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From post-socialist to post-accession pioneering and beyond: thirty years of change in the Romanian international migration system

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From post-socialist to post-accession pioneering and beyond: thirty years of change in the Romanian international migration system

What's in a title?

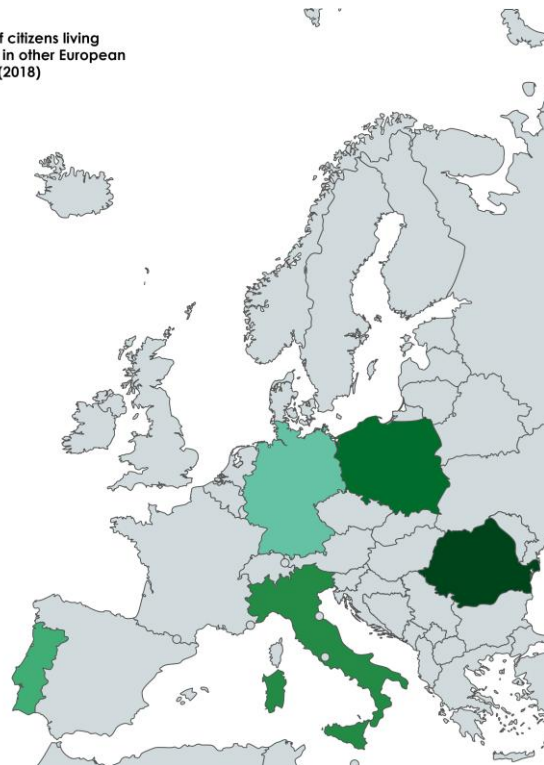
- Some snapshots: maps
- The Romanian migration system
- Migration systems
- Fieldwork and primary data
- Romanians in Spain
- Romanians in the UK

From post-socialist to post-accession pioneering and beyond: thirty years of change in the Romanian international migration system

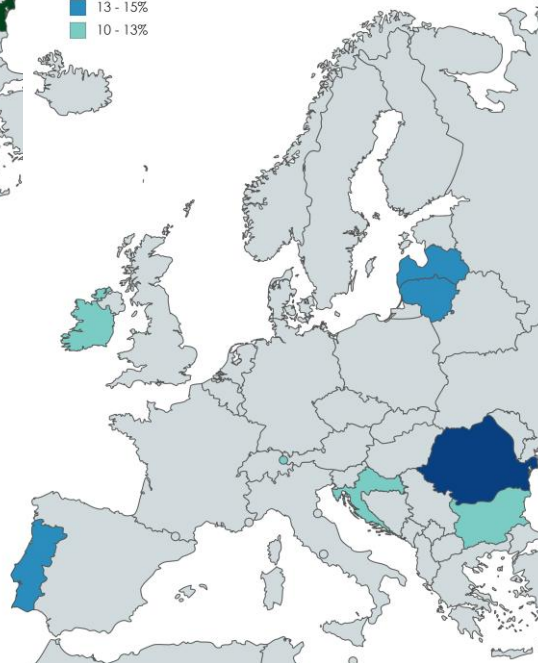
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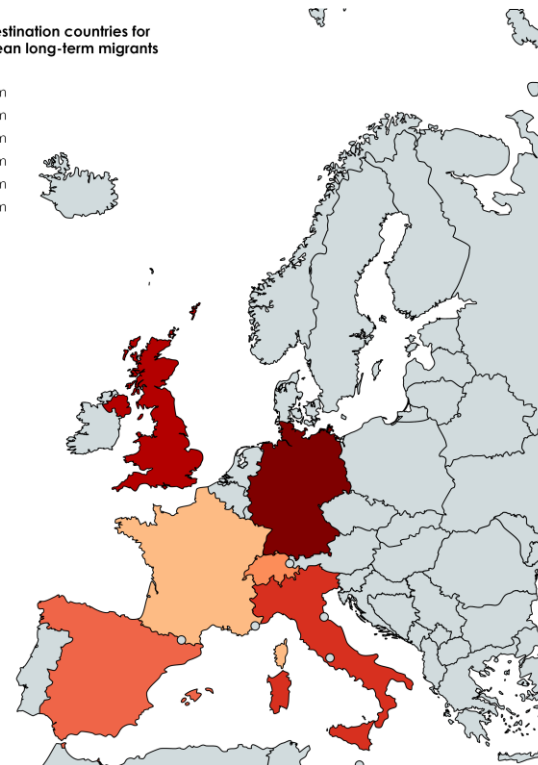
Number of citizens living long-term in other European countries (2018)



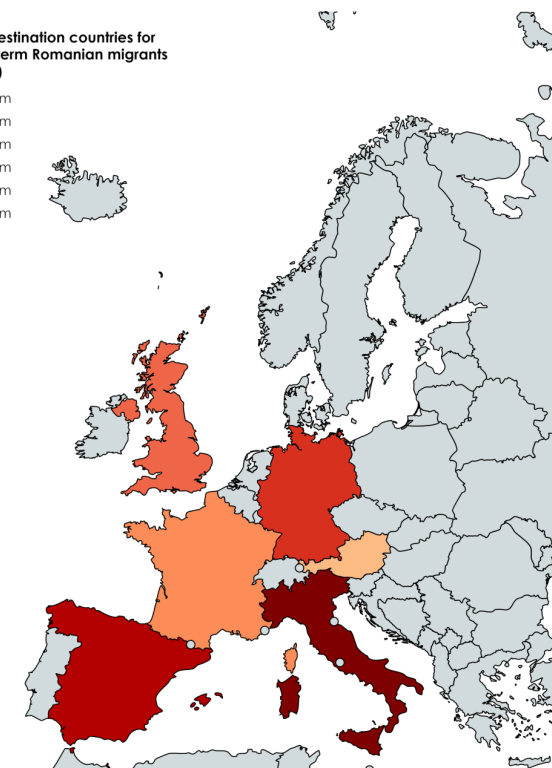
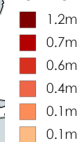
Citizens living long-term in Europe as percentage of citizens living in the country



Top destination countries for European long-term migrants (2018)

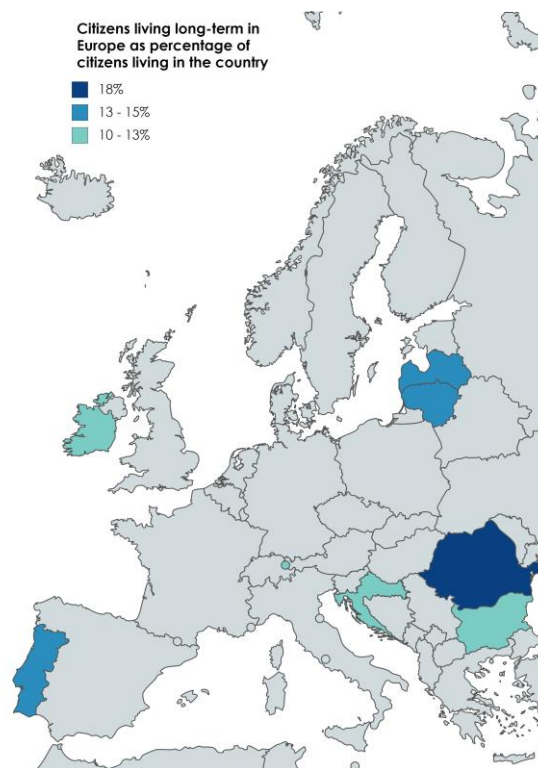


Top destination countries for long-term Romanian migrants (2018)

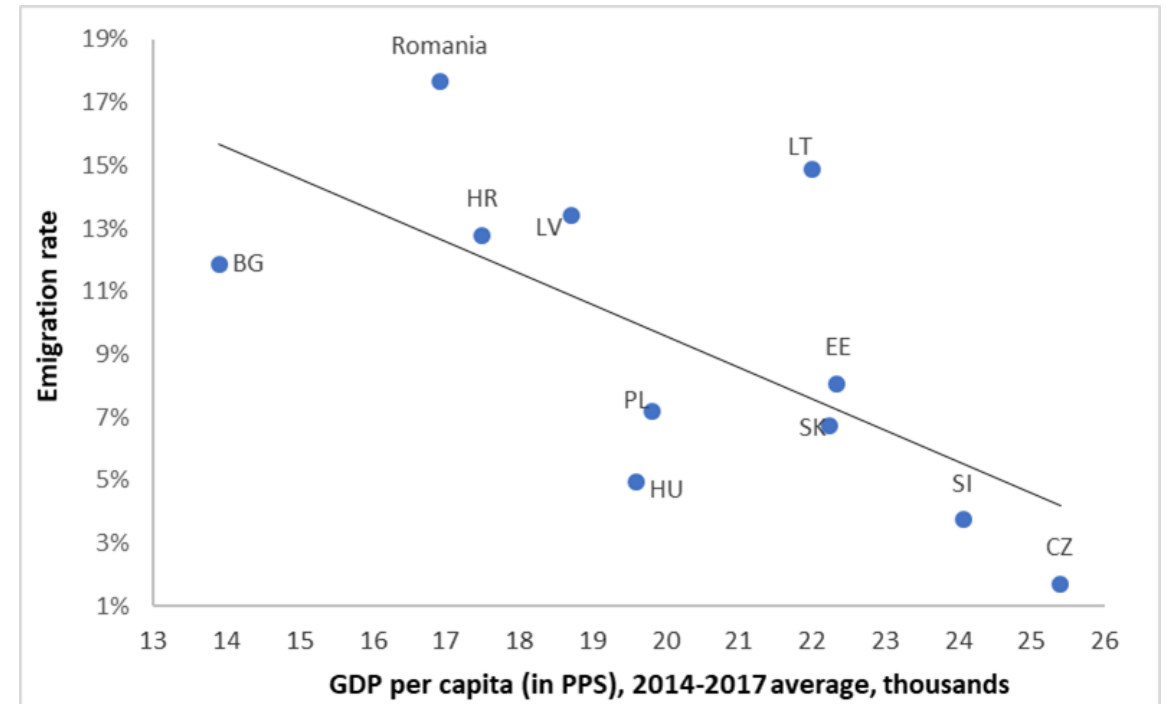


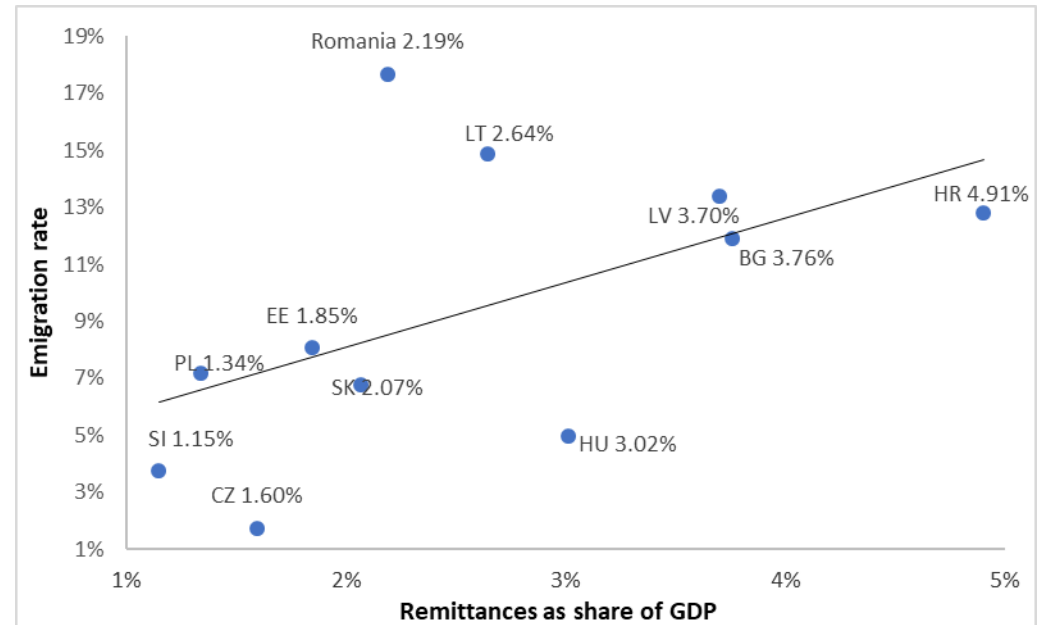
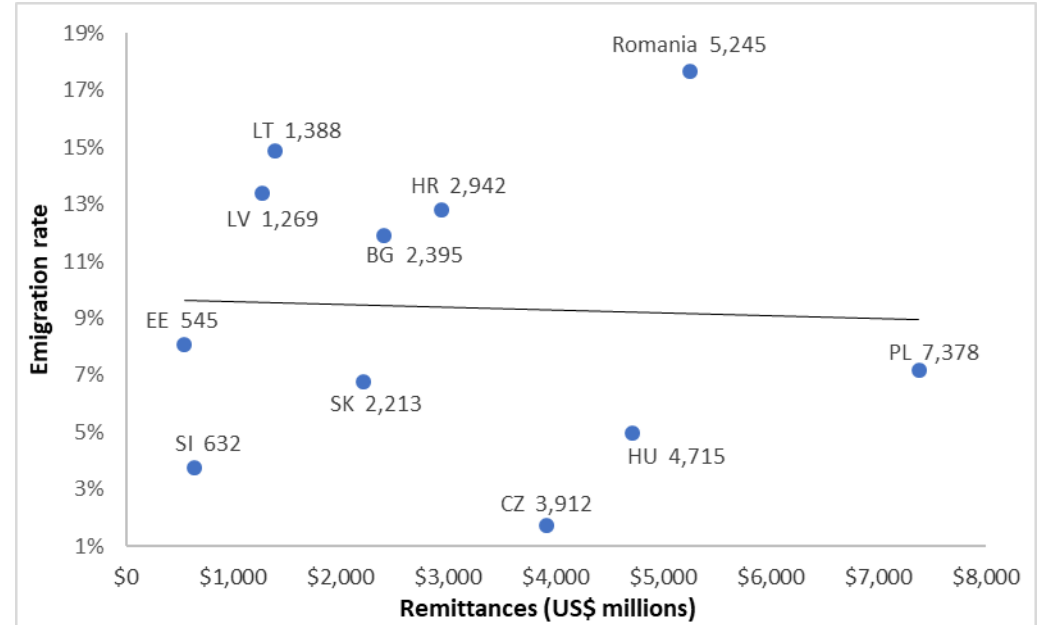
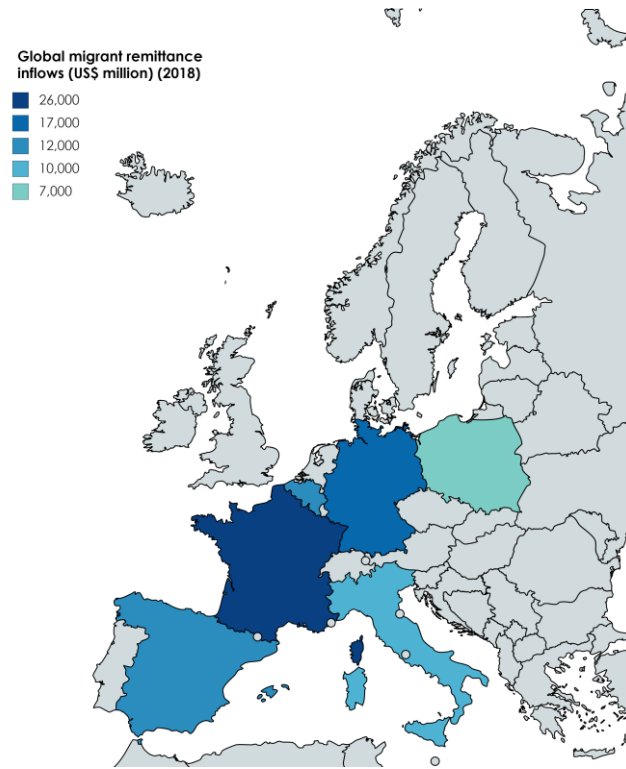
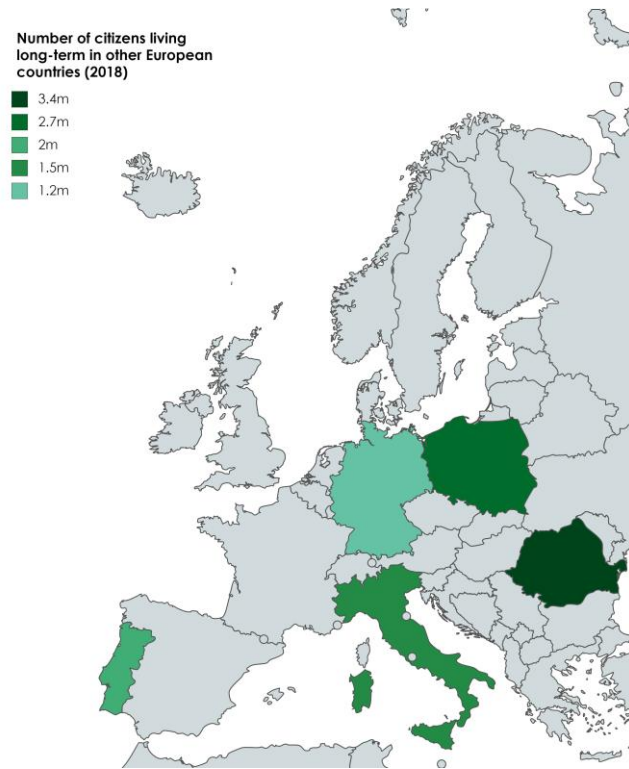
Source: Data from Eurostat, *Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship* [migr_pop1ctz]

Mapping: [Mapchart.net](https://www.mapchart.net/)



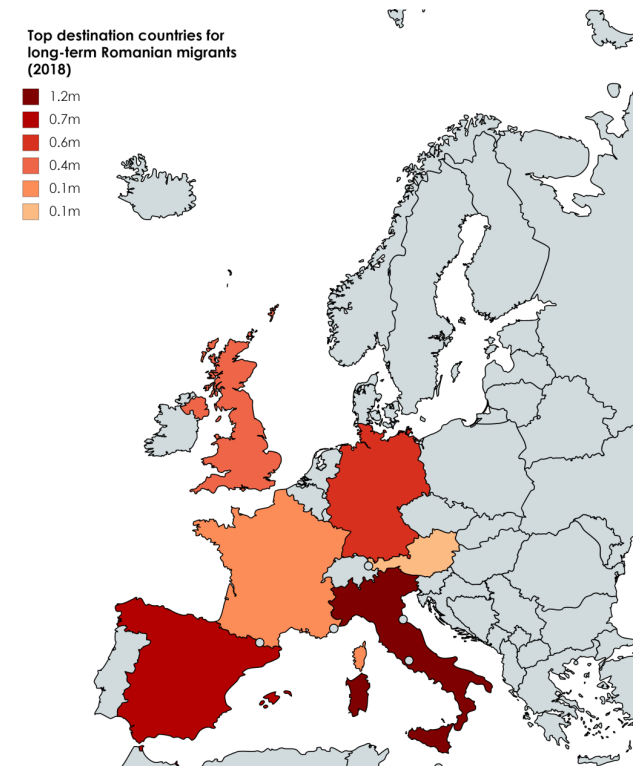
Source: Data from Eurostat and World Bank
Mapping: *Mapchart.net*



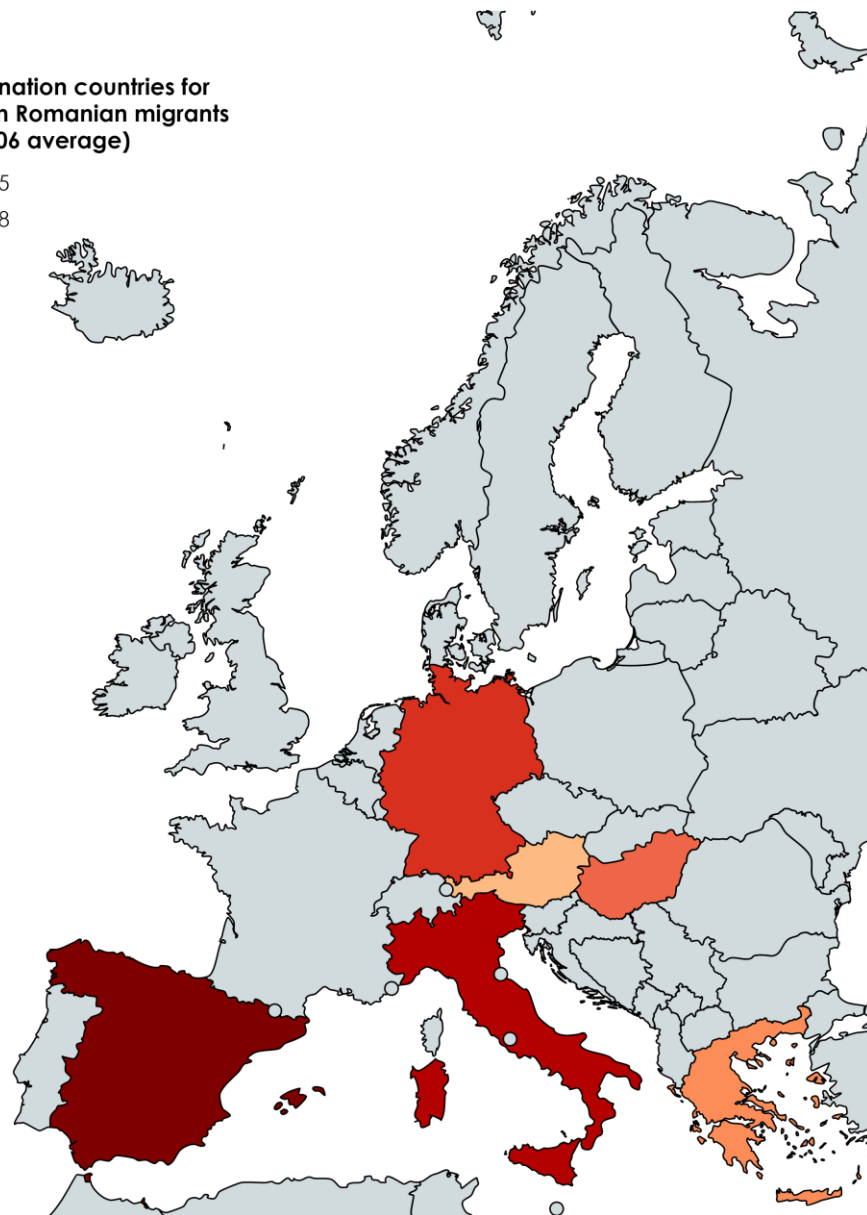
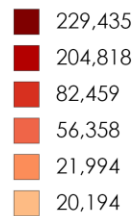


Source: Data from Eurostat and World Bank
Mapping: *Mapchart.net*

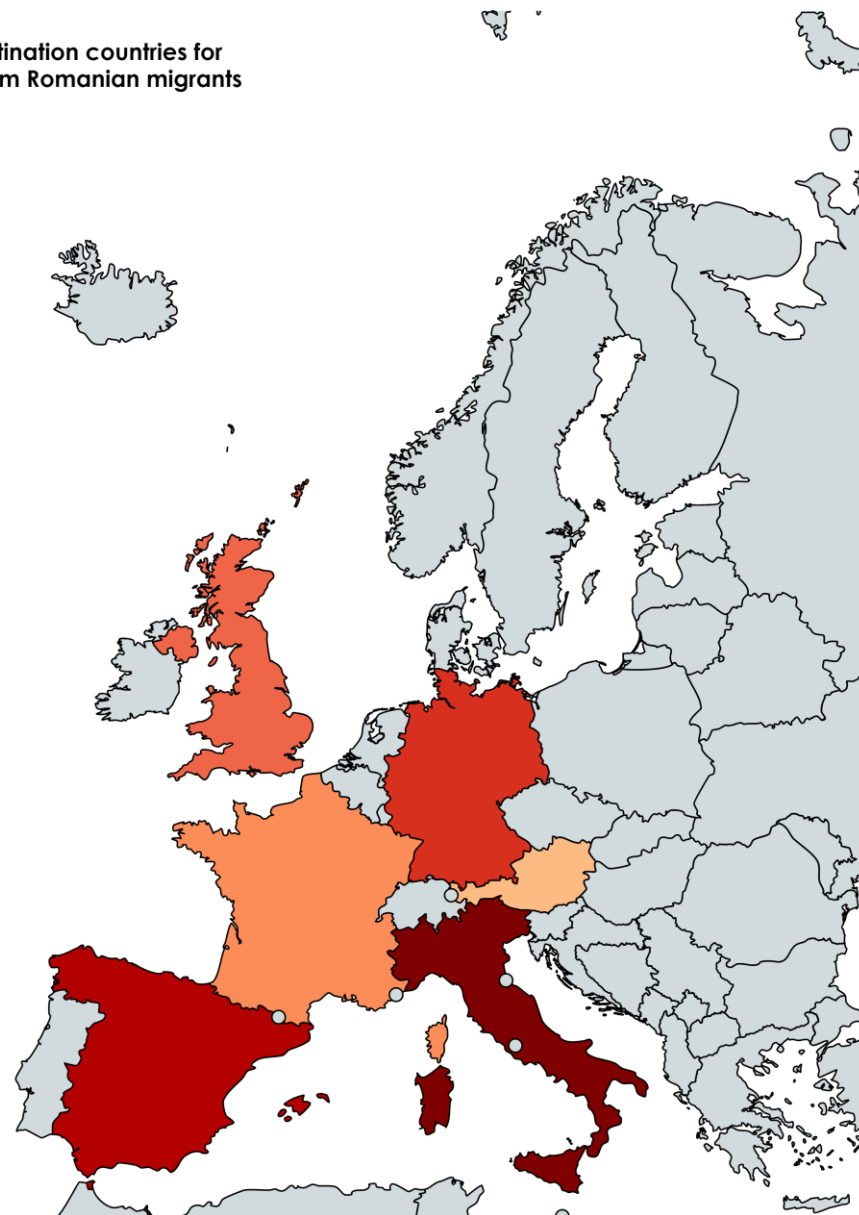
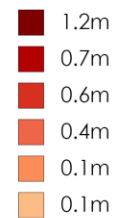
Source: Data from Eurostat and World Bank
Mapping: *Mapchart.net*



Top destination countries for long-term Romanian migrants (2003-2006 average)



Top destination countries for long-term Romanian migrants (2018)



Source: Data from Eurostat,
1 January by age group, sex
[migr_pop1ctz]

Mapping: Mapchart.net

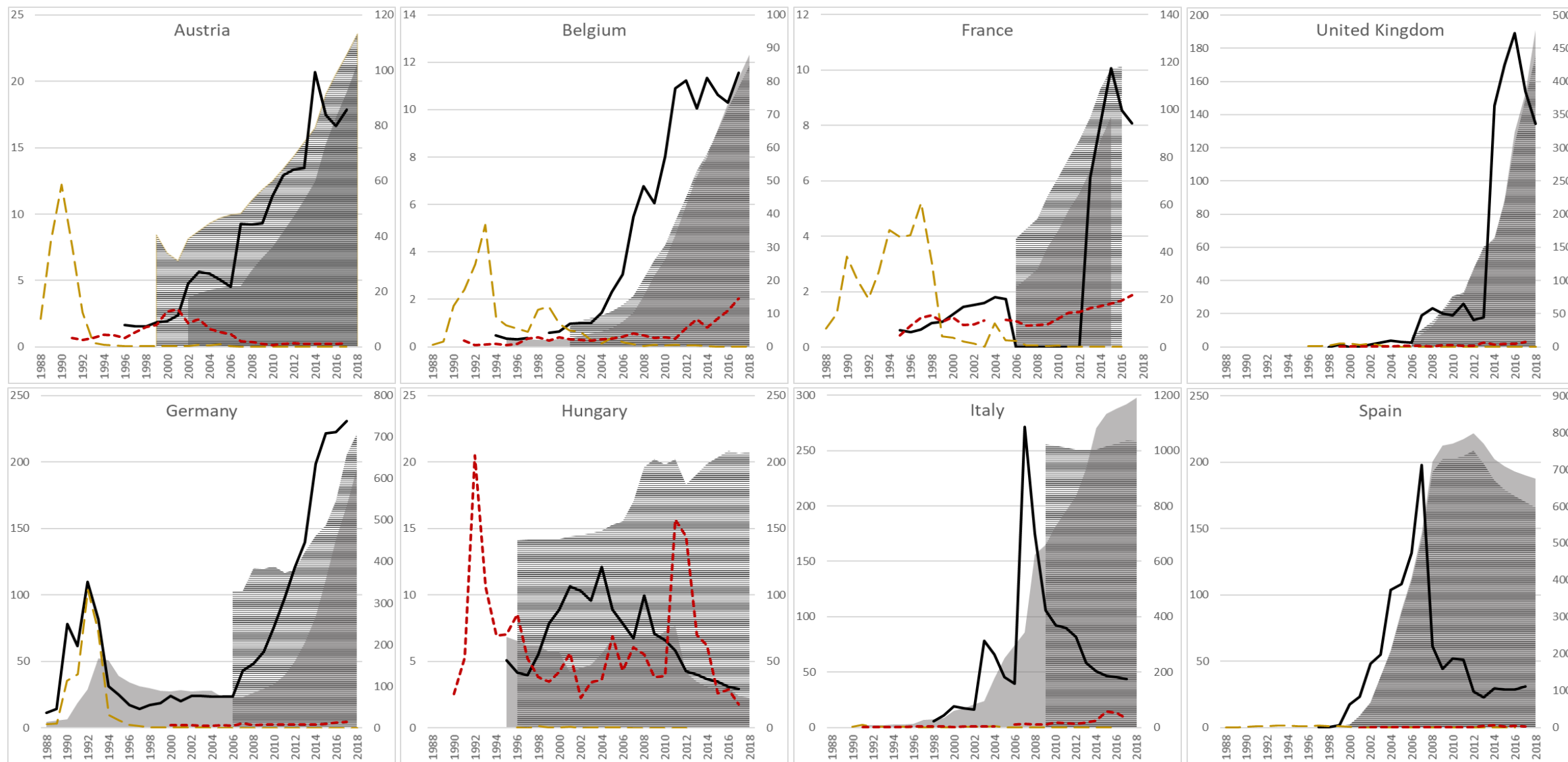
Intra-European Romanian migration ‘corridors’

“or dyads of origin and destination in which changing patterns of migration (or the absence of migration) can be observed” (Bakewell et al. 2016: 10)

Romanians in Europe (1988-2018)

Source: Data from OECD 2019

- (Right axis) Stock of foreign-born population by country of birth
- (Right axis) Stock of foreign population by nationality
- (Left axis) Inflows of foreign population by nationality
- - (Left axis) Inflows of asylum seekers by nationality
- - (Left axis) Acquisition of nationality by country of former nationality



Labour-market liberalisation for A2 nationals in EEA countries

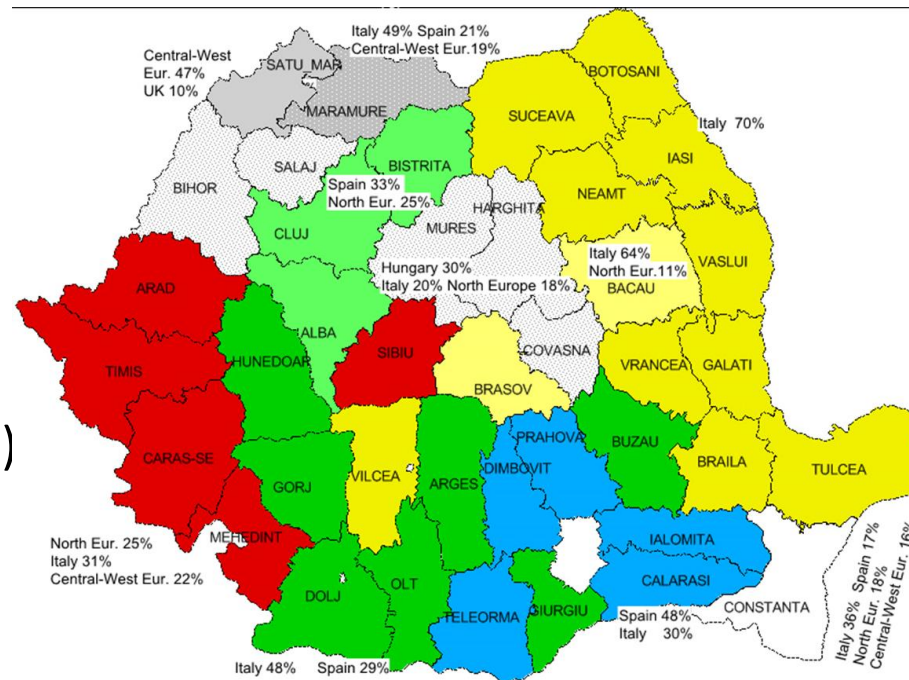
2007	2008	2009	2011	2012	2014
Finland Sweden Cyprus A8 (exc. Hungary)		Denmark Greece Portugal Spain* Hungary		Ireland Italy Iceland Norway	Austria Belgium France Germany Luxembourg Malta Netherlands Spain* UK
* Restrictions for Romanian nationals reintroduced on 1 January 2011 and maintained until 1 January 2014					

The “Romanian migration system”

“By ‘migration system’ I understand not only international flows that ‘connect a cluster of countries’ (...) or create ‘unified spaces’ in their widespread interdependences (...), but I also include here the ‘national migration system’. Such a system is made of migration flows – internal and external, permanent and temporary – that, due to their dependencies, can be associated to varying degree with a national space. Local and regional systems are parts of this national system, which can itself be part of different international migration systems (...)” (Sandu 2010: 11).

Policy cycles:

- post-socialist (1989-2002)
- pre-accession (2002-2007)
- post-accession open borders (2007-2014)
- Post-accession free movement (2014-)



Source: Sandu 2005, 2013
Data source: NIS, Census 2011,
Migrants who left the country for less
than one year.

Migration systems

- “we cannot determine the existence of a migration system by virtue of substantial migration flows between localities” (Bakewell 2012: 15)
- “any re-launched formulation of system theory must include a clearly articulated notion of agency that allows the social scientist to surmise how systems develop, reproduce themselves and dissolve” (Bakewell 2012: 13).
- Migration systems as defined by (Bakewell 2012: 13):
 - “a set of interacting **elements** which relate to the migration between localities
 - **Flows** (of people, ideas and goods), **institutions** (discourses and associated practices), **strategies** (plans for action by particular actors - e.g. individual and household strategies; policies of governments, private businesses, and civil society organisations)
 - the **dynamics** governing the way in which the elements change in relation to changes in both these system elements and in the wider *environment*”
- “What is part of the system and what is part of the wider environment?”

Migration systems

- “Cause-effect constellations”?
 - “constellations of mobility” (Cresswell 2010)
 - “citizenship constellations” (Bauböck 2010)
 - ‘cosmopolitan constellation’ (Beck and Sznaider 2006)
 - ‘regimes of mobility’ (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2012)
- These cause-effect constellations include:
 - Economic questions (development, remittances, economic integration, finance (investments))
 - Policy and Political (migration and visa regulations; politics; diaspora involvement; citizenship law)
 - Cultural (language; social attitudes; consumption styles; etc.)
 - Social (social integration, ties, diversity; schooling; social policy in coo and cod; depopulation/repopulation; etc.)

■ Fieldwork and primary data
collection locations
(2006-2016)

UK
2013

post-accession pioneering;
closed economic opportunities;
transition to free movement

2016
legal 'recession' and legal
integration

Spain
2009

settlement and social
differentiation; transition to free
movement; economic recession

Hungary
2006-2008

ethnicity ; circularity and
transition to open borders

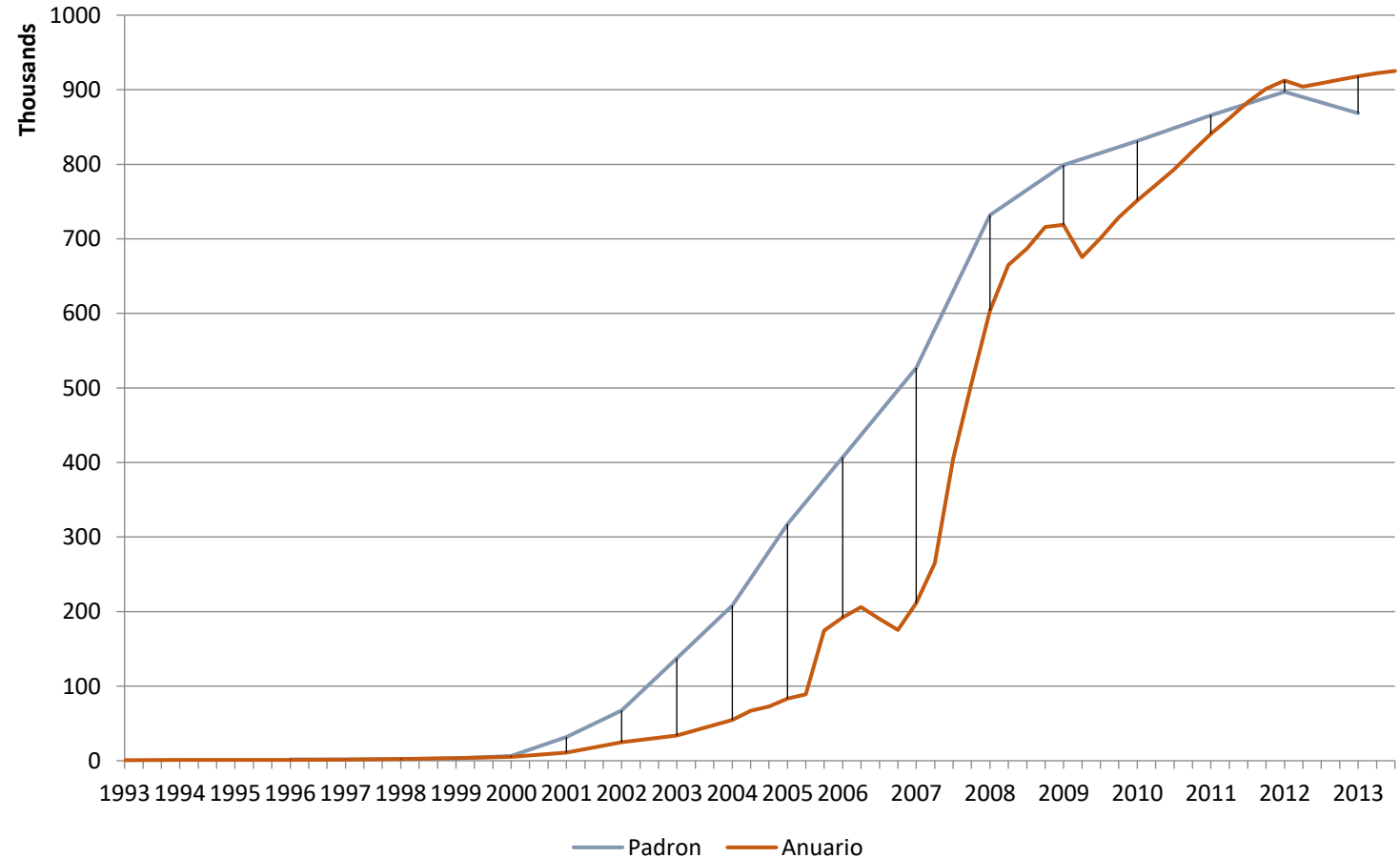
Socio-legal phases of Romanian migration to Spain:

1. Post-socialist pioneering and early network development (1990-1996)
2. Small-network circular informal migration (1996-2002)
3. Formal circular migration (2002-2007)
4. Open borders (2007-2009; 2011-2014)
5. Freedom of movement (2009-2011; 2014-)
6. System decline or stabilisation? (2012-)

Year/ 1 st Jan	Romanian nationals*	Romanian nationals**
	(Padrón)	(Anuario)
1993		664
1994		883
1995		1028
1996	1,760	1208
1997		1386
1998	2,258	2385
1999	3,147	3543
2000	6,410	5082
2001	31,641	10,983
2002	67,279	24,856
2003	137,347	33,705
2004	207,960	54,688
2005	317,366	83,372
2006	407,159	192,134
2007	527,019	211,325
2008	731,806	603,889
2009	798,892	718,844
2010	831,235	751,688
2011	865,707	840,682
2012	897,203	912,526
2013	868,635	918,133

Romanian migration to Spain

A quantitative view

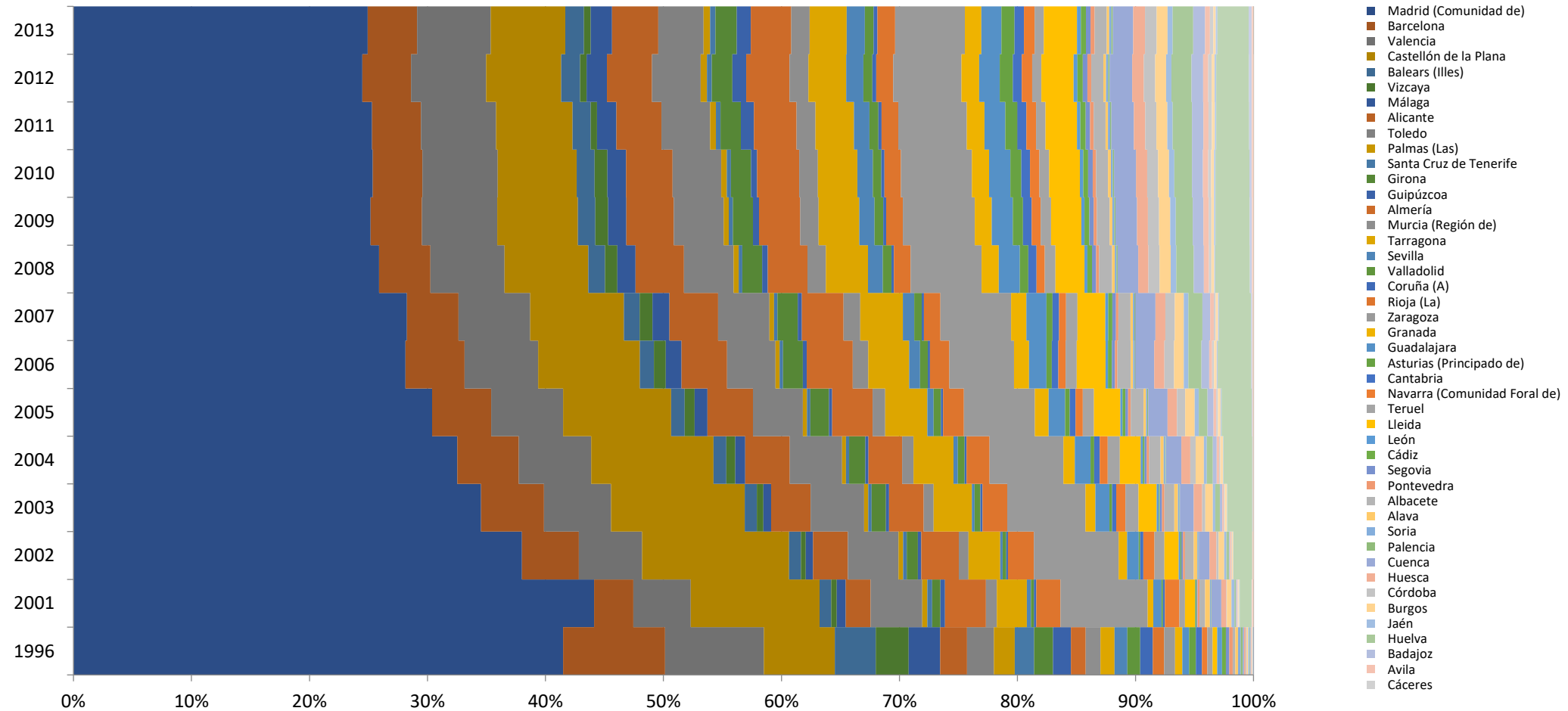


*Data from the National Institute of Statistics (INE)

** Data from the Ministry of Work and Social Security, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración

Romanian migration to Spain

A geographical view

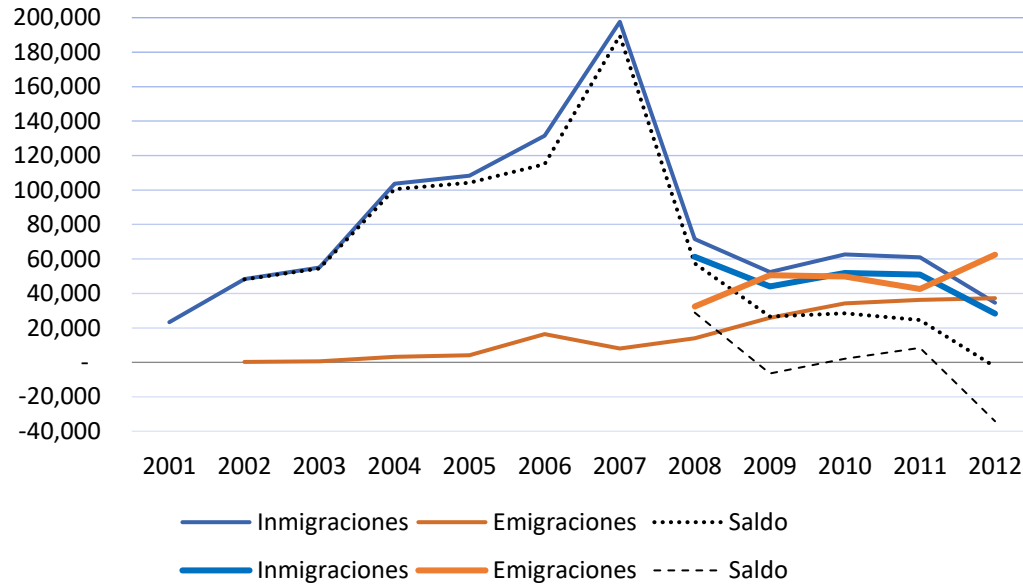


Source: INE, Padron municipal de habitantes

Spain: pioneers and networks

- *“we all knew one another, and we were from the same place. We were helped when we arrived, and it was our duty to help others. We knew we could trust them, because they had nowhere to go, and our families back home knew their relatives...”* (GG, man, 49).
- “Romanians’ social networks are weak and restricted. Their community life, as a group, is limited: they rarely come together, they organize few holiday celebrations and cultural events, and their connections rarely extend beyond relatives and close friends. They entered the labour market swiftly, men in the construction sector, heavy industry, catering etc., while the women in catering, commerce, domestic service etc. ... and have lived little social life beyond their workplaces and families” (Pajares 2009: 186)
- Unsuccessful migration-undermining feedback initiatives:
 - “Many Romanians, after only a year that they had come here, have bought expensive cars (...); it didn’t matter for them if they had no money left for food because of that. And when they went home, you can’t imagine the lies they were spreading! **And that’s why the whole country packed up and left, because they believed them.** (...) I kept telling people that it is impossible [to earn 5,000 euros a month], when my husband, who is a Spaniard earns 1400. But no-one listened...” (M.R., f, 30)

Net Romanian migration

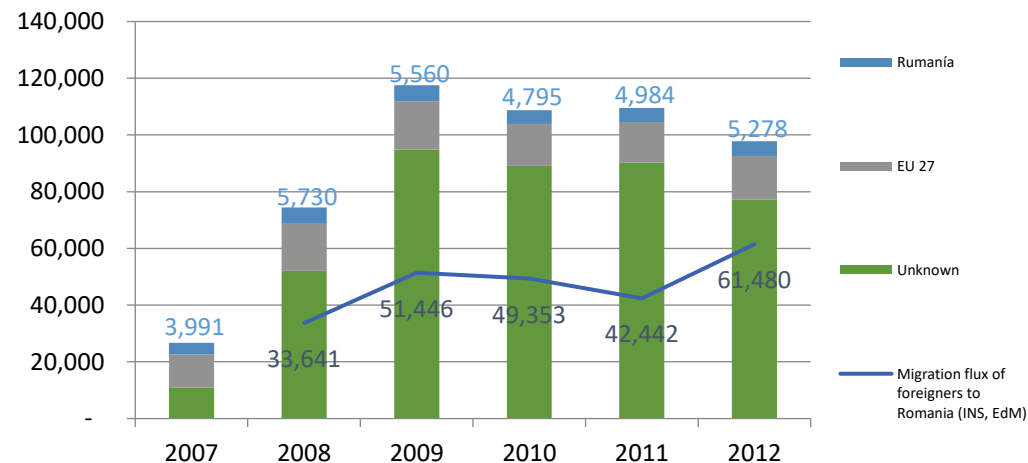


System decline or systemic change?

“A silent return” (Pajares 2009)

*“What happens is that many of the Romanians I know are returning home, moving elsewhere or the relations just break off. I think that **in five, ten years time only those Romanians will remain here, who want to live their lives and integrate.** Those who have come only to get rich have already started leaving” (M.R., female, 30)”*

Destination of EU nationals leaving Spain



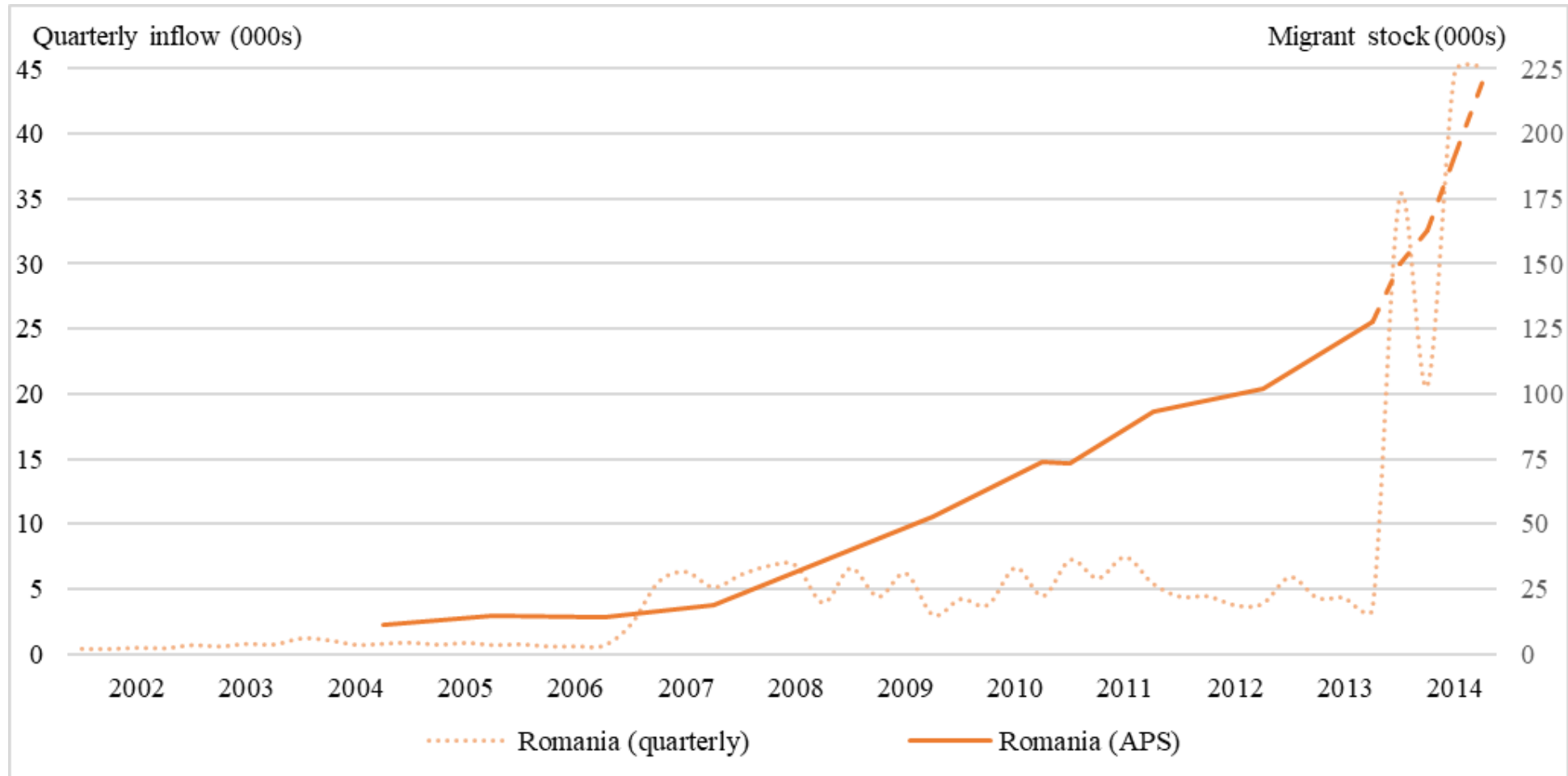
Sources: INE, Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales;
INE, La Estadística de Migraciones (2008-)

Socio-legal phases of Romanian migration to the United Kingdom:

1. Post-socialist pioneering and closed borders (1990-2007)
2. Open borders and post-accession pioneering (2007-2014)
3. Freedom of movement (2014-?)
4. Closing borders (2017-?)
5. ?

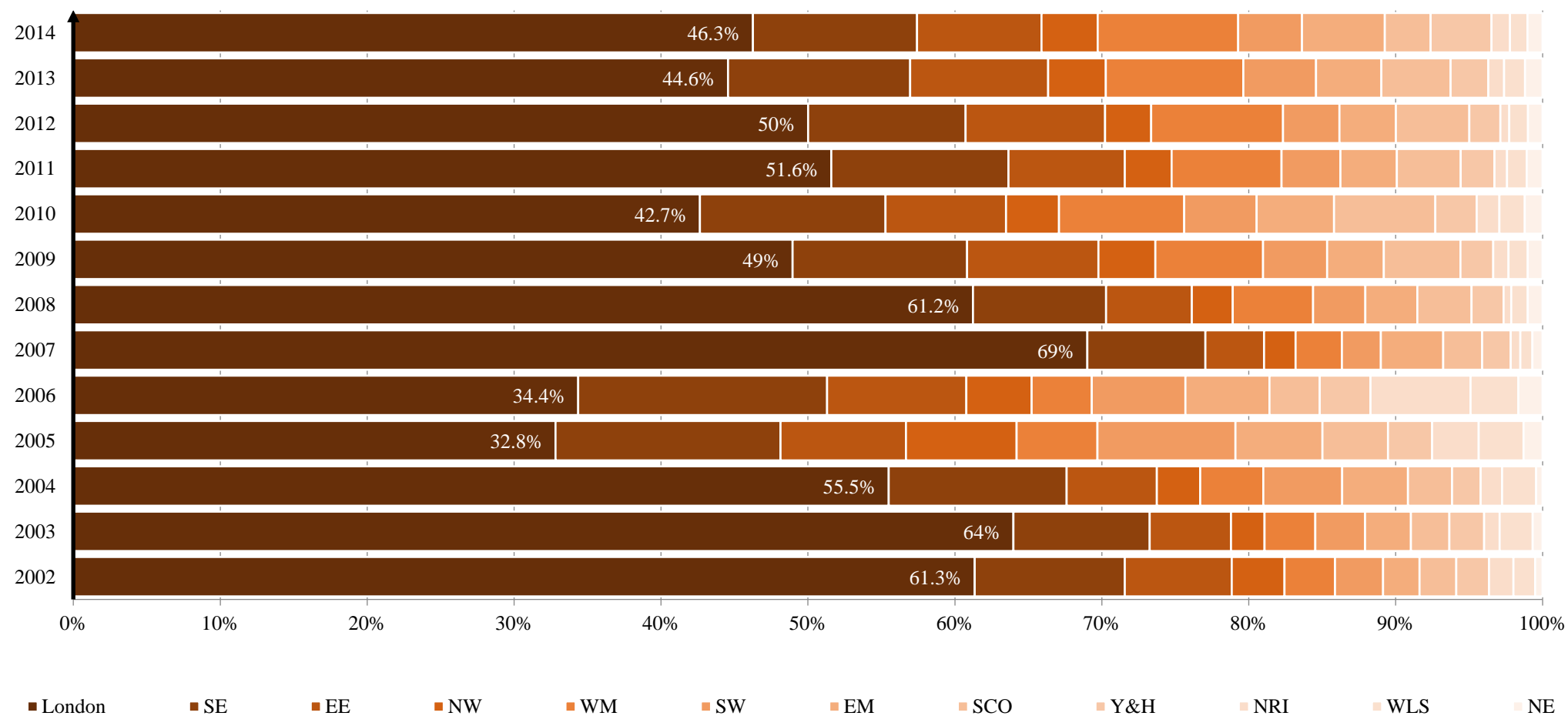
Romanian migration to the UK (2002-2014)

A quantitative view



Sources: ONS, Annual Population Survey (APS)/Labour Force Survey (LFS); and Department for Work and Pensions, Stat-Xplore

The geographic distribution of NINo registrations by Romanian nationals in the UK (2002–2014)



Post-socialist pioneering and closed borders (early years)

It was much harder back then, you needed a visa. I already had several exits in my passport from the communist times with the sport, so it wasn't hard, I got the visa without a problem. ... And when I arrived here I decided to give it a try and I stayed ... I left my wife and my four-year old boy in the country and I stayed here. I could only see them again in three years, when they came here in 1993.

(Dan, 48 M)

We decided to emigrate to Canada from here, and my wife and the children went and stayed there for a year. I went to see them too, but I came back. It was further away, more expensive ... from here you can reach Romania in three hours, but from Canada is different. ... And here I had already begun paying taxes ... and in one year I became citizen.

(Nae, 54 M)

Post-socialist pioneering and closed borders (1990s-2000s)

My parents came here to build a future for us, and they did. ... They wanted to bring us here as soon as possible, but the times were of a different nature and it wasn't possible. ... [My parents] came as tourists and then remained here illegally. Well, illegally for a while... In the beginning they were represented by a lawyer here, but once she got the money, she refused to represent them, and then my mother had to return home in 2005. ... And in 2007 when they gave green light to the documents, it was all OK; I came here in January, and now my grandmother is here, my cousin with her husband, her brother also came a bit later... But we had to wait for eight years. (Dan, 20 M)

She [a friend of Aurelia] worked until the accession, until 2007, with Spanish papers, as a Spaniard. ... She knew someone who was dealing with documents, and she paid that person. ... She had to pay for them illegally, but then she could work legally. She worked, she minded her own business. (Aurelia, 32 F)

You know, it's a different world now than what it used to be before they allowed free movement. ... When we first came we knew we had to go to work, and not to speak loudly on the street even. ... Whenever my husband went to the construction site, he could have been picked up and sent back to [Romania]. ... When the [post-accession] Romanians came, they thought that this freedom had always existed. ... Now, you're walking on the street and the world is yours. We're very loud now and we think we're allowed everything. (Cecilia, 40 F)

Open borders (2007-2014)

It was a decision that came as a matter of course, so naturally that it didn't surprise anyone. And where would you go, when you, as a Romanian, only know how to say "hello" in English? To Great Britain, of course. Where in Great Britain? London. It's just natural. ... How? You sit down and take a look around on Google. At least that's what we did. We went on Google, and stumbled upon the Romanians Online in UK website.

*I wrote in the forum on that Romanians Online in UK site, asking for advice regarding Great Britain; how much money we need to get there, things like that. **We didn't know anything about these complications with documents, the right to work, we read something, but everything seemed so unreal, science-fiction-like, nothing to relate to.** And then two days later ... my husband got an answer email from a Romanian medical student, saying that he has an extra bed, and let's share so that it would be cheaper. It costs you £65, and you would need around £1000 to be safe, because you either succeed or you don't. We took out a £1000 worth loan from the bank, and **two weeks later my husband was already on the plane**, luggage packed, guitar on his back, and meeting that person at the station. That was it.*

(Lavinia, 36 F)

Post-accession pioneering (2007-)

I liked the British spirit, I like what Great Britain represents. ... Usually at university there are different camps, like the Anglophiles and Francophiles, something like this. Our gang was always with Great Britain, Great Britain was the centre of the earth. ... I wouldn't have gone to the south, I don't think I could have adapted in Spain. They're not my type of people. Nor in Italy. So, only Great Britain, or even further north.

(Bucur, 39 M)

We went there [to Italy] because we knew people; in that period people went to Italy and Spain, and in England we didn't know anyone. ... I stayed in Italy for more than two years. I worked illegally in a supermarket near Naples for 600 euros a month, from 6AM to 10PM, with one free day per week. ... In 2009 I decided to leave because job opportunities were fewer and fewer, and I was sick of working fourteen hours a day.

(Romeo, 36 M)

Open borders (2007-2014)

It's the whole story of the National Insurance Numbers; that they are allocated based on subjective criteria. If they don't like your eyes, or if they have the impression that you misused who-knows-which tense of who-knows-what verb, you won't get it. Even though the European legislation imposes this, because it is good for the country in question, because in this way you have it under control. ... There are people who have been here for two years, and still did not get it. And they work, because they're not stupid to starve to death, right? And they work illegally, semi-illegally, not paying any taxes, or getting ripped off by a company that withholds 30% of their wages because, God forbid, they don't have NI... It's enormous, 30%. And the poor guy probably has no idea why he pays, to whom he pays... It should be very simple, because I have the right to come here and work as self-employed, right? ... And then you would have them under your control, because in the end you have him down statistically, no? And then they would also know exactly how many Romanians there are, because now they have no idea, and they worry about how many may come. Well, hold on for a minute, you weren't even able to count those who are already here!

(Bucur, 39 M)

[illegible]

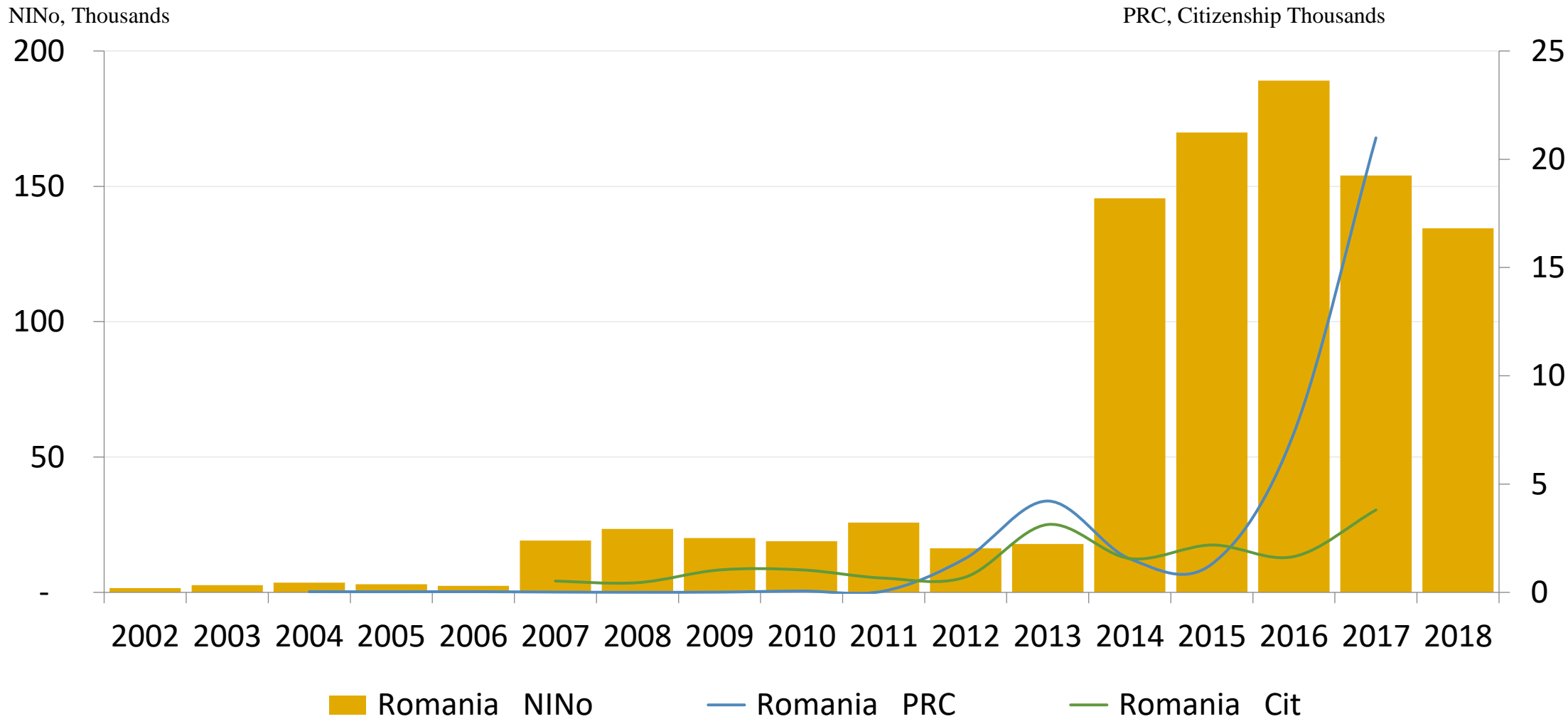
Free movement (2014-)?

‘Poles, Romanians, even Turks may one day *feel* and *be treated* as simply **mobile European citizens, not immigrants**. For the time being, only the Westerners can hope to enjoy this degree of **invisibility and spatial flexibility**. From a subjective point of view, being part of this system is expressed by the **sense of not having crossed any borders**. *We are* not “migrants”, *we are* just “Europeans”’ (Favell 2008)

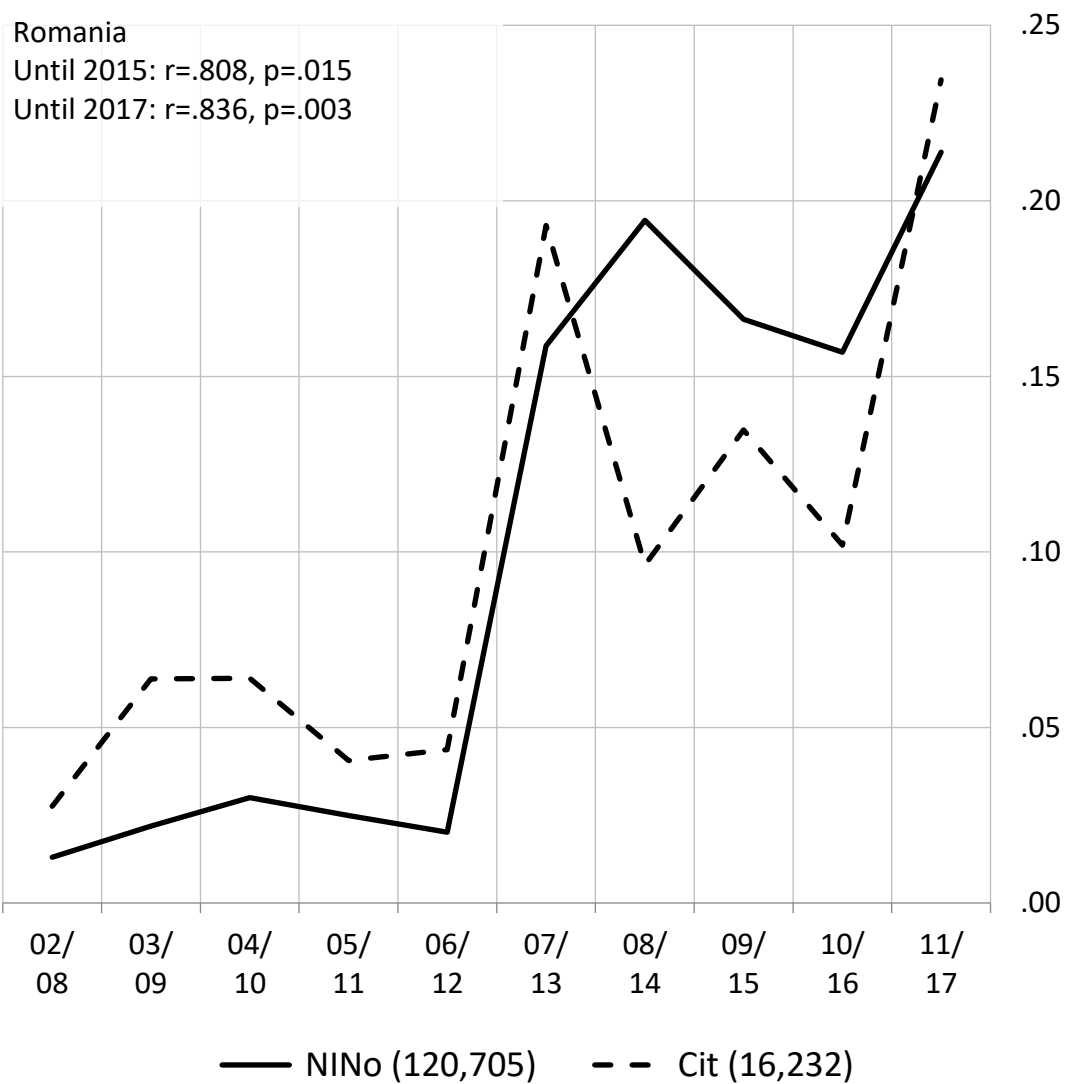
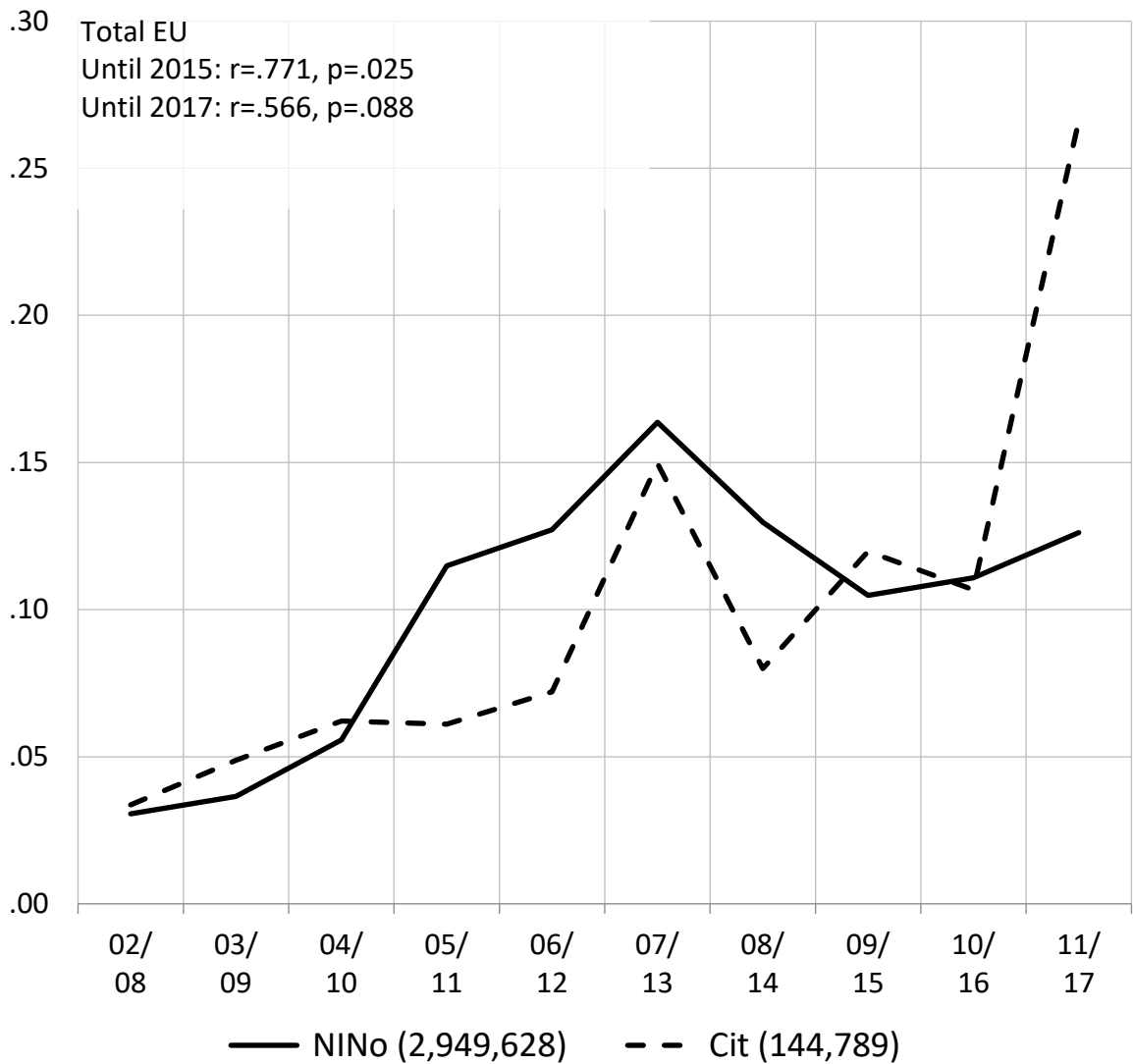
‘The routine and growing **discrimination** faced by Poles and Romanians as they seek to pursue their fortunes as EU citizens is more than just a sociological disappointment; it is **stark proof that Europe has failed**. Perhaps it was too much to hope that they would become ‘invisible’ Europeans like the others; but the prognosis is, in fact, even worse. ... The target now also includes Greek and Portuguese movers, and soon maybe young, highly qualified Spaniards and Italians. They are **all becoming visible again: turning into immigrants** who **no longer enjoy unconditional European citizenship**; migrants who are no longer free to be just European residents, and whose tolerated presence may be henceforth **conditional on their willingness to integrate**’ (Favell 2013)

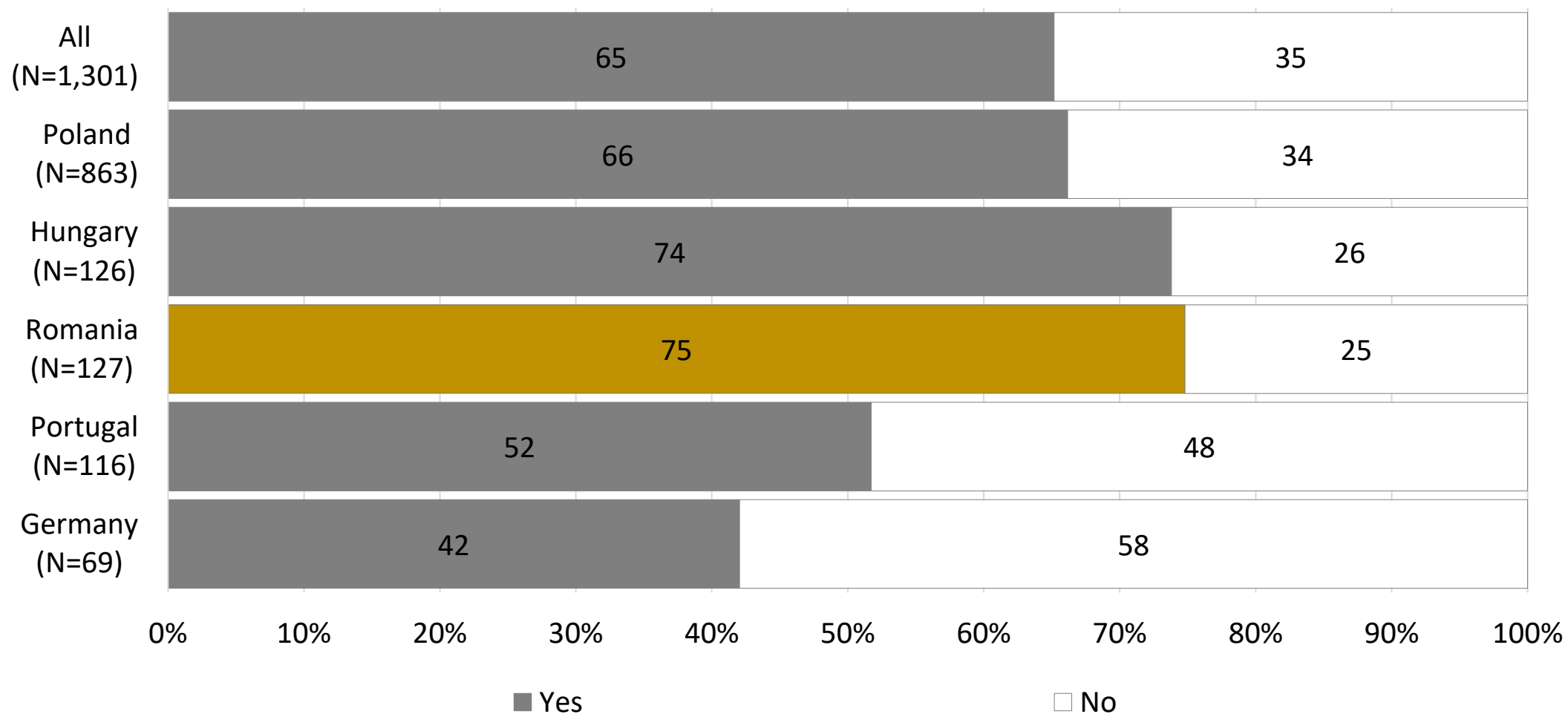
National Insurance Numbers (NINO), Permanent Residence certificates (PRC), and British citizenship applications

Romanian nationals



Correlation between year-paired National Insurance registrations and British citizenship applications

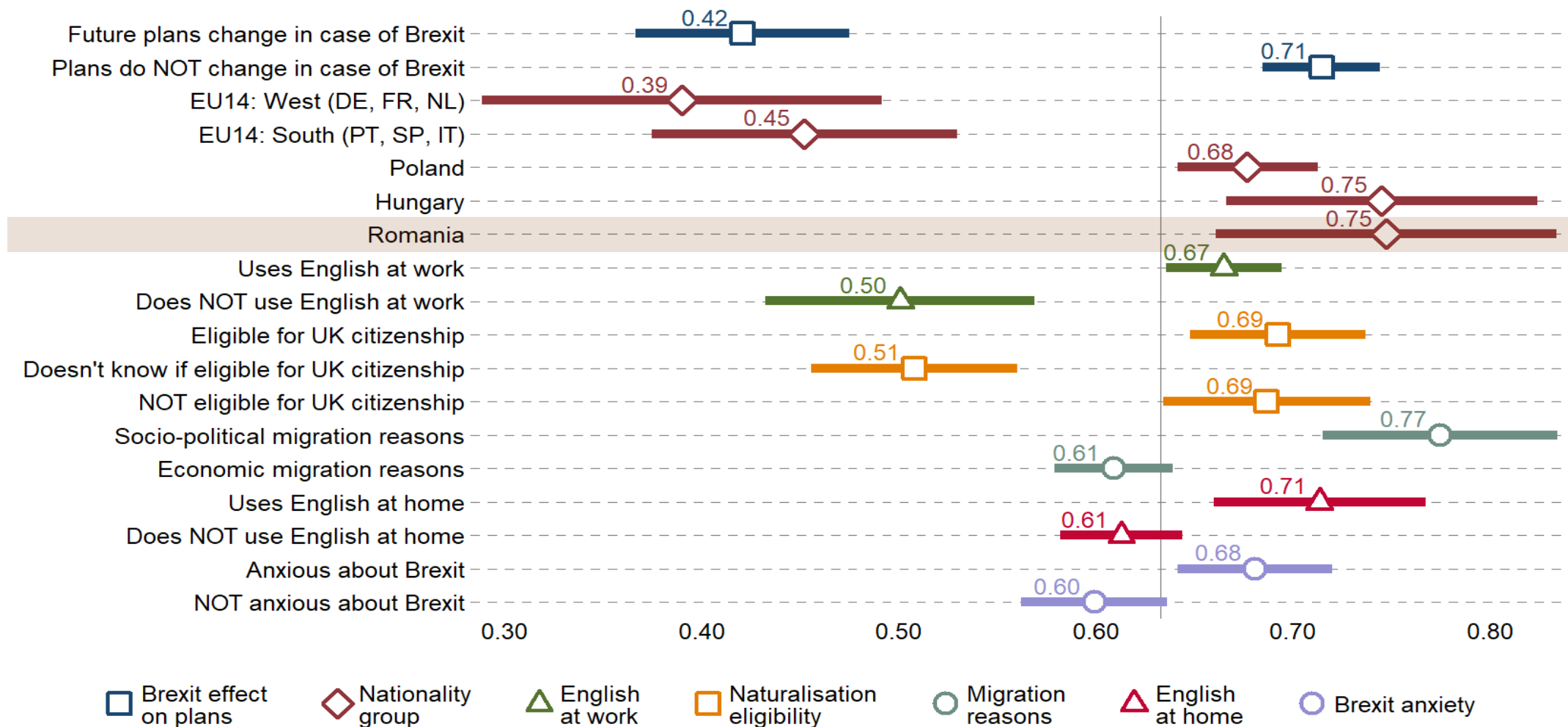




Naturalisation at any time in the future

Source: 2016 EUinUK survey data (Moreh, McGhee and Vlachantoni 2018)

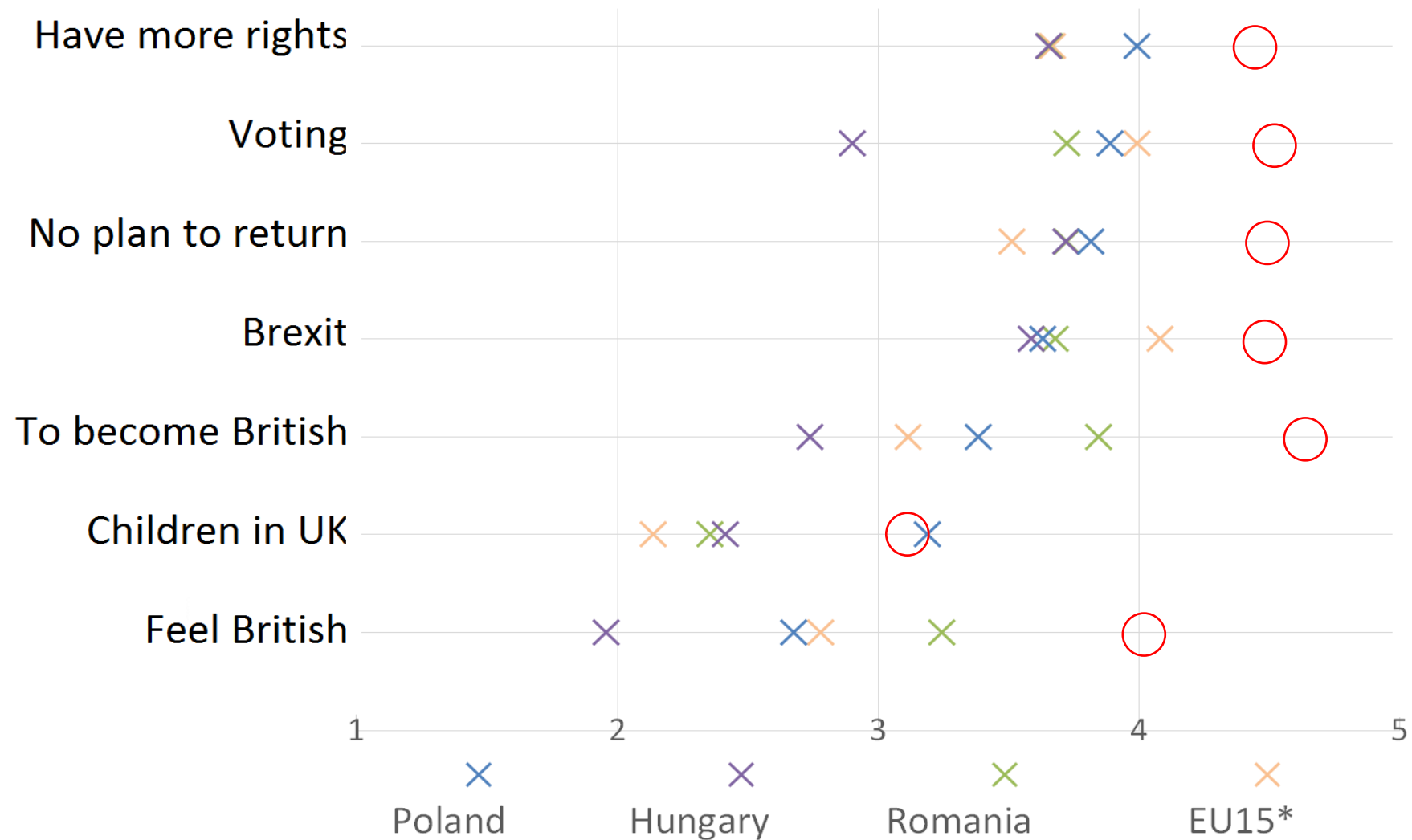
Predicted probability of intention to apply for citizenship sometime in the future (predictive margins with 95% confidence intervals)



Notes: Values show the predicted probability of planning to apply for British citizenship for each level of the seven explanatory variables. The variables are colour-coded (e.g. Nationality group has four categories shown in red). Probabilities are drawn from seven different models that include each explanatory variable separately alongside five socio-demographic control variables: sex; age; parental status; time in UK; the employment status of the economic unit. Variables are in decreasing order based on the size of statistically significant differences between contrasting levels. The vertical line at value 0.633 shows the basic probability of planning naturalisation: overall 63.3% of the respondents in the sample were planning to apply for citizenship in the future.

Reasons for planning naturalisation (N=833)

Means on a 1-5 scale; only cases with answers on all items included



Thank you!

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Population change in Central Eastern Europe (1981–2013)

