Talent Abroad: A Review of Romanian Emigrants



OECD

Talent Abroad: A Review of Romanian Emigrants



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Foreword

Emigrants are often considered a loss for their country of origin but they can also play an important role in fostering trade and economic development, notably through the skills and contacts they have acquired abroad. If they choose to return, their re-integration into the labour market and society will be facilitated by the fact that they speak the local language, have specific social capital and possess local qualifications that are readily recognised by employers.

Drawing on the human resources of emigrants, however, necessitates maintaining links with them and pursuing policies adapted to the specific needs of each expatriate community. This entails, as a prerequisite, being able to identify precisely where, when and why people have left and what their socio-demographic characteristics and skills are, as well as gaining a proper understanding of the dynamics of the phenomenon and the aspirations of emigrants.

Statistical systems in countries of origin are generally poorly equipped to undertake this monitoring exercise. It is therefore helpful, if not essential, to compile information directly from destination country data sources. This is particularly challenging because it requires collecting data, based on comparable definitions and concepts, from a large number of countries across which emigrants are scattered. The OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC), which pools census and survey data, makes it possible to identify individuals over time by place of birth as well as by education and labour market status. It is a powerful tool for use in undertaking this mapping exercise, especially when complemented by available national sources (e.g. consular data, specific surveys, analyses of social networks) and many other international data sources.

This series of country reviews entitled “Talent abroad” aims to provide an accurate, updated and dynamic picture of diasporas by individual countries of origin. On this basis, and by building on cumulated experiences regarding the movements of diasporas, it is possible to formulate public policy recommendations on how best to engage with emigrants and mobilise their skills to support economic development in their country of origin.

The fourth volume in this series focuses on Romania, which, in recent years, has experienced fast-moving and far-reaching economic development. In view of the massive level of emigration by the Romanian population in the 21st century, and the emergence of labour needs, the Romanian authorities are seeking to gain a better understanding of this pool of talent based abroad. To that end, this review was commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

The in-depth analysis of the Romanian diaspora presented in this OECD publication helps determine the economic potential of emigrants. How many emigrants are there, and where are they based? Are they of working age, and what is their level of education? What are the recent trends in terms of their number and socio-economic profile? What is their labour market presence in the host country and which occupations do they hold? What drives them to emigrate, and who are the ones who return? How do they contribute to the economic development of Romania?

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Table of contents

Foreword **3**

Acknowledgements **5**

Executive summary **13**

Chapter 1. Numbers and locations of Romanian emigrants **25**

Historical context of Romanian emigration to the OECD 26
The fifth-largest emigrant population in OECD countries in 2015/16 26
Demographic composition of the Romanian diaspora 34
Distribution across destination countries 37
Who lives where? 42
Most Romanian emigrants cite employment as the reason for their migration 49
The majority of Romanian emigrants are not citizens of their host country 52
A growing population of descendants of Romanian emigrants 57
Conclusions 61
References 63
Annex 1.A. Additional figures and tables 65

Chapter 2. Recent trends in emigration from Romania **71**

Free movement of Romanian citizens in the European Union 72
Growing flows of emigrants from Romania to OECD countries 73
EU accession and the economic crisis shaped emigration patterns to specific OECD countries 77
Emigration prospects among the population living in Romania 88
Conclusion 94
Notes 96
References 97

Chapter 3. The socio-demographic characteristics of the Romanian diaspora **99**

Education distribution of Romanian emigrants across OECD countries 100
The children of Romanian emigrants differ in education levels in European countries and in the United States 109
Romanian emigrants are socially integrated in most countries 111
Conclusion 116
References 117
Annex 3.A. Additional figures and tables 118

Chapter 4. Labour market outcomes of Romanian emigrants **121**

Labour market integration is comparatively difficult 122
Romanian emigrants are over-represented in low-skilled professions 130
Many Romanian emigrants work in low-skilled sectors 137
Conclusion 143
References 144

Chapter 5. Return migration to Romania 145

Return intentions among Romanian emigrants 146
Characteristics of Romanian emigrants who returned to Romania 148
Economic contributions of Romanian emigrants 157
Conclusions 167
Notes 168
References 169

Tables

Table 1.1. Main destination countries for Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above, 2015/16 and 2000/01 38
Table 4.1. Sectoral distribution of Romanian emigrants by main destination country, 2010/11 139
Table 5.1. Current intentions of Romanian emigrants to stay in Italy or return to Romania, by intention at arrival, 2011-2012 (in %) 147
Table 5.2. Employment rates of return migrants and non-migrants by educational attainment in Romania, 2014 and 2015-2017 160
Table 5.3. Distribution of current professional status according to past professional status (abroad) of return migrants aged 15-64, 2015-17 163
Table 5.4. Distribution of current professional status according to past professional status (abroad) of return migrants aged 15-64, 2015-17 163

Annex Table 1.A.1. Terms and definitions 65
Annex Table 1.A.2. Composition of emigrant populations in the OECD area, main origin countries, 2015/16 66
Annex Table 1.A.3. Composition of emigrant populations in the OECD area, Romania and neighbouring origin countries, 2015/16 66
Annex Table 1.A.4. Romanian emigrants by destination country, 2015/16 67
Annex Table 1.A.5. Composition of Romanian emigrants by age group, main destination countries and OECD area, 2015/16 68
Annex Table 1.A.6. Acquisitions of nationality of Romanian citizens in main destination countries, 2005-16 68

Figures

Figure 1.1. Main countries of origin on migrants living in the OECD area, 2000/01 and 2015/16 29
Figure 1.2. Numbers of migrants living in the OECD area from Romania and neighbouring countries, 2000/01 and 2015/16 33
Figure 1.3. Emigration rates for main origin countries of emigrants in the OECD area, 2015/16 34
Figure 1.4. Gender composition of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2015/16 .. 35
Figure 1.5. Share of women among emigrants from main and regional origin countries, 2015/16 36
Figure 1.6. Age and sex distribution of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2015/16 37
Figure 1.7. Main OECD destination countries of Romanian emigrants, 2000/01 and 2015/16 41
Figure 1.8. Change in numbers of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, by country and time period 41
Figure 1.9. Romanian emigrants in the main destination countries by gender and age, 2015/16 43
Figure 1.10. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in Italy, 2016 45
Figure 1.11. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in Spain, 2016 46

Figure 1.12. Regional distribution of Romanian citizens in Germany, 2016 47
Figure 1.13. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom, 2015/16 48
Figure 1.14. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in the United States, 2016 49
Figure 1.15. Romanian emigrants by main reason given for migration, selected EU countries, 2014 . 50
Figure 1.16. Main destination countries of international students from Romania, 2013 and 2016..... 52
Figure 1.17. Romanian emigrants' citizenship of main destination countries, 2015/16 54
Figure 1.18. Acquisitions of nationality of Romanian citizens in selected OECD countries, 2005-16 56
Figure 1.19. Romanian emigrants' acquisition of citizenship, selected OECD countries, 2015/16..... 57
Figure 1.20. Births to Romanian mothers in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom, 1999-2017 60
Figure 2.1. Migration flows of Romanian citizens to OECD countries, 2000-16 74
Figure 2.2. Migration flows from selected origin countries to OECD countries, 2000-16 75
Figure 2.3. Migration flows from Romania and neighbouring countries to OECD countries, 2000-16..... 76
Figure 2.4. Migration flows of Romanian citizens to the main destination countries, 2000-16..... 79
Figure 2.5. Net migration flows of Romanian citizens to main destination countries, 2002-16 84
Figure 2.6. Share of women in migration flows of Romanian citizens to selected destination countries, 2000-16 85
Figure 2.7. Composition of migration flows from Romania to main European destination countries, with linear trends, 2004-16..... 87
Figure 2.8. Emigration intentions in Romania and neighbouring countries, 2009-18 88
Figure 2.9. Emigration intentions among 15-24-year-olds in selected countries, 2009-18..... 90
Figure 2.10. Opinions of persons born in Romania, in Romania and abroad, 2009-18 91
Figure 2.11. Romanian-born persons who consider leaving Romania, by labour-market situation and education, 2009-15 94
Figure 3.1. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, 2015/16..... 101
Figure 3.2. Distribution of education among emigrants from Romania and neighbouring countries aged 15 and over living in OECD countries, 2015/16..... 102
Figure 3.3. Distribution of Romanian emigrants across OECD destination countries by education level, 2015/16 103
Figure 3.4. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries between 2000/01 and 2015/16 104
Figure 3.5. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries in 2015/16, by duration of stay 105
Figure 3.6. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, by gender, 2015/16..... 107
Figure 3.7. Evolution of the education distribution among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in OECD countries, 2015/16 108
Figure 3.8. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, by citizenship, 2015/16 109
Figure 3.9. Distribution of education among native-born aged 15 and over by parents' country of birth, living in EU countries, 2014 110
Figure 3.10. Distribution of education among native-born aged 15 and over, by gender and parents' country of birth, living in EU countries, 2014..... 111
Figure 3.11. Language spoken by Romanian emigrants and their descendants in Italy..... 112
Figure 3.12. Discrimination at work among emigrants in Italy, by country of birth, 2011/12..... 115
Figure 3.13. Discrimination among emigrants in France, by country of birth, 2012 116
Figure 4.1. Participation and employment rates by country of birth and gender, 2015/16 123
Figure 4.2. Employment rates by country of birth in OECD countries and their growth over time, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16..... 125

Figure 4.3. Employment rates of Romanian emigrants by reason for migration in a selection of European countries, 2014 126
Figure 4.4. Employment rates by parents' education and country of birth in a selection of European countries, 2014 127
Figure 4.5. Unemployment rates by country of birth in OECD countries, 2015/16 128
Figure 4.6. Unemployment rate gap between foreign- and native-born in OECD countries, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16 129
Figure 4.7. Unemployment rates by country of birth in selected OECD countries, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16 130
Figure 4.8. Distribution of workers by country of birth and occupation 131
Figure 4.9. Distribution of Romanian emigrants by occupation in the main OECD destination countries, 2015/16 132
Figure 4.10. Distribution of Romanian emigrants by occupation and gender in OECD countries, 2015/16 133
Figure 4.11. Distribution of Romanian emigrants by occupation and gender in main destination countries, 2015/16 134
Figure 4.12. Over-qualification rates by country of birth and gender in OECD countries, 2015/16 and change between 2010/11 and 2015/16 135
Figure 4.13. Share of workers who feel that their skills are underutilised by country of birth, 2012/15 136
Figure 4.14. Gap between foreign- and native-born in skill use at work, 2012/15 137
Figure 4.15. Sectoral distribution of workers by country of birth, 2010/11 138
Figure 4.16. Ten sectors with the largest share of Romanian emigrants by gender, 2010/11 140
Figure 4.17. Distribution of workers across employment types by country of birth (left) and share of part-time work and share of workers who worked during night (11 p.m. – 5 a.m.) in the past week by country of birth (right), 2015/16 141
Figure 4.18. Emigrant health professionals by country of birth (left) and Romanian emigrant health professionals by selected country of destination (right), 2015/16 142
Figure 4.19. Share of Romanian emigrant health professionals resident in selected OECD countries since over 10 years, 2015/16 143
Figure 5.1. Intentions of Romanian emigrants upon arrival and at the time of the survey (2011-12), by year of arrival in Italy (%) 147
Figure 5.2. Outflows from Italy of foreigners towards Romania, and outflows from Italy of Romanian nationals, 2002-16 151
Figure 5.3. Outflows of Romanian nationals from Germany, 2007-17 151
Figure 5.4. Outflows of Romanian nationals from Spain, 2002-17 152
Figure 5.5. Age distribution of return migrants and non-migrants aged 15-64 in Romania, 2014 153
Figure 5.6. Age distribution of return migrants aged 18+ from Italy, Spain and Germany 154
Figure 5.7. Share of women among Romanian return migrants from Italy, Spain and Germany, 2002-17 156
Figure 5.8. Distribution of education of return migrants and non-migrants aged 15-64 in Romania, 2014 157
Figure 5.9. Employment rates of return migrants and non-migrants by age and sex in Romania, 2014 159
Figure 5.10. Share of entrepreneurs and self-employed among return migrants and non-migrants in Romania, 2014 and 2015-17 162
Figure 5.11. Distribution of employment by occupations for return migrants and non-migrants in Romania, 2014 165
Figure 5.12. Remittances to Romania sent from EU and non-EU countries, 2005-17 166
Figure 5.13. Remittances to Romania sent from selected OECD countries, 2012-17 167

Annex Figure 1.A.1. Romanian emigrants' acquisition of citizenship by age, selected OECD countries, 2015/16 69
Annex Figure 3.A.1. Distribution of education among all foreign-born persons aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, 2015/16 118
Annex Figure 3.A.2. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, by country and citizenship, 2015/16 119

Boxes

Box 1.1. Competing definitions for Romanians abroad 27
Box 1.2. Cross-country data sources on Romanian emigrants 30
Box 1.3. Emigration from Romania to Israel 39
Box 2.1. Reliability of self-reported emigration intentions 92
Box 4.1. Romanian emigrants in vulnerable employment: The case of Italy 140

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Executive summary

The first portrait of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries

This review provides the first comprehensive portrait of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries, where almost all Romanian emigrants reside. It thus offers a detailed and current picture of the diaspora and its dynamics.

Romanian emigration was tightly controlled between 1950 and 1989. Exit visas made it difficult for Romanians to leave the country, and emigration was very low. The Romanian Revolution of 1989 led to the lifting of emigration restrictions and a subsequent increase in emigration in the early 1990s. Main destination countries were Germany, Hungary and Israel. Students and business people also sought new opportunities abroad. During the late 1990s, the United States and Canada became prominent destinations for Romanian emigrants as overall Romanian emigration decelerated.

There have been significant changes to Romanian emigration patterns since the early 2000s. Romanians had increasing access to mobility opportunities as Romania sought closer ties with the European Union. The accession of Romania to the European Union in 2007 represented a turning point. While some restrictions on free mobility remained in place as late as 2014, Romanians have increasingly migrated to other EU countries such as Italy, Spain, Germany and the United Kingdom. Emigration has become a major social and economic phenomenon for Romania, the population of which has fallen from 22.4 million in 2000 to 19.5 million in 2018, with outward migration responsible for more than 75% of this decline.

The Romanian diaspora is the fifth largest in the world and is growing

In 2015/16, around 3.6 million people born in Romania were living in OECD countries, of which 54% were women. Between 2000/01 and 2015/16, the number of Romanian emigrants rose by 2.3 million, with most of the increase occurring between 2005/06 and 2010/11. The number of Romanian emigrants also appears large in relation to the domestic population of Romania. In 2015/16, 17% of all people born in Romania were living in OECD countries. While Romania ranked fifth in total emigrant population, it had the highest emigration rate among the ten main origin countries of emigrants living in OECD countries.

A comparable number of migrants in OECD countries originated from Germany or the United Kingdom (both around 3.4 million emigrants). Excluding OECD origin countries (Mexico and Poland), the Romanian diaspora was the third largest

after China and India. Romania's emigrant population is much larger than that of neighbouring countries (Moldova, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and Ukraine). Romanian emigrants alone accounted for almost half of the 7.8 million emigrants from this region in 2015/16.

According to available published estimates, more than 97% of Romanian emigrants worldwide live in OECD countries. Fewer than 70 000 Romanian emigrants live in non-OECD countries and about two-thirds of this group resides in non-OECD countries of the European Union.

Around 90% of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries live in Europe, primarily in Italy

The vast majority of the Romanian emigrants (93%) living in OECD countries in 2015/16 were based in just ten countries and 90% lived in a European country. Italy, with almost one third of the Romanian emigrant population (over 1 million), was the leading host country, followed by Germany (680 000) and Spain (573 000). Most of the other emigrants lived in the United Kingdom, the United States, Hungary, France or Canada.

Between 2000/01 and 2015/16, the population of Romanian origin in the United Kingdom increased by a factor of 33, while the numbers of Romanian emigrants in Italy and Spain increased 13-fold and tenfold, respectively. The high growth in these countries largely explains the expansion of the Romanian diaspora as a whole over the period. Israel is the only OECD country where the number of Romanian emigrants decreased in the last 15 years, due to the ageing of the Romanian community and extremely limited inflows.

Growing flows of emigrants from Romania to OECD countries…

Annual legal migration flows from Romania to OECD countries peaked at 560 000 in 2007, but nonetheless quintupled from about 88 000 in 2000 to 415 000 in 2016. In 2016, Romania ranked second among all countries of origin in magnitude of immigration flows to OECD countries and Romanian emigrants represented 6% of all entries. The peak in Romanian emigration in 2007 coincided with Romania's accession to the European Union, opening access to free mobility for Romanian nationals. After rising steadily between 2000 and 2006, Romanian emigration more than doubled from 2006 to 2007. This surge proved temporary, as legal migration flows from Romania fell by 40% in 2008. Evidence points to the onset and persistence of the global economic crisis as the cause of the sharp decrease in Romanian emigration after 2007, although the impact was uneven across destination countries. Migration flows from Romania to OECD countries recently resumed a gradual upward trend, rising by nearly 60% between 2009 and 2016.

…with different evolutions over time across destination countries

Between 2000 and 2007, emigration flows from Romania to Spain were multiplied by 10, from 17 500 to almost 200 000 per year. Over the same period, flows to Italy increased 14 fold, rising from 19 000 in 2000 to 270 000 in 2007. Flows to Italy and Spain together in 2007 accounted for almost 85% of total flows of Romanian nationals to OECD countries, with flows to Italy alone making up almost half the total. Just as striking was the rapidity of the decline in the following years. Emigration to Spain decreased by 70% in 2008 to 61 000, or about the same level as in 2003. About 175 000 Romanian citizens emigrated to Italy in 2008, a 35% decrease from the 2007 peak. The economic crisis and its impact on the construction sector increased unemployment rates of Romanian emigrants in Spain and Italy and contributed to the sharp decline in flows to these two countries.

While increasing and subsequently declining flows to Italy and Spain drove the overall trend in Romanian emigration to OECD countries between 2006 and 2009, increasing flows to Germany and the United Kingdom between 2010 and 2016 offset further decreases in flows to the Southern European countries. The sharp rise in emigration flows to Germany has made it the main destination country in recent years. Emigration to Germany increased after 2007 by an average of about 20% per year to reach over 220 000 in 2016. The economic crisis may have played a role in diverting Romanian emigration flows from Southern Europe to Germany, where job prospects did not erode as much. Thanks to an upsurge in flows between 2012 and 2016, the United Kingdom has recently become the second destination for Romanian emigrants.

High emigration intentions in Romania, especially among young people

These recent flows from Romania to other European countries and beyond are driven by high emigration intentions. Between 2009 and 2018, more than a fourth (26%) of Romanians living in Romania expressed a desire to permanently settle abroad if they had the opportunity. This percentage is one of the highest recorded in the region, with only Moldova having a higher percentage. Emigration intentions are particularly high among young people: nearly half of 15-24 year olds in Romania said they intended to emigrate. These high percentages are likely related to poor job prospects for young people, especially those with high education. The employment situation in Romania is thus one of the main causes of the high level of emigration intentions observable in the population. Among those intending to emigrate, few respondents are satisfied with their current job (11%), the availability of good quality jobs (4%) or their income (4%).

About one-in-four Romanian emigrants say they intend to return home…

Once they live abroad, a significant share of Romanian emigrants say they may return home. Between 2009 and 2018, about 26% of Romanian emigrants said they intended to leave their current country of residence to return to Romania or move to another country. Return intentions, however, vary across countries and over time. In Spain, in a 2006 survey, fewer than 10% of Romanian respondents indicated that they planned to return to Romania within the next five years, while more than three-quarters said they intended to remain in Spain. In Italy, one-third of Romanian respondents to a 2011 survey said they wanted to return to their origin country.

… and a significant number of them do return to Romania each year

While the accession of Romania to the European Union in 2007 facilitated the emigration of Romanian nationals and their ability to live and work in other EU countries, it has also made it easier for them to circulate in Europe, return to Romania and leave again. Repeat migration and more complex mobility patterns across several EU countries are therefore likely to have become more common in recent years, making it more difficult to identify and enumerate return migrants with standard data sources.

The most recent available estimate of the number of return migrants in Romania comes from the 2014 EU Labour Force Survey. According to this survey, about 390 000 Romanians aged 15-64 had worked and lived abroad in the previous 10 years before returning to Romania. This figure may be, however, lower than the actual number of return migrants, because it does not include people who have lived abroad without being employed. One earlier estimate indicates that there was a total of 900 000 return migrants aged 25-64 in Romania in 2008.

Using data on outflows of Romanian emigrants from Italy, Germany and Spain, it can be estimated that, on average between 2015 and 2017, approximately 135 000 Romanian emigrants returned to Romania each year from these countries. On this basis, one can estimate that the total yearly number of Romanian emigrants returning from European OECD countries has ranged between at least 160 000 and 200 000 in recent years.

Migration for employment is dominant, while the number of internationally mobile students is slowly growing

Almost two thirds of Romanian emigrants in Europe said that they emigrated for employment reasons, including a high proportion in the United Kingdom (75%), Italy (67%) and Spain (63%). The second most important motive for emigration was family, accounting for 31% across the European Union.

While employment was the main reason for emigration, only one in seven Romanian emigrants across the EU declared having a job offer prior to departure. More than a quarter of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom migrated for employment and had already found a job in the United Kingdom before arrival, while smaller shares of Romanian migrants in Italy (13%) and Spain (11%) had a job prior to departure.

Across the European Union, less than 2% of Romanian emigrants reported studies as their main motive for migration, with somewhat higher shares in the United Kingdom (6%) and Belgium (5%). As a result, the number of internationally mobile Romanian students is relatively small, with just above 32 000 in 2016, up 3% from the level of 2013. Top countries of tertiary enrolment for Romanian students include Italy, the United Kingdom and France. Internationally mobile Romanian students in OECD countries accounted for less than 6% of total Romanian tertiary enrolments in 2016.

Close to a fourth of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are highly educated…

In 2015/16, 23% of Romanian emigrants aged 15 years old and over living in OECD countries had high educational attainment, 11 percentage points lower than the overall foreign-born population. Compared to the emigrant populations of neighbouring countries, Romanian emigrants were also relatively less educated, with only Serbia having a less educated emigrant population than Romania.

However, the distribution of educational attainment among Romanian emigrants varies across countries of residence. North American destinations had the highest shares of Romanian emigrants with tertiary education among the main destination countries: 54% in the United States and almost 80% in Canada. Romanian emigrants in France and in the United Kingdom also had, on average, a relatively high level of education: about 35% of them had reached tertiary education in 2015/16 in these two countries. Educational attainment was much lower in Italy, the main destination country, with only 7% of Romanian emigrants there reporting a high level of education.

Germany is the main OECD destination country for highly educated Romanian emigrants, with close to one in five highly educated Romanian emigrants. Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom host respectively 13%, 11% and 10% of the total number of highly educated Romanian emigrants. By contrast, although Italy is the main destination country for Romanian emigrants, only 9% of the total number of highly educated reside in this country.

… and low educated Romanian emigrants are relatively concentrated in Italy and Spain

In 2015/16, 30% of Romanian emigrants aged 15 years old and over living in OECD countries had a low level of education, but this proportion varied widely

across countries. About six-in-ten low educated Romanian emigrants lived in Italy or Spain. More than one third of low educated Romanian emigrants lived in Italy, followed by Spain, which hosted about 20% of low educated Romanian emigrants in 2015/16. By contrast, North American countries hosted only a very small share of the low educated Romanian population, with the United States and Canada home to respectively only 2% and 1% of this population.

The education level of Romanian emigrants has been stable over time

Contrary to the overall trend of rising educational attainment among foreign-born living in OECD countries, Romanian emigrants' education level has remained rather stable over the years, with 30% of Romanian emigrant population having a low level of education in both 2000/01 and 2015/16. Yet, the share of highly educated Romanian emigrants decreased slightly, from 26% in 2000/01 to 23% in 2015/16. During this period, the lifting of Schengen visa requirements for Romanians and the accession of Romania to the European Union may have facilitated the emigration of low-educated Romanians. In European countries, population aging and the shortage of labour in sectors that cannot be delocalised (such as construction, agriculture, health, care of the elderly, or tourism professions) made immigration an essential component of labour supply and offered new opportunities for low-educated Romanians.

Romanian emigrant women now have a higher level of education than men

A fourth of Romanian emigrant women living in OECD countries in 2015/16 were highly educated, whereas this share was slightly lower for men (22%). Over time, gender disparities among Romanian emigrants in terms of education level have reversed in OECD countries. Overall, there are more than 450 000 highly educated Romanian emigrant women in OECD countries whereas their male counterparts number less than 340 000. The differences in the distribution of education levels by gender among Romanian emigrants vary by destination country, and are particularly striking in the United Kingdom and France. In these two countries, Romanian emigrant women are 11 percentage points more likely than men to be highly educated.

Romanian emigrants have relatively high unemployment levels…

Almost 325 000 Romanian emigrants living in OECD countries were unemployed in 2015/16, equal to 13% of the total active Romanian population in these countries. Their unemployment rate was twice that of both the native-born and emigrants from countries neighbouring Romania. However, Romanians perform slightly better than natives in the United States and Canada, mostly due to selective migration policies aimed at attracting the highly skilled. Remarkably, the unemployment gap between Romanian emigrants and native-born in OECD countries was almost non-existent at the beginning of the 2000s, but increased

sharply during the 2008-09 economic crisis. In recent years, while migrants from Romania's neighbouring countries have converged to the same unemployment levels as natives, Romanian emigrants still have higher unemployment rates, in spite of a marginal recovery in 2015/16.

… but those who are highly educated do better

Among Romanian emigrants, employment rates increase with educational attainment: 78% of the highly educated working-age Romanian emigrants were employed in 2015/16, compared to only 56% of the low-educated. Yet, during the period 2000-2015, the employment rate of highly educated Romanian emigrants increased by only 10 percentage points; in contrast, low-educated employment rates rose by 22 percentage points in the same time span. This lower rate of employment growth for the highly qualified is the case only for Romanian emigrants, as the employment rates of low- and high-educated native-born rose by similar amounts over those years.

Romanian emigrants mostly work in low-skilled occupations and sectors, especially in South European countries

Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are on average about three times more likely than their native-born peers to work in elementary occupations, and about half as likely to work in highly skilled jobs, such as managerial and technical professions. Overall, a fourth of Romanians in OECD countries are in low-skilled employment. Yet, the situation varies across countries, with Southern Europe having a relatively greater share of Romanian emigrants in low-skilled jobs. Moreover, gender differences in the distribution of Romanians across occupations are particularly pronounced. In fact, women are almost twice as likely as men to work in elementary occupations.

Consistent with these findings on occupations, many Romanian emigrants work in sectors where the majority of jobs are low skilled. They are, for example, 16 times more likely than natives to work as domestic personnel in private households, and they are also over-represented in manufacturing, accommodation and catering. In addition, Romanian men and women in OECD countries seem to be specialised in different sectors of activity. For instance, 15% of men work in construction and 10% in the manufacture of vehicles and machinery, while most women work in health, residential care activities and retail trade.

Although thousands work in highly-skilled jobs, almost half of tertiary educated Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are over-qualified…

Among those with high levels of education, there is a large number of Romanian emigrants working highly-skilled jobs. For example, in the health sector, over 39 000 Romanian-born nurses and over 20 000 doctors practise in OECD countries in 2015/16.

However, across OECD countries, tertiary-educated Romanians almost have a one in two chance of working in lower skilled occupations compared to only 26% for similar migrants born in neighbouring countries and 31% for natives. What is even more striking is that Romanian emigrants' over-qualification increased in the past two decades, while that of emigrants from neighbouring countries declined. Almost nine out of ten Romanian emigrants self-perceive that their full potential is not exploited in the host country, and that they have the skills to cope with more demanding duties than those required to perform their current jobs.

… which may constrain their ability to send remittances to Romania

In 2017, Romania received EUR 3.8 billion in remittances sent by Romanian emigrants abroad, corresponding to about 2% of GDP. Compared to neighbouring countries, this a relatively low level: according to World Bank data, remittances represented about 20% of GDP in Moldova, 14% in Ukraine, 9% in Serbia, 3.5% in Bulgaria and 3% in Hungary. These remittances may, however, represent significant financial resources for the origin households of Romanian emigrants. It is likely that the relatively low intensity of remittances is partly due to the concentration of Romanian emigrants in low-skilled jobs in some OECD countries, which is accentuated by the high prevalence of overqualification. In countries, such as Canada and the United States, where Romanian emigrants tend to work in better-paid jobs, they send higher amounts of remittances than in countries, such as Italy and Spain, where they work in low-skilled jobs.

Poor reintegration of some return migrants into the labour market also hinders diaspora contributions to Romania's development

Beyond remittances, return migration is another key potential channel for the contribution of the diaspora to Romania's economic development. Although aggregate employment rates are higher for return migrants than for non-migrants, specific categories are at a disadvantage and do not seem to reintegrate very well. The first group is prime-age men, which may have difficulties competing for jobs with non-migrants who have accumulated more experience on the Romanian labour market. This raises the question of the transferability of experience and skills acquired abroad.

Another group of return migrants that has relatively poor reintegration outcomes is the highly educated. They have higher employment rates than low and medium educated returnees, but they do not fare as well as highly educated non-migrants. A potential explanation is the lack of a reliable network to help them find a job or the loss of country-specific knowledge during the stay abroad. It is also possible that those highly educated return migrants are negatively selected on unobserved characteristics.

Many low educated return migrants turn to self-employment, while the highly educated are often overqualified

The share of entrepreneurs or self-employed is significantly higher among return migrants than among non-migrants. This difference is almost entirely due to the self-employment gap between low educated return migrants and their non-migrant counterparts. Self-employment is most likely a fallback option for many recent Romanian return migrants who do not manage to become employees. In addition, the overqualification rate of highly educated return migrants is 44%, almost as high as the one estimated for Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, while it is only 19% for non-migrants.

The prevalence of self-employment among low educated return migrants and the high overqualification rate of highly educated returnees are indicators of poor economic reintegration of many Romanian emigrants upon their return to their country of origin. Added to the lower employment rates of prime-age men and tertiary educated returnees, compared to their non-migrant counterparts, this indicates that there is room for public policies or private initiatives to improve the economic and social prospects of return migrants in Romania.

A growing population of well-integrated descendants of Romanian emigrants will shape the future of the diaspora

Despite the challenges facing Romanian emigrants, both abroad and after their return home, the children born to these emigrants in OECD countries are well integrated and represent a significant potential resource for the development of Romania. Data limitations make it difficult to estimate with precision their number, but available data indicate a growing population of over 600 000 people. In 2014, there were about 125 000 native-born children of Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above in a selection of European countries for which data are available. Births to Romanians in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom since 1999 represent an additional 360 000 native-born children of Romanian emigrants. Furthermore, the United States was home to almost 140 000 native-born children of Romanian emigrants in 2016. Overall, this population is likely very young, with upwards of 60% aged less than 15 years old.

Evidence from selected OECD countries shows that the successful linguistic integration of Romanian emigrants enables the second generation to master both Romanian and the language of their country of birth. This represents a significant asset, which can enhance their future labour market integration in OECD countries, as well as their potential contribution to Romania's economic development if strong ties are maintained.

Evidence points to three key priorities for Romanian diaspora policies

The results of this review point to three key priorities for Romania's diaspora policies:

i. improving the proper use of the skills possessed by Romanian emigrants in OECD countries to mitigate the high level of overqualification, foster their social and economic integration, and increase their potential contribution to Romania's economy through remittances and skill transfer.

ii. helping return migrants to find or create better opportunities in Romania, either by improving the matching between their skills and the needs of Romanian firms, or by supporting them in the development of their businesses.

iii. fostering stronger ties with the children of Romanian emigrants born in OECD countries, so that they can contribute to both their country of residence and to Romania, and maintain the possibility of living in Romania, either temporarily or permanently.

Romanian diaspora policies focus heavily on the promotion of Romanian identity…

Some aspects of Romanian diaspora policy already address these proprieties. Romania has recognised the magnitude of Romanian emigration and has responded with policies designed to maintain connection with Romanian emigrants, protect their rights in destination countries, and encourage their eventual return to Romania. Government institutions responsible for designing and implementing diaspora policies have existed since the mid-1990s, and the recent promotion of the main diaspora institution from sub-ministerial level (the Department for Romanians Abroad in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to ministerial level (the Ministry for Romanians Abroad) is an indication of the importance of the diaspora portfolio.

Romania's diaspora policies have focused heavily on promoting Romanian culture and identity, especially through courses in Romanian language and culture for children born to Romanian emigrant parents. Indeed, preserving and developing Romanian identity within the diaspora is the primary objective of the Ministry's National Strategy for Romanians Abroad 2017-20. Other policy objectives in the current strategy include strengthening diaspora associations, supporting integration processes, and defending the rights of Romanian emigrants. Romania's diaspora policies have also included measures to encourage the return of its emigrants but evidence of their effectiveness is mixed.

… but could include a greater emphasis on integration of emigrants and return migrants

While Romania's current diaspora policy evidently addresses some of the priorities highlighted above, it could do more to promote the economic integration of Romanian emigrants living abroad and of those who have returned home.

The institutional framework of the European Union greatly facilitates the recognition of qualifications and work experience for those who migrate to EU countries. There is, however, an informational and aspirational gap hindering the integration of Romanian emigrants that Romanian diaspora policy could help reduce. Better informing employers in destination countries about the skills and qualifications of Romanian emigrants could help increase the set of occupations to which they have access and improve the matching between emigrants' skills and the needs of firms. In addition, better informing potential emigrants of the value of their skills and the needs of foreign employers would help increase the aspirations of emigrants and potentially improve their labour market outcomes.

Similarly, measures to encourage return migrants to assess their skills and help them find relevant employment or business opportunities would facilitate their reintegration and limit skill waste. Working in this direction with Romanian employers would also be useful to help them identify return migrants who could satisfy their labour needs.

A need to better understand the dynamics of Romanian migration within the European Union

This review, based on available comparable data from many countries, draws a mostly macroscopic picture of Romanian emigration. It highlights a number of key characteristics of Romanian emigrants and returnees, the challenges they face and their opportunities. Yet, due to the paucity of adequate data, it remains challenging to fully grasp the complex dynamics of Romanian emigration, especially in the context of free mobility within the European Union. Mobility patterns have become more complex and diverse, and the traditional tools used to apprehend return migration are insufficient to capture some of these movements. Better distinguishing between temporary and permanent migration, or studying secondary migration, requires data sources that follow individuals across countries instead of simply providing isolated snapshots of the Romanian diaspora at different times or in different countries.

It is likely that more and more Romanian nationals will engage in complex migration trajectories, both within and outside the European Union. Responding to some of the current and future challenges of the Romanian diaspora therefore requires investing in innovative tools to better measure the dynamics of flows.

Chapter 1. Numbers and locations of Romanian emigrants

This chapter establishes the total numbers of Romanian-born emigrants residing in OECD countries. The main destination countries of Romanian emigrants are identified, and the chapter describes their composition by age and gender. Changes in numbers and locations between 2000/01 and 2015/16 are discussed. Comparisons are made notably between Romanian-born individuals and Romanian citizens living abroad as well as between Romanian emigrants and other emigrants from major origin countries or from neighbouring comparison countries. The chapter also presents evidence on emigrants' reasons for migration and on international Romanian students.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

Note by Turkey:
The information in this document with reference to "Cyprus" relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the "Cyprus issue".

Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union:
The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

After several waves of emigration, the population of Romanian emigrants residing in OECD countries has become very heterogeneous and geographically dispersed. Most surveys can therefore only cover a part of this diaspora and their information is limited to only some destination countries, to a low number of observations and to certain characteristics. The data used in this chapter are based on censuses in OECD countries and are thus representative of all Romanian emigrants in these countries. This allows for analyses that are both detailed and comparable across destination countries. The results of these analyses can therefore serve as a reliable empirical basis for the development of initiatives and policies targeting the Romanian diaspora.

Historical context of Romanian emigration to the OECD

Emigration from Romania has a long history. Communities of ethnic Romanians were present outside of Romania prior to the middle of the 20th century, but this review will concentrate mostly on the country's more recent migration experience since the beginning of the 21st century. Nonetheless, it is instructive to establish the historical context for current patterns of Romanian emigration, many of which have ties to previous periods of mobility.

Romanian emigration was tightly controlled between 1950 and 1989 (Mereuta, 2013[1]). Exit visas made it difficult for Romanians to leave the country, and very low emigration (with some exceptions, as was the case of Romanian Jews emigrating to Israel, see Box 1.3) was the norm. The Romanian Revolution of 1989 led to the lifting of emigration restrictions and a subsequent increase in emigration in the early 1990s. Main destination countries were Germany, Hungary and Israel. Students and business people also sought new opportunities abroad (Mereuta, 2013[1]). During the late 1990s, the United States and Canada became prominent destinations for Romanian emigrants (Sandu, 2005[2]) as overall Romanian emigration decelerated (Mereuta, 2013[1]).

The dawning of the 21st century brought with it significant changes to Romanian emigration patterns. Romanians had increasing access to mobility opportunities as Romania sought closer ties with the European Union. The accession of Romania to the European Union in 2007 represented a turning point in Romanian emigration. While some restrictions on free mobility remained in place as late as 2014, Romanians increasingly have increasingly migrated to other European Union countries such as Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom. Emigration has become a major social and economic phenomenon for Romania, the population of which has fallen from 22.4 million in 2000 to 19.5 million in 2018, with outward migration responsible for more than 75% of this decline (Matei, 2018[3]).

The fifth-largest emigrant population in OECD countries in 2015/16

Several estimates for the total number of Romanians residing abroad have been advanced in recent years. The figure necessarily depends on who is counted as a Romanian abroad (see Box 1.1 for a discussion of competing definitions). In this

review, the terms "Romanian emigrants" and "Romanian diaspora" are reserved for persons who were born in Romania but reside abroad. Censuses carried out across OECD countries establish that close to 3.4 million Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above resided in OECD countries in 2015/16 (see Box 1.2 for a description of this and other data sources used in the review). When 180 000 Romanian-born children aged below 15 are also counted, the total of Romanian emigrants of all ages reaches 3.6 million. However, these children cannot (yet) play a role in the economic development of Romania, and the available data sources do not systematically cover children of this age. Therefore, adult Romanian emigrants (aged 15 and above) will be the reference group in this review's analyses and in comparisons with other emigrant population.

Romanian emigrants were the fifth largest group of emigrants residing in OECD countries, as shown in Figure 1.1. In 2015/16, they accounted for 3% of all emigrants in the OECD area (see Annex Table 1.A.2). A comparable number of emigrants originated from Germany or the United Kingdom (both around 3.4 million emigrants). If one excludes OECD origin countries (Mexico and Poland), the Romanian diaspora was the third largest behind those from China and India.

According to available published estimates, more than 97% of Romanian emigrants worldwide live in OECD countries. The population of Romanian emigrants living in non-OECD countries numbers fewer than 60 000 and about 57% of this group resides in non-OECD EU-member countries such as Cyprus (41% of the non-OECD total) and Bulgaria (13%). Serbia, Ukraine and the Russian Federation each host an additional 7% of the non-OECD total, while Moldova is home to about 3%. Non-European non-OECD countries are also home to some Romanian emigrants. Argentina and South Africa each account for about 4% of the non-OECD total of Romanian emigrants, while about 3% reside in Brazil.

Box 1.1. Competing definitions for Romanians abroad

There is no single definition that captures all those who might reasonably be regarded as Romanians abroad. The definition most frequently used in the context of emigration identifies "Romanians abroad" as persons who were born in Romania but reside abroad. The main alternative is to identify "Romanians abroad" as Romanian citizens who reside abroad.

Both definitions have advantages and disadvantages. The group of Romanian-born persons does not include individuals who were born elsewhere but hold Romanian citizenship, such as children of Romanian citizens abroad or persons who acquired Romanian citizenship but do not live in Romania. This definition does include persons who were born in Romania to foreign parents and who reside abroad. The definition based on Romanian citizenship does not include persons who were born in Romania but either never obtained Romanian citizenship or later gave it up. In the case of Romania, a country with a long history of emigration, the definition based on citizenship could possibly be more

relevant than that based on country of birth because the former would allow coverage of the descendants of emigrants.

Due to reasons of data availability, this review employs the definition based on country of birth, but also presents a number of results for Romanian citizens. To clarify in every case which definition is used, the review refers to "Romanian emigrants", "Romanian-born persons" or "the Romanian diaspora" whenever the definition based on country of birth is used. Those who hold Romanian citizenship are always referred to as "Romanian citizens". The two groups strongly overlap: many Romanian citizens abroad were also born in Romania, and vice versa.

With this terminology, the group of Romanian emigrants represents the first generation of emigrants – those who were themselves born in Romania. The "second generation" comprises the children of the first generation: persons who were themselves born abroad but have at least one parent born in Romania. Employing this definition, the review offers some analyses and insights on the children of Romanian emigrants (see e.g. the end of this chapter).

The available data sources (see Box 1.2) provide much less information on Romanian citizens than on Romanian emigrants. In particular, Romanian citizens who were not born in Romania cannot be identified in all OECD countries. As a consequence, the total number of Romanian citizens who reside in OECD countries cannot be established. For countries in the European Union, it is possible to identify persons who hold no other citizenship than that of Romania but were not born in Romania. As this group is found to be small (see below), the total number of Romanian emigrants and the total number of Romanian citizens abroad might be very similar.

The available data do allow determining the composition by citizenship for the group of Romanian emigrants (see below). Only one citizenship is recorded for each person. When a person is a citizen of the OECD country of residence, this citizenship is often recorded. It cannot be verified how many of these persons are also citizens of Romania. However, one can assume that nearly all Romanian emigrants are also Romanian citizens because Romanian citizenship is normally acquired at birth and can be lost or given up only in exceptional circumstances. This implies that Romanian emigrants recorded as citizens of OECD countries normally hold dual nationality.

A caveat arises from using the place of residence in these definitions: persons who were born in Romania, live there, but work abroad are not counted as Romanian emigrants; likewise for Romanian citizens. This concerns in particular residents of Romania who engage in temporary or seasonal work in OECD countries. While temporary and seasonal workers are rarely thought of as emigrants, their number can be large.

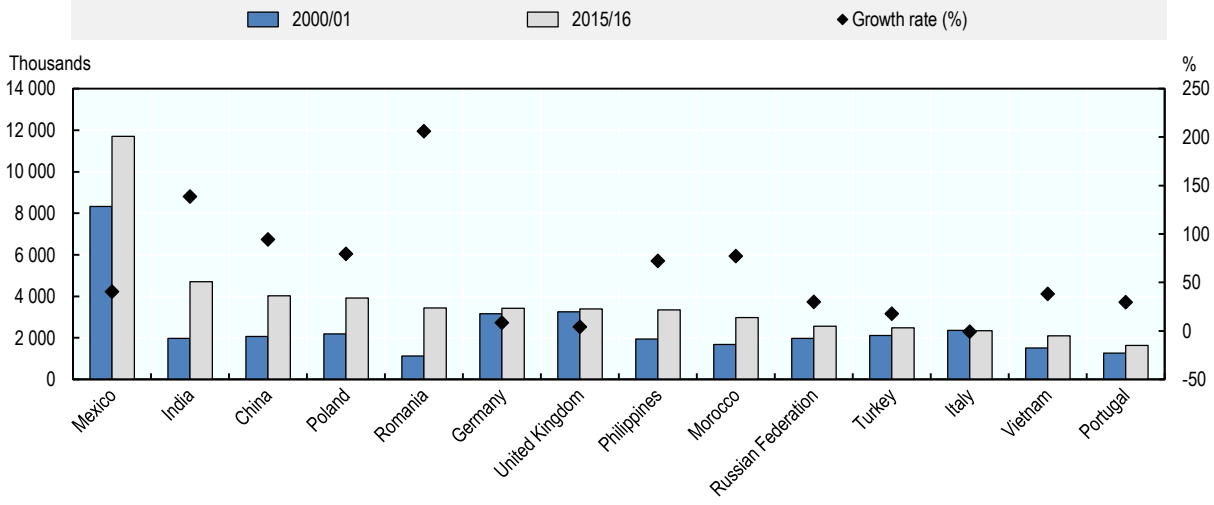
The definitions of other terms and variables used in this review are listed in Annex Table 1.A.1.

From a level of close to 1.1 million in 2000/01, the number of Romanian emigrants in the OECD grew by 2.3 million persons over the years to 2015/16, which translates into a an increase of over 200% (see Figure 1.1). During this period, the population of Romanian emigrants overtook the number of emigrants from a number of countries, including Germany, Italy and Turkey. The relative growth of the Romanian emigrant population was high, as no emigrant population in the top ten had a higher percentage increase. The next highest percentage increase was for emigrants from India (139%). The relative growth of the Romanian emigrant population was also well above the percentage increase for all origin countries shown in Figure 1.1 (49%).

Most of the growth (1.1 million persons) in the Romanian emigrant population occurred between 2005/06 and 2010/11: an increase of 65% over this period raised the total number of Romanian emigrants to 2.7 million in 2010/11 from a population of 1.6 million in 2005/06. Between 2000/01 and 2005/06, the Romanian emigrant population grew by only 500 000 persons, or 45% of the level in 2000/01. Growth in the second half of the decade thus accounted for 70% of the total growth over the ten-year period and 45% of the total growth between 2000/01 and 2015/16. Growth in the Romanian diaspora slowed to 28% between 2010/11 and 2015/16, but still increased by increased by approximately 750 000 emigrants. Growth between 2005/06 and 2010/11 accounted for 46% of the total growth between 2000/01 and 2015/16.

Figure 1.1. Main countries of origin on migrants living in the OECD area, 2000/01 and 2015/16

Total emigrant population aged 15 and above (left scale), growth 2000/01-2015/16 in percentages (right scale)



Note: The growth rate is the difference between the levels in 2000/01 and 2015/16, as a percentage of the level in 2000/01.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Box 1.2. Cross-country data sources on Romanian emigrants

Since emigrants are scattered across many countries, comparative analyses on emigrants require cross-country data sets. To ensure that valid comparisons can be drawn between emigrants across countries, the definitions used and the standards of data collection must not differ too much from one country to another. Further, sample sizes must be large enough so that emigrants from one particular country are included in the sample although they typically represent a very small share of the destination country's population.

The often-unique data sources used for the analyses in this review meet these requirements. Where sample sizes are too small, data will be aggregated across countries to allow at least some general inference. Each data source can provide information on a different aspect of emigration from Romania, as described below for each cross-country data source. The cross-country analyses are complemented by analyses using detailed data sets on only one particular country. At the end of every chapter in this review, links to further information are given for the data sources that have been mentioned in the chapter.

OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC), 2000/01, 2005/06 and 2010/11

The Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) covers the OECD destination countries for which data were collected in 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16. The principal sources of DIOC data are national administrative registers and population censuses. In the censuses carried out in 2000/01, virtually all OECD countries collected information on immigrants' country of origin, so that it became possible for the first time to gain a comprehensive overview of migrant stocks in OECD countries (for more background information on DIOC, see OECD (2008[4]) and Arslan et al. (2015[5])). When censuses were either unavailable or incomplete, data from labour force surveys were used as a substitute.

DIOC contains information on the population aged 15 and above from over 200 origin countries who reside in OECD destination countries. The core variables are country of residence, country of birth, sex and educational attainment. Further variables – age, duration of stay, labour force status and occupation – can be cross-tabulated with the core variables, but not always with each other and not for the data from 2005/06. Data on employment and occupation are by and large available for the population aged 15 and above. In some sections of the review, the focus is on persons of working age, that is those aged between 15 and 64.

Two variables contain information on citizenship. One indicates whether a

person is citizen of the country of residence or a foreigner; this variable is available for most OECD countries. A second variable provides more detailed information, but is available for only ten OECD countries, including France, Spain, Italy and Belgium. Dual citizenship is not recorded.

OECD International Migration Database, 2000-16

Largely based on the individual contributions of national correspondents (the OECD Expert Group on Migration), this database covers legal migration flows on a yearly basis. The network of correspondents covers most OECD member countries as well as the Russian Federation, the Baltic States, Bulgaria and Romania. The data have not necessarily been harmonised at the international level and should therefore be interpreted with caution. For example, flows to the United States include only permanent migrants, while others might also include temporary migrants such as seasonal workers, students, or refugees. In addition, the criteria for registering the population and conditions for granting residence permits vary across countries, so that measurements may differ greatly. Finally, irregular migrants are only partially covered.

OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC)

PIAAC is a survey of adults of working age (16 to 65 years) that aims to assess their competencies in an internationally comparable framework. Tests focus on competencies required to participate effectively in society and to function in the workplace. Competencies are tested in literacy, numeracy, and the ability to solve problems in a technology-rich environment. This is complemented by survey questions on how the adults use their skills at home or at work. In 2011/12, the survey was simultaneously implemented in 24 countries, almost all of which are OECD members. In Belgium, only Flanders is covered, and only England and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom. Seven research institutes have been entrusted with the implementation, and in most of the participating countries, samples included 5 000 individuals.

European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS)

To produce the annual European Labour Force Survey, Eurostat merges household survey data from the 28 member countries of the European Union, three EFTA countries (Norway, Switzerland and Iceland), as well as Turkey and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The stock data in the European Labour Force Survey notably cover the labour force status, age, sex, occupation and educational attainment of individuals aged 15 and above. For migrants, the elapsed duration of stay is recorded as years of residence in the current country of residence. Citizenship

information from this data source also allows identifying Romanian citizens who were not born in Romania. Dual citizenship is not recorded and citizenship of an EU country is recorded whenever possible.

In two years (2008 and 2014), the European Labour Force Survey included an ad-hoc module (AHM) that oversampled migrants and introduced a small number of additional questions specifically to explore the situation of migrants and their families. From these data, information on the entry category of migrants is available (labour migrant, family migrant, international student, humanitarian migrant) and can be cross-tabulated with several variables, including education, employment status and duration of stay. However, some European countries (Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands) are not covered in the ad-hoc module in 2014 and the data for Germany were not available at the time when this review was written.

Based on information about the mother's and father's country of birth, children of Romanian emigrants can be identified in the 2014 ad-hoc module. The total for the European Union is only an approximation of the true total of the descendants of Romanian emigrants: members of this population who were born outside the EU country where they reside cannot be distinguished from persons born in Romania to Romanian parents.

Gallup World Poll Data

The Gallup World Poll covers a large range of behavioural and economic topics. It is conducted in approximately 140 countries based on a common questionnaire, translated into the predominant language of each country. Each year since 2006, more than 100 questions have been asked of a representative sample of around 1 000 persons aged 15 and above. In some countries, Gallup collects oversamples in cities or regions of special interest. The surveys collected a total of almost 9 000 observations from Romania (about 1 000 per year from 2005 to 2015). There are in total more than 600 observations on Romanian emigrants who were surveyed in their destination countries between 2005 and 2015 (between 40 and 120 observations in each year); 530 of these observations were collected in OECD countries. Some countries account for many observations (Hungary, Israel, Italy and Spain); hardly any observations were collected in the United States or the United Kingdom.

International Students (UOE data collection)

The UNESCO-OECD-Eurostat (UOE) data collection on education statistics is compiled from national administrative sources, as reported by ministries of education or national statistical offices. To capture student mobility, a distinction is made between resident foreign students – that is to say, foreign students who are resident in the country because of prior migration by themselves or their parents – and non-resident foreign students,

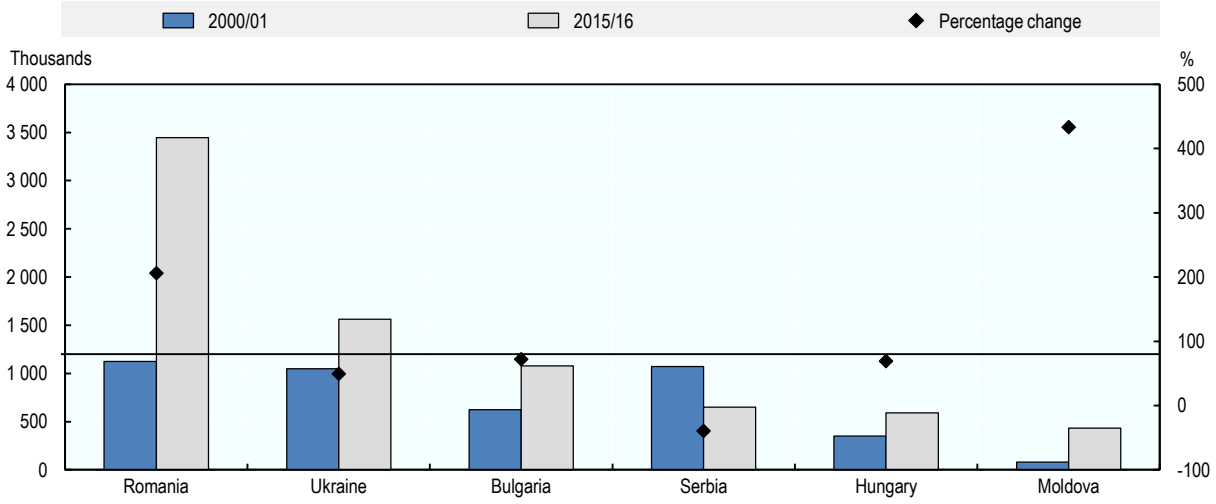
who came to the country expressly to pursue their education. International students are defined as students with permanent residence outside the reporting country, and data on non-citizen students are used only where information on non-resident foreign students is unavailable. Data on international students are only available from 2013 onwards.

Romania is the main origin country among its neighbours

Among its neighbouring countries (Moldova, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and Ukraine), Romania was the main origin country for emigrants in OECD countries in 2015/16 (see Figure 1.2). Romanian emigrants alone accounted for almost half (44%) of the 7.8 million emigrants from these countries in 2015/16. Romania also accounted for the largest group of emigrants in 2000/01, but they only made up 26% of the total. Between 2000/01 and 2015/16, the Romanian emigrant population grew at a rate (206%) far above the average growth rate for this comparison group (80%). The emigrant populations of all countries in this group have grown, in almost all cases at lower growth rates than observed for Romanian emigrants. The only comparison country with a higher rate of growth was Moldova (over 400%), which had a much lower emigrant population in 2000/01 (fewer than 100 000 emigrants compared to over 1 million for Romania).

Figure 1.2. Numbers of migrants living in the OECD area from Romania and neighbouring countries, 2000/01 and 2015/16

Total emigrant population aged 15 and above (left scale), growth 2000/01-2015/16 in percentages (right scale)

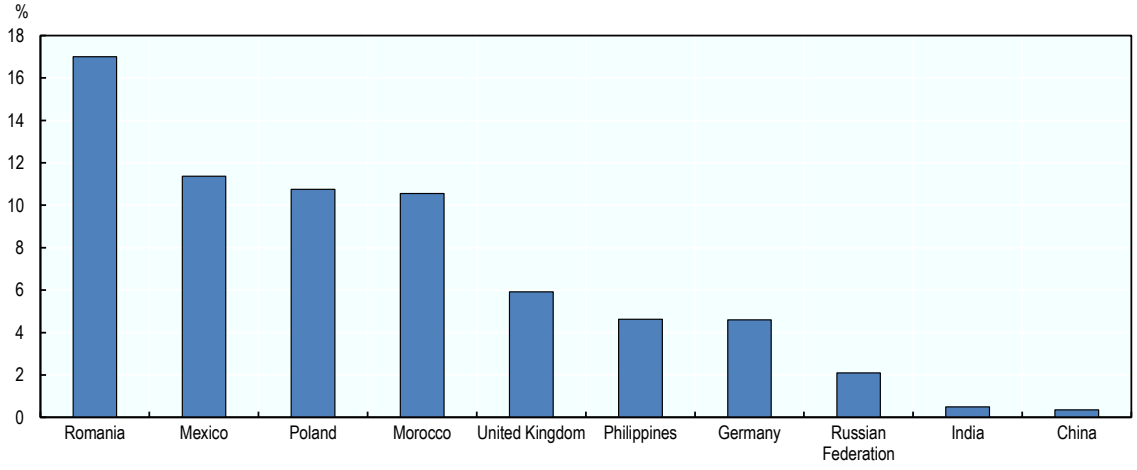


Note: The horizontal line represents the average weighted growth rate for the countries depicted in the figure. Serbia includes Montenegro in 2000/01 but not in 2015/16 due to Montenegro's independence in 2006.

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

The number of Romanian emigrants also appears large in relation to the domestic population of Romania. In 2015/16, Romanian emigrants accounted for 17% of the total Romanian population (see Figure 1.3). While Romania ranked fifth in total emigrant population, it occupied the first place in the ranking of emigration rates for the top ten origin countries of emigrants living in OECD countries. The emigration rate for Romania was higher than the rate for countries with larger numbers of emigrants, such as Mexico, China and India. Romania's emigration rate was not only greater than that of Poland, a country with a slightly larger population of emigrants, but was also greater than the emigration rates of all of its neighbours. Moldova (11%) and Bulgaria (15%) were the only neighbouring countries with emigration rates greater than 10%.

Figure 1.3. Emigration rates for main origin countries of emigrants in the OECD area, 2015/16



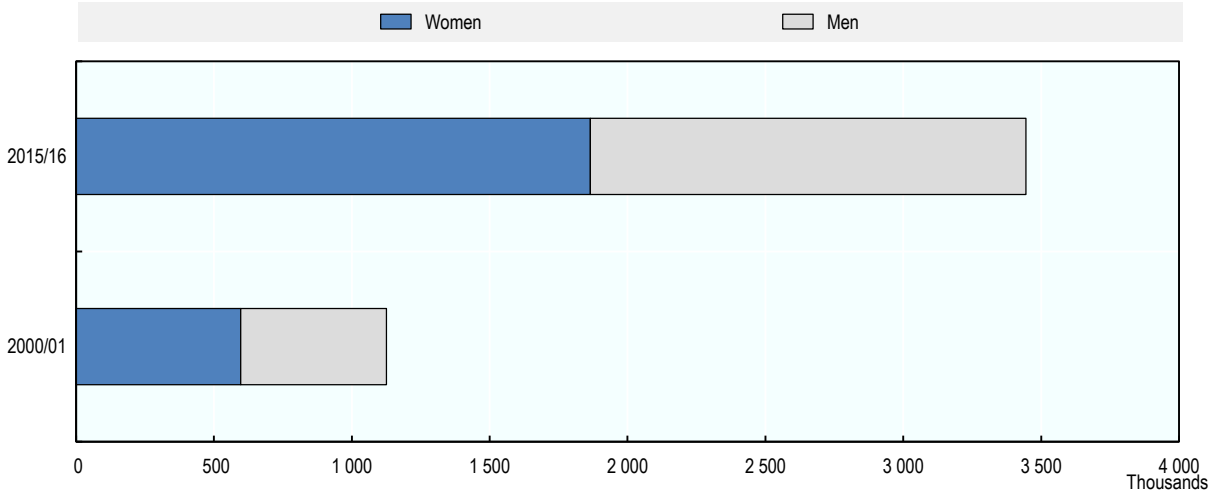
Note: A country's emigration rate is defined as the number of persons born in the country and residing abroad, divided by the total number of persons born in the country, wherever they reside.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm and World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.

Demographic composition of the Romanian diaspora

More than half of Romanian emigrants are women

Among Romanian emigrants in the OECD area in 2015/16, women (1.89 million) outnumbered men (1.57 million), as shown in Figure 1.4. In 2000/01, women (597 000) already outnumbered men (529 000), but the share of women increased slightly from 53% in 2000/01 to 54% in 2015/16. This implies that women contributed more strongly to the increase in the overall number of Romanian emigrants: the number of women grew by 213% between 2000/01 and 2015/16, while the number of men grew by 197%.

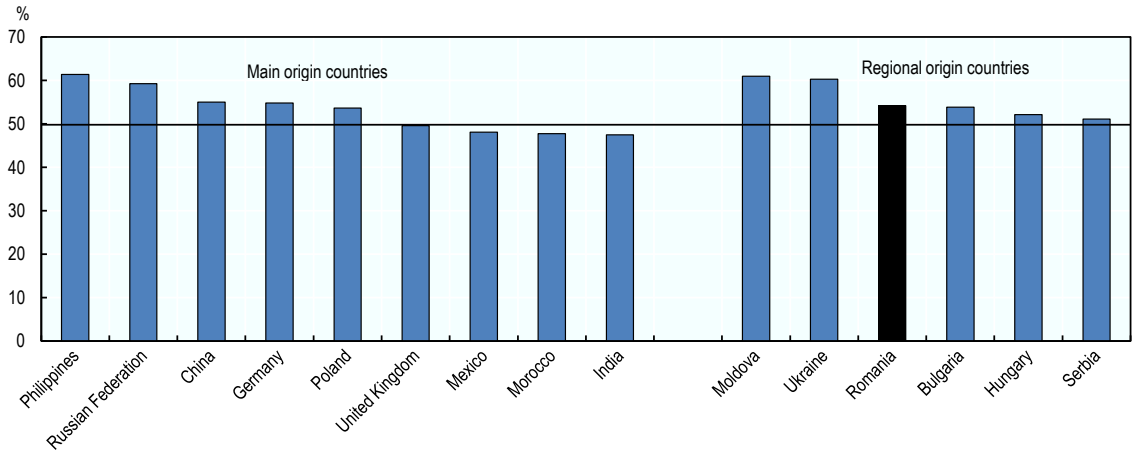
Figure 1.4. Gender composition of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2015/16



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

While women have consistently made up the majority of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries, the share of women among Romanian emigrants was lower than that of a number of main origin countries and neighbouring countries (see Figure 1.5). Among the main origin countries for emigrants in the OECD, the Philippines, the Russian Federation, Germany and China had higher shares of women. Figure 1.5 also shows that shares of women among the emigrant populations of some of Romania's neighbouring countries were higher: over 60% of emigrants from Ukraine and Moldova were women, while the share of women among Bulgarian emigrants was comparable to the share for Romanian emigrants. No neighbouring country had an emigrant population with a majority of men in 2015/16, with all having a share of women over 51% (see Annex Table 1.A.3).

Figure 1.5. Share of women among emigrants from main and regional origin countries, 2015/16



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

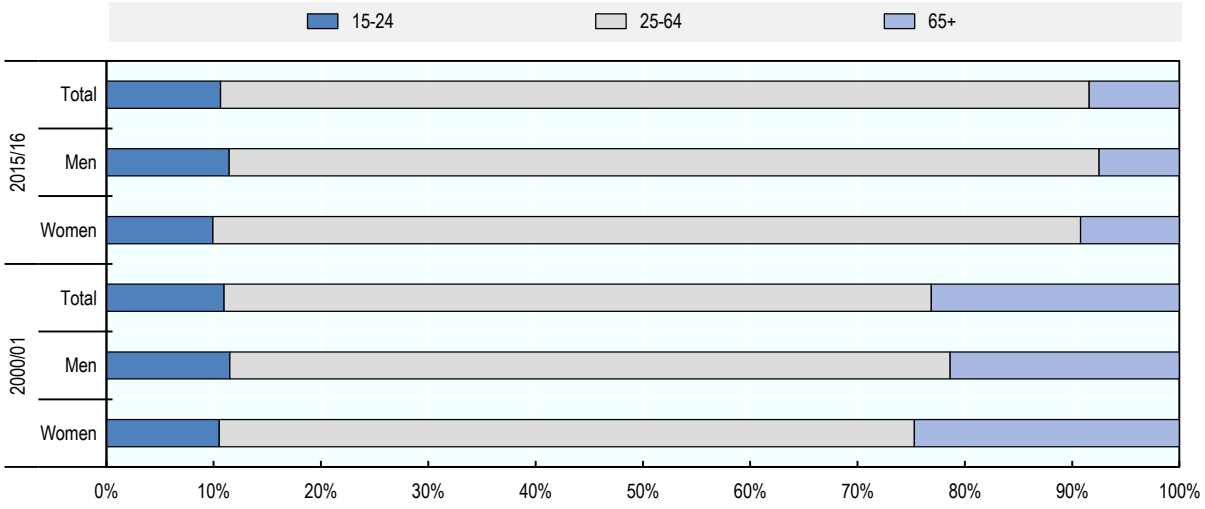
Nine out of ten Romanian emigrants are of working age, up from only three out of four in 2000

Romanian emigrants who are of working age (i.e. between 15 and 64 years old) may be the most likely to play an economic role in the development of Romania, because they are available for jobs in Romania if they return or because they have acquired skills and networks through their current economic activities. In 2015/16, 92% of adult Romanian emigrants in the OECD area were of working age, as shown in Figure 1.6. Those aged 15-24 accounted for 11%, while those aged 25-64 made up 81%. Because many in the former age group might still be in education, prime working age includes those between 25 and 64 years old. Within the group of prime working age Romanian emigrants, younger age groups predominated: age groups 25-34 and 35-44 each represented 27% of Romanian emigrants, respectively, while age groups 45-54 and 55-64 represented 18 and 9%, respectively.

The predominance of younger age groups underscores a process of rejuvenation among Romanian emigrants between 2000/01 and 2015/16. The share of working-age Romanian emigrants rose by 15 percentage points, from 77% in 2000/01. The share of Romanian emigrants aged 65 and above shrank accordingly, from almost a quarter in 2000/01 to close to 8% in 2015/16. This rejuvenation process has been more pronounced for women, among whom the share in working ages increased more (+16 percentage points) than among men (+14 percentage points). In comparison to emigrants from the other main origin countries or from neighbouring origin countries, the age distribution of Romanian emigrants is one of the youngest (see Annex Table 1.A.2 and Annex Table 1.A.3). Among the main emigrant populations in OECD countries, only that of China had a higher proportion aged 15-24 (16%), and only that of Turkey had a larger share

aged 25-64 (82%). Moldova and Bulgaria had similar shares aged 25-64, but slightly larger proportions in the 15-24 age group.

Figure 1.6. Age and sex distribution of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2015/16



Note: The base quantity does not include Romanian emigrants aged below 15.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

A fifth of Romanian emigrants arrived recently

Emigrants who arrived in their respective destination country within the past five years can be considered recent emigrants. They reflect more recent migration waves and usually are more mobile than settled migrants, often staying only for a few years before returning or moving on. Among Romanian emigrants, DIOC data show that 20% were recent emigrants in 2015/16, up slightly from 19% in 2000/01. Shares of recent emigrants are lower for Ukraine, Serbia and Moldova but higher for Hungary and Bulgaria (see Annex Table 1.A.3). About 51% of recent Romanian migrants were women in both 2000/01 and 2015/16.

Distribution across destination countries

Ten countries host over 93% of Romanian emigrants in the OECD

The overwhelming majority of all Romanian emigrants (93%) observed in the OECD area in 2015/16 resided in only ten countries (see Table 1.1). Italy alone hosted almost a third of all Romanian emigrants in the OECD area: at over 1 million, the number of Romanian emigrants in Italy was considerably higher than in any other country. Large numbers of Romanian emigrants also resided in Germany (680 000) and Spain (573 000). These three countries together accounted for two thirds of Romanian emigrants in the OECD area in 2015/16. Another five countries, each of which hosted more than 100 000 Romanian

emigrants, accounted for an additional 23% of the Romanian diaspora: the United Kingdom (225 000), the United States (160 000), Hungary (154 000), Canada (130 000) and France (105 000). Israel, Austria and Belgium each hosted over 50 000 Romanian emigrants in 2015/16, while Ireland, Sweden, Greece and Denmark each recorded between 20 000 and 30 000 Romanian emigrants. As far as the available data allow, Annex Table 1.A.4 lists the numbers of Romanian emigrants across OECD countries, indicating further notable destination countries each with over 10 000 Romanian emigrants: Switzerland, Portugal, Australia, the Netherlands and Norway.

Table 1.1. Main destination countries for Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above, 2015/16 and 2000/01

	2015/16			2000/01		
	Total (thousands)	% of all Romanian emigrants	% recent (=5 years)	Total (thousands)	% of all Romanian emigrants	% recent (=5 years)
Italy	1 032 300	30.0	8.5	74 100	6.6	52.6
Germany	680 000	19.7	30.1	387 500	34.4	0.7
Spain	572 700	16.6	10.1	50 700	4.5	75.6
United Kingdom	224 600	6.5	58.1	6 700	0.6	-
United States	158 200	4.6	8.9	123 900	11.0	20.9
Hungary	153 900	4.5	18.4	136 300	12.1	8.4
France	104 800	3.0	27.5	22 000	2.0	19.5
Austria	91 900	2.7	34.9	36 200	3.2	3.8
Canada	88 300	2.6	7.3	54 800	4.9	29.9
Israel	78 900	2.3	0.5	120 200	10.7	-
Total OECD	3 444 500		19.9	1 122 200		18.6

Note: Information on recent emigrants in 2000/01 is not available for Israel and the United Kingdom.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Close to 90% of all Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are in Europe

In 2000/01, European OECD countries already hosted the vast majority of Romanian emigrants (70%), according to DIOC data. While the total number of Romanian emigrants in non-European OECD countries increased by 16 000 (or about 5%) between 2000/01 and 2015/16, the number grew by almost 2.3 million – an almost three-fold increase – in European OECD countries. As a result, the share of Romanian emigrants residing in Europe increased further and approached 90% (corresponding to 3.1 million) in 2015/16. This shift has, not altered, however, the weight of the ten main destination countries: collectively, they accounted for 90% of all Romanian emigrants in the OECD in 2000/01, as much as in 2015/16.

While the Romanian emigrant populations in the United States and Canada experienced increases, the large absolute growth in the Romanian emigrant

populations in Italy, Spain, Germany and the United Kingdom allowed European OECD countries to maintain their predominance (see Figure 1.7). Another factor in the predominance of European destinations for the Romanian emigrant population was the decline of almost 35% (-41 000) that occurred in Israel, reflecting the fact that emigration to Israel mainly consisted of one large wave decades ago (see Box 1.3). Excluding Israel, the Romanian emigrant population of non-European OECD countries increased by 27%, or more than 57 000.

The number of Romanian emigrants in Italy increased the most in the period of Romania's accession to the European Union

Figure 1.7 depicts how the numbers of Romanian emigrants changed in the main destination countries between 2000/01 and 2015/16. Levels in most of these countries grew considerably, but they rose most sharply in the United Kingdom, where the number of Romanian emigrants increased more than 33-fold over this period. This extremely high growth rate is partly the product of the small population of Romanian migrants in the United Kingdom in 2000/01 (less than 7 000), but the absolute growth of 218 000 was the fourth highest for all OECD destinations. Numbers of Romanian emigrants in Italy and Spain also grew sharply between 2000/01 and 2015/16: the Romanian diaspora increased 13-fold in Italy and tenfold in Spain. These large relative increases corresponded to the largest absolute increases for all OECD countries over this period, as the numbers of Romanian emigrants in Italy and Spain increased by 958 000 and 522 000, respectively. Germany recorded the next largest increase in Romanian emigrants, of 293 000 or 75% of its 2000/01 level.

Box 1.3. Emigration from Romania to Israel

At the end of World War II, approximately 350 000 Jews lived in Romania, the second-largest Jewish population in Europe at that time. Many Romanian Jews emigrated to Israel in the second half of the 20th century. Israel promoted the immigration of Jews and their families through the "Law of Return", which entitled them to receive Israeli citizenship upon arrival (OECD, 2011[6]). Despite general restrictions on emigration, the Romanian government allowed Romanian Jews to leave for Israel, and between 1948 and 1951 about 120 000 had emigrated, with almost 90 000 leaving between 1950 and 1951 alone (Levy, 1998[7]). While the Romanian government changed its policy on Jewish emigration in 1952, further policy evolutions led to the departure for Israel of an additional 150 000 Romanian Jews between 1952 and 1989 (Oltean, 2011[8]) in return for economic aid from Israel (Ioanid, 2005[9]). While Romania was initially hesitant to allow the emigration of high-skilled Jews, the educational level of Romanian Jewish immigrants in Israel increased dramatically after the Romanian government lifted these restrictions and surpassed that of native Israelis by the 1980s (Cohen, 2009[10]).

A number of other countries recorded significant increases. The numbers of Romanian emigrants almost quintupled (+83 000) in France and more than doubled (+56 000) in Austria. At lower absolute levels, the Romanian diaspora of Canada increased by 62% (+34 000) while that of the United States increased by a third (+34 000).

Given the new mobility opportunities that Romania's 2007 accession to the European Union created, the increases in the numbers of Romanian emigrants in many EU countries are not surprising. DIOC data from 2005/06 and 2010/11 help clarify the timing of the dynamics of the Romanian diaspora (Figure 1.8). Over 50% of the increase in Romanian emigrants in Italy (+483 000) took place during the period of Romania's EU accession (between 2005/06 and 2010/11). This growth in the number of Romanian emigrants in Italy accounted for 46% of the increase across all OECD countries during this period. The number of Romanian emigrants in Spain rose during this period by 265 000 or 51% compared to 2000/01, accounting for a quarter of the period's total increase across all OECD countries. Hungary also saw an increase of over 170 000 between 2005/05 and 2010/11 in the number of Romanian emigrants living there.

While the 2007 accession clearly played a role in the growth of the Romanian diaspora living in Italy, Spain and Hungary, DIOC data also show significant increases in Romanian emigrants in EU countries in other periods. Between 2000/01 and 2005/06, the number of Romanian emigrants living in Spain rose by almost 300 000, a six-fold increase compared to the level of 2000/01. This increase was the largest in Spain in the entire 15-year period between 2000/01 and 2015/16 and accounted for 57% of the total growth of Romanian emigrants in Spain.

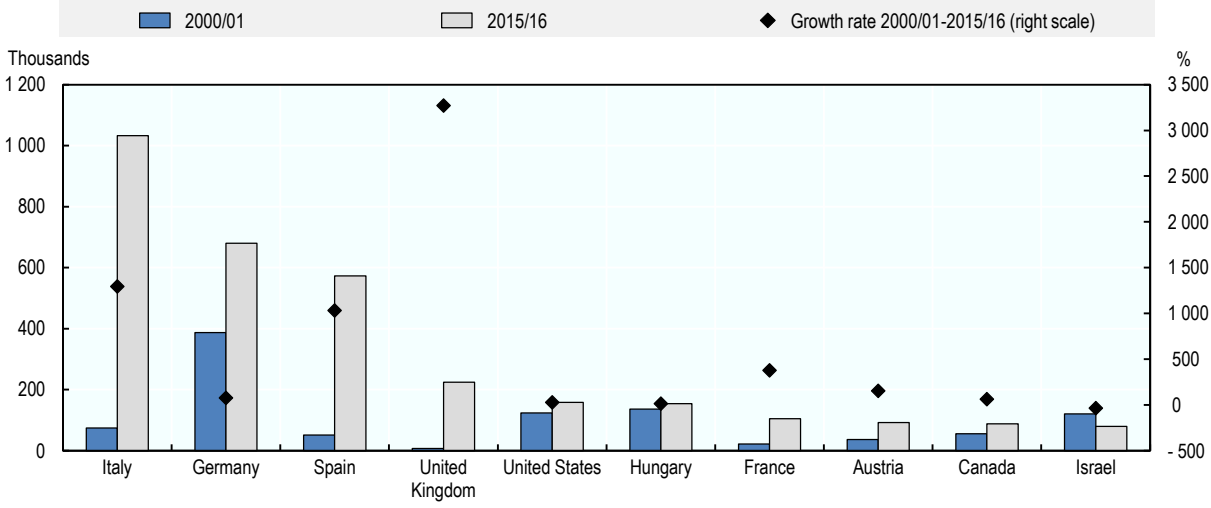
Germany, the United Kingdom and France saw the most growth in their Romanian diasporas in the most recent period. The largest increase in the number of Romanian emigrants living in Germany (+220 000) occurred between 2010/11 and 2015/16, accounting for 75% of the growth in this country over the full 15-year period. After growing by about 70 000 between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the population of Romanian-born persons living in the United Kingdom increased by 200% or almost 150 000 between 2010/11 and 2015/16. This increase accounted for almost 70% of the total growth of the Romanian diaspora in the United Kingdom between 2000/01 and 2015/16. In France, almost 60% of the increase (+48 000) in the Romanian diaspora occurred in the most recent five-year period. In contrast, the increase of 330 000 Romanian emigrants in Italy, while the largest absolute increase among all OECD countries between 2010/11 and 2015/16, only accounted for a third of the total growth in Italy over the full 15-year period. The Romanian diaspora in Spain actually shrank by 42 000 during the most recent five-year period, as did the population of Romanian emigrants living in Hungary (-17 000).

Outside of the EU, growth in the numbers of Romanian emigrants in was unevenly distributed over the 15-year period. The Romanian diaspora in the United States grew by 40 000 between 2000/01 and 2005/06 but lost almost 6 000

over the following decade. In contrast, the Romanian emigrant population in Canada grew consistently. While the largest share of the growth in Canada occurred between 2000/01 and 2005/06 (66%), almost 30% of the increase in the number of Romanian emigrants in Canada came between 2010/11 and 2015/16. The Romanian diaspora in Israel declined consistently over the 15-year period but almost half (-19 300) of these losses occurred between 2005/06 and 2010/11.

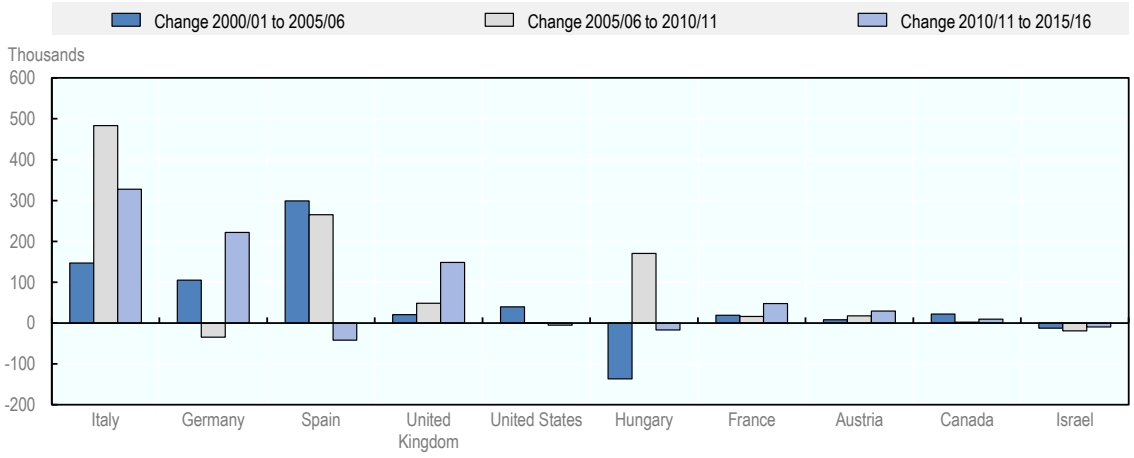
Figure 1.7. Main OECD destination countries of Romanian emigrants, 2000/01 and 2015/16

Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above in thousands (left scale); change in the 2000/01-2015/16 period in percentages (right scale)



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Figure 1.8. Change in numbers of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, by country and time period



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

A high share of recent emigrants (i.e. those who arrived within the previous five years) often reflects rapid increases in the number of Romanian emigrants, as shown in Table 1.1. Almost 60% of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom had arrived within the previous five years in 2015/16, reflecting the sharp increase that occurred between 2010/11 and 2015/16. Germany and France also recorded high growth in the most recent five-year period and had shares of recent emigrants approaching one third. In contrast, recent emigrants only accounted for 9% of Romanian emigrants in Italy and 10% in Spain in 2015/16, underscoring the fact that growth in the Romanian diasporas in these countries mainly took place in the decade prior to 2010. Indeed, the shares of the recently arrived among Romanian emigrants in both Italy and Spain approached 40% in 2010/11, while the share of recent emigrants in Germany was only 10%. The data on duration of stay also reflect the uniqueness of the population of Romanian emigrants in Israel, less than 1% of whom had arrived within the past five years.

The number of Romanian emigrants was large enough to make up a significant share of the total foreign-born population in a number of OECD countries in 2015/16 (see Annex Table 1.A.4). In Hungary, over 40% of the foreign-born population were born in Romania, reflecting territorial changes and longstanding patterns of mobility between the two neighbouring countries. In Italy, Romanian emigrants represented 19% of the foreign-born population, while they accounted for 11% in Spain. The corresponding shares in 2000/01 were 3% for Spain and 4% in Italy, reflecting the magnitude of the increase in Romanian emigration towards these two countries. In 2015/16, Romanian emigrants also accounted for large shares of the foreign born in Austria (6%), Germany (6%) and Israel (5%). The share of Romanian emigrants among the foreign-born surpassed 2% in Greece, Ireland, Belgium, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Portugal, the Slovak Republic and Canada. Among the top ten destinations of Romanian emigrants, the Romanian diaspora failed to constitute at least 2% of all foreign-born residents in only the United States and France, due to larger emigrant populations from other countries.

Where emigrants from the same country are sufficiently frequent, such as in the many OECD countries where Romanian emigrants make up a significant share of the foreign-born population, a community centred on the expatriate identity may emerge. Such communities support emigrants by providing goods and services known from the country of origin, but they might slow down the acquisition of the host country language and integration more generally. Chapter 3 considers social ties of Romanian emigrants as one indicator of their integration, and Chapter 4 examines their labour market performance.

Who lives where?

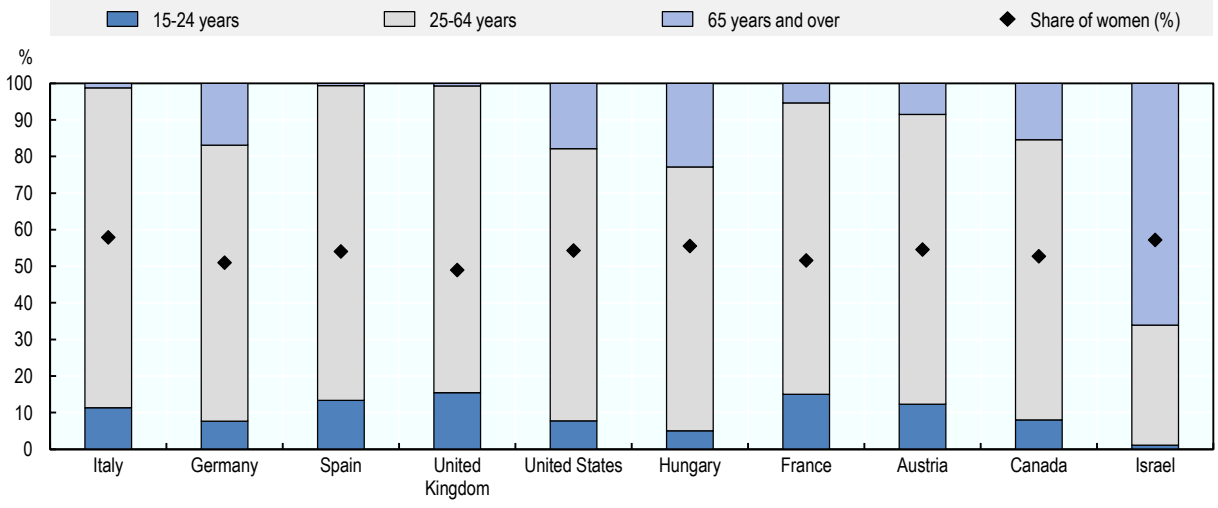
Differences between destination countries

Notable differences exist across the main destination countries in the composition of the Romanian emigrant population by age and gender (see Figure 1.9 and Annex Table 1.A.4). At 58%, the share of women in 2015/16 was highest in Italy.

The share of women exceeded 50% in all of the other main destination countries except the United Kingdom, where the share of women was almost 49%, and exceeded 55% in Hungary, Israel and Austria. Outside of the ten principal destinations, Greece, Switzerland and the Netherlands had Romanian emigrant populations with shares of women that surpassed 60%. While the share of women thus varied, they were the majority in almost all main destination countries.

Romanian emigrants in the age group 15-24 made up less than a fifth of all Romanian emigrants in all of the main destination countries. Emigrants in this age group were slightly more frequent in the United Kingdom and France, where they respectively accounted for 16% and 15% of all Romanian emigrants (see Figure 1.9 and Annex Table 1.A.5). By contrast, Romanian emigrants aged 15-24 made up less than 2% in Israel and only 5% in Hungary (see Figure 1.9 and Annex Table 1.A.5). Romanian emigrants aged 65 and above accounted for a share of 66% in Israel and also made up substantial shares in Hungary (23%), the United States (18%), Germany (17%) and Canada (15%), reflecting migration patterns prevailing in the late 20th century (Sandu, 2005[2]). Romanian emigrants of working age (15 to 64) made up the largest majorities in the Italy (87%), Austria (87%), Spain (86%) and the United Kingdom (84%). Annex Table 1.A.5 presents detailed figures by age group and shows that children (aged below 15 years) are relatively frequent in the United Kingdom (12% of Romanian emigrants) and France (11%).

Figure 1.9. Romanian emigrants in the main destination countries by gender and age, 2015/16



Note: The underlying figures can be found in Annex Table 1.A.4 and Annex Table 1.A.5.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

An alternative approach to differences between destination countries is to examine whether the ranking of destination countries differs across groups of Romanian emigrants. For example, do women emigrate to a different set countries than men?

This does not appear to be the case: the set of ten main destination countries in 2015/16 was the same for men and women, according to the DIOC data, and their rankings of these ten countries did not differ at all.

There are more pronounced differences between the rankings of destination countries for recent emigrants and settled emigrants. In 2015/16, the largest number of recent Romanian emigrants resided in Germany and the United Kingdom, followed by Italy. Spain and Belgium. Among settled migrants, however, Italy and Spain ranked first and second, and Germany was in the third position ahead of the United States and Hungary. At the same time, the set of the ten main destination countries differed by only two countries between recent and settled emigrants: Israel and Canada were not among the ten main destination countries of recent Romanian emigrants. Instead, Belgium was in the fifth position in the ranking for recent Romanian emigrants, hosting approximately 34 000, while Denmark was in the ninth position on the ranking of destinations for settled emigrants, with almost 15 000. Chapter 2 of this review examines further trends and developments among Romanian emigrants.

Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in main destination countries

National data sources make it possible to study the location of Romanian emigrants in the three main destination countries and to map their regional distribution. These data sources are the 2015-16 Labour Force Survey (*Rilevazione sulle Forze di Lavoro*) in Italy, the 2016 Labour Force Survey (*Encuesta de población activa*) in Spain, the 2016 Register of Foreigners (*Ausländerzentralregisters*) in Germany, the 2015/16 Quarterly Labour Force Survey in the United Kingdom and the 2016 American Community Survey in the United States. Census data from 2011 at the regional level provided by Eurostat allow a comparison with the geographical distribution of the general population and the overall foreign-born population.

Data from the Italian Labour Force Survey allow examination of the regional distribution of Romanian emigrants residing in this country (see Figure 1.10). These data show that Romanian emigrants are particularly concentrated in the regions of Lazio (over 200 000, or 18% of Romanian emigrants residing in Italy) and Lombardy (about 150 000 or 14% of the total) in the north of the country. More than 100 000 Romanian emigrants are also in Piemonte (13% of the total) and Veneto (11%). This geographical distribution differs from that of the general population of Italy and the foreign-born population. Romanian emigrants are more concentrated in the region of Lazio, which hosts 9% of the general population and 11% of all emigrants. The share of Romanian emigrants is also higher in Piemonte, which represents 7% of the general population and only 8% of emigrants. While Lombardy is the second largest region of residence for Romanian emigrants in Italy, they are less concentrated there than emigrants in general, as 21% of the foreign-born in Italy live in this region.

Figure 1.10. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in Italy, 2016



Note: NUTS-2 regions. This map is for illustrative purposes and is without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory covered by this map.
Source: Labour Force Survey, 2016.

The Spanish Labour Force Survey contains data on the autonomous community of residence of Romanian emigrants (Figure 1.11). The autonomous communities of Madrid and Valencia each host approximately 115 000 Romanian emigrants, or about 40% of the total between them. The autonomous communities of Andalusia and Catalonia are each home to around 76 000 Romanian emigrants, and together account for 26% of all Romanian emigrants in Spain. Almost 10% of Romanian emigrants live in Castilla-La Mancha (59 000) and 9% in Aragón (51 000). No other autonomous community exceeds 5%. Romanian emigrants are more concentrated in the autonomous community of Madrid than the general population (14%) and all foreign-born residents of Spain (18%). The autonomous community of Valencia likewise hosts smaller shares of the general population (11%) and the foreign-born population (14%) than its share of Romanian emigrants. Andalusia is disproportionately home to Romanian emigrants, as it has lower shares of the general (18%) and foreign-born (13%) populations. The concentration of Romanian emigrants is much higher in Castilla-La Mancha relative to the total and foreign-born populations, the shares of which are less than 5%. In contrast, despite the fact that Catalonia hosts a sizable share of Romanian emigrants (13%), both the general population (16%) and emigrants in general (20%) are more concentrated there.

Figure 1.11. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in Spain, 2016



Note: NUTS-2 regions. This map is for illustrative purposes and is without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory covered by this map.
Source: Labour Force Survey, 2016.

The register of foreigners in Germany makes it possible to study the regional distribution of Romanian citizens living in this country (see Figure 1.12). A quarter of Romanians (about 135 000) live in Bavaria, while Baden-Württemberg (118 000) and North Rhine-Westphalia (102 000) account for 21% and 19%, respectively, of the Romanian population in Germany. Approximately 10% (53 000) of Romanian citizens live in Hesse. Compared to the general and foreign population, Romanian emigrants are far more concentrated in Bavaria: only 16% of both the overall foreign population and the general population live in this federal state. Romanian citizens are also more concentrated in Baden-Württemberg, which accounts for 16% of foreigners and 13% of the general population (13%), and Hesse, where 8% of the general population and 9% of foreigners liv. In contrast, Romanians are less concentrated in North Rhine-Westphalia, which hosts 22% of the total population and 25% of foreigners.

Figure 1.12. Regional distribution of Romanian citizens in Germany, 2016



Note: NUTS-1 regions. This map is for illustrative purposes and is without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory covered by this map.
Source: Foreigners Register, 2016.

The Quarterly Labour Force Survey includes data on the country or English region of residence of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom (Figure 1.13). Almost 100 000 Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom reside in the London region, close to 40% of the total. The neighbouring South East region hosts almost 15% of the total, or more than 37 000 Romanian emigrants. The East Midlands region accounts for about 13% of all Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom, or almost 32 000. These three regions alone comprise more than two thirds of the Romanian emigrant population in the United Kingdom. Taken together, the English regions host more than 90% of this population. About 7 000 Romanian emigrants live in Wales, 6 500 in Scotland and 3 400 in Northern Ireland. Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom are more geographically concentrated than the overall foreign-born population and the native-born population. About 37% of the foreign-born population of the United Kingdom live in the London region, compared to only 10% of the native-born population. Lower shares of native-born (14%) and foreign-born (13%) also reside in the South East region. In contrast, almost 12% of the native-born population and 8% of the foreign-born population live in the North West region, compared to only 3% of

Romanian emigrants. The native-born population is relatively less concentrated in England, with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland accounting for 17%.

Figure 1.13. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom, 2015/16

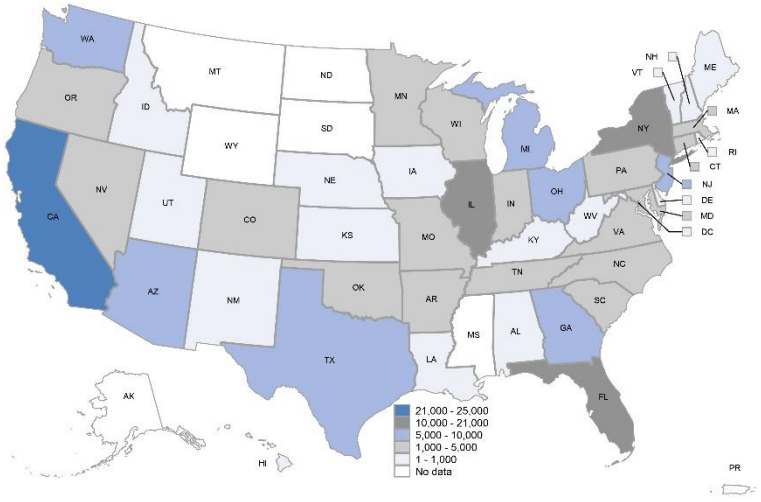


Note: This map is for illustrative purposes and is without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory covered by this map.
Source: Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2015/16.

The American Community Survey allows a mapping of Romanian emigrants residing in the United States (Figure 1.14). The states of California (24 300) and New York (21 000) are home to the largest numbers of Romanian emigrants and together account for 28% of the total Romanian emigrant population in the United States. The states of Illinois and Florida each host about 8% of the Romanian emigrants living in the United States, while Michigan is home to 6%. These five states comprise almost half of the Romanian diaspora in the United States. Romanian emigrants are, however, somewhat less concentrated than the general foreign-born population in the United States, as almost a quarter of foreign-born reside in California compared to 15% of Romanian emigrants. Only 10% of foreign born live in the state of New York, though, so Romanian

emigrants are more concentrated there. The native-born population is also less concentrated in these two states (10% in California and 5% in the state of New York).

Figure 1.14. Regional distribution of Romanian emigrants in the United States, 2016



Note: This map is for illustrative purposes and is without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory covered by this map.
Source: American Community Survey, 2016.

The American Community Survey contains more-detailed information on the place of residence of Romanian emigrants. The Public-Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs) are statistical geographic areas that contain at least 100 000 people and are built on census tracts and counties. Combining PUMAs allows identification of the counties of residence of Romanian emigrants in the United States. More than 40% of Romanian emigrants in California live in two counties in the south of the state: 23% of Romanian emigrants in California live in Los Angeles County, while 19% live in Orange County. Almost 70% of Romanian emigrants in New York state live in New York City, with over 9 000 residing in Queens alone. In Illinois, 45% of Romanian emigrants are residents of Chicago, while 34% live in Cook County. Romanian emigrants in Florida are concentrated in Broward County (29% of the state total), while more than a quarter of those in Michigan live in Oakland County.

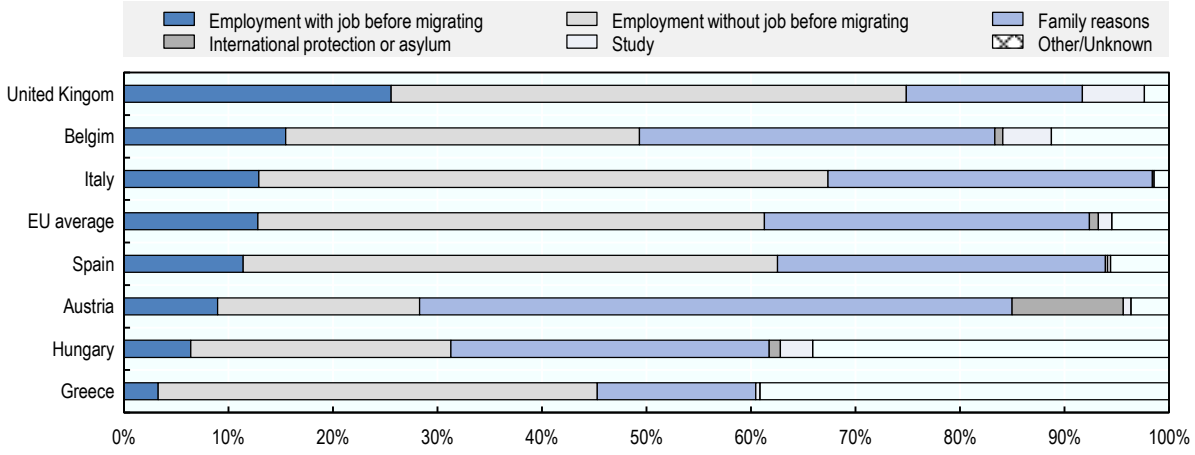
Most Romanian emigrants cite employment as the reason for their migration

For Romanians emigrants in the EU (except Denmark, Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands), the motive for migration can be determined from the 2014 ad-hoc module of the European Labour Force Survey (see Box 1.2). Figure 1.15 shows the main reason for migration given by Romanian emigrants in main European destination countries and in the European Union as a whole. These self-declared reasons do not correspond to admission categories or permits, but also include

responses from those who arrived as irregular migrants. These distributions do not necessarily reflect the motives that brought Romanian emigrants to the respective destination country, but rather the motives of those who still resided in the destination country in 2014. Chapter 2 presents the available information on migration flows to the main destination countries.

Figure 1.15. Romanian emigrants by main reason given for migration, selected EU countries, 2014

Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above



Note: Figures are based on the main reason that Romanian-born respondents in the respective destination country indicate for their last migration. This information is not available for Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands and Germany, which are therefore not included in the EU average. The category "family" includes accompanying family, family reunification and family formation.
Source: Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) ad-hoc module 2014 on the labour market situation of migrants and their immediate descendants.

Almost two thirds of Romanian emigrants across the European Union cited employment as the reason for their migration (Figure 1.15). While 13% of Romanian emigrants declared that they migrated for employment and had a job before leaving, almost 50% migrated for employment but did not have a job prior to departure. Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom (75%), Italy (67%) and Spain (63%) were overwhelmingly likely to cite employment reasons, but there were differences between these countries related to whether or not emigrants had a job prior to departure. More than a quarter of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom migrated for employment and had a job before arriving there, while half migrated there for employment reasons without a job. Having a job prior to departure was somewhat frequent among Romanian emigrants in Belgium (16%) even though all employment reasons accounted for less than 50% of responses. In contrast, smaller shares of Romanian migrants in Italy (13%) and Spain (11%) had a job prior to departure. While employment was by far the first motivation for migration among Romanian emigrants in these two countries, more than 80% of them arrived without jobs. Less than half of Romanian emigrants in Austria, Greece and Hungary cited employment reasons.

Family was the second most frequent reason given for migration among Romanian emigrants, cited by 31% across the European Union (Figure 1.15). The highest share was in Austria, where more than half (57%) of Romanian emigrants indicated family as the reason for their migration. The proportion migrating for family reasons was close to the average in Italy, Spain, Belgium and Hungary. In contrast, less than a fifth of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom and Greece cited family reasons.

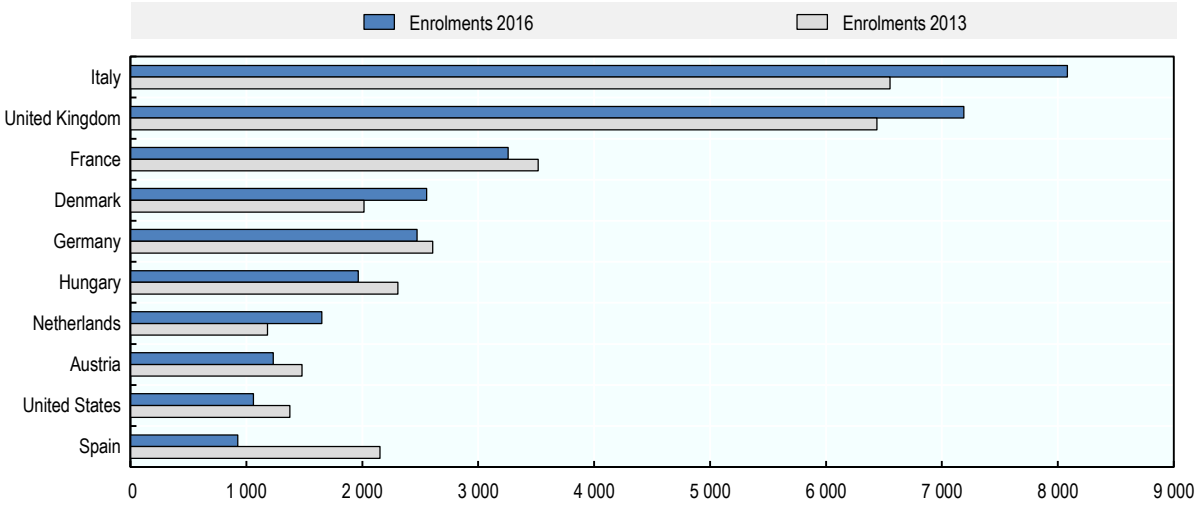
More than 90% of the Romanian emigrants in the European Union (see Figure 1.15) cited either family or labour as their main reason for migrating. Accordingly, other motives including humanitarian reasons and unknown motives only account for small shares. Less than 5% of Romanian emigrants in Italy, Austria, Spain, Belgium or the United Kingdom cite "other" motives for their migration, while over a third in Hungary and Greece report "other" or "unknown" reasons. Small shares of Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom (6%) and Belgium (5%) cited study as the main reason for migration, but the share with study as a motive was less than 2% for the European Union as a whole.

The number of international students from Romania is growing slowly

The total number of international students from Romania enrolled at the tertiary level in OECD countries approached 33 000 in 2016. The number of international students from Romania has increased by 3% since 2013, when it was just over 32 000. By far the largest group of international students from Romania – over 8 000 in 2016 – was enrolled in Italy, followed by 7 200 in the United Kingdom and 3 300 in France (see Figure 1.16). Denmark and Germany each hosted approximately 2 500 Romanian tertiary students, while over 1 000 Romanian students were enrolled in Hungary, the Netherlands, Austria and the United States. The same data for previous years show that numbers of international students from Romania increased in Italy (by 23%, from 6 500 in 2013) and the United Kingdom (by 12%, from 6 400 in 2013), but declined in France (by 7%, from 3 500 in 2013). The number of Romanian-born students enrolled at the tertiary level increased in Denmark (+27%) and the Netherlands (+40%), but declined in Germany (-5%), Austria (-17%) and the United States (-23%). The number of Romanian students enrolled in Spain decreased sharply between 2013 and 2016, from almost 2 200 to 900 (-57%).

Figure 1.16. Main destination countries of international students from Romania, 2013 and 2016

Enrolled Romanian citizens (who are not citizens of the destination country)



Note: In the case of the United States, figures refer to students who are normally resident outside the United States (non-residents).
Source: International Students Database, UNESCO-OECD-Eurostat (UOE) database on education, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/edu-data-en.

Internationally mobile Romanian students in OECD countries accounted for less than 6% of total Romanian tertiary enrolments in 2016. While Romanian students enrolled in OECD countries outnumbered those from neighbouring countries in 2013, the number of Ukrainian students grew by 80% to surpass the number of Romanian students in 2016. Furthermore, the relative growth in internationally mobile students in OECD countries was higher for all of Romania's neighbouring countries with the exception of Bulgaria.

The majority of Romanian emigrants are not citizens of their host country

The vast majority of Romanian emigrants likely retained Romanian citizenship after it was acquired at birth in Romania. In the available cross-country data sets, however, Romanian citizenship is often only recorded when an emigrant does not also hold the citizenship of the host country or – in the case of the European Labour Force Survey – of another EU country (see Box 1.2). Only more detailed data for particular destination countries offer information on multiple citizenships. While the total number of Romanian citizens who reside outside Romania therefore cannot be established, some insights can be obtained on the citizenship of those who were born in Romania.

According to DIOC data for 2015/16, only 974 000 Romanian-born persons, or 29% of all Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above, were citizens of the OECD

country where they resided (see Figure 1.17). For 25 000 Romanian emigrants (less than 1% of the total) it is unknown whether or not they were citizens of their host country. This includes Romanian emigrants in Ireland. About 2.3 million Romanian emigrants (70%), however, did not hold the citizenship of their host country in 2015/16.

Romanian emigrants who do not have the citizenship of their host country likely only hold Romanian citizenship. Additional information in the DIOC data allows testing of this hypothesis for seven countries (Finland, France, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland) that together host a total of 166 000 Romanian emigrants in 2015/16: 32% of Romanian emigrants in these countries were citizens of their host country, 65% appeared to hold no other citizenship than that of Romania, and only 3% were citizens of a country that is neither Romania nor their host country.

Romanian emigrants were less likely to hold host-country citizenship than emigrants from neighbouring countries or emigrants in general. Among emigrants from Romania's neighbours, 36% held the citizenship of their host country. The nationality gap was even larger between Romanian emigrants and the overall population of foreign-born residents of the OECD, as 50% of the latter were nationals of their host countries in 2015/16. These differences are mostly likely imputable to the fact that Romania has been part of the European Union since 2007, and as such there is comparatively little to be gained by acquiring the nationality of another EU country (Dronkers and Vink, 2012[11]).

Comparatively few Romanian emigrants are citizens of Spain or Italy

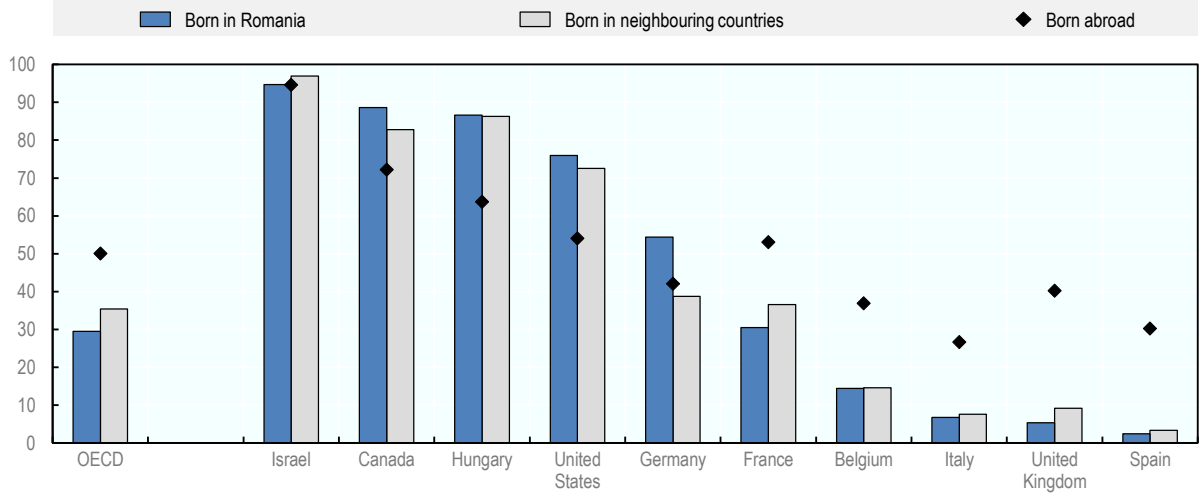
Indeed, variation across the main destination countries of Romanian emigrants shows that holding host-country citizenship is likely related to the period of emigration and whether or not the destination country is a member of the EU. Across the main destination countries, the share of Romanian emigrants who held the citizenship of their destination country in 2015/16 was highest in in Israel (95%), Canada (89%), Hungary (87%), the United States (76%) and Germany (54%) (see Figure 1.17). As Sandu (2005[2]) points out, the main destinations of Romanian emigrants before 1990 were North American countries, Germany, Hungary and Israel, exactly the countries where Romanian emigrants are most likely to have acquired citizenship. Thus, acquisition of citizenship is probably partly a product of a longer stay in these countries among a larger share of Romanian emigrants. In the case of Germany and Hungary, the re-emigration of ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) and Hungarians in the 1990s (Sandu, 2005[2]) also probably increased the share of Romanian-born in those countries that have host-country citizenship. Finally, the almost-universal acquisition of citizenship in Israel is related to the fact that immigrating Jews normally obtain Israeli citizenship on arrival (see Box 1.3).

In contrast, Romanian emigrants are less likely to hold the citizenship of destination countries that are also EU members and to which Romanian

emigration has mainly occurred in the last ten years. In 2015/16 in the main destination countries, the share of Romanian emigrants with the nationality of their country of residence was lowest in Spain (2%), the United Kingdom (5%) and Italy (7%). As explored above, the numbers of Romanian emigrants in these countries has only increased substantially since 2000, with the sharpest increases taking place in Italy between 2005/06 and 2010/11 and in the United Kingdom between 2010/11 and 2015/16. Not only have Romanian emigrants in these countries likely not resided there long enough to qualify for naturalisation, but their status as EU citizens also makes acquisition of another EU citizenship relatively less attractive (Dronkers and Vink, 2012[11]). Differing legal requirements for naturalisation may also dissuade Romanian emigrants from acquiring citizenship in some destination countries. Spanish law, for example, requires not only ten years of residence for the naturalisation of EU citizens, but also does not allow EU citizens (with the exception of Portuguese) to hold dual citizenship (Finotelli, La Barbera and Echeverría, 2018[12]). The requirement that naturalised citizens renounce their prior nationality may deter Romanian emigrants from seeking Spanish citizenship.

Figure 1.17. Romanian emigrants' citizenship of main destination countries, 2015/16

Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above who are citizens of their host country, in percentages



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

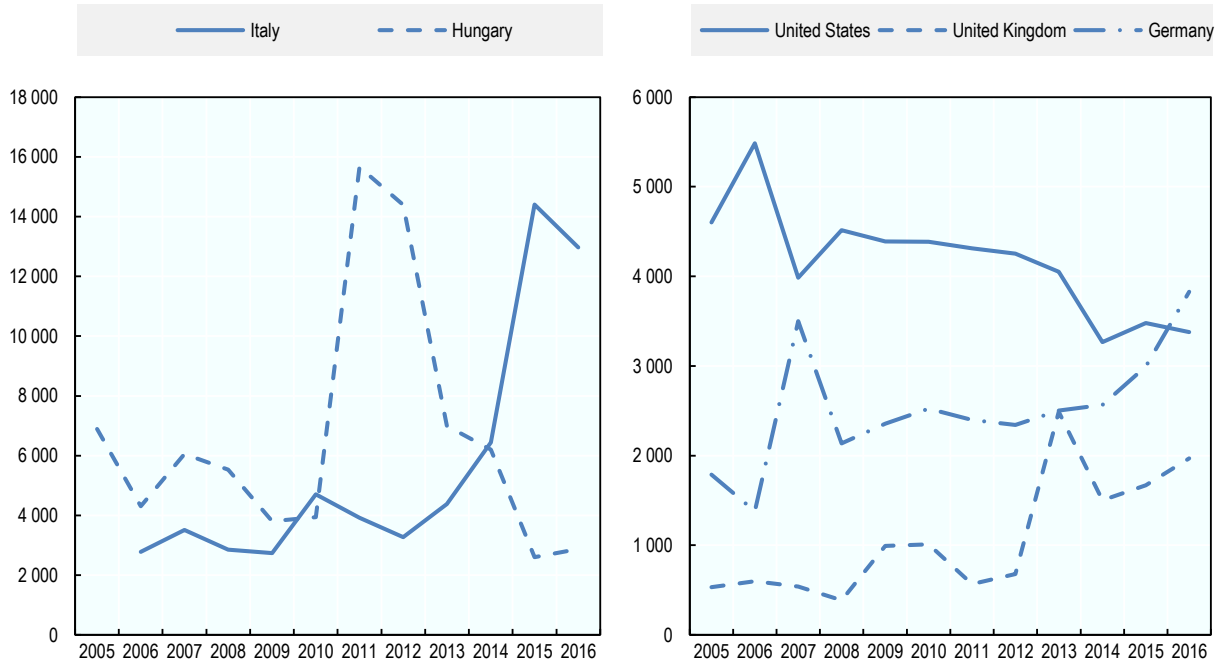
Despite the low share of Romanian emigrants with host-country nationality in many EU countries, data on recent acquisitions of nationality show that recent policy changes and challenges to the stability of the EU may result in changing naturalisation decisions. Figure 1.18 shows that the annual number of acquisitions of nationality of Romanian citizens across OECD countries increased by 30% between 2005 and 2016, based on data from the International Migration Database (see Box 1.2 for a description). There has been a negative trend in acquisitions of nationality in the United States, Canada and Hungary, countries where Romanian

emigrants are more likely to have host-country nationality. The number of acquisitions of nationality declined by 80% and 40% in Canada and the United States, respectively, between 2005 and 2006. In Hungary, a large temporary spike in 2011-13 was followed by a return to a negative trend, and acquisitions of nationality fell by 33% between 2005 and 2016. The 2011-13 spike is related to an amendment to the Hungarian citizenship law that came into effect in January 2011 that introduced a simplified and preferential naturalisation procedure for persons of Hungarian descent (OECD, 2012[13]). About 103 000 people acquired Hungarian citizenship in 2011 as the result of the simplified procedure (OECD, 2013[14]), almost 16 000 of whom were Romanians.

In contrast to the negative trend in North America and Hungary, acquisitions of nationality among Romanians increased between 2005 and 2016 in a number of EU countries. The sharpest increase was in Italy, where annual acquisitions of nationality rose from 2 800 in 2006 to an average of almost 13 700 in 2015-2016, an increase of 370%. Acquisitions of nationality also rose to over 2 000 per year in Germany (+178% to 3 800) and the United Kingdom (+229% to almost 2 000). France (+80% to 1 700 in 2016) and Spain (a sevenfold increase to 1 200 in 2016) also recorded significant increases in the number of acquisitions of nationality among Romanians (see Annex Table 1.A.6 for figures on all main destination countries).

These increases in the acquisition of EU host-country nationality among Romanians reflect larger trends in naturalisation in the EU. Research has pointed to rising rates of naturalisation among EU migrants in their EU host countries and has linked this trend to growing insecurity of EU citizenship in the wake of the Euro crisis (Graeber, 2016[15]). Romanians may be reacting to this insecurity surrounding EU citizenship in a similar way, by increasingly seeking to acquire the citizenship of their host country when possible. The Brexit referendum of June 2016 in the United Kingdom, which supported an exit from the EU, presents another challenge to the status of EU citizenship to which Romanians must react. Initial scholarship on the results of the referendum has suggested that Brexit may entail a loss of rights for EU citizens living in the United Kingdom (Mindus, 2017[16]). This loss may further drive Romanian emigrants there to seek British citizenship or to leave the United Kingdom for another country (Lulle, Moroşanu and King, 2018[17]), but comprehensive data are not yet available to comment on this possibility. In the case of Italy, the requirements for naturalisation are less restrictive for EU citizens than non-EU citizens (for example, four years of residence compared to ten years), which may also encourage Romanians to naturalise (Finotelli, La Barbera and Echeverría, 2018[12]).

Figure 1.18. Acquisitions of nationality of Romanian citizens in selected OECD countries, 2005-16



Note: Figures for Italy in 2005 are not available. Figures for all main destination countries are provided in Annex Table 1.A.6.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

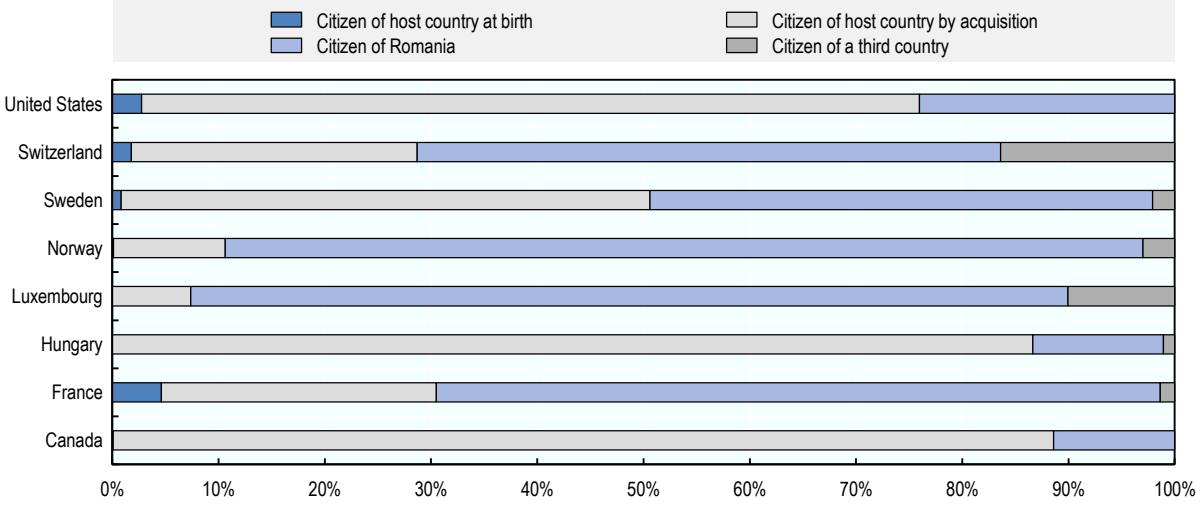
Acquisition of host-country nationality differs by destination and age

This section explores how Romanian emigrants who are citizens of their host country differ from those who are not. Additional information from the DIOC data, albeit available only for eight destination countries, offers further details on the citizenship of Romanian emigrants in 2015/16 (see Figure 1.19). Among Romanian emigrants in France, almost 5% had obtained French citizenship at birth in Romania, so that they were likely born to parents who were French citizens. The corresponding share was almost 3% in the United States and 2% in Switzerland, but insignificant shares of Romanian emigrants in the remaining countries declared having the citizenship of their host country at birth. The majority of Romanian emigrants in Canada (88%), Hungary (87%) and the United States (73%) obtained citizenship through naturalisation. While naturalised citizens also accounted for almost half of the Romanian emigrants in Sweden, corresponding shares in Switzerland (27%), France (26%), Norway (11%) and Luxembourg (7%) were lower. Small shares of Romanian emigrants in Switzerland (16%) and Luxembourg (10%) declared having the nationality of a third country.

Finally, it is possible to differentiate the information in Figure 1.19 by age group, as shown in Annex Figure 1.A.1. For each country, Romanian emigrants who still

hold only Romanian nationality (i.e. they are not citizens of the host or a third country) tend to be between 25 and 44 years old. In Canada, France, Switzerland and the United States, the largest group of Romanian emigrants who were born with the citizenship of the host country were between 15 and 24 years old, while the largest corresponding group in Norway and Sweden were 65 years old or older. Romanian emigrants who acquired host-country citizenship are mostly evenly distributed across age groups in most countries, with those between 15 and 24 years old somewhat less likely than those in other age groups to have acquired citizenship. This lower level of acquisition of nationality is likely due to these younger migrants having spent less time in the destination countries. In Luxembourg, the 45-54 age group dominates the group of Romanian emigrants who acquired host-country citizenship, while Romanian emigrants in Hungary who acquired Hungarian citizenship tend to be older (65+). Romanian emigrants who are citizens of a third country tend to be between 25 and 44, with the exception of Hungary where they are overwhelmingly 65 or over. Some of these differences may reflect different policy approaches to naturalisation in destination countries as well as differences in the demographic composition of Romanian emigrants.

Figure 1.19. Romanian emigrants' acquisition of citizenship, selected OECD countries, 2015/16



Note: This information is available in DIOC only for the eight countries shown. Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

A growing population of descendants of Romanian emigrants

For the purposes of this review, the descendants of Romanian emigrants include persons who were born outside Romania but had at least one Romanian-born parent. Unfortunately, there is no internationally comparable data source on this

population. Many surveys do not collect data on the place of birth of the native-born, making it impossible to estimate numbers of descendants of the foreign-born. It is possible, however, to compile totals from a variety of data sources in a limited number of OECD countries (the EU, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States) to arrive at a conservative estimate of at least 630 000 descendants of Romanian emigrants.

Cross-country EU data show an older population of descendants of Romanian emigrants concentrated in a small number of countries

Among the available cross-country data sources, only the special module of the European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) provides information on parents' country of birth (see Box 1.2). These data can identify descendants of Romanian emigrants who were born in the EU country where they reside and can thus constitute a lower bound for the total number of descendants of Romanian emigrants in the EU. In 2014, this population reached approximately 125 000 persons aged 15 to 64.

The EU LFS data show that descendants of Romanian emigrants were mostly of mixed parentage, over the age of 24, female, and concentrated in a small number of countries. Among the identifiable second-generation Romanian emigrants in the European Union, close to 30 000 persons (representing a quarter) had parents who were both born in Romania. In the case of roughly 43 000 persons (38%), only the father was born in Romania; in the case of 42 000 (36%), only the mother was born there. Only about a fourth (26%) were aged from 15 to 24, while almost 90 000 were aged from 25 to 64. The data from the special module of the EU LFS do not include those younger than 15. If they were counted towards the total, the share of those younger than 24 would become larger. Over half (53%) of the descendants of Romanian emigrants in the EU in 2014 were women. This population was concentrated in Hungary (about 40%) and Austria (about a fifth), and there were relatively few descendants of Romanian emigrants in Italy (6%), Spain (1%) or the United Kingdom (less than 1%).

National data sources in more recent countries of destination show a younger, more widespread population of descendants of Romanian emigrants

The geographic concentration of descendants of Romanian emigrants in the 2014 EU LFS points to a major limitation of the data source: as the survey includes only those aged 15 and above, it does not capture children of Romanian emigrants born since 1999. This is especially problematic in light of the increase since 2000 in the numbers of Romanian emigrants living in new destination countries such as Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom; their children are not included in the EU LFS-derived estimate of the number of descendants of Romanian emigrants.

Data on births in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom show that there may indeed be a sizable population of descendants of Romanian emigrants under the age of 15 (Figure 1.20). From a low of under 1 000 in 1999 and 2000, births to Romanian mothers in Italy and Spain rose quickly and attained 5 000 in both countries in 2004.

Births to Romanian mothers in Spain peaked in 2008 and have since declined to an average of about 11 300 per year between 2009 and 2016. Romanian births in Italy peaked in 2012 at almost 16 500 and have averaged almost 15 700 per year since then.

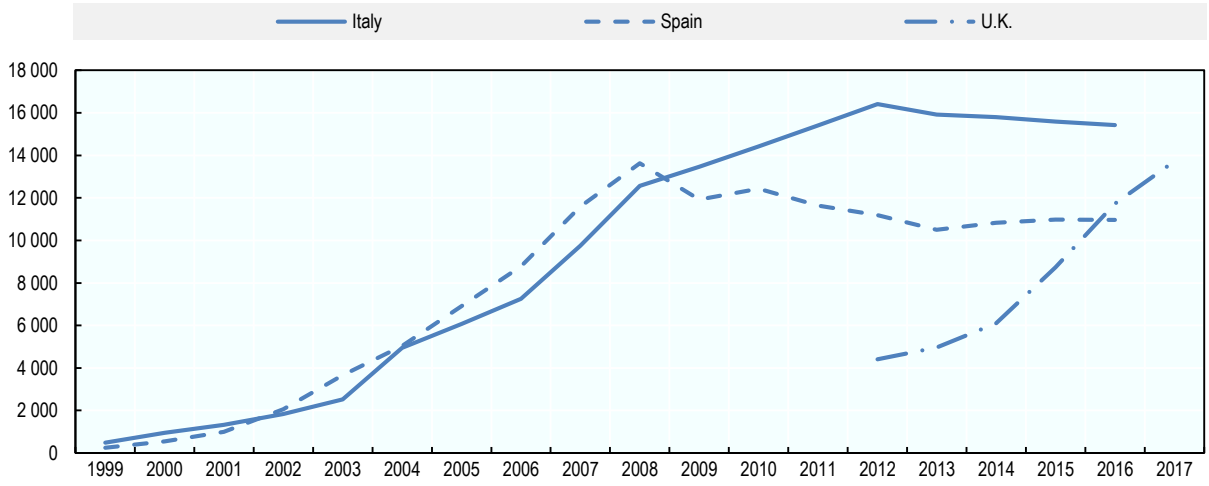
No data on births to Romanian mothers in the United Kingdom are available prior to 2012, when Romania entered the list of the ten most common countries of birth of mother for mothers not born in the United Kingdom. With 4 400 births, Romania was ninth on the list in 2012 and has since moved rapidly up to third place in 2017 with 13 700 births. While births to Romanian mothers in the United Kingdom were 60% lower than those in Spain in 2012, the number in the United Kingdom exceeded the number in Spain in 2016.

Cumulating these yearly birth totals allows the calculation of rough estimates of the size of the population of descendants of Romanian emigrants in each country. From 1999 to 2016, there were 170 000 Romanian births in Italy and 144 000 births to Romanian mothers in Spain. Between 2012 and 2017, there were almost 50 000 births in the United Kingdom to Romanian mothers.

Taken together, births to Romanian mothers in these countries totalled almost 364 000. While not all of these children survived or remained in their country of birth, it is likely that these children, all of whom were under age 15 in 2014, constitute a sizable population of descendants of Romanian emigrants. Furthermore, these individuals are much younger than the population of descendants of Romanian emigrants as captured by the EU LFS and are concentrated in a different set of countries, underscoring the demographic and geographic transitions likely taking place within the Romanian second generation in the EU.

Data on births by nationality are available at the regional level in Italy. These data show that the ranking of Italian NUTS-2 regions by share of Romanian births is largely the same as the ranking of these regions by the share of the overall population. For example, the region of Lazio hosted the largest share (18%) of Romanian emigrants in Italy in 2015/16. This region also saw the largest share of Romanian births at about 21%, corresponding to an annual average of 3 200 births per year between 2010 and 2016. Lombardia was the region with the second-highest share of both Romanian emigrants and births and accounted for about 16% of births, or an annual average of 2 500. The regions of Piemonte (14% of Romanian births) and Veneto (11%) were third and fourth in both rankings. While the region of Emilia Romagna was ranked sixth in the share of Romanian emigrants, it had the fifth-highest share of Romanian births (7%), jumping ahead of the region of Toscana (6%). For the top five regions for Romanian births, the share of births was higher than the share of Romanian emigrants. The top five regions account for slightly more than two thirds of all Romanian births in Italy.

Figure 1.20. Births to Romanian mothers in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom, 1999-2017



Note: Data refer to mothers born in Romania in the United Kingdom and in Spain for 2007 to 2016. Data refer to mothers with Romanian nationality in Spain for 1999 to 2006. Data refer to country of foreign citizenship in Italy. No data available for Romanian-born mothers in the United Kingdom prior to 2012.
Source: Italy: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (Istat), Live births: Country of foreign citizenship, 1999-2016. Spain: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), Vital Statistics/Birth Statistics, 1999-2016. United Kingdom: Office for National Statistics, Live births by parents' country of birth, 2017.

It is likewise possible to study the regional distribution of Romanian births in Spain as the province of birth to foreign mothers is recorded in the data. Much like in the case of Italy, the ranking of Spanish provinces in terms of their shares of Romanian births closely matches the ranking of provinces by their shares of Romanian emigrants. The autonomous community of Madrid not only hosts the highest share of Romanian emigrants but is also the place of almost a quarter of Romanian births in Spain, a share that is five percentage points higher than its proportion of Romanian emigrants. The autonomous community of Valencia, with the second-highest share of Romanian migrants, retains its ranking for Romanian births with 16% of the total. The autonomous communities of Andalucía (13% of Romanian births), Cataluña (13%), and Catilla-La Mancha (11%) retain the third through fifth spots in the ranking. These five autonomous communities account for more than three quarters of all Romanian births in Spain.

Additional national data sources of specific destination countries can help establish total numbers and some characteristics of their populations of descendants of Romanian emigrants. A specialized survey of foreign families in Italy in 2011-12 (*Condizione e Integrazione dei Cittadini Stranieri*) permits another estimation of the number of descendants of Romanian emigrants in Italy. These data show that there were almost 115 000 individuals born in Italy with at least one parent born in Romania. While this total initially seems at odds with the estimates from the EU LFS data and the Italian birth data, further examination of

the age distribution of this population shows it to be consistent with these other sources. Only about 4 000 individuals, or less than 4% of the total, were above 15 years of age, an estimate on the same order of magnitude as the EU LFS estimate of the total number of descendants of Romanian emigrants in Italy (6 000). In contrast, the survey data estimate about 112 000 descendants of Romanian emigrants between 0 and 14 years of age. This total is consistent with the cumulative number of Romanian births between 1999 and 2012 (107 000). Approximately 45% of descendants of Romanian emigrants in Italy were female and 40% had acquired Italian citizenship.

The descendants of Romanian emigrants in the United States are mostly women and concentrated in the older age groups. The Current Population Survey (CPS) produces an estimate of 138 000 descendants of Romanian emigrants in the United States in 2016. Women accounted for more than half (56%) of this population. While the majority of children of Romanian emigrants were over 30 years old, the age distribution shows a bimodal concentration at both younger and older ages. Almost a quarter of children of Romanian emigrants (about 40 000 individuals) were under 15 years old, and more than a third (34%) were 65 years old or older with a quarter over the age of 80. The regional distribution of descendants of Romanian emigrants in the United States mirrors the distribution of Romanian emigrants, with high shares in the states of Florida (28%), Illinois (12%), Michigan (10%), California (7%) and New York (7%). The shares of descendants of Romanian emigrants in California and New York are lower than these states' shares of Romanian emigrants, and Florida's share correspondingly higher, but the limited sample size of this population in the CPS probably underlies some of these discrepancies.

The descendants of Romanian emigrants, while difficult to measure accurately given the limitations of available data sources, constitute a growing population in countries of more-recent Romanian emigration. As a result, the majority of this population is likely quite young (under 15 years old), with Romanian births since 1999 in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom representing upwards of 60% of the estimate of 630 000 descendants of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries. The estimate of the total number of children of Romanian emigrants is likely to be conservative, however, as it does not include several countries with sizable populations of Romanian emigrants, such as Germany, Hungary and Canada. The inclusion of additional countries would not only likely increase the estimate of the total number of descendants of Romanian emigrants, but could also have an effect of the estimated age distribution. The estimates presented here should thus be interpreted with caution. Chapter 3 presents further characteristics of the descendants of Romanian emigrants.

Conclusions

In conclusion, emigrants from Romania represented the sixth largest group of emigrants in OECD countries in 2015/16, and the largest group of emigrants from Romania's neighbouring region. Between 2000/01 and 2015/16, their number

grew by 2.3 million to reach 3.4 million. Most of this growth (1.1 million emigrants) occurred between 2005/06 and 2010/11. The demographic composition of Romanian emigrants has evolved: while the share of women has remained stable at 51%, a rejuvenation process can be observed among the emigrants with more than 90% of them of working age. European OECD countries accounted for 90% of all Romanian emigrants in the OECD area in 2015/16, and 67% resided in Italy, Germany or Spain. The growth in their numbers was especially high in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom, largely driven by young and recent emigrants, although the growth occurred in different periods in each country. Most Romanian emigrants are not citizens of their host country, and naturalisations in European Union countries such as Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom have recently risen strongly, while they have fallen in the United States and Hungary. The number of the second generation of Romanian emigrants in EU countries likely approaches 630 000 in total, with a sizable share under 15 years old.

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Annex 1.A. Additional figures and tables

Annex Table 1.A.1. Terms and definitions

	Definitions
Low education level	Low education level according to the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 0/1/2) or 2011 (ISCED 0/1/2)
Medium education level	Medium education level according to the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 3/4) or 2011 (ISCED 3/4)
Tertiary educated/ high education level	High education level according to the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 5/6) or 2011 (ISCED 5/6/7/8)
Emigration rate	Share of the native-born population that resides abroad
Emigration rate of the tertiary educated	The emigration rate of the tertiary educated is calculated by applying the same formula to the tertiary educated only
Recent emigrant	Foreign-born person who has resided in the destination country for up to five years
Descendant of Romanian emigrant	Person born outside Romania regardless of age who has at least one parent born in Romania
Immigrant	Foreign-born person not of Romanian nationality who resides in Romania
Romanian return migrant	Person of Romanian nationality who resides in Romania and whose last residence was abroad
Working-age population	Population aged 15-64 years
Employment rate	The number of persons in employment as a share of the working-age population
Unemployment rate	The number of persons in unemployment as a percentage of the active population (i.e. those in employment or unemployment)
Participation rate / activity rate	The number of active persons (i.e. those in employment or unemployment) as a share of the working-age population
High-skill occupations	The occupational group of managers and senior officials, intellectual and academic occupations and the intermediate occupations using physics and technology are considered high-skill occupations
Tertiary educated in medium or low-skill occupations	Percentage of employed tertiary-educated persons who work in occupations that are not considered high-skill

Annex Table 1.A.2. Composition of emigrant populations in the OECD area, main origin countries, 2015/16

	Total in 2015/16		Percentage of the 2015/16 emigrant population that was… (%)						Total in 2000/01	
	Thousands	% of all emigrants in OECD area	Recent (<= 5 years)	Female	15-24 years	25-64 years	Highly-educated	Medium-level educated	Thousands	% of all emigrants in OECD area
Mexico	11 703.7	10.1	6.9	48.0	9.6	81.1	36.6	9.7	8 330.8	10.7
India	4 702.9	4.0	26.1	47.4	8.2	79.0	18.5	64.3	1 971.4	2.5
China	4 028.6	3.5	26.7	55.0	16.4	69.1	27.2	48.1	2 071.6	2.7
Poland	3 921.4	3.4	18.3	53.6	7.3	79.4	49.2	29.8	2 185.6	2.8
Romania	3 444.5	3.0	20.0	54.2	10.6	80.9	46.6	22.1	1 125.2	1.4
Germany	3 419.3	2.9	14.9	54.8	8.8	67.8	38.7	41.0	3 154.3	4.0
United Kingdom	3 390.7	2.9	10.1	49.6	6.7	61.2	33.9	46.9	3 258.1	4.2
Philippines	3 340.5	2.9	15.7	61.4	9.1	74.9	33.1	53.0	1 938.5	2.5
Morocco	2 969.6	2.6	9.6	47.7	8.3	78.6	25.1	16.7	1 674.9	2.1
Russian Federation	2 564.6	2.2	9.7	59.2	9.8	71.5	36.7	41.4	1 972.1	2.5
Turkey	2 488.	2.1	8.4	48.3	4.7	82.0	25.9	12.9	2 113.5	2.7
Italy	2 347.6	2.0	15.8	45.3	4.9	54.2	28.8	24.9	2 366.4	3.0
Viet Nam	2 101.	1.8	10.4	54.2	7.2	77.5	35.8	30.0	1 518.3	1.9
Portugal	1 633.	1.4	15.3	48.9	6.8	74.9	26.4	13.5	1 260.9	1.6

Note: Figures refer to population aged 15+ born in each country and residing in an OECD country.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Annex Table 1.A.3. Composition of emigrant populations in the OECD area, Romania and neighbouring origin countries, 2015/16

	Total in 2015/16		Percentage of the 2015/16 emigrant population that was… (%)						Total in 2000/01	
	Thousands	% of all emigrants in OECD area	Recent (<= 5 years)	Female	15-24 years	25-64 years	Highly-educated	Medium-level educated	Thousands	% of all emigrants in OECD area
Romania	3 444.5	3.0	20.0	54.2	10.6	80.9	46.6	22.1	1 125.2	1.4
Ukraine	1 563.2	1.3	13.3	60.2	10.2	72.9	33.2	46.6	1 048.	1.3
Bulgaria	1 076.8	0.9	20.6	53.8	10.4	76.2	32.4	25.4	625.1	0.8
Serbia	650.3	0.6	16.5	51.1	8.5	73.7	38.2	19.8	1 071.1	1.4
Hungary	590.4	0.5	33.0	52.1	7.7	68.4	44.3	36.0	349.4	0.4
Moldova	434.2	0.4	18.9	60.9	13.5	80.6	38.7	30.0	81.4	0.1

Note: Figures refer to population aged 15+ born in each country and residing in an OECD country. Serbia included Montenegro in 2000/01.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Annex Table 1.A.4. Romanian emigrants by destination country, 2015/16

	Total aged 15 and above	Share aged 25-64 years (%)	Romanian-born share of foreign-born population (%)	Share of women (%)
Italy	1 032 300	87.4	18.7	57.9
Germany	680 000	75.4	5.7	50.9
Spain	572 700	85.9	10.9	54.0
United Kingdom	224 600	83.9	2.8	48.9
United States	158 200	74.4	0.3	54.3
Hungary	153 900	72.1	42.2	55.6
France	104 800	79.6	1.4	51.6
Austria	91 900	79.1	6.1	54.6
Canada	88 300	76.6	1.1	52.7
Israel	78 900	32.8	4.5	57.2
Belgium	65 400	83.2	4.1	47.5
Ireland	26 400	84.5	3.6	48.6
Sweden	26 200	81.3	1.6	50.6
Greece	23 400	91.3	3.7	61.1
Denmark	20 900	76.8	3.5	42.3
Switzerland	17 700	82.6	0.8	63.6
Portugal	15 400	81.9	2.3	54.6
Australia	14 100	76.3	0.2	52.7
Netherlands	13 400	91.1	0.8	70.3
Norway	12 400	89.3	1.8	44.6
Turkey	9 500	53.0	0.6	70.7
Czech Republic	6 000	87.9	1.4	30.9
Finland	2 600	88.0	0.9	44.8
Luxembourg	2 600	94.1	1.1	47.7
Slovak Republic	800	63.6	2.2	83.1
Iceland	500	80.7	1.3	43.9
Poland	400	100.0	0.6	0.0
Slovenia	400	87.0	0.2	61.0
Estonia	400	90.7	0.2	15.0
Latvia	200	0.0	0.1	0.0
Chile	100	100.0	0.0	0.0
OECD Total	3 444 500	80.9	3.0	54.2

Note: Includes only observations for which information on both age and sex is available. Romanian-born persons are not observed in Mexico. Data for Japan, Korea and New Zealand not available at time of publication. Levels below 50 are not reported.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Annex Table 1.A.5. Composition of Romanian emigrants by age group, main destination countries and OECD area, 2015/16

	0-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and above	Share aged 0-15 years (%)
Italy	51 150	117 100	311 800	324 000	201 900	64 650	12 750	4.7
Germany	45 700	52 050	161 000	150 000	115 050	86 650	115 250	6.3
Spain	19 100	76 750	181 700	179 800	99 300	31 400	3 800	3.2
United Kingdom	29 050	34 700	115 000	52 900	16 850	3 650	1 550	11.5
United States	2 550	12 200	25 050	35 850	30 150	26 650	28 300	1.6
Hungary	4 100	7 800	22 700	35 950	32 900	19 400	35 150	2.6
France	12 850	15 750	32 400	28 800	14 800	7 400	5 650	10.9
Austria	6 850	11 300	26 400	22 600	16 300	7 400	7 850	6.9
Canada	3 250	7 050	11 050	21 650	21 850	13 150	13 650	3.5
Israel	..	900	650	3 250	5 100	16 900	52 150	..
OECD	192 000	366 150	968 200	931 150	593 350	293 350	289 700	5.3

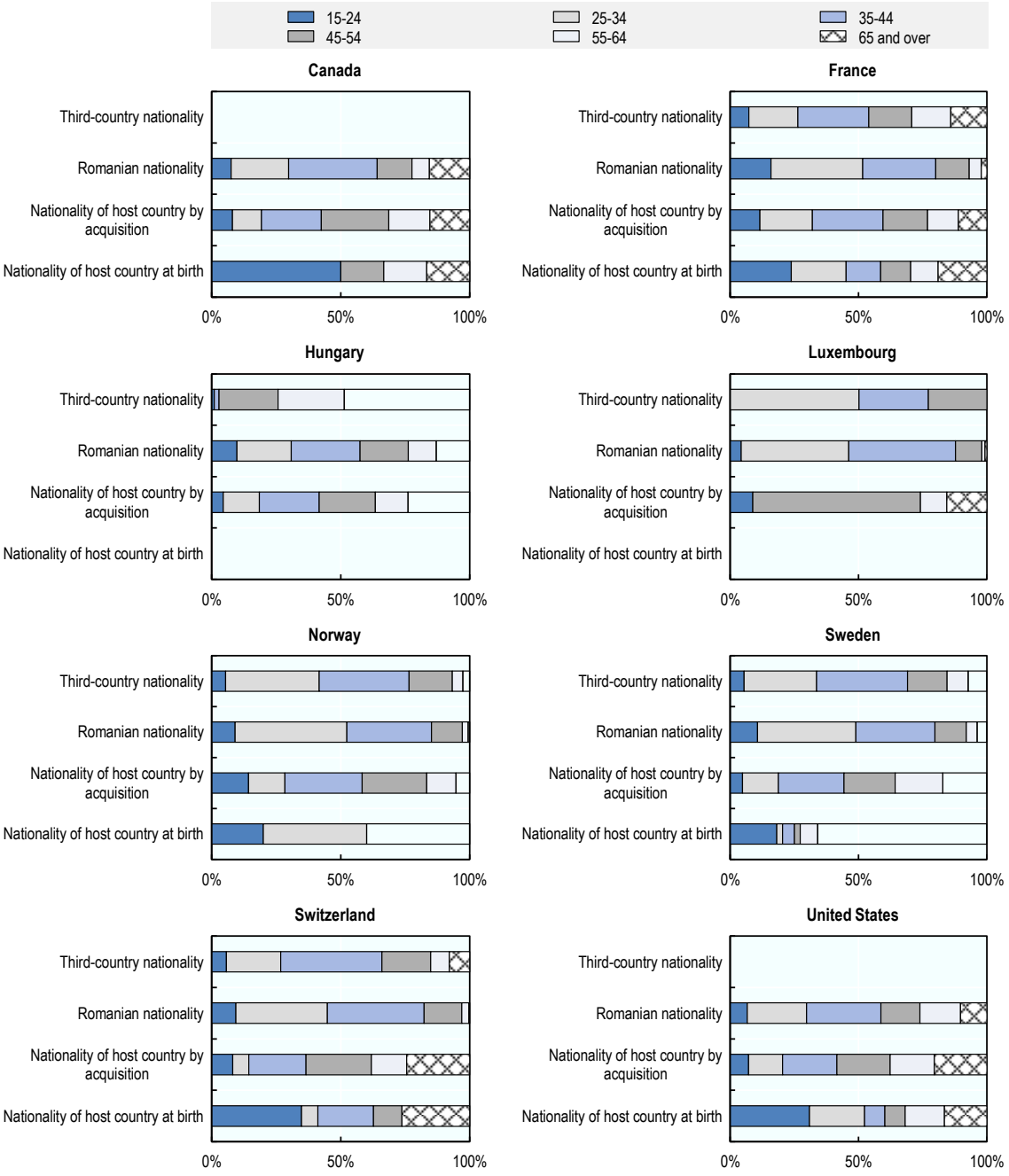
Note: For Israel, data for the age group 0-15 years are not available.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Annex Table 1.A.6. Acquisitions of nationality of Romanian citizens in main destination countries, 2005-16

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Austria	1 128	981	455	382	246	114	223	275	224	244	221	257
Canada	4 470	5 885	4 682	4 375	4 418	3 091	3 699	1 818	1 923	2 841	2 044	1 000
France	978	938	767	787	823	1 024	1 233	1 268	1 409	1 486	1 557	1 695
Germany	1 789	1 379	3 502	2 137	2 357	2 523	2 399	2 343	2 504	2 566	2 994	3 828
Hungary	6 890	4 303	6 052	5 535	3 805	3 939	15 658	14 392	6 999	6 200	2 605	2 874
Italy	0	2 775	3 509	2 857	2 735	4 707	3 921	3 272	4 386	6 442	14 403	12 967
Spain	143	166	220	292	189	319	416	528	2 066	1 169	960	1 171
United Kingdom	531	599	540	385	993	1 009	566	679	2 488	1 501	1 669	1 971
United States	4 602	5 484	3 986	4 515	4 388	4 385	4 314	4 253	4 050	3 267	3 478	3 379

Note: Figures refer to the annual number of acquisitions of nationality of persons with a previous Romanian citizenship. All age groups are included. Figures are not available for Israel or Italy in 2005.
Source: OECD International Migration Database, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

Annex Figure 1.A.1. Romanian emigrants' acquisition of citizenship by age, selected OECD countries, 2015/16



Note: This information is available in DIOC only for the eight countries shown. Romanian emigrants aged 15 and above
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Chapter 2. Recent trends in emigration from Romania

This chapter analyses recent migration flows from Romania as well as the intentions to emigrate observed in the Romanian population. The total migration flow from Romania to OECD countries is compared to the flows from neighbouring countries, and its evolution is related to changes in flows to particular destination countries. Using international survey data, the chapter then presents results on intentions to emigrate from Romania, also for specific groups in the population and in comparison to neighbouring countries. Special attention is given to the link between emigration intentions and the labour market situation in Romania.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

Note by Turkey:
The information in this document with reference to "Cyprus" relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the "Cyprus issue".

Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union:
The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

This chapter uses data on annual migration flows to present the trends in emigration from Romania in recent years. As these flows are the result of recent decisions to emigrate, they reflect trends in emigration behaviour. By contrast, the stocks discussed in the previous chapter accumulated through emigration flows over a long time and often resulted from a particular historical context. To better understand the drivers of recent emigration flows, the chapter further presents evidence on the demographic and socio-economic composition of flows between 2004 and 2016. A detailed discussion of survey evidence on the population's intentions to emigrate from Romania offers insights into the potential for future migration flows, especially from certain demographic groups. While intentions to emigrate are most often not carried out, they are linked to observed emigration flows and allow for comparison of emigration intentions among specific groups in the population.

Free movement of Romanian citizens in the European Union

Migration flows from Romania to OECD countries since 2000 have occurred in the context of Romania's process of accession to the European Union (EU) and its zone of free mobility. Of the 36 member countries of the OECD, 23 were also members of the European Union at the time of Romania's accession in 2007 (the "EU-25"). As a result, intra-EU mobility plays a large role in structuring overall migration flows to the OECD.

The evolution of Romania's relationship with the EU profoundly shaped emigration flows even prior to Romania's EU accession. The 1993 signing of the Agreement for Romania's Association to the European Union, which connected trade and cooperation accords with the EU to policy reforms in Romania, marked a turning point in Romania's domestic conditions and led to increased emigration to Western Europe (Uccellini, 2010[1]).

Romania and the European Union opened formal negotiations for accession in 2000. In 2002, the EU lifted visa requirements for Romanian nationals entering the Schengen zone, allowing them to stay in EU countries for up to 90 days (Gabriel Anghel, 2008[2]). This new ease of movement led to an increase in emigration, but mostly of a temporary and circular variety due to the restriction on length of stay (Uccellini, 2010[1]).

Romania joined the EU in 2007, but its citizens did not immediately have access to full mobility within the EU. Free movement of workers is a fundamental principle of the European Union. Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union specifies that EU citizens are entitled to free movement for work: EU citizens can "look for a job in another EU country, work there without needing a work permit, reside there for that purpose, stay there even after employment has finished, and enjoy equal treatment with nationals in access to employment, working conditions and all other social and tax advantages" (European Commission, 2018[3]).

While Romania's accession to the EU guaranteed eventual free movement of its workers, many EU countries imposed transitional arrangements to restrict Romanians from their labour markets. The seven-year transitional period was divided into three phases (the so-called "2+3+2" system). During the first two years, national law could regulate access to labour markets, and Member States could extend restrictions an additional three years upon notification to the European Commission. Member States could apply a final two-year period of restrictions if they presented evidence of serious disturbances in their labour markets. A safeguard clause allowed countries to re-impose restrictions if labour market disturbances arose after the lifting of national measures (European Commission, 2011[4]). These restrictions on labour market access varied across countries, with some applying full work-permit schemes and others creating simplified procedures such as not requiring work permits for employment in certain sectors or exempting certain jobs from labour-market tests (European Commission, 2011[4]).

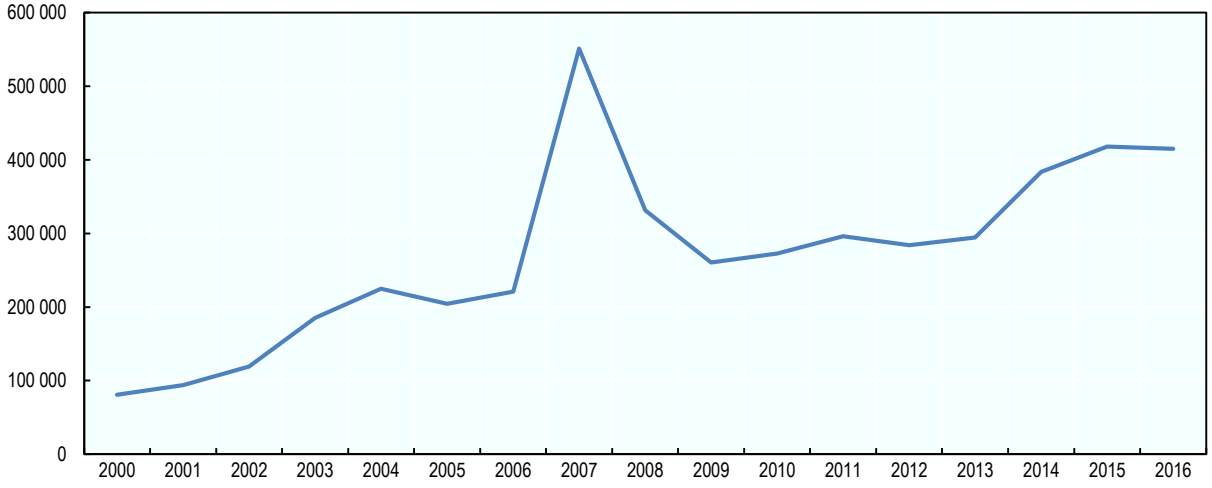
Ten EU Member States opened their labour markets to Romanian workers at the time of accession: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland and Sweden. Five EU Member States removed restrictions after the first period of transitional arrangements: Denmark, Greece, Spain, Hungary, and Portugal. Spain subsequently invoked the safeguard clause and re-imposed restrictions in 2011. Italy and Ireland removed restrictions after the second phase, and the remainder of EU-25 countries (including Spain) allowed full access to their labour markets starting at the beginning of 2014 (European Commission, 2011[4]).

While Romanians did not immediately benefit from free movement of workers in all EU countries, they nonetheless had access to the territories of other EU countries. The transitional arrangements did not alter the fundamental right of EU citizens to move and reside freely within the EU as specified in Article 21 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the EU. In addition, the transitional arrangements did not apply to self-employed workers although Germany and Austria applied restrictions on the cross-border provision of services involving the temporary posting of workers (European Commission, 2011[4]).

Growing flows of emigrants from Romania to OECD countries

The *OECD International Migration Database* provides annual data on legal migration flows that include both permanent and temporary migrants (only permanent migrants in the case of the United States, see Box 1.2 in Chapter 1). While annual legal migration flows from Romania to OECD countries peaked at 560 000 in 2007, they nonetheless quintupled from about 88 000 in 2000 to 415 000 in 2016 (see Figure 2.1). Romanian emigrants represented 6% of entries to OECD countries in 2016, up from only 3% in 2000.

Figure 2.1. Migration flows of Romanian citizens to OECD countries, 2000-16



Note: All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

EU accession in 2007 brought a peak in Romanian emigration…

The notable peak in Romanian emigration in 2007 coincided with Romania's accession to the European Union and its zone of free mobility. After rising steadily by about 17% per year between 2000 and 2006, an increase imputable to the lifting of Schengen visa requirements for Romanians, Romanian emigration more than doubled from 2006 to 2007. While Romanian citizens had free access to the labour markets of only 10 of the EU-25 Member States at that time, the transitional arrangements did not limit non-employment free movement within the EU or self-employment, and these provisions clearly played a role in the large increase in Romanian emigration (European Commission, 2011[4]).

…but the economic crisis quickly reduced flows, followed by more gradual increases

This surge proved to be temporary, as legal migration flows from Romania fell by 40% to 330 000 in 2008. Flows continued their decline in 2009, falling by a further 21% to 260 000, only about 18% higher than pre-accession levels. Migration flows from Romania to OECD countries then resumed their gradual upward trend, rising by nearly 60% between 2009 and 2016. Evidence points to the onset and persistence of the global economic crisis as the cause of the sharp decrease in Romanian emigration after 2007, although the impact was uneven across destination countries (Holland et al., 2011[5]). The economic crisis also underlay the resumption of Romanian emigration after 2009 as economic conditions in Romania were slower to improve than those in most destination countries (Holland et al., 2011[5]).

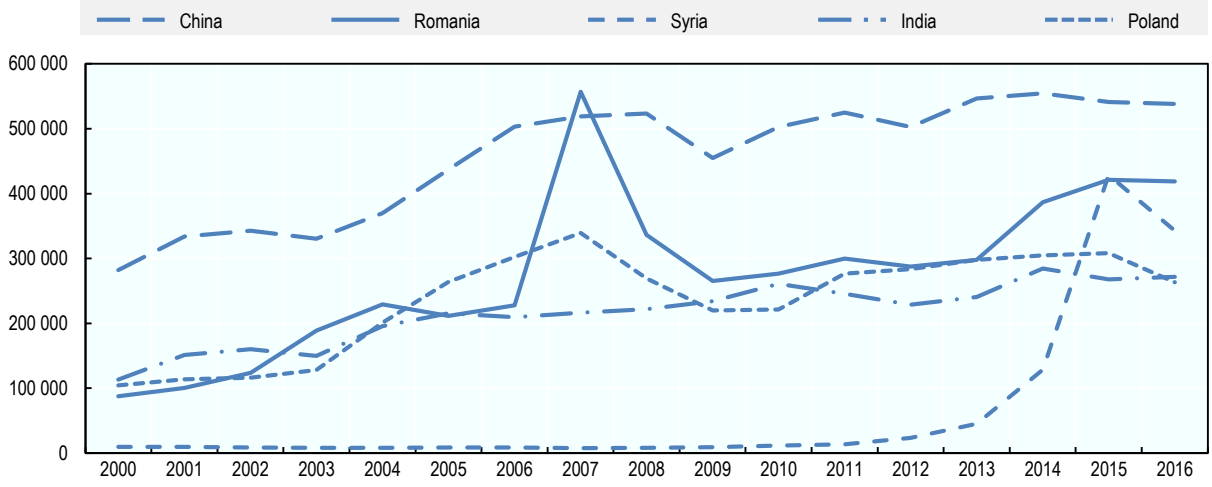
Despite the consistent and sometimes spectacular increases in Romanian emigration flows, there may be evidence of slowing emigration from Romania to OECD countries. Flows increased by only 13% between 2009 and 2013 in the wake of the economic crisis. While Romanian emigration increased sharply by 42% between 2013 and 2015, data for 2016 show no increase compared to 2015.

In 2016, Romania ranked second among all countries of origin in magnitude of immigration flows to OECD countries (Figure 2.2). Ahead of Romania in the 2016 ranking was China (538 000), while Syria (343 000), India (272 000) and Poland (263 000) occupied the third, fourth and fifth places, respectively. Romania rose quickly in the rankings of top origin countries between 2000 and 2016: from tenth in 2000, Romanian flows attained the first place in 2007 and have consistently ranked second since then behind flows from China.

With the exception of flows from Syria linked to the European refugee crisis, flows from Romania have grown at a higher rate than those from any of the other top ten origin countries between 2000 and 2016. While flows from Viet Nam, Poland and India all more than doubled, flows from Mexico and Italy increased by less than 10%. Flows from China increased by more than 90% during this period.

Figure 2.2. Migration flows from selected origin countries to OECD countries, 2000-16

Annual inflow by citizenship (all ages)



Note: All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

Flows from Romania dwarf those from neighbouring countries

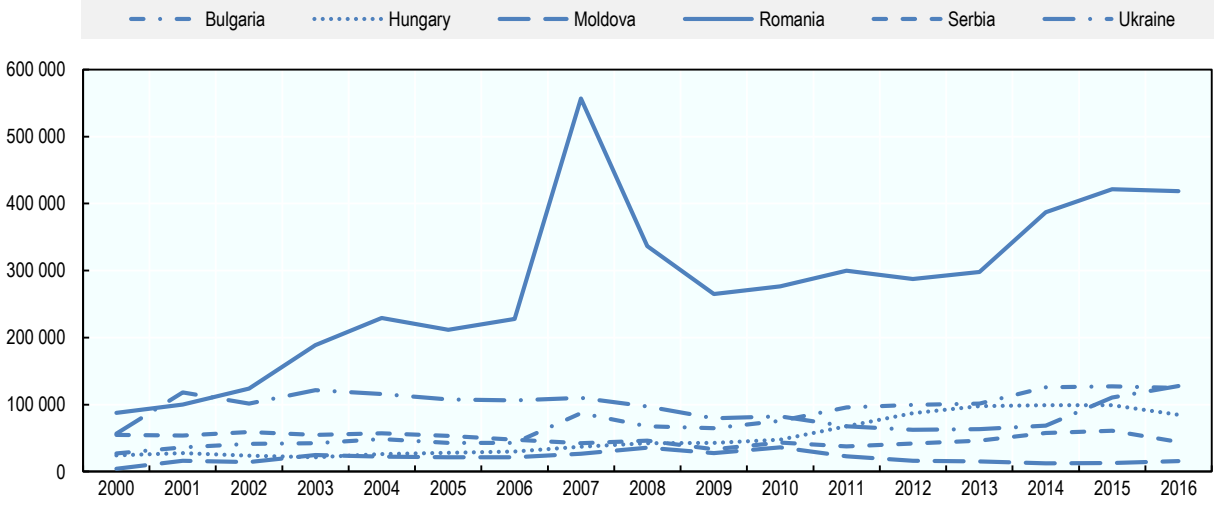
Annual migration flows from Romania to OECD countries have been higher than flows from Bulgaria, Hungary, Moldova, Serbia and Ukraine since 2002 (Figure 2.3). While emigration from Ukraine was 18% higher than emigration from Romania in 2001, Romanian flows surpassed Ukrainian flows by 55% in

2002. Flows from Romania have exceeded flows from any of its neighbours since 2002, and the gap between Romanian flows and the next-largest flow has risen from 96% in 2003 to 230% in 2016. Ukraine was the country of origin with the second-largest flows to OECD countries between 2003 and 2010 and again in 2016, while flows from Bulgaria occupied the second place between 2011 and 2015. Flows from Romania accounted for half or more of flows from these six countries from 2004 to 2016.

The predominance of flows from Romania to OECD countries obscures the dynamism of migration flows from its neighbours, most of which have seen strong growth in emigration. Bulgaria joined the European Union at the same time as Romania, and its emigration flows to OECD countries have since followed a pattern similar to flows from Romania. Bulgarian emigration flows grew by over 360% between 2000 and 2016, almost as much in relative terms as Romanian flows (+380%). Flows from Bulgaria experienced spike in 2007 at the time of accession, followed by a drop-off in 2008 and steady increases after 2009. While slightly lower than flows from Ukraine in 2016, flows from Bulgaria accounted for 15% of flows from these six countries.

Figure 2.3. Migration flows from Romania and neighbouring countries to OECD countries, 2000-16

Annual inflow by citizenship (all ages)



Note: All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

Emigration flows to OECD countries from Moldova, Hungary and Ukraine all more than doubled between 2000 and 2016. Moldovan flows experienced the highest growth in this group, increasing by almost 250% during this period to almost 16 000 in 2016. Despite this growth, Moldovan emigration flows actually contracted by 56% after peaking at almost 36 000 in 2010. Emigration from Hungary to other OECD countries rose by almost 250% over the period to reach

85 000 in 2016. More than 85% of this increase took place between 2010 and 2014, when emigration flows from Hungary doubled to a high of just under 100 000. Flows from Ukraine to OECD countries rose overall by 125% over the period but displayed high variability: flows of Ukrainian citizen doubled between 2000 and 2001 to 120 000, declined by 48% to just over 60 000 in 2012-13 and finally doubled again between 2013 and 2016 to reach 128 000. The recent increase may be related to the Ukrainian crisis of 2013 and following years.

Serbia is the only one of Romania's neighbours to experience a decrease in emigration between 2000 and 2016. Emigration flows to OECD countries from Serbia declined overall by 19%, from 55 000 in 2000 to 44 000 in 2016. Flows from Serbia were much higher in 2015, reaching 61 000, and during the 1990s, surpassing 150 000 in 1993 and 125 000 in 1999.

EU accession and the economic crisis shaped emigration patterns to specific OECD countries

Both Romania's accession to the EU in 2007 and the global economic crisis starting in 2008 strongly shaped emigration flows to particular OECD countries. Leading up to the 2007 accession, migration flows shifted strongly to Italy and Spain and away from OECD destinations popular in 1990s (such as the United States, Canada and Hungary). Italy and Spain saw a surge in Romanian migration flows in the year following Romania's EU accession, but then abruptly experiences sharp decreases in Romanian migration flows because of the global economic crisis. The economic downturn led to diversions of Romanian migration flows to Germany and later the United Kingdom. The labour-market restrictions on Romanian workers that many EU-25 countries imposed at the time of Romania's EU accession seem to have done little to damper emigration flows from Romania, perhaps because Romanians were able to access other mobility pathways (European Commission, 2011[4]).

Figure 2.4 shows the flows from Romania to the main destination countries that Chapter 1 identified as the ten OECD countries that host the largest numbers of Romanian emigrants. Many of the same countries have received the largest flows of Romanian citizens in recent years, with some notable exceptions. Hungary and Canada attracted the fourth- and sixth-largest flows of Romanians in 2000, respectively, but fell to the 11th and 16th places in 2016. Flows of Romanians to the United States were the fifth largest in 2000 but only the tenth largest in 2016. While Israel hosts a large number of Romanian emigrants, flows of Romanian citizens only ranked 14th in 2000 and fell to 31st in 2016, reflecting the fact that most emigration from Romania to Israel took place between the 1950s and the 1970s (see Box 1.3 in Chapter 1). Despite not appearing in the top ten countries for numbers of Romanian emigrants in 2015/16. Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark all ranked in the top ten countries of destination for emigration flows from Romania in 2016.

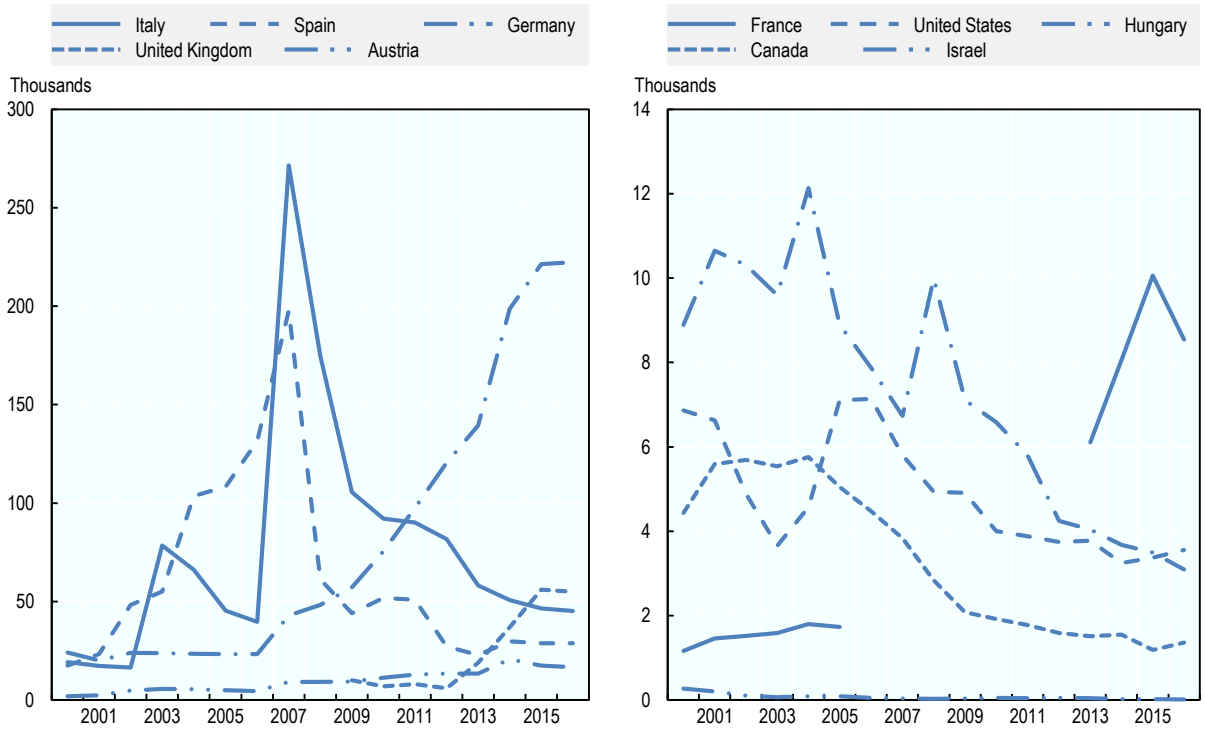
A spike in flows to Spain and Italy following accession to the European Union…

The most salient development in the flows of Romania to the main destination countries is the dramatic rise and subsequent fall of emigration to Spain and Italy in the years surrounding Romania's accession to the European Union (see the left panel of Figure 2.4). Between 2000 and 2007, emigration from Romania to Spain rose by over 1 000%, from 17 500 to almost 200 000. Flows to Spain increased regularly during this time, rising by an average annual rate of 35%.

A number of factors related to Romania's process of accession to the EU shaped emigration to Spain. The lifting of Schengen visa requirements for Romanians in 2002 and agreements between Romania and Spain for the latter to hire Romanian workers led to increases in flows to Spain prior to 2007 (Holland et al., 2011[5]). While Spain imposed restrictions on Romanian workers as part of the transitional arrangements allowed under Romania's EU accession, the already-established Romanian community created conditions for the spike observed in 2007. Not only did the existing population of Romanians in Spain make it easier for additional Romanian citizens to emigrate there after EU accession via network effects, but some of the observed spike may also be related to the regularisation of Romanians already resident in Spain in 2007 (Holland et al., 2011[5]). Research has also pointed to linguistic and cultural affinities for the predominance of Romanian emigration to Spain in the early 2000s (Martínez, 2011[6]) and to the preference of employers for Romanian workers (Holland et al., 2011[5]).

While overall Romanian emigration to Italy increased 14 fold between 2000 and 2007, rising from 19 000 to 270 000, flows were more erratic than those to Spain prior to Romania's EU accession. Emigration to Italy decreased by 15% from 19 000 in 2000 to 16 500 in 2002 but almost quintupled in 2003 to 79 000. Flows then followed a declining trend for three years, sinking by 50% to 40 000 in 2006, their lowest level since 2002. Emigration to Italy rebounded sharply in 2007, however, rising by 580% to reach their historic high of more than a quarter of a million.

Figure 2.4. Migration flows of Romanian citizens to the main destination countries, 2000-16



Note: All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available. Data are not available for the United Kingdom before 2009 or for France for the years 2006 to 2012.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

In 2007, flows to Italy were 37% higher than flows to Spain. Flows to Italy and Spain together in 2007 accounted for almost 85% of total flows of Romanian citizens to OECD countries, with flows to Italy alone making up almost half the total (49%). In contrast, flows of Romanians to Spain accounted for more than half of total flows to OECD countries in 2005 (51%) and 2006 (57%) while flows to Italy accounted for 20% or less.

While Italy applied transitional arrangements at the time of Romania's accession to the EU, the specific restrictions may have encouraged the spectacular increase in Romanian emigration in 2007. Italy did not require work permits for Romanians to work in agriculture, hotel and tourism, domestic work and care services, construction, engineering, managerial and highly skilled work or seasonal work (Holland et al., 2011[7]). Many of these sectors attracted Romanian workers and may partly explain the popularity of Italy as a destination in 2007 and following years. As in the case of Spain, linguistic and cultural affinities may have also driven some emigration to Italy (Uccellini, 2010[1]).

…followed by a sharp decline with the onset of the global economic crisis in 2008…

Just as striking as the magnitude of the increase in flows of Romanians to Italy and Spain in 2007 was the rapidity of the decline in these flows in the following years (Figure 2.4). Emigration to Spain decreased by 70% in 2008 to 61 000, or about the same level as in 2003. A further 30% reduction in flows to Spain in 2009 brought the total to under 45 000. After rebounding somewhat in 2010 and 2011 to over 50 000, flows to Spain plummeted by 46% between 2011 and 2013 to 23 000. Emigration to Spain was stable between 2014 and 2016 at an average of 29 000 per year. This total, 85% lower than the 2007 peak, accounted for about 7% of Romanian emigration to OECD countries in 2014-16.

The global economic crisis of 2008 drove the sharp decrease in Romanian emigration to Spain after 2007 (Figure 2.4). The economic crisis in Spain was deeper and more persistent than in other countries. While it affected both native-born and foreign-born workers, unemployment rose rapidly especially for workers who were already disadvantaged, such as immigrants and unskilled or temporary workers (Holland et al., 2011[5]). The unemployment rate for the native-born in Spain increased from 8.8% in 2007 to 18.6% in 2009, while it increased for foreign-born from 11% in 2007 to 20% in 2008 and 30% in 2009 (Holland et al., 2011[5]). Romanian emigrants were among the groups that suffered the largest increases in unemployment, with large losses occurring in in 2008 because of concentration in construction sector (Holland et al., 2011[5]). Data from DIOC show that the unemployment rate of Romanian emigrants in Spain increased from 11% in 2005/06 to 42% in 2010/11 (see Chapter 4 for further analysis of the labour-market outcomes of Romanian emigrants). Research suggests that these increases in unemployment had a significant negative effect on flows from Romania to Spain: net population flows from Romania and Bulgaria to the EU-25 were 50% to 65% lower in 2008 and 2009 than the counterfactual flows in the absence of such a pronounced downturn, with large reductions to Spain in particular (Holland et al., 2011[7]).

Romanian flows to Italy mirrored those to Spain after 2007, but did not decline as far or as fast (Figure 2.4). About 175 000 Romanian citizens emigrated to Italy in 2008, a decrease from the 2007 peak of 35%. In the context of a sharp decline in overall flows from Romania to OECD countries in 2008 (see Figure 2.1), flows to Italy accounted for more than half (52%) of the total. Flows further declined by 39% in 2009 to 106 000 and 13% in 2010 to 92 000. After several years of relative stability, flows to Italy declined again by almost 30% between 2012 and 2013 and have averaged about 50 000 per year since 2014. Flows to Italy accounted for about a third of all Romanian flows to OECD countries between 2009 and 2012, a share that has since declined to 11% in 2016.

The economic crisis in Italy likely played a role in these declines but the impacts, especially on unemployment, were not as pronounced as those in Spain. Unemployment among EU-28 migrants increased between 2008 and 2009, likely due to concentration of Romanian and Bulgarian emigrants in the construction and

manufacturing sectors where the recession was concentrated. DIOC data indicate that the unemployment rate of Romanian emigrants increased form 8% in 2005/06 to 14% in 2010/11 (see Chapter 4 for additional details). Italy responded to the crisis by reducing recruitments of foreign-born low- and medium-skilled workers (Holland et al., 2011[5]), which may have contributed to the reduction of Romanian emigration flows.

…and recent increases in flows to Germany and the United Kingdom

While increasing and subsequently declining flows to Italy and Spain drove the overall trend in Romanian emigration to OECD countries between 2006 and 2009, increasing flows to Germany and the United Kingdom between 2010 and 2016 offset further decreases in flows to the Southern European countries.

The sharp rise in emigration flows to Germany made it the main destination country in recent years (see the left panel of Figure 2.4). After remaining relatively flat between 2000 and 2006, Romanian emigration to Germany[1] increased by 84% in 2007 to almost 43 000. Despite this large relative increase, flows to Germany accounted for less than 8% of total flows to OECD countries in 2007.

While flows to Italy and Spain declined sharply after 2007, emigration to Germany continued to increase after 2007 by an average of about 20% per year to reach over 220 000 in 2016. The largest increase occurred between 2013 and 2014, when Romanian flows to Germany rose from 140 000 to just under 200 000, a jump of 42%. Other large increases occurred between 2009 and 2010 (+32% to 75 000) and between 2010 and 2011 (+29% to just under 100 000). Romanian emigration to Germany accounted for more than half of total flows to OECD countries from 2014 to 2016.

Romanian's accession to the EU explains part of the sharp increase in flows to Germany. While Germany restricted the free movement of Romanian workers between 2007 and 2014, the right to freedom of settlement allowed under EU membership enabled Romanians to move to Germany as small-business owners or as self-employed workers. Germany extended opportunities for seasonal work, contract work and the posting of workers and labour-market access to Romanians with a university degree (Bertoli, Brücker and Fernández-Huertas Moraga, 2013[8]). Thus, despite Germany's imposition of transitional arrangements, other mobility paths linked to EU membership facilitated the increases of emigration flows of Romanians to Germany.

The economic crisis may also explain some of the increases in flows of Romanians to Germany. Research shows that adverse economic conditions in Spain and Italy during the crisis may have diverted Romanian flows from these countries to Germany (Bertoli, Brücker and Fernández-Huertas Moraga, 2013[8]). Bertoli et al. argue that the increase in observed migration flows between Romania and Germany between 2007 and 2011 cannot be explained by either relatively stable economic conditions in Romania or an unchanged institutional

framework regulation EU mobility. They point instead to deteriorating economic conditions in other EU destinations, especially in Spain and Italy: Spanish and Italian unemployment rates explain 59% of the variation in the Romanian in the diverted flows to Germany from 2007. In the case of Spain, this effect would account for 37 466 additional Romanian migrants to Germany per year (Bertoli, Brücker and Fernández-Huertas Moraga, 2013[8]).

Thanks to an upsurge in flows between 2012 and 2016, the United Kingdom has become the second destination for Romanian emigrants (Figure 2.4). While data are not available for prior years, about 10 000 Romanians emigrated to the United Kingdom in 2009, accounting for less than 4% of total flows to OECD countries. Flows to the United Kingdom actually declined by 40% between 2009 and 2012 to a low of 6 000 before tripling to 19 000 in 2013. A sharp upswing occurred again in 2014, with flows almost doubling to 37 000, and in 2015, with emigration increasing by 51% to reach 56 000. The level in 2016 was slightly lower than in 2015. Overall, Romanian emigration to the United Kingdom increased almost five fold between 2009 and 2016. The lifting of work restrictions on Romanian citizens in the United Kingdom in 2014 likely contributed to this upsurge.

Emigration flows to the other main countries of residence of Romanian emigrants, with the exception of flows to France, declined between 2000 and 2016 (see the right panel of Figure 2.4), reflecting the long-term decline of migration flows towards destinations that were popular in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the totalitarian regime (Sandu, 2005[9]). Flows to North American destinations, which were prevalent in the 1990s (Andrén and Roman, 2016[10]), fell sharply during this period: emigration to the United States shrank by about half, from almost 7 000 in 2000 to 3 600 in 2016 while flows to Canada plummeted by 70% from 4 400 to 1 400. Emigration to Hungary, another common destination in the 1990s (Andrén and Roman, 2016[10]), fell by 65% from 8 900 to 3 000. Flows to these three countries accounted for almost a quarter of total flows to OECD countries in 2000, but less than 2% in 2016. Migration flows to Israel were already extremely low in 2000, when only 270 Romanians emigrated there, but Israel registered only a handful of arrivals in 2016 after a decline of 94% after 2000. These low flows reflect the fact that most emigration from Romania to Israel occurred decades ago (see Box 1.3 in Chapter 1). Romanian flows to France rose six fold, from 1 200 in 2000 to 8 500 in 2016 (although flows were markedly higher in 2015).

Romanian emigration increased between 2000 and 2016 to a number of OECD countries outside of the established top ten countries of residence. Flows increased sharply during this period to Belgium (15 fold, to over 10 000 in 2016), the Netherlands (eight fold, to over 5 000) and Denmark (almost 30 fold, to 4 300). These three countries all experienced spikes in flows following Romania's accession in 2007, with mostly continued gradual increases between 2007 and 2016. Most other European OECD countries saw increased in flows of Romanian citizens over this period, while non-European countries such as Australia and New Zealand saw decreases.

Net migration patterns differ by country, with negative net migration to Spain

For a number of OECD countries, data are available on both the arrivals and the departures of Romanian citizens. In these cases – which include some of the main destination countries – it is possible to determine net migration flows of Romanian citizens by subtracting the arrivals from the departures. Net flows of Romanians are positive whenever more Romanian citizens emigrate to a particular OECD country than leave there; in the reverse case, net flows are negative.

After relatively high net migration flows from Romania to Spain between 2002 and 2007, the direction of the net flow reversed starting in 2008 (see Figure 2.5). Between 2002 and 2007, inflows of Romanians increased while outflows remained small both in absolute terms and compared to the magnitude of inflows. In 2007, for example, there were almost 200 000 arrivals against only 8 100 departures, for a net inflow of almost 190 000. Inflows decreased by 70% in 2008 but outflows rose by almost 300% to 32 000, leading to a net inflow of only 28 000. Negative net migration to Spain occurred in 2010, when outflows of Romanian citizens surpassed inflows. While 2011 and 2012 saw a return to positive net migration to Spain with decreases in outflows, negative net migration returned in 2013 and has prevailed since. The largest negative net flow (-48 000) occurred in 2013, when almost 71 000 Romanian citizens left Spain against only 23 000 arrivals. Since 2009 almost 55 000 Romanians on average have left Spain per year compared to an annual average of only 19 000 arrivals. This increasingly negative net migration has led to the decline in the number of Romanian emigrants living in Spain described in Chapter 1.

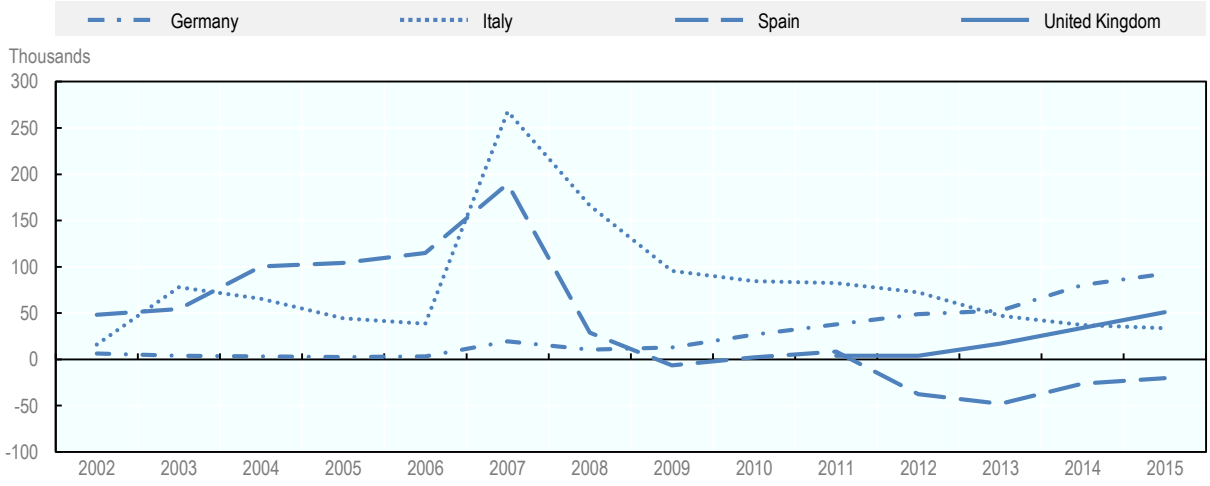
Net flows of Romanian citizens to Italy followed a pattern similar to those to Spain but, thanks to lower levels of departures, did not become negative by 2015 despite a downward trend (see Figure 2.5). Net flows to Italy were generally lower than net flows to Spain between 2002 and 2006. In 2007, however, net flows to Italy rapidly surpassed net flows to Spain with fewer than 4 000 departures for a net inflow of 268 000. While net flows to Italy subsequently fell substantially below their 2007 level, the driver of this decline was decreasing inflows instead of increasing outflows as in the case of Spain: outflows of Romanian citizens from Italy only increased to about 10 000 per year between 2008 and 2015 while inflows plummeted to under 50 000 by 2015.

Unlike net flows to Spain and Italy, net flows to Germany and the United Kingdom increased after 2007 (Figure 2.5). Despite gradual increases in inflows to Germany between 2002 and 2006, net migration was low due to relatively high outflows of Romanian citizens. The spike in inflows to Germany in 2007 was accompanied by only a small increase in outflows, leading to an overall increase in net flows. Net flows to Germany followed an increasingly positive trend between 2008 and 2015. Despite this upward trend, departures of Romanians from Germany increased fivefold after 2007 to reach almost 130 000 in 2015, more than the departures from Italy and Spain combined in that year. The geographic proximity of Germany and the prevalence of seasonal and/or

temporary work there may create a pattern of temporary circular migration, which is evident in the high level of outmigration among Romanians in Germany (Holland et al., 2011[7]). The relatively high growth of inflows has offset the growth in outflows to produce the positive trend, as both grew by an average annual rate of 20%.

In contrast to Germany, net flows to the United Kingdom have increased as departures of Romanians have grown more slowly than arrivals. While inflows increased six fold between 2011 and 2015 to 56 000, departures declined by 25% between 2011 and 2014 before increasing to 5 000 in 2015. The lower level of departures may be related to the relative recency of emigration flows to the United Kingdom.

Figure 2.5. Net migration flows of Romanian citizens to main destination countries, 2002-16



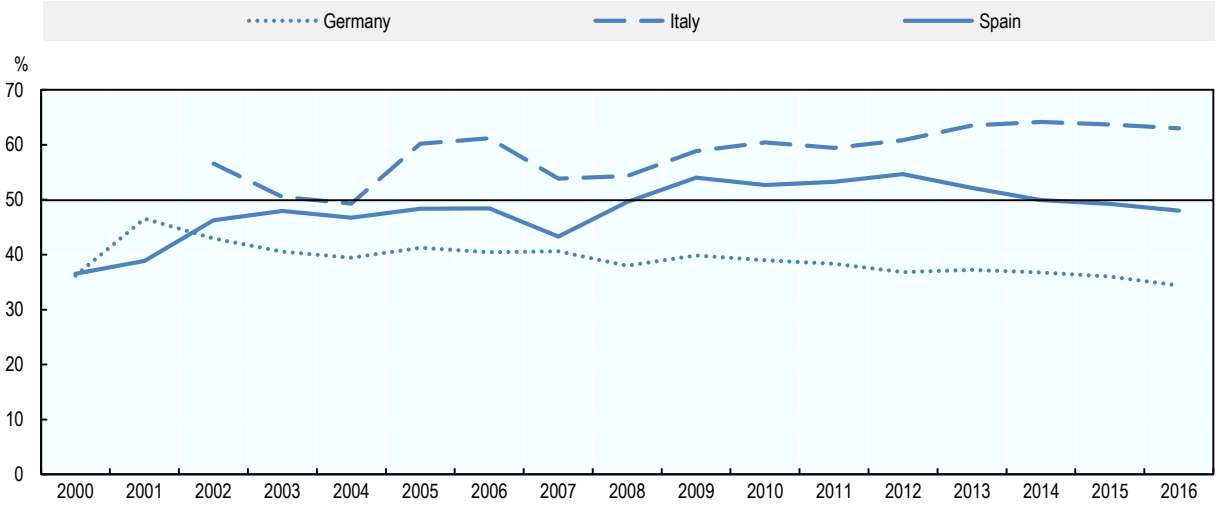
Note: Figures refer to the difference between the annual gross inflow and the annual gross outflow of Romanian citizens of all ages. Data are not available for the United Kingdom before 2009.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

Flows include a high share of women, an increasing proportion of highly educated, and a declining share of those who were previously unemployed

The gender composition of Romanian emigration flows from 2000 to 2016 varied across OECD destination countries, with flows to Italy having especially high shares of women and those to Germany being predominantly male. Figure 2.6 displays the share of women in the migration flows of Romanians to Germany, Italy and Spain. Emigration to Italy has consisted mainly of women: flows included a majority of women in almost every year, with the share of women dipping below 50% only in 2000 and 2004. The proportion of women among Romanians emigrating to Italy followed a positive trend between 2007 and 2016, rising from 54% to 63%. In Spain, women have predominated in flows since the start of the global economic crisis: men outnumbered women until 2007, while the

share of women was higher between 2008 and 2013. The share of women in flows to Spain hovered around 50% between 2014 and 2016. In contrast to the Southern European destination countries, where Romanian women have generally been more numerous in emigration flows, men have accounted for most of the flows to Germany. The highest share of Romanian women emigrating to Germany was 47% in 2001, and this proportion has steadily decreased to arrive at 34% in 2016. The differing labour-market opportunities in these three destinations may play a role in the diverging gender compositions of their Romanian emigration flows (see Chapter 4 for further analyses of the labour-market outcomes of Romanian emigrants).

Figure 2.6. Share of women in migration flows of Romanian citizens to selected destination countries, 2000-16



Note: All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available. Data are not available for Italy in 2001.
Source: *OECD International Migration Database*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en.

The information collected on migration flows typically covers at best some basic demographic variables, as is the case with the results from the International Migration Database presented above. It is therefore rarely possible to analyse the composition of migration flows with respect to key socio-economic variables such as education or labour force status before migration. In contrast, survey data from can provide some first results by approximating inflows from Romania as citizens of a new-EU-member-state country who resided in Romania the year before they are observed in a destination country. The EU Labour Force Survey (see Box 1.2 in Chapter 1 for a detailed description of this data source) can identify samples of new arrivals from Romania in multiple years based on a question on the country of residence one year earlier. The data record emigrants' basic socio-demographic characteristics – such as sex, age, marital status and whether or not they were accompanied by children – as well as their labour market status one year earlier and their education. The EU LFS data included samples of new arrivals from

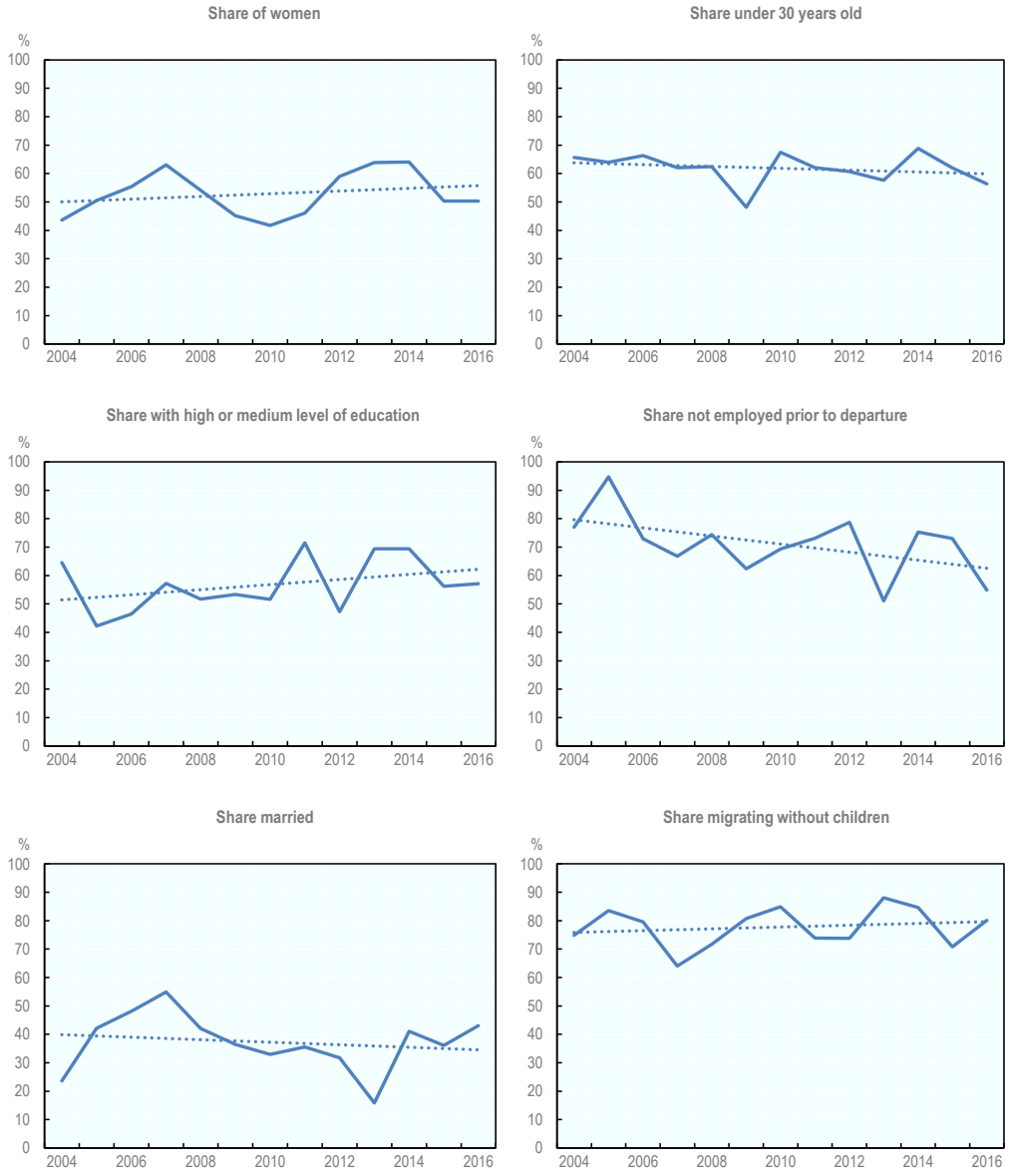
Romania between 2004 and 2016, ranging in size from 22 000 in 2004 to 53 000 in 2015.

Figure 2.7 shows the composition of the new arrivals from Romania over the period 2004 to 2016. Most characteristics were generally stable over the course of the period, with few statistically significant time trends. On average, the majority (53%) of new arrivals from Romania between 2004 and 2016 were women. Almost two-thirds (62%) were under 30 years old. More than a third (37%) were not married at the time of arrival, and 78% lived in a household with no children. While 71% of recent Romanian emigrants over the period did not hold a job in the year prior to migration, the data also show a statistically significantly negative time trend for being unemployed prior to departure.

Despite the general lack of significant time trends over the full 13-year period, the composition of newly arrived Romanian emigrants varied from year to year (Figure 2.7). The share of women peaked in 2007 at 63%, suggesting that women played a major role in the high emigration flows of that year. In the context of the high share of Romanian women arriving in 2007, it is worth noting that the proportion of newly arrived Romanian emigrants who were married also peaked in 2007, and the share without children in the household was at its lowest point. Taken together, these data points suggest that Romanian women, who in large part drove the surge in arrivals from Romania in 2007, may have been migrating with their families or at least with their children.

In contrast to what may have been a family-centric pattern in 2007, the composition of newly arrived Romanian emigrants in 2013 points to a different pattern (Figure 2.7). While women again made up almost two-thirds of the new arrivals, the share married plummeted 15%, its lowest level over the period, and the share without children in the household reached its high of 88%. The proportion without employment prior to migration was also at its lowest level in 2013 (51%), while the share of new arrivals with a medium or high level of education (69%) was close to its 2011 peak of 72%.

Figure 2.7. Composition of migration flows from Romania to main European destination countries, with linear trends, 2004-16



Note: Estimated composition of newly arrived Romanian citizens (all ages). The inflow of Romanian citizens is approximated as persons whose residence one year earlier was Romania and who were born in an EU new member state (the available data do not allow for more detail on country of birth). Dashed line represents linear trend for each variable. Missing values are rare and are not included in the distributions shown. Data include recently arrived emigrants from Romania in Austria (except 2004 and 2005), Belgium (except 2004), Switzerland (except 2004-2009), Cyprus, Czech Republic (only 2007 and 2009), Denmark (except 2004, 2005 and 2007-2010), Spain, France (except 2004 and 2005), Greece (except 2006, 2012, 2013 and 2016), Hungary, Iceland (only 2013), Italy (except 2004), Lithuania (except 2005-2007, 2009 and 2010), the Netherlands (except for 2004, 2005, 2010-2014 and 2016), Portugal (except 2004) and the United Kingdom (except 2008).

Source: OECD secretariat calculations based on EU Labour Force Survey (Eurostat), http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/lfs/overview.

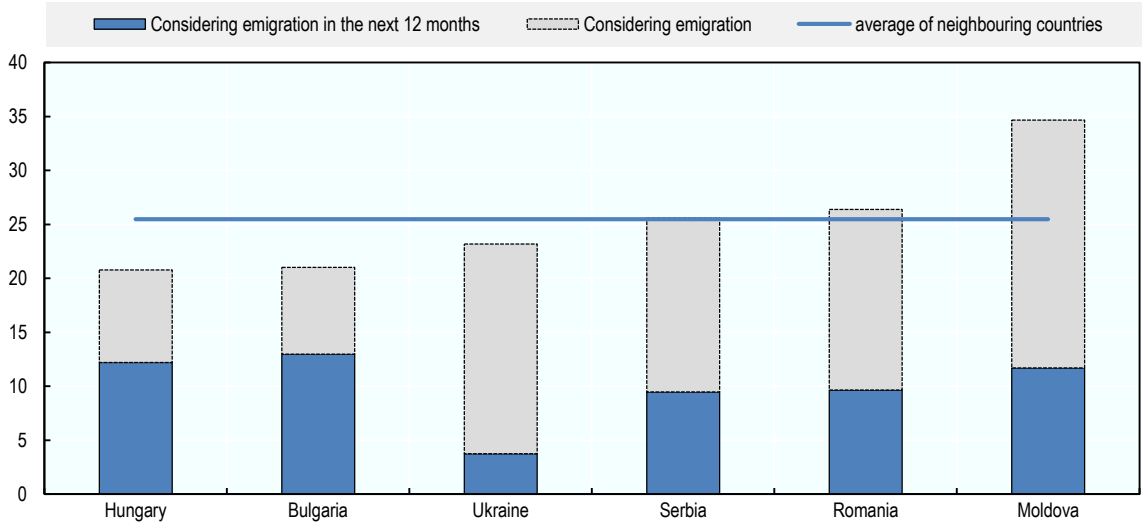
Emigration prospects among the population living in Romania

Intentions to emigrate are high in Romania, especially among young people

To what extent will recent trends in recent migratory flows from Romania continue or change in the future? To answer this question, one can use data on Romania's emigration potential, estimated from self-reported emigration intentions expressed in the Gallup World Poll (see Box 1.2 of Chapter 1). This data source can be used to analyse the emigration intentions of the Romanian population. The Gallup World Poll also includes demographic variables, indicators of education level and a number of employment variables for those surveyed, allowing us to study the relationships between these characteristics and emigration intentions.

Figure 2.8. Emigration intentions in Romania and neighbouring countries, 2009-18

Share of the population born in the country (aged 15 years and over) who consider emigrating permanently, in percentages



Note: Considering emigration means answering "yes" to: "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to live permanently in another country?" Having concrete plans means answering "yes" to: "Are you planning to live permanently in another country in the next 12 months?"
Source: Gallup World Poll, www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf.

Self-reported emigration intentions are common among the Romanian population. When asked if they would like to move abroad permanently if they had the opportunity, 26% of respondents between 2009 and 2018 responded in the affirmative (see Figure 2.8). This percentage is one of the highest recorded in the neighbourhood of Romania; only Moldova shows a higher percentage (35%). The average for neighbouring countries was 25%, reflecting the relatively high emigration intentions in this region.

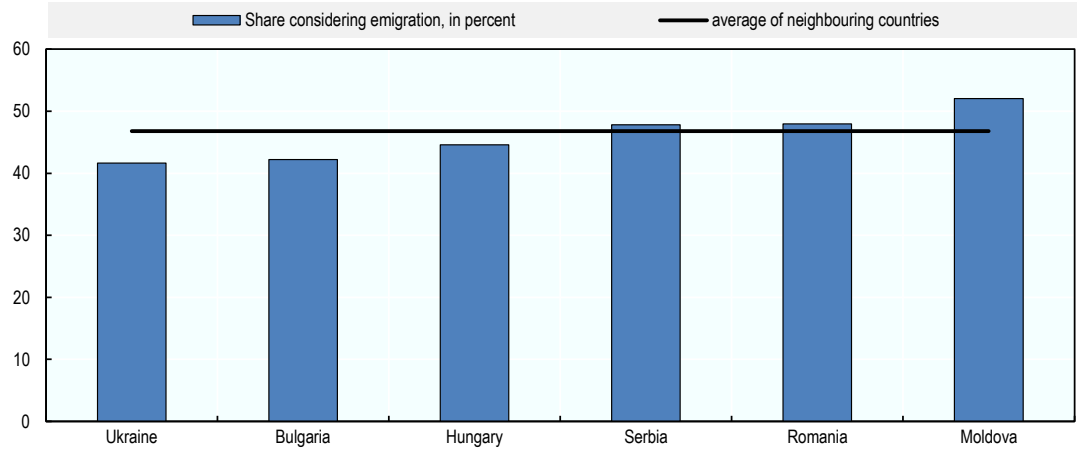
However, these intentions do not always materialise. Of those who expressed a wish to emigrate, only a small proportion said they plan to emigrate in the next 12 months (see Figure 2.8). A discrepancy thus appears between self-declared intentions and their eventual realisation in the short term, which is why the results based on self-reported intentions should be considered with caution (see Box 2.1). In the case of Romania, the contrast between people who say they intend to emigrate and those who consider emigrating in the next 12 months is noteworthy: only a third (34%) of people intending to emigrate have concrete plans to leave the country within a year. The average is 38% for Romania's neighbouring countries. In Ukraine and Bulgaria, however, the share of people with a concrete project (16%) is significantly lower than in Romania, while the share is 62% in Hungary and Moldova.

Among women in East European countries, the share of those intending to emigrate tends to be somewhat similar to that of men (according to data from the Gallup World Poll). In Romania, 26% of women surveyed said they intended to emigrate, the same percentage as the Romanian population overall. Similar trends are observed among women in neighbouring countries, for example in Moldova and in Serbia. The ranking of countries according to women's emigration intentions is similar to the ranking of overall intentions in Figure 2.8; the percentage of Romanian women intending to emigrate is second among its neighbours, after Moldova.

The percentage of young Romanians (aged 15-24) intending to emigrate is among the highest of any country of the region (Figure 2.9). In Romania, close to half (48%) of young people say they intend to emigrate, a percentage higher than that recorded in the total population. These very high emigration intentions are likely related to youth employment prospects. Marginean (2014[11]) points out that the youth unemployment rate in Romania, although broadly similar to the European average, is particularly concerning, as the number of youths entering the Romanian labour market is decreasing because of demographic reasons. This degradation of economic conditions for young persons is associated with a decline in participation in higher education. Overall, emigration seems to be one of the main solutions that young people choose to overcome the economic difficulties they face in Romania.

The next section explores the economic situation in Romania as one of several factors underlying the country's high emigration intentions.

Figure 2.9. Emigration intentions among 15-24-year-olds in selected countries, 2009-18



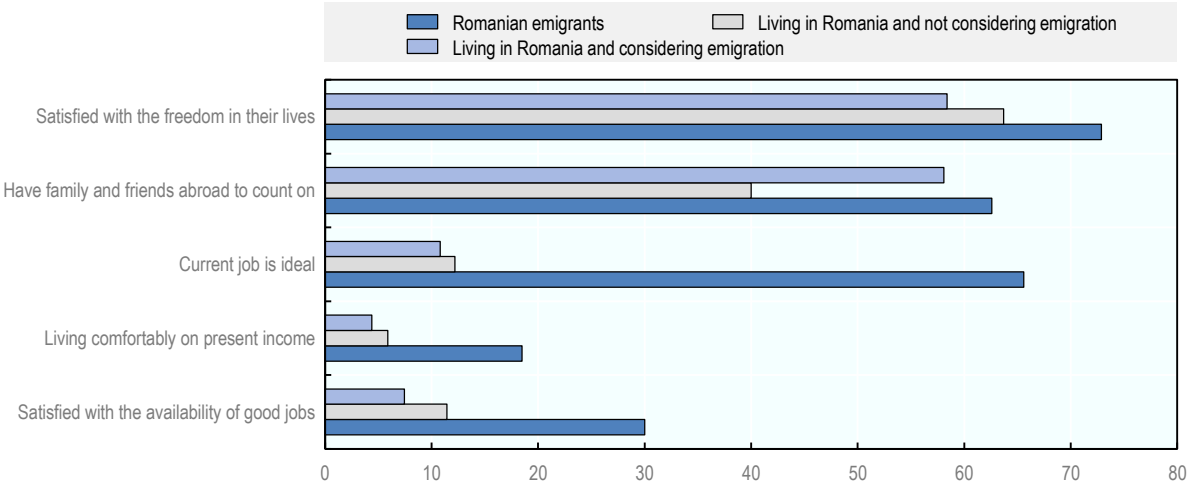
Note: Considering emigration means answering "yes" to: "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to live permanently in another country?"
Source: Gallup World Poll, www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf.

The employment situation in Romania is one of the main causes of the high level of emigration intentions

The Gallup World Poll asks people who say they intend to emigrate and those who do not questions on several aspects of their life satisfaction. One of the main factors that Romanians intending to emigrate underline is their economic and labour market situation.

Figure 2.10. Opinions of persons born in Romania, in Romania and abroad, 2009-18

In percentages



Note: The results are based on interviews with people born and resident in Romania who indicate an intention to emigrate (N = 1 800); persons born and resident in Romania who do not indicate an intention to emigrate (N = 4 900); and people born in Romania living abroad (N = 640). The results are not weighted.
Source: Gallup World Poll, www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf.

Results from the Gallup World Poll reflect the importance given to job prospects by people living in Romania who say they intend to emigrate. There are differences, albeit modest, in the responses given to employment-related questions between those intending to emigrate and those without plans to go abroad (Figure 2.10). Among those intending to emigrate, few respondents are satisfied with their current job (11%), the availability of good quality jobs (7%) or their income (4%). The responses of Romanian emigrants to these same questions indicate a higher level of satisfaction with their economic situation. The share of Romanian emigrants living comfortably on present income is three times the share of those living in Romania. Larger gaps exist in satisfaction with jobs, with close to a third of Romanian emigrants satisfied with the availability of good jobs and close to two-thirds reporting that their current job is ideal. These gaps in self-reported economic situations can fuel the anticipation of a better life abroad for Romanians who have not yet left the country.

Figure 2.11 shows the share of respondents intending to emigrate among employed, unemployed and inactive people. As expected, the unemployed are the most likely to say that they intend to emigrate. People in employment seem to have this intention less often and the inactive even less often. However, as argued in Box 2.1, employed persons are more likely to emigrate, while the comparatively high intentions of the unemployed may face significant restrictions in practice. The share of employed persons in Romania intending to emigrate (29%) is relatively high compared to the percentages recorded in neighbouring countries, such as Serbia (24%), Bulgaria (23%) and Ukraine (19%). Thus even

those Romanians with a job are more likely than employed persons in comparable countries to express an intention to emigrate.

Box 2.1. Reliability of self-reported emigration intentions

Survey data on self-reported emigration intentions face a challenge: intentions may not be very representative of actual emigration decisions. This discrepancy can arise from two sources. First, many of those who declare an intention to emigrate might never emigrate. Second, others who did not declare an intention to emigrate might do so if their situation changes.

In addition, some categories of people are more likely than others to fulfil their intentions to emigrate. Instead of the intention to emigrate, the opportunity to emigrate might be the strongest determinant of actual emigration. Such opportunities arise through employment opportunities or family networks abroad, for example, and some demographic groups are more likely to receive these offers or to have such networks. In OECD (2012[12]), it is observed that the discrepancy between emigration intentions and actual emigration tends to be smaller for the highly educated than for the average across educational groups. This indicates that people with a high level of education may have more opportunities to achieve their emigration intentions.

Similarly, since employers value work experience, people who already have a job are more likely to receive a job offer abroad than unemployed or inactive people. Although it is expected that reported emigration intentions will be high among the unemployed because of their frustration with the local labour market, actual emigration may be particularly low for this group because of its limited emigration possibilities.

Relating emigration intentions to individual characteristics and opinions given in a survey can reveal some indications of the reasons for emigration. However, it is rarely possible to compare these indications with the reasons that actually led to emigration, since emigrants leave the sample of the survey in the country of origin. The Gallup World Poll also does not allow determining how a person's characteristics or opinions influence subsequent emigration. The international scope of the survey does, however, allow comparisons of the characteristics and opinions of emigrants to those who report intentions to emigrate, and to those who report intentions to stay (see Figure 2.10).

This result confirms other comparative studies on emigration intentions in Europe. Using an online panel survey of 20 473 non-student respondents aged 16-35 from nine European Union countries, Williams et al. (2018[13]) also shed light on the emergence of Romania as an emigration nation. Romanian respondents showed the highest intentions to emigrate, both within one year (21%) and within five years (41%). Williams et al. point to the importance of economic factors to explain these high intentions to emigrate. More precisely, individuals who struggle “to secure their livelihood in their home country, those with no income,

and no qualifications are most likely to have plans to migrate" (Williams et al., 2018, p. 15[13]). The authors emphasise the expected continuation of the rising trend of emigration to the more developed countries, given that Romania has only recently gained full access to the EU labour market.

Satisfaction with personal freedoms, family networks and educational attainment also underlie emigration intentions

The Gallup World Poll reveals a number of other non-economic factors that may contribute to the high level of emigration intentions in Romania. The reported satisfaction with the freedom individuals have to live their lives seems to be one such factor. A large difference exists between those intending to emigrate and those who do not wish to do so concerning the satisfaction with this freedom. While about 64% of Romanians who do not show an intention to leave the country say they are satisfied with the freedom to lead their lives, this is the case only for 58% of those who would like to leave. This motive therefore seems at least as important as the question of employment. Overall, respondents in Romania who intend to emigrate tend to be less satisfied than both those who do not intend to emigrate and Romanian emigrants.

The presence of friends or family networks abroad, which is a fundamental criterion in the emigration decision, may also underlie high emigration intentions. As shown in Figure 2.10, the proportion of respondents indicating that they have such networks is higher among emigrants and people residing in Romania and intending to emigrate (respectively 63% and 58%) than among people not intending to emigrate (40%). Several channels can explain this link between the networks abroad and the intention to emigrate. The presence of such networks can indeed instil the idea of going abroad and favour the practical realisation of the project, whether via the availability of relevant information on employment opportunities abroad or on the legal channels of migration. Family networks can also provide material assistance the emigrant to finance the journey or the installation upon arrival. In addition, this network also constitutes a support for job search or psychological support (Massey et al., 1993[14]).

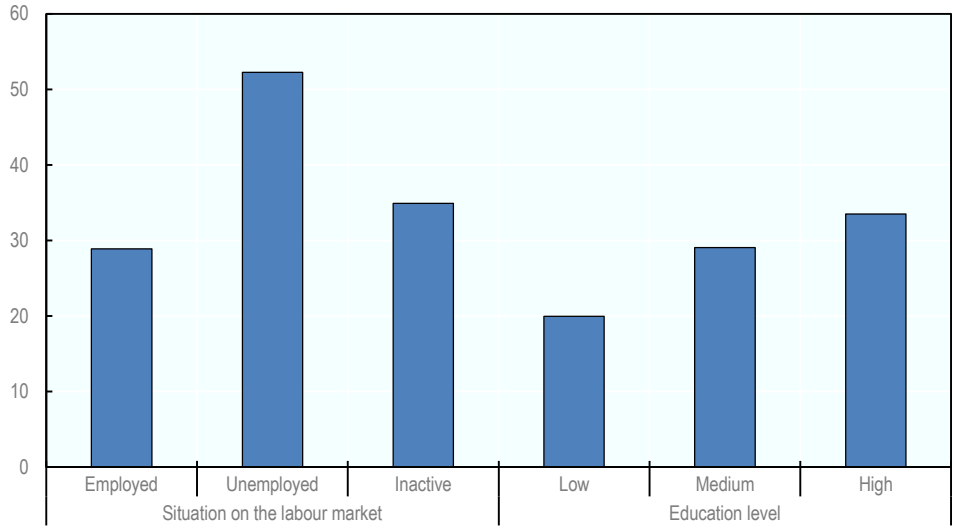
Emigration intentions vary widely with education level. Those with intermediate or higher education express a higher intention to emigrate than those with a low level of education (see Figure 2.11). Emigration intentions are likely to be related to job prospects in Romania: comparatively high emigration intentions of those with intermediate or high education may indicate that they face frustrating labour market difficulties, despite their qualifications. Although people with low levels of education are also likely to face such difficulties, their aspirations are likely lower and they are likely to face a stronger budget constraint that does not allow them to consider emigration as easily as people with a higher level of education.

Comparison of emigration intentions by educational level with the actual emigration rate of Romanians reveals that while people with higher levels of education express higher emigration intentions, they also have a higher propensity to fulfil their plans to leave the country. While the overall emigration rate of

Romanians in 2015/16 was 14%, the same rate was 26% for people with a higher education diploma, an emigration probability ratio of more than 50%. At the same time, the differential in emigration intentions between the most educated and the general population was much lower at around 30%. This difference between intentions and actual migration reflects a selection of emigrants by level of education linked undoubtedly to migration policies in OECD countries that favour the most qualified, resulting in both more favourable financial conditions of graduates and better employment prospects in the countries of destination.

Figure 2.11. Romanian-born persons who consider leaving Romania, by labour-market situation and education, 2009-15

Percentages of the population born in the country aged 15 and over



Note: The results are based on interviews with people born and resident in Romania in the years 2009-15. Considering emigrating means answering "yes" to: "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to live permanently in another country?" N = 3 100 for employed persons, N = 350 for unemployed persons, and N = 2 600 for inactive persons. Low education refers to completed elementary education or less (up to eight years of basic education). A medium level of education is between some secondary education and up to three years of tertiary education (9 to 15 years of education). High education refers to at least four years of completed education beyond high school, or a four-year college degree. N = 2 400 for those with a low education, N = 4 000 for those with medium education, and N = 600 for those with a high education. Answers recorded as "Do not know" are counted towards N and the base of the percentage. The results are not weighted.
Source: Gallup World Poll, www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf.

Conclusion

Annual legal migration flows from Romania to OECD countries peaked at 560 000 in 2007, and quintupled overall from about 88 000 in 2000 to 415 000 in 2016. Romanian emigrants represented 6% of entries to OECD countries in 2016, up from only 3% in 2000. Both Romania's accession to the European Union and the global economic crisis strongly shaped the timing of trends in Romanian

emigration and the specific destination countries. After rising steadily by about 17% per year between 2000 and 2006, an increase imputable to the lifting of Schengen visa requirements for Romanians, Romanian emigration more than doubled from 2006 to 2007. Italy (270 000) and Spain (200 000) attracted most of the flows in 2007. Flows to these two countries sharply declined in 2008 with the onset of the economic crisis, leading to increased flows to Germany and the United Kingdom. Net migration to Spain has become negative in recent years, reflecting the increase in out-migration of Romanians, while high numbers of departures in Germany may reflect a circular system. The characteristics of Romanian emigrants have been fairly stable over time: on average, the majority of new arrivals from Romania between 2004 and 2016 were women, almost two-thirds (62%) were under 30 years old, more than a third (37%) were not married at the time of arrival, and 78% lived in a household with no children. While 71% of recent Romanian emigrants over the period did not hold a job in the year prior to migration, this share decreased over time. Emigration intentions in Romania are high in general and particularly elevated among young people. The issue of job opportunities is the main reason Romanians cite for wanting to leave their country.

Notes

[1] OECD International Migration Database (IMD) data on migration flows to Germany may not be strictly comparable with data on migration flows to other OECD countries. Inflows include foreigners who previously had no registered address in Germany and intend to stay at least one week in the country. In comparison, most other countries apply residence criteria established by EU Regulations (12 months' time threshold). Figures for Germany may thus include short-term migration flows. Please see the Statistical Annex of OECD's *International Migration Outlook* (2018[15]) for more information on IMD data sources.

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Chapter 3. The socio-demographic characteristics of the Romanian diaspora

This chapter examines the socio-demographic characteristics of Romanian emigrants and their descendants. The dimensions studied mainly include their level of education and their language skills. The results highlight the variation in the education levels of Romanian emigrants, as low educated emigrants tend to live in south European countries but conversely, countries in North America and some Nordic countries mainly host Romanian emigrants with a high level of education. The evolution over time in the level of education of Romanian emigrants, despite a slight decrease, shows an overall stability. Romanian emigrant women are now more educated than men compared to 15 years ago. The social and family situations of Romanian emigrants are also analysed, as well as their social integration. The chapter discusses the relatively limited use of the Romanian language among the Romanian diaspora.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

This chapter begins with an in-depth analysis of the distribution of educational attainment of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries and highlights the relative stability in their level of education. This analysis is then detailed by country of destination and sex and shows heterogeneity by destination and that Romanian women emigrants have a higher level of education. Similar analyses are presented for descendants of Romanian emigrants in European countries for which data are available. Some features of social integration and language skills are then described.

Education distribution of Romanian emigrants across OECD countries

Close to a fourth of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are highly educated

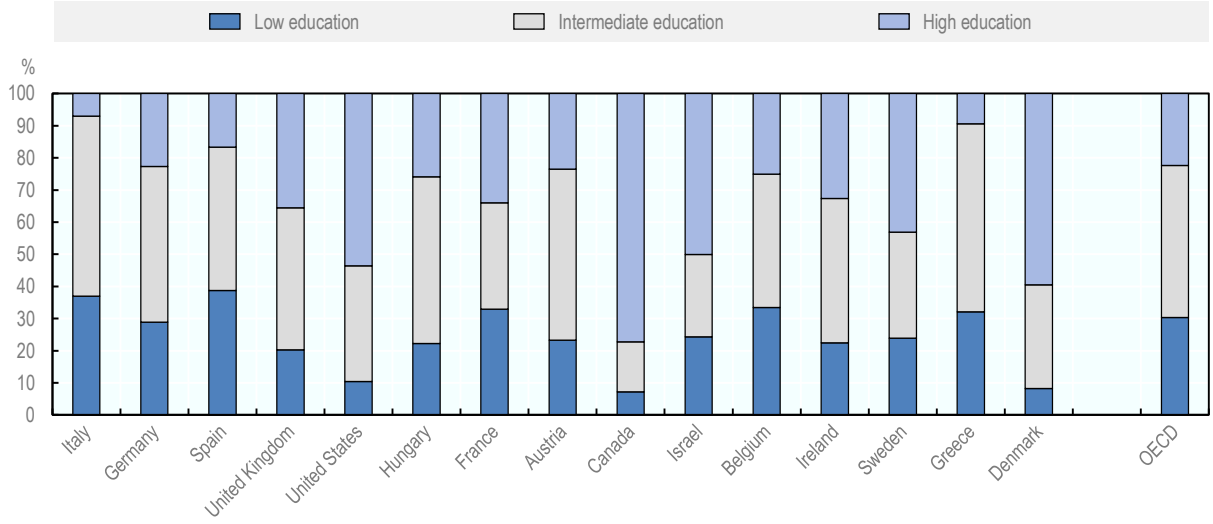
Overall, in 2015/16, 22% of Romanian emigrants aged 15 years old and over living in OECD countries had a high educational attainment, while 30% had a low level of education (Figure 3.1). There is, however, heterogeneity across destination countries. In their main destination country, Italy, Romanian emigrants had the lowest average level of education: only 7% of them had a high level of education, while more than 35% had low educational attainment. To a lesser extent, Romanian emigrants in Spain and Germany – two countries with large Romanian diasporas – also had relatively low levels of educational attainment: the share of tertiary-educated among them was 17% in Spain and 23% in Germany, while the share of low educated was 39% in Spain and 29% in Germany. Romanian emigrants in France and in the United Kingdom had, on average, a higher level of education: about 35% of them had reached tertiary education in 2015/16, and the share of low educated individuals was 33% in France and 20% in the United Kingdom. Finally, in the United States and especially Canada, the share of Romanian emigrants with tertiary education was the highest among the main destination countries: 54% in the United States and 77% in Canada. These two countries had very few low educated Romanian emigrants: 10% in the United Stated and 7% in Canada.

Compared to the other foreign-born living in OECD countries, Romanian emigrants tend to be less educated. On average, Romanian emigrants are 11 percentage points less likely to have attained tertiary education than other emigrants, 33% of whom do so. However, 31% of the emigrants living in OECD countries in 2015/16 had a low level of education (Annex Figure 3.A.1), a percentage point more than Romanian emigrants. The share of Romanian emigrants with an intermediate level of education in OECD countries in 2015/16 was 12 percentage points higher than the same share among all emigrants (35%).

In Romanian emigrants' main countries of destination, Romanian emigrants are significantly less represented than other foreign-born among the low educated. In Italy and Spain, Romanian emigrants are respectively twelve and six percentage points less likely than foreign-born to have a low education level. In Germany and the United Kingdom, Romanian emigrants are respectively eight and six

percentage points less likely to have a low education level than the foreign-born in general (37%).

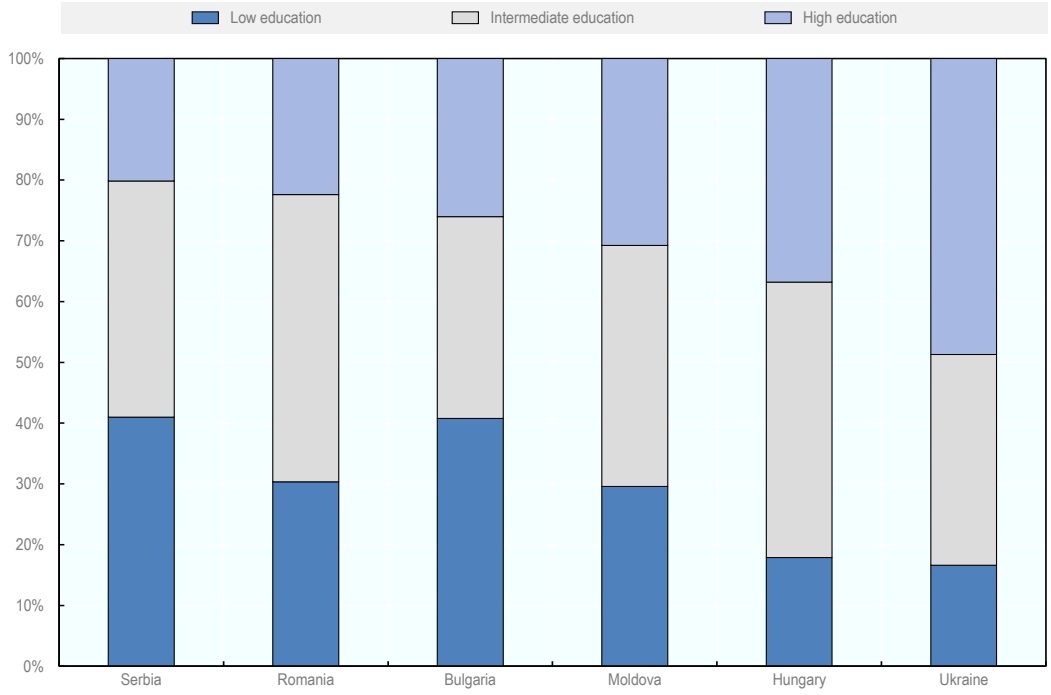
Figure 3.1. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, 2015/16



Note: Only countries with at least 20 000 Romanian emigrants aged 15+. OECD total includes all destination countries.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Compared to the emigrant populations of neighbouring countries, Romanian emigrants are relatively less educated (Figure 3.2). Among Romania's neighbours, only Serbia – which is not part of the European Union – has a less educated emigrant population than Romania, with 41% of its emigrant population being low educated and 20% highly educated. By contrast, all the other neighbouring countries of Romania have a more educated emigrant population than Romania. For instance, close to half of Ukrainian emigrants are highly educated, more than twice the proportion of Romanian emigrants.

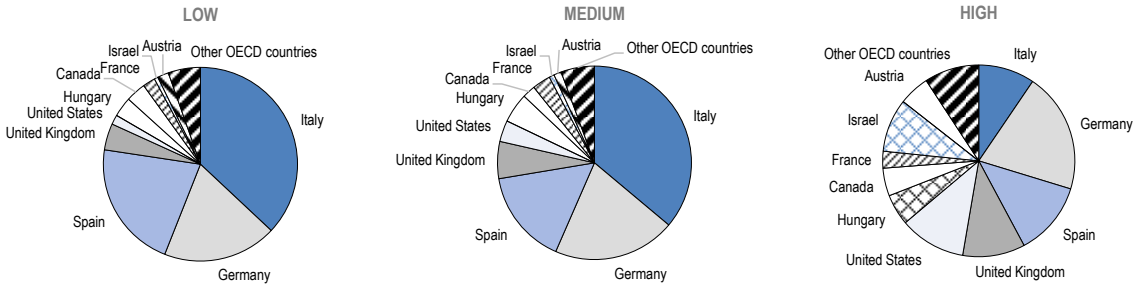
Figure 3.2. Distribution of education among emigrants from Romania and neighbouring countries aged 15 and over living in OECD countries, 2015/16



Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Germany is the main OECD destination country for highly educated Romanian emigrants, with one in five highly educated Romanian emigrants residing in this country (Figure 3.3). Migrant networks play a significant role in the emigration of highly educated Romanians to Germany (Dietz, 1999[1]), and the relatively good economic conditions in Germany – particularly compared to other European countries since the global economic crisis of 2008 – can also help to attract them, by ensuring a better labour market integration for emigrants. By contrast, although Italy is the first destination country of Romanian emigrants, only 9% of the highly educated reside in this country. However, Italy is the main destination country of low educated Romanian emigrants, with more than one third of them (37%) living there. Spain is the second OECD country in terms of hosting low educated Romanian emigrants, 21% of whom were living in Spain in 2015/16. Overall, highly educated Romanian emigrants are more spread out across OECD countries than the low educated. Highly educated Romanian emigrants seem to favour English-speaking countries. The United States, the United Kingdom and Canada host respectively 11%, 10% and 9% of the total number of highly educated Romanian emigrants.

Figure 3.3. Distribution of Romanian emigrants across OECD destination countries by education level, 2015/16

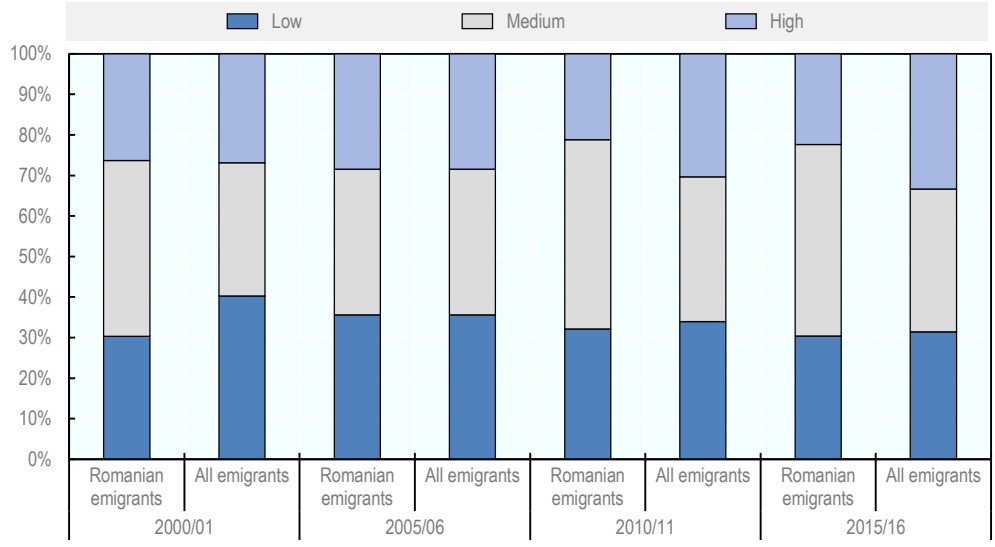


Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

The education level of Romanian emigrants is relatively stable over time

Contrary to the global increase in education among foreign-born living in OECD countries, the education level of Romanian emigrants remained relatively stable over the 2000-2015 period, and has even tended to decrease slightly (Figure 3.4). In 2015/2016, the share of low educated among Romanian emigrants remained the same as in 2000/2001, with 30% of the Romanian emigrant population having this education level. However, the share of highly educated has decreased by four percentage points over the same period, from 26% to 22%. This decrease in education level might be related to Romania's accession to the European Union in 2007 and the previous lifting of visa restrictions by the Schengen agreement member states in 2002, as these changes made it easier for low-educated Romanians to emigrate to other European countries. More precisely, it offered new opportunities for Romanians, at a time when population aging and the shortage of labour in sectors that cannot be delocalised (such as construction, agriculture, health, care of the elderly, or tourism professions) made immigration an essential component of labour supply. In France for instance, the procedure for granting work permits was simplified and accelerated for the so-called selected occupations, an important number of which required a relatively low education level.

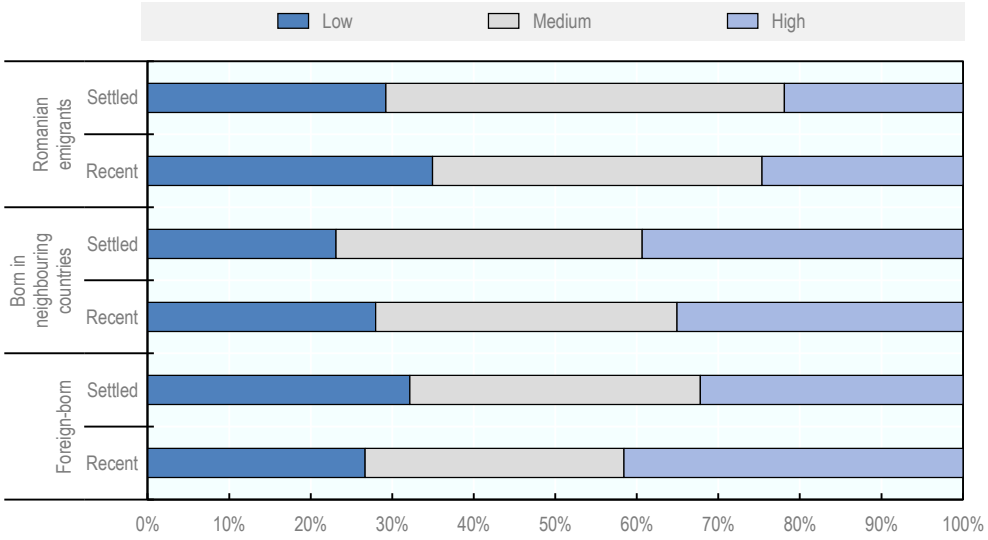
Figure 3.4. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries between 2000/01 and 2015/16



Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

The comparison between recent emigrants (i.e. living in the country for at most five years) and settled emigrants (i.e. living in the country for more than five years) confirms this trend (Figure 3.5). Recent Romanian emigrants living in OECD countries in 2015/16 are more likely to be represented at both ends of the education distribution than settled Romanian emigrants; in other words, they are more likely to be either low or highly educated than settled Romanian emigrants. Among recent Romanian emigrants, 35% are low educated, compared to 29% among settled Romanian emigrants. While 25% of recent Romanian emigrants have a tertiary degree, this share is 22% among settled Romanian emigrants. This trend illustrates the diversification of Romanian emigrants' profiles, with an increasing number of low educated seasonal workers for instance (Michalon and Nedelcu, 2010[2]). Among the foreign-born as a whole, a clearer trend of a higher level of education among recent emigrants is observed.

Figure 3.5. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries in 2015/16, by duration of stay



Note: Recent emigrants are living in the country for at most five years and settled emigrants for more than five years. Neighbouring countries include Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Serbia, Moldova and Romania.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

The number of Romanian emigrants with tertiary education in OECD countries seems to have increased in recent years more rapidly than the number of tertiary graduates in Romania. In fact, the emigration rate of tertiary graduates increased from 20.9% in 2010/11 to 25.8% in 2015/16. At the same time, the total emigration rate increased by less than half a percentage point (from 13.6% to 14%).

The emigration rate of tertiary graduates is particularly high compared to other countries with large emigrant populations. Among the top ten origin countries in 2015/16, Romania has the highest emigration rate of highly educated. A broader comparison confirms that Romania is one of the countries most affected by this emigration of the most educated, since only about 30 countries have a higher emigration rate of tertiary graduates, and these countries include small islands and sparsely populated countries. Compared to its neighbours, Romania also has a high emigration rate of tertiary graduates, with only Moldova having a slightly higher rate. While more than a quarter of tertiary graduates (26.3%) born in Albania resided in an OECD country in 2015/16, this proportion was only 18% for Bulgaria, 17% for Hungary, and 10.2% for Serbia and Ukraine.

The question of the emigration of higher education graduates is naturally sensitive for Romania, as for many countries that invest in the education of young people and face the emigration of some of them to countries where employment opportunities are more favourable. However, simply measuring the number of emigrants with tertiary degrees may overestimate this phenomenon. Indeed, not

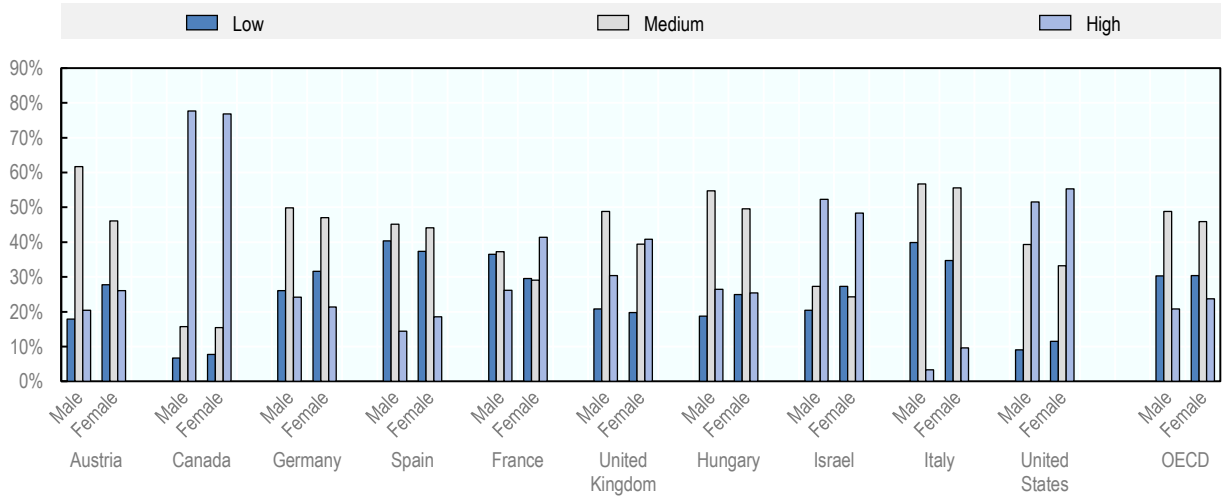
all highly educated emigrants completed their higher education in their country of origin. In the case of Romania, as highlighted in Chapters 1 and 2, many Romanians complete all or part of their higher education in OECD countries, either as part of student mobility or because they left Romania before starting their studies.

Among Romanian emigrants living in OECD countries, women now have a higher level of education than men

Close to a fourth (24%) of Romanian emigrant women are highly educated, whereas this share is three percentage points lower for men (21%) (Figure 3.6). Overall, highly educated Romanian emigrant women in OECD countries number more than 430 000 persons whereas highly educated Romanian emigrant men represent fewer than 330 000 persons. This high number of Romanian women living abroad with tertiary education corroborates the now higher education level of women in Romania compared to men (Unicef, 2016[3]).

The differences in the distribution of education levels by gender among Romanian emigrants vary by destination country (Figure 3.6). Among Romanian emigrants in the United Kingdom, women are 11 percentage points more likely than men to be highly educated, with 41% of women having a degree from higher education. In France as well, 41% of Romanian emigrant women have reached tertiary education, 15 percentage points more than their male counterparts. By contrast, in some countries like Canada or Spain, the distribution of education level among Romanian emigrants is relatively similar across genders. Nevertheless, Romanian men are rather better educated than women in some other OECD countries. In Israel for instance, Romanian emigrant women are four percentage points less likely than men to reach higher education (respectively 48% and 52%) and seven percentage points more likely than men to have a low educational attainment (respectively 27% and 20%).

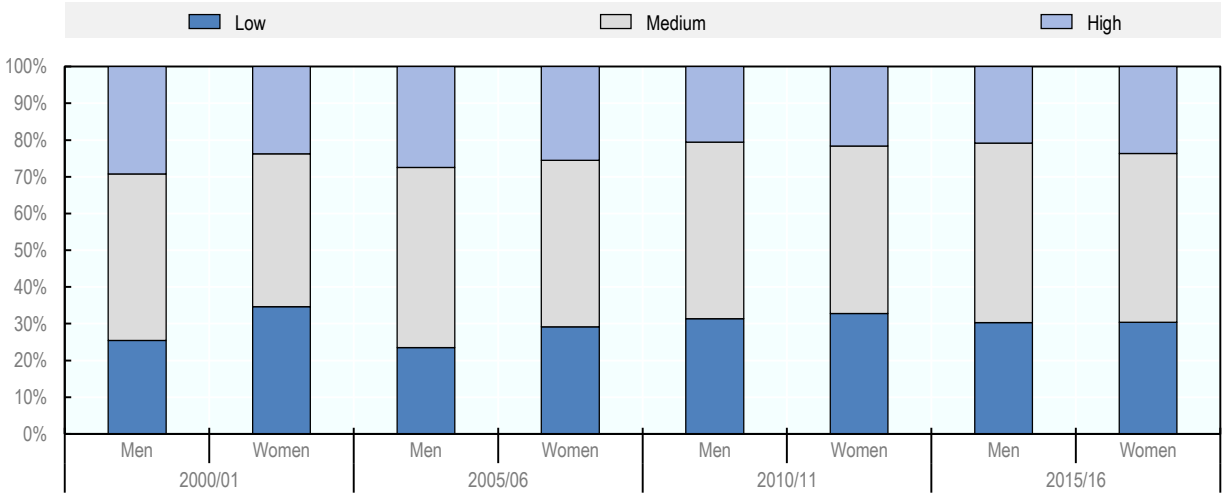
Figure 3.6. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, by gender, 2015/16



Note: OECD covers all OECD countries for which this information is available.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Over time, gender disparities among Romanian emigrants in terms of education level have reversed in OECD countries. In 2000/01, Romanian emigrant men were more educated than Romanian emigrant women whereas it is the contrary 15 years later. More precisely, in 2000/01, Romanian emigrant women were nine percentage points more likely to have low educational attainment than men and five percentage points less likely to have a tertiary degree than men (Figure 3.7). In 2010/11, Romanian emigrant women became more likely to graduate from higher education than Romanian men, and in 2015/16, Romanian emigrant women became as likely as Romanian men to have a low level of education. The greater increase in education level among Romanian emigrant women compared to men goes hand in hand with the increase in education level among women in Romania (Unicef, 2016[3]).

Figure 3.7. Evolution of the education distribution among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in OECD countries, 2015/16



Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Romanian emigrants with the host country citizenship are more educated than those who do not have it

The education level of Romanian emigrants who possess the citizenship of their host country in OECD countries is higher than Romanian emigrants who have only the citizenship of their origin country (Figure 3.8). Romanian emigrants who are also citizens of their destination country are more than twice as likely to have a high education level as those who do not (respectively 37% and 16%). However, this citizenship effect is stronger in some countries (Annex Figure 3.A.2).

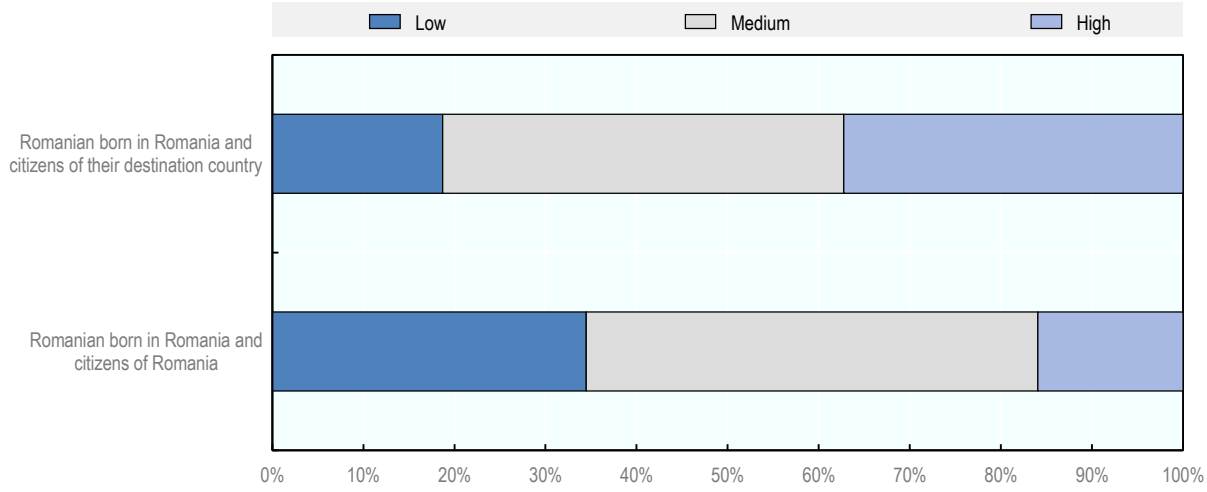
In Germany, Romanian emigrants with German citizenship are, by far, more educated than Romanian emigrants who do not have German citizenship – they are respectively 21% and 38% to have a low education level and 26% and 19 % to have a high education level. In the United Kingdom as well, having the British citizenship is associated with a higher education level for Romanian emigrants.

The explanatory channels for this relationship between possession of the host country's nationality and level of education are manifold. For example, more educated emigrants have better prospects for economic integration in host countries, which may enable them to have a lasting settlement that eventually leads to the acquisition of nationality. In addition, some Romanian emigrants with a tertiary degree have completed part of their studies in their country of destination, which in some OECD countries favours the acquisition of nationality (the question of the enrolments of Romanian students in OECD countries is discussed in Chapter 1).

This relationship, however, is not systematic and is more difficult to observe in countries where migrants have already been selected for entry. In Italy and in the

United States, the differences in the level of education between emigrants, whether or not they have acquired the nationality of the host country, are marginal. However, the United States is also a country in which Romanian emigrants already have a relatively high level of education.

Figure 3.8. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, by citizenship, 2015/16



Note: Countries include Australia, Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Finland, France, the United Kingdom, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovakia, Sweden and the United States.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

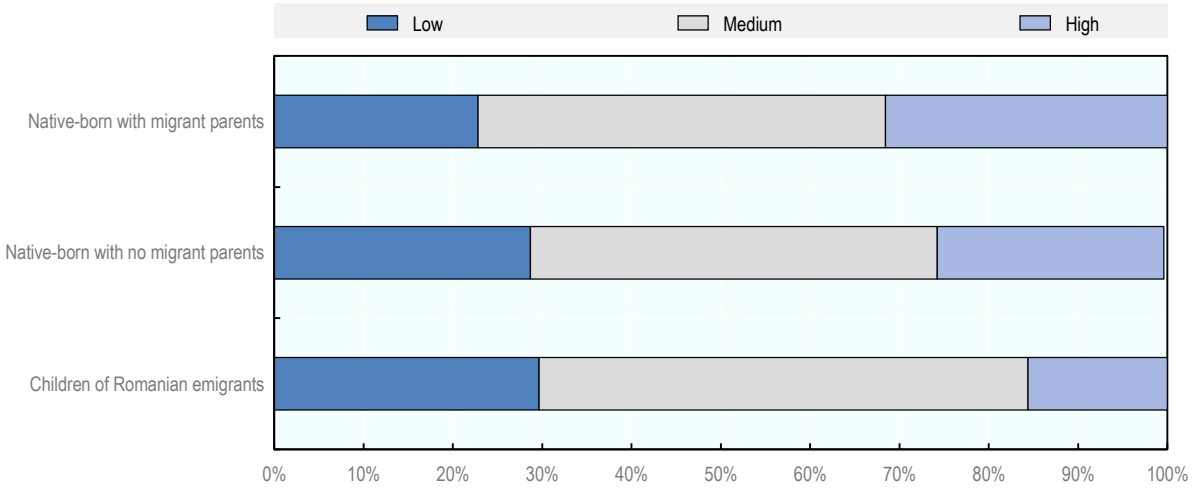
The children of Romanian emigrants differ in education levels in European countries and in the United States

In European countries, the children of Romanian emigrants are less educated than other natives with migrant parents

Native-born individuals with Romanian emigrant parents (i.e. persons who were born outside Romania but had at least one Romanian-born parent) living in European countries other than Romania are on average less educated than the group of native-born with migrant parents (Figure 3.9). The children of Romanian emigrants are seven percentage points more likely to have a low education level than the children of emigrants (respectively 30% and 23%) and half as likely to graduate from higher education than the children of emigrants (respectively 16% and 32%). Similarly, the children of Romanian emigrants living in European countries other than Romania are also less educated than the native-born who do not have an emigrant parent. However, this result can be moderated as native-born individuals with Romanian parents tend to be much younger than other native-born persons (see the discussion in Chapter 1). Hence, as native-born

persons with Romanian parents are overrepresented among the 15-24 compared to other groups, they might be still studying and classified in the low educated group.

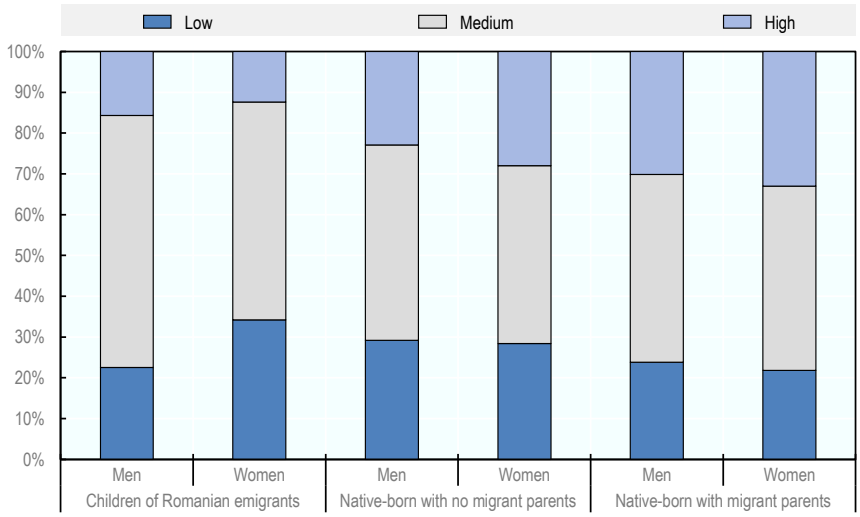
Figure 3.9. Distribution of education among native-born aged 15 and over by parents' country of birth, living in EU countries, 2014



Source: Ad-hoc module, EU-LFS, 2014.

In European countries, native-born men with Romanian parents are more educated than native-born women with Romanian parents (Figure 3.10). This gender difference is exceptional, as native-born women tend to be more educated than native-born men, whether these individuals have native-born or foreign-born parents. However, this gender difference is also related to the age distribution of the descendants of Romanian emigrants. Indeed, women descendants of Romanian emigrants are overrepresented among the younger category considered (between 15 and 24 years old) compared to men, which mechanically lowers women's likelihood to have already reached tertiary education. The gender difference is indeed smaller among young descendants of Romanian emigrants than among older ones (25-64).

Figure 3.10. Distribution of education among native-born aged 15 and over, by gender and parents' country of birth, living in EU countries, 2014



Source: Ad-hoc module, EU-LFS, 2014.

On the contrary, in the United States, the children of Romanian emigrants are better educated than other native-born persons

In the United States, US-born individuals with Romanian parents are better educated than other native-born individuals. According to the 2016 Current Population Survey, half of native-born persons with Romanian parents are highly educated. By contrast, only 39% of all native-born persons in the United States are tertiary graduates. This high education level among the descendants of Romanian emigrants goes hand in hand with the high education level of their parents in this country, as the United States is one of the countries with the highest share of highly educated Romanian emigrants. The children of Romanian emigrants living in the United States thus also constitutes a large pool of highly-skilled among the diaspora, which can be mobilised by Romania for its economic development.

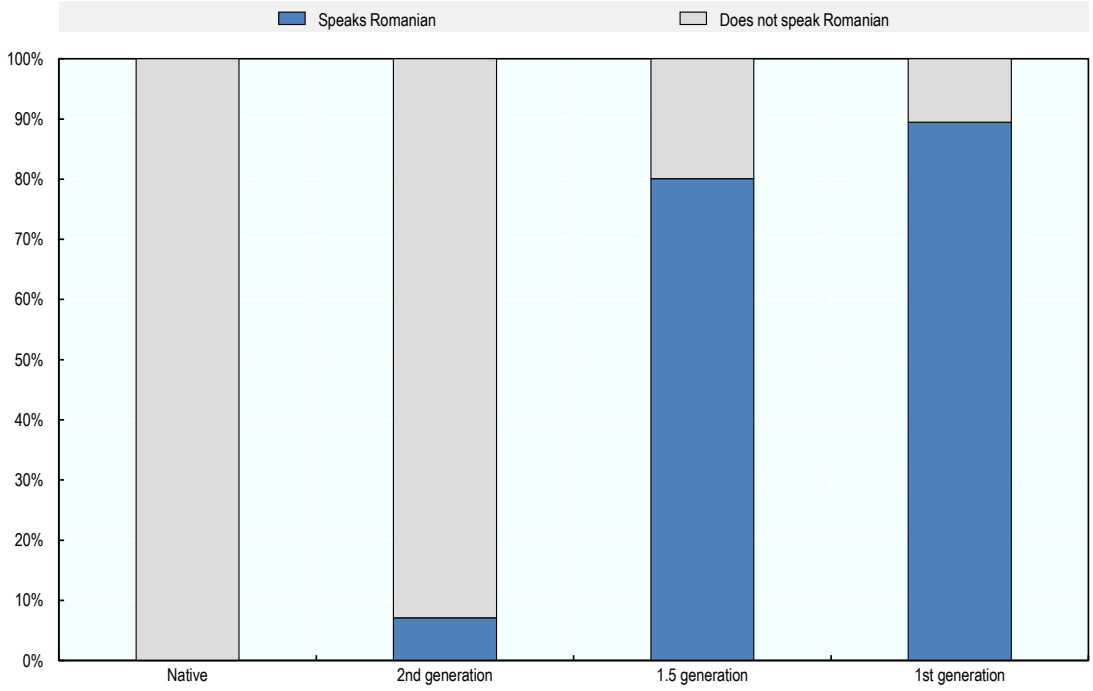
Romanian emigrants are socially integrated in most countries

The Romanian language is not widespread among the Romanian diaspora

Language proficiency is a fundamental factor in the economic and social integration of emigrants in the host country. Good knowledge of the language of the host country facilitates the acquisition of skills during schooling but also integration into the labour market, and more broadly interactions with other members of society. As such, age at arrival in the host country is a key determinant of language learning and success in the education system (OECD/EU, 2015[4]; OECD, 2018[5]).

The use of the Romanian language seems to decline over generations (Figure 3.11). In Italy, Romanian emigrants' main destination country, 86% of Romanian households declare Romanian as their mother tongue. However, the use of Romanian decreases from 89% among Romanian emigrants to 80% among Romanian-born emigrants who arrived before the age of 5 years old in Italy. An even lower share of children of Romanian emigrants speak Romanian (7%), which is particularly low compared to other descendants of emigrants in Italy.

Figure 3.11. Language spoken by Romanian emigrants and their descendants in Italy



Source: Condizione e Integrazione dei Cittadini Stranieri, 2011-12 (https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/10825).

In addition to this differential use of the Romanian language by generation, its use also varies depending on with whom Romanians interact. Only 36% of Romanian emigrants use a language other than Italian (which can be expected to be the Romanian language) to speak with friends whereas almost 60% of them use a language other than Italian to speak with their family. The Romanian language therefore remains the main language of Romanian emigrants when interacting with their family. The frequent use of the Italian language in interactions with friends demonstrates the relatively high capacity of Romanian emigrants to integrate linguistically and, more broadly, socially in Italy.

Overall, the use of Romanian in Italy by Romanians is relatively limited and illustrates the fairly restricted ties kept with their origin country. However, the loss of the Romanian language among Romanians over generations is not the sole result of a desire to renounce of their origin country's culture, but rather, is also

associated with the high proximity of the Romanian and Italian languages (Stoica, 1919[6]; OECD, 2018[5]). Compared to other languages spoken by emigrants living in Italy, the language distance that Romanian migrants face is considerably lower than that faced, for example, by Albanians. The Language Distance Index between Italian and Romanian is in fact 57 whereas it is 93 between Albanian and Italian (OECD, 2018[5]). This can explains why so few Romanian emigrants spoke Italian when they arrived in their new country but do not face major difficulties in learning this new language. Indeed, almost two third (65%) of Romanian emigrants in Italy did not speak a word of Italian when they arrived in the country and almost one third (32%) spoke only a few words.

In the United States, where a large number of Romanian emigrants are highly educated, the transmission of the Romanian language is also challenging (Nesteruk, 2010[7]). While a vast majority of Romanian emigrants want to transmit their language to their children – to enable communication with grandparents and extended family but also to develop their children's intellectual development and education – and make efforts to promote it, it appears to be easier to raise bilingual children among Romanian families with more resources and support. And even though highly educated emigrants generally have a more positive attitude towards the transmission of their origin country's language (King and Fogle, 2006[8]), with longer duration of residence in the country and continued extensive use of English in their professional occupations, Romanian emigrants face difficulties in keeping Romanian as the sole language at home. The fact that Romanian emigrant women are more engaged in professional activities than before might be connected to the fact that children are less likely to keep constant contact with the Romanian language at an early age (Nesteruk, 2010[7]). In particular, Romanian emigrants report challenges not in the early transmission of the Romanian language to their young children, but also in the maintenance of Romanian during adolescent years (Nesteruk, 2010[7]). In addition, Romanian emigrants also tend to prioritize when their children's educational success comes at play. Highly educated Romanian emigrant parents hence tend to focus on promoting mastery of English at home to ensure their children's success at school (Nesteruk, Marks and Garrison, 2009[9]).

Despite these difficulties, 76% of Romanian emigrants in the United States say they speak a language other than English at home according to the 2016 American Community Survey. Among this share, 85% of Romanian emigrants declare speaking Romanian at home, which corresponds to about 65% of all Romanian emigrants living in the United States. Interestingly, 5% of Romanian emigrants who speak another language at home report speaking Hungarian and 4% report speaking German, which underlines the mobility of Romanian emigrants across countries and their linguistic integration into these countries.

The strong linguistic integration of Romanian emigrants in the United States is also illustrated by the high share of Romanian emigrants declaring a good level in English. Overall, 88% of Romanian emigrants who speak a language other than English at home report speaking English "Very well" (63%) or "Well" (25%) (this share is almost identical if the sample is restricted to speakers of Romanian).

Bilingualism hence seems to be quite common among the Romanian diaspora. However, comparing cohorts of Romanian emigrants shows that younger emigrants tend to be more likely to speak only English at home than older cohorts of Romanian emigrants. Overall, only 45% of Romanian emigrants under the age of 25 report speaking a language other than English at home, with 87% of them reporting speaking Romanian. By contrast, consistently close to 80% of Romanian emigrants aged 35 years and older report speaking a language other than English at home.

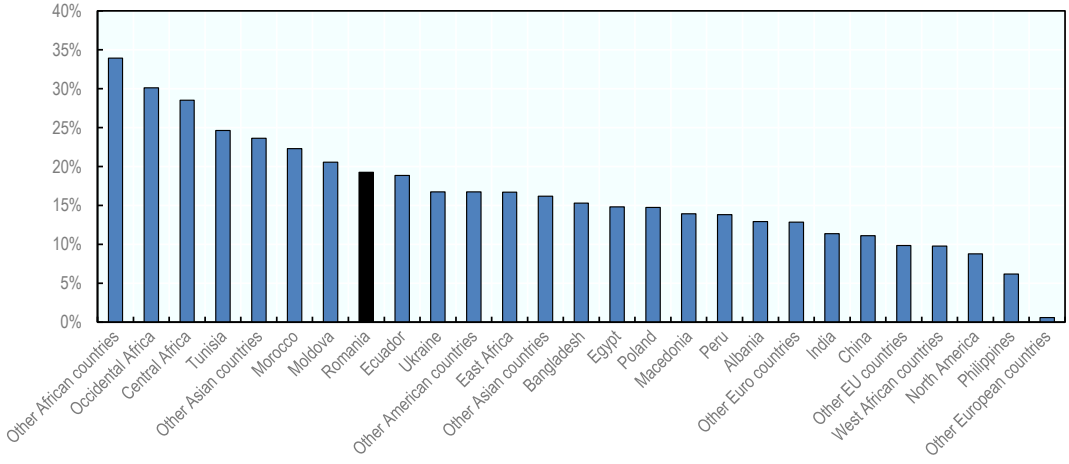
The practice of mixed marriages varies widely across countries

For emigrants, the prevalence of mixed marriages (i.e. marriages with non-natives of their own country of origin) is a dimension of social integration in the host country. In Italy, according to the *Condizione e Integrazione dei Cittadini Stranieri*, 87% of Romanian emigrants had a Romanian spouse in 2011/2012. This share is relatively similar to other migrants groups, as 88% of Moldovan emigrants in Italy marry Moldovans and 93% of Ukrainian emigrants marry Ukrainians. In France, according to the *Trajectoires et Origines* survey, mixed marriages were more common among Romanian emigrants. In 2012, only 48% of Romanian married emigrants married a person born in Romania while 45% of them married a French person. This rate of mixed marriage is relatively high, compared to Italy, but also compared to the other main groups of emigrants living in France. However, the share of mixed marriages among Romanian emigrants in France remains comparable, and even slightly higher than this share among emigrants coming from UE-27 neighbouring countries.

Romanian emigrants face a relatively high level of discrimination in their main destination countries

Close to one fifth (19%) of Romanian emigrants declared having faced discrimination at work in Italy (Figure 3.12). The feeling of discrimination at work is fairly high among Romanian emigrants in Italy, as only African and Moldovan migrants are more likely to declare to have faced this kind of situation. This share is half lower for emigrants coming from other EU countries (10%). Considering that language is not a major barrier to the integration of Romanian emigrants, as the linguistic distance is quite limited, this high level of perceived discrimination among Romanian emigrants can raise concern. One of the potential reasons might be the occasional conflation of ethnic Roma – a largely discriminated ethnic group – and Romanian emigrants in general. While some Romanian emigrants are actually ethnic Roma, this conflation might lead to an incorrect assimilation of ethnic Roma and Romanians in general (Uccellini, 2010[10]). Discrimination appears to be one of the main negative outcomes of the migration experience of Romanian emigrants in Italy, along with worries about the future, professional overqualification (see Chapter 4 for a broader discussion of this element) and the impact of migration on family relationships (Mara, 2012[11]).

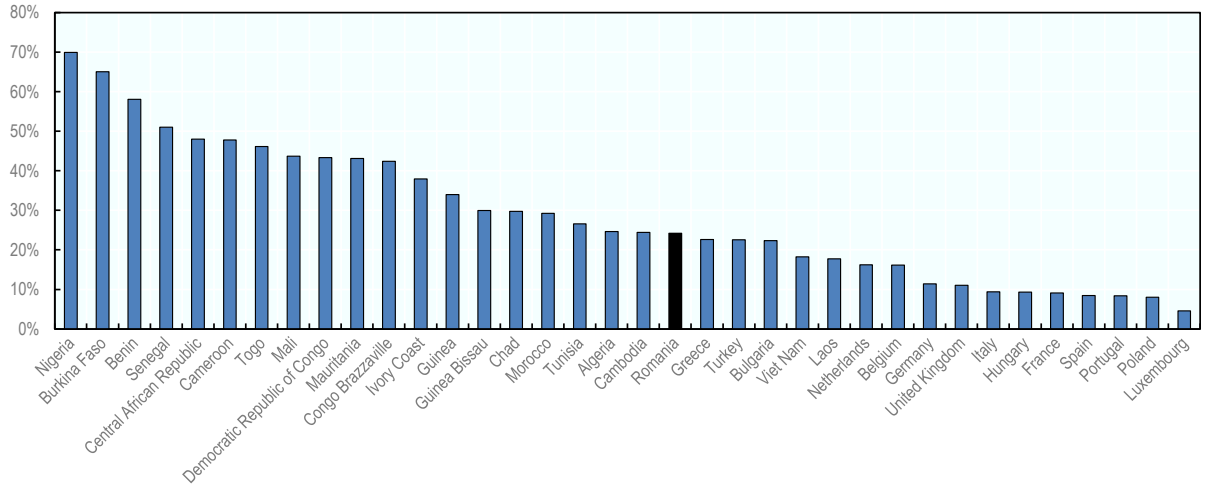
Figure 3.12. Discrimination at work among emigrants in Italy, by country of birth, 2011/12



Note: The Figure considers the share of individuals stating that they faced discrimination at work.
Source: Condizione e Integrazione dei Cittadini Stranieri, 2011-12 (https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/10825).

In France, close to one fourth (24%) of Romanian emigrants declared in the *Trajectoires et Origines* survey that they had sometimes faced at least some discrimination or unequal treatment in the past five years. This share is not so high compared to African emigrants, who regularly face discriminatory treatment in France as in Italy, but it is relatively high compared to the level reported by emigrants of other European origin countries. Romanian emigrants are indeed one of the main European emigrant groups declaring having faced discrimination or unequal treatment in France. However, Romanian emigrants are closely followed by emigrants from other European countries. More than a fifth (22%) of emigrants from Bulgaria, one of Romania's neighbours, declared having faced discrimination. However, this rate is far higher than that reported by Polish emigrants, only 8% of whom declare having faced this kind of inequality.

Figure 3.13. Discrimination among emigrants in France, by country of birth, 2012



Note: Persons who answer "Often" or "Sometimes" to the question "Did you face unequal treatment or discrimination in the past five years?"
Source: Enquête Trajectoires et Origines, 2012 (https://teo.site.ined.fr/).

Conclusion

With one fourth of its emigrants having tertiary education, the educational level of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries is on average relatively high. Although Italy hosts the most Romanian emigrants and the most low and medium educated Romanian emigrants in all OECD countries, Germany is the main destination for highly educated Romanian emigrants. Education levels among Romanian emigrants vary widely across countries, and south European countries like Spain or Italy are the countries in which low educated emigrants are the more represented. Contrary to the global trend among emigrants living in OECD countries, the education level of Romanian emigrants is not increasing but is instead relatively stable and has even tended to slightly decrease in the past 15 years. However, this stability of education levels masks the fact that Romanian emigrant women now have a higher education level than men. Hence, over the last 15 years, gender disparities among Romanian emigrants in terms of education level have reversed in OECD countries. Native-born children of Romanian emigrants do however tend to have lower education levels than other native-born in European countries, but higher levels in the United States. Finally, the Romanian diaspora is characterized by a fairly successful integration into host societies. Indeed, the Romanian diaspora adopts the languages and demographic norms of destination countries quite frequently. Nevertheless, Romanian emigrants still face fairly frequent discrimination, which may hinder their successful integration into host societies.

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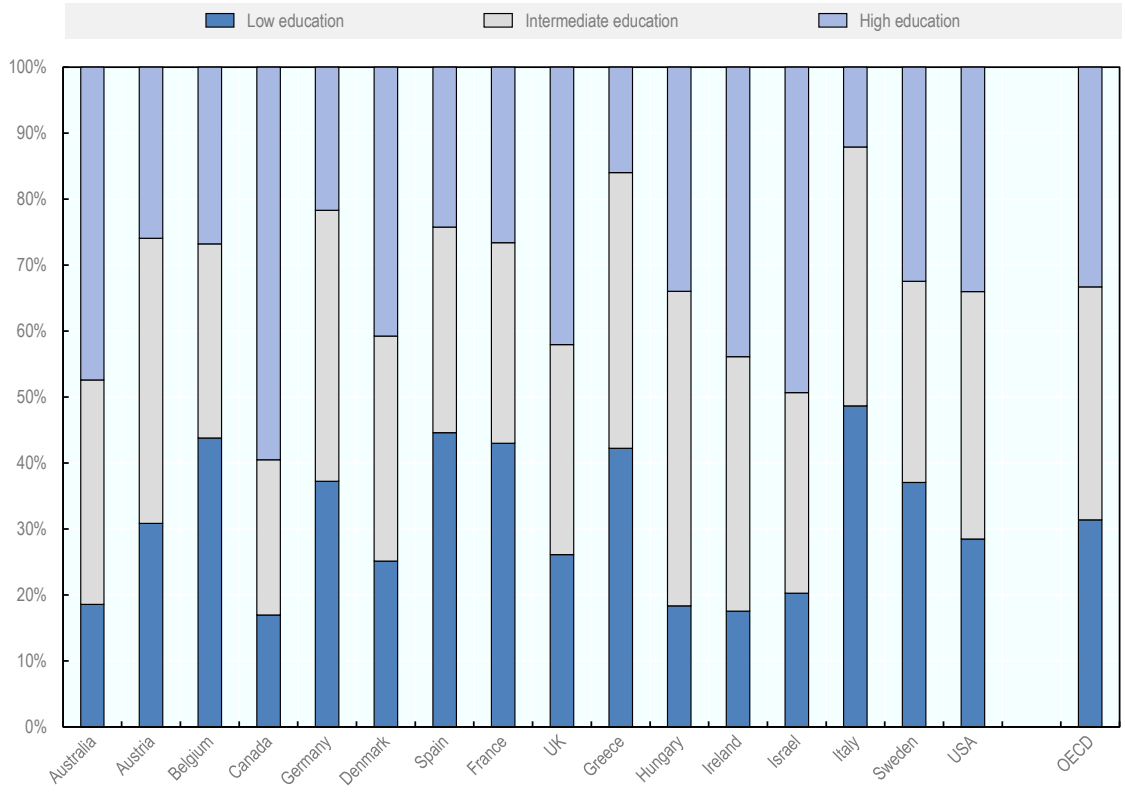
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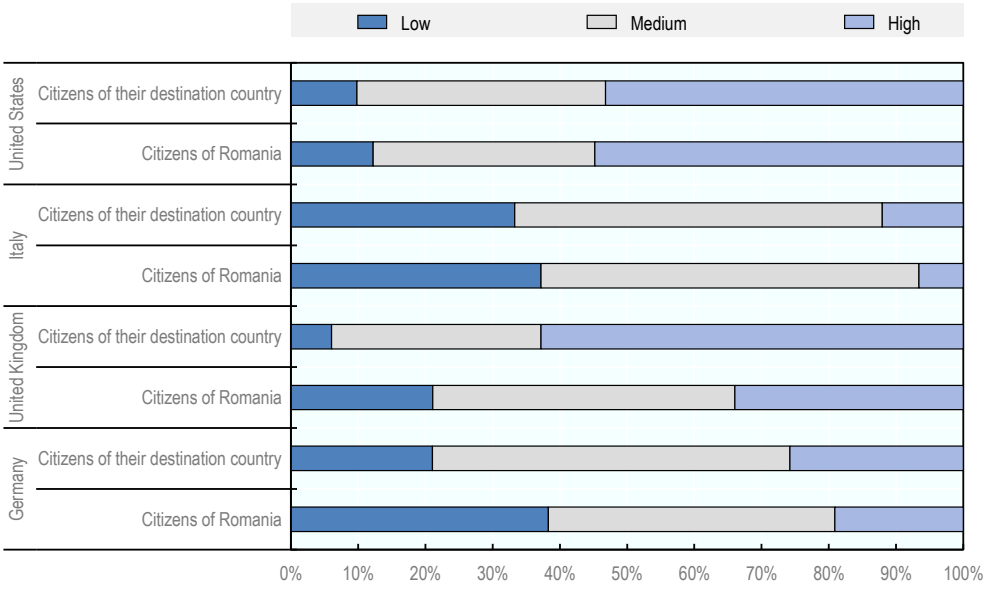
Annex 3.A. Additional figures and tables

Annex Figure 3.A.1. Distribution of education among all foreign-born persons aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, 2015/16



Note: Only countries with at least 20 000 Romanian emigrants aged 15+. OECD total includes all destination countries.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Annex Figure 3.A.2. Distribution of education among Romanian emigrants aged 15 and over living in selected OECD countries, by country and citizenship, 2015/16



Note: "Citizens of Romania" implies that the Romanian emigrants considered do not hold the citizenship of their host country.
Source: DIOC 2015/16.

Chapter 4. Labour market outcomes of Romanian emigrants

This chapter examines the labour market situation of working-age Romanian emigrants through several key indicators and compares it to that of other groups of emigrants and the native-born population. While they have above-average employment rates, Romanian emigrants also have relatively high unemployment levels across all their main OECD destination countries, except in Canada and the United States. A closer look focuses on developments over time, including changes in labour market integration due to the economic crisis, suggesting that the unemployment rate gap between Romanian emigrants and native-born increased in the aftermath of the Great Recession. Despite generally greater employment levels, job creation has been sluggish for highly educated Romanian emigrants between 2000 and 2015. The industries and occupations in which Romanian emigrants work tend to be unskilled, except for a few specific professions, such as doctors and nurses. Finally, the high rate of over-qualification among emigrants indicates lower job quality.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

Note by Turkey:
The information in this document with reference to "Cyprus" relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the "Cyprus issue".

Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union:
The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

This chapter deals with the labour market integration of Romanian emigrants. The indicators of labour market participation, employment and unemployment are presented for all Romanian emigrants in OECD countries. These results are also analysed by gender, as well as across destination countries and over time, to take into account the impact of the economic crisis that has hit the main European destination countries on the labour market integration of Romanian emigrants. A detailed analysis is devoted to the distribution of migrants across sectors and occupations, with a particular focus on over-qualification rates, perception of skills underuse, and actual use of "soft" skills in the workplace. A case study of the emigration of Romanian health professionals concludes.

Labour market integration is comparatively difficult

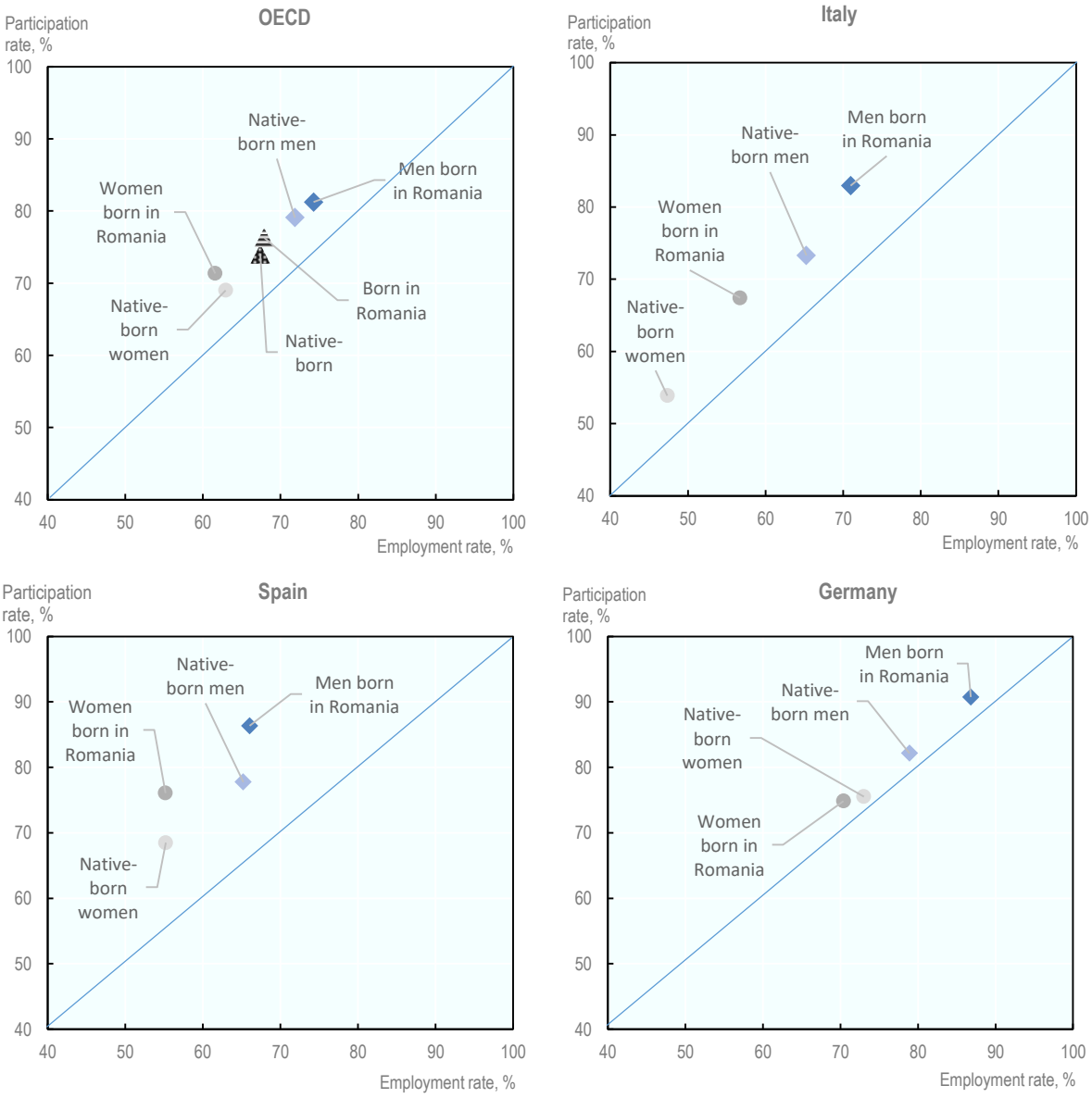
Labour market participation and employment rates of Romanian emigrants are overall higher than those of natives

In 2015/16, 76% of Romanian working-age emigrants participated in the labour markets of OECD countries, a rate 2 percentage points higher than that of the native-born population (Figure 4.1). This rate of labour market participation was also greater than that of the general foreign-born population (73%) and that of emigrants from Romania's neighbouring countries (72%). Remarkably, the relatively high labour market participation of Romanian emigrants is driven by both greater employment rates and greater unemployment rates in comparison to native-born persons.

In terms of employment rates, 68% of the OECD's labour force born in Romania were employed in 2015/16, compared to 67% of the native-born. There are however important differences by gender. Throughout the OECD, women born in Romania have an employment rate of 62%, while that of their male peers reaches as high as 74%. On the other hand, the employment rate of native-born women is similar to that of women born in Romania, but the gender gap is narrower, with native-born men having an employment rate of only 72%. This is again reflected in labour market participation: whereas natives experience a 10-percentage-point gender gap in participation rates, this rises to 12 percentage points for Romanian emigrants.

It is worth analysing the trends in labour market participation and employment in the three major destination countries for Romanian emigrants in the OECD area, as they highlight interesting patterns (Figure 4.1). First, in contrast to the general OECD-wide picture, where women have similar labour market integration regardless of their migration background, in Italy, Romanian women fare much better than their native-born counterparts. In a similar vein, albeit to a lesser extent, Romanian male emigrants also outperform Italian men, with higher participation rates – 83% and 73% respectively – and higher employment rates – 71% and 65% respectively.

Figure 4.1. Participation and employment rates by country of birth and gender, 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

In Spain, while employment rates are similar by gender for Romanian emigrants and the native-born (approximately 55% for women and 65% for men), important differences emerge in the participation rates by migration status. For both men and women, Romanian emigrants have a participation greater than natives by around 8 percentage points. As will be shown further below, this is almost entirely due to Romanians' high unemployment levels in Spain. Finally, Germany displays a different pattern, with Romanian emigrant women lagging somewhat behind

native-born women in terms of employment rates (-3 percentage points), whilst Romanian men still show a clear advantage in the labour market compared to male natives.

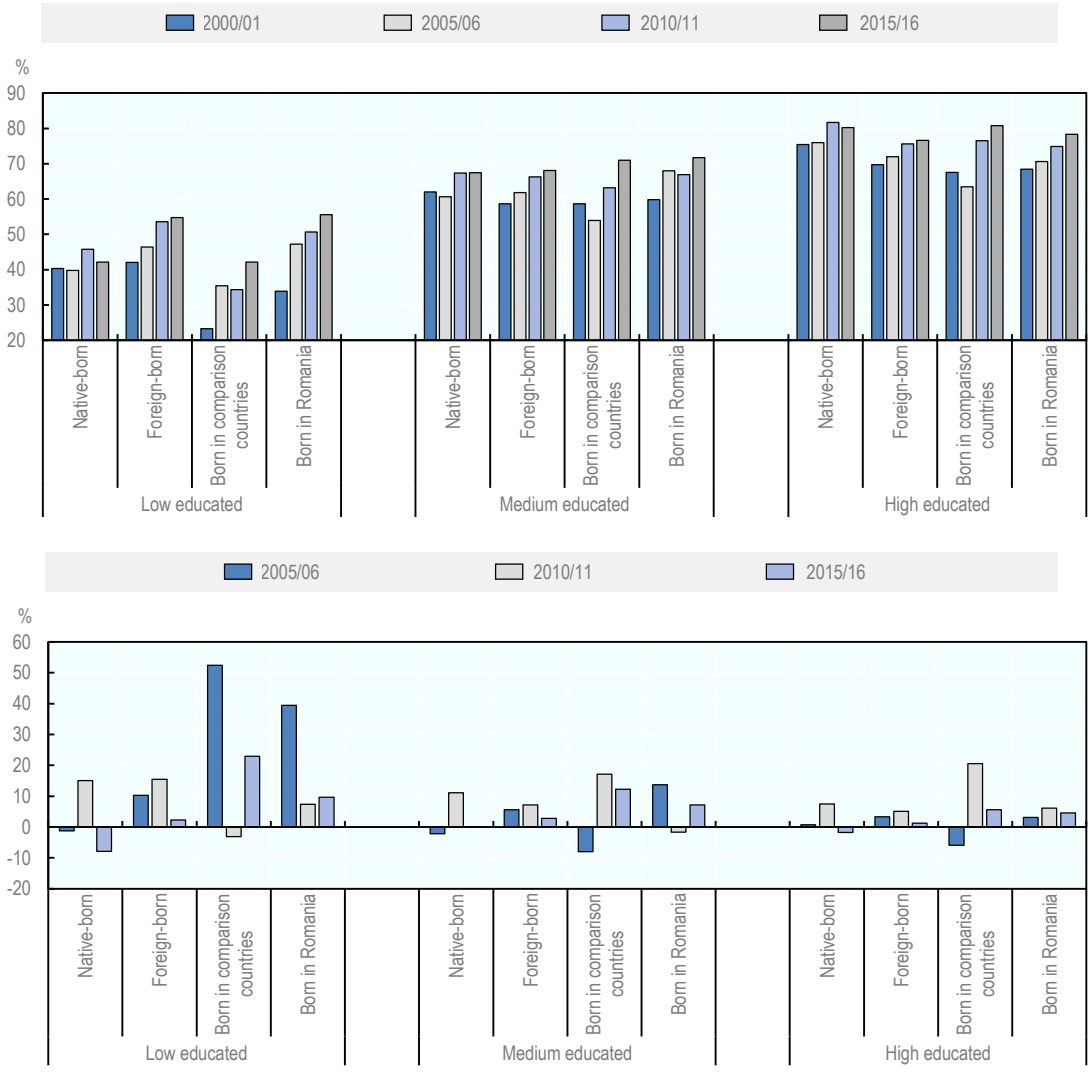
Although highly educated emigrants have higher employment rates, job creation is greater for the low educated

Analysing employment levels by educational attainment sheds additional light on the labour market integration of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, and particularly it points at three stylised facts. First, the most recent data from 2015/16 show that the employment rate of Romanian emigrants is higher than that of native-born across all educational levels, except in the case of the tertiary educated (top panel of Figure 4.2). This is, however, a common pattern among foreign-born from a wide range of origin countries, and not a specificity of the migrants born in Romania.

Second, independently of the country of birth, employment rates increase with educational attainment, albeit less so in the case of Romanian emigrants. For instance, both high educated native-born and emigrants from neighbouring countries were employed almost twice as much as their low educated peers in 2015/16. In contrast, the employment rate of Romanian emigrant is 56% if low educated and 78% if high educated.

Third, despite having lower employment rates in absolute values, during the period 2000-2015 the low educated experienced the greatest employment rate growth (bottom panel of Figure 4.2). Indeed, the employment rate of low educated Romanian emigrants grew by 39% between 2000/01 and 2005/06, 7% between 2005/06 and 2010/11, and 10% between 2010/11 and 2015/16, compared to that of the high educated, which was respectively, 3%, 6% and 5%. Again, this holds in general for the overall foreign-born population.

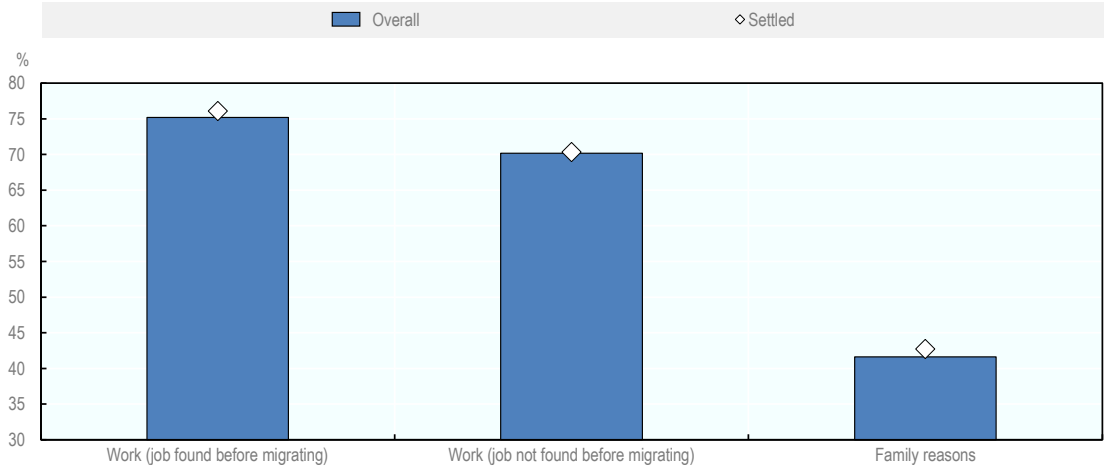
Figure 4.2. Employment rates by country of birth in OECD countries and their growth over time, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11, 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

The labour market integration of Romanian emigrants also varies depending on the reasons for their migration. Emigrants who left their country of birth for work purposes have better employment rates than family migrants (Figure 4.3). In particular, those Romanians who found a job at destination before arrival have an employment rate of 75%. In contrast, the employment rate of Romanians arriving at destination for work purposes but without a job is lower by approximately 5 percentage points – and it remains constant regardless of the years of residence at destination. In contrast, Romanians migrating for family-related reasons have an employment rate of just 42%, even after residing in the country for more than five years.

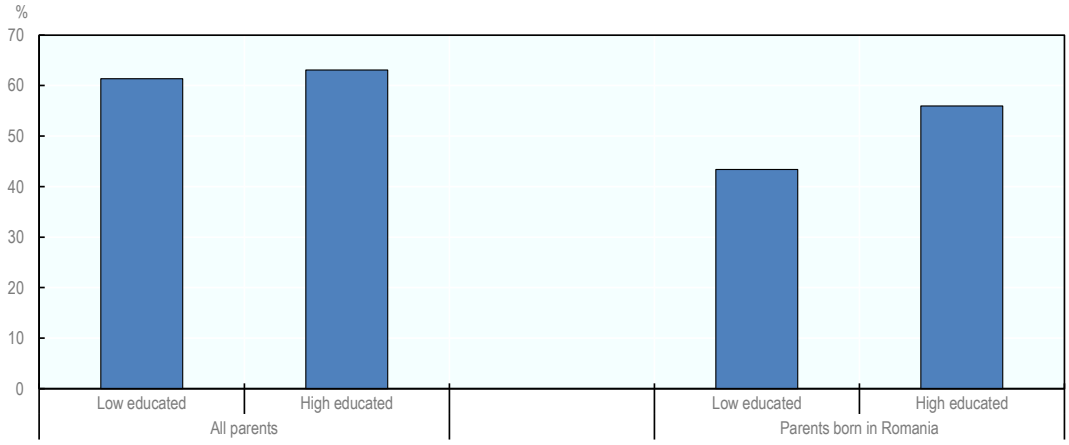
Figure 4.3. Employment rates of Romanian emigrants by reason for migration in a selection of European countries, 2014



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64). The destination countries included are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, the Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. "Settled" refers to having resided in the destination country for more than five years.
Source: European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their descendants.

The children of Romanian immigrants, i.e. children born in the country of residence with at least one parent born in Romania, also face labour market challenges, especially in Europe (Figure 4.4). Indeed, their employment rate remains overall lower than that of the whole population (48% versus 63%). Yet, distinguishing performances by the level of educational attainment of the parents points at interesting findings. For instance, in general for the whole population, the education of the parents has a marginal effect on the employment rates of their offspring. In contrast, the children of Romanian migrants show significant heterogeneity based on the qualification of the parents: descendants of low-educated Romanians have an employment rate of 43%, whilst children of tertiary-educated Romanian immigrants have a much higher employment rate (56%).

Figure 4.4. Employment rates by parents' education and country of birth in a selection of European countries, 2014



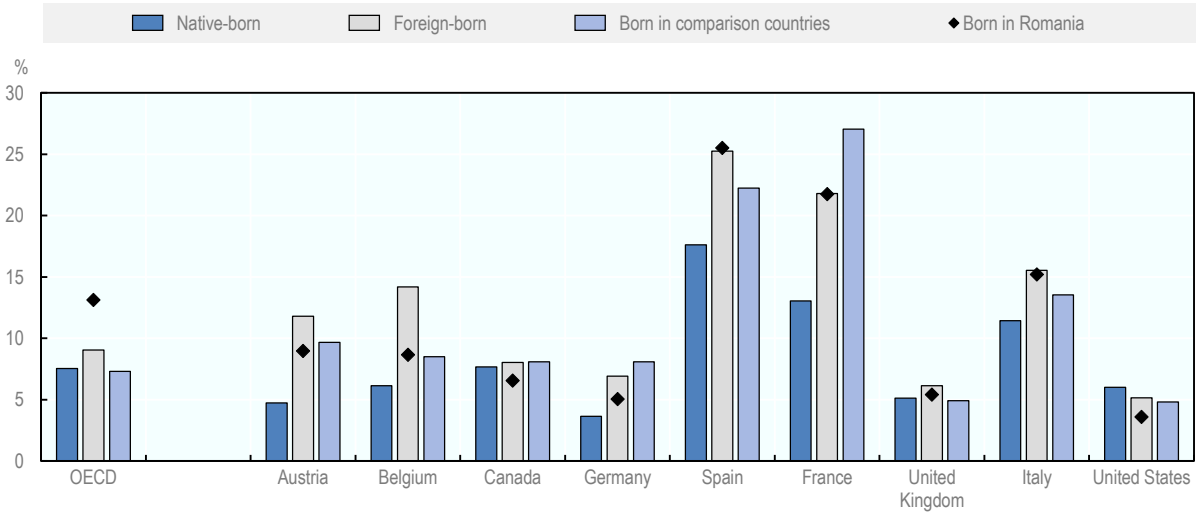
Note: The destination countries included are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, the Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.
Source: European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their descendants.

High level of unemployment among Romanian emigrants

As previously mentioned, the unemployment level of Romanian emigrants across OECD countries considerably exceeds that of the native-born (Figure 4.5). In fact, while the average unemployment rate among Romanian emigrants in OECD countries was 13%, only 7% of the native-born labour force who wanted a job did not have one in 2015/16. Similarly, also the unemployment rate of those emigrants from neighbouring countries was 7%.

Yet, in spite of Romanians' general disadvantage in the labour market, the picture stemming from country-level disaggregated data is one of great heterogeneity. In Austria and France, unemployment among Romanian emigrants is twice as high as among their native-born counterparts. Smaller gaps between Romanian emigrants and natives exist in Germany, Belgium and Italy, whereas no significant differences with the native-born population exist in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, in North America Romanians perform slightly better than natives in the labour market, ultimately because selective migration policies in the United States and Canada attract high-educated individuals with better job prospects.

Figure 4.5. Unemployment rates by country of birth in OECD countries, 2015/16

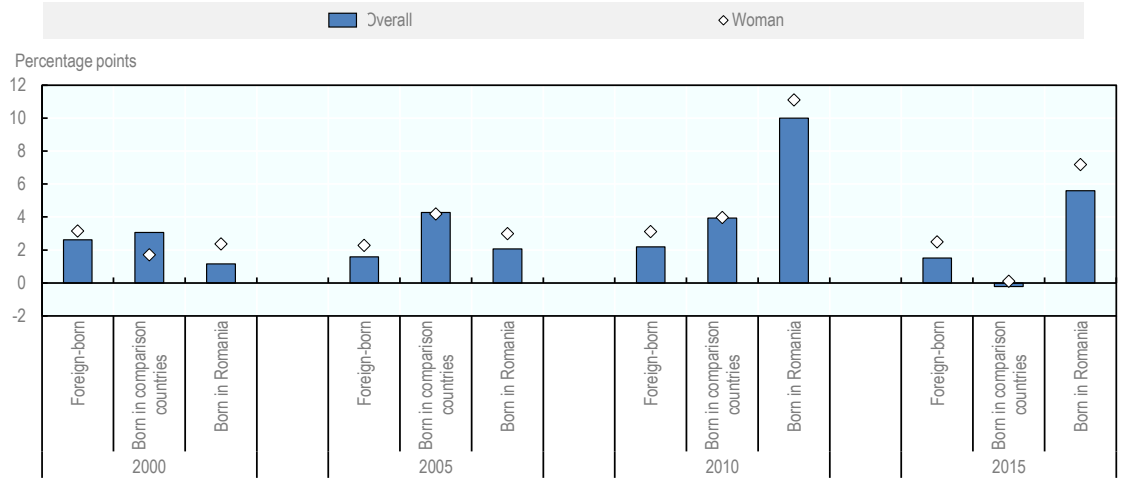


Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64). This figure features the top ten OECD countries for Romanian emigrants, except for Hungary, for which data on native-born are not available.
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

It is worth taking an historical look at the labour market integration of Romanians in the OECD in order to understand when their underperformance emerged. Indeed, at the beginning of the 2000s, the unemployment rate of Romanian emigrants was only one percentage point higher than that of the native-born workforce (Figure 4.6). In comparison, migrants from neighbouring countries had an unemployment rate three percentage points higher than natives. However, the economic crisis of 2008/09 profoundly changed this balance. Data from 2010/11 show that the unemployment rate gap between natives and Romanian emigrants rose to ten percentage points, while that between natives and the whole foreign-born labour force dropped from three percentages points in 2000/01 to two percentage points in 2010/11. Although their unemployment rate has slightly recovered, Romanian emigrants still had higher unemployment rates than natives by about six percentage points in 2015/16. Conversely, emigrants from neighbouring countries converged to the same unemployment levels as their native-born counterparts.

Romanian women living abroad in particular lag behind the labour market performance of natives. Their unemployment rate was 15% in 2015/16, over twice as high as that of native-born women (7%). In comparison, the unemployment rate of Romanian men was 12% (i.e. four percentage points more than that of their native-born counterparts). As shown in Figure 4.6, the double disadvantage of Romanian women in OECD countries has persisted since the 2000s. Yet, the unemployment rate gap between native- and foreign-born women has risen at half the pace of that between the overall native- and foreign-born labour forces, suggesting that the gender gap is slowly closing.

Figure 4.6. Unemployment rate gap between foreign- and native-born in OECD countries, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16

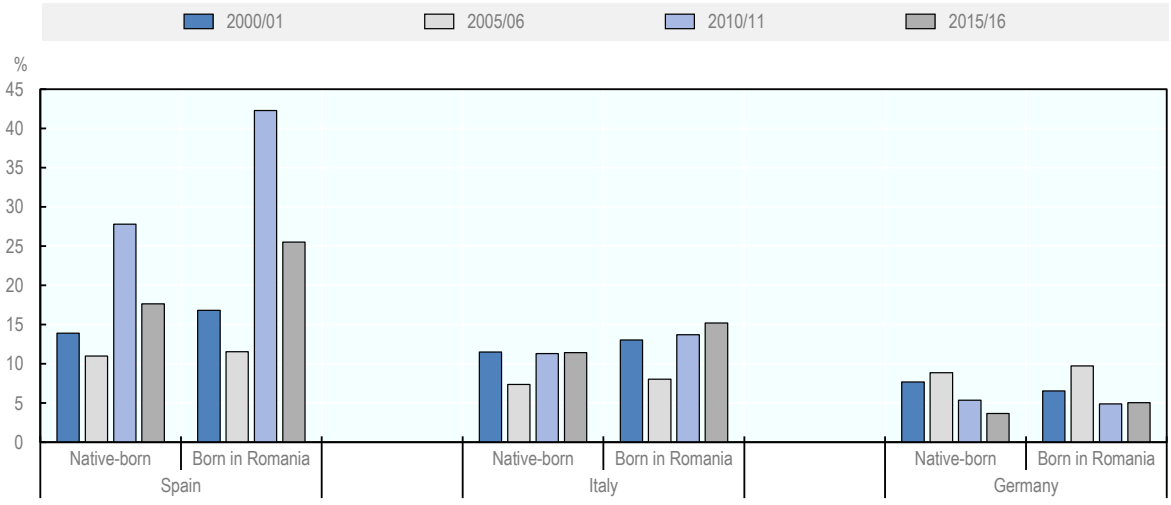


Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11, 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

It is also illustrative to look at the unemployment trends in the three major destination countries for Romanian emigrants to better understand the heterogeneous role played by the economic crisis on the labour market integration of the foreign-born. Figure 4.7 clearly shows that the recession hit Spain harder than both Italy and Germany. Between 2005/06 and 2010/11, the unemployment rate of Spaniards more than doubled, from 11% to 28%. In comparison, Italians' unemployment rate increased by 4 percentage points, and, remarkably, Germany saw a 4 percentage-point reduction of the unemployment of natives over the same period.

The picture for Romanian emigrants in these three countries emphasizes the heterogeneous impact of the crisis on the host labour markets. In less affected countries such as Germany, Romanian emigrants almost halved their unemployment rates, reaching as low as 5% in 2010/11. In contrast, in Italy, Romanians had been hit slightly harder than natives, although their unemployment in 2010/11 remained similar to the one of 2000/01. On the other hand, in countries such as Spain, where the crisis has been particularly severe, Romanian emigrants had to pay a much greater price than natives. Indeed, while both Spaniards and Romanians had a similar unemployment rate of roughly 11% in 2005/06, the crisis brought it up to 28% for the native-born and 42% for emigrants born in Romania in 2010/11. This reflects the vicious circle affecting migrants during economic crisis: not only do migrants lose jobs because of a deteriorating economic environment, but they also have to compete with natives for the fewer existing job opportunities. In addition, immigrants' unemployment reacts more strongly to the economic cycle because migrants are less complementary to capital than the native-born and because they usually experience higher job separation rates (Dustmann, Glitz and Vogel, 2010[1]).

Figure 4.7. Unemployment rates by country of birth in selected OECD countries, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11 and 2015/16



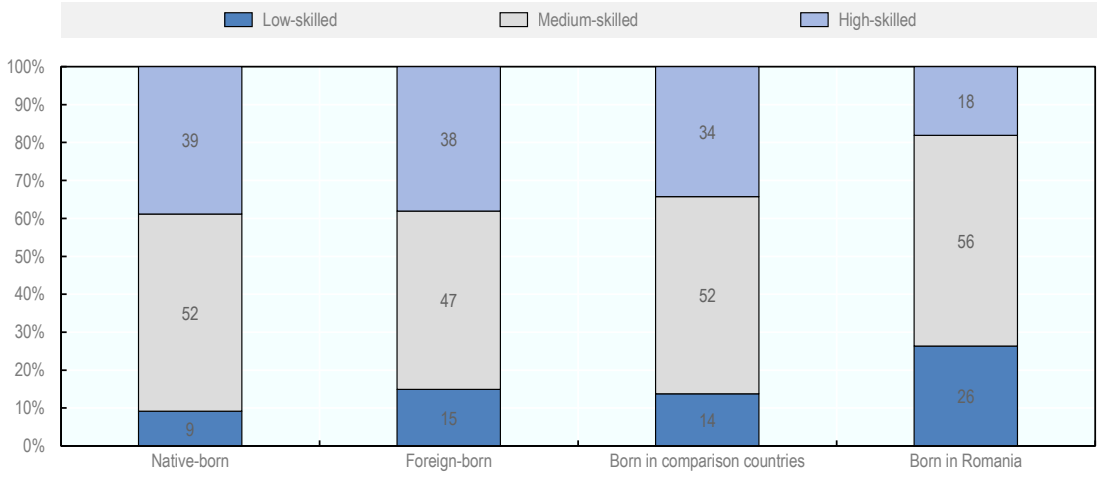
Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11, 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Romanian emigrants are over-represented in low-skilled professions

Emigrants are particularly clustered in low-skilled occupations, although there is large heterogeneity across destination countries

So far, analysis has shown that Romanian emigrants are more likely to be unemployed than their native-born peers, but what is the nature of their jobs? This is an important aspect of the labour market integration of migrants, since the quality of work is fundamental for their career prospects, job satisfaction, and overall well-being. A more detailed look at the data shows that Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are on average about three times as likely as natives to work in elementary occupations (Figure 4.8): 26% of Romanian emigrants worked in low-skilled jobs in 2015/16, compared to only 9% of the native born. In parallel, they are half as likely as natives to work in high-skilled jobs, such as managerial or technical positions (18% compared to 39% for natives). This relative underrepresentation of Romanian emigrants in high-skilled employment is however not illustrative of the overall foreign-born population, which taken together has the same proportion of high-skilled jobs as the natives.

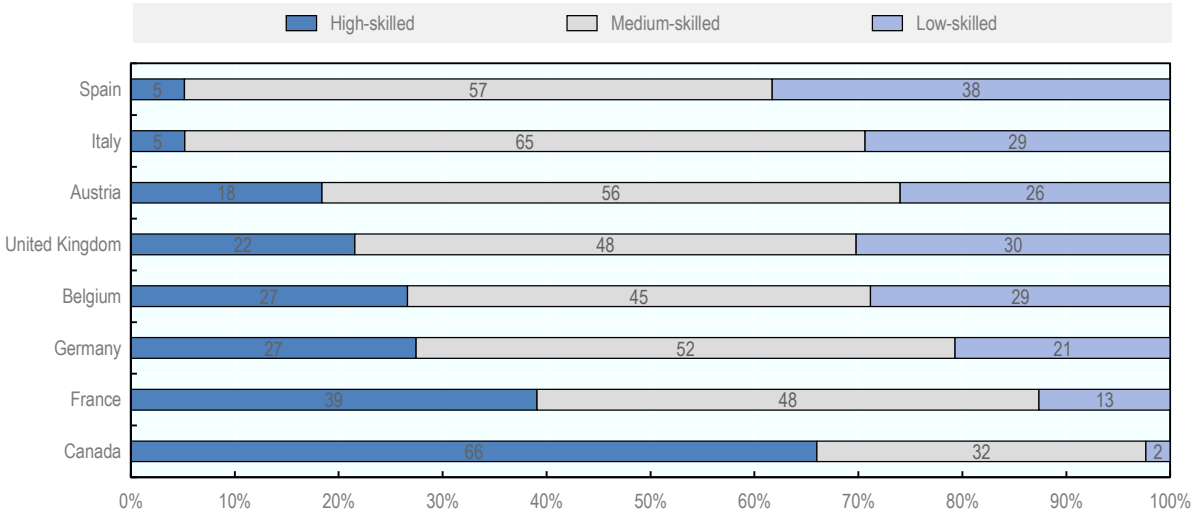
Figure 4.8. Distribution of workers by country of birth and occupation in OECD countries, 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the 15+ employed population.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Country-level analysis reveals striking heterogeneity (Figure 4.9). In fact, in countries such as the United Kingdom and Austria about one in every five Romanians works in high-skilled jobs. In contrast, in Spain and Italy, only 5% of Romanian emigrants hold high-skilled occupations. In France and Canada, however, over one-third and two-thirds, respectively, of Romanians are either managers, professionals or technicians. In a similar vein, while on average across OECD countries, a fourth of Romanian emigrants work in elementary occupations, this proportion rises to 38% in the case of Spain.

Figure 4.9. Distribution of Romanian emigrants by occupation in the main OECD destination countries, 2015/16

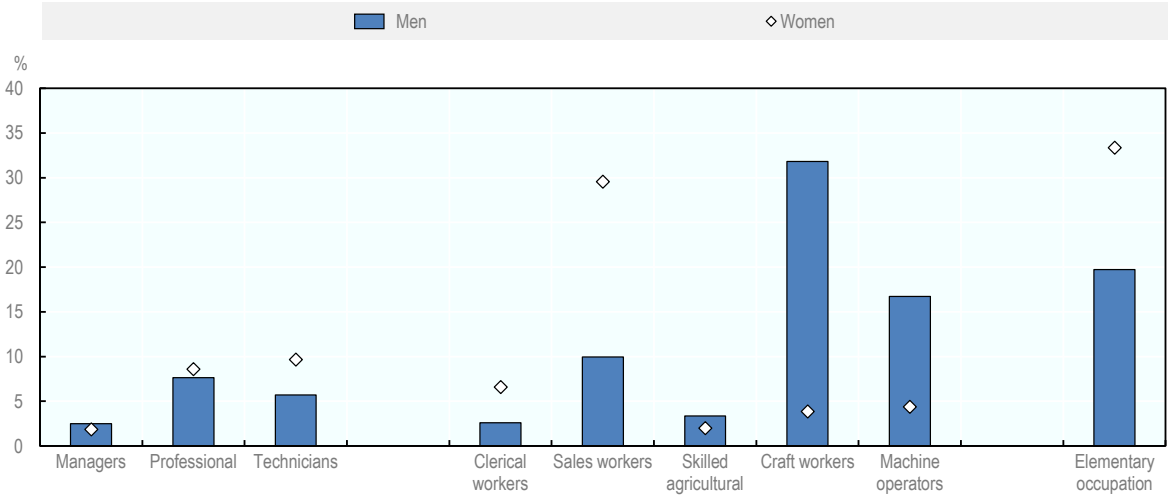


Note: The population refers to the 15+ employed population.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Women are more likely to work in elementary occupations

While it is true that Romanian emigrants are overall more likely to work in low-skilled jobs, gender differences in the distribution of Romanians across occupations are particularly pronounced. Indeed, across OECD countries, a fifth of Romanian men work in elementary occupations compared to over a third of women (Figure 4.10). Similarly, women are also over-represented among sales workers (30% versus 10% of men) and among technicians and associate professionals (10% versus 6% of men). In contrast, only 4% of women are employed as craft and related trade workers, while this category represents almost a third of the employment of all Romanian men in the OECD. Another typical gender-biased occupation is the one of plant and machine operators and assemblers, where the share of men is four times the share of women.

Figure 4.10. Distribution of Romanian emigrants by occupation and gender in OECD countries, 2015/16

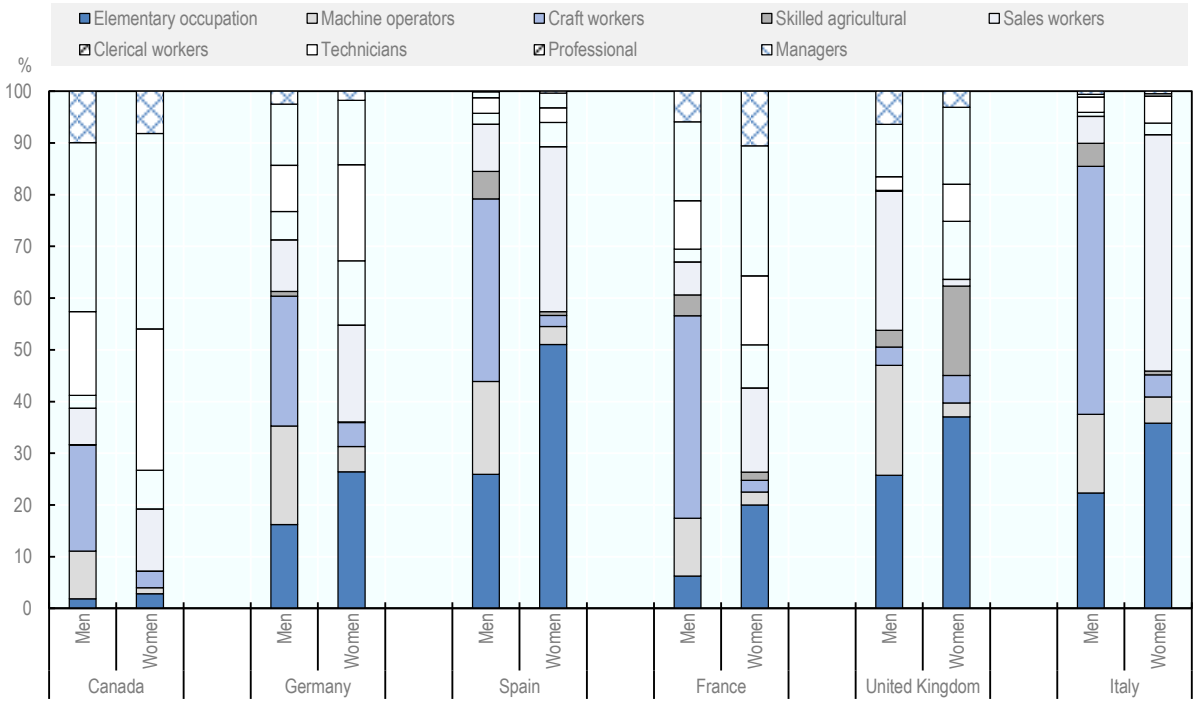


Note: The population refers to the 15+ employed population.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

However, the picture stemming from country-level data is again mixed (Figure 4.11). In Spain, Romanian women are twice as likely as men to work in low-skilled occupations, which employed more than half of female migrants in 2015/16. The gender gap in low-skilled employment is smaller in Germany and the United Kingdom, where women are less than ten percentage points more likely than men to work in elementary occupations, whereas the share of women in low-skilled employment is lowest in Canada (3%).

Figure 4.11 points at additional interesting stylized facts about the different occupations held by Romanian women and men across their main OECD destination countries. While almost half of Romanian male emigrants in Italy are craft workers, only 4% of Romanian woman work in this type of occupation. Although to a lesser extent, this is also the case across all major host countries but the United Kingdom. Romanian men tend to be over-represented compared to women also in managerial positions, especially in the United Kingdom, Germany and Canada, with the remarkable exception of France, where Romanian women are almost twice as likely as men to be managers. Finally, skilled agricultural professions are not the main occupation of Romanians regardless of their gender, although they employ more than 4% of male emigrants in Spain, Italy and France.

Figure 4.11. Distribution of Romanian emigrants by occupation and gender in main destination countries, 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the 15+ employed population.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

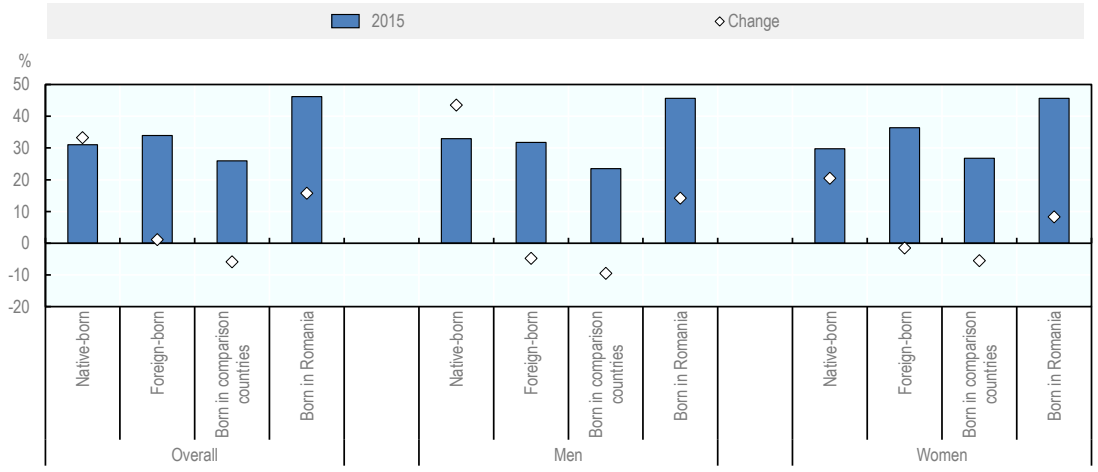
Over-qualification rates are higher for Romanian emigrants than for other foreign-born

Over-qualification occurs when an individual's level of formal education is higher than what is required for the occupation held. It is estimated as the proportion of persons with a tertiary education degree who hold a low- or medium-skilled occupation. Among immigrants, the over-qualification rate becomes an indicator for the degree of transferability of human capital across countries, as the qualifications and linguistic skills acquired in the country of origin are not always readily transferable in the host country, although it may also capture discrimination in the labour market, asymmetries of information on job availability, etc.

Figure 4.12 suggests that Romanian emigrants in OECD countries were more likely to be over-qualified than both the other foreign-born and the native-born in 2015/16. Regardless of their gender, tertiary-educated Romanians have almost a one in two chance of working in lower skilled occupations. The share is only 26% for similar migrants born in neighbouring countries. Yet, what is even more remarkable is that over-qualification has been growing over time: between 2000/01 and 2015/16, the over-qualification rate of Romanian emigrants increased by 16% (although at a slower pace for women, 11%). Over the same period,

emigrants from neighbouring countries instead experienced a 7% reduction in their over-qualification. These outcomes might reflect Romanians' relatively low knowledge of the language spoken in the host country, limited access to professional networks, or the difficult formal recognition of skills acquired abroad, to cite some factors among many.

Figure 4.12. Over-qualification rates by country of birth and gender in OECD countries, 2015/16 and change between 2010/11 and 2015/16

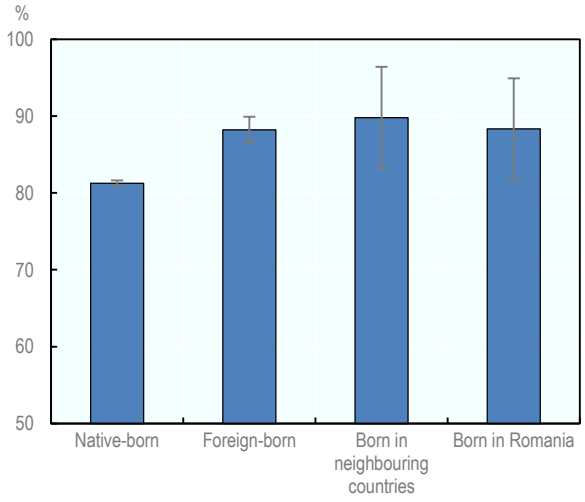


Note: The population refers to the 15+ employed population.
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2010/11, 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

A large share of emigrants perceives that their skills are underutilised in the workplace

Not only are Romanian emigrants more likely than natives to be over-qualified, but they themselves perceive that their full potential is not exploited in the host countries. When asked whether they feel that they have the skills to cope with more demanding duties than those required to perform their current job, almost nine out of ten Romanian emigrants agree, compared to 81% of the native-born workers (Figure 4.13). Self-perceived underuse of skills and skills mismatch are important for proper integration of migrants, since they affect workers' earnings and job satisfaction (OECD, 2018[2]).

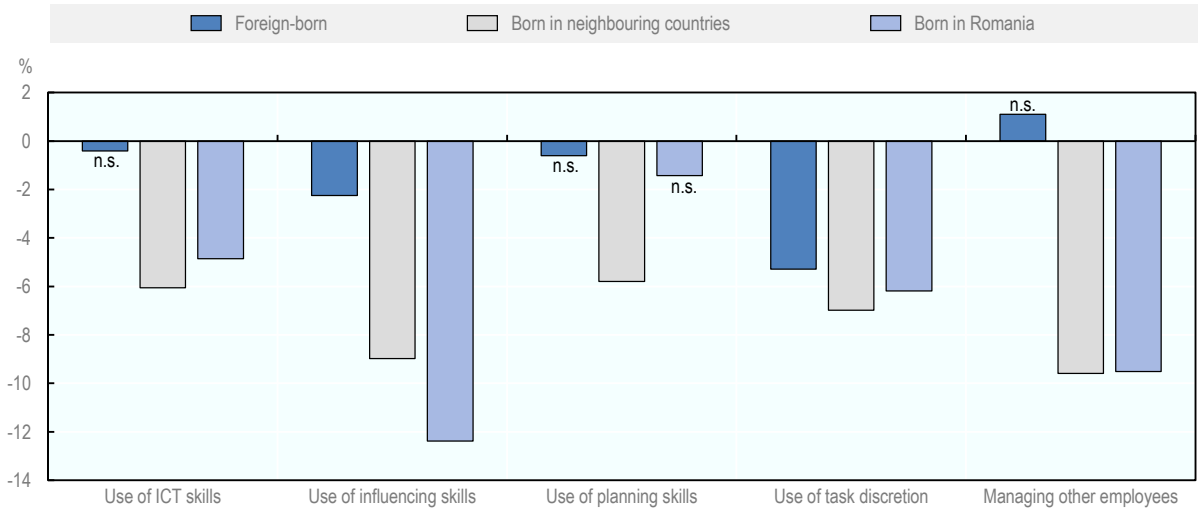
Figure 4.13. Share of workers who feel that their skills are underutilised by country of birth, 2012/15



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64). The exact variable is "Do you feel that you have the skills to cope with more demanding duties than those you are required to perform in your current job?". The destination countries included are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States.
Source: Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC) (2012, 2015).

It is interesting to analyse which set of skills Romanian emigrants underuse at work. Five indicators are taken into consideration: (1) use of ICT skills at work; (2) use of influencing skills at work; (3) use of planning skills at work; (4) task discretion at work; and (5) managing other employees. Overall, these indicators measure job complexity, with influencing and managing also capturing "soft" skills. Results point at a difference between native- and foreign-born workers' outcomes, with migrants less likely to use all different types of skills at work (Figure 4.14). In particular, after controlling for individual characteristics, Romanian emigrants appear 12% less likely than natives to use influencing skills at work and 10% less likely to manage other employees. These are significant gaps in "soft" skills that are important in modern workplaces. Task discretion at work is also significantly lower for Romanian emigrants than for native-born workers. Finally, the use of ICT skills among Romanians is 5% lower than among natives.

Figure 4.14. Gap between foreign- and native-born in skill use at work, 2012/15



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64). The results in this figure are the adjusted differences between the group considered and the reference group of native-born workers. The regressions control for age, age squared, gender, education, marital status, number of children and occupation dummies. "n.s." indicate coefficients which are not statistically significant (at 5% level). The destination countries included are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States.
Source: Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC) (2012, 2015).

Many Romanian emigrants work in low-skilled sectors

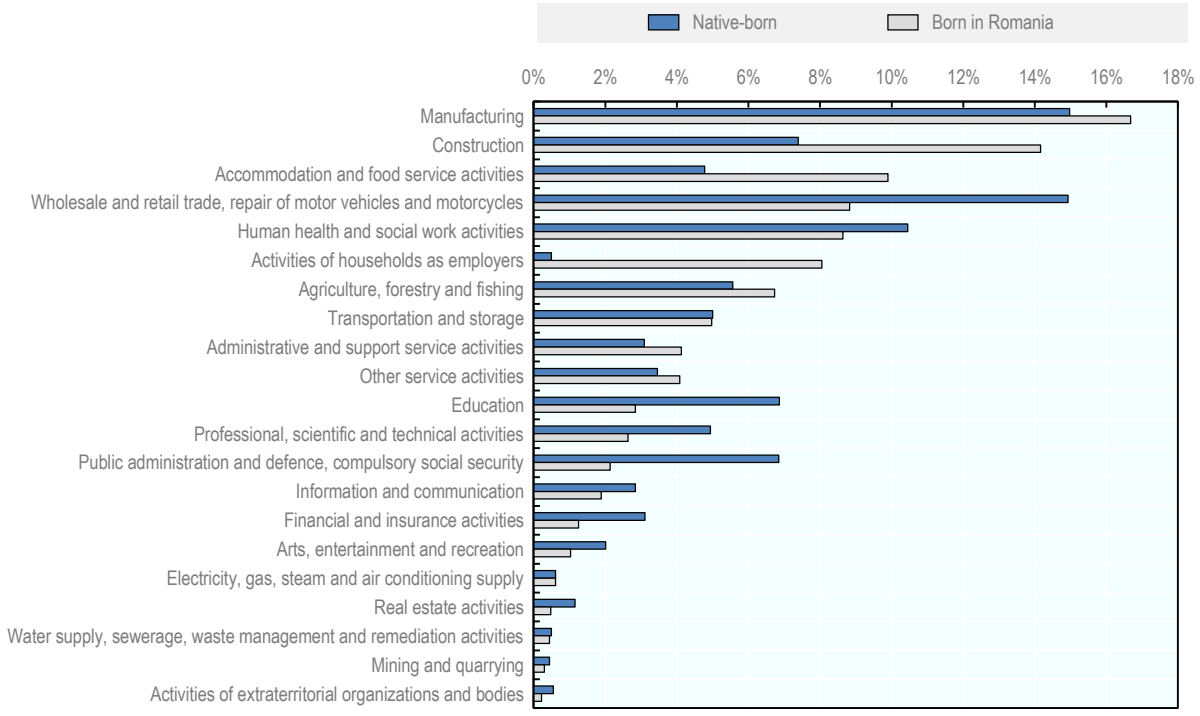
The distribution of Romanian emigrants is skewed towards certain sectors of activity

Looking at the distribution of migrant workers across sectors confirms that many Romanians work in sectors where the majority of occupations are low skilled (Figure 4.15). For example, in 2010/11 Romanians were over-represented relative to native-born persons in manufacturing, construction, and accommodation and catering. Remarkably, throughout the OECD area Romanian emigrants are 16 times as likely as natives to work in private household activities involving employment of domestic staff. On the other hand, there are proportionally fewer Romanian emigrants in sectors where jobs tend to be more skilled, for example financial and insurance activities, professional scientific and technical activities, and education. Less than 3% of Romanian emigrants worked in education in 2010/11, for example, compared with 7% of native-born persons.

The sectoral distribution of the Romanian diaspora can be explained by their relatively low educational attainment, especially in some of the main OECD destination countries, such as Italy and Spain (see Chapter 3). In turn, the low level of education of Romanians in these countries is likely to be due to the fact that the wage premium for Romanians migrating to Southern Europe is larger for

the low skilled than for the high skilled (Ambrosini et al., 2015[3]). Furthermore, in several countries, Romanian emigrants fill labour needs, especially for unqualified labour in some Southern European countries. Ban (2012[4]) discusses a whole informal network of Romanian head-hunters in countries such as Italy aimed at the recruitment of cheap unskilled labour from Romania, often working in the informal economy.

Figure 4.15. Sectoral distribution of workers by country of birth, 2010/11



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2010/11, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Heterogeneity across main host countries remains large (Table 4.1). For instance, in contrast to the other destinations, in Italy and Spain large segments of the Romanian emigrant population work in agriculture – respectively, 9% and 12% in 2010/11 – and in activities of households as employers – 15% and 12%. In Belgium and in the United Kingdom, instead, around 23% and 11% respectively of Romanians work in administrative and support service activities. Romanian workers are important in the manufacturing industry of Germany and Austria, whilst in Canada they provide – more than in any other country – a significant contribution to the educational system.

Table 4.1. Sectoral distribution of Romanian emigrants by main destination country, 2010/11

Percentage

	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Germany	France	Italy	Spain	United Kingdom
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1.9	2.7	0.5	0.7	1.2	8.9	12.3	0.7
Mining and quarrying	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1
Manufacturing	19.0	6.4	14.2	27.7	7.4	15.7	11.8	4.6
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	0.5	0.1	0.9	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.2
Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5
Construction	14.2	21.1	6.3	6.3	16.7	17.7	16.9	23.6
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	9.7	9.6	12.9	12.1	8.8	5.2	8.9	8.9
Transportation and storage	5.0	4.1	5.5	4.7	2.8	4.7	6.2	4.8
Accommodation and food service activities	13.6	6.2	3.2	5.3	5.3	11.5	13.7	12.9
Information and communication	1.2	2.8	7.5	2.9	4.8	0.7	0.9	2.7
Financial and insurance activities	0.8	1.1	5.8	2.0	3.1	0.5	0.4	2.2
Real estate activities	0.7	0.6	2.9	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.1	0.8
Professional, scientific and technical activities	4.2	4.2	9.0	3.3	7.4	1.4	1.0	4.2
Administrative and support service activities	8.4	22.7	4.5	6.4	5.7	0.6	4.0	11.0
Public administration and defence, compulsory social security	1.5	2.6	4.9	3.5	5.5	1.1	1.3	1.3
Education	2.4	2.1	6.8	5.1	6.8	0.7	1.3	5.1
Human health and social work activities	12.4	8.3	10.8	12.1	14.9	8.6	3.4	11.7
Arts, entertainment and recreation	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.2	2.5	0.7	1.0	1.5
Other service activities	3.8	4.0	2.5	3.1	2.8	5.8	4.0	2.0
Activities of households as employers	0.3	0.2	0.2	1.6	1.6	14.6	11.7	1.2
Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1

Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2010/11, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

There is a large difference between the sectors of activity where male and female emigrants work (Figure 4.16). Almost 15% of Romanian men across OECD countries work in construction, while another 10% work in the manufacture of vehicles and machinery. Agriculture (crop and animal production) employs approximately 3.5% of Romanian emigrants, and a similar share work in land transport. In contrast, almost 17% of Romanian women work in sectors related to health: more than one in every ten Romanian women work in health, 4% in residential care activities, and 3% in households as domestic personnel. This concentration emphasizes the importance of the health and care sector for the Romanian diaspora in the OECD (see the next section for a thorough discussion of the matter). Confirming previous findings of this chapter on the occupational distribution of Romanian emigrants by gender, retail trade is one of the major employers of Romanian women.

Figure 4.16. Ten sectors with the largest share of Romanian emigrants by gender, 2010/11

Men	%	%	Women
Specialized construction activities	9.1	10.6	Human health activities
Construction of buildings	4.9	10.4	Retail trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles
Manufacture of motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers	4.7	7.9	Education
Manufacture of machinery and equipment n.e.c	4.5	5.6	Food and beverage service activities
Retail trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles	4.4	4.5	Services to buildings and landscape activities
Manufacture of fabricated metal products, except machinery and equipment	3.7	4.4	Residential care activities
Wholesale trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles	3.7	4.4	Public administration and defence; compulsory social security
Crop and animal production, hunting and related service activities	3.4	2.9	Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel
Land transport and transport via pipelines	3.3	2.7	Social work activities without accommodation
Food and beverage service activities	3.0	2.7	Wholesale trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles

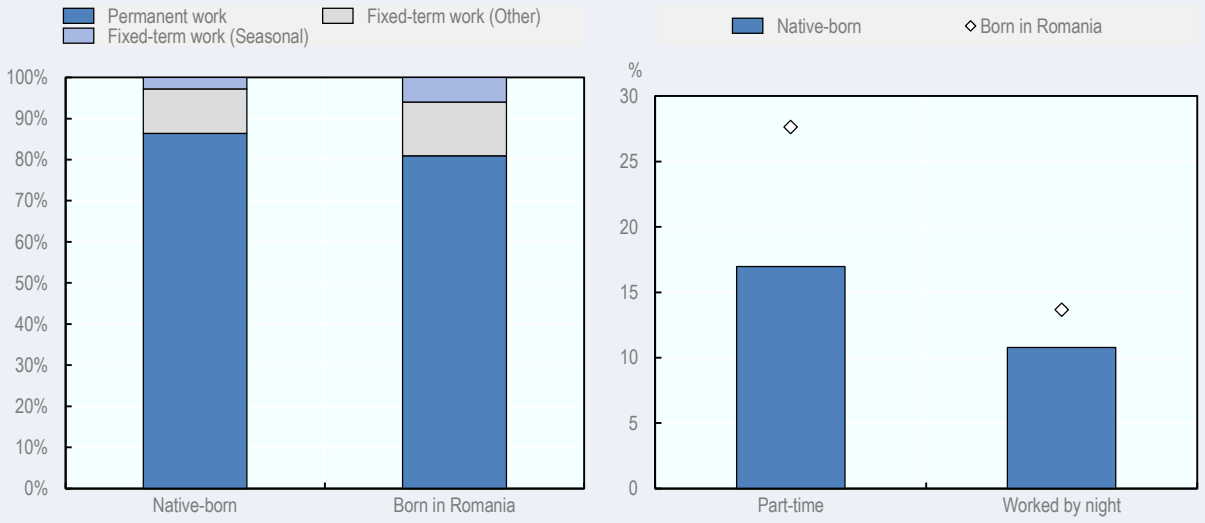
Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2010/11, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Box 4.1. Romanian emigrants in vulnerable employment: The case of Italy

Analysing country-level microdata helps shed in-depth light on the intricate situations of Romanian emigrants in the labour markets of OECD countries. The case of Italy is particularly interesting, as it represents by far the main destination country of Romanians (over one million of them resided in Italy in 2015/16, see Table 1.1 in Chapter 1). Confirming previous findings of this report, the picture that the Italian Labour Force Survey draws is one of substantial underperformance and vulnerability of Romanians in the Italian labour market. Indeed, Romanian emigrants appear to be 40% more likely than the native-born to have a fixed-term job (left panel of Figure 4.17). Around 6% of Romanians are in seasonal employment – a share twice that of natives. At the same time, almost the entirety of the Romanian workforce in fixed-term jobs argue that they would have rather preferred a permanent contract.

Migrants are also more likely than natives to work in part-time jobs. While 17% of Italian workers are in part-time employment, this proportion almost doubles to 28% for Romanian emigrants (right panel of Figure 4.17). Another proxy of the over-representation of migrants in vulnerable employment is the share of workers who worked during night (11 p.m. – 5 a.m.) in the past week. Romanians are 27% more likely than natives to work night shifts, with almost 14% of them having recently worked at night.

Figure 4.17. Distribution of workers across employment types by country of birth (left) and share of part-time work and share of workers who worked during night (11 p.m. – 5 a.m.) in the past week by country of birth (right), 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: Italian Labour Force Survey, 2015/16.

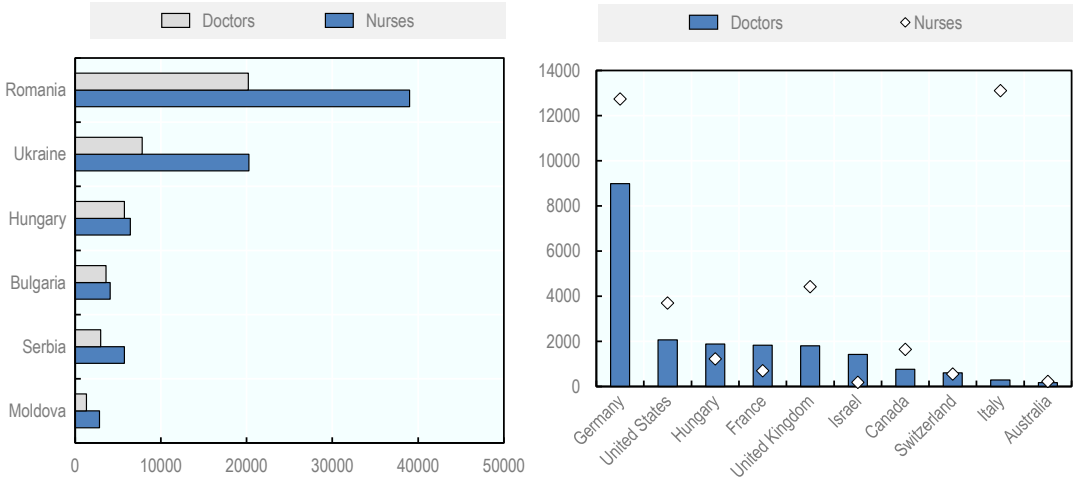
The emigration of health professionals represents a large and long-standing diaspora, especially in certain destination countries

In spite of the over-representation of Romanian emigrants in low-skilled employment, a particularly high number of Romanian doctors and nurses practice in OECD countries. In 2015/16, 39 000 Romanian-born nurses and 22 200 Romanian-born doctors resided in OECD countries (left panel of Figure 4.18). Romania has consistently ranked among the top 25 countries of origin for numbers of foreign-born doctors and nurses working in OECD countries along with India, China, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Philippines and a number of other countries (OECD, 2015[5]). While the absolute numbers of Romanian-born health professionals are high, the emigration rates of these skilled workers are also elevated and rising. In 2015/16, 27% of Romanian-born doctors worked outside of Romania, up from about 20% in 2010/11. The emigration rate for Romanian nurses in 2015/16 was 23%, up from about a fifth in 2010/11. In comparison, neighbouring origin countries have smaller numbers of emigrants working in medical professions in OECD destinations (left panel of Figure 4.18) and their emigration rates for doctors and nurses are lower than those of Romania.

The large numbers of Romanian emigrant health professionals reflect both the attractiveness of working abroad as well as the need for these professions in OECD countries. Some Romanian medical professionals are also trained in the

country of destination (OECD, 2015[5]). Most Romanian emigrant doctors resided in Germany (9 000), France (3 800), the United States (2 100), Hungary (1 900), and the United Kingdom (1 800) in 2015/16 (right panel of Figure 4.18). In contrast, Italy was the major host country for Romanian nurses, with over 13 100 of them in 2015/16, closely followed by Germany (12 700).

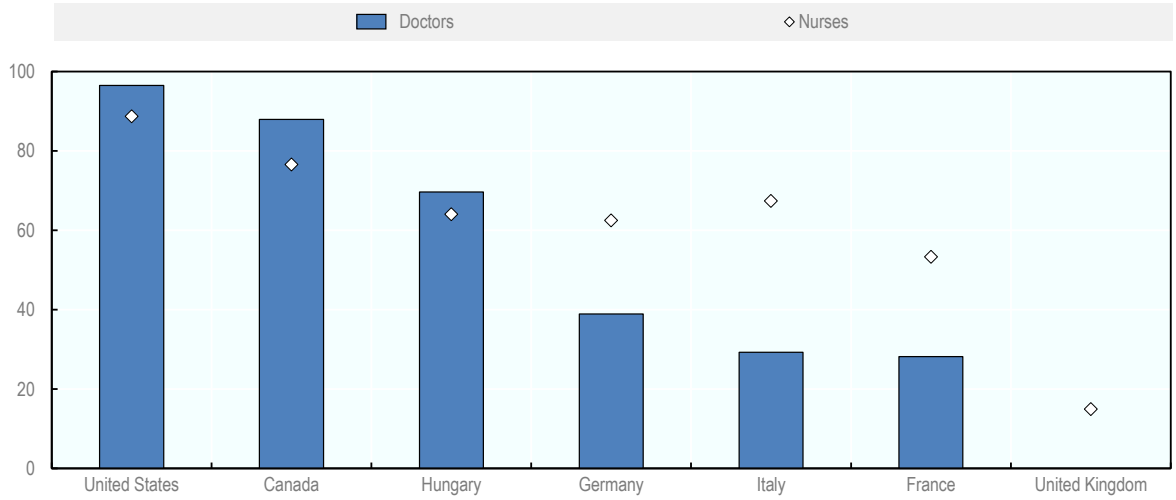
Figure 4.18. Emigrant health professionals by country of birth (left) and Romanian emigrant health professionals by selected country of destination (right), 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm. Information for France come from the 2015 Recensement de la population.

Reflecting general trends in the overall migrant population (see Chapter 1), Romanian medical professionals in North America have resided there longer than Romanian medical professionals in other destinations. For instance, 96% and 88% of Romanian doctors have resided in the United States and in Canada respectively for over ten years (Figure 4.19). The majority of Romanian health professionals in Hungary have also lived there for over a decade. Nurses from Romania also represent a long-standing diaspora in Italy (67% of them have been in the country for more than ten years), Germany (62%), and France (53%). In contrast, migration of medical professionals from Romania to the United Kingdom is much more recent, with virtually no doctors residing there for more than ten years, and only 15% of nurses.

Figure 4.19. Share of Romanian emigrant health professionals resident in selected OECD countries since over 10 years, 2015/16



Note: The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).
Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC) 2015/16, www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

Conclusion

The labour market integration of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries is, on the whole, complex. In spite of having greater employment levels, Romanian emigrants' unemployment levels are also higher than those of the native-born, and these gaps have widened after the economic crisis. In spite of their greater employment rates, job creation has been particularly sluggish for the high skilled. Moreover, the main occupations held by Romanian emigrants in OECD countries are low skilled, especially for women. Over-qualification rates of Romanians remain high and have increased over time. Romanian emigrants are much less likely than natives to use complex "soft" skills at work, such as influencing and managing skills. In addition, the distribution of Romanian migrants across sectors is skewed towards specific low-skilled sectors of activities, such as construction for men and domestic work for women. Nonetheless, the emigration of Romanian health professionals represents a large and established diaspora in the OECD area.

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Chapter 5. Return migration to Romania

This chapter discusses return migration to Romania, starting with an analysis of return intentions of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, and focusing more particularly on the Italian case. After a brief review of the institutional context of Romanian emigration and return, and especially the role of free movement in the European Union, estimates of the number of return migrants to Romania are provided, looking both at stock and flow data. The demographic characteristics of Romanian return migrants are analysed, as well as their educational attainment. Their economic contribution is also discussed, looking both at their integration on the labour market and their role as entrepreneurs. A discussion of remittances sent by emigrants to Romania concludes.

This chapter discusses return migration to Romania, starting with an analysis of return intentions of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries, and focusing more particularly on the Italian case. After a brief review of the institutional context of Romanian emigration and return, and especially the role of free movement in the European Union, estimates of the number of return migrants to Romania are provided, looking both at stock and flow data. The demographic characteristics of Romanian return migrants are analysed, as well as their education distribution. The economic contribution of the diaspora is also discussed, looking at the integration of return migrants on the labour market, their role as entrepreneurs, as well as the remittances sent home by Romanian emigrants.

Return intentions among Romanian emigrants

According to the Gallup World Poll, about 26% of Romanian emigrants living abroad, surveyed between 2009 and 2018, considered moving to a different country, while 70% wanted to remain in their current country of residence (the remaining 4% have not responded to the question). This proportion was higher among those who had arrived in their destination country in the last five years, with 35% saying that they intended to leave, versus 23% among those who had been abroad for longer. Among those having indicated their wish to leave their current country of residence outside Romania, only about one-third indicated that they would like to return to Romania, while about 10% said they would like to move to the United States (8% mentioned the United Kingdom, 7% Canada, 5% Germany or Spain).

Focusing on some of the main destination countries of Romanian emigrants provides additional insights. Among Romanian emigrants living in Spain in 2006, the National Immigrant Survey indicated that fewer than 10% intended to return home within the next five years, while more than three-quarters wanted to stay in Spain, and more than 10% stated that they did not know what they would do. For Italy, which is one of the top destination countries of recent Romanian emigrants, the survey "Social Condition and Integration of Foreign Citizens" (2011-12), shows that, at the time of the survey, about 32% of the Romanian respondents intended to return to their country of origin, while 66% wanted to remain in Italy indefinitely (Bonifazi and Paparusso, 2018[1]).

As shown in Table 5.1, these answers differed somewhat from their initial intentions. Among the respondents who stated that their intention at arrival was to stay in Italy forever, about 93% indicated that their current intention was to stay, while only 7% had changed their mind and stated that they intended to return. On the contrary, among those who stated that they initially planned to stay for some time in Italy and then return to Romania, more than 40% said that they now planned to stay in the country. Finally, among those who were not sure to stay when they arrived, one-third had decided to remain in Italy.

Table 5.1. Current intentions of Romanian emigrants to stay in Italy or return to Romania, by intention at arrival, 2011-2012 (in %)

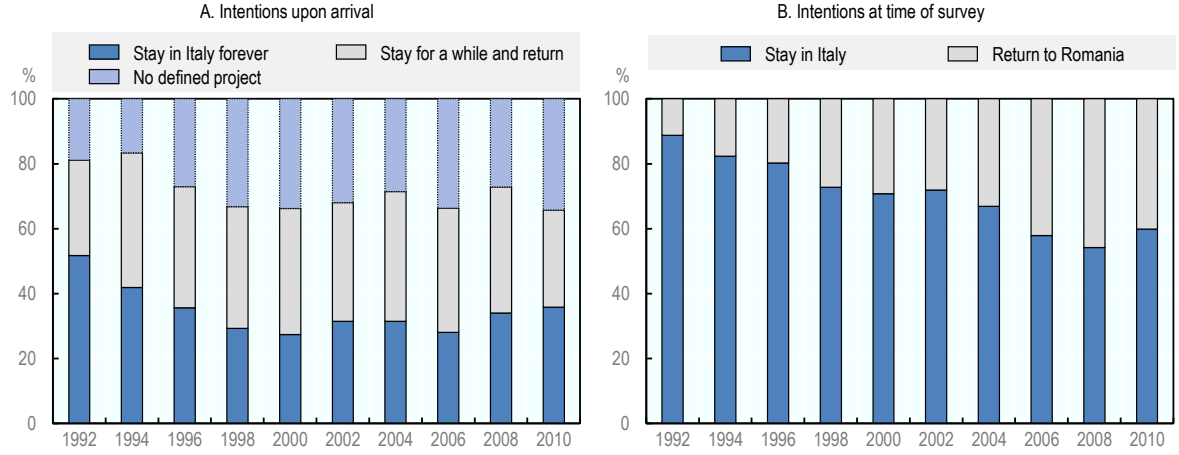
Intention at arrival \ Current intention	Stay in Italy	Return to Romania	Total
Stay in Italy forever	93.2	6.8	100
Stay for a while and return	42.1	57.9	100
No defined project	67.3	32.7	100

Source: Survey "Social Condition and Integration of Foreign Citizens", 2011--12, Istat.

These results indicate that a number of Romanian emigrants change their mind over time and become more and more inclined to remain in Italy. Although results are partly driven by selection[1], comparing return intentions across years of arrival in Italy shows that a substantial number of Romanian emigrants who initially intended to return finally decided to stay in Italy (Figure 5.1). For example, among those who arrived in the early 2000s and who were still living in Italy 10 years later, less than one-third stated that they initially wanted to stay, while 70% said that their current intention was to stay.

Among those who intended to return to Romania, leaving Italy was a short-term prospect (departure in two years or less) for only 10%, but this proportion varied significantly according to the time already spent in the country: those who had just arrived were more likely to say that they would leave quite soon.

Figure 5.1. Intentions of Romanian emigrants upon arrival and at the time of the survey (2011-12), by year of arrival in Italy (%)



Source: Survey "Social Condition and Integration of Foreign Citizens", 2011-12, Istat.

A quantitative analysis of the same Italian survey indicates that several demographic, social and economic factors influence the return intentions of Romanian emigrants living in Italy. A first key determinant is gender: all else equal, men are more likely than women to say that they would like to return to Romania. Older emigrants also tend to have higher return intentions, even after

controlling for the year of arrival (as noted above, recent emigrants are much more likely to say they want to return to Romania than those who came earlier). Compared to respondents with no children, those who only have children living with them are less likely to say they want to return to Romania, while those who have at least one child living separately, including in Romania, are more likely to say they would return. Respondents with the lowest levels of education are those expressing the lowest return intentions, but Romanian emigrants with a tertiary degree have similar return intentions as those with only secondary education. People currently in employment state more frequently that they intend to return to Romania. Finally, the experience of discrimination in Italy – in the labour market, for access to housing, or in daily life – is also a significant predictor of return intentions.

As discussed by De Coulon et al. (2016[2]), in the case of Italy, there has also been a significant effect of anti-immigrant attitudes on the intended duration of stay of Romanian emigrants in the host country, especially for low-skilled ones.

Characteristics of Romanian emigrants who returned to Romania

Accession of Romania to the European Union has made return migration easier, but also more difficult to measure

Romania joined the European Union in 2007. From this date, Romanian citizens benefited from free movement, but many EU countries opted to have a transition period before applying freedom of movement for Romanian workers[2]. Among the countries which implemented a transition period, some applied freedom of movement for Romanian workers in 2009, but many countries applied it as late as 2014. This was for example the case of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Italy lifted restrictions to the mobility of Romanian workers in 2012. Spain initially opened its labour market to Romanian workers in 2009, but then used a safeguard clause to restrict movement between 2011 and 2014.

Accession to the European Union and the establishment of free mobility for Romanian nationals facilitated their emigration towards other European countries, but also their return to Romania, leading to more frequent and more temporary stays abroad. Freedom of movement for workers further facilitated working abroad in other EU Member States and probably reinforced this trend towards increasing mobility. Repeat migration, and more complex mobility patterns across several EU countries, are therefore likely to have become more common in recent years (Ciobanu, 2015[3]). This makes it more difficult to identify and enumerate return migrants with standard data sources. First and foremost because few EU countries track adequately the exits of nationals from other Member States, but also because return migrants are less likely to be captured in surveys if they stay in their country of origin for only a short time before moving again. This difficulty in measuring temporary migration within the European Union obviously does not concern only Romanian emigrants, but applies to all EU countries. Considering the magnitude of the gross flows of Romanian nationals towards other EU

countries in the recent years, this issue is however particularly significant in the Romanian case.

In 2015-17, at least 160 000 Romanian emigrants returned to Romania each year from European OECD countries

Existing estimates indicate that return migration is very prevalent in Romania: according to Ambrosini et al. (2015[4]), return migrants represented about 7% of the population aged 24-65 in 2002-04, corresponding to about 820 000 individuals. For 2008, Martin and Radu (2012[5]) estimate that the share of return migrants had risen to almost 8% of the population aged 24-65, or about 900 000 individuals in this age range. This suggests a 10% increase in the number of returnees in Romania in just five years, highlighting the dynamics of this phenomenon.

The number of return migrants can be apprehended either through outflows from destination countries of nationals going back to their origin country, or through the number of nationals who state in a census or representative survey in the origin country that they have lived abroad in the past. In the case of Romanian returnees, relevant information, albeit limited, can be obtained by exploiting these two types of sources.

The most recent Romanian census was conducted in 2011; it is therefore too old to include the Romanian emigrants who have returned in recent years. In addition, the questionnaire does not allow adequate identification of return migrants: it only asks about the most recent previous residence, whether in Romania or abroad. As a result, return migrants having changed their locality of residence in Romania after coming back in the country cannot be identified as return migrants. This severely limits the overall number of return migrants which can be counted. Since emigrants who have returned shortly before the census are less likely to have had the opportunity to change residence, it can be thought that the census can at least provide a reasonable estimate of the number of Romanian emigrants who returned in the previous two years. Considering the existing estimates discussed above and the magnitude of the flows from some of the main destination countries (see below), the estimated number, only 3 200 Romanian emigrants having returned between 2009 and 2011, appears excessively small and quite improbable. For this reason, the 2011 census is not used in analyses carried out in this chapter.

Another source of information on emigrants who have returned to Romania is the 2014 EU labour force survey, which included a specific module on migration. The survey asks respondents whether they have worked and lived abroad, for a period of six months or longer, in the last ten years. Combining this information with country of birth and citizenship allows identification of 385 000 Romanian nationals aged 15-64 living in the country in 2014 and who had lived abroad in the previous 10 years[3]. This figure is however probably a lower bound on the actual number of return migrants, because people who have lived abroad without being employed may not have responded positively to the question. This could include

for example students, people who did not manage to find a job abroad, but also inactive accompanying family members of people working abroad.

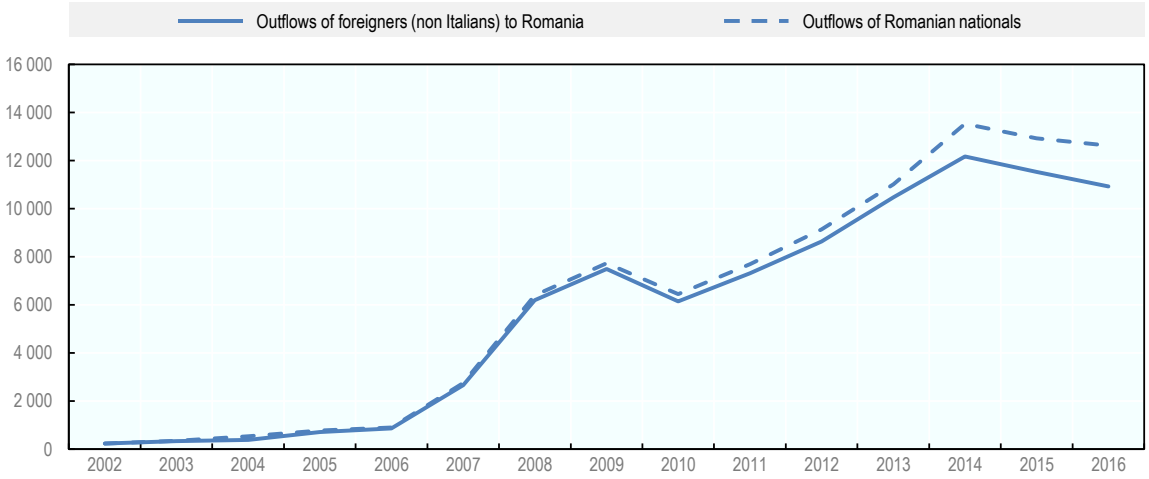
While it is unfortunately not possible to know exactly when those return migrants came back to Romania, their most recent former country of residence abroad is known. The five main countries were Italy (220 000 return migrants), Spain (73 000), Germany (38 000), Hungary (12 000) and France (6 600). Together, these countries accounted for 90% of the total number of return migrants, with Italy alone representing 57%. Returns from non-European countries, especially from the United States and Canada – which account for 8% of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries – were negligible.

Data on outflows of foreigners collected by some countries can be used to estimate the magnitude of return migration. In the case of Romanian emigrants, three of the main countries of origin – Italy, Germany and Spain – release statistics on outflows of foreigners, which originate from population or foreigners registers. A key issue with register data on outflows is whether emigrants actually report their departure and what incentives or obligations they have to do so. Each country has specific rules regarding deregistration and figures may not be comparable from one country to the other. Register data are nevertheless very useful to account for changes in outflows over time.

According to the Italian register statistics, outflows from Italy to Romania of non-Italian nationals amounted in 2016 to about 11 000 departures, with a slight decline in the recent years (Figure 5.2). Since there is little reason to expect significant flows of migrants with other nationalities from Italy to Romania, it can be assumed that virtually all those captured here are Romanian return migrants[4]. Outflows were negligible in the early 2000s and started to increase significantly in 2007, coinciding with the accession of Romania to the European Union and the very large inflows towards Italy witnessed that year (see Chapter 2). They reached a first peak in 2009, and increased again significantly between 2010 and 2014. A similar pattern is observed for departures of Romanian nationals from Italy (to any destination), suggesting a strong overlap between the two series, although the level is slightly higher, with about 13 000 departures in 2016.

Compared to data on inflows to Italy of non-Italian nationals from Romania (or overall inflows of Romanian nationals) from the same source, the ratio of outflows to inflows has strongly increased in the recent years, from 1% on average in 2002-06 to 7% in 2009 and to 25% in 2014-16 (i.e. one departure for four arrivals in Italy). This trend reflects the increasing mobility of Romanian nationals in the EU area discussed above.

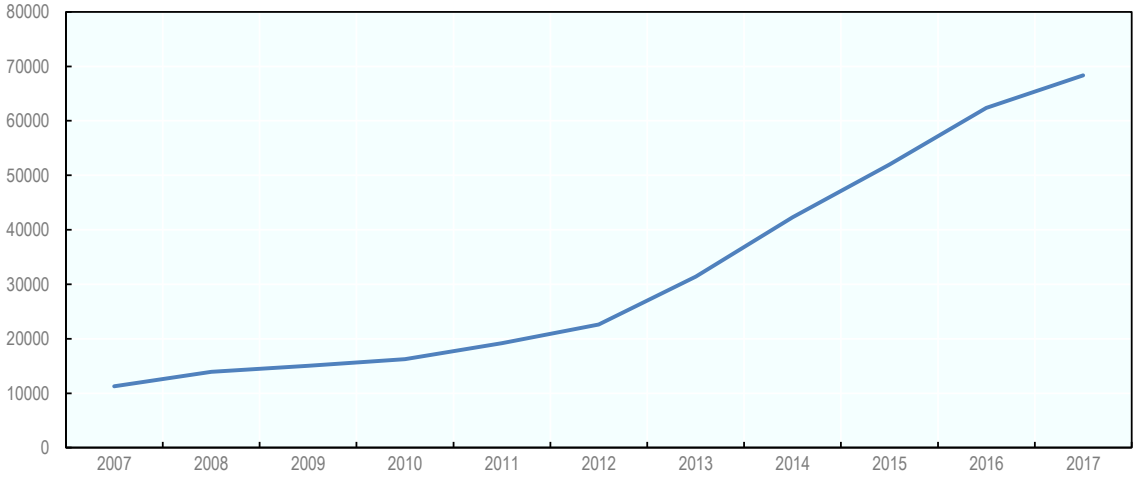
Figure 5.2. Outflows from Italy of foreigners towards Romania, and outflows from Italy of Romanian nationals, 2002-16



Note: Outflows are measured by cancellations from the population registers.
Source: Instituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italy.

In the case of Germany, for which data is only available since 2007, outflows of Romanian nationals have reached almost 70 000 departures in 2017, while they were six times smaller 10 years earlier. They have initially increased quite slowly, before accelerating in 2013-14. Since then, the growth has remained positive, but has slowed down significantly (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. Outflows of Romanian nationals from Germany, 2007-17



Source: Register.statistics, Destatis, Germany.

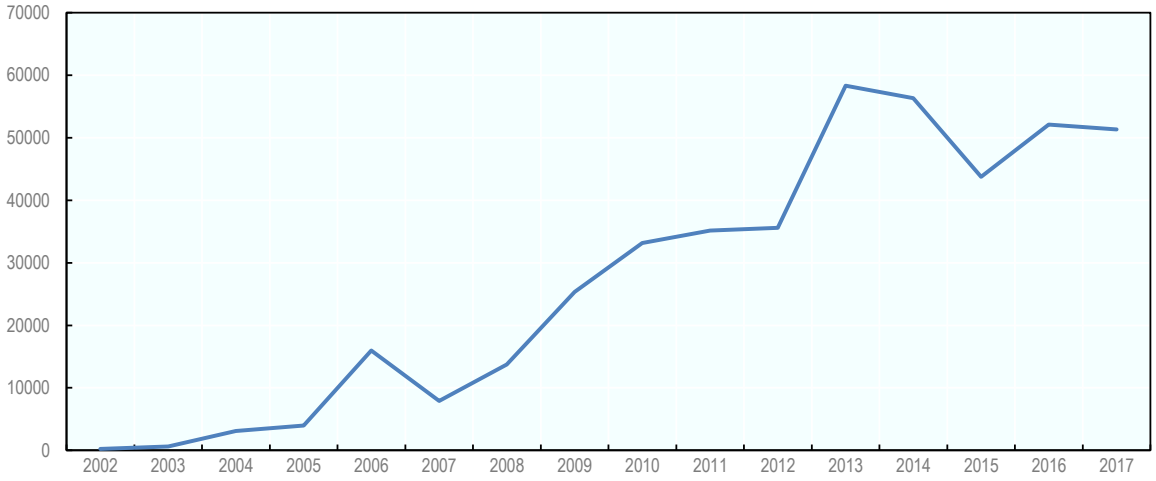
Comparing these outflows to the inflows of Romanian nationals to Germany reveals that the retention rate is much lower than in Italy: the ratio of outflows to inflows has indeed averaged about one-third over the period 2007-17. Additional data on the average length of stay of Romanian nationals leaving Germany

between 2007 and 2017 shows that about 36% of them have remained in the country for less than one year, a share that has remained stable throughout the period.

In Spain, data from the population registers are used by the Spanish National Statistics Institute to estimate residential variations, including from and to foreign countries. Although information is theoretically available on the country of destination of those leaving Spain, it is actually left blank for most cases, which requires looking at total departures, instead of departures to Romania. In 2017, outflows of Romanian nationals amounted to about 51 000 departures, more than the inflows of Romanians the same year, leading to a negative net migration which has persisted since 2012 (see Chapter 2). Outflows have however diminished compared to the peak observed in 2013, where more than 58 000 Romanians left Spain (Figure 5.4).

Just as for Italy, the ratio of outflows to inflows was very small in 2002-05, averaging 2%. It increased however much more quickly than in Italy, reaching 19% in 2008 and 60% in 2011, before reaching 200% in 2013. It has since diminished and was close to 130% in 2017.

Figure 5.4. Outflows of Romanian nationals from Spain, 2002-17



Source: Estadística de variaciones residenciales, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Spain.

Overall, outflows of Romanian emigrants from Italy, Germany and Spain have increased considerably in the last 15 years. A striking result is the much larger number of returns from Germany and Spain than from Italy, despite the fact that, in 2015/16, the population of Romanian emigrants in Italy was 1.5 times larger than in Germany and 1.8 times larger than in Spain. This is also at odds with the much larger number of return migrants from Italy identified in the 2014 Romanian EU labour force survey, compared to those who had come back from Spain or Germany. It is therefore likely that the Italian register fails to capture a significant number of departures of Romanian emigrants.

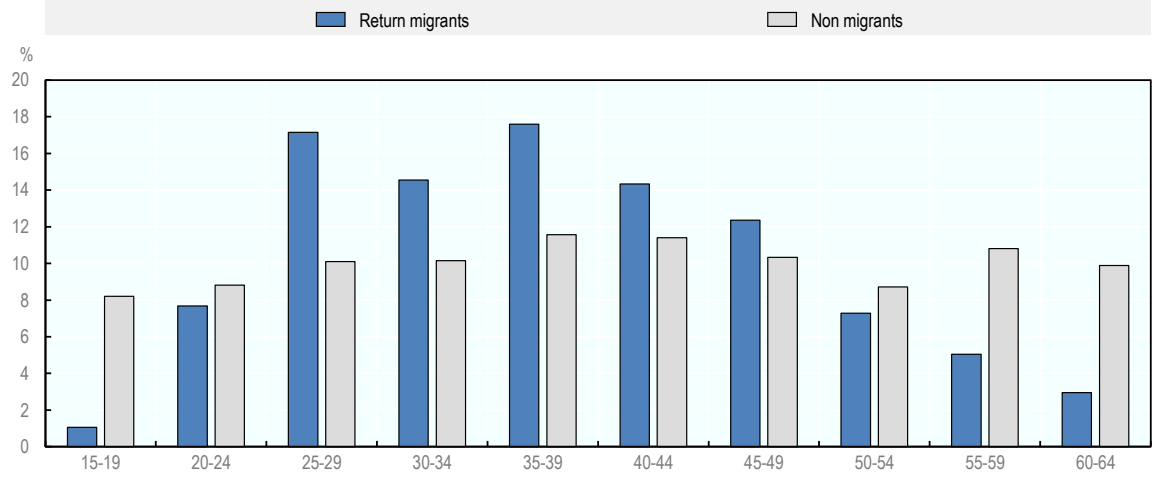
Despite this limitation, assuming that the registers from these three countries generate comparable enough figures, it can be estimated that, on average between 2015 and 2017, approximately 135 000 Romanian emigrants have returned to Romania each year from these countries. These three countries hosted two-thirds of all Romanian emigrants in European OECD countries in 2015/16, but represented 85% of all return migrants identified in the 2014 Romanian EU labour force survey. Using these shares as upper and lower bounds to the actual share of these three countries in total return migration flows to Romania, one can estimate that the total yearly number of Romanian return migrants has ranged between at least 160 000 and 200 000 in recent years, although this does not account for a potential under-declaration of departures from Italy.

Romanian return migrants are much younger than non-migrants

The age distribution of return migrants is quite different from that of non-migrants who have always remained in Romania. According to the 2014 EU labour force survey of Romania, among the Romanians (aged 15-64) who have worked and lived abroad at some point in the period 2004-14 and then returned to Romania, 63% were aged between 25 and 44, while the same age group represented only 43% of the non-migrants (Figure 5.5). This age distribution is even more skewed than that of the diaspora itself, where 54% of the 15-64 years old were in the 25-44 age group in 2015/16.

Comparing emigrants having returned from the three main destination countries (Italy, Germany and Spain), Germany stands out as the one with the youngest return migrants, with almost 40% of the 15-64 being aged 20-29, while this share is only 24% among those having returned from both Italy and Spain. This is consistent with the previous finding that Romanian emigrants remain in Germany for shorter periods than they do in Italy and Spain.

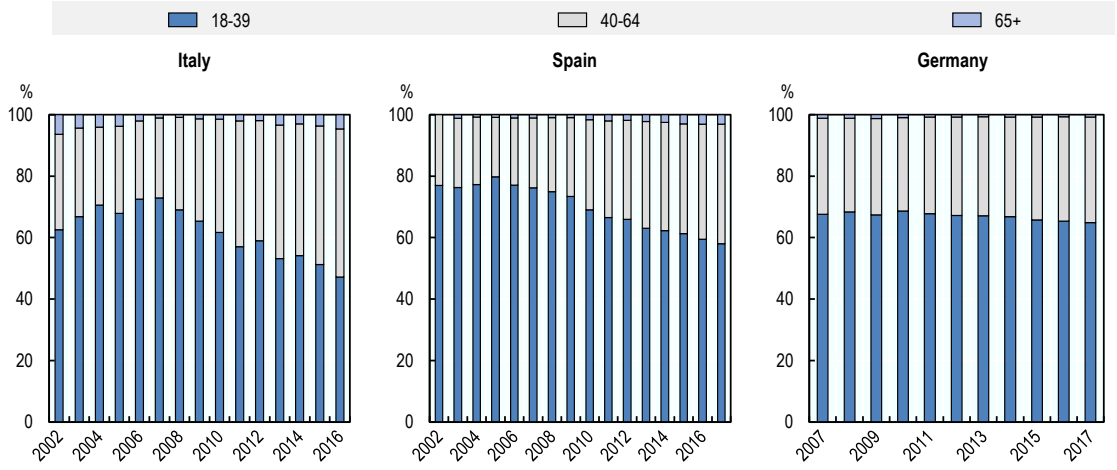
Figure 5.5. Age distribution of return migrants and non-migrants aged 15-64 in Romania, 2014



Source: Romania EU labour force survey, 2014, Eurostat.

Looking directly at the age distribution of return flows of Romanian emigrants from Italy, Germany and Spain, using population registers data, the overall picture is similar: among adult (18+) return migrants, a majority are aged between 18 and 39 years old (Figure 5.6). On average, the share of this age group was 62% in Italy (2002-16), 70% in Spain (2002-17) and 67% in Germany (2007-17). For all three countries, return migrants aged 65 years old and over were rare: about 3% in Italy, 1.5% in Spain and less than 1% in Germany. There has been, however, a trend towards a decreasing share of young return migrants from Italy and Spain since 2007, while this is much less the case for emigrants coming back from Germany. In 2007, those aged 18-39 represented 73% of all 18+ return migrants from Italy, while this share dropped to 47% in 2016. For those coming back from Spain, the trend has been similar, although less marked: those aged 18-39 represented 77% of the total in 2007 and 58% in 2017. In contrast, for Germany, the share of the 18-39 has remained more stable: 67% in 2007 and 65% in 2017.

Figure 5.6. Age distribution of return migrants aged 18+ from Italy, Spain and Germany



Source: Instituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italy; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Spain; Destatis, Germany.

For Italy and Spain, there are also signs of an increasing share of individuals aged 65 years old and over among return migrants, although they remain a very small number. Among return migrants from Italy, individuals aged 65 years old and over made up less than 5% of the total in 2016, but this share was only 1% in 2007-08. For Spain, the share is still small as well, 3% in 2017, but increasing from about 1% in 2007. While retirees make up a significant share of return migration flows in other European countries, this is not currently the case in Romania, as return migration is dominated by emigrants who stay abroad temporarily before returning to Romania (and maybe leaving again later on). While there is a large number of Romanian emigrants who follow this pattern, there is an even larger number of them who settle more durably in OECD countries, including in countries where many Romanians stay only temporarily,

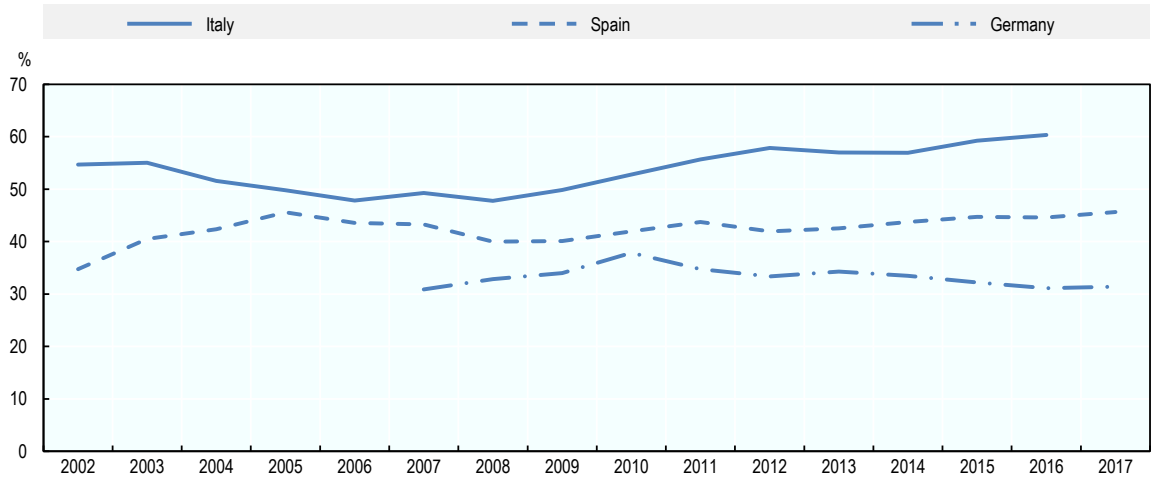
such as Germany. It remains to be seen whether those emigrants will finally return to Romania when they retire, but even if a relatively modest fraction of them do, this may generate significant flows of retiring return migrants to Romania in 10 to 20 years.

The share of women is higher among migrants returning from Italy than from Germany and Spain

According to the 2014 Romanian EU labour force survey, among Romanians who have worked and lived abroad at some point between 2004 and 2014 before returning, only 35% were women. This is as strikingly low share, as women represented almost 50% of the 15-64 population of Romanian nationals, and about 54% of the 15-64 population of Romanian emigrants in OECD countries in 2015/16. This gender imbalance was slightly less acute among former emigrants who had returned from Italy (40% of women), but was more pronounced among those returning from Spain (31% of women), Germany (22%) and Hungary (18%). This underrepresentation of women is probably partly because only return migrants having worked abroad are considered here. Indeed, as shown in Chapter 4, the employment rate of Romanian emigrant women in OECD countries was only 63% in 2015/16, compared to 77% for men. Accounting for these employment rates, and assuming that gender differences in return behaviour are not significantly affected by the employment status of emigrants during their stay abroad, the share of women among return migrants would be close to 40%[5]. An additional explanation for this lower representation of women among return migrants would be that they have a lower propensity to return than men.

However, the data on flows of return migrants from Italy, Germany and Spain paint a quite different picture. As shown in Figure 5.7, among return migrants coming back from Italy, women have made up a majority of the flows since 2010 and their share has increased to 60% in 2016. In contrast, women are a minority among return migrants from Spain and Germany, with respectively 46% and 31% of the flows in 2017. In Spain, the share of women has increased in the last 10 years (from 40% in 2008-09) while it has been decreasing in Germany (from 38% in 2010).

Figure 5.7. Share of women among Romanian return migrants from Italy, Spain and Germany, 2002-17



Source: Instituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italy; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Spain; Destatis, Germany.

Romanian return migrants have on average lower levels of education than non-migrants and those who stayed abroad

While Romanian emigrants living in OECD countries tend to be better-educated than the Romanian population in general, this is not the case for return migrants, who are, on average, both less educated than those who have remained abroad and less educated than those who have not left Romania. Due to the concentration of lower-educated emigrants in European destination countries, especially those that are relatively close, those lower-educated Romanian emigrants are also more likely to return. Data from the 2014 Romanian EU labour force survey show that less than 7% of return migrants report having a tertiary education, while this share is twice as large among non-migrants (Figure 5.8).

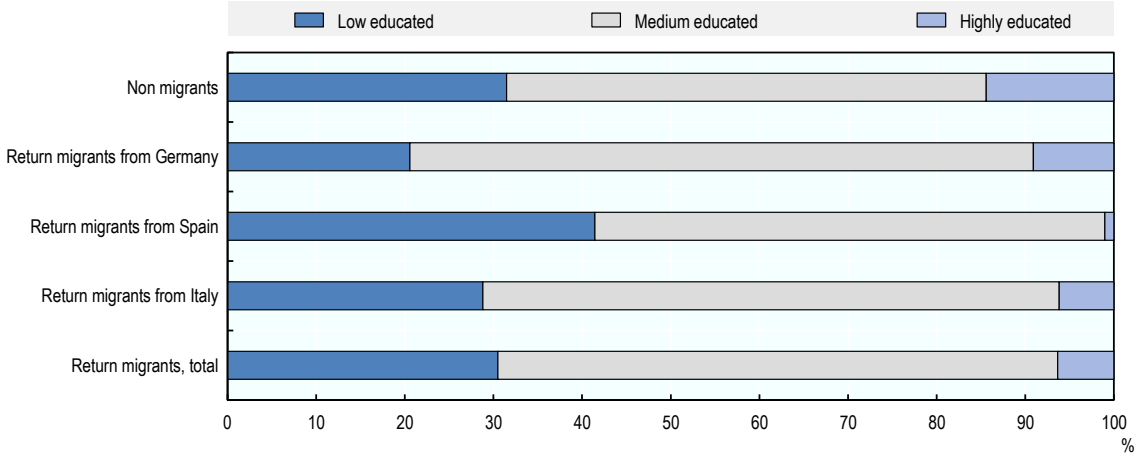
While migrants returning from Italy have a distribution of education that is close to that of the overall return migrant population, those returning from Germany have a higher share of medium and highly educated, while those returning from Spain have a very high share of low educated and a much smaller share of tertiary educated. Compared to Romanian emigrants who were still abroad in 2015/16 (see Chapter 3), those who have returned are much less likely to have a tertiary degree, except for return migrants from Italy, where the share of tertiary educated is quite similar (6% among return migrants, versus 7% for those still abroad). While only 9% of Romanian emigrants returning from Germany are tertiary educated, the share among those still in Germany in 2015/16 was 23%. In the case of Spain, the gap is even larger: barely 1% of the return migrants had a tertiary degree, while 17% of those living in Spain had one.

Romanian emigrants coming back from Spain and Germany are therefore quite strongly negatively selected, while this does not seem to be the case for those

returning from Italy. In the case of Spain, recent return migration was mostly motivated by the poor employment prospects in the country, where unemployment has been very high since 2009, especially for low-educated immigrants. In fact, the employment rate of low-educated Romanian emigrants in Spain has dropped catastrophically between 2005 and 2010, from 70% to 40%. This has not been the case in Italy, where the employment rate of this group has remained roughly stable over this period, at 57%. Romanian emigrants with higher levels of education have also seen their employment prospects drop significantly between 2005 and 2010, but not as strongly as the low educated.

The case of Germany is more complex because of the prevalence of seasonal and temporary migration among low-educated Romanians, while those with higher levels of education have tended to settle more durably (Anghel et al., 2016[6]).

Figure 5.8. Distribution of education of return migrants and non-migrants aged 15-64 in Romania, 2014



Source: Romania EU labour force survey, 2014, Eurostat.

Economic contributions of Romanian emigrants

Romanian emigrants contribute in many ways to the economic development of their country of origin, particularly through the supply of labour and skills, but also by returning to Romania and settling there. While some mechanisms – such as the supply of skilled labour, entrepreneurship and knowledge transfer – normally require Romanian emigrants to return to Romania at least temporarily, they may also have a positive influence from abroad through mechanisms such as remittances, trade and business networks. This section presents available data on some of the main mechanisms by which emigrants can contribute to the development of Romania, but also the obstacles they may face.

Prime-age and highly educated return migrants face difficulties to reintegrate the Romanian labour market

Although reintegration in the country of origin is a multifaceted process, the economic dimension is primordial and will often condition other dimensions of returnees' well-being. For those of working-age, access to employment is critical. A substantial literature has been devoted to the determinants of return migration, and employment prospects in the origin country figure prominently as one the key drivers of return (see OECD (2008[7]) for an extensive review). This is especially true when emigration itself was largely motivated by economic reasons, as is the case for the recent Romanian emigration towards OECD countries (see Chapter 1).

The labour market situation of Romanian return migrants can be analysed using the 2014 Romanian EU labour force survey. As discussed above, this survey documents the previous country of residence of Romanians who have come back to the country in the previous 10 years. Looking at their employment outcomes in 2014 therefore provides a medium-term outlook of their reintegration on the labour market.

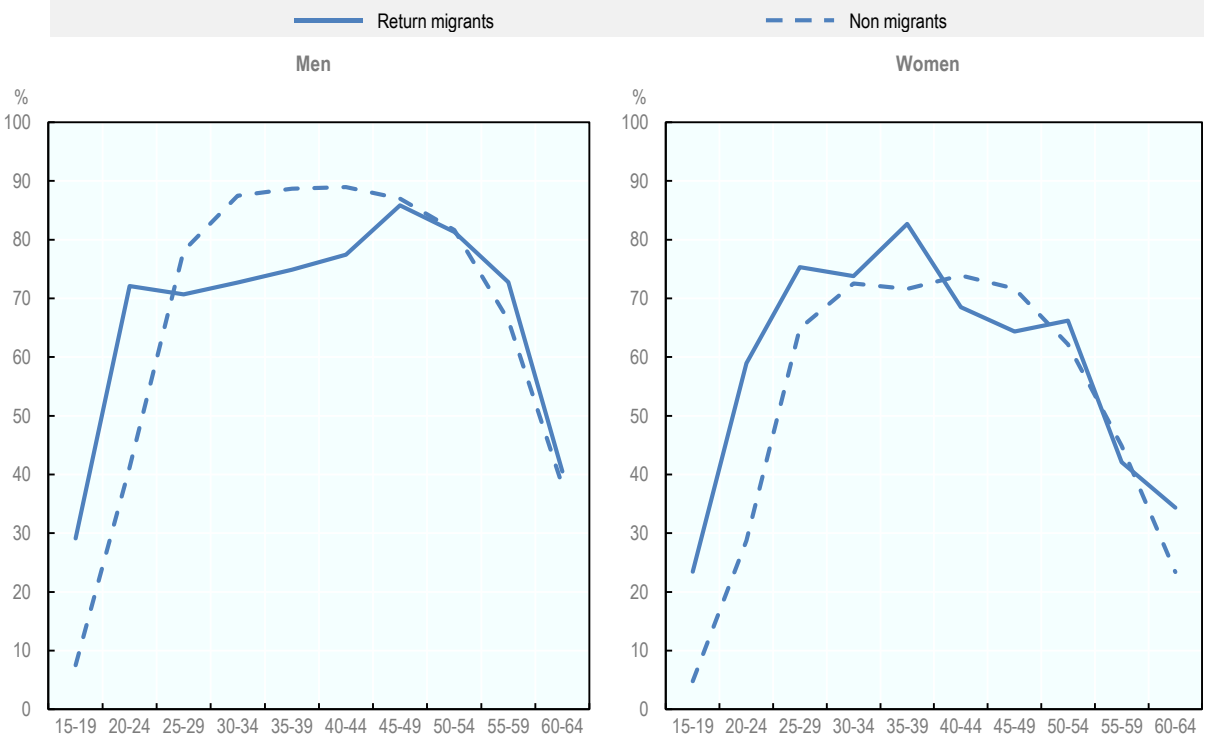
In addition, pooling the Romanian EU labour force surveys of 2015, 2016 and 2017, it is also possible to look at the short-term reintegration of Romanian returnees. Indeed, these surveys include a question on the country of residence one year before. Although these surveys are not designed to provide estimates of the number of recent returnees – in particular because people who have arrived in the country very recently are much less likely to be sampled – they can still provide relevant insights on the labour market outcomes of those recent returnees.

At first glance, it appears that return migrants have better employment prospects than non-migrants. Indeed, in 2014, the employment rate of return migrants aged 15-64 who have come back to Romania in the previous 10 years was 69%, while that of the non-migrants Romanian nationals was only 61%. This was also true in 2015-2017 for return migrants (also aged 15-64) who were just returning and were abroad the year before: their employment rate was even higher at 73%, while only 62% of the non-migrant Romanians had a job. Looking separately at men and women provides similar results: with the medium-term perspective (i.e. with the 2014 survey) the employment gap between return migrants and non migrants was four percentage points among men and 10 percentage points among women. The short-term outcomes of return migrants were qualitatively similar, with an employment gap of eight points in favour of return migrants among men, and 12 points among women.

There is, however, a strong composition effect due to age differences between return migrants and non-migrants. As noted above, return migrants are on average much younger than non-migrants, and the employment rate among the 15-24 is much higher for return migrants than for non-migrants, many of whom are still in education. Among prime-age men (25-49), return migrants suffer from a significant disadvantage compared to non-migrants, with employment rates almost

15 points lower for those aged 30-39. In comparison, women returnees fare much better: their employment rate is higher than that of non-migrants in almost all age groups, except from 40 to 49 years old (Figure 5.9). A similar picture emerges when looking at the age profile of employment rates for short-term return migrants: those aged 20-29 have higher employment rates than non-migrants, but those aged 35-54 are less often in employment than the non-migrants.

Figure 5.9. Employment rates of return migrants and non-migrants by age and sex in Romania, 2014



Note: Return migrants are defined as Romanian nationals born in Romania who have been working and living abroad at some point in the 10 years prior to the survey. Non-migrants are Romanian nationals born in Romania who have remained in Romania in the 10 years prior to the survey.
Source: Romania EU labour force survey, 2014, Eurostat.

There are also significant differences in the pattern of employment rates between return migrants and non-migrants with respect to educational attainment (Table 5.2). Among low-educated individuals, the employment rate of medium-term return migrants is 20 percentage points higher than that of non-migrants, which again is partly due to the age difference between the two groups. For individuals with medium education, the gap is lower but still in favour of return migrants. In contrast, tertiary educated return migrants fare worse than their non-migrant counterparts, with an employment rate gap of almost eight points. In fact, while tertiary education is associated with a gain of 18 points in employment rate among non-migrants (compared to medium educated people), the gain is only four points among returnees. Although the small sample size

prevents drawing strong conclusions, a similar pattern seems to emerge for short-term return migrants: while those with low and medium education have larger employment rates than non-migrants, those with tertiary education seem to do much worse and they actually also do worse than lower educated return migrants.

Table 5.2. Employment rates of return migrants and non-migrants by educational attainment in Romania, 2014 and 2015-2017

	2015-17		2014	
	Short-term return migrants	Non-migrants	Medium-term return migrants	Non-migrants
Low educated	71%	42%	65%	45%
Medium educated	78%	66%	71%	65%
Highly educated	55%	87%	75%	83%

Note: In 2015-17, short-term return migrants are defined as Romanian nationals born in Romania who were living abroad one year before the survey. Non-migrants are those who were living in Romania one year before the survey. In 2014, medium-term return migrants are defined as Romanian nationals born in Romania who have been working and living abroad at some point in the 10 years prior to the 2014 survey. Non-migrants are those who have remained in Romania in the 10 years prior to the survey.
Source: Romania EU labour force surveys, 2014 and 2015-17, Eurostat.

A more complete picture is obtained with a multivariate analysis of the correlates of employment in the 2014 survey. Controlling for sex and age, return migrants with low education enjoy an employment rate that is significantly higher than that of their non-migrant counterparts, with a difference of seven percentage points. In contrast, highly educated return migrants have a disadvantage over non-migrants, with a significant negative difference of nine percentage points[6].

To sum up, although aggregate employment rates are higher for return migrants than for non-migrants, specific categories are at a disadvantage and do not seem to reintegrate very well. The first group is prime-age men, who may have difficulties competing for jobs with non-migrants who have accumulated more experience on the Romanian labour market. This raises the question of the transferability of experience and skills acquired abroad. In particular, if the technology or management practices of Romanian firms are too different from that of firms in destination countries of Romanian emigrants, it may prove difficult for them to fully use their skills in Romania.

Another group of return migrants that has relatively poor reintegration outcomes is the highly educated. They have higher employment rates than low and medium educated returnees, but they do not fare as well as highly educated non-migrants. While some of them may have obtained their tertiary degree abroad, there are not the majority, considering the small number of Romanians enrolled in higher education in OECD countries. Issues with the recognition of foreign qualifications by Romanian firms are therefore unlikely to be a major cause of the situation of highly educated return migrants. A potential explanation is the lack of a reliable network to help them find a job, or the loss of country-specific knowledge during

the stay abroad. It is also possible that those highly educated return migrants are negatively selected on unobserved characteristics: among the highly educated Romanian emigrants, if only those who have the highest motivation and abilities manage to find a job in OECD destination countries, those who are unsuccessful will return. This is in fact consistent with earlier findings in the literature (Ambrosini et al., 2015[4]; de Coulon and Piracha, 2005[8]).

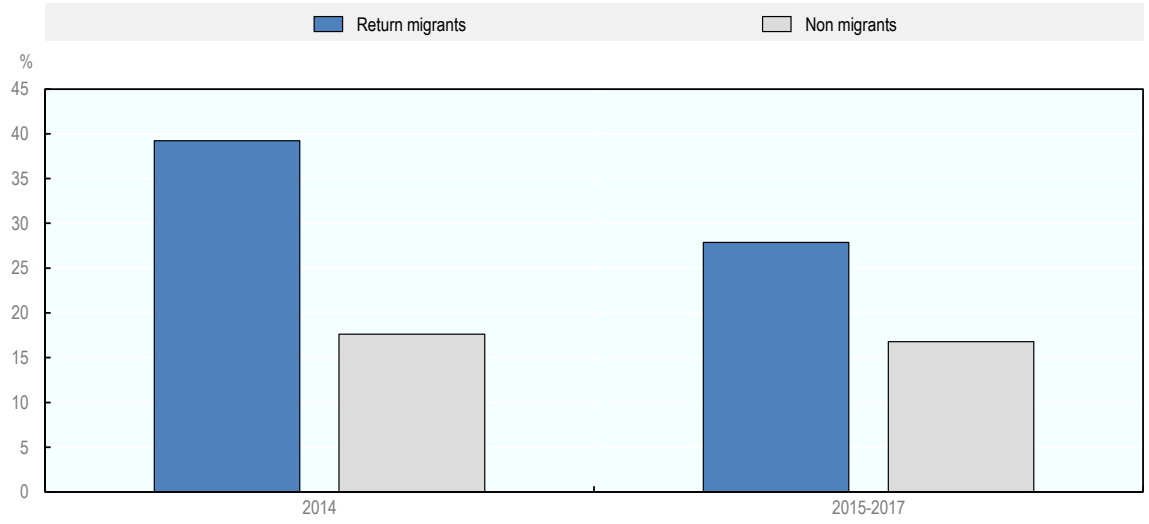
Entrepreneurship and occupations of return migrants: Choices or constraints?

Beyond access to employment, the qualitative dimension of labour market reintegration also matters to evaluate the economic contribution and social prospects of return migrants in Romania. This includes in particular the type of activity undertaken by return migrants, in terms of both entrepreneurship and occupations.

Entrepreneurship – or self-employment – is a widespread activity among migrants in OECD countries and contributes significantly to job creation (OECD, 2010[9]). Its role among return migrants has also been largely discussed in the literature (Marchetta, 2012[10]; Piracha and Vadean, 2010[11]; Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2002[12]). In the case of Romania, using data from the mid-2000s, Martin and Sandu (2012[5]) find that return migrants are not more likely to become self-employed than non-migrants. However, data from the 2014 and 2015-17 Romanian EU labour force surveys show that the share of entrepreneurs or self-employed is significantly higher among return migrants than among non-migrants (Figure 5.10). This result persists for 2014 after controlling for age, sex and education: the share of self-employed is 13 percentage points higher among low educated return migrants than among low educated non-migrants. The difference is smaller for the medium educated and not significantly different from zero for the highly educated. For short-term return migrants in 2015-17, there is no significant difference in self-employment among the low educated, compared to non-migrants. There is, however, a significant difference for the medium educated.

Overall, among return migrants, those with a low level of education are more likely to be self-employed or entrepreneurs: in the 2014 labour force survey, the share of self-employed or entrepreneurs among low-educated return migrants was about 50%, while it was 20% among those with higher education.

Figure 5.10. Share of entrepreneurs and self-employed among return migrants and non-migrants in Romania, 2014 and 2015-17



Note: In 2015-17, short-term return migrants are defined as Romanian nationals born in Romania who were living abroad one year before the survey. Non-migrants are those who were living in Romania one year before the survey. In 2014, medium-term return migrants are defined as Romanian nationals born in Romania who have been working and living abroad at some point in the 10 years prior to the 2014 survey. Non-migrants are those who have remained in Romania in the 10 years prior to the survey.
Source: Romania EU labour force surveys, 2014 and 2015-17, Eurostat.

In addition to the country of residence one year before, the 2015-17 labour force surveys also ask about the previous employment status. It is therefore possible to analyse to what extent self-employed return migrants were already self-employed abroad. Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 show transitions between past and current professional status for return migrants who were abroad one year before. Table 5.3 indicates that 79% of those who were self-employed before returning have remained in this category after coming back to Romania, while 17% have become employees. Transitions in the other direction, from employee abroad to self-employed in Romania, were much less frequent. Table 5.4 shows, for each current professional status, the distribution of past status: 74% of those self-employed after coming back to Romania were already self-employed abroad, while 24% were employees. For those who are employees in Romania, the transition from self-employment was much less frequent, with only 7%. These results indicate that self-employment is most likely a fallback option for many recent Romanian return migrants who do not manage to become employees.

Table 5.3. Distribution of current professional status according to past professional status (abroad) of return migrants aged 15-64, 2015-17

Current status / Past status (abroad)I	Self-employed	Employee	Unemployed or inactive	Total
Self-employed	79%	17%	4%	100%
Employee	8%	73%	18%	100%
Unemployed or inactive	2%	5%	93%	100%

Note: 79% of return migrants who were self-employed abroad (one year before the survey) have remained self-employed after returning, while 17% have become employees.
Source: Romania EU labour force surveys, 2015-17, Eurostat.

Table 5.4. Distribution of current professional status according to past professional status (abroad) of return migrants aged 15-64, 2015-17

Current status / Past status (abroad)I	Self-employed	Employee	Unemployed or inactive
Self-employed	74%	7%	3%
Employee	24%	91%	33%
Unemployed or inactive	2%	2%	64%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Panel B: 74% of return migrants who are self-employed after returning were self-employed abroad (one year before the survey), while 24% were employees.
Source: Romania EU labour force surveys, 2015-17, Eurostat.

Beyond the alternative between self-employment and salaried work, occupational choice is another key dimension of job quality, especially the matching between educational attainment and the skills required for the job. Comparing the distribution of occupations held by return migrants with that of non-migrants is a first step to assess the position of return migrants on the Romanian labour market. In Figure 5.11, Panel A shows that return migrants are under-represented in occupations requiring a high skill level, especially 'Professionals' and 'Technicians and associate professionals' (ISCO groups 2 and 3) where they are under-represented by a factor of four compared to non-migrants. In contrast, they are over-represented in jobs with relatively low skill content, such as 'Skilled agricultural workers', 'Craft and related trade workers' (ISCO groups 6 and 7), and most importantly 'Elementary occupations' (ISCO group 9), where 23% of them work, while the employment share of non-migrants in this group is less than 10%.

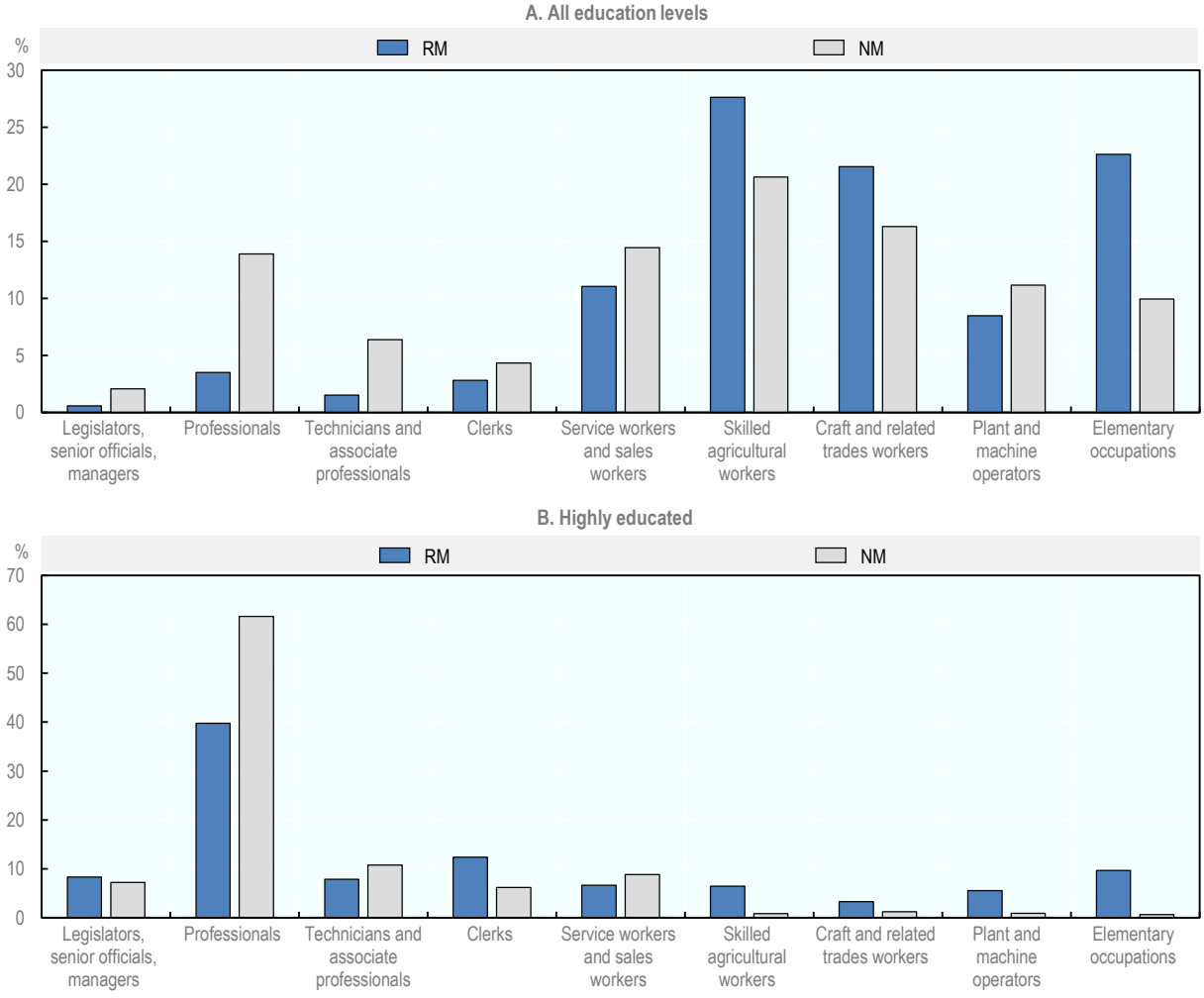
In Panel B of Figure 5.11, the distribution of employment by occupation is shown only for the highly educated. As discussed in Chapter 4, over-qualification rates are particularly high for Romanian emigrants in OECD countries. This problem also affects return migrants: while 40% of employed highly educated return migrants have a job in the category 'Professionals', which require the highest skill level, this proportion is more than 50% higher among non-migrants. Highly educated return migrants are also under-represented in the 'Technicians and associate professionals', where less than 8% of them work, while the share among

non-migrants is 11%. More strikingly, there is a large number of highly educated return migrants who hold low-skilled jobs: 25% of them work as 'Skilled agricultural workers', 'Craft and related trade workers', 'Plant and machine operators' (ISCO group 8) or in 'Elementary occupations', while this is the case for less than 4% of the highly educated non-migrants. As a result, the overqualification rate of return migrants is 44%, almost as high as the one estimate for Romanian emigrants in OECD countries (see Chapter 4), while it is only 19% for non-migrants.

The prevalence of self-employment among low educated return migrants and the high overqualification rate of highly educated returnees are indicators of poor economic reintegration of many Romanian emigrants upon their return in their country of origin. Added to the lower employment rates of prime-age men and tertiary educated returnees, compared to their non-migrant counterparts, this paints a relatively bleak picture of their economic and social prospects in Romania.

Several factors can help explain this situation. First, emigration episodes can interrupt careers and therefore lead to lower country-specific professional experience, which can harm employment prospects of prime-age workers. Second, emigration can also disrupt personal relationships and weaken the networks in which emigrants were embedded in Romania before leaving. Considering the key role of social networks in job search, return migrants might therefore be at a disadvantage when looking for employment when they come back to Romania. Third, as discussed above, there is evidence that Romanian return migrants are negatively selected on unobserved characteristics, which would explain why some groups fare worse than non-migrants on the labour market. Finally, large flows of returning migrants in the recent years may have led to a high level of competition for jobs among return migrants themselves, making it more difficult for them to find a job corresponding to their formal qualifications.

Figure 5.11. Distribution of employment by occupations for return migrants and non-migrants in Romania, 2014



Source: Romania EU labour force survey, 2014, Eurostat.

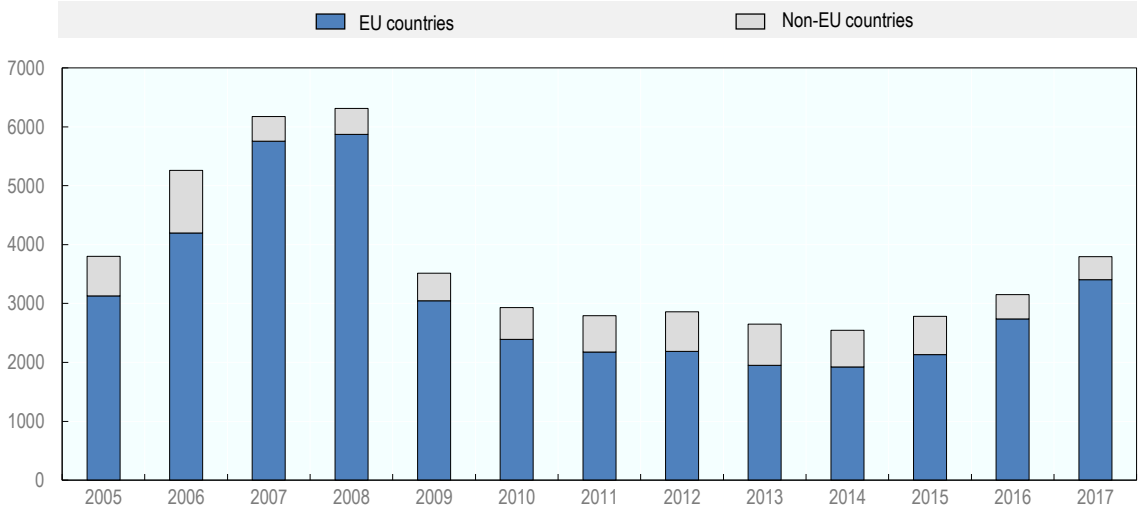
Each year, Romanian emigrants send remittances amounting to 2% of GDP

In 2017, Romania received EUR 3.8 billion in remittances sent by Romanian emigrants abroad, corresponding to about 2% of GDP. Compared to neighbouring countries, this a relatively low level: according to World Bank data, remittances represented about 20% of GDP in Moldova, 14% in Ukraine, 9% in Serbia, 3.5% in Bulgaria and 3% in Hungary. These remittances may, however, represent significant financial resources for the origin households of Romanian emigrants.

In line with the geographical distribution of the Romanian diaspora (see Chapter 1), 90% of remittances originated from EU countries (Figure 5.12). In the recent years, the level of remittances sent to Romania from abroad has been strongly affected by the economic crisis in the main destination countries of Romanian emigrants: while remittances increased by almost 70% between 2005

and 2008, they dropped very strongly after 2008, and only started to increase again in 2015.

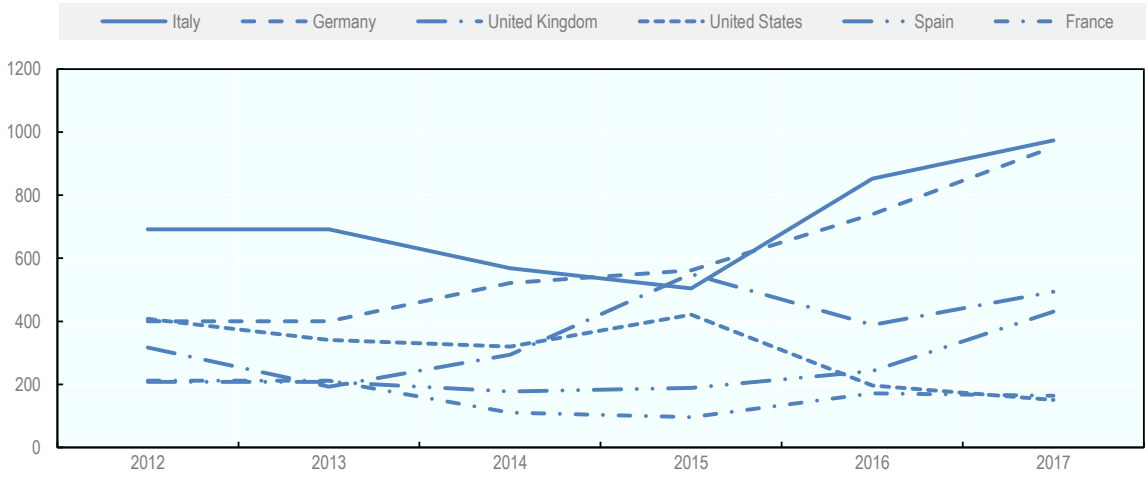
Figure 5.12. Remittances to Romania sent from EU and non-EU countries, 2005-17



Note: Remittances include workers remittances and compensation of employees.
Source: Eurostat, balance of payment data.

In 2017, the main sending countries were Italy and Germany, with close to EUR 1 billion each, the United Kingdom, with EUR 0.5 billion, Spain (EUR 0.4 billion), France and the United States (EUR 0.15 billion each) (Figure 5.13). Although changes across these key destination countries of Romanian emigrants in recent years partly reflected changes in migration flows, there were also significant differences in the average amount sent by Romanian emigrants in different destination countries. For example, Romanian emigrants aged 15-64 living in Italy sent on average about EUR 700 per year in 2015/16, while those living in the United Kingdom sent on average around EUR 1 900. Among the main destination countries, the lowest average amount was sent by those living in Spain, with about EUR 450.[7]

Figure 5.13. Remittances to Romania sent from selected OECD countries, 2012-17



Note: Remittances include workers remittances and compensation of employees.
Source: Eurostat, balance of payment data.

Conclusions

Large outflows of Romanian emigrants in the last 10 to 15 years towards OECD countries, especially EU Member States, have quite logically led to large flows of return migration to Romania. It is, however, quite challenging to determine exactly how large these return migration flows are. Indeed, free movement in the European Union has both increased opportunities for mobility for Romanian nationals, and reduced the ability to measure those flows. Mobility patterns have become more complex and more diverse, and the traditional tools used to apprehend return migration are insufficient to capture some of these movements. It is likely that more and more Romanian nationals will engage in complex migration trajectories, both within the European Union and outside.

This makes it particularly challenging to accompany efficiently return migrants in their reintegration in Romania. Indeed, in order to develop and implement specific policies that could help return migrants who are struggling to find adequate employment in the country, for example, it is necessary to adequately identify the characteristics of this population, and to understand the constraints they face on the labour market, but also in other dimensions of their life in Romania.

This chapter provides some insights on these topics. As noted above, an important limitation concerns the measurement of return migration to Romania. Developing a multi-country survey targeting specifically Romanian emigrants and returnees to better understand their diverse migration trajectories would be a very useful step to overcome this issue.

Notes

[1] By definition, the Romanian emigrants who have left Italy – and who were more likely to have always intended to leave – were not surveyed.

[2] The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union defines freedom of movement for workers as "the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment" (Art. 45).

[3] The relevant question was only asked to individuals aged 15-64.

[4] Emigrants born in Romania and having acquired Italian citizenship are not counted here, as it is not possible to distinguish them from Italians born in Italy and moving to Romania.

[5] The same calculation to correct for gender differences in employment rates, applied specifically to migrants returning from Italy, would raise the share of women to 45%, versus 40% without this correction.

[6] The model estimated includes direct effects of sex, age, education and return status, as well as an interaction between educational attainment and the return variable.

[7] This average amount is computed by dividing the total remittances sent by the number of Romanian emigrants aged 15-64.

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In recent years, Romania has undergone major economic, social and political transformations. Given the significant emigration of the Romanian population and the recognition of the contributions of the diaspora, Romanian authorities are seeking to better understand this pool of talent residing abroad, which has great potential to contribute to the economic and social development of Romania. This review provides the first comprehensive portrait of the Romanian diaspora in OECD countries. By profiling Romanian emigrants, this review aims to strengthen knowledge about this community and thus help to consolidate the relevance of the policies deployed by Romania towards its emigrants.

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