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National Report

Romanian immigrants in Spain

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Table of contents

Introduction	3
Methodology	3
Brief history of Romanian migration to Spain	7
Quantitative data analysis	11
Contextual information.....	12
Socio-demographic characteristics of Romanian migrants.....	16
Analysis of the 2007 National Survey on Migrants.....	27
Economical situation and labour market position.....	35
Migration and remigration.....	41
Qualitative data analysis	44
Political participation	45
Voting – a missing act.....	51
Participation in European elections.....	54
The role of associations.....	56
PIRUM – a transnational perspective?	58
Social participation	61
The role of networks in migration.....	62
Relations with locals/other immigrants	65
Transnationalism – Romanians as transnational migrants.....	67
The role of the Church in the path of immigration and in the life projects of the migrants.....	72
Women and citizenship	76
Bibliography	82
Annex	87

Introduction

This analysis has been done as part of the international EU project "Access to Rights and Civil Dialogue for All", that aims to examine the low civic and political participation of European Union members when residing in a member state that is not their own. As an action research project, further aims to develop a training or curriculum that fosters the citizenship involvement and political participation of EU national migrants in their host country, especially focusing on women. The project takes place in five European countries, each of them focusing on a chosen migrant community such as the Portuguese migrants living in France, Polish migrants living in Belgium, Bulgarian migrants living in Greece and Romanian migrants living in Italy and Spain. Spain, that since 2000 experienced a rapid exponential growth in the number of immigrants residing in its territory, chose to present and examine the patterns of the largest immigrant group it hosts, mainly, the situation of Romanian citizens living in the country. This study is built upon both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Before presenting the main socio-economical statistical characteristics of Romanian immigrants living in Spain, let us explain the methodology we used for the purpose of this report.

Methodology

In order to describe from a demographic point of view the Romanian immigrant community currently living in Spain, we used 2011 data provided by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE).

Aiming to make recommendations concerning the generally low participation of immigrants in the local civic and political life of their host country, and willing to conform to the general objectives and indications of this project - to collect qualitative data provided by cultural and representative associations as well as by EU citizens residing in an other country where they are not nationals -, we conducted 6 interviews and 3 focus group discussions with Romanian citizens living in Spain and with members of Romanian associations and political parties.

Two of the focus group discussions were held with the participation of Romanian Roma ethnic immigrants living in the area of Santa Coloma, near Barcelona, as we considered important to reflect on the specific situation Romanian Roma and especially Roma women experience in Spain, but generally all across Europe. 19 Romanian Roma women in total shared their reflexions about their current situation in the host country, about management and surviving tools of everyday life and contributed to the discussion with thoughts about their own cultural traditions, habits and customs and how all these fit into the day-to-day context of Spanish reality. The participants were selected with the help of an association called SAOROMA, whose members have been working for a longer time with these women coming from the region of Vaslui and Ialomița (South of Romania) From methodological considerations, but also in order to avoid hierarchical group constructions that might be caused by age differences of the participants, we divided the participants into two groups: group I aged between 18 and 25 and group II aged between 27 and 35 years old. When applying the questions of the focus group in the case of group discussions with Romanian Roma, we used an “adopted form” of the questionnaire, given the very low or almost nonexistent level of education of the participants. We divided the questionnaire into 4 main sections that included questions referring to legal aspects of their stay (starting from when they arrived, why did they chose this country, are they documented, registered, recognized from any legal point of view), interaction with local institutions and local citizens (questions related to being conscious of the existence of and participation in different associations, relations with the Catalan, Spanish society, language difficulties and intentions of learning the language, proximity relations with neighbours or interactions with other immigrants), electoral participation (level of knowledge of Spanish national state or local politics, right to vote, participating on elections in the host country and in the country of origin) and finally question related to civil rights and citizenship (racist discourses, racist treatment, confronting stereotypes, women’s role in the society and in the family, differences among women Spanish nationals and Roma women).

As Romanian immigrants living in Spain generally are considered to have a relatively high level of integration (especially in comparison with other immigrant groups such as the Moroccans), the group discussions conducted with Roma women allowed us to have a general reflection about the differences and similarities that characterize these two entities (perceived as different entities from the viewpoints of the majoritarian Roma and Spanish societies). Although the framework of the study, nor the objective of it does not allow us to construct broad theoretical assumptions about the Romanian and Romanian Roma immigrants living in Spain, we are able to point out some characteristics which are available both to the Romanian and to the Roma migrants regarding their (non)participation in local civic and political life of their host country.

The third focus group we conducted included Romanian migrants along with members of local Spanish associations that work for the integration of migrants. We also interviewed members of local institutions whose work is related to the aims of this project (migration management social participation). The questions to the participants of the focus group were related to the previously mentioned topic, allowing to make a comparison between the different profiles selected: the position of migrants in front of the adaptation to the local reality, the difficulties in managing current realities that local institutions have to face and the in-between role of the local associations that interact with both institutions and migrants.

The individual interviews we have conducted, 6 in total, give us an idea how Romanian immigrants define themselves as a community, what their integration techniques are and how they understand citizenship participation, citizen's rights and political and local involvement.

While trying to give a reflection upon the non(participation) of Romanian immigrants in local elections of Spain (expressed in the almost nonexistence of votes), we conducted an interview with one of the political leaders of the only existing Romanian political party in the country, the Iberian Party of Romanians (PIRUM), which actually run in this years local elections, gaining 97 votes in total, on the whole territory of Spain. The other interview, discussion leaded with the ideological leader of the party revealed equally interesting facts on the motivation that stands behind this project of a small

part of Romanian immigrants, but which Romanian immigrants on a whole seemingly do not feel "as theirs".

Interviews:

- Association leader and journalist in a local newspaper for Romanian immigrants in Spain
- Social worker at an association for refugees
- Professor of Medieval philosophy and ethics, also the "ideological leader" of the party PIRUM
- Local candidate of PIRUM in Agramunt (Lleida)
- Group interview (3 persons), leaders of SAOROMA, association that works with Roma immigrants
- Romanian PhD Student; areas of study: Romanian migration to Spain, poverty

Focus Group Interviews:

1) 21st of June 2011:

- Town hall employee, responsible for developing and implementing social participation policies
- Town hall employee, responsible for managing local migration policies
- Member of a local association that works with integration and empowerment of immigrants
- Romanian immigrant who participated in local elections as a member of a Spanish party
- Romanian immigrant studying in Spain
- Romanian immigrant working in Spain (3)

2) 22 October 2011:

- 10 Romanian Roma immigrant women, aged between 25 and 35

3) 23 October 2011:

- 9 Romanian Roma immigrant women, aged between 18 and 25

Brief history of Romanian migration to Spain

As an introduction, we are going to give a brief description of the evolution of the migration processes in Romania and Spain, taking into consideration that a broader description of these processes has been done by several authors, giving a detailed reconstruction of the changes that occurred in the two countries in the past, roughly twenty years. For further readings one can consult the portal of Focus Migration¹ and read the migration profiles of the two countries.

Romania, a country of emigration in the late 19th century and early 20th century, experienced severe restriction on the free movement of persons during the ages of communism. After the fall of the regime, passport administration was liberalised, although the authorities maintained the restrictive boarder passing rules during in the 90s (for example taxes were imposed). In the harsh economical context (in the period between 1990 and 2002 the employed population declined by 44% and more than 3.5 million jobs vanished, most dramatic decreases being registered in industry) of these first years of Romania's democratic transition, highly qualified, young emigrants obtained long-term, legal residence in various European countries, but, more and more unskilled or poorly qualified persons from rural areas begun to seek (mostly temporary) migratory arrangements (Country profile: Romania, Horváth, 2007). István Horváth describes three phases in which Romanian immigration took place, before the country's accession to the European Union in 2007:

In the first phase (1990-1995), when entry to various Western European countries was severely limited, Romanian workers headed mainly to Israel, Turkey, Hungary (mostly ethnic Hungarians) and Germany.

In the second period (1996-2002), westward migration prevailed, with large numbers of workers going to Italy and, increasingly, Spain.

¹ Country Profile: Spain, written by Dr. Axel Kreienbrink, August 2008
Country Profile: Romania, written by István Horváth, September 2007
<http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Country-Profiles.1349.0.html?&L=1>

The third phase of labour migration was symbolically inaugurated on 1st January 2002 when countries included in the Schengen space removed visa requirements for Romanian citizens, making a valid passport sufficient for entry. Major destinations since then have included Italy, Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom.

As Romania experienced a change in its migration status, similarly Spain, historically being a country of emigration experienced a rapid exponential growth in the number of its immigrants, finding itself in the centre of a fast transition into a country of immigration. According to Calavita (Calavita, 2005), after the North-Western European countries in the 70's and 80's started to close their borders in front of migration flows, Spain and Italy become the central focus of South-North and East-West migration flows. After its five hundred years old tradition of Spain being a major provider of migrant labour, the seventies marked a period with high returns into a country: between 1974 and 1980 around 400,000 migrants came back to Spain, while outgoing migration rapidly decreased (Carreras and Tafunell 2005, I, 141 In Bernat & Viruela, 2011). It was not until the year of 2001, when the outgoing and incoming migration flows got equally balanced (the number of foreign residents registered in Spain in the census of 1 May 2001 was 1,572,000, while Spaniards living abroad at the same time amounted to approximately 1,431,000) however, dramatic change in the country has occurred in the past ten years. The number of immigrants has increased exponentially and Spain is now the EU country with the second highest number of foreign residents (Bernat & Viruela, 2011). As we are going to present it more in depth in the following chapter of statistical data analysis, on 1 January 2010, 5.7 million foreigners were living in Spain, representing 12.2% of the country's total population. As Bernat and Viruela put it, "Spain has achieved what has taken over forty years in other countries. Arrivals of immigrants 'in masses'² began in 2001 and continued through to 2008. (...) Another basic feature of this migration pattern is that it is clearly

²Martinello and Kazin argue, that the concept of migration being represented by images of "invasion" and "massive flow" in general public discourses it is due to the specific characteristic, pattern of migration that is centered to certain locations such as big cities, where immigrants are "more visible" (Martinello and Kazin, 1991)

economic migration, since 76% of the new citizens come from countries with a significantly lower per capita income than that of Spain”.

The first Romanian citizens started to arrive to Spain in the beginning of the 1990s, and are told to be “isolated individual projects of international migration” (Sandu et al., 2004). The evolution of Romanian migration to Spain shows a continuous growth until 2006 (211.325 Romanian migrants), and a great explosion after that, due to Schengen arrangements, reaching the number of 751.668 migrants in 2009.

Sandu (Sandu, op. Cit.) mentions 3 factors that explain and can help to understand the recent Romanian migrant flows to Spain:

- a) Factors related to Romania: need of economic growth and differences related to life-style between Romania and Western European countries, the latter ones providing broader (economic) possibilities
- b) Factors related to Spain: the economical growth experienced between 1992 and 2008 and its position as a country of destination for international migration recently (the switch from emigration to immigration country is recent and marked the attitude of the state and society regarding migrants).
- c) Factors related to the international context: Establishment of the Schengen Area and regulations concerning the free movement of persons.

Several studies on Romanian migration also emphasized, that Romanian “migrants preferred locations where the native population was perceived as more understanding, allowing foreign workers to ‘live in normal conditions’” (Hiris, 2008). Important to note, that in 1999 50% of the Spanish population was in favour of Romania’s accession to the EU, while in contrast, only 26% of the French population. Moreover, in Spain 40% believed that immigration would be limited and there were no negative effects expected (Hiris, 2008). No wonder, that after experiencing hostile attitude from the part of the French state/society, Romanian immigrants redirected their job search towards Spain (Ibidem). Moreover, as the

economic growth Spain has experienced in the beginning of the years of 2000 demanded for workers in different sectors of the labour market, Spain and Romania signed a bilateral labour recruitment treaty in 2002. Out of 15,319 persons contracted, 14,808 had a contract type for doing seasonal, mainly agricultural work (Martin, 2008 In Silasi et. al.). The year of 2002 marked an important turning point in the history of Romanian immigration (to Spain), as in this year the country has been exempted from visa regulations trough across Europe. While in 2003 Italy and Spain were reported among the most favoured destinations for Romanian (temporal) migrants, in 2007 - with Romania's accession to the European Union - Spain became the country attracting the most Romanian immigrants (Martin, 2008 In Silasi et. al.). In 2007, 11 of the EU countries have granted full and unrestricted access for Romanians to their labour markets, Spain being one of them. As Ciornei puts it, the first studies on Romanian migration reported that the majority planned to return (Şerban and Grigoraş 2000; Potot 2002 in Ciornei, 2009) and also a survey undertaken in mid-2008 revealed that 74% of the Romanian community resident in the province of Castelló intended to return (Bernat et al. 2010 in Ciornei, 2009). In the following parts we are going to give a concise analysis of the recent statistical data available concerning immigration trends in Spain, trying to reflect on the general socio-economical characteristics of Romanian immigrants and on the patterns of Romanian immigration to Spain on the whole.

Quantitative data analysis

In the following section we present the main data currently available related to the situation of Romanian migrants in Spain. Our main aim is to offer a concise analysis of the statistical reality of the largest European migrant group present in this country.

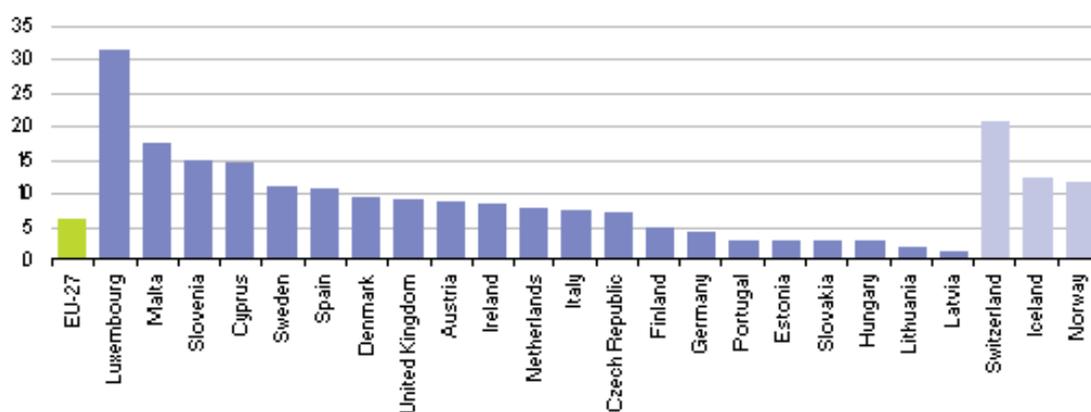
With this purpose, we compiled the main data available in the *INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (National Institute of Statistics) of Spain, institution responsible of the recollection and management of the statistical data in the country, and its preparation for diffusion. As the reader will see, when it had been possible, we collected the most recent data available (2011) and the most concise in relation with the national group objective. Anyway, we considered interesting the utilisation of some data from the *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes* (National Survey of Migrants), made in 2007, that presented data related to Romanian migrants grouped with Bulgarian ones. We assume the loss of information that the data can involve, but we appreciate more the benefits of including that data when trying to understand the main characteristics of the group objective of the research, especially that the number of Bulgarian migrants in 2007 represented 18,8% of the total number of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens living in Spain.

The INE obtained its data from the local registers of each City Hall, and it is considered to be a valid reference for the research on migration, as it is the most updated data available due to the major proximity of City Halls and individuals and the necessity of being registered to be able to use the health care and other facilities. Otherwise, one must assume that even that potential, the local register can generate doubts in some information, due to the fact that the information lasts for a longer time to be updated once the individual has registered himself, what can lead to certain errors in analysing the educational level or some similar data.

Contextual information

Considering its position in the world, Spain has traditionally been a transition place for migrants whose destination and ultimate goal was to arrive to other central European countries, while during the twentieth century had been a country of emigration. Both things have changed in the last 30 years. First of all, in the last years of Franco's dictatorship, the emigration tendency changed and Spaniards stopped looking for job opportunities outside the frontiers and remained in the country to develop their life projects. Secondly, at the beginning of the current century, the migration balance ended its transformation, and Spain became a country of immigration, due to the flourishing economical situation and to the promising possibilities that situation offers. The spectacular growth of immigration between 2000 and 2010, let Spain being the sixth European country in relation to the migration ratio (see figure 1), having a percentage of foreign population of 12,2%, 5.35 times higher than the percentage in 2000, consisting of 4.926.608 persons in 2010.

Figure 1: Percentage of Foreign Population compared in European countries (2010)



(1) Data on the number of inhabitants refer to 1 January 2010; Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, France, Poland and Romania, not available.

Source: Eurostat (online data codes: migr_imm1ctz and migr_pop1ctz)

Although member of the European Union, most of the migrants that come to Spain have different origins (59,15%), a great majority from North Africa, due to the geographical proximity, and from South America, due to linguistic sameness. Even though the 2.012.553 of EU Nationals that lived in

Spain in 2010 represented the 40,85% of migrants, that figures Romanian immigrants on the first place with 840.682 inhabitants (17,06%), far from the second European country, United Kingdom, with 228.829 inhabitants.

Table 1: Romanian citizens in Spain (2010)

Total	N	%
Total	4.926.608	100,00
EU Nationals	2.012.553	40,85
Romanian	840.682	17,06
Men	N	%
Total	2.609.450	100,00
EU Nationals	1.085.332	41,59
Romanian	455.451	17,45
Women	N	%
Total	2.317.158	100,00
EU Nationals	927.206	40,01
Romanian	385.231	16,63

Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

The Romanian process of migration to Spain started at the beginning of nineties, but in the first years had a very limited expansion. It is not until the last decade, when it increased in its intensity (from 5.082 inhabitants in 1999 to 840.682 in 2010), being one of the main national groups involved in the multi-origin migration process that affected Spain the last years, having its maximum increase between 2006 and 2007 (392.564 new Romanian inhabitants).

Table 2 shows the quantitative increase of migrant inhabitants in Spain between 1999 and 2010, and allows the reader to have an idea of the massive flow of Romanian migrants compared with the general population increase.

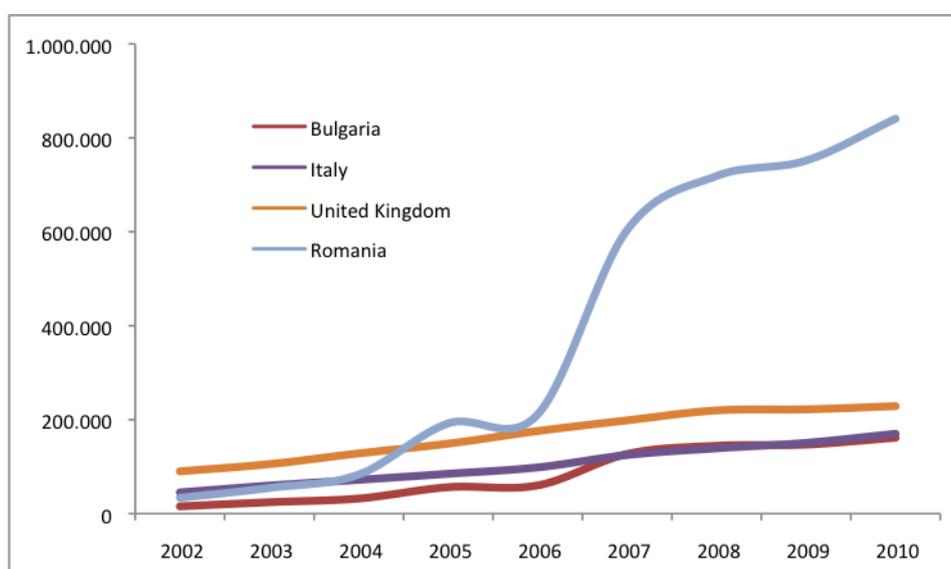
Table 2: Evolution of Romanian citizens in Spain 1999-2010 (2010)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total						
Total	801.329	895.720	1.109.060	1.324.001	1.647.011	1.977.291
EU Nationals	328.793	333.706	376.757	423.788	500.284	595.775
Romanian	5.082	10.983	24.856	33.705	54.688	83.372
Men						
Total	408.772	477.155	606.018	728.019	904.331	1.067.958
EU Nationals	163.855	170.146	197.146	224.562	268.304	320.529
Romanian	2.780	6.920	16.081	21.502	33.873	49.102
Women						
Total	375.078	407.423	494.843	590.629	739.153	907.129
EU Nationals	157.391	158.261	175.758	196.623	230.238	274.087
Romanian	2.240	4.012	8.728	12.178	20.798	34.260
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total						
Total	2.738.932	3.021.808	3.979.014	4.473.499	4.791.232	4.926.608
EU Nationals	797.836	911.045	1.523.361	1.770.230	1.848.598	2.012.538
Romanian	192.134	211.325	603.889	718.844	751.688	840.682
Men						
Total	1.487.446	1.636.653	2.162.190	2.407.716	2.556.033	2.609.450
EU Nationals	431.531	495.273	836.614	966.797	1.003.327	1.085.332
Romanian	107.685	118.682	336.560	395.574	409.626	455.451
Women						
Total	1.250.371	1.384.541	1.816.392	2.059.252	2.228.608	2.317.158
EU Nationals	365.729	415.556	686.651	803.015	844.863	927.206
Romanian	84.447	92.642	267.327	323.249	342.042	385.231

Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

As Figures 2 and 3 show, the increase in the number of Romanian migrants is incomparable with the increase of population from other European countries. In figure 2, one can compare the evolution in the number of migrants for the four European countries that have the most numerous migrant populations in Spain, and it offers a great illustration of the rapid increase in the year 2007, marking the year of Romania's accession to the European Union.

Figure 2: Evolution and comparison in the number of migrants between 4 European countries: Bulgaria, Italy, United Kingdom and Romania.

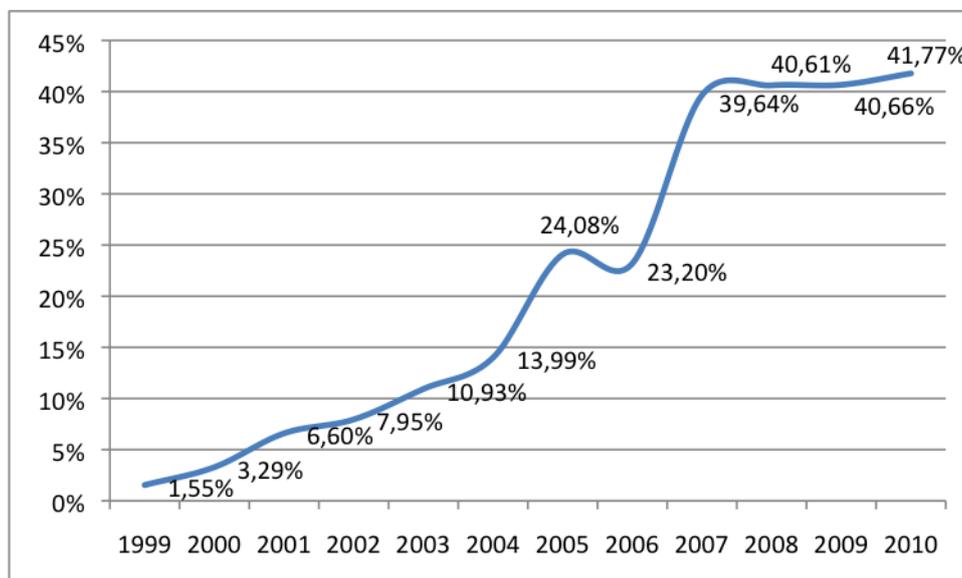


Source: Observatorio Permanente de la inmigración, Ministerio de Trabajo y Inmigración, 2011

In figure 3, one can see the increasing number of Romanian migrants within the total number of European migrants that live in Spain, being stabilized around 40% in the last three years. Anyway, one must take into account that the data refers to the legal status of migrants, not to their real number and presence in Spain. The main point is that possibly, the data showing the growth of Romanian migrants between 2006 and 2007 does not refer only to the newly arrived migrants that benefited from free movement of persons in Europe, but it also takes into account those who have been living irregularly/illegally in Spain and could regularize their situation in 2007. For the sake of the figure one should consider that the data after 2007 reflects

a realistic increase, but before 2007 we estimate a different presence in number of Romanian migrants that it is not shown on the graphic.

Figure 3: Percentage represented by Romanian migrants in comparison with EU migrants



Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

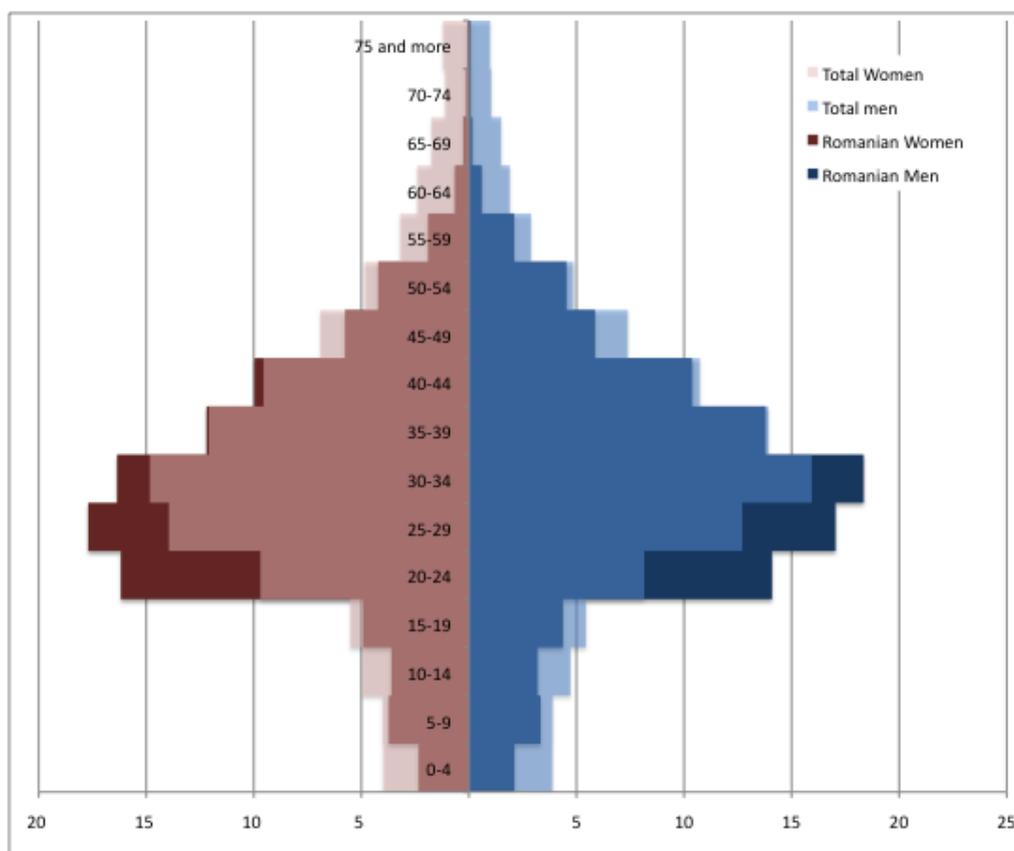
Socio-demographic characteristics of Romanian migrants

The age pyramid resulting from the distribution of Romanian citizens living in Spain according to their age and sex has the traditional shape of migrant communities that are in search for job opportunities. The distribution figure shows the form of a spinning top, with very few people concentrated on the two poles (children and elders) and great accumulation in the category of working ages, especially between the age of 20 and 34 years old.

That job-oriented distribution can be understood by the development possibilities that the inflated Spanish economy offered between 1999 and 2008. The economic growth experimented during those years, mainly related to the real estate bubble and the construction sector, had been an important call for international labour migration of young people who, finally, contributed to the reconfiguration of the age distribution of the Spanish society: rejuvenating, filling certain job sector gaps and increasing the birth-rates. The spinning top shape of the age distribution is especially true in the case of Romanian migrants than in the case of the migrant

community on the whole. Among the Romanian migrant community we find less children or old people, and higher accumulations between the ages of 20 and 34 years old. Moreover, one can see how the distribution in the age of women tends to show a younger group than that of men, as the age category 25-29 is the largest group among women, while the age group 30-34 is the most numerous among men.

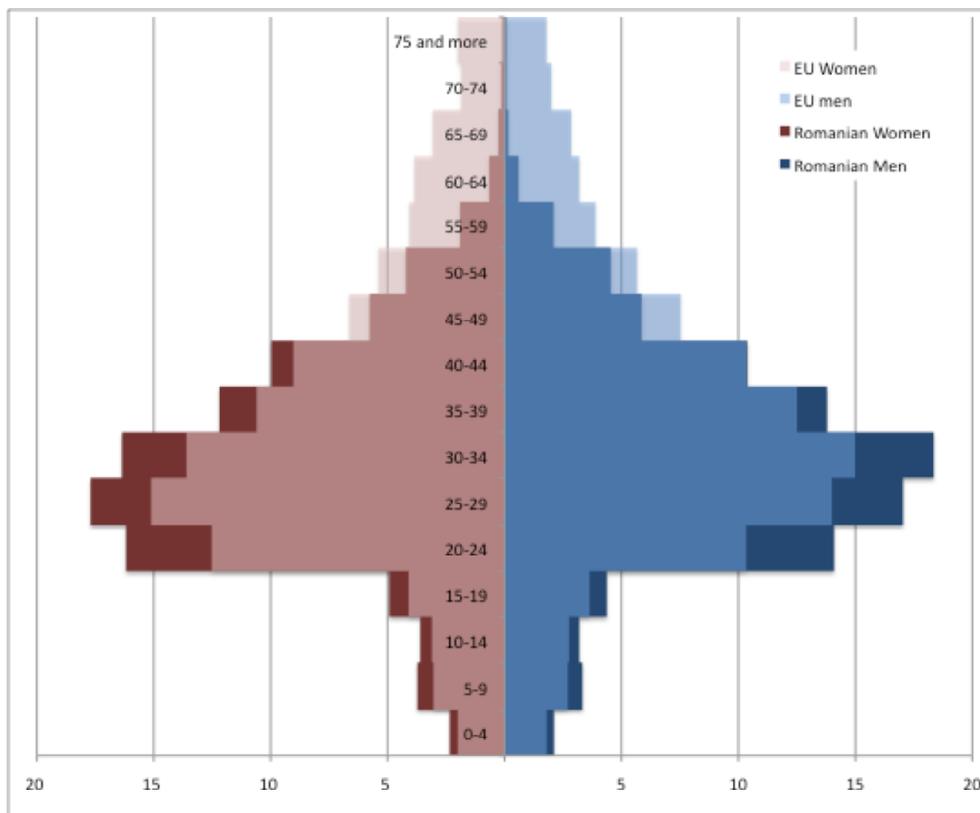
Figure 4: Compared percentage age pyramid between Romanian citizens and rest of migrants in Spain (2009)



Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

Comparing data between Romanian migrants and other EU migrants, one can see how - even though the distribution is still similar and oriented towards job search - it shows an ageing tendency among EU migrants. As it can be seen, the group including migrant population older than 45 is larger in the case of EU migrants than is in the case of Romanians, and their number in total distribution is higher too (27% of migrants that come from EU have more than 45 years old in comparison to 13% of Romanians).

Figure 5: Compared percentage age pyramid between Romanian citizens and EU citizens (2009)



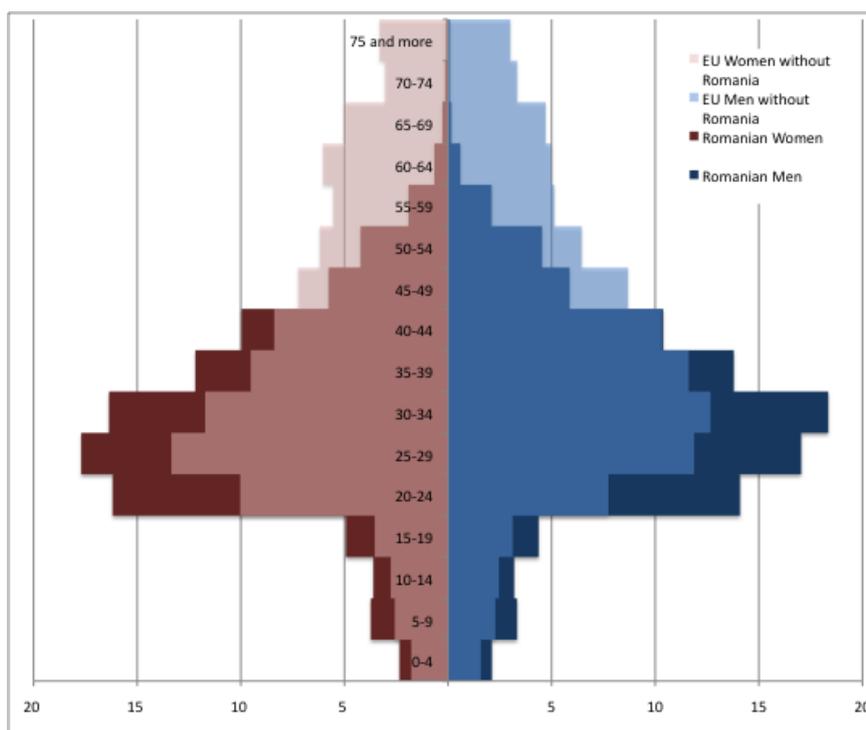
Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

Moreover, if one compares the data referring to Romanians to the data referring to EU countries excluding Romania, the shape differences become greater, and the ageing tendency of migration from other EU countries becomes clearer.

That differences suggest the coexistence of differing migration patterns according to the strategies or expectancies that involve migration processes and that can include individual and social aspects in its genesis: living

standards and possibilities in the country of origin, expected possibilities in the host country, individual development of life projects. In the case of Romanian migrants, according to Marcu (2008), the temporal labour migration is the predominant migration pattern, idea that is in perfect accordance with the age distribution presented.

Figure 6: Compared percentage age pyramid between Romanian citizens and EU citizens without Romania (2009)



Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

The distribution of migration in Spain is concentrated in the provinces of Madrid (18,38% of total migration) and Barcelona (14,91%), emphasizing the two main economic poles of the state, while the third area with great importance - in terms of migrant distribution - is the Mediterranean coast (Alicante, Valencia and Murcia), that also hosts significant concentration of migrant communities. The different incidence of migration flows has determined that the distribution of migrants can change according to the nationality. While in Catalonia the largest migrant origins are from North Africa and South America, in Madrid or Valencia, the Romanian community is predominant.

The next table shows how Romanian migration presents a great accumulation in the province of Madrid (22,6% of the Romanians that live in Spain are living in Madrid, percentage that grows up to 24% in the case of women distribution) and a differential distribution in the rest of the state, being Castelló, València and Zaragoza the next provinces with the largest numbers of Romanians.

Table 3: Province distribution of migrants in Spain (2009)

		Total			Men			Women		
		EU			EU			EU		
		Total	Nationals	Romanian	Total	Nationals	Romanian	Total	Nationals	Romanian
Province with more migrants	Province %	Madrid								
		18,38	16,31	22,60	17,48	15,81	21,40	19,42	16,91	24,03
Second province with more migrants	Province %	Barcelona	Barcelona	Castellón	Barcelona	Barcelona	Valencia	Barcelona	Alicante	Castellón
		14,91	8,51	5,88	15,00	8,69	5,99	14,81	8,59	6,11
Third province with more migrants	Province %	Alicante	Alicante	Valencia	Alicante	Alicante	Zaragoza	Alicante	Barcelona	Zaragoza
		5,90	7,97	5,83	5,72	7,45	5,95	6,10	8,31	5,66
Fourth province with more migrants	Province %	Valencia	Málaga	Zaragoza	Valencia	Valencia	Castellón	Valencia	Málaga	Valencia
		4,89	5,91	5,82	5,00	5,69	5,69	4,76	6,25	5,63
Fifth province with more migrants	Province %	Murcia	Valencia	Barcelona	Murcia	Málaga	Barcelona	Málaga	Baleares	Barcelona
		4,39	5,51	4,56	4,78	5,61	4,60	4,41	5,64	4,53
Others	%	51,54	55,78	55,31	52,02	56,75	56,37	50,49	54,29	54,04

Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

The Romanian community has become one of the most important communities in Spain, not only in absolute numbers, but also in spatial distribution, being one of the three largest in 39 from 51 provinces in Spain and the largest community in 24 of them. Moreover, we can find provinces as Ciudad Real, Cuenca and Castelló where Romanian migrants represents near the 50% of the total number of migrants, and many other in which they represent at least 30% of the immigrant population.

Table 4: Most presence of migrants by province (2009)

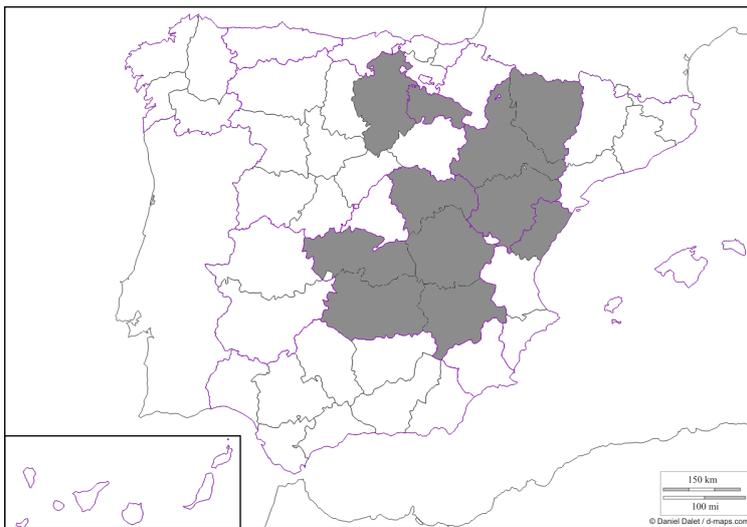
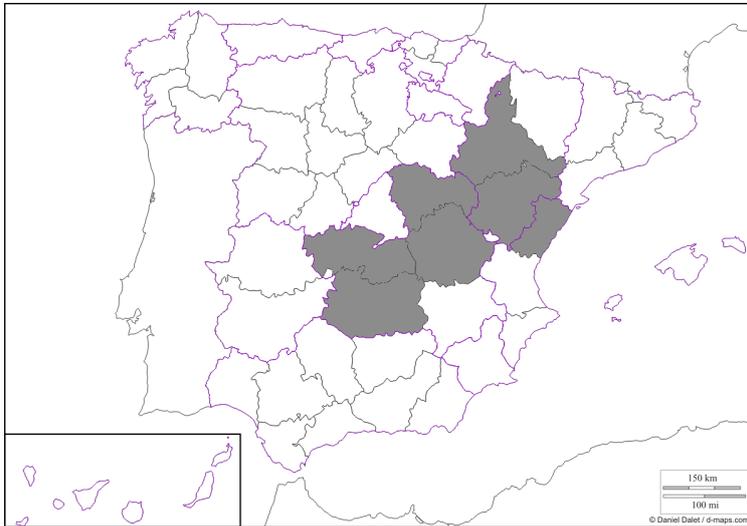
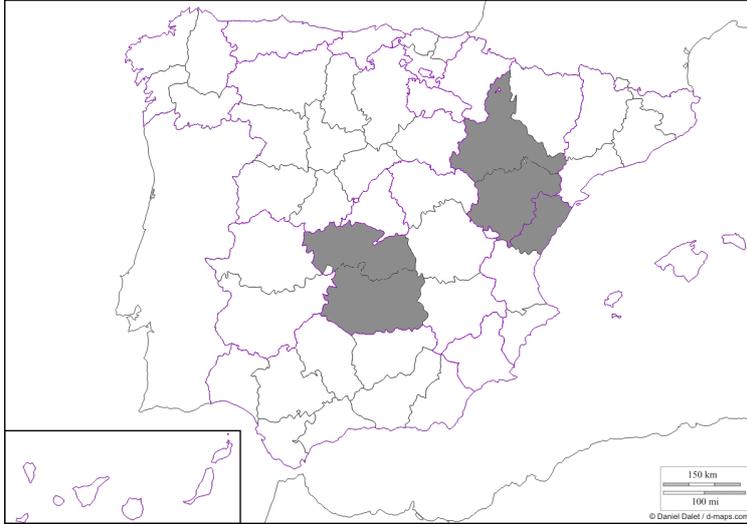
	Total	Most abundant nationality			Second most abundant nationality			Third most abundant nationality		
		Nationality	N	%	Nationality	N	%	Nationality	N	%
TOTAL	4791232	Marruecos	767784	16,02	Rumanía	751688	15,69	Ecuador	440304	9,19
Andalucía	597243	Marruecos	110761	18,55	Rumanía	102974	17,24	Reino Unido	67874	11,36
Almería	134865	Marruecos	41383	30,68	Rumanía	31320	23,22	Reino Unido	11734	8,70
Cádiz	40720	Marruecos	7214	17,72	Reino Unido	6209	15,25	Rumanía	3270	8,03
Córdoba	24515	Rumanía	9273	37,83	Marruecos	2792	11,39	Ecuador	2327	9,49
Granada	64596	Rumanía	13367	20,69	Marruecos	11216	17,36	Reino Unido	5736	8,88
Huelva	39702	Rumanía	13027	32,81	Marruecos	7370	18,56	Polonia	4620	11,64
Jaén	21211	Marruecos	6586	31,05	Rumanía	4325	20,39	Ecuador	1373	6,47
Málaga	201385	Reino Unido	40463	20,09	Marruecos	26256	13,04	Rumanía	13232	6,57
Sevilla	70249	Rumanía	15160	21,58	Marruecos	7944	11,31	Colombia	4332	6,17
ARAGÓN	170273	Rumanía	58707	34,48	Marruecos	20586	12,09	Ecuador	13554	7,96
Huesca	27595	Rumanía	8594	31,14	Marruecos	3725	13,50	Bulgaria	2355	8,53
Teruel	17600	Rumanía	6357	36,12	Marruecos	4768	27,09	Colombia	1195	6,79
Zaragoza	125078	Rumanía	43756	34,98	Marruecos	12093	9,67	Ecuador	12005	9,60
ASTURIAS	40749	Rumanía	6835	16,77	Ecuador	4279	10,50	Colombia	3398	8,34
BALEARES	202365	Marruecos	27588	13,63	Alemania	21073	10,41	Reino Unido	17969	8,88
CANARIAS	239312	Alemania	25734	10,75	Reino Unido	23408	9,78	Colombia	22653	9,47
Las Palmas	134951	Colombia	15859	11,75	Marruecos	14590	10,81	Alemania	13307	9,86
Sta. Cruz de T	104361	Alemania	12427	11,91	Reino Unido	11911	11,41	Italia	11244	10,77
CANTABRIA	36161	Rumanía	6197	17,14	Colombia	4574	12,65	Perú	3231	8,94
CASTILLA-LA	204517	Rumanía	86104	42,10	Marruecos	34608	16,92	Ecuador	15118	7,39
Albacete	33872	Rumanía	11166	32,97	Marruecos	4406	13,01	Colombia	2779	8,20
Ciudad Real	39880	Rumanía	21286	53,38	Marruecos	5270	13,21	Ecuador	2700	6,77
Cuenca	24326	Rumanía	11937	49,07	Marruecos	3306	13,59	Ecuador	1813	7,45
Guadalajara	34679	Rumanía	12846	37,04	Marruecos	5391	15,55	Ecuador	2451	7,07
Toledo	71760	Rumanía	28869	40,23	Marruecos	16235	22,62	Ecuador	5704	7,95
CASTILLA Y L	175516	Rumanía	32404	18,46	Bulgaria	28065	15,99	Marruecos	22470	12,80
Ávila	15288	Marruecos	4169	27,27	Rumanía	3725	24,37	Colombia	1313	8,59
Burgos	34995	Rumanía	8665	24,76	Bulgaria	5175	14,79	Portugal	4822	13,78
León	25054	Portugal	3998	15,96	Marruecos	3283	13,10	Colombia	2824	11,27
Palencia	7560	Marruecos	1383	18,29	Bulgaria	1033	13,66	Rumanía	991	13,11
Salamanca	16578	Rumanía	2142	12,92	Portugal	2075	12,52	Marruecos	1692	10,21
Segovia	24434	Bulgaria	7361	30,13	Rumanía	4638	18,98	Marruecos	3595	14,71
Soria	9612	Rumanía	1475	15,35	Marruecos	1405	14,62	Ecuador	1354	14,09
Valladolid	32874	Bulgaria	7454	22,67	Rumanía	6475	19,70	Marruecos	3062	9,31
Zamora	9121	Portugal	2285	25,05	Rumanía	1743	19,11	Bulgaria	1627	17,84
CATALUNYA	1061079	Marruecos	246921	23,27	Rumanía	95502	9,00	Ecuador	87216	8,22
Barcelona	714604	Marruecos	147722	20,67	Ecuador	77308	10,82	China	38790	5,43
Girona	144793	Marruecos	44106	30,46	Rumanía	13880	9,59	Gambia	9819	6,78
Lleida	71174	Rumanía	20163	28,33	Marruecos	15639	21,97	Colombia	3296	4,63
Tarragona	130508	Marruecos	39454	30,23	Rumanía	27148	20,80	Colombia	6836	5,24
COM. VALEN	610279	Rumanía	112432	18,42	Marruecos	70091	11,49	Reino Unido	69038	11,31
Alicante	282465	Reino Unido	62086	21,98	Marruecos	31073	11,00	Rumanía	24426	8,65
Castellón	93618	Rumanía	44191	47,20	Marruecos	18383	19,64	Colombia	4770	5,10
Valencia	234196	Rumanía	43815	18,71	Ecuador	26191	11,18	Marruecos	20635	8,81
EXTREMADU	41846	Marruecos	11180	26,72	Rumanía	10795	25,80	Portugal	5868	14,02
Badajoz	26022	Rumanía	8901	34,21	Portugal	4768	18,32	Marruecos	3505	13,47
Cáceres	15824	Marruecos	7675	48,50	Rumanía	1894	11,97	Portugal	1100	6,95
GALICIA	90738	Portugal	17917	19,75	Colombia	9106	10,04	Marruecos	6498	7,16
A Coruña	34676	Portugal	5125	14,78	Colombia	3440	9,92	Brasil	2429	7,00
Lugo	11872	Portugal	1716	14,45	Rumanía	1585	13,35	Colombia	1456	12,26
Ourense	13359	Portugal	5561	41,63	Colombia	1172	8,77	Brasil	986	7,38
Pontevedra	30831	Portugal	5515	17,89	Colombia	3038	9,85	Marruecos	2798	9,08
MADRID	880613	Rumanía	169865	19,29	Ecuador	132451	15,04	Marruecos	84365	9,58
MURCIA	210103	Marruecos	71272	33,92	Ecuador	49371	23,50	Reino Unido	12528	5,96
NAVARRA	64687	Ecuador	12058	18,64	Marruecos	8769	13,56	Rumanía	6378	9,86
EUSKADI	106658	Rumanía	15863	14,87	Colombia	12551	11,77	Marruecos	11473	10,76
Álava	23036	Marruecos	3692	16,03	Colombia	3252	14,12	Portugal	2101	9,12
Guipúzcoa	31197	Rumanía	4457	14,29	Marruecos	3381	10,84	Ecuador	3194	10,24
Vizcaya	52425	Rumanía	9380	17,89	Colombia	6544	12,48	Marruecos	4400	8,39
LA RIOJA	46211	Rumanía	11623	25,15	Marruecos	8905	19,27	Portugal	3621	7,84
CEUTA	4492	Marruecos	3681	81,95	China	113	2,52	Portugal	83	1,85
MELILLA	7395	Marruecos	5882	79,54	Alemania	260	3,52	Países Bajos	220	2,97

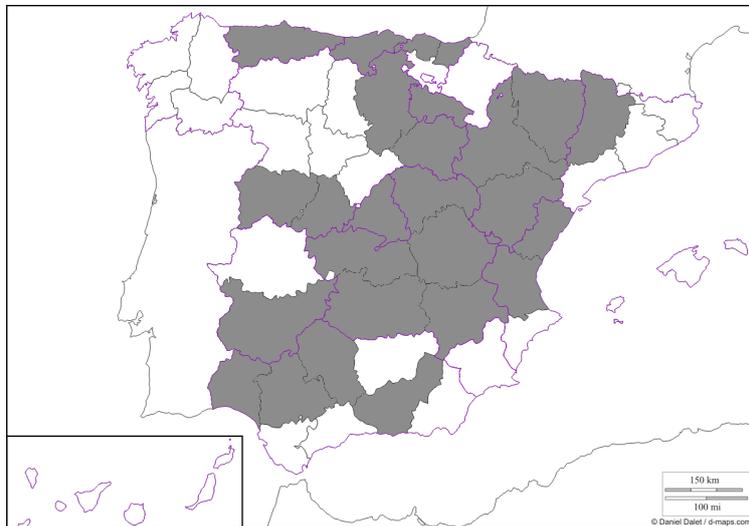
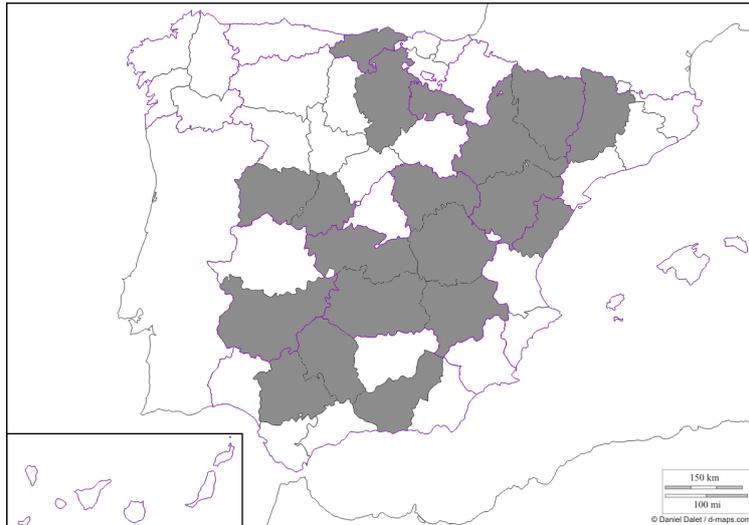
Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

In evolutionary terms, after updating Viruela's (2005) data analysis, one can see that until 2009, Romanian migrants have consolidated their presence in many of the provinces in Spain. If we analyze the evolution of provinces in which Romanians are the largest migrant community, one can see how the presence of that collective had become the predominant in half of the country, except for the zones that already had traditional migrant communities. The Balearic and Canary islands hosted significant migrant population that occupied the tourist market before the Romanian migration explosion, and similar situations can be found in Galicia - due to its proximity to Portugal - and in Catalonia, where immigrants from Magrib and South America are represented in large numbers.

Figure 7: Evolution of Provinces where Romanian migrants are the largest community (2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2009)







Source: Viruela (op. Cit) and Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

The sex distribution of migrants, in general, tends to be masculinised (0.87 women per men), but one can find differences based on the migration patterns in the place of origin and the labour possibilities in the host country. According to that idea, South-American migration tends to be feminized (Gomez-Quintero, 2005) and concentrated in urban areas where family care related jobs are easy to find. On the other hand, Pakistani and Indian migrants tend to be strongly masculinised (Alarcón et al., 2010), urban, and working in the third sector, especially in communication services, food and aliment stores and energy distribution. Migration processes, then, contribute to an international distribution of labour that is being reproduced elsewhere and that helps the formation of stereotypes

and expectations related to the possibilities of individual and collective development.

In the case of Romanian migrants, the general data shows that the distribution is slightly masculinised (0,84 women per men). In addition, if one takes into account the previous data referring to age distribution of Romanian migrants and the large number of migrants, the reflexion over migration effects must be oriented both towards the host country and towards the country of origin. In the first case, Spain is receiving a large amount of migrants in age of childbearing, which is causing demographic changes in the country and is generating new temporary demands in sanity and education. In the second case, the massive migration process in Romania can motivate a new kind of demographic transition. If immigration processes in the country become permanent or repetitive, Romania also has to consider the issue of a rapidly aging population.

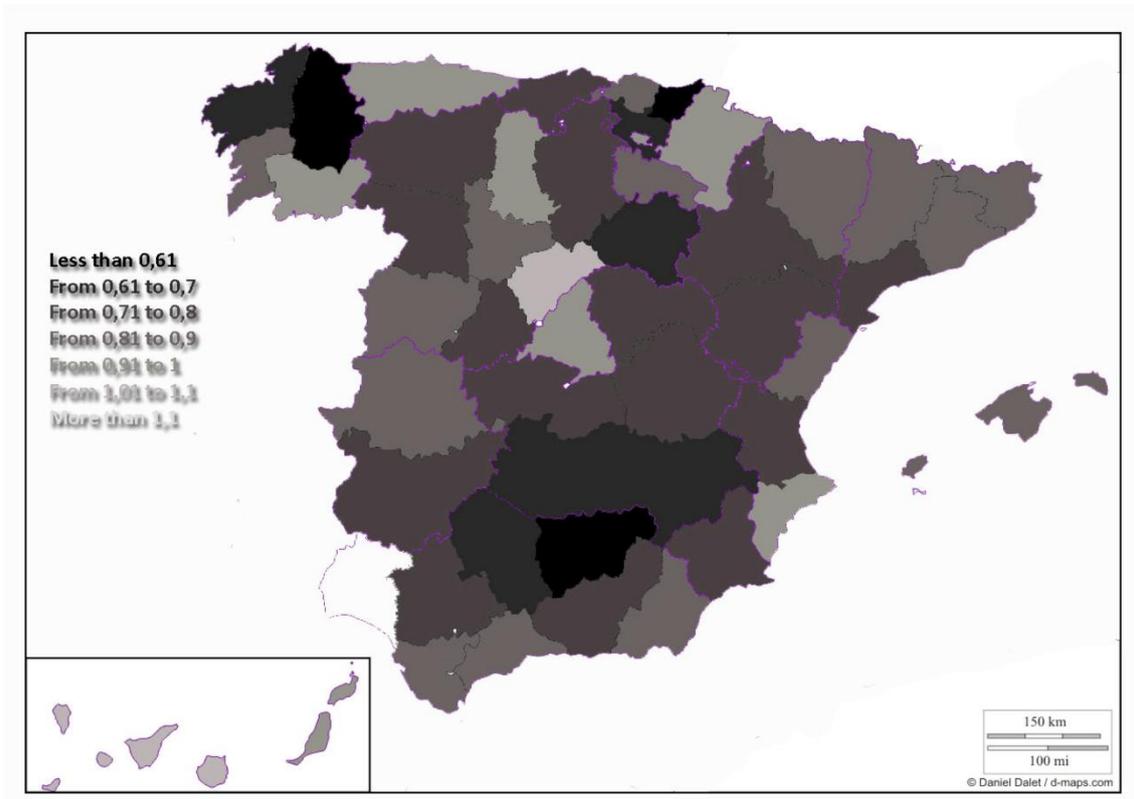
Table 5: Sex ratios (2009)

Sex Ratio	
Total Migrants	Romanian
0,87	0,84

Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

The observation of geographically disaggregated data shows a pattern of heterogeneity in sex distribution. We can find very masculinised areas in the centre and South of Spain, where rural business can be more attractive for men and in Northwest area due to the possibilities deriving from the fishing market. On the other hand, in Madrid and its surroundings the sex ratio tends to be more egalitarian, that can be understood as a higher tendency in migration of entire families, or as a sign of equal job possibilities for both genders (due to the larger size of the market). In Huelva the sex ratio distribution is highly feminized, being influenced by the demands of the agricultural sector (strawberry collecting).

Figure 8: Sex ratio by provinces (2009)



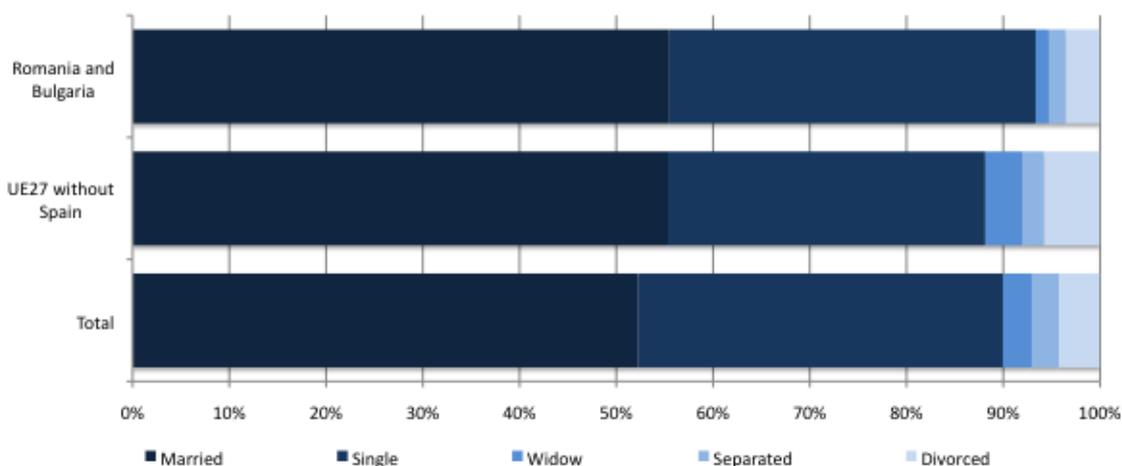
Source: Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011

Analysis of the 2007 National Survey on Migrants

In the following, we are going to analyse the data obtained from INE, which conducted a national survey on migrants in 2007, in the year of Bulgaria's and Romania's accession to the European Union.

Considering the marital status of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, 55,5% of them is married and 37,8% is single. Although this data is similar to the characteristics of other migrant groups, the ratio of widow, separated and divorced migrants is lower than the aggregated data of EU migrants and than the aggregated data of total migrants, probably due to the generally younger age of Romanian migrants. The weighted average of those three categories is 6,6%, while in the other 2 groups it is significantly higher (11,8% for EU migrants, 10% for total migrants)

Figure 9: Marital Status compared (2007)



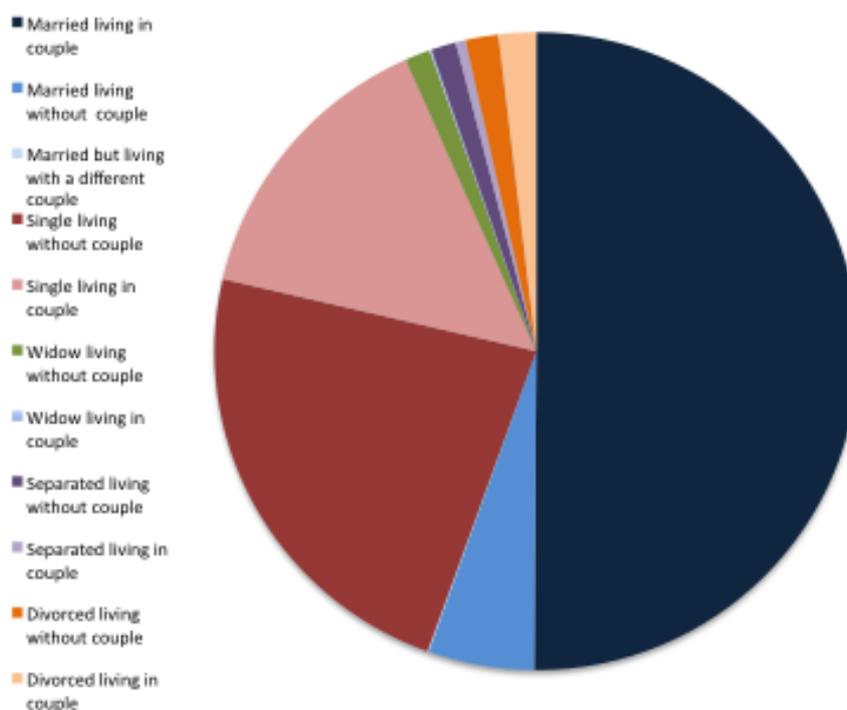
Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

When we disaggregate that data, the resulting figure shows that most of the Romanian and Bulgarian married migrants live in a couple (just 5,32% of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants are married living without a partner, and 0,07% are married and living with a different partner). That data reflects one of the most important components of Romanian and Bulgarian

migration: the family. Possibly the free movement of workers inside the EU helped the emergence of this pattern of migration of entire families.

The 23,14% of the Romanian migrant population is single living without partner, while the 14,71% are single but living with a partner. Finally, due to the young age of the community, the incidence indicating widowhood is very small (1,37% aggregate between widows who live without partner and those who live with partner) and similar results are obtained in case of separated people, but their percentage is a little bit higher in terms of divorce. The fact that the legal figure of separation does not exist in Romanian legal system can help to maintain that rate on a low scale.

Figure 10: Disaggregate marital status (2007)

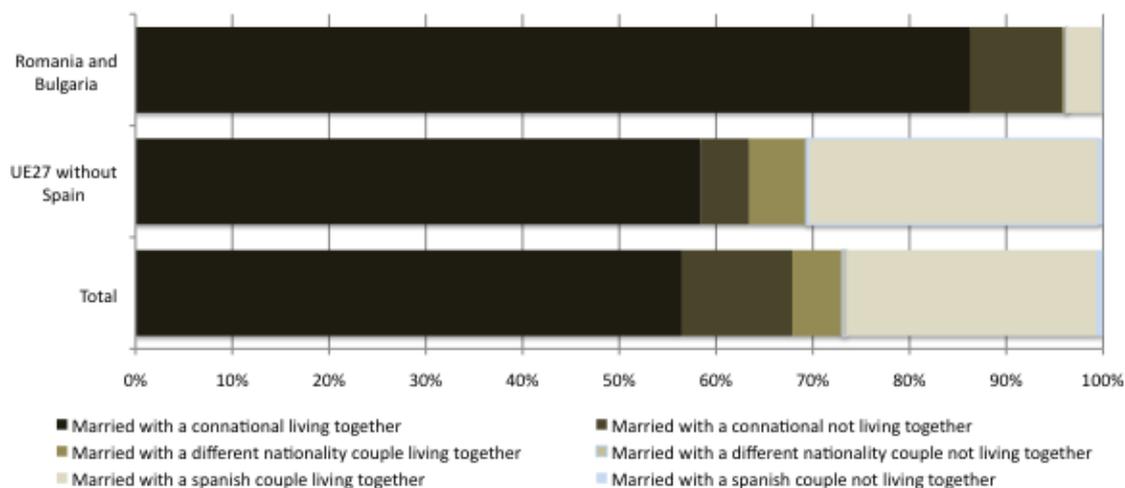


Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

The next figure analyses the marriage relations of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. For that purpose, we have excluded non-married migrants to analyse just those who have that legal status. The following data confirms the conclusions of Sanchez (Sanchez, 2011) when affirms that Romanian

women have one of the higher proportions of endogamic marriages. Although being one of the largest migrant groups in Spain, the number of marriages between Spaniards and Romanians is very low which lets us to conclude that mixed marriage is not an integration strategy within this community. Once again the idea of a job-oriented, temporal and family-centred type of migration seems to be confirmed. That element differentiates the Romanian and Bulgarian migration patterns from other individual, masculinised migration projects, such as Pakistani or Central and South African ones, or feminine migration projects with high incidence in exogenous marriages, like South American ones.

Figure 11: Marital Status and nationality in comparison (2007)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

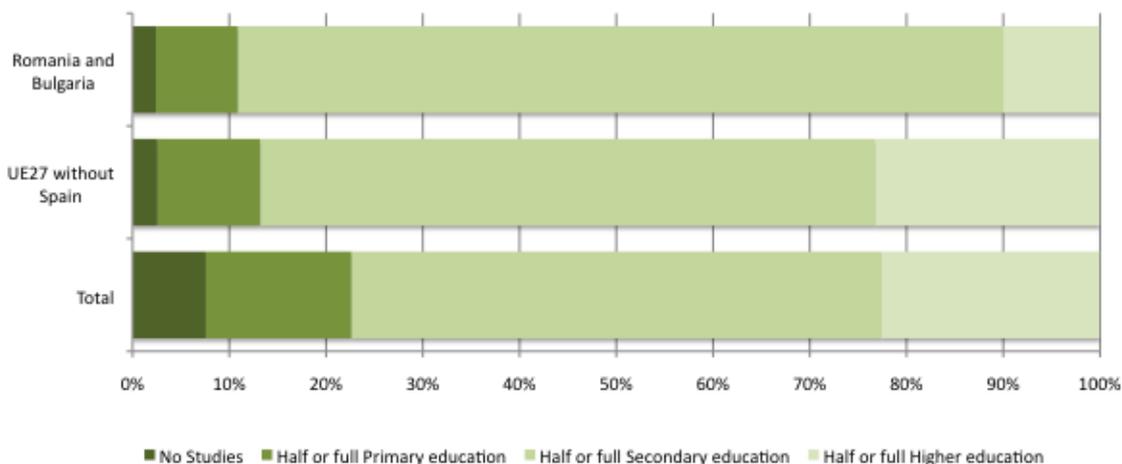
The aggregate data of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in comparison with other migrant groups shows a big difference in their level of education. The main difference between them is represented by the large accumulation of secondary education migrants among Romanians and Bulgarians, 79,1% from the total (16% higher than EU migrants, 24,4% higher in comparison with the total number of migrants). On the other hand, the rate of migrants with higher education is lower than the results obtained when analysing other groups.

Domingo et al. (Domingo et al., 2008) compares the educational level of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, concluding that despite the fact that the average educational level of Bulgarians is higher than of Romanians, both

collectives underwent progressive increase in terms of their educational level as time went by.

That situation draws a different relation with the labour market for Romanians than for other migrant collectives. The job orientation of the migration process is probably determined by the lack of opportunities to work in qualified jobs in the country of origin, rather than, as happens with other collectives, search of higher remuneration for non-qualified jobs. Both Bulgarian and Romanian have enough average educational level to work, as, in fact, they do, in the service or industrial sector as qualified workers, what amplifies its range of job opportunities, justifying the success of their migration process in quantitative terms.

Figure 12: Educational level (2007)



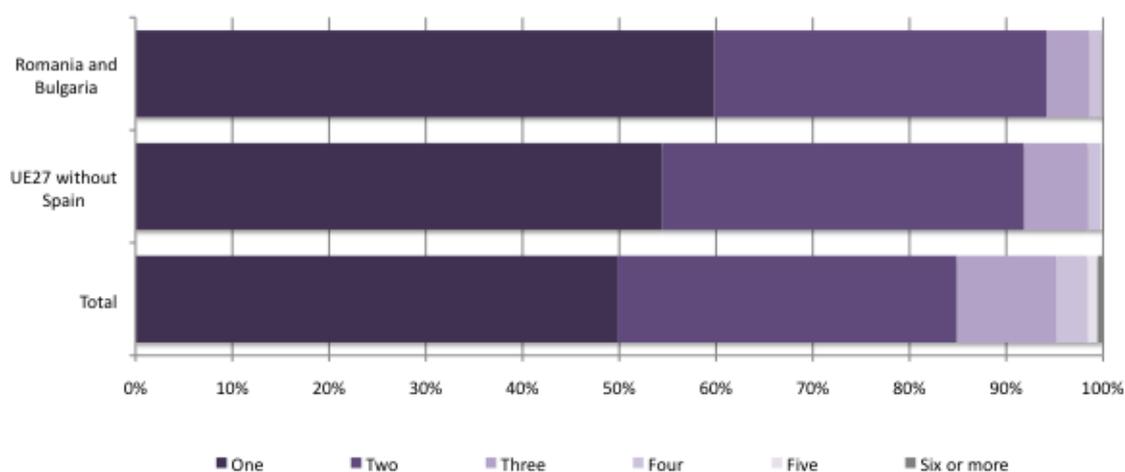
Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Most of the migration processes can only be understood taking in account the basic role of social networks in the establishment of migration paths. The case of Romanian migration shows no difference in network development, but it is different if we look at the nodes that form these networks: generally, in the centre of these networks we do not find “the individual” but “the family”, which plays a decisive role in the comprehensive understanding of the migration process. According to Suarez and Crespo (Suarez and Crespo, 2007), the family is used for the acquisition of information and also provides material and emotional support,

creating a 'family pattern' of migration that can be observed in data referring to family structures.

Related to this idea, the National Survey of Migrants (2007) illustrates that 67,76% of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants living in Spain, live with their sons and daughters, in comparison with 60,2% of general migrants and 57,6% of EU migrants. Among those who live with their children, the size of the family is smaller than in comparison with other groups, more than 90% of them having one or two children in the family structure.

Figure 13: Number of Children of migrants who live with their children (2007)



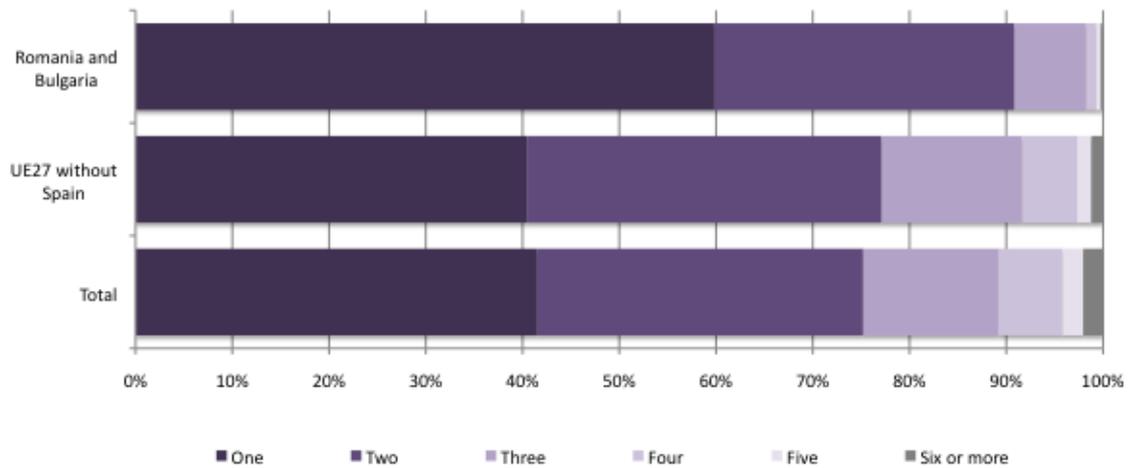
Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

On the other hand, those who live without their children do not show big differences when compared to other migrant groups. The group formed by those who have three children is larger than the one shown in the previous figure, but still presents low rates in comparison with other migrant groups. In the case of other migrant communities we find larger family structures, indicating that a larger family structure makes it more difficult to maintain the familial pattern in the migration process.

As the data analysed is taken from a survey that took place in the year of accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU, the situation could have changed since then. It would be interesting to make a comparison with more recent data, in order to see if larger families still preserve this pattern

of remaining in Romania and Bulgaria, or they started to move to Spain following their parents.

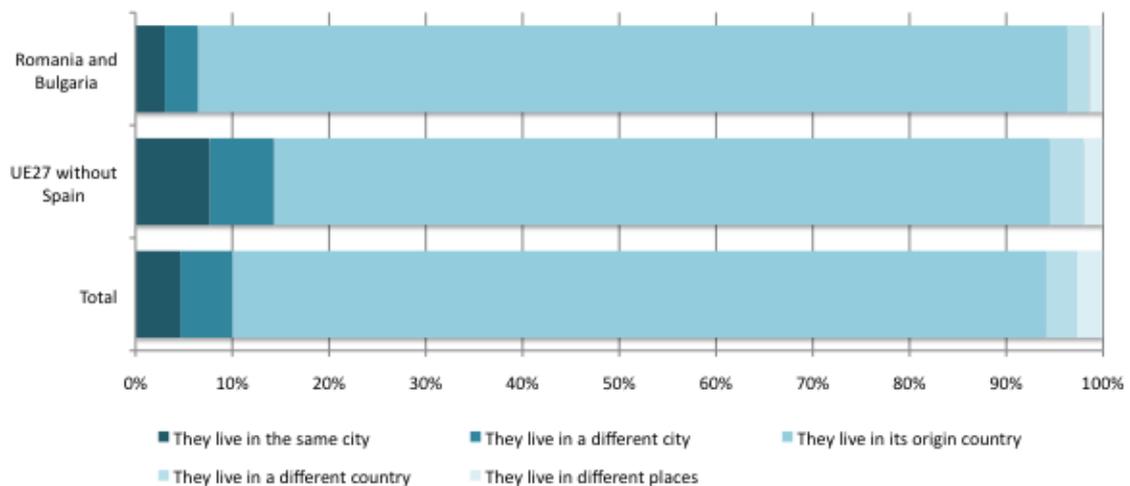
Figure 14: Number of children of migrants who do not live with their children (2007)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

In many cases the migration process separates families, children remaining in the country of origin and maintaining the educational patterns of their country of origin. According to this data, the effects of double migration processes could be small, as there are only 2,29% of migrants whose children live in a third country.

Figure 15: Children under age 16 who do not live with their parents and the place where they live (2007)

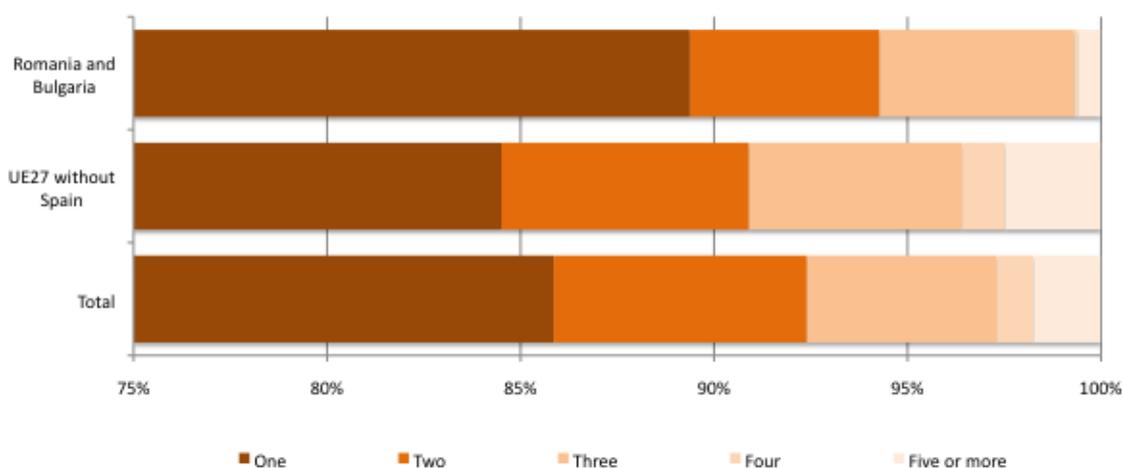


Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

The family pattern of migration is also characterized by a high rate of migrants without previous experience in migration (89,4%), reducing the presence of multimigrants to almost 10% percent, as Spain is their first option of destination. Even though this rate is also small in the case of other migrants, its impact is higher among them, than in the case of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants.

Anyway, the changes in the situation of European economies, that are causing return-effects in many of the migrants, might also indicate a change of this data. The young age of Romanian migrants and the expectancies probably not fully accomplished in their migration to Spain (as they can be forced to return due to the difficult situation of the economy) can be the basis for further migrations to other countries where they can improve their personal situation or the situation of their family.

Figure 16: Number of migrations experienced (2007)

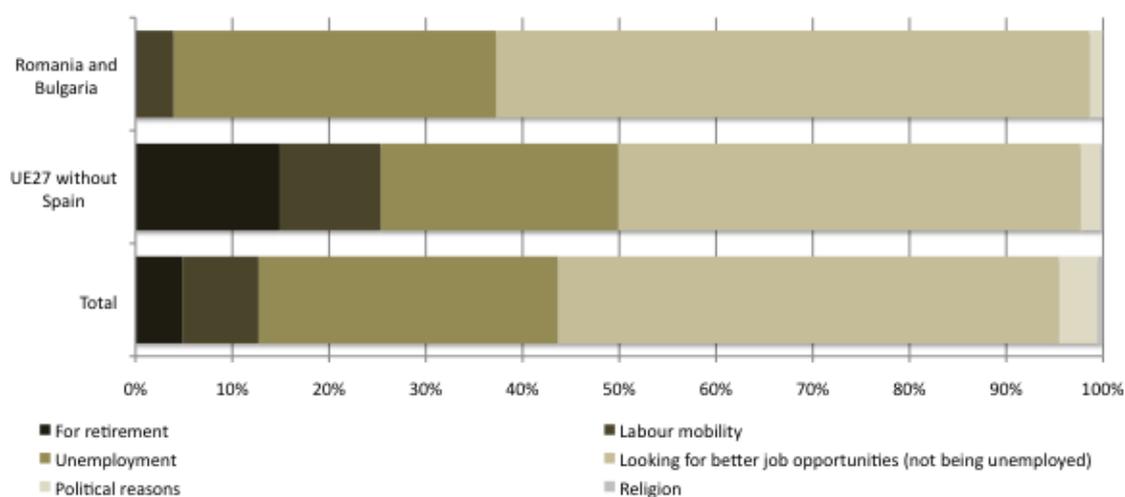


Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

One of the main topics emphasized in this analysis is related to the labour orientation of Romanian migration. The next data confirms this idea, by showing the real impact of the labour motivation in the migration process. 94,7% of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants migrate because of lack of jobs (33,34%) or due to their desire to improve their economic situation (61,35%), which rate is higher than in the case of other EU migrants (24,53% and 47,77%) or general migrants (30,53% and 51,79%).

Their previously mentioned, relatively high level of education and the troublesome situation of the Romanian labour market make the option of (temporary, labour-driven) immigration attractive in the eyes of Romanian immigrants. In Richey's terms (Ritchey, 1976), using the informational flux gained from their previously immigrated co-nationals, they can rely on a network, which makes their immigration process easier, as later on we shall return to this idea.

Figure 17: Migration motivation (2007)

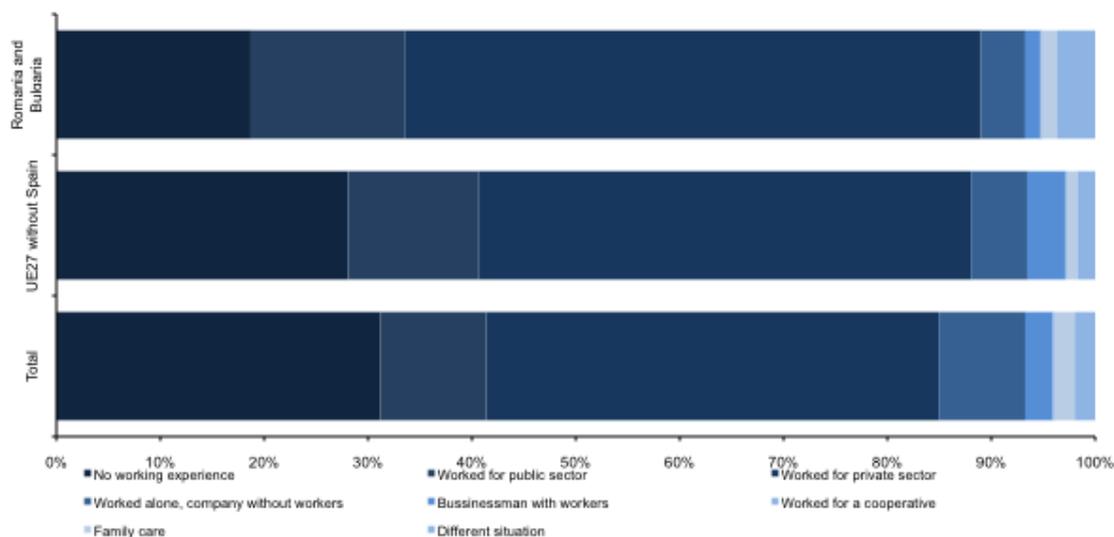


Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Economical situation and labour market position

The labour situation of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, according to the data, seems to be better than in the case of other migrants with a different origin. The rate of persons without labour experience is near to 10% lower than the rate for EU migrants, and 13% lower than in the case of general migrants. Similar difference in comparison with other origins can be observed, after summing the rate of those who have worked in the public sector (14,9%) and in the private sector (55,4%). On the other hand, the rates that can be linked with entrepreneurship (worked alone or businessmen with workers) are very low.

Figure 18: Labour situation before departing to Spain (2007)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

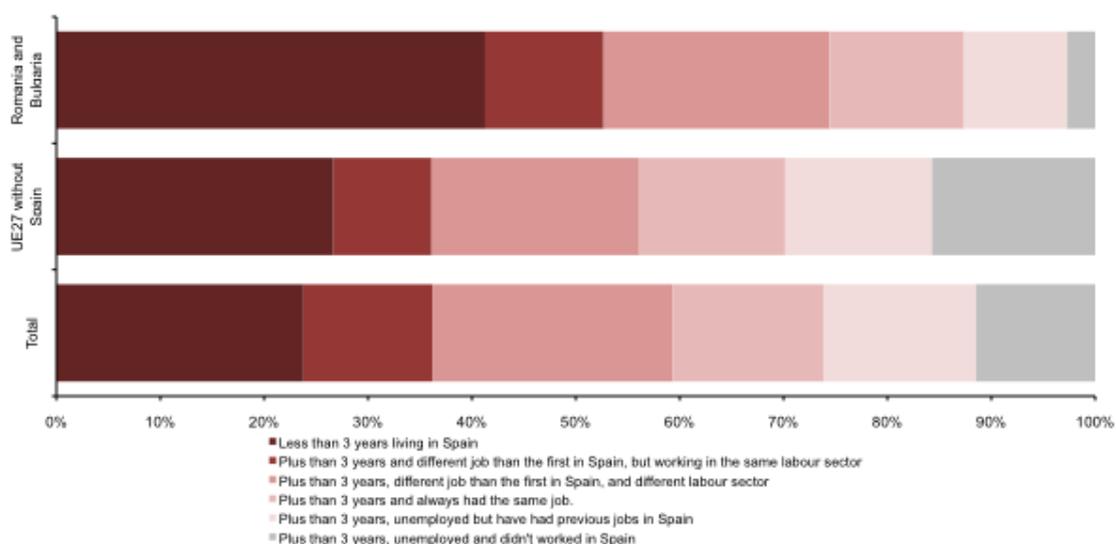
According to that, Romanian and Bulgarian citizens have a good average profile for competing in the Spanish labour market, configuring as a second category of migrants that could occupy, in general, semi-qualified jobs (what does not mean that they did not compete for non qualified jobs, just that they could have higher market expectations according to their qualification and previous work experience). During the years of economic growth, Spain provided them the chance for successfully competing in the labour market and improving their living conditions. In addition to their

general skills, they also benefited from a higher social acceptance and had to face less stigmatisation than other migrant workers.

Revealing more in-depth information about the labour relations of migrants, the next figure illustrates the changes in individual relation with labour market. First of all, it is interesting to note the recent evolution of Romanian and Bulgarian migration processes, as in the moment of being surveyed 40% of them has been in Spain for less than 3 years, data that indicates a great difference in comparison with other migrant groups.

Moreover, even if we assume that recently the situation of the Spanish labour market has changed a lot, this data can be useful to understand the different situation of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in relation to the labour market. During the high performance of the Spanish economy, Romanians and Bulgarians experienced a low rate of unemployment (2,7%), much lower than EU migrants (15,71%) or general migrants (11,48%). Along these years, the presence of persons who have never worked in Spain was almost inexistent.

Figure 19: Labour situation (2007)

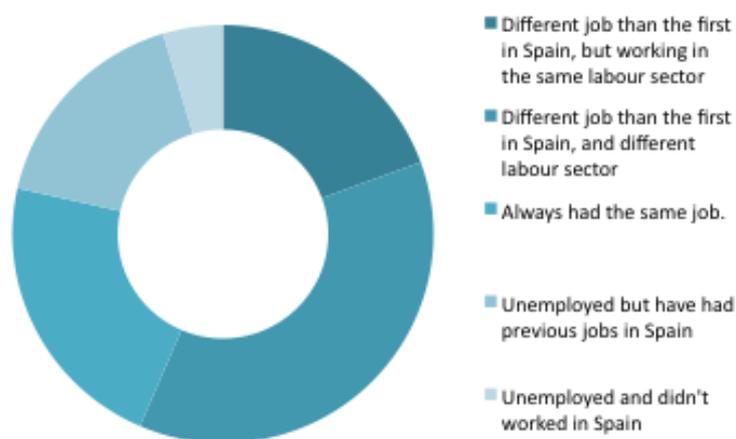


Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

The rate of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants who maintain the same job that they had when they came to Spain (12,97%), and those who had changed their job, but not their sector (11,41%), is lower than the average for general migrants.

Finally, as Figure 20 shows, most of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens that spent, at least, three years in Spain have changed both their job and sector.

Figure 20: Labour situation of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants that spent at least 3 years in Spain (2007)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

The three major labour sectors in which Romanian and Bulgarian migrants worked when arrived to Spain are the ones related to agriculture, construction and family care, but the persistence in those sectors is very irregular.

Working in construction, used to be an attractive labour sector for many Romanian immigrants, with a permanence rate of 77,4%, as there was a high demand and many possibilities for earning money by working overtime. The construction sector has visibly increased its number of workers from 61538 to 78516³.

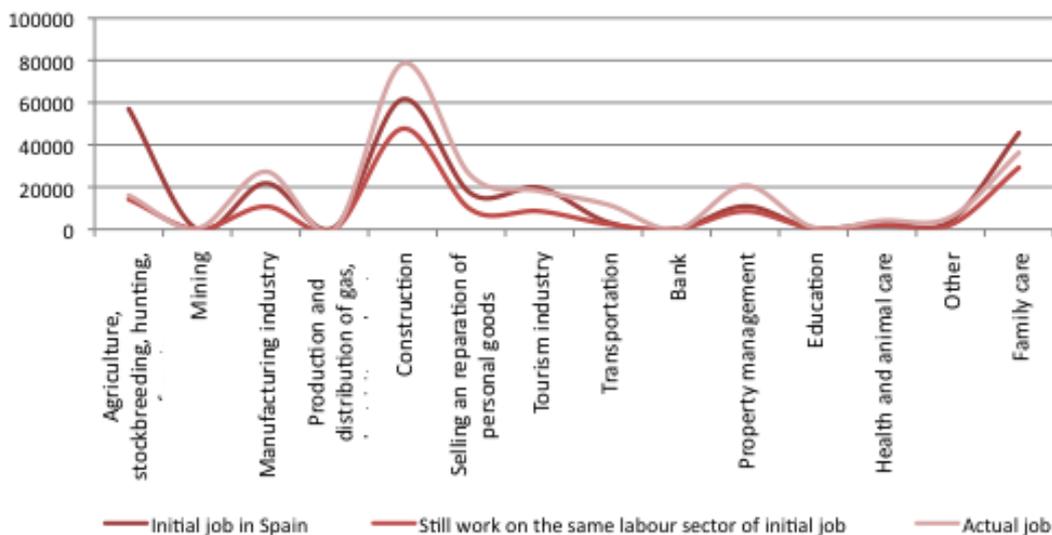
Family care sector, on the other hand, has a lower permanency rate (63,99%), employing 36280 persons back in 2007. Although, we also

³ That labour sector spectacularly collapsed in 2008, changing the composition of the whole labour market and deepening the crisis in the Spanish economical context.

should take into consideration the significant number of persons who work in the hidden economy, as it is difficult to estimate the real number of persons who work in this sector.

Finally, agriculture sector has the lowest permanency rate (24,89%), and employs less people (16009) than at the beginning of the migration process (56942), being probably one of the first labour sectors in which migrants tended to get employed, but once it was possible, they have abandoned this profession in order to work somewhere else, that lives up to their higher expectancies.

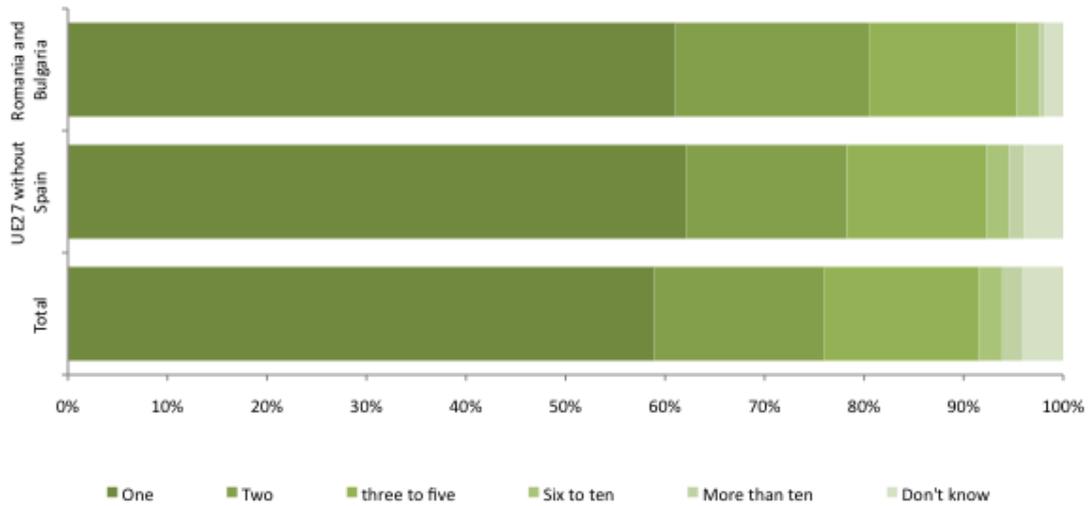
Figure 21: Comparison between initial and actual job



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Considering the frequency of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens who had been unemployed since their arrival to Spain, the data shows higher rate of those who had been unemployed once or twice, but lower rates for the rest of the categories.

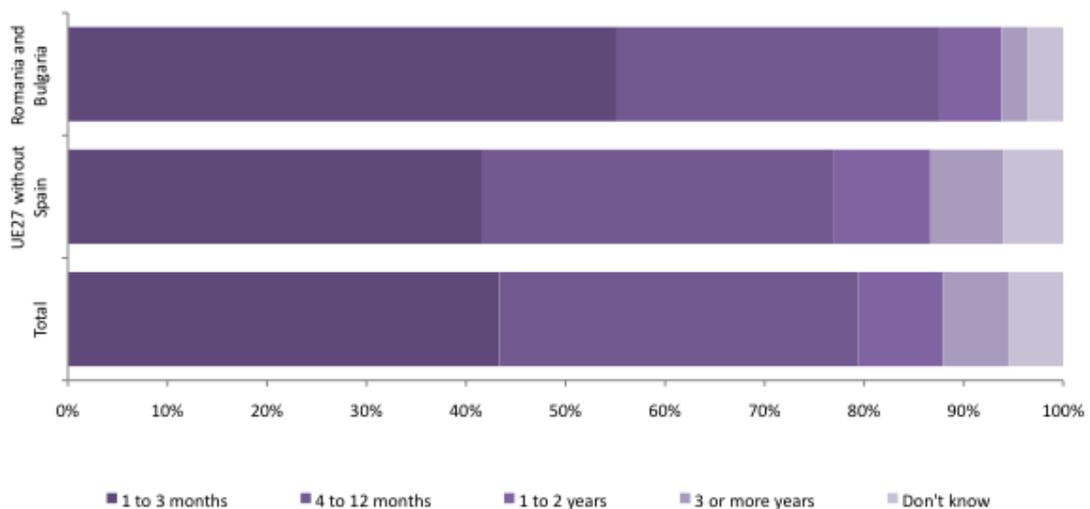
Figure 22: Number of times unemployed in Spain



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Analysing the time spent without working, one can notice that Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in comparison with other collectives have been less affected by unemployment. The rate of Romanians and Bulgarians who have spent at most 12 months unemployed is 10% higher in comparison with other EU nationals, but their percentage drops in cases of staying unemployed for more than one year.

Figure 23: Time unemployed in Spain



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

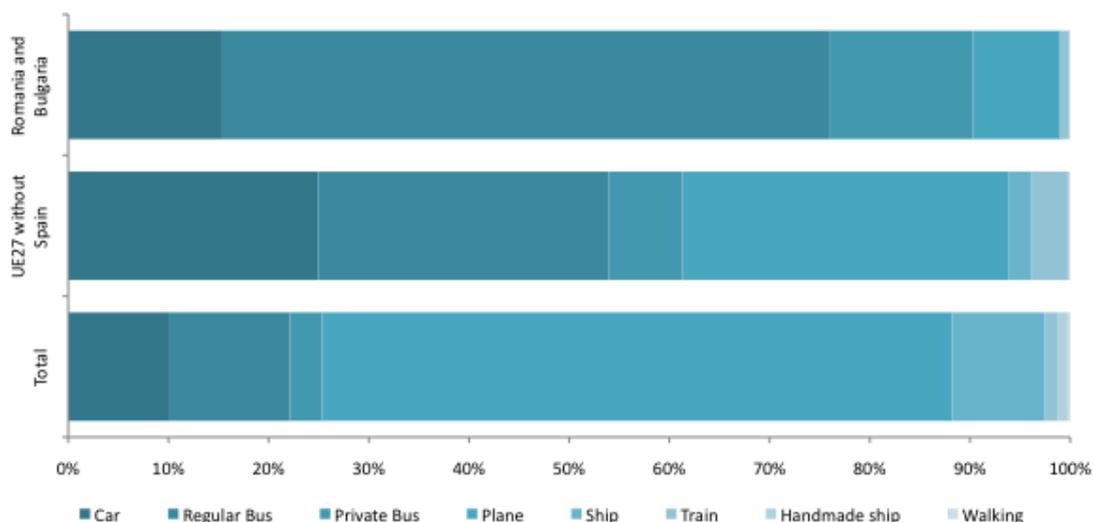
Following this logic, the current economic crisis and rise of unemployment could seem to have less impact on Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants, as one would expect that migrant categories with fewer skills to re-adapt to market changes would experience more job losses. As we shall see it later, this suggestion might not stand true in the case of Romanian immigrants, as they have been harshly affected by job losses (especially men working in construction) and have probably the highest return rates (Castelló, 2011).

Migration and Remigration

One of the main differences between Romanian and Bulgarian migrants and other groups in analysis is related to the mean of transport they used to come to Spain. Even though, the stereotypes surrounding migration processes to Spain, has created the idea that migrants arrive by using "Cayucos" in the strait of Gibraltar (due to the spectacular and painful images shown in television news for many years), the usage of this mean of transport is very low, the plane being the most used mean of transport among general migrants.

In the case of Romanian, even there are plenty of flights that link Spain and Romania, the bus had been the most used mean of transport, probably because it is the cheapest options and allows the transportation of goods without paying extra taxes.

Figure 24: Means of transport used for migration (2007)

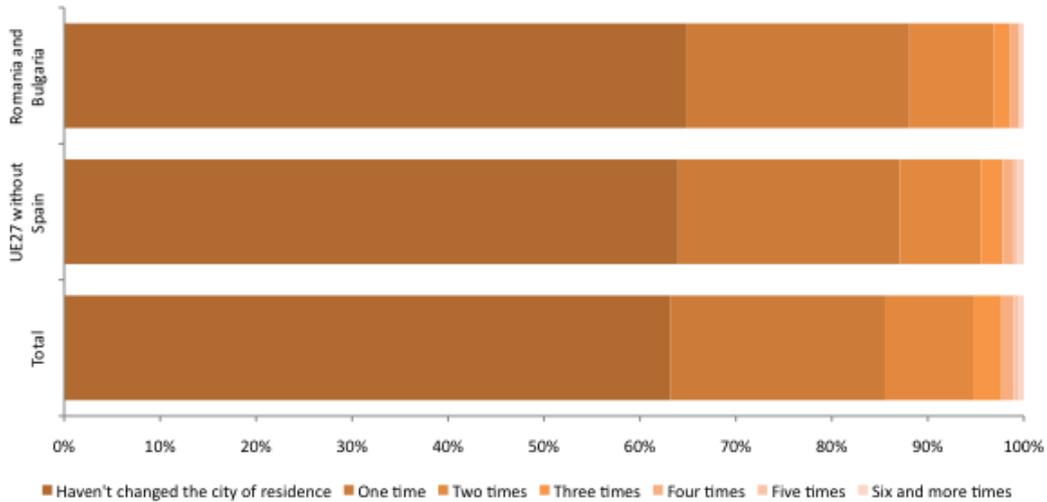


Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

The assumption of migration, as searching for better job or life conditions, sometimes can turn into internal migration processes within the host country. In this case, one can find that more than 35% of foreign citizens that live in Spain had moved, at least, once during their stay in the host country. The data show no difference between the groups in comparison, as

Romanian migrants show similar attitudes to general migrants related to re-migration within the host country.

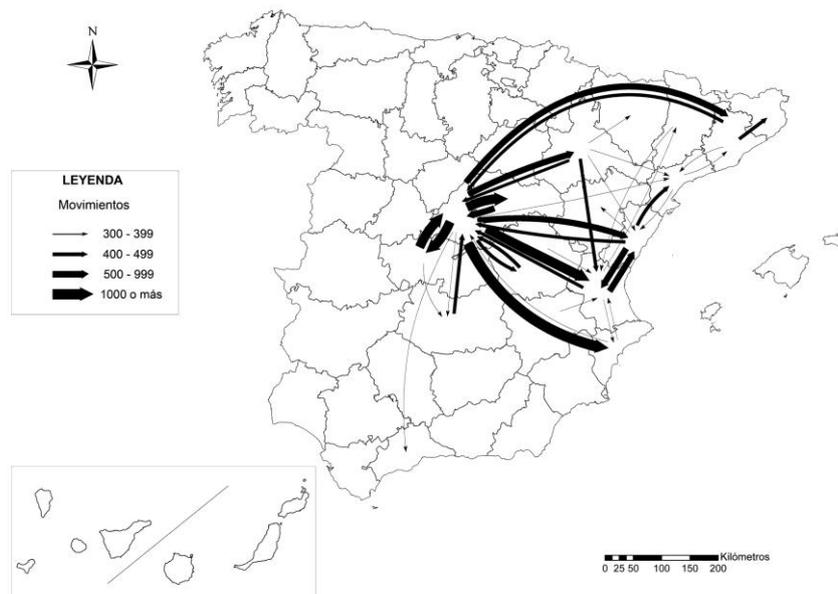
Figure 25: Internal migrations (2007)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

From this perspective, Viruela (Viruela, 2008) has analysed the internal migration of Romanian workers from the centre of Spain to the Mediterranean coast (Figure 26) between 2002 and 2006, accompanied by job changes from agriculture to construction or service sector.

Figure 26: Internal migrations of Romanian migrants between 2002 and 2006



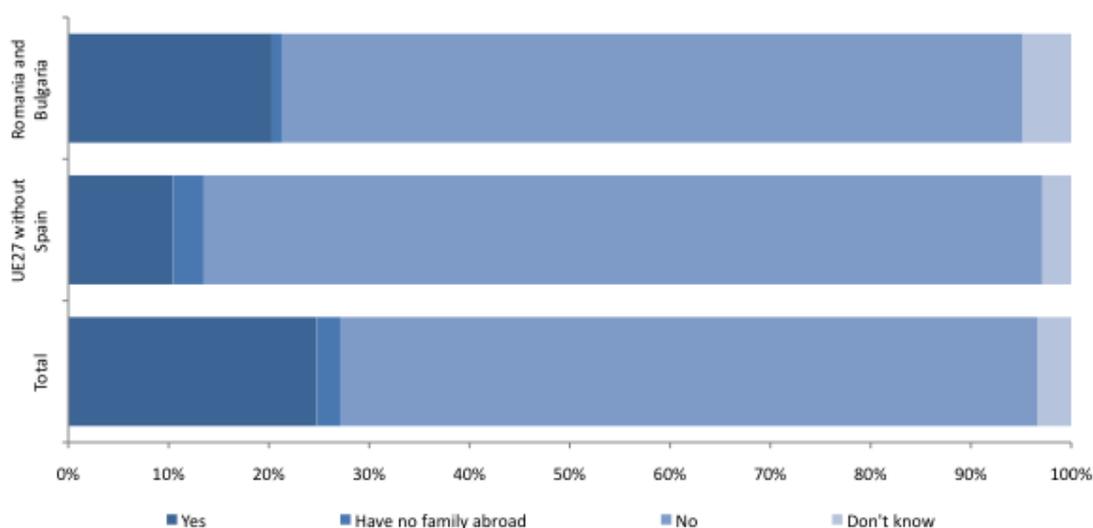
Source: Viruela, 2008 (op.cit)

Although we have been emphasising the existence of a family pattern of migration, the data referring to the desire of bringing the family to Spain states, that the rate of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens that affirm this will (20,33%), is less than in the case of general migrants (24,765%).

The second general characteristic of Romanian migration pattern is the temporality of the migration process and the willingness of returning to Romania, so the temporality of migration reduces the necessity of familiar regrouping. Moreover, the easy transportation and communication with the origin country, and the legal status of Romanian citizens, facilitates the contact (or, at least, the contact expectancy) between migrants and the family, reducing the symbolic distance of the migration process.

Finally, if the good economical status of the country of origin provides acceptable living conditions for those who have not migrated, this reduces their dependence on the migrated family members.

Figure 27: Desire of bringing the family to Spain (2007)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Qualitative Data Analysis

In this part of the study we analyse the qualitative information obtained by the interviews and focus groups conducted. We divided this section into four different parts, according to the main topics analysed within the project:

- Political participation
- Social participation
- Relation with locals/other migrants.
- Women and citizenship

As citizens, we all are individuals that live our life in constant interaction with each other, assuming the existence of social rules, some consolidated by legal status, others just written in our social conscience, and that are subject of permanent revision according to the changing reality. In addition, one of the main characteristics of postmodernity is linked with the speed in which the changes are taking place in our reality, and the increasing interconnections (economical and social) between different territories. As a result of that process, the international inequality of economical situation acts as an incentive for individual migration, changing the configuration of societies in host and origin countries and helping the renegotiation of social rules. According to that situation, Castles (Castles, 2004) characterizes present migration processes as it follows:

- Diversity: Current migration is more diverse, adding difficulties to the implementation of general policies for migrants' integration
- Temporary, repetitive and circulatory, linked with the mobility of job opportunities
- Transnational: Generation of dual cultures due to the socialisation and resocialisation process lived by migrants.

On the other hand, the creation of the European Union and the free movement area for EU nationals, privileged internal migrants in front of external ones, trying to create and consolidate an European conscience linked to the legal status of its nationals and the expected welfare

conditions derived from this belonging. Donzelot (Donzelot, 1994) states that the integration of national societies and EU needs of equal access to social rights and the possibility of transferring them between countries, could move the frontiers of welfare chauvinism from the national level to the EU level, helping the creation of the European Social Union, exceeding the economical union.

According to the previous factors, both the analysis and the management of Romanian migrant's integration in Spain must take them in account. Romanian citizens are the biggest community of EU nationals living in Spain and recipients of EU social and legal rights in constant renegotiation, influenced by the social and economical constraints that motivate migratory processes and also make their social acceptance difficult. The main aim of this project is to analyse the strategies followed by Romanian migrants to use or defend their civil rights in the current situation, and how do they negotiate their situation within the local hosting communities.

Political Participation

Under political participation we understand all kind of actions that individual citizens develop in order to have influence in the configuration of collective life (González et al. 2011). The basis of democratic societies is determined by the fact that the country nationals can choose their representatives by voting them in an election process, being the government the result of the expression of the will of the civil society. Otherwise, nowadays political managers are promoting governance measures, understood as the revision of democracy, assuming its successes and challenges, and are trying to generate new patterns and structures that are the "common result" of the interactive intervention of the different actors that play the social game (Kooiman, 1993). As a result, the governance measures try to give voice to minorities or to communities that are generally away from decision-taking procedures, and also try to increase the legitimacy of the resulting decisions. Following this path, the European Union is promoting both political participation procedures, defining the idea of how European Governance should be (European Union, 2001), and abolishing the

nationality request for voting and standing for local elections in the EU, under the presumption that local political aspects are the closest ones to citizens, being more important living in the city or village, than being a national citizens⁴.

The general characteristic of Romanian citizens living in Spain from the viewpoint of their political participation can be defined by their lack of interest in local politics leading to an almost non-existent attitude of political participation. The idea, that local policy is the closest to the citizen and, as a result, the most attractive to participate, probably has some difficulties that restrict the full utilisation of that right. Although it seems logical that electoral participation can be an indicator of the level of social integration, when talking with some of the migrants interviewed, even those who represent migrant associations, they affirm to be fully integrated (having job, speaking Spanish, speaking or, at least, understanding Catalan, having Catalan friends, etc.) their attitude towards political participation is not the expected one. Just two of the people that participated either in the Focus groups or in the interviews we conducted, affirmed that voted in the last local elections (May, 22nd, 2011), but both were standing for local formations in the elections, one in a generalist party, the other in a migrant party that will be analysed later. Some of the following hypothesis might be useful for conducting future analysis on this topic, as it has some explicative power on the reality of nonexistence of electoral participation:

- It is a matter of time: Romanian migration is quite recent, and there has been not enough time to develop political interest. In case the Romanians establish permanent communities in Spain, second generation migrants will have similar political attitudes than local inhabitants (Alarcón et. al, op. cit)

- It is a matter of cultural status: The fact of being migrant or not, has influences in the first stages of the migration process, but when being consolidated in the host country, the electoral behaviour is determined by socialisation or resocialisation processes (Alarcón et. al, op. cit.)

⁴For further information referring to the potentials of local migrant electoral participation see Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, 2011

- It's a matter of efficiency: General social transformation leads towards a society of indifference, in which the ideology loses power in front of the management and its efficiency, and the role of the politicians is related to management, being the electoral participation an exam to evaluate their previous work (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). As a result, migrant electors would only vote in case they feel the necessity of judging the politician.

In the case of the Romanian Roma, their level of participation is altered by more social factors that derive from their specific marginal status in the society and the stigmatization they have to face as an ethnic group, both in their host country and in their country of origin. In the situation of Roma, the fear of being expelled from the country basically makes it impossible to relate with local authorities. We noticed a self-defence reaction (that resulted in silence or an immediate switch to Romani language by the focus-group participants) every time the slight possibility to get in touch with local or national authorities or the possibility for "going out public" in order to defend their rights has been mentioned. Going to any kind of state authority is unwanted and also undesired due to language problems and also due to their perceived status as irregular immigrants. Having any kind of connection with authorities is understood as a source of threat with the possibility of being sent home, of being expelled from the host country⁵. As Mihaela Cosescu (Cosescu, 2008) in her paper "Migration, gender and citizenship. The case of the Romanian immigrants in Spain and Italy - the theoretical approach" argues, it is important to note, that the immigrants "assume their illegal status as a personal option (accepting the abuses they had been through in order to gain money)", they "perceive their problems as private and the also have private answers to these problems (Cosescu, 2008)." Questions of structural and political level are perceived as personal, but, on the other hand, "the personal is political also in another sense, that of the responsibilities. The responsibility of an immigrant's actions although are personal, they are politically exploited by the nationalists and the

⁵ To be able to participate in local elections, as it will be explained later on, one must hand in a request to local institutions and fill in some forms.

xenophobes. The crimes made by immigrants are their personal responsibility as they are for any citizen. Nevertheless, the nationalists politicize these crimes as being a common responsibility of the immigrant communities." (Ibidem)

Although the majority of Romanian regular migrants does not have to face the above-mentioned problem, their level of participation in relation with local institutions, involvement in local policy-making decisions is extremely low. As the study of Irina Ciornei (Ciornei, 2009) reveals, Romanians developed a similar pattern (to Romanian Roma) of not getting involved into local citizens life, based on the argumentation that "we don't want to cause any problems to the authorities". As one politician interviewed in her study argues, "for the Romanians and all the migrants in the city the civic involvement is to cause problems to the administration". Being thankful for the very facts that "we can stay in this country", "we did not have to go to jail" (in the case of the Roma: we did not have to leave the country, we have not been expelled) is the basic construction that defines them as citizens, therefore no other contact with local authorities is needed, nor desired. Although this attitude was not manifested by other interviewees (at least, not in these extreme terms), a similar positions can be interpreted from the interviews, the will of "invisibility" in front of local authorities and administration.

Local administrations, conscious of that situation, have developed great efforts, during the last 10 years, to cope with migratory waves stimulating the relation with newcomers and trying to create network relations with local associations to help them to integrate. On the other hand, they had to balance the situation by managing the stereotypes and false information that had been spammed by xenophobe sectors against migration, generally from national welfare chauvinist positions⁶. Local institutions, - as affirmed in the focus groups we have conducted with persons who are responsible for the social participation of a medium size city-, have important practical

⁶ For instance, the network Barcelona anti - rumors (www.bcnantirumors.cat) tried to show with data the false ideas that were shown during the electoral period for the local elections.

problems with establishing contact with individual migrants. Generally, the contact with migrants is done through migrant associations, which in many cases do not have enough skills or possibilities to manage the information or to use it in a fruitful way.

In addition, local institutions in Catalonia must face one specific problem in relation with migration management. The cultural predominance of Spanish language in Spain (due to a larger number of speakers, a larger geographical presence and a bigger international projection), the minority position of Catalan within the country and its strong cultural defence by Catalan nationals, resulted an institutionalised cultural defence of Catalan language. The Autonomous regulation of Catalonia establishes that Catalan and Spanish are the official languages of Catalonia, but Catalan is the only language that can be used in Catalan administrations and in the educational system (linguistic immersion). This legal situation, even though it is supported by linguistic evidence (Myhill, 1999), generates practical problems in the interaction with migrants within the context of massive migration. The linguistic immersion system and the policies developed for promoting the learning and use of Catalan by migrants will show its results in some years, but the fast arrival of migrant masses made not to be fast enough to satisfy the needs of both migrants and administration (Alarcón et al. op. cit).

Returning to the situation of Romanians, they (partly due to their inheritance from communism) tend to delimit themselves from "being part of a community as Romanians" and acting in the name of this community - claiming your rights based on the motivation of belonging to a certain community would be unimaginable for most of them - and this way they prefer to solve problems among them, within their family and not "going out to public" with problems that are perceived as being personal (although the majority of them faces the same problems). As Mihaela Cosescu (Cosescu, 2008) - applying the concept of Hannah Arendt about closed communities - states, "the private area is considered very valuable among Romanian immigrants who emigrated to the West, as it served as an anticommunist fortress during the Ceausescu regime".

Moreover, as several studies revealed (Anghel, 2008, OSF, 2009), the specific characteristic of Romanian immigration to the South-West countries of Europe, such as Italy, France and Spain, that is a network-based migration, allows them to solve and act upon their problems perceived as personal by appealing to kinship ties and family relations, excluding the idea of turning towards local or national public institutions. In addition, the Romanian "institution-phobia" (the idea that public institutions are extremely bureaucratic, their work is slow and inefficient) can be found in the discourses of the interviews we conducted with association leaders, members of the Romanian immigrant community in Spain, who highlighted discriminatory treatment both from the part of Spanish authorities ("they are always asking for more and more papers, and if they say you are from Romania, they always check your NIE for several times, just to make sure") and from the part of the Romanian consulates functioning in Spain.

Following networks⁷ that developed from their county or region of origin, Romanian immigrants mostly have concentrated in the territory of Spain according to their original locality in Romania. Based on their regional concentration, they are aware of their regional differences and in some cases they like to put emphasize on it. Although not explained by regional differences but with ethnicity, this is especially true when we consider the case of Romanians and Romanian Roma people, as both groups intend and like to draw demarcation lines among them. The perception of difference (also used as an act of self defence from the majority of the Romanians, who, as in stated in popular discourses, "want to protect the image of their country and the image of the nation on the whole" from the "Gypsies who are here to engage into criminality and illegal acts") is articulated in building up demarcation lines between "we" (Romanians) and "them" (Roma) which impedes them to act as a community or in the name of the "Romanian community" on the whole. Not surprisingly, the associations that are run by Romanians living in Spain are concerned with re-establishing the good

⁷ Through the migratory networks, those who want to temporarily migrate abroad receive help and support from the previous migrants. In areas where others have left before, more will leave, in places where other migrants have succeeded and where the signs of success are apparent, migration will be higher (Constantin et al. 2004 in Mirces&Pristavu(2008).

image of the country, preserving the cultural traditions of Romanians living abroad, but not even thinking about how to contribute to the eradication of the problems that stand as roots of this bad country image and of all the negative stereotypes applied to Romanian(s) (immigrants).

In the following lines we are going to discuss the level of political participation of Romanian immigrants living in Spain, by examining whether or not they exercise their rights to vote as inhabitants of a local community and as citizens of a united Europe, do they affiliate with existing associations and finally, by presenting the initiatives and main ideas which PIRUM, the Iberian Party of Romanians is built upon.

Voting - a missing act

The very act of voting and participating in local and European elections is linked to the questions of whether or not the immigrants themselves feel as members of the local community, and whether or not they perceive themselves as members of the united Europe, as European citizens. It can be argued that voting, as an act of manifestation of ones self-understanding as a citizen with rights, very much depends on ones level of integration, following the logic of "the person with the highest integration level is the one who participates on the elections". As we will see it later, this logic cannot be applied to Romanian immigrants living in Spain.

The missing act of voting, the non-participation of Romanian immigrants both in local and European elections in their host country on one hand is rooted in the model of the former political system they experienced during communism and the scepticism and apathy that generally characterizes the Romanian public opinion about the potential of politicians who are "unable to bring change to the country". On the other hand, as transnational migrants, they "do not stop being Romanians" and "they do not stop thinking about" their country of origin, as the majority of our interviewees expressed it, therefore not being interested in voting in the country which they only consider transitional, and experience it as a short period of their

lifetime (although in many cases the short period turns into a lifetime project as the 2009 OSF study revealed).

But what happens in the case of immigrants who are in Spain for a long period of time and have a high level of integration, moreover, who are “visible” members of the Romanian community (like association leaders or journalists working for Romanian newspapers present in Spain) who actually should have a word to say when it comes to their abuse of rights.

The framework of this study does not allow us to make broader generalizations for all the Romanian immigrants living in Spain, but based on the interviews and focus-groups we conducted, especially on the interviews done with one Romanian association leader, and one Romanian working for a refugee-support organisation, we argue that the level of integration and the level of political participation manifested through the act of voting are not necessarily connected: the persons with a high integration level are not used to voting and participating at local elections in their host country, even they have conformed to other classical integration indicators: having a job, speaking local languages (both of them spoke Spanish and Catalan), and having personal networks that mix migrants and local inhabitants

This leads us to the question of how we understand integration in the general context of migration. We argue, that immigrants tend to reproduce and conform to the idea of integration understood on the level of national politics and in the context of a nation state; as is said before, the idea of being integrated is mainly individual-based instead of collective integration, consisting of working, learning and possessing the language of the country (and of the region in some cases), being a “good member of the community of locals” in the sense of not causing any problems, but mainly remaining in silence and not exercising your rights to vote as a citizen and finally, not claiming for more rights as a member of an integrated immigrant community. We can draw a difference between practical integration (job, language) and civil integration (rights defence, voting), the first being the one developed by individual necessity and the second one by collective necessity, and current legal status and general rights situation of Romanian

migrants living in Spain is good enough to avoid collective action with this purpose. Otherwise, as we shall see further, we can find some examples of collective action for improving Romanians social perception in the host country. Following that idea, the fact that migrants do not get involved in local elections just indicate lack of interest in local policy, but must not be considered as an indicator of lack of political activity or participation, as Makarovic stated (Makarovic et al., 2007).

Being able to participate in local elections implies some legal arrangements with the city council and as we described above, many Romanian immigrants restrain themselves from going to any kind of public or state authority. As several interviewees mentioned, the problem might also be rooted in the voting tradition of the Romanian community, the majority of them belonging to the working class. Seen through the glasses of their former experiences, in many cases, vote is not perceived as an individual act based on a personal choice, but something that is controlled from above in order to meet the necessities of certain authorities, politicians, etc: as in Romania, as mentioned in one interview, it is very common that the votes of the poor (including Gypsies⁸) are bought and exploited by certain political parties, and "forced" voting obviously does not facilitates the perception of a democratic system, where your "vote really counts". They do not consider it important, nor see it as a facilitator for social change, it's just considered as something necessary to maintain good relation with authorities. On the other hand, all of our interviewees regularly participate in general local and national elections, which puts back the question of transnationalism on the table.

⁸ Roma being completely outsiders of Spanish local elections, they actually find themselves in the middle of the political battlefield, where political discourses are build upon inseminating xenophobia and using hate speech against them (such as in Romania).

Participation in European elections

The causes of non-participation in European elections are several, but we can talk about a general pattern of low participation in EU elections from the part of the Romanian immigrants living in Spain. The advantage of being part of the united Europe manifests through a very practical attitude from the part of the immigrants we have been talking to, mainly the satisfaction of travelling freely within the EU. But, as they also kept emphasizing - and this is a recurrent topic in the discussions -, the advantages that came with Romania's accession to the EU are seen more as a "necessity" and not as "joy" of persons with free movement in Europe: "We came from necessity, but we would go back if we would have a living in our country".

As one of the interviewees put it, they see themselves as Romanian citizens in the EU, living in Spain, but most importantly, they remain Romanian citizens. The members of an association who work with Roma women and whom we have been in contact with argued, that the Romanian Roma, generally very poorly educated, have no sense of Europe and what it means being a European citizen and acting accordingly. On the other it should be noted, that full European citizenship is yet to be gained by Romanian citizens, who are still considered A2 citizens in Europe, facing job market controls in many countries, above all being Spain who recently has reintroduced the labor market restrictions.

Makarovic (Makarovic et al., op cit.) analyses the electoral participation and its characteristics in EU countries and distinguishes different general attitudes towards democracy, categorizing Romania in the group of "Passive democracies". These countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Portugal) are characterized by lack of active participation, late modernization and experienced authoritarian regimes during the 20th century, what generated a lack in democratic tradition. If one compares the above-described categorisation with the data referring to the participation rate in European Elections (2009), it shows how all the countries that are part of that group, with the exception of Latvia, have very low participation

rates in EU elections. The participation rate for Romania is 27,7%, being the fourth lowest rate in EU shows that the problem with low participation in European elections has no relation with migration processes, but more with the situation in the countries of origin. Moreover, the data related to 2008 Parliament elections in Romania, also shows a low level of participation (39,26%) that has only increased for the 2009 presidential elections (56,99%), which coincided with a referendum related to the modification of the size of the Parliament. This obviously could generate an increase in the participation rate. Most of the opinions collected in the focus groups or interviews show a bad impression of how democracy works in Romania, and that fact is told to have influence in citizen attitude towards other political systems with which they are in touch. The political socialisation in origin, then, seems to have a great weight in migration's reconfiguration of social life and the establishment of priorities.

Finally, it seems obvious (and in this way it is expressed in the focus groups and interviews) that Romanian nationals have benefited from the entrance of the country to the EU, but the results of these benefits remain in the individual level and have yet not been expressed, nor manifested through collective action (later on we analyse some exceptions from this). In this regard, there are still many things to do, to promote the sense of europeanness in many EU nationals, process that should logically go hand in hand with an increase of participation rates in EU elections. In relation to that, one can make a logical division between practical aspects related to EU migration and host country integration (that can be individually satisfied and, if not, one can turn back to the origin country), and the symbolical involvement with European or local ideals. The second ones are the most difficult to achieve due to, on one hand, the economically oriented conditions of current migration process, and on the other hand, to the transnational reality of migrants, that makes them being living in two countries "at the same time", and Europe is none of those countries.

The role of associations

Associations represent a secondary stage of political participation in which individuals get involved in a collective project to satisfy some demands or interests, that can be related to very different topics, the political influence of the community being just one of them. According to Putnam (Putnam, 2009), migrants associations have two basic working mechanisms, bonding and bridging. The bonding process consist in those efforts developed by the association to strengthen the internal linkages in the migrant community by trying to stimulate the network creation, the creation of membership feelings within the community, and visualizing the cohesive role of the association. The bridging process, on the other hand, consists in the reinforcement of the external association's connection towards the host society and institutions. In this regard, Dueñas (Dueñas, 2011) states that the expectancies of local public institutions, about the work that migrant associations should develop, do not coincide with the expectancies of these associations. Institutions, as expressed in the focus group, generally expect a more intense bridging activity to facilitate integration of migrants (directly helping the creation of individual mixed networks, or indirectly, working with the necessary skills to help integration), while associations develop an intense bonding activity, working in the preservation of cultural aspects or improving the image of the community.

The information obtained with the help of the interviews and the focus group tend to confirm partially the previous idea, the existing associations mainly try to work on the "country image" or on the "image of the Romanian immigrants", but are unable to consolidate or to establish strong community formations. The solutions they try to find are mainly related to the restoration of the lost image, but not to the eradication of causes that lead to this negative image. Moreover, the associations themselves contribute to the articulation of differences between "regular Romanian immigrants" and Romanian Roma immigrants, applying the racist discourse at Roma as an ethnic group, as a community that is scapegoated for illegal and criminal acts of certain Romanian individuals, Romanian immigrants

(enough if we think about the Mailat case in Italy and about its repercussions).

As one Romanian association leader mentions, there are many “dead” association, who once created, later have been abandoned and their presence in the Romanian immigrants community life is only formal. After all, the role of Romanian associations in Spain is concentrated around the subject of preserving culture and tradition or, in other cases, consists of giving legal advice or providing support with documents, but not enough attention is given to create a community.

On the other hand, the local association who work with Romanian Roma migrants work in the opposite way: trying to establish linkages between Roma and the host community, and working to empower them in favour of their integration or, at least, their demarginalization. In their daily work, due to the specificity of the collective which they work with, they find difficulties in gaining their trust and they emphasize the importance of informal relations in generating confidence. Regardless of these efforts, Roma migrants, or at least the majority of them do not perceive an association as a forum for advices or a place that facilitates access to rights; more or less they think about them in material terms, a help in form of clothes or money, making difficult to normally develop the associations’ objectives. Although, some of them also mentioned the importance of a place where one can get information or make some legal arrangements. Many times, and especially among Roma, advice coming from an external-, outside of the community-, or non-Roma-source, is treated with scepticism and is a generator of conflicts (especially in the patriarchal construction of the Roma family, where husbands do not like to see their wives “being advised” by outsiders⁹).

Although none of the two models of associations (Romanian migrant’s association and local association working with migrants) seem to achieve

⁹ When conducting the focus-group interviews, women were making worries that their husbands will be angry if they stay out for late

their objectives, there is an important difference between them according to their objectives. The Romanian association works basically in the line of the bonding processes, trying to improve the image of Romanian migrants and eradicating false stereotypes that affect their community, and trying to create a satisfying image of how a Romanian is, but leaving the creation of individual mixed networks or the process of integration in the hands of the individual. On the other hand the local association that works with Roma, tries to work in the bridging line, assuming that they could help the Roma community to improve their situation, but they do not seem to try to stimulate bonding procedures that could reduce the distance between Roma and Romanian.

PIRUM - a transnational perspective?

Finally, it is interesting to analyse the specific case of a political initiative related with local elections. In 2011 Spanish local elections a Romanian Party had stand for the first time, and even their results had been poor (97 in total, adding the votes in the four villages in which they stand for) that fact supposes an innovative experience resulting from the possibilities offered by EU legislation related to Romanian migration.

Local elections represented an electoral contest where the impact of migration could be sensed, not only because many of the immigrants had the chance to vote (even their participation is estimated to be narrow¹⁰), but also because they could stand for elections. Estimates show that more than one thousand foreigners were present on a political local list. There are two possibilities for running in the elections: representing oneself on a list of a Spanish party (Socialist Party had 586 foreigners on their list, while the People's Party almost 500) or creating a new party, with immigrants being at focus (besides PIRUM, other migrant parties stand for the elections: PRUNE, an Islamic party, and Pdex, the Party of the foreigners). Moreover, in previous local elections, 2 foreigners were chosen as mayors in their

¹⁰ No official data is given.

villages, and 85 more were chosen as city councillor (for 2011, the final recount is not presented)

In the case of PIRUM, The Iberian Party of Romanians, it supposes a way of political participation that can be considered to be a half way between individual political participation and collective configuration of migrant reality. The idea is that those migrants that stand for elections take individual decisions that can have collective implications, and it supposes a different path to achieve social representation by using the legal possibilities that EU legislation offers. PIRUM, then, gives us an idea of how some Romanians imagine or attempt to fight back the negative stereotypes they have to face when living in their host country. It also allows us to reflect on the causes of why these initiatives or certain associations fail to attract the members of the Romanian community, or actually fail to create a community. We conducted two interviews with members of the party; one of them was running in local elections, the other one being the so-called father of the party ideology.

As an initiative, PIRUM is seeking "unity in diversity" and according to its leader, while representing through a figure of the "Romanian politician" who is "a normal guy, just like any Spanish", tries to fight back the negative stereotypes that are applied to Romanians. On the other hand, their discourse depicting a singular image of the country, reproduces¹¹ all those negative thoughts, stereotypes and prejudices (starting from delimiting themselves from Gypsy Romanians) that are generally applied to Romania as a country, and to the Romanian immigrants living abroad. Related to Roma, their discourse reproduces the same racist ideas that all the political parties generally use against the Roma (like blurring ethnicity with illegal individual acts of a person, scapegoating an entire community based on its ethnic belonging).

¹¹ In the interview, the "spiritual leader" of the country keeps repeating all the negative things that he, as someone who has never lived in Romania, sees as major deficits of the country: listing several things starting from corruption, undemocratic institutions, the resistance of the former communist elite in the current political parties, etc.

When talking with the “spiritual leader” of the party, he explained that the party has a double objective, working in Spain for improving living conditions of the Romanians, without excluding other citizens (“not being a party only for Romanians”), and also working for changing things in Romania. According to the interview, the Romanian electoral system is very restrictive and full of difficulties that alter the creation of new political parties, what makes almost impossible to have political influence there if you are not following a political career in one of the main parties. He also accuses the existing Romanian parties for being corrupt and promoting non-democratic structures. We can see how there is a dual discourse in relation with the objectives of the party, on one hand the host country strategy to impulse electoral lists to defend Romanian interest and, on the other hand, a transnational strategy that can only be understood taking in account the Romanian situation.

According to that second idea, the interviews conducted with PIRUM leaders make us to think further the transnational situation many immigrants find themselves in, living in the two worlds, constantly travelling between the two countries. Moreover, “their” political party, or at least the one that understands itself as a legal representative of Romanians, considers as its own ultimate goal “to arrive to Romania” and to “bring democratic change to the country from outside of the country” participating on the Romanian national elections. Even during the Spanish general elections they represented themselves as a party that aims to work for the local community as a whole and “consciously” abiding from saying that “their aim is to defend the civil rights of the Romanian community”. No wonder, their support was extremely low among Romanians, who certainly did not feel affected or did not feel represented or did not desire to be represented in the framework of a Romanian party that is not even in the defence of their rights, or at least not in the territory of Spain, his ultimate goal being to participate in EU general elections and entering Romanian national politics. Although, we have to take into account that they stood for elections for the first time, so it will be interesting to follow the future activity of the party, to see how they develop their transnational project.

Finally, the PIRUM alternative opens a wide range of possibilities towards migrant electoral future behaviour. If, as one can presume, migration processes will continue being important in the future of the European context and migrants advance in their full integration, the future matter according to political behaviour will be referring to what will they take in account in their voting decision:

- Will they vote locally reproducing their previous left-right political positioning based in their experience in Romania?
- Will they vote locally, trying to understand the problems of the host country and taking into consideration local nationalistic positions besides left-right political axis?
- Will they vote locally according to their migrant status maintaining the political model proposed by PIRUM?

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Social participation must be understood in a wider way than political participation, assuming that social participation includes, not only political participation, but also those aspects related to individual linkages with other individuals that, finally, help to configure social relations. In this section, we are going to analyse the role that social networks play in the configuration of migration processes, the relation with other migrants and local citizens, examining some of the specific characteristics of Romanians that allow them to live their everyday life in their "closed communities".

Ritchey (1976) examined social participation related to kinship and friendship ties that serve as factors of influence in the decision to migrate. He constructed his ideas according to the following 3 hypotheses:

- Affinity hypotheses: migrants with the largest networks in their home country are the ones with the less probability to migrate
- Information hypotheses: adopting a circular pattern of migration generates an informational flux that further stimulates migration and poses migration as attractive for more and more people

- Ease hypotheses: network based circular migration increases the adaptation potential of new migrants

We consider the above-mentioned ideas important when explaining how the Romanian migrant population underwent a fast adaptation process conforming to their new migrational reality. Moreover, taking into consideration that the current situation of the labour market requires only adapted but not fully integrated employers, Romanian migrants tend to easily answer this necessity, excluding further will towards integration. The existing networks in the host country do not facilitate their integration, making it difficult to live up to the expectancies of their host society.

The role of networks¹² in migration:

As many studies described, networks of immigrants played an extremely important role in the evolution of Romanian immigration to South-West European countries, Spain itself not being an exclusion from this. In the context of globalization new immigration models emerged, that caused the rise in numbers of illegal immigrants (Ghosh, 1998 in Anghel, 2006), whereas in the context of illegality the role of social networks gains an incredibly high importance.

The transnational perspective in the theory of migration argues that nowadays immigrants are in possession of a social network that stands above the borders and outside of the framework of the nation state (Glick & Schiller, 1995 in Anghel, 2006). If we analyse the Romanian migration in the paradigm of institutionalized networks, the migrants who left the country in the beginning of the 90ies and successfully integrating to the job market of their host country, played a key role in the evolution of Romanian immigration to Spain. They were the "pioneers", the first "explorers", who certainly could lessen the risk factors of those who followed them, by

¹² Through the migratory networks, those who want to temporarily migrate abroad receive help and support from the previous migrants. In areas where others have left before, more will leave, in places where other migrants have succeeded and where the signs of success are apparent, migration will be higher (Constantin et al. 2004 In Mirces & Pristavu, 2008)

providing material help, playing the role of the hosting family (Barry in Baubock, 2001). The tendency of emigrating from Romania “escalated especially when the mining industry was radically restructured in 1997 and people lost their jobs on a massive scale. Migrants eventually received financial compensation, which was used in many cases to finance migration” (Anghel, 2008).

As Arango argues, “social networks help to strengthen already existing concentrations and are a key element in the composition and channelling of flows” (Arango 2006 in Bernat & Viruela, 2011). In Spain, in the beginning of the immigration trend and in the time of high employment demand, the Adventist Church played a particularly important role in the establishment of networks of Romanian immigration (Bernat & Viruela, 2011). The social profile of the migrants also follows the network logic: the first ones accumulated a relatively greater social or financial capital, whereas subsequent migrants may come from all the sub-layers of the group (Nacu, 2010).

The act of exemption from visa obligations of Romanian citizens in 2002 and particularly Romania's accession to the EU in 2007 lead to changes in the status of immigrants and contributed to the partial deconstruction of the already-existing networks of migration. The changing context of immigrants from the legal “statute of illegality” into “legality”, the cease of necessities in applying for the help of these networks, lead to changes in components of migrant flows and to a rise of illegal activities; basically anyone could travel, including delinquents, criminals, etc. While in the beginning of the 90ies the Romanian immigration was strictly network-based, starting from 2002, this model of migration slowly started to cease to exist (Anghel, 2006), or certainly experienced many changes. As Anghel puts it, migration from Romania “did not reach its moment of saturation and had not become a mass migration solely on the basis of the networks’ development. Migration, rather, became mass migration because of the EU free movement policy for Romanians” (Anghel, 2008).

According to our observations, those who followed or still rely upon these formerly built migration networks, are the ones who still belong to a certain micro-community that is able to exercise some control over them and implement its own norms among its members. On the other hand, these networks and the concentration around these networks make it possible to remain closed in ones own community, applying for kinship ties and family relations and this way excluding the idea of contacting with locals or authorities of the host country.

For example, the concentration of Romanian Roma coming from the region of Vaslui in Santa Coloma allows to its members to feel less vulnerable in their situation as transnational migrants, but also reinforces the roles and norms of their traditional patriarchal social structure, that make it extremely difficult or almost impossible for them to escape both from the negative stereotype of the immigrant, who is "lazy", "not working", "very much closed into his own community", "not maintaining any relationship with the locals", but also from the precarious, marginal situation they are trapped in (this especially being true in the case of immigrant women).

The desire of confronting negative stereotypes and eradicating negative labels is also present in the everyday social reality of Romanian immigrants in general, and it is not just a preoccupation for the Romanian Roma. In their migration situation they have to undergo a permanent process of socialization and resocialization, resulting in a dual cultural discourse, a combination of patterns, norms and attitudes learnt both in the country of origin, as well as in their host country. According to Robins (Robins, 2006) EU integration has generated new expressions of cultural nationalism that manifests through collective action. Reserving these newly negotiated national characteristics is the most expressed interest and desire of Romanian associations we interviewed. Even though the associations' formal objectives consist in contributing to the integration of Romanian migrants, their everyday practices concentrate on preserving cultural aspects (language, traditions) and re-establishing the image of Romanian immigrants in Spain.

This constant renegotiation in the host country, of what it means, "to be a Romanian", does not affect the associations only, but also affects individuals. In the previously mentioned study about Romanian immigrants living in Milan, Anghel (Anghel, 2008) describes the situation of a Transylvanian village (Borsa) that experienced massive migration outflow starting from the beginning of the year 2000; the immigrants coming from Borsa may not consider themselves as all being part of a large family but they are certainly conscious of the kinship ties that link them, and act accordingly to certain demarcation lines that differentiate them between "we" and "them", let the "them" be nationals of the host country or other Romanian immigrants not coming from Borsa (therefore not being part of their community), while in a non-migration context, the inter-individual border would be different and the communitarian relations would be wider, probably.

Relations with locals/other immigrants

According to our observations, class differences (that are perceived as ethnic differences by the majoritarian society, both Romanian and Spanish) do not foster social participation when it comes to establishing relations with locals. In the case of Roma women we have been interviewing, the very fact of establishing a relationship, a communicational situation in partnership with locals is perceived in practical, material terms: as they see it, locals of the host country, the Spanish or Catalan people have jobs, more material belongings than they do, so starting from this very point, a possible communicational situation is unimaginable.

The relationship between the two communities is defined strictly in material terms and is constituted around material goods (if they are begging on the street, Spanish people give them money or clothes or other material goods, and as one association member who used to work with them for a longer time puts it: this is the only relationship they have with each-other).

We could also see a slight difference based on age categories, in opening towards locals or other immigrants that are outside of their community.

Mainly the younger generation seemed to be more open and to have more contacts with neighbours, let it be nationals of the host country or other immigrants living in the neighbourhood. Although, none of them claimed to have ever participated in events that were organized by locals, so their participation in the local civic life is nonexistent.

Roma not only that find themselves in the middle of racist (political) discourses, but they themselves - when talking about possible links to other immigrants - adopted a discourse that is based on racist ideology. According to this logic, "white people are nice and skin-coloured people are bad", as they keep repeating how nice Spanish people are ("there is no-one who would not give them money, who would have not been merciful¹³") especially in comparison with immigrants from Morocco¹⁴ ("who use drugs, are violent, make scandals on the street and are people one should fear"). Although, the adopted racist discourse might change when it comes to the personal level (as the Roma girls actually knew a Chinese immigrant or a neighbour from Morocco, their discourse immediately changed).

Although, it is argued that the Romanian immigrants in general have a higher level of integration in the Spanish society than the Romanian Roma living in Spain, possibly in both cases we can talk about closed communities. The Romanian community tends to be better adapted to the needs of Spanish society than other migrant communities, due to its facility to have access to labour market and learn the language. Even though this potential exists, Pajares (Pajares, 2005) states that the Romanian community has similar level of (non)integration to the Chinese, Ecuadorians or Moroccans, and lower than Senegalese community.

¹³ The way of speaking about "their hosts" who "allow them to live in this territory" was pretty much defined and influenced by adopted discourses and was a politically correct discourse they presented to "us" as "outsiders", as people who do not make part of their community, nor share the struggles they have. The perceived unequal and hierarchical situation of "we", the "white and rich people" and "they" as a marginal ethnic group with no possibilities to break this bubble, lessened our possibilities in "communication". Although, some girls from the younger group (especially those one with some kind of education) showed more willingness in expressing their real thoughts and ideas. Not to mention, that their willingness "of telling the truth" immediately caused controversy and dispute in the group.

¹⁴ They adopt the general public discourse in the host country and act accordingly

As their strategy of integration they tend to use "navigation on the surface", close enough to the life of locals, but avoiding to "sink" in it, to actually become a part of them. There is always good to keep some demarcation lines ("we" and "them"), but also to remain silent and not to "cause more problems". As transnational migrants, both Romanians and Romanian Roma "use the possibilities of dual home bases, both "here and there" and "us and them" affiliations to help keep economic, cultural, and political options open (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002 In Bailey, 2009)" and choose adaptation instead of integration.

Transnationalism – Romanians as Transnational Migrants

Picking up the thread of transnationalism, as Bernat and Viruela argue in their recent study conducted in the region of Castelló, Spain, most Romanian immigrants in the region "see their migration experience as a period in their life that may be longer or shorter, according to their objectives and the circumstances" (Bernat&Viruela, 2011). The latest reports on immigration and the employment market in Spain (Pajares, 2009 and 2010) conclude that the figure of returning Romanians is highly significant and that "it is probably the nationality with the largest return rate", although no data are provided to support this hypothesis." (Bernat, Viruela, 2011)

The migrational situation perceived as temporal, but also circular, was reflected in the interviews we have conducted with members of the Roma community from the region of Vaslui. Our interviewees "live in the present" in the sense of that they survive from one day to the other. Future always means the nearest future, the following few months, "until the cold goes away". "We stay until God wants us to stay", as they put it, but no further clarifications are made. Their situation perceived as temporal and circular is also reflected in their first reactions when we ask them about their date of arrival to Spain: they always tended to tell when they came back for the last time and not the date of their first arrival to Spain (as they keep travelling between the two worlds, between their home country and their country of reception). Yet, for most of them "Home" remains to exist in

Romania and according to the majoritarian opinions, they would go back to their home country, if the situation "would be better".

Living in the very margins of the society, makes it difficult for them to plan the future and act accordingly, but then again this characteristic cannot be defined as a particularity only available to the Romanian Roma, as most of the Romanian immigrants keep maintaining both options, and unavailable to specify when or whether or not they would go back to Romania. As the study of Ciornei (Ciornei, op.cit) reveals, generally local Spanish authorities also see Romanian immigrants as temporary migrants and consider that they will return to Romania "as the Poles did", but we should not forget, that not all of them translate the plan into practice. Both migrants and political actors perceive the temporary character of the Romanian migration, fact which influences upon the political dynamics between this collective and its forms of incorporation. However, almost one third of the Romanians believe that their life project will develop in Spain (similar results found by the 2009 OSF study).

A research conducted by the Romanian Open Society Foundation (from now on referred as the OSF study) in 4 communities in the autonomous region of Madrid in June 2008, questioned 832 Romanian immigrants, adults above 17 years old, about their perceptions of home and their plans related to future. According to the findings, 4 different categories of Romanian immigrants have been established, taking in consideration their willingness to stay or return to their home country.

Almost three quarters of the Romanians (71%) declared in the autumn of 2008 that they would like to move back to Romania. Although, when the questionnaire introduced specific conditions upon returning, this high percentage dropped. When asked about their time of returning home, only 47% of immigrants declared that they would return back in the following 5 years, which is quite a difference in comparison to the first data mentioned. Finally, if the estimation of returning home was being solicited, those who are very certain that they would go back in the following 5 years represent only 39% of the total of Romanian immigrants in Madrid.

Those who declared that there is a great probability for their returning home, are usually the persons with an already existing structured plan of returning.

According to their intentions to return back to the country, the immigrants can be differentiated into 4 distinct groups:

- 1.** Those with immediate return intentions in the following year (14%)
- 2.** A mid-term returning intention within 2-5 years (33% - the most numerous group)
- 3.** Those persons who think about their return only in the long-term, over more than 5 years (15%)
- 4.** Potential definite migrants, who are not planning to return back into their country (29%)

The role of resources in the projects of return:

Considering resources, the persons with the highest probability of returning to the country can be distinguished by the fact that they earn relatively good money in Spain (above the average of 1400 euros per month in 2008), good material conditions in Romania, a relatively low level of education and few knowledge of Spanish. The tendency of returning home is among the persons who accumulated money above the average of Romanian immigrants, who have a relatively good economical situation in the country but could not integrate well in the sense of mastering the language.

Approximately 30% of those interviewed declared to have a very a good knowledge of Spanish, one-third of whom declared that it is certain about returning to the country. Among those who considered having difficulties with the language, 64% intends to return to Romania.

The study also examined the relation between the frequency of attending the mess and other religious services and the intentions to go back to the country. The results show a higher tendency of returning intentions among those who regularly or frequently participate in religious services. They

found a higher proportion of return intentions among those with a more traditionalist orientation, as we should return back to the role of the Church in the general pattern of Romanian immigration in the next section of this study.

Important to note, back in September 2008, almost 60% of the Romanian immigrants interviewed in the OSF study, considered that the situation of the Romanian labour market will improve in the following three years and only 23% of them thought that the situation in Spain would be better. The majority was more optimistic with the performance of the Romanian economy then with that of Spain's. As the situation of the Romanian labour market has considerably worsened since 2008, this puts back the question of actual returns on the table. As a 2010 report¹⁵ on world-wide migration patterns and adapting to the situation-techniques points out, the migrants may adopt an attitude of "let's wait and see what happens", as they prefer to search for new employment opportunities, possibly in the hidden economy.

Interestingly, among those who declared their willingness for a definite stay in their host country, in Spain, 25% would still like to run a business in Romania. This sign of transnationalist perception of the migrational situation underlines the fact emphasized by the PIRUM politician we interviewed, that they do not stop "being Romanians", as they do not stop thinking about their country and possibly also voting in their country of origin. Very likely, further EU politics should take into consideration this "in the move"-pattern of immigration.

The study also shows the presence of a certain group of immigrants who prefer returning home based on the negative affiliations they perceive as members of a "larger group of immigrants and certain individuals belonging to this group, who commit infractions" (pretty much similar to the opinion of PIRUM politician).

¹⁵ Informe Sobre las Migraciones en el Mundo 2010. El futuro la Migracion: Creacion de Capacidades para el cambio - OIM

The study found that 45% of those who declared that they would like to return back to Romania, they also declared that they imagine the future of their kids is both in Spain and Romania. How things will turn out in reality, no one can tell, but it is obvious, that these immigrants started to adopt a specific perspective, that of transnationalism in the sense that they imagine their future "not here, nor in Romania" and "here and in Romania as well". Accordingly, "the irregular migrants do not have clear plans to settle. (...) If something goes wrong, they hope to get a second chance in their community of origin" (Anghel, 2008).

As we could observe in the case of the Romanian Roma, they keep maintaining a situation of seasonal mobility, that is very dependent on seasonal changes (as they try to survive more severe winter weather conditions they would have to face in Romania), but depending on the season is also general among the majoritarian Romanian society with migration tendency: those working in the agricultural sector rely on the opportunities deriving from the season, not to mention that the current Spanish legislation that entered into force in the summer of 2011 also conditions the job opportunities of Romanian citizens based on the season (giving work permits mainly for 3 months, for seasonal work in agriculture).

The economical situation most immigrants experience, oblige them to maintain their transnational status and keep obtaining, or "pumping out" the best from both countries, a situation that possibly might "systematically circulates vulnerabilities", contributing to the deepening of inequalities (Bailey, 2009). Being an economical type of migration, the ultimate goal is to use the accumulated money in their home country. Although one of the association members we interviewed calls it "childish" that Roma people keep talking about building a big house in Romania and "when they have art classes they always draw big houses", if we look at the migrational motivation of Romanians we can find the same ideas. We are talking about the desires of the working class and the poor, articulating their thoughts differently, but basically being motivated to emigrate by the same factors. Although "childish" as it is argued, we do not see this "dream" as a differentiating factor from other Romanian migrant citizens. As several

studies showed (OSF study or the one written by Anghel), most of the Romanian immigrants tend to spend their money on material goods, such as buying a car or building a house, and do not think about investing it in order to develop a business (or the percentage of those who actually plan to invest it, is certainly less than the average, than the big majority).

The role of the Church in the path of immigration and in the life of the migrants:

As several studies emphasized the important role the Church played and keeps playing in the pattern and network-building strategies of Romanian immigrants choosing Spain as their country of destination, in the following we should discuss the aspects related to the role of the Church both in immigration and in the life of the migrants, we found relevant when conducting the quantitative study.

Irina Ciornei in her study about transnationalist practices of Romanian migrants in Spain, highlights the important role the Adventist church played in establishing the first paths of immigration, in building up the networks of immigration from Romania to Spain. The Adventist church is considered to seed of the Romanian migration in Spain as most of the pioneers that migrated at the end of the 90s were part of this cult. The tendency and potential for immigration found between the members of neo-protestant churches have been confirmed by several studies (Sandu, 2000, Diminescu, Lăzăroiu, 2002, In Daniela, 2008), stating "a series of hypotheses regarding the selective migration flows, according to which the minority ethnic or religious groups show a higher mobility level than the one of the majority Orthodox Romanian population (Daniela, 2008). As Ciornei further goes on, not only that the Adventist church had a big role to play in establishing the networks of immigration in Spain, generally the church (let it be catholic, orthodox or neo-protestant) plays a very important role as a mediator

between immigrants and local people of the host country, but seemingly as a political mediator between immigrants and their country of origin. The field research conducted by the above mentioned author during the year of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, revealed that the church has multiple roles in the process of Romanian migration in Spain:

- first, it is one of the few spaces where the Romanians gather and dialogue;
- second, the construction of churches is one of the most important requests on the associations list;
- third, the priests (both orthodox and neo-protestants) are very important dialogue partners of the Spanish local authorities, as they are considered by many "the voice of the people".
- forth, most Romanian politicians that came to campaign in Spain made a pilgrimage at the Sunday service in order to talk to the believers.

While Romania keeps remaining a religious, conservative country, certainly not everyone who lives in the country or leaves it, is religious or attends the Sunday mess (as a space which strengthens the ties between community members). This question is particularly interesting from the viewpoint of our study and from the perspective of citizenship and integration. On one hand, if generally the Romanians are perceived by the majoritarian Spanish society as a very religious, "closed community with strict gender hierarchies who will return home" (interview with a local leader in the study of Irina Ciornei, 2009) and if on the other hand Romanian politics finds its way to the migrants with the assistance of the church, not to mention that one study found connection between the frequency of attending the religious mess and the tendency of returning home (those with a higher frequency of attendance), makes one wonder, whether religion, integration, citizenship and tendency in returns are interrelated and how they influence the self-perception of immigrants as being part of the society of their host country.

Although the framework of this study does not allow us to make broader generalizations, some interesting future research lines can be drawn

according to the role that the Church might play in the configuration of migration, especially in relation with the creation of politically correct discourses or with patterns of interaction with locals. In the focus group conducted with Roma migrants we detected different attitudes between religious and nonreligious members of the community, but further research would be necessary to determine if those differences are influenced by religion, by factors of socialization or derive from the hierarchical situation between the interviewer and the interviewees. As a matter of fact, further studies could reveal interesting connections between religion and citizen participation.

In one hand, as described in the study of Ciornei, the church plays an important role when it comes to relating to local authorities of the host country (as the pastor being the only link between Spanish local authorities and Romanian immigrants), but seemingly also plays a role in maintaining relations with the country of origin. As Ciornei puts it, Romanian politicians visiting Spain regularly attend the messes and hold political speeches in the church frequented by Romanian migrants. This way the church contributes to the maintenance of transnational thinking resulted in lack of political participation in the host country and acts of voting, participation in the home country. This might seem more relevant if we just take into consideration the recent study¹⁶ done by the Open Society Institute, which found that 81% of the Romanian population believes that religious leaders, priests and other members of the church should advise the people who to vote. The church plays an important role in structuring social and communitarian relations and his power remains important in the situation of immigration. No wonder then, that our interviewees could not clearly differentiate between state authorities and religious authorities and kept mixing the two. When asked about information related to local or national politics in Spain, they remembered the visit of Pope Benedict XVI to La Sagrada Familia, although none of them belonged to the Catholic faith. Politics and religion, politics and church are intertwined not only in the mental conception of the people we interviewed, but we found more concrete, "practical realization" of this interconnectedness in the form of

¹⁶ http://soros.ro/ro/program_articol.php?articol=305)

political leaders. The ideological leader of the only currently existing Romanian political party in the territory of Spain, PIRUM, is a Catholic religious intellectual, and the president - who could not be interviewed, as he was staying in Romania - of this party is an orthodox priest.

Ciornei also noticed a similar pattern of linkages, pointing out that in Castellón a lot of association presidents belong or are former members of the Adventist church.

Women and citizenship

Citizen participation from the perspective of gender keeps reflecting the patriarchal construction of the community the persons we interviewed come from. From a legal point of view, or from the point of view of the state, men are those who could be considered as citizens in Mihaela Cosescu's (Cosescu, 2008) terms, because they have the right to participate in local elections, the right to vote in Spain, meaning that mainly they tend to be registered with local authorities. So officially and from the viewpoint of the state, men exist as citizens while women keep preserving their status as non-citizens. Although this was available for the Romanian Roma we talked to, and the difference in being registered from the aspect of gender might not be so articulated in the case of Romanians who successfully integrated to the Spanish job market. Nonetheless, as generally the Roma communities being more closed, with more strict gender hierarchies, the women who we interviewed also claimed that men would have more contact with authorities, with public institutions or with other immigrants and "they know more about politics". Although it is very important to mention that according to our observation, men's "claimed-to-be closer connection" with authorities exists more on the level of discourse and in reality or in very practical terms, women possibly have more connection to local institutions, as they are the ones who go to see the doctor and also the ones who bring the children to school. The legal differences between men and women reflect a very traditional, patriarchal family structure, which affects both genders. In this patriarchal view of the men - being the head of the family and reinforcing the image of masculinity in the traditional father figure -, they cannot be seen as weak, having health-problems. So, according to this logic, "men don't get ill, they don't need medical insurance". Therefore the men are not registered in health-care, "no need for them to benefit from health services". On the other hand, as they are the head of the family, their status has to be recognized formally, so they get registered with state authorities (some of them, as their status of partial illegality makes it difficult to have any kind of contact with public authorities or to figure in any statistics). But once again, this formal recognition does not mean that they maintain any kind of relationship with public authorities.

As men are those who are working, they enter into more relations with other immigrants, but probably women are those who maintain more relations with public institutions, starting from schools and hospitals. Also women staying home have more chances to develop a relation with their neighbours and to make some bonds outside the community. As we argued before related to the possible connections maintained with non-communitarians, or outsiders, we could see a difference between the two groups we interviewed according to their age, as the younger ones, whose children are not yet attending school, also have less contact with state institutions, but on the other hand they are the ones who have more contact with locals and a more vivid social life with Spanish neighbours (or at least some signs of connections). This latter may also be true because of communicational reasons, as the younger ones had a higher knowledge of Spanish and found it easier to establish certain connection (which are still very few as we mentioned it at the beginning of this quantitative analysis). These specific in-depths, when trying to interpret "how things are in real", under the surface of politically correct discourses depicts a picture of a somewhat contradictory situation, as from the viewpoint of the state, women are non-citizens (not being registered and do not figuring in statistics) but on the other hand these "non-citizen women" are the ones maintaining connections with local institutions and partly "acting like citizens".

Gender and citizenship are also intertwined in the case of men whose role in the family "makes it necessary or allows it" to be registered with local authorities in some cases, while obtaining the sanitary-card in the case of women is also linked to their gender and the traditional role of the mother that derives from it. Women define their role in life as mothers, this way giving explanation for the need to benefit from the health-care system. As they put it, "we are mothers, we get pregnant, so we also get ill more often". In their claim for obtaining the sanitary card, they present themselves primarily as women, as mother and not as citizens. So, in this case we argue that for women, obtaining a sanitary card is not part of well-planned actions exercised by citizens with rights, but are more or less linked

to experiencing the world as an individual, as a woman and more importantly, as a mother.

According to our observations, they perceive difference from women of the majoritarian society (let it be Romanian or Spanish) in two terms: related to employment and related to motherhood. As we already mentioned employment and unemployment as a differentiating factor between Roma migrants and Spanish people but also Romanian migrants, let us take a look at the perception of differences related to motherhood, as it follows.

In their self-definition of mothers who have many children (because "that is the Gypsy way", "that is the tradition of Gypsies", or "that is what God wants us to do"), the very fact of having or not having (many) children becomes a factor of differentiation between "us" and "them". They also lack the image of the "working woman" model, as they are pretty much "obliged" to stay home and take care of their babies, "doing your duties as a woman". Seemingly, none of them have ever tried to find a job (our aim is not to analyse their actual chances on the job market, but to give an idea of their self-perception as citizens and as women and the relation of this two in a traditional community) and as women members of their closed communities they certainly lack the model and skills of becoming a working women. Moreover, as one association member working with Romanian Roma immigrants points out in the interview, the fact of having babies and always being with the babies, not having a single moment of the day when it would be possible to leave the babies behind, very much complicates job search or basically lessens to zero their options on the job market.

We also experienced generational differences related to the topic, because while elder women thought it would be impossible for them to leave the house in order to find a job (because they had to take care of their babies), some of the younger girls kept emphasising, that they would find a solution, they would let their babies - for example - to attend kindergarten. Beyond the difficulties of how to "escape ones community", how to escape the traps of patriarchal discourses and how to escape the single image of a woman who is a mother but anything else, entering the job market, or being up to finding a job would also only be possible, if it leads to acculturation. This

problem they possibly face was also mentioned during the interview we conducted with members of an association, who highlighted that Roma women would have to undergo a certain process of acculturation in the sense of leaving behind their traditional clothing, the Gypsy skirt, if ever would like to have chances on the job market.

In conclusion we argue that they are pretty much trapped in the patriarchal discourses of who is the responsible for sustaining the family, who has to earn more money or who knows more things about politics and life in generally, but many times reality shows a slightly different practice of conducting a life. Especially the elder women, whose husbands do not work or do not have a husband at all, they have to earn their living by their own. Even among the younger ones we find several exceptions who came to Spain by themselves (not following their men or their husbands) and are trying to survive by their own, but on the level of discourse the very strong belief of "men being in charge" keeps to persist. Meanwhile, we should not forget, that certain hierarchies not only work between men and women, but also between older women and younger ones, older women reproducing the same patriarchal values and exercising an absolute control over their daughters.

Moreover, we argue that next to the trap of conservatory discourses that point out men in the role of family sustainers, among with many other Romanian immigrants, they are also "trapped in the myth, that here they live better¹⁷" (OSF study). Some of them certainly do, but many others just keep struggling for everyday survival, going for the "chatarra", collecting iron and other leftovers on the streets and imagining a better life for their kids, although not being sure whether in Spain or in Romania.

¹⁷ The OSF study tells the story of a Romanian immigrant in Italy, who loaned money from a friend, bought a lot of goods, filled his fridge with all kind of products, took a picture and sent it home in order to show how good he is living in his situation of emigration.

In relation to the general context of migration, the labour market offers different job opportunities to Romanian men and women, being women most conducted to personal care and housework sectors, what fits with international division of labour perspective. Local women transfer their previous visible inequalities related to reproductive work to migrant women (Parella, 2003), establishing hierarchical relations between women of local societies and migrant ones.

In addition, the network-based strategy of job search constructs a trap for most of migrant women, making them unavailable to escape the job sectors that are traditionally meant to be theirs (family care, agriculture). Network migration, then, can be useful for the community or in economical terms, but it does not contribute to women empowerment.

Considering the recent situation of Romanian migrants living in Spain, who experienced job losses that mainly affected men (Castelló, 2009), it would be interesting to examine how this leads to the (non)reconstruction of traditional roles within the family. As the demand of family care remains being high, women who were able to preserve their jobs, were transformed to the main sustainers of their families. Although that situation could lead to a renegotiation of roles within the family, our question remains, if this is going to happen in reality or will just put a new burden on women's shoulders, meanwhile maintaining hierarchies.

If we take into consideration the previously described family pattern of integration it would be interesting to analyse whether this model equally contributes to the development of life projects of all the family members or just promotes the maintenance of traditional patriarchal relations. Suarez and Crespo (Suarez & Crespo, op cit.) distinguished between four types of migration related to the family and to the role of women in migration decision taking:

- individual migration: Migration understood as a free choice of an individual women.

- presumed individual migration: Migration understood as a choice motivated by the economical necessities of the family
- presumed family migration: Migration understood as ones try to escape from unequal situation between partners
- family migration: Migration understood as a collective choice of all the family members.

This categorization sets out certain family realities that remain hidden when analysing statistical data. The role that women might play in migration decision taking seems to be different than the one described by quantitative data. As shown, occasionally their decision to migrate can be seen as a way for escaping from patriarchal family structures and renegotiating women's position in the society. In contrast, market labour opportunities and patriarchal tradition of migrant networks make their transition to equality almost impossible.

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Annex: Questionnaire	
Original questions	Adapted questions for the focus group with Roma women
Legal aspects	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you benefit from Romania's accession to the EU? - The accession facilitates the free movement of persons, but does facilitate social integration? - The law has changed this summer, what is your opinion on limiting the free movement of persons within Europe? - Do you think full integration is important? Why? - Who should do more for achieving this integration? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When did you arrive to Spain? Did you have any problems when entering the country? How did you solve them? - If you knew you would have had problems when entering, would you come anyway? - Have you been living in any other country? In which one? Was it easy to enter the country? Easier or more difficult than entering Spain? - Are you registered? Was it easy? What do you think is the function of getting registered? - Do you have sanitary card? What did you do in order to get it?
Interaction with local institutions/country nationals	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How would you characterize the interaction of Romanians with Spaniards? - Do you get along well? - What about foreigners? How are your relations with them? - How is the relation with institutions? - Why do you go to institutions (city hall, etc.)? Do they solve your problems? - Do you get along well? - Do you know any association of Romanians? Do you think that functions well? In what does it help you? - Do you think is better to participate or belong to an association of Romanians or 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you know anyone Spanish? - What is your opinion about Spaniards? - Do you know any foreigner (non-Spanish) who lives in Spain? - What do you think about foreigners? - Do you know any Romanian who lives in Spain? Do you get along well with Romanians who live in Spain? And with those who live in Romania? - Have you ever been to the city hall? Doing what? How was it? - Have you ever been to the doctor? How was it?

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to a Spanish one? Why? - Why would you go to an association? - Taking part in an association gets you closer to Romanians or to Spaniards? - Romania is a very diverse country (Romanians from the North – from the South – Hungarians – Germans – Roma...). The problems between Romanians in Romania do exist here? What can be done in order to solve these problems? - These problems between Romanians help the integration? - Do you know what citizen participation is? Have you ever participated? - Do you think Romanian women have different attitude to Spanish people than Romanian men? And what about institutions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you ever felt badly treated (racism)? By the people? By the city hall employees? Why do you think that happened? - Have you ever been insulted for being Roma? Why? - Do you think something should be done in order that Roma people get more accepted? Who should do it? - You live better here or in Romania? - In what language do you speak to the people here? Do you speak Catalan? - Do you understand it? Do you think it is useful? Catalan is an advantage or a problem for you? - If you had any problem here, whom would you ask for help? The police? The city hall? - Do you know any association of Romanians? Do you participate in any? - Do you know any association here? (SAOROMA) What is there role? Do they help you? Is it good to have one? Do you understand why do they help?
<p>Electoral participation</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you ever voted? And outside of your country? For what? For the elections in Romania or for the ones here? - Did you have any problems when voting? - Do you know the requirements to be able to vote here (municipal and European) - Do you think is important to be able to vote here? Why? - Do you know who is the mayor? Do you know who is the President? - Which one is more important, to be able to participate in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you ever voted? And outside of your country? For what? For the elections in Romania or for the ones here? - Do you know who is the mayor? Do you know who is the President? - What is your opinion about the politicians here? - Do politicians have any role? Do they help in anything?

<p>municipal or in European elections? Why?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is your opinion, why Romanians do not vote here? - Do you think that being able to vote is a right you should have? Do you think is necessary? - Does voting strengthen the sense of feeling more Spanish? What about feeling more European? - Would it be good if a Romanian would run in the elections for the position of mayor? Or if there was a party of Romanians? - Do you think that the role of voting is that your rights become more protected? Why? - The rise of racism/xenophobia facilitates the electoral participation of Romanians (voting)? Why do you think that xenophobe feelings exist towards Romanians? - Voting is easier for a Romanian woman or for a man? Why? 	
<p>Defence of the rights of citizens</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think is the best form in order to defence the rights of Romanians? The associations, electoral participation, civic participation? Why? - Why do you think Romanians did not protest for Schengen regulations? (Do you think they did?) - Do you think equality in front of the law is enough? Or do you have to do something in addition to be equal? - Which is the most important right? Why? - Do you trust politicians? - Are you considering returning to your country? Do you think 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What differences you see in your life you have here in comparison to your life in Romania? Is there something you could do there but you are not able to do it here? - Do you think you are equal to a Spanish woman? Why? - Do you have a job? Having a job allows to feel better here? Why? - What do you think is the opinion of Spanish people about Roma people? Is their opinion correct/right? Why? - What should be done and how should be done in order that they would have a different opinion?

<p>that the plan to return makes people to get less involved into local life? And also that they do not fight to defend their rights as they would in Romania?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Do you think that Romanians deserve the stereotypes applied to them? What can be done in order to combat them?- Do these stereotypes make life to be more difficult here? How?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Life here is easier for a Roma man or a Roma woman? Why? And in Romania?
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