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Petronela Daniela FERARU

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Romans Immigrants in Italy and the Social Costs

Ph.D. Candidate Petronela Daniela FERARU¹

Abstract

The present research intends to approach in an explicative manner the migration phenomenon, mainly to test which are the social costs of external migration in Romania. We have tried to find some answers by relating to this specific type of migration, especially to external or international circulatory migration, of to-and-fro type which registered a constant increase in Romania in the last years. Travelling for work abroad is part of a life strategy with major effects on the person/household. In this sense, the social costs of the phenomenon become ample, with effects at the national level.

The present study was based on the questions: which are the reasons that determine more and more Romanians to leave for work abroad, how do they leave legally or illegally, what is the Romanians' perception about the situation of present Romania, their perception about the emigration area, which are the costs, which are the benefits and losses of external migration?

The approaching manner is mainly a qualitative one but has in view a quantitative approach of the phenomenon at the level of a community of Romanians situated in the north of Italy, in Torino. In this paper, migration is studied from a broader perspective, tackling both the persons in the hypostasis of immigration (entrance) and emigration (exit); both forms of migration are considered since any migratory act is at the same time a migration and an emigration.

Keywords:

migration, social cost, economic capital, human capital, social capita, symbolic capital

¹ Ph.D. Candidate Petronela Daniela FERARU – Ph.D. Candidate at Faculty of Philosophy and Social-Political Sciences, « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » University, Iași, Romania.

I. Introduction

The interest manifested for this phenomenon is based on the fact that, in most of the cases, mobility is accompanied or generates a social mobility, namely the changing of the social status of the migrant persons. The object of study is the external migration without making the temporary or final specification, a reconstitution of migration being usually necessary, after a period of time beyond which they can be considered final.

During the study the external migration was imagined as being the result of a multitude of individual actions of rational social agents, which evaluate the costs, the benefits and the risks not only in economical terms. Another major component of the study is the problem of external migration effects or consequences, the investigation direction is contoured towards the effects of origin and adoption population or of destination on the migration itself.

Another aspect of the research is the situation of migrant families, of those remaining home, especially whether the situation of those remaining home is ameliorated, whether the migrants send material goods and money at home.

A starting point for elaborating the investigation of external migration phenomena and the social costs that it involved was the situation of the population in the receiving area and how it is influenced by the presence of immigrants; if they are found in the period of economic increase then the emigrants contribute to completing the work force necessity ; in exchange, during the period of recession, they participate to the increasing of the number of unemployed , being subject to dismissing thus determining a further resource consume.

Another interesting aspect in the research is the anthropological one that focuses on the integration of migrants in the receiving communities taking into account the fact that there is contact between two different cultures. I also monitored the manner in which the social cultural contact is manifested in the individuals' process of receiving, interiorizing and applying values, norms, behaviour models or live styles specific to the cultural space they are into contact with, and on the other hand the psychological cultural contact in which the individual also encounters new elements in the process of integration (information, experiences) in the pre-existent structures, having now the receptor role.

I also monitored the manner in which family and migration influence each other, which are the spent economical and non-economical resources that lead to achieving the act of migration. The resources spent are accompanied by the secondary negative effects related to the migration of individuals. External migration is analyzed in response to social problems in Romania at present by

reference to cost / benefit and social efficiency by offering solutions in the form of social policy.

Dimensions by which research data were radiographs are the psychosocial, cultural and economic. Deductive approach to research is designed, built and trying situations reality through empirical study to see if it is confirmed or not. Area interteoretic theory is used as the study of this social phenomenon involving several angles of approach. We used both theoretical instruments involving reality at micro level and macro, both in terms of deterministic and constructivist.

The basic conclusion that we reached presents family as a key factor in initiating and signing a migration project; another important element is the one that impels emigration, the material and economic one respectively, being the main motivational source. Another detail of the research refers to the feeling of belonging and identity built in relation with the original society.

This paper is a tendency to see an immigrant arriving at the reasons and purposes set and before and after leaving home. Very important in structuring the external migration phenomenon is economic constraints and opportunities and communication in most cases. Status are significant indicators for different forms of capital (human capital, economic, social or life, symbolic). In terms of functional elements stand development / survival, conversion / maintenance of various forms of capital.

The theoretical frame is presented under the form of a corpus of concepts, objectives and hypotheses that guided and organised the whole empirical demarche. By explaining and communicating the theoretical arsenal, we enable the evaluation of the instruments validity, of the results accuracy, of the coherence and knowledge value of the final discourse by the scientific community.

The *objectives* of the research was the research were: identifying the causes of migration; identifying the effects of migration on the immigrants' families; identifying the relation between migration and development; mphasizing the role of church in the process of integrating the immigrants in the adoption country; identifying the socio-economical consequences of the external migration.

Also, *hypotheses* that formed the basis of the research were: in mediating the work force, the majority of migrants prefer the alternative of relations and family network from the provenience environment; the migrants' families concentrate their economical practices in investments and less in consume; the financial capital obtained is used in investments that have as a purpose improving the living standard, acquiring houses and fields, protecting the family for a long period of time; there is an unequal distribution of wins and losses between the issuing regions and the receiving ones.

II. Methodology

The present research proposes to emphasize the social costs of the migration phenomenon underlining the particularities, the structure of this very important social phenomenon, too little known from the scientific point of view in Romania. With the purpose of a better understanding of the manner of research I approached a series of criteria: temporal, the criterion regarding the type of investigative demarche, and the macro- microsocial conceptual binomial.

According to the temporal criterion and the principles of knowing the social reality of the migration phenomenon belong to the longitudinal method of analysis of the phenomena or social facts in their evolution through which the main method used was the case study , the study target was represented by the Romanians immigrated in Italy, Torino. Regarding the types of case studies, all three were used in the succession of research stages: *exploratory, descriptive and explicative*.

According to *the type of investigative demarche*, the methodological orientation of this research is an intersection one, in which there is a combination between the qualitative and the qualitative approach. For the unity of the qualitative with the qualitative and of the fact that unstructured - structured is a continuous, there are also “methods of intersection”. The starting point in the demarche I carried out was the qualitative method. One of the characteristics specific to the qualitative methods is the fact that they have the function of understanding rather than describing systematically or measuring”, the words are “comprehension, profoundness” (Kaufman, Jean- Claude, 1988). Personally, I was interested in illustrating the socio-cultural and economical changes produced by the migration phenomenon in the current Romanian community. The work instrument used in the case study to emphasize the theoretical background of the project was the *semistructured narrative interview*. Within the quantitative method, the work instrument in emphasising the role of the social integration of the immigrants was the *questionnaire*.

Another criterion used was the conceptual binomial: macro-microsocial. Through the macro analysis we analysed generally the migration phenomenon and the realities, and through the “micro” analysis I considered in details and concretely the entities comprising the phenomenon and the respective realities. I tried to identify the social costs and the profound transformations in the social and economical life of the migrants.

The construction of the theories was achieved in a deductive manner, starting from theories that establish relationships between the general and abstract concepts, new concepts and theories with more reduced generality degree were formulated. : these theories involving then the formulation of hypotheses, testing the, and validating the theory. *The theory of capitals*

(constructivist - structuralist) of Bourdian type represented a well chosen theoretical instrument in constructing the objectives and hypotheses and of course within the data interpretation.

The case study initially started from a theoretical background, essential when collecting data. After the planning of the data collection protocol, the selection of cases and the mentioning of the analysis units (individual) followed. Then, each case is studied through the interview, observation, and finally we extract the relevant data in the light of the layer idea, the initial theory is modified and all the implications are developed. The case study does not only approaches persons, and does not study the psycho(social) reality only from the perspective of those persons, through their biography but a fragment of reality from the exterior is also researched, using also the method of observation (Ilut, Petru 1997:105). The qualitative strategy of the case study appeals the intercase systematic comparison, the complex and sensitive comparison with direct references to cases in natural contexts.

Through this comparative induction, we obtain the theoretical model of description and explanation. I also resorted to comparisons with other similar cases.

The manner of *sampling* adopted belongs to the perspectives of social network; knowing a social actor he will take me to the individuals (social units) belonging to the network and to the area of research. Among the managing principles in the practice of networks I opted for the structural dimension of the studied network.

The sample in the qualitative approach: I carried out 15 interviews with duration between 25 up to 91 minutes, with a total time of 846 minutes, namely approximately 15 hours per interview. The sample comprised 18 persons with ages between 23 and 59 years old (11 men and 7 women). Of this sample, only 2 are not married, the rest of 16 subjects are married; 11 subjects are in Italy together with their family, and 7 without family. Only one person is of Catholic religion, the other subjects are all orthodox. The majority of subjects are from the region of Moldavia, Bucharest, Curtea de Arges, Brasov, Slava Rusa.

The sampling in the quantitative approach: of the study is randomized because of the difficulties encountered on the field and which did not allow me to apply special sampling techniques. This does not mean that I could not elaborate the concept of social integration of the migrants and diagnose it using a great volume of statistical information and statistical calculations obtained after applying a number of 100 questionnaires in Italy. The quantitative analysis although starts from a series of graphics and tables created in SPSS, in the end, the presentation of data is made both qualitatively and quantitatively.

1. The qualitative analysis of data

The leaving environment, traveling to Italy

Going to work abroad assures a satisfactory living standard for many families at the level of the village or of the town of provenience. Circulating for work abroad is generally regarded as an alternative for the inhabitants of the urban area but also for those in the rural area. Regarding the qualitative approach which is based on 15 interviews, where there were discussions with 18 subjects (11 men and 7 women) , 12 come from the urban area and 7 from the rural area.

The solution of leaving on a trip remains the most preferred and the safest manner of arriving to the proposed destination having the advantages of price, low risk of running out of money and the transport offered. Regarding the travel by bus, it is cheap as a price and can have even different routes that last up to three days. The route is not important for persons, some of them, if they have experience in migration, they don't even remember the countries they had passed through exactly; in all these efforts and sacrifices the only thing that is important is reaching the destination safely.

The satisfaction with life and work (living standard, family situation, work conditions/unemployment)

The living standard is the real motivation why Romanians prefer to work abroad, and this motivation lies in the *local constraints* (the lack of work places) and also in the *economical situation* of these people and households (poverty).

Among the reasons lying at the grounds of the decision to emigrate and which were named by the subjects interviewed, I name:

“One of the most important reasons why I left Romania was the lack of money, then there are many things I don't like about our country: I do not like corruption, I do not like to pay bribe and many other things ... The moment you enter the country everybody asks for money...you go to a doctor, you pay money, give presents. I hate this method.”

(M.A, 34 years old, man, Iasi, married, a child, is together with the family in Italy, the profession of waiter, and in Italy he works illegally and has left the country for 1 year and 3 months).

“The reasons were economical because I made a loan from a bank in order to buy a washing machine, a TV-set and a vacuum cleaner. At the beginning the interest was acceptable but while the time passed, I couldn't manage to pay the rate. I sold the house and came to Italy.”

(A.P.P, 39 years old, man from Bucharest, married, a child, lives together with his family in Italy, the profession of electrician, and in Italy he is a builder, has been abroad for 6 years and 7 months)

“Because I have family and children. Life is hard in Romania”. (G.I , 34 years old, man, from Roman, married, three children, the profession of mechanical locksmith, and in Italy he is a gardener, illegally, left the country for 4 years);

“The main reason I left the country was because I had finished school, and I had no work for the studies I had attended. I couldn’t find anything else elsewhere, maybe something with a very low salary.” (G.P., 28 years old, from Roman, married, the profession of mechanical locksmith, and in Italy he is a builder, working legally, has left the country for 6 years).

“There were no living conditions in Romania, and we couldn’t live like this anymore. My wife did not work, although we had cattle, sheep, hens, and everything a man can own at the country, and with this income we could hardly survive. “(U.G, 38 years old, man, from Roman, married, one child, is together with his family in Italy, the profession of carpenter, and in Italy he is a builder, working legally, has left the country for 6 years and a half); “Because you have no money to survive in the country. What can you do in the country”(T.V, 44 years old, woman, from Curtea de Arges, married, 4 children, unqualified worker, and in Italy is a attendant, illegally, has left the country fro 3 years and 3 months); “Because there are no possibilities to work in the country” (G.E., 59 years old, from Brasov, married, 2 children ,profession of typewriter, and in Italy she is a attendant, illegally, has left the country for 3 years);“Because of the managers [...]; when you know you have a certain level of studies and you work for a boss with only a few classes who does not treat you accordingly, it is not such a pleasant thing” (V.C, 31 years old, woman, from Suceava, married, a child, is together with his family in Italy, the profession of jurist, and in Italy is an attendant, illegally, has left the country for 3 years); “I couldn’t escape poverty anymore, the salary was very small in the country, sometimes we weren’t even paid in due time. If I remember well, once I received the money from November in February, and something like this is not possible. At a certain point I had enough and I said I would leave! A friend of mine told me he can’t help me at all, but if I want to he can take me to Italy by car without charging me anything. Then I told him that if he doesn’t help me I would go by skates, by bike, but I would still leave the country.”(R.V, 38 years old, man, from Bacău, married, is together with his family in Italy, profession of policeman, and in Italy a builder ,legally, has left the country for 6 years); “Money. The lack of money and the fact that in Romania you do not have the possibility to build a house. For example, if I had a house in Italy, I wouldn’t have come to Italy”(T.V, 32 years old, from Suceava, not married, profession of car mechanic, and in Italy is a builder, legally, left the country for 2 years).

The reasons were , that in the country I worked everywhere, I worked at the “Research Department”, in Copou as a horticultural technician and I earned a miserable salary, the first salary when I was employed was 500.000 lei which was then increased to 1 million, then to 1 million eight hundred lei [...]. The reasons were that no matter how much we worked, no matter how much we tried it was in vain, we had work, although me and my wife worked , we were alone, we lived in the parents in law’s apartment and we did not manage , he used to send money and the money was not enough. My wife worked in the country in a bar in Tudor Vladimirescu, at Pizza Party, and we had together over 6 million per month but which were not enough. In Italy my wife works per hours and earns very, very well.” (B.L, 25 years old, from Iasi, married, is together with his family in Italy, profession of horticulturalist, and in Italy is an agriculturalist, has left the country for 2 years); “I borrowed money from a money lender who dragged me for two years in a law court, this was a sort of trick, so to say. So I took 3540 Euros six years ago, only 2000 euros actually because the monthly interest was more than a thousand euros , I paid a lot. So the money lender came with his lawyer to my house... I gave him this sum of money every month, but one month I couldn’t pay him, it was Easter, I had to pay this usury, as they say, but he said we should not worry because it was Easter, he was a reformed from Suceav; but he sued me, I spent more than 150 million with the law court. He came with a law decision, there was no proof I had given him money[...] (F.T., 38 years old, has left the country 4 years ago).

The human capital (form of education, work experience , health state)

The human capital of high level, both for those in the urban area and for those in the rural area, tends to reduce the ethnic intolerance manifestations. The human capital consists of the characteristic abilities of the persons that can be valued on the work market in exchange of some economic resources.

This is formed in its turn of educational and biological capitals. In economy, the term of human capital was developed as a concept regarded as “estimation of the abilities of a person to produce incomes through work.”

Regarding the educational capital attested through diplomas, the problem of measuring at the individual level is not very difficult, even if we can discuss different methods used: measuring through years of study, through degrees of education etc. In exchange, the informal education produces stocks of educational capital difficult to estimate.

The simple measuring of the school participation is less satisfactory than the direct testing of abilities, but it can be difficult to test all the relevant abilities.

At the macrosocial level the human capital is estimated through the aggregation of individual stocks of human capital. A common measure consists of summing up the years or the school levels covered by the individuals and establishing either the percentage of adult population who attended every level of schooling, or the average of school number of years attended by the adult population.

The individuals who make the decision to migrate are generally richer in human capital, and their migratory movement moves from the poor areas towards the developed one. This affects directly the human capital stocks at the community level, being able to induce accentuated discrepancies from other collectivity to the other within the same society or between different societies. These kinds of inequalities have long term effects in the plan of collectivity or society development in cause and can lead to segregations. The decision to invest in human capital at the macro and meso-social level can be oriented towards discouraging the migration of individuals with education above average in the areas poor in educational capital, at the same time with investments in consolidating the human local capital. The alternative can be maintaining the trailing. Moreover, in some cases, the migration of individuals rich in human capital (both education and health state) can be a solution in the case of some areas poor in resources and represented as not having chances of development, from reasons independent of the human will. The massive leaving of more educated individuals and of youngsters (with a superior work force) can lead to the dissolution of these poor communities, while the migrants can obtain access to the environment conditions of superior social and natural environment.

The health state also raises problems of definition and measuring. Neither the economy, nor the sociology produced direct measures of the health state, but either subjective appreciation of the individuals, either monetary measure of expenses for the medical care. The biological capital greatly depends on the educational one, the studies revealing the fact that the most educated persons opt for medical services of increased quality, selecting the most adequate alternative for maintaining the health in the best parameters.

Both the expenses for education and those for health can be regarded both as investment and as consume.

But the level of knowledge of foreign languages in Romania seems to be an intermediate one in relation with other European countries, of 18 subjects, only 2 had previous knowledge of Italian, the others learnt later : *“When I came, I understood Italian, but here I learnt it very well [...] in about one month I learnt Italian (C.A., woman, 23 years old); “I did not know Italian at all, it was very hard for me for three months” (F.T, man, 39 years old); “I didn’t know anything, and that’s why I learnt , I had to speak, I went and worked with my husband in a post, we painted, then we took care of an old lady and that’s how we earned money. “ (F.C, woman, 31 years old); “No, when*

I came I didn't know anything, now I can say I know 60% and understand 90% and I speak rather well. Because Italian is a Latin language, or how is it? Such as Spanish which is similar, and French, there are words which in our language have a meaning and here they are pronounced the same but there is totally different meaning and if you can't pronounce them well then the manager can understand something else and then you risk not to be understood well, not to understand and not to do something correctly.. “(B.L, man, 25 years old) ; “*I knew Italian to a certain extent, I had learnt in school, although I managed anyway, in school I learnt Italian, and then I learnt a little privately; I spoke a little, not very much, but I could be understood to a certain extent, about 50% or 40%*” (A.P.P, man, 39 years old)

Regarding the informal education, 3 out of 18 subjects attended courses of requalification to be employed in relevant fields on the work market in Italy and also to be better paid: “*Here, most of people learn by working. But they hope that once they returned fro Italy the filed of constructions is a profitable business in Romania.*” (T.V., man, 31 years old); “*No. I didn't attend any courses for the time being, I was employed like this, I practiced work at the work place. You can also attend courses, but I want to make courses related to the job of electrician, so with that diploma I can get a job as a qualified worker, because if don't have those courses here, it is in vain that I have the course and diploma in the country if I didn't attend them here in Italy, they are not recognized here.*” (A.P.P., man, 39 years old)

At the question: “What new things have you learnt here in Italy?” the subjects answered :”profession” ; “We have learnt a lot, the manner of working is different, compared to our country, I learnt other jobs through my job, I learnt to make face work, I adapted myself. “ (I.V, man, 43 years old); “Here, I learnt to fight is a battle especially for those like me. But there are thousands and thousands of Romanians who no longer stand the situation in our country, in Romania, where there is nothing you can do...” (R.V, man, 38 years old); “In constructions, how to build houses, because they usually need builders for their houses here. There is a lot of work for house builders here.” (T.V, man, 32 years old); I learnt everything, because I had very good conditions to learn some things.” (U.G, man 38 years old); “Here I learnt everything, especially the work on the building yard, I learnt everything, in Romania I did not have the opportunity to go on the building yard, here I learnt about all the things, the stones, masonry, everything related to the building yard. “ (G.P., man, 28 years old) ; “Here I learnt what I did not learn at home, in the country. (G.I, man, 34 years old); What I learnt from the carpenters, then I worked in constructions, then I opened a construction company, but it doesn't really work, because very many Romanians work illegally, for nothing.” (A.P.P. man, 39 years old); “I learnt to economize” (M.A, man, 34 years old).

Most of the subjects declare they have learnt something new to do in Italy: to be more economical, a better professional, better fighters; most of them

became experts in the field of constructions since this type of job is more important and better paid in Italy.

Talking about informal education, most of the subjects declared they had to learn new things in the jobs practiced in Italy, and most of them declare that what they learnt in Romania was not of great help for them. With other words, at the question “ How and how much did what you learnt in Romania help you in the job practiced in Italy?” the subjects answered like this:

“No, it didn’t help me at all, few people come here to work in the field they were trained , they come to do what they can, to earn some money”. (M.A, man, 34 years old); “ Too little, the language helped me a lot, because I had learnt Italian for seven years in the country, since the second grade until the ninth grade, in helped to a certain extent, while I staid in the center Caritas , women staid separately, men separately, 4,6 in a room, with superposed beds, there was also an Italian from Angolia, Sicilia, and we stood the whole day eating, three times a day, there was nothing we could do, with this Italian food! At 15.00 during the day the sheets were changed, I used to talk to him the whole day and when I made mistakes he would correct me, and little by little I started to learn better, I knew some things, I knew how to ask, I knew usual words, he helped me a lot because , when I started work I was more or less good, I understood, I had started to understand, not very much, only a few things and afterwards, in a certain measure the fact that I knew the language helped me, in what regards the rest it wasn’t of any help for me.”(A.P.P, man, 39 years old); “It wasn’t of too much help, I worked on the building ground , but here the work style is different from ours, there were no work conditions for us, in exchange here you have everything you need. “ (U.G, man, 38 years old); “No, in Romania you work differently than here. It wasn’t of too much help for me since my profession is mechanic. Here, I work in a totally different field than my job in Romania.” (T.V., man, 32 years) ; “Yes, yes, very much...” (B.L, man, 25 years old)

In the field of work experience, most of the subjects of the research currently work in Italy, in different fields compared to those they were prepared for, and they have experience in Romania. Among the 18 subjects, only 2 work in Romania in the same fields they have experience for, and we are talking about subjects who practice jobs like builder and agriculturalist.

As an observation, I can add the fact that few of the subjects speak about *their health state*. Three of the subjects talk about their health state condition, then when I talk about what they lost together with leaving the country. One of the reasons can be the fact that most of the subjects are legally established in Italy.

Social capital (social networks)

From the very beginning we should mention that, although this study has made only a partial analysis and consequently, we cannot make an overall generalization about the migration phenomenon, the interactions to which the subjects take part remain included in the social networks and the social norms related to them. All these, guarantee the access to informational networks that could provide more resources.

The contact is one of the strongest and it manifests itself in the case of those from both the rural areas and the urban areas. The base of this contact is made up of two phenomena: that “of trust” and that “of tolerance”, which are part of the same culture of openness, with strong interactions between them. The social capital does not waste itself as it is being used, but rather becomes more extended when we talk about social networks, as their whole evolution is being studied, beginning with the starting point of the migration and ending with the networks’ role in this process. This way we can talk about two types of departures: *network departures*, in which there is someone waiting for the migrant at the place of destination and *independent departures* in the case of those who leave without having such a contact. The majority of those interviewed declare that they left for Italy through a social network set up at the place of origin, although nowadays these networks have overstepped the boundaries of the country including both persons from the migrant’s origin community as from the destination. The persons from the destination network are, usually, of Italian nationality, the nationality of the country in which the migrant arrives, and helps him to find a job and to settle there. This person is referred to by the migrant as “the one who takes me on”, “my Italian“. According to the type of contact that facilitated the migration act, we have different types of network: *networks of friends and relatives, destination networks*.

The networks of friends and relatives are the most frequent with the questioned subjects: “I came to my father-in-law who had been here for a while, if he hadn’t been here, I admit I wouldn’t have come either [...] I was privileged, I had a chance...” (M.A., male 34 years old); “Yes, I had my wife there who had come before me” (U.G., male 39 years old); “I got here through my mother, she was working in Italy and sent me money and so I come too” (C.A., female, 23 years old) “through a brother-in-law of mine” [...] first, my wife came and, after one month, I came too (I.V., male, 43 years old) “I got here through my cousin who is not here anymore, he’s in Spain, I remained here...he had first come helped by some acquaintances that worked in a fixed place” (P.N. male, 30 years old)

“Before me, a brother of mine had come, he had been here for three years and so I came too. He helped me a lot, otherwise I couldn’t have come, I

didn't have the money nor any other support to come here. (T.V., male, 32 years old) "My father-in-law had left, he left without any certainty..., and when he got to Italy, he had 5 euros in his pocket. After a year he made his wife come, then my wife... and after that I came too and now we're the four of us here in Turin." (B.L., male, 25 years old). "The godfather of my child was here and he brought me hereafter two weeks my wife came too and the children came a year and a half after". (F.T., male, 38 years old)

There are also persons who didn't have any contact, who went there believing in their lucky star, but who then became a destination network for others: "*Someone was supposed to help us but things changed, at first they told us they would help us, but after that it wasn't possible anymore...*" (A.P.P., male, 39 years old); "*I didn't know, I didn't know anyone, [...] They promise, they all promise but no one really helps you, when you get here no one knows you*" (G.I., male, 34 years old) "*From what I had heard...I came with those who organize trips ...*" (T.V., female, 44 years old) "*I didn't know anything, anyone. I came without any certainty. I left in order to change our life. Anyway, Italy is not as they say*" (R.V., male, 39 years old).

The human capital (form of education, work experience, health state)

The risk, in the case of most of the interviewed subjects, marks a type of mentality based on an illusion of a better future. The risk that they take come, mostly, from these interests of the subjects, and even though these risks are most of them lived and assumed, with time they are eliminated and sometimes acknowledged. "*At that time I didn't risk anything, the only problem was that I was used to weddings and things like that...I like to party, I suffer because I cannot sing at the weddings, but when I returned, after 9 months, I sang at a wedding together with my ex band colleagues...*" (F.T., male, 38 years old). "*Being away from my only parent was difficult, because when I was home, if I didn't see him for a month, there as no problem, I knew he was there, I was on the other side, and sometimes we saw each other every two months but the distance makes the separation even worse.*" (B.L., male, 25 years old) "*I risked the money, because I had debts and if something had happened I had no money to give back. Not to mention that even now I still have debts. I took some money, I wanted to do something in Romania but I couldn't and I had to leave. So I took a risk anyway and if I hadn't come here I would have been in deep debts even now. I don't think there is someone who came to Italy having a good life in Romania. They all have a bad family situation.*" (T.V., male, 32 years old) "*I would do things all over again, even if I had to leave to Ireland, even if it were worse, taking any risk. I take any risk*" (R.V., male, 38 years old). "*You had to stay all the time as hidden as you could, because there was a lot of police and you couldn't move from one place to another, that is, to have more space...since this law was given in Romania, you can come and go whenever you want to ... Since I left Romania, however, I took a lot of risks, I thought*

I should risk and go to see how things are in Italy, how life is here, in Italy” (P.N, male, 30 years old) *“I took some risks because I didn’t know where I was going, I had a lot of promises but no one helped me when I arrived here. “No, coz I can’t”, “I have no place”, “I didn’t bring you here”, “you can go where you came from”*(G.I., male, 34 years old)

Regarding the *integration* and *adaptation* of the subjects in the adoption community and society, this justifies a range of individual activities, different from one person to another as to motivation, type, and manifestation area. Independent from the period of stay in Italy, the subjects say that they are more or less integrated and adapted to the lifestyle required by the standards of the country and the community in which they live and work. When asked if they adapted or not and how they did this, they answer: *“Absolutely. But I’ve made it”* (R.V., male, 38 years old) *“At first, yes, it was difficult. You couldn’t find any job”* (T.V., male, 32 years old) *“We have to get over everything, we must do that, to move on...I did adapt ...after seven, eight months I was already well integrated among them, I also had a work accident, not me personally, my boss...I was hammering a nail and the nail got into his eye, pulled his eye out,... we became friends, I remained in his house....if I had been in my country, however....”* (I.V., male, 43 years old).

As to *mentalities* and *systems of values*, the subjects interviewed have their own guide marks and perceptions, made up according to the experiences they lived as immigrants.

“It’s not about mentalities, we were genetically born, as in “Miorita”, miorita waits, she heard the story that I don’t know what shepherd is about to come to kill her, and she just sits there and waits as a stupid sheep that she is, she waits for her end to come. This ballad really describes us the Romanians, we are genetic, a genetic people, look, if you want an example: a genetic people is the one born with a flaw, yes. What is our flaw? That we are cowards, fearful, we have no initiative, we sit there, on our bench, waiting to be led, just as a flock of sheep, so a genetic people is born genetic, it’s a group of people, right? I and my wife gave birth to a girl, but the genetic heritage is diverse, from our ancestors. Look, another example: we are cowards, I’ve already said this... look, if something happens to an Arabian, 30 people come to help him but if a Romanian screams for help, 30 people start running away, so that nothing happen to them, so they are braver than us. So we, as a people, we would never do that, we’re cowards, we had Romanians who won battles, but still, we are a coward people...”. (M.A., male, 34 de years old). “ Here you feel like a stranger, it’s normal, because they are very reserved, for example, they don’t want to know you, your way of being, they don’t want to know about your culture, about your country’s customs, but on the other side, they keep saying about how beautiful Italy is, they always tell you how to say a word in Italian, but they never ask how it is said in Romanian, or anything about Romania, They show off with everything that represents them but they never ask “how is it in your

country?” or “how is this done in your country ?”, they are not interested in our culture, in our food, what our best food is or the typical one...” (B.L., male 25 years old) ”Yes, there is a difference in mentalities...working for a Romanian...the Romanian is mean, he doesn’t pay you on time, the situation is worse with Romanians. The Italian, on the one hand, is more honest, but on the other, he has become more suspicious, he doesn’t trust you anymore, there are many Romanians who work, but they don’t do it as well as before” (P.N., male, 30 years old) “I went to tens, thousands of houses, because I made some construction works, and on the contrary, we’ve been respected ...the moment they see you work hard, they respect you, when you don’t work, they reject you...” (I.V., male, 43 years old)

Since the situation involves different cultures, inevitably, there has been a cultural transfer both from the Romanians who work in Italy to the Italian community as the other way around. In the majority of the cases, the Romanians say that they maintain their customs and culture especially on religious celebrations, but they also say that they adopt things from the Italian culture. They say that it is inevitable not to borrow things from the culture and traditions of a community, especially if you have to live and work in that community for a long period of time. Most often, the Romanian takes elements related to gastronomy. For example, they say that on the Catholic Easter the Romanians borrow even for a few days the custom of replacing the red eggs with chocolate eggs that Catholics use for Easter.” *Even though we are in a foreign country, we’re still Romanians ...we must integrate in their society because we live here in their country, and we must obey their laws but at the same time we must maintain our traditions and I say this because I am a catholic and my wife is an orthodox but we’ve always celebrated both Easters, we celebrate both the catholic one, because we have the day off, and the orthodox one...we have always done this....*” (A.P.P., male, 39 years old)

Economic capital (income)

The income. The income of the Romanian workers from Italy varies according to the qualifications: unqualified work, day labor, “professional” work. The same kind of work, when employed by a Romanian, can be worse paid than when working directly for an Italian beneficiary. All these differences appear in the case of men: “*I would choose an Italian employer, because you never know when you can have a good opportunity, the Italian can help you a lot, there are many people who got a Soggiorno permit (stay permit), you can get a labor agreement because it is said that there will be given a law, I don’t now exactly when, and it is said that people will get labor agreements*” (P.N., male, 30 years old)

When asked if, after our country’s integration in the E.U., illegal work will disappear, all of the interviewed subjects answered negatively.” *No, the illegal*

work will never disappear, the illegal working force, never. I, for example, paid the Italian state 1800 euros and this is lot of money, and if Romania becomes part of the E.U., it won't be able to keep up with the economy of the more developed countries, such as Italy, Spain, France, and Germany. Many companies will become bankrupt and then thousands and thousands of people will come here to Italy. The rate of criminality and violence will rise because they will have to survive. The Italian state helps you. For example, I have the legal documents, and why should I pay 60.000 euros for an apartment in Romania when I can earn a little more and buy a house here..." (R.V., male, 38 euros)

In the case of women, given their job as housekeepers, they are worse paid and their wage is just meant to complete that of the man. The lowest wage that the Romanians earn in Italy is of 200 and 300 euros and can get up to 700-800 euros for women while men earn between 500 and 1000 euros and can get to 3000 euros per month for those who work in constructions. The majority are paid with 7.50 euros per hour (the unqualified workers) up to 14 euros (the qualified ones with experience). The wage of both men and women increases as the period of stay in Italy is longer. This seems normal since for the persons who just arrive in Italy it's more difficult to find a job because they don't know the language but as they begin to learn it, they get better paid since they can negotiate their salary with an Italian beneficiary. Moreover, the fact that they know the language not only helps them to get a higher salary but also a permit of residence, which gives them a legal status.

The actual emigration and the integration.

Going on a trip remains the safest way and the most chosen since you have advantages as to the price (120 euros for a person), to the safety risk and to transportation. Regarding the bus trip, it is cheap, it can have different directions and can take up to three days. The route is not at all important for most people, some of them, having a long migration experience, don't even remember the countries they passed through; in all these efforts and sacrifices the only thing that counts is getting safely to the destination.

The interesting thing about this is that there are various destination areas for the Romanian migration. The region of Turin is the one most Romanians head for: "*... the North of Italy, since is more industrialized; the South, Naples, Sicily, Palermo is poorer and from there everyone comes to the North because here you can find work here.*" (R.V., male, 38 years old)

The initial destination of the migrants depends on a person of contact that is already in Italy." If you don't have anyone there it's quite a risk ...you live in the bushes, in the parks, in the dumping carts, under the bridges. There are people who were burnt in dumping carts...they had fallen asleep there and someone came by, threw a lit stump and then the dumping cart was set on fire."

(U.G., male, 38 years old) “Before, there were the big cities, now, everyone avoids the big cities and goes outside them, in the villages or the smaller cities, and they prefer to have a person or two repair his house, work his garden, , take care of things around the house, be his caretaker” (B.L., male, 25 years old)

The cases in which the migration takes place without having a person of contact at the destination are very rare. As to the type of relationship that they have with this “acquaintance”, this is of great importance, especially because the situation of the newly arrived in Italy is uncertain. They can hardly communicate with the others since they don’t know Italian or any other language spoken internationally. Those who leave in tourists-like conditions, leave for a short period of time and don’t have sufficient money to support themselves or to incur other expenses there. This is why it is highly important for those who leave to have some one known there, this way they can get support, clear information about the place they are in, a person on who the “success” of the stay in Italy depends.

When presenting the actual reality of the Romanian community from Italy as to the Church’s role, education, it is necessary to propose some solutions for some legal and financial support of these communities of Romanian immigrants.

There are variations from one individual to another regarding the conditions of the departure and the strategies they use during their stay in Italy. Despite this, there are two main categories of migrants. Those who come to Italy as members of a family/household (wives, children, parents, brothers, sisters) of a person who is already in Italy and whose outliving is up to one point secured on the part of the relative that is already there. Usually, those from this category do not work A second category is made up of those who come to Italy for the first time and finding a job as soon as possible becomes a question of survival. There is, in this case, a pressure related to the money they spent when leaving Romania, and the money earned by someone working in Italy are actually the money they earned after having paid their debts.

The connections that the newly arrived have are essential, especially those with the members of the Romanian community in Italy, because since they don’t know the language, they will have to work and cohabit with other Romanians who have more experience in that place.

There are also situations when Romanians work for other Romanians, especially in the field of constructions. A clear distinction must be made between “working” and “being employed” because the Romanians who work for other Romanians don’t really have a labor contract, instead they make an agreement which also represents a kind of support for the newly arrived. . His wage is negotiated with the Italian beneficiary by the Romanian employee this is

way the salary is very low and working for another Romanian remains a temporary solution.

In Italy there are special places where Romanians get together in order to find out news both about their origin country and their foster country, such as parks or churches.

Most Romanians know from the very beginning what kind of work they will find in Italy. Men find work mostly in constructions while the women usually work as housekeepers. The wage is different, there is a high demand in constructions work which is quite well paid, especially for those qualified for it. But generally getting a job has little to do with the professional qualification, with the migrant's specialization from his country. Even for those qualified for constructions there is the risk of working as an unqualified worker, as day laborer. Those who leave without knowing this trade end up working among other Romanians and so they learn how it is done. Another risk for the one who leaves his country is that of being continuously looking for a job. Many times, the Romanian immigrants use expressions like "sitting in the room" referring to the period when they don't work and all the expenses of the "unemployment period" are covered by themselves. In such cases, they ask the relatives or the friends the immigrant lives with for help.

Another important aspect is where, how and with whom the Romanian immigrants live in Italy; renting an apartment together with other people is a frequent method because this way they can share the expenses, and this also determines the kind of relationship Romanians have: they make up a group based on mutual help. In these cases, helping someone to find a job or to pay his debts while he is unemployed becomes a natural thing for flat mates to do. Although when asked about the relationships among them the Romanian immigrants from Italy have the general tendency to point out the mercantile character, they also remember situations when they had to help a flat mate or when they themselves were helped by them.

Another aspect related to living is the custom of taking as a tenant the person one hires in order to raise his/her income and covering his debts, or as a form of help or support. Normally, in the Romanian communities from Italy persons who have apartments for rent are well known or one can get to them through others who know these persons.

The Role of the Church in the integration of Romanians in Italy

The efforts of trying to find the most efficient ways of solving the problems of Romanians everywhere lead inevitably to the Church. There is no safer guarantee for maintaining the Romanian identity than the ecclesiastic space. The church is the one that eludes the physical boundaries and prays for

Romanians everywhere. The church builds up the awareness of belonging to a community of the same origin and the same faith.

This is why the practice this faith is necessary to solve the problems of the Romanians abroad, especially since the methods of political intervention are so reduce (in spite of the generous treaties and “rights” provided by the international documents)

The church is the only efficient presence in maintaining the Romanian identity and it truly represents the Romanian spirituality. The support of the Romanian Church represents the possibility of a real connection of those “estranged” with those “from home”, of the Romanians that leave with those who are already there or with the newly arrived. The Church plays an essential role in the Romanian’s process of integration and socialization in the adoption space. It is absolutely necessary to become aware of the fact that without the presence of the Church, the Romanian communities can lose their identity. *“It really helps, for example, when I got here five years ago, I didn’t go to Church but I didn’t get any help either, however, I went one day, than another, and then I didn’t have to go because I found some work, but those who had just arrived, this was five years ago, went to Church, because there you could, sometimes, find work, information, a place to live...which were difficult to find those times”*(I.V., male, 43 years old) *“There aren’t many people who go to Church to get together with others, most of them go to find some work, it is there where Romanians meet each other. I don’t think the Orthodox Church has another role than this one. Neither do I know anything about the role of the Catholic Church, I, for one, never went there but I know that normally people go there to meet each other, there they have a reference point, all Romanians go there Besides that, nothing happens, it’s not like they help each other here. Since I’ve been here, I’ve never seen Albanians or Moroccans sleeping on the side of the road, the only ones who sleep under bridges are the Romanians because Romanians don’t help each other. I don’t know why...back home they know each other, are close to each other, even friends, or at least so they seem and when they get here they forget about everything and everyone. The Moroccan, on the other side, even when he himself is in a bad situation, still helps the other, but with Romanians it’s not the same, I couldn’t explain why”* (T.V., male, 32 years old). *“I don’t know about the Orthodox Church but if you go the Catholic Church I know they won’t let you starve. They won’t...”* (V.C., female, 31 years old) *“You could say that the Church is a place where Romanians get together and besides listening to the service, you can exchange information and find work, so is just a place where people get together to exchange information” [...] the Church has helped me a lot, not because I’m a catholic but because a have a great respect for it. When I came to Italy I stayed at the church for almost a month or two, without spending almost anything, we ate every day there. Not only does the church help us but it also helps the Italians who don’t have a job, they also help you with the documents. It couldn’t help us too much back then because we didn’t have the legal documents but there were also foreigners with documents who would go to church for help , after hat they helped us with clothes, they gave us a lot of cloths, we had bags of clothes. We even threw some*

away because we could use them, there were good clothes because they gather good things and then give them to people. On Sunday morning there are many places where they give you food for free, many people queue to receive little packets of food. For example, on Sunday you can eat in Turin in about three, four or maybe more places. On Sunday, at 9 o'clock there was the service and you could also enter through the side doors, here were chairs, and no sooner had the service finished than there were no free chairs. They gave sandwiches, clothes and even jobs, but not that much because..., and then, there is each parish where you can go and say what problems you have and if they can they help you” (A.P.P., male, 39 years old)

An indifferent attitude from the Romanian government would represent an act of complicity to the politics of certain states where there is an important number of Romanians, a policy meant to destroy the Romanian national particularities. The Church is a discreet presence and represents the foundation of Romanian communities everywhere. The unity of the Romanian church, the protection of the religious and communitarian life of Romanians everywhere, should be supported and it is also necessary to provide a proper clerical qualification for the ministers.

Considering that an essential element of the relation with the Romanians from abroad is the permanent communication, it is essential to organize and support the Church's actions outside our country, especially since it is well known that the presence of an orthodox clergyman among the Christians is a moment of celebration for every Romanian. Moreover, in what the relationship with these Romanian communities is concerned, the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchy has a more developed infrastructure than the Romanian Government but it doesn't have sufficient financial support to improve more and to take actions in every direction that is necessary. The religious life is the frame for maintaining the national identity. This is why the Romanian state should get involved in protecting the religious and communitarian life of all Romanians everywhere and should support the construction and reconstruction of Romanian churches abroad and also its endowment with books, religious objects and vestments.

In the Romanian communities abroad, the Church brings people together and besides its liturgical dimension, it also has the role of morally orienting people and maintaining the Romanian tradition and national identity.

The remigration

Family remigration (the relation with the nuclear/extended family from Romania): an extremely interesting aspect is the relation that the migrants have with their non-migrant family members; more than half of the questioned subjects refer to their family in Romania, and this is because they have reunited with part of their family in Italy and when they talk about “home” they usually

refer to the rest of it, like parents or relatives. Phone calls and letters are the most frequent ways of keeping in touch with the nuclear family but also with the extended one. There is also the practice of sending parcels, with objects for the house cloths for the members of the family or sending money even monthly; all these are frequent practices.

Economic remigration (investments, consumption practice): ow the Romanians use the money earned abroad is another question that could explain many aspects related to the way Romanians work and live in Italy but also about the way they think saving and investing the money they earn in Italy. *“With this money, they improve their life [...] I think that a lot of money is spent on food, expenses and they can also invest it where it is still possible. I heard of a lot of Romanians, who went back to our country and invested money which they later lost and nothing good came out of it. I don’t think Romania is a country to invest in..., You can’t do much with this money. First you think of your personal life, of your family, and then you think of your future” [...] “You cannot invest here in Italy, you can only buy a house or something and invest in it”* (A.P.P., male, 39 years old) *“ It depends on how people think...some want to buy a car, to do something in Romania, to buy an apartment and give it....to know they have it there, to do something else, to have a house of his own”* (G.I., male 34 years old) *“ The Romanian usually invests in safety, that is in a house, a shelter, a roof above your head. Safety comes first, so he must have a place to live first and then, if it is still possible, to have something better, newer in their house, they fix it up and decorate it, they buy a more expensive carpet, a car to have it in their yard in order to show off that he has been abroad so it is also a question of pride”*. (B.L., male, 25 years old)

In Italy, in most of the cases the migrants’ efforts are meant to save money and reduce expenses of all kinds. They prefer to rent apartments together with other people in order t reduce expenses that can get to 350-400 euros per month for an 2 to 4 rooms apartment, they usually cook and spend only the necessary to survive; all these are frequent practices mentioned by those questioned. The period of time spent in Italy is seen from the very beginning as a limited one which implies a number of sacrifices and renunciations in order to save some money but after that, these sacrifices become gains necessities for family/household purposes in Romania.

What happens to the money sent home? We can distinguish between ways of using this money according to the period of time that one or several members have spent working in Italy. At first, the money received from abroad are used to buy all kind of goods of long term usage such as cars, furniture, objects for the household or for constructing or buying a new place to live.

After achieving these purposes, the orientation moves from the consumption interest to gains meant for investment. Buying a tractor, saving money for a business, that is, investing in goods/activities that are known to

bring incomes for the family, are all intentions related to the finality of the migration to Italy.

Most of the subjects declare that they gained much more than they had invested in the migration act.

What did the Romanian immigrants gain and loose.

Profit	Losses
"I have a better life, I earn money more easily" "I can afford to buy any kind of food", "My life has changed a little", "In Italy I can have what I couldn't afford in Romania; I bought myself a car"; "I bought furniture for my house"; "I managed to arrange my house a little"; "I earned a lot, I have a well-paid job"; " A new life"; "I managed to do something in life"; "I gained more confidence in myself"	My health"; „I'm away from my parents and relatives, besides this I didn't lose anything"; "I gathered a lot of stress, little money and my liver has become more sensitive"; "my personality and dignity"; "my power, my optimism, people become less amusing, more harsh"; "you do lose, everyone loses something when they come here"; "kindness"

As to the costs/benefits proportion, the situation is very clear: more than half of the subjects declare that haven't lost anything and that they have had only benefits from their stay in Italy. They believe that what they would have never managed to gain in Romania what they have gained in Italy. Some say that in Romania they would have needed "another life" or "more lives" or maybe "never" in order to gain everything they have now.

Social imagology (What Romania represents (now); Anticipatory evaluation)

What Romania represents (now): most of the questioned subjects believe the situation of Romania to be a "disastrous" one (this is what more than half of them have answered).

"It's a disaster. I watch PRO TV every evening and I see. In Romania the gypsies are those who rule now and there's no law, no justice. You can get killed on the street and no one knows who did it, if you have money, you're important, here things are different"

(U.G., male, 38 years old) “Let’s hope that things will get better, will change step by step. I think and I hope that thing will improve once the Romanians who have left the country return home and do something. I think things will change enormously [...] The Romanian way of thinking has changed a lot. In Europe people think differently, money is gained differently and this changes you too.... However, if you want to save more, you can do it easily, thanks God. I didn’t save because I’m different from others but with the money that I make, others could save up to 500-600 euros per month. I’m different, I spend more but there are people who save a lot of money.” (T.V., male, 32 years old)” from what I’ve heard, the situation of Romania is really terrible, everything depends on those who have money, who do business and all...” (G.P., male, 28 years old) “I’m not really interested in the situation of Romania, honestly, I don’t even read newspapers, I watch the weather forecast to see if something might happen to my family, there could be heavy snows or rain, earthquakes. But I’m not really interested in the problems that Romania has, and why should I be interested? I now live in Italy, and even if I’m not legal there I consider myself more like an Italian than a Romanian [...] I don’t want to hear anything else about Romania, about thieves, cheaters and bastards and I’ve told you... I don’t want to say more. It’s difficult to live in Romania, you gain little money, and you’re treated badly. At least here they treat you good, you work a lot but they pay you well and at the end of the week you can afford whatever you need. I wouldn’t return to Romania” (M.A., male 34 years old) “It’s bad and difficult; since I entered the country I’ve noticed two things: very rich and very poor. But the poor ones are extremely poor, they have nothing [...] I see this situation really badly, people live only with promises but this is not possible for Romanians.” (R.V., male, 38 years old) “I think that in the future it will become more prosperous, things will come to normal, you can see that, I watch it on T.V. on the “Romania International” channel all the time and you can see that president Basescu wants to do something about it. There are also corrupt people, but let’s hope it will be better because we are a country with hard-working people, we’re a nation that works.” (F.T., male, 38 years old)

Among the questioned subjects there are Romanians who keep in touch with what happens in Romania through different media. The first source are the persons that they left home, most of them use the internet or an parabolic antenna, others watch “Romania International” but most of them are not interested in their country’s situation anymore, they would only come home to see their friends and relatives. In other words, the family is the only motivation for them to return.

Anticipatory evaluation: when asked how they see the migration phenomenon in Romania in 10 or 15 years, most of them make negative previsions about the situation of Romania and that of Romanians in general

“There will be an old population, I think, and even if Romania will be part of the European Union, I don’t think there will be great changes” (R.V., male, 38 years old). “Let’s hope it will be better, it looks like things are beginning to slowly change I think and I hope that things will improve once the Romanians who have left the country return home and do something. I hope things will change radically” (T.V., male, 32 years old). “There will never be justice and it’s understandable that people leave Romania. You cannot live there, you cannot build anything, if you’re intelligent you’re poor and if you’re stupid but you have money, people consider you intelligent, right? That’s how things are in Romania, but such things cannot happen. Until things change and become more balanced, I don’t see the solution for this situation [...] if everyone leaves, only the old people remain and there is no one to bury them.”(V.C., female, 31 years old); “I don’t know what to say, The situation will not change because at one point the European countries will have had enough foreigners” (B.L., male, 25 years old) “Soon Romanians will die of starvation, as it happens in other countries where black people live like Africa, Nigeria, Algeria, and will become dehydrated, and miserable, and here it will be the same because everyday it’s more difficult to find work and we accept to work for a ridiculous low salary. Only to have a job, and when you see yourself at the end of the month with the money in your pocket and with torn shoes you want to buy some shoes and some cloths because you’re sick of buying cloths from second hand stores. They are expensive, they are pretty expensive. You can but things from the “Mercato” (supermarket), for lower prices but they are old and used. In Romania there is no hope” (G.E., female, 59 years old). “The situation back home, seen from here, it’s a disaster, there’s mafia, corruption, poverty, there are no conditions” (I.V., male, 43 years old); “It depends...If there is work, it will be better, but things won’t change too much, it will only be a little better” (U.G).

2. The data quantitative analysis of data

In the quantitative analysis, one of the important aspects in *highlighting the role of the social integration of the immigrants* was the issue of individuals’ integration, adjustment in a new community and a new society. As G. Tarde says, within the crowd, the individual is the only creator prone to accept the imitation of the conduct pertaining to those ranking higher as social and financial position. Here it is interesting to follow how much and what exactly do the Romanians who left for Italy to work borrow from the Italian community, but also what do they succeed in promoting the distinctive traits of the Romanian people in Italy by preserving the Romanian traditionalism and culture.

The general aspects followed within the quantitative analysis are: the living conditions in Romania, but also the current conditions in Italy; human capital (education); social capital (social networks in creating the migration); cultural capital (value system, risks); economic capital (income); relations with the family; investments and consumption practices.

The sampling was carried out at random in Turin, Northern Italy, on a sample of 100 persons of which men (76%) and women (24%), of which married (58%), single (33%), divorced (8%) and widows(widowers) (1%), of those married (54%) are men and (70%) are women, single (38%) are men and (17%) are women, divorced we have 8% men and 9% women and (4%) widows/widowers.

The working tool used was *the questionnaire*, containing 17 questions of which 5 questions were open, the other questions were closed, among the questionnaire questions a control question (question number 15) was introduced followed by a series of questions referring to the demographic data of the questioned subjects.

Most of the subjects were men (70%); of those married (58%) women are in the highest percentage (70%), men are of in 54%, most of the married persons are women (70%); among the widows (widowers) (4%) all are widows. Most of them have children (28%), followed by those with one child (16%), 13% of the subjects have 3 children, only 5 % have 5 children.

Legal/illegal: most of the subjects stated that they illegally settled in Italy (59%), 37% are legally settled and only 4% did not want to answer these questions.

As far as *the subjects age* is concerned these are: most of the subjects (46%) are women with ages between 36 and 45 years, the highest percent (38%) is for the age category between 26 and 35 years immediately after there follow men between 36 and 45 years old (36%). The lowest percent (4%) is represented by women with ages between 19 and 35 years and men (9%) over 46 years old. In *conclusion* many persons work abroad except young women (4%) between 19 and 25 years old and men (9%) with ages over 46. The number of persons over 46 years who currently work in Italy is higher among women (13%), compared to men (9%), this is due to the fact that maybe women work at home and carry out easier activities compared to men who mainly work in the field of constructions and thus a larger volume of physical effort is required on their part.

Origin environment: most of the subjects (72%) come from the urban environment, (26%) from the rural environment, and only 2% of the subjects did not declare their origin environment.

Origin region: of the total subjects, most of them (51%) come from Moldova (of those 51% more than half come from Iasi), followed by those from Muntenia (17%), Transylvania (16%), 5% those from Dobrogea and 5% those from Oltenia, 2% those from Maramureş and 1% those from Banat. (*See Chart 1*)

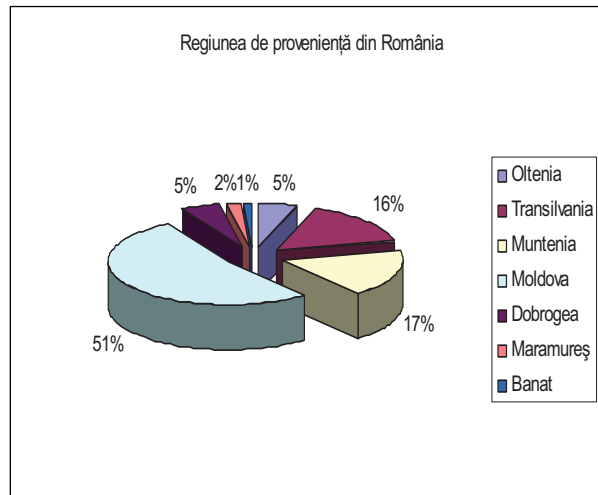


Chart 1

Duration of stay in Italy: more than half of the questioned subjects (76%) have been in Italy for 5 years, followed by those who have been in Italy for 5 through 10 years (23%) and there are few who have been staying in Italy for over 10 years (1%). A further reason in the difficulty to apply these questionnaires to the subjects was the fact that most of them are illegally settled in Italy (59%), also considering the refuses (4%) to answer the question whether are legally or illegally settled, we can say that the number of non-answers was higher. The reason of this rather high percentage of the non-answers could be, among others, the fear of the authorities, of the law enforcement bodies (the Police) from Italy, since the number of those illegally settled (59%) exceeds by far the number of those legally settled (37%).

Monthly income: the majority of the subjects (25%) declared a monthly income between 500–1000 Euros, 24% declare a monthly income up to 500 Euros and 24% declare a monthly income between 1000–1500 Euros as well, 18% declare the monthly income between 1500– 2000 Euros and only 7% declare a monthly income between 2000–2500 Euros and only 2% of the subjects refused to declare their monthly income.

Monthly expenses: over 50% of the subjects declare an amount of a monthly expense in Italy of up to 500 Euros, 34% declare an amount of over 500 Euros and only 2% of the subjects did not answer the question regarding their monthly income in Italy.

The amount of the monthly expenses in Italy correlated to the monthly income: the highest percent regarding the expenses *over 500 Euros* can be found in the case of the persons with a monthly income between 1500 and 2000 Euros (38%), followed by those with a monthly income between 1000-1500 Euros (32%), and

the least spent (6%) the persons earning up to 500 Euros. As far as the amount of the monthly expense up to 500 Euros is concerned, the majority of the subjects declaring this amount are those (33%) with a monthly income up to 500 Euros and between 500 and 1000 Euros, immediately after there follow the persons with monthly expenses up to 500 Euros, those with a monthly income between 1000 and 1500 Euros (20%), followed by those with a monthly income between 1500 and 2000 Euros (6%), but the fewest have expenses up to 500 Euros, those with a monthly income between 2000 and 2500 Euros. The latter count less (6%) as they earn the highest amount (between 2000 and 2500 Euros monthly) and therefore they have higher expenses (12% of them declare monthly expenses over 500 Euros). (See Chart 2)

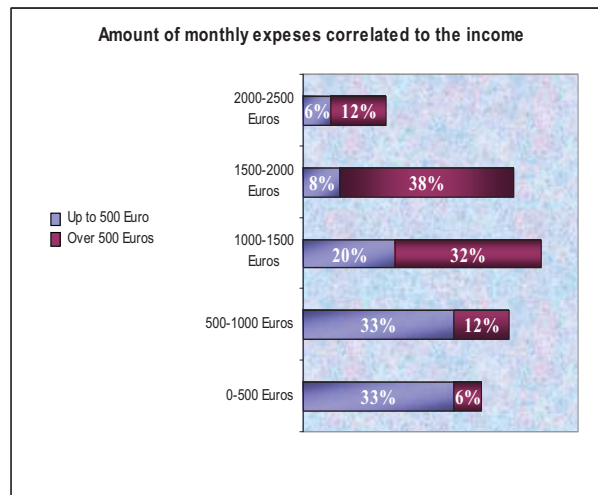


Chart 2

The amount of money monthly sent to the family in Romania: most of the subjects send home up to 500 Euros (57%), 18% send to their families 500 and 1000 Euros, 10% of the subjects send home between 1000 and 1500 Euros, and only 2% send home over 1500 Euros. 13% represent the percent of those refusing to declare the amount which they monthly send to family in Romania, should that amount exist.

The amount sent to the family in Romania depending on the income: the persons with an income up to 500 Euros sending up to 500 Euros back home to their families in Romania rank first (92%), followed in a percentage of 67% by those with a monthly income between 1500 and 2000 Euros, the same amount being sent home by those with an income between 500 and 1000 Euros (64%) and the lowest amount sent home (21%) pertains to those with a monthly income between 1000 and 1500 Euros. *Between 500 and 1000 Euros* the majority of the

persons sending money home to their family (42%) are those with a monthly income between 1000 and 1500 Euros, 28% of those with an income between 500 and 1000 Euros declare to be sending home the same amount, and the persons with a monthly income between 2000 and 2500 Euros are the fewest to be sending home this amount. 25 % of those with an income between 1500 and 2000 Euros monthly send to their family *between 1000 and 1500 Euros*, followed, with 22%, by those with a monthly income between 1500 and 2000 Euros. Only 29% of those with a monthly income between 2000 and 2500 Euros declare to be sending home *over 1500 Euros*.

Employment: the questioned subjects have jobs such as: constructors (42%), caretakers (19%), unemployed (subjects who did not declare to be employed upon date of survey) are 14%, and among other job we can encounter 6% electricians, 5% drivers, 5% other positions (bartenders, homeless, “the oldest job”, “day laborer”, real estate, internet operator), 4% are the non-answers regarding the current job held and 3% work in the field of agriculture.

As a *conclusion* regarding the job they have in Italy upon questioning date and the professions for which they have appropriate training and experience we find that the profession of *constructor* ranks 1st both as current job and profession, in other words 20% of the 42% who work in Italy in constructions are qualified in this field, 2nd place is held by those employed as electricians (8%) who mostly work (6%) in the same field for which they were initially trained, and the drivers are on the 3rd place (7%) who work in the same field in the adoption region as in Romania (6%).

Investments: as far as investments are concerned the Romanians declaring to be depositing money in banks (28%) rank first, thereafter they declare to invest in the bare necessities (22%) and to be sending home the money earned in Italy (22%), and after that they declare to be investing in purchasing houses and lands (14%), other say not to invest (3%) and also 3% say to be investing in “everything” (namely purchasing everything they want), 1% of the subjects declare “Other” (electronic games, opening a small business, investment in own comfort, entertainment, furniture, other declare they wish to purchase a tractor), 7% of the subjects refused to declare in what do they invest the money earned in Italy. (*See Chart 3*)

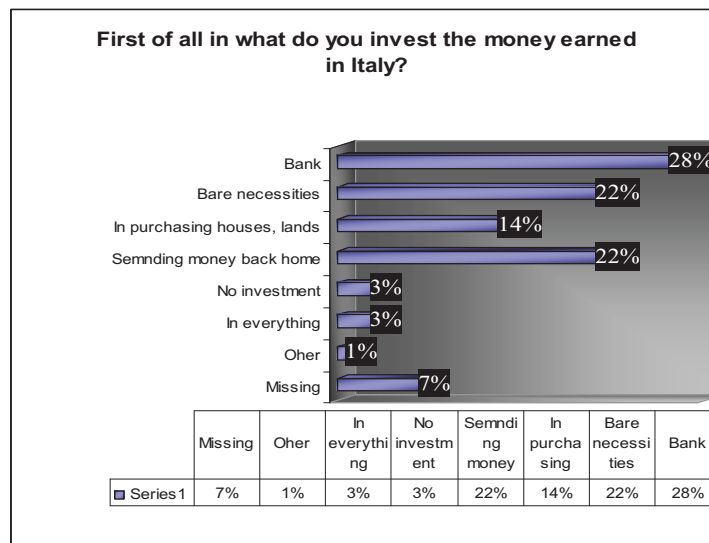


Chart 3

Reasons of emigration: the main reason invoked by the subjects to be the fundament of the decision to emigrate was in order: lack of money (42%), poor living conditions (poverty) (20%), lack of a working place (10%), on the same place with 7% is the lack of a dwelling place and hope in a better life, housekeeping-related debts (6%), then another reason invoked are the governmental authorities (4%), and as a last reason of emigration from Romania is the divorce (3%).

Social networks within the migration process: 63% of the subjects declared to have had a friend or a relative already settled there when they came in Italy, 36% said they did not have anybody and only 1% were non-answers. Among those declaring to have been helped at the beginning in Italy, 23% say they were helped by a relative, 22% by the churches, 9% by the family and 6% say they were helped by somebody else („a girl met here”, „a neighbor”, „the employment agency in town”).

Cultural transfer: 66% of the subjects consider that Romanians are traditionalists, that they preserve their tradition and culture, 15% of the subjects consider that Romanians are not traditionalists, and 19% are non-answers.

Risk. Surprisingly 68% declare not to have risked anything by leaving Romania, 29% declare to have risked something to having left the country and only 3% were non-answers. Of those 29% who said to have risked further to having left the country 12% answered „I left the kids home”, 11% answered

„other” („I left my husband by himself”, „peace of mind”, „I could not have made it”, „nothing”, „life”, „health”, „nerves”, „everything”, „a break year for my child going to kindergarten”), 5% said they risked their marriage (family) and 1% answered „the hope of some good things happening” (one of the subjects answered „I left something which is bad and poverty for a dream which can be different).

Tolerance: 46% of the subjects declare that Romanians are accepted/tolerated by the Italians, 31% of the subjects did not answer this question, and 22% say that Romanians are not accepted/tolerated by Italians.

Adjustment: 63% of the subjects consider themselves as adjusted to the new life style in Italy, 24% say they are not, and 13% cannot answer whether they adjusted to the new lifestyle.

Remigration: when asked “Do you want to return to Romania?”, 57% of the subjects answered yes, they want to return to Romania, 22% say they do not know whether they want to return to their home country, and only 21% say that they do not want to return to Romania.

III. Conclusions

The conclusions are presented, perhaps, in a distinctive manner, to control the modality in which whether the four hypotheses initially in the present study.

The analysis of the international migration phenomenon at the level of the current research fully support the hypothesis that within the mediation process of the labor force, most of the emigrants prefer the alternative of the acquaintance and family networks from within the origin environment. The majority of those traveling aboard for work purposes due to, as they themselves say, lack of money (42%) and the poor living conditions (poverty) (20%) they reached to possess a high form of human and social-relating capital. At the beginning within the migration process, the personal-family-related capital plays a distinctive role favoring the migration action and reducing risks. From the beginning to the end when we talk of migration (whether temporary or final) we debate upon it from the perspective of the network phenomenon. But throughout the carrying out of migration process, a series of social complex, local and transnational networks are activated and developed. When talking of circulatory migration, of comings and goings, the social networks creating around the comings and goings circulation are far higher and create a wave driving also the opportunities given by the family-related social networks.

At the fundament of the relations, there are two phenomena, *of trust and tolerance* which are part of the same culture of opening, with strong interactions among them.

We can talk of 2 types of departures: *departures in the network*, persons emigrating and having somebody know at the destination point and *independent departures*, departures without such a relationship. Most of the interviewed declare they left for Italy by means of a social network, set up at the origin, although these reach today to cross the borders and include the persons from within the emigrant's affiliation community and from the destination. The persons found at the destination network are of Italian nationality most of the times, the nationality of the country in which the emigrant settles and helps the latter in getting employment, in his settlement. This person is called by the immigrant „*the employer*”, „*my Italian*” depending of the type of the network upon which the immigration based on, we can talk of various types of networks: *the relatives and friends network*, *the destination network*.

The hypothesis that the immigrants' families focus their own economic practices on investments and less on consumption does not apply or else partially apply, at least for the beginner immigrants. Further, the amounts of money sent home from Italy cover in case of the families/households consisting of immigrants in Italy, a large part of the consumption expenses for long-term use goods at the beginning, and after a while for accumulations in view to the investments following to be done at a further stage.

What do immigrants do with the money earned by working abroad clears a lot of the aspects related to how Romanian live or work in Italy, but also the manner in which the individuals think to save and invest the money earned in Italy.

In Italy, in most of the cases encountered, the immigrants' effort concomitantly directs toward saving and consumption reduction. They prefer to jointly rent the apartments in order to diminish the dwelling-related costs which can reach the level of 350 – 400 Euros a month, for an apartment with 2 to 4 rooms, the habit of cooking, focusing of the expenses on the products necessary to surviving are practices frequently mentioned by the interviewed persons.

The financial capital earned is used in investments aiming at improving the living conditions, purchase of houses and lands, long-term family protection is one of the hypotheses initially set forth and which is fully applying. Under the conditions of the Romanian society, the increase of the family/household income risks on the background of an inefficient state intervention and also due to a weak development of the institutions from the areas with a large number of people who left to work abroad, all these allowed the development of the temporary external migration process in view to improve the living conditions, to buy a house, which most of them declare not be otherwise able to buy in Romania “not even living two lives” or else as most of the interviewed subjects

declare, they will „never” be able to do so. The married immigrants firstly want long-term family providing, which is possible to accomplish only by means of these “comings and goings” between Italy and Romania, the temporary migration becoming a life strategy for most of the Romanians.

The theory related to the „*New migration economy*” suggest that in the situation in which the individuals cannot benefit from the facilities of the internal market (a more solid banking system which offer the credits accessibility under far advantageous conditions for each and every individual), then the external migration becomes a strategy adopted every day by most Romanians.

But what happens with the money sent home? Here one could talk of a distinction in the manner of money use depending on the time period in which one or more family members spent working in Italy. In a first stage, the money sent from abroad are especially used for acquiring goods, of long-term use, cars, furniture, domestic use appliances/for building or buying a new place to live.

Reaching such *objectives* allows, in a further stage, the orientation from the consumption field towards accumulation for investment purposes. To buy a tractor, to raise money to set up a business, namely to invest in goods/activities known as bringing income for the family are whether behaviors or intentions related to the migration finality in Italy.

A last hypothesis set forth within the hypotheses assembly is an attempt to check if there is an unequal distribution of the profit and losses between the sending and the receiving regions. The immigrants think they do not represent either on one side a burden for the country economy where they settled or which they left, on the contrary they act as an increase factor of the same. They consider that do not bring disadvantages either to Italy or to Romania, but only benefits as they contribute to the Italy budget in the form of taxes paid on the territory of this country, and in Romania there enter, as they say, large amounts of money from the emigrants’ sending foreign currency to their families at home. Here the money remissions play a role, to which, if we should consider the carried out statistics, these large amounts of money represent only a small part of the sums transferred into the country as this money transfer mode is not preferred by the Romanians as the bank commission is too large and thus the money is often sent in an envelope by means of coaches traveling between Romania and the respective countries. Most of the subjects think that anyway Romania has nothing but to earn.

Furthermore, the immigrants from Italy do not agree to the idea they would take the jobs sought for by the local population. The subjects declare that in fact they fill the most difficult, the poorest paid and unqualified positions which the locals refuse, either they are engaged in professions of high

qualification, for which the host country does not have enough professionals: „Because the Romanian was taught to work like that and is engaged in the hardest works, for instance in our country the cement bags weigh 50 kilos or here there are no 50 kilos cement bags as the workers were on strike that the 50 kilos cement bags are very heavy and now they seek to work far more machine-assisted, not to actually expose to such big risks. But anyway the foreigner not only the Romanian or the Albanian but also the Moroccan and the Philippine are engaged in the heaviest works, performing the same, not quickly but in a time record.” (B.L., male, 25 years).

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