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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

On the Journal of Identity and Migration Studies

Lia POP

1. Defining the scope and goal of the publication

The Journal of Identity and Migration Studies (JIMS) is designed to host scientific contributions on the suggested topics: migration and identity. It relies on the contributions of the academics, PhD and MA Students, young researchers, politicians and different officers working in the field. It is welcomes the results of the academic projects, as well as the experience and wisdom enrooted in the experience of working with and for migrants. For this reason the review is conceived to combine multiple and complementary perspectives on migration and identity issues.

Firstly, JIMS aims to host materials and theoretical positions emerged from the perspective of the South- Eastern and Central European countries. The characteristics share several common features. They – as polities - are facing an ambivalent status in managing migration and fostering integration – they are countries both sending and the receiving migrants countries. They are states that have been encountering the flux of emigration – to EU 15 countries and to Canada and US - losing their most skilful, active and creative labor, losing a population usually speaking the second foreign language, socialized as Christians and familiar with the European values. They are in the condition of starting to receive an increasing flux of immigrants with no ability of speaking the official language(s) – rarely educated and socialized according to European and Christian values. Their citizens – as citizens of new EU Member States - experienced an ambiguous position as non-welcoming people in enjoying, practically, The Free Movement of Citizens in EU, the founding liberty of European construction and as legally entitled EU citizens to move, to work and to reside anywhere in the EU. These countries - as societies - are encountering the problems of managing migration and fostering
integration without a political tradition in dealing with differences; without a complete political, economical, cultural and religious modernization, in a moment of severe hemorrhages of the most qualified of their people (engaging in brain drain toward developed countries); without a cultural preparation in fostering integration and with a limited technical training in dealing with the perverse and adverse phenomena connected with migration;

The countries from this region are the most solicited and the first front of the EU - and not the best equipped - in combating: the illegal migration; the routes of the trafficking and smuggling persons; the routes of trafficking drugs and arms; the most vulnerable points of terrorist attacks. They are countries with a non-famous national or regional identity, not very well qualified to assimilate migratory groups coming from far-Asia - Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, and China or from Ukraine, Turkey or Africa.

Secondly, JIMS aims to host materials and theoretical positions that are looking at migration and identity from a political perspective. That means we gather articles and events – much more designed by political scientists and scholars – but we are welcoming also scholars in Economy, Law, Sociology, Philosophy, Media, Communications and all other scientists concentrated on this type of phenomena. We can call our perspective, briefly, a political perspective. But, as a matter of fact, it is’ a perspective of policies. It envisages to analyze policies; to constructively criticize the laws and the institutions designed to implement these specific policies; to explore philosophical approaches on the phenomena on migration and identities – as personal and group identity; to provide data about the reality of migration and its challenge for re-defining identity; to offer, for decision makers, syntheses about the public acceptances and preferences in changing their lives according with a different social environment; to gather information about the outcomes of policies’ implementations.

2. The Philosophical approach of the Journal of Identity and Migration Studies

The philosophical understanding of the above-mentioned fields – migration and identity – embraced by the editors is simple: they are inter-related phenomena of our time that challenge the humanity to define itself on new bases. But, they can redefine humanity as the most human society only by preserving traditional roots of humanism: religion and patriotism (nationhood or umma culture).
The philosophy inspiring the publication celebrates the chance to meet the diversity as a source of cultural, economical and societal richness. But it, also, is aware of the possibilities of misunderstandings or even of conflicts in an unprepared cross-cultural society. An unprepared society is the society that is missing the custom of solving misunderstandings by talking about them. It is a society which does not assume the problems and does not communicate on them. The most unprepared societies are those that have not the practice the conflicts with a solution embraced by all the parts.

The review editors reject and fear only the unacceptable tools to forge the nationhood, the war and the hatred toward the others. The philosophy embraced by the editors is to host the richest diversity of views and theoretical positions. This is in the hope and the goal of structuring a vision of a most welcoming world to otherness and most open newcomers in cooperating trustfully with the natives and old timer inhabitants. The unacceptable positions for the review will be an intentional offense to a specific group, the intolerance and the incitation to hatred and negative discrimination against the other, especially against the people in need.

3. Type and the Structure of the JIMS

JIMS is designed to be a semi-annual publication, in line, with a future forum attached, for discussing the issues.

The structure of the review will unify:

**PART I. Thematic articles - focused on migration and identity.** We are welcoming in this section, contributions: presenting philosophy, political theory, political positions in the field; sharing good practices from all around the world in defending the dignity and the Human Rights of migrant persons, on working with refugees and asylum seekers; reporting significant personal experiences; reporting in media columnist style dramatic events connected with the main topics; on discrimination of migrants; on policies addressed to manage the migration flux; to prevent adverse and perverse effects; to keep the personal right to free movement of the persons; the human rights warranted by the Human Rights Declarations; on policies designed to foster the integration of migrants of the first, second and third generations; on specific policies on asylum and refugees.
PART II. Research articles - focused on migration and identity. The editors call for articles grounded in field or desk research: on migration flux - from and in - Eastern and Central European Countries; on the public acceptance of newcomers; on the difficulty and success in integration; on discriminations against migrants, especially against the child; on different roles of the institutions in integration or preventing personal alienation philosophy; on policies addressed to managing migrations and fostering integrations - comparative analyses are specially welcomed; on positive discrimination for migrants; on public acceptance and tolerance to them. Works in progress of research or policy proposals are also welcomed.

PART III. Review materials - focused on migration and identity. Reviews of books, academic periodicals, scientific conferences, will be published in this section

PART IV. Events Reports and Announcements – concerning migration and identity issues. We expect here signals on academic opportunities to study migration and identity problems, as well as signals on specific professional associations, organizations dealing with migration and identity issues.

PART V. Note on the contributors

As concerns the style, we would like to host articles and studies elaborated in a classical academic style

4. Expected outcomes

The editors hope to create around the publication an enduring network of researchers, experts, professionals, politicians and social activists from NGOs concerned with the problems of the persons in movement; of the persons and groups non-integrated (or even excluded as group) in the host society.

We believe that this network created by the review could: provide, in the near future, a founded and analytic point of view regarding the theories, ideologies and other types of trends addressing or even manipulating public opinion in our times; offer support in drafting different policies in the field; be involved in asserting the entrepreneurial initiative and the expertise in the field, in the benefits of the dis-rooted persons and groups. We would like to address our gratitude to all the current contributors and to our sponsor: The Soros Foundation Romania through the program East-East Partnership beyond Borders Program.

Oradea, 2007
THEMATIC ARTICLES - LABOR MIGRATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Institutional Determinants of International Migration from Central-Eastern Europe

Agnieszka FIHEL

Abstract. The aim of this paper is to present the role of institutional determinants for international migration from Central and Eastern Europe. In the whole post-war period international mobility has been stimulated by economic incentives, such as income disparities and unemployment, and also by particular solutions in migration policies in the receiving countries. Ethnic and asylum procedures, selective labor recruitments, visas barriers, regularization programs have mostly directed and intensified labor migration from CEE countries.

Recently the EU enlargement (and, consequently, opening of member states’ labor markets) became another institutional enhancement for migrating. The 2004 accession of eight CEE countries has been followed by a massive flow from CEE to the UK and Ireland that, together with Sweden, opened their labor markets for migrant workers. In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania will gain the access into EU, but the directions of mobility has been already established for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens: the main destination countries are Italy and Spain. The dynamics of migration from Romania and Bulgaria to South Europe has been extraordinary high since around 2000, mainly due to low legislative barriers and high demand for low-paid work. Again, the institutional determinant, such as overall acceptance towards illegal, foreign workers and regularization programs, turned out to be decisive.

Keywords: International migration, labor markets, institutional determinants

1. The economics of East-West migration

International migration within European continent or – more precisely – at the junction of Eastern and Western Europe is often perceived as labor mobility from poorer to richer regions. In this perspective the mechanism of labor flows is intensified by wage/income disparities and differences in employment opportunities between post-communistic and high-developed economies. The GDP per capita, which serves as a relatively good measure of the level of economic development and at the same time as the proxy of individual incomes, is supposed to be major factor in
migration decision-making process. All CEE countries are seriously lagging behind the major destination countries in Western Europe (Table 1).

Table 1. GDP per capita in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS) (EU25 = 100) in selected European countries, selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006 (b)</th>
<th>2007 (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU25</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU15</td>
<td>109.5</td>
<td>109.8</td>
<td>109 (b)</td>
<td>109 (b)</td>
<td>108.2 (b)</td>
<td>107.9</td>
<td>107.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>126.4</td>
<td>125.7</td>
<td>120.8</td>
<td>122.6</td>
<td>122.5 (b)</td>
<td>121.9</td>
<td>121.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>112.8</td>
<td>113.6</td>
<td>111.3</td>
<td>109.3</td>
<td>108.9 (b)</td>
<td>108.2</td>
<td>107.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>118.0</td>
<td>111.9</td>
<td>108.4</td>
<td>108.6</td>
<td>108.1 (b)</td>
<td>107.4</td>
<td>106.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>83.6 (b)</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>102.2</td>
<td>126.1</td>
<td>134.1</td>
<td>137.0</td>
<td>138.4 (b)</td>
<td>139.8</td>
<td>141.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>115.5</td>
<td>113.3</td>
<td>107.8</td>
<td>105.8</td>
<td>103.6 (b)</td>
<td>103.1</td>
<td>102.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>98.3 (b)</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>109.0</td>
<td>112.5</td>
<td>116.2</td>
<td>116.2</td>
<td>115.9 (b)</td>
<td>115.8</td>
<td>116.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>48.4 (a)</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>61.9 (b)</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) estimates; (b) forecast
Source: author’s elaborations based on OECD.

Apart from the GDP disparities, another important factor that may intensify migration is unemployment rate. The economic transition in the CEE countries was closely linked to the worsening of the situation on their labor markets. A typical example is Poland, where unemployment reached very high level in the early 1990s, then decreased slightly and started to rise again in the second half of the 1990s. Recently, the unemployment rate for the whole country exceeded 15%; in a few regions it was as high as 25 or 30%. The unemployment rate can be perceived as a proxy of a probability of finding a job and thus is treated as a major push factor determining migration. The most serious disequilibria on the labor markets (the highest unemployment rates) face Poland (Table 2), but also Slovakia and the Baltic States.

Table 2. Unemployment rate in selected European countries, 1996, 2000-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU25</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU15</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above presented data it follows that in case of few CEE countries, particularly Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and Slovakia, the GDP disparity and situation on the labor market became significant factors determining migration. This, in fact, was reflected in increase in migration streams from the region in the 1990s. However, what might arouse controversy, the situation on the labor markets and levels of income were not the main determinants of international migration from CEE countries.

2. Institutional determinants of migration in Central and Eastern Europe

The aim of this paper is to show that institutions of migration policies in the receiving countries played the most important role in stimulating international mobility from CEE countries. During the whole post-war period: since the expulsion of ethnic Germans after the WW2 until European Union enlargement in 2004, scale, directions and types of mobility coincided mostly with elements of migration policies in Western states: ethnic and asylum procedures, selective labor recruitments, visas barriers, regularization programs. Mobility of East Europeans was to great extent a response to those particular institutions in the receiving countries. To illustrate this thesis, several facts from post-war history will be referred.

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1 In this paper I focus on ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe that are new EU members: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Romania.
2.1 Migrations from CEE in the communist period

To start with the communist period, it is well-known that the boundaries of CEE countries were tightly closed. On the one hand, international mobility was strictly controlled and limited. On the other hand, both political repressions and economic factors (such as low incomes, poverty, shortages in supply of basic goods, and, on the side of receiving countries, demand for low paid employees and the “open door” policy for political migrants from Central and Eastern Europe) intensified propensity to emigration. However, since the cross-border movement was limited, in most cases departure from the home-country resulted in permanent emigration.

The main emigration flows that took place in CEE countries were based on either ethnic or asylum procedures conducted by West European countries. What might sound controversial, both procedures were abused by citizens of CEE countries, for many of whom the main emigration motive was economic. What is well-known from Polish perspective, in great part ethnic emigrants were persons having relatives in Germany, but not necessarily bound up with German society, culture, even not knowing German language.

The ethnically-based mobility constituted a typical loophole within the system of strictly controlled boundaries of the communist states. The postwar expulsion of ethnic Germans and the following process of family reunification paved the way for numerous emigration both of German and non-German nationals from Central and Eastern Europe. The migration to Germany has been intensified and in many ways encouraged due the fact that the German demand for labor could not be satisfied by the national supply only. German recruitment programs developed in the 1960s, after the Berlin Wall was erected, were a clear manifestation of that deficit. After the cessation of recruitment of foreign workers in 1973, the inflow of people from CEE countries has been gaining importance for the labor market in Germany.

Ethnic Germans recruited mainly from f. USSR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. On the basis of so-called Aussiedlern/Spätaussiedlern

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2 An exception to this statement was mobility of so-called petty-traders, performed since the late 1970. mainly by Polish citizens.
Institutional Determinants of International Migration of CE Europe

procedure 1880,000 citizens of f. USSR, 633,000 of Poland (Okólski 1994), 400,000 of Romania and 109,000 of Czechoslovakia (Kučera 1994) were given the status of ethnic Germans. The peak of ethnic Germans’ emigration took place in 1989 when 372,000 persons entered Germany on the basis of Aussiedlern/Spätaussiedlern procedure and decreased since then (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Outflow of ethnic Germans from main sending countries, 1987-2000

![Figure 1](image-url)  
Source: Locher (2002).

Other massive ethnically-determined outflows were performed by citizens of Bulgaria: in the period 1950-1989 as many as 640,000 ethnic Turks, 32,000 Jews, 8,000 Armenians, and 9,000 Russians, Czechs and Slovaks emigrated for permanence (Markova 2006). The outflow continued after the 1989 liberalization of international mobility: around 220,000 Bulgarian ethnic Turks left the home country and settled abroad. The mass outflow of ethnic Turks spelt a significant population decrease or even depopulation in the regions that the emigrants mostly inhabited. Guentcheva et al. (2003) mentioned villages and towns in the southern region of Bulgaria that have almost halved their population. As far as Romania is
concerned, during the 1990s about 100,000 Romanian ethnic Germans emigrated, while 46,000 Romanian ethnic Hungarians were granted Hungarian citizenship.

Another institutional factor that stimulated migration in the communist period was constituted by asylum programs in Western Europe. Apart from emigration of political refugees, that took place mostly in 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia and 1981 in Poland, most outflows took place at the turn of the 1980. and 1990. Once the cross-border movement became to some extent liberalized, thousands of East Europeans entered West European countries (mostly Germany and Austria) in order to apply for asylum status, which was the most possible way of legalizing stay abroad. In the period 1985-1994 370,000 citizens of Romania, 150,000 of Poland and 100,000 of Bulgaria applied for asylum status in today’s EU-15 states. This flow was strongly dependent on the immigration policy by receiving countries and, however, has little to do with propensity to migration. This was the case of Germany and Austria which at the beginning of the 1990s tightened their asylum. As a result, numbers of asylum seekers decreased sharply afterwards.

3. The dominance of temporary labor flows in the transition period

On the eve of communism breakdown, in 1988 and 1989, the international mobility from CEE countries has been intensified. Paradoxically, the lifting of the Iron Curtain and the opening of state boundaries at the beginning of the 1990s were not accompanied by mass permanent emigration from CEE countries, contrary to what had been expected. It does not mean, however, that people unable to find employment in the country did not seek job abroad, but rather indicates that the great part of migration potential from CEE countries was absorbed by temporary mobility or even pendular movements.

Short-term mobility took place on a massive scale in Europe as on the one hand, it was institutionally enhanced and tolerated in the receiving countries and,

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3 The magnitude of those emigration streams is estimated at 194,000 Hungarians after the 1956 Revolution (Juhasz 1999), 82,000 citizens of Czechoslovakia in the period 1967-69 and around 100,000 Poles in the aftermath of martial law declaration in 1981. To some extent emigration of 250,000 Polish Jews (Gawryszewski 2005) was determined politically by, on the one hand, anti-Semitic events in Poland and, on the other hand, the establishment of Israel state.
on the other hand, it was most profitable for the migrants themselves. The perfect example provides Germany that during the post-war period conducted active recruitment policy towards CEE countries’ nationals: firstly settlement policy towards ethnic Germans, then, with liberalization of cross-border mobility, towards seasonal migrants.

Three kinds of temporary migration can be distinguished: flows resulting from seasonal demand for labor in the agriculture and construction sector in Western countries, regional cross-border commuter-type movements and migration of people for undocumented work under the guise of tourism.

As far as seasonal migration in Europe is concerned, the main destination countries are Germany, France, Spain and the United Kingdom. A predominant proportion of those movements is regulated by the terms of respective bilateral agreements with East European governments, and Germany receives by far the largest numbers of seasonal workers. In 2004 over 330,000 persons from CEE states were temporarily employed in that country of whom over 85-90% from Poland (Dietz, Kaczmarczyk 2006). The seasonal flow of over quarter million persons a year from Poland alone is currently the largest individual flow in the region of Central Europe.

With regard to cross-border movements, the most significant flows take place in the junction of Western and East European countries. For instance, in the beginning of the 1990s the number of Czechs commuting to Germany, and employed mainly as irregular workers, was as high as 50,000 persons, which due to restrictions introduced by German labor administration dropped to 30,000-35,000 in 1995 (Drbohlav 2004). Another meaningful instance are cross-border movements of people from Slovenia to Austria and Italy. In 2000, the number of Slovenians crossing borders to work on daily commuter basis has been estimated at almost 13,000 (Zavratnic Zimic 2003). Most of them take up jobs in tourism, agriculture and forestry. Two tourist centers alone: Graz in Austria and Triest in Italy employ daily over 4,000 Slovenians.

A popular form of temporary flows has emerged in the 1990s in keeping with the lifting by many western European states of tourist visas for the citizens of EU8 states. Many false tourists from CEE, predominantly from Poland, have devised

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4 Migrants earn Western wages (that even in the secondary sector of the labour market are higher than in CEE counties) but spend them in home-countries where the price level is much lower.

5 Up to three months a year.
“commuting” between their usual residence and a work place in the West as a viable way of making a living. It was subordinated to a three-month legal tourist stay under visa-free regime. In a relatively short time the communities of undocumented temporary workers from Poland mushroomed in western cities, such as Berlin, Brussels, London, Rome and Vienna. Surveys conducted in Poland in mid-1990. revealed a wide existence of micro-regions (as a rule of peripheral location) where from one-third to more than a half of households lived on incomes earned by those “commuter-tourists” (Jaźwińska, Okólski 2001).

4. EU enlargement: Poland as the main sending country

On May 1, 2004 eight CEE countries entered European Union but only three labor markets became open to migrants from the East: British, Irish and Swedish. Sweden, however, leads an active protection policy6 towards its national workers. Therefore, the number of labor migrants from CEE countries is insignificant and lower than, for instance, in Norway (a non-EU member!) that officially did not open its economy for foreigners7. This example proves the importance of institutional determinants for labor migration.

In the period May 1st, 2004 – September 30th, 2006 almost 510,000 citizens of EU8 countries8 registered in British Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) (Figure 2). WRS is the register of all migrants from the EU8 countries wishing to take up employment in the United Kingdom. It was set up on May 1, 2004 in order to provide at least basic information on post-accession migration flows. The data are far from being perfect as only the applications/applicants and not the migrants are recorded, and there is no way to find whether the applicant is still staying in the United Kingdom9. Nevertheless, WRS allows for tracing migration trends and at least estimating the scale of migration from EU8 countries.

Poles constituted a vast majority of applicants (64%). In that period not only the absolute number of Poles increased, but also their proportion in all

---

6 Performed not only by the government, but also by trades unions.
7 In the period May 2004 – August 2005 29,000 first work permits were granted to EU8 nationals in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. The number of work permits in Norway was as high as 16,700, while in Sweden 6,300 (Directorate of Immigration, Norway).
8 Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic and Slovenia.
9 In addition, an application costs 50 pounds, which might be a disincentive to register.
migrants from the EU8 countries\textsuperscript{10}. Other significant migrant groups originated from Lithuania (11\%) and Slovakia (10\%); those two countries, though less populated, have sent many more migrants than the Czech Republic or Hungary. As far as Slovenian workers are concerned, they seemed to show no reaction to the opening of British labor market. The routes for Slovene migrant workers have remained limited to the regional areas: Austria, Italy, Balkan states and, further, Germany and Switzerland.

Figure 2. Number of WRS applicants in the United Kingdom in the period May 1st, 2004 - September 30th, 2006; by source country (citizenship) and quarter of year


Ireland, another EU15 country that opened its labor market to the citizens of new accession countries on May 1, 2004, has been relatively open to the inflow from those counties already since 2001. The scale of immigration to Ireland is reflected by the Personal Public Service numbers (PPS) data (Figure 3). Every migrant acquires a PPS number that is required not only for work, but also for

\textsuperscript{10}While the total of Poles increases every quarter of year since the second quarter of 2004, the numbers of immigrants from other EU8 countries remain stable (see Figure 2).
receiving social benefit or making a driving license. Thus, the number of PPS numbers issued to the EU8 nationals reflects all registered immigrants, not only foreign workers.

In the period May 1, 2004 – November 1st, 2006 over 290,000 PPS numbers were issued to EU8 nationals. Similarly to the evidence from Britain, Poles (174,000 persons registered in Ireland) proved to be by far the most highly prone to migration for work of all EU8 nationals. The number of Lithuanian workers (44,600) was only one-quarter of that of Poles, and of Slovaks (23,000) only one-eight. Numbers of Czechs, Estonians, and Hungarians did not exceed 5,000 persons annually, while of Slovenians – 100 persons yearly11.

**Figure 3. PPS numbers issued to migrants in Ireland in the period May 1st, 2004 – October 31st, 2006 by country of citizenship**

![Graph showing PPS numbers issued to migrants in Ireland by country of citizenship]

Source: Skills needs in the Irish economy: the role of migration 2006

5. **New directions of mobility after 2000**

At the turn of the centuries the map of international migration in Europe, especially directions of mobility have changed. During the post-war period the main destination countries for all CEE countries’ citizens were Germany and the United States. Nowadays, taking into account the dynamics of migration, the role

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11 Therefore Slovenians were not illustrated in the Figure 3.
of main receiving country has been overwhelmed by the UK, Ireland, Spain and Italy. This shift results from, on the one hand, the 2004 EU enlargement and, on the other hand, tolerance against irregular foreign workers in the South of Europe. Despite lower incomes for labor migrants in i.e. Italy compared to Germany, migration is stimulated by institutional factors, which again turned out to be of great significance.

As far as the EU enlargement is concerned, the British Isles attracted migrants from EU8 states, mostly from Poland, Slovakia and Baltic States. For instance, in the period 2000-2005 Polish labor migrants headed mainly at Germany and the United States – the total of persons in those two countries oscillated around 100,000 (Figure 4). The increase in migration from Poland resulted from mobility to new destination countries, such as Italy, Spain, UK and Ireland – the number of Polish migrants in those countries exceeded in the second quarter of 2005 100,000.

Figure 4. Polish migrants by country of destination, 2000-2005, 2nd quarter of year (in thous.)

![Graph showing Polish migrants by country of destination 2000-2005](image)

Source: author’s elaborations based on Labor Force Survey for Poland.

As far as Spain and Italy are concerned, two incentives towards migration should be taken into account: growing demand for foreign work, especially in the secondary sector of labor market, and low legislative barriers. Italy, Spain and

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12 Greece should also be mentioned as an important destination country for migrants from Romania and Bulgaria.
13 Which became a receiving country not until 2004.
14 Male migrants from CEE countries work in agriculture and construction sector, while females are household keepers, cleaning ladies, care for the elderly and children.
Greece can be characterized as states of great tolerance towards irregular foreign workforce leading very liberal migration policies. In the end of the 1990 the dynamics of immigration from CEE countries became unexpectedly and extraordinary high. For instance, in Italy the number of work permits newly issued to citizens of Romania sharply increased from 5,900 in 1998 to 21,000 in 1999 and 50,000 in 2000 (Chaloff 2003). In 2000 Romanians constituted the largest group of permit-holders and the third group of foreign residents (after Moroccans and Albanians) with 95,800 persons in 2002. According to Blangiardo (2006) in July 2005 there were around 437,000 Romanians in Italy among them around 68% residents, 10% migrants with a regular status and 22% irregular migrants. In Spain, after the liberalization of visa program for Romanians in 2002 and regularization process of foreigners in 2005, the number of Romanian residents in Spain increased extraordinary dynamically: from 1,400 persons in 1996 to 25,000 in 2001 and 83,400 in 2004 (Escribano 2005). In the 2005 regularization program almost 120,000 irregular workers from Romania applied for affiliation into Social Security System (SSS). In 2004 Romanian citizens constituted the fifth largest foreign group in Spain. In the beginning of the 21st century the total of Romanian citizens living in Spain or Italy exceeded the number of those in Germany, the traditional destination country for Romanian emigrants.

Figure 5. Stock of Romanian citizens living in Germany, Italy (a) and Spain (b), 1988-2004 (thous.)

![Graph showing the stock of Romanian citizens living in Germany, Italy, and Spain from 1988 to 2004.](image)


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15 In fact, regularizations programs for immigrants were established in those countries: in 1998 in Greece, in 2005 in Spain.
6. Conclusions

To conclude, economic factors were not the only and not the main determinants for labor migration from CEE countries. During the whole post-war period migration policies of the receiving countries directed labor streams: their magnitude, character (permanent or temporary) and directions within Europe. Recently the most important institutional determinant is the enlargement of European Union and openness of member states’ labor markets. In the aftermath of the 2004 EU enlargement thousands of Polish, Slovak and Baltic States citizens entered British Isles in search of work. The inflow of Polish migrants was unexpectedly and extraordinary high.

The consequences of the Romania’s and Bulgaria’s accession in 2007 still remain the domain of speculations. CEE labor markets became open to Romanian and Bulgarian citizens but, still, mass labor immigration into CEE states is unlikely due to low wages in CEE compared to (illegal) incomes in i.e. Germany or UK. In other words, there is no substitution between illegal employment in Western Europe, which is very profitable and accepted in several states in the South, and legal, but low-paid employment in Eastern Europe.

The conclusion remark refers to the role of institutional determinants in the future. Sooner or later (the maximum period of labor market restrictions lasts 7 years) all EU labor markets will become open to CEE countries’ citizens. Then economic stimuli (especially incomes and tax incentives) will become more important than legislative determinants.

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The Eastern Migration and the Labor Markets in the EU: The Case of Romanian Workers in Spain

Maria BIRSAN and Romana CUCURUZAN

Abstract. This paper focuses on one of the most debated issues in the context of Eastern enlargement, id est the ‘danger’ of expected massive East-West migration, and its impact on the labor market in the EU.

During the 90’s, a large number of immigrants arrived in Western European states from the Eastern part of the continent. Some factors induced a negative perception on East-West migration shared by the public opinion. We refer to the relatively high rate of unemployment in the EU countries, while the presence of immigrants is seen as a source of pressure on labor market supply. To address the public opinion’s fears, transitional arrangements concerning free movement of workers from the new 8 Central and Eastern members have been implemented. Similar arrangements are being concluded between each EU country and the future new members -Romania and Bulgaria – on a bilateral base.

The free movement of labor is one of the four pillars of EU Internal Market. It was assumed that the right of free movement would be followed by appropriate geographical and occupational mobility. The real picture is very different from what was expected and, in spite of a high unemployment rate, the intra-EU mobility continues to be very low.

Given the above mentioned, the East-West migration and its impact on the labor market have to be examined in the context of the paradoxical situation in the EU countries: unemployment and shortages in labor supply. Most recent studies clearly showed that the enlargement had a positive impact on the EU labor market, and the flow of workers from the East did not crowd out the workers in the host countries. Put it differently, the migrants fit more the labor market demand, probably on a complementary base.

Our micro-study intended to reveal the role of Romanian migrant workers in one of the most dynamic EU economies. To this end we carried out a research based on questionnaires. Given the limited number of responses, our findings cannot be generalized. Still, they complement the knowledge on this issue.

The paper is structured as follows: the first chapter makes a short literature review concerning the immigration and the EU labor market; based on statistics, the second chapter analyses several aspects of the mobility issue in the EU labor market, while the core of the paper is a case study, based on questionnaires, on Romanian workers in Spain, illustrating the immigrants’ role in one of the most dynamic economies. The last part concludes.

Keywords: labor market, mobility, and Eastern migration
Introduction

During the ‘90s a large number of immigrants arrived in Western European states from the Eastern part of the continent, either following the new atmosphere of ‘freedom’ and openness, or trying to escape from the political situation in former Yugoslavia, which turned into a bloody conflict. Anyhow, there are several facts and factors that induced a negative perception on East-West migration. Firstly, we would mention the relatively high rate of unemployment in the EU countries, and consequently, the presence of immigrants generally seen as a kind of source for jobs’ thieving, even in the case of legal immigrants. When the enlargement issue became a clear perspective, Eastern immigration turned into a serious matter of concern. It is also important to stress that the EU citizens’ perception was different from the one shared by the business environment (see, the report provided by PriceWaterhouse Coopers, 2004\textsuperscript{16}). Still, to address the public opinion’s fears, and certainly for political reasons, not only for economic ones, transitional arrangements concerning the free movement of workers from the new 8 Central and Eastern members have been concluded. After two years of working restrictions, the fears proved to be not only exaggerated, but a barrier to a better functioning of the labor market, as well. No invasion of migrants occurred. The recent attitude reconsideration of the various EU countries is a recognition of the ‘migrant workers’ positive role in the EU economy. It is also the time to call the Eastern labor movement, ‘mobility’, as it is in fact, at least when it is fuelled by economic reasons, and being under legal arrangements. The meaning is not a semantic one, but the expression of a certain treatment – discriminatory or non-discriminatory one.

Our paper is structured as follows: the first chapter makes a short literature review concerning the immigration and the EU labor market; based on statistics, the second chapter analyses several aspects of the mobility issue in the EU labor market, while the core of the paper is a case study, based on questionnaires, on Romanian workers in Spain, illustrating the immigrants’ role in one of the most dynamic economies. The last part concludes.

\textsuperscript{16} PriceWaterHouse Coopers (2004) - \textit{Managing mobility matters - a European perspective}
1. The labor market– the weakest pillar of the EU’s Single Market

As it is well known, the free movement of labor is one of the EU’s Internal Market four pillars. It was assumed that the right of free movement would be followed by appropriate geographical and occupational mobility, and that an integrated EU labor market will contribute to the adjustment of certain economic structural de-equilibrium. The smoothly functioning of the monetary union itself is mainly based on the single market with completed four freedoms: goods, services, capital, and persons.

In spite of difficulties, major steps have already been undertaken regarding the first three freedoms, but the workers’ mobility is still lagging behind. Therefore, the real picture is very different from what was expected and, in spite of high unemployment rate, the mobility continues to be very low\textsuperscript{17}. The attitude towards mobility differs among professional and age groups, and also from one country to another. But, for the EU as a whole, the low mobility is a real matter of concern, and several measures to improve the situation have been already taken. A lot of barriers might explain the situation. Among them, there are usually mentioned: linguistic barriers, cultural differences, fear of mobility’s negative impact on family life, and even lack of mobility culture: high risk and incertitude aversion, etc.\textsuperscript{18}. Consequently, in the case of Western Europeans we may talk about a propensity to immobility.

2. Eastern migration is filling somehow the mismatches in the labor market

The issue of Eastern enlargement’s impact on the Western migration flow was widely examined under various aspects such as changes in labor supply and in employment rate, changes in wage variables, if any, etc.\textsuperscript{19} Studies in this field put into evidence the causes, which might be various mismatches between supply and demand\textsuperscript{20}; and came to the conclusion that the amount of Eastern immigration is

\textsuperscript{17} Špidla (2006), in http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/workersmobility2006/int_spidla_en.htm, downloaded in April 2006;


\textsuperscript{19} Ockmann (2005);

\textsuperscript{20} Boswell and Straubhaar (2005)
not a real issue; on the contrary, the lack of labor force will be a real problem in the near future. There were also studies that draw attention on the fact that EU lacks a pro-active immigration policy and a system to identify the future shortages on the labor market and on qualifications\textsuperscript{21}.

The East-West migration and its impact on the labor market have to be examined in the context of the paradoxical situation in the EU countries: on one side, relatively high unemployment rate and, on the other side, shortages in labor supply.

Chronologically, the literature in the field might be split into two components:

1. The first one focused on forecasting the potential migration flows induced by the first Eastern enlargement, and to anticipate their impact. Econometric models and empirical surveys tried to estimate the size of migration flows based on variables such as GDP/inhabitant, or labor market situation (unemployment rate) in the CEECs.\textsuperscript{22} The results clearly showed the decreasing number of Eastern migrants along with GDP/inhabitant gap reduction, FDI inflow in CEECs and job creation, but also because of negative demographic changes in CEECs. Moreover, finding and employing workers will become a real problem in the future;

In spite of evidence, and in spite of clear labor shortages in certain sectors (low skilled sector: agriculture, constructions, cleaning services etc.; highly skilled sectors: IT, medicine, technical and economic engineering etc.)\textsuperscript{23}, and the difficulties faced by the social security system, restrictions – as transitional arrangements - were imposed to limit immigration from new member states;

2. The second component, a more recent one, made an evaluation on Eastern migration issue two years after EU’s enlargement and of migration restrictions imposed on a bilateral base. The latest EU Commission Report on impact of workers’ mobility from the new EU members clearly showed that the enlargement had a positive impact on the EU’s labor market, and the flow of

\textsuperscript{21} Munz (2004)
\textsuperscript{22} Boeri and Brueker (2000); Fassmann and Munz (2001); Kunz (2002); Brueker (2003), Kelo and Wachter (2004)
\textsuperscript{23} See, the EURES portal that provide information about the labour needs in each EU country. The portal is accessed mainly by the highly skilled persons, which explains the poor demand for low skilled jobs.
workers from the East did not crowd out the workers in the host countries\textsuperscript{24}. On the contrary, they played an important role in several sectors as it was revealed recently by the \textit{Manpower Report 2006}. The fear for social dumping might be considered exaggerated. To this, one might add the official opinions and evaluations made in many EU countries (Great Britain, Spain, Italy) concerning the immigrants’ contribution to the activity in various economic and social sectors (agriculture, constructions, health care, domestic service or IT), and to their contribution to the budget (as tax payers). Moreover, the most open countries, but also the most interested in taking advantage of highly skilled immigrants, launched initiatives in order to attract selectively the immigrants: the points system in the Immigration Act (UK); the green card for IT specialists (Germany, Ireland) etc. A new orientation is also promoted at the EU level. Still, given the fragmentation of labor market and the specific structural problems in each EU countries, it is difficult to imagine one single immigration policy.\textsuperscript{25}

Since the perspective of an increased intra-EU geographical mobility doesn’t seem very realistic, we think that EU should focus on promoting more occupational mobility (as an instrument to face the challenges of dynamic economies), and on taking into consideration, as a ‘compensatory’ measure, the regional development and capital mobility.

Concerning the non-EU migrants, the results show that the immigration was more important than intra-EU mobility. Put it differently, the migrants fit more the labor market demand, probably on a complementary base. Since the migration waves’ from Romania and Bulgaria already took place, and given the experience of the other 8 CEE new members, transitional arrangements seem to be unnecessary. Despite the evidence, several EU countries reconsidered their initial options for opening their labor markets for Romania and Bulgaria and announced the launching of 2 year transitional period. In the case of EU members we refer to Great Britain, Ireland, Spain, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark and France. In opposition, opting for free access, we find countries like: Sweden, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, and Finland. Also, very recently, a non-EU member, Iceland, announced its decision to limit the access for workers from the two mentioned countries. Italy is still undecided, but there are chances to condition


\textsuperscript{25} Turmann (2004)
the free access by a strong partnership to combat the illegal migration coming from Romania\textsuperscript{26}.

3. Case study: Romanian workers on the Spanish labor market

3.1. Spanish labor market – short description

The Spanish labor market has registered important changes in the past 4-5 years, especially because of the increased insertion of women into the labor market, and also because of the high number of immigrants. Several indicators may complete the picture of the labor market situation in 2003.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Labor Market Indicators (EU/Spain)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labor market indicators EU/Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The active population rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate for older people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE - El Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas)

As one might see, the indicators of Spanish labor market are rather close to the EU average, except for the temporary employment, which is much higher, due to the share of the agriculture sector in the Spanish economy.

Spanish emigration has played, from different points of view, a very important role in the history of the Spanish population, as a response to the governmental policies or the economic forces failure to provide Spaniards with a decent standard of living\textsuperscript{27}.

Paradoxically, having a rather high unemployment rate, Spain is one of the most important receiving countries. It means that there are sectors in need for workers, and immigration is mainly accepted on a complementary base. According to Padron Municipal Statistics (Local register of inhabitants) there were 3.690.000 foreigners in Spain (January, the 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2005), 1.5 million persons more than in the

\textsuperscript{26} Information provided by www.euractiv.ro, 30 Oct. 2006

\textsuperscript{27} Carmen Egea Jiménez and Vicente Rodríguez Rodríguez - Return migration scenarios of retired migrants from the province of Jaén, Spain
Ministry of Internal Affairs statistics\(^{28}\). This means that an important number is still represented by irregular immigrants.

With a continuous trend of GDP growth, over the EU’s average, and a decrease in the level of unemployment, Spain is, in some respect, still considered a country of emigration, generally for unskilled labor. However, according to Padron Municipal\(^{29}\), we witness an important change in the stock of immigrants, from less than 1 million in 1999 to more than 3.6 millions in 2005! Spain is also considered to be one of the main important “gates” towards the EU for people coming from the Third World, with the main flows of immigrants coming from Latin America, from Africa, and only in the last years from Eastern Europe.

If we refer to the labor market we need to take into account the internal migration, the return migration (Spain is a country registering a high rate of return migration\(^{30}\)), and the immigrants, as well. The legal immigrants enter Spain by the use of two main methods- the annual quota and the temporary work permits for seasonal workers.

To address the problems the labor market was confronted with, but also to address the problems induced by the irregular immigration, the Immigration Act (2004) was amended. Then, a program for legalising the situation of irregular immigrants was introduced in 2005 (this is also called the Amnesty Program). On 31\(^{st}\) of March 2005, there was a number of 2.054.453 residence permits in Spain, out of which 26% were granted to EU citizens and 9% to non-EU citizens\(^{31}\).

As statistics prove\(^{32}\), Spain has a falling birth rate, ageing population and presents the typical segmentation of the labor market for a developed economy in:

- A superior segment, with high salaries and career perspectives, present in fields like IT, banking, financial services, etc in which immigrants work only as exceptions;
- An inferior segment, with low salaries and low career perspectives, in fields like crop collection, constructions, hotel assistance, domestic services, jobs which are lately covered by unskilled immigrants.

\(^{28}\) The "padrón" or "certificado de empadronamiento" refers to the process of registering with the town hall as a resident of a municipality. The figures are provided by Balch (2005, pp. 5-6)

\(^{29}\) Quoted in Balch (2005)

\(^{30}\) According to J. Adda, Christian Dustmann and Josep Mestresz (2006) - A Dynamic Model of Return Migration

\(^{31}\) Ibidem p.6-7

\(^{32}\) Eurostat – Structural Indicators, 2005
Within the latter segment, in agriculture, statistics prove a yearly decrease in the number of jobs of about 2.1% starting from 2001. Still, seasonal labor shortages are the reason for attracting immigrants from Eastern Europe. In the same time, in constructions, domestic services and catering there is an important increase in terms of job creation.

3.2. Romanian immigrants on the Spanish labor market

In Spain are registered 550,252 persons (15% out of total number of immigrants) coming from non-EU (Eastern) countries. Out of this number, only 177,863 (9%) are beneficiaries of residence permits. According to the Spanish National Institute of Statistics, and Padron Municipal, there were 314,349 Romanian immigrants, which place them on the third place, after the immigrants coming from Morocco and Ecuador. This means that about 57% of Non-EU European Immigrants in Spain are Romanians, a growing community.

There is little and only general information on Romanian immigrants working in the EU countries. Many questions might raise concerning firstly who are they, which are their main reasons for emigration, which is their education level, the training and qualifications, the kind of jobs they have/occupation, their employment status, the way of finding a job in the host country. Some information might be provided by the Romanian Department for Labor Abroad, especially when it is about the migrants getting contracts through the department. The most reliable information might be obtained by a large number of direct interviews. Therefore, only extended empirical research would provide us the real picture of the situation ‘sur place’. We only hope to contribute, with a small part, to this picture.

We are also aware of the fact that this research findings should be completed with information on the situation ‘at home’, the migration impact on the family economic situation (the role of financial and non-financial remittances), on family life, on gender roles etc. Such an extended research has to be an interdisciplinary one, based on a network of research centres specialized in several fields (rural development, macro and micro economy, gender studies, labor market analysis, etc). We support the idea of such a network, due to an important number of PhD students being already involved in migration research.
We chose Spain because of the important number of Romanian immigrants working there (according to estimations, about 25% of total Romanian migrants, which means about 500,000 persons) and also because the attractiveness for Spain as country of destination for Romanian workers is very high (language and culture similarities, rather friendly attitude from Spanish people, networking etc.). The number of Romanian immigrants might increase in the following periods, even if Spain announced its intention to introduce a 2 year transition period for Romanians and Bulgarians, as it was the situation for the 8 CEECs in 2004. As it happened with Romanian migrants to America long time ago, we find Romanian concentrated communities in certain Spanish areas. The aim of the research was also to see the typology of Romanian immigrant worker in Spain, comparing with those in other EU countries.

3.3. Findings from the micro-study

Our research was based on questionnaires addressed to Romanian workers in Spain. The questionnaire aimed to provide a socio-economic approach, including aspects such as age, reasons of emigration, legal status, kind of jobs, satisfaction/dissatisfaction with there life in Spain, professional and personal relations, identity etc.. For this paper, we have processed only the information regarding the migrant characteristics which are important for the labor market. Given the migrants’ reluctance to answer to some questions included in the questionnaire, especially if they held an illegal status, and also if their jobs were considered as not to be reported for various reasons, the sample is a small one and the interviewers were randomly selected (69 answers). The sampling has adopted the “snowball” technique. Therefore, we do not claim that the sample is representative of the Romanian population in the respective countries.

* We are grateful to our student Ioana Pop who is working in Spain, and who collected a number of 51 answers, and to a Romanian psychologist who is also working in Spain, and collected 19 questionnaires.

33 A more detailed analysis was carried out in the paper “Romanian immigrant workers in the Mediterranean area and in Northern Europe – the importance of the cultural background in the integration process” in Campbell, W, Birsan, M, Savulescu Voudouri, Cramarenco R. A sociological comparative study in Greece, Spain, the Netherlands, and Denmark (to be published in VIIIth Congress Cultura Europea, Pamplona, conference proceedings).
Table 2. Number of Romanian workers at different age levels in Spain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No of answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 – 29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 54</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 and older</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in the table above, the young and very young persons represent more than 80% in our sample, which is above the average figures from the new member states immigration within the EU’s internal market. One possible explanation might be the lack of commitment concerning family responsibilities (for the first group), and, on the contrary, the responsibility for the welfare of the families for the second group, but also the need to experience the possibility of working abroad, following almost 50 years of severe restrictions. In the same time, subjects related to these two groups might not have time to build a strong and motivating career at home, so that it is easier for them to choose an alternative abroad.

Table 3. Number of men and women at different age levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No of answers</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 and older</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though a trend of feminisation of migration is reflected in our sample (65.5 % of total respondents are women), following the general trend in the Spanish immigration, the percentage of men belonging to the relevant age groups (young and very young) is higher. Still, the percentage of women older than 40 is higher than men’s. One explanation may be the structure of the Spanish labor market which offers immigrants jobs in the second sector, mainly agriculture and

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34 Balch (2005), pp.11-12
constructions, where the need is for young unskilled men and domestic, caring or tourism related services, where the need is for women.

Table 4. Level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>No. of respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master or PhD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational training / schooling for a particular profession</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High school graduates dominate the sample. Still, graduate and postgraduate levels of education are also important. For the entire group, we might say that the Romanian immigrants in Spain have a good level of education, even though, as table 8 proves, more than half of them work under their qualification level.

Table 5. Reasons for emigration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>No of answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low salary</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We were tempted to consider unemployment and low salary as the most important reasons for emigration to Spain. However, the majority of the Romanian workers in the sample gave another reason than unemployment and low salary, without a specific answer. We cannot speculate about this situation but one possible explanation might the fact that most of them are looking for their first job. Therefore, they were not employed at home and did not have any salary before.
In our sample, a single person is decided to leave Spain immediately. This doesn’t mean that the others opted for no return to Romania, but simply for a longer stay, and maybe for a return in the years to come. According to most of the respondents, they intend to return as their reasons for migration disappear. The situation has changed from the beginning of 2006, when the Spanish government started the process of legalizing the status of irregular immigrants, out of which Romanians represent an important group.

As seen in the table below, the percentage of illegal/irregular workers is still high.

### Table 7. Legal status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legitimacy of work</th>
<th>No of answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Legal</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8. Working according to own qualification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>No of answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own qualification</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower than own qualification</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>65.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other qualification</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job as a student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than 65% of respondents declared that they work under their qualification. It means that the Spanish labor market is open for low skilled jobs,
low paid but probably better than the similar job or similar qualification for a job in Romania. Even indirectly, this means that the economic reason is the real dominant reason influencing the decision to emigrate.

Table 9. Correspondence of salary to kind of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correspondence</th>
<th>No of answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not relevant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About two thirds of respondents consider the salary as fair, as long as they compare the salary’s level to those paid in Romania for similar jobs.

Table 10. Ways of finding a job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ways of finding a job</th>
<th>No of respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formal in Romania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal in Spain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal in Romania</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal in Spain</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response / irrelevant</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The way of finding a job is obvious, meaning informal in the country of destination: the network of friends, relatives, persons from the same town/village function as the main means for finding a job in Spain.

Conclusions

The features revealed by our micro study allows us to sketch the profile of the Romanians working and living in Spain – majority: women, young and very young, medium and highly educated, without relevant work experience at home, opting for a long stay and for a possible return to the country of origin, working legally but under their qualification, finding a good match between salary and the
kind of the job performed, generally satisfied with living conditions and professional relations, with the ‘new life’.

If we compare this profile to the one identified in Greece\textsuperscript{35}, another Southern country of immigration, we find some similarities and differences: the majority of Romanian immigrants who entered these countries of immigration have a high school diploma and most of them have found a job in an informal way in the country of destination; the majority of respondents in Greece and Spain work under their qualification or in another qualification. As far as the differences are concerned, we found a higher propensity to return home in the case of respondents in Greece once their objective—mainly an economic one—has been fulfilled. The cultural similarities, including the language, may explain why the respondents in Spain opted for a longer stay.

Can we talk about a Southern type of emigration?

The answer is open and depends mostly on the findings concerning the immigrants to other Southern countries, and to comparative studies focused on the Northern countries and the Southern countries, as well.

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Monetary and Non-Monetary Remittances within Marginalized Migrating Families

Kateřina JANKŮ

Abstract. In this paper, I am using the research experience among Czech Roma families with the migration experience and taking a look on what is being exchanged between „those who went abroad“, and „those who stayed home“ and what can be the function and consequences of it.

Sending money, things, ideas etc. back and forth is the mean of closing the range between people within family and thus it facilitates the formation of transnational social ties. As individual examples of those remittances are lying open in front of us, we can see how they are part of the strategic reproduction of the “trans-nationalized” family.

Thus, I understand remittances in a broader sense than the economics does. I am proposing to aim not only on salary to be sent abroad to relatively poorer environments. There are not only monetary remittances, but also material, symbolic, social and emotional ones.

Keywords: Ethnographic research of migration, social marginalization, strategic reproduction, remittances.

I.

This paper is based on my ethnographic-sociologic research among Czech Roma migrants who claimed the asylum for discriminatory reasons between 1993 and 2004 and their relatives “back home”. One of my main motives was to go beyond the media presentation of the topic and bring more analytical, alternative account.

The delimitation of the research interest time period reflects the political and structural changes that shape possible migration activities in the social sphere. In the 1st January 1993 the Czechoslovak Federation split up and consequently hundreds of Slovak Roma living in the Czech Republic lost their citizenship. The Citizenship law of 1993 was considered by European community as discriminatory, because the conditions for gaining the citizenship complicated the possibility for Czech Roma (e. g. clean criminal record) and thus it became legitimate argument, together with other evidences of racial discrimination, for claiming the asylum abroad. In the 1st May 2004 Czech Republic joined the European Union and this act
cancelled the possibility to ask for asylum in the EU and significantly hardened it in other democratic countries too.

During this time period, there existed quite emotional public debate in the Czech Republic questioning the legitimacy of Czech Roma asylum claims in western countries. My research concerns rather the daily life perspective of the claimants and their relatives on the migration events than commenting this debate.

In 1999/2000 I spent five months in Toronto and after three months of preparation I visited six households and families of Czech Roma immigrants among whom I was doing intense one month ethnographic research that presented a base for my diploma work. I remained with the same topic for the PhD, where I am adding the aspect of distant relationships within the family, out of which only some of the members migrated. The general research question is “What is the position of the migration within Czech Romany families in their daily lives, what migration means for them and how it can be observed/what are the evidences for that?” My basic research method consists of visiting households and being part of their daily life in several hours’ long sequences. I was also doing unstructured interviews, most of them unrecorded; sometimes it is one-to-one, but most of the time it is rather chatting in the group. Further, I was part of some special events and rituals, like Saturday party and citizenship ceremony in Toronto. As an accompanying material I was talking to local relevant institutions in Czech Republic and in Canada, like NGOs and social services.

II.

During my research, it happened to me that I became part of the process of transporting things back and forth. When I went to Toronto I was given some presents for the relatives and on my return I brought the presents from Toronto to Czechia. If I would be allowed by the plain company, I brought 30 kg of things including the beddings back from Canada. This was in contrast to two plastic bags I took with me to Toronto. On the other hand, looking at the content of this cargo, the presents were of quite different quality and this quality is not so easy to assess, which one is “more” or “less”, as we can do it with the weight or size. Out of many presents from Czechia I would emphasize three – Czech team hockey dress, jewellery that was worn by one of the family members and the Czech-made pharmaceuticals the emigrating relatives were used to take. I will mention possible interpretations of it later in the text.
The term “remittance” can be understood in two slightly different meanings. One is the transfer of money and this economic understanding predominate contemporary social sciences (McCormick – Wahba 2000). Second possible meaning of the term “remittance” is any kind of consignment, not necessarily monetary. Within the scope of the research I emphasize that family who is experiencing migration of some of its members is dealing with physical, social and cultural distance in their everyday life. This “transnationalized” family is dealing with not only physical distance, but also socio-cultural distance. The siblings who were brought up in the same material conditions might suddenly have markedly different maintenances and means for consumption that can jeopardize the solidarity and understanding within the family. Although I did not notice any expressions of conflict provoked by it, I was personally taken with the differences in snack offered to the visit in the households of one family in Toronto and Czechia. I suppose that because the Canadian households are provided with relatively cheap food, they are for the first sight materially much better off. Relatives are sending each other pictures and videos, where they can see the material standard differences between them and their relatives and they have to deal with this socio-cultural distance.

Remittances in the broader sense thus present the mean of closing the material and socio-cultural range between people who have close family relationships. People may not only feel closer to each other, but they can also come close to each other in material standard. Mother of the new born baby in Czechia told me: “He has almost every dress from Canada.”

That means not only spearing of money for baby cloths, but also possibly bigger amount and more expensive baby cloths than there would be if Czech parents bought it themselves.

One of the important aspects of remittances is the circumstances under which they are being sent. It can be said, that there exist several triggers of remittances. 1. When there is the need for help. The transfers are initialized by ask for help. For example, relatives in Czechia may be threatened by inability to pay the rent, so there can be some money from relatives in Canada coming. Many Romany families in Czechia got dramatically poorer after 1989 and have debts on paying the housing. I suppose that some of the Romany families that have somebody abroad did not fall that deep at the social bottom, thanks to the money from emigrating relatives that could ward off a crisis. 2. In the moments of ritual of passage, like in birthday, Christmas, baptism of the kid. In these times not only money, but people and symbols
get to travel. 3. In random occasions. Sometimes people go here and there and following by that, things randomly appear in the households. One of the examples of it is the situation when I went to Toronto, so I was given the presents by the relatives and bring some back as well. 4. As a part of the daily routine. In the families I visited I found mainly the phone calls, computer chatting and using the web cameras quite important aspect of daily life.

Looking at diverse things that are being transported and used for closing range between relatives, I found out that the exchange is almost equally numerous. Considering the money, we can see that in the particular case of Czech Roma families with westbound emigration experience at the edge of 20. Century the exchange is at least two-way if not equal. Nevertheless, the research purpose was not to make the monetary sum-up, rather the diversity of remittances and context of enjoying them. There are five different kinds of remittances presented in following figure– money, material objects, virtual social ties, bodily social ties and symbols. At the same time, it is not possible to completely separate provision of money and the material objects from providing the social ties and symbols.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Home community” gives</th>
<th>“Emigrant community“ gives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 money as help to cover debts in Czechia</td>
<td>money as a general support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money to pay an emigrants’ flat in Czechia</td>
<td>money as a substitute for present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>money on purpose on buying food stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Czech hockey team dresses as present</td>
<td>cloths as present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicaments as domestic product</td>
<td>cloths as material support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beddings as material support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 video tapes as a way to keep in touch</td>
<td>video tapes as a way to keep in touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phone calls as catch-up with daily routine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>web chats as catch-up with daily routine</td>
<td>web chats as catch-up with daily routine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 housing for visits</td>
<td>housing for visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visits to deal with mutual homesickness</td>
<td>visits to deal with mutual homesickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visits in Canada to look after kids</td>
<td>service for visiting working relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strategic information on migration options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 symbol of continuity of identity</td>
<td>symbol of prospective family social progress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I will now shortly describe each group of remittances from the “domestic” and “emigrant” side.

Despite the presupposition that it is always the emigrants who provide their relatives with money I faced two examples of the opposite. One of the emigrants left the debts of several thousand Euros in Czechia and the rest of the family paid it, so he did not have to move back from Canada and resolve the claim. Further, in the occasion of short term emigration, the relatives paid the rent in order to save the flat in case the relatives will not succeed to settle and return. All the monetary supports of these “adventurers” who are trying their best out there in emigration are very important aspect of migration strategies of families with limited resources. One household does not have enough money to manage emigration, but if the family sticks together, someone can go abroad.

Besides the general monetary support from emigrating relatives I mentioned earlier I met with two analytically interesting examples. Monetary compensation for the birthday present is more usual in adolescent age, but in the trans-national family I met this practice also in the case of a child. This changes the form of relating to each other within the family towards less intimate relationship where taste and ideas about “what is good for the kid” can not materialize in the very presents, as Georg Simmel noted, money may have the standardizing and alienating effect on social interactions and in the same time support individualization (Simmel 1997: 11-13). Last example of monetary remittances shows how traditional and modern can be interlinked. The relatives in Czechia were given the money for the purpose of buying big amount of meat as a food stock. This reminds the rural “barter trade” with the nourishment, in this particular case transformed into a monetary remittance.

I already mentioned several material objects, I will only stop by the medicaments. They appear to belong to the category of hardly replaceable things; something a person gets used to and if not necessary is not willing to get rid of. In
this particular case it is visible, how the bodily and psychological experiences diffuse.

Virtual social ties are symptomatic for post-industrial era as such and so they are for contemporary migration experience. Both, “domestic” and “emigrant” households are recording home videos from parties and common daily activities and are delivering it to each other. When I delivered such a video tape to Canada I was surprised by the way it was consumed. Someone put it on without any special announcement and than the video just went on as we sat in the living room chatting. From time to time someone made a note like: “Oh, look at him, he lost weight since last time!” It seemed rather like opening another “virtual” living room than like watching the video. There are other, more interactive forms of the virtual family gathering. Because of relatively cheap prices of the phone calls from Canada to Czechia, people usually call in this direction, which is not the case of internet chatting and, once it is installed, also talking while using the web cameras. It might happen that in the future the video recording will be replaced by seeing each other through web cameras completely.

From time to time, the dispersed family gathers in a physical world. When they visit each other, they provide accommodation. It is more likely that “the Canadians” come, since they do not have to deal with the visa obstacle. It is interesting to look at the other dimensions of visits besides dealing with the homesickness. Here is the story approaching significantly these processes. One of the dispersed families has young grandmother who is living in Czechia but from time to time travels to Canada for several months. Because of her status it is likely that she gets the visa, which is not the case of the migrants´ siblings. The Canadian relatives are happy to have the grand/mother in Canada for a while. One of her daughters talks with me and her daughter:

“Mother: My mum was here. It was nice feeling to have someone around.
Daughter: You know, when grandma comes, she is always cleaning up everything. And my mum tells me, you will have to watch everything, clean up by yourself, not only when I tell you.
Mother: Yes, because I know my mum and I know she would than ask me – how do you bring up your daughter?”

The presence of the grandmother serves as a social control that is part of the family identity and socialization process of the new coming family members – kids. In the same time, once she is in Canada she takes occasional jobs that her emigrant relatives help to organize for her, so she earns some money to take with
her back to Czechia. Similarly, when someone decides to migrate to Canada the emigrant relatives provide her with initial support and important information.

This brings us to the last category of remittances – the symbols. The “domestic” community gives the migrant relatives sense of continuity of identity and social control, as it was presented in the story of “educatory grandmother”. In the same time, the awareness of existence of possible second home “over there” may symbolically serve as strengthening safety pin “if I cannot make it here I have a place to go”. Interestingly enough, it works similarly on the other direction too. During democratization changes and with the restructuring of the economy many Czech Roma families got dramatically poorer. People lost their well paid manual workers jobs and have difficulties to find the new ones. After years of becoming poorer they often loose hope for the possibility of better living for themselves and for their kids. In such a situation one of the adolescent girls told me about her dream: “I might go to Ireland, because my aunt is there.”

No matter if she finally gets there or not, her relative abroad gives her one very important thing in the presence: the life perspective.

III.

As it is already clear, I suggest considering remittances as something that is happening rather within families, than as a linear process from a sender in one state/ locality to a receiver in another one. Stephen Vertovec emphasizes one of the important general objections to the trans-nationalism studies:

• trans-what?: research and theory have not adequately problematized the difference between trans-national, trans-state and trans-local processes and phenomena (Vertovec 2003: 3).

I agree that the difference between nation, state and locality should be analytically grasped more profoundly, nevertheless for the purposes of this paper I remain with common intuitive delimitation. It can be said that remittances are taking essential part in creating trans-national/ state/ local family bonds. I found the way Ayse Caglar understands trans-nationalism suitable:

Current scholarship on transnationalism provides a new analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labor migration. It allows an analysis of how migrants construct and reconstitute their lives as simultaneously embedded in more than one society (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Vertovec 1998). Most importantly, it
connects the narratives of the processes and formations of immigration with those of the transnationalisation of the economy and finance within the same framework. (Caglar 2001: 607)

Ayse Caglar seems to me quite optimistic in the idea that the concept of transnationalism may present a promise of putting together the economic and household perspectives. I am not sure if we can go that far, whether these perspectives can really be effectively connected in the migration research, although it is up-dated and analytically challenging topic (Morawska 2003).

Speaking of interweaving analytical perspectives, I find Bourdieu’s and Passeron’s notion of strategic reproduction (Bourdieu – Passeron 1970) useful for thinking about functions of remittances within “transnationalized” families. They regard five strategies of reproduction – strategies of fertility, strategies of marriage, strategies of heritage, economic strategies and strategies of education. This is supposed to answer the question, how families/ households/ primary socialization groups are trying to at least keep their social position, but even better, ameliorate it. In the previous part of the text there were several examples of economic and educational strategies that operate in trans-local physical and social space.

Not all the primary socialization environment can be really denoted as family and most of the families in the modern societies do not live in one household. Sometimes these slight differences may have analytical relevance. It is also important to keep in mind that families consist of adult men, adult women, children, adolescents and seniors. Especially in researching migration processes, experiences and decisions it is important not only analytically, but also methodologically. Thus I suggest try to reflect all the important aspect of family life during the research process and not to ask, explicitly or implicitly, only the leader of the group.

In the particular case presented here, the circulation of remittances is characterized by the social marginalization that the families are experiencing. I understand social marginalization as lived cultural diversity (Stonequist 1937) and as a field of negative symbolic capital or lack of positive social capital people have to deal with (Bourdieu 1998). The social marginalization can be grasped on three levels. 1. Marginalization as a scarcity of resources. The concept of marginalization is describing complex situation of socially “weak” living conditions. In such a situation the economic decisions of family include concentrating resources, so at least someone can go abroad or not risking unsuccessful visa requirement for Czech relatives in productive age that influences the dynamics of distant family gathering.
2. Marginalization as racialist (Šmausová 1999) defined stigma for which there are many evidences in contemporary Central Europe. Practically all of the emigrant Romany families I spoke with expressed the release in moving around in the public places once they moved to cosmopolitan cities of Toronto or London. But it is not the case that more open, democratic and wealthy environment automatically eliminates the social marginalization. 3. Thus I understand the social marginalization also as an unproductive habitus that is the life style and value system that does not priory provoke you to be productive on the market. Here is an example of a lady, who traveled with three kids and husband to England, speaking about the work experience of her husband and herself (Janků 2004):

„They took him for a trial to house cleaning. Well, and myself, I had my cooking and cleaning done, kids were OK, so I went to help him”.

If the value system of a person is such that she/ he can go to work only after anything else that is seriously important for the family is ready, it might in presence become unproductive for ameliorating family social position, even though it can be seriously important for functioning of the family and may have positive effect in the future.

IV.

I was trying to present here the potential of bringing the notion of remittances outside purely economic discourse. Whilst admitting the analytical relevance of economic discourse, I was presenting another point of view that appeared to be more relevant in my research of the Czech Roma families with migration experience at the edge of 21st century. In this particular case it is evident that geographic and historical realm create a family social structure of people whose material living standards are not that far from each other, as it is usually the case in the remittances studies (Gammeltoft 2002). Further, it appeared as highly relevant to take into account the family life dynamics and individual case-history of the family members. Using this perspective, it becomes evident that remittances are not only single-direction subventions, but rather they are devices used by the “transnationalized” families in the realm of strategies of reproduction all over the places of family residence.
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The Key Issues of Labor Migration in the Czech Republic

Marie JELINKOVA

Abstract. This paper aims to highlight some often occurring failures that need to be eliminated when attempting to develop an integral and efficient policy on labor migration. As an example, a brief overview of the development of immigration policies and its critical shortcomings in the Czech Republic is provided. Following this, the paper analyzes two aspects: the protection of migrant workers and the trafficking in human beings.

In particular, the paper deals with three crucial issues of labor migration which are: (1) the inconsistent aims of immigration policies, (2) the client system, and (3) the dependence on middlemen. The paper also focuses on the role of state, police, and NGO’s in the trafficking in human beings and forced labor or labor exploitation in the Czech Republic. In addition, the legislation on forced labor and the possibilities of assistance to trafficked person are analyzed.

By comparing various aspects of immigration policy, this paper covers some, but certainly not all, of the key issues concerning the process of immigrant integration. Several suggestions are made that could improve the situation of labor migrants in a significant way.

Keywords: labor, migration, immigration policies, client system, middlemen, trafficking, exploitation

Introduction

In this paper, I would like to focus on key issues of labor migration in the Czech Republic. Although the immigration policies of all states differ significantly, countries in the same region might face the same or similar problems. Therefore I would like to share with you the experience of the Czech Republic at this seminar to open a debate about the key issues concerning different immigration policies.

The development of immigration policies in the Czech Republic

The Czech immigration policy had been rather passive until the end of the 1990s. Since then, some significant changes have taken place. It was mainly the prospect of EU accession and the increasing number of immigrants which has led to a more active stance on migration control and some more pro-active measures.
The immigration policy was quite liberal and limited until 1997. Since 1998 there has been a restriction of the work permits in the CR labor market in districts with a high unemployment rate. The New Immigration Act came into force in 2000. The Act has tightened eligibility conditions for residence permits and resulted in a fall in the number of resident-permit holders in 2000. The basic principles of the government’s immigration policy were formulated in 2002, and the basic principles of the integration policy were designed in an earlier strategy (1999) entitled *Integration of Foreigners in the Czech Republic* (Droblav, 2004).

However, the state activities in migration policy have been more driven by the need to further harmonize legislation with the EU rather than by the reaction to migration needs. This might be one reason for an alarming lack of in-depth or detailed socio-economic analyses of current and future trends that could help to better develop migration policies.

**The critical shortcomings in the immigration policy**

Although there are many problems in the Czech immigration policy, I would like focus on two which I believe to be key problems. The first of these is undoubtedly the inconsistent and rather vague immigration policy. One might argue that there are political documents claiming that the Czech immigration policy is pro-actively open to migrants or that the migration policy initiatives have shifted in the last years from the multicultural approach towards “civic integration” approach (Barsova, 2005). However, these “principles” and “shifts” are not embedded in law or state regulations, and their character is more demonstrative. A good example can be seen in integration policy and its strategies which expect migrants to actively learn Czech and accept the Czech culture, but neither classes of the Czech language nor classes about the Czech culture were offered. Another example is the claim of immigration policy to be pro-active. In reality, the number of bureaucratic obstacles and formalities prevent most migrants from entering the labor market without using the services of work agencies.

Furthermore, the inconsistencies of the policy are characterized by frequent changes in the law concerning foreigners. The vague principles and aims complicate or even make it impossible to develop other policies which are connected to migration policy e.g. policy on combating human trafficking and forced labor.
The second key problem concerns the gap between theory and practical elements of immigration and integration policies. This is heightened by the fact that “integration is not regulated by a law, but via government resolutions. This means it is now up to regional administrators to decide whether they establish ‘integration bodies’ to support the integration processes in their particular region” [Drobohlav 2004:13]. Considering many other problems need to be solved at the regional level, integration issues are often neglected or even omitted.

According to my opinion, these two shortcomings are behind many other shortcomings such as: the lack of counseling centers for immigrants on the level of regional governments and municipalities; no development of transparent indicators, through which one can easily consider whether the integration in a given field has been successfully accomplished or not; the absence of programmes which would tackle other specific problems that complicate foreigners’ life (e.g. language classes, long waiting for a permanent residence permit etc.); the fact that no attention is paid to vulnerable groups of foreigners and many others.

The client system

Cernik (2006) claims that despite a labor shortage, there are only limited opportunities to work legally in the Czech Republic for the citizens of countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). These citizens usually choose to be dependent (or become dependent) on the services of intermediaries, so-called clients, to organize their stay.

Although the client system is to some measure imported from the migrant’s homeland, the Czech legal, political, and economic environment have been playing a crucial role in developing and sustaining the client system. The economic activities of Eastern Europeans in the Czech Republic were organized spontaneously since 1990. Informal networks of migrant labor organization occurred, and future clients consolidated their business in the first half of nineties (Uherek, 2004). The second half of the nineties is characterized by a sporadic state effort to regulate the influx of labor migrants. The immigration policy became more restrictive in 2000 after the New Immigration Act came into force. At the same time, the clients transformed their positions into both formal and informal institutions. Since then, the client system became the most common strategy to enter the labor market for citizens from CIS (Cernik, 2006).
The client system should be seen as one part of a three-stage hierarchy where the groups of organized crime are on top and the migrant workers are at the bottom. The third group – clients – is in the middle. The main activity of clients within this system is intermediation. Clients (a) transmit money between mafia and migrants, (b) act as intermediate contacts among immigrants and labor offices, employers, embassies and other offices, (c) work as contact men between the labor supply and demand, and (d) provide information/knowledge of the rules (Nekorjak, 2005). The client system protects the laborer to some extent, but while doing so, it isolates (and often exploits) them at the same time. It seems to be that all stakeholders (employers, clients, groups of organized crime, and sometimes migrants) benefit from the system. A migrant’s benefit depends on the rules imposed by the client. The clients usually take “a tax” (from 30 to 50 per cent) from a laborer for all services including protection. A part of this money goes to groups of organized crime. The employers usually hire workers from the client, and they benefit because they do not have to pay social security and health insurance payments. Thus, it will be extremely difficult to get rid of the client system in the CR because there are too many key actors who benefit from the present circumstances.

**Work agencies and the protection of migrant workers**

The client system is closely connected with the issue of work agencies in the CR. As mentioned above, the level of bureaucracy and constantly changing law concerning foreigners makes it almost impossible for CIS citizens to enter the Czech labor market. Even in the cases where migrants do not join the client system, the system drives them to use work agencies or so-called middlemen. The number of work agencies for foreigners is about 1100\(^{36}\). However, the problem is not the number of agencies itself but the fact that once they receive a concession from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, nobody controls them. As a consequence, middlemen have their ways to arrange whatever is needed and of course often abuse workers.

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\(^{36}\) This number is very close to the number of work agencies in Germany, which has eight times more inhabitants.
The control mechanisms of employment, labor conditions, and standards in the workplace are well developed. The legislation: labor code, law on labor inspection, and law on employment\(^{37}\) should assure a satisfactory work environment. In addition, both employment offices and labor inspectorates are in charge of monitoring either from their own initiative or on the basis of an incentive. Labor offices check mainly if the employment law is followed (e.g. employment of foreigners, active employment policy), and the labor inspectorates focus on work regulations (e.g. working conditions, work safety, working hours). Although their authority in the area of monitoring is well specified, there are some issues which are neither included in the authority of labor offices nor in the authority of the labor inspectorates. These “monitoring gaps” cause no attention to be paid to work agencies. However, this is not the only gap in monitoring. As Burcikova [2006] points out “it is [also] not quite clear who should be monitoring the compliance with the prohibition of forced labor, since this issue is not included in any other national legal regulation apart from the Bill of the Fundamental Rights and Freedoms and in the Criminal code.”

**The forced labor and human trafficking**

As I showed above, the discrepancy between theory and practice of immigration policy strongly influence the policy on combating forced labor and human trafficking. While describing this discrepancy I will make use of the last report on human trafficking: * Trafficking in Human Beings and Forced Labor or Labor exploitation in the Czech Republic* by Petra Burcikova.

Human trafficking can be simply defined as compelling or coercing another person’s labor or services. Coercing can be subtle or overt; psychological or physical. The most common of these are debt bondage, the removal of their identity documents, or the use of intimidation and threats. Trafficked persons come from their countries of origin, pass through the countries of transit, and are exploited in the countries of destination. In the case of trafficking in human beings, countries can be classified according to this model. The Czech Republic is in a

\(^{37}\) Law No. 65/1965 Labour code; Law No 251/2005 Law on labour inspection; Law No.. 435/2004 Employment law
specific position, being at the same time a country of origin, transit, and destination (Burcikova, 2006). This fact certainly makes it more difficult to create an effective policy against human trafficking.

Unfortunately, there are no states (maybe with the exception of the USA) which have a well developed policy against human trafficking. Thus, the possibility to learn from other states experience is very limited.

One of the key issues is that forced labor is not listed as a crime in the Czech criminal code. (According to the Czech law system only things which are listed in a criminal code can be defined as crime, so this means that the Czech system does not operate with leading cases, etc.) A slightly different situation is that of human trafficking, which often includes forced labor. The legal definition of trafficking in human beings came into effect in 2004. According to this definition, a person shall be prosecuted for trafficking when they induce, recruit, transport, transfer, harbor, or receive for the purpose of using this person for slavery, forced labor, or other forms of exploitation in the case the given person is under 18 years of age. In cases of trafficking in adults, violence or threats of violence, deceit or abuse of a fallacy, distress or dependence is required in order to be punishable (GAC 2006). Burcikova reports that “so far, there has been no court judgment according to this definition and, as such, this causes problems for the police and the investigators who complain of an absence of a clear interpretation statement, especially with respect to interpretation of forced labor.” There are more reasons for that: (1) un-conceptual policy, (2) the courts and policeman have no experience with it because the law is rather new, (3) most people involved in these cases commute forced labor and trafficking for work in bad conditions, (4) no (political) will to understand the problem of trafficking and forced labor as an important issue, etc.

Conclusion

While over recent decades there has been great progress in Czech immigration policy, a number of discrepancies still remain. This paper analyzed the key problems, which include the un-conceptual aims of immigration policy and the gap between theory and practical elements of immigration policies. Following that, the consequences of these problems (the existing client system, work agencies, the
weak protection of migrant workers, and the forced labor and human trafficking) were analyzed.

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www.czso.cz Czech Statistical Office
The ICTs Implication on the Construction of Immigrants’ Identity: The Case of Women from Former Soviet Union (FSU) in Greek Thrace

Keratso GEORGIADOU, Gerasimos KEKKERIS

Abstract. In this paper we report on the initial findings from a study on immigrant women from former Soviet Union and their connection to ICTs. In order to evaluate the outcomes of this study we administered an initial questionnaire which explored the nature of access and use of new technologies in the lives of immigrant from FSU settled in Greek Thrace. This research involves women of an age range of 18-60 years old. The initial findings reveal that the women were exposed to new technologies, by which keep their cultural identity and contribute to the construction of a new one in order to adapt to the demands of today’s world.

Keywords: ICT, Immigrants’ Identity, Women from Former Soviet Union, Greece

Introduction

The effects of ICTs on contemporary identity have been a subject of debate during the recent years in many host-countries. Some of them had as specific object the ICTs implication on the construction of immigrants’ identity. Remennick (1999) addresses the way the Russian-speaking community in Israel has become a typical cosmopolitan, or transnational, community after its settlement in Israel. Most recent immigrants stay in touch with their families and friends in the FSU and maintain economic (e.g. via joint ventures) or cultural (e.g. by watching Russian television channels) ties with their home country. Da Rosa et al (2000) note that fax, Internet, e-mail, chat, SMS, discussion-forums, electronic conference reduced the importance of physical space and boundaries in everyday communication, giving the possibility for new ways of maintaining ethnic ties. Elias (2003) found out that the Russian immigrants in Germany are characterized by very intensive use of the German mass media while the Russian immigrants in Israel mostly prefer the media in Russian due to the differences in the Russian media map in both
countries, to the differences in the integration policies of Israel and Germany and the cultural capital of Jews and Germans from the FSU. Fialkova (2005) claims that Internet sites form one of many ways of uniting dispersed former Soviets who try to keep “multi-stranded relations” connecting together their societies of origin and settlement. Arthur et al (2004) describe the cultural dimension of the digital divide taking in consideration the connection of ICTs and Brockton’s Cape Verdeans. Patrick et al (2005) examine the social implication that ICTs and especially the Internet have for the Fijian immigrants in Brisbane—Australia.

The region of Greek Thrace is an interesting case for analysis due to the multicultural identity of the communities living in the area as Greek Orthodox Christians, Greek Muslims of Turkish origin, Roma, Pomaks, Armenians and recently, Pontian Greek origin immigrants from FSU. At the 1990s, Greece emerged in the European landscape from an emigrant-sending country, during the past century, to an immigrant-receiving country and thus has de facto become a multiethnic, plural society (Cavounidis, 2002). As we read at Petronoti & Triandafyllidoy (2003) the existing bibliography on Pontian Greek immigrants faces subjects such as the means by which they are integrated in or excluded from crucial spheres of social and economic life; the impact of their presence on nationals’ self-perceptions as well as the xenophobic/racist discourse in the media; the concentration of newcomers in specific areas of urban centers; cultural problems associated with their arrival; educational policies regarding immigrant children and, finally, the links established between (undocumented) immigrant work and the multicultural identity of the communities living in the area as Greek Orthodox Christians, Greek Muslims of Turkish origin, Roma, Pomaks, Armenians and

Although, many Pontian Greeks arrived in Greece in the 1990s, the decade characterized by a wide range of use of new technologies in Greece, there have been no comprehensive studies of ICT use and access in Greece by women members of socially vulnerable groups and more specifically by Pontian Greek immigrant women.

**Research Goals**

As Pontian Greek immigrants have experienced “a difficulty in integrating in the Greek society and economy, which partly reproduces experiences of
exclusion and Otherness” (Georgiou, 2002) our aim in this paper will be to explore the relationship between ICT use and cultural background of Pontian Greek immigrant women, how they are using the Internet and what they do when they go on-line.

Methodology

The study is qualitative in nature; a case study survey using an ethnographical approach. More specifically this research, as part of the main project (Georgiadou et al, 2006) seeking the experiences of Pontian Greek immigrant women on ICTs, develops from arguments framed in the context of the main research, and focus on the role of ICTs in the construction of cultural identity for immigrant women from FSU. As for this the following questions will be confronted, such as:

1. How is the identity of Pontian Greek immigrants specified;
2. In what ways do Pontian Greek immigrant women use the ICTs;
3. To what extend do ICTs and especially the Internet contribute to the process of constructing the Pontian Greek immigrants women’s identity;
4. What are the possibilities that the use of ICT offers to the immigrant women and in which way should these be evaluated;

Sample

The research involves a non-probability sample of a total of 35 women, identified according to their relation with ICTs and recruited by the snow-balling method in the area of Komotini (capital of Rodopi, one of the three provinces of Greek Thrace). Their low percentage of the total population (less than 10%) and their initial unwillingness to participate in the survey also contribute to the difficulty of a successful random sampling process. Their age ranges were: 18-29 (11), 30-39 (11), 40-49(11) and 50-59 (2). The women born in FSU and then migrated to Greece are considered as the first-generation immigrant women in our sample. We include in them also, those who migrated to Greece at a young age, had spent much of their life in Greece and share many of the socio-cultural characteristics of second-generation immigrants. Most of them (especially the ones over 30) had migrated to Greece with a pre-established cultural identity. These are
the big majority of the sample, as only one of the interviewees was born in Greece and is considered a second-generation immigrant.

Results

The following discussion examines the interview data in aspect of the key questions listed above.

1) How is the identity of Pontian Greek immigrants specified?

Pontian Greek immigrants belong to a special category of immigrants - Returning Diasporas – immigrants as initially were emigrants from the region of Pontos at the Southern coast and the Black Sea to the ex-Soviet Republics, and who finally returned to Greece, their historic homeland. They were considered and considering themselves to be Greeks in the FSU but this had no relevance with the modern Greek life style. Many of them did not speak the Greek language or spoke the Pontian dialect and most definitely the Russian language. Their cultural identities are shaped by the experiences they had living in the FSU, a strong multiethnic society. Pontian Greeks acquired Greek citizenship upon arrival in Greece. As it was observed during the interviews, many old people, immigrants of first generation, were living with their children. It can be said that immediate communication, with family members of first generation, transmits knowledge, values, history and language of their native country. The younger women born in Greece or with a less experience from FSU possess a cultural identity recreated and renewed by a variety of means that are available to them such as interaction with family members, visits to homeland of grandparents, and a wide range of print and electronic mass media among them ICTs, satellite TV, websites. The coming of this community brought in Greece a different cultural capital, a mixture of Russian and Pontian tradition, which needed another approach for adapting to the multicultural society of Greek Thrace, as was described above. Speaking the Russian language is the key element for their Russian aspect of their identity. All of the interviewees speak Russian even the one born in Greece or have arrived at their early childhood.

At the Democritus University of Thrace, (the local University), a Russian Chair is staffed by immigrants from FSU, who manage to strengthen ties with Russian Universities (recently a conference with the collaboration of the International Centre of Education from the State University of Moscow “M.B. Lomonosof” took place at Komotini in last June). The immigrants’ connection with
Russian culture is supported by cooking Russian and Pontian dishes with products imported from FSU, easily found in two supermarkets of the town of Komotini known as the “Russian supermarkets”. One video-club (after the name “The Russian Video”) exists also selling exclusively Russian video tapes (even video tapes for small children), Russian music CDs, books of Russian literature, Russian newspapers (МК АФИНСКИЙ КУРЬЕР-МК Athenian Courier Russian Weekly; in co-operation with the Moscow-based МОЖКОВСРКНН, Russian magazines, Russian phone-cards, programs of Russian satellite-TV. Additionally, the interviews indicated that older interviewees in particular are more accustomed to books, reading and seeking knowledge in a more traditional way, continuing the traditional Russian love of books. At this point it must be mentioned that in the province of Rodopi one of the local daily newspapers (ПАРАТИРИТИС) is also published in Russian language. Women in the 40-49 age group were mostly readers of Russian newspapers, and of local newspapers as well. Most of the respondents used to read newspapers in FSU, hence after their migration to Greece they continued this activity. Most of the Pontian Greek houses own a satellite antenna, as most of the immigrants continue to watch Russian television even after many years in Greece. This helps them to keep in touch with their old habits of entertaining and cultural traditions they had in FSU.

Greek-Pontian immigrants’ associations mostly deal with cultural activities and show themselves eager to keep also, their Pontian folklore (Ribas Mateos, 2000). From the interviews related to the research, we can found names of these associations such as: “Керасоута and Гарс-“(Names of cities in the Black Sea region), “The Voice of Pallinostountes-Foni ton Pallinnostounton”, “Rainessance-Anagennisi”, women’s association “Unity-Enotita”, the Pontian Youth Association: “Трапезоута”. Old Pontian traditions, cultural heritage, folklore dances, theatre, books writing and editing find shelter under these associations. Their arrival in Greece can be described as the regenerator for many Pontian customs and tradition which were forgotten and put into oblivion.

2) In what ways do Pontian Greek immigrant women use the ICTs?

Most of the immigrant women who were interviewed said that they prefer mostly the Internet, the Microsoft Office applications and communication with friends, followed by email and web surfing. Studies, games and telemarketing were not high-priorities for these women.
Table 1: Reasons for Computer Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telemarketing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microsoft Office applications</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication with Friends</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web search</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational software</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing from above</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the data that the younger women are frequent computer users in their everyday lives. The unexpected result of the research was that half of the women over 40 used computers sometimes more than 5 hours per day, as this is necessary in their working area.

Table 2: Frequency of Computer Use (Daily or Weekly).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of computer use (daily or weekly)</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>49-50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every day 1-5 hours</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every day 5-10 hours</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every day 10-20 hours</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few times a week</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At this point, it must be mentioned that women, participants in the research from all age ranges, access web pages containing information on jobs and employment, job announcements, seminars, E.U.-funded projects, programmes targeting women and especially socially excluded women, news, cars, psychology, flowers, greenhouses, search engines, chat, games, tourism, pregnancy, health, fashion, beauty, child and family nutrition, health matters, cooking, medicine, women’s magazines, local Greek newspapers, Russian newspapers, online Russian bookstores, Ministries in Greece, Universities and Institutes.
Table 3: Frequently Accessed Web Pages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.eydamth.gr">www.eydamth.gr</a></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.in.gr">www.in.gr</a></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.google.gr">www.google.gr</a></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.yahoo.gr">www.yahoo.gr</a></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.oaed.gr">www.oaed.gr</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.diorismos.gr">www.diorismos.gr</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.proslipsis.gr">www.proslipsis.gr</a></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.asep.gr">www.asep.gr</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.ta-nea.dolnet.gr">www.ta-nea.dolnet.gr</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.paratiritis.gr">www.paratiritis.gr</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.xronos.gr">www.xronos.gr</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.mail.ru">www.mail.ru</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.mel.ru">www.mel.ru</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.yandex.ru">www.yandex.ru</a></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.rambler.ru">www.rambler.ru</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.ozon.ru">www.ozon.ru</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.pravda.ru">www.pravda.ru</a></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.usvestye.ru">www.usvestye.ru</a></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.moscow.ru">www.moscow.ru</a></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.icq.com">www.icq.com</a></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Greek is the most commonly used language for reading web pages by these women in the early ages. Russian is more used by older women to access web pages.

Table 4: Languages Used for Reading Web Pages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the interviews’ results, it was found that women in the 30-39 and 40-49 age ranges accessed more Russian web pages than the youngest interviewees. The youngest interviewees used the Internet more creative in seeking employment. The largest obstacle to ICT use for this community and especially for women is money and underemployment. Their time is consumed by working many hours and as for this there is not much time to be dedicated to computer use. According to the elders’ sayings, most of them own a computer at home because of their children. All of them have mobile phones, but don’t have
land line phones and consequently Internet connections or email accounts. Only one of the interviewees said she had an ADSL connection. Additionally the Internet high financial cost in Greece is prohibitive for immigrant women to afford such a cost, as they usually do not own permanent jobs and have other priorities in their lives.

Table 5: Possession of PC at Home or at Work, Internet Connection, Email, Telecommuting, Long Hours Work, on Line Studies, Mobility, Mixed Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Internet Café Use</th>
<th>Telecommuting</th>
<th>Long hours work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>On line studies</th>
<th>Geographical mobility</th>
<th>Mixed groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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It can be said that, access to ICTs is critical for the inclusion of marginalized immigrants to information society and consequently to labor market, and also for the creation of worldwide ties for the members of this community, not only in Greece, but all over the world.

3) To what extend do ICTs and especially the Internet contribute to the process of constructing the Pontian Greek immigrants’ identity?

Radio, newspapers, magazines as mentioned before contribute to maintain a part of their cultural identity but Internet, cell phones text, messages, e-mails offer speed, instant connection and remarkable quantity. Our data thus point to the emerging importance of ICTs and the Internet as a means of sustaining contact with relatives in the FSU, of adaptation to life in Greece, and as a source of
information and cultural knowledge. As many of the older women were familiar with Internet use, they accessed more the Russian web pages than the youngest interviewees did, not on a regular basis, but that kept them informed with news from FSU or other relevant sites. Internet can be described as a portal to FSU and the Russian cultural capital which signs their cultural identity. Most of Russian websites are used to access information on Russian daily routine, for chat/ICQ or “virtual match making”. These websites are like a portal to FSU countries and all that were left back. It also can be said that the Internet offers the possibility for immigrant women to find a Russian speaking friend or partner all over the world. Examples of pages used for “virtual matchmaking” are the http://www.datingnow.ru (Fialkova, 2005), http://greece russiansabroad.com.

4) What are the possibilities that the use of ICTs offer to the immigrants and in which ways should these be evaluated?

According to the interviewees for a better settlement in Greek society and support of their cultural identity the inclusion of immigrants to information society should be ensured by a continuous process of education, support and consideration on behalf of the state. Immigrants should be subsidized in order to buy computers and get connected to the Internet and simultaneously educated on their personal benefits of inclusion in the information society. Research and official statistics concerning digital inclusion of immigrants of FSU and preservation of their culture in heritage should be funded. In addition, description and analysis of this particular community can hopefully offer new ideas which can be applied for solving problems that other marginalized communities have. Online connection of the Municipal Library of Komotini with Russian libraries should be planned in order to support their interest for reading and seeking knowledge in a more traditional way, continuing the traditional Russian love of books as was mentioned above. The subjects taught in seminars, provided by private Institutions and funded by the E.U., should be more specific and connected to the labor market, so that immigrants would become more specialized and qualified. They should be informed on how technology can enhance their lives, how it can be integrated into all aspects of life, and on the personal benefits of digital inclusion. Information on computer usage should be provided through channels that interact with their way of living and more specifically through persons of their own culture sharing the same problems with them. ICT plan should identify and match needs and resources
and assess training needs of the group. Web-pages containing, e-learning lessons on language, computer use, vocational counseling, culture matters, or other information on health matters, settlement matters, and Greek-Pontian Associations all over Greece, should be constructed and supported by the General Secretariat of Repatriated Greeks or by the organizations implementing policies for immigrants.

Discussion

In a globalized world the four main models of the social and cultural adjustment such as Assimilation (“The melting pot” approach), Integration (becoming an integral part of the host society), Segregation (retaining original values) and Marginalization (no conduct with both origin and host society) cannot be finally adopted for the social and cultural adjustment of the “Returning Diaspora” of Pontian Greeks. The Dialogue Model presented by Kuinan & Auiram (1994), a model that allows the immigrants not only to maintain their cultural heritage but also to engraft the host society with it, seems more appropriate to the conditions of today’s world. As Ess (2005) argues, in the literature on globalization it is commonly observed that in a context of increasing cultural intermixing, individuals and cultures tend to hybridize. That is both individuals and larger cultural groups, in the face of increasing influence and presence of another culture, neither abandon their own cultural backgrounds, traditions, histories customs, language(s), etc.- nor do they absolutely resist any contact with the “outside” culture.

The Pontian Greek “Returning Diaspora” plays a vital role in the society of Thrace as it contributes to the work force of the area and it also provides it with a Russian cultural capital and Pontian tradition. It doesn’t only faces the challenge of maintaining a strong cultural identity and of keeping their ties with FSU but also integrating socially, politically, and economically in their new country their “homeland”. It can be said that becoming familiar with ICTs can also provide useful insight into this challenge.

Many questions erased after the research still need to be explored in the future. Similar studies on cultural identity, ICTs and Pontian Greek immigrants have not been mentioned in Greece. The subject needs a more complex approach by collecting a bigger sample of women, for confirming the initial findings, by
approaching other members of the Pontian Greek immigrant community like men, secondary education pupils, and immigrants with no experience on computers or second generation immigrants with no experience carried from FSU.

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JIMS - Volume 1, number 1, 2007


BOOK REVIEWS

Dumitru SANDU (coord)
Fundatia pentru o Societate Deschisa [Open Society Foundation], Bucuresti 2006,

Reviewed by
Ioana ALBU

The book coordinated by professor Dumitru Sandu, The Temporary Settlement Abroad: Economic Migration of the Romanians: 1990-2006 approaches the issue of the migration of Romanians abroad particularly after 1989, not that of “any times”. The present volume, recently published in our country in November 2006 represents a valuable research report published in Romania with the support of the Open Society Foundation Bucharest, a study made by a team coordinated by dr. Dumitru Sandu, professor at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology and Social Assistance. The team of researchers, teaching assistants and sociologists have gathered, analysed and interpreted data by national polls (1400 persons investigated) and at a micro-regional level (800 households of migrants) within the month of August 2006-Gallup Organisation. The study is based on a research, the current approach of which focuses on six main aspects, i.e. the number of people leaving and returning home; the social profile of these people (who they are), the procedure as such (referring to leaving, employment procedure abroad and the foreign environment), the space of circulation (wherefrom and whereto); motivation and follow-up, i.e. why do these people leave and what the consequences are for themselves, for the communities, regions or country and to the destination and finally the time, namely the variations on stages of migration for all above-mentioned aspects.
The topic of the present book, in short, is about the causes and consequences of the labor migration abroad, after 1989. It is a well-known fact that after 1989, finding a workplace beyond the country’s borders has meant for the Romanians, a main concern, an exploration both in the geographic sense and also in the social sense of the world. This implied strategies, risks, a resource waste in order to enter a different world, remote and unkown. It implied, as well, a process of searching for national spaces, different from one period of time to another; by oneself or with the family, through legal, illegal or semi-legal ways, with interruptions and recurrings – all these covered by successes and failures – having various meanings and implications from migrant to migrant, according to one’s own scale of the person assuming this challenge.

At the heart of the migration issue lies a strong motivation, the strong wish of reaching a world the person has had no access to and for which the information around the respective person is scarce. The authors identify two extremes related to this: on the one hand, there is the situation in which there is only the wish of reaching the respective country, whilst on the other hand, besides this, there are also material and social resources, as well as knowledge for reaching this aim. Shortly stated, this refers to the situation in which one earns much better and in a much shorter period of time than at home. The opposition identified by prof. D. Sandu is not that between poverty and richness, but rather between what I do have here and what I might have if for a while I could earn more. Thus the motivation and follow-up of the action, for what it has been and what there would be, are the main concerns, and also perspectives at the level of the current Romanian public space as well as of the present book.

Next the approach attempts at correctly identifying the consequences and estimating the future characteristics of the phenomenon, which supposes a detailed examination of the tendencies already registered, analysing the temporary settlement abroad in stages.

From the perspective of the temporary settlement abroad, the economic aspect of migration is vised at, as well as the social one, by the causes and its consequences. Issues such as living abroad, finding a place to live, social interactions, cultural frameworks in different localities – are all aspects that contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Two micro-regions have been taken into study at the level of the country, i.e. two counties in the south of Romania, in order to make a thorough study of the
social situation at the origin, for two of the major destinations of the Romanian emigration – Italy and Spain. The present research is a complex one, in which the data about the international migration have been collected both in the country and abroad, by micro-regional research 3 regions in Romania); by qualitative research at the level of six communities in the country and four communities abroad, interviewed persons and persons intending to leave abroad – potential migrants. The opinion polls on micro-region and the in-depth interviews were performed in the month of August, the time of the migrants’ return in the country of origin for the holidays. The cross-border small traffic was also studied, taking into study in this respect a third micro-region.

Carrying out the research on multiple levels and fields is a consequence of the way in which the temporary migration field is structured from Romania abroad. The authors have concluded that although after 2001 the destinations of labor migration are mainly Italy and Spain, the fluxes are still unstable. There are multiple actors involved: individuals, families, communities, regional networks, NGOs, etc. The percentage of illegal migration is probably significant and to a great extent the employment in the countries of destination are still clandestine.

An interesting aspect revealed by the researchers is that in the view of one and the same person, one’s own experience of migration appears as being different. Upon destination, with relation to the foreigners and with other migrants, the discourse is one, focussing on problems incurred and on the tension of the interaction with the new way of life, whereas upon returning in the country, it is another one, focussing on the success obtained, self-fulfillment through migration, particularly on consolidation of status by discourse. The information obtained is very different and the facets of the phenomenon very mobile, being difficult to be perceived fully unless one travels to all places, both in the country of origin and that of destination. The authors conclude that it is a “still a mosaic-type migration, a magma-type migration that cannot be comprehended unless read on multiple levels, both at the origin and destination countries and with the help of data from opinion polls and interview data, with community histories and individual ones”.

Generally speaking, studying the phenomenon of the Romanian emigration abroad is at present in an exploratory phase, inevitably. Investigating the phenomenon in the country of destination, aiming at establishing a link between the situation here with the situation there, the migrants with non-migrants, the
ones having left the country yesterday with the ones leaving today is a novel project, implying both risks and advantages. Referring to consequences of the temporary living abroad, there appears to be a dominant opinion according to which the phenomenon is “good”, beneficial, since it reduces poverty, leading to a migrant’s possibility of buying a house, a new car, a better school for the children and even to a business. Last but not least important, a change in mentality occurs, with an increased focusing on work, risk taking and new professional skills acquired, to mention but the most relevant ones.

The shortcomings of this wide-scale phenomenon in Romania lie in more and more obvious disfunctionalities, both at the level of the family and at the level of the community: more frequent divorces, children left alone without parents, with all risks associated to this loneliness, increased criminal offences, human trafficking, drugs, old age population in villages/the rural area, enterprises and regions lacking skilled personnel and many more.

All in all, the present research aims at undertaking a minute and detailed social, sociological and anthropological observation of the world of migration, good or bad for some or others, perhaps good for the moment and bad later or viceversa, as the author very well points out, from a multiple perspective and to study the same petty fact of life many-sidedly.

In terms of structure, the volume comprises four sections. Part one: “Exploring Europe through the migrations for work” aims at being a global descriptive approach, a perspective in space, at the origin and destination countries, having as a length of time the 1990s until the present. The second part: “Consequences and projects” refers to both consequences and perspectives associated to migration, it does not have a comprehensive span, but has a wide area: incomes and investments from migration, entrepreneurship, mentalities, family relationships, communities and life plans. The third part: “Regional-community dimensions”, comprises research focussing on community-regional areas: Vrancea (Romania)- Rome (Italy), Teleorman (Romania)-Spain, Eselnita-Orsova-Negotin-Dusanovac (Serbia). This part comprises case studies which are detailed and comprehensive. The final appendix presents essential sections form a questionnaire filled in with data and the response occurrences. The role of the experience of living abroad is emphasized in the tables, in differentiating the behaviours and opinions.
Conclusively, Romania has obviously evolved after the 1990s from an economic and political point of view differently from Serbia and Croatia and other states in ex-Yugoslavia, where many Romanians have earned their living. Although compared to these countries, Romania has become a member of the European Union with full rights, the Romanians still leave abroad in order to find – according to the author – the illusion of the “European” work places, actually a “bleak or black economy which makes more happy or unhappy, accordingly, the families and the communities of origin”. Introducing the visa requirements for some countries and abolishing them for others and the recent adopting of the new Customs Code of Romania have triggered important changes in the transnational mobility of various kinds particularly of the Romanians in Serbia [the authors point out]. Not only were there registered changes in the transnational fluxes of goods and persons, but also there is structurally modified the socio-economic landscape of the communities of destination and origin. Securing the external border of the European Union remains, in the author’s view, a controversial process and negotiable among various categories of actors involved, which could unexpectedly lead to the development of informal structures organized based on the resources of the state.

The present volume is invaluable for understanding the phenomenon of migration in Romania after 1990, based on important and rich data collected and motivated by the challenge of the issue and the interest of the research team that has contributed to this work. The thorough method of investigation is a multifaceted one, compelled to observe the same minute fact of life from a multiple perspective, extremely useful, novel and precious for nowadays Romania.
REPORTS AND CONFERENCES

International Seminar
Migration and Identity in a Changing Europe: Building Partnerships and Fostering Communication

-Narrative Report-

Cristina MATIUTA, Marius TATAR, Dan APATEANU, Irina POP

The international seminar *Migration and Identity in a Changing Europe: Building Partnerships And Fostering Communication* was organized by University of Oradea - Research Centre for Identity and Migration Issues.

The topics discussed at this seminar were the following:

I. Labor migration and the protection of the migrant workers: legal instruments, methods and institutions involved in managing this process;

II. Illegal migration and its consequences. Visa Policies of the CEE states;

III. Social and economical impact of migration in origin and destination states;

IV. Migration and the new European identities;

V. How to network? Perspectives for a future cooperation.

**Topic I: Labor migration and the protection of migrant worker: legal instruments, methods and institutions involved in managing this process**

The discussions of the first roundtable focused on labor migration and the protection of migrant workers. This section offered a multidisciplinary approach of the topic as it brought together expertise on migration issues from diverse fields of activity in countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Participants dwelt on four case studies analyzing labor migration issues from Romania, the Czech Republic and the Republic of Moldova, which were presented by one public official, two academic researchers and one NGO representative.

Ms. Daniela Nicoleta Andreeescu, State Secretary and Head of the Department for Labor Abroad in the Romanian Ministry of Labor, Social Solidarity and Family, opened this roundtable on Friday, November the 24th. Ms. Andreeescu,
who acted as a key speaker of the session, focused her presentation on the importance of legal instruments, methods and institutions managing the Romanian labor migration abroad. She pointed out that, in the Romanian case, the main instruments for managing labor force emigration are bilateral agreements between the Romanian Government and the Governments of other states. In addition, Andreescu highlighted the benefits of public institutions’ involvement in promoting and supervising legal migration. According to the present legislation in Romania, the Department for Labor Abroad, along with other competent institutions, promotes the protection and safety measures regarding the rights and freedoms of the Romanian citizens working abroad, as well as the prevention of any form of abuse. Moreover, as a result of setting up the institutional and legal framework concerning migration, there is an increased number of Romanians preferring to work legally abroad, usually with a contract, intermediated by the Romanian public institutions, which provides for certain rights and protection.

Furthermore, the discussions in this roundtable brought to light a significant issue in dealing with labor migration, namely the availability of reliable statistics. Most participants acknowledged that the task of gathering information on transnational mobility is a challenging one. Andreescu pointed out that building up and centralizing a valid database on migration is difficult, as for instance Romanians use multiple channels (i.e. official contracts, private agencies and personal relations) to get a job abroad. However, most of the Romanian workers, around 48%, obtain a contract abroad on the basis of bilateral agreements, while only 10% are recruited by private work agencies. According to the data gathered by the Department for Labor Abroad from various official sources, there is an estimate of 1.3 million Romanians working abroad legally. Nevertheless, Andreescu claims that there is no reliable information on Romanians abroad having an illegal status. Similar statistical data limitations were reported by participants from other countries too.

In order to better grasp the spread of migration phenomenon, Mr. Vasile Ciocan from the University of Oradea, Romania, suggested that one should distinguish between classic migrations (permanent) and circulatory migrations (temporary). He illustrated the usefulness of conceptualizing migration differentially by pointing out that Romanian labor migration falls under the circulatory migration pattern and it seems quite unlikely that one could properly understand the real number of Romanians working abroad if one uses only the conceptual tools of classic or permanent migration.

In subsequent discussions, different methodological designs for studying migration were proposed. Thus, some participants suggested that macro-statistical approaches should be complemented by micro-studies concerning immigrants and their integration on the labor market. For instance, Ms. Romana Cucuruzan, researcher in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, stressed that beyond numbers there are persons whose life matter. Hence, she believes that several important questions
regarding immigrants should be answered: who are they, which are their main reasons for emigration, which is their level of education, training and qualifications, the kind of jobs they have, their employment status, the way of finding a job in the host country? Drawing on the results of a micro-study, Cucuruza\ñsketched a profile of Romanian immigrants in Spain: women, young and very young, medium and highly educated, without relevant work experience at home, opting for a long stay and for a possible return to the country of origin, working legally but under their qualification, finding a good match between salary and the kind of the job performed, generally satisfied with living conditions, professional relations and with the ‘new life’. According to Cucuruza this profile fits the job opportunities for immigrants in a typical segmented labor market. For instance, in Spain immigrants work only as exceptions in the superior segment of the labor market with high salaries and career perspectives, (i.e. IT, banking, financial services, etc.). It is more likely to find immigrants in the inferior segment, with low salaries and low career prospects (crop collection, constructions, hotel assistance, domestic services - covered by unskilled immigrants).

Even under these circumstances, Cucuruza maintains that until recently one could notice a negative perception on East–West migration due to several reasons: the high unemployment rate; immigrants, even the legal ones, as source of jobs’ thieving and social dumping. However, according to the participants to the roundtable, migration has not only negative but also positive sides. Citing the 2006 EC report, some participants pointed out that after 2 years of working restrictions for the new EU members, the fears seem exaggerated and restrictions constitute a barrier to a better functioning of the labor market, as well. Therefore they suggested an attitude reconsideration focusing on migrants’ positive role in the EU economy. Consequently, one of the points which exemplified the benefits of labor mobility was the issue of remittances as a positive facet of migration both for origin and destination countries.

In the ensuing discussions, participants touched upon the immigration policies intended to fill the gaps in the labor markets of the new EU member states. Ms. Marie Jelinkova from Charles University, Prague, examined the critical shortcomings in immigration policy in the Czech Republic. She pointed out that while there is an obvious need for immigrant labor force, the Czech migration policies are inconsistent in attracting and integrating workers from abroad. In this sense, Jelinkova mentions, along with other factors impeding immigration, the complicated legal and institutional procedures of migrant integration, very limited possibilities to learn the Czech language and no system of regional counseling centers for immigrants. According to Jelinkova, the existing gap between labor demand and supply, combined with the complicated bureaucratic and legal environment to get work permission led to the emergence of a client system, and the dependence on middlemen. Jelinkova argued that this is a system which benefits the organized crime groups, the clients and the Czech business man. It also
fosters a criminalization of migrants and this, combined with a poor development of legislative provisions, encourages human trafficking and forced labor. The emergence of a so-called “black market of labor” in Eastern Europe has been also noticed by another participant, Radu Bostan, representing an international organization for the protection of women rights in Moldova. He also mentioned that there is a general lack of experience in dealing with migration in Eastern Europe and problems might arise if the gaps in the labor market, left behind by emigrant workers looking for better paid jobs in other countries, are not filled in with new immigrant labor. Bostan illustrated this situation with the case of Moldova, which faces a dramatic depopulation, especially in rural areas. Citing information gathered by Moldovan institutions from families living in rural areas, Bostan claimed that around 50 percent of the persons fit for work emigrated abroad. In addition, several participants argued that, in the near future, decision-makers in Eastern Europe should focus not only on managing protection of their labor abroad, but should also develop strategies to attract and integrate new immigrant workers for solving the problems of their own labor market.

Summing up, the discussions in this roundtable pointed out not only the theoretical and legal aspects concerning labor migration but also suggested practical recommendations based on everyday experiences of citizens from Eastern and Central Europe. Thus the roundtable offered favorable premises for getting a thorough picture of the topic discussed. Moreover, the multi-facet dialogue contributed and enriched conference outputs, by raising issues and suggesting directions for future actions and research.

**Topic II: Illegal migration and its consequences**

1. **Documentary film - Parallel Worlds**, produced by IOM

Commentaries: Mr. Ciocan, on the basis of his working experience at the Border Police, stated that examples presented in the film are frequent and real. Regarding the institution of re-admission (example of which has been observed in the first film scenes), it is very important in the migration area. Mr. Ciocan added that states confront themselves with problems when they don’t have re-admission agreements among them. In those cases, they have to take the whole responsibility – as a result of the Geneva Convention. As concerns Romania, as an external border of the European Union, it will face high expenditures when it will not have the possibility of using the re-admission towards certain states.


Mr. Ciocan said that, generally, we speak about cooperation at supranational and regional levels. The cross-border area of good neighbourhood
represents a very important filter in stopping the migration phenomenon. He presented a map of Europe on which have been drawn the lines of the Eastern EU border – past, present and future – with the aim of presenting the significance of the principle of geographical border from Romania’s and Bulgaria’s perspectives – as future Eastern EU borders. He showed, on the above-mentioned map, that the length of the Eastern border will shorten with 28%; he considered that this shortening will represent a big advantage for the material support of the securitization; Romania will play a very important role as it will be part of the main line of migration, and as it will have to manage 27% of the EU Eastern border. By its new position, Romania will also estrange the border from the Central of Europe. Therefore, the Central European countries will have to understand that will be very important to provide technical and financial assistance to the border countries, as these countries will have to solve all the problems regarding asylum, re-admission, etc.

Mr. Ciocan has also stressed on the difference between classical and circulatory migration; the classical one represents the most difficult problem for Europe because of the danger of terrorism and of the organized crime – in general.

Mr. Ciocan pointed out a change in the approach of borders in Europe: during the Iron Curtain they have been seen as fortresses; now they are seen as the “circle of good-neighbourhood” – that means the surrounding of Europe by countries with which to develop relations of good-neighbourhood. Europe’s interest is to have democratic governments at the border, no inter-ethnic conflicts (examples – Balkans, Georgia, etc.), and it invests important amounts of money in these countries. In the context of this circle, the evolution is towards an improvement of the relations regarding the border crossing with the third countries.

Regarding the concept of ‘integrated filters’, it maintains the lines of border control in stages; the control will be made in larger spaces, as not to affect the free movement of persons; therefore, the role of institutional and interregional cooperation will be increased.

The discussions following the presentation of Mr. Ciocan, were concentrated on issues as:

- Asylum system in Romania: it functions properly, as it is implemented in accordance to the European legislation; the asylum seekers have the possibility of staying in Romania and of receiving the staying rights / to demand the foreign missions from Romania to emigrate in another state; the problem with which Romania is confronted is that the asylum seekers use Romania for other purposes;
- The consequences for the Romanian immigrants who travel illegally in the EU: the laws of states are different on this issue; in this regard, Romania will probably adapt the 112 law to the EU legislation. It was also mentioned the difference between the Schengen space and the European space; the
Romania’s integration in the EU does not mean free movement of persons and goods immediately; these will be obtain after the transition periods.

- The organizations in charge with the asylum seekers in Romania: the government and its specialized agencies; the centers placed in Bucharest or in the border towns;
- The development of the circle of good-neighborhood with Moldova, after Romania’s integration in the EU: as many of the Moldavian citizens have Romanian passports, the ‘circle’ will mean to give a special statute to this country with regard to the entrance and departure from Romania; they will get easier the visa (it will not be paid, and will be made in a week, and also in emergency procedure), and the citizenship; there is also the possibility of developing the “small border traffic” with the counties close to the border, so that the crossing to be made on the ID basis, and no working license to be needed. Regarding the double citizenship of the Moldavian citizens, it will be eliminated; they will have a national and an European citizenships; but, they will have to prove with the right of staying.
- Romania – an immigration country: after the EU integration, Romania will be much more such a country; from that moment, Romania won’t be considered anymore as a country that produces immigrants, in the classical sense; therefore, the migration will become a circulatory one and the movement will be easier and freer; Romania will become a contact zone that will adopt a tough policy regarding the immigrants; in Romania, the immigrants are Chinese, Pakistani an, Turks, Moldavians, etc., so it will have to build a strategy for integrating them in the Romanian society; because their labor force is needed in Romania, the employers will make pressure on the government in order to accept this labor force; the Romanian society is not yet prepared to accept immigrants with a different skin colour; the Romanian government doesn’t have a clear policy regarding the emigration / immigration;
- The institutions involved in the management of the migration phenomenon: at this moment, in Romania and Bulgaria there are institutions that don’t know their task in the migration issue; in Romania, the institutions that have a task on this are: the ministry of administration and interior, ministry of education, ministry of work, ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of finance, ministry of health, the national bank, etc.; the local authorities interact with the families of the migrants.

3. Documentary film - Parallel Lives, produced by MTV

Commentaries: it is a preventive film; in the EU countries, the ordinary people don’t know about the victims of the sexual abuse in their country, as these phenomena happen underground. Prof. Ioan Mircea Pascu stated that victims have little life experience (if you are protected by the environment to which you belong,
you don’t become easily a victim); that the e-mail address mentioned at the end of
the film don’t reach the victims group as they are not frequent users of the
Internet, so that other means have to be identified; the victims don’t have to be
stupid or un-educated – they may be simply in a wrong circumstance or they may
have taken a wrong decision. It has also been mentioned that the Romanians know
about the sexual trafficking, but they consider that this happens to ‘others’, not to
the persons from their near environment. Also, the mass consumption society
affects the mentality of the individuals, and the migration phenomenon.

Topic III - Social, economical and political impact of migration in origin and
destination states.

Laetitia Duval, University of Rennes 2, France, PhD Student

Macroeconomic Determinants of Bilateral Remittances. Evidence from
Romania.

First, it was presented the research question and the methodology of the
study. The study is analyzing the determinants of remittances, the reasons of
migrants to remit. The econometric model employed has been applied on a new
dataset from the National Bank of Romania. Secondly, it has been depicted the
available data on remittances. The volume of the international remittances has
increased and has now reached a peak, according to World Bank, at about 200
billion USD; also, it has to be emphasized that these are official data that do not
consider unofficial money transfers.

The case of Romania has been analyzed because there has been a very
strong growth of the remittances. Remittances are modeled as a function of
independent variables of the host country; among the variables are the economic
size, financial environment, labor market and migratory policies. The remittances
represent 10% of the host country GDP and this is an increasing trend.

Regarding the findings of the study, in contrast with previous results,
unemployment was found not to have an influence; the possibility to find
employment in the informal labor market does not influence the level of
remittances. Another independent variable was the type of the host country, being
either an old migration country or a recent migration country. The interaction
variable, host country and unemployment it has a significant negative impact on
remittances.

The level of education is higher in the old migration country and it can be
said that with an increase in human capital, there is an increase in remittances. As a
general conclusion, the macroeconomic variables influence the volume of the
remittances; the immigrants who remit the most are the newly emigrated who
seems to have perspectives on returning.
Agnieszka Fihel, Warsaw University, Faculty of economic sciences, Centre for Migration Research:

Emigration from EU8 countries after May 1st, 2004. Selected features and impact on Polish labor market.

The migration pattern has significantly influenced the European labor market. After 2004, there has been an inflow into UK, but it is not a new phenomenon. According to the UK laws, a migrant is a person who lives in UK not longer than one year. In UK, the Working Registration Scheme has registered 260,000 Polish people, 50,000 Lithuanians (1.9% of the national Lithuanian labor force) and this proportion has an ascending trend, as it was relatively easy to obtain a work permit.

The migrants are young people aged between 18 and 34 (82%); only 7% have dependants, so we can say there is a migration of lone individuals, not whole families; this means that they are not going to settle down in UK.

What was the impact of emigration on the labor market in Poland? First, there has been an export of unemployment; however, losing labor force has an impact on demographic policies. A significant part of the emigrants were highly educated people, generating a brain-drain effect. Secondly, there is the seasonal migration, of Polish migrants in Germany; bilateral agreements between Poland – Germany has made this process easy; in 2004, in Germany were 330,000 seasonal migrants, the vast majority being Polish, working in agriculture. This process has been a way to help poor Polish people to get an income.

Seasonal migrants, 1995 – 2001. The probability of finding a seasonal job in Germany discourages people to look for a stable job in Poland. The effect of exporting unemployment is limited to some groups of people. In the 1980s, there have been 700000 emigrants 15% with high degree (7% of the population). In 2000, according to OECD, most of the Polish expats had secondary education (42%). The brain overflow process refers to people who are mobile, but in many cases, they cannot find a job at home. The brain-drain process, after 2004, had occurred in the same specializations. The rate of unemployment is 16% in Poland; there are sectors with labor shortages, hence the need for immigrants. In UK the labor migration has produced the brain-waste process; the twenty-eight most important occupations for immigrants in the EU8 are the 3D jobs: Dirty, Difficult and Dangerous.

In conclusion, first, it can be said that the migration occurs due to lack of opportunities; secondly, it produces labor shortages in some specializations; thirdly, in UK the labor migration has produced the brain-waste process.

Zaiga Krisjane, University of Latvia, Department of Human Geography:

New trends of international migration in Latvia

Latvia is an emigration-dominant country, due to political, social and economic influences. There has been a decrease in migration from 1990 to 2005. In 1997 the citizenship’ law has been changed, making it easier to obtain it. The
migration to the East countries became weaker, many people go illegally. Most of the Baltic states have lost population; this have a negative influence as it leads to a decrease in the fertility rate of the country. Main destination of long-term migration: Russia (70%), Germany. Outflows from Latvia in the period 1998 – 2002 reveal a new trend, as most of the persons are circulatory migrants.

The profile of the potential Latvian migrant, depicted through qualitative interviews, is young people, students, especially young men with tertiary education; also, from rural parts, with no jobs; they migrate on a short period (there is a problem of data validity, as they rely on the opinion of the person interviewed). Main destinations: UK (48%); Ireland (31%); Sweden (6%); Germany (16%). The reason why a large number of people immigrate to UK is that children learn English in school and there is a more positive attitude in the destination country; with Germany there are close cultural similarities.

Currently there is a demand for migrants due to fast economic increase in Latvia; in some branches, like in construction, there are labor shortages. Also, the population aging affects the provision of services. Russians are the most welcomed immigrants because of the similar ethnic structure, the existence of relatives.

Katerina Janku, University of Ostrava, Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, PhD Student

**Monetary and non-monetary remittances with marginalized emigrants’ families**

The term “remittances” is usually used in economic discourses on migration. It denotes monetary transfers from working migrants to relatively poorer environmens they emigrated from. The author propose to use term remittances in broader, than only monetary sense, in the meaning that the perspective of transnational/state/local-ism uses. The study regards remittances in a broader context, in families, not only for individuals and as a two-way money-flow.

The study focuses on Czech Roma ethnics who are asylum seekers and their relatives. The research had two locations: Toronto, 2000 and Czech Republic, in 2003-2004. The research method uses unstructured interviews by visiting households, with presence at special events.

Remittances“ are a tool of strategic reproduction of the trans-local family. Families/ adult men and women, children, adolescent and seniors are trying to keep and ameliorate its social position through strategies of reproduction. The trigger of remittances is the physical distance and social-cultural distance in the everyday life. Remittances are moments of overstepping these distances, temporary relief.

**Home-community gives**

Money as help to figure debts back in Czech; Money to pay a flat to be kept while others went away; Video tapes as a way to keep in touch; Czech football team dresses as presents; Identity for Canada-born kid baptized in Czech; Social ties
for Canada-born kid who’s celebration of baptizing; Medicaments as domestic products; Symbol of continuity of identity; Visits to look after kids; Housing for visits; Visits to deal with homesickness of both parts

*Immigrant-community gives*

Money in a place of birthday present; Money for buy ½ half of pig; Video tapes as a way to keep in touch; Cloths as presents; Cloths as material support; Beddings as material support; Symbol of perspective of family upgrading development; Phone calls as catch-up with daily routine; Service for relatives who came to make some money; Housing for visits; Visits to deal with homesickness of both parts; Strategic information about migration and settling-up possibilities.

Ethnographic perspective on migration – can the „voice of the underground“ that is being transferred and interpreted by scientists actually influence the debates and decisions on immigration and economic politics that so severely influence (immigrants’) daily reality?

**Topic IV- Migration and New European Identities**

The presentation of Mr. Traian Chebelew followed the topic of European Identity. The question that remains is which are the borders of Europe? During the Cold War Europe was considered to be the Western states but now the concept of European Identities can be applied to Balkans states and also to Turkey and Ukraine which are taken under consideration for the European citizenship in the future. Therefore, the European identities are defined no only by the geographical component but also by the concept of migration and mobility.

European identity is defined by the fundamental rights and it is on the bases of a liberal democracy which have been taken to the extent of political identity. Furthermore, EU identity means cooperation between the states members and exchange in order to build this identity that represents a commonly accepted set of norms and values.

The critics of Europeanization process are pressuring the EU decision makers because they believe that the role of the EU identity is over emphasizing. The main argument is represented by the economical factors that attract the phenomenon of migration. This argument can not be ignored since migration is a permanent and continues element of European growth. That is way a program to sensitize the public opinion has been conceived called *Promoting the Human Face of Migration* and also an international law has been adopted and supported by the Migration Agency.

UNESCO, which deals with problems regarding EU identity, promotes the values and the respect between nations on the cultural heritage and multicultural diversity. One of the programs is dedicated to prevent illegal migration.
The discussions were mostly based on the Romanian situation, the consequences of migrants in Spain and Italy, where Romanians are constituted in a large number and the absents of real data of their actual figure. The consequence of the Romanians working abroad on Romanian economy the situation of remittances and the unemployment rate in Romania which is under EU average, somewhere between 5% and 6%.

The questions that have been raised were concerning the future of migration of Romanians now that they have been accepted into the EU that will transform their status from migration to mobility. Although, Romania will be a member state from January 2007, it is the other states experience such as Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia that the ex-migrants will continue to be preserved as outsiders in Western Europe. The EU policies try the regulate the migration flows by imposing policies for a number of years 2, 3 plus 2 years for the labor market in old member states. EU legislation is to certain extent based on resistance, which has also been the case to the debates that followed after Mr. Traian Chebeleu presentation.

Ms. Zaiga Krisjane from Latvia stated that being an EU member they do not need working permits in several countries, the most popular among Latvians being Ireland where they are allowed to apply for social security after one year of paying taxes and working there.

The experience of the 2004 EU member states differs from one state to another, therefore the comers Bulgaria and Romania will have a different status than the states that have been accepted two years earlier.

In Slovenia one of the major problems involving migration phenomenon is represented by the political asylum which is a problem that has not been solved although there are several NGO’s and Ministers that are dealing with this issue. The lack of good communication between NGO’s and Ministers affects the outcome of the migration process. Most of these problems concerning political asylum are very common within the new member states but also in countries with a long tradition and economical prosperity like Sweden. The future of Europe is uncertain concerning migration vs. mobility.

The guest from France, Laetitia Duval has argued there is considerable debate over the impact of immigration on destination countries, but the economists find a lot of positive gains for the countries of arrival. However, she mentioned that sometimes the public opinion of the Western Europe, e.g. French society, perceives migrations from East as something undesirable and worry about that. Laetitia Duval believes that researchers should not ignore to consider this fact. The position of Ms. Duval has launched a debate, among the participants, on how migrants should be treated in the Western Europe. For instance, Ms. Katerina Janku from the Czech Republic argued that we can not call ourselves truly liberal until we will be able to accept migration and mobility as a good thing and when the
Prime-minister of Czech Republic will be a Romanian or a Gypsy. Only then we will be able to say we are living in a democratic society and people move from one place to another and what is important is their working capacity not their nationality.

**Topic V. How to network? Perspectives for a future cooperation**

The discussions of this topic had a central theme the finding of the solutions of further cooperation and interaction. To further this aim the participants were requested to fill in questionnaires with the following questions:

a. Please express your opinion on the topic and on the academic level of the seminar.

b. If and how do you think that you can involve in and contribute to the building of the network on the migration issue.

c. Could you take the responsibility to prepare the materials which are to be published on the site on a monthly updating?

d. Could you suggest some partners from your country in order to obtain European grants and funds?

e. Could you take the responsibility of finding partners (public institutions, universities, NGOs, media, etc.) from your country in order to enlarge the network?

In conclusion, after the centralization of the answers, for the second and third phases of the project, the most of the participants have expressed their interest on a further collaboration and willingness to participate in the experts’ network on migration. Also, they expressed their intention on finding new partners to enlarge the network and to contribute to the electronic journal on migration.
Upcoming Events

NOVEMBER 2007

Migration and Identity in the European Union
8-9 November 2007, Oradea, Romania
Research Centre on Identity and Migration Issues - RCIMI
University of Oradea
Faculty of Political Science and Communication Science
Address:
Str. Radu Enescu nr. 2
Oradea, 410238
Romania
Tel./Fax: +40 259 455 525
E-mail: contact@e-migration.ro
Web: www.e-migration.ro
RCIMI continues its annual series of events by organizing a new conference between 8-9 November 2007 on the topic Migration and Identity in the European Union. The aim of this conference is to consolidate the partnerships established with researchers from Romania and abroad and also to open new directions for cooperation and to identify new research opportunities.

Measuring and Optimizing the Economic and Social Impacts of Migration
GDN and IPPR call for expressions of interest to participate in the Global Research Project: Development on the Move: Measuring and Optimizing the Economic and Social Impacts of Migration. The project will commission six research teams, with each team undertaking a study examining the impacts of international migration upon development in their chosen case study country.
Deadline: 26.11.2007
More information:

Policy Dialogue - Integrating Migrants: a Europe Halfway to Best Practice
European Policy Centre
Date: 21.11
More information: www.epc.eu
DECEMBER 2007

Moving Cultures, Shifting Identities: a conference about migration, connection, heritage and cultural memory
Supported by the Innovative Universities European Union Centre and the European Commission's Delegation to Australia
Flinders University
Adelaide, South Australia
3 - 5 December 2007
http://fhrc.flinders.edu.au/events/movingcultures.html
This conference will examine issues of migration, transnational connection, displacement heritage, global space and cultural memory created by the movements of peoples between cultures in the modern world.

New migration dynamics: Regular and irregular activities on the European labour market
University of Nice Sophia Antipolis, France
6-8 December 2007
http://www.unice.fr/migractivities/index-EN.html
This conference will examine the situation of foreigner's status in modern European societies and its consequences on migratory movements.

JANUARY 2008

International Association for the Study of Forced Migration, the 11th conference
The 11th conference will be hosted by the Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Program of the American University in Cairo, January 6 - 10, 2008
More information: http://www.iasfm.org/

FEBRUARY 2008

Migration Management – New Forms of Multi-Level Government
The last conference of the series will synthesise all the topics discussed in the 2004–2007 conference series. This conference starts out addressing and questioning the paradigm of the manageability of international migration flows. Next, the role of international organisations in channelling migration and supporting integration and settlement processes is analysed.
Date and location: 7 – 10.02, Granada, Spain
APRIL 2008

**Children and Migration: identities, mobilities and belonging(s)**
Date and location: 9 – 11.04, University College Cork, Ireland

JUNE 2008

**Migration Matters: Immigration, homelands, and border crossings in Europe and the Americas**
Largely driven by economics, migration today is a global and globalizing phenomenon that renders national borders obsolete and calls into question the viability of nation states and national identities.
Date and location: 25 – 28.06, Leiden University, The Netherlands
Application deadline: 15.11

**Childhood & Migration: An Interdisciplinary Conference**
The start of the twenty-first century has been marked by a heightened awareness of migration patterns around the globe. While the majority of institutions devoted to the study of migration focus on adult perspectives, children are also clearly involved in migration, either as migrants themselves or as the primary beneficiaries of migration within their families, and their experiences in global regimes of migration are worthy of study in their own right.
Date and location: 20 – 21.06, Philadelphia, USA
Application deadline: 01.02.2008

**The Mediterranean: between passage, movement, settlement, and detention**
The specificity of Mediterranean migrations, new tendencies, comparisons with the past, new migrant profiles from eastern and from southern Europe, and migrant careers once arrived at their destinations, the routes followed by these movements, the travel industry, and trans-national, economic, family, religious and/or cultural networks, and even clandestine mafia networks.
Date and location: 2 – 8.06, Aix-en-Provence, France
Application deadline: 31.12.2007
**Upcoming Events**

**JULY 2008**

*European Population Conference 2008: Migration and Migrants in Europe*

The European Association for Population Studies invites you to participate in the upcoming European Population Conference, which will be held in Barcelona from 9 to 12 July 2008. The EPC 2008 is a general scientific conference where Migration and Migrants in Europe will receive special attention in the plenary session. International migration has become the most important factor in population growth in Europe and migration issues are central to population studies.

Date and location: 9 – 12.07, Barcelona, Spain


**OCTOBER 2008**

*International Conference on Environment, Forced Migration and Social Vulnerability*

The International Conference on Environment, Forced Migration and Social Vulnerability (EFMSV) is conceived to explore the inherent scientific issues by particularly addressing the aspects of environmental drivers of migration; geographical distribution and trends in vulnerability and migration, assessment of migratory fluxes due to environmental drivers, migration as a coping strategy in the face of vulnerability; temporary and permanent migration due to environmental drivers and the recognition of and assistance to environmentally forced migrants.

Date and location: 9 – 11.10, Bonn, Germany

Application deadline: 28.02.2008

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