

## ASPECTS OF THE ROMANIAN MIGRANTS' MOTIVATION IN THE CONTEXT OF LABOR MIGRATION. A QUALITATIVE APPROACH<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The paper presents findings regarding the motivations of Romanian migrants from the qualitative research carried out by the Romanian project team under the Work Package 4 of the international research project “Growth, Equal Opportunities, Migration & Markets” (GEMM), founded by the European Commission under the HORIZON 2020 program. It is based on a structure-agency approach, analyzing both individual and contextual factors with relevant impact on migrants' motivations. It argues that formation of migrants' motivation is a multi-faceted process, in which economic factors (such as incomes and living conditions) do not always play the main role, but often personal life goals (such as professional development and career advancement, but not only) take over the leading role, sometimes without eliminating the role of economic factors. Besides, the paper highlights the role of contextual and institutional factors in the formation of migrants' motivation, which often make the difference between desire and actual action and presents significant data regarding migrants' preparations for departure.

**Keywords:** prospective migrants, actual migrants, migration, motivation, decision-making.

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## INTRODUCTION

The article addresses the complex problem of Romanian labor migration after the fall of the Communist regimes in 1989, the motivations behind this decision. The innovative element of the approach is given by the study of the phenomenon in its entirety, from the historical staff and the experience of migration through the preparation of the migration to its life in the destination country.

In the first part of the article we frame a theoretical analysis framework by emphasizing some theories and perspectives on the migration phenomenon. Applied research focuses on migrants' subjective meanings of migration and on the outcomes they associate with migration in terms of life and career trajectories for themselves and for their family members. Nonetheless, we explore the factors that played a relevant role in the migrants' decision-making process relating to migrating, without limiting ourselves to individual factors but also considering the contextual and institutional factors.

The article demonstrates that the realization of life goals through migration is realized in a complex framework dominated by multiple conditions, influenced by a wide range of factors from individual to institutional factors.

### 1. MIGRANTS' MOTIVATIONS – ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Anghel (2008) analyzed the importance of freedom of movement within the EU and how it has impacted the evolution of bottom up migration. He has drawn comparisons between migration from Mexico to the US and from Romania to Italy and has found that there are strong incentives for an individual to emigrate when there is some sort of support network to welcome them on the other end. Freedom of movement has only enhanced the influence of these structures. These results are in accordance with previous literature on this topic. Dobson (2009) has found that the expansion of the EU in 2004 has led to an increase in migration from Central and Eastern European countries to other countries. The impact has not been significant, the number of migrants has not exceeded 2 per cent of the labor force. (Dobson, 2009)

The decision to migrate may be influenced by various push-pull factors. Garry et al (2009) have found that individualistic beliefs and values tend to have a significant impact on the decision-making process and money may not be of utmost concern. Among push factors identified by such research we found the low levels of income, occupations with a low level of qualification, lack of resources to secure the future of their own children and families etc., while among the pull factors we found the higher income (compared to those earned in the country of origin), and the more diversified opportunities to find a job increase of chances to secure a better standard of living for their children and families a. s. o. (Anghel, 2008)

Similar conclusions have been drawn from their own analyses by the Institute for Quality of Life Research in a recent report: “The main emigration reason is represented by the lack of jobs and the small wages in relation to the European standards”. (IQLR Report, 2017: 26) One may notice that it is about factors relating to basic human needs. Such factors have been identified in this research as well which confirms the previous research findings and suggests that no relevant changes in the disparities between developed and developing countries in Europe, which influence the migration of the labor force, have occurred during the last 20 years. Indeed, as we are going to present later on in this paper, our research findings confirm that for almost all low qualified participants (both prospective and actual migrants), ‘better job’ and ‘higher salary’ represents the main (and often the only) reason to migrate; if taking into account that ‘better job’ means for most of them a higher salary, one may say that in the case of low qualified migrants we are in the presence of migration for money. Not surprisingly, when asked about their perceptions of the main motives of people searching for a job abroad, 4 out of 5 experts from public recruitment agencies and 2 out of 5 experts from private recruitment agencies having participated in our research indicated ‘money’ or incomes. Without ignoring this reason, one expert from a public agency and 3 experts from private agencies have also evoked professional development and/or career advancement opportunities, but only with reference to the highly qualified migrants. We said this was not surprisingly because, according to our research findings, highly qualified migrants are rarely applying for the services of public recruitment agencies and hence the customers of such agencies are mostly low qualified people.

The aforementioned issue is more complicated when taking into consideration the fact that Ariss et al. (2012) have shown: the level of qualification is relevant when taking into consideration migrants’ motivation. They have found that the decision to migrate is not necessarily grounded on ‘money’ concerns, but it has to be contextualized and needs to take into consideration career development or available opportunities. Bucher-Maluschke et al. (2017) have found that migration is a stressor on home life, and one must consider the fact that it may exert a long lasting impact. The success of the first generation of immigrants is not necessarily any guarantee of continued success. Stamm (2013) has found that migrants are economically and socially disadvantaged in relation to their peers and have worse educational results. These results can be improved with the help of a professional mentor or by benefitting from strong and demanding institutions. The topic is explored further by Kontos et al. (2015), who present in minute details the issues faced by migrant families.

Another aspect which needs to be taken into consideration is the necessity to understand the power dynamics working between the various communities as to how they create a top-down impact on the decision-making process. Beciu et al. (2017) have shown that power dynamics and media discourse have an influence in

transnational communication. Beciu et al. (2017) have also expanded the previously mentioned research with a case study on the presence of Romania in the UK media and of the way that perception creates, in its turn, its own feedback. The researchers mentioned above have found that the media creates three patterns of recontextualization, the first one being the focus on the stereotypes in British media, the second one being relative to communicating aspects which should be taken into consideration and the third pattern being represented by the focus laid on the collective responsibility shared both abroad and in Romania. This serves as a way to appropriate the migrant community's identity.

The link between home subjects and migrants is relevant for our research because the existence of a diaspora may have a significant impact on the decision-making process of the individuals when considering the possibility to migrate. However, not all diasporas are the same. Brettell (2006) mentioned that there are significant differences between the migrants to the US. Chinese migrants tend to view themselves more as part of the Chinese population in America, focused more on the ethnic component, whereas Dominican migrants view themselves as separate from the rest and seem to have adopted their homeland imaginaries. Indeed, Easthope (2009) has stated that the concept of self-identity is much more fluid than previously thought, with views on place-based identities giving way to mobile (achieved) identities. This complicates matters because an established diaspora requires that there should exist a self-identity to link the migrants to their home country. The concept is further expanded upon by Constant et al. (2016), who have shown that should there exist considerable wealth of resources available to the home country, it managed to construct a healthy relationship with its diaspora.

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

## 2. METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on the findings from the qualitative field research carried out during December 2016–April 2017 by the Romanian country team, which the authors have been part of, participating in the international research project “Growth, Equal Opportunities, Migration & Markets” (GEMM), specifically in the Work Package 4 (WP4): lived experiences of migration.

The overall objective of WP4 was to study the lived experiences of mobility, integrated into specific social contexts, both in the place of departure / in Romania and in the states of arrival. Migrant experiences are analyzed in relation to the overall objective of the GEMM 2020 project: "Managing human capital mobility as a vector of growth." Unlike most studies focusing on migratory migration results (receiving countries), the WP4 research project has captured the dynamics of the entire mobility process: from the migration decision, with all its complexity, to the results (economic, cultural, political and social) for both individuals and societies.

For this purpose, under WP4 we have conducted in-depth interviews with both prospective migrants (PM) and actual migrants (AM) with experience at different stages of job search for employment in labor markets outside their native countries, as well as with managers and staff from public and private recruitment agencies. The Romanian team conducted 48 interviews, of which 10 with prospective migrants, 28 with actual migrants from Germany, Italy, UK, and Spain, and 10 with managers and staff from recruitment agencies. The sampling plan for migrants aimed at a maximum diversity in terms of age, gender, education, and length of migration experience. The recruitment of interviewees was based on the snow-ball method in the case of prospective and actual migrants and on direct approach from a list in the case of recruitment agencies; public agencies were selected as to cover both national and county levels; and at the county level from regions with different levels of socio-economic development; private agencies were selected on the basis of the information available on the Internet as to have different areas of coverage (local, regional, national, and international). The interviews were mostly conducted face-to-face, but in a few cases via Skype too.

The questions addressed issues such as previous migration experience, migration decision, destination/destination knowledge, migration training: official and unofficial steps, migration, arrival in the country of destination, relations with the adoption community, identity feeling, and future plans.

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

The identification of actual migrants resulted to be the most difficult task. Previous studies on the matter conducted by CURS were very helpful. Thus, in order to identify and recruit actual migrants former CURS interviewers settled in the areas targeted by the project (i.e. Rome and Madrid) were contacted. This strategy was substantiated by contacting immigrants' associations in relevant countries (e.g. ADERE Association in Madrid), by contacting priests from churches frequently attended by Romanians in the target areas (e.g. London, Rome), by contacting actual migrants suggested by their acquaintances in Romania

(e.g. Germany) and by contacting officials of the Romanian embassies (UK and Spain). In all 4 destination countries targeted by the project (UK, Italy, Spain and Germany) an experienced researcher travelled to conduct the interviews. The snow-ball method for recruiting the actual migrants was mainly used.

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

### 3. FINDINGS

#### 3.1. *THE INDIVIDUAL FACTORS WITH RELEVANT INFLUENCE ON MIGRANTS' MOTIVATIONS*

##### 3.1.1. THE SUBJECTIVE MEANING OF MIGRATION

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

For the purpose of our analysis we have clustered the participants according to our conclusions from their answers in five categories: participants with life goals relating to professional development and / or career advancement, participants with life goals relating to living in other or several life contexts, participants with life goals relating to better standards of living (including well paid jobs), participants

for which we could not discern any life goals from their answers, and participants whose declared life goals could not be placed in a relevant category (e.g. 'her husband's career', 'living with her boyfriend'). These categories included 5–7 participants each excepting the category with life goals relating to better jobs / incomes and better living standards which included 13 participants (about one third of our migrant participants). The compositions of these categories are not uniform; the shares of respondents from each demographic category differ and the differences are important for our analysis.

The participants in the first category, whose life goals relate to professional development and / or career advancement, are mostly males. The situation goes as follows: 5 M (males), 2 F (females) and 6 H (highly educated), 1 L (low educated); they belong mostly to the age group 25–35 y / o (1 under 25, 4 aged 25–35, and 2 aged over 35); their marital status is balanced (3 singles and 4 married). Further on the abbreviations AM and PM refer to *actual migrant* and *prospective migrant*, respectively.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While the lack of life long term goals among migrants is worrying, this is not surprising if taking into account the results of many opinion polls revealing a rather negative perception of Romanians on the direction to which Romania is going on, as well as a rather low level of confidence among Romanians in policymakers and



political institutions. As stated in a recent report “All surveys highlight the fact that the Romanians’ moral is extremely low: demoralization and disappointment, mistrust in the crucial institutions for the functioning of society”. (IQLR, 2017, p. 20–21) According to the same report “During the entire period of transition, the majority of Romanians considered that the direction taken by Romania was wrong” and the percentage provided for December 2016 (by quoting an IRES survey) of Romanians thinking that the direction taken by Romania was wrong was 61%. (IQLR, 2017, p. 21)

### 3.1.2. SATISFACTION WITH INITIAL LIVING CONDITIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.1.3. THE SENSE OF BELONGING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘25–35 y / o’ age group and to 1 in the ‘+35 y/o’ age group; again, in consideration of very small numbers of participants in these age groups one cannot draw a conclusion in this regard.

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

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

We have discussed above the background factors in the formation of motivation. However, these factors do not result automatically in people’s migration; the effective migration is triggered by more specific individual factors as well as by contextual and institutional factors. We are now moving to the individual factors that trigger the migration action. We start with the reasons to migrate.

#### 3.1.4. THE REASONS TO MIGRATE

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

As we have already mentioned at the beginning of this section, most of the research is based literature on individual factors focused on basic human needs such as getting a job and achieving better living conditions when explaining the

migration of the labor force from poorer / less developed countries to wealthier / more developed countries. We have to reiterate here what we have already mentioned above in another context that this was also the opinion of the majority of experts from recruitment agencies having participated in our research (when asked about their perceptions of the main motives of people searching for a job abroad, 4 out of 5 experts from public recruitment agencies and 2 out of 5 experts from private recruitment agencies indicated 'money' or incomes). Without ignoring this reason, one expert from a public agency and 3 experts from private agencies have also evoked professional development and/or career advancement opportunities, but only with reference to the highly qualified migrants.

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

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

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

*"The answer is onefold: for a better living, because in our country we have nothing to do. We were working in our kitchen garden, money was scarce, there were no available jobs."* (A.M., M, 40)

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

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

*“...I’ve chosen to come here because at that moment I thought that going to the best university in the world means better education.” (AM, M, 25)*

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

*“I actually came for holidays; I liked here and I remained.” (AP, F, 39)*

*“I came here for my boyfriend...” (AM, F, 36)*

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

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

### 3.1.5. THE EXPECTATIONS LINKED TO THE ACT OF MIGRATING

While taking the decision to migrate people usually take also into account what they expect to find at destination and sometimes also their subjective assessment of their capacities and chances to achieve the objectives of their action. The expectations linked to the act of migrating can be discerned mainly from the

answers of our prospective migrant participants to the question “What kind of life do you hope to find there?” and from the answers of actual migrant participants to the question “What kind of life did you hope to find here?”

The formation of these expectations is strongly influenced by the volume and the accuracy of the information regarding the destination country obtained by the prospective migrants. The findings of our research have revealed that in many cases the information available to Romanian migrants was rather poor and that in many cases the migrants themselves had paid little attention to this aspect (they often rely only on information received from relatives and / or acquaintances already living in their destination countries). Even though, we should have a look on the expectations mentioned by our participants in the interviews for better understanding their motivations.

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

The analysis has revealed that people in the second category are more than twice as numerous as those in the first category (26 versus 11) and that there are significant differences between the structures of these categories in respect of personal characteristics. The first important difference is that the number of males is much larger than the number of females (9 M, 2 F) while in the second category we found equal numbers of males and females (13 M, 13 F). The second important difference is that their structures by levels of education are reversed (10 H and 1 L in the first category versus 8 H and 18 L in the second category). If taking into account that 8 out of the 9 male participants included in the first group have been also highly educated, these differences suggest that highly educated male migrants are more likely to have expectations relating to professional development and career advancement than expectations relating mainly to making more money and having better living standards. On the other hand, the fact that only two highly educated female participants from the second category referred also to expectations related to professional development suggests that female migrants are more likely to have expectations relating to material advantages such as better paid jobs and better standards of living. These findings are consistent with those previous

referred to regarding the personal meaning of migration but since they are based only on qualitative data one cannot extrapolate. Nevertheless, the comparison between our findings and the findings of the other national teams may help drawing more reliable conclusions.

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

#### 3.1.6. THE SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF MIGRANTS' OWN POTENTIAL AND/OR CHANCES TO ACHIEVE THE SET GOALS/OBJECTIVES

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

The findings from our analysis revealed that most of our participants have been confident in their own capacities and chances to achieve the set goals of their migration (25 H and 9 S–S). Men appeared to be more confident than women in their potential to achieve the migration related goals (21 M, 13 F) and younger participants more confident than the elder ones (8 out of 8 participants under 25 y / o; 13 out of 16 participants over 35y / o) (similarly 'singles', but they are also younger). The level of education does not seem to play a relevant role in this regard; the only difference that may be of interest is that among those trusting their capacity to achieve the targets the number of those in the 'So and So' category is



larger among highly educated as compared to the low educated (Highly educated: 12 H and 6 S–S; Low educated: 13 H and 3 S–S). This last aspect may suggest that education makes people more cautious but should also take into account that the goals associated to migration among highly educated are more complex and more difficult to achieve than the goals of low educated, as one might have noticed from the above analyses.

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

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

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

The above discussed findings reveal that Romanian migrants, both the prospective and the actual ones, associated the decision to migrate to goals or expectations that are linked to fundamental needs of human beings, such as: having a job that provides for a decent living of incumbents and of their families, benefitting from a good standard of living, having access to quality education, professional development and career advancement opportunities and, last but not least, living in a social and political climate that guarantee observance of the human rights and access to equal opportunities. Our research also reveals that we are in presence of highly motivated migrants, whose objectives are grounded in basic needs and thus are achievable.

### 3.2. PREPARING FOR DEPARTURE

#### 3.2.1. GATHERING INFORMATION FOR DEPARTURE

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

and qualification, by the stage (the period of time) the migrants make the departure (actual migrants vs. prospective migrants) etc.

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

The analysis of the preparedness for working abroad is based mainly on chapter D of the research tool / guide (the answers received at the questions listed in the chapter "Preparing your departure"). In the case of the prospective migrants these questions include the following questions:

D1. Tell me about the steps, if any, you are currently taking and any resources you are using to plan your departure.

D2. Have you contacted any employment agencies here in order to begin your job search or do you plan to do so? If so, which ones?

D3. What kind of administrative measures, if any, will you be taking prior to leaving?

D4. (In case this is not yet clear) Do you plan on going to country Y alone or will someone be travelling with you? Will anyone be there to welcome you when you arrive?

D5. Are you currently undertaking any additional language or professional training in anticipation of the departure?

D6. What are your general feelings about this departure? Similar questions were asked in the guide for actual migrants included in the chapter D. Preparing the departure: official and unofficial steps.

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

The data show that 8 out of 10 prospective migrants rely their preparing for the departure on the information received from the social networks, mainly from their relatives and friends. Only the young women with high education and high qualification in the ITC and health (pharmacy) sectors search for the needed information on various internet website, Facebook and newspaper. First of them applied for a job to a recruitment agency as well. A similar situation can be met in the case of actual migrants. Most of them received needed information through social ties. For instance, 5 out of 8 interviewed actual migrants from Germany used the social network to find information before the departure, but 2 of them used the internet as well. 2 out of 8 actual migrants from Germany used recruitment agencies to be informed and to leave, while 1 out of 8 did nothing to get information prior to departure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Many of the migrants, prospective or actual, had or still have relatives working in the destination countries they are targeting and get the information from them. Many cases from Spain and Italy find themselves in the same situation, they feel that they have enough information for working and living in the named countries. As a young woman says:

*"I got the information from my brother-in-law who was working there for two years and he said that his employer has a good behavior in helping the migrants. So, we will live with our brother-in-law and he will help us with our work (i.e. to find a job), to get a house (there are many for rent), to go to school." (PM, F, 28)*

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

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

### 3.2.2. PREPARING BY INFORMATION AND LEARNING LANGUAGE FOR FINDING A JOB

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

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

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

The other nurse, woman, 36 years old, appealed to procedures similar to the mentioned ones. All preparations took her less than 3 months: she submitted the CV to the agency, took the job interview and further called the UK hosting family

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

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

The other case of Romanian actual migrants in the UK worked as drivers in construction, as service workers or as project managers; they had lower preparation regarding the information and English language, but during the time afforded to preparing migration and looking for a job they succeeded to speak English at an acceptable communication level.

### 3.2.3. RECRUITMENT CHANNELS AND SOCIAL TIES

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

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

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

As is stated in Overview 1 for Romania, the main channel used by Romanian migrants to work abroad is so called "social ties" by which "friends are helping friends, relatives are helping relatives, individuals from the same community are helping their fellow countrymen, people with some religious orientation, especially

Adventism, Baptism and Pentecostalism branches, are helping people with same religious beliefs and those with some ethnic background are helping the fellows sharing same ethnic background". (Șerban M., Voicu B., 2010)

*Most of the interviewed migrants said that they used or will use relatives, friends, acquaintances, neighbors that are already working abroad in order to be informed about the labor market in the destination countries and for helping them finding a job.* They use this informal channel because is easy to do it and they have confidence in them. That means using the "social capital" mainly by those in rural areas of Romania, who, in fact, account for the majority of the Romanian migrants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the actual migrants came illegally to Spain in 1997, as women actual migrants (45 y / o and 47 y / o, respectively). The other one (M, 40 y / o) succeeded to legalize his situation after he went to the destination country, found a job

through his father-in-law and worked for a year in Italy. After that he registered with the employment agency as person looking for a job but he only got the first work contract after a year.

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

An actual migrant from Germany started to find a job in ITC field using e-jobs websites, job fairs and recruitment agencies, as he said:

*“I went to job fairs and I visited the main recruitment websites but often the recruiters found me and I participated in interviews weekly. [...] I used a recruitment agency from Poland which told me about the company from Leipzig and finally I was invited and tested by the company where I work now.”* (AM, M, 33).

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

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

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The qualitative collected data allowed us to identify a significant typology of migrants and situations from those having no work experience abroad, having low professional qualification and having the desire to gain more money as a reason to go to work abroad, to those having significant amounts of information about the labor market in the destination countries, who are well educated, have high professional background and a multidimensional motivation to work abroad, being focused on professional and career development. One type is represented by migrants (by the situation prior to departure) who usually are young, unqualified, without professional experience at the date of departure, without enough information and with no consistent preparation undertaken. The migrants in this category rely in their decision to migrate on the social ties (social networks) they have, mainly on relative and friends, to help them to get information about the labor market, to find a job and to reach the living conditions in the destination countries. As per data analyzed in the main text, there are a lot of cases of migrants that can be included in this category. The single or the main reason they decided to work abroad is to gain (more) money.



Briefly, they do not have a thorough preparation for departure, as they do not have money, they do not know the language of the country they intend to arrive, they do not know anything about housing or other things necessary for an easy and smooth integration there. They assume the status of a tourist and hope to find a job, at least for a short term. They travel or will travel there by bus or plane with the help of their relatives or friends. Their motivations to go to work abroad are mainly based on the push factors provided by their own income in Romania.

Similar with the first type of migrants, there is a type or a category of migrants that prior to departure have had extensive work experience in Romania and/or some experience in other European country, some of them being persons who lost their jobs. It is about people with low qualification and education, mainly women who lost the job they once had in the Communist era and who during the last 10–15 years have found some jobs in the house care field (mainly in Italy), agriculture and construction (e.g. prospective migrant RO.F.28). These people succeeded to learn a little the languages of the countries they were in, like Spanish, Italian, German or English, and use a diversity of ways to find a job and survival strategies to get incomes for their families left behind in Romania. They often use so called “circulatory migration” means, i.e. working for short term, coming back to Romania, then going back to the destination countries to replace the migrants who already left the job there. The main motivation is an individual factor, namely to gain money for them and their households left behind in Romania. The main difference between this type of migrants and the first one is that some of them have useful working experience and they are, from this perspective, better prepared to work abroad. Their experience is important for their decision to migrate and has changed traditional migration to circulatory migration, mainly for short term.

These two types of migrants are, generally speaking, low educated and low qualified. As Romanian representative surveys show, these migrants include most of the Romanian migrants, around two-thirds. They use to work as low qualified workers in agriculture, construction, hospitality industry, homecare, transportation, services etc. Most of them use to work in Italy and Spain. What is significantly similar between these two types of migrants is the motivation for departure linked with earning money increasing their income, regardless the job they might do in the destination countries. For the future they are going to return to Romania, even though many of them will try to get back to the destination countries and to work for short term.

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

The weight of migrants from this category has increased over the past 3–4 years and accounts for about a quarter of the overall Romanian migrants in the EU countries. These look for jobs mainly in Germany, UK and France. The main difference between them and the previous two groups is that they are well prepared about what they want to obtain from the migration action. They usually have a straightforward plan, including getting information about the receiving countries and the job opportunities there and they usually take training courses for learning foreign languages (mainly English and German). Some of them intend to study or continue to study even though they might change their profession. They try to get a job in order to succeed in raising their social mobility status. On the whole, we can say that they have an optimistic view about the profession, family, life etc. and an appropriate thinking about the expectations regarding the new realities. They decide to move abroad not only due to push individual reasons but mainly for the new opportunities with regard to their profession and life.

The other important difference between this category of migrants and the previous two categories of migrants, is that their motivation for working abroad is based not only on earning money but also, to the same extent, on the aim of getting a secure and prestigious job. That is, they aim at higher social status mainly by keeping and valorising their professional speciality. For the future, most of them do not intend to return to Romania.

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

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