



Work Package 4: The Lived Experiences of Migration
Country Report on Individual Factors and Recruitment Channels – Romania

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Country report on individual factors and recruitment channels - Romania

Introduction

This report is based on the findings from our qualitative field research carried out during December 2016 – April 2017. The research methodology included in-depth interviews with prospective migrants from Romania (10) and actual migrants from Italy, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom (28), as well as semi-structured interviews with experts (managers and staff) from recruiting agencies operating in Romania, both public and private (10). Details on the structure of the interviewees (also referred to as participants in our research) and sampling methodology will be provided in the next section.

The findings from our research are not statistically representative for the Romanian migrants but in consideration of the social diversity of participants and of the various social contexts they have been living in we may state that they are relevant for the purposes of our GEMM project.

In the context of this report we will use the term immigrants when referring to people living and working (or looking for work) in a certain country and who are not nationals of the respective country and the term emigrants when referring to people who have left their countries of origin (or are on their way to do so) in a view to find jobs and to settle in other countries temporarily or for good; meanwhile, we will use the term migrants when referring to either immigrants or emigrants or to both. It is worthy to mention the within the GEMM project we focus on migration of the labour force and therefore other categories of migrants are being referred to only incidentally.

It aims at shading light on individual factors that determine or influence people's decision to migrate to another country for a certain period of time or for good and on the channels used by them for putting into the practice such decision. It also aims at identifying correlations between the preferences for certain channels and individual characteristics of migrants and explaining why certain recruitment channels are being preferred by certain categories of migrants while other recruitment channels are being avoided.

Focusing only on individual factors, this report does not intend and cannot give a full image of the international migration phenomenon; it will be followed by a report on contextual and institutional factors, which will allow putting the individual actions in the context of the daily life environments of migrants and identifying the structural constrains that influence and/or determine the migrants' decision making process.

After presenting the structure of our interviewees (in terms of age, gender, level of education and marital status) and briefly describing the fieldwork, the report analyses the migrants' motivations. Here we concentrate on the migrants' subjective meanings of migration and on the outcomes they associate with migration in terms of life and career trajectories for themselves and for their family members, especially children. Then, we explore how migrants perceive their chances to achieve the outcomes associated with working and living abroad, taking into account the relevant answers to the interviews of both prospective and actual migrants. Nonetheless, we explore the factors that played a relevant role in the migrants' decision making process relating to migrating, but limiting ourselves, as far as possible, to individual factors, since the contextual and institutional factors will be analysed in the next report.

The report continues with exploring the extent to which the departure for working abroad was prepared by migrants and what such preparation included. We focus here on how they gather information regarding the features of local labour markets in the targeted destination countries, the social climate and attitudes towards immigrants in those countries, the costs of living compared to expected incomes etc., regarding support factors they may rely upon, as well as regarding legal and institutional settings in the destination countries that they are expected to observe there. We also explore administrative steps, if any, taken by the migrants in Romania and/or in the destination countries in a view to facilitate their migration.

In the next section we analyse the recruitment channels available and actually used by the Romanian migrants for finding the desired job abroad. We present here the main categories of recruitment agencies operating in Romania, along with their services offered and most usual customers, and the views of both experts from such agencies and Romanian migrants regarding advantages and disadvantages of applying to these main categories of recruitment agencies. Besides, we examine informal channels used by the Romanian migrants for finding jobs abroad as well as for securing initial support in the destination countries. In this regard, we also attempt to compare the roles of social ties versus recruitment agencies from the perspective of effectiveness in meeting the migrants' needs for support.

The final section of this report includes conclusions drawn from the analysis of individual factors of migration and of recruitment channels and social ties that facilitate the migration process, taking also into consideration the findings from literature review referred to in our Overview Report on individual factors and recruitment channels.

Fieldwork

By the end of the fieldwork the Romanian team conducted 48 interviews, of which:

- ✓ **Experts from recruitment agencies:** 10 (5 public and 5 private, of which 2 branches of international companies; 4 national and 6 regional/local; 6 managers and 4 staff)
- ✓ **Prospective migrants:** 10 (highly skilled – 6, low skilled – 4; male – 5, female – 5)
- ✓ **Actual migrants:** 28 (Germany and UK – 8 each, Italy and Spain – 6 each; lower education – 34%, higher education – 65%; male - 61%, female – 39%)

For identifying, recruiting and interviewing experts from recruitment agencies maximum diversity by three main dimensions were considered: types of agencies (public vs. private), structures (local vs. part of international networks) and personnel on different levels of organizational hierarchy (high, medium and low). Thus, for the public sector, the representatives of the National Agency for Employment were approached with the aim to both gathering information about companies dedicated to work placement abroad and to conducting interviews with these representatives. This strategy resulted in success. Two interviews were conducted with representatives of the National Agency for Employment (high and low level personnel) and information and contact details about the public employment services at county level were obtained. Hence, another three interviews were conducted with representatives of the National Agency for Employment at the local level in three different regions covering different economic development levels: highly, medium and lower developed areas.

For identifying private recruitment agencies dedicated to work placement abroad in areas targeted by the project, searching on the internet was the main and available strategy adopted. Contacting and interviewing representatives of companies referred to in the technical proposal, e.g. Adecco posed major obstacles and bottlenecks, while identifying job fairs in the recruitment period failed.

For identifying prospective migrants reviewing of migration studies (including CURS's previous research) to identify main departure areas to countries relevant for the Project, contacting experts in migration matters from universities located in less developed areas with high migration potential among graduates and making use of the most experienced interviewers of CURS were the main strategies used. Snow-ball method for recruiting potential migrants was mainly used.

The identification of actual migrants resulted to be the most difficult task. Previous studies on the matter conducted by CURS were very helpful. Thus, in order to identify and recruit actual migrants former CURS interviewers settled in the areas targeted by the project (i.e. Rome and Madrid) were contacted. This strategy was substantiated by contacting immigrants' associations in relevant countries (e.g. ADERE Association in Madrid), contacting priests from churches frequently attended by Romanians in the target areas (e.g. London, Rome), contacting actual migrants suggested by their acquaintances in Romania (e.g. Germany) and contacting officials of the Romanian embassies (UK and Spain). In all 4 destination countries targeted by the project (UK, Italy, Spain and Germany) experienced researcher travelled to conduct the interviews. The snow-ball method for recruiting the actual migrants was mainly used.

Among main difficulties encountered in recruiting actual migrants worth mentioning:

- ✓ The lack of comprehensive and reliable records of Romanian immigrants at the diplomatic offices of Romania in the concerned countries;
- ✓ Poor relationships between the personnel of the Romanian embassies and consulates with Romanians working in those countries;
- ✓ Inappropriate response of the Romanian immigrants to initiatives/events initiated by the Romanian embassies/ consulates (e.g. in London nobody showed up to such an event);
- ✓ Poor relationships between the associations of Romanian immigrants.

Another general difficulty faced was in meeting the ratio males/females due to the lines of work chosen because exclusively Romanian men migrated to work in construction and transportation and almost the same situation can be found in IT and finance, while in medicine alone the situation is more balanced.

As a lesson learned in what the interviewing of the actual migrants concerns, planning each interview from home in terms of day and hour, where possible, resulted in a significantly higher rate of achievement (e.g. Italy and Germany).

Migrants' motivations

Motivation is largely acknowledged as the psychological support of human actions. Moreover, it plays an important role in the decision making process, i.e. prior to human actions becoming effective. Hence, understanding human actions implies paying suitable attention to the motivation behind these actions and supporting these actions. This applies to the migration related decisions and actions as well and therefore we allot this section to the analysis of migrants' motivations. While doing this we opt for the structure-agency approach embraced by several international research projects¹, which argue that individual actions and behaviours are in most cases the results of an interplay between structural constraints (institutional settings and rules) and individual agency, "regarded as the principle ability of human beings to make choices, to take decisions and to act in an autonomous way." According to this approach," agency implies neither the autonomous actor isolated from social influence, nor complete freedom of choice but instead implies choice that is restricted by the constraints of social inequalities and differentiations, such as gender, age, social belonging, ethnicity etc." (Walther et al, 2009) While we are not going to discuss here the contextual and institutional/structural factors, which will be subject of the next country report, this approach helps us understanding and explaining why and how people living in similar socio-economic and/or political life context assign different meanings to their options for leaving their mother country and moving abroad for shorter or longer periods.

As we have already pointed out in our Overview Report on recruitment channels and individual factors, sociological research in Romania has been mostly focusing on push-pull factors of migration for work. Among push factors identified by such research we found the low levels of income, occupations with a low level of qualification, lack of resources to secure the future of their own children and families etc., while among the pull factors we found the higher income (compared to those earned in the country of origin), more diversified opportunities to find a job, increase of chances to secure a better standard of living for their children and families etc. Similar conclusions have been drawn from their own analyses by the Institute for Quality of Life Research in a recent report: "The main emigration reason is represented by the lack of jobs and the small wages in relation to the European standards." (IQLR Report, 2017, p.26) One may notice that it is about factors relating to basic human needs. Such factors have been identified in our research as well, which confirms the previous research findings and suggests

¹ E.g. Youth Policy and Participation. Potentials of participation and informal learning in young people's transitions to the labour market. A comparative analysis in ten European regions (YOYO), 2004; Thematic Study on Policy Measures concerning Disadvantaged Youth, 2005; Youth, Actor of Social Change (UP2YOUTH), 2009 (all available at <http://www.egris.eu/projects.html>)

that no relevant changes in the disparities between developed and developing countries in Europe, which influence the migration of the labour force, have occurred during the last 20 years. Indeed, as we are going to present later on in this section, our research findings confirm that for almost all low qualified participants (both prospective and actual migrants) 'better job' and 'higher salary' represents the main (and often only) reason to migrate; if taking into account that 'better job' means for most of them higher salary, one may say that in the case of low qualified migrants we are in presence of migration for money. Not surprisingly, when asked about their perceptions of the main motives of people searching for a job abroad, 4 out of 5 experts from public recruitment agencies and 2 out of 5 experts from private recruitment agencies having participated in our research indicated 'money' or incomes. Without ignoring this reason, one expert from a public agency and 3 experts from private agencies have also evoked professional development and/or career advancement opportunities, but only with reference to the highly qualified migrants. We said not surprisingly because according to our research findings highly qualified migrants are rarely applying for the services of public recruitment agencies and hence the customers of such agencies are mostly low qualified people.

The identification of such general push-pull factors does not help us to explain why people being under the influence of same or similar factors react differently in terms of setting goals and designing pathways in the migration process. Analysis of migrants' motivation is a step forward in understanding the migration process and the forthcoming analysis of contextual and institutional factors will make it possible rounding up this understanding and suggesting suitable policy measures for minimising the loss of social capital and maximising the contribution that labour force migration may bring to social and economic development of the EU.

The subjective meaning of migration

The subjective meaning of migration or, in other words, the life goals and/or the positive changes in their lives that are being associated with migration by people being in the position to take the decision whether to leave their country and move to another country or not, is the first and maybe the most important thing we have to explore when trying to understand the decision making process as well as the putting into the practice of such decision. We did not ask the participants directly what their meaning of migration was (this would have been confusing for many of them) but we may draw conclusions in this regard from the answers of the prospective migrants to the questions C1. "Tell me what your life has been like here over the past few years. What have you been doing and how satisfied have you been?", C.3: "What made you start thinking about leaving this country X?", C.8: "What kind of life do you hope to find there?", D.6: "What are your general feelings about this departure?", and E.7: "All in all, what would constitute failure and what would constitute success in your migration experience?", and from the answers of the actual migrants to the questions C.3: "What made you start thinking about leaving?", C.6: "What kind of life did you hope to find here?", and D.4: "What were your general feelings about this departure?". The answers to the above mentioned questions have been used here to the extent they contained information on the meaning of migration and as necessary; the answers to these questions will be also used in the analysis of other individual factors relating to motivation as suitable.

For the purpose of our analysis we have clustered the participants according to our conclusions from their answers in five categories: participants with life goals relating to professional development and/or career advancement, participants with life goals relating to living in other or several life contexts, participants with life goals relating to better standards of living (including well paid jobs), participants for which we could not discern any life goals from their answers, and participants whose declared life goals could not be placed in a relevant category (e.g. 'her husband's career', 'living with her boyfriend', better future for children). These categories included 5-7 participants each excepting the category with life goals relating to better jobs/incomes and better living standards which included 13 participants (about one third of our migrant participants). The compositions of these categories are not uniform; the shares of respondents from each demographic category differ and the differences are important for our analysis.

The participants in the first category, whose life goals relate to professional development and/or career advancement, are mostly males (5M, 2F) and highly educated (6H, 1L), belong mostly to the age group 25-35 y/o (1 under 25, 4 aged 25-35, and 2 aged over 35); their marital status is balanced (3 singles and 4 married).

„In principal professional fulfilment; when learning six years and achieving a profession one wants to practice it in the best conditions...” (AM, M, 31)²

The participants placed in the second category are those whose life goals relating to migration are less linked to material things, similarly with the first category, but mainly linked to socio-economic, political and cultural settings. They either declared that their life goals related to migration are to live in a more developed country, or in a more civilized country, or in countries better organised and ruled, or declared that they wanted to experience living in several life contexts. This category is not homogenous either; again males prevail (4 M, 1F) and highly educated as well (3H, 2L); we find people with all marital statuses (1S, 3M, and 1D) and from all age groups (1 under 25, 1 aged 25-35, and 3 aged over 35).

„In 2020, regardless my social condition, I will be a Canadian citizen; along with my family in a society different from British society, totally different, where there are no (ethnic, social ...) belongings because one has been chosen based on certain criteria.” (AM, M, 36)

„... I've always been curious to see other places as well and to study in other places as well, to keep studying and improve my professional qualification...” (AM, F, 31)

“We are going to have a baby ... and we would prefer him to live in a much more open environment, more democratic and more civilised as compared to what it is foreseen to exist in Romania in the next 5-10 years.” (PM, M, 35)

² Quotations include: type of participant (E = expert from recruitment agencies; PM = prospective migrant; AM = actual migrant), gender (M = male; F = female), and age

The participants in the third category are those whose life goals related to migration are more linked to material things such as better paid jobs and/or better standards of living. The structure of this category is not homogenous either; the gender composition is more balanced than in the first two categories (7M, 6F) and so is the structure by age groups (5 under 25, 3 aged 25-35, and 5 aged over 35) but the structure by levels of education is reversed as compared to the previous categories discussed (4H, 9L); here we find the highest number of singles from all categories (7), almost half of their total number in the sample.

„I want a better life. Everybody wants to build a house, to have a car, a decent living; I’ve always wanted a decent living” (AM, M, 31)

“To build us a future in our country and to keep staying here as long as we can. To earn money for building a house...” (AM, F, 46)

„Ensuring a better future for me and my family” (AM, M, 40)

„First of all I wish to provide my child with better living; to build a future for him; although I haven’t has, at least to offer him everything he needs.” (PM, F, 28)

The fourth category includes the participants without life goals relating to their migration or without any life goals discernible from their answers to our interviews. This is the only category where females prevail (3M, 4F) and with no representation of people aged under 25 y/o (0 under 25, 3 aged 25-35, and 5 aged over 35), and the second category where the number of lower educated is more than the double of the number of highly educated (2H, 5L); the structure by marital status is balanced.

The participants in the fifth category are from among all demographic categories; we find here both females and males (3M, 3F), both highly and low qualified (4H, 2L), mostly married people but also a single (1S, 5M, 0D) and mostly people over 25 y/o (0 under 25, 4 aged 25-35, and 2 aged over 35). Their goals seem to be only incidentally linked to their motivation to migrate (a boyfriend working abroad, a husband having received a contract abroad, a parent deciding to migrate etc.) and one cannot know whether they had any life goals or not. Hence, we are not very sure whether we placed them correctly in a separate category or we should have better place them in the fourth category.

While the lack of long term life goals among migrants is worrying, this is not surprising if taking into account the results of many opinion polls revealing a rather negative perception of Romanians on the direction to which Romania is going on, as well as a rather low level of confidence among Romanians in policymakers and political institutions. As stated in a recent report “All surveys highlight the fact that the Romanian’s **moral** is extremely low: demoralisation and disappointment, mistrust in the crucial institutions for the functioning of society.” (IQLR, 2017, pp. 20-21). According to the same report “During the entire period of transition, the majority of Romanians considered that the direction taken by Romania was wrong.” and the percentage provided for December 2016 (by quoting an IRES survey) of Romanians thinking that the direction taken by Romania was wrong was 61% (IQLR, 2017, p. 21).

Satisfaction with initial living conditions

The living conditions in the home countries prior to migration play an important role in the decision making process relating to migration. These aspects will be analysed within the next country report, focusing on contextual and institutional factors. However, since the satisfaction with initial living conditions is an individual factor that plays an important role in the migrants' motivation we present below some interesting findings in this regard. To explore this factor we used the answers of the prospective migrants to the questions C1. "Tell me what your life has been like here over the past few years. What have you been doing and how satisfied have you been?" and from the answers of the actual migrants to the questions C.1: "What was your life like when you left home (specific city and/or country of origin)?", H1: "Now that you have been living here N amount of time, would you say you feel more or less X (country of origin) nationality? Why?" and H.3: "Do you feel like a foreigner here or do you sometimes feel like someone from here (place of residence)?"

The first interesting finding is that almost half of our migrant participants in our research declared themselves satisfied with their living conditions in the home country prior to migrating (8 satisfied and 10 rather satisfied).

Participants with higher education appeared to be satisfied with their living conditions prior to leaving to a larger extent than those with lower education (13 out of 19 as compared to 5 out of 19); however, this has to be interpreted with due consideration of the fact that all our participants with higher education resided in urban areas, where general living conditions in Romania are significantly better than in rural areas.

„Good (initial conditions), this was not a reason to leave ...; my mother in law is a dentist as well and has her own dental cabinet in Bistrita and we could continue is remaining there, but we wanted something better...” (A.M., M,31)

Much unsatisfied appeared to be those with low levels of education and qualification.

„It was very hard, at least for me. The prices were high as compared to my incomes; we could not afford to buy the minimum necessary things ...; I cannot say good things about Romania” (AM, M, 40)

“Because in our country we haven't had the possibility to work, neither me nor my husband, and we could not achieve anything.” (AM, F, 47)

„Yes, we have come to a period at the limit, a saturation regarding the mentality and the way in which things are going on in our country” (PM, M, 35)

Men appeared to be satisfied with initial living conditions to a larger extent than women (12 out of 22 as compared to 7 out of 16) but without relevant difference. Similarly, differences between satisfied and unsatisfied with initial living conditions within age groups are irrelevant (in the age group “-25 y/o”: 3 satisfied and 4 unsatisfied; in the age group “25-35 y/o”: 8 satisfied and 7 unsatisfied; and in the age group “over 35 y/o”: 7 satisfied and 9 unsatisfied).

The sense of belonging

Another individual factor that plays a role in migrants' motivation is the sense of belonging. While it does not appear to have an important influence on the decision to migrate, it plays an important role in shaping the migration plans in what regards the type of migration: short-term, circulatory, long-term, or permanent migration. To explore it we have used the answers of prospective migrants to the questions D.6: "What are your general feelings about this departure?" and F.3: "What do you think the situation in X origin country will be like in 5 years?", as well as the answers of actual migrants to the questions C.2: "So you've described what your life was like before you left. Now tell me how you felt about the overall society in your country of origin and/or the city you were living in at the time of your departure", D.4: "What were your general feelings about this departure?", G.5: "How connected are you to your society, friends and family in your country of origin?", H.1: "Now that you have been living here N amount of time, would you say you feel more or less X (country of origin) nationality? Why?", I.2: "What do you think your life will be like 5 years from now? What aspects of your life would you like to be different from what they are now?", and I.3: "What do you think the situation in Y destination country will be in 5 years? What about the situation in X origin country in 5 years?". It is worth mentioning that a special question regarding the sense of belonging has not been contained in our interview guides but participants in our interviews have often referred to this aspect while answering other questions, mainly those above referred to.

In this case we have to analyse separately the situation of actual migrants whose experience of living abroad has certainly influenced their feeling of belonging and the situation of the prospective migrants who in most cases have not been subject to such influence.

Discerning from the answers to the interviews whether and to what extent they feel belonging to their country of origin or to the place where they were borne and grown up was not easy since in many cases the answers revealed uncertainty or dual feelings. Therefore, we assigned three values to the participants' feeling regarding their belonging to country/place where they were borne and grown up: yes, so-and-so, and no.

Overall, out the 28 actual migrants interviewed 21 felt they were belonging to their country/place of origin (13 definitely and 8 so-and-so) and 7 did not. The lack of this feeling of belonging has been more frequent among men (6) than among women (1) while in the category with ambivalent feelings we placed 4 men and 4 women. The level of education did not seem playing a role in this regard since among the highly educated we found 10 participants (out of 14) in the categories 'yes' and 'so-and-so' while among the low educated we found 11 participants (out of 14) in the categories 'yes' and 'so-and-so'. The age seemed to play a role since in the older age group more than three quarter (11 out of 14) of actual migrants participants have fallen in one of the first two categories ('yes' and 'so-and-so') while in the age group 25-35 y/o only two third fallen in these categories; the age group under 25 y/o contained only two participants, both pertaining to these two categories.

„Here I am not at home. This is not necessarily something negative but don't belong here; I am Romanian; I know where I belong. (AM, F, 31)

“I don't want to remain here. I am going to return in my country, but when being able to ... have everything I want ...” (AM, M, 31)

„I feel like at home but I feel that I am Romanian too.” (AM, M, 40)

Coming to the prospective migrants we notice that their sense of belonging to the mother country/place of residence is rather low (3 yes, 3 so-and-so, and 4 no) and the difference between men and women is considerable; while in the case of women 4 participants out of 5 had this feeling of belonging, in the case of men 3 participants out of 5 had not this feeling. Differences in respect of level of education are irrelevant but the age seems to play a role since the numbers of those having a sense of belonging decrease from 3 in the '-25 y/o' age group to 2 in the '25-35 y/o' age group and to 1 in the '+35 y/o' age group; again, in consideration of very small numbers of participants in these age groups one cannot draw a conclusion in this regard.

“When I first came back home ... I made the sign of the cross and I kissed the land” (PM, F, 59)

If comparing now the findings regarding actual migrants with the findings regarding prospective migrants we notice that the sense of belonging to the country/place of origin is more frequent among actual migrants. This is most likely due to the direct experience of living in foreign countries, with both positive aspects regarding incomes, standard of living and sometimes career advancement and negative aspects regarding mainly acceptance and social life. One may say that it is about the lived experience of following the Latin dictum '*ubi bene, ibi patria*'.

We have discussed above the background factors in the formation of motivation. However, these factors do not result automatically in people's migration; the effective migration is triggered by more specific individual factors as well as by contextual and institutional factors (which will be discussed in the next country report). We are now moving to the individual factors that trigger the migration action.

The reasons to migrate

We start with the reasons to migrate. This factor is linked with both the personal meaning of migration and the level of satisfaction with initial living conditions but more actual and able to trigger a concrete action of the migrant. Sometime it triggers the action without having behind a clear meaning of migration or clear expectations, and even no subjective assessment of the personal potential and chances to sort out the problem that triggered the migration. Several experts from recruitment agencies and actual migrants having participated in our research told us that in their opinion a lot of migrants leave their country without thoroughly thinking about the consequences of their action and about the risks incurred by such action. The analysis of the reasons to migrate is mostly based on the answers of actual migrants to the question C.3: “What made you start thinking about leaving?” and on the answers

of prospective migrants to the question C.3: “What made you start thinking about leaving this country X?” Besides, we considered the answers of the experts from recruitment agencies to the question E.4: “In your view, what are the main motives of people searching for a job abroad?”.

As we have already mentioned at the beginning of this section, most of the research based literature reviewed for the purpose of our Overview Report on recruitment channels and individual factors focused on basic human needs such as getting a job and achieving better living conditions when explaining the migration of labour force from poorer/less developed countries to wealthier/more developed countries. We have to reiterate here what we have already mentioned above in another context that this was also the opinion of the majority of experts from recruitment agencies having participated in our research (when asked about their perceptions of the main motives of people searching for a job abroad, 4 out of 5 experts from public recruitment agencies and 2 out of 5 experts from private recruitment agencies indicated ‘money’ or incomes). Without ignoring this reason, one expert from a public agency and 3 experts from private agencies have also evoked professional development and/or career advancement opportunities, but only with reference to the highly qualified migrants.

„ ... it depends on what kind of persons we are speaking of; there are persons with university degrees and high qualifications and these people look for a safer social and political environment and a society, so to say, developed, where social services have reached an acceptable level, while persons with lower qualifications or unqualified look for incomes that they may bring back home and turn themselves round” (E, M, 40)

The analysis of the answers to the interviews conducted by our team with prospective and actual migrants confirms the important role played by the aspirations for better incomes and standards of living in determining people to leave their mother countries and migrate to countries where the labour force is better paid. Indeed, out of 38 participants in our interviews 22 evoked income and/or standard of living as their reasons to migrate; most of these participants belong to the categories with low education (16), married (13) and over 35 years old (12); gender does not seem to play a role in this regard (11 men and 11 women).

„... I came to work and earn some money because in my country the earnings from work were small ... while here, if finding work, the earnings are much higher than in my country.” (AM, F, 46)

„The answer is one fold: for a better living, because in our country we have nothing to do. We were working in our kitchen garden, money were scarce, there were no available jobs.” (AM, M, 40)

„... a friend of mine told me to come to the UK I said that ... I don't want anymore in foreign countries, that I want to stay home, but taking into account that apter one year of working (there) I could not afford to repair my car, I called my friend ...” (AM, M, 31)

Nevertheless, it has revealed that for a rather large category of participants (10) the reasons to migrate did not relate to money and living standards (or at least not primarily) but to education, professional development and/or career advancement.

„... I've chosen to come here because at that moment I thought that going to the best university in the world means better education" (AM, M, 25)

This category of participants in our research differs significantly from the above category; migrants in this category have been mostly highly educated (9), males (9) and under 35 years old (8); the structure by marital status is rather balanced (6 married and 4 singles) if taking into account the structure of our sample (single 15, married 21, divorced 2). Some of them have also referred to better income and standard of living (3) or to experiencing new life contexts (3) but their main reasons remained those relating to professional and career development. A smaller category (4) referred only to experiencing new life contexts (2) or to other personal reasons such as following a spouse or mother, living with a boyfriend and misleading information provided by a friend.

„I actually came for holydays; I liked here and I remained." (AP, F, 39)

„I came here for my boyfriend ..." (AM, F, 36)

These findings should draw the attention of policymakers that the loss of human capital as a consequence of migration does not relate only to the massive and more visible category of low qualified labour force but also to the smaller but often more important category of highly qualified labour force, in which case we are in presence not only of a loss of human capital in the future but also of a loss of investment done by the mother countries.

It is important to note that while in the case of migrants looking only or mainly for better paid jobs it is very difficult in nowadays Europe to conceive policy measures that would reduce the loss of human capital (especially through underemployment) and/or would mitigate the impact of parents' migration on personal development of children left behind, since such situations depend mainly upon the development gaps between countries, which need long time to be closed, in the case of migrants looking for personal and/or professional development such policy measures can be designed and implemented much easily, including by taking advantage from the results of our GEMM project.

The expectations linked to the act of migrating

While taking the decision to migrate people usually take also into account what they expect to find at destination and sometimes also their subjective assessment of their capacities and chances to achieve the objectives of their action. The expectations linked to the act of migrating can be discerned mainly from the answers of our prospective migrant participants to the question C.8: "What kind of life do you hope to find there?" and from the answers of actual migrant participants to the question C.6: "What kind of life did you hope to find here?"

The formation of these expectations is strongly influenced by the volume and the accuracy of the information regarding the destination country obtained by the prospective migrants. The findings of our research have revealed that in many cases the information available to Romanian migrants was rather poor and that in many cases the migrants themselves had paid little attention to this aspect (they often

rely only on information received from relatives and/or acquaintances living already in their destination countries). Even though, we should have a look on the expectations mentioned by our participants in the interviews for better understanding their motivations.

The main categories of expectations revealed by the answers of our participant to the questions above referred to have been: better opportunities for professional development and/or career advancement, better standards of living, and well/better paid jobs. For the purpose of our analysis we have grouped the expectations in two categories plus 'other' (consisting of one case: woman expected opportunities to explore different worlds). In the first category we grouped people whose main expectations related to professional or career development, while in the second category we grouped people whose main expectations related to finding better jobs, earning more money and achieving a better standard of living.

The analysis has revealed that people in the second category are more than twice as numerous as those in the first category (26 versus 11) and that there are significant differences between the structures of these categories in respect of personal characteristics. The first important difference is that the number of males is much larger than the number of females (9M, 2F) while in the second category we found equal numbers of males and females (13M, 13F). The second important difference is that their structures by levels of education are reversed (10H and 1 L in the first category versus 8H and 18L in the second category). If taking into account that 8 out of the 9 male participants included in the first group have been also highly educated, these differences suggest that highly educated male migrants are more likely to have expectations relating to professional development and career advancement than expectations relating mainly to making more money and having better living standards. On the other hand, the fact that only two highly educated female participants from the second category referred also to expectations related to professional development suggests that female migrant are more likely to have expectations relating to material advantages such as better paid jobs and better standards of living. These findings are consistent with those previous referred to regarding the personal meaning of motivation but since they are based only on qualitative data one cannot extrapolate. Nevertheless, the comparison between our findings and the findings of the other national teams may help drawing more reliable conclusions.

Other differences between the structures of the two categories have been noticed as well but the only relevant seems to us to be that regarding the structure by age groups; while in the first category most participants belonged to the 25-35 y/o age group (2 under 25 y/o, 8 between 25-35 y/o, and 1 over 35 y/o) in the second category most participants belonged to the elder age group (5 under 25 y/o, 7 between 25-35 y/o, and 14 over 35 y/o). This situation may reflect the higher burden of family responsibilities among elder people but, again, using only qualitative data one cannot draw general conclusions.

The subjective assessment of own potential and/or chances to achieve the set goals/objectives

An important factor that intervenes in the formation of motivation and determines to a large extent the strength of motivation is the subjective assessment of own potential and/or chances to achieve the set goals/objectives. Meanwhile, this is something difficult to detect if having not asked questions targeting this aspect, which was also our case. Hence, we had to deduce the level of our participants' trust in their potential or chances to achieve their migration related goals from the answers of prospective migrants to the questions C.12: "How determined are you to leave the country and go abroad?" and D.6: "What are your general feelings about this departure?" and from the answers of actual migrants to the question D.4: "What were your general feelings about this departure?", but also from their general discourse. In doing so we clustered the participants according to their degree of confidence in their own potential or chances to achieve the set goals in four categories: 'High', 'So and So', 'Low', and 'Not the Case'; in the last category we included people for whom we could not identify goals or objectives for which this aspect of motivation could be estimated.

The findings from our analysis revealed that most of our participants have been confident in their own capacities and chances to achieve the set goals of their migration (25 H and 9 S-S). Men appeared to be more confident than women in their potential to achieve the migration related goals (21 M, 13 F) and younger participants more confident than the elder ones (8 out of 8 participants under 25 y/o; 13 out of 16 participants over 35y/o) (similarly 'singles', but they are also younger). The level of education does not seem to play a relevant role in this regard; the only difference that may be of interest is that among those trusting their capacity to achieve the targets the number of those in the 'So and So' category is larger among highly educated as compared to the low educated (Highly educated: 12 H and 6 S-S; Low educated: 13 H and 3 S-S). This last aspect may suggest that education makes people more cautious but should also take into account that the goals associated to migration among highly educated are more complex and more difficult to achieve than the goals of low educated, as one might have noticed from the above analyses.

"Absolutely, I can possibly ask for a transfer from my company; we have offices everywhere in the world; wouldn't be a problem." (PM, M, 31)

„To a very large extent. In all decisive points it is my responsibility and I have every tool at my disposal as to be able to decide what I will be going to do next year, in 5 years, in 10 years..." (PM, M, 33)

While in the case of prospective migrants we have no means to check the degree to which their optimism regarding the own potential or chances to achieve the set targets is grounded, in the case of actual migrants we can do it through the answers to question F.2: "To what degree have you found what you were looking for?". We actually did it and found out that excepting two cases all actual migrants having participated in our research declared having found what they were looking for (some of them even more).

The above discussed findings reveal that Romanian migrants, both prospective and actual, associated the decision to migrate to goals or expectations that are linked to fundamental needs of human beings,

such as having a job that provides for a decent living of incumbents and of their families, benefitting from a good standard of living, having access to quality education, professional development and career advancement opportunities and, last but not least, living in a social and political climate that guarantee observance of the human rights and access to equal opportunities. They also reveal that we are in presence of highly motivated migrants, whose objectives are grounded in basic needs and achievable.

Preparing for departure

The departure for working abroad is prepared by migrants using different ways, tools and opportunities. On the whole, we suppose that the preparedness for working abroad differs by countries, by individual and institutional (agencies) levels, by factors used by migrants to go abroad for work, by the level of education and qualification, by the stage (the period of time) the migrants make the departure (actual migrants vs. prospective migrants) etc.

The preparing by gathering information

The main issue regarding the migrants' preparing of the departure for working abroad is gathering the needed information about the labour market, the social climate, the cost of living, and the attitudes towards immigrants in the destination countries.

The analysis of the preparedness for working abroad is based mainly on chapter D of the research tool/guide (the answers received at the questions listed in the chapter "Preparing your departure"). In the case of the prospective migrants these questions include: D1. Tell me about the steps, if any, you are currently taking and any resources you are using to plan your departure; D2. Have you contacted any employment agencies here in order to begin your job search or do you plan to do so? If so, which ones?; D3. What kind of administrative measures, if any, will you be taking prior to leaving?; D4. (In case this is not yet clear) Do you plan on going to country Y alone or will someone be travelling with you? Will anyone be there to welcome you when you arrive?; D5. Are you currently undertaking any additional language or professional training in anticipation of the departure?; D6. What are your general feelings about this departure?. Similar questions were asked in the guide for actual migrants included in the chapter D. Preparing the departure: official and unofficial steps.

The main channel of information from the above perspective is based on receiving information from those who work or worked in the targeted countries, specifically relatives, friends, religion networks (churches, other religious groups) etc.

The data show that 8 out of 10 prospective migrants rely their preparing for the departure on the information received from the social networks, mainly from their relatives and friends. Only the young women with high education and high qualification in ITC sector and health (pharmacist) search for the needed information on various internet website, Facebook and newspaper. First of them applied for a job to a recruitment agency as well. A similar situation can be met in the case of actual migrants. Most of them received needed information through social ties. For instance, 5 out of 8 interviewed actual

migrants from Germany used the social network to find information before the departure but 2 of them used the internet as well. 2 out of 8 actual migrants from Germany used recruitment agencies to be informed and to leave, while 1 out of 8 did nothing to get information prior to departure.

Most of the actual migrants from Germany, 7 out of 8, were educated and qualified but two of them lost their status of high qualification through their job abroad.

In the case of Italy, 4 out of 6 actual migrants received information through social ties (two women and two men). Most of these actual migrants (4 out of 6) were low educated and low qualified and 5 out of 6 currently work as low qualified employees.

In the case of UK, 3 out of 8 actual migrants relied the departure on social ties. The other 3 out of 8 graduated universities in the UK (2) and France (1) and after that applied for a job. The other 2 out of 8 used the internet to find a job and 1 out of 8 used a recruitment agency.

In the case of Spain, all of them, both men (3) and women (3), that is 6 out of 6 actual migrants received the information and help for their departure from acquaintances and relatives, 4 out of 6, had and have low education and qualification. One man had and has high education and qualification and another man had low education but he currently has high qualification.

Overall, 26 out of 38 prospective and actual migrants received information and help for the departure through social ties, using their “social capital”. The use of other sources of information correlates in a positive way with the level of education and qualification increase.

There is a diversity of situations regarding this process of receiving information, as they are mentioned in the summaries of the interviews with the migrants. For instance, as the potential and/or actual migrants received information, one can meet a diversity of cases from a receiving country to another. For instance, a prospective migrant who intend to go for work in Germany does not speak any German and all information about the labour market in Germany she has it from her brother-in-law. Other prospective migrant finds himself in the same situation hoping to receive the needed information from her Romanian acquaintances living in Germany. Another grounds his hopes for the needed information on his relatives living in Germany.

There are other migrants who already have work experience abroad. For instance, a woman worked in Spain but now she intends to work in the UK and she uses the website monster.uk to inform about job opportunities in London.

Many of the migrants, prospective or actual, had or still have relatives working in the destination countries they are targeting and get the information from them. Many cases from Spain and Italy find themselves in the same situation, they feel that they have enough information for working and living in the named countries. As a young woman says *“I got the information from my brother-in-law who was working there from 2 years and he said that his employer has a good behaviour in helping the migrants. So we will live with our brother-in-law and he will help us with work (to find a job), to get a house (there are many for rent), to go to school.”* (PM, F, 28)

There are others who use to get the information from Facebook and newspapers. For instance, a young woman, pharmacist, who intend to migrate in the UK.

Some of them use to be informed both by their relatives working in the destination countries, the internet and newspapers.

The preparing by learning needed foreign language

The other important issue regarding migrant preparation for departure is learning the language of the destination country. As a trend, the language is not longer a problem for the actual migrants, almost all of them succeeded to learn the language of the country where they already worked and lived. For instance, a medical doctor (actual migrant) in Germany improved his German skills by self learning and started job searching on various channels (job fairs, recruitment agencies, websites). Another doctor in Germany received relevant information about the working conditions in a German hospital from his colleagues who had migrated earlier. He studies German at the Goethe Institute in Cluj-Napoca during his last year at the university. The other two actual migrants living in the UK learned good English attending courses at the UK universities.

We can note that for highly educated and highly qualified migrants, like the doctors in Germany and the UK, learning the language was not a problem in finding a job.

In the case of Spain, the situation was not similar. Many of the migrants, 4 out of 6, didn't know Spanish, at first, prior to departure. They learned Spanish while working there. Some of them didn't do any special preparation prior going to work in Spain, mainly those working in the domestic care field. *"...you cannot eat, cry all day long mainly because you cannot speak the language. I brought along a dictionary and tried to learn, I use to see at TV some words which I didn't understand and I wrote them and then tried to make sense of them. I knew some Spanish words but for making a sentence some grammar knowledge is also needed. This taught me an old woman I looked after for a year and half. She also taught me to write..." (AM, F, 59).*

Some of them decided to pay a visit to a relative in Spain with the idea to start learning the language and to see how it is to be living in Spain. They (as a doctor and his wife) already prepared from Romania the documents they needed in Spain, including a certificate of language obtained in Romania. After arrival they went to the Romanian consulate in Almeria (where their uncle lived) and they started submitting their CVs to various websites and soon his wife was accepted as dentist assistant in Madrid and after another two month he also found a job as dentist assistant in Madrid.

Many of the actual migrants in Spain based their arrival there on the relatives already working there mainly in the field of homecare and construction. They used to learn Spanish with the support of the Spanish colleagues, even though was very difficult at the beginning. Some of them used to work without contract during the first years, and after that they registered to the local employment agency as persons looking for jobs, but got the first work contract after one year; once they have a work contracted they registered to the local authority as residents.

So, some migrant women who work as housekeepers, daily workers in construction relied on their relatives (brothers, cousins etc.) to host them for a while and help them learning Spanish and finding a job. They used to borrow money for living until they found a job and got the first salary.

In the case of Italy, the situation is similar with Spain from the perspective of the way Romanian actual migrants received the necessary information about labour market and learning Italian language. Most of the migrants interviewed in Italy, 4 out of 6, used the social networks, mainly relatives (brothers, parents etc.) already working there in order to learn the language and find a job in Italy, mainly in the field of low education and low qualification were demanded, like housekeepers, workers in construction and agriculture.

All arrangements were carried out by their relatives working in Italy, thus they didn't undertake any administrative measures. They didn't use any official channels for the departure and for finding a job. They got in touch with the Italian authorities and with the Romanian consulate when looked for obtaining residency.

Thus, the main problem they faced was the language. As a 25 years old woman said: *"even now, after nine years I cannot say that my Italian is very good"* (AM, F, 25). She learned Italian in Italy, as of the time of her migration, her English was better than her Italian.

Of course, there are opposite situation as well. For instance, a woman of 35 years old with high education (university degree in economics and marketing) improved her professional knowledge by graduating some training courses (accounting) prior to departure.

Only one of Romanian actual migrants has known a professional mobility, changed the social status from low to high level. 3 out of 28 interviewed actual migrants knew a negative mobility change, from high to low level of education and qualification.

For instance, the man, 32 years old, graduated only a vocational school in Romania, started his work experience in Italy as olives picker, then worked in construction, then back in agriculture (2006-2010), but he took a 6 months training course in programming and design and after passing all tests he was employed by the company that organized the course (2012) and got his first work contract in Italy. So he learned Italian by himself there and succeeded to make a career advancement which would not have been possible in Romania.

The opposite situation can be met in Italy, Spain and the UK. For instance, a woman who graduated in Romania a postsecondary school (accounting) and additionally two years of university (economics) went to Italy at her sister and found work at a restaurant as dishwasher and after an additional training in cooking became cooking assistant, then cook and after 4 years she moved to another restaurant for a cleaner position. She learned Italian at the work place.

The UK case is significantly different compared to actual migrants' situation from Spain and Italy and it's similar with the situation of actual migrants in Germany. In these countries getting the needed

information for migration is less based on relatives and acquaintances and more on internet (websites, Facebook) and mainstream media.

The main explanation lies in the specific of jobs demand. If in Spain and Italy the migrants' job demand is based on jobs in agriculture, construction, domestic care fields, in Germany and the UK the migrants' demand is, to a larger extent, based on the jobs in the health, finance and ITC fields. So the general level of education and of qualification the Romanian actual migrants have is higher in the UK and Germany than in Spain and Italy. Among the interviews conducted in the UK, 4 out of 8 migrants work in the health system as medical doctors/dentist (two of them) and as nurses (the other two).

Overall, almost all prospective migrants tried to learn the language of the destination countries prior to departure. That is, 8 out of 10 begun to learn the needed language prior to departure (some of them already knew the language from their prior experience of working abroad – 3 out of 8).

Regarding the actual migrants from Germany, the data show that 4 out of 8 of them learned the language of the destination country at a basic level prior to departure, while 4 out of 8 learned German after their arrival in Germany and after founding a job there. Knowing German at a conversational level seems to be more difficult for most of the actual migrants from Germany, even when they are highly educated and highly qualified.

Spanish case shows a different situation regarding learning the language in spite of language similarities between Romanian and Spanish. All the interviewed actual migrants from Spain, 6 out of 6, started to learn Spanish after their arrival in Spain. The explanation lies mainly in the fact that most of these migrants had low education or went to Spain to work, for the first time, before 2004, mainly in the first stage of migration at the beginning of 1990.

Italian case shows a similar situation with Spain regarding the learning of language of the destination country. 5 out of 6 actual migrants used to learn after they arrived in Italy and found work or attended some language courses. Only one of these actual migrants begun to learn Italian before the departure and after arrival graduated an Italian course.

This similar situation regarding learning the language of the destination country is not significantly different by level of education and qualification, by gender or sector of activity in Spain and Italy.

The UK data show a different situation regarding learning the language of the destination country compared to Spain and Italy. 7 out of 8 actual migrants knew English prior to departure at least at basic level. One of them knew 6 languages.

Always, most of the migrants with low education level faced the problem of learning the local language. Some of them needed more than one year to reach the communication level.

Worth underlining that learning the local language, mainly Spanish, German or Italian is a significant problem not only for working but also for living there a decent life by oppose to English which even a manager in construction field was able to learn it *"I learned English two years in school in Romania. I*

liked English language since I was a child. We had some family friends from Holland who visited us (and talked in English) but also I learned English from dictionaries and watching TV.” (AM, M. 31)

We noted a diversity of experiences of the actual and prospective migrants regarding the preparing, starting with gathering the information and finishing with learning the needed foreign language. But we should not forget that there are some migrants, both actual and prospective, who did almost nothing for the preparing prior the departure. They start to look for a job and learn the language only after they arrived in the destination countries. In this case, the social networks (their relatives) helped them to find jobs, manage to find housing, learn foreign languages etc.

The preparing for working abroad of the prospective migrants from Romania has begun to have some particularities.

We expected that the prospective migrants from Romania will have some different behaviours regarding the preparing of the departure for working abroad compared to actual migrants. The main reasons to believe this are based on the fact that some of these potential migrants already worked abroad and returned to Romania. In this situation we found 4 migrants out of 10 (3 women and 1 man). Besides, most of the prospective migrants, 6 out of 10, have relatives in the potential destination countries and some of them travelled in those countries at least one time as tourists, visiting their parents or their relatives. So only two of them have no relatives in the destination countries and only one person of this last category of people hasn't visit these potential countries. The last ones are very young prospective migrants, a man of 18 years old and o woman of 24 years old.

The preparation of the departure for working abroad is quite different amongst these three groups.

Thus, the potential migrants who have no relatives in the destination countries are very poor. The 18 years old man based his departure on one thing alone: some friends who work in Germany in the construction sector. He has no money, no housing, speaks no German at all and has done anything so far to find a job there. As he said *“I heard that Germany is a beautiful country, there are many jobs compared to Romania” (AM, M, 18)*

The 24 years old woman has some information about the UK coming from newspapers and Facebook. She knows that as a pharmacist will have to attend one or two years of school to equate her studies and to have very good English skills.

Both of them expect to see what will happen after they will arrive in the destination countries.

The group of people who already have work experience abroad but returned to Romania, have started to search for a job. For instance, the woman, 32 years old, uses the website monster.uk to find a job in the ITC sector.

The 35 years old man will start a business in the ITC sector based on the experience acquired in Spain and Romania. He will sell his apartment from Romania, if the case.

The other two women from this group intend to return in Spain and Germany and will manage to find jobs with the help of their relatives and based on their experience in domestic care sector (cleaners or caregivers for elderly).

The prospective migrants from the group of those having relatives and who visited the destination countries based their preparing mainly on the information about the labour market and working conditions provided by their relatives. Two of them plan to start language classes as the prospective migrants for Germany or make tuition to learn English in the UK once arrived there. All of them based on the information and help in finding a job received from the relatives.

Preparing by information and learning language for finding a job

Regarding the information and learning the needed language for finding a job there are different situations. The actual migrants from UK interviewed by CURS could be a good illustration of the diversity of practices used in preparing for finding a job. For instance, a woman, 31 years old who holds university degree in medicine (dentistry) taken in Romania came in the UK from Paris. She speaks 6 languages, including English and Hebrew and she knew that the dental medicine education in the UK is not better than in Romania, so she just needed to translate her education and training certificates as required by the employers from the UK. She found the job in London by chance, entering the first clinic she saw there on the street. She didn't need support from the Romanian consulate or other authorities. This is an unusual way of finding the desired job.

The opposite case is a man who holds university degree in Romania but who prepared himself to go to work in the UK. He used to watch the news and read the books published in the UK with regard to dentistry and was aware about the leading UK universities in the research area. He undertook a job search and had 70 job-interviews prior to be hired. He learned what he needed to improve as to get the job from an interview to another. Hence, right after finishing classes he worked as assistant in the UK in order to learn how the medical system works and worked as a teaching assistant at the King's College where he had the opportunity to learn more and to compare it with he had learned in college in Romania. After that he came back to Romania and graduated the university. This way was a good opportunity to improve his English. This case can be considered a best practice in preparing for indefinite or long-term the departure/migration.

The cases of nurses are not very different from the preparing for departure perspective and finding a job. They found out that in the UK is a demand for nurses. Not much preparation they did. A man, 36 years old, graduated a post-high school in medicine to become a nurse. Then he just updated his CV on the e-jobs website and shortly was contacted by some recruitment agencies. He chose one and had three job interviews via Skype with the managers of the hospitals from the UK. He made the decision based on location. He needed some recommendations from home, a criminal record and a record from the Nurses and Medical Assistants in Romania to state that he holds no malpractice and was an active member. Before departure, he continued to improve his English and his experience as a nurse.

The other nurse, woman, 36 years old, had similar procedure with the mentioned ones. All preparations took her less than 3 months: submitted the CV to the agency, took the job interview and further calls

with the UK hosting family she already found through a recruitment agency from her home town. She knew English, but she gained the right to work thanks to her husband.

The other actual migrants from UK had different type of preparing the departure and finding a job. One was in UK as tourist and remained there and graduated a college in London where he learned to speak fluent English and after that succeeded to find a job in ITC field as software developer. A young man, 25 years old, hold also university degree in ITC, obtained in the UK, works in the financial sector as information system developer remained in UK following graduation and enjoyed a smooth transition to the labour market. He got needed information and language knowledge during the university graduation.

The other case of Romanian actual migrant in the UK worked as a driver in construction or as service workers or as a project manager had a lower preparation regarding the information and English language but during the preparing and looking for the job they succeeded to speak English at the communication level.

Recruitment channels and social ties

The analysis of the recruitment channels is based on the data collected from the Romanian recruitment agencies, prospective and actual migrants from Romania, Spain, Italy, Germany and the UK. The using of both channels, recruitment agencies and informal networks, is not excluded even though there are only few cases of migrants in this situation. As a matter of fact the Romanian surveys showed that only 7% migrants turned to the recruitment agencies to go abroad.

Most of the interviewed migrants have not contacted any recruitment agency or undertaken any administrative steps in order to get a job in the destination countries. As a matter of fact only 3 prospective migrants mentioned that they asked a “hunting” agency to help them in getting more information about the destination country and about jobs, while the others 3 actual migrants who worked in Germany were hired by a German employer, mediated by a recruitment agency and the other actual migrant from UK used a recruitment agency from UK to find a hosting family.

The main channel used by Romanian migrants for finding a job abroad includes the so called “social ties”, this channel is based on informal help for the migrants who intend to travel abroad for finding a job. GEMM qualitative data about Romanian migrants confirm the information analyzed in the Overview 1 regarding the informal channels used by migrants to work abroad.

As is stated in Overview 1 for Romania, the main channel used by Romanian migrants to work abroad is so called “social ties” by which “friends are helping friends, relatives are helping relatives, individuals from the same community are helping their fellow countrymen, people with some religious orientation, especially Adventism, Baptism and Pentecostalism branches, are helping people with same religious beliefs and those with some ethnic background are helping the fellows sharing same ethnic background.” (Şerban M. and Voicu B. 2010)

The current qualitative data collected by CURS expert under GEMM project are in accordance with the data based on analysis of the research literature. Most of the interviewed migrants said that they used or will use relatives, friends, acquaintances, neighbors that are already working abroad in order to be informed about the labour market in the destination countries and for helping them finding a job. They use this informal channel because is easy to do it and they have confidence in them. That means using the “social capital”, mainly by those in rural areas of Romania, who, in fact, account for the majority of the Romanian migrants.

The differences between Romanian actual and prospective migrants regarding the channels of migration used are not significantly strong neither by gender (men and women) nor by country of destination. The differences of the channels used are more significant by migrants’ level of qualification and education.

Anyway, inquiring about the channels, social networks or “social ties” used, we found various different situations the migrants use to getting in the receiving country and to finding a job. For some of the current prospective migrants, their previous experience of work abroad become an important asset/ factor in managing by their own to find a job. Their professional experience in the destination countries, mainly in Spain and Italy, acquired mainly during 2004-2016 will be used now for getting a job in the same or in other destination country, mainly Germany and the UK, where they, however, can gain more money.

We will illustrate in the following 2 pages some cases which show the diversity of situations regarding the channels used or will be used by the Romanian migrants at the beginning of the search for a job abroad.

For instance, a prospective migrant, woman, 28 y/o, intends to move in Germany where she has a cousin. Although she has not undertaken any administrative steps regarding this move, she plans to go to her relative from Germany to help her find a job, not being confident that by her own will succeed this.

Another prospective migrant, man, 21 y/o, intends to move to UK where he has some friends and hopes to get a job in a church in London. Currently he is student, works as an insurance agent and intends to find a job in the finance field after he will graduate a faculty in the UK.

Another prospective migrant, woman, 59 y/o, decided to return in Spain where she worked for about 6 years and has a brother who is still working there. She knows Spanish and she is sure that will not be a problem finding a job as caregiver for elderly. She confirms the increasing trend of the circulatory migration.

Some of the actual migrants did very few things regarding the preparation prior to the departure. For instance, for an actual migrant from UK (man, 28 y/o) all preparation took 6 days: a phone call to his close friend from UK to make sure he will have a job and shelter once he arrives in the UK. He didn’t need any money because his friend from UK who had some debts to his father plaid the flight ticket and offered him shelter. Practically, it took no preparation prior to get to London and work in services sector as low skilled worker.

The others actual migrants, by contrary, did a lot of things to prepare their departure for working abroad. For instance, a dentist from Romania (man, 35 y/o) used to watch the news and read the books published in the UK with regard to dentistry and was aware to go in the UK first to learn how the medical system works and worked as teaching assistant at a college from UK. So he came in the UK firstly as a student.

Other actual migrants, with or without the help of relatives, came in the destination countries as tourists and after that found a job and remained there (this was mainly before 2007 when Romania has joined the EU). For instance, an actual migrant (man, 40 y/o) travelled to Italy by bus with a 3 months tourist visa (after Romania joined the EU, no visa is required) and with the help of his brother from Rome who hosted him, he succeeded to find his first job in less than one month, in the construction sector, through his Romanian friend who was working there.

The other channel to go and find a job in the destination countries is the connection found there. For instance, an actual migrant in Germany (man, 44 y/o) was recruited directly by a German hospital through a medical doctor who had good connection within the medical system in Cluj, Romania (this could be also a social network based on social capital).

Some other actual migrants use the internet as a channel to find a job, at least in the first stage of the preparedness.

For instance, an actual migrant from Spain (man, 31 y/o) looked for information on the website of the Spanish Health Ministry and prepared prior to departing from Romania the documents needed in Spain. They (he and his wife) went to a job faire but did not find the job desired in Spain, thus they decided to go to their relatives in Armeria (Spain) as tourists. That is, they used both the internet and relatives to find a job in Spain.

But using the help of the relatives to get a job and to learn the needed language is the most used channel in the preparing process and finding a job. 20 out of the 28 interviewed actual migrants were in this situation. There is also a diversity of situations from this point of view.

For instance, an actual migrant woman relied on her husband's cousin to host her for a while and to help her learning Spanish and finding a job.

There were migrants who got into the destination countries and found a job using more or less legal procedures.

For instance, before 2004 it was very difficult for Romanians travel in the EU countries. An actual migrant received an invitation from a relative living in Germany and received a tourist visa for Germany, then from there travelled by bus to Spain. It took him 8 days to reach Spain from Romania. He traveled with his twin sister and his girlfriend.

Some of the actual migrants came illegally in Spain in 1997, as the actual migrants women (45 y/o and 47 y/o respectively). The other one (man, 40 y/o) succeeded to legalize his situation after he went in the destination country, found a job through his father-in-law and worked for a year in Italy. After that he

registered with the employment agency as person looking for a job but he got the first work contract after a year.

Some of the actual migrants used e-jobs website and/or employment firms or recruitment agencies as the main channel to get a job in the destination countries (UK, man, 36 y/o).

One actual migrant from Germany started to find a job in ITC field using ejobs website, job fairs and recruitment agencies as he said *"... I went to job fairs, I visited the main recruitment websites but often the recruiters found me and weekly I participated at interviews. [...] I used a recruitment agency from Poland which told me about the company from Leipzig and finally I was invited and tested at the company where I work now."* (AM, M, 33).

The main formal channel used by Romanian migrants to get a job abroad includes the Romanian recruitment agencies, both public and private, but there are only few cases in this situation among our interviewed people.

Even though the number of the actual and prospective migrants who accessed the Romanian agencies to find a job abroad is small, the importance of the agencies has increased over the past years mainly by expanding their activity in the direct mediation between potential migrants and the future employers.

Even though the data gathered by CURS through the interviews with the experts from recruitment agencies cover many activities they perform, recruiting candidates for working abroad remains the main task. This activity entails mainly posting job openings on websites, organizing job fairs, collecting CVs and contact data, providing training courses, mediating meetings between employers and job seekers etc.

The activities of the Romanian agencies are various even though in our research we only met three actual migrants who accessed their services for finding a job abroad.

Romanian recruitment agencies are focused on recruiting candidates or job seekers, but in many cases they also provide training courses for vocational qualification and foreign languages, helping the candidates prepare for working abroad. These services are provided by both public and private agencies, but there are a lot of differences between them further presented.

There are some significant differences between public recruitment agencies and private recruitment agencies. They will be analyzed in the second Report.

Conclusions

The analysis of the Romanian migrants' answers regarding the motivation for migration, the preparing to go to work abroad and the recruitment channels used or will be used by the migrants to reach the destination countries and to find a job there show a diversity of situations.

Beyond the structure of the migrants for work abroad and the specific of the sending and receiving countries, our analysis focused on individual factors which influence the decision to migrate, the preparing for departure, the ways to find a job and the recruitment channels they use (or intend to use). The qualitative collected data allowed us to identify a significant typology of migrants and situations starting with those having no work experience abroad, have low professional qualification and have the desire to gain more money as reason to go to work abroad, to those who have significant amount of information about the labour market in the destination countries, are well educated, have high professional background and have a multidimensional motivation to work abroad, focused on professional and career development.

1. One type of migrants (by the situation prior to departure) usually young, unqualified, without professional experience at the date of departure, without enough information and no consistent preparation undertaken. The migrants from this category are rely their decision to migrate on the social ties (social networks), mainly on relative and friends, to help them to get information about the labour market, to find a job, work and to reach the living conditions in the destination countries. As per data analyzed in the main text, there are a lot of cases of migrants that can be included in this category. The single or the main reason they decided to work abroad is to gain (more) money. Brief, they do not have a thorough preparing for departure, they do not have money, they do not know the language of the country they intend to arrive, don't know about housing or other things for an easy and smooth integration there. They assume tourist and hope to find a job, at least for a short-term. They travel or will travel there by bus or plane helped by their relatives or friends. Their motivations to go to work abroad are mainly based on the push factors provided by their own income in Romania.
2. Similar with the first type of migrants, there is a type or a category of migrants that prior to departure have an extensive work experience in Romania and/or some experience in other European country, some of them being persons who lost their jobs. It is about people with low qualification and education, mainly women who lost the job their once had in the communist era and who during the last 10-15 years have found some jobs in the house care field (mainly in Italy), agriculture and construction (see prospective migrant RO.F.28). These people succeeded to learn a little of the languages they were in, like Spanish, Italian, German or English and use a diversity of ways to find a job and survival strategies to get incomes for their families left behind in Romania. They use often so called "circulatory migration", i.e. working for short term, coming back in Romania, then going back to the destination country to replace the migrant already left the job there. The main motivation is an individual factor, namely to gain money for them and their households left in Romania. The main difference of this type of migrants compared to the first one is that some of them have useful working experience and they are, from this perspective, better prepared to work abroad. Their experience is important for the decision to migrate and has changed traditional migration to circulatory migration, mainly for short term. These two types of migrants are, generally speaking, low educated and low qualified. As Romanian representative surveys show, these migrants include most of the Romanian migrants, around two-thirds. They use to work as low qualified workers in agriculture, construction, hospitality industry,

homecare, transportation, services etc.. Most of them use to work in Italy and Spain. This situation can be illustrated by two interviewed women, 28 y/o and 59 y/o respectively, prospective migrants from rural communities of Romania.

What is significantly similar between these two types of migrants is the motivation for departure linked with earning money increasing their income, regardless the job they might do in the destination countries. For the future they are going to return to Romania, even though many of them will try to get back in the destination countries and to work for short term.

3. The migrants who have or not a significant professional experience prior to departure, but have a good background and preparing for working abroad. Usually, they are high educated and high qualified mainly in the field of interest for the GEMM project, i.e. health, ITC and finance.

The weight of migrants from this category has increased over the past 3-4 years and account for about a quarter of the overall Romanian migrants in the EU countries. These look for jobs mainly in Germany, UK and France.

The main difference compared to previous two groups is that they are well prepared about what they want from the migration action. They usually have a straightforward plan, including getting information about the receiving countries and job opportunities and they usually take training courses for learning foreign languages (mainly English and German). Some of them intend to study or continue to study even though they might change profession. They try to get a job to succeed in raising the social mobility status. On the whole, we can say that they have an optimistic view about the profession, family, life etc. and an appropriate thinking about the expectations from the new realities. They decide to move abroad not only due to push individual reasons and mainly for the new opportunities with regard to their profession and life.

The other important difference compared to previous two categories of migrants is that the motivation for working abroad is based not only on earning money but also, to the same extent, on getting a secure and prestigious job. That is they aiming at higher social status mainly by keeping and valorizing their professional specialty. For the future, most of them don't think to return to Romania.

This typology showing the main types of categories of migrants according to participants' motivations for migration to work abroad, preparing of the departure and the recruitment channels they use covers the other smaller groups of migrants. Thus, a deeper clustering we did in the chapter migrants' motivation showed that, in accordance with life goals relating to migration, could be identified 4-5 categories of migrants starting with migrants without any life goals or with goals that seem only incidentally linked to their motivation to migrate to the migrants with life goals related to a higher social status based on professional development or career advancement, living in different social context and reaching higher income and better standards of living.

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