REASONS OF LABOUR FORCE MIGRATION IN ROMANIA

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Abstract. The migration phenomenon must be constantly analyzed by reporting it to the social and economical reality of a certain period of time. At the moment the migration is generated, mainly by factors of economical nature and is sustained by the policies adopted on a state level or a state group level which facilitate free circulation of the labour force, the phenomenon of migration being amplified by the easy access to information. On a long term the decrease of population has negative economical and social consequences in the geographical regions that produce labour force, hence the financial investments coming from the state budget and the European funds must be directed mainly to the poor regions; micro-economical policies must support the economical development and increase of the living standards in order to stop the labour force exodus.

Keywords: labour migration, economical reasons, average wages, European Union countries, migration effects.

Jel classification: F15, F22, O15

1. Introduction

Today's migration researchers plead that this phenomenon has become so complex that the classical theories regarding migration are no longer capable to offer the so called causal models. There are made numerous approaches and reconsiderations. For example, demographers no longer call terms like theory or causality, they use instead phrases like migration determinants (Caselli *et al.* 2003).

Treated separately, these theories are more or less incomplete but, analyzed together; they become complementary and can draw a picture of migration, as it's manifested in the modern society based on information and knowledge. The migration phenomenon must be analyzed at all time through comparison to the social-economical reality characterizing a certain time span. For this reason, we consider that, nowadays, the amplitude of migration and its complexity is due to the free and easy access to information, to rapidity with which it can be obtained, but also to the politics adopted on a state or groups of states level that promote free labour force circulation. All these contribute to diminishing costs and risks the migrants are taking. In consequence, we consider that a review of the main theories regarding migration is necessary in order to identify, by comparison, to statistical data, the causes of labour force migration in Romania.

Theories concerning migration can be classified as follows:

I. Theories of economic origin

1. Neoclassical theory, according to which the cause of migration is represented by the difference between labour offer and demand, clear economical advantages between different places (difference between the regular wage and the cost of migration). On another hand, it is considered that migration becomes its own cause, as long as the source regions depend on delivery while the economies of the immigration countries depend on profits made by immigration (Sjaastad 1962; Harris, Torado 1970).

2. New migration economy, according to which the cause is represented by the growth of income and minimizing the risks on a group level (Stark, Taylor 1989). This approach starts from the family group and not from the individual interests as mentioned in the previous theory and its applicable to countries with predominant rural population (Taylor 1992).

3. Theory of double labour market has as a starting point the division of labour market in the sector of the well paid professions, and that of the not so well paid ones. From this perspective the cause of migration is represented by the fact that in the immigration countries there is a high labour force demand for the second sector, not so well paid, which implies a low social status (Piore 1980).

4. Theory of world systems (neo-marxist theory) divides the countries of the world into centre and peripheral ones and migration is manifested starting from the poor countries towards the rich ones. The capital transferred to the peripheral eco-

nomies, predominantly agrarian, engages an important labour force capacity determined to search for new work places (Sassen 1990, 2001).

II. Theories of sociological descent

1. Push-pull theory (Raventsein 1885; Lee 1966), explains the fact that the decision to migrate is based on four groups of factors: factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors.

Push-pull factors, which are not limited only to the economical aspect of the individual life, can be synthesized as follows (Anghel, Horvath 2009):
- push factors: economical decline, unemployment growth, ethnic, religious or political discrimination, cultural alienation towards a certain community, reduced possibilities for employment and marriage, natural or manmade disasters;
- pull factors: greater possibilities for employment, superior income, higher opportunities for education and specialization, a friendlier environment, better conditions for life, family reunion, a richer cultural, intellectual or recreational environment.

2. Theory of social networks according to which migration is encouraged by connections, especially kinship ones, between individuals departed abroad and those remained at home (Granovetter 1973, 1983; Massey *et al.* 1987).

III. Theories of demographic descent

More exactly it's about including the phenomenon of migration within the frame of demographic transition theory which explains the passing of the society from demography characterized by high values of mortality and fertility towards a demographic regime in which these indicators record lower values (Rotariu 2009). It's considered that external migration is more extensive in the first phase of the demographic transition period, but this empirical finding, in our opinion, is explained by different stages of transition in which the countries of the world find themselves in. As an example, the developed countries, that reached the end of the demographic transition are characterized by aging population and this situation generates a considerable amount of labour force demand for the economy in general, but also on a household level, the house maintenance and cleaning services, being done especially by women who emigrated from the poor countries, countries that pass through a transition period.

IV. Theories based on political sciences

Theory of national regulation of external migration phenomenon according to which migration is supported by legislation, differently from a country to another, sometimes a certain asymmetrical character of the right to migration of the individual is manifested, the regulations in the domain being permissive in the country of origin and restrictive in that of destination. Also, the governments of the developed countries promote, through the adopted macroeconomic programs, population replacement migration (United Nations, 2001).

V. Systemic theories

The approach of migration through such a perspective starts from premises like: migration must be analyzed in an integrated space; the connections between the emigration areas and those of immigration modify in time the initial conditions, creating mechanisms that can transform the phenomenon; the major role of the state in determining the flux of international migration (Kritz *et al.* 1981); identification of the mechanisms through which the macro forces become determiners of migration at a micro level (i.e. migration networks) (Zlotnik 2003).

2. Migration in the context of the European integration process

In the introductory section of this study I mentioned that the migration of the population must be analyzed referring to the economic and social reality. What's the reality nowadays? Almost obsessively and not only referring to the economic environment, we use, for more than 20 years the term of globalization. Strictly economically speaking, globalization can be translated as free circulation of capital and the expansion of transnational companies, and tightly connected to this there are promoted, mainly in the international relations, measures specific to liberalism. Thus, gradually and in different proportions from one country to another, the monetary circulation has been liberated, the same happened to goods, services and persons.

What's the purpose of these liberties?

The first that comes to mind is the economic aspect of the globalization which makes possible the superior usage of the resources, because the production factors, more precisely the labour force and capital, will shift to areas in which the remuneration is more attractive and where there is a deficit of such factors. In this way the moving of the labour force from the ex-communist countries towards the developed ones from Europe is explained, characterized by superior levels of remuneration, capable to motivate the migration of individuals able to work.

Frankly speaking the globalization insures the domination of the developed states over the other ones in the world. It's clear that the competitive economies have reached some limits of development, being strained by barriers of customs, currency, fiscal or of other nature, and they could not overpass this stage unless by a free access to new

selling markets, to cheap natural resources and well trained and poorly remunerated labour force.

It's true; globalization gives a consistent impulse to the development of the world economy but under the conditions of an overall indifference towards the social problems. The present global capitalism has become unhealthy and unsustainable because it's based on market fundamentalism (Soros, 1999). The developing countries need capital to develop but, being poor, they represent easy targets for anybody providing them with loans. This way, they borrow more and more and with ever higher interest, until they start facing the burden of external debt, the point when they ask for support from IMF or other global institutions, losing their economic sovereignty (Stiglitz 2008). In 2010, Romania paid 1.9 billion Euros (1.56 % of PIB) as interest and commission for external debt on medium and long term (National Bank of Romania 2011). In consequence, the developing countries will not assist the emergent economies but enslave them and force them to turn strategic economic sectors into private ones such as the energetic or the banking sector, which is the case in Romania.

The developed countries have become "attraction poles for the labour force" ensuring this way the growing and rejuvenation of the population, economic growth (we have in mind the contribution of the very well trained immigrants) a good budget financing, a high living standard (in spite of the social problems in the suburban areas), while in the East European states – which became "pushing poles of the labour force" – the population goes through a continuous decreasing, depopulated regions appear and what is worse, on a family level and even on a country level, some numerous social dramas take place. In other words the developed countries strengthen their economic power; the ever growing population raises the degree of integration of national markets, while the poor countries risk disintegrating.

We consider that on a long term it is possible to repopulate the emergent economies which have high agricultural potential, like Romania, Poland and Bulgaria, because, gradually, the lack of labour force in agriculture – an important source for emigrants – will be compensated by growth in the technology level of the agriculture, creating premises for the development of the processing industry and implicitly of new jobs. This way, a redistribution of the labour force in the agriculture takes place towards industry and services. But in order to have a healthy economic growth, these countries need to attract capital from FDI and to turn in to public loans in a lesser manner.

Table 1. Modification of population during 1997 – 2007 (Source: Eurostat (2008, 2009))

Country	Population (million)		Modification		Net Migration
	1997	2007	mil.	%	million
Bulgaria	8.3	7.7	-0.6	-7.23	-0.21
Czech R.	10.3	10.3	0	0	0.21
Estonia	1.4	1.3	-0.1	-7.14	-0.02
Cyprus	0.7	0.8	0.1	14.29	0.09
Latvia	2.4	2.3	-0.1	-4.17	-0.04
Lithuania	3.6	3.4	-0.2	-5.56	-0.13
Hungary	10.3	10.1	-0.2	-1.94	0.17
Malta	0.4	0.4	0	0	0.03
Poland	38.6	38.1	-0.5	-1.3	-0.58
Romania	22.1	21.6	-0.5	-2.26	-0.62
Slovenia	2.0	2.0	0	0	0.05
Slovakia	5.4	5.4	0	0	0
Total	105.5	103.4	-2.1	-1.99	-1.04
EU - 27	478.1	495.1	17	3.56	14.23
EU - 15	372.6	391.7	19.1	5.13	13.19

Considering the statistical data referring to population and the level of economic development (Table 1), we conclude, truly, that in the West European countries population is growing, while in the post-communist ones a decrease tendency of population is recorded, and this is mainly because of the people's migration. In the Western countries, population has grown, in the case of the analyzed group, EU- 15, with 19 million people in 10 years, which represents a growth of 5.13 % in the recorded level from 2007, comparing to the one recorded in 1997. What's relevant is the fact that the net migration contributed with 13 million individuals to this growth, coming from the ex-communist countries and also countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In the same time span, in the post-communist countries mentioned above the population decreased on a group level by 2 million individuals. The reduction of the population is increased in Bulgaria, Romania where the poorest economical performances are noticed.

Underneath, the abandoned economies by individuals capable of work, at least temporary, have benefits from the remittances, but the largest part of the remittances are destined for consumption and only a small part is invested. For this reason, a considerable part of the solvable demand surplus generated by these incomes is yet covered by imports, which makes the stimulation effect of the internal production to be diminished, while the balance of trade deficit to be increased.

It is estimated that, after 1989, over 2.5 million Romanians have worked on the European labour market, and on an individual level, 12 % of the people of age raging from 18 to 59 have worked abroad (Soros Foundation Romania 2006).

Export of labour force has also advantages. Gradually, different economic sectors will record a labour force deficit which will determine an inefficient usage of the capital and a decrease of the provided labour quality. In Romania, the deficit of labour force is already felt in the construction field, and also in the health field, where a certain decrease of medical service quality is noticed. This deficit makes the labour force to be more appreciated and leads to a growth in the remuneration costs, increase that is also transferred to the finite product price, decreasing competitiveness.

Another disadvantage of the labour force exodus from Romania, which includes active population, is made up of the accelerated change in the structure of the population on age groups, so as an ageing phenomenon of the population will occur, and this fact will require a growing budget effort, while the number of the contributors to the state social security budget and the health fund will decrease.

Referring to the theories of economic origin and the statistical data (Table 2) we identify as determiners of migration the different levels of economic development, highlighted by the GDP per capita, the big differences in remuneration (the gross minimum wage being 92 Euro in Bulgaria, 666 Euro in Spain and 1.361 Euro in the UK).

Table 2. Migration in The European Union (Source: Eurostat (2008, 2009))

Net migration between 1997 and 2007		GDP per capita in 2007		Gross minimum wage in 2007	Life expectancy (years)	
	million	PPS	EUR	EUR	Men	Women
UE-15 (total net migration)	13.19					
of which (94.39 %) in:						
Spain (39.07 %)	5.15	26.500	23.400	666	77.7	84.4
Italy (22.37 %)	2.95	25.200	25.900	-	77.9	83.8
UK (13.39 %)	1.77	28.700	33.200	1.361	77.1	81.1
Germany (10.49 %)	1.38	28.100	29.500	-	77.2	82.4
France (9.07 %)	1.20	27.600	29.800	1.254	77.3	84.4
Newly acceded countries into the EU (negative net migration)	-1.59					
of which (96.86 %) in:						
Romania (38.99 %)	-0.62	10.100	5.600	114	69.2	76.2
Poland (36.48 %)	-0.58	13.300	8.100	246	70.9	79.7
Bulgaria (13.21 %)	-0.21	9.500	3.800	92	69.2	76.3
Lithuania (8.18 %)	-0.13	15.000	8.300	174	65.3	77.0

The high life expectancy in the developed countries is an important pull factor, on one side, because it reveals a high life standard but also because of the fact that it reveals the existence of aged populations and a deficit of labour force. The emigrants' choice for Spain and Italy during $1997 − 2007$ is explained by a more relaxed legislation in the labour field in these countries than in the UK, Germany and France. Also, if we take into consideration the GDP per capita, we notice that Spain and Italy are part of the second echelon of the developing European countries, which haven't reached a high level of "saturation" on the labour force markets as it's the case with the Northern European countries.

3. The main migration determinants in Romania

The analysis of the Romanian emigrants by nationality and destination, during $1990 − 2006$, reveals the fact that after Romanians, the biggest contributions were made by Germans (26.62 %), Hungarians (10.77 %) and Jews (0.77 %) (Table 3).

As for the Romanian emigrating citizens that belong to national minorities, the factors that caused the departure of these ones must be found in the theories of sociological origin; the most important of these could be linked to family reunion, a richer environment from a cultural point of view, higher possibilities for employment, superior earnings to those in the native countries.

The analysis of the Romanian emigrants' structure by sex (Table 4) reveals the fact that women hold the largest part, 53 %, but this fact is due mainly to the fact that women in Romania represent approximately 51.25 % of the population.

On the other hand, women emigration can be explained considering the theory of double labour market, especially by the more accessible possibility for women to find new jobs in the second sector that includes cleaning services and agriculture. In the same time, unfortunately, women are target for the slave trade, which has grown exponentially in the ex-communist states after the change of the political regime.

Table 3. Romanian emigrants, by nationality and destination, during 1990-2006 (Source: National Institute of Statistics- Romania (2008))

Romanian emigrants	individuals	%
Total	386.827	100.00
Nationality		
Romanians	234.399	60.60
Germans	102.978	26.62
Hungarians	41.657	10.77
Jews	2.978	0.77
Other nationalities	4.815	1.24
Destination country		
Italy	156.907	40.56
U.S.A.	42.382	10.96
Hungary	39.473	10.20
Canada	31.108	8.04
Austria	22.623	5.85
Germany	16.795	4.34
France	15.552	4.02
Israel	15.371	3.97
Other countries	46.616	12.05

Table 4. Romanian emigrants, by sex and age groups, during 1990 – 2006 (Source: National Institute of Statistics- Romania (2008))

Romanian emigrants	individuals	%
Total	386.827	100
Male	179.873	46.50
Female	206.954	53.50
Age groups		
Under 18	91.819	23.74
18-25	59.268	15.32
26-40	136.042	35.17
41-50	39.684	10.26
51-60	28.443	7.35
61 and older	31.571	8.16

The age group structure of the Romanian emigrants reveals the fact that population, of age under 40, holds 74.23 % of the total. This is an important segment of the population from the point of view of the role played on the labour force market but also from the point of view of the major contribution to the natural growth of the population, the fertility rate for this segment being of approximately 96 %. For this reason in Romania both a rapid aging phenomenon and a dramatic decrease of the population will take place; we emphasize the fall of the natural increase from 10.041 inhabitants in 1990 to -38.468 in 2008 (National Institute of Statistics - Romania 2010).

If we analyze migration by the residence change criterion, we observe that the internal moves of the population are more intense than the external ones (Table 5).

Table 5. Internal migration, by areas, and the international one in Romania, during 2000 – 2006 (Source: National Institute of Statistics- Romania (2007, 2008))

Year	Internal migration		External migration	
	total	average urban balance	total	balance
2000	244.507	-34.938	25.777	-3.729
2001	284.332	-9.454	20.271	429
2002	320.819	-24.696	14.736	-1.572
2003	331.747	-23.485	13.940	-7.406
2004	369.892	-39.554	16.069	-10.095
2005	272.604	-20.537	14.642	-7.234
2006	334.025	-18.649	21.911	-6.483
Total	2.157.926	-171.313	127.346	-36.090

During 2000 – 2006, the yearly average of internal migration by areas (urban – rural) was of 308.275 individuals, and that of external migration was of 18.192 individuals. If we made and analysis on a balance level, we observe that on the level of the entire period analyzed, 171.313 individuals have moved from urban to rural areas, and the population of Romania has decreased by 36.090 individuals due to the negative balance of the international migration. When actually, the international migration is a lot higher than the one measured by the residence change criterion.

Internal migration by developing counties and regions is also important. Thus, according to statistics data referring to the year 2005, the number of the individuals who changed residence to another county was of 272.604 and in the year 2006 of 334.025 (National Institute of Statistics − Romania 2007, 2008).

As for migration by developing regions of Romania, we observe that the destination regions of choice are Bucharest-llfov and West, and the main region for departure of the population is North-East, which has recorded a balance of -3.720 individuals in 2005 and 6.934 individuals in 2006. The cause of this phenomenon is represented by the differences of development that exist between regions (Table 6).

Thus the North-Eastern region holds the highest percentage of the country's population 17.27 %, and is the poorest one of the eight developing regions, having a GDP per capita of 77.29 % of the national average, while Bucharest-Ilfov and the Western region are the most developed ones, having a GDP per capita indicator of 238.89 % and, respectively, 127.02 % of the national average.

Table 6. Population, GDP and GDP per capita by developing regions of Romania, in 2005 (Source: National Institute of Statistics- Romania (2007, 2008))

Developing region	Population		GDP		GDP per capita	
	mil.	%	bil. EUR	%	EUR	%
Total	21.62	100	79.53	100	3.678	100
North-East	3.73	17.27	9.39	11.81	2.515	77.29
South-East	2.85	13.16	9.13	11.48	3.209	98.85
South-Muntenia	3.33	15.40	10.02	12.60	3.011	92.95
South-West Oltenia	2.31	10.67	6.66	8.37	2.887	89.15
West	1.93	8.93	7.97	10.02	4.129	127.02
North-West	2.74	12.66	9.56	12.01	3.490	107.48
Centre	2.53	11.70	9.46	11.90	3.739	114.83
Bucharest – Ilfov	2.21	10.21	17.26	21.71	7.817	238.89

Migration between regions can be explained by different employment and remuneration possibilities from one region to another. We have in mind two criteria: the net yearly average wage and the unemployment rate, especially that the remuneration differences are inconsistent, except the Bucharest-Ilfov region which bypasses the average.

Thus for half the regions (North-East, Bucharest-Ilfov, South-Muntenia and South-East), the remuneration differences appear as a main cause of migration (Table 7).

For example, the North-Eastern region, that recorded in 2004 the lowest level of GDP per capita

of the 268 regions of the EU 27 (Eurostat 2007), had the smallest yearly net average wage in 2006, of 2.604 EUR, and the highest negative balance of internal migration, -6.934 individuals, while Bucharest-Ilfov had the highest net yearly medium income of 3.840 EUR, and the highest positive balance of internal migration, 10.269 individuals.

But this criterion is not sufficient. In the case of the other four developing regions (South-West Oltenia, West, North-West, Middle) the net internal migration values correlate closely with the unemployment rates and not with the remuneration level.

Thus, in the South-West Oltenia region, even if the monthly net average wage is the second highest, after the one recorded in Bucharest-Ilfov, the net internal migration is of -3.364 individuals and this thing is explained by a high unemployment rate, of 7 %, the highest one of all the regions we refer to. The Western and North-Western regions record positive balances of migration under modest wage income conditions, but the unemployment rate in these regions is lower. Either a low unemployment rate reflects a higher job offer, which means higher employment possibilities, even if the remuneration is not the best of all. Comparing the trend level of remuneration to the trend of internal migration on the level of the North-Eastern region we observe that the lower the remuneration level gets the deeper the negative balance of internal migration becomes.

Table 7. Internal and international migration in Romania, in 2006 (Source: National Institute of Statistics - Romania (2008))

Developing region	Yearly net average wage		Net internal migration	Net international migration	Unemployment rate
	EUR	%	Individuals	Individuals	%
Total	2.952	100	0	-6.483	5.2
North-East	2.604	88.34	-6.934	-1.977	6.2
North-West	2.640	89.72	730	-1.468	3.6
Centre	2.652	89.95	-75	-2.402	6.1
West	2.784	94.23	4.196	-1.478	4.1
South-East	2.784	94.34	-2.797	-966	5.6
South-Muntenia	2.844	96.42	-2.025	-424	6.4
South-West Oltenia	2.904	98.50	-3.364	-424	7.0
Bucharest - Ilfov	3.840	130.37	10.269	2.656	2.2

The graphic representation of the data in the previous chart reveals the fact that, unlike the internal migration, the net international migration is closely correlated with the level of remuneration (Fig. 1).

The slow reduction of the developing differences makes the labour force migration in Romania to be maintained at a high level, even if, on the background of today's global economical crisis, the employment rate has significantly increased in the developed countries. This fact determines a

rapid decrease of the population. The provisional results of the population census from October 20th 2011 shows that the Romanian population has decreased to 19.042.936 inhabitants, from 21.680.974 in 2002 and 22.810.035 at the census from January 1992 (The Central Commission for Population and Home Census – Romania, 2012). According to UN projections, in 2050 Romania will have 16.31 million inhabitants (United Nations, 2011), but there is a risk that this level be reached a lot sooner.
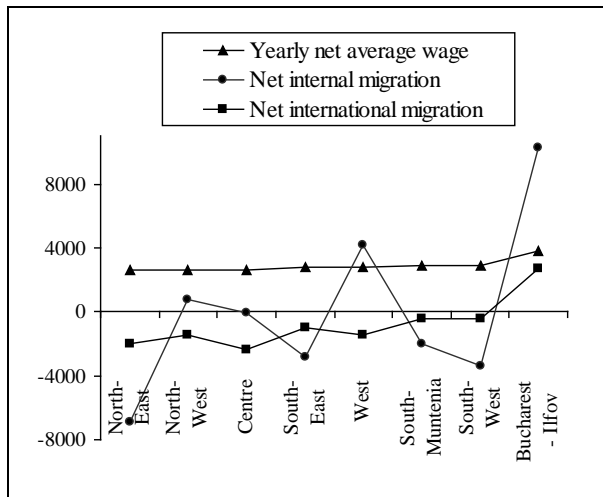
Fig.1. Migration and wage income, in Romania, in 2006

4. Conclusions

As for the Romanian migration, we can identify two categories of determining factors: main determinants - which generate the motivation to emigrate - and secondary determinants - which facilitate migration. A special case in point is the analysis of migration, which brings out emigration as the dominant component, immigration being negligible.

The main determinants are Romania's lagging behind in terms of socio-economic development compared to the Western countries, as well as the Romanian citizens' extremely low expectations regarding the improvement of the socio-economic conditions in the future. In Romania, the system of values was reversed during communism, while today non-values are persistently promoted, the quality of governing is low, legislation is violated and corruption can be found especially on higher levels, politics being turned into an instrument for the primitive accumulation of capital. We think that promoting non-values can lead in the long run to the dissolution of a nation. During 1990-2006, 74.23 % of the Romanian emigrants were under 40 years old; this had a negative impact on the fertility rate, which dropped from 2 27 in $1985 - 1990$ to 1.33 between $2005 - 2010$. Thus, emigration influences the population decline both directly and indirectly, reducing the fertility rate. The census in October 2011 shows a decrease of population by 16.52 % in the last 20 years. Except for the Bucharest-Ilfov region, all the other regions show a population decline because of international migration.

The analysis done based on statistics reveal the fact that in Romania, the main determinants differ according to the type of migration. Thus the net international migration has as the main determinant the wage income, while the net internal migration is closely linked to the employment rate.

The main determinants imply different gradations depending on the level of education of those who emigrate. Thus, the brain drain has an additional main determinant: the different career opportunities in developing countries compared to Romania where fields like research, education or the health system constantly face budget under-financing.

Migration secondary determinants are catalysts for this phenomenon. Among these are: the accession of Romania to NATO and the EU, facilities provided by EU states for the Romanian workforce through governmental programs, the Latin origin of the Romanian language – which allowed the easy assimilation of Italian and Spanish, the Romanian communities having over 700.000 members in Italy and over 600.000 in Spain –, the free and easy access to information, the social networks that have formed and are self-sustained. These determinants help to reduce the cost and the risks taken by the migrants.

We think that Romania will be able to reduce the workforce exodus and attract immigrants together with an increase in the quality of justice, institutionalization – the fiscal system and the legal stability being essential – and government, so as to attract both FDI and European funds; recourse to public loans are justifiable only if they support investments that could increase the productivity at work, the wage levels and the attractiveness of the business environment in Romania.

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