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**Romania – Source Country
and Transit Country for
International Migration**

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Romania – Source Country and Transit Country for International Migration

By Ovidiu Laurian SIMINA *

Abstract:

Romania is a medium size country located in the South Eastern Europe, with twenty two million inhabitants. Romania is a source country because many Romanians have chosen to leave Romania (both legally and illegally) for living in another country. Most of them emigrated in Western Europe and Canada. The main cause is economic. In Romania unemployment is growing up quickly, the real wages are low and prices, continuously rising as influenced by US dollar and Euro increases (but the wages are in local currency). Some statistics show that about 2/3 of the Romanians are poor. Romanian workers are underpaid when compared to similar workers in Western Europe. With the money obtained by working hard abroad, everyone could live very well in Romania. The paper studies the migration of Romanians, comparing the periods before and after 1st January 2002.

Romania was at the same time a transit country for immigrants (coming from Asia, Middle East or Turkey), who arrived here trying to cross illegally the border for going to the European Union space. The authorities made efforts to change the situation. Romania is under pressure from the EU to secure its border, which has made the issue one of the priorities to be adopted if Romania is to join by 2007 as it hopes. After 1st January the figures show that the main migration routes changed. Perhaps in the years to come Hungary will become a country of European Union and the border between Hungary and Romania will be an external frontier. Then Romania will become a destination country, not only a transit and host country, and more and more immigrants will come here trying to cross the border.

Keywords: Romania, International migration, Labour migration, Immigration and Emigration

JEF classification: J 11, J 18, J 61, J 82

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Romania – Source Country and Transit Country for International Migration

I. INTRODUCTION

Romania is a medium size country located in that part of the continent named “Eastern Europe”. Romania is one of the countries founded after 1945 in the soviet influence sphere, in Eastern part of the Iron Curtain. After 1990 the political studies included Romania between the developing countries that try to “enter Europe”, by “Europe” means only the region of the countries belonging to European Union. Even if, geographic speaking, the European continent is very largely spread, up to the Ural Mountains, Romania makes all the best to surpass the transition to the market economy and to be accepted as belonging to Europe.

Until the Second World War, Romania was a country involved both in the regional policy and in the economic development of this part of Europe. The Romanian monarchy was related to all the European monarchies. A country with a very strong agriculture, Romania was known as “the granary of the Europe”, its agriculture provided for the whole Western Europe. The local currency, the gold-leu, was stronger than the US dollar. After the Second World War, Romania entered the communist URSS area, belonging to the Warsaw Treaty. Romania was the first country that got rid of the soviet troops (1958). After 1968, Ceaușescu made Romania the first country in communist part of the Iron Curtain with diplomatic and commercial relationship with Western Europe. The Govern focused on the industrial development and the research, building big industrial colossuses, trying to create integrated production systems (to remove the necessity of the imports). The wrong management led to economical and social crisis. The crisis became severe in the eighties, because the Govern made efforts to give all the loans back to the world economic institution, trying to obtain “total economic independence”. The deep social implication of these efforts led to the dissatisfaction of the people, reaching its highest point in the social movement at the end of the year 1989, which was named Romanian Revolution or “the first live revolution”, broadcasted by all television channels in the world. If during the communist era Romania was a closed country from the public news point of view (only the official information were available), after December 1989 the world heard a lot of things about Romania. And not all of them real! Before 1989 the Europeans knew two things: Dracula, the Bram Stoker’s vampire, and Nadia Comăneci, the first “10 gymnast-girl”. After 1989, Europe learned something more: Ceaușescu, the dictator, Gică Hagi, the great football player, and the Romanian gypsies.

If until 1990 the occidental countries had the gates wide open for the Romanians who escaped illegal over the close borders, giving them politic asylum, starting with 1990 Europe looked at us a little bit afraid. The Romanians travelled free, arriving in all the corners of the world, looking for a safe place to live better. Romanians arrived in Europe tried to find a job, even legally or illegally, likewise to all the people of Eastern Europe who chose to live in Western Europe. Romanians are not some angels, but are not worse than the Serbians, the Russians or the Bulgarians. People say that Romanians are working more and better if they are paid well. But... The Romanian gypsies¹ were the first Romanians who travelled abroad, arriving farthest. For travel, even in 1990, it was

¹ In their language, the gypsies are named **Romanes** or **Rom**, pl. **Roms**. It’s sound close to **Romanians** or **Români**. But gypsies are in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Slovenia and Czech Republic or in France and Spain too... The word for gypsy in Romanian is “**TIGAN**”. The first three letters for Romania in our passports were ROM. The Romanian Authorities changed last year this letters with ROU from **Roumanie**, in French.

needed to have a lot of money, and for more of the gypsies the money was not a problem, because in the communist period they were involved in the underground economy too. If in communist Romania the gypsies were put in prison when they refused to work, in the free Europe nobody asked them anything and they founded a free market for their illegal activities: frauds, thefts or larcenies, beggary and other small street offences which made the public opinion revolt. From this point to the moment when to travel in Europe Romanians needed visa, it was only a little step. Far away the idea that I'm a racist, but most of the Europeans met only gypsy origin Romanians as offenders! Let's see the opinion of a foreigner, Alain Reyniers² from University of Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: "One element of the third wave of Gypsy migration to the West which attracted a great deal of attention from the media was the massive outflow of Roms from Romania, which began as a slow trickle immediately following the fall of the Iron Curtain. Looking at the dates of arrival in France of Gypsies refugees from Romania, it can be seen that many arrived in 1981 and 1982, and more in 1987 and 1988. But these arrivals attracted no attention. The mass migration of Gypsies truly increased only in 1990. Gypsies mingled with the mainstream of Romanian refugees flooding to the West. In May 1990 some 700 Romanian refugees, most of them Gypsies, were housed in barracks in East Berlin, and another 2000, again mostly Gypsies, camped around the railway station at Dresden. In July, 5750 Romanians applied for asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany. In a reception centre in Lebach, in the Saar, 1400 Gypsies were housed. In August, several hundreds of Romanians (among them Gypsies from Transylvania) were halted at the Czechoslovak-German border. Czechoslovakia was the next country to restrict the entry control and expelled some would-be refugees. Austria strengthened its frontier police, introduced a visa requirement for tourists from Romania and Turkey and expelled 7000 asylum seekers whose application had been refused."

In Romania there is a very well known story about some Romanian gypsies who ate the imperial swans from Vienna. Who knows if the story is not true?

II. ROMANIA, SOURCE COUNTRY FOR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Generally speaking, people have a poor knowledge of Romania and, unfortunately, most of the knowledge is usually about something we cannot be proud of. Romania has an area of 237,500 sq km and the borders are 3149.9 km. The country's neighbours are Ukraine to North and East 531 km, Bulgaria to South 608 km, Moldavia Republic to East 450 km, Hungary to West 443 km, Yugoslavia to South-West 476 km and Black Sea to South-East 247.4 km (the best neighbour ever). The Danube River is natural border for 759 km. We are about twenty-two million inhabitants³. The official language is Romanian, a Romanic language related to Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese. The local currency is the **leu** (LEUL)⁴. The capital of the country is Bucharest (Bucureşti) and the country is divided in 42 counties (judeţe).

Romania is a source country for international migration because many Romanians have chosen to leave Romania (both legally and illegally) for living or working in another country. Most of them in Western Europe and Canada. Starting with 1990, many Romanians left Romania, most of them definitively.

² Reyniers (1995), page 12

³ As per statistical data of March 2002 Population Census, Romania has 21,698,181 inhabitants. Hungarian origin: 6.6%, Rom origin: 2.5% and German origin: 0.3%. Source: National Institute for Statistics (NIS), August 2002

⁴ Exchange rates: 1 EUR = 32500 ROL, 01.08.2002. Source: National Bank of Romania

The right to migration is one of the innate rights of human being. This right has been articulated both in international law, especially in Common Declaration Of Human Rights, international Pacts of Civil and Political Rights, Geneva Conventions of 28 July 1951 and Official Record of 31 January 1967 concerning the status of refugees, the Card of Basic European Union Regulations (articles 18, 45.2) and the Romanian law. Even the Apostolic See proclaims itself in the widely understood right to migrate. The Vatican is of the opinion that legal protection of the right to migrate should also comprise all forms of voluntary migration. "Personal human rights comprise also the fact that any individual can migrate to this country where he hopes to provide for needs of his and his family is the easiest possible way. And that is why it is a duty of these being in national authority in the state to receive the in-coming foreigners and to comply with the migrants" said the Pope John XXII in his encyclical *Pacem in terris*. Pope John Paul II said in his *Laborem exercens* that any human being has the right to leave the country of his origin in search for opportunities of living in another country, too.

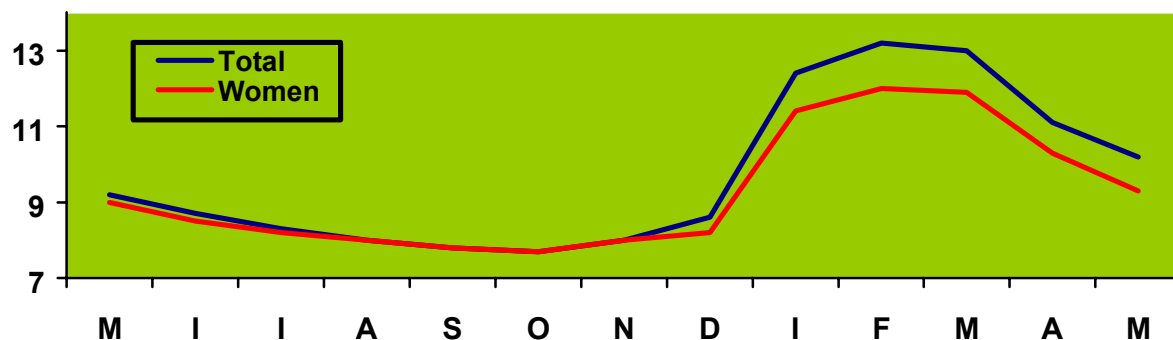
a) The reasons of migration

- Work and money

The main cause is economic. In Romania unemployment is growing up quickly. Unemployment rate was 10,5% in December 2000 and was 8.6% in December 2001. Unemployment rate was 10.2% in May 2002 and was 11.1% in April 2002, proportional to total active population at 01.01.2002, according to National Institute for Statistics (NIS). **Fig.1.** shows the unemployment rate between May 2001 and May 2002. The occidental statistics show that about 2/3 of the Romanians are poor. Another statistics said that population below poverty line was 44.5%⁵. At the same time a lot of money was lost due to corruption in the bank system and fraud. In 1999 Romania had 9.9 million labour force (estimative). Labour force by occupation was: agriculture 40%, industry 25% and services 35% (1998). The real wages are low and prices, continuously rising as influenced by US dollar and Euro increases (but the wages are in local currency). From the beginning of this year, the prices increased by 9.8%. Average growth of the prices during July was 0.5%, according to NIS, quoted by "Adevarul" Newspaper no. 3775/13.08.2002. This was the second month in 2002 when the average inflation rate was under 1%. Gross average wage was in 2001: 4282622 lei (approx. 150 Euro), net average wage was: 3053598 lei (approx. 95 Euro). Romanian workers are underpaid when compared to similar workers in Western Europe. I have a very good example: my cousin, Marius, graduated a strong computer engineer school in Timisoara, west of Romania. He found a good job. It was a German-Romanian Company that paid for his work the equivalent of 300 DM (a lot of money for Romania, five years ago). His German fellow workers obtained at the same time, for the same work, about 3000 DM, but in Germany... Now, my cousin is living in Toronto, Canada, with his wife. He has his own house and he changed his second car, because he is very well paid. He worked hard but he obtained all he wished in a very short time. With the money obtained by working hard abroad, everyone could live very well in Romania. Many Romanians are working abroad legally for a short period (for example three months in Germany, as seasonal worker) and with the money obtained they live with their whole families for the rest of the year. And they will go to work again in Germany the following year, if possible, but only legally (because they need a safe way to earn money abroad).

⁵ Year 2000 estimative, according to <http://cia.gov/cia/publications>

Fig. 1. Unemployment rate between May 2001 – May 2002, proportional to total active population at 01.01.2001



%	2001								2002				
	M	I	I	A	S	O	N	D	I	F	M	A	M
Total	9,2	8,7	8,3	8,0	7,8	7,7	8,0	8,6	12,4	13,2	13,0	11,1	10,2
Women	9,0	8,5	8,2	8,0	7,8	7,7	8,0	8,2	11,4	12,0	11,9	10,3	9,3

The total registered unemployed:

Unemployment rate was 10,5% in December 2000 and was 8,6% in December 2001. Unemployment rate was 10,2% in May 2002 and was 11,1% in April 2002, proportional to total active population at 01.01.2002.

Source: National Institute of Statistics, August 2002

- Education and Study

Another important reason for migration is for study. Professor Borjas recently⁶ said that, for example, in 1971, the US State Department issued only 65,000 student visas, but by 2000, 315,000 such visas were issued, and there may now be as many as 1 million foreign students in the U.S. Between 1971 and 1991, just over 3 million persons received student visas, and 393,000 of them were able to eventually adjust their immigration status and obtain a “green card”, or permanent-residence visa. Foreign students receive in U.S.A. 35% of the doctorates awarded in the physical sciences, and 49% of those in engineering. Studying abroad is a present issue: who needs more foreign students? Romania is involved in student migration too. A lot of Romanian students are trying to find a scholarship to go to study abroad, because foreign degree is very important nowadays. Romania has a strong educational system, but Romanian degrees are not everywhere accepted. More foreigners come in Romania to study pharmaceuticals and medicine, but if a Romanian doctor would like to practice in Germany, for example, he must pass some exams and obtain equivalence of his medicine degree by the high medical authority. With a foreign degree is possible to obtain a better salary, even in Romania. More of them are applying for an enrolment in an educational institution by themselves, trying to find financial support after that. If the students are not able to support themselves, they are searching for a job. Most of the students who succeeded in finishing a University or a College abroad will try to remain there to earn some money. With the degree it is possible to obtain more money than without it here, in Romania, but it is not obligatory! I heard about some strange situations: some Romanian institutions do not accept the foreign degrees, maybe as retort measure. I was ERASMUS student in France for six months. Two fellows told me that some Universities from Bucharest did not accept the classes attended in a foreign

⁶ Borjas (2002), page 38

University, even if to be an “ERASMUS Student” means to obtain transferable credits ECTS (ECTS – European Credits Transferable System) and EU to pay some money for the students’ efforts. After finishing ERASMUS Scholarship some students are coming back in the foreign University to obtain the degree that will help them very much in their future career. A girl, Oana, from Iasi, North-East Romania, told me that she chose to come in Lille, France, because she obtained a grant from World Bank, for a master in economics. After that, her professors offered her a scholarship to continue the studies. She doesn’t like very much to study for a doctoral degree, but her monthly income is now about 1000 Euros, and she has only to study and nothing else. Before, she was economist in public administration and her budget was very low. She prefers now to live in an alien world but to live better, for at least another three years. Another girl, Raluca, from Giurgiu, South of Bucharest, is physicist. She is working with lasers and she is studying optics. She had a research grant in Clermond-Ferand, France, for a year, and after that she applied by herself for a doctoral programme in Lille. Lille University is known for the research team in physics. She worked before in the main Romanian physics institute near Bucharest, at Magurele, but the research team disappointed her: her wage was very low, there was no money for collective or individual research projects, there was no money for attending the international conferences, there were no possibilities for career development or for promotion, and her bosses were some old men, former famous researchers, who did nothing, no more experiments and projects, but they earned a lot of money for nothing. There, in Lille, she is using some sophisticated instruments, which she never met before, she is studying with her co-ordinator professor a new experiment each day, and the first conference for Raluca was in Sankt Petersburg, Russia, after five months of her scholarship. Her grant is supported by European Union; her monthly income is about 1500 Euro. I asked her if she would return to Romania: she answered to me she found a nice French boy, who is her fellow in the laboratory, and she noticed they had a common language and a lot of personal experiences to share...

Romania is one of the smartest countries, with respect to its intellectuals, recognized with best professionally trained skills. Our students win every year a lot of prizes at international contests and our inventors take, at each edition, the greatest awards at the main Invention Fairs. Some weeks ago, with the occasion of the latest Olympic Mathematics Contest, Romania won the 8th place among 82 countries. Romanian Alina Caraiani was the sole girl winner of a Gold Medal. “Romania lost another two valuated people,” said the Immigration Officer of US Immigration Authority when Corina and Mihai Tarnita entered US. Corina Tarnita won all the first prizes at the Olympic Mathematics Contests for some year. Now she was enrolled as student of Art and Science Faculty of Harvard College, one of the most famous American University. Her husband, Mihai, a former winner of a lot of international contests in informatics, was accepted as student at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Both of them graduated The National College “Carol I” Craiova (Southern Romania). They obtained financial support (40,000 US dollars annual) and an apartment, for study in USA. Some years ago, when Corina was a pupil in the first year of her High School, she got as a prize for winning the 1st Prize of National Contest of Mathematics: 50,000 lei (approximately 5 US dollars at that time) and two pairs of man socks⁷... At the last edition of Geneva Invention Fair, Romanian inventors won 15 Gold Medals, 31 Silver Medals and 21 Bronze Medals. But nobody has money to use the invents. The authorities succeeded in organizing some fairs only. After years of intellectual work, nobody is interested in the results of the inventor. And to go abroad with the invention to earn money with it remains the future solution for inventor. Our students who are studying abroad obtain each time very good results. One of my classmates from High School of European Comparative Studies of University of the West Timisoara, who earned last year the same ERASMUS scholarship like me, is now one of the best student of Université des Sciences et Technologies de Lille, France. In Lille Academic Centrum there are each year only two master programs in Economics: Diplôme d’Etudes Approfondies (DEA). This year he attended the

⁷ **Olimpicii olteni aleg “drumul străinătății”**, Evenimentul Zilei, Bucharest, no. 3116/26.08.2002

classes of the best DEA, Espace Européen Economique et Social. Mihai, my former classmate, graduated the master program first, and his professor offered him a grant to start a doctoral program. He told me he refused the money of the university because he obtained a scholarship from a major French institution; he acquired for the following three years 1,100 Euro monthly (the grant from the university was 950 Euro monthly). Mihai's girl friend, Cosmina, graduated the third university years in economics in Lille, too. She was the 6th among 140 students, but she was for the first time abroad and the exams were different in France than in Romania. At the second DEA in Lille, the best student was another Romanian, Mariana, a girl from Galați, Eastern Romania. As a joke, Mariana said that maybe the following years the university would refuse all the applications of Romanians for such DEA...

The Government tries to help the intellectuals with legislative measures. The Ministry of Education and Research promoted the decree OG 14/24.01.2002 concerning to set up the scientific and technologic park in order to call the intellectuals, researchers and scientific companies to work together, using the most updated technologies. The idea is very good, but there are not many Romanian or international companies interested in spending money with Romanian research. That means other intellectuals will go to work in richer countries. Romania needs its intellectuals and best-prepared specialists. But until the authorities get the money for development, most of the young and smart specialists would work for someone else and for foreign money. Meantime, more foreign students would come to study medicine in Romania.

- Resettlement. Refugees and asylum seekers

Some Romanians chose to move to another country, to live there definitively. More of them chose resettlement for economic reasons: they found a job and the opportunity to obtain a permanent resident permit or the country's citizenship. Germany was the most important destination for resettlement purposes. Some Romanians are working permanently or temporary at major firms or international institution abroad, and the residence in another country was obligatory. Another group of Romanians who chose to live abroad was the group of ethnic origin Romanians. The most of German ethnic Romanians living in Romania before 1990 are living in Germany now. Germany offered them the right to move there legally, likewise to other German ethnics originated from the former URSS, Hungary or Poland. Some Hungarian ethnics moved to Hungary, because this country had better living conditions and with a Hungarian passport everyone could travel free all over the world. Israel is a developed country and the authorities' efforts to increase the number of population made them attract all the Jewish origin citizens from all over the world, to move to Israel. Jewish ethnics Romanians were not an exception. Other categories of citizens who moved to another country were the Romanians married with foreigners and the persons accepted for family reunification.

Since 1990 there are no reasons for Romanians for asking asylum for the political, ethnical or religious reasons. But many citizens obtained the asylum recognition in Western Europe (some occidental statistics show 1996 as final year of repression in Romania). In 1990 in Italy, Romanians were the second great ethnical group of asylum seekers. Between 3376 asylum seekers, 1344 were Albanians and 903 Romanians (about 200 persons arrived in Italy with occasion of Italy Football World Championship; after the last match they remember they were prosecuted as minorities during the events in Bucharest in June 1990 and demanded recognition of the political asylum status). In 1991 Romania was second source country for asylum seekers again, with 2089 applicants (but 17.758 Albanians). Italian asylum authorities recorded another 930 Romanians in 1992, 546 in 1993 (the main ethnic group!), 677 in 1994 and only 409 in 1995. Of course, not all the asylum seekers obtained the recognition of the status: 100% of the requests were denied in 1994 and only one

person from 409 obtained the asylum status in Italy in 1995!⁸ Relating to the applications of the refugee status lodged by the Romania citizens in Poland in the years 1995 – 2001, the figures⁹ present as follows:

Number of asylum seeker applications in Poland. Country of origin: Romania

1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Until June 2002
11	13	26	12	211	903	266	25
Trend	↗	↗	↘	↗	↗	↘	↘

The refugee status was granted in the years 1995 – 2001 to 9 persons from Romania. Until June 2002, 25 new applications for refugee status have been already lodged in Warsaw. Nowadays, Romania is no more a source country for the asylum status. Between 1900 and 2000, many Romanians requested the recognition of asylum status in Germany, but the percent of Romanians in the total number of asylum seekers decreased continuously. If in 1900, 35,545 Romanian application were lodged, 18.5% of total applications, in 2000 only 174 Romanians applied, that means 0.2%¹⁰. The decrease of the number of applications lodged by the Romanian citizens in the year 1990-2000 is presented as follows:

The number of applications lodged by Romanian citizens at asylum authorities

1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
35,345 18.3%	40,504 15.8%	103,787 23.7%	73,717 22.9%	9,581 7.5%	3,522 2.8%	1,395 1.2%	794 0.8%	341 0.3%	222 0.2%	174 0.2%
Trend	↘	↗	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘

The general statistics show that for 2001 and 2002 Romania was only a receiving country for asylum seekers (but Romania experienced a relatively significant decrease in the number of monthly applications lodged, - 48% in November 2001¹¹). Our conclusion: there are no real reasons for Romanians to demand recognition of the refugee status; the main reason is the economic one, again.

b) Legal migration

Starting with 1990, Romanians travelled abroad free. Romanian's authorities point of view, if the Romanian citizens comply the conditions to have a passport, they could travel legally abroad. Even when the Western countries requested to hold a visa to visit them, Romanians could exit free (only when the Romanians travelled by plane and the destination of the plane was in a country requiring visa, the traveller was not allowed to take the plane). Until 1st January 2002, if the travellers declare tourism in a country non-requiring visa, as travel purpose, and he comply the border formalities, the border police must let him go. If the travel purpose was to visit Schengen states, for example, or another purpose, the travellers must comply the formalities: to hold requested visa, insurance, invitation from a foreign citizen, return ticket, and so on. After 1st January 2002 for tourism

⁸ Dr. Giovanni Ferrari, *Rifugiati in Italia, Excursus storico-statistico dal 1945 al 1995*, UNHCR Italian Delegation, Rome, obtained by the kindness of Mr. Jurgen Humburg, UNHCR Italy, August 2002

⁹ Statistical data provided by UNHCR Poland, Warsaw, August 2002. Mr. Piotr Klosowski, the intern in UNHCR, prepared the data included in the material obtained by the kindness of Mr. Wojciech Trojan, Head of UNHCR Poland

¹⁰ The Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Issues (2001), page 105-106, Table 26

¹¹ UNHCR (2001)

purposes visas were not requested by Schengen states any more. The states require one condition only: do not travel more than 180 days each semester.

- Work seekers

The Romanian employed of foreign companies abroad and international clerks were the luckiest persons: they could work abroad without any problem, either temporary or with permanent status. To find a legal work place abroad, a Romanian worker has to choose between three ways: to look for an employer by himself, to search the Internet database with labour demands or to try to be selected by the national authority who signed some inter-governmental agreements for labour exchange. To look for an offer by oneself is very hard, but is possible, especially if you know someone working abroad. The conditions of working could be not safe. The employer knows that you're looking for all kind of jobs and he will hire you, even with a legal contract, but nobody could guarantee you that he keeps his promise, if you don't like the condition, you are free to go. Using the Internet, the labour recruitment firms will charge you a commission for helping to find a job. The contracts will be legal, but the condition of labour could be less advantageous than which are for national workers. The main advantage of inter-governmental agreements is the fact that the worker will have a safe work place and the conditions are the same for the national or alien worker, guaranteed by the state.

Canada is the new Promised Land for Romanian workers. Especially for high schools graduated and computer engineers. The professionals requested are: informatics and electronic system specialists, chemistry and biochemistry engineers, civil construction, electronics, geology, astronomy, oil refining, metallurgy, mechanics, mining, physic, navigation and silviculturists and cooks. Canada has a free policy for immigrants if they prove abilities in the countries economic field of interest. The authorities help the immigrants to settle there.

The salaries offered by the German employers vary between 1,000 and 3,000 Euro. The seasonal workers and well-prepared informatics engineers are approved to enter Germany periodically. An important reason to work in Germany is the powerful Romanian community. Approximately, there live legally in Germany about 650,000 "Sași" (Saxons minorities living in Transylvania) and "Şfabi" (German ethnics from Western Romania), and another 130,000 Romanian ethnics. The Romanian communities are concentrated close to Munich (Bavaria) and in Eastern former RFG lands. Approximately 70,000 Romanians are working illegally in Germany¹². The work "in black" is a solution for desperate and irresponsible people only. The risks are very high, either for worker and employer. The safest way is the legal one. In order to avoid illegal employment, there were signed bilateral agreements between Romanian and German Governments, concerning the exchange of the labour between the countries. The first agreement is concerning the seasonal workers, who are allowed to work for three months. The second agreement is concerning "the guest workers"; the contracts could be signed for 18 months. The members of Labour Intermediation Centrum of German Labour Ministry come in Romania to select the candidates, depending on the labour demand on German labour market. The knowledge of German language is very well evaluated because all the future workers must speak German well. The figures concerning the bilateral conventions show that, during 2001, more than 16,500 seasonal workers and 500 "guest workers" worked in Germany and for 2002 were expected to come over 22,000. The professions requested are waiter, cooker, medical social worker, constructor and economist. Germany needs 450,000 information technology specialists too. The project of the authorities is to hire up to 250,000 foreign IT specialists until 2005 (the expected wage for each specialist was 100,00 DM by year). The Government granted 10,000 "green cards" in 2001, 800 work permits for Romanians among them.

¹² I. Morovan, S. Onică, **Porțile Germaniei sunt deschise pentru români**, Capital, Bucharest, no. 8, February 21, 2002

Between 1st August 200 and 8th June 2001, 681 IT specialists arrived legally in Germany, 96 women among them (Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Germany, 2001). Another agreement is for the Romanian firms that signed contracts with German firms to send workers, especially in construction field. It's about 4,000 workers and another 1,000 German ethnics workers. The gross wage for this kind of workers is around 9.8 Euro for one hour.

In Israel more than 30,000 Romanians workers are working, especially in construction. There were many cases there when the employers offered bad living conditions. All the workers who enter Israel for work hold visa and work permit. More of them overstay the visa and choose to work "in black", but the authorities take no measures; only political speeches said that illegal immigrants are not allowed and would be expelled. Reality is that Israel needs foreign workers, even if they are illegal immigrants. And unofficially, they help the immigrants stay there illegally.

There are bilateral agreements for labour exchange with Hungary, Swiss, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain. Japan, Italy, Greece and England are not interested in signing the agreements. For Australia the most requested professions are informatics specialists, web-designers and medical social workers. New Zealand is the only country which accepts all Romanian degrees. For example, if I would like to emigrate, I would be able to use my low degree only in this country, without any problem (I must prove I have some experience and I speak English well). The profession most requested is shepherd there¹³. For USA, "Visa Lottery" is the main chance to emigrate for luckiest Romanians.

- The students

Romanian students hold visa when they enter in the destination country with study purposes. They like to study legally. Legal status helps them to enrol for the universities. They have very much to gain if they are legally. For example, in France, the students holding "Carte de Séjour" (if they are enrolled for more than three months, they have insurance and could prove the financial support) would get some money back from the authorities: the CAF (Caisse de Allocation Familiales) would refund part of the rent of the house, even if the students live in the university campus. Mihai, my former classmate, is paying 300 Euro monthly for his little apartment and the CAF is refunding 170 Euro each month. The students make efforts not to overstay their visa, to be able to come back to continue their studies. Three Romanians from Suceava, North Eastern Romania, arrived in Lille last March as ERASMUS students for a project in informatics. The scholarship was for three months. They were not able to obtain the visa in Bucharest, because the financial support arrived late. They studied in Lille without visa and made efforts to finish their project earlier, in order to leave France before the end of the three months of their scholarship. Perhaps the following year they will come in France again.

- Asylum seekers and ethnic migrants. The resettlement

Saying that discrimination and intolerance let them seek asylum abroad, Romanian Gypsies migrated continuously before the enforcement of the border control. In 2000, Romanian Roma flocked in record numbers to Ireland, which registered 2,384 Romanian asylum seekers (they constituted the second largest group of asylum seekers in Ireland during the year. Soon after that, Romania and Ireland signed a deal to facilitate the return of rejected asylum seekers to Romania (UNHCR Statistics). I live in Romania, in Transylvania, in West part of the country, and my neighbour is a Hungarian ethnic. Here, in Timisoara, I can listen to many people speaking German

¹³ T. Glăman, M. Drăghici, **Munca la export. Meseriile cu care românii pot face bani afară**, Adevărul, Bucharest, no. 3708, May 27, 2002

on the street. In the market, there are a lot of Gypsies. I have a fellow on my work place that is Serbian origin. My friend married a Hungarian girl, whose mother is Jewish. Nobody cares what nationality his classmate, his lover or the neighbour is, but I read in the international newspaper that here, in Romania, many people suffer because of the discrimination or minority intolerance. It's quite strange for me. I heard bad things about Arabic people living in France, listening French to speakers, nobody loves Arabs, but nobody said that in France there are racial and xenophobic problems. Why only in Romania? That helps some Romanian illegal migrants to ask for protection, even if their real reason of migration is economic. I'm not sure that in Paris or Lille Universities is possible to study Moroccan or Algerian's culture, but in Cluj, Centre Romania, maybe the most famous Romanian university, it is possible to study everything in Hungarian! And many primary schools offer study programmes in German, Hungarian, Slovak or even Turkish. The fact that many German and Hungarian ethnics Romanians left the country to move to Germany or Hungary says nothing about the minority intolerance: they chose to live in better conditions and that's all; the economic reason was the most important too. The most of Romanian ethnics left Romania on the first years after 1990. Nowadays only a few applied for naturalization comparative to 1991-1992; they prefer to have permanent settlement permit and they come back to Romania. With the money earned in Germany they have a very good life here. They buy or build new houses and they enjoy their status: to earn money in Germany and to live in Romania. Out of a total of 101 569 discretionary naturalizations and naturalizations by right under the Aliens Act (excluding Hamburg) in 1998, Romanians accounted for 1 335 or 1.31%¹⁴ only. For Italy, figures show as follow: out of total of 1,340,655 residence permits issued, by country of origin and sex as at 1st January 2000, Romania has only 4.6% (among all the women, Romanians were 4.9%)¹⁵. The figures concerning the total Romanians who demanded residence and naturalisation abroad are not available at the Romanian Ministry of Internal.

c) Illegal migration

Most of immigrants who enter Europe illegally have chosen this way because they had no possibilities to enter legal. Before 1st January 2002, Romanians needed visa to enter Schengen states. In spite of this many Romanians have lived for many years (most of them illegally) in Europe. Many Romanians succeeded in obtaining legal visas to travel legally to Schengen states. Illegal emigrants were not all Romanians who went out (because Romanians were allowed to exit free), but Romanians who entered Schengen (or another) states illegally or overstayed the visa or worked illegally. The Border Police Authorities couldn't stop the travel of the citizens who comply the formalities for legally crossing border. And most of them comply them. But how did persons who could never obtain a visa legally, enter countries like Italy or Spain? Most of them declared tourism as reason of travel, and proved the purposes declared (voucher, hotel reservation, insurance, return ticket, etc.). Nobody could prove that the real purpose of the travel was working abroad. After the arrival in Hungary, Slovenia, Slovak Republic or Czech Republic, they tried to cross illegally the border. The countries became destination or transit countries, depending on the goal of each Romanian: to work there or to wait there for an opportunity to cross the border to a Western country. Some offenders described me, during the inquest, the ways to cross the border illegally. The human being smuggling networks were involved in Romanians' illegal migration. Some of them told me that, around Budapest Western Embassies, for example, they could find a lot of foreigner persons who asked them if they were looking for someone to help in crossing the border. The smugglers knew that it was quite impossible for the most part of Romanians to obtain a visa in Budapest (or Prague), and the people were desperate. They offered their help to cross illegally the border. For around 1000-2000 DM for each person, the smugglers took the would-be immigrants

¹⁴ The Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Issues (2000)

¹⁵ Giovanna Zincone, **Italy – Main features of Italian immigration flows**, Tab. 3, German Marshall Fund, Policy Recommendations, Background Information on Immigration Policies, web-site: www.gmfus.org, downloaded May 2002

and showed them the way. Such cases could be met at the borders between Hungary and Austria, Czech Republic and Germany or Slovenia and Italy, too. Sometime Romanians were involved in traffic of human being themselves. I knew a case when a Romanian led about 50 another Romanians to Slovenia, to the way to Europe. Some years ago, they went out Romania by bus, saying that they were going to a football match in Slovenia, proving the tourist purpose of the journey with vouchers, hotel reservations, etc. After some days I talked with the bus driver: the bus arrived back at Romania-Hungary border empty. No passenger came back! The driver told me that the travellers refused to take the bus back, saying they intended to remain illegally in Slovenia, trying to cross the border. Entering illegally in USA and Canada by boat, being closed in the merchandise containers were rather some exceptional ways to migrate illegally for Romanians.

After 1st January 2002 there are no reasons for Romanians to be considered illegal. Only the Romanians who overstay the 180's days became illegal. Or those who chose working, even if to work during the period of travel was prohibited (the purpose of travel was tourism).

The main reason of the illegal migration is for work abroad. The reason is economic again. They accept to work everything and everywhere, even if the work could be illicit. What means illicit work in Western Europe? Illicit work has no standard legal definition¹⁶. As a rule, the term describes work that is carried out by employed or self-employed people in self-compliance with legal provisions. Such work may range from small jobs carried out in one's spare time to full-time illicit gainful employment in non-compliance with fiscal law, social insurance law and competition law and, in particular, the law applicable to foreigners. Most forms of illicit work circumvent public levies to a sometimes-considerable extent.

At the beginning of 2001, the Border Police Head took the first important measures to strengthen the border control and to secure the border. Until 2001, the border guards were young men who executed obligatory military service. They must learn to be professional guards in one year only, and after the finish of the obligatory military service they went home. The main part of the Border Guards was occupied with the training of the young guards. The same problem occurs each year. Starting with 2001, professional guards were enrolled in Border Police, and the service was specialised. The result: the rate of immigrants succeeding in crossing the border illegally decreased continuously. Romanian authorities had taken other police measures before the EU Authorities voted travelling without visa inside Schengen area, too. After the announce of possibility to enter Schengen area without a visa for tourism purpose, the Govern issued an emergency regulation, OUG no. 144/2001, which establish the conditions and the formalities for crossing the border by Romanian citizens: insurance for the whole journey, return ticket, to prove the purpose of travel, to show the way to finance the journey, not to work during the travel, not to travel more than 180 day for each semester, not to be returned by European countries etc. Ministry of Internal OMI No. 177/2001 order established the minimum sum of money needed by each Romanian to cross the border. They must prove the way to finance the journey, showing at the border control point 100 Euro for each day of travel (but not less than 500), or 50 Euro if the destination country was Turkey or one of the former socialist country not requiring visa. The figures concerning the Romanian travellers abroad are as follows: the traffic value recorder in the border control points decreased 15.8% comparative to last year. **Fig.2.** shows the differences of total traffic values for the first five months of 2001 and 2002. Between 1st January and 30th June, 8,417,944 persons transited the borders, 4,864,881 Romanians and 3,553,063 foreigners. The figures showing the number of foreigners coming from Western Europe had increased by 6.5%. Out of total of 2,616,716

¹⁶ In accordance with Swiss Embassy in Paris Internet-site: http://www.eda.admin.ch/paris_emb/f/home.html, May 2002

Romanians, 838,624 persons declared that they intend to travel to EU countries. Only for 664,804 was allowed the exit, because the rest of them couldn't comply all the formalities and conditions. Some of Romanians didn't comply the conditions to enter some states, being forced to come back Romania. Until 30th June, 5,409 persons were not allowed to enter Schengen States (Austria – 2,983, Greece – 1,201, Italy – 784, Germany – 82, Holland – 65, Spain – 74, etc.).

Fig.2. Traffic values at Romanian border. The figures below present overall crossing out and crossing in at all the borders

1 st January – 31 st May		2001	2002	Trends
PEOPLE	Romanians	4.817.832	3.919.811	↘
	Foreigners	3.576.368	3.055.823	↘
	Total	8.394.200	6.975.634	17% ↘
MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION	Romanian	1.099.709	992.927	↘
	Foreigner	1.102.876	948.382	↘
	Total	2.202.585	1.941.309	12% ↘

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002

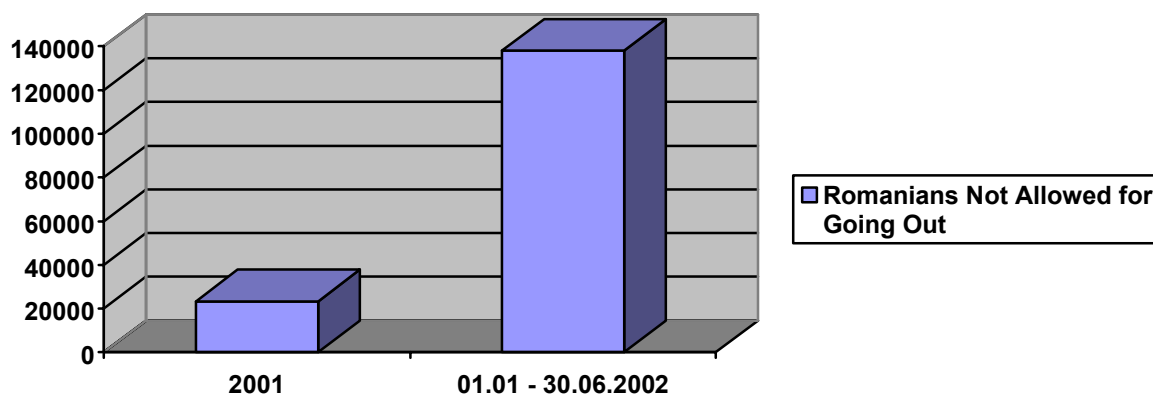
Between 1st January and 30th June, the border police authorities didn't permit the crossing out of 173,820 Romanians; 26 times more, comparative to the same period last year (see Fig.3.). The reasons: 42,595 without insurance, 7,638 without return ticket, 6,315 without international car insurance, 69,104 without means of financial support of the journey, 79,927 with false passport or visas or with problems in travel documents, 8 smuggler guide, 7 persons hidden in the means of transport, etc.

Due to police measures taken by the Border Police, less Romanians became offenders abroad. For example, relating to the situation on the Polish borders, the number of Romanian citizens arrested while illegally crossing the border, in the year 2000 was 281 and in the year 2001 was 278. For 2002 the statistics show a decrease again. Romanians who were accused by the Polish Authorities on variety of charges were 177 in 1998 and 96 in 1999. In the year 1997, the vast majority of pickpockets were Romanians, relatively +/- 80% but in the year 1998 they were only +/- 46%. There are some evaluation concerning Romanian citizens, divided into groups in accordance with the type of a crime or a misdemeanour: murder or manslaughter, 1998 – 2, 1999 – 0, fight or beating, 1998 – 2, 1999 – 4, theft or robbery, 1998 – 113, 1999 – 37, banditry, 1998 – 16, 1999 – 12, injury, 1998 – 2, 1999 – 4, road's misdemeanour, 1998 – 12, 1999 – 6. On February 1999 among the number of 406 foreigners serving a sentence in the Polish prisons, only 3.6% were Romanians¹⁷.

¹⁷ Statistical data provided by UNHCR Poland, Warsaw, August 2002. Mr. Piotr Klosowski, the intern in UNHCR, prepared the data included in the material obtained by the kindness of Mr. Wojciech Trojan, Head of UNHCR Poland

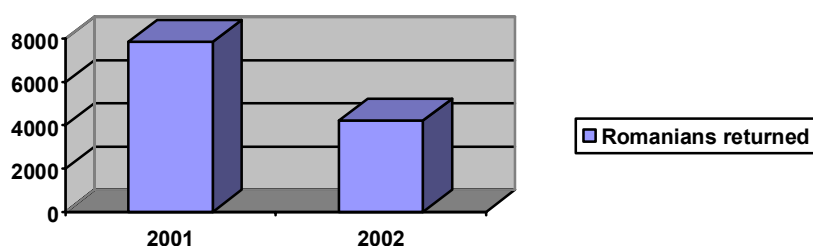
**Fig.3. Comparison between Romanians Not Allowed for Crossing Out
in the year 2001 and in the first semester of 2002**

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002



Romania has 26 readmission agreements with the states, for returning the persons being in irregular situations. Comparative to the same period of 2001, the number of returned Romanians had decreased with 45.5% during first semester of 2002 (5,331 persons compared to 9,803). **Fig.4.** shows the figures concerning the number of Romanian citizens returned from Western countries between 1st January and 31st May 2002, comparative to the same period of 2001.

Fig. 4.a. Comparison between the numbers of Romanian citizens returned between



1st January and 31st May 2001 and the same period for 2002

Fig.4.b. Statistics concerning the fist 10 countries returning Romanians

Top10 countries	2001	2002	Trend
Italy	638	1056	↗
Hungary	2789	526	↘
Germany	1357	492	↘
Spain	149	315	↗
France	448	274	↘
Belgium	220	253	↗
Austria	378	173	↘
Greece	501	136	↘
Swede	14	38	↗
Czech Republic	163	30	↘

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002

The latest readmission agreements signed by the Romanian authorities were with Moldavia (27.07.2001), Slovenia (04.10.2001), Portugal (14.11.2001), Austria (28.11.2001), Hungary (10.12.2001) and Albania (17.05.2002). These agreements establish the rule of return of the Romanians in irregular situation founded on the countries' territory. Irregular situation means: illegal residence, illegal work, decision of expel, asylum request denied, offences, etc.

Some weeks ago (August 2002), the media presented an interesting case of Romanians returned. On August 10th, 2002, 88 Romanian citizens were returned from Helsinki, Finland, by a Finnair plane. There were 86 Gypsies origin among them. There were 53 adults and 35 children. Out of the total of 88 persons (other 6 persons escaped from Helsinki Airport), 76 persons went out Romania after January 1st 2002 and 12 persons before that date. Most of them were from Southern counties of Romania (20 Giurgiu, 18 Ilfov, 5 Calarasi, 3 Teleorman, 1 Prahova, 2 Bucuresti). All people were expelled because their asylum applications were rejected. Out of the total of the returned, 4 Romanians were punished for identity false crime and 16 for minor offences. 14 came back with passports while 74 without.

The secure of the border process and the strengthened of the police measures at the borders have the following results: in 2002, the offences of Romanians abroad recorded a decrease, comparative to the year 2001, Romania wasn't in "top 10 of European countries with a high crime rate" any more. The Romanians returned were less than for the same period of 2001. The Border Police made efforts to find the persons involved in falsification of the travel documents, the firms involved in illegal transport of persons abroad and the Romanian and foreigner smugglers. The Romanians who committed abuses or illegal actions would be punish (the right to hold a passport could be suspended up to three years). In the first semester of 2002, 360 Romanians were punished for illegal action committing abroad. In the first five months of 2002, 548 offenders (148 Romanians and 400 foreigners) were tracked down, illegally crossing or trying to cross the border, and 70 border smugglers (57 Romanians and 13 foreigners). In the year 2001, for the same period, 18,990 persons (16,959 Romanians and 2,031 foreigners) were discovered. That means a very great decrease. The Northern and Eastern Romanian borders were secured due to the efforts of Border Police. The fact that Romanians don't need visas to visit Schengen states is an important factor for these results, too. Border police and Ministry of Tourism identified some Romanian transport firms that were involved in illegal migration: saying that they organised legal tourism, they transported a lot of Romanians, helped them to comply the conditions of travel abroad (even gave them loans, to prove the financial self support of the journey). The firms were sanctioned and the organisation of international transport was forbidden.

The statistics concerning the traffic of human being looks as follows: during the first five months of 2002, around 200 persons were investigated for human smuggling. The inquiry was finish in 28 cases (18 smugglers, 9 prostitutes, one child trafficked). By country of origin, the figures are as follows: Romanians 20, Austrians 2, Italians 2, Hollanders 2, French 1 and Moldavian 1. During the year 2002, Romanian Border Police discovered, arrested and investigated 511 persons (128 smugglers and 383 prostitutes), among them 178 Moldavians, 142 Romanians and 63 Ukrainians. The human being traffic networks use the following ways in order to smuggler the people: they recruit the victims from neighbour countries (Ukraine, Moldavia) or Romania, attracting young women aged 18 – 35 to drug consumption or thefts, followed by blackmail to prostitution, obtaining the agreement of the parents of the younger in order to attend the travel, cultural and sport festivities or holidays abroad, or attracting young people to the modelling, art and dance agency. Some victims are conned with the offers to work as photo-models, baby-sitters, housekeepers, medical social workers and charity workers. The persons are transported by the smugglers legally or illegally abroad, following the routes: Romania – Bulgaria – Greece or Turkey, Romania – Hungary – Austria – Germany or other Schengen states, Romania – Dubai – Abu Dhabi, Romania – Japan or Thailand. Since the beginning of the year 2002, 20 human being traffic networks were discovered,

46 women (from Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine) being involved: they were supposed to be transported to Italy, Spain, Greece, Holland and Austria for prostitution. In all the cases the investigators found out that the women were transported by the intermediaries – Romanians, Yugoslavians, Austrians – in the destination countries, where the women were given to the night-clubs owners (Spanish, Austrians, Greeks or Italians). The agents declared at the Romanian border point that the real purpose of the journey was the tourism. They complied all the formalities and the condition for legally crossing the border. A lot of foreigners are involved in the human being traffic networks. Most of them send false invitation to visit some tourist places, which prove the financial self-support of the journey, or false medical papers, which prove unreal medical treatments or surgeries. In most of the cases some intermediaries are involved, too, who recruit the future “labour force”.

Since 1st January 2002, a new phenomenon appeared: the traffic with the disabled persons. The reason of this kind of smuggling is to oblige the disabled person to beg, in order to make money in Western Europe. The smugglers promise to the disabled persons to get a lot of money abroad. Up to now, many cases were discovered, 20 disabled persons being involved (3 minors among them). Most of them were Gypsy origin. They should be transported to France, Spain and Portugal, in order to be exploited¹⁸. As Gen. Mihai Stoica, the head of Directorate of Fighting Against the Organized Crime of Ministry of Internal, recently said, the main fight of French Police is again the minor offences or little delinquency, which are seen on the streets or in the middle of the great crowds: thefts, frauds or larcenies, beggars and other small street offences which make the public opinion revolt. The Nice and Lyon French police found out that there were smuggler networks which brought illegal immigrants, most of them disabled persons, obliged them to beg in the middle of the main French agglomerations: Paris, Nice, Lyon, Grenoble. They are effectively exploited. Romanian Police and French Police will work together to fight against the immigration phenomenon and against the traffic with human being¹⁹.

Due to the strengthening of the border guard system, even the foreigner immigrants changed the route to the Europe: the Yugoslavian route is safer now.

The benefits of migration

Remittances from emigrants represent an important source of finance. Overall, workers remittances in the some countries presented in an OECD study totalled some 41 US billion in 1998, which is close to the net level of official foreign aid from OECD countries²⁰.

What remittances do Romanian migrants send back to Romania, and how such money is used, are some interesting problems for study. Romanians are sending money home using the legal ways (the banks or international post services) or by colleagues or friends. More of the money they obtain working abroad is sending to their families. Most of the immigrant workers have a family and they have to take care of it. During 2001, Banc Post (Post Bank) transferred by “Western Union” about 137 million US dollars, third times more, comparative to 2000, from foreign countries to Romania. Banc Post transferred from Israel to Romania about 30 million US dollars, during the first five months of 2002; the money were sent by the Romanian workers from Israel to their families. Since 1998, Banc Post transferred from Israel about 212 millions US dollars. During May 2002 the value of the transaction was ten percent greater than in May 2001. Banc Post signed an agreement with The Postal Authority of Israel to facilitate the sending home the money by the Romanian workers in

¹⁸ Ministry of Internal, General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relation Department, Press Release, Bucharest, July 15, 2002

¹⁹ *Politiă română, alături de cea franceză în lupta cu ȣiganii infractori*, Adevăru, Bucharest, no. 3769/06.08.2002

²⁰ Capel (2001)

Israel. Banc Post signed another agreement with Banco Portugues de Investimento (BPI), Portugal²¹. Many Romanians families depend on remittances from migrant workers in Europe. Stefan Wagstyl, journalist at Financial Times, found that Marginea, a city of 10,000 in eastern Romania, has about 2,500 migrants in France, Germany and Italy; the men work in construction, and the women as cleaners. The major says that the migrants return after five to 15 years abroad saving of DM 60,000 to build new houses²². The men who work abroad come back with the money and they start a new life. In some regions, generally in rural areas, the women have no work places and stay home taking care of children, only the husband get money and pay the bills, for food, clothes and everything. They come back and buy new cars; they improve their life standards, they have now money to pay the debts and fiscal duties. They send the children to school again, because the pupil has now new clothes and money for books. It is real that some foreigner reporters noticed, concerning the Romanian Gypsies who begged in Europe with the children in their arms. Most of the Gypsies built big palaces with the money obtained abroad, but this is the way of life of Gypsies communities: if most of French Gypsies are living in the luxurious caravans and have very big and expensive automobiles, Romanian reach Gypsies like to have big flamboyant building (even they live in small and ugly houses behind the marble and stone palaces).

The benefits of illegal immigration

Substantial numbers of illegal immigrants are present in many countries. A lot of studies of the illegal immigrations have investigated the economic benefits of the immigration. Being illegal is seldom the migrant's deliberate choice. The advantages of illegal migration tend mostly to be on the side of the employer, an employer will benefit from the illegal status of a migrant who is desperate for work and therefore prepared to accept poor pay, usually below local norms. Hiring an illegal worker also brings the employer the advantage of paying less in the way of welfare contribution and other non-wage costs. The interest in the illegal migration is much stronger for the employer than for the worker, whose precarious situation and low bargaining power makes him highly vulnerable to discriminatory practices in the form of longer hours and non-payment of various bonuses, or even of wages (Tapinos, 2000). In most cases the immigrant has to accept worse terms of employment and frequently he is forced to infringe the law being offered the "work in black". They are poor or not rich enough to start their own business in the given country. In such circumstances they accept everything that can improve their living standards, even prostitution or begging in order not to return to their previous condition of living. The main benefit for the immigrant is earning some money to send home to family. The model of Hillman and Weiss²³ shows that, illegal immigration is forbidden but is accepted, even if unofficial. The enforcement of immigration control is a common subject in media and the Governments improve all the time the measure of control of the phenomena. But locally, in certain counties, in the small agricultural villages or in the industrialised main towns you will find ever immigrants who work hard in the warm field or in construction and road works. It is very well known that France called for immigrants to work in the mine industry in the northern region and now you can meet a lot of Polish, Italian and Arabic origin in Nord-Pas de Calais. Yes, this was an official immigration policies, but nowadays you can find East-European immigrants in Spain and Portugal and they will tell you that nobody ask them if they are illegal or legal, and they work and live without big problems. I met some police officers in Barcelona some months ago and they told me that until this year nobody took measures to expel immigrants. Only if they were known as criminal police arrested them and obliged them to leave the country. After Barcelona and Sevilla European Councils the policies were changed a little, but not very much. I have a neighbour in Valea Jiului, a poor mining region in west-central Romania, and he told me a story with his brother, Adrian. Adrian is working in Toulouse, France, and he intend to come home

²¹ Banc Post Press Releases, Banc Post, Romania, Bucharest, January 29 and June 29, 2002. www.bancpost.ro

²² Wagstyl (2001)

²³ Hillman (1999), page 601

after three months of “travel” in Europe, but this Adrian knows some people who leave in France for three years. One month ago, in July, his friends’ *Patron* told them to go back to Romania, because there were problems with the immigrants and the *Gendarmerie* would control the work places in a short time. The Romanians may come back after September, when nobody would disturb their work. Maybe the boss has some friends in the *Gendarmerie* who told him about the control. The *Proprietair* of the building where some immigrants live told them “do not open the doors if someone knocks” because she declared that nobody were living in her building. Who could believe that French police doesn’t know that a lot of immigrants live in the middle of Toulouse?

Legal immigration could benefit Europe

Most European governments tried to slam the door shut on immigrants rather than convince their citizens that some legal migration may be a way to boost the economy and maintain high welfare standards and pensions as birth rates dwindle. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the European Commission say that managed migration is essential, but many European Union governments remain fearful of public opinion, which polls suggest is hostile to more immigrants. “Without some legal immigrants, Europeans will be forced to work longer hours, retire later and probably have to give up some state pension and health care, because fewer workers will pay less tax and will contribute to the systems. Immigration is an advantage... If immigration is perceived as useful and making a contribution to the host economy, they are more accepted” IOM spokesman Jean-Philippe Chauzy told Reuters. After years of “zero immigration” policies, France, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain all granted amnesties to illegal immigrants during the 1990s and offered to more than 1.2 million people legal residency. According to Chauzy, the scale of the amnesties proves that zero immigration policies don’t work. They only force economic migrants into the hands of criminal networks, which make billions of dollars smuggling people in Europe²⁴. Chauzy said that given the choice, illegal migrants would rather have legal employment, where they would have the chance of improving and acquiring new skills. “Once they have acquired skills, they return home to better opportunities,” he said. “They only come because they believe their economic prospects will be better. If people believe that they have the same kind of perspectives in their home country, they stay”.

III. ROMANIA, TRANSIT COUNTRY FOR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Romania is at the same time a transit country for immigrants (coming from Asia, Near Orient or Turkey) who are coming here trying to cross illegally the border for going to the European Union space. Until last year, when the border control and border security was reinforced, Romania was a country included in the main immigration routes, and a lot of illegal immigrants transited the country to Europe. Estimated total number of international migrants who lived in the country on 1st January 1990 was 139,973 (56.6% among them were women). That means 0.6% of total population (United Nations 1996). Since 1990, more and more immigrants entered Romania trying to make their way to the Europe. Romania was seen all the time as a host country. I asked some asylum seekers, discovered by my colleagues from Curtici Border Police close the Hungarian border, why they tried to cross illegally the border, if they lodged the application for the refugee status. They answered me that Romania was too poor to give them something to eat, and they needed good food. That’s way they tried to go Hungary where was a lot of food for all.

²⁴ Want to work until you are 70? If not, immigration may be just the solution. Reuters, Brussels, April 29, 2002

Who are the immigrants and why they left their country to choose a long, dangerous way, without a safe future journey? Why they left their country coming here? Why do they come?

The most frequent reasons of contemporary migrations of people are the following: democratic pressure of Middle-East, African and Asian countries, poor economic situation in the mother country, state totalitarianism of the mother country, wars and ethnic or religious oppressions, the processes of family reunions, the growing urbanisation and the degradation of natural environment. Statistical data concerning population speak for themselves. There is no denying the fact that birth – rates are systematically increasing in the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Consequently, the most active sectors of these populations, not being able to find any opportunity of adequate and dignified life in their country, seek chances of economic welfare in Western Europe. The direction of migration of representatives of these populations is decided upon information and experience gathered. That explains the situation that more Hindi and Africans are to be spotted in London, and more Arabians and Vietnamese in Paris. The fact that the direction of migration is also the large extent shaped by the ability of speaking the language being used in the country of destination must be taken for granted²⁵. In an article for Israeli *Ha'aretz Daily*, Arie Caspi²⁶ said: “Progress has chanced the West. The population of most Western nations has ceased to grow. In some countries, such as Italy, Germany, France, Greece and Austria, the population gets smaller with each passing year. The average mother living in the EU gives birth to 1.45 children throughout her years of fertility. That birth rate guarantees that the population will shrink. In 1990 the natural increase rate of all EU countries together was 270,000, less than one-tenth of a percent of the population. The natural increase rate in India is 16 times higher. Meanwhile, the number of legal immigrants coming to Western Europe has reached 711,000. Almost three times the natural increase. But the number of actual immigrants is much higher. While developed countries now have fewer children, the size of their elderly population continuous to grow. In most Western nations, some 15 percent of the population are senior citizens over the age of 65. Just for comparison, in Israel only 10 % of the population is over 65. In Europe, children account for less than one-quarter of the populace; in developing countries, they constitute about 50% of it. About 17 percent of all Germans are over 65. One in every six Germans is a senior citizen. Without foreign workers, the country’s economy will wane. According to a United Nation report, Germany must import about half a million foreign workers each year for the next 50 years in order to maintain the size of its current labour force”. Desperate policy to have majority population put Israel’s Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to say that Israel need one million new immigrants. “Israel’s Jewish character is not guaranteed and is not invulnerable. It requires immigration and the settlement of the land. It requires that we work to ensure a permanent and decisive Jewish majority, while, of course fully protecting the right of the minorities as guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence. We must set a supreme goal of bringing about the immigration of a million Jewish within the next 15 years²⁷”.

Not everyone in even the major sending countries has immigrated or is planning to do so. Compared to the respective national population, those who decide to migrate generally represent a minuscule proportion. They have decided to undertake the journey, especially with difficult economic and political condition in many sending countries. Moving to a foreign country is not easy. It requires elaborate preparations, high expense, giving up personal relation at home, and often learning a new language and culture. The poor people and the unemployed seldom migrate, either legally or illegally; and unauthorized immigrants tend to have above-average levels of education and occupational skills in comparison with their homeland population²⁸. The main reason the

²⁵ Rev. Prof. Florian Lempa, **Religious Aspects of People’s Migrations**, presented at “The International Immigration and Environmental Conference”, Warsaw, Poland, 17-18 June 2002

²⁶ Caspi (2002)

²⁷ Tovah Lazaroff, **Sharon: One million new immigrants needed**, The Jerusalem Post, Jerusalem, Israel, May 22, 2002

²⁸ Portes (1996), page 8-9

poorest of the poor do not migrate across the international borders is that they are not able to. Those the very bottom of the local income distribution cannot migrate because they lack even the resources needed to cover the cost of transportation and fees charged by the smugglers. Within the general picture of an educationally advantaged population, there is great diversity, if most immigrants are not illiterate; they are not all college graduates. There are differences between nationalities and between individuals.

Most of immigrants come to Romania in groups. They meet in Turkey or in one of the former URSS and they arranged to travel together. Most of them are relatives of others. Some of immigrants are educated people and could speak a foreign language. Usually English. I investigate last year a group formed by 11 persons: two Iranians, three Iraqis and six Afghans. One of the Iranians spoke English. We have asked him something in English, he translated into Persian for his fellow countryman who knew Arabic, and this second Iranian translated our question to all Arabic speakers. Usually, even if some of them refuse to co-operate, each group have an educated person who speak a foreign language. The group is organised not to speak to police officers but to ask something the foreigners during the journey or to negotiate with the smugglers. And only an educated person could read correctly a map, to guide the group during the journey. Many immigrants have relatives in Europe, former immigrants, who send them money to pay the smugglers or to pay for the travel documents. The leader of a group has poor knowledge of international legislation, in order to avoid the abuses: they know when they must ask for an advocate, they know that they have the right to a translator; they know do not talk about smugglers, and, if they are found close the border, the punishment is different than for the effectively illegally crossing, and so on. They know what are they have to do when the police border catch them. Sometimes the immigrants try to cross the border through the Border Control Points, using false documents. For the documents, they paid a lot of money, up to 3000 US dollars! The most false documents I saw were "Greeks" and "Bulgarian" passports hold by Turks. It is known that Greece is a UE country and Bulgarian could travel without visa. The costs of migration are very high. To migrate illegally, all the family of the would-be immigrant must put the money down. The immigrant must give back the money to all his family members or to some of the friends, neighbours. For example, for a Chinese, all the family works a long period to earn the money that the future immigrants will "invest" in the rich country. If the immigrant refuses to follow the order of his family or refuse to give back the loans, he will be punished and even killed. Generally speaking, at the present, 1 – 2 persons make the groups of offenders, and rarely 3 – 5 persons.

The main routes of migration, until the reinforced of the Romanian border control, were: Russia – Ukraine – Moldavia – Romania and Afghanistan – Turkey – Bulgaria – Romania. Why Russia? The former soviet country has a developed transportation network. His borders are not secure. The immigrants arrive at Moscow's airports from all over Asia and from the former URSS space. From Moscow the immigrants take the plane to Ukraine or Moldavia, another country without safe border. From Ukraine the route continues to Czech Republic, Poland or Romania. The statistics show that the smugglers changed the route of migration, the safest route is now to the South of Romania: Afghanistan – Iran – Iraq – Turkey – Bulgaria – Yugoslavia – Croatia. What are the reasons? Turkey has common border with the main Countries with Migration Trends (CMT): Iraq, Iran, Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Bulgarian's Turkey border is not secure. The way by Yugoslavia is shorter than by Romania. Romania made efforts to secure the Northern and Eastern frontier (as future extern border of UE). During 2001, Romanian Border Police hold back 3,577 immigrants and 217 smugglers. Hungarian border was secured, both by Romanian authorities and Hungarian guards.

Until this year, Romania's Moldavian border was the main transit route for illegal immigrants and economic immigrants attempting to enter the country to make their way to prosperous Europe.

Romania is to spend around 50 million Euros (48 million dollars) to secure its border with Moldavia in a bid to stop illegal migrants from entering Europe. “We hope that by 2003 Romania’s North-Eastern border will be secured”, Border Police chief Aurel Neagu said, as quoted by Agence France Press²⁹. “Not a day passes without at least one attempt to cross the border illegally”, he said. The European union would provide over half the money needed to secure the border. Romania is under pressure from the EU to secure its border, which has made the issue one of the priorities to be adopted if Romania is to join by 2007 as it hopes. A cooperation agreement with Ukrainian border police was signed on June, Gen. Aurel Neagu added.

The figures concerning the travellers who were involved in illegal actions at the borders, for the 1st semester of 2002, are as follows:

- 215,830 persons were discovered, concerning illegal actions or who didn’t comply the condition for entering or going out Romania.
- 39,496 foreigners were legally “Not Allowed for Crossing In” NACI (among them 6 hidden in some means of transportation, 468 without entrance visa, 5,113 with false passports/visas or travel documents disorders, 13,037 who couldn’t prove the self support of journey, 20,872 with custom problems or some who couldn’t prove the real purpose of the journey)
- 2,514 foreign citizens were legally “Not Allowed for Crossing Out” NACO (among them 9 hidden in some means of transportation, 555 with false passports/visas or travel documents disorders, without insurance or car’s documents, 1,950 another legal reasons, suspected by public offences, suspected smugglers or drugs and weapons traffickers)
- 1,627 foreigners illegally trying to/crossing the border were discovered and 104 smugglers (81 Romanians and 23 foreigners). Out of total of them, 487 were involved in organised smuggler networks (54 networks were destroyed)
- Comparative to the same period of 2001, it were recorded increases of 16.8%, respectively 16.4% of the foreigners NACI and NACO
- It was recorded a decrease of Romanians involved in border offences (11 times less)

Below are presented some migration cases, when foreign citizens tried to cross illegally the Romania’s border to go to Western Countries.

The great part of Turks enters Romania legally. After that, they travel to the Romania’s Hungarian border. “For tourist reasons”, of course. To enter Hungary, they need visa. In order to avoid to be returned by the Hungarian border guards because they do not hold a regular visa, they try to cross illegally the border or try to use false documents. I investigated an interesting case last year, at Nadlac Border Control Point (Arad County, Western Romania). One old aged Turk origin Swede tried to cross out the border with three children of his. He transited legally Romania (as EU citizen) to Bulgaria and in Turkey he arranged with his children to come to Romania. He used for their transit regular Swedish passports. The passports were of some relatives, aged approximately as the children. The police officers from Nadlac noticed that the persons who tried to cross out the border are not the same persons as the real holders of the passports (there were small facial differences). The Swede and his children were punished and expelled.

Other Turks having Western Europe residence tried to help their relatives to migrate to Europe too. They bought false passport (Belgian passports, for example) and came at the border with the

²⁹ Romania to spend millions to close down border to illegal immigration, Agence France Presse, Bucharest, June 19, 2002

relatives, saying that the persons presented at the border control and the persons included in the travel documents are the same. Only the vigilance of the police officers permitted to stop the illegal crossing of the border. Some times the picture in the passport was changed and false stamps were applied (to prove the entrance and the exit).

At Curtici Border Control Point, a girl came to cross the border to Hungary. Curtici is a railway crossing point. The police officers enter the couchette of the train, asking the documents for control. The girl showed a Hungarian passport. Trying to ask her something, concerning the period of the journey spent in Romania, the police officers noticed that the girl said nothing. Searching carefully the passport presented by the girl, the officer saw that the photo was changed. She was not a Hungarian girl but a Romanian girl from Galati, Eastern Romania.

Many Moldavian citizens used false Romanian passport to cross illegal the frontier. The main method was the changing of the pictures. A lot of Romanians used false Romanian passport too. That was why Romanian authorities changed the passports. Last year Romania started to issue the new passport, where the picture was scanned. The new Romanian passport was made after the German one (the German passports have the best security measures in Europe).

Some years ago, some groups of Chinese crossed out the border by plane, especially at Timisoara airport. Others groups were discovered using the same method of crossing: they entered Romania legally. The smugglers told them to make up, to change the colour of the hair, they gave to the Chinese photo and video cameras and so on, transformed them in some groups of Japan tourists. It is very known that Japan tourists are wearing photo cameras all the times and are Asian origin people. The instructions were do not speak Chinese. Each Chinese was a false Japan passport holder. The Romanian Border Police officers discovered them when someone asked them something in English and the “Japanese” became panic-stricken. Nobody could answer in English! No police officer is speaking Japanese in Romanian airports. It’s very known that most of Japanese speak English, too.

This year was recorded a new way to migrate illegally. The Kurd origin Turks, trying to go to EU countries (especially Germany and Italy) to ask for asylum status, entered legally Romania, two by two, declaring tourism as purpose of journey. Contacting some intermediaries (who have helped them to buy plane tickets, have paid the hotel bills and transported them to the airports), the immigrants crossed out the border by plane from Timișoara, Western Romania, to Vienna – Zagreb. At Vienna airport they changed their “original tourist plans”. They crossed out illegally the border in the airport (refusing to change to Zagreb), entering Austria. After Austria, they chose Italy for resettlement, requesting asylum status. This way to migrate was used at Romanian Timișoara, Cluj and Sibiu Airports.

By the country of origin, the foreigners who don’t comply the conditions established by the Romanian legislation are: Moldavia – 19,523; Ukraine – 3,079; Bulgaria – 2,859; Turkey – 1,932; Yugoslavia – 1,392; Iraq – 196; Russian Federation – 146, India – 120, China – 86, Syria – 46; Somalia – 22; Afghanistan – 15; Tunis – 14. The smugglers are, in the majority of the cases, citizens of Moldavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Arabic origins.

As a conclusion, at present, Romania imports approximately 4 times more criminality that exports. The greatest problems are at the Romania’s Bulgarian border (where 642 persons were discovered trying to/crossing illegally the border to Romania) and Romania’s Moldavian border (where 369 persons were discovered trying to/crossed illegally the border to Romania). Comparative to these figures, only 288 persons succeeded in illegally crossing the border to Hungary and Yugoslavia.

Fig. 5 shows the trends in the number of foreign citizens “Not Allowed for Crossing In” (NACI), for ten countries of origin, for the first five months of 2002, comparative to the same period of 2001.

Fig. 6 shows the trends in the total number of foreigners “Not Allowed for Crossing Out” (NACO), for the period of reference. Out of total of NACO’s, 57 persons were found in the special police data bases, 145 hadn’t papers for their cars, 133 persons tried to exit Romania using false documents, 8 were found hidden in some means of transportation, 8 were proved as being smugglers and 410 had custom problems.

Fig.5. Foreigner citizens Not Allowed for Crossing In (NACI)

Top 10 countries NACI 1st Jan – 31st May	2001	2002	Trend
R. Moldova	16308	16514	↗
Hungary	6534	8576	↗
Ukraine	2577	2532	↘
Bulgaria	685	2131	↗
Turkey	592	1204	↗
Yugoslavia	296	643	↗
Germany	98	262	↗
Italy	106	198	↗
Bosnia-Herzegovina	25	178	↗
Russian Federation	110	100	↘

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002

**Fig.6. Figures concerning the first 10 countries of origin for “Not Allowed for Crossing Out” persons
Not Allowed for Crossing Out (NACO)**

Top 10 countries NACO 01 Jan – 31 May	2001	2002	Trend
R. Moldova	569	721	↗
Turkey	143	289	↗
Bulgaria	95	231	↗
Ukraine	126	182	↗
Hungary	70	118	↗
Germany	122	93	↘
Yugoslavia	35	93	↗
Italy	143	84	↘
Poland	17	31	↗
SUA	32	30	↘

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002

Most of the foreign immigrants ask recognition of asylum status, because here is no punishment for asylum seekers who enter the country illegally. Asylum legislation in Romania and economic development forced the authorities not to take all the measures to return the immigrants to origin

country: there are no readmission conventions with the Asian and Arabic countries and costs of returning for one person in a further country are high. Moreover many origin countries are conflict areas and the asylum laws do not permit the return (ex. Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia). In the second quarter of 2002, 157 foreigners were returned to origin countries. About 1,400 foreigners who lived illegally in Romania were found during the controls done by the officers of The Directorate of Population Record of Ministry of Internal. The officers controlled 9,600 aliens only in Bucharest, among them 993 with illegal status.

At the end of 2000, Romania hosted about 2,100 refugees and asylum seekers in need of protection. Asylum seekers submitted 1,366 asylum applications in 2000, about 18% fewer than in 1999. The largest number of asylum seekers came from Afghanistan (282), Iraq (250), Bangladesh (226) and Pakistan (225). During 2000 Romanian authorities issued 1,503 first-instances decisions, granting status in 85 cases, a 6% approval rate, and humanitarian status in 86 cases. The authorities denied 1,271 applications (data according to UNHCR statistics). In 2001 the most of asylum seekers were from Afghanistan (778), Iraq (610) and Turkey (36). The first two countries are between the Countries with Migration Trends (CMT), according EU and Romanian norms.

At the end of the year 2001 a significant decrease was observable for all the nationalities, because the enforcement of border guard and crossing border control. The most asylum seekers enter Romania illegally. For 2002 the figures show that the enforcement measures were real: between 1st January and 30th June, Romanian authorities lodged 536 asylum application, comparative with 1,276 for the same period of 2001 (50% decrease). During the first semester of 2002 only 30 new applications of the asylum seekers originated from Countries with Migration Trends (CMT) were lodged, according to General Inspectorate of Border Police (GIBP) Press Releases.

Asylum application lodged in Romania. Nationalities: all. Source: Government, compiled by UNHCR

2001	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Total	Change Oct/Nov
Applications	142	223	297	189	234	207	247	218	169	218	113	2257	- 48 %

Note: all figures are provisional and subjects to change

Fig.7. shows the trends of the applications lodged at Romanian National Office for Refugees (NOR), by country of origin of asylum seekers. An important decrease is observable. To apply for the refugee status at NOR it is necessary to be there, at the NOR's office, that means only persons who arrived in Romania could be present at the discussion with the Immigration Officers, in order to approve or not the application. As the border was secured, less and less immigrants succeeded in entering Romania for requesting the asylum status.

Fig.8. shows where were the entrance points of the persons who applied for asylum status in Romania during the first quarter 2002, comparative to the first quarter of 2001. The figures obtained from General Inspectorate of Border Police prove that the Northern and Eastern borders were secured. Less and less immigrants managed themselves to enter Romania by Northern and Eastern frontier.

**Fig.7. The figures concerning the first 10 countries of origin at National Office for Refugees (NOR)
1st January – 31st May**

Top 10 countries of origin at NOR	2001	2002	Trend
Iraq	266	203	↘
India	59	58	↗
China	7	40	↗
Bangladesh	15	20	↗
Turkey	10	18	↘
Iran	59	16	↘
Somalia	67	16	↘
Pakistan	28	15	↘
Syria	3	14	↘
Sudan	22	13	↘

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002

**Fig.8. Figures concerning the border of entrance of asylum seekers
(1st quarter, 2001 and 2002)**

THE BORDER	LEGAL		Trend	ILLEGAL		Trend
	2001	2002		2001	2002	
West	6	-	↘	-	22	↗
East	4	7	↗	232	97	↘
South	76	120	↗	587	210	↘
North	-	-	→	4	-	↘
They don't know the point of entrance	-	-	→	160	14	↘

Source: General Inspectorate of Border Police, Public Relations Division; August 2002

After they make the application for refugee status, the great majority of the asylum seekers try to cross the border illegally, being discovered by the Police Border Police at the Hungarian border. A lot of asylum seekers who applied in Bulgaria for refugee status are discovered after the illegal crossing the border to Romania (at Southern border).

The conclusion of the study of the figures provided by General Inspectorate of Border Police is: the number of citizens of the Countries with Migration Trends (CMT) decreased comparative to last years. That means Romania is not a major transit country for international migration any more.

IV. ROMANIA AND THE TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

All countries, even those where a large proportion of population are themselves descendants of immigrants, manifest tensions between new arrivals and parts of the native population. Such tensions are partly invoked by the perception of unchecked flows of new immigrants as well as anti-immigrant political parties. Opponents of migration fear adverse impacts on the labour market, public finances, social conditions, and on the distribution of income. Proponents of migrations note the positive economic role immigrants can play, for instance in term of addressing specific labour shortages and the problems linked to ageing populations.

Some recent reports have investigated the level of migration required to achieve population objectives. The studies examined in selected countries as well as for the EU as a region between 1995 and the year 2050 the migration flows required to maintain the size of total population and the working-age population. On average, almost one million bet immigrants per year would be required to keep the EU population constant over the period and slightly more than 1½ million to maintain a constant working age population. One United Nation study³⁰ acknowledges that during the first half of the 21st century, the population of most developed countries are projected to become smaller and older as a result of below-replacement fertility and increased longevity. In the absence of migration, the declines in population size will be even greater than those projected and population ageing will be more rapid. The numbers of migrants needed to offset declines in the working-age population are significant larger than those needed to offset total population decline. If retirement ages remain essentially as today, increasing the size of the working-age population through international migration is the only option in the short medium term to reduce declines in the potential support ratio.

Immigration has already played an important role in influencing overall population growth in the main OECD areas. In fact, for the EU as a whole, net migration has been a more important source of population growth over the past decades than the natural increase.

Immigration impacts not only on the host country, but in the source country economy as well. One of the major concerns is that the source country will lose its most qualified workers – the “brain drain” – and as a result its economy will suffer. Romania must make up soon. Not too late, I hope.

Perhaps in the years to come Hungary will become a country from European Union and the border between Hungary and Romania will be an external frontier. Romania hopes to become a EU member until 2007. The Northern, Eastern and maybe Southern border will be external counties of European Union and Romanian Border Police (or European Border Police) will fight against all the immigrants on their way to Europe.

Romania will become a destination country, not only transit and host country, and more and more immigrants will try to come for crossing the border. Romanian Border Guards must secure all the borders, to avoid the illicit entrance of the foreigners. Since then, Romania has to improve the legislation and make all its best for economic development. The European financial help is not enough.

³⁰ United Nations (2000). See also Visco (2000) and Capel (2001)

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