration on family relations is quite low, even though in terms of common sense, being apart from the family represents the main negative aspect of emigration. Migrants consider that the emigration experience has a positive influence on family relations and on the understanding with the life partner, as the money earned working abroad contributes to an improvement in the quality of life, of their households, and implicitly lead to better relationships within the family (Sandu et al., 2007, p.69-74).

We should distinguish between short-term positive effects of emigration that may transform in negative ones if considered for a long period. In this sense, women left behind benefit from

the advantage of remittances that allow them to improve their household living conditions, to cover the monthly expenses, to repay the debts, to refurbish the house and buy household appliances that make their domestic chores easier. In most cases, also because of low local employment opportunities, women left behind make an option to stay home and take care of the house and children and use remittances to cover the living costs. We may say that, on a long run, for these women, emigration creates and feeds dependency on the money received from abroad while continually reducing their chances to gainful participation to the labour market. Nevertheless, in many cases, Romanian women left behind become entrepreneurs or at least intelligent savers of the money remitted from abroad (Sandu et al., 2007, p. 40-75).

In line with the Romanian emigration' feature of a relatively high rate of family reunification, we underline the fact that a significant share of these women left behind constitute future emigrants. Additionally, in the context of the economic crisis, it might be the case that these women would have higher chances to succeed in finding employment abroad than their family/partners who had migrated in advance and might now encounter employment loss in their economic sector (Alexe et al., 2011a).

When taking the decision to return home and during their reintegration, women migrants face specific difficulties. As the majority of Romanian migrant women work in domestic and care services, back in Romania they cannot find employment in this domain or the jobs are poorly paid (Sandu et al., 2009). Romanian migrant women complained that they waste the skills and qualifications acquired during migration (especially medical knowledge, professional experience in caring for certain categories as disabled, the elderly with special needs, etc) and that the Romanian authorities should encourage them to invest and create businesses in this sector (Alexe et al., 2011a).

Women emigration had another significant impact on the national labour market producing shortages in the domestic and child care services. This affected local women in the way that it raised employment opportunities for older women that could find jobs in this field.

Romania is an origin, as well as a transit and destination country for human trafficking. In 2009³¹, according to the National Anti-trafficking Agency (ANITP), 780 Romanian victims of human trafficking were identified; out of the victims identified in 2009, 54% were women. Sexual exploitation of women (41% of victims identified in 2009) and forced labour in fields such as agriculture, construction, etc. (40%) were the main forms of human trafficking; another mode of exploitation was begging (recorded for 14% of identified victims in 2009). The main destination countries for Romanian victims of trafficking identified in 2009 were Spain (185), Italy (155), followed by Czech Republic (52) and Greece (45).

5.2. Children

The legal framework on children left behind by their emigrating parents is mainly regulated by the Order 219 from June 2006 issued by the National Authority for Protection of Children Rights (ANPDC) regarding identification, intervention and monitoring of children that lack parental care of their parents working abroad. Local authorities are responsible to identify all cases of children left behind in their jurisdiction, to make regular evaluations of their situation followed by a plan of necessary services as well as making reference to the cases that need special protection. Another responsibility is to inform the community about legal options of migrant parents so that they ensure physical and juridical protection of their children left at home. The act stipulates that Romanians that engage in labour migration should notify the local authorities about their intention. Additionally, migrating parents are compelled to nominate the person that will take care of their children.

³¹ http://anitp.mai.gov.ro/ro/docs/studii/trafic_persoane_2009.pdf (retrieved on 1st of August 2011)

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Statistics provided by the ANPDC³² (structure under coordination of MLFSP) show that in March 2011, there were 85,576 children with one or both parents working abroad. Approximately 13% (10,879) of these left-behind children were from mono-parental families having their single parent abroad, about 29% (25,048) had both their parents away for work, and a majority of 58% (49,649) had only one emigrating parent. Therefore, it must be stressed that about 42% of these children had no parent to take care of them. The same source cites that 95% of the left-behind children (81,116) were in the care of their up to 4th grade relatives with no protection measure while under special protection system it was a smaller proportion of 4% (3,348) that were put in the care of maternal assistants, placement centres, up to 4th grade relatives or other persons. The rest of 1% of children left behind was in other situations, such as in the care of neighbours, with no special protection measures.

The figures reported by ANPDC might be underestimated. In this sense, a research undertaken by UNICEF in 2008 highlights that identification of children with emigrating parents differs from one locality to another and depends on the human resources allocated to the social assistance departments and on the functioning of partnerships at local level between institutions such as town-halls, churches, schools, hospitals. Moreover, legislation does not stipulate any sanctions in case of not fulfilling the task of case identification of these children left behind and it gives space to ambiguity and different practices in data collection as the normative act refers to parents that intend to migrate on a given working contract (UNICEF, 2008, p.14-18).

Indeed, survey data³³ found that the phenomenon was much more widespread. The UNICEF study revealed that in August 2007, 350,000 children (representing 7% of total children population) had at least one emigrating parent; more than a third of them (126,000) had both their parents abroad. Half of the children with both emigrating parents were below the age of 10 years and 16% of children with both migrant parents spent more than a year without their parents. The majority of children left in Romania were from Moldova region and from rural areas. Children left home by both migrant parents (or by the single parent) were usually in the care of the extended family, especially their grandparents (UNICEF, 2008).

The researches (UNICEF, 2008; Toth, 2008) pointed out the lack of parental affectivity and emotional suffering of left-behind children as direct consequences of the migration of their parents. However a series of positive effects related to an improvement of children's standard of living were observed among left-behind children along with an increased access to products needed or demanded by children such as: clothes, shoes, toys, mobile phones, and computers. Researchers explained that acquisition of products may represent a form of compensation for the emotional damage/suffering associated with the absence of their migrant parents (especially, their mother).

The impact of the emigration of parents on their children's education and school achievements is quite debatable. There was a widespread public opinion that school achievements were negatively influenced by the emigration of parents. Nevertheless, although different studies (UNICEF, 2008; Tufis, 2008) proved links between migration of parents and school achievements, they also argued that the negative influence was quite low. Tufis (2008) showed that migration of at least one parent was associated with somewhat lower school achievements of the left-behind children compared to children from non-migrant families; however, the difference was due to a lower socio-professional status of the migrating families (medium educational level, reduced occupational prestige of parents) and due to the structure of the migrating families (they tend to be more families with separated, divorced parents). Tufis concluded that school-children from migrant families were at risk of school failure; however, this risk was at the same level as for children from dissolved non-

³² http://www.copii.ro/Statistici/situatie_copii_cu_parinti_plecati_la_munca_martie_2011.doc (retrieved on 1st August 2011)

³³ There were two national representative surveys on the issue of children left behind: one targeting school children in secondary education (V-VIII grades, aged 10 to 14 years) by FSR, in 2007 and one conducted for all age groups of children, by UNICEF, in 2008.

migrant families or from families with lower socio-professional status. According to the same author, the most disadvantaged on school achievements were the children with both parents abroad.

Between 2006-2008, approximately 30 000 children went abroad with their parents and in the same time requested the necessary papers to continue their education in a foreign country; the main destination was Italy, followed by Spain³⁴. During the same period of time, 14 000 children that returned from abroad enrolled again in Romanian educational institutions (primary, secondary and high-school) (Sandu, 2009). According to Voicu (2010), one of the difficulties faced in educational reintegration by children who return to Romania was related to their age; children who temporarily left educational system³⁵ and returned to Romania at older ages confront themselves with problems because they are either too old for their educational level/class (they do not feel comfortable to return to a class with younger students), or too young for “Second Chance” types of programmes. Although research is not available, we assume that children born and raised abroad who return to Romania at an older stage, might face some language difficulties; the educational system should be prepared for such situations.

As roughly a quarter (29%) of the Romanian victims of human trafficking identified in 2009 by ANITP was minors, a study that would investigate further the links between this phenomenon and children left at home would bring interesting information regarding vulnerability and risks of children left behind to become victims of trafficking.

5.3. Elderly

The massive emigration determined short and long-term effects on the elder population in Romania. Some of the most visible consequences at macro level are the continually ageing of Romania's population and entire rural areas being deserted by the young generations. Moreover, emigration represents the main cause of the recent worrying social phenomena of the elderly and children left behind and of the increasing vulnerability of these generations that should take care one for another. It is a common practice, especially in the areas with high concentration of migrants for the grandparents to raise their grandchildren because the parents have left the country for work and as years pass, the situation is reversed and the emigrants' children start to take care of the elderly.

It should be noted that, as in the case of children left behind, emigration has both positive and negative effects on the elderly that remain in Romania to care for the migrants' children. As advantage of migration, remittances support the monthly consumption, good living conditions and access to public and paid services of health care and social assistance. When asked for the most important purposes of transferring money to Romania, the largest group of respondents in a migrant survey conducted in 2010 indicated “support to parents” (24%) as the main purpose (see figure 7) (FSR and IASCI, 2011, p.11).

On the other hand, grandparents face more difficulties in raising their grandchildren because, in many situations, they are themselves in need of care or they have no abilities to address the different problems that children might encounter.

In the last three years, a relative growth of the seasonal so-called “grey-hair migration” was observed in the large Romanian migrant communities in Spain and Italy, phenomenon that had slowed down because of the economic and financial crisis³⁶. Taking into consideration the features of the Romanian migration- being a family migration and/ or with a high rate of

³⁴ Computations made by Sandu, D. using data from the Ministry of Education, showed that between 2006-2008 a total of 29415 children of migrants in primary, secondary or high-school education went abroad with their parents. Of these children, 51% went to Italy, 32% to Spain and 17% in other countries.

³⁵ For example, they migrated abroad with their parents where they went to school only occasionally.

³⁶ Romanian seasonal “grey-hair migration” was mentioned in the interviews in Spain and Italy, in November 2010, with Romanian migrants and local authorities as part of the qualitative research for the Study “Impact of economic crisis on the Romanian labour migration”, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011

family reunification in the country of destination- the elderly became an important resource that joined their emigrated children for several months to help with grandchildren care and housekeeping, especially before the crisis when both migrant parents were employed.

Given the increase of Romanian women involved in international migration, a change in the distribution of the roles within the family is to be expected. An important concern is related to the care of the elderly that has been traditionally performed by the family. Public or private long-term care services are not well developed in Romania. At national level, the demand for care services was confirmed by the large number of people waiting for a place in elderly homes to become available. Statistical data on social inclusion activities provided by the MLFSP indicate that the number of elderly homes funded by the local councils and NGOs in 2008 totalled 122 units with a capacity of 7,615 places and a monthly average number of beneficiaries of 6,774; 2,915 people were on the waiting list.

Eurostat data³⁷ show that Romania's expenditure on care for the elderly (covering care allowance, accommodation, and assistance in carrying out daily tasks) is one of the lowest in Europe; it went up from 0.01% in 2005 to 0.04% of GDP in 2008 while the EU27 average was 0.48% and respectively 0.41% of GDP. The home care as an alternative to institutional care in elderly homes involves a greater involvement on the part of the person's family, who may give up part of his/her job in order to provide the necessary care so, this is not a solution for the elderly left behind by relatives going abroad for work. Despite measures to develop community social services, due to limited accessibility and financial resources, there are still inequalities in geographical distribution and in the number of services. Besides financial reasons, it is assumed that Romanians are reluctant to send their relatives to a care institution. However, no evidence could be found on this issue. As some authors pointed out "from an origin country perspective, women's migration could be translated in "care shortages" (Marin and Serban, 2008, p. 24).

5.4. Roma

According to the census data from 2002, a half million Roma live officially in Romania. However, it is unanimously accepted that this figure does not reflect their real number as it provides partial information, reporting only some persons that identified themselves as Roma. In addition, besides these inefficiencies in data collection it is difficult to accurately assess the number of Roma since many of the alternative methods used in this sense, are questioned on moral, political or methodological grounds³⁸.

There are some widely accepted estimates on the number of Roma, one of those rather reliable attempts was carried out in 1998 and combined the outsiders perspective (external attribution) with self identification. Based on a complex sampling technique it was estimated that in 1998 in Romania lived approximately 1.5 million Roma out of which 63.5% (roughly 960 thousand persons) were included in Roma category both based on external and self-identification, the rest was included on this category only based on external criteria (Preda, 2002, p. 14). Based on these estimates and the fertility rates of Roma, nowadays the figure of 1.7-1.8 million Romanian Roma is considered to be realistic.

³⁷ <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tsdde530&plugin=1> (last visited on 10 April 2012)

³⁸ Roma is an umbrella concept covering a wide range of realities: from groups displaying cultural aspects (occupation, dressing code, use of language) considered by the common knowledge as traditional Roma lifestyle, to persons living in extremely marginal situation, condition frequently associated with Roma (Engebrigsten, 2007; Fleck and Rughinis, 2008; Klíman, 2001; Ladányi and Szelényi, 2001; Marian-Bălaşa, 2004), from persons who use for their self identification the term Roma (or "țigăni") to persons who are identified by others as Roma, but they, themselves would only, in some situations, if at all, use this ethnonim for their identification (Beissinger, 2001; Rughinis, 2010). Due to this complex interplay (and multidimensionality) of external and self-identification it is rather difficult to use the classical techniques of quantitative description in order to accurately describe the condition of this population. In due circumstances it is unanimously accepted that census data on the number of Roma are not reliable. Due to an unclear definition of the Roma concept census data are rather unreliable and have to be interpreted with caution.

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National information campaigns to encourage Roma to declare themselves as Roma at the census in the autumn of 2011 were implemented to overcome the high discrepancy between the official statistics and the situation on the ground and to improve data gathering as regards the Roma, this being also a prerequisite to elaborate adequate evidence-based policies in this area.

No data (neither from census nor from surveys) reveals a significant territorial (regional or county level) concentration of Roma population. At local level it is typical for Roma to live in relatively segregated (and often peripheral) Roma communities, on average the community size is between 170-300 persons, but somewhat larger (including up to 500 persons) are relatively frequent too (Sandu, 2005, p. 16). Roma are mostly living in rural areas (approximately 60%), but not necessarily in the poorest or geographically isolated localities.

There are significant differences between the Roma and non-Roma communities in terms of quality of housing and living conditions. As a general trend, Roma households have much lower access to various public utilities such as sewage system, water or infrastructure than the non-Roma households (see table 15). At national level the gap of these factors between rural and urban area is already considerable, but the discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma households become even higher if analysed particularly for rural areas (Bădescu et al., 2007; Fleck and Rughinis, 2008). Roma houses are built commonly from low-quality construction materials, many times without legal authorization, only a small percentage of Roma are owners of their house and they mostly live in supra-agglomerated lodgings.

Roma access to different public services such as health care, education, social assistance, services delivered by the public administration is synthetically illustrated by the title of the recently published report *No discrimination. Just unequal access* (Popescu et al., 2010). Indeed Romanian Roma tend to report less discrimination than Roma in other countries (FRA, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d). However this does not necessarily imply an equality of access and opportunities. Due to a variety of reasons (lack of birth certificates, identity documents) Roma are more at risk to not be registered in the primary health care system than the rest of the population. Though a variety of data are stipulated, by synthesizing them it can be concluded that at least 30% of the Roma have no health care assurance (Popescu et al., 2010, p. 11)³⁹.

Roma have lower educational attainments and less professional qualifications than non-Roma population and this is characteristic for all age groups. The situation is even worse in the case of the young Roma generations that possess no professional qualifications and experience as compared to their parents who have acquired these during the communist regime. One third of the Roma population has a secondary education and almost half of them have finished primary education while a quarter is illiterate (ICCV, 2011, p.7-12).

Major differences between Roma and non-Roma in terms of employment opportunities, access and participation to the labour market are as follows:

- a) Roma tend to have less access to regular and formal work than non-Roma: among non-Roma persons of active age 51% had formal employment, meanwhile among the Roma the share of those formally employed was only 21 percent;
- b) the share of those working informally or casually is four times higher in the case of Roma;
- c) the share of Roma who do not work at all is particularly high in Southern Romania;
- d) the occupational pattern of Roma highlights that they are concentrated in low-qualified and poor-paid jobs, in several economic sectors: agriculture and animal farming (25%), construction (16%), manufacturing (14%), cleaning (11%), commerce and guarding services (11%) (Fleck and Rughinis, 2008; ICCV, 2011).

³⁹ Data are estimates, reflecting the situation from 2004.

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It should be added that being employed does not necessarily involves a stable social condition: a share of 11% of all working poor in Romania between 2003 to 2005 were Roma (Stănculescu, 2008, p. 14).

An analysis carried out in 2008 regarding the income sources for the Roma population, brought into attention several issues:

- a) there are twice as more Roma without income (42%) compared to non-Roma population (20%);
- b) a high percentage of Roma (26%) live only on social benefits (indemnity for child raising, children allowance, family complementary allowance, etc.)
- c) while 15% of Roma rely on minimum guaranteed income paid from local public budget, this is valid only for 2% of non-Roma population;
- d) only 16% of Roma receive pensions (MLFSP, 2008).

Though Romanian Roma migration has had a high international visibility, and generated intensive public and political debates, only few targeted researches have been done on this topic. Main findings regarding Roma migration show that the emigrant communities are less the traditional Roma, but merely coming from those communities that don't have a very different lifestyle as compared to local non-Roma population; the emigrant Roma are not the poorest strata, but those having relatively stable material conditions; those leaving or those who had already experienced migration are not reporting experiences of discrimination (unequal treatment by officials), but rather tend to accuse interethnic tensions in relation with locals (Sandu, 2005; Voicu, 2002).

There is no relevant evidence that supports a higher foreign mobility of the Roma compared to non-Roma population (Fleck and Rughinis, 2008; ICCV, 2011). Still, compared to non-Roma, it should be noted that Roma have less human and social capital to engage in emigration: "Roma people tend to be less educated, they know foreign languages to a lesser extent, they can rely less on the help of acquaintances' networks, and find it more difficult so cooperate with other people to solve their problems" (Bădescu, et al., 2007, p. 89).

An influence that migration has on Roma communities can be deduced from a national survey (Stănculescu et al., 2009) that asked local authorities to assess the share of those working abroad both for the whole locality and the share of emigrant Roma (as ratio of local Roma community). Data revealed that in half of the localities where Roma are living there is also Roma emigration. In comparison, at national level, 71% of the localities reported to have persons working abroad. Thus, emigration is specific for fewer Roma communities, but if members of a given Roma community are engaging in migration they tend to draw in the process large shares of their community. In terms of regional distribution large community migration (where over 20% of the local Roma community is reported living abroad) are specific to South West region and Center region.

Roma migration is oriented particularly towards work, with a pattern of short-term travels. Roma migration is rather a seasonal migration and less a circular labour emigration as in the case of the general Romanian migration. Unlike the migration of the Romanian people as a whole, the Roma population declared a low involvement in housework activities. This situation is most likely the result of a less consistent participation of the women in Roma migration (the household cleaning sector is generally associated to an intense female migration). Agriculture seems to be the sector of activity drawing the bulk of Roma migrants, mostly the young ones (ICCV, 2011).

It should be stressed that any analysis regarding the impact of emigration on Roma left behind needs to take into account these two dimensions: on one hand it is the specific characteristics of Roma migration and, on the other hand, the differences registered in Romania, between Roma and non-Roma population. In this sense, we may extrapolate that the positive and negative effects of migration in general are applicable to Roma, too, with certain specificities. For example, a qualitative study performed on Roma communities

showed that migration acted as a development tool not only at household level but also for the entire community. Migration offered the necessary economic and financial means through remittances and the experience of another country, culture as well as the possibility to acquire new skills and abilities, and professional qualifications. This was translated in an improvement of the living conditions and access to services as well as increased opportunities to education for the next generations (ICCV, 2011). Thus, emigration shapes development in Roma communities and minimizes pre-existing inequalities.

6. Policy responses

6.1. Encouragement of circular migration

As Romanian emigration is mainly a temporary circular labour migration, Romania developed policies, instruments and emigration channels to enhance circularity and mobility for the purpose of work and studies by providing information about rights and obligations, in particular regarding portability of benefits (social, unemployment, health), and by improving the process of recognition of diplomas and qualifications.

However, Romania does not have a Strategy on emigration to coordinate all these policies, institutions and tools in a coherent and integrated approach of the migration phenomenon and its consequences. Though, there is a Strategy on immigration that takes into account the labour emigration and its effects on the national labour market in order to correlate it with the admission and integration in Romania of the immigrant workforce.

Amongst the provisions with relevance for the labour emigration we mention the Law 156/2000 concerning the protection of the Romanian citizens working abroad modified through the government ordinance 43/2002 and the Law 248/2005 on the free movement of the Romanians abroad that stipulates the conditions for the travelling documents issued for the Romanians having residence in Romania or abroad. Several bilateral agreements between Romania and other states on the free movement of the labour force were signed before Romania's accession to EU and are still valid: Switzerland (2000), Hungary (2001), Portugal (2001, 2002), Luxembourg (2001), Spain (2002), France (2004), Germany (1991, 1992, 2005), Italy (1996, 2006, 2007). In addition, the EU coordination framework along with the bilateral cooperation between Romania and the destination countries in terms of social protection systems are particularly important to ensure that Romanian labour emigrants fully benefit of portability of their rights and in this way, circular migration is encouraged.

By December 2011, Romanian emigrant workers still face some restrictions on access to labour markets in Belgium, Germany, Ireland, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, the UK and Malta. It must be highlighted that Italy, the first destination country for Romanian emigrants decided to lift the restrictions for Romania and Bulgaria starting with January 2012 but Spain, the second main destination country for Romanian emigration, re-introduced the restrictions on the labour market for the newly-arriving Romanian emigrants since July 2011 due to the crisis and high unemployment rates. At the end of 2011, Germany too lifted restrictions for several economic sectors and occupations, targeting especially the highly-skilled future Romanian emigrants.

The Romanian authorities through the Ministry of Labour, the National Employment Agency, the Labour Inspection, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassies and consulates and their labour and social attachés in host countries and other different stakeholders active in this area such as IOM, local NGOs, trade unions implemented projects and run information campaigns regarding working abroad, rights and legal channels to participate into the EU labour markets, social benefits, institutions that can support emigrants along the migration process, when found in difficult situations or who suffered abuses and exploitation. Furthermore, MLFSP elaborated guides for Romanians working in EU member states and for

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particular types of economic sectors (domestic and care workers, nurses) in main destination countries, Italy and Spain. These guides, leaflets and brochures are accessible online and are disseminated abroad through the embassies, Romanian Diaspora and churches and throughout Romania through the territorial representations of the Ministry⁴⁰.

Other several examples of such actions and measures include: an IOM information campaign and hotline support regarding working conditions in UK⁴¹, Labour Inspection periodic campaigns targeting potential emigrants at national and local/county level⁴², non-stop hotline assistance from MLFSP to Romanian emigrants in Spain and potential emigrants in this country created after the re-insertion by Spain of the labour market restrictions for Romanians⁴³.

Enhancing cooperation with emigrants/**diaspora** communities is institutionalised through the set up of the Department for Romanians Living Abroad⁴⁴ under the authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and efforts are made to maintaining links between Romania and migrant communities and providing assistance and information to prospective migrants. In 2006, legislation was issued on the financing of the Diaspora organisations and activities. In 2011, there were, 85 projects approved for (non-reimbursable) funding totalling around 1,034,281 Euro, though many of the implemented projects view cultural activities.

The mutual recognition of diplomas and qualifications is intended to positively impact the labour migration as a mechanism facilitating skills transferability and assisting the Romanians that decide to go abroad to better integrate in the destination countries or to benefit from the qualifications obtained during the migratory period if they decide to return. In compliance with the principles of the Lisbon Recognition Convention, Romania concluded bilateral recognition agreements with various countries (Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Moldavia, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Georgia and Poland). The National Centre for Recognition and Equivalence of Diplomas sets the criteria of recognition and equivalence of diplomas for primary, secondary and post-secondary schools, university and post-university levels providing validity visas for diplomas, certificates and diploma supplements issued by accredited higher education institutions to foreign citizens who graduate in Romania or to Romanian citizens going abroad.

Besides the recognition of studies and professional qualifications the national legislation includes provisions on Lifelong Learning and Quality Assurance and issues on request, documents certifying the studies carried out in a Romanian educational institution, that are needed for further education or to apply for a job abroad.

It is argued that the improvement in the mechanism of recognition of diplomas and qualifications lead to an increase in the number of the highly-skilled Romanian emigrants, especially health professionals and professors/teachers. Information on the ground show that emigrants that studied in the EU countries have no major obstacles to get recognition of their foreign diploma while for migrants outside EU (USA, Canada) this is more problematic (Alexe et al., 2011b).

The European Employment Services (EURES)⁴⁵ coordinated by the European Commission is a cooperation network designed to facilitate the free movement of workers within the EEA and Switzerland and includes public employment services, trade unions and employers'

⁴⁰ <http://www.romanalibera.ro/bani-afaceri/angajari/ministerul-muncii-va-elabora-ghiduri-online-cu-drepturile-muncitorilor-romani-din-statele-ue-239558.html>

⁴¹ <http://www.comunicatedepresa.ro/organizatia-internationala-pentru-migratie-misiunea-din-romania/12-000-de-minute-despre-munca-legala-in-marea-britanie/> (last visited on 25 January 2012)

⁴² http://www.obiectiv-online.ro/campanie_de_informare_a_cetatenilor_romani_care_pl.html (last visited on 25 January 2012)

⁴³ <http://www.mmuncii.ro/ro/articole/2011-11-07/alo-romania-2366-articol.html>

⁴⁴ The Department for Romanians Abroad is under the authority of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister.

http://www.dprp.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/MO_0022_2010_pag-14.pdf

⁴⁵ http://eures.anofm.ro/index_en.html (last visited 25 January 2012)

organisations. The Romanian Employment Agency is a member of EURES since 2007. Data indicate that more and more Romanians are turning to NEA for EURES services to go and work abroad. The figures for 2010 (17,441 persons) nearly doubled as against 2008, (9,825 persons). Main countries of destination for Romanians employed through EURES were: Spain, Italy, Germany, UK, Austria and the Nordic States (especially Denmark). Romanians were employed in agriculture, farming, tourism, domestic work, and other unqualified jobs and were asked for work seasonal work (NEA, 2008, 2009, 2010).

6.2. Encouragement of return migration and support of integration of returnees

With regard to return policies, increasing labour shortages in various areas (textile industry, services or constructions) led to the set up of an inter-agency working group (in early 2007) to draw up a set of measures to encourage the return of Romanian migrant workers.

In February 2008, the Government of Romania adopted the 2008-2010 Action Plan concerning the return of the Romanian citizens working abroad.⁴⁶ The measures targeted areas with large communities of Romanian emigrants (for example, Roma and Torino in Italy, Castellon and Alcala de Henares in Spain). Among the actions to encourage the return and reintegration of the Romanian emigrant workers we mention:

- creating, maintaining and regularly updating a database of jobs available and potential returnees interested.
- running information campaigns viewing the job opportunities in Romania and the recruitment of Romanian migrant returnees.
- initiating actions to promote circular migration and encourage the return and professional re-integration of Romanian migrant workers.

In view of supporting the reintegration of emigrants, the 2008-2010 Action Plan included specific measures for the returnees interested to work in agriculture in Romania. The measures also envisaged encouraging the development of economic activities in the rural areas through the investment of remittances in SMEs, recognition of competencies and training certificates issued in the host countries, support for the husband/wife in getting professional training/finding employment in Romania, including psychological counselling for the migrants' children especially in the case of teenagers.

Nevertheless, these measures were only partially implemented because at the beginning of 2009, the economic crisis hit Romania, too. The job fairs organized by the Romanian authorities in Spain and Italy in 2008 for the Romanian potential returnees remained the major actions developed under this Action Plan. One job fair was organised in Rome in 2008⁴⁷ (the first job fair organized outside the country by the Romanian authorities) to facilitate the meeting between Romanian employers and potential Romanian returnees, to promote job vacancies in Romania and to increase the chances of those working illegally in Italy to find formal employment in Romania. According to the Ministry of Labour⁴⁸, the event was successful (with around 1000 persons attending the one-day job fair that offered about 7500 jobs mainly in the construction field in Romania).

Similar job fairs for the Romanian migrants continued in other cities in Italy and in Spain (April 2008)⁴⁹ providing information on the job opportunities in different counties in Romania, the rights of the Romanian workers in the host and origin country. Representatives of the

⁴⁶ Government Decision 187/2008, Published in the Official Bulletin nr. 163/03.03.2008.

<http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/imagemanager/images/file/Legislatie/HOTARARI-DE-GUVERN/HG187-2008.pdf>

⁴⁷ Job fair for Romanians, Rome, 23 February 2008,

http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/imagemanager/images/file/Domenii/Mobilitatea%20fortei%20de%20munca/210308bur_sa_italia.pdf (last visited 10 January 2012)

⁴⁸ <http://www.mmuncii.ro/ro/articole/0000-00-00/-255-articol.html>, (last visited 10 January 2012)

⁴⁹ <http://www.mmuncii.ro/ro/articole/0000-00-00/-255-articol.html> (last visited 10 January 2012)

National Pension House and of the National Health Insurance House offered information on the social protection and health entitlements and representatives of the Ministry for Small and Medium Enterprises offered details on possibilities to start a business; also, government representatives presented information on accessing the European funding. The Romanian Council in Castellon Spain considered the job fair as beneficial for Romanian migrants as the interest for returning to Romania was increasing. However, media reports indicate that migrants participating in the events expressed their suspicion in relation with the job offers in Romania and distrust of the national authorities which made their return rather unlikely⁵⁰.

At the beginning of 2009, the Romanian and Spanish Ministries of Labour signed a bilateral agreement to encourage return and reintegration of Romanian emigrants. One of the major measures implemented was that the Romanian emigrant could receive the entire unemployment benefit upon return in Romania and, further, be assisted by NEA.

It should be noted that, in spite of the authorities' efforts, few Romanians emigrants finally had returned or accepted the job offers in Romania, at that time (2008) and even during these years of economic crisis return migration is very low. This can be explained by the lack of satisfactory employment opportunities and general social conditions in Romania.

Returning emigrants were included as a specific group for the usual reintegration services provided by NEA: integration on the labour market, support to open a business and micro-credit, professional training, job orientation and employment. Statistics report that, at national level, less than 50 returnees/ year asked NEA's assistance.

Except for some surveys, that mainly indicate the migrants' intention rather than decision to return, the return migration is not captured by statistical evidence and the effectiveness of policies in this respect has not been fully documented.

In the case of the medical and professors brain drain which affects the Romanian health care and educational systems there are no specific policies aimed at attracting the return of the medical professionals or teachers and to prevent further loss of human resources in these sectors.

The Romanian scientific Diaspora is included in the 2007-2013 National Strategy for Research, Development and Innovation and policy measures included support for the Romanians abroad who want to return to finish studies in Romania. Still, the success rate of this measure is not so good because, after graduation, the employment opportunities and the wages are very low compared to what is offered abroad. According to a survey on Romanian students abroad⁵¹ carried out by the League of Romanian Students Abroad (LSRS), an organisation created by Romanian students and graduates abroad, the perspectives to return home are very low. Only 25% of the respondents intend to return to Romania while more than a half mentioned that the discouraging factors are poor social conditions and lack of satisfactory employment upon return in Romania. The League supports the students abroad in their actions, represents their interests and facilitates their return home and involvement in Romania's development process through projects such as: "Romanian elites, Romanians like you!" (disseminate inspiring and motivational stories of successful Romanians abroad), "LSRS Caravan" (organize information sessions on opportunities to study abroad in 30 cities in Romania) and "Young Romania" (aimed at defining the main directions of Romania's long-term (2011 – 2030) development)⁵².

⁵⁰ <http://www.romaninlume.com/ro/arhiva-es/roman-in-lume-anul-2008/128-romaninlume97/download>.

⁵¹ The online survey was conducted in April and May 2010 and had 752 respondents, Romanian students abroad (49% graduate degree, 28% bachelor degree, 15% Phd., 6% Erasmus students). The participants in the survey were students in EU (77%), USA and Canada (18%) and other places (5%).

<http://www.lsr.ro/web/Comunicate/Proiecte-si-statistici-LSRS-2011-1426> (last visited on 25 January 2012).

⁵² <http://www.lsr.ro/projects> last visited on 25 January 2012

6.3. Development of net migration loss/gain regions

The National Strategic Reference Framework including the allocation of the Structural and Cohesion Funds for the period 2007-2013 is directed towards eliminating the inter- and intra-regional development disparities in line with the National Strategy for Regional Development and the development strategies of the eight NUTS II Regions, by means of improving the infrastructure, the business environment and the human capital in view of facilitating economic growth. Balanced territorial development is a horizontal priority in the National Strategic Reference Framework and the Sector Operational Programmes: public investments in infrastructure to improve accessibility (Sector Operational Programme Transport, Regional Operational Programme) and the living standard in all regions (Regional Operational Programme, Sector Operational Programme Environment), combined with active policies to encourage economic activities (Sector Operational Programme Increasing Economic Competitiveness, Regional Operational Programme), support to the human resources development (SOP Human Resource Development) and actions to improve administrative capacity at local level (SOP Administrative Capacity Development).

The National Rural Development Programme is aimed at increasing competitiveness of the food-farming and forestry sectors, improving environment in the rural areas, improving the living standard in rural areas, diversifying the rural economy, promoting local development initiatives. The effects of migration are highlighted among the challenges relating to rural-urban inequalities and specific measures include village renewal and development, improvement of basic services for the economy and rural population, protection and conservation of the rural cultural and natural patrimony, support for the establishment of micro-enterprises, semi-subsistence farming, encouraging creation, improvement of tourism facilities, development of local stakeholder competencies to stimulate territorial organisation. Romanian farmers can therefore benefit from the opportunities offered by market integration and enhanced stability and predictability of the Common Agricultural Policy and its significant financial support framework. Since adopting the National Rural Development Program, Romania is making clear progress towards accessing funds, but the actual absorption of funds by farmers and their impact on effective sector restructuring and rural economic development remain to be measured and assessed. However rural-urban disparities continue to remain a challenge in Romania's subsequent programming documents (i.e. 2011-2013 National Reform Programme).

According to the 2007-2013 National Rural Development Programme⁵³, in the programming period 2000-2006, actions under the LEADER programme were not implemented in Romania; nevertheless, some local development initiatives have been identified at county level such as: Local Initiative Groups (LIG), Micro-regions (which are legally registered as associations) and other partnerships similar to those of the Leader programme. These partnerships established between local public administration, private sector and civil society representatives implemented actions as follows: drawing up and implementing local development strategies, restoring schools, local hospitals and cultural facilities, improving the roads and bridges, analysis and promotion of the rural environment, training courses for members, developing projects to solve specific local problems. The Progress report regarding the implementation of the National Rural Development Programme in Romania in 2008 (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, June 2009) indicates that during the September-October session, 112 project applications were submitted under the Measure 431 (Functioning of the Local Initiative Groups) worth 5 million Euro which marks a positive development considering the novelty of this type of funding in Romania⁵⁴. As practical examples of projects implemented in these regions affected by emigration we highlight the

⁵³http://www.fonduristructurale.ro/Document_Files//dezvoltarerurala/00000033/qx8es_NRDP_consolidated_version_December-2009.pdf (last visited 11 April 2011)

⁵⁴<http://www.revistafermierului.ro/noutati/90-000-de-solicitari-de-finantare-pentru-fonduri-europene-depuse.html> (last visited 10 April 2011)

ones in the North East region (in Iasi, Suceava counties projects for children and the elderly left behind) or in Southern region (Dolj and Calarasi counties for Roma emigrants and their family members).

A recent study (FSR, 2009) highlights specific aspects regarding the access to the European funds for the local authorities in Romania. The study shows that, during 2007-2009, about 2,600 out of the 3,000 local authorities included in the survey submitted applications for European funding; of those applying, 90% were from the rural area.

Although a sole initiative of this kind in Romania, we must highlight the project *Supporting Migrants Entrepreneurship (SME)*: a project co-financed by the Financing Facility for Remittance (FFR) of the International Fund for Agricultural Development. The SME project focused on Diaspora entrepreneurship as a factor contributing to job creation and socio-economic development of both countries of origin and destination. It built a transnational and multi-stakeholder partnership among Italy, Romania and Moldova aimed at connecting remittances and migrants' savings to entrepreneurial rural-area investments that would lead to a more sustainable development and long-term eradication of poverty especially in the rural areas where migration flows originate. An information desk was also established and is now running in the Veneto region to provide assistance. Thanks to the project, migrants have acquired the tools to put their ideas into practice and gained confidence in their entrepreneurship skills. Also, 6 entrepreneurial ideas of Romanian emigrants were selected and received seed money. These start-ups are closely monitored and will receive technical support for a period of 5 years since becoming operational.

6.4. Support to vulnerable groups related to migration

The social inclusion policies in Romania do not specifically address the emigrants/returnees. Nevertheless, they may benefit from existing policy measures combating poverty and social exclusion. Also, the currently implemented policies provide tailored measures to address the social effects of migration at local level including the situation of migrants' children, the elderly left behind, emigrants family members in areas with high emigration rates and other community development issues such as poor infrastructure, uneven coverage of health / education / social services. Partnership initiatives between the public authorities and other stakeholders in the area aimed to implement projects focusing on the protection of vulnerable groups in the context of migration.

One direction of policy efforts was meant to develop a coherent approach in fighting the negative phenomenon associated with migration, namely human trafficking. The Government and NGOs are actively engaged in providing assistance to victims of human trafficking, including the establishment of 'safe houses' to accommodate the victims and ensure provision of support services (psychological assistance, legal counselling, health-care access and the opportunity to complete education, shape their competencies and/or develop new skills with a view to finding employment so as to prevent them re-entering in the trafficking cycle). The National Anti-trafficking Agency is the specialized structure in charge of monitoring and reporting cases of human trafficking as well as promoting assistance to and protection of victims. It refers victims, through the 15 regional centres, to specialized structures which provide assistance services (the Department for the Protection of Children's Rights, non-profit organisations).

We must highlight that there are a lot ESF funded projects that include among their direct beneficiaries the vulnerable groups affected by emigration and we can not name them all in our short analysis. As regards women left behind, we mention an interesting ESF funded project implemented by BNS [Trade Unions National Block] *named ESTHR-Integrated action package to promote the role of women into the Romanian society*. Among the beneficiaries

of the project who received support and micro-credits to open small businesses were also women left behind that had the possibility to invest the remittances sent by their husbands⁵⁵.

Concerning projects focused on children and elderly left behind we refer to several initiatives. One project implemented during 2009–2011 and funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided direct services (social assistance, material support, counselling, educational and information activities etc.) to both children and elderly left behind. Another project named “*Weblog for supporting the migrants integration*”⁵⁶ aimed at bringing children left behind in Romania (including other family members) closer to their parents who migrated to work in Italy and Spain through electronic means of communication and scheduled long-distance telephone conversations while increasing their skills and knowledge to use internet and communication tools. Also, the project provided a ‘survival kit’ offering practical information regarding integration into the host country and also regarding the effects that migration has on their children left at home. It is important to underline that this European funded project was implemented in a county affected by emigration, Calarasi in the Southern region of Romania.

Other initiatives focused on after-school and extracurricular activities and to ensure that schools in areas with high emigration have psychologists to provide support to children and their caregiver that remained in Romania. Furthermore, ESF funded projects were targeted at Roma children (not specifically left behind) to reduce school-drop out or to increase their educational attainments.

At national level, in order to address the situation of the Roma, the Romanian Government is implementing the Strategy for the Improvement of the Roma Condition (adopted in 2001, updated in 2006 and 2011). Roma policies aim to strengthen the capacity of central and local authorities to improve Roma’s access to education, access to training and on the labour market and access to decent housing conditions and also to promote an intellectual and economic Roma elite expected to facilitate social inclusion initiatives, eliminate discrimination and induce a positive change in the public opinion regarding Roma. At the same time, efforts are being made in order to promote tolerance and social solidarity, stimulate the participation of Roma in economic, social, education, cultural and political life through sector assistance and community development programs, prevent social discrimination and ensure equal opportunities for Roma and a decent living standard. To illustrate such efforts we highlight the ESF funded projects targeted at Roma communities implemented by the National Roma Agency: “Together on the labour market”, “Social economy for vulnerable groups”, “Set up of a local Roma experts network” and other projects⁵⁷. Also it should be mentioned that the Romanian Government recently adopted his strategy for Roma inclusion for the period 2012-2020⁵⁸. This document reiterates the major objectives of Romanian Roma policies, setting up concrete goals in the field of education, employment and housing.

In the area of projects for Roma left behind or Roma (migrant families) emigrants repatriated from Italy and France we point out that there were several successful initiatives that provided reintegration support and even micro-credits for creating small family businesses. Among such projects we mention a project implemented in Craiova county, Southern region in partnership with the Bologna municipality⁵⁹ that assisted return and reintegration of Roma families from Italy.

⁵⁵ <http://www.egalitadedesansa.ro> (accessed on 11 April 2012)

⁵⁶ <http://weblogformigrants.ro> (accessed on 11 April 2012)

⁵⁷ <http://www.anr.gov.ro/html/Proiecte.html> (accessed on 11 April 2012)

⁵⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_romania_strategy_en.pdf (accessed on 25 April 2012).

⁵⁹ <http://www.primariacraiova.ro/pcv/gallery/proiecte/Libera-circulatie-a-fortei-de-munca-in-UE.pdf> (accessed on 11 April 2012)

6.5. Best practice examples of policy responses

The project “Support for the children and elderly left behind” aimed at providing direct assistance to the children and elderly left at home in Iasi county (North-East region) and run an information campaign about this issue at regional level. Direct services (social assistance, material support, education and medical help, counselling etc.) were offered to improve the psychological and social conditions of 630 children and the quality of life for 520 elderly. Other activities included raising awareness among local community about these categories and their situation and developing volunteering activities to assist the elderly. Other positive effects viewed the increase in the number of requests for services and the development of interpersonal relations both between the project beneficiaries and within the community. The project benefited an extended institutional partnership in the Iasi county, namely between the Police Inspectorate, the County Agency for Social Payments, the General Directorate for Social Assistance and Child Protection, the Community Assistance Directorate, the County Pensioners Association, the Foundation Solidarity and Hope and others. The project sets a model to be replicated in other areas and help solving similar issues that affect children and elderly left behind by migrant members of their family.

Similar projects targeting children and the elderly (as their care givers) left behind were implemented by NGOs in other counties of the North-East region (Suceava, Botosani, Vaslui counties) and South-East region (Constanta county). These projects provided as well direct services (counselling, after-school classes, material support, social and medical assistance etc) and also increased local institutional capacity to address the needs of these groups in the community. For example, the School and Community Intervention Mode⁶⁰ in communities with children left behind is a guide to support other rural communities with children left behind and replicates the project’s methodology: to raise the school’s involvement in providing extra-curricular and educational activities, psychological counselling and tutoring, establish local institutional partnerships and a mechanism to assist these categories and vulnerable cases.

The SME project⁶¹ (Supporting Migrant’s Entrepreneurship: creating innovative facilities to support migrant’s economic initiatives in the countries of origin), approached the close relation between migration and development from the productive return perspective. The main objectives of the SME project were to improve access to remittance transmission in rural areas and to develop innovative and productive rural investment channels for migrants and community-based organizations. The transferability features of the Supporting Migrants Entrepreneurship SME project view both the contexts where it has been carried out, and other areas/countries and represents not only a way to create development from migration, but also an innovative potential for rural development and for the economy in general. The projects helped to create coherence between different policies, including the promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises, access to credit, labour market, social and welfare policies and human capital. The competences of returning migrants, if sufficiently oriented, could be the added value for the success of decentralized cooperation programmes among EU and developing countries.

⁶⁰ http://www.soros.ro/en/program_articol.php?articol=299# (last visited 25 January 2012)

⁶¹ <http://www.ifad.org/remittances/newsletter/3.pdf> (last visited 25 January 2012)

7. Key challenges and policy suggestions

7.1. Key challenges of the social impact of emigration and internal migration

For Romania, the key challenges of the social impact of emigration and internal migration must be considered in the light of the multiple and continuous transformations and reforms in all areas that the country has undergone over these last two decades. Although emigration is a massive, nation-wide phenomenon in Romania, out-migration does not represent a national priority and is not addressed in a systematic and coherent way through targeted and specific policies. In Romania, key challenges of the social impact of migration, even if not comprehensive relate mainly to the following:

Firstly, emigration of working-age and fertile Romanians has produced important changes in the demographic composition, family status and reproduction behaviours and translated not solely in the abrupt decrease of the volume but merely in the aging of population, having as a result a rather major increase of the dependency ratio and (as forecasted starting with 2025) considerable local labour market shortages.

As the Romanian out-migration tends to be more prone to long-term and permanent emigration (valid also for current emigrants and emigrant second-generation), selective and more highly-skilled emigration, it seems that, if not addressed, the demographic consequences and the effects for the potential workforce will be lasting and more acute. Also, return migration is very low and we noticed the phenomenon of remigration.

Secondly, the outflows of health professionals (doctors and nurses), teachers and educators along with higher demand in these sectors in other EU countries are jeopardizing the proper running of these public services - education and health care – especially in the rural areas and small municipalities and for the more needy and vulnerable groups: elderly, children and women. Moreover, emigration of physicians, nurses, educators and professors puts at risk the sustainability of the health care and education systems in terms of provision of primary and emergency type of services and produce a long term scarcity of some specialities (family medicine), teachers (primary and pre-school education).

Thirdly, recent out-migration of engineers, IT specialists, researchers corroborated with the emigration of Romanians for studies which have, to date, insignificant return rate represents the brain drain phenomenon with strong implications on the future potential and economic and social development of Romania.

Fourthly, cross-border trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation together with Roma emigration to several countries become issues to be addressed not only by Romania but also at European and international level.

Fifthly, other major social impact of migration is related to the worsening of availability of local services in the regions with high emigration rates. In due circumstances these regions might get stuck in a negative spiral: emigration lowers the attractiveness of a locality (or region) and presses the remaining persons to move. Such prospects are hardening the conditions of those left behind especially in rural areas. In this way, emigration produces the risk of social polarization and poverty.

Sixthly, emigration has both positive and negative effects on the families left behind and it increases the vulnerabilities of several groups: women, children, the elderly, Roma. Targeted development and social protection policies and concrete measures are needed for each of these categories and also for the highly affected by emigration local communities where these groups live.

Seventhly, Diaspora constitutes a huge human and financial capital that Romania is not using for its sustainable development. Romania needs to tap in the resources offered by

emigration and encourage trans-national businesses and emigrants to invest and keep their savings into the country of origin rather than the place of migration.

Another aspect relates to remittances that are mostly used for consumption. Though consumption enhances the living standards of given categories, in medium term this might create problematic dependencies and definitely cannot be considered as a resource generating sustainable development. Remittances are used more as a survival than a development tool for families and communities.

Lastly, there are several key challenges that derive from the lack of thorough, systematic and scientific (valid and reliable) knowledge of the Romanian emigration and its social and economic consequences on the country of origin to support the process of design and implementation of evidence-based policies in this field. This begins from collection of data on emigration (officially, only data for permanent emigration is being collected), continues with evaluation and impact studies for the implemented strategies, policies and projects and finishes as a major importance issue on the public and political agenda of the Romanian authorities (not only at a discourse level).

7.2. Policies to be taken by different actors

Romanian authorities should, in the first place, elaborate a short-term national Emigration Strategy with annual Action Plans as is the case of the national Strategy on Immigration. This strategic document should set clear priorities and should establish a coordinated institutional mechanism or an agency/institution with a coordinating role for the management of the different emigration flows, the involvement of the Romanian Diaspora and to address the impact of emigration at macro level, on local communities and on vulnerable groups. This has to be correlated with the creation of a social observatory on emigration for data gathering to ensure a database system with accurate data on emigration, systematic studies and researches, forecasts, documented policy recommendations, impact and evaluation studies.

As measures to be taken at EU level, a special Fund should be directed to the mobile EU residents that would address also the specific needs of the vulnerable groups of emigrants, to ensure increased intra-EU mobility and emigrants' integration into the labour market should be created based on the model of the European Integration Fund for third-country nationals.

The Romanian government should enable migration and development mainstreaming in all relevant policy areas, at national and local level to find the right balance between the economic gains and future social costs of emigration. In this sense, Romanian authorities should design a policy mix and adopt synergic approach for combating poverty and social exclusion (especially in rural areas) using the benefits of migration including remittances and other financial flows generated by emigration (savings, investments). Such a mix should include development policies, employment, education, policies tailored for Roma, children, women and the elderly left behind. For example, a concrete measure should be to establish community centres where Roma, children, women and the elderly left behind would benefit of services that could range from social assistance, basic medical care, counselling to support to connect with their family members left abroad, assistance to continue education or to go back to school, support for labour market integration etc.

Romanian authorities should inform emigrants on a regular basis on the various investment and the national labour market trends and prospective developments. In addition, Romanian migrant women should be encouraged to become social entrepreneurs in their country of origin in sectors such as health and care services, education and social assistance sectors thanks to the skills and contacts acquired abroad. Also local and regional authorities (especially in regions with high rate of emigration) should be motivated to offer specific local and regional information on investment and labour market opportunities; organizing targeted information campaigns when high number of migrants are returning for family visit (summer

and winter holidays, Easter, etc.). Also it should be considered to initiate programs motivating migrants to invest in Romania, for example by offering direct financial facilities for Romanian emigrants investing in SMEs in Romania on the model of the Program for Attracting Remittances in Economics - PARE 1+1 from Republic of Moldova⁶².

Economic growth and reduction of the development gaps between regions and areas of residence coupled with improving information on employment opportunities might increase internal migration to the detriment of external one. Deprived areas need to be the constant focus for infrastructure investment, which not only foster the development of modern farming and agro-tourism but also helps to maintain the needed working age population in the rural areas, thus preventing depopulation and the ageing of several. Assistance for sustaining local services (health care, education and transportation) in order to prevent the deterioration of living conditions in marginalized areas. The lack of public services in such areas should be supplied by forms of flexible care services like the homestead caretaker in Hungary (Halloran and Calderón, 2005). This form of service is an example of multipurpose, flexible institution adapted for different needs of the community as whole and its different segments. It can provide for transportation of school age kids and the elderly to nearby educational or health centers, can mediate between citizens having various problems and specialized institutions (act as facilitator), etc. Commuting (or settlement) of qualified personnel (health care professionals, teachers, etc.) to isolated rural areas should be sustained by: offering subsidies and/or other form of support for transport companies for developing and sustaining flexible transportation link to these regions; setting up special transit authorities meant to assure public transportation for isolated regions; providing various forms of settlement allowance for professionals establishing the residence in such areas; financing housing programs for professionals willing to move to these areas; financing (totally or partially) the costs of commuting for targeted categories of professionals.

Information on various schemes and forms of migration (with focus of temporary circular labour schemes), rights, possibilities and hazards of employment abroad should be made available by different institutions (Romanian, host countries, EU level) and civil society (trade unions, NGOs). Further regulation and especially a closer monitoring (or even a periodical re-accreditation) of the agencies active in the field of recruitment and placement of Romanian workforce abroad could contribute to further increase of protection of those engaging in shorter or longer episodes of labour migration. In parallel brain return programs should be initiated and maintained (scholarship schemes or other subsidies or facilities for private or public agencies hiring returnees with high qualifications) and information on such programs disseminated on a regular basis for targeted audience.

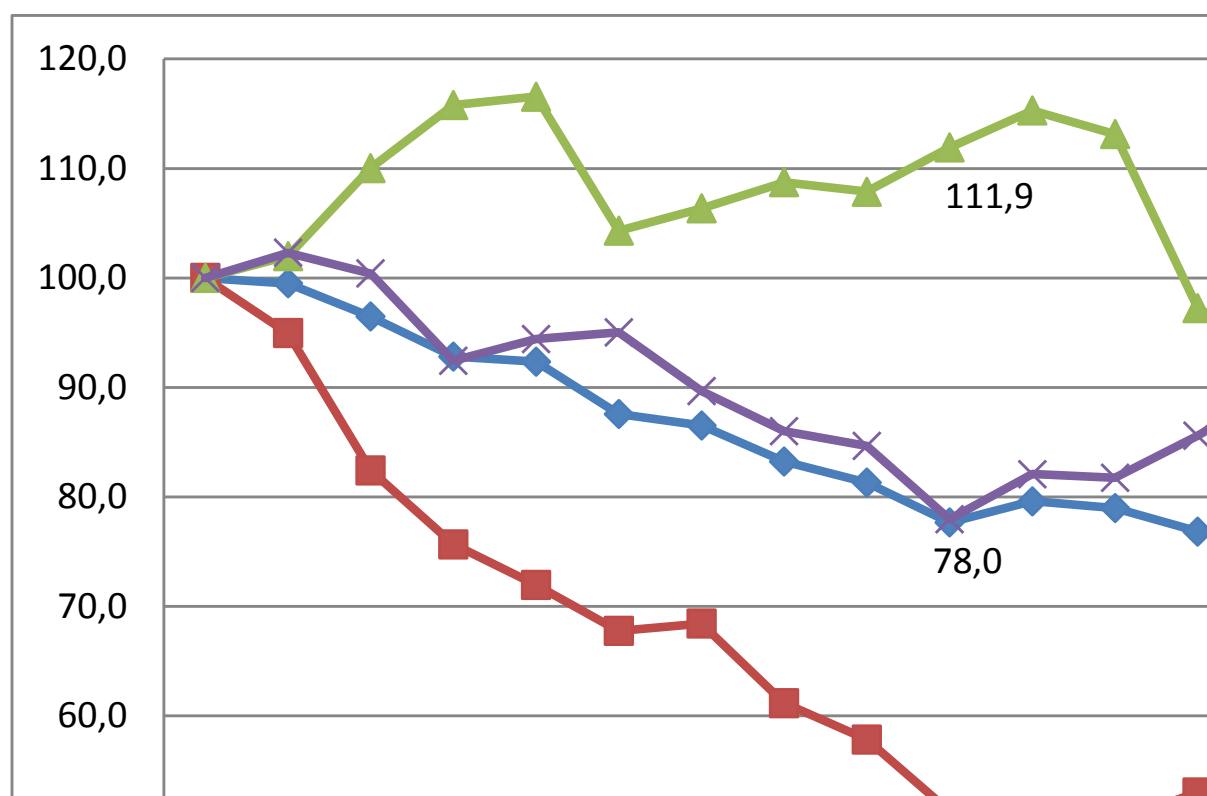
Other measures and policies to be taken by the Romanian authorities could be the development of a network of centres at local, regional, and national level correlated with centres established in the main destination countries of the Romanian emigrants. The centres should provide services and information to migrants and their families, including potential and returned emigrants, along the migration cycle.

In order to transform migration (especially that of talents and of skilled workers) in a win-win situation for Romania, more collaborations should be concluded between main destination countries of skilled Romanian emigrants and Romania to promote human capital formation in skill-losing regions. In the framework of bilateral agreements circular migration or temporary migration programs especially in sectors where skill loss creates problems (health sector) should be more encouraged.

⁶² See <http://www.codru.eu/en/news/1-latest-news/716-programul-pilot-de-atragere-a-remitentelor-in-economie> retrieved on 20 May 2011

Annexes

Figure 1: The rate of employment in the three major branches of the Romanian economy (1990-100%)*



*Source: Authors compilation based on the TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute) for 1992-2008 and CNS (1995, p. 158) for 1990-1991

Table 1: Synthesis table on main characteristics of Romanian emigration since 1990

Period	Time horizon for migration	Main goal of the emigrants	Major countries of destination	Main characteristic
1990-1993	Definitive	Relocation	Germany, Hungary, France, Belgium	Ethnic migration. Asylum seeking. Successful émigrés mostly the highly skilled
1994-1996	Temporary Circular migration	Labour	Israel, Hungary, Turkey	Labour migration emerges
1997-2001	Circular migration Prospects for long term legal residence	Labour	Italy, Spain, Ireland, Hungary	Labour migration, mostly irregular strongly expands. Regularization programs are caught by Romanian migrants in Spain and Italy
2002-2006	Prospects for long terms legal residence	Long residence. term	Italy and Spain	Continuing processes of regularization involving a large number of Romanians.

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2007 -	Possibility for long term legal residence an formal labour employment	Long term residence, large Romanian communities in Italy and Spain especially	Spain and Italy	Labour migration continues, but at lower levels, limited return migration
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*Modified version of initial source see (Horváth and Anghel, 2009, p. 390)

Table 2: The inflow of Romanian citizens to selected EU countries in the period 1998-2009*

	Denmark	Germany	Spain	Italy	Hungary	Netherlands	Austria	Sweden
1998	178	16 987	502	6 818	5 504	425	1 543	286
1999	215	18 814	1 782	10 651	7 845	385	1 866	246
2000	239	:	17 456	19 332	8 894	579	1 986	280
2001	250	20 142	23 295	:	10 648	659	2 393	287
2002	272	23 953	48 330	16 465	10 307	583	4 769	363
2003	230	23 780	69 942	78 385	9 599	657	5 664	329
2004	260	23 545	103 572	66 098	12 129	649	5 511	338
2005	343	23 274	108 294	45 338	8 895	513	5 056	352
2006	327	23 743	131 457	39 715	7 872	705	4 526	337
2007	877	43 894	197 642	271 443	6 735	2 345	9 273	2 587
2008	1 420	48 225	71 482	174 554	9 987	2 411	9 260	2 544
2009	1 532	:	52 440	105 597	7 104	1 907	:	1 829

*Source: Eurostat (2011): Immigration by sex, age group and citizenship (migr_imm1ctz). in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), International migration flows, Immigration. (accessed 10.1.2011)

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Table 3: The stock of Romanian citizens in selected EU countries in the period 1998-2010*

	Denmark	Germany	Spain	Italy	Hungary	Netherlands	Austria	Sweden	Portugal
1998	1095	95190	2385	:	62130	1145	:	3213	169
1999	1046	89801	2723	:	57357	1285	:	3051	170
2000	1099	87504	5682	41587	57343	1397	:	2981	223
2001	1106	90094	26779	62262	43165	1694	17470	2949	562
2002	1176	88102	53087	74885	44977	2094	17750	2495	512
2003	1270	88679	112861	:	47281	2360	19482	2327	611
2004	1329	89104	189979	:	55676	2735	20483	2343	:
2005	1405	73365	287087	248849	67608	3020	21314	2360	:
2006	1563	73043	388422	297570	66250	3006	21942	2371	:
2007	1672	78452	539507	342200	66951	3225	21882	2252	11877
2008	2386	90614	734764	625278	65903	4894	27646	4442	19280
2009	3744	100429	799225	796477	66435	6256	32341	1045	27769
2010	5076	112230	823111	887763	72781	7118	:	1170	32457

*Source: Eurostat (2011): Population by sex, age and citizenship (migr_pop1ctz). in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), International migration and Asylum, Population by citizenship and country of birth. (accessed 28.4.2011)

Table 4: Approximates on the volume of remittances to Romania as offered by different communiqués of the Romanian National Bank*

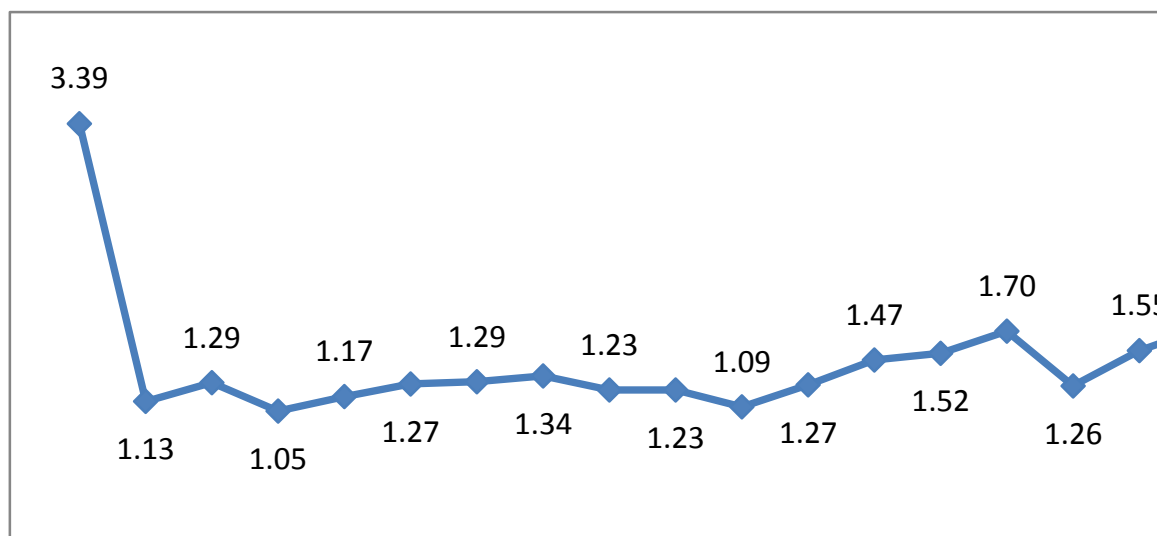
Year	Amount**	Year	Amount
1991	17	2001	1031
1992	80	2002	1612
1993	89	2003	2028
1994	153	2004	3100
1995	237	2005	3900
1996	436	2006	5530
1997	456	2007	6172
1998	623	2008	6610
1999	535	2009	4360
2000	861	2010	3810

* Data until 2006 (Horváth and Anghel, 2009, p. 396), thereafter Pirloiu, Marius *Câți bani mai trimit acasă românii care lucrează afară?* in *Capital* 18.4.2011 <http://www.capital.ro/detalii-articole/stiri/cati-bani-mai-trimit-acasa-romanii-care-lucreaza-afara-146287.html> (accessed 15.6. 2011)

** Millions of Euro.

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Figure 2: The rate of the internal migration calculated as share of population changing its residence in the given year divided by population at the beginning of that year*



*Compiled by author data source TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute). The online database of the central statistical office, integrating data communicated by the local population registers. Values expressed in percentages.

Figure 3: Romania's development regions (NUTS II) and counties (NUTS III)



(1) North-East; (2) South-East; (3) South; (4) South-West; (5) West; (6) North-West; (7) Center; (8) București-Ifov

Table 5: The ratio of the cumulated migratory balance for Romania's counties between 1990-2010*

Counties	Cumulated migratory balance 1990-2010	Population at 1st January 1990	Net migration loss or gain (%)
Vaslui	-58,068	471,959	-12.3
Botosani	-44,096	470,385	-9.4
Teleorman	-35,308	503,647	-7.0
Tulcea	-17,634	276,000	-6.4
Olt	-32,436	535,562	-6.1
Ialomita	-17,692	310,423	-5.7
Calarasi	-19,641	351,251	-5.6
Maramures	-31,104	559,720	-5.6
Salaj	-13,477	269,962	-5.0
Giurgiu	-16,055	325,183	-4.9
Hunedoara	-27,538	568,023	-4.8
Vrancea	-18,270	396,649	-4.6
Neamt	-26,877	583,833	-4.6

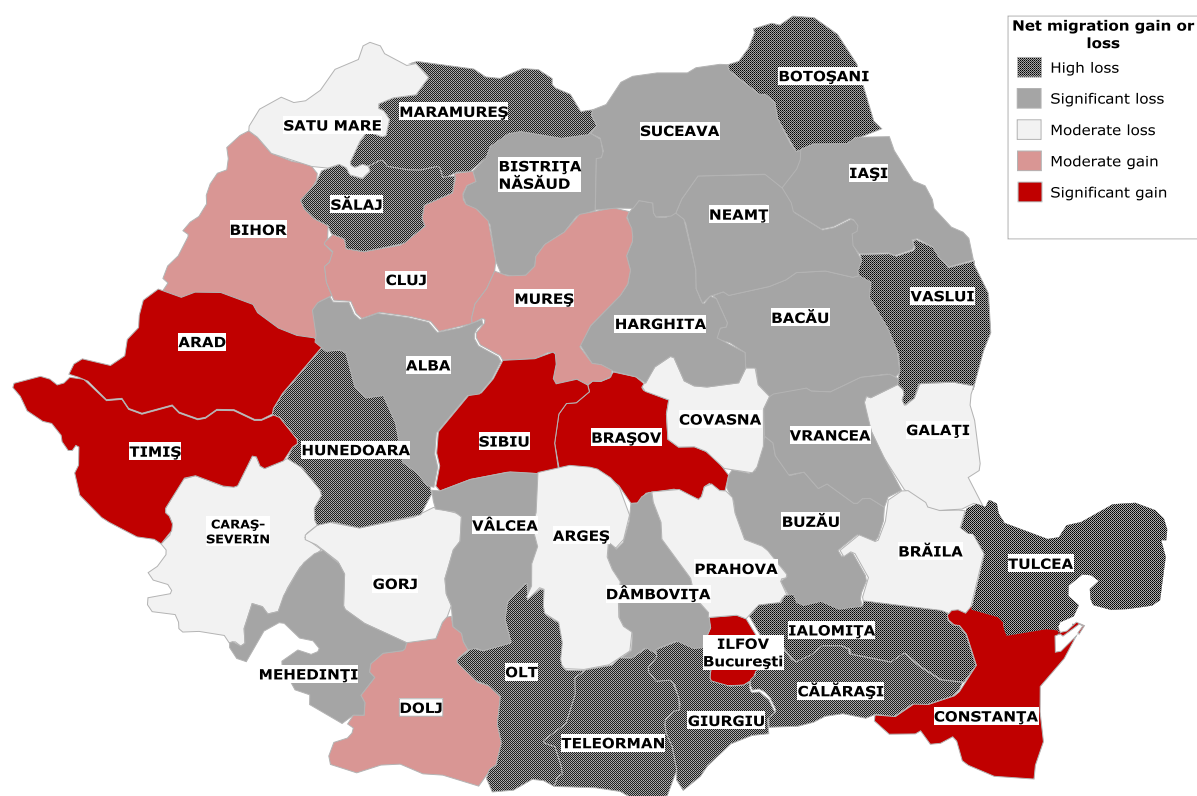
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Bistrita-Nasaud	-15,039	329,650	-4.6
Alba	-18,326	429,694	-4.3
Buzau	-20,310	526,156	-3.9
Bacau	-28,316	736,347	-3.8
Suceava	-26,991	703,490	-3.8
Iasi	-27,065	815,918	-3.3
Valcea	-13,054	432,522	-3.0
Mehedinti	-9,357	329,584	-2.8
Harghita	-10,042	364,166	-2.8
Dambovita	-13,330	571,047	-2.3
Galati	-10,709	643,589	-1.7
Covasna	-3,364	238,919	-1.4
Gorj	-4,171	389,158	-1.1
Caras-Severin	-3,482	408,510	-0.9
Satu Mare	-3,118	417,985	-0.7
Prahova	-5,621	879,821	-0.6
Braila	-1,301	403,192	-0.3
Arges	-1,066	678,424	-0.2
Dolj	5,108	774,637	0.7
Bihor	4,764	662,540	0.7
Mures	5,033	624,141	0.8
Cluj	18,827	743,757	2.5
Sibiu	23,374	508,817	4.6
Brasov	39,125	694,753	5.6
Constanta	59,314	734,973	8.1
Arad	52,404	507,290	10.3
Ifov	28,981	279,503	10.4
Municipiul Bucuresti	225,672	204,5534	11.0
Timis	110,256	71,4681	15.4

*Compiled by author data source TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute).
The counties are ranked according to the value of the ratio of cumulated migratory balance.

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Figure 4 Romanian counties according to their net (internal) migration loss or gain (1990-2009)



High loss – the county lost more than 5% of its population from 1990; Significant loss – the county lost between 2-5% of its population from 1990; moderate loss – the county lost between 0-1.9% of its population; moderate gain – the net migration gain ranges from 0 to 3% of its population registered in 1990; significant gain – the net migration gain was higher than 3% of its population registered in 1990

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Figure 5: Monthly HH incomes and expenditures, differences for HH with transfers, without transfers and HH with no migrants (HH survey)

Figure 19: HH Expenditure – Estimated monthly HH budgetary allocations per month (HH Survey)

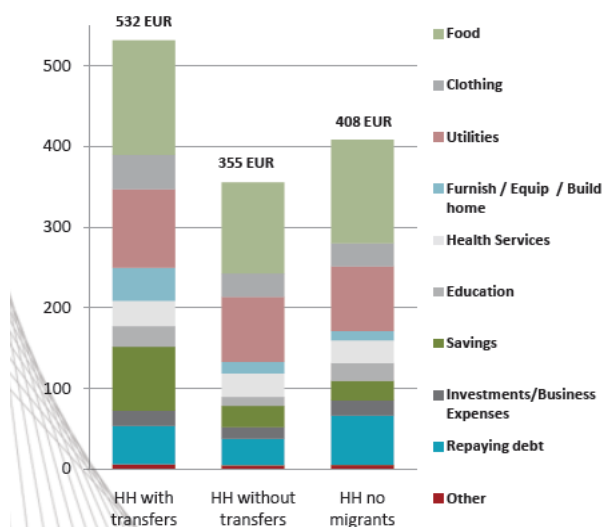
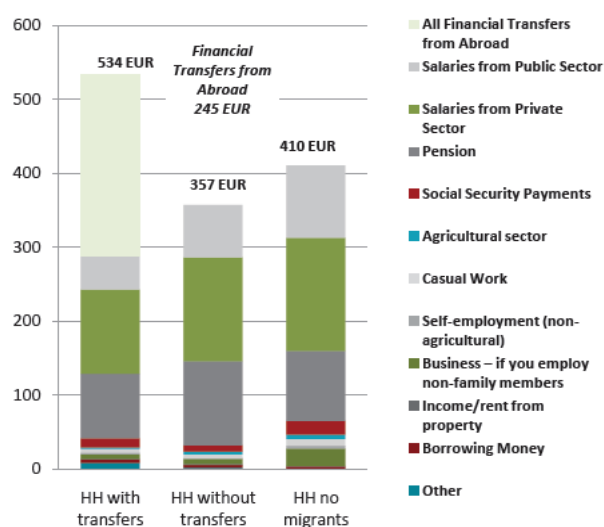


Figure 20: HH Incomes – Estimated total monthly HH incomes from all sources per month (HH Survey)



Source: FSR and IASCI, 2011; Material presented at the seminar “Migration beyond common preconceptions”, SFR, Bucharest, June 2011

Table 6: Net migration loss or gain for the rural areas.

Counties	Cumulated migratory balance 1990-2010	Population at 1st January 1990	Net migration loss or gain (%)
Vaslui	279,298	-45,531	-16.30
Galati	279,763	-40,743	-14.56
Braila	141,768	-18,122	-12.78
Botosani	295,807	-36,286	-12.27
Iasi	417,711	-48,759	-11.67
Tulcea	146,374	-13,062	-8.92
Dolj	408,715	-35,177	-8.61
Cluj	255,242	-19,521	-7.65
Maramures	262,710	-19,646	-7.48
Ialomita	189,982	-13,092	-6.89
Bistrita-Nasaud	209,678	-14,362	-6.85
Calarasi	217,573	-14,163	-6.51
Olt	329,166	-19,364	-5.88
Valcea	269,726	-15,705	-5.82
Alba	192,706	-10,918	-5.67
Teleorman	339,808	-18,946	-5.58
Salaj	165,066	-8,684	-5.26

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Bacau	377,120	-19,610	-5.20
Giurgiu	231,946	-12,047	-5.19
Buzau	320,022	-16,429	-5.13
Arges	395,153	-19,480	-4.93
Suceava	463,301	-22,574	-4.87
Neamt	357,203	-16,815	-4.71
Vrancea	246,419	-8,064	-3.27
Prahova	427,321	-13,876	-3.25
Satu Mare	223,789	-6,240	-2.79
Mehedinti	179,198	-4,254	-2.37
Gorj	229,708	-3,138	-1.37
Sibiu	168,277	-2,180	-1.30
Bihor	342,241	-4,159	-1.22
Dambovita	393,169	-3,362	-0.86
Harghita	190,567	-16	-0.01
Mures	305,909	118	0.04
Caras-Severin	170,088	2,867	1.69
Hunedoara	143,537	2,432	1.69
Covasna	110,327	2,073	1.88
Constanta	223,933	7,048	3.15
Ilfov	260,223	13,901	5.34
Brasov	163,444	10,981	6.72
Timis	290,543	25,024	8.61
Arad	244,183	21,158	8.66

Compiled by author data source TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute).
The counties are ranked according to the value of the ratio of cumulated migratory balance.

Table 7: Distribution of localities according to the share of population working abroad.
Regional distribution (estimates)*

	Share of population working abroad					
	0,1-2,5	2,6-5	5,1-7,5	7,6-10	10,1-20	20,1 above
București Ilfov	73,3%	0	13,3%	0	0	13,3%
South	50,8%	19,2%	7,9%	9,5%	7,4%	5,3%
West	41,8%	25,9%	5,4%	10,0%	10,0%	6,7%
Centre	36,1%	25,7%	7,1%	9,8%	12,2%	9,1%

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South East	32,4%	20,3%	7,5%	12,8%	13,5%	13,5%
North West	29,8%	28,5%	6,0%	7,3%	14,6%	13,9%
South West	29,8%	28,6%	5,2%	9,1%	14,6%	12,8%
North East	22,0%	23,9%	9,1%	14,6%	18,4%	12,0%
Total	34,6%	24,2%	7,1%	10,5%	13,1%	10,5%

*Authors compilation. Data extracted from the database FSR 2009 (see fn. 12)

Table 8: Romania's regions according to their net migration loss and gain

Development region (NUTS II)	Net (internal) migration loss / gain	External migration	Counties facing great losses
(1) North East	Significant loss	High rates (based on estimates)	Vaslui and Botoşani
(2) South East	Significant loss	High rates (based on estimates)	Tulcea and Vrancea
(3) South	Significant loss	Relative low rates (based on estimates)	Teleorman and Giurgiu.
(4) South West	Relatively balanced	High rates (based on estimates).	Olt to some degree.
(5) West	Significant gain	Relative low rates (based on estimates)	Hunedoara to some degree.
(6) North West	Relatively balanced	High rates (based on estimates).	Maramureş to some degree
(7) Centre	Moderate gain	Relative low rates (based on estimates)	
(8) Bucureşti - Ilfov	Significant gain		

Table 9: The ratio of natural population increase in 2008 in Romanian counties.*

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Romania	-0,9	-1,8	-2,7	-2,5	-2,0	-1,9	-1,8	-1,7	-1,5	-1,6
Bihor	-2,2	-3,1	-3,6	-3,3	-3,3	-2,1	-2,0	-1,9	-1,6	-1,7
Bistrita-Nasaud	2,3	1,9	0,3	1,3	0,3	0,1	0,3	0,4	1,0	1,0
Cluj	-3,1	-3,4	-4,4	-3,6	-3,0	-2,8	-2,5	-2,2	-1,7	-1,2

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Maramures	0,7	0,0	-1,0	-1,0	-0,2	-0,3	-0,2	-0,2	0,4	-0,4
Satu Mare	-2,0	-3,1	-3,5	-2,9	-2,4	-1,6	-2,1	-1,7	-0,9	-2,1
Salaj	-1,5	-3,6	-3,2	-3,2	-4,0	-3,1	-3,1	-2,6	-1,6	-2,9
Alba	-1,7	-3,3	-3,9	-2,9	-2,9	-2,8	-2,6	-2,4	-2,6	-2,8
Brasov	0,0	-0,3	-1,2	-0,2	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,3	1,2	1,5
Covasna	1,2	0,9	-0,4	-0,9	0,4	1,5	0,4	-0,1	0,0	-0,4
Harghita	0,1	-0,3	-1,2	-1,5	-0,3	0,0	-0,3	0,1	0,0	-0,1
Mures	-0,3	-1,3	-2,4	-1,5	-1,4	-1,4	-1,6	-1,1	-0,3	-1,1
Sibiu	0,5	-0,2	-0,9	-0,2	0,0	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,4	0,8
Bacau	1,8	0,8	-0,4	-1,0	-0,1	-0,4	0,4	-0,1	-0,4	-1,0
Botosani	1,1	0,9	0,0	-0,4	-1,1	-0,8	-1,4	-2,1	-1,1	-2,2
Iasi	4,1	3,3	2,5	1,5	2,4	2,5	2,7	2,9	2,8	1,9
Neamt	1,1	-0,2	-1,6	-1,7	-0,5	-0,8	-0,6	-1,0	-1,4	-2,0
Suceava	3,2	2,5	1,3	1,0	1,7	1,7	1,4	1,2	1,7	1,0
Vaslui	3,6	2,1	1,1	-0,2	0,9	0,9	1,1	0,8	-0,1	-0,6
Braila	-2,6	-2,9	-4,0	-3,7	-3,5	-2,8	-3,7	-4,5	-4,5	-4,2
Buzau	-2,2	-4,0	-4,4	-4,2	-3,6	-3,8	-3,3	-3,4	-3,7	-4,5
Constanta	0,7	-0,1	-0,7	-0,3	0,4	0,3	0,6	0,7	1,2	1,2
Galati	1,4	0,2	-1,6	-0,8	-0,8	-1,0	-0,9	-1,4	-1,3	-1,3
Tulcea	-1,6	-2,3	-2,7	-2,8	-1,6	-1,4	-1,8	-1,9	-2,3	-3,0
Vrancea	-0,6	-1,5	-2,5	-2,3	-1,5	-1,3	-0,9	-0,9	-1,6	-2,0
Arges	-1,3	-2,1	-2,8	-2,2	-2,3	-2,2	-2,1	-2,1	-2,3	-1,9
Calarasi	-1,5	-2,8	-3,7	-3,4	-2,8	-2,8	-2,3	-2,7	-2,5	-2,6
Dâmbovita	-1,1	-1,5	-2,8	-2,6	-1,7	-2,7	-2,8	-2,5	-2,1	-1,9
Giurgiu	-4,9	-5,8	-7,5	-7,9	-6,9	-6,8	-6,5	-6,5	-5,8	-6,3
Ialomita	-0,8	-1,7	-2,7	-3,1	-3,1	-1,8	-1,2	-1,2	-1,3	-1,3
Prahova	-1,7	-2,5	-3,5	-3,2	-2,3	-2,4	-2,6	-2,5	-2,7	-2,7
Teleorman	-6,7	-8,3	-10,5	-10,2	-8,9	-9,9	-9,3	-9,2	-9,1	-9,4
Bucuresti	-23,3	-6,1	-3,8	-3,1	-2,0	-1,8	-1,3	-1,2	-0,2	0,2

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Ilfov	-0,3	-0,7	-3,3	-3,2	-2,0	-1,4	-1,0	-0,4	0,7	1,6
Dolj	-2,4	-4,2	-5,9	-5,4	-5,3	-5,1	-5,2	-4,8	-4,7	-4,8
Gorj	-0,1	-1,3	-1,5	-1,3	-1,8	-1,7	-2,1	-1,7	-2,0	-2,5
Mehedinti	-3,4	-3,8	-4,8	-4,9	-4,6	-5,5	-5,5	-5,8	-5,2	-3,9
Olt	-2,6	-4,0	-6,3	-5,3	-4,9	-5,8	-5,3	-5,7	-5,9	-5,5
Vâlcea	-1,6	-2,6	-3,6	-3,1	-3,6	-3,5	-3,4	-2,8	-3,0	-2,9
Vest	-2,8	-3,5	-4,0	-4,0	-3,6	-3,5	-3,4	-3,0	-2,5	-2,9
Arad	-4,0	-4,7	-5,6	-5,2	-5,2	-4,6	-4,6	-3,7	-3,4	-3,9
Caras-Severin	-3,8	-4,1	-3,9	-3,9	-3,6	-4,7	-4,2	-4,4	-4,0	-4,2
Hunedoara	-2,4	-3,1	-4,0	-4,1	-3,5	-3,9	-3,8	-3,2	-3,6	-3,8
Timis	-1,9	-2,8	-3,0	-3,2	-2,6	-2,0	-1,8	-1,5	-0,5	-1,0

*Source: Eurostat (2011): Crude rate of natural change of population [demo_r_gind3], in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), Demography, Demography - Regional data, Population and area, Demographic balance and crude rates - NUTS level 2 and 3 regions. (accessed 28.12.2011)

Table 10: The share of rural population in Romania and selected counties in the period 1990-2010*

	Romania	Botosani	Tulcea	Vrancea	Giurgiu	Teleorman
1990	46,78	62,89	53,03	62,13	71,33	67,47
1991	46,11	61,95	52,00	62,03	71,16	67,17
1992	45,68	60,95	51,45	61,21	70,30	66,26
1993	45,59	60,65	51,29	61,26	69,99	65,91
1994	45,35	60,31	50,95	61,06	69,71	65,55
1995	45,10	59,98	50,99	61,13	69,51	65,57
1996	45,07	59,85	50,98	61,17	69,27	65,47
1997	44,99	59,69	50,57	61,21	69,19	65,33
1998	45,01	59,87	50,83	61,33	69,15	65,28
1999	45,12	60,06	51,07	61,59	69,17	65,36
2000	45,24	60,49	51,20	61,78	69,18	65,42
2001	45,36	60,76	51,43	62,13	69,18	65,51
2002	46,69	62,86	51,23	61,76	69,17	66,69
2003	46,62	63,11	51,11	61,95	69,04	66,57
2004	46,37	63,25	51,03	62,04	68,92	66,43
2005	45,05	58,15	50,95	62,13	68,97	66,48
2006	44,81	58,03	50,80	62,12	68,85	66,28
2007	44,75	57,99	50,76	62,10	68,80	66,29
2008	44,85	58,09	50,78	62,35	68,89	66,50
2009	44,95	58,13	50,88	62,48	68,98	66,54
2010	44,93	58,09	50,75	62,43	68,82	66,40

*Compiled by author data source TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute)

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Table 11: The ratio of persons aged 65 and older per persons aged 15 and younger for Romania and selected counties in the period 2002-2010*

	Romania	Botosani	Tulcea	Vrancea	Giurgiu	Teleorman
2002	0,79	0,75	0,68	0,82	1,09	1,30
2003	0,83	0,79	0,73	0,87	1,14	1,36
2004	0,88	0,82	0,77	0,92	1,19	1,43
2005	0,92	0,85	0,81	0,96	1,22	1,50
2006	0,95	0,88	0,85	1,00	1,26	1,54
2007	0,97	0,89	0,87	1,00	1,26	1,57
2008	0,98	0,90	0,88	1,02	1,27	1,60
2009	0,98	0,90	0,90	1,03	1,26	1,63
2010	0,99	0,91	0,91	1,03	1,25	1,66

*Compiled by author. Source: Eurostat (2011): Population by sex and age groups on 1 January - NUTS level 3 regions [demo_r_pjanagr3]. in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), Demography, Demography - Regional data, Population and area. (accessed 28.12.2011).

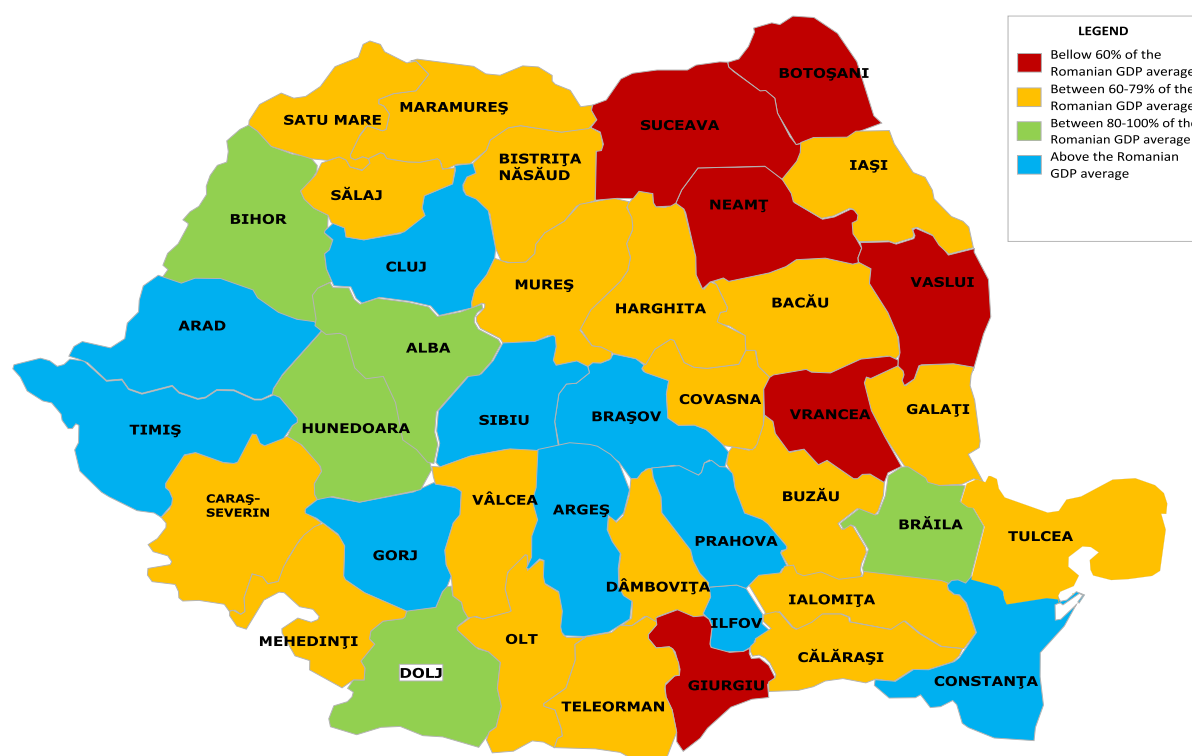
Table 12: Employment rate of labour resources or Romania and selected counties for the period 1990-2010*

	Romania	Botosani	Tulcea	Vrancea	Giurgiu	Teleorman
1990	82	86.3	83.8	85.3	77.7	81.1
1991	82.5	86	77.5	85.5	75.3	78.8
1992	79.6	81.7	73.3	80.4	69.5	78.6
1993	76.1	76.6	68.1	78.5	62.7	75.6
1994	75.6	71.2	69.9	78	63.7	79.9
1995	71.5	69.1	68.8	80	63.5	76.4
1996	70.1	70	66.6	76.5	63.9	74.9
1997	67.3	67.2	56.6	68.4	63.7	72.5
1998	66	64.3	58.7	67.1	60.5	73.1
1999	63	67.3	55.3	67.5	61.4	75.1
2000	64.6	67.1	56.8	68.9	62.6	76.1
2001	62.9	64	55.3	66.4	60.4	73.1
2002	62.4	60.2	52.3	61.4	54.7	70.1
2003	61.3	57.1	53.4	59.4	53.6	67.3
2004	60.1	55.3	51.4	58.1	51.3	63.3
2005	60.7	54.9	51.4	57.8	51.6	63.8
2006	61.4	54.2	51.7	57.8	50.5	63.9
2007	63.4	55.6	52.4	58.9	51.7	65.2
2008	63.6	54.4	52.1	58.8	51.8	64.2
2009	60.6	52.6	49.5	56.5	50.3	63.1
2010	59.6	51.8	47.9	56.5	48.8	62.6

*Source TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute)

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Figure 6: Romanian counties according to their GDP as share of the country's average in 2008*



*Authors compilation. For details see Table 13

Table 13: Regional economic differences in 2008 expressed as GDP per capita, ratio of GDP reported to Romanian and the EU average GDP (county level)*

Counties (NUTS III)	GDP per capita in 2008	GDP as share of national average GDP in 2008	GDP as share of EU average GDP in 2008
	Euro	%	%
Vaslui	3000	46.2	12
Botosani	3300	50.8	13
Giurgiu	3500	53.8	14
Neamt	3600	55.4	14
Suceava	3800	58.5	15
Vrancea	3800	58.5	15
Olt	3900	60.0	16
Calarasi	4000	61.5	16
Teleorman	4000	61.5	16
Maramures	4300	66.2	17
Buzau	4300	66.2	17
Mehedinti	4300	66.2	17
Ialomita	4400	67.7	18
Satu Mare	4500	69.2	18

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Bacau	4600	70.8	18
Tulcea	4600	70.8	18
Dâmbovita	4600	70.8	18
Galati	4800	73.8	19
Covasna	4900	75.4	19
Vâlcea	4900	75.4	19
Bistrita-Nasaud	4900	75.4	20
Salaj	4900	75.4	20
Harghita	5000	76.9	20
Iasi	5000	76.9	20
Mures	5100	78.5	20
Caras-Severin	5100	78.5	20
Braila	5200	80.0	21
Dolj	5200	80.0	21
Hunedoara	6100	93.8	24
Bihor	6300	96.9	25
Alba	6400	98.5	25
Romania	6500	100.0	26
Prahova	6700	103.1	27
Arad	6700	103.1	27
Gorj	6900	106.2	28
Sibiu	7200	110.8	29
Arges	7500	115.4	30
Brasov	7600	116.9	31
Cluj	7800	120.0	31
Constanta	7800	120.0	31
Timis	9000	138.5	36
Ifov	11900	183.1	47
Bucuresti	16400	252.3	65

* Compiled by author. Source: Eurostat (2011): Gross domestic product (GDP) at current market prices at NUTS level 3[`nama_r_e3gdp`] in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, (accessed 28.12.2011).

Table 14: Physicians per 10000 inhabitants in Romania's counties in 2009*

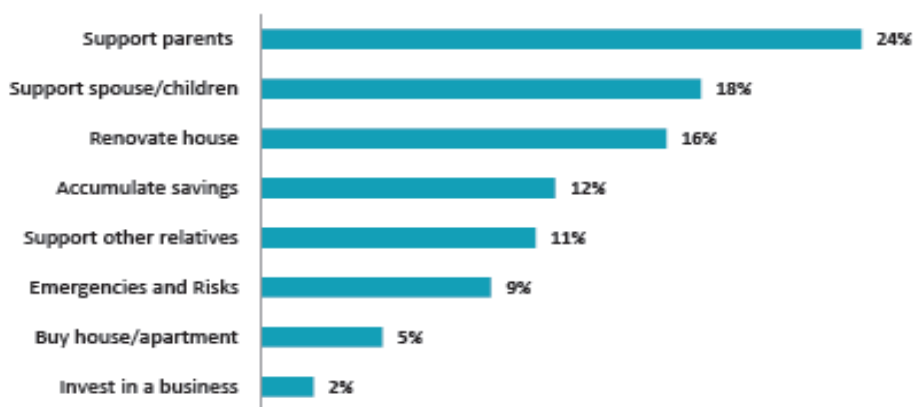
Romania	23.5		
Calarasi	9.1	Maramures	15.4
Ialomita	9.8	Covasna	16.5
Giurgiu	10.1	Mehedinti	16.7
Vaslui	11.7	Gorj	17.3
Buzau	11.9	Ifov	17.3
Dambovita	12.3	Valcea	17.4
Bistrita-Nasaud	12.7	Caras-Severin	17.9
Vrancea	13.0	Alba	18.4

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Botosani	13.0	Arges	20.7
Teleorman	13.1	Brasov	21.1
Harghita	13.2	Arad	22.0
Suceava	13.3	Hunedoara	24.8
Neamt	13.4	Sibiu	25.3
Galati	13.5	Bihor	27.4
Bacau	13.9	Constanta	27.9
Braila	13.9	Dolj	29.6
Salaj	14.1	Mures	32.0
Tulcea	14.1	Iasi	33.5
Prahova	14.2	Timis	43.2
SatuMare	14.2	Cluj	50.1
Olt	14.8	MunicipiulBucuresti	55.9

* Authors calculation. Data source TEMPO ONLINE Machine-readable database (Romanian Statistical Institute).

Figure 7: Most important purposes for transferring money (remittances)



Source: SFR and IASCI, 2011

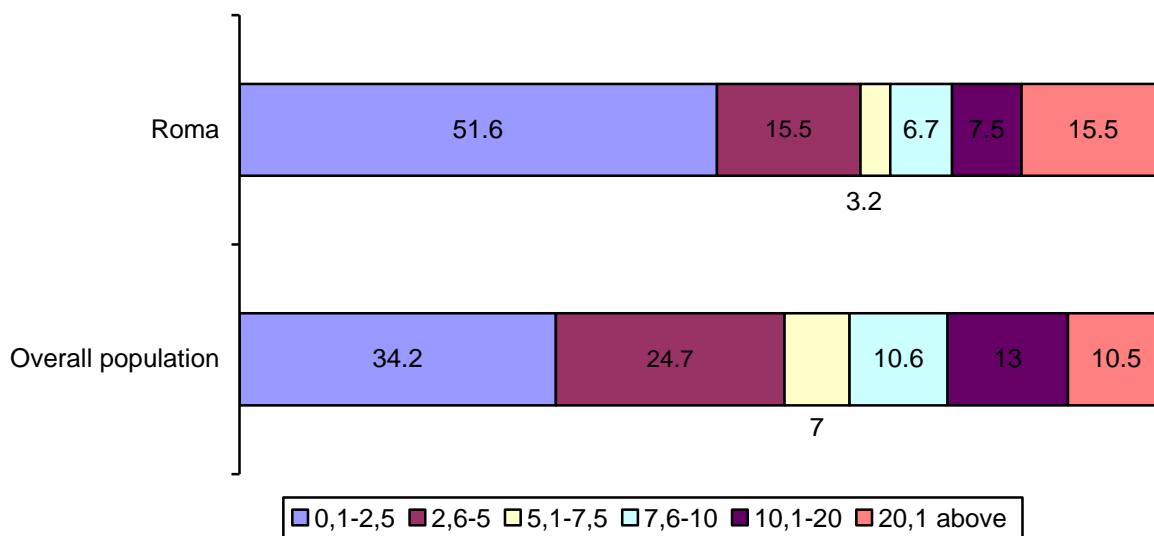
Table 15: Variables highlighting the difference of living conditions between Roma and non-Roma in Romania (2007)*

	Roma	non Roma
Not connected to electricity	13%	2%
Procuring water for domestic consumption from a public source outside the household	47%	8%
Not connected to a collector sewer system	86%	4%
Condition of the roads connecting the household with the rest of the locality (unsatisfactory)	64%	42%
Public transportation (unsatisfactory)	50%	34%
Street illumination (unsatisfactory)	55%	23%
Access to shops, markets for procuring goods for daily usage (unsatisfactory)	25%	13%
Access to school (unsatisfactory)	22%	11%

*Source (Bădescu, et al., 2007, p. 41-42)

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Figure 8: Distribution of localities according to the share of population working abroad: national level for the localities reporting emigrants, for Roma communities with emigrants in 2009*



*Authors compilation. Data sources FSR 2009 database

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