

Family Separation Through Immigration: Dramatising Anecdotal European History

Desk Study Report

*The immigration from Bulgaria to Greece, Poland to Sweden and
Romania to Italy*



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Introduction

The present report was generated in the frame of the transnational Creative Europe project **FAIDRA - Family Separation through Immigration: Dramatising Anecdotal European History**, and aims to draw the “background” to immigration from and to the countries participating in the project, focusing in the period from 1990 to the present day. Within the partnership, there are 3 in-migration –i.e. “receiving” countries, namely Greece, Sweden and Italy; and 3 out-migration –i.e. forwarding countries, namely Bulgaria, Poland and Romania. Although the receiving, in this context, partner countries have in the past experienced themselves strong waves of outward migration, during the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century they experienced a significant wave of incoming migration from Eastern European countries. The trigger for these waves of immigration from the Eastern European countries was the fall of the communist regimes and the transition to democracy that resulted to a period of economic crisis and high unemployment rates, as well as their accession to the European Union that enabled their citizens to move freely across the EU.

The present report is based mostly on existing statistics and bibliography or other published documents for the countries of the partnership, and focuses on important aspects of immigration that together draw the picture:

- Reason for migrating, i.e. finding employment, family issues, better living conditions etc.
- Time-period of migration, waves of migration.
- Gender of the migrants; different circumstances in the forwarding and/or receiving countries led to mostly feminine or mostly masculine immigration waves.
- Age groups of the migrants; certain migration waves are characterized by mainly younger or older migrants.
- Family status of the migrants, i.e. their place in a nuclear family.
- Education level of the migrants – i.e. not able to read/write, primary education, secondary education, higher education etc.
- Place where migrants live and work in the host country, i.e. concentration in urban centres, regional concentration etc.

In order to allow for a deeper analysis, the participating countries in the project have been paired for the purposes of the research, according to their immigration history:

- Bulgaria – Greece: The neighboring Greece was a favorite destination for Bulgarian immigrants, due to the close proximity to home, higher incomes and demand for workforce in the fields of personal care and tourism.
- Poland – Sweden: The available employment opportunities in the booming Swedish economy, as well as the direct connection by ferry, led a great number of Polish immigrants to Sweden.
- Romania – Italy: The common roots of the Italian and Romanian languages (latin) that made it easier for Romanians to overcome the so-called language barrier, together with the opportunities for employment and higher incomes, led to Romanians being nowadays the largest foreign ethnic community in Italy.

The main findings of the research on immigration between the set pairs of countries are presented in the following chapters. The full reports by each partner country are included in the Annex.



Immigration from Bulgaria to Greece

After the fall of the Communist regime in Bulgaria (November 1989), Bulgaria became a country that exported workforce to the United States of America, to Canada and to European countries. As was often the case during that period, Bulgaria faced the financial crisis of the transitional period and the rapid increase in unemployment and inflation, but Bulgarian citizens were given the right to freely exit the country for the first time. One of the first – and relatively easy to access and “cheaper” – destinations for Bulgarian immigrants was Greece, which then welcomed 7.1% of the total population of Bulgarian immigrants. The main reason for this preference was the shorter distance in comparison to other destinations; consequently, transport expenses are much lower and the safety of return is much higher, an important fact in cases of immigrants who left underage children and family behind.

The Bulgarian community in Greece is the second largest immigrant community, following that of Albanians, and its presence in Greece had already begun in the early 90s. There were 3 major waves of Bulgarian immigration into Greece:

- The first wave of Bulgarian immigrants into Greece took place around 1992-1993 and was based on entering the country legally, through tourism agencies. Bulgarian immigrants would enter Greece legally as “tourists” with group visas and remained in Greece as illegal immigrants. The number of Bulgarian immigrants that entered Greece in that first wave is estimated at around 7.000. A few years later, around 1997, that immigration wave was amplified as a result of declining living conditions in Bulgaria and a Greek law that was adopted at the end of 1996 and aimed at “legalising” (under specific conditions) the individuals that were residing within the Greek borders.
- The second wave of influx of Bulgarian immigrants took place during the period of a second effort by the Greek government to legalise individuals illegally residing in Greece, in 2001.
- The third and final, to date, massive wave was recorded during the period of accession of Bulgaria to the EU. According to data of the Greek Ministry of the Interior, during the 2007-2009 period, 132,935 residence and labour permits were issued to Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in Greece (as compared to 314,460 to Albanians).

The majority of the Bulgarian community is comprised of women, while the average age is slightly higher than that of most immigrants residing in Greece. Most Bulgarian immigrants are graduates of secondary education, while most of them residing in urban centres and are employed in cleaning and elderly care services. Throughout rural regions of Greece, a significant percentage of the Bulgarian population is employed in agriculture / stock-breeding and in tourism.

The immigration from Bulgaria to Greece adopts the following distinct characteristics:

- The reason for migrating is the usual suspect: economic problems. The overwhelming majority of Bulgarian immigrants into Greece decided to migrate in order to find a job that would allow them to support their families back home and achieve better living conditions for themselves. The grave economic developments in Bulgaria



following the transition from communism to democracy, resulted in acute economic problems and insecurity about the future of themselves and their families.

- The decision for migrating was in most cases a conscious family decision. The family, in an effort to act in the face of acute economic problems or to secure its financial future and living conditions in Bulgaria, decided that one or both parents would migrate. Greece was an obvious destination, being closer to home and offering higher salaries even to unskilled labour. Being separated from the family was painful, however the immigrant had a duty towards their family members to provide for their future.
- The Bulgarian immigration into Greece has a gender, and it is female. At the time of the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants, most jobs that addressed low-skilled or unskilled men were already taken up by Albanian immigrants who had massively immigrated to Greece earlier. However, there was an existing and growing demand for women to work in elderly care, child care, domestic help, and in low skill jobs in the tourism sector (working in the kitchen of restaurants, cleaning in hotels, etc.). That demand made it easier for women to find work in Greece, and send the message to those who would follow. The women (daughters, wives and mothers) that had migrated to Greece were responsible for supporting their family back home financially. In time, some were able to bring their family to Greece with them (especially their children).
- The Bulgarian immigrants that arrived, especially with the first immigration wave in the 1990s, were educated and skilled, working in Bulgaria as employees in the public and private sector. However, the language barrier led them to find work in low-skilled or unskilled positions, very often living at the home of their employer. This may explain the harder and more painful adaptation faced by the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants. Their adaptation was not facilitated by their legal status in Greece (illegal residence and employment) or the nature of their work, where the private premises of their employers were the workspace of Bulgarian female immigrants. Other difficulties included the complete lack of knowledge of the Greek language and the lack of organisation of the Bulgarian community, apart from employment agencies formed to serve the needs of transporting illegal workers (with the participation of Bulgarians in their establishment and operation) and – as was expected – the ferocious exploitation of immigrants. The departure of women from their families was particularly painful, as they left underage children and elderly parents behind.
- In time, learning the Greek language and acquiring a legal status, allowed many Bulgarian immigrants to officially recognize their degrees and qualifications, as well as develop networks and manage to incorporate into the Greek labour market better. There are still exploitation phenomena in employment, however nowadays the Bulgarian immigrants are better protected by the law due to their legal working status.
- The relationship between Bulgarian immigrants and Greeks at a personal/individual level could be characterized as ambiguous. It is characteristic that despite the consciously dichotomous question posed in a survey among Bulgarian immigrants “Name some adjectives to characterize Greeks and some to characterize Bulgarians”, the majority of interviewees refused to enter this dichotomy. In several cases, the Greek employer or former Greek employers were cited as the first option for help. However, the relationship between Bulgarians and Greeks (individuals) can be described as ambiguous, due to the usual perception of Bulgarians as unequal or non-



equivalent by a large percentage of Greeks. There are characteristic cases of Bulgarian women who chose to work for less pay, but for employers who would address them as “Mrs. So-and-so” or would speak to them using the plural, as the Bulgarian women did to them.

Nowadays, and despite the ongoing economic recession in Bulgaria, Greece is no longer an attractive destination for Bulgarian immigrants due to the serious economic crisis the country is going through and the great unemployment rates. Moreover, following the accession of Bulgaria into the EU, the Bulgarian citizens are free to move in all EU countries and seek better living conditions in more economically developed European countries.

Immigration from Poland to Sweden

Poland is a country with a tradition of migration that is embedded in the everyday life of generations of Poles. Indeed it is estimated that one in 10 Polish households has a member with experience of migration. Until 1989 and the democratic transition from the communist era, the migration had more often political background, however since the democratic transition and especially the accession of Poland to the European Union in 2004 the emigration of Poles was fueled by mainly economic reasons. After Poland entering the Schengen Zone, the Polish emigration, due to its scale, was named “the exodus”. According to national census, today more than 2 million Poles are migrants. The most common destination are other EU countries (81,5% of all migrants migrate to EU), among them the UK, Germany, Ireland, Holland are most often the choice. Sweden ranks 9th among EU destination countries. It is estimated that approximately 100.000 Poles have immigrated to Sweden, most of them economic migrants. Immigration from Poland to Sweden indeed peaked after Poland joined the EU; in the year 2000 the number of Polish immigrants into Sweden was smaller than from 17 other countries, but in 2007, the only country that had a larger immigration into Sweden was Iraq. It is even so that the increase in Polish migration into Sweden started at the same month as the EU membership took effect.

Although we can generally observe a feminization of migration from Poland (slightly more women than men migrate) available data on migration to Sweden shows a slight prevalence of men who chose to migrate to Sweden (53%). Post-accession migration is characterized by young age, high skills and an urban character of migration. The vast majority (84%) of Polish migrants in Sweden have at least completed secondary education. The family status of migrants varies; among them 45% are married and 7% divorced, and there is also a substantial number of single migrants (34%), that is higher than in general Polish population. The Polish National Census data shows that most migrants (73%) left Poland in order to find better employment (44% in 2002). One third of migrant workers left the country because of higher earnings, while 31% point to the difficulty in finding a job in Poland. Regarding migration to Sweden the main reason is work (75%), the second being family issues – family unification (16%). The analysis of causes which takes into account the length of the stay shows that family issues are more commonly the cause to migrate when migrants stay in Sweden more than one year. Most Poles migrate to Sweden from northern regions of Poland, namely Pomerania and West Pomerania due to geographical proximity to Sweden and available ferry transfer (cheaper option to air travel). A common region of migration from Poland to Sweden is also Lesser Poland (10%).



Qualitative studies reveal many intersectional factors that influence migration processes e.g. gender, religion or parental roles. The research shows that geographical distance does not equal division of family but reconfiguration of family practices. Moreover, families of immigrants are also diversified by who of the family members migrates. Different social expectations towards motherhood and fatherhood result in different migration patterns. In the case of women, they try to provide both emotional and financial safety, while fathers take mainly the role of the breadwinner although there is an emerging trend of men engaging in caring practices. Two approaches to migrating women exist: on the one hand, the deterministic discourse of “Euro-orphans” is focused on the risk that the migration of mothers creates for the children. On the other hand, research in non-deterministic approach shows that migration is a potential risk but there are many other factors that influence the family situation. The extensive qualitative research on Polish female migrants highlights that usually they decide to migrate when the situation is economically very difficult, in opposition to male migration that is decided upon earlier. Moreover, other reasons for migrating are: experienced domestic violence in the context of lack of institutional support, labour market discrimination or in case of LGBT experiences of homophobia and an expectation of lower social stigma in the hosting country.

Polish migrants engage in global care chain practices. It typically constitutes of an older daughter from a poor family who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a hosting country. But it is not always the case – sometimes women migrants renegotiate social expectations of their care work, for example over aging parents and send remittances to their home country and deliver it to elderly parents.

The majority of Poles in Sweden are employed in the private sector. There is a significantly smaller portion that can be found in municipal and state sectors. The big difference between the Poles and Sweden as a whole is the considerably smaller percentage of entrepreneurs in a private limited company, which is not surprising: it requires both capital and knowledge on the Swedish tax system to establish as entrepreneurs in a private limited company.

Seasonal and blue-collar workers migration is frequent among Polish migrants to Sweden. It is highly gendered as commonly women engage in cleaning work and men work on construction sites. A study that examined unjust working conditions experienced by construction workers in Sweden showed that even if workers perceive their situation as unjust, they rarely engage in resistance practices due to structural factors e.g. lack of supervision, competition in EU markets, but also by their mentality (pride) and a will to continue work for their ‘life projects, i.e. raising a child, affording to start a family, retirement.

It is a relatively small displacement within the country among the Poles. Most still live in the county where they were registered when they immigrated. However, one can see that there is a larger proportion among those who have come after the EU entry that settles in the metropolitan areas, compared with those who immigrated before Poland's membership. However, one must keep in mind that there were a relatively small number of immigrants before the EU entry. Foreign-born in Sweden are more often represented in urban areas than in the rest of the country. Approximately 65% of the country's foreign-born resides the three metropolitan counties and more than 28% resides either in Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö. This applies to an even greater extent for the Poles.



Immigration from Romania to Italy

In the post 1990 era, the outward migration of Romanians was no longer based on political grounds but on economic circumstances, mainly the search for employment. The lengthy transition process from a centrally-planned economy (communist regime) to an efficiently functioning market-economy (democratic regime) resulted in high unemployment and consequently a drive for many Romanians to seek employment in other parts of the world. Over 2 million people oriented themselves, over time, towards the Western European labour market. The paths of Romanians in search of work abroad (mainly in Europe, but also in Canada and the USA) tend to concentrate on a small number of countries, not in a linear way, but following the continuation of the search. In the period from 1990 to the present, there were four distinct periods of Romanian emigration:

- In the first period, 1990 -1995, there were five main destinations with a share over 7% of the total departures: Israel, Turkey, Italy, Hungary and Germany;
- In the second period, 1996-2002, Canada and Spain were added to the five countries from the first period.
- The third period, 2002 to 2008, is mainly characterised by the number of temporary work emigrations. After having tested the life and work conditions at multiple destinations, the Romanian emigrant workforce eventually decided and focused, in particular, on two Latin-language countries, Italy and Spain. It is highly probable that the ease of passing the language barrier was a determinant in this choice (Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suci, 2010, Radu Dimitriu, 2013);
- In the fourth stage, 2008 to the present, Romanian high qualification emigrant workforce focused in particular to the UK, Germany and France. Also, starting from 2007, more and more students decided to begin their studies abroad because of better chances to find a job and a better quality of life. (Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suci, 2010; Radu Dimitriu, 2013; George Urcanau, 2016).

Data collected throughout the years by specialists in migration, especially the studies of the sociologist Dumitru Sandu (2006) and Oana-Valentina Suci (2010), draw the following portrait of Romanian emigrants:

- It is the young people, rather than the adults or the older people, who have emigrated in order to find work;
- The number of women is higher than the number of men;
- Regarding the group of men aged 18 to 59, the most frequent departures have been from rural areas.
- Regarding women, the migration residential pattern is rather different: the temporary emigration is stronger for young women aged 18 to 29 from rural areas, than women of the same age group, in urban areas; on the other hand, the temporary emigration is stronger for women aged 30 to 59 from urban areas compared to those from rural ones.

There were positive as well as negative consequences of this outward migration of Romanians, from the point of view of their country of origin. Positive consequences were the internationalisation of the Romanian economy, maintaining a relatively low unemployment



rate and managing to balance the national economy – the remittances are estimated at around 60 billion euro in the 1990-2015 period. However, the emigration phenomenon had a grave impact on the age structure in Romania (emigrants were mainly young people aged 18 to 39), the gender structure (most emigrants were women, leading to a de-feminization / masculinization phenomenon that is more acute in the eastern and southern Transylvania, Moldova and Dobrogea regions), and the severe shortage of workforce in certain sectors (mainly the health sector, the automotive industry and the IT sector).

Family separation through emigration has also had severe social consequences. Children left behind by their migrant parents represent a social problem that needs special attention from the Romanian government, especially when parents, under the effects of poverty and unmet needs, do not realize the negative effects on children deprived of parental care. The migration of the parents for work resulted to changes and new negotiations with regard to the status and role of family members who stayed behind. The effects of these changes translate into both social and emotional impacts. Migration leaves children vulnerable and deprived of parental care, of physical, psychological or emotional protection. A new family model developed in Romania, the transnational family.

According to official statistics published by the National Authority for the Protection of the Rights of the Child and Adoption, over 80 thousands children belonging to almost 60 thousands families are left in Romania by their parents who migrate for work to other countries. Most of these children are left in the care of their relatives and around 4% of these children are placed in the care of public authorities. According to official statistics, most children whose parents migrate for work in foreign countries remain in Romania in the care of one parent, while the other parent leaves to work in another country (around 60%). More than a quarter are left in their home country with their relatives, as both parents decide to migrate for work in foreign countries leaving their children completely deprived of parental care. The third category of children is the one raised by single parents who also leave their children with their relatives when migrating for work. The phenomenon of children being left behind by parents who migrated is particularly evident in the Nord-East development region (Neamt, Suceava, Bacau), the region with the highest poverty rate and the highest risk of social exclusion in Romania.

Focusing on migration between Romania and Italy, we notice an increasing migration flow from Romania, namely starting from 2008, when Romania joined the EU. Italy is in fact a favourite destination among Romanian immigrants, the Romanian community in Italy representing one third of all the Romanian immigrants (33,8%), being the most populous community of foreigners in Italy. Despite the prolonged economic crisis hitting Italy in the recent years, Romanians are still the greatest community of foreigners at the beginning of 2016, with 1.151.395 residents of which 57,2% are women, while the children of Romanian migrants enrolled in schools are 160.000 (one fifth of the foreign students in Italy).

Romanians in Italy are mainly concentrated in Rome in terms of absolute numbers, and in Turin in terms of share of the overall foreign population. In 2015, more Romanian citizens were residing in the Province of Rome than in the whole South of Italy (178.701 compared to 145.993). The Romanian community is also the one among immigrant communities with the highest number of employed people. However, more than half of the job positions obtained by the Romanian do not match their studies certifications, with a concentration of these workers in low-qualified jobs. They are mainly employed in the services sector and industry, with a peak respectively in personal care services and construction. A disconcerting trend



concerning their employment situation is the record of Romanian workers victims of occupational accidents in 2015, with 15.368 cases of which 48 have been fatal.

Finally, the Italo-Romanian weddings in 2014 were 2.882, of which the vast majority between Italian men and Romanian women; instead, those between Romanians and other foreigners were less, and mainly occurred between Romanian spouses. Also the number of Romanians obtaining Italian citizenship appears to be high: according to Eurostat, in the period 2008-2014, as much as 28.320 Romanian people became Italian citizens, 6.442 only in 2014.

Conclusion

The research findings presented in summary above for every country pair, highlight common characteristics as well as differences between the immigration patterns described. The common characteristics stem mainly from the common context and reason for migrating in all 3 pairs of countries. In all 3 pairs examined, the need to secure employment and a safer future for themselves and their families was the trigger that forced Bulgarians, Romanians and Poles to migrate. The choice regarding the country of destination, however, seems to be influenced by different factors according to specific circumstances: while in the case of Bulgarians migrating to Greece and Poles migrating to Sweden the main factors influencing the choice are the proximity or affordable available transport connection to the home country as well as the demand for workforce in specific sectors, in the case of Romanians the main factor influencing their choice to migrate to Italy or Spain was the common Latin roots of the Romanian, Italian and Spanish languages enabling them to easier overcome the language barrier.

Concerning family members having to migrate, the decision to migrate appears to be in most cases a conscious family decision. Also, the decision on who migrates depends on the gender-specific demand for workforce in the host country as well as predominant social expectations, i.e. the father is expected to be the breadwinner of the family and the mother is expected to care for the family members' wellbeing. Still, in the cases of the 3 pair countries examined there are different patterns emerging:

- The pattern that emerges in the case of Bulgarian migration to Greece is characterised by one of the parents migrating. It was mainly Bulgarian women (mothers) that migrated to Greece because of the demand for workforce in female-oriented employment sectors. Women migrants took on the role of the family breadwinner, providing for their family back home.
- In the case of Polish migrants to Sweden, the traditional social expectations seem to prevail, with more men (fathers) migrating in order to provide for their families who stay at home under the care of the mother.
- In the case of Romanian migrants, on the other hand, while in most cases it is one parent that migrates leaving the children in the care of the remaining parent, there were also many cases (a quarter of all migrant families in Romania) where both parents migrated, leaving the children in the care of other family members, thus depriving them of parental care and protection.

Finally, regarding the level of integration of the migrant communities in the host countries nowadays, it seems to differ in the cases examined. Bulgarians in Greece nowadays seem to be fairly integrated in terms of social relations and work conditions. On the other hand, the



Romanian community in Italy seems to be more reserved and the work conditions for Romanian workers (e.g. in construction) are problematic, with a high number of Romanians being victims of occupational accidents. Finally, the Polish community in Sweden appears to present the lowest level of integration among the 3 cases examined. Poles often do not speak Swedish and are employed mostly in certain sectors, i.e. cleaning and construction.



ANNEX

Desk Study Report – GREECE by PRISMA Centre for Development Studies

Desk Study Report – BULGARIA by Pro-Rodopi Foundation

Desk Study Report – SWEDEN by Sagohuset Teatre

Desk Study Report – POLAND by Dobra Wola Foundation

Desk Study Report – ITALY by Teatro Dei Venti

Desk Study Report – ROMANIA by CEEC Artemis



Desk Study Report – GREECE (By PRISMA Centre for Development Studies)

Introduction

Greece, at the late 19th and almost the entire 20th century, could be described as a country of mainly outward migration. The Greeks, especially after the crisis of raisins that erupted in 1893, began to seek a better future in countries where industrial development would provide better opportunities for finding work. Then the German occupation of Greece during World War II, the Greek Civil War, and generally the difficult living conditions especially in rural areas, along with the image of migrant destination countries as a "Promised Land", were important reasons for the migration of Greeks at this period.

Greeks left their homeland in search of better living conditions for themselves and for their children. Moreover, by migrating and securing a stable financial status, many could support their parents back home or to ensure the dowry for their unmarried sisters. In the early 20th century until 1924, the USA were a major migrant destination for Greeks.

After the end of World War II, Greece was plagued by civil war. From that time and until the early 1980s, the migratory movement intensifies. At that period, the USA was not the main destination. Many Greeks migrated to West Germany, Northern Europe, Australia, and less to South Africa. In principle, they considered their migration as temporary, expecting to return home. Yet, only 40% of 20th century immigrants managed or wanted to return home.

In the late 20th century and especially the early 21st century to nowadays, the phenomenon of outward migration in Greece has appeared again. This time, it is the economic crisis that pushes mainly the educated and well trained Greeks to seek a better future in the USA, Australia and Europe, in countries where the education and specialization of scientists in various fields is needed.

However, after 1990 Greece becomes also a destination country for thousands of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe and the ex-communist countries, facing an acute economic crisis at their home-countries and looking for work and better living conditions. Greece becomes a destination mainly for immigrants from the Balkan countries and especially the countries bordering Greece at the north, namely Albania and Bulgaria. Nowadays, the refugee crisis following the war in Syria, has also led thousands of refugees mainly from Syria, together with migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, to Greece, in their effort to reach Central and North European countries (e.g. Germany, Sweden, the UK).

In the present report, in the framework of the FAIDRA project, the inward migration in Greece after 1990 is examined, focusing especially on the Bulgarian immigrants in Greece: their profile is examined in terms of age, gender, family status, education level, migration period and their work profile in Greece. The report methodology includes statistical analysis exploiting Census resources (1991, 2001, and 2011 published official Census data), as well as information included in available research papers and studies.



Statistical analysis

Overview

Immigration into Greece was boosted after 1990, reaching a total of 863.000 immigrants in the 2001 census from only 152.600 immigrants in the 1991 census (increase of 465,5%). This tremendous increase is mainly attributed to the massive inflow of Albanian immigrants (448.535 Albanian immigrants were counted in 2001, from 20.679 in 1991), as well as immigrants from other former communist Eastern European countries like Bulgaria (39.404 Bulgarian immigrants in 2001 from only 2.442 in 1991), Georgia, Romania, Russia and Ukraine. The immigration trends regarding countries like the USA, Australia, the UK and Germany are mainly attributed to immigrants of Greek origin in these countries that return to their homeland. Finally, the immigration trends regarding Cyprus and Turkey are attributed to persons of Greek origin (Greek Cypriots, Greek minority of Turkey) that chose to immigrate to Greece. From the following Charts 1-3, it is evident that the period 1991-2001 was the time of the main wave of immigrants from Albania, while in the next decade 2001-2011 the number of Albanian immigrants is stable. Instead, the wave of Bulgarian immigrants is spread evenly during the 2 decades (Chart 4), reaching in 2011 the total of 75.917 immigrants in Greece (10% of the total immigrant population in Greece).

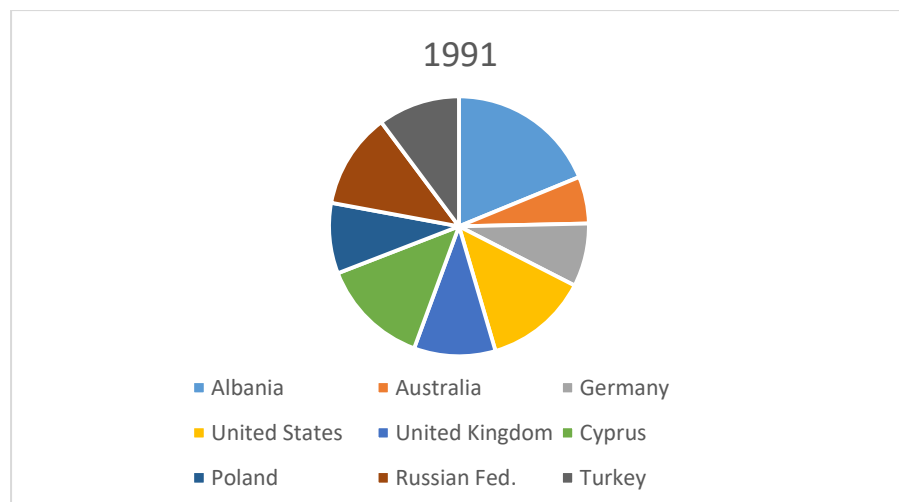


Chart 1: Total number of immigrants in Greece by nationality, 1991 Census

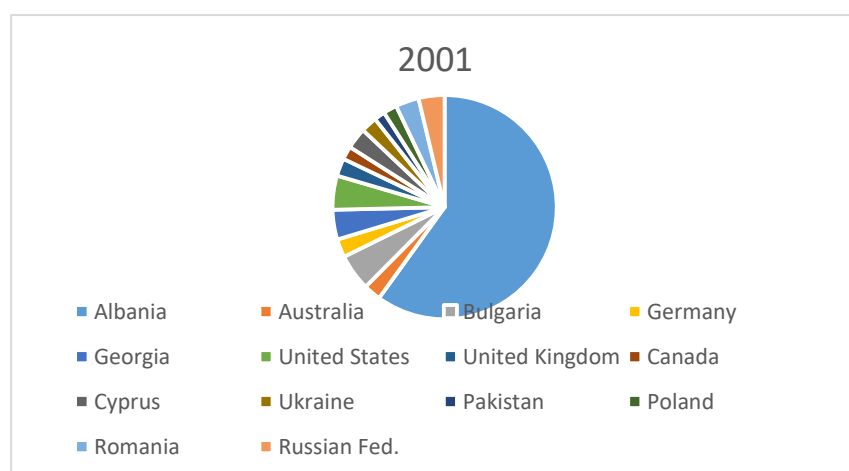


Chart 2: Total number of immigrants in Greece by nationality, 2001 Census

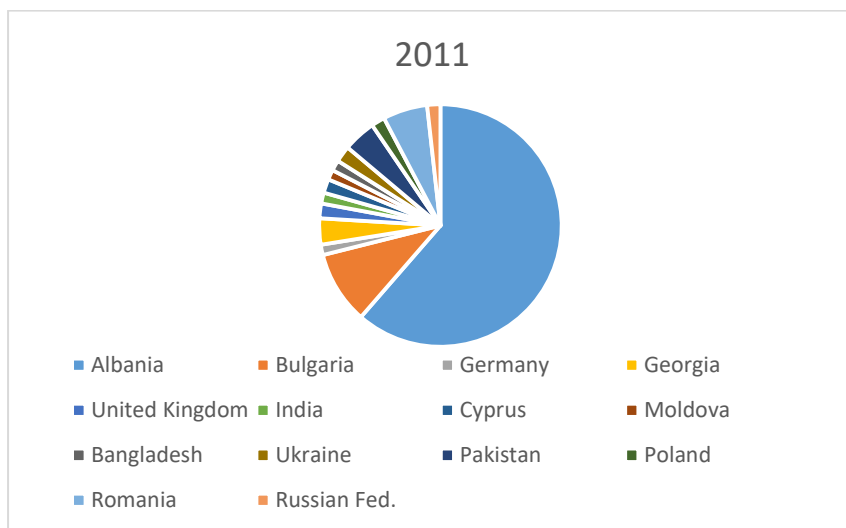


Chart 3: Total number of immigrants in Greece by nationality, 2011 Census

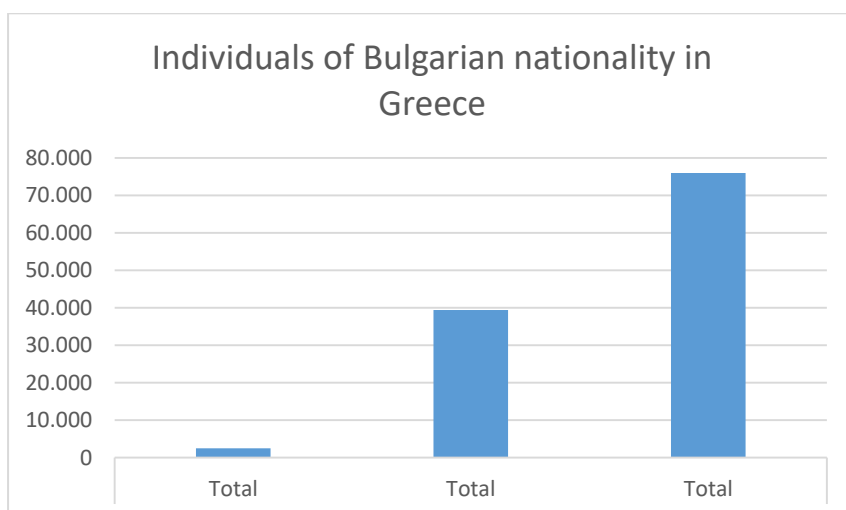


Chart 4: Bulgarian immigrants in Greece over the period 1991-2011

Gender

Regarding the gender of the immigrant population in Greece, as seen in Chart 5, the male immigrant population in all 3 periods supersedes the female immigrant population. The same trend describes the dominant immigrants group in Greece, the Albanians. This trend, however, is clearly differentiated for the Bulgarian immigrants in Greece – the female population in this case takes up 60% of the total population of Bulgarian immigrants. Indeed, this picture of majority of women among the immigrant population is even more intense in the case of other Eastern European nationalities (Ukraine, Russia, Moldova) with the exception of Romanian

immigrants (the Romanian immigrant population in Greece is equally divided to men and women).

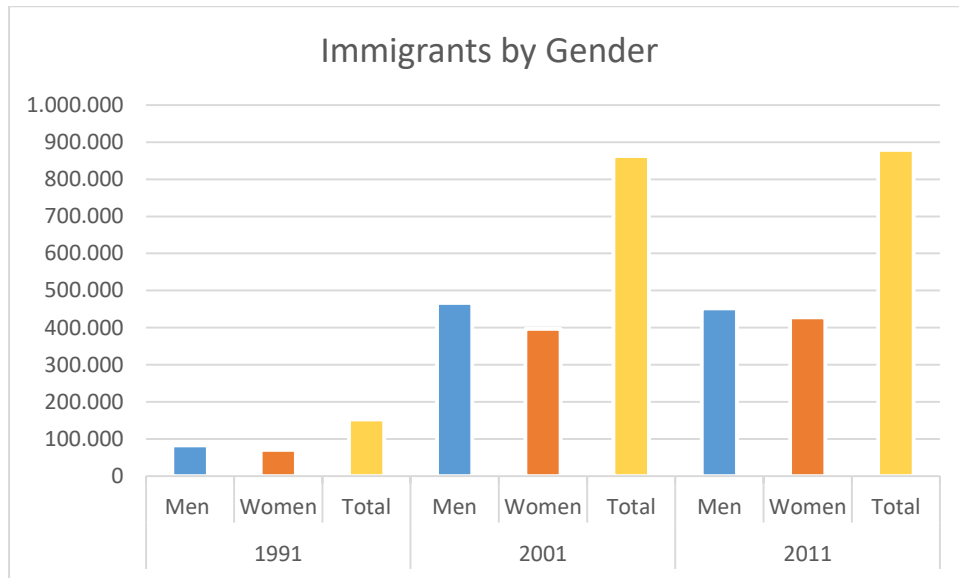


Chart 5: Immigrants in Greece by gender

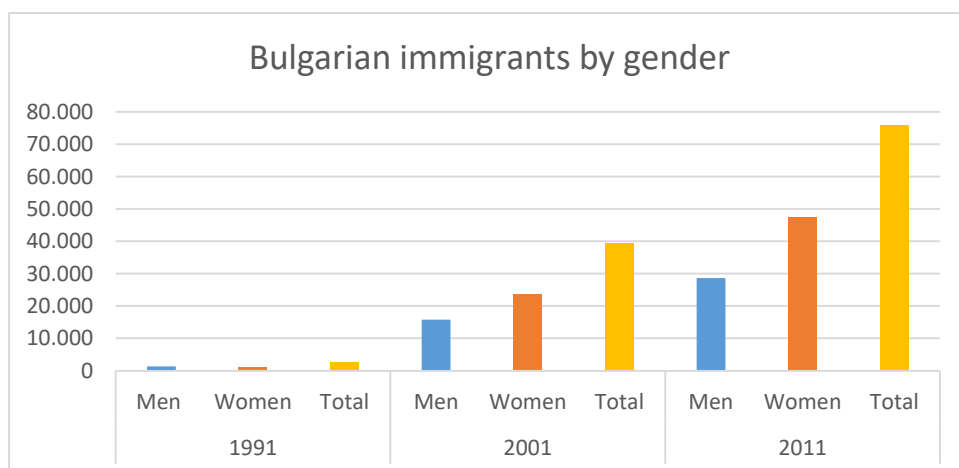


Chart 6: Bulgarian immigrants in Greece by gender

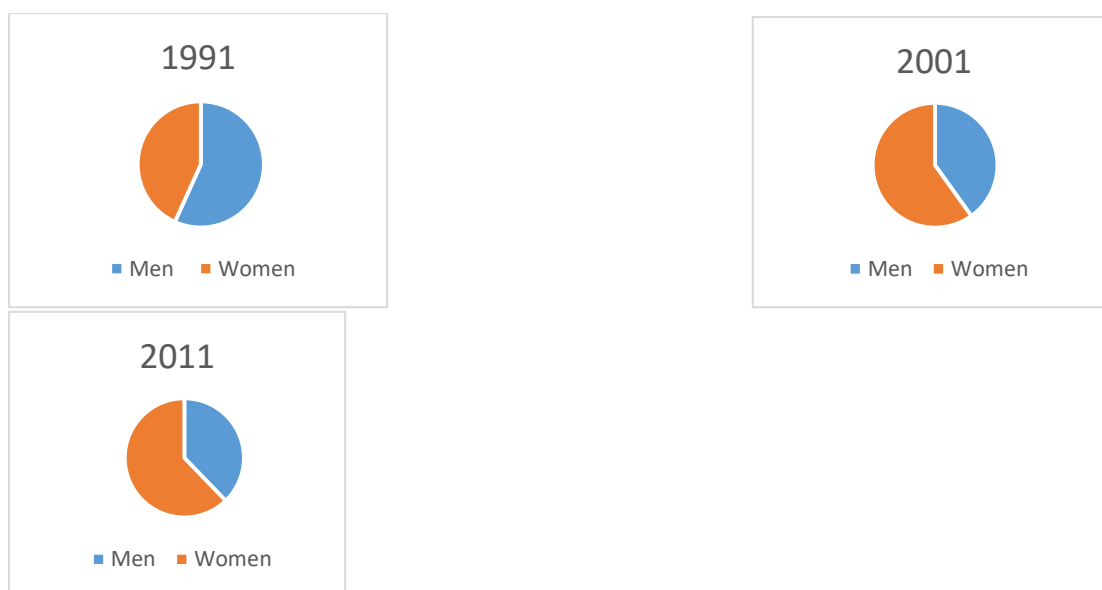


Chart 7: Distribution of Bulgarian immigrants in Greece by gender

Age groups

Regarding the allocation of the immigrant population in Greece into age groups during the period 1991-2011, in the 1991 census as well as the 2001 census the age group of 15-34 year olds appears as the dominant age group (47% of the total), with the middle age group representing around 32%. The change observed in the 2011 census (Chart 8), where the middle age group surpasses the 15-34 years old age group, can be attributed to the ageing of the immigrant population.

Regarding the allocation of the Bulgarian immigrant population in Greece into age groups during the same period, a differentiation is noted in comparison to the data regarding the total of the immigrant population in Greece: in the 2001 census, the 15-34 years old age group appears equivalent to the middle age group, while in the 2011 census the middle age group is clearly the dominant group (52%).

Foreigners by age groups (Census 1991)



- 0-14 (childhood and early adolescence)
- 15-34 (late adolescence and young adulthood)
- 35-64 (middle age)
- 65 or more (elderly)

Foreigners by age groups (Census 2001)



- 0-14 (childhood and early adolescence)
- 15-34 (late adolescence and young adulthood)
- 35-64 (middle age)
- 65 or more (elderly)

Foreigners by age groups (Census 2011)



- 0-14 (childhood and early adolescence)
- 15-34 (late adolescence and young adulthood)
- 35-64 (middle age)

Chart 8: Foreigners by age groups

Foreigners of Bulgarian nationality by age groups (Census 1991)



- 0-14 (childhood and early adolescence)
- 15-34 (late adolescence and young adulthood)
- 35-64 (middle age)
- 65 or more (elderly)

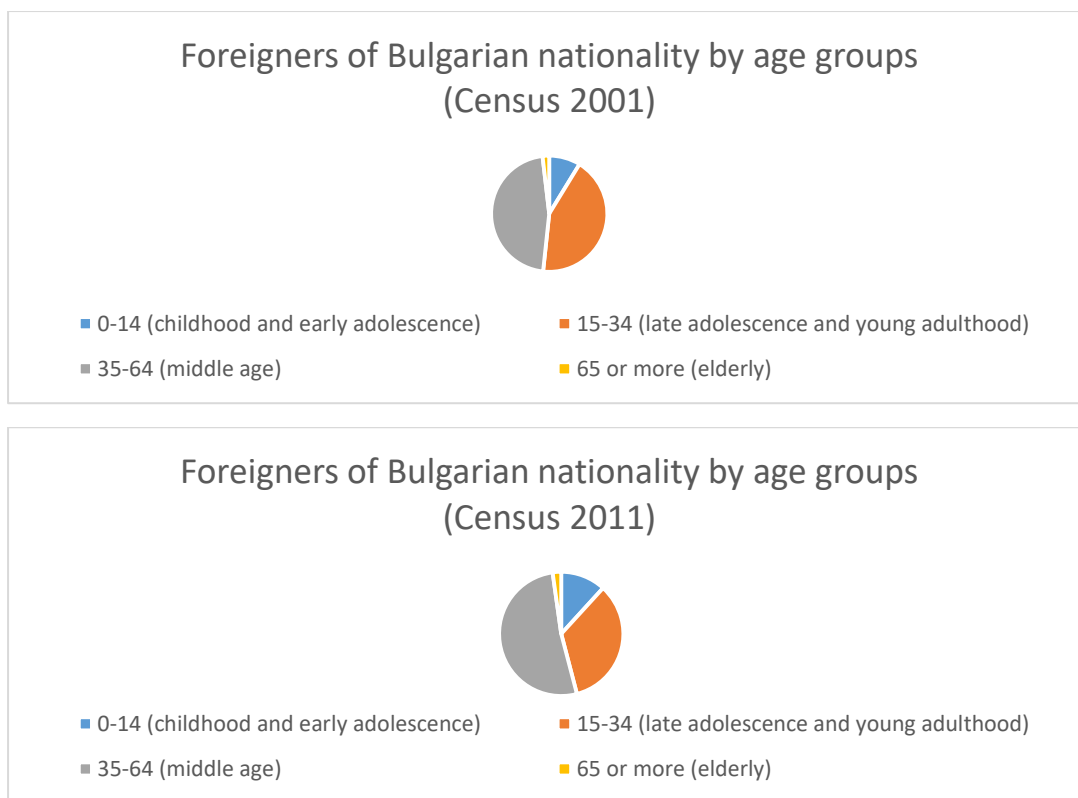


Chart 9: Foreigners of Bulgarian nationality by age groups

Family status

Regarding the family status of the immigrant population in Greece in the period 1991-2011 and especially the family status of the Bulgarian immigrant population, the following Charts 10-12 depict a massive change in the period 1991-2001 (period of massive inflow of immigrants in Greece). While the vast majority of the Bulgarian immigrants in Greece in 1991 were not members of a nuclear family, in 2001 the picture is reversed. Most of the immigrants in that period were family members, and in the case of Bulgarian immigrants, mostly wives. In the 2011 census the categorization is different, therefore making it difficult to draw conclusions as to the trend. However, it is necessary to note that the percentages of sole mothers and children of single mothers in the case of Bulgarian immigrant population are double than the respective percentages for the rest of immigrants in Greece.

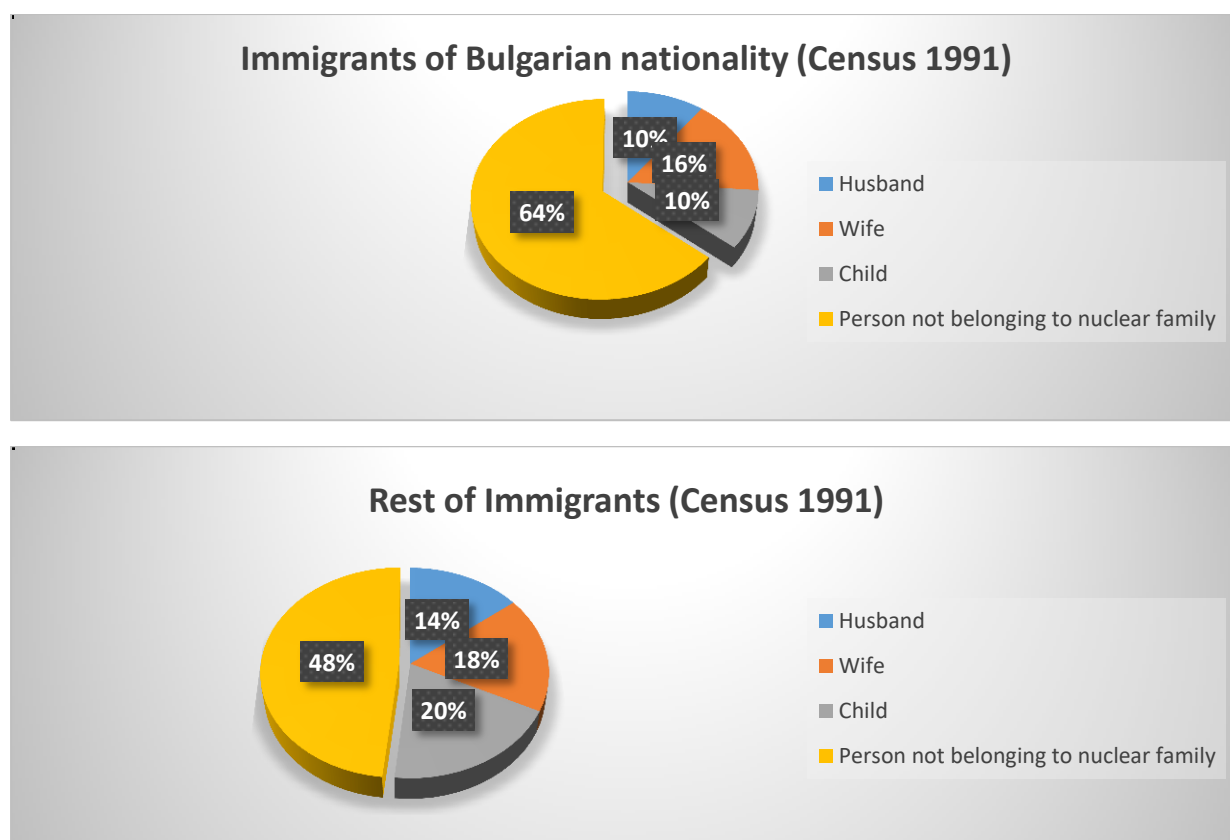


Chart 10: Bulgarian immigrants' family status as compared to the family status of the rest of immigrants (Census 1991)



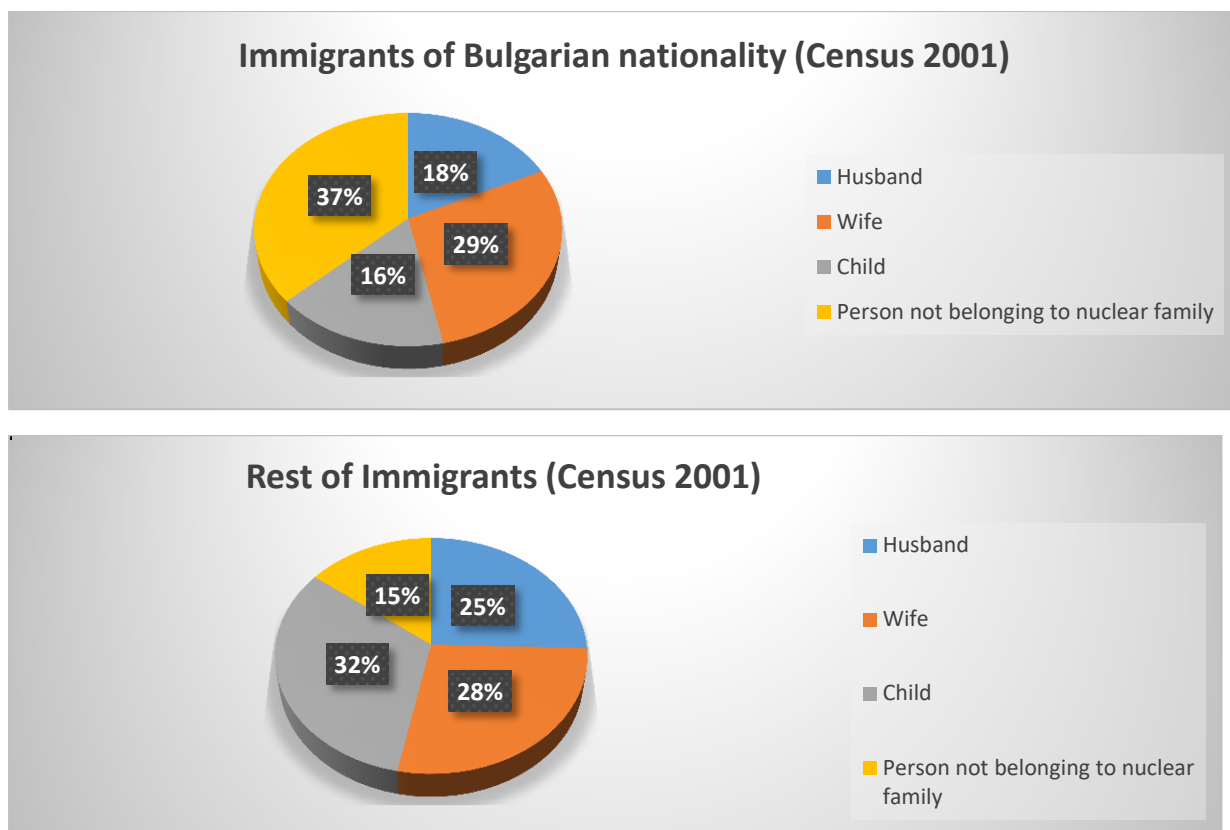


Chart 11: Bulgarian immigrants' family status as compared to the family status of the rest of immigrants (Census 2001)

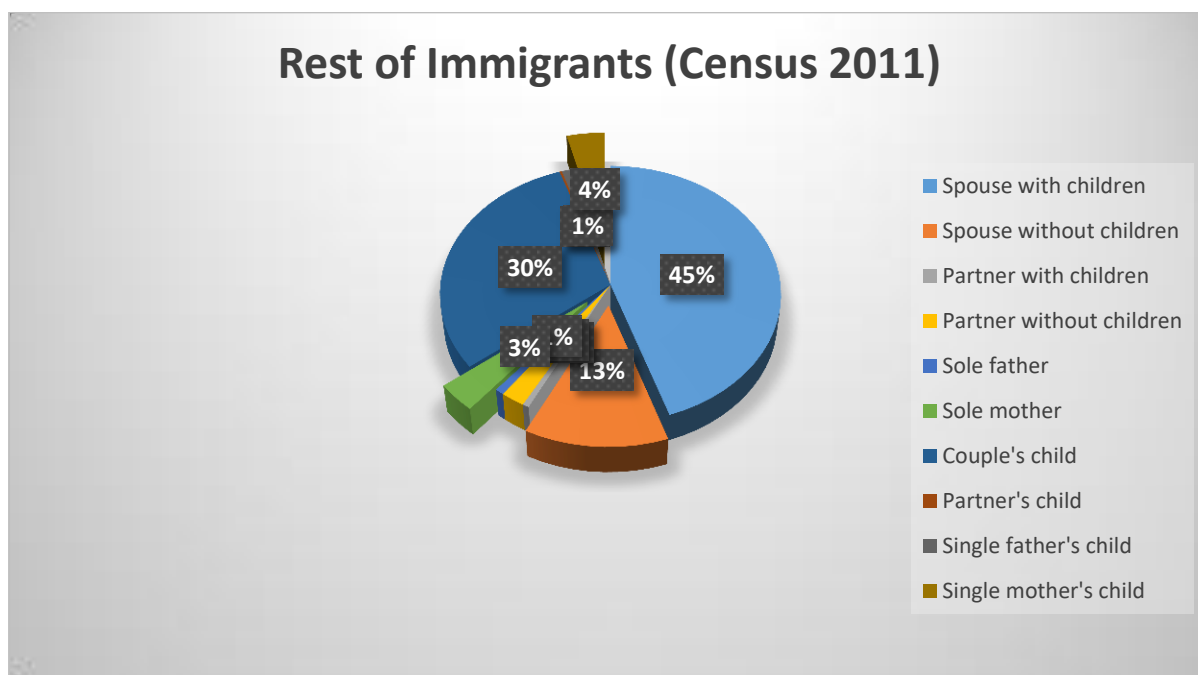
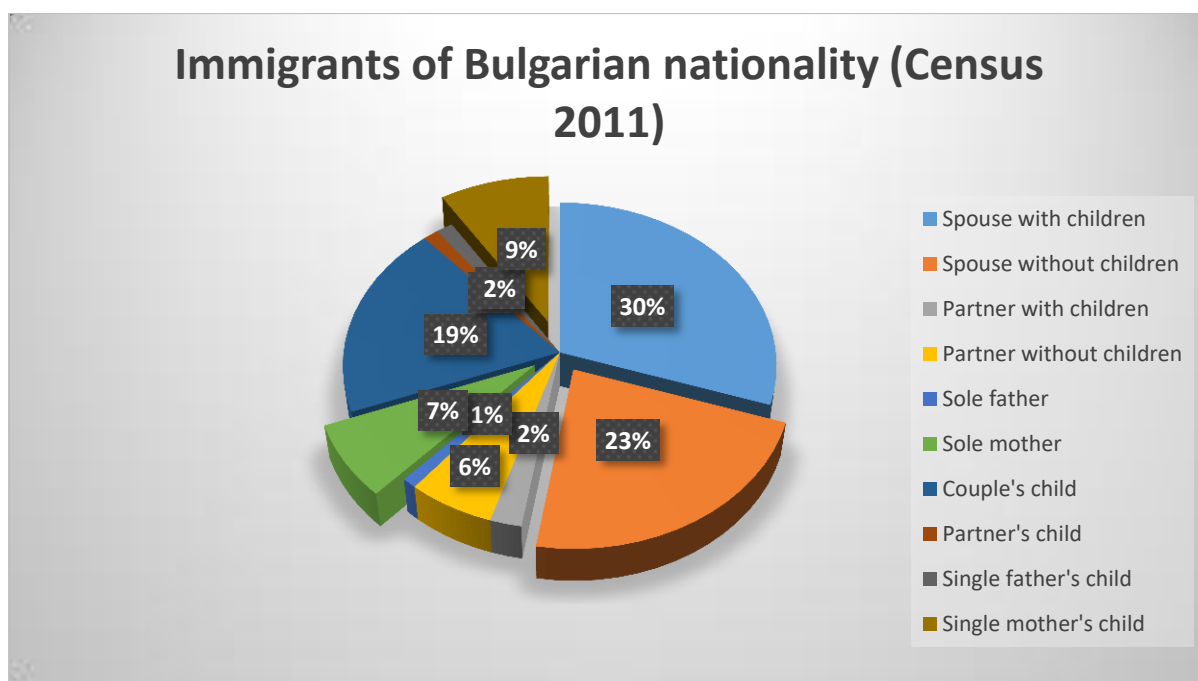


Chart 12: Bulgarian immigrants' family status as compared to the family status of the rest of immigrants (Census 2011)

Education

Regarding the education level of the immigrant population coming from East European countries (including Albanian immigrants that are clearly the dominant nationality sub-group), the trend appears to be stable in the period 1991-2001 (Chart 13), the majority having completed secondary education and the second largest group being those who have only completed elementary education.

Regarding Bulgarian immigrants in specific, Chart 14 below demonstrates a clear increase over time of the less educated groups, especially in the period 2001-2011, i.e. the second decade of the wave of Bulgarian immigration in Greece.

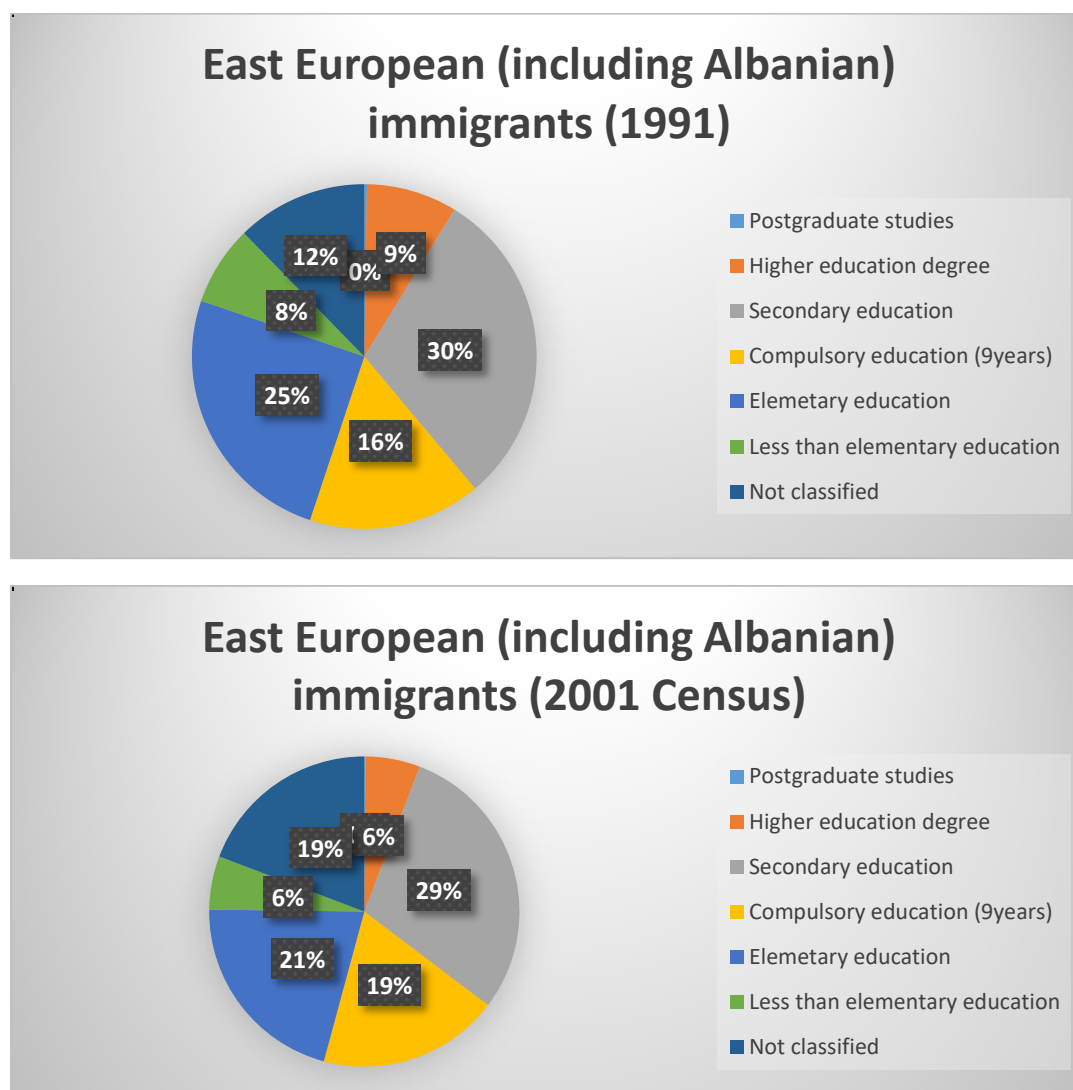


Chart 13: Educational level of East European (including Albanian) immigrants in Greece, 1991 and 2001

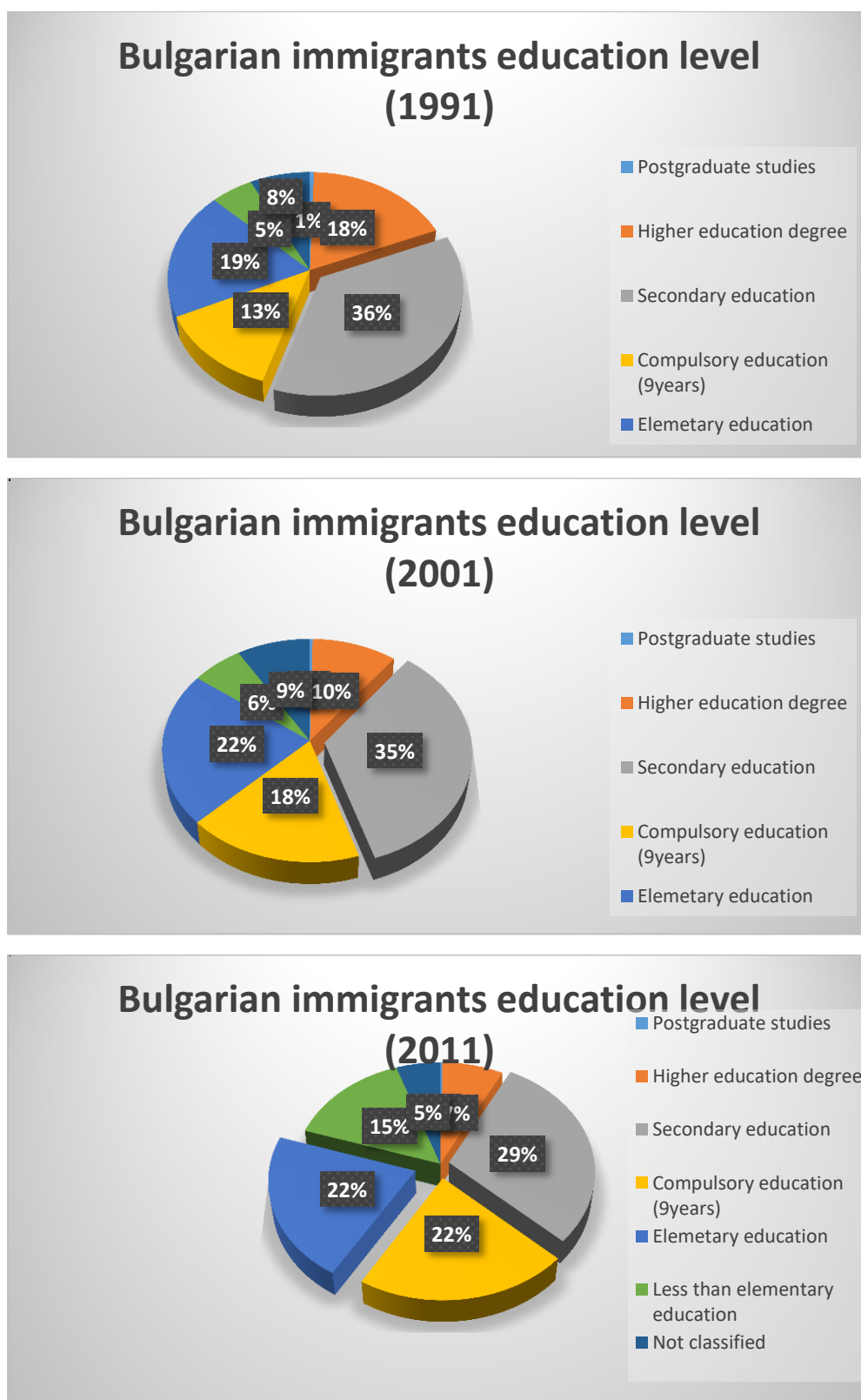


Chart 14: Educational level of Bulgarian immigrants in Greece in the period 1991-2011

Location of Bulgarian immigrants within Greece

The Bulgarian immigrants in Greece have settled in all regions of Greece, however they are mainly concentrated in the regions of Eastern Macedonia-Thrace and Central Macedonia, a fact to be attributed to both regions neighboring Bulgaria and Central Macedonia including Thessaloniki, a city where a great part of the wider region's economic activities are concentrated – together the 2 regions gather around 29% of the Bulgarian population in Greece. Athens, the Greek capital, hosts around 18% of the Bulgarian population of Greece, while Crete hosts another 14%.

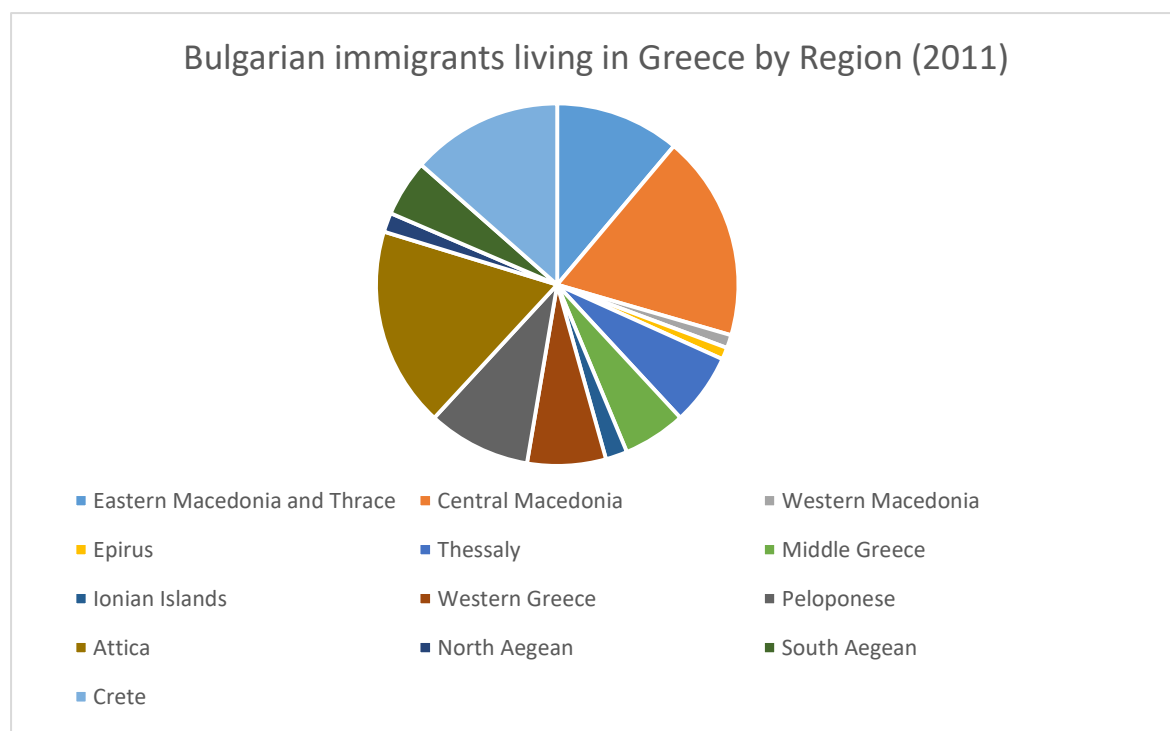


Chart 15: Location of Bulgarian immigrant population within Greece, by region (2011 Census)

Qualitative Analysis

The present qualitative analysis is based on the research review performed, as well as the findings of the 5 interviews conducted with Bulgarian immigrants in Greece, in the framework of the FAIDRA project. Regarding the research review, a research performed in 2011 in Athens by the Institute of Social Innovation, leading to the publication of the “Report on Bulgarian Immigrants in Greece” in December 2011, includes valuable qualitative data on the profile of the Bulgarian immigrants in Greece that coincide with the findings of the FAIDRA interviews. That research was based on literature review, a set of 50 interviews with

Bulgarian immigrants and a group discussion with a focus group of Bulgarian immigrants living in Greece and representatives of an organisation of Bulgarian immigrants.

Three major waves of Bulgarian immigration into Greece

In the period that the present report focuses on, 1990-present day, there were 3 major waves of Bulgarian immigration into Greece.

The first wave of Bulgarian immigrants into Greece took place around 1992-1993 and was based on entering the country legally, through tourism agencies. Bulgarian immigrants would enter Greece legally as “tourists” with group visas and remained in Greece as illegal immigrants. The number of Bulgarian immigrants that entered Greece in that first wave is estimated at around 7.000. A few years later, around 1997, that immigration wave was amplified as a result of declining living conditions in Bulgaria and a Greek law that was adopted at the end of 1996 and aimed at “legalising” (under specific conditions) the individuals that were residing within the Greek borders. The period between the law adoption and its entry into force was enough for Bulgarian immigrants already living in Greece to inform and encourage friends and family members in Bulgaria to come to Greece. At that period there were also grave economic developments in Bulgaria, with the Bulgarian banking crash (1996-97), in which millions of Bulgarians lost their deposits, and the Bulgarian government signing a loan contract with the International Monetary Fund meant to “save” the country, through which the government privatized numerous enterprises, leading to a massive increase in unemployment.

The second wave of influx of Bulgarian immigrants took place during the period of a second effort by the Greek government to legalise individuals illegally residing in Greece, in 2001.

The third and final, to date, massive wave was recorded during the period of accession of Bulgaria to the EU. According to data of the Ministry of the Interior, during the 2007-2009 period, 132,935 residence and labour permits were issued to Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in Greece (as compared to 314,460 to Albanians).

Family well-being at the centre of the decision for migrating

The overwhelming majority of Bulgarian immigrants during that period decided to migrate for economic/labour reasons, i.e. “to find work”, “the overall family income was not enough to secure the bare necessities”, “to make more money”, “to secure my childrens education”, “to pay off our debts”, “to buy our own house”. The younger Bulgarian immigrants migrated in order to be again reunited with their family or family members, commonly their mother, i.e. “my mother was here and was no longer working as a domestic worker”, “when I reached school age, my parents took me here with them”. They are either children of older female immigrants, who either continue their education in Greece, or, after completing their studies in Bulgaria (usually secondary education), seek employment in Greece near their mothers, who are permanently settled in Greece.

In most cases, the decision to migrate to Greece is not a personal matter, but a conscious decision by the entire family, i.e. the reasons are voluntary, but also include a degree of necessity (“either my husband or I had to come. Who would take care of the children?” “Who else could have come? My elderly parents? They had to take care of my child”). Thus, usually one family member (usually the mother/wife) came to Greece and was responsible for



covering the financial obligations of those who remained in Bulgaria. In the cases of those participating in the research, the family member that usually migrated was a woman, as this was the only choice due to divorce, death or disability of her husband, or in the knowledge that it was easier for women to find work “because we knew that it was easier for women to find work in Greece”.

The reason for the feminine gender of Bulgarian immigration in Greece, was that indeed it was easier for women to find work as a domestic helper, caring for the elderly, or working in the tourism sector (restaurants, hotels, etc.) as unskilled workforce. The massive influx of Albanian immigrants in Greece at an earlier stage, meant that all available jobs for unskilled men, i.e. farming and construction work, were already taken. Instead, there was a growing demand for female workforce.



Employment status – A clear distinction between the 3 major immigration waves

Bulgarian immigrants settling in Greece with the first immigration wave (1990's) and with long-term prospects of residence faced great changes in comparison to their previous vocational status in Bulgaria. Whereas in Bulgaria they worked as educated and skilled employees or workers in the public or private sector, in Greece they were employed as unskilled personnel, in most cases at the private premises of their employer (domestic help, elderly care, looking after the children etc.). With the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants, a mostly female population with a relatively high level of education – at least secondary and technical secondary – came to Greece and mainly worked in domestic positions, providing care to the elderly. This may explain the harder and more painful adaptation faced by the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants. Characteristic responses include “suddenly, I went from being the first lady of my small town to changing the diapers of an 80-year-old man”, “I was ashamed to say that I was providing care to the elderly”, “I used to supervise the organisation of the production of an entire factory and I suddenly became a servant”. Their adaptation was not facilitated by their legal status in Greece (illegal residence and employment) or the nature of their work, where the private premises of their employers were the workspace of Bulgarian female immigrants. Other difficulties included the complete lack of knowledge of the Greek language and the lack of organisation of the Bulgarian community, apart from employment agencies formed to serve the needs of transporting illegal workers (with the participation of Bulgarians in their establishment and operation) and – as was expected – the ferocious exploitation of immigrants. The departure of women from their families was particularly painful, as they left underage children and elderly parents behind.

However, gradually their employment status improved. Through learning the Greek language, recognizing officially their degrees and other qualifications, and primarily, as the immigrants themselves attest, through becoming legalized residents of Greece, they acquire the necessary qualifications to enter the labour market on a relatively equal basis and seek positions of better quality. Thus, several female immigrants who initially worked in domestic labour are currently employed, after acquiring residence and work permit, as skilled employees in smaller or larger firms, particularly in the service sector. The legalization of illegal immigrants in Greece greatly helped the adaptation and labour incorporation of Bulgarian workers, enabling them to enjoy or at least assert the established labour and social rights enjoyed by Greek workers (social insurance, labour conditions, minimum wage, etc.). The action of various immigrant organisations that were extremely active during the legalization periods also helped.

With regard to the position of the Bulgarian community in the Greek labour market, there is relative growth, particularly among the female immigrants of the first generation, who were initially employed as domestic staff to a great extent. After becoming legal citizens, learning the Greek language and joining social networks, several of these women changed vocation and are currently employed as workers or employees, mainly in the sectors of cleaning services and tourism. Several managed to bring their underage children from Bulgaria to Greece, where they attended or are attending primary or secondary school.

Regarding Bulgarian immigrants that settled in Greece with the second wave (early 00s), the change in labour conditions appears minor, as, in most cases, these were individuals with relatively little education and experience mainly in unskilled positions. These characteristics, combined with the existing networks of immigrants developed by the previous wave of



Bulgarian immigrants to Greece, contributed towards their smoother incorporation in the Greek labour market.

Finally, regarding Bulgarian immigrants that settled in Greece with the third and final immigration wave (i.e. after the accession of Bulgaria to the EU and mainly after 2009), a relative drop in the age of the incoming Bulgarian population and an increase in the male population have been observed. It appears male immigrants of this category are employed in technical labour, commercial stores trading in Bulgarian products and in transportation, while female immigrants are in enterprises offering cleaning services and in tourism.

Despite the change in the legal system concerning Bulgarian citizens after the Greek labour market was fully opened to them on 1 January 2009, there remain phenomena of exploitation to this date, mainly related to undeclared employment (and the consequent absence of social insurance) and to payment lower than the legally established minimum wage. A characteristic finding of the field research is the acceptance of this exploitation by Bulgarian immigrants (“Despite these laws you mention, I don’t have the luxury of making demands. If I don’t agree, I will have to leave. Who knows when I’ll find another job during this crisis. Back home – in Bulgaria – my two children – who are students – expect support from me”, “it’s the same no matter where I go”, “even if I make less than the legal minimum, it’s still good. In Bulgaria, I’ve done tougher work for less money”). In several cases, Bulgarian immigrants don’t consider undeclared labour as exploitation by the employer, but as a conscious choice they make (“why should my money go to the Social Insurance Institute (IKA)? When I need a doctor, under the IKA system I’d have to wait for months for my appointment and lose wages by going from office to office to collect signatures”, “even insured Greeks end up paying private doctors, what are we left to do!”). One could perceive these opinions as indicators of adaptation to the Greek economy and social reality.

The findings concerning the acceptance of any “exploitation” by Bulgarian workers or, at the very least, incomplete enjoyment of their rights in relation to the absence of a political culture of collective assertion could partially explain the absence of Bulgarians from the trade union movement in Greece. An exception can be found in the case of Konstantina Kuneva, whose case became known in December 2008. Kuneva was the secretary general of the Pan-Attican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers. Due to her trade union activity, she was the victim of criminal assault and bodily harm and her case was the focus of the media and the Greek criminal investigation and judicial authorities.

Bulgarian immigrants and Greeks – a strange relationship

The relationship between Bulgarian immigrants and Greeks at a personal/individual level could be characterized as ambiguous. It is characteristic that despite the consciously dichotomous question “Name some adjectives to characterize Greeks and some to characterize Bulgarians”, the majority of interviewees refused to enter this dichotomy. In several cases, the Greek employer or former Greek employers were cited as the first option for help. However, the relationship between Bulgarians and Greeks (individuals) can be described as ambiguous, due to the usual perception of Bulgarians as unequal or non-equivalent by a large percentage of Greeks. There are characteristic cases of Bulgarian women who chose to work for less pay, but for employers who would address them as “Mrs. So-and-so” or would speak to them using the plural, as the Bulgarian women did to them.



On the second level, regarding the relations between Bulgarians and Greeks in public spaces, examples of racism were cited, not towards the specific nationality, but towards foreigners in general. In this case, interviewees found it easier to enter into the dichotomous description of “anonymous” Greeks, either in the sense of anonymous public administration or in the sense of unknown “anonymous” Greeks. The statements made by children of Bulgarian immigrants are noteworthy, as they would not let their parents visit services on their own, since “they immediately realized from their speech that they were foreigners and tried to trick them, to not provide them with services; all they wanted was to make sure they left their office quickly”. Also noteworthy are the statements made by children of Bulgarian immigrants such as “my mother and I try not to speak Bulgarian outside the house, as they immediately realize we are foreigners. My mum doesn’t speak Greek as well as I do”. A characteristic response is “no, everyone treats me well, since they can’t tell from my speech that I’m not Greek”.



Conclusion

The Bulgarian community in Greece is the second largest immigrant community, following that of Albanians, and its presence in Greece had already begun in the early 90s. The majority of the Bulgarian community is comprised of women, while the average age is slightly higher than that of most immigrants residing in Greece. Most Bulgarian immigrants are graduates of secondary education, while most of them residing in urban centres and are employed in cleaning and elderly care services. Throughout the rest of Greece, a significant percentage of the Bulgarian population is employed in agriculture / stock-breeding and in tourism.

The findings of both the statistical and qualitative analysis above seem to converge, drawing a clear picture concerning the Bulgarian immigration and the profile of the Bulgarian immigrant in Greece. Indeed there are distinct characteristics:

- The reason for migrating is the usual suspect: economic problems. The overwhelming majority of Bulgarian immigrants into Greece decided to migrate in order to find a job that would allow them to support their families back home and achieve better living conditions for themselves. The grave economic developments in Bulgaria following the transition from communism to democracy, resulted to acute economic problems and insecurity about the future of themselves and their families.
- The decision for migrating was in most cases a conscious family decision. The family, in an effort to act in the face of acute economic problems or to secure its financial future and living conditions in Bulgaria, decided that one or both parents would migrate. Greece was an obvious destination, being closer to home and offering higher salaries even to unskilled labour. Being separated from the family was painful, however the immigrant had a duty towards their family members to provide for their future.
- The Bulgarian immigration into Greece has a gender, and it is female. At the time of the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants, most jobs that addressed low-skilled or unskilled men were already taken up by Albanian immigrants who had massively immigrated to Greece earlier. However, there was an existing and growing demand for women to work in elderly care, child care, domestic help, and in low skill jobs in the tourism sector (working in the kitchen of restaurants, cleaning in hotels, etc.). That demand made it easier for women to find work in Greece, and send the message to those who would follow. The women (daughters, wives and mothers) that had migrated to Greece were responsible for supporting their family back home financially. In time, some were able to bring their family to Greece with them (especially their children).
- The Bulgarian immigrants that arrived, especially with the first immigration wave in the 1990s, were educated and skilled, working in Bulgaria as employees in the public and private sector. However, the language barrier led them to find work in low-skilled or unskilled positions, very often living at the home of their employer. This made it very difficult for them to adapt, because they were used to a different kind of work as well as better treatment from their employer.
- In time, learning the Greek language and acquiring a legal status, allowed many Bulgarian immigrants to officially recognize their degrees and qualifications, as well as develop networks and manage to incorporate into the Greek labour market better. There are still exploitation phenomena in employment, however nowadays the



Bulgarian immigrants are better protected by the law due to their legal working status.

Nowadays, and despite the ongoing economic recession in Bulgaria, Greece is no longer an attractive destination for Bulgarian immigrants due to the serious economic crisis the country is going through and the great unemployment rates. Moreover, following the accession of Bulgaria into the EU, the Bulgarian citizens are free to move in all EU countries and seek better living conditions in more economically developed European countries.

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Desk Study Report – BULGARIA (By Pro-Rodopi Foundation)

1. Introduction

Up until the 1980s, Greece was a country that, traditionally, “exported” immigrants. After the collapse of social realism, the country became a destination for massive numbers of immigrants, mainly from countries of the former Soviet bloc. Thus, rapidly and with no immigrant policy, Greece became, over the course of the last twenty years, a country welcoming immigrants.

The presence of Bulgarian immigrants in Greece began being noticeable immediately after the fall of the regime in Bulgaria (1989) and escalated around 1997-1998. A second major wave of Bulgarian immigrants was recorded around 2001-2002, while the third and final wave was recorded during the 2007-09 period³. The massive and long-term presence of Bulgarian immigrants in Greece was the main reason for the focus of this research on the Bulgarian community, since Bulgaria has, along with Romania, been a full Member State of the European Union since 2007 and, consequently, its citizens are now considered “EU citizens”, entitled to freedom of movement and establishment and equal access to economic and social rights in other EU Member States. In this study, conducted within the framework of the programme “Access to Rights and Civil Dialogue for All”, which is co-financed by the EU and aims at investigating and supporting the exercise of political and social rights of EU immigrants (i.e. nationals of one EU Member State living as immigrants in a different EU Member State) resident in five EU countries, we wanted to study to what extent the Bulgarian immigrants living in Greece feel equal to European citizens, to record their social characteristics, the extent of their social inclusion, their position in the labour market, the extent of their participation in the country’s political life and democratic institutions, as well as the level and manner of their representation by the existing organisations of the Bulgarian community.

2. History

After the fall of the Communist regime (November 1989), Bulgaria became a country that exported workers to the United States of America, to Canada and to European countries. As was often the case during that period, Bulgaria faced the financial crisis of the transitional period and the rapid increase in unemployment and inflation, but Bulgarian citizens were given the right to freely exit the country for the first time. It is quite hard for an immigrant to enter these countries and their institutional framework and control mechanisms make illegal residence and labour even harder.

One of the first – and relatively easy to access and “cheaper” – destinations for Bulgarian immigrants was Greece, which then welcomed 7.1% of the total population of Bulgarian immigrants. The main reason for this preference was the shorter distance in comparison to other destinations; consequently, transport expenses are much lower and the safety of return is much higher, an important fact in cases of immigrants who left underage children and family behind.



The first mass entry of Bulgarian immigrants into Greece took place illegally, through tourism agencies. Bulgarian “tourists” would enter Greece legally, mainly with group visas and pre-paid tourist packages and the buses would return half-empty, as the “tourists” remained in Greece. Thus, there were already 7,000 Bulgarians⁶ in Greece in 1993, with a steady trend of continued influx.

Year	Greece	Men	Women
2011	7591	2505	5085
2012	1661	548	1112
2013	1967	649	1317
2014	2872	947	1924
2015	2940	999	1940

2015:

Age	Greece
0-19	515
19-29	746
29-49	951
49-69	618
70+	115

First wave

A massive wave of influx of Bulgarians was observed a few years later, around 1997-987, when Greece legalized – on the condition that specific conditions were met – for the first time the individuals illegally residing in its territory through a law that was adopted in November 1997 and entered into force on 1 January 1998. The period of public consultation of that legislation and, subsequently, the period between the adoption of the Law and its entry into force, were adequate for future Bulgarian immigrants to receive information and encouragement to enter the country from friends and acquaintances already working in Greece. Furthermore, this period coincided with the Bulgarian banking crash (1996-97), in which millions of Bulgarians lost their deposits⁸. A third reason for this massive wave of influx was that during that period, Bulgaria signed a loan contract with the International Monetary Fund meant to “save” the country, through which the government privatized numerous enterprises, leading to a massive increase in unemployment.



Second wave

The second wave of influx of Bulgarian immigrants was observed during the period of the second endeavour to legalise persons illegally residing in Greece, in 2001. According to the official census of that year⁹, there were approximately 35,000 Bulgarians¹⁰ in Greece. On the basis of these statistical data, Bulgarians represented the second largest nationality of immigrants in Greece after Albanians, even with a great difference in numbers: 55.67% of all immigrants were Albanians, while 4.67% were Bulgarians.

In the year 1996, inflation in Bulgaria was approximately 600%. It is indicatively mentioned that during this period, the monthly salary of e.g. a civil engineer in Bulgaria with 30 years of experience was approximately 10 USD, i.e. approximately half of the daily wages of an unskilled cleaner in Greece.

The results of the 2001 census were disputed in regard to the number of immigrants living in Greece, since, according to other estimates, Bulgarians – and other immigrants – were double in number than those that finally arrived / agreed to participate in the census.

Third wave

The third and final, to date, massive wave was recorded during the period of accession of Bulgaria to the EU. According to data of the Ministry of the Interior, during the 2007-2009 period, 132,935 residence and labour permits were issued to Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in Greece (as compared to 314,460 to Albanians). Based on this fact, one could reasonably estimate that Bulgarian immigrants legally residing in Greece during that period numbered approximately 77,000, while their total number (including those without an official residence permit) must have been double that number, i.e. approximately 150,000 persons.

Today, in 2016, unofficial estimates, lacking data recording Bulgarian citizens as immigrants from third countries, put the total number of Bulgarians residing in Greece at over 150,000 persons.

Social characteristics of Bulgarian immigrants

The following is a short record from the website of the Ministry of labour and social policy of the Bulgarian republic:

“Bulgarian migration in Greece is one of the largest in the EU countries. It was slowly created in the past 20 years, it harmonically fitted in the Greek community and a great part of it had permanently stayed in the country. Our countrymen started coming to Greece in 1991, firstly for seasonal work and after 1994 more and more stayed at permanent positions, mostly in Northern Greece. The Economic crisis in 1997 caused a great emigration wave between 1998 and 2003. It is considered that in this period the Bulgarians are around 70 000 and the seasonal workers are around 50 000. They are mainly established around the continental part of the country and some of the largest islands. The second wave between 2005 and 2011 is related to Bulgaria joining the EU and the fall of the visas requirement. The informal records of the Greek police reveals that the Bulgarians living in the country are around 200 000 – 120 000 of which permanent residents and 80 000 seasonal workers. The Bulgarians are the



second largest foreign community in the country after the Albanian. According to the Center for research of the working force in Greece two thirds of the Bulgarian citizens in Greece are women, with High School education. The women mainly work in the trading industry, services industry, and hospitality as well as housemaids. The men work in the construction industry, tourism and the agriculture. Our compatriots are well accepted in Greece and preferred by the employers. The opinion about them is that they have a great professional presentation and are responsible and well presented. This is the reason why despite the unemployment – 26.6% , there are no big groups of people returned back to Bulgaria.”

These short records begin to shape the picture of the emigration – a demand for a better pay, and as well as the economic circumstances that lead to this situation there are other reasons for emigration – personal, professional, educational. After talking to several Bulgarian employers abroad and looking at several of articles in newspapers we can draft a rough profile of the Bulgarian emigration in Greece (including age, reasons, marital status, education and others). Taking to an account the lack of confirmed facts due to the knowledge that many of the people did not register or the institutions did not keep an updated record, it is worth saying that the attempt for profiling was based on research of different sources. These are the main groups we categorized:

- Almost 60% are women in the age of 30-45 years old. The age distribution depends on the country of interest, the jobs it can offer and easily accessible positions. In Greece there is a lot of work for housemaids, nannies and in the tourism.
- The largest percent of leaving people are aged between 25 and 50 years old – around 60%. After a short research through interviews and conversations becomes clear that these are mainly women looking to financially support their families. A smaller percent are young, independent people persuading a professional development.
- A large percent of the migrants have families, however, they are alone in the country acceptor (at least during the first year of their migration). The women in Greece are mainly unmarried, widowed or divorced. The presence of a family is overlooked as a factor suppressing the migration while the lack of one seems to have the opposite effect.
- The average stay is between 3-4 years and different factors affect the decision whether the stay to be exceeded or not. Among them the most important are: the availability of work in the accepting country, the economic situation in Bulgaria, how easy is to stay in the country – policies regarding the status of emigrants etc., family and health reasons.
- The emigrants send up to 40% of their earnings back to Bulgaria – as mentioned before the reasons for leaving on a first place are usually financial support to the family. So it is not surprising that the emigrants are sending money back. Its effect is elaborated below.
- The main reason to leave the country is the low wage which is insufficient to support a family – most of the migrants have had a job in Bulgaria before they made



the decision to leave. To a certain degree this have supported financially the period before settling down in Greece and the money needed for a travel.

- Most of the people have a High School education – despite the overall perception that the emigrants are uneducated. A higher level of skills and education are usually not required due to the strong emigration communities, which provide information and help. Another reason is that at the beginning the emigrants usually work in the non-formal sector.
- Most of the current emigrants are working in the Services industry – agriculture, trade, hotels, infrastructure and service. All these sectors have a history of being informal in South Europe, and they become the main sectors for illegal emigration work. Also, the small companies and the intervals of seasons with high economic activity are typical for the countries of acceptance.
- A small part of the emigrants are self-employed, the higher percentage id in Greece and during the last year it slowly increases. The reasons for this is that the self-employment allows for a greater flexibility as well as less legal control.

GENDER

From the very start of the Bulgarian migration wave, the migration of Bulgarians to Greece was female in gender. Coming from Bulgaria, it was harder for men to find work than women. Construction and farming work were already dominated since the mid-90s by Albanian immigrants, who had entered and settled in Greece in massive numbers in the early 90s. The supply of labour for elderly or child care in Greece had not been covered and Bulgarian immigrant women easily found employment in these sectors. Thus, after 20 years, migration from Bulgaria gradually transformed into “female” migration¹⁴.

AGE

The majority of Bulgarian female immigrants in Greece are among 40 and 60 years of age, of whom a large percentage are divorced or widowed women who have left underage children and/or elderly parents behind. Male immigrants in Greece are younger in age (most between 25 and 45 years of age) and the majority of such immigrants are in Greece with their wives and children.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Most Bulgarian immigrants in Greece – men and women – are usually graduates of secondary or technical schools, while a small percentage hold higher education degrees.

RESIDENCE

The majority of Bulgarian immigrants have settled in the large urban centres of Greece. It is estimated that approximately 30% of the total population are located in Athens and nearby areas. There are also relatively large numbers of Bulgarian immigrants in the areas of



Thessaloniki, Crete, Messenia and Laconia. With regard to Athens, in particular, their spatial concentration matches that of immigrants in general, i.e. most live in the districts of Metaxourgion, Vathis Square, Kypseli and along Acharnon Street.

VOCATIONAL STATUS

In Greece, as is the case in other Mediterranean countries of the EU, where unemployment has structural characteristics to a great extent, the high unemployment rates often – and particularly before the recent economic crisis – co-exist with a large number of vacant positions of a mainly manual nature or "low status". In researching the vocational status of Bulgarians, we examined their employment system and their position in the labour market, as well as their occupation before migrating to Greece¹⁵.

We identified differences between immigrants settling in Greece with long-term prospects and those migrating with short-term prospects. In the category of immigrants¹⁶ who came to Greece with long-term prospects of residence, there are great changes in comparison to their previous vocational status in Bulgaria. Whereas in Bulgaria they worked as skilled employees or workers in the public or private sector¹⁷, in Greece they were employed as unskilled personnel, in most cases at the private premises of their employer. It should be noted that a gradual change in the vocational status of a large percentage of Bulgarians with long-term residence in Greece is being observed. Through learning the Greek language, recognizing officially their degrees and other qualifications, and primarily, as the immigrants themselves attest, through becoming legalized residents of Greece, they acquire the necessary qualifications to enter the labour market on a relatively equal basis and seek positions of better quality. Thus, several female immigrants who initially worked in domestic labour are currently employed, after acquiring residence and work permit, as skilled employees in smaller or larger firms, particularly in the service sector.

In relation to Bulgarian immigrants coming to Greece with relatively short-term prospects of residence, there is smaller change in comparison to their employment status in Bulgaria. Most were employed in the private sector and, upon coming to Greece, found positions as unskilled or skilled labour, similar to those they held in Bulgaria. In the last 4-5 years, there is a relative increase in the number of self-employed Bulgarian immigrants, mainly in the food trade and transportation sectors.

DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN GREECE

From the responses of the sample of persons interviewed, the average duration of residence of Bulgarian immigrants in Greece is recorded as approximately 10 years. Most usually reside in Greece for numerous years, but segmentally, i.e. they work for some years (or even months) in Greece and then return to Bulgaria for various family obligations ("to take care of my mother who suffered a stroke", "to attend my father's funeral and settle his affairs", "to organize my son's ball", "to organize my daughter's wedding") before returning once more to Greece after a few months or, at most, after a year.

This mobility was initially made feasible after two cycles (1998 and 2001) of legalization of illegal immigrants in Greece, but mainly after the accession of Bulgaria to the EU (2007) and particularly after the two-year transitional period, i.e. after 2009. The nature of the work of



many Bulgarian immigrants in Greece also plays an important role. On the one hand, the majority of female immigrants are employed in the elderly care sector, where there is frequent employer turnover, and on the other hand, a large number of male immigrants are employed in seasonal-type work.

MIGRATION INCENTIVES

Previous sections presented demographic characteristics, while this section presents factors that preceded the migration process, i.e. the incentives that led to the decision of Bulgarians to migrate to Greece.

The overwhelming majority of participants in the field research cite either general economic / labour reasons (“to find work”, “the overall family income was not enough to secure the bare necessities”, “to make more money”) or other, more specific but still financial reasons (“to secure my children’s education”, “to pay off our debts”, “to buy our own house”). The incentive of personal growth was only cited by Bulgarian immigrants who had graduated from Greek universities. Pupils or graduates of Greek secondary school cite reasons of family reunion (“my mother was here and was no longer working as a domestic worker”, “when I reached school age, my parents took me here with them”).

The research also showed that in most cases, the decision to migrate to Greece is not a personal matter. Several immigrants cite a conscious decision by the entire family, i.e. the reasons are voluntary, but also include a degree of necessity (“either my husband or I had to come. Who would take care of the children?” “Who else could have come? My elderly parents? They had to take care of my child”). Thus, usually one family member came to Greece and was responsible for covering the financial obligations of those who remained in Bulgaria. In the cases of those participating in the research, the family member that usually migrated was a woman, as this was the only choice due to divorce, death or disability of her husband, or in the knowledge that it was easier for women to find work “because we knew that it was easier for women to find work in Greece”.

The migration incentives of younger Bulgarian immigrants are different. The younger immigrants are either children of older female immigrants, who either continue their education in Greece, or, after completing their studies in Bulgaria (usually secondary education), seek employment in Greece near their mothers, who are permanently settled in Greece.

SECOND GENERATION OF IMMIGRANTS

In Greece, there is no numerically remarkable second generation of Bulgarian immigrants in the classical sense of the term, i.e. children born in Greece to Bulgarian immigrants, as the arrival of the first Bulgarian immigrants in Greece is somewhat recent (early 90s). However, after legalization processes in recent years, several female immigrants from Bulgaria sought steady work and subsequently brought their underage children to Greece. These children may have been born in Bulgaria, where they spent the first years of their lives, perhaps even their first school years, but continue their primary or secondary education at Greek public schools. Some of these children have already completed secondary education in Greece and either



remain in Greece as workers or higher education students, or return to Bulgaria to continue their studies at Bulgarian universities.

Bulgarian immigrants and the Greek labour market

Immigrants from the first periods of Bulgarian migration to Greece mostly found positions in domestic elderly care and secondarily in the farming sector and tourism. As previously noted¹⁸, a relatively large change was observed in the vocational status of the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants in comparison to their vocational status in Bulgaria, in contrast to the subsequent two waves. With the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants, a mostly female population with a relatively high level of education – at least secondary and technical secondary – came to Greece and mainly worked in domestic positions, providing care to the elderly. This may explain the harder and more painful adaptation faced by the first wave of Bulgarian immigrants. Characteristic responses include “suddenly, I went from being the first lady of my small town to changing the diapers of an 80-year-old man”, “I was ashamed to say that I was providing care to the elderly”, “I used to supervise the organisation of the production of an entire factory and I suddenly became a servant”. Their adaptation was not facilitated by their legal status in Greece (illegal residence and employment) or the nature of their work, where the private premises of their employers were the workspace of Bulgarian female immigrants. Other difficulties included the complete lack of knowledge of the Greek language and the lack of organisation of the Bulgarian community, apart from employment agencies formed to serve the needs of transporting illegal workers (with the participation of Bulgarians in their establishment and operation) and – as was expected – the ferocious exploitation of immigrants. The departure of women from their families was particularly painful, as they left underage children and elderly parents behind.

The processes for the legalization of illegal immigrants in Greece greatly helped the adaptation and labour incorporation of Bulgarian workers, enabling them to enjoy or at least assert the established labour and social rights enjoyed by Greek workers (social insurance, labour conditions, minimum wage, etc.). The action of various immigrant organisations that were extremely active during the legalization periods also helped.

With regard to the position of the Bulgarian community in the Greek labour market, there is relative growth, particularly among the female immigrants of the first generation, who were initially employed as domestic staff to a great extent. After becoming legalized citizens, learning the Greek language and joining social networks, several of these women changed vocation and are currently employed as workers or employees, mainly in the sectors of cleaning services and tourism. Several managed to bring their underage children from Bulgaria to Greece, where they attended or are attending primary or secondary school.

In Bulgarian immigrants of the second wave (early 00s), the change in labour conditions appears minor, as, in most cases, these were individuals with relatively little education and experience in unskilled positions. These characteristics, combined with the existing networks of immigrants developed by the previous wave of Bulgarian immigrants to Greece, contributed towards their smoother incorporation in the Greek labour market.



In the third and final wave of immigrants (i.e. those who came to Greece after the accession of Bulgaria to the EU and mainly after 2009), a relative drop in the age of the incoming Bulgarian population and an increase in the male population have been observed. Without having accurate statistical data at our disposal and by making observations based on the sample of the field research and related testimonies, it appears male immigrants of this category are employed in technical labour, commercial stores trading in Bulgarian products and in transportation, while female immigrants are in enterprises offering cleaning services and in tourism.

Despite the change in the legal system concerning Bulgarian citizens after the Greek labour market was fully opened to them on 1 January 2009, there remain phenomena of exploitation to this date, mainly related to undeclared employment (and the consequent absence of social insurance) and to payment lower than the legally established minimum wage. A characteristic finding of the field research is the acceptance of this exploitation by Bulgarian immigrants (“Despite these laws you mention, I don’t have the luxury of making demands. If I don’t agree, I will have to leave. Who knows when I’ll find another job during this crisis. Back home – in Bulgaria – my two children – who are students – expect support from me”, “it’s the same no matter where I go”, “even if I make less than the legal minimum, it’s still good. In Bulgaria, I’ve done tougher work for less money”). In several cases, Bulgarian immigrants don’t consider undeclared labour as exploitation by the employer, but as a conscious choice they make (“why should my money go to the Social Insurance Institute (IKA)? When I need a doctor, under the IKA system I’d have to wait for months for my appointment and lose wages by going from office to office to collect signatures”, “even insured Greeks end up paying private doctors, what are we left to do!”). One could perceive these opinions as indicators of adaptation to the Greek economy and social reality.

The findings concerning the acceptance of any “exploitation” by Bulgarian workers or, at the very least, incomplete enjoyment of their rights in relation to the absence of a political culture of collective assertion could partially explain the absence of Bulgarians from the trade union movement in Greece. An exception can be found in the case of Konstantina Kuneva, whose case became known in December 2008. Kuneva was the secretary general of the Pan-Attican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers. Due to her trade union activity, she was the victim of criminal assault and bodily harm and her case was the focus of the media and the Greek criminal investigation and judicial authorities.



Desk Study Report – SWEDEN

(By Sagohuset Teatre)

In 2017 the population of Sweden will reach the number of 10.000 000 people (9 851 017 in 2015). 16%, 1.600 000 people, are born outside of Sweden. 90.000 of these are born in Poland.

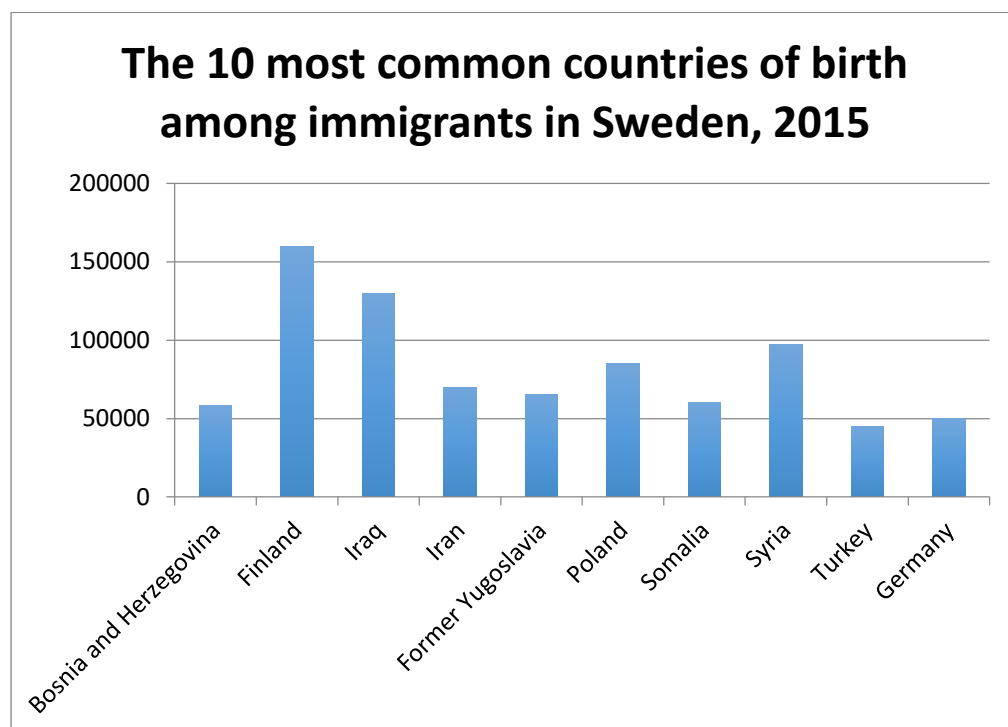
Historic background: the shift from a country of emigration to a country of immigration.

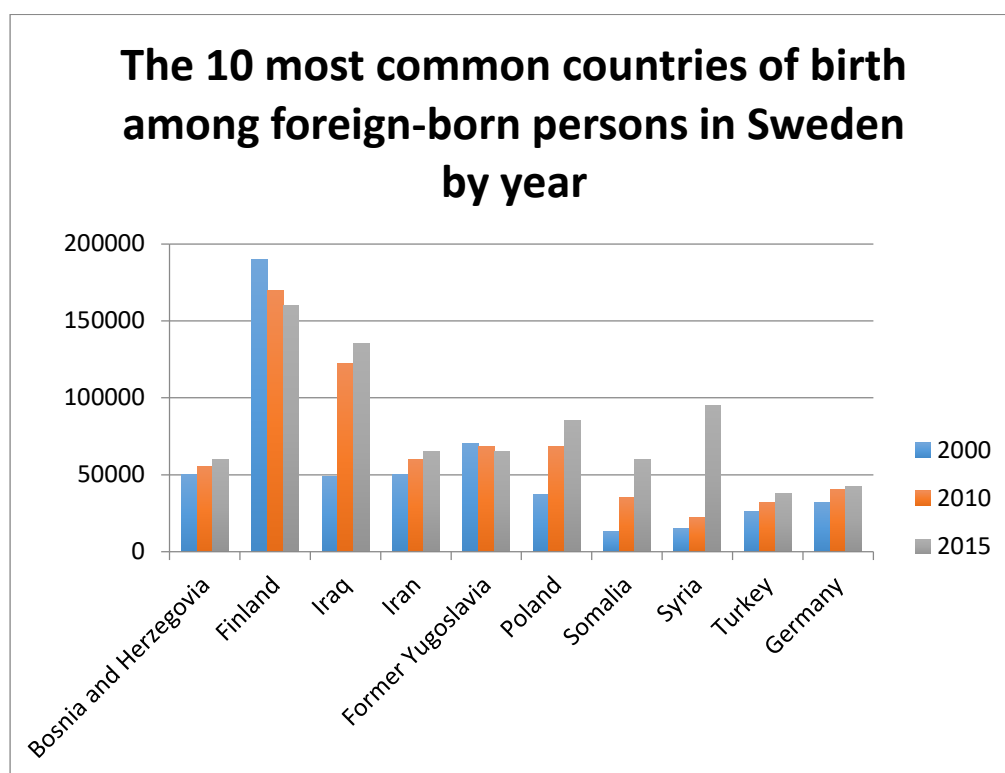
Between 1850 and 1930 1 200 000 people left Sweden to seek a better life mainly in America. In 1930 the total population of Sweden was 6 142 191.

After World War II Sweden turned into a country of immigration. In this period three different phases of immigration can be identified:

1. 1945 – 1960. Refugees after World War II, mainly from the Baltic and the eastern European states.
2. 1955 – 1970. Extensive labour migration due to big growth in Swedish industry, mainly from the Nordic and the European countries (including 2 423 people from Poland in 1970).
3. 1980 – present. Mainly refugees from countries outside of Europe, with an exception of ex Yugoslavs during the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990's. The number of people seeking asylum in Sweden was historically high in 2015 when 162 877 people applied.

During this period people still migrated from Poland to Sweden with a clear change of patterns at the Polish EU entry and an increased number of labour migrants from the new EU member countries (see article below).





Changed pattern from Poland

By Tor Bengtsson ¹

On 1 May 2004 the EU expanded with ten new member countries ². In connection with the enlargement there was a lively debate whether and how the immigration from the new member countries would change. There were fears of wage dumping and terms such as "Social tourism" appeared in the Swedish debate. Most of the old member states, except Sweden, the UK and Ireland, introduced various restrictions on immigration from the new member countries.

¹ The author is a researcher at the register unit in the Department of Population and welfare at Statistics Sweden. Inquiries may be directed to the author by e-mail tor.bengtsson@scb.se

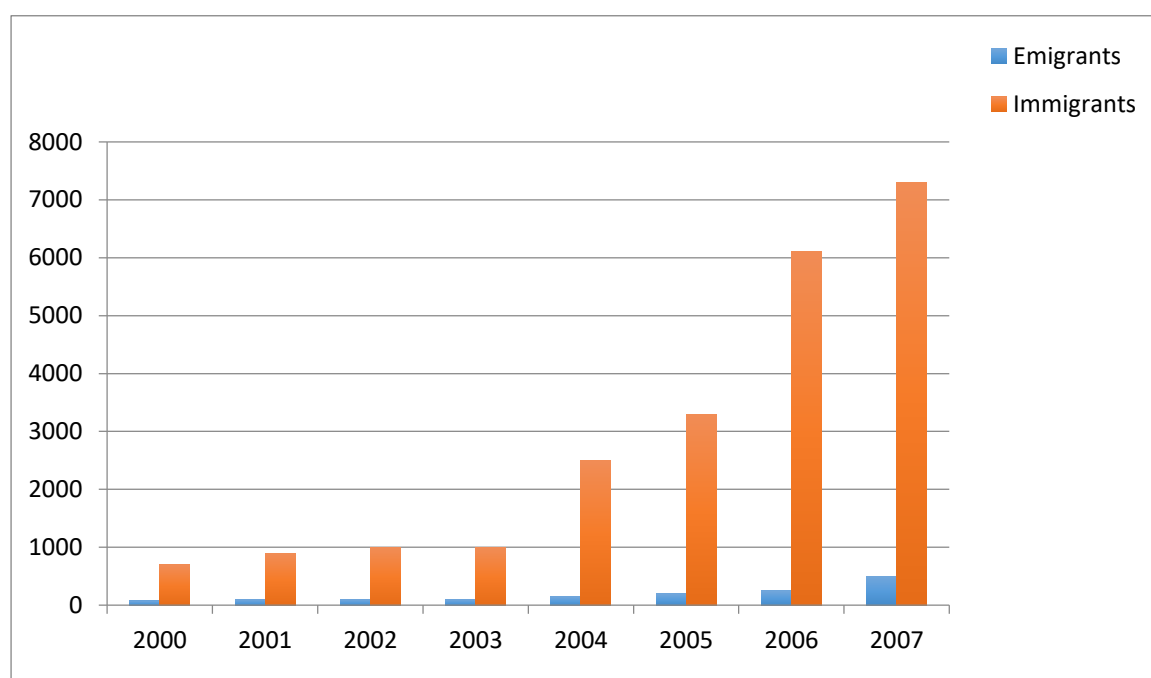
² Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic and Hungary.



Immigration to Sweden was relatively low from most of the new EU countries before 2004 and has remained so even after joining the EU, but with mainly one exception. Immigration from Poland increased sharply after the EU entry, although from a low level. In the year 2000 immigration was larger from 17 countries other than from Poland, but in 2007, immigration from Poland was larger than in the other Nordic countries. The only country that had a larger immigration into Sweden was Iraq.

The chart below as well as the continued analysis is based solely on data on people born in Poland and who at the immigration/emigration from Poland were Polish citizens.

22. Immigration from Poland into Sweden and emigration from Sweden into Poland 2000-2007. Persons born in Poland



In the chart above one can clearly see how the number of immigrants from Poland has increased and still increases. It is even so that the increase started the same month as the membership took effect. By contrast, the number of emigrants from Sweden into Poland remained largely unchanged during the period. It was only in 2007 the number of emigrants rose slightly.

It should particularly be noted that the chart above is based on the Sweden registered population. All EU citizens, except Nordic citizens, must have right of residence³ to get to

³ New Rules from 30 April 2006 is applied at the national registration of EU citizens and their family members. Instead of residence permit, the concept right of residence was introduced, a right which is intended to facilitate for EU citizens to exercise the option of free

work or study in Sweden for longer than three months. An EU citizen can settle in another EU country without gainful employment provided that he/she can support him-/herself. To be registered in Sweden, you must have the intention of staying for at least one year.

Grounds for settlement

It is not only the number of people who emigrate from Poland that has changed after the EU entry. The gender distribution has changed from about 35 percent men in the early 2000s to just over 55 percent in 2007. The number and the share of immigrants with work reasons for the residence permit have also increased sharply.

10. Polish Citizens who immigrated into Sweden from Poland by grounds for residence. 2000-2007. Percent

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Work	7,8	15,9	17,9	14,8	36,9	45,9	39,1	26,1
Family Ties	84,2	77,0	76,4	76,3	53,4	43,4	32,0	18,9
Studies	3,9	3,4	3,1	6,0	1,6	1,3	1,0	0,6
Other	1,0	1,6	1,2	1,3	1,5	1,7	1,6	0,8
Data not available	3,1	2,1	1,4	1,6	6,6	7,8	26,4	53,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number	612	761	1 006	966	2 380	3 325	6 201	7 317

To 2005, the registration of the reasons that have motivated residence permit/right of residence is adequate. For the years 2006 and 2007 however, the loss is significantly increased due to changed administrative rules.

movement. Anyone who has a right of residence may stay in Sweden without residence permit and work permit.



Due to the fact that the quality of the data has deteriorated so much, it is not possible to follow the group with work reasons for their residence permit/right of residence. Instead, the entire population of Polish immigrants have been studied from various aspects.

Remaining

As shown in Chart 22 the emigration *into* Poland has remained at a relatively low level with some increase for the year 2007. The question is whether the time one stays in Sweden has been affected by the EU entry in 2004. In the table below, each cohort of immigrants has been studied based on whether they were still registered in Sweden, one, two, three and so on, years after their year of immigration.

11. Number of Polish immigrants remaining in Sweden per 1 000 immigrants by year of immigration and time of residence in Sweden. 2000-2007

Year of immigration	Number of immigrants	After 1 year	After 2 years	After 3 years	After 4 years	After 5 years	After 6 years	After 7 years
2000	612	977	954	938	917	887	869	853
2001	761	967	945	905	882	859	845	
2002	1 006	965	939	910	878	856		
2003	966	976	954	928	898			
2004	2 380	981	955	932				
2005	3 325	976	952					
2006	6 201	964						
2007	7 317							

Note: The table shows for example, that of the 6 201 people who immigrated into Sweden from Poland in 2006, 964 were still registered in Sweden at the end of 2007.



There are little differences in the proportion of remaining regardless of immigration before or after joining the EU. One would expect that they who immigrated with "work" as a basis for settlement would return to Poland after a few years in Sweden. In many cases only a temporary residence permit on 18 months is obtained, which then can be extended for another 6 months. But as mentioned earlier this is not shown in the records that formed the basis for the study.

Re-emigration is at a low level, comparable to the one referring to immigrants from Asia or Africa, and significantly lower than the EU countries in general.

Poles settle in metropolitan areas

Foreign-born are more represented in urban areas than in the rest of the country. Approximately 65 percent of the country's foreign-born resides the three metropolitan counties and more than 28 percent resides either in Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö. This applies to an even greater extent for the Poles. Of the studied Poles, 75 percent live in the metropolitan counties and about 30 percent are residents of the metropolitan municipalities.

It is a relatively small displacement within the country among the Poles. Most still live in the county where they were registered when they immigrated. However, one can see that there is a larger proportion among those who have come after the EU entry that settles in the metropolitan areas, compared with those who immigrated before Poland's membership. However, one must keep in mind that there were a relatively small number of immigrants before the EU entry.



The labour market for Poles

The main objective of this small study was to analyse where on the labour market Poles are active. The latest version of the employment directory⁴ available refers to 2006. This means that we do not yet know anything about those who immigrated in 2007. For the group that arrived in 2006, there may be deficiencies in job classification, in that they have not been so long in the country and thus not had the time to establish themselves fully on the labour market.

Less than 8 000 of those who emigrated from Poland in the 2000s and who in 2006 were aged 20-64, had a control- or entrepreneurial task in 2006 (In the accounts hereinafter referred to as "Poland-born"). Of these, the majority, just fewer than 80 percent, is also classified as employed in November 2006. The group is really too small to draw any far-reaching conclusions, but some observations can nevertheless be done.

In the report below the population "Country" covers all people classified as employed during the month of November, unlike the "Poland-born" which includes everyone with the control- or entrepreneurial information during the year. The difference between the groups because of this would be essentially negligible in this context.

Employment by sector

In order to describe where in the labour market Poles work, we begin with the sector in which they earn their living.

12. Employment rate by institutional sector. 2006. Percent

	Poland-born	Country
State administration	1,7	5,5
State enterprises	0,0	0,1
Municipal administration	5,6	19,5
County	6,9	5,9

⁴ For more information, see www.scb.se/rams.



Other public institutions	0,0	0,0
Limited companies not publicly owned	59,7	51,6
Other companies not publicly owned	22,9	8,3
State owned companies and organisations	0,7	3,1
Municipal owned companies and organisations	0,4	1,8
Other organisations	2,1	4,1

It is clear that we find a majority of the Poles in the private sector. There is a significantly smaller portion that can be found in municipal and state sectors. The County Council is a slightly larger employer for Poles than for employed in average.

Professional status

Professional status indicates whether you are employed or entrepreneur. Poland-born who were both employees and entrepreneurs in the year is reported as entrepreneurs.

13. Employment rate by status in employment. 2006. Percent

	Poland-born	Country
Employee	92,2	91,2
Entrepreneurs	7,5	5,6
Entrepreneurs in a private limited company	0,3	3,3

The big difference between the Poles and the country as a whole is the considerably smaller percentage of entrepreneurs in a private limited company, which is not surprising. It requires both capital and knowledge on the Swedish tax system to establish as entrepreneurs in a private limited company.

However, one should bear in mind that the above figures relate only to the registered population in Sweden. The group self-employed with the company established in Poland and who execute the work in Sweden are normally not registered in Sweden.



Industry

With the help of the establishment's NACE code we can get an idea about which sectors Poles primarily are active within.

14. Employment rate by industry. 2006. Percent

	Poland-born	Country
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	5,3	1,8
Manufacturing and extraction	12,5	17,0
Energy production, water supply and waste disposal	0,1	1,0
Construction activity	18,1	6,3
Trading and communication	14,4	18,8
Financial activity and business services	22,0	14,2
Education and research	3,7	11,2
Health and social care	13,0	16,6
Personal and cultural services	9,9	7,3
Public administration etc.	1,0	5,9

It is primarily in construction and financial activities and business services, where we find a significantly larger proportion of Poles compared with the distribution throughout the country. The latter sector includes i.e. companies with operations in cleaning and staffing.



Need for further studies

It will be very exciting to follow the development in the coming years. Immigration from Poland has accelerated in 2006 and 2007; will the increase continue? The data is still incomplete for those who came in 2006 and we do not know where in the labour market Polish immigrants of 2007 have ended up. Do the latest immigrants have the same characteristics as those who immigrated directly after the EU entry? In one to two years there will be data also for these. Neither do we know if the recent immigrants from Poland are in Sweden on temporary residence permits; in any case we cannot yet see any resettlement trend.

The emigration from Poland into Sweden is relatively small compared to the emigration of Poles into other countries in the EU. But it still means that it is one of the really big changes in the migration to Sweden during the last decades that have not had a conflict as cause.

Perhaps we have seen the beginning of a change in the migration patterns as a result of the enlarged European Union by, i.a. free movement for people on the agenda.



Desk Study Report – POLAND (By Dobra Wola Foundation)

Introduction

Poland is considered to be a country with a long tradition of migration and political refuge. Among the many processes that constitute history of migration we should highlight firstly the Great Migration in XIX century that was connected to the partition of Poland which completely divided lands between Russian Empire, Kingdom of Prussia and Habsburg Monarchy of Austria for 123 years and secondly enforced resettlements after World War II (due to borders change). Currently, despite welcoming a number of immigrants e.g. from Ukraine, Poland maintains its status as one of the biggest sending countries in the European Union. What is more, due to migration after Poland's access to EU in 2004 outgoing migration was due to its scale named "the exodus". Migration processes have severely influenced national labor markets (both in Poland and abroad) and have also transformed everyday life of families. Polish migration has been studied carefully in various aspects e.g. structural factors influencing a decision, family strategies, intensified waves, generational differences, and so-called 'brain drain'.

Sweden is considered to be one of the migration destinations of Poles. It is estimated that approx. 110 000 Polish migrants live in Sweden. Polish migration to Sweden has a long history and can be divided into several phases and often was an answer to the dramatic situation in the region. To shortly present the process we will focus on the 20th and 21st centuries. Firstly, we have to highlight that during II World War 15 000 Polish citizens among them a large number of Jews migrated to Sweden in order to escape war atrocities. Some of the migrants were supported by humanitarian actions like for example "White busses". Secondly, during socialist times in consequence of the outbreak of March 1968 5000 Polish Jews immigrated to Sweden. It was political and ethnic migration stemming from antisemitism. Thirdly, in spite of the fact that during socialist times emigration was limited, since the beginning of 80s political emigration grown because of the persecutions by the regime. In 1981 the martial law was declared as an attempt to crush political opposition. Due to the implementation of martial law, Sweden allowed all Poles being in Sweden (also tourists or sailors) to obtain permanent residence. After 1989 and Poland's democratic transition that put end to the socialist People's Republic of Poland economic migration prevailed. We observe a shift from political to economic migration. The process of European integration and Polish access to EU opened labor markets for the influx of Polish workers and in practice meant no border controls for migrants and easier procedures in order to find a job. Therefore the quantitative



culmination of Poland's migration can be dated since joining the Schengen Area in 2004. Post-accession migration was a consequence of political transformation especially high rates of unemployment.

The methodology of the following report is based on analysis of secondary data. The report is based mainly on the results of National Census, research of Committee for Migration Studies of Polish Academy of Sciences and Report on Polish Migrants by Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The analysis of existing qualitative research is also represented in the report.

Statistical analysis of outward migration

According to Committee for Migration Studies of Polish Academy of Sciences Poland is characterized by the durability and stability of emigration processes – both political and economic migration is inscribed in everyday life of generations living in diverse regions of Poland (Anacka, Slany, i Solga 2014, 5). Post-accession migration is characterized by young age, high skills and urban character of migration.

According to Central Statistical Office of Poland⁵ (NSP 2011) 1 565 000 Poles were residing abroad for a year or longer, and 2 017 000 at least three months. Thus almost 80% of temporary migrants were living abroad for more than 1 year which means they were residents of the hoisting country. The statistic shows then that 52 out of 1000 Poles were temporarily living abroad. We can see a growing tendency as in comparison to data for 2002 786 000 Poles were living abroad more than 2 months, which shows an average of 21 out of 1000.

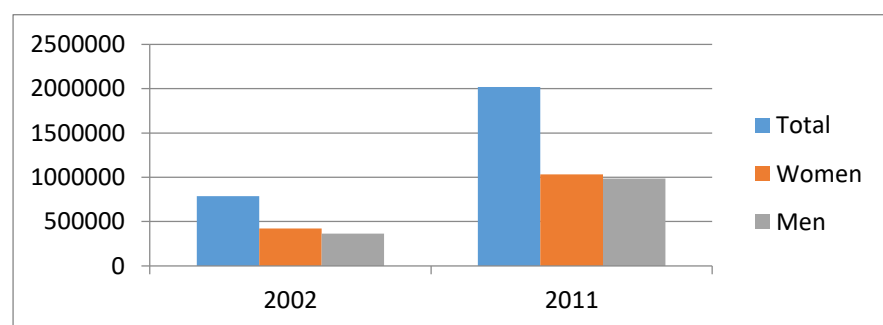


Table 1 Migrants living abroad for more than 3 months in 2002 and 2011. Based on National Census

⁵ Poland in 2015 had a population of 38,5 million.



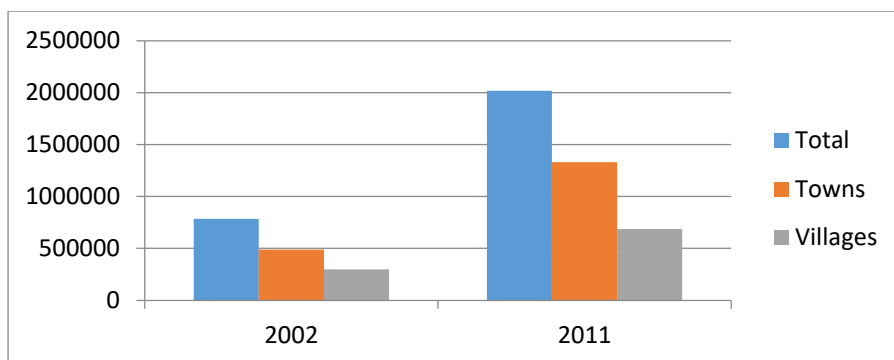


Table 2 Migrants living abroad in 2002 and 2011 with regard to place of emigration. Based on National Census

Country of destination

The vast majority of Polish migrants – more than 85% - are leaving in other European countries (the estimations reach the number of 1 717 600 migrants). Most of them – namely 81,5% - moved to other EU countries, mainly to the UK – 625 000 (30%), Germany 470 000, Ireland 12 000 and Holland 95 000. The second continent of destination is North and Central America where 269 000 of Polish migrants live. It is important to highlight that the percentage of migrants choosing to live in North and Central America diminished since 2002 when 24% of Polish migrants chose that destination to 13,3% in 2011. The change is a consequence of access to EU and opening of not such a geographically distant labor markets. Other continents are seldom destinations of Polish migrants: Asia 0,5%, Africa 0,2%, Oceania 0,7%, South America 0,1% (Nowak i in. 2013).

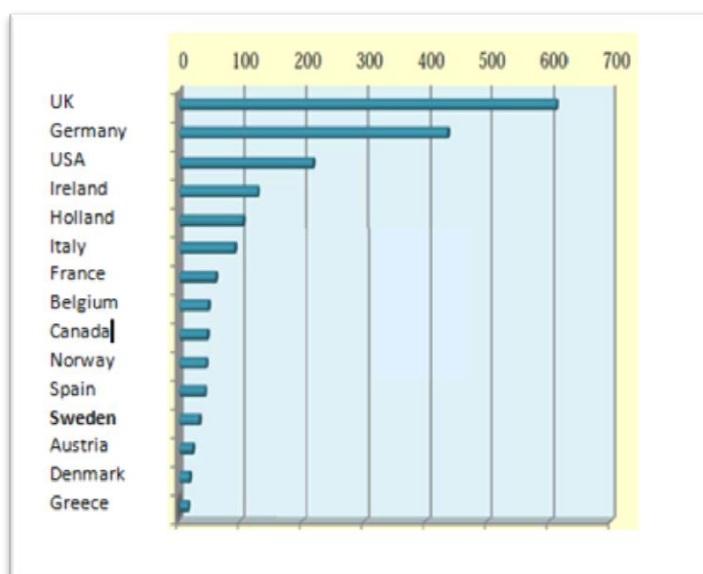


Table 3 Distribution of migrants by destination. Source: National Census 2011

According to the Social Diagnosis for 2015 the emigration declarations were influenced by the economic condition of hosting country. In 2015 respondents who declared destination of the possible migration have most often chosen Germany and the UK. The econometric analysis shows that the main factor influencing migration from Poland to EU countris is the difference between unemployment rates in between the countries (Czapiński i Panek 2015).

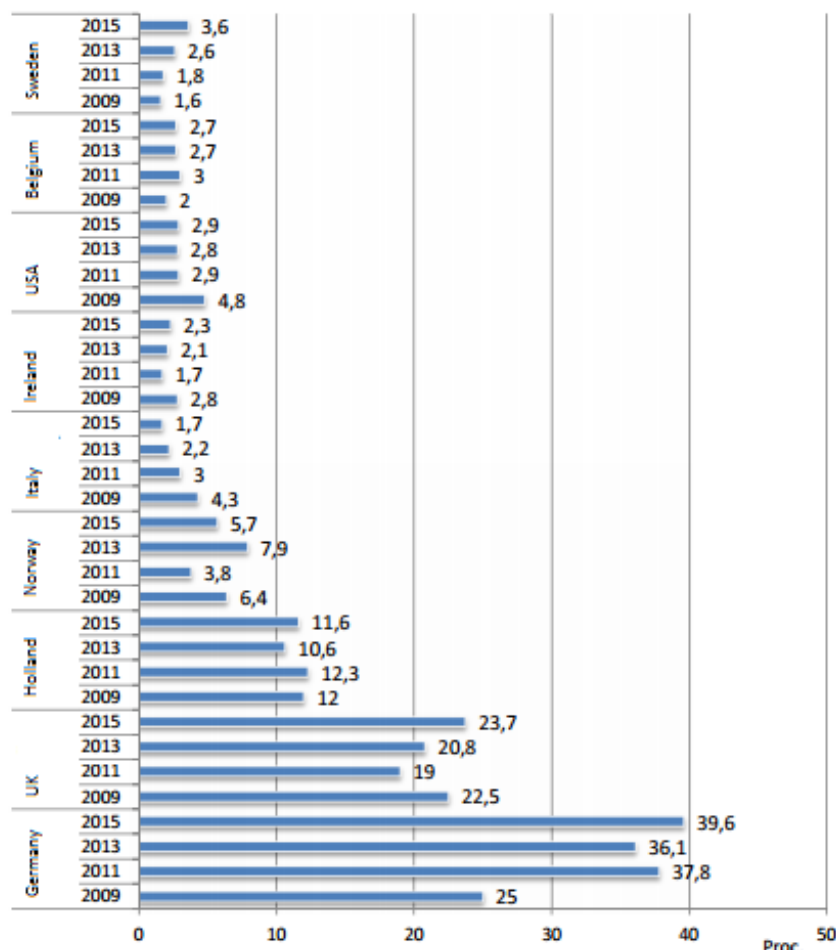


Table 4 Destinations of emigration declarations of Poles 2009-2015. Source: Diagnoza Społeczna na rok 2015 s. 153

The migration from Poland to Nordic countries is substantial. As it is shown in Table 5 there was a growing tendency of migrating between 1990 and 2007. The table shows Polish migrants as a percentage of destination countries population. In the case of Sweden, the percentage of Poles in 1990 was 0,416m while 0,641 in 2007.



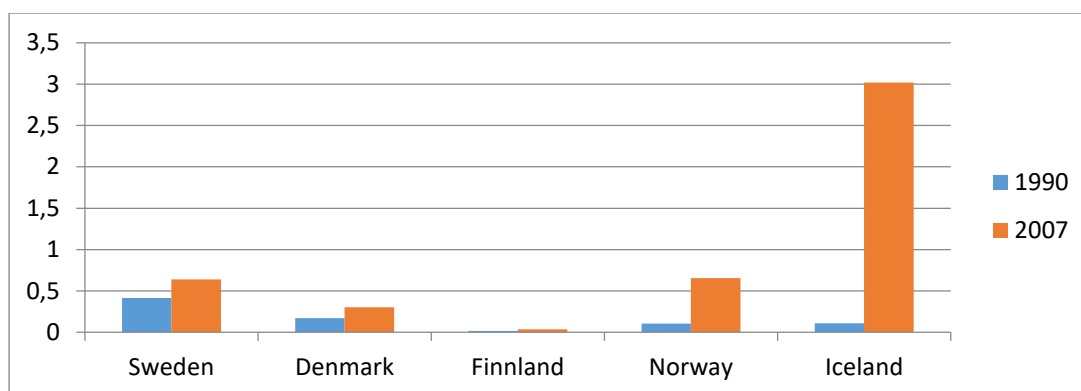


Table 5 Polish migrants in Scandinavia. Shown as a percentage of destination countries' population 1990 and 2007. Source Pedersen and Plitkova 2008

The number of **Polish migrants living in Sweden** is estimated at 100 000 people, of which 30% leave in Stockholm area. Sweden has ranked on 9th place among destination UE countries of Polish migrants after UK, Germany, Ireland, Holland, Italy, France, and Belgium. Different data is shown by National Census which claims that almost 35 000 migrants leave in Sweden. Among them 9 000 lives in Sweden for between 3 and 12 months and over 12 months 25 000 (Nowak i in. 2013). With the enlargement of EU in 2004 and 2007, a large number of migrants from especially Poland and Romania moved to Sweden. That the largest numbers are can be explained by the facts that they are the two largest countries in terms of population size and that Poland is a neighbouring country across the Baltic Sea. The next graph shows the migration flow from Poland to Sweden. We can see that after 2008 crisis the immigration from Poland declined.

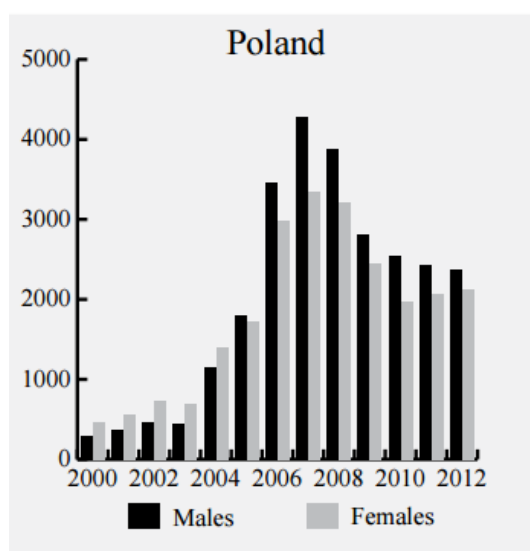


Table 6 Migration from Poland to Sweden 2000-2012

Gender



We can observe slight feminization of migration as the majority of Polish migrants are women (51,1% in 2011). Though the feminization diminished in comparison with 2002 (53,8%). Prevalence of women was observed regardless of the place of departure (rural or urban area). Among short-term migration though the data shows another tendency - slightly more men decides to migrate for short period of time (Nowak i in. 2013). The gender division diversification can be observed among various regions from where people migrate e.g. among migrants from Lubus voivodship women were 61% (Nowak i in. 2013).

Gender division of migration varies among destination countries. In Italy, Polish migrants comprise 66% of women but only 42% in Norway. In Sweden, there is slightly more men than women among Polish migrants. According to National Census (2011) among them 18 500 men (53%) and around 16 500 women (47%).

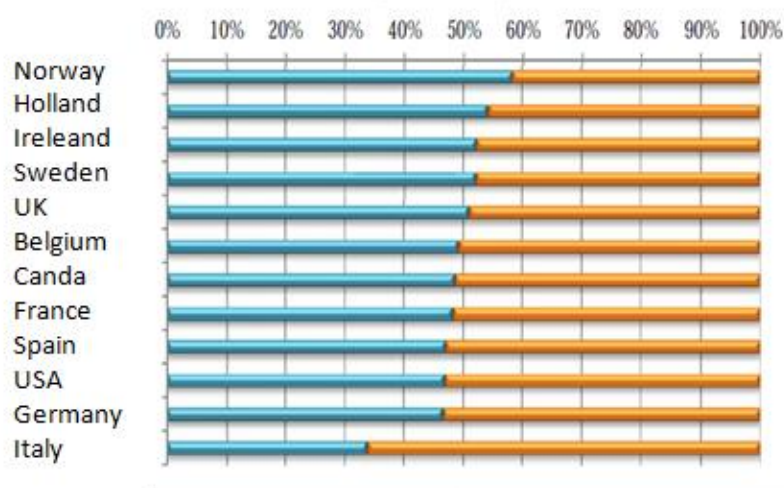
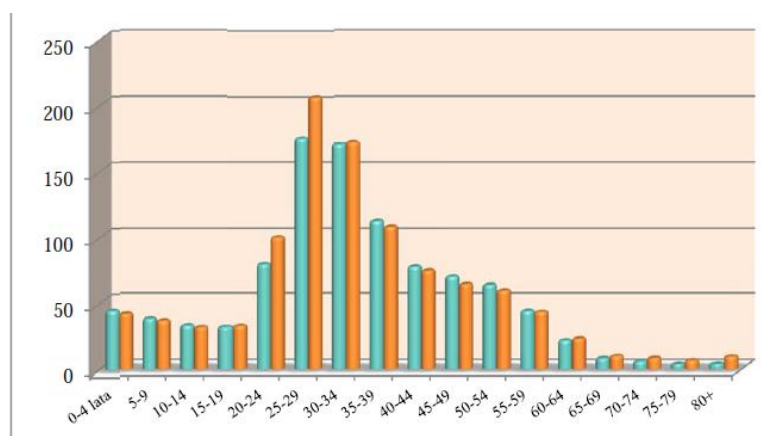


Table 7 Distribution of migrants by gender in destination countries. Source: National Census 2011

It is also important to highlight that wage gap among Polish migrants in Sweden continues to be significant. The data from 2010 gathered among migrants 16-64 years old shows that while male Polish workers earn monthly 31 300 SEK per year, female workers earn 26 000 SEK (Gerdes i Wadensjö 2013).

Age groups

83% of people living abroad more than 3 months in 2011 were in productive age, and 64% in mobility age (that is up to 46 years old). The largest group consists of people between 25-29 years old (383 000) among which 54% are women. Men are prevailing in the group of people 35-59 years old. It is important to highlight that the most visible is migration of people in productive mobile age. 8,5% of total population of Poland in this age has emigrated (Nowak i in. 2013).



■ Men

Table 8

Source:

■ Women

Distribution of migrants by age and gender. [In thousands].
National Census 2011

Family status

According to National Census among migrants over 15 years old, 45% were married and 7% divorced. 34% of migrants were single, that is higher than in general population. Therefore single people were more often deciding to migrate than people who have families. Additionally, more single men than women decided to migrate. We observe the progressive tendency of migrating singles in comparison with data from 2002 (Nowak i in. 2013).

Moreover, according to National Census, **9% of Polish households had a member who migrated at least for 3 months**. In comparison with the data gathered in 2002, the number has increased (in 2002 it was only 3%). What is more, 48% of the household with a migrant consisted of households where all of the family members were migrants, though most often it was one person households (21%) (Nowak i in. 2013).



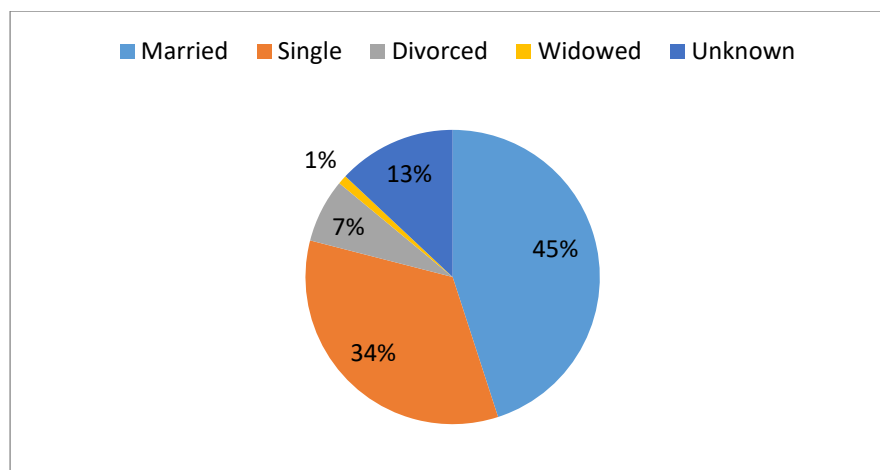


Table 9 Distribution of Polish migrants over 15 years old by marital status. Source: National Census

Reason for migrating

The data on reasons for migrating presented in National Census 2011 is representing only those respondents, who filled in a full questionnaire (that is 370 000 people). Moreover, all of the information were obtained from the members of a household that the migrant belonged to before leaving the country, and not from the very migrant (Nowak i in. 2013). **Therefore, National Census data shows that 73% of migrants left Poland in order to work** (44% in 2002). One-third of migrant workers left the country **because of higher earnings**, 31% point to the **difficulty in finding job in Poland**, other reasons e.g. better opportunities for professional development, interesting job offer abroad, work incompatible with qualifications, secondment by the employer were rarely noted. It is also important to highlight that in different countries the percentage of polish migrants living there due to work varied (Portugal 25%, Holland 90%). Regarding migration connected with work it is observed that inhabitants of countryside more often migrate for work (77%) than inhabitants of the cities (70%) (Nowak i in. 2013).

The second reason for migration were family issues (16%). While specifying detailed motivations most frequently respondents have pointed out to **accompaniment to migrant family member (49% of all family issues)**. 22% of family issues were due to **family reunification**. 19% of migrants moved **in order to start a family**. 14% of Poles that migrated to UE pointed out to family issues as a reason to migrate. Central Statistical Office of Poland estimates that work is a reason for migration of 1 470 000 polish migrants, and for 317 000 the reason is family issue. Although they highlight it is a mere estimation as migration reasons do change in

time. For instance in 2002 family issues were the cause of migration for 30% of respondents (Nowak i in. 2013).

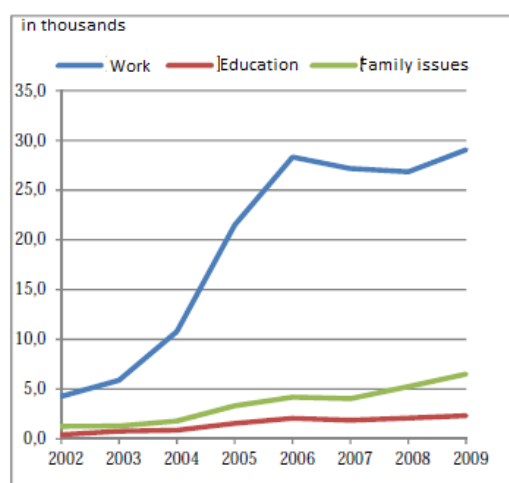


Table 10 Distribution of migrants by reason to migrate and year. Source: National Census 2011

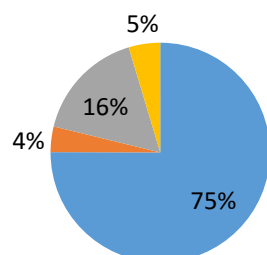
Reasons of migrating were visibly differentiated by gender. Work was a reason for migrating for 79% of men and 62% of women. With regard to family issues in general 16% of migrants pointed out to this issue, while 13% of men and 22% of women. In general women more often than men migrate because of education and family issues.

Furthermore the numbers varied by urban – rural divide. In urbanized areas work was a reason to migrate for 80% of men and 59% of women, whereas the number in countryside was higher (respectively 85% of migrant men and 67% of migrant women) (Nowak i in. 2013).

According to National Census data **the main reason for migrating to Sweden is work**. Among more than 6 thousands respondents who answered the question 75% pointed out work, 4% education, 16% family issues, 5% other reasons (Nowak i in. 2013). The analysis of reasons of migration while taking into account the length of the stay shows that family issues are more commonly the cause to migrate when migrants stay in Sweden more than one year.

Polish migrants who stay in Sweden more than 3 months

■ Work ■ Education ■ Family issues ■ Other



Polish migrants who stay in Sweden more than 1 year

■ Work ■ Family issues ■ Education ■ Other

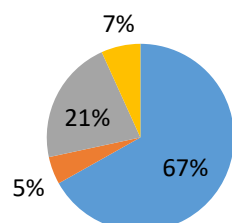


Table 11 Reasons for Polish migrants to move to Sweden. Source: National Census 2011



Education level achieved

In National Census the data on education was not gathered for all migrants but only for 19% of migrants (that is 345 000 people). The research shows that two thirds of migrants have at least secondary education: 23% have higher education, 40% have secondary education. In general Polish migrants are have better education than general population. Again gender plays important role as generally migrant women had better education than migrant men (Nowak i in. 2013).

Among migrants with higher education 39% graduated from social sciences, economy and law. Among them huge number comprise of also alumni of humanities, philology, biology and IT. Among migrants with vocational qualifications most common were car mechanics and construction builders (Nowak i in. 2013).

Moreover, it is estimated that 1 200 000 people with at least secondary education left Poland, among them 400 000 with higher education that is almost 7% of general population with this type of education.

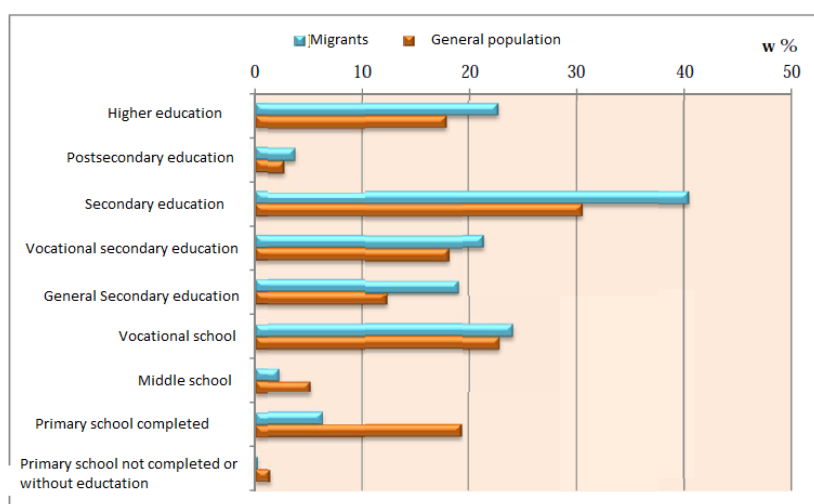


Table 12 Education among migrants over 13 years old living abroad more than 3 month in comparison with general population. Source: National Census 2011



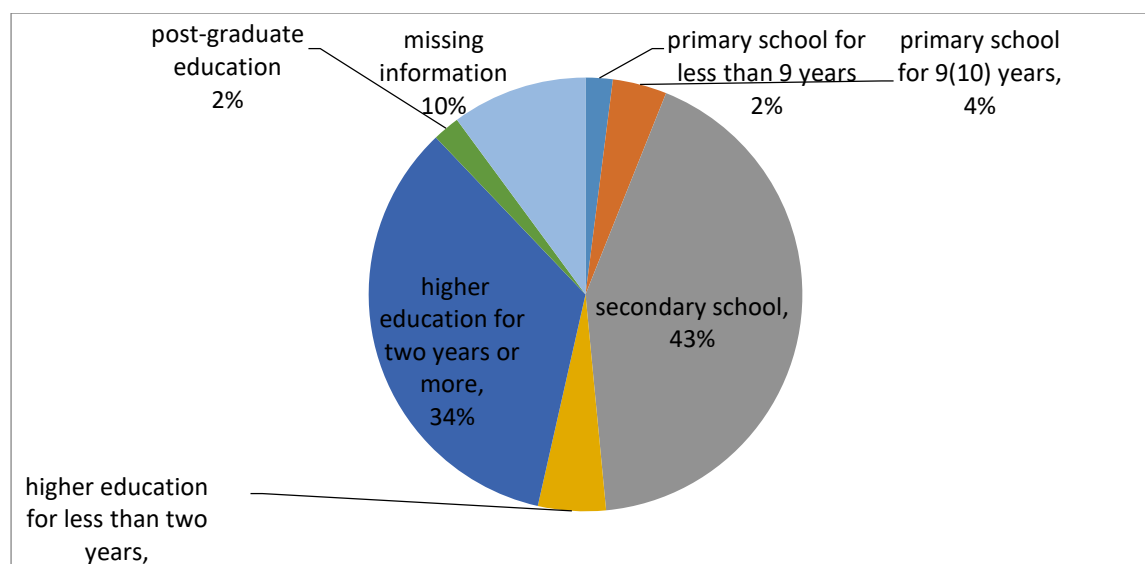


Table 13 Education of Polish migrants in Sweden. Source Gerdes 2013. SIEPS database

Polish migrants in Sweden are also well educated. As shown in table 13 84% of Polish migrants in Sweden have at least secondary education.

Therefore, people deciding to migrate have a higher than average level of education. However, the overrepresentation of persons with higher education among Polish migrants does not have negative effects on the Polish labour market because there are already too many graduates for the relevant jobs. Moreover, those who migrate are often employed abroad in workplaces requiring merely general and simple skills.

There is also some data regarding migrants health. A study shows 92% higher risk of reporting poor health among immigrants than among Swedish-born respondents. Therefore being born in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union was an independent risk factor for reporting poor health in Sweden. What is more the authors conclude that the risk persisted after adjustment for several potential confounders (living singly, having a poor social network, low socioeconomic status, and smoking) and after an additional adjustment for acculturation (language at home), and years in Sweden (Sungurova, Johansson, i Sundquist 2006).

Location

Migration from Poland is highly diversified by region. Moreover, the choice of destination country depends heavily on the inhabited voivodship. Despite the fact that the UK was among most frequent choices in almost every region, the second and third destination country greatly hinged on on voivodship. Silesia and Opole voivodship first destination country was Germany, and Podlasie – the USA. The USA was most often chosen by Lesser Poland and Subcarpathia, Belgium by Podlasie,



France and Italy by Subcarpathia. Regional diversification is a consequence of the distance, attitude to migrants, historical context and migrant network in the region (Nowak i in. 2013). Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway) were most frequently chosen by inhabitants of norther region namely West Pomerania. 26% of Polish migrants to Sweden has been living in northern part on Poland (West Pomerania and Pomerania).

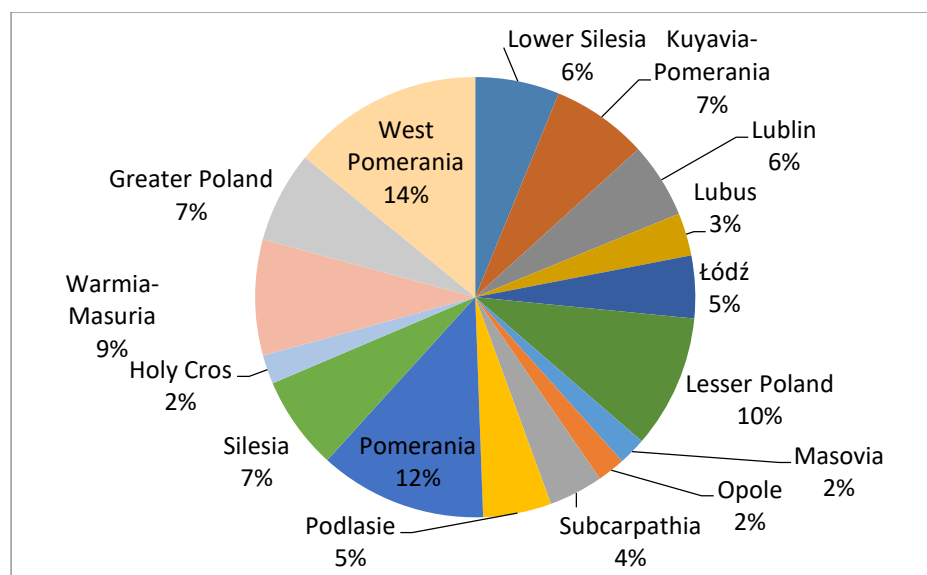


Table 14 Distribution of Polish migrants to Sweden by their location in sending country. Sorurce: National Census 2011

Qualitative analysis

Qualitative analysis of Polish migration tackle a wide range of issues starting with its gender dimension, reasons for migrating, family transformations, binational couples, to working conditions, participation in hosting country social and political life or migrants health.

According to the Committee for Migration Studies of Polish Academy of Sciences the phenomena of family transformation during migration is studied mostly through the lenses of transnationality, a concept that highlights the influence of globalized world. Therefore a transnational family is defined as stable constellation of family members and family bonds that function beyond borders. The research shows that geographical distance does not equal division of family but reconfiguration of family practices. It is important to highlight that often the decision on who is staying and who is migrating is (1) changing in time, (2) decided to some extent by kids, (3) the presence of kids defines where in fact family life is happening (Anacka, Slany, i Solga 2014). The construction of transnational family is depicted in the case of Polish families migrating to Ireland by Małgorzata Muszel (Muszel 2013). The process comprise of 3 phases:

1. Pre-transnational phase – a family member migrates, most often for economic reasons, men migrate because of the expectations to be breadwinners, women more due to their expectations mothering role (the biggest dilemmas are connected to leaving kids in the sending country and possibility to find a women that would support the family).
2. Transnational phase – the culpability for migrating and living family behind starts, among women the sense of economic autonomy rises. People tend to define that stage as temporary.
3. Post-transnational phase – reunification of family (both stressful and hopeful), family starts a living in hosting country, but not always ceases to think about returning home (Anacka, Slany, i Solga 2014).

Another important classification of migrant families based on who in the family migrates.

1. Father-away families are characterised by men being breadwinner, he expects that wife will devote herself to family, as he is the main provider he does not engage fully in emotional family life. It results in distant model of fatherhood, sometimes kids do not have a strong bond or forget their father.
2. Mother-away families are characterised by finding women carer who will look after the family (grandmas, aunties, neighbours), usually men will not perform the caring role, and mothers engage in care and emotional work on distance. They try to provide both financial and emotional safety



for kids. Often they perceive themselves as bad mothers even though they actively fulfil mothering roles (conflict in the role). Usually they have everyday contact with a child through new social media (Urbańska 2015a; Pustułka 2012). (Anacka, Slany, i Solga 2014)

Women often migrate for someone, and become the only family breadwinner. If the man is migrating women usually accustom their life to the rhythm of men's returns. They speak about the emptiness created by migration of husband. On the other hand they learn new skills, but they do not emancipate as they stay dependent economically on the male provider. On the other hand men who stay experience difficulties in managing the household and sometimes develop addiction (e.g. alcoholism). The extensive qualitative research on Polish female migrants highlights that usually they decide to migrate when the situation is economically very difficult, in opposition to male migration that is decided upon earlier. It is important to highlight that migration of mothers is socially perceived as having negative consequences for the children. In Poland, particularly, in public discourse the label "euro-orphans" was created to depict kids whose mothers were economic migrants after Poland's access to EU. Committee for Migration Studies of Polish Academy of Sciences divides approaches to family migration into deterministic and non-deterministic. The first one treat migration as pathology, migration is a cause of divorce, the extended family is negated, the child is psychologically abandoned, the migration is stigmatized as creating the "euro-orphans". Sociologists highlight that the name should not be used as the kids of migrants are not orphans. The second namely non-deterministic model points out that the results of migration are influenced by various risk factors, family is perceived as a subject that manages life to diminish the risks, and increase benefits, the migration is a potential risk but the key factors are family bonds, the time of not living together is highlighted – the longer the situation is more complicated. The approach highlights that migration is not a tragedy but a phase of life. Family situation are influenced by attitudes of parent e.g. caring, demanding, protecting, neglecting. Three types of childhood are defined: (1) safe, stable, free from economic difficulties, (2) missing, supporting parents, unstable, (3) lonely, neglected, abandoned. The non-deterministic approach also highlights the positive aspects of migration e.g. intercultural contacts, new skills, new opportunities, less economic problems (Anacka, Slany, i Solga 2014).

The migrant Polish fathers are studied in the context of emerging so called new fatherhood or caring masculinities. A study of Polish fathers in Norway has shown that men carefully negotiate new roles and attentively observe different patterns of parenting in a new country. On the other hand they keep strong bonds



transnationally and are experiencing patriarchal expectations (Pustułka, Struzik, i Ślusarczyk, 2015).

As we can see gender plays important role in the social processes connected to migration. Sylwia Urańska highlights that significant change is seen in Migration studies, namely the recognition of lone migrant workers, seen as independent autonomous migrants, that not migrate only for invitation of men. In many cases migration for women is an emancipatory process (Urbańska 2016). Female migration is sometimes a response to discrimination on the labour market or is due to domestic violence. Urbańska who studied Polish female migrants in Belgium highlights that a reason for migration that is not explored in the studies is experience of domestic violence in the context of nonexistence of effective policies that support domestic violence survivors. Domestic violence survivors sometimes chose to migrate as the only possibility to get away from violent situation as the institution help is lacking (Urbańska 2015b).

Other issue discussed in context of gender division of migration is a concept of care work and the global care chains that is a series of personal links between people across the globe based on care work. It typically constitutes of an older daughter from a poor family who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a rich country. So the chain begins in well developed country that has commercialized care work, and a women from developing country is doing the job while not performing care work in her household in sending country that leads to other women doing pain or unpaid care work in her place. The feminization of migration due to the polarization centrum-peripheria divide (Urbańska 2016). Poland is both the source (EU countries) and the destination (e.g. Ukrainian) of informal care workers, usually female. Study on Polish migrants in Iceland conducted by Krzyżowski and Mucha (2014) formulate thesis that taking care of elderly parents (mostly by women) in person in Poland is transformed into remittances e.g. money (mostly sent by migrating women). In their study they did not observe care chains but renegotiations of care. Moreover in the context of economic crisis when migrants depend on welfare services social benefits became important part of money sent to parents residing in sending country. The authors highlight that new social practices appear:

The culturally determined necessity of the personal fulfilment of children's obligations to care for older parents, including personal care and practical household help, is a long-lasting element of the Polish normative system, strengthened by the weakness of the institutional support system. In the situation of migration the obligations (and the methods by which they can be realized) are modified but do not



disappear. What become necessary are new types of social practices. (Krzyżowski, Mucha 2014)

Another important factor that is key to mention is religion. Religion as an aspect of migration has been understudied but currently more and more research makes attempt to understand how religion and migration are influencing each other. Very interesting analysis is presented in a paper written by Sylwia Urbańska on intersection of religion, migration and gender in contemporary social research. She explores wide range of influences religion may have on migration processes. To give a brief example: religious communities (and women especially) do mediate and support new coming migrants in the process of adaptation e.g. helping in translation, helping to deal with accidents during illegal work, psychological support, therapies for the addicted. Another example would be the fact that the reasons for migrating or return can be also influenced by religious definitions of belonging and relatedness – for instance by how responsibility and care for other human being are defined.

It is also important to mention that social inequalities can be a reason for migration from Poland. For instance due to lack of minority right protections (no civil partnership, no legislation on homophobic hate speech etc.) emigration of LGBT from Poland is observed. Migration stemming from homophobia is examined in the context of internal migration but also external migration (Makuchowska i Pawłęga 2012; Mole 2017). LGBT people migrate to countries where the level of homophobia and transphobia is lower. The “Intimate migration” research that focused on LGBT migration from Poland to Scotland concluded that some participants of the study experienced discrimination or violence, and many more had experienced other forms of marginalisation (e.g. negative attitudes among family members, in education and employment; negative media/political discourse on LGBT people; lack of legal protection for same-sex couples and their families; cultural expectations that LGBT persons should be discreet). These reasons combined with economic ones were meaningful for participants of the study while deciding on migrating (Stella, Gawlewicz, i Flynn 2016).

Very important area of study is also specific situation of blue-collar workers and seasonal migrants. It is important to notice that within the Nordic countries, Sweden represents the country with the most mature market for temporary staffing. Staffing became incorporated into the Swedish framework of collective bargaining (trade unions), providing agency workers in Sweden stronger protection than elsewhere (Friberg 2013). Among many job positions I will discuss here two: cleaning and construction work. The first one performed usually by women, studies shows that a name *polska* in Sweden has become more or less synonymous with using the services of a cleaning lady. The image is one of a hard-working woman who cleans



efficiently and well. A buyer of cleaning services from a polska is perceived to make a good deal, getting great value for money. It is often performed by skilled workers whose education was not recognized in foreign labor market (Björklund Larsen 2010). Regarding construction workers a specific qualitative study was conducted among Polish construction workers in Sweden on the topic of what they perceive as unjust working conditions (Thörnqvist i Bernhardsson 2015). The questions ranged from why Polish workers go to Sweden to why they stay even if they feel being treated unfairly. The authors of the research reported lack of serious resistance that they link not with scarce knowledge of workers' legal rights but was more linked with the will to fulfil 'life project' back home in Poland e.g. building a house, being able to afford to start family, starting a company. Wages paid to these workers are substantially below Swedish standards. The authors also highlight that working conditions of Polish workers in Sweden are often unfair the study shows that a lack of statutory supervision and lack of transparency have created a breeding ground for illegal practices e.g. fraudulent practices regarding wage payment and working hours. The authors conclude:

Social and legal structural factors such as the fear of unemployment, even lower wages at home, competition on EU markets, lack of supervision by national authorities and diverging tax laws, together set a context that makes it difficult for the posted workers to fight unfair working conditions. This in turn leads to a certain 'don't rock the boat' mentality. [...]Moreover, there is a 'pride factor' preventing skilled construction workers from employing other forms of resistance, for instance misbehaviour or dissent. Even when feeling wrongly treated by the employer, any form of passive resistance is neutralized by the feeling that one should do one's work honourably, delivering a 'good product' by working hard regardless of employer deceit (Thörnqvist i Bernhardsson 2015)

The study shows that higher wages than in Poland were not enough to leave family, but it also should be sufficient to finance the life project. If that is the case unfair treatment including hazardous working conditions were in place as one of the interviewee have said: „you can endure a lot if you do it for your daughter at home in Poland”.

Conclusions

Poland is a country with a tradition of migration that is embedded in the everyday life of generations of Poles. One in 10 Polish households has a member with experience of migration. The migration of Poles to Sweden has a long history. Until 1989 the migration had more often political background but since the democratic transition and especially Polish access to the European Union in 2004 the migration has mainly economic character. After entering the Schengen Zone Polish



general emigration due to its scale was named “the exodus”. According to national census more than 2 million Poles are migrants. The most common destination are other EU countries (81,5% of all migrants migrate to EU), among them the UK, Germany, Ireland, Holland are most often the choice. Sweden ranks 9th among EU destination countries. It is estimated that approximately 100 000 Poles have emigrated to Sweden, largely economic migrants. Although we can observe general feminization of migration from Poland (slightly more women than men migrate) available data on migration to Sweden shows a slight prevalence of men (53%) who chose to migrate to Sweden. Post-accession migration is characterized by young age, high skills and urban character of migration. 84% of Polish migrants in Sweden have at least secondary education. The family status of migrants is various, among them 45% are married and 7% divorced, there is also a substantial number of single migrants (34%), that is higher than in general population. The National Census data shows that 73% of migrants left Poland in order to work (44% in 2002). One third of migrant workers left the country because of higher earnings, 31% point to difficulty in finding job in Poland. Regarding migration to Sweden the main reason is work (75%) the second family issues (16%). The analysis of causes which takes into account the length of the stay shows that family issues are more commonly the cause to migrate when migrants stay in Sweden more than one year. Most Poles migrate to Sweden from northern regions of Poland namely Pomerania and West Pomerania due to geographical closeness of the region and available ferry transfer. A common region of migration from Poland to Sweden is also Lesser Poland (10%).

Qualitative studies reveal many intersectional factors that influence migration processes e.g. gender, religion or parental roles. The research shows that geographical distance does not equal division of family but reconfiguration of family practices. Moreover, families are diversified by who of family members migrates. Different social expectations towards motherhood and fatherhood result in different migration patterns. In the case of women they try to provide both emotional and financial safety, while fathers take mainly the role of breadwinner although emerging trend of engaging in caring masculinity practices is observed. Two approaches to migrating women exists. On the one hand, the deterministic discourse of “Euro-orphans” is focused on the risk that migration of mothers creates for the child. On the other hand research in non-deterministic approach shows that migration is a potential risk but there are many other factors that influence family situation. The extensive qualitative research on Polish female migrants highlights that usually they decide to migrate when the situation is economically very difficult, in opposition to male migration that is decided upon earlier. Moreover other reasons for migrating are: experienced domestic violence in the context of lack of



institutional support, labour market discrimination or in case of LGBT experiences of homophobia and an expectation of lower social stigma in hosting country.

Polish migrants engage in global care chain practices. It typically constitutes of an older daughter from a poor family who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a rich country. But it is not always the case – sometimes women migrants renegotiate social expectations of their care work for example over aging parents and send remittances to their home country and deliver it to elderly parents.

Seasonal and blue-collar workers migration is frequent among Polish migrants to Sweden. It is highly gendered as some women do engage in cleaning work and men work on construction sites. A study that examined unjust working conditions experienced by construction workers in Sweden showed that even if workers perceive their situation as unjust rarely they engage in resistance practices due to structural factors e.g. lack of supervision, competition in EU markets, but also by their mentality (pride) and a will to continue work for their 'life projects' being for example raising child, affording to starting a family, retirement.



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Desk Study Report – ITALY

(By Teatro Dei Venti)

INTRODUCTION

The FAIDRA project foresees three different steps in its initial phase: data search, interviews and a workshop. This report analyses the collected data concerning the territory of Modena and its surroundings.

The material that we have collected is the result of a wide research that has led us inside many houses and public buildings. Here, we summarise the material found in websites of statistics such as Eurostat and Istat; in books treating the issue of migration such as the Caritas catalogue 2016; in a local publication titled *Non avrai altro Dio* edited by the Municipality of Modena (photography project). The data collection has also benefited from some visits to the Foreigners' Centre of Modena, the San Bartolomeo Orthodox Church in Modena, the Residence Gandhi in Bologna and some CPAs (first reception centres) in Modena and Bologna.

HOW WE WILL PROCEED

The way we present the data results is organised like this: data -> source -> analysis and elaboration.

The source will not be indicated in case the data has been collected from personal notes. We will try make a detailed summary, outlining the whole research process done in these months.

GRAPHICS

Prospect n.1

Italy attracts less foreign citizens from abroad.

In 2013, 279.000 out of 307.000 people registered from abroad, are foreign citizens (prospect n.1). Even though the flow is decreasing comparing to the previous years, Italy remains the destination of considerable migration from abroad. The most significant community of foreigners is the Romanian one, with 58.000 registrations. It is followed by the community of Moroccans (20.000), Chinese (17.000) and Ukrainians (13.000). The Italians returning from abroad are 28.000, 1.000 less than in 2012.



L'Italia attrae meno cittadini stranieri dall'estero

Nel 2013, dei 307 mila iscritti dall'estero, 279 mila sono cittadini stranieri (Prospetto 1). Sebbene in calo rispetto agli anni precedenti, l'Italia rimane meta di consistenti flussi migratori dall'estero. La comunità straniera più rappresentata tra gli immigrati è quella rumena che conta 58 mila iscrizioni. Seguono le comunità del Marocco (20 mila), della Cina (17 mila) e dell'Ucraina (13 mila). Gli italiani di rientro dall'estero sono 28 mila, mille in meno rispetto al 2012.

PROSPETTO 1. ISCRITTI E CANCELLATI PER TRASFERIMENTO DI RESIDENZA CON L'ESTERO PER PAESE DI CITTADINANZA. Anni 2007-2013

PAESI DI CITTADINANZA	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
ISCRITTI							
Italia	36.693	32.118	29.330	28.192	31.466	29.467	28.433
Europa (Italia esclusa)	377.687	293.962	213.540	213.905	179.138	152.695	123.202
Unione europea (Italia esclusa)	312.484	198.092	130.434	117.040	113.808	104.078	77.483
di cui: Romania	261.273	162.277	100.680	90.895	90.096	81.666	58.227
Paesi extra Ue	65.203	95.870	83.106	96.865	65.330	48.617	45.719
di cui: Albania	21.926	33.339	25.545	22.248	16.613	14.118	12.165
Africa	44.164	71.191	68.833	75.035	64.283	65.025	62.827
di cui: Marocco	19.720	35.382	30.727	29.618	23.885	19.590	19.568
Asia	35.771	57.067	69.042	86.076	76.176	76.078	70.104
di cui: Cina	9.363	11.945	16.606	22.535	20.055	20.463	17.592
America	32.489	39.739	40.778	44.188	34.435	27.219	22.612
Oceania	292	277	314	323	270	255	274
Apolidi	27	40	22	25	25	33	2
Totale	527.123	494.394	421.859	447.744	385.793	350.772	307.454
CANCELLATI							
Italia	36.299	39.536	39.024	39.545	50.057	67.998	82.095
Europa (Italia esclusa)	9.189	15.602	17.477	17.122	19.948	23.899	27.618
Unione europea (Italia esclusa)	6.957	12.485	13.469	12.205	14.396	16.467	19.035
di cui: Romania	2.742	6.392	7.720	6.437	7.693	9.131	11.014
Paesi extra Ue	2.232	3.117	4.008	4.917	5.552	7.432	8.583
di cui: Albania	609	753	1.085	1.279	1.525	1.794	2.296
Africa	1.606	2.035	2.709	3.632	3.955	4.719	5.231
di cui: Marocco	651	822	1.234	1.719	1.761	1.960	2.418
Asia	2.317	2.316	3.424	4.666	5.534	6.276	6.893
di cui: Cina	580	602	853	1.303	1.672	1.773	1.943
America	1.650	2.114	2.219	2.465	2.879	3.244	3.812
Oceania	52	65	63	67	84	75	85
Apolidi	-	3	5	4	4	5	1
Totale	51.113	61.671	64.921	67.501	82.461	106.216	125.735

Prospect n. 1

Prospect n. 2



Prospect n. 3

Focus on Italy and Romania: immigration in the two countries from 1998 to 2008

and Prospect n. 4

Focus on Italy and Romania: immigration in the two countries from 2009 to 2014

TIME	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
GEO											
Italy	156,885	185,052	226,968	208,252	213,202	440,301	414,880	304,960	279,714	527,123	534,712 ^(b)
Romania	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	138,929 ^(b)

Prospect n. 3

TIME	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
GEO						
Italy	442,940	458,856	385,793	350,772	307,454	277,631
Romania	135,844	149,885	147,685	167,266	153,646	136,035

Prospect n. 4

ANALYSIS AND ELABORATION

These graphics show the general picture of the immigration dynamics in Europe in the past 20 years. Focusing on migration between Romania and Italy, as requested by the project, we notice an increasing migration flow from Romania, namely starting from 2008. These graphics depict a partial, not absolute, overview of the Romanian people's migration, nevertheless they are a very useful tool to shed light on the presence of Romanians in the Italian territory.

With regards to this, we will analyse an extract of the Caritas catalogue 2016 in comparison with the UN and Istat data of the Study and Research Centre IDOS.

Here are the most relevant observations concerning migration between Romania and Italy.

The profile of Romanian people in Italy according to the data of the “Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2016”.

In 2015, 3.408.118 Romanian citizens appear to live out of their country of origin: 1 every 6 citizens living in their homeland (17,5%). The Romanian community in Italy represents one third of all the Romanian migrants abroad (33,8%).

Despite the prolonged economic and occupational crisis hitting our country, they are still the first community of foreigners at the beginning of 2016, with 1.151.395 residents of which 57,2% are women, while the children of Romanian migrants enrolled in schools are 160.000 (one fifth of the foreign students in Italy).

The number of Romanians in Italy has risen of nearly 20.000 units comparing to the 1.131.839 residents of the previous year, a significant data if we consider that, in the same period, the foreign presence in Italy has remained stable.

Prospect n. 5

Foreign resident population per gender, geographical area and main countries of origin 2007-2008



Tabella 2 - Popolazione straniera residente per sesso, area geografica e principali paesi di cittadinanza, al 1° gennaio 2007 e 2008

AREE GEOGRAFICHE E PAESI DI CITTADINANZA	1° gennaio 2007			1° gennaio 2008			Var. % MF 2007 2008
	M	F	MF	M	F	MF	
EUROPA	629.282	765.224	1.394.506	803.901	981.969	1.785.870	28,1
Europa 15	57.648	91.263	148.911	61.521	96.146	157.667	5,9
Paesi di nuova adesione (a)	197.176	260.101	457.277	342.594	434.174	776.768	69,9
di cui: Polonia	20.516	51.941	72.457	26.847	63.371	90.218	24,5
Romania	162.154	180.046	342.200	294.212	331.066	625.278	82,7
Bulgaria	8.486	11.438	19.924	13.685	19.792	33.477	68,0
Europa 27	254.824	351.364	606.188	404.115	530.320	934.435	54,1
Europa centro-orientale (b)	368.856	406.953	775.809	394.159	444.745	838.904	8,1
di cui: Albania	209.209	166.738	375.947	222.198	179.751	401.949	6,9
Ucraina	23.058	97.012	120.070	25.954	106.764	132.718	10,5
Macedonia (ex. Rep.Jug. di)	42.943	31.219	74.162	44.994	33.096	78.090	5,3
Moldova	19.488	36.315	55.803	23.033	45.558	68.591	22,9
Altri paesi europei	5.602	6.907	12.509	5.627	6.904	12.531	0,2

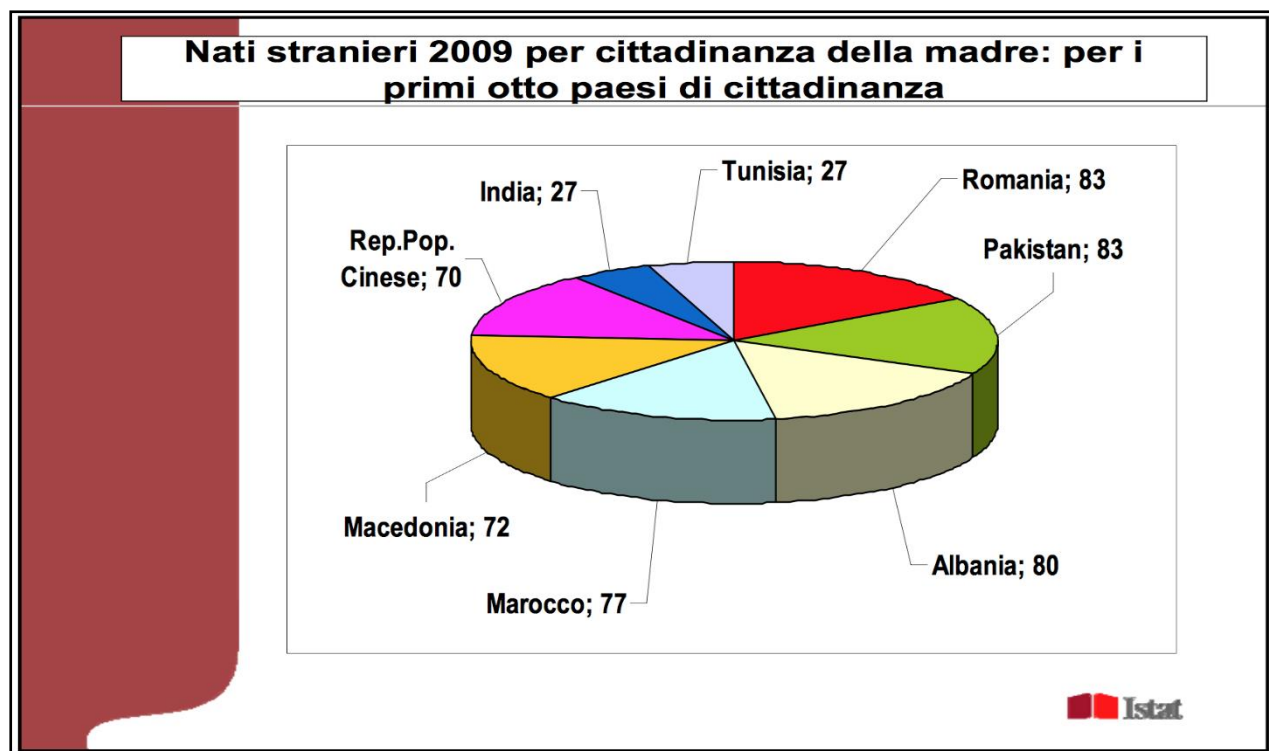
Prospect n. 5

This was influenced by 25.000 new arrivals, 15.796 new-borns in Italy, the return to Romania (13.518 cancellations from the civil registry in 2014) and the acquisition of Italian citizenship (6.442 in 2014). This community is spread all over the Italian territory, with a concentration in the North (575.908) and in the Centre (362.755).

Prospect n. 6

Foreign new-borns in 2009 per mother's citizenship for the first 8 main countries.





Prospect n. 6

The capital cities for Romanians in Italy appear to be Rome from a quantitative point of view, and Turin in terms of share of the overall foreign population. In 2015, more Romanian citizens were residing in the Province of Rome than in the whole South of Italy (178.701 out of 145.993).

The Romanian community is also the one with the highest number of employed people: more than one fifth of the foreign working population, that is 767.047 people according to INAIL (National Institute for Insurance against Occupational Accidents).

More than half of the job positions obtained by the Romanian do not match their studies certifications, with a concentration of these workers in low-qualified jobs.

The main economic sectors for them are services (422.089, 55%) and industry (163.346, 21,3%), with a peak respectively in personal care services and construction. A negative data concerning the employment

situation is the record of Romanian workers victims of occupational accidents in 2015, with 15.368 cases of which 48 have been fatal.

The entrepreneurial involvement of Romanians in Italy has been enhanced by their sense of initiative and interest in maintaining their job in times of crisis, but a strong desire of professional improvement might not be excluded. The individual enterprises managed by people born in Romania are 48.182, one tenth of all the foreign companies. The main sector is construction (64,4%), followed by trade (11,8%) and services (4,6%).

The Italo-Romanian weddings celebrated in 2014 were 2.882, of which 2.678 between Italian men and Romanian women; instead, those celebrated between Romanians and other foreigners were 954, mainly between Romanian spouses. Also the number of Romanians obtaining Italian citizenship appears to be high: according to Eurostat, in the period 2008-2014, as much as 28.320 Romanian people became Italian citizens, 6.442 only in 2014.

CONCLUSIONS

In the last years, Romania is experiencing a satisfactory economic performance, as proven by macroeconomic indicators, also thanks to the direct and indirect contribution of its migrants. In fact, on the one hand, migrants have contributed to a decrease in the number of unemployed people in their country, facilitating the job search for those remaining. On the other, they have supported the country's development through financial and social remittances.

Remittances sent to Romania from all over the world make up 1,7% of national GDP; those sent from Italy, alone, represent 0,6% of GDP. Now, more than ever before, it seems important to combine statistical analysis with an understanding of the specific features of this community, highlighting the positive aspects, without neglecting the existing problems.

[source: Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS. Elaborazioni su dati Onu e Istat.]

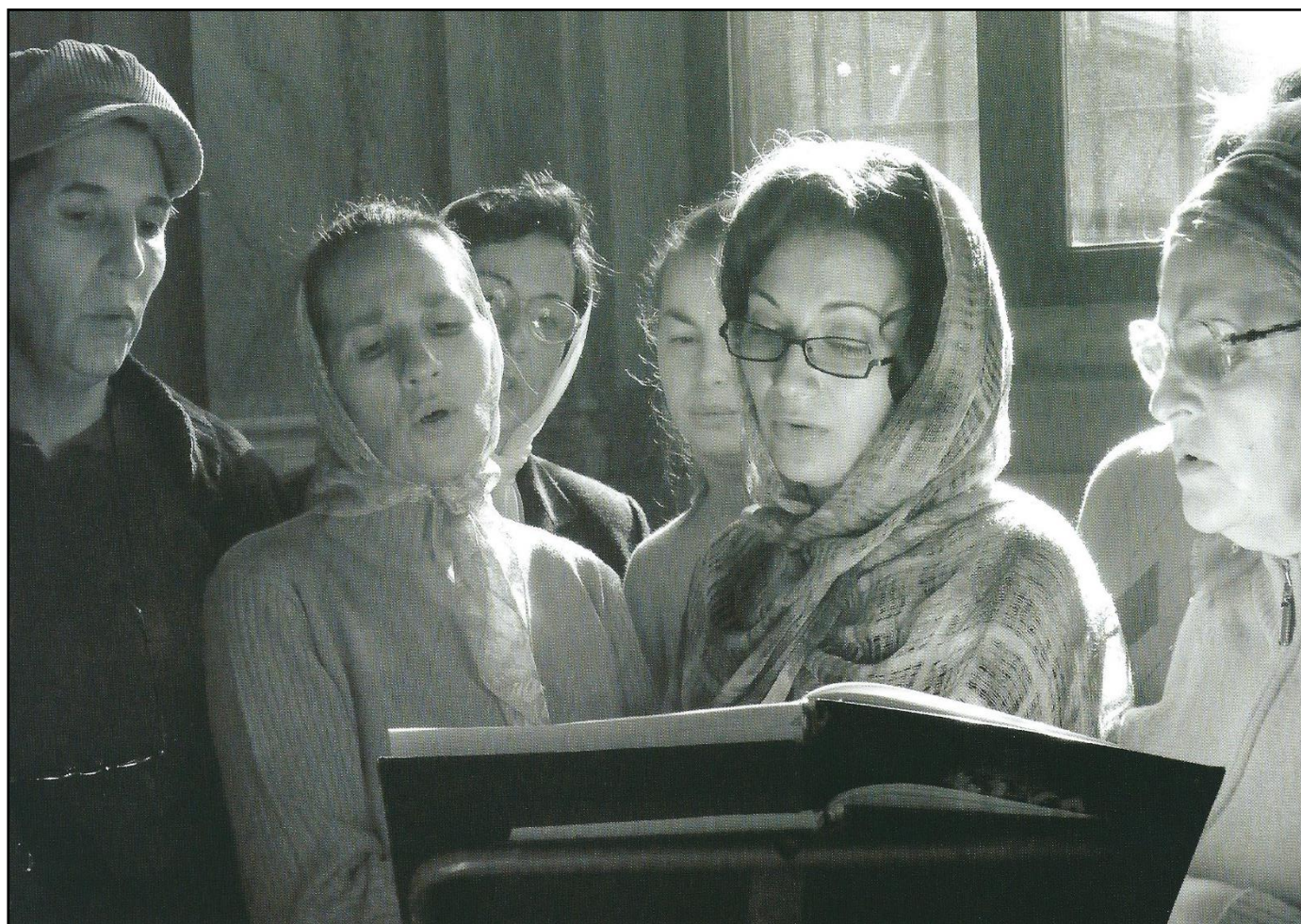


PHOTOS



Caption: photography by Mauro Terzi taken by the local publication titled “Non avrai altro Dio” edited by the Municipality of Modena.





FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Finding data on the Romanian community in Italy has been rather tough, because of the lack of proper Romanian associations (both public and private), in Modena as in the whole Italian territory.

Thanks to the Foreigners' Centre in Modena, we have understood that the Romanian community gathers in two favourite places: the Orthodox church and the pubs and bars in the city. As we couldn't obtain useful documents and statistics, we have exploited this contact to pick the persons for the interviews.

Romanians in the world	Romanians in Italy	Romanians in the Province of Rome
3.408.118	1.151.395	178.701



EUROSTAT WEBSITE http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics/it

ISTAT WEBSITE <http://www.istat.it/it/files/2014/12/Migrazioni-internazionali-e-interne-Anno-2013.pdf?title=Migrazioni+della+popolazione+residente++-+09%2Fdic%2F2014+--+Testo+integrale.pdf>
http://www.istat.it/it/files/2012/05/Rapporto_ImmigrazioneVALLESI_2-1.pdf



Desk Study Report – ROMANIA

(By CEEC Artemis)

Introduction

The abolishment of the system of centralized economy, after the major social movements from December 1989 meant the overthrow of a pattern of social organization which functioned almost half a century in post-war Romania. This moment represents the beginning of a complex system genesis, which profoundly affected the economic, demographic and social structures, which have created territorial imbalances to national level. The capital city and its proximal area and major cities of the western regions (Banat, Crişana, Transylvania and Maramureş) were more easily adapted to new conditions of market economy. On the opposite side are the industrial specialized medium and small towns, the deep rural areas and even entire regions (Moldova, Oltenia, the south of Muntenia, the central and north Dobrogea), which absorbed hardly the shock of economic openness to the global economy. In these areas only large cities (Iaşi and Craiova) are the few areas of relative prosperity.

The disappearance of social constraints, especially of restrictions related to movement/mobility freedom, combined with the implosion of the national economy, which shrank to less than half in the years following the overthrow/removal of the Ceausescu regime and the emergence of unemployment (latent and unrecognized by the communist regime) have marked an unprecedented stream in the demographic history of Romania, with economic motivation, predominantly oriented towards the western part of Europe but also to Canada, USA, Australia etc.

1. The Data Source

Romania's emigration figures are difficult to quantify and often difficult to analyse, the main reason being the fact that international movements, especially within the EU often border on illegality (or beyond it). Once the historical European frontiers have fallen and the Schengen space was created, by the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty on 2nd October 1997 (valid since 1st May 1999), our continent and its governing bodies accepted a challenge - that of 'managing a human mass with increasing ethnic and cultural diversity' (Dumitriu, Muntele et al, 2013, p.97).

The right to free movement Romanians gained after December 1989 and acceding the EU on 1st January 2007 led to a real exodus of the Romanian population. The World Bank estimates the Romanian emigration at 3.4 million at the end of 2013. Some independent sources estimate Romanian emigration at almost 4 million people in 2016, but the figure has not been confirmed.

With the 3.4 million emigrants evidenced by the World Bank in 2013, Romania is 17th in the world in emigration-see the table attached (fig. 1). Considering this against the country's population, Romania is 4th (by percentages, the ranking dominated by smaller countries, Romania is not amongst the top 25), but the first



two areas (West Bank/Gaza and Siria) are in a special position, as their migration is made mostly of refugees, and Portugal is in this top due to an older migration. The fast growth of the Romanian emigration from a few hundred thousand in 1990, to 2.8 million in 2010 and between 3 and 4 million at present, proves the appearance of a Romanian emigration pattern, which reflects negatively upon the Romanian society and its economy.

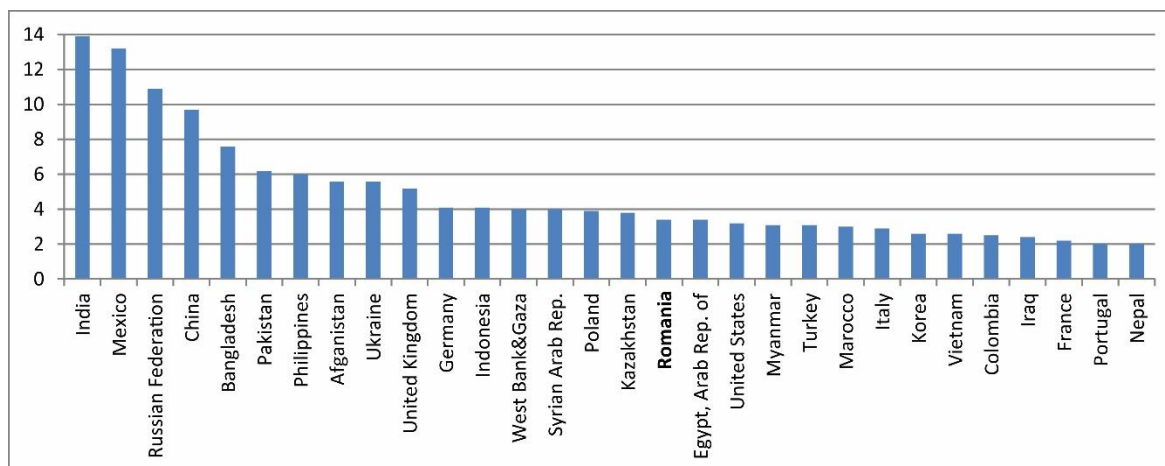


Fig. 1 - Number of immigrants (Data source: World Bank 2013)

The official Romanian statistics (The National Institute of Social-Economic Statistics) do not confirm the 3.4 million attributed by the World Bank. The main issue lies with the way the data is collected. The number of emigrants is considered only over a period of one year, with no cumulation of data. The 2002 and 2011 censuses, in line with the EU demographic statistics, do not reveal the entire Romanian emigration. For example the 2011 census shows 728.3 thousand people residing in other countries for over 12 months and 385.5 thousand people having left the country in the last 12 months. The total is of 1113.8 thousand people. This does not mean the figures The World Bank has come up with are false. A lot of those who emigrated previously, having changed their place of abode in the receiving countries, have thus not been taken into account by the Romanian statistics. We can get a figure for the Romanian emigration, most of it form after 1990, by taking from the population of 1990 Romania (23.2 million inhabitants) the population of 2016 (19.75 million inhabitants, taking into account the natural decrease in population of over 800.000 people. If we take into account the migration prior to 1990, the over 500 000 Moldovans who gained Romanian citizenship- most of them becoming Romanian residents (over 60.000 in Iași county alone- according to The National Institute of Social-Economic Statistics), but who actually live in the EU developed countries and if we add temporary migration (for work, study, etc), which has lately been a constant of around 400.00, we get a figure close to the estimate of the World Bank. The only real problem is that the data cannot be mapped on a county or smaller level.

We are seeing a migration of "brain drain", of the white collar. More than 530 thousand people with higher education emigrated (ranked twelfth among Earth's countries) – fig. 2. Thousands of IT specialists were established in USA, Canada,

Germany, Great Britain, France, oil specialists and geologists especially in Great Britain, Norway, in the Middle East and North Africa, 15 000 doctors emigrated in France (5000), Germany (4000), Great Britain etc.

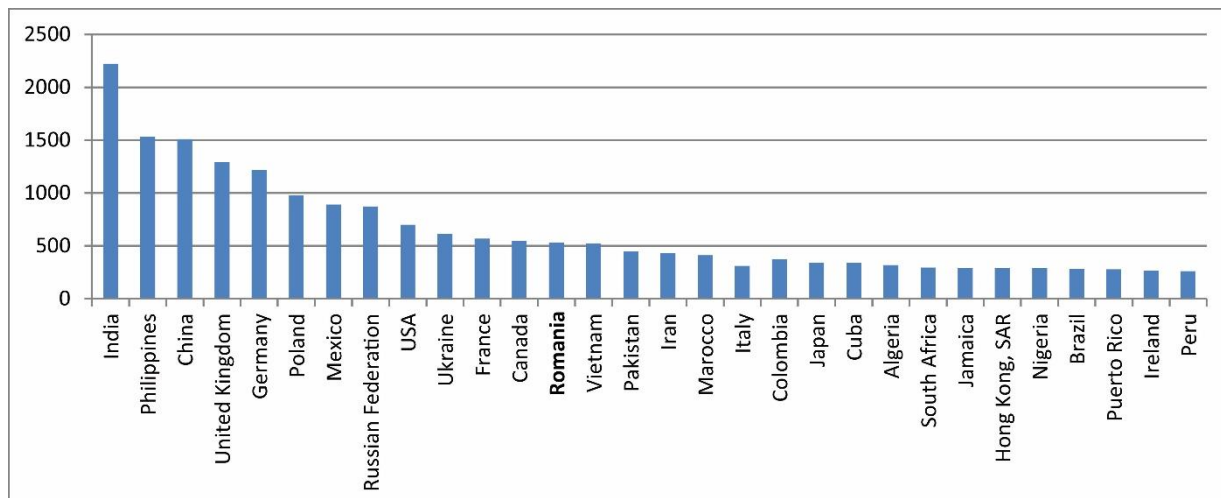


Fig. 2 – The "brain drain" - Number of immigrants with higher education (Data source: World Bank 2013)

2. Migration after 1990

2.1. The breakdown of Romanian emigration according to the target countries

The biggest emigration wave happened after Romania entered the EU. The flow was based on certain economic and social advantages or on the immigration policies of the receiving countries. There is a change in the main destinations. In 2008 (the beginning of the international crisis) the main destination was Spain, in 2012 (after the crisis) Italy becomes the main destination. Germany comes third and UK, after relaxing the immigration rules towards Romania and Bulgaria, comes fourth.

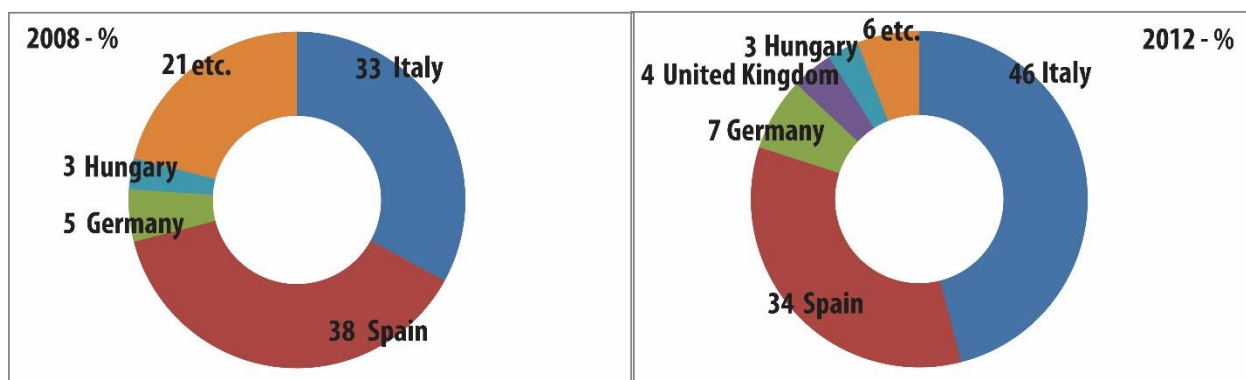


Fig. 3 - Distribution of Romanian Emigrants in European Countries 2008, 2012 – Data source: National Institute of Statistics (INS)

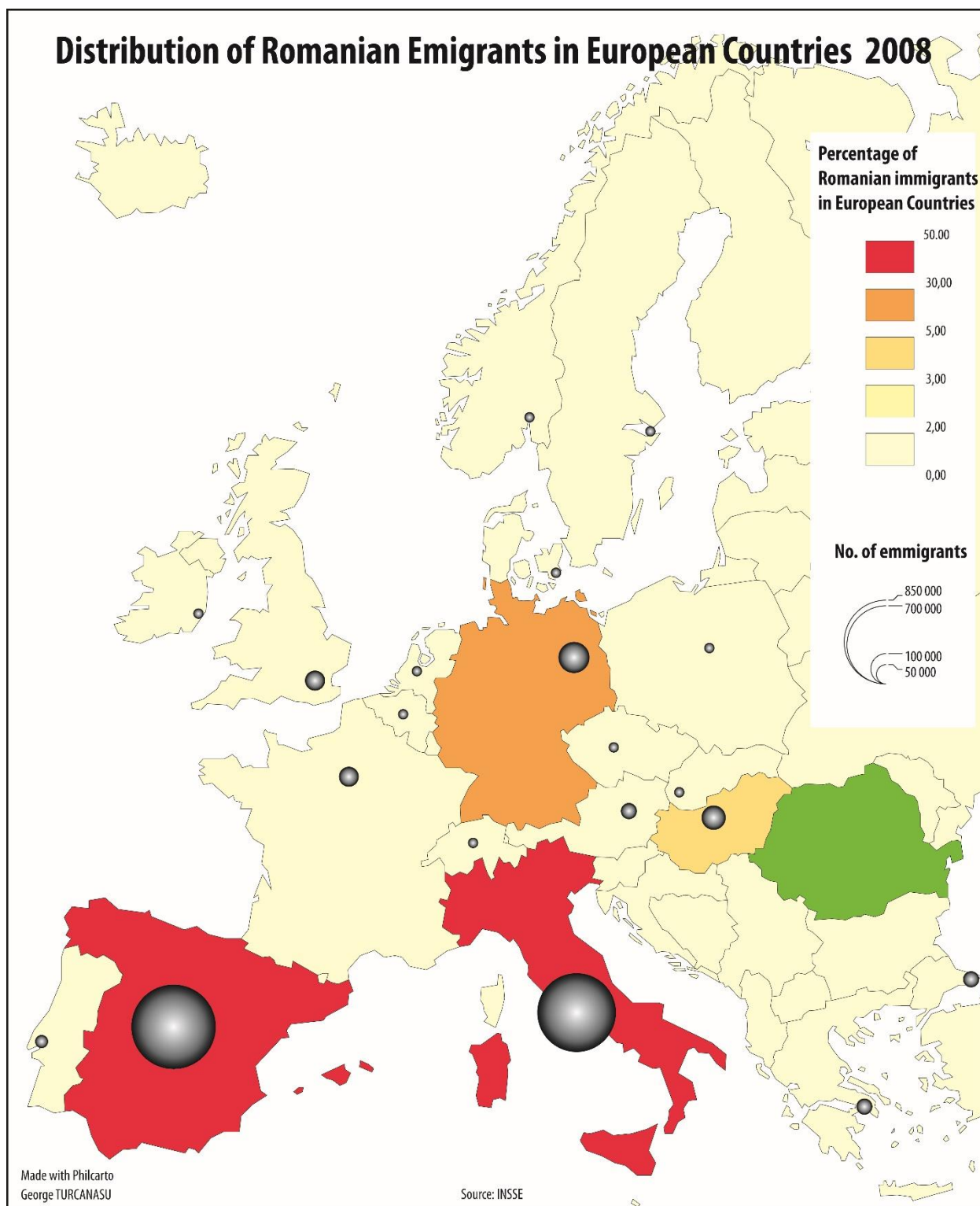


Fig. 4 - Distribution of Romanian Emigrants in European Countries 2008 – Data source: INS, Radu Dimitriu (2013)

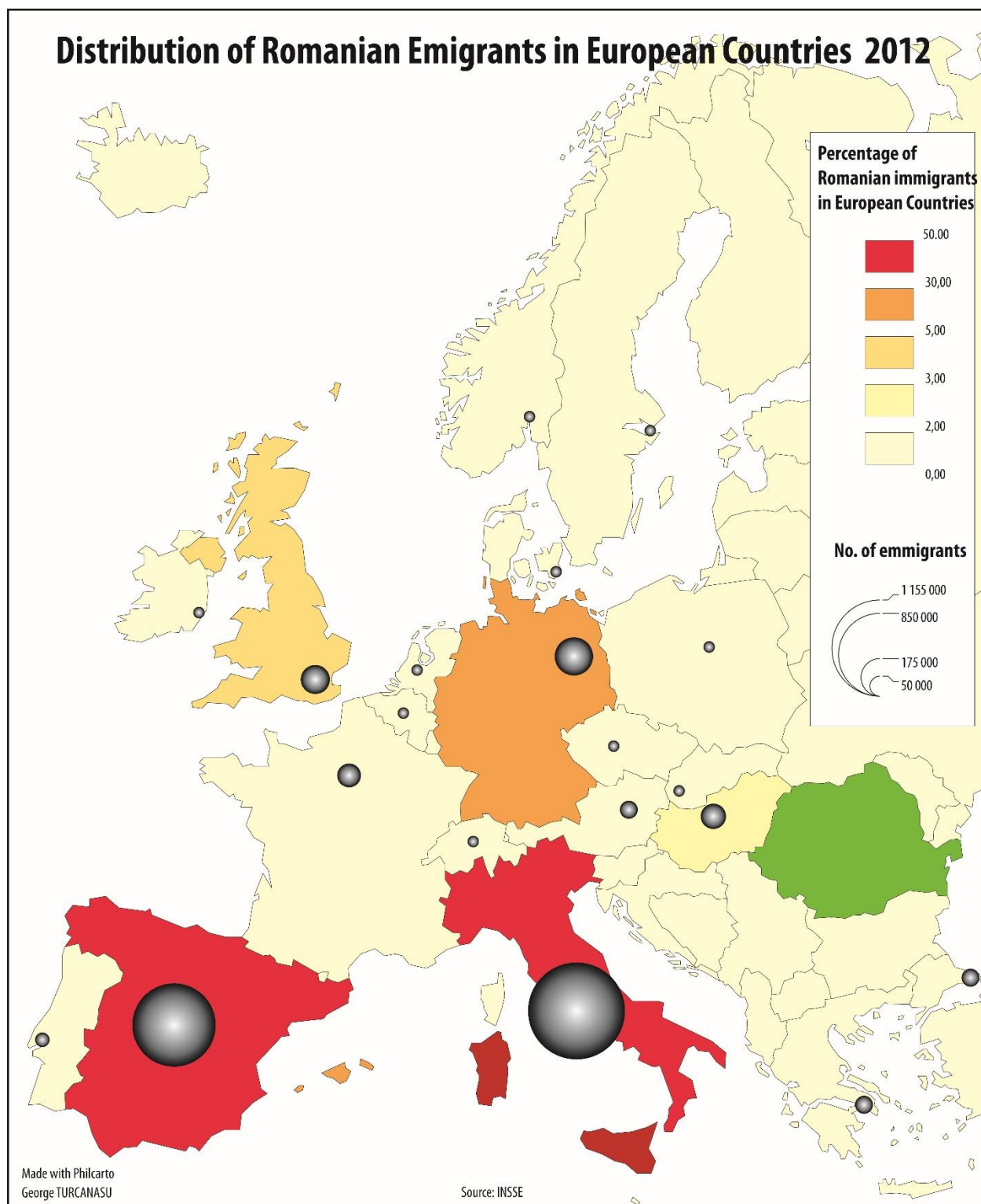


Fig. 5 - Distribution of Romanian Emigrants in European Countries 2012 – Data source: INS, Radu Dimitriu (2013)

2.2. A Chronology of the Romanian Migration

(Sources: Radu Dimitriu, 2013; Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suci, 2010, George Ţurcanaşu, 2016)

After the fall of the communist regime, migration became one of the most important demographic phenomenon in Romania, as many Romanians failed to find a good job inside their country in order to provide for their family a decent standard of living.

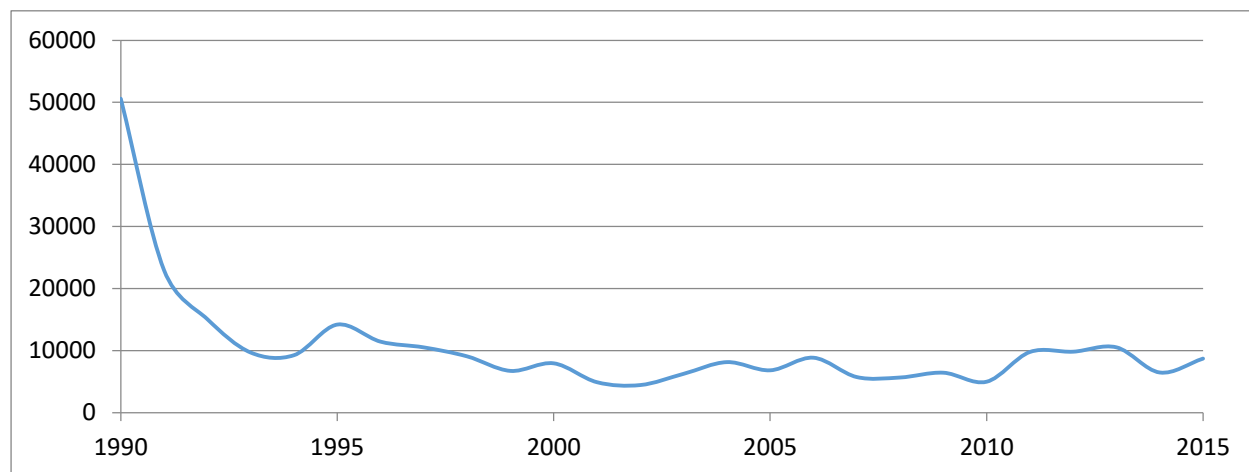


Fig. 6 – The evolution of permanent emigration - Source: National Institute of Statistics (INS)

The permanent emigration wave from Romania started to decrease steadily in 1991, after the last bulk of migrations of the Saxons/Germans from Transylvania and Banat in 1990-1992 and some Hungarians from the middle of the country (fig. 6). The German emigration continued at an average of approx. 20,000 per year between 1993 and 1998, and a much lower level after 1999, especially since the remaining population has diminished. Permanent migration continued to North America, particularly after 1999, although an identifiable pattern is very difficult, as it is spread throughout the US and Canada (Oana-Valentina Suci, 2010).

The number of women who left the country is more 20% higher than men –fig. 7. Thus, in 2012, 275 thousand women left Romania and the number of men was 229 thousand – fig. 8. This fact induced a *masculinization/ de-feminization* of the areas of the origin of immigrants.

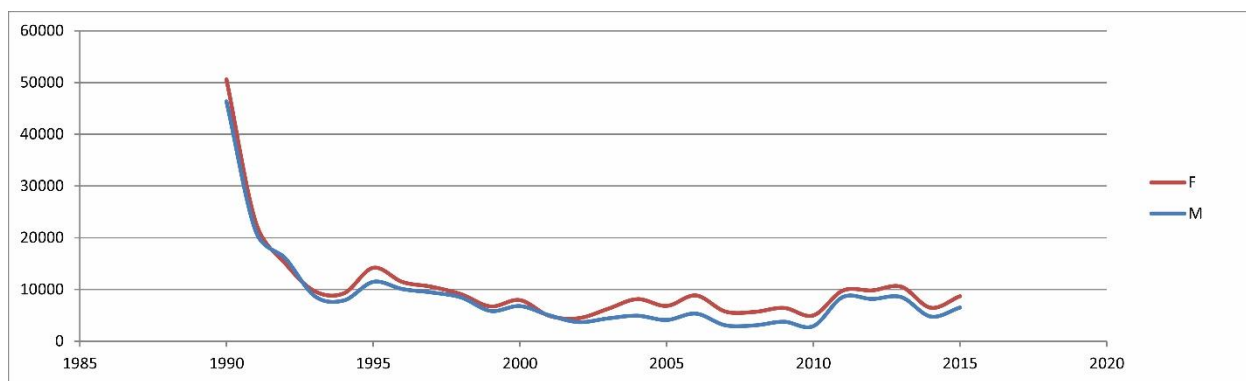


Fig. 7 – The evolution of permanent emigration (Gender structure) – Data source: National Institute of Statistics (INS)

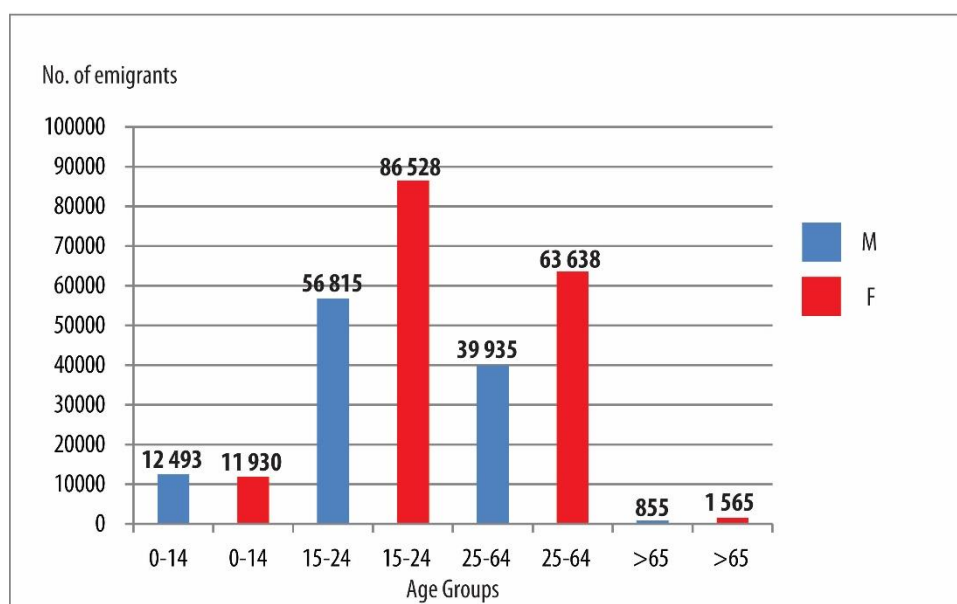


Fig. 8 - Emigrant flow in 2012 by age group and gender – Data source: National Institute of Statistics (INS)

The migration phenomenon continued after 1989, although the conditions that led to the previous migration waves had either disappeared or were improving. On the other hand, the new political and economic circumstances generated other social prospects that were translated into three types of migration: the first is represented by the continued emigration to Western countries, although this was no longer political, but mainly economical; the second is represented by immigration. Romania had begun to be attractive, at least in the last five years, to nationals from third party countries, and also to Westerners working in multinationals; last but not least, an initially unexpected phenomenon, one with the increased harsh employment in the urban areas, some people started to move back to the countryside, where they or their ancestors came from (Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010).

The paths of Romanians in search of work abroad (mainly in Europe, but also in Canada and the USA) tend to concentrate on a small number of countries, not in a linear way, but following the continuation of the search. These are the stages:

- *in the first stage, 1990 -1995, there were five main destinations with a share over 7% of the total departures: Israel, Turkey, Italy, Hungary and Germany (Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010; Radu Dimitriu, 2013);*
- *in the second stage, 1996-2002, Canada and Spain were added to the five countries from the first. The social innovation was expanding towards the Western limit of the European continent and towards America (Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010; Radu Dimitriu, 2013);*
- *in the third stage, 2002 to the 2008, one can easily notice a bulk of the temporary work emigrations. After having tested the life and work conditions at multiple destinations, Romanian labourers eventually decide and focus, in particular, on two Latin-language countries, Italy and Spain respectively. How much this decision has been influenced by the type of labour force demand, the ease to pass from Romanian to the language of the destination, and how much by the legislation and tolerance of the place of arrival, remains to be determined. It is highly probable though that the ease of passing the language barrier was a determinant in this choice (Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010, Radu Dimitriu, 2013);*
- *in the fourth stage, 2008 to the present Romanian high qualification labourers decide and focus, in particular to UK, Germany and France. and, also, starting with 2007, more and more students decide to begin their studies abroad because of better chances to find a job and a higher quality of life. (Dumitru Sandu, 2006; Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010; Radu Dimitriu, 2013; George Țurcanașu, 2016).*

2.2. Spatial distribution of emigrants

After 1990 we have two moments that we can make maps of emigration at communal level (2002 and 2011- census years).

Romanian emigration in the early years (1990-1995) of this period was dominated by migrations of the Germans from Transylvania and Banat in 1990-1992 and some Hungarians from the middle of the country. In Moldova, which will be at the end of this period the main reservoir of immigrants, there is a strong link, in the period 1990-1995, between religious communities of Catholic Church and Neo-Protestant churches and migration. The map of emigration at communal level (LAU2) in 2002 (census year) reveals this fact.



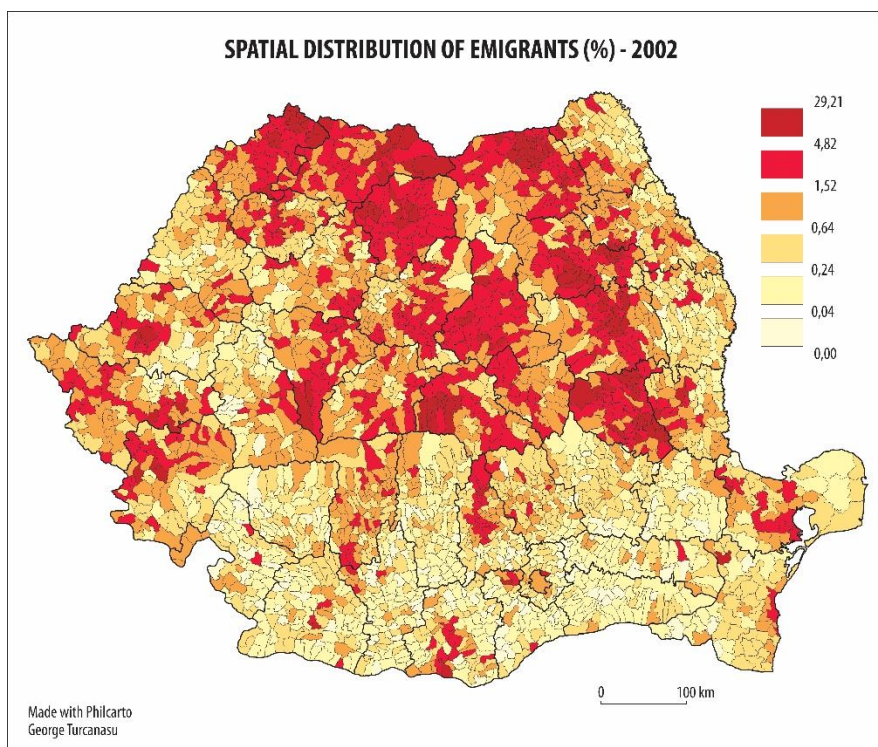


Fig 9 - Spatial distribution of emigrants (2002)

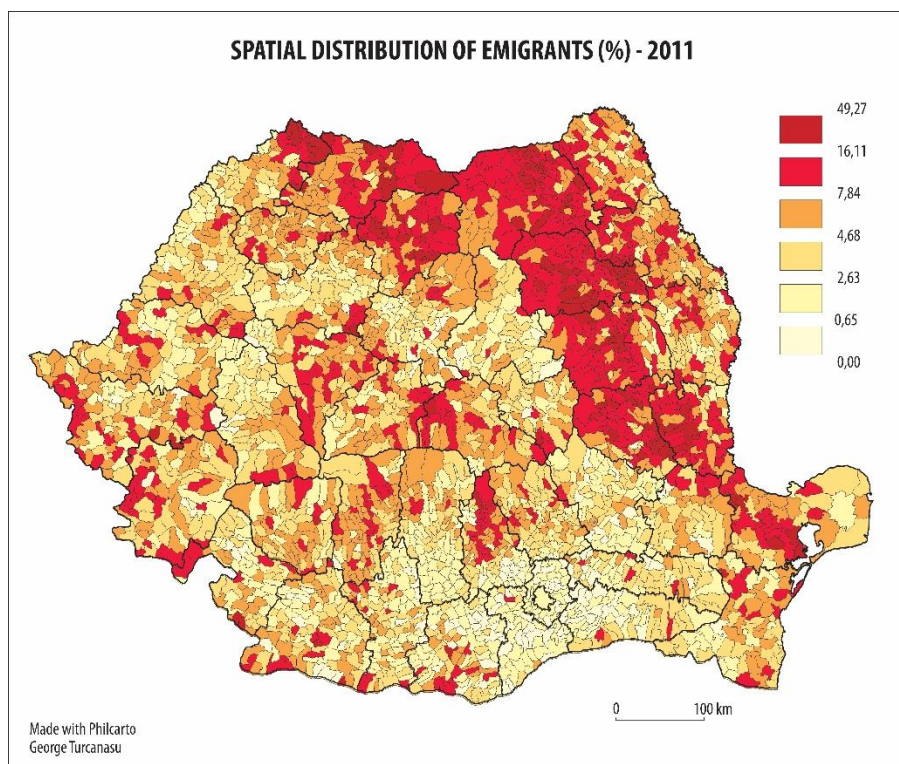


Fig 9 - Spatial distribution of emigrants (2011)

The map of emigration at communal level (in 2011) reveal another geometry of spatial distribution - a diagonal, who is oriented NW-SE, passing through Maramures, Northern Transylvania, Western Moldavia and the South of this region and the Northern obogea. Maximum values are localised in Western Moldavia.

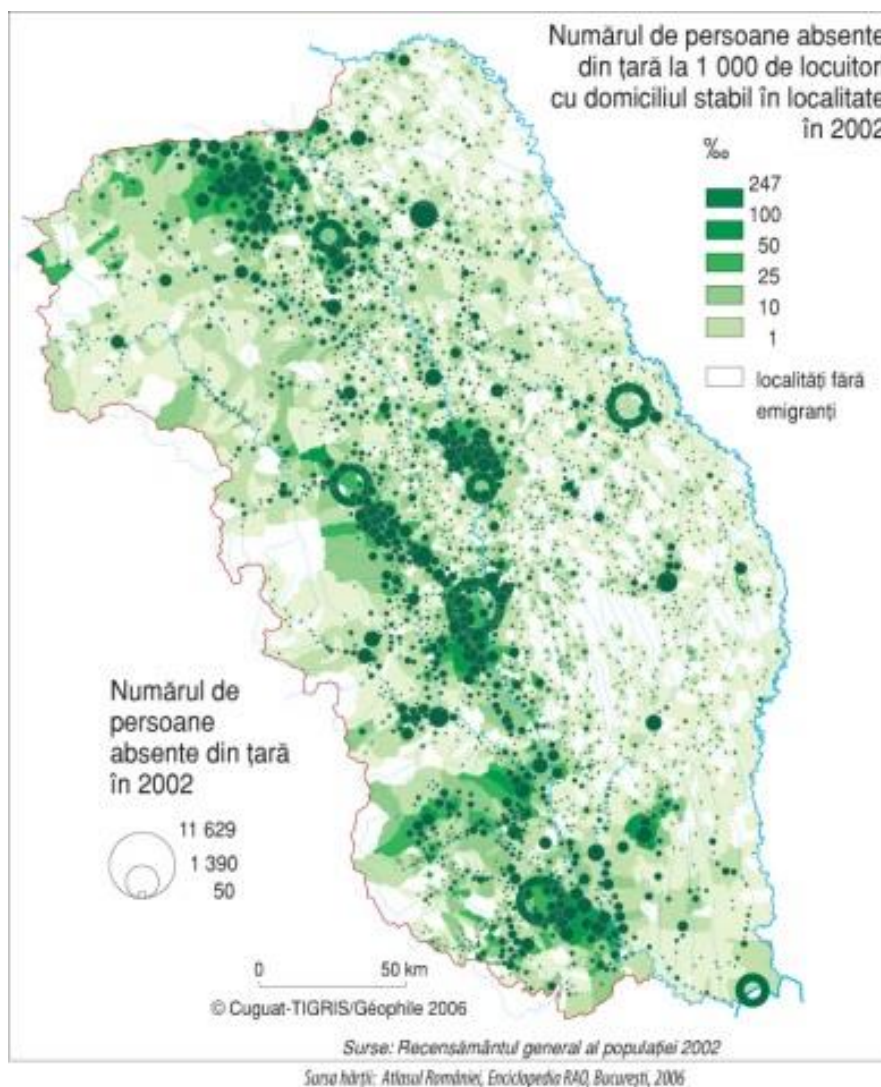


Fig 11 - Spatial distribution of emigrants in Moldova region (2002) – Source: Atlasul României, Enciclopedia RAO, 2006

A cartographic zoom on Moldova reveals the local structures of emigration, which are localized particularly in the western part of this region.

3. Some territorial consequences of migration

Over the past two decades, the lengthy and socially burdensome transition process from a centrally-planned economy to an efficiently functioning market-economy has enhanced a drive for many Romanians to seek employment in other parts of the world. The chaotic transition generated a lower number of available jobs in the Romanian labour market; as a result, over 2 million people oriented themselves, over time, towards the Western European labour market. The results are two-sided: on one hand, the results of the work abroad can be seen in the level of money transfers back home, which steadily increased from year to year, only to decrease in 2008, when the economic crisis started to show in the Western labour market as well (Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010).

On the other hand, the fact that active people, aged between 20 and 50, left the country has a negative effect on the Romanian economy. If we couple these effects with an aging population (Romania is subject to a negative demographic increase for the last 20 years), the result is translated through a need of labour immigration in the near future. This is another challenge that the Romanian authorities face i.e. coping with a potential outflow of labourers from third-party countries, developing policies for their integration in the labour market, considering the limited experience Romania has in this field. Also, as well as the economic migrants, Romanian students after 1990, had the opportunity to go and study abroad in Western Europe and in North America; many of them stayed in the respective countries after graduation, especially since the labour market in their field of activity was more developed in those countries than at home (Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010).

Also, as well as the economic migrants, Romanian students after 1990, had the opportunity to go and study abroad in Western Europe and in North America; many of them stayed in the respective countries after graduation, especially since the labour market in their field of activity was more developed in those countries than at home (Oana-Valentina Suciu, 2010).

A. Positive consequences

A.1. The internationalization of the Romanian economy

A.2. Balancing national economy - the remittances are estimated at 60 billion euro (1990-2015).

A.3. Maintaining a relatively low unemployment rate

B. Negative consequences

B.1. Altering the structure by age (aging)

The fact that young people, aged between 18 and 39, left the country has a negative effect on the Romanian demography - fig. 12. All demographic parameters suffered negative changes (birth rate, natural balance - which became profoundly



negative, the aggressive decrease of population – fig. 13 – or mean age population – fig. 14).

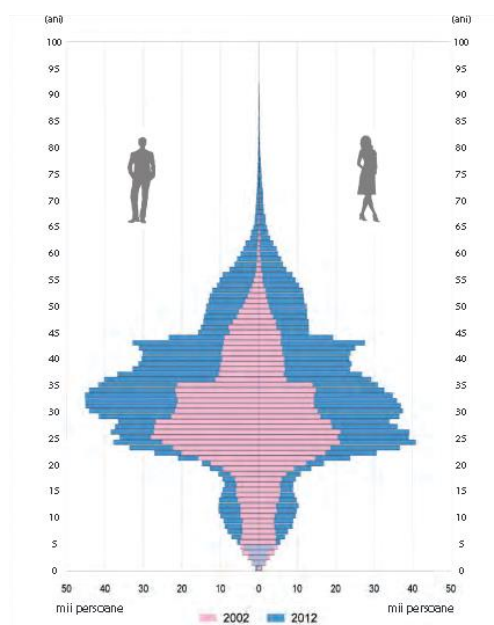


Fig. 12 – The pyramid by age group and gender of Romanian emigration

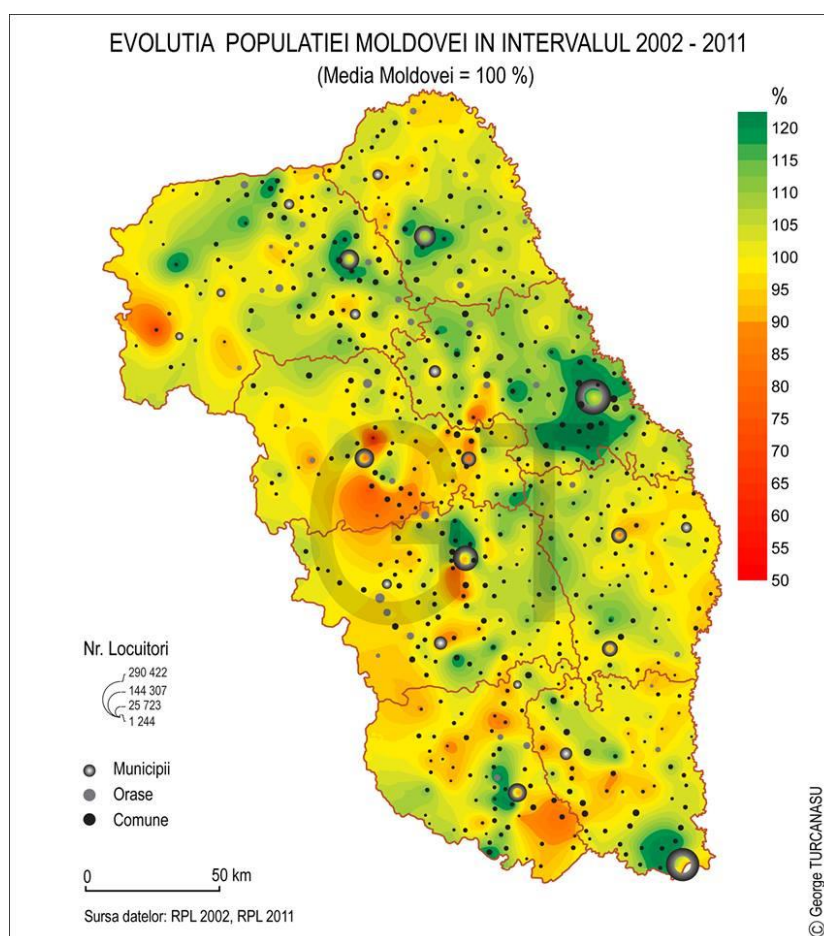


Fig. 13 - The evolution of the population of Moldavia (2002-2011) – Data source: Census 2002, 2011

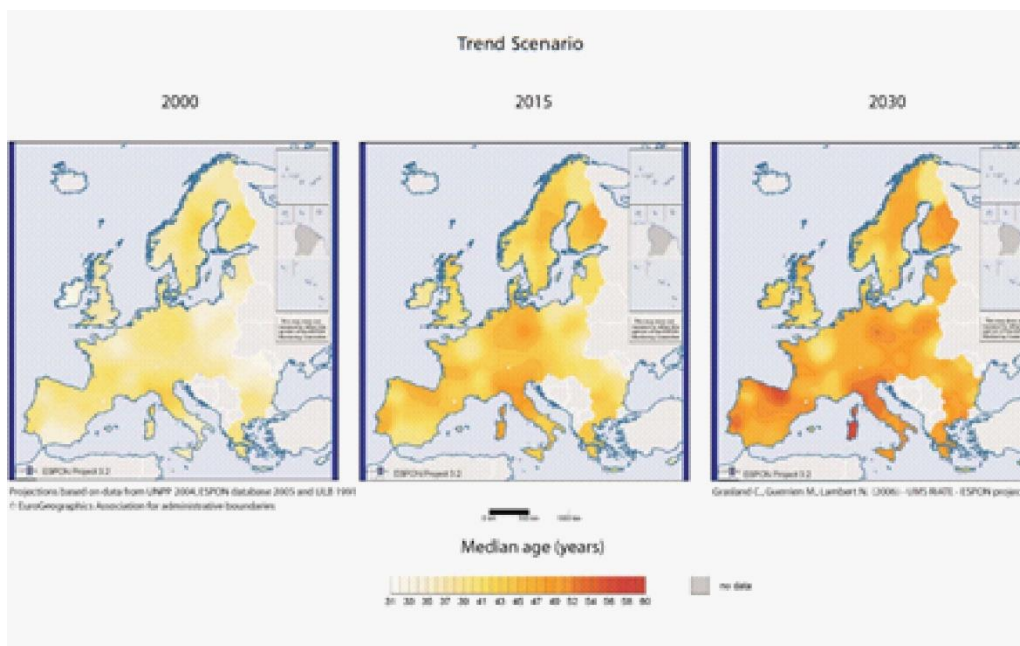


Fig. 14 – The evolution of median age (2000-2030) – Source: Scenarios on the territorial future of Europe ESPON Project 3.2, Bruxelles, 2007

Figure 3: Indicator for sustainable demographic development in the European regions (Situation in 2005, predictions for 2030)

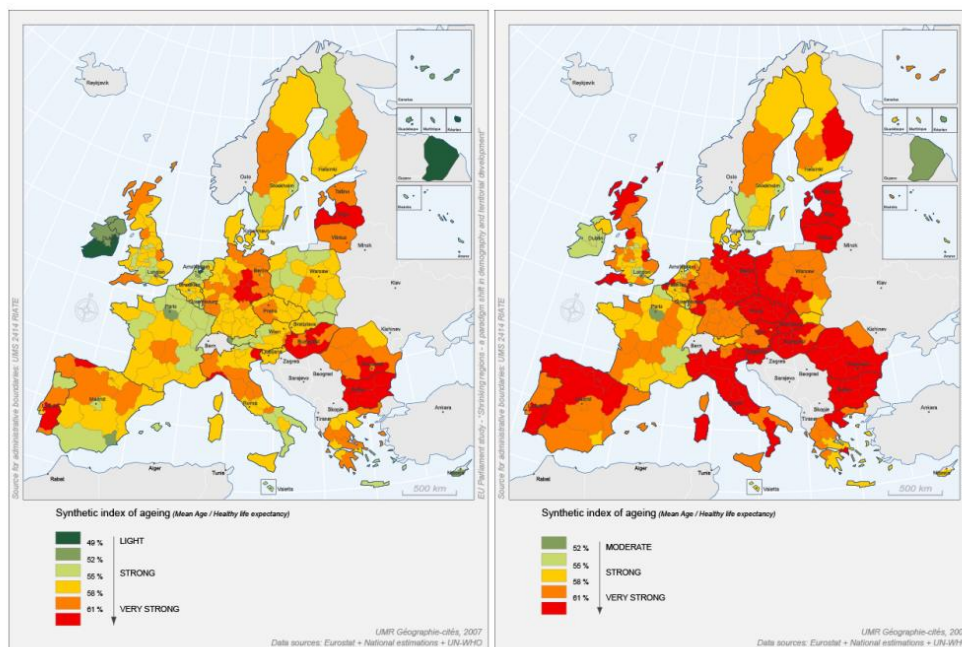


Fig. 15 - The indicator for sustainable demographic development in European regions (2005 and 2030)

Source: *Shrinking Regions: a Paradigm Shift in Demography and Territorial Development*, Brussels, European Parliament, 2008.

“The indicator for sustainable demographic development, which is defined as the ratio between the healthy life expectancy and the average age of the inhabitants, also constitutes an innovative index inasmuch as it is not based on predefined age groups (0-19, 20-64, 65 and +) that tend to fix people in specific roles (‘young’, ‘working’ and ‘elderly’).

This indicator expresses the ‘remaining life potential’ (the percentage of years lived in relation to the number of years left to live), which does not prejudice the economic or social uses that may be made of it by a particular society. A region with a high percentage of elderly persons can have a good sustainable demographic development index if its inhabitants are likely to live for a long time and in good health. Such a region then has a number of options for making the most of this potential. Conversely, a region that appears to be ‘youthful’ may have an unfavourable sustainable demographic development index if its inhabitants have a low healthy life expectancy and if their prospects are poor when they reach retirement age. Unlike the traditional ‘dependency ratio’, which only relates to the working life-span and the legal retirement age, the sustainable demographic development index takes account of longevity and the quality of the social facilities as a positive factor and not as a problem. The question of whether innovative demographic indicators can be introduced when reviewing regional policy clearly remains an open one.”

Source: *Shrinking Regions: a Paradigm Shift in Demography and Territorial Development*, Brussels, European Parliament, 2008.

B.2. Altering gender structure of the population – de-feminization / masculinization

The number of women who left the country is more 20% higher than men. Thus, in 2012, 275 thousand women left Romania and the number of men was 229 thousand. This fact induced a *masculinization/ de-feminization* of the areas of the origin of immigrants (Especially in eastern and southern Transylvania, Moldova and Dobrogea) – fig. 16 and fig. 17.



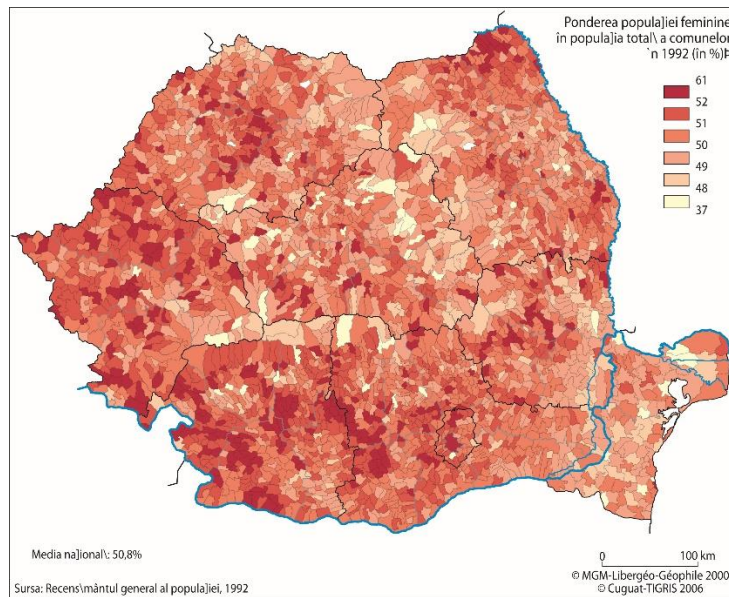


Fig. 16 - The percentage of female population (1992) - Source: *Atlasul României, Enciclopedia RAO, 2006*

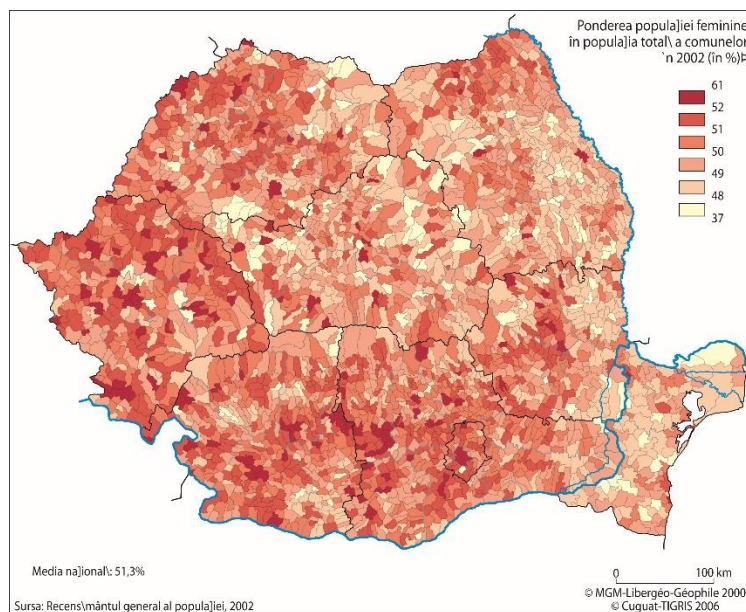


Fig. 17 - The percentage of female population (1992) - Source: *Atlasul României, Enciclopedia RAO, 2006*

B.3. The severe shortage of labour in some sectors:

- The health system
- The automotive industry
- In IT domaine - "It's more easier to do an expat to return to work in Romania, than to determine a graduate to remain working in the country"

More than 530 thousand people with higher education emigrated (ranked twelfth among Earth's countries) – fig. 2. Thousands of IT specialists were established in USA, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, France, oil specialists and geologists especially in Great Britain, Norway, in the Middle East and North Africa, 15 000 doctors emigrated in France (5000), Germany (4000), Great Britain etc.

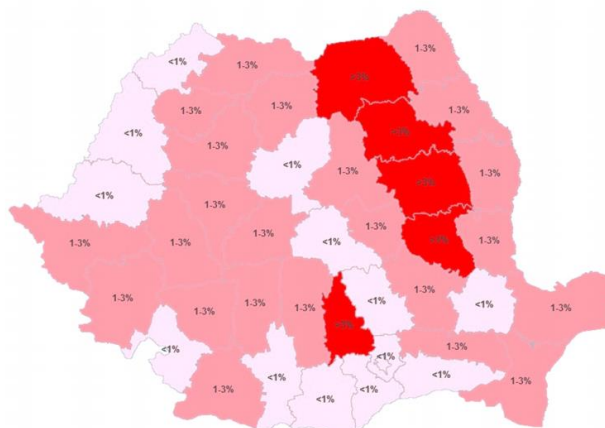
B.4. Social consequences

Children left behind by their migrant parents represent a social problem that needs special attention from the Romanian government, especially when parents, under the effects of poverty and unmet needs, do not realize the negative effects on children deprived of parental care.

Migration was seen as the only way to improve family standards of life and assure a better future for children. Yet, parents' migration for work conducted to changes and new negotiations with regards to statuses and roles of family members who remain in their home countries. The costs of these changes translate into both social and emotional effects. Migration leaves children vulnerable and deprived of parental care, of physical, psychological or emotional protection. A new family model developed in Romania, the transnational family. Children left behind by their migrant parents represent a social problem that needs special attention from the Romanian government, especially when parents, under the effects of poverty and unmet needs, do not realize the negative effects on children deprived of parental care. Of course, family has the freedom to decide on adopting a migratory behaviour and to separate the children from one or both parents. In a democratic society, the State cannot interfere in this decision. Yet, the State can and is obliged to formulate policies and intervention measures in order to protect the rights of vulnerable children left at home and to meet the needs of transnational families. Given the effects of parental migration on children's educational outcomes, it is important to support children left at home and their migrant parents by developing, among others, appropriated tools to enable remote parenting and transnational parent-school communication.



Figure 1. Percentage of Romanian children having at least one parent working abroad in the total population of children at county level, 2013



Source: data computed by authors based on national official statistics provided by the National Authority for the Protection of the Rights of the Child and Adoption and the National Institute of Statistics

Fig. 18 – Percentage of Romanian children having at least one parent working abroad in the total population of children at county level – 2013 - Source: Bertha Sănduleasa, Aniela Matei, 2015

According to official statistics published by the National Authority for the Protection of the Rights of the Child and Adoption, over 80 thousands children belonging to almost 60 thousands families are left in Romania by their parents who migrate for work to other countries. Most of these children are left in the care of their relatives and around 4% of these children are placed in the care of public authorities. According to official statistics, most children whose parents migrate for work in foreign countries remain in Romania in the care of one parent, while the other parent leaves to work in another country (around 60%). More than a quarter are left in their home country with their relatives, as both parents decide to migrate for work in foreign countries leaving their children completely deprived of parental care. The third category of children is the one raised by single parents who also leave their children with their relatives when migrate for work. There are certain counties from Romania where the percentage of children whose parents migrated for work is particularly high. Thus, in 2013, the counties with the highest percentages of children having at least one parent working abroad were mainly from the Nord-East development region (Neamt, Suceava, Bacau), as shown in Figure.. This is also the region with the highest poverty rate and the highest risk of social exclusion in Romania. According to the National Institute for Statistics, the poverty rate in the NE development region was 33.5%, while at risk of poverty or social exclusion rate (AROPE) was 48.9% in year 2013.

(Source: **Bertha Sănduleasa, Aniela Matei**, - 2015, *Effects of Parental Migration on Families and Children in Post-Communist Romania*

http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/files/numarul46_2015/18.%20Eff

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4. The portrait of Romanian emigrants

Data collected throughout the years by specialists in migration, especially the studies of the sociologist *Dumitru Sandu* (2006) and *Oana-Valentina Suci* (2010), provide us with the following portrait of Romanian emigrants:

- it is the young people, rather than the adults or the older people, who have gone to work;
- the number of women was higher than the number of men in the labour emigration;
- for the group of men aged 18 to 59, the most frequent departures have been from the rural area.
- for women, the migration residential pattern is rather different: the temporary emigration is stronger for young women aged 18 to 29 from rural areas, than women of the same age group, in urban areas; on the other hand, the temporary emigration is stronger for women aged 30 to 59 from urban areas compared to those from rural ones.

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