

Dumitru Sandu
University of Bucharest

Temporary emigration from Romanian villages
Determinants and rural development policy implications

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Abstract

The paper examines the key patterns of temporary emigration from Romania after 2000 as a basis for formulating policy to reduce agricultural overpopulation. It is a multilevel and multi-capital analysis. The first part of the paper locates Romania in the European context from the point of view of the relation between level of living and country population composition. Community patterns are the most structured ones but they are context bound. The relations between community profiles and migration characteristics are different function of the regional context: Emigration patterns are context bounded (work emigration is favored by rural residence in Moldova but in Transylvania has a higher probability for city dwellers; life satisfaction plays differently for work vs nonwork intentions to emigrate etc.).

A five-class typology of communities from the migration point of views allowed for capturing basic patterns of community selectivity (as opposed to individual selectivity) of temporary emigration.

There are clear sign for the existence of different **cultures of (e)migration**: Community structure of emigration seems to be better structured than the regional culture of phenomena; Moldova , by its more developed communes , is one of the very few regions of the country with a well structured culture of migration; Transylvania is the favored place for nonwork migration and South regions are the locus for low temporary emigration. Policy implications are derived from analysis.

The paper relies on large census and survey data that support reciprocally in a multilevel approach.

Acronyms:

WEM – work temporary emigration

NWEM – non-work temporary emigration

WEMCOM – local community with prevalence of WEM

NWEMCOM – local community with prevalence of NWEM

DUALCOM – community of rather equal WEM and NWEM rates

MIDCOM – community of mid level emigration

LOWCOM – community of low emigration rates

POB – Public Opinion Barometer

OSF – Open Society Foundation

NIS – National Institute of Statistics

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Rural or agricultural overpopulation?

Romania has, by its 55% urban population, one the lowest levels of urbanization in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The level of living of the Romanian population is also among the lowest in that part of the Europe (Table A 4). This is the message sent by synthetic indicators as life expectancy at birth and infant mortality rates. Is this low level of living the result of the low degree of urbanization? Is there a certain rural overpopulation among the main causes of the low level of living in the country and mainly in its the rural areas ?

The short answer to the last two questions is “no”. At the Europe level, employment structure is a much more important predictor of life expectancy at birth than urbanization. The lower the proportion of agricultural employed population the higher the life expectancy (Table 1). Baltic countries, Romania and Bulgaria are the countries with the lowest life expectancy and the highest infant mortality in the series of 25 European countries considered for this analysis. Their degree of urbanization is highly different, in a range from 55% to 70%. But the proportion of agricultural employed population is very high (excepting Estonia that has a different profile). Former communist countries like Slovenia have a reduced degree of urbanization but a very high level of living. This is why urbanization correlates negatively with the level of living in CEE. In fact, Slovenia and Czech Republic are the only former communist countries that are closer to the level of living patterns of some western European countries (Figure 1).

Table 1. Predictors of life expectancy at birth

	Model for 23 European countries			Model for 10 former communist countries from Europe		
	B	Beta	p	B	Beta	p
(Constant)	77.359		0.000	80.692		0.000
Degree of urbanization	0.014	0.057	0.775	-0.095	-0.388	0.256
% employed in agriculture	-0.222	-0.627	0.004	-0.099	-0.556	0.120
R ²	0.43			0.35		

The table presents the results of two multiple regression equations using the data set from Table A 4 with life expectancy at birth as dependent variable. The pattern of relations is the same if one considers GDP per capita as dependent variable in the two models.

It comes out that in countries like Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania the problem is not the urban overpopulation but the agricultural overpopulation. The key ways to reduce the agricultural overpopulation are those related to increasing:

- Temporary emigration,
- Rural to urban commuting
- Rural non farm employment
- The productivity of agricultural work.

The first way will be discussed in this paper in relation with the Romanian case. The focus is mainly on understanding the patterns of temporary emigration. Policy implications are derived from pattern and causal description of the phenomena. The role

of community and regional profiles for emigration are especially considered as to lay foundation for policy measures.

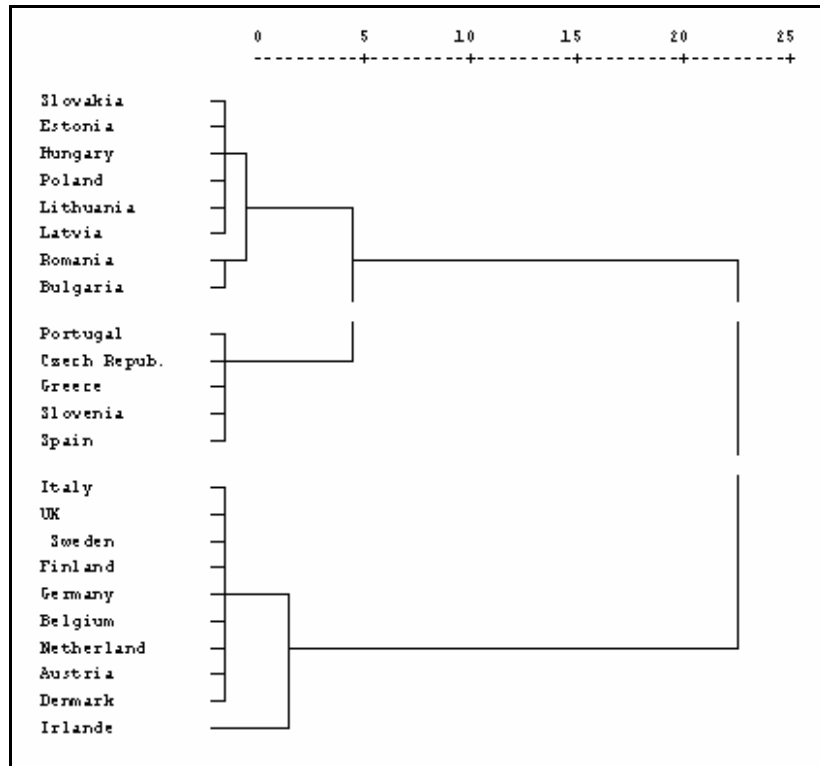


Figure 1. Clustering 23 European countries function of level of living and population composition indicators

Clustering indicators are GDP per capital, life expectancy at birth, infant mortality, employment in agriculture, education stock for young population and degree of urbanyzation. For data and indicator definitions see table A4 in annex. Complete linkage cluster analysis, squared Euclidian distances.

Introductory questions on Romanian temporary emigration¹

In analyzing migration patterns and intentions, one can focus on describing or on explaining them. Both exercises could be done for their own sake, for prediction or for policy-input. Different combinations of description / explanation and pure knowledge / prediction / policy-input are practiced and all are legitimate. It would be useful, however, if such analyses would clearly state the approach that is used and the purpose.

In this paper I use mainly the descriptive approach, with some explorations in the explaining realm. The purpose of the paper is to produce policy relevant information.

The key question of the paper is **“how does community count for temporary emigration from Romania of the years 2000?”** The implied question (“does it count?”) is a rather rhetoric one, as we already know that for Romania (Lazaroiu et al. 2003, Sandu et al 2004, Sandu 2005a) and in many other similar cases “community counts a lot

for emigration”. The “how” question focuses the interest on three particular subtopics referring to community profiles, regional contexts, and types of emigration:

- What are the specific community profiles favoring/discouraging emigration?
- What are the emigration types that are mostly affected by characteristics? Is it work or non-work emigration, short or long distance, permanent or temporary, actual or potential etc.?
- What are the regional contexts that make communities to be favoring or disfavoring factors for emigration?

Answering these questions has both theoretical and practical relevance. Migration policies could be more effective if they are sensitive to community and regional differences. Locality and regional borders are easier to locate than the contour of different social groups involved into or affected by the migration process. A good part of migration policy ineffectiveness could be the result of blurring the community-regional diversity into the forced homogeneity of a country. The tendency to think about migration policy as a separate tool from community and regional policies is a weakening factor for the positive social impact of all these policies. Community development practice could also profit from targeting some of its specific actions by types of communities that are relevant for migration and development.

In theoretical terms, these questions are important as they can contribute a lot to re-thinking migration selectivity and the role of social capital in explaining migration. “Migration selectivity,” as unequal probability of being involved into the process, is considered mainly by reference to family (size, income, network capital etc.) or individual (age, gender, education, ethnicity, religion etc.) characteristics. While migration community studies abound, there are very few typologies of local communities from the point of view of their migration selectivity (Sandu 1978) as unequal propensity of having associated differential rates of emigration.

The Romanian migration system experienced, as in many other Central and Eastern European countries, structural changes after 1989. The opening of the border associated with the demise of communism echoed first of all in the massive permanent emigration of the Saxons to Germany. Temporary emigration started by short distance movements to countries like Turkey, Hungary, parts of former Yugoslavia, Poland, Austria etc. According to their primary function, there have been three types of movements – for small trade, for visiting relatives, and for work. Small trade and relatives were the main targets. More consistent streams of emigration started after 1996/1997. The 1990-1996/1997 period was mainly an exploration phase, having as key actors either pioneers able to cope with an entirely new world for a person from a former closed country, or persons with relatives or former experiences abroad. Learning a new way of life by traveling and working abroad evolved rapidly so that by 2000 it was a process involving people from all the parts of the country. A community census on migration in all the villages of the country revealed that by the year 2001 the country was highly regionalized function of temporary migration destinations (Sandu 2005a). About 200 thou villagers were temporarily abroad at the community census moment and about 120 thou have been reported as living abroad in the previous years.

The purpose of emigration section of the paper is to examine the main patterns of temporary emigration* from Romania in the years 2000. Who, where, why, and how are the key questions that can allow for a description of migration patterns:

- who are the migrants?
- where from and where to?
- why are they leaving?
- how are they moving?

The key questions addressed in this paper refer to “who” and “where”. Why and how are treated more at the interpretation or inferential level. This means that socio-demographic and space selectivity is the focus of the paper. A detailed description of these two aspects could help us a lot in understanding the reasons and the consequences of the phenomenon.

The theoretical option of the paper is to treat migration patterns as specific combinations of human, social, cultural and material capital at both individual and community levels. Some of the measures I use are specific as proxy for a certain form of capital and others are proxy for cumulated forms of capital.

Country-level aggregated data on migration behavior will be used in the first part of the study. Survey data will explore, in the second part of the paper, the migration intentions. Intentions are important as proxy for migration as life strategy. Community context and personal resources are the basic references to understand the constraints and opportunities for emigration as a life strategy. Migration behavior at aggregate level is documented mainly by data from the last national census from March 18, 2002, as produced by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS). Profiles of migration origin communities are built by using not only the NIS census, but also vital statistics and geographical sources. Temporary emigration intentions are documented by cumulating several waves of the Public Opinion Barometer (POB) of Open Society Foundation (OSF) from the period 2001-2004².

Forms of capital and community types in emigration analysis

Current theories in the area of international migration largely use references to human and social capital as resources of migratory movement (Massey et al., 1998, passim). This is the neoclassical economics of migration approach, identifying human capital as a factor increasing employment probabilities. The networks approach is especially used to explain the perpetuation of migration streams. Communities of origin are considered by the new economics of migration as a locus of different markets – of insurances, employment, capitals etc. I also use the concept of community to describe migration patterns, but not so much in terms of market as in terms of capitals.

Human, social, material, and cultural capitals are not only individual or family entities but also community ones. Community social capital, as different from the individual one, for example, is a key factor influencing migration intentions and behaviors. Some ethnical categories are proxies for network capital. Ethnic Hungarians from Romania, for example, have a richer social capital than ethnic Romanians and Roma people have the lowest network capital in the three ethnic groups.³ Consequently, forms of community

* Unless otherwise specified, „emigration” will mean „temporary emigration” in the context of this paper.

and individual capital (Table 2) are integrated into prediction models for migration intentions and behaviors.

Table 2. Key categories of predictors by their significance for different forms of capital at individual and community level

Categories of indicators	Measurement level		Indicator significant to type of capital			
	Community	Individual	human	social	economic	cultural
Education	% people in community that graduated gymnasium, high school, higher education	Last graduated school	x			
Network capital	Regional average value of the index NETWORK*	Value of NETWORK*		x		
Migration experience	% returned migrants into the commune			x		x
	% in-migrants in community			x		x
Development level	Index of village development DEVSAT02*		x	x	x	x
Distance	Average distance to the nearest city from the villages of the commune, weighted by village population		x	x	x	x
Age	% people of 18-29 years old from the total 18+ population of locality		x	x	x	x

* See Table A 1.

Different forms of capital are expected to influence in a differential way specific types of emigration. The distinction between work emigration (WEM) and non-work emigration (NWEM) could play a fundamental role in exploring emigration patterns. It is likely that cultural capital is more involved in NWEM, while the human and economic types influence WEM more.

The regional and community analyses are based on the 2002 census data. The census form lists four reasons for the absence of a person from locality: for work, for studies, for business, and for other reasons. The NWEM reasons for emigration incorporate, in this paper, the categories “studies”, “business”, and “other”. It is a heterogeneous class, but it brings a better specification than working with the whole class of emigrated people. The large class of emigrated people is even more heterogeneous than the class of NWEM. It is also possible to have part of the illegally working abroad people hidden under the label of NWEM, due to the attempts of their origin families not to make them more vulnerable.

The WEM vs. NWEM dimension was considered as a first dimension in classifying local communities of rural or urban type. To the degree that the WEM rate was much higher than the NWEM rate, the community was considered to be of a WEM type. The reverse is true for the communities having the NWEM rate much larger than the WEM rate. A third class is that of communities with approximately equal rates of WEM and NWEM⁴.

A second dimension in classifying the local communities, function of their emigration behavior, is the intensity of emigration⁵ (measured by the emigration rate as number of emigrated people abroad to 1000 inhabitants). This variable was recoded as to have three categories: low (under 33% of the communities), middle (from 33% to 66%), and high (over 66% cases) emigration rates. By crossing the two variables of emigration type and

emigration intensity one gets a typology of nine possible classes. A pragmatic reduction (Barton, 1955: 49) was done within this typological space, resulting in the following working typology (Table 3).

Table 3. A typology of local communities by emigration phenomena

Type of emigration as given by the ratio between the intensities of work emigration (WEM) vs. non-work emigration (NWEM)	Temporary emigration intensity		
	High	Middle	Low
WEM > NWEM	Communities of work emigration WEMCOM	Communities of mid level intensity of emigration	Communities of low level intensity of emigration
WEM < NWEM	Communities of non-work emigration NWEMCOM		
WEM \cong NWEM	Communities of dual (work and non-work) emigration DUALCOM	MIDCOM	LOWCOM

The focus of the analysis is on communities with a highly specified migration profile. This is why I kept in the working typology all the three types of communities that are marked by high levels of temporary emigration: communities of work emigration (WEMCOM), communities with emigrants that are reported as mainly motivated by non-work reasons (NWEMCOM), and communities of high emigration of both types (DUALCOM). In the localities of middle intensity of emigration, all three types of the phenomena have been collapsed into a single class called “communities of emigration of mid level intensity” (MIDCOM). Similarly, all the subtypes of communities of low emigration have been coded into the same class of low emigration communities (LOWCOM).

Pattern analysis

Regional level

The community type and the historical region are among the most powerful predictors of emigration. Work temporary emigration rates are highly differentiated by community type and by historical region. Developed communes and cities with population between 100 and 200 thou are the loci with the highest emigration. The most significant regions for this type of emigration are Moldova and the West regions of Banat and Crisana Maramures (Table 4).

Table 4. Work temporary emigration* by residential type and region

Community type	Moldova	South regions ***	Transylvania	West regions	Bucuresti	Total rate	% emigrants
Poor commune	6.6	1.1	4.0	3.0	0.3	4.7	11.7
Middle development commune	13.5	1.3	6.1	6.5	0.3	5.6	16.6
Developed commune	17.7	2.4	6.8	11.4	0.9	6.1	22.5
Town of under 30 thou. inhab	7.5	2.0	5.1	13.5	0.7	5.9	12.8

Town of 30 thou-10 thou.	4.8	2.9	5.4	3.0.	4.1	8.7
City of 100 thou-200 thou.	21.2	2.1	3.0	6.3.	9.5	15.7
City of over 200 thou.	3.9	4.2	4.9	2.3	1.3	12.0
Total rate	9.8	2.3	5.4	7.6	1.2	5.2
% emigrants	41.1	15.7	20.8	20.0	2.4	100.0
						N=111832**

Data source: National Institute of Statistics (NIS), own computations (DS). Example of reading the data: the work emigration rate for cities of 100 to 200 thou. from Moldova historical region was of 21.2‰.

* Temporary emigrated people for work by 1000 inhabitants at 2002 census

** Only five persons are not included into computations due to missing specification for development level at rural level.

*** South regions include Muntenia, Dobrogea, and Oltenia (see details and map associated to Table A3)

The WEM rate is more than three times higher in developed communes from Moldova, compared to the national level (18‰ against 5‰ at national level). The rate for the same type of emigration is even higher (21‰) for large cities from Moldova historical region. In the West border regions of Banat and Crisana-Maramures the highest propensity for WEM is in small towns of under 30 thou inhabitants. The high WEM rates have different explanations in different towns. Borsa town in Maramures county, for example, had a census WEM rate of 123‰. The neighboring town of Negresti-Oas from Satu Mare had a similar high WEM rate, at the level of 64‰. While in Borsa the emigration was stimulated by declining mining activities, Negresti-Oas is a non-mining town with a long tradition in population movement, closer to the Hungarian border and with a higher private sector development.

WEM has the highest intensity in six counties (Figure 1, Table A 3). Three of them are in Moldova historical region – Vrancea (35‰), Bacau (13‰), and Suceava (13‰), two in Crisana-Maramures – Satu Mare (23‰) and Maramures (18‰), and one in the Northern Transylvania (15‰). Five out of the six counties are neither very poor nor very rich (according to a ranking of counties from the point of view of their development on a scale from 1 as minimum to 41 as maximum⁶).

There is only a partial overlap between work and non-work emigration (NWEM) counties (Figure 2). Satu Mare and Maramures counties belong to the two groups of maximum temporary emigration. A comparison of the profiles of the counties having specific high rates on work versus non-work emigration could suggest some of the favoring configurations for the reference type of emigration (Table 5):

- With one exception (Brasov), all the counties with high rates of work or non-work temporary emigration have a higher percentage of people that graduated only gymnasium, compared to the national value of the people that graduated the same type of school. This category of education has a higher propensity for temporary migration abroad.
- The rural to urban commuting is much higher in non-work versus work emigration counties. The finding suggests that leaving for temporary work abroad might be stimulated by the lack of urban opportunities for work for rural people.
- The urbanization degree tends to be much lower than the national level and also compared to the urbanization level for the majority of high work emigration counties.

- Two of the high work emigration counties, those from South-West Moldova (Bacau and Vrancea), have a much higher rate of return migration from cities to the countryside. The push factors for these two counties could be related to the return migration generated by urban unemployment.
- NWEM is specific for counties with a high proportion of Hungarians (Covasna and Harghita) or for counties that had a high percentage of Germans (Brasov and Caras-Severin) before 1989. Neamt is the only “outlier” in this category of maximum non-work temporary emigration. It is an outlier not only in terms of ethnicity.
- Counties of high NWEM tend to be more developed than counties of high WEM.

The configuration of factors that favored the high rates of WEM in these counties is, very likely, different. Satu Mare, Maramures, and Suceava counties are all border regions with tradition in migratory movements within the country and abroad. Satu Mare and Maramures form a cultural area with the highest rate of network capital within the country⁷. Behind this rate there is a specific population composition, with high percentages of people with high network capital. Such a composition element is the religion. It is proved that in the Romanian context the Christian non-orthodox people have a higher network capital than the orthodox believers⁸. Satu Mare has a very high share of Christian non-orthodox people (51%⁹ according to the last census from 2002). This could be one of the main sources of the high rate of regional network capital. On the other hand, migration itself contributed to such a high level of capital.

Vrancea¹⁰ and Bistrita-Nasaud counties have a high WEM rate, not in relation to some specific opportunities for migration abroad, but as a result of the internal pressure to find work places. Both of them have a rate of urbanization under 40% (36% Bistrita and 38% Vrancea, as compared to 44% Satu Mare, 53% Maramures and 53% at the national level in 2002). They are also non-border regions and the regional network capital in their case is not so high as for Maramures and Satu Mare.

Table 5. Profile indicators for the counties of maximum work or non-work temporary emigration

Category of counties with maximum values on...	County	% non-Christian orthodox	% Hungarians	% gymnasium graduated people	% rural-urban commuters out of total rural occupied population	Urbanization degree (%)	Returned migrants from urban to rural areas to 1000 rural inhabitants.	Development rank
work and non-work emigration	Maramures	22.0	9.1	32.4	18.2	52.6	7.1	22
	Satu Mare	49.4	35.2	33.8	16.1	44.0	10.8	31
work emigration	Bistrita-Nasaud	16.9	5.9	34.7	9.1	36.2	7.9	15

	Suceava	11.6	0.1	35.2	11.9	33.3	9.8	3
	Vrancea	2.7	0.0	31.6	13.4	38.2	16.5	16
	Bacau	18.6	0.6	31.1	13.4	46.2	17.7	17
non-work emigration	Neamt	13.4	0.1	32.0	14.5	36.6	12.8	8
	Brasov	14.6	8.7	25.6	38.2	74.0	10.4	40
	Caras-Severin	16.4	1.7	31.7	19.4	54.9	7.5	32
	Covasna	77.9	74.2	32.2	29.5	50.6	13.5	28
	Harghita	86.7	84.6	31.0	24.6	44.2	10.3	24
<hr/>								
	Country total	13.2	6.6	27.6	19.3	52.8	11.8	
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Community level

A closer look at WEM reveals that it is differentiated to a high degree not only by regions but also by community type.

With respect to WEM, urban communities are much more similar among them than rural ones (Figure 4, Figure 5). Counties divide in three categories, function of urban origin WEM. There is only one exceptional case, for Vrancea. Here the urban WEM rate is much higher than in all other counties (56‰ against 5‰ at the national level for all urban areas)¹¹. There are four categories with multiple counties by rural WEM.

Rural WEM has a very complex conditioning. All the forms of community capital are significant for the variation of the phenomenon (Table 6). The relation with the human capital is not a linear one.

The highest propensity for emigration to work abroad is for rural communities with:

1. A high share of gymnasium educated people. The population from villages with high share of high school educated people is more stable. This could be explained by the fact that it might be easier for them to find local jobs in local administration or in local companies.
2. Migration culture and unemployment pressure created by:
 - a. high rates of return migration from cities and
 - b. low rates of village to city urban commuting.
3. A cultural composition of the population with:
 - a. Large share of religious minorities.
 - b. Low or zero share of ethnic minorities.
4. Large proportion of youth. The share of adult population in the range of 30-59 years old does not count significantly¹² for the process.
5. Higher development levels as given by:
 - a. village development index
 - b. higher in-migration rates and
 - c. larger number of people:
 - very small communes of less than 2500 people have an average rate of WEM of 2.5‰;
 - Medium size ones with a number of inhabitants in the range 2500 to 4500 have a rate of 4.7‰;
 - For large communes (range of population between 4500 to 6500) WEM rate is of 5.8 ‰;
 - For the largest ones with more than 6500 inhabitants the reference rate is of 8.6‰.
6. Location:
 - a. close to city communities
 - b. more in Moldova than in other historical regions.

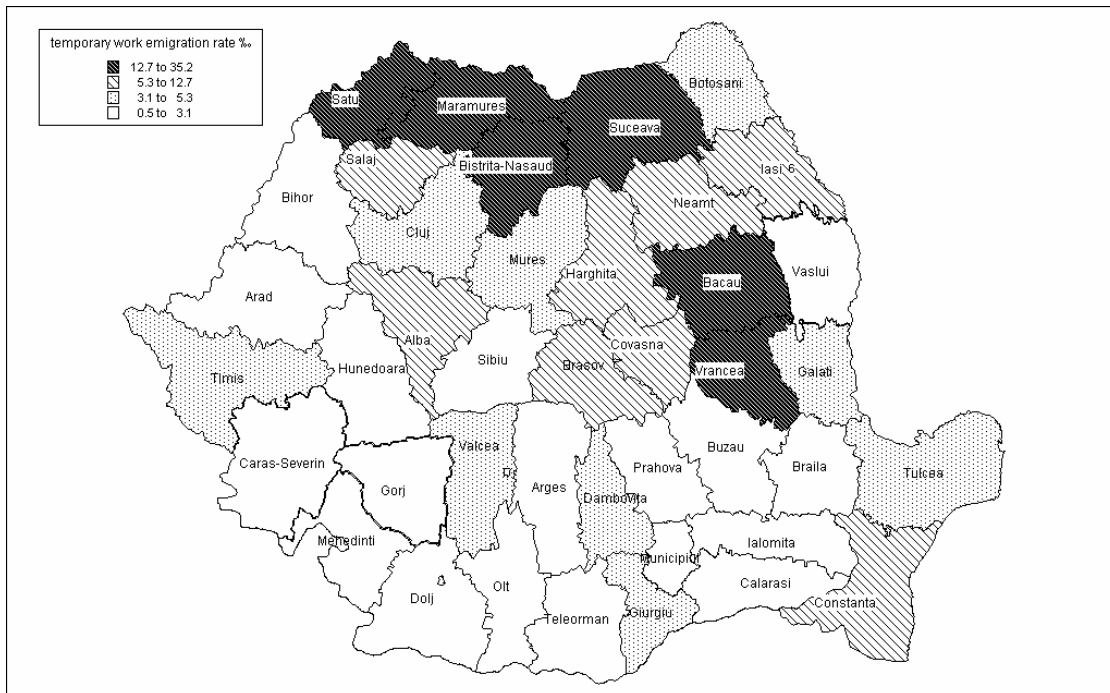


Figure 2. Work emigration rate by counties, 2002
 (Data source: NIS, 2002 census. Own computations. Data series were segmented by natural brake method).

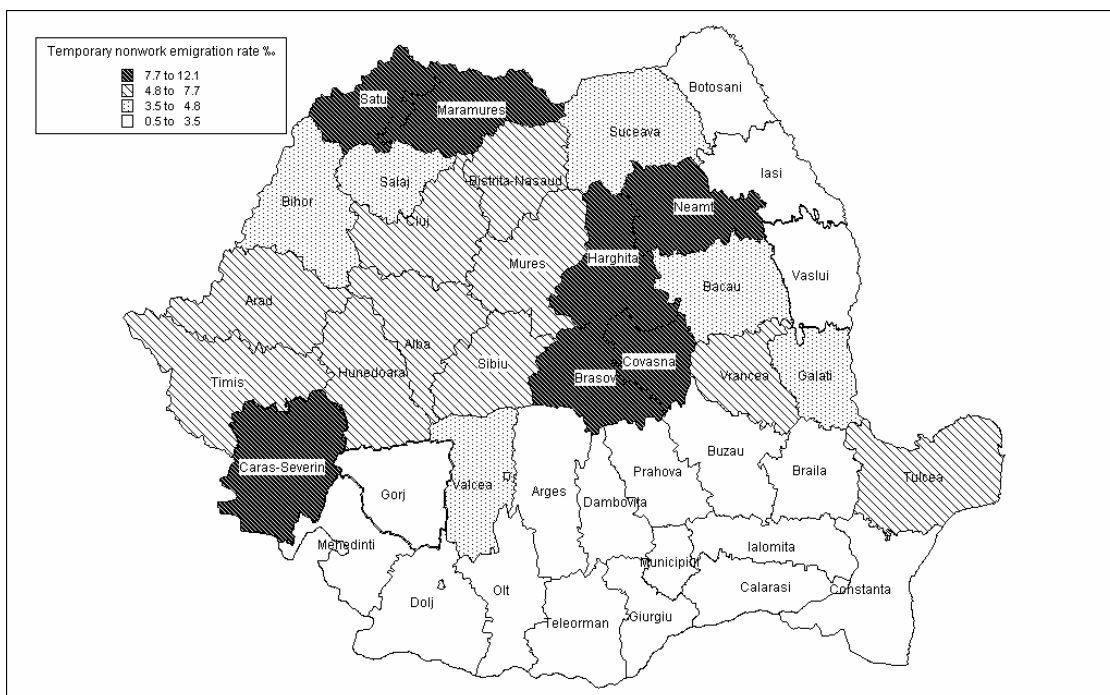


Figure 3. Nonwork emigration rate by counties, 2002
 (Data source: NIS, 2002 census. Own computations. Data series were segmented by natural brake method).

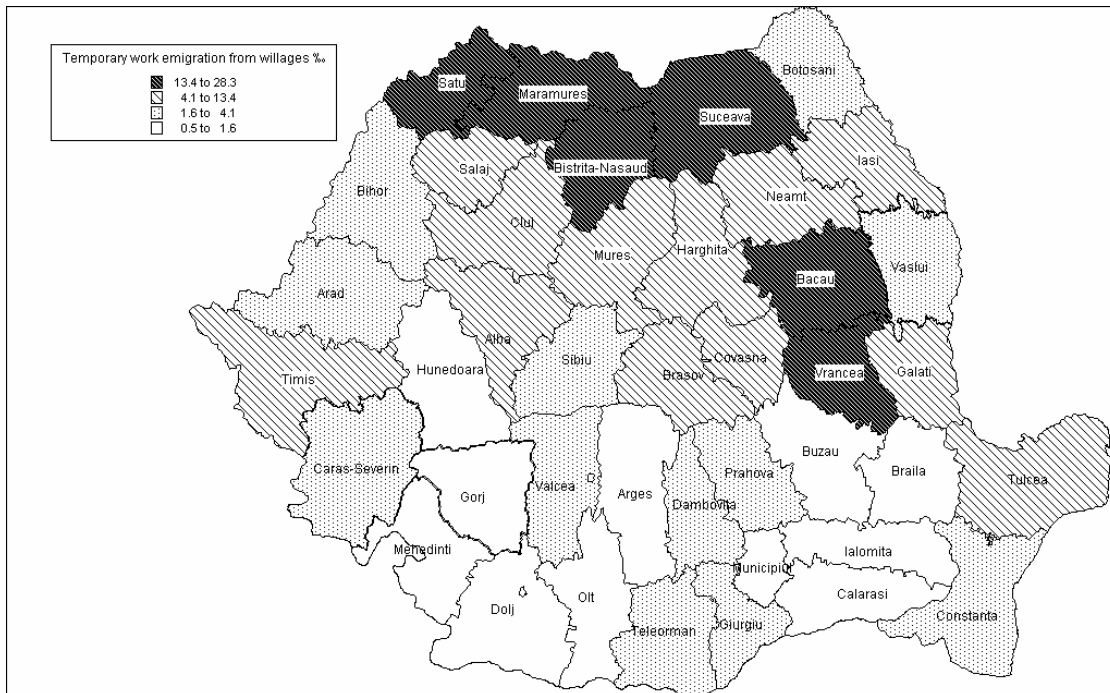


Figure 4. Work emigration rate from villages by counties, 2002
 (Data source: NIS, 2002 census. Own computations. Data series were segmented by natural brake method).

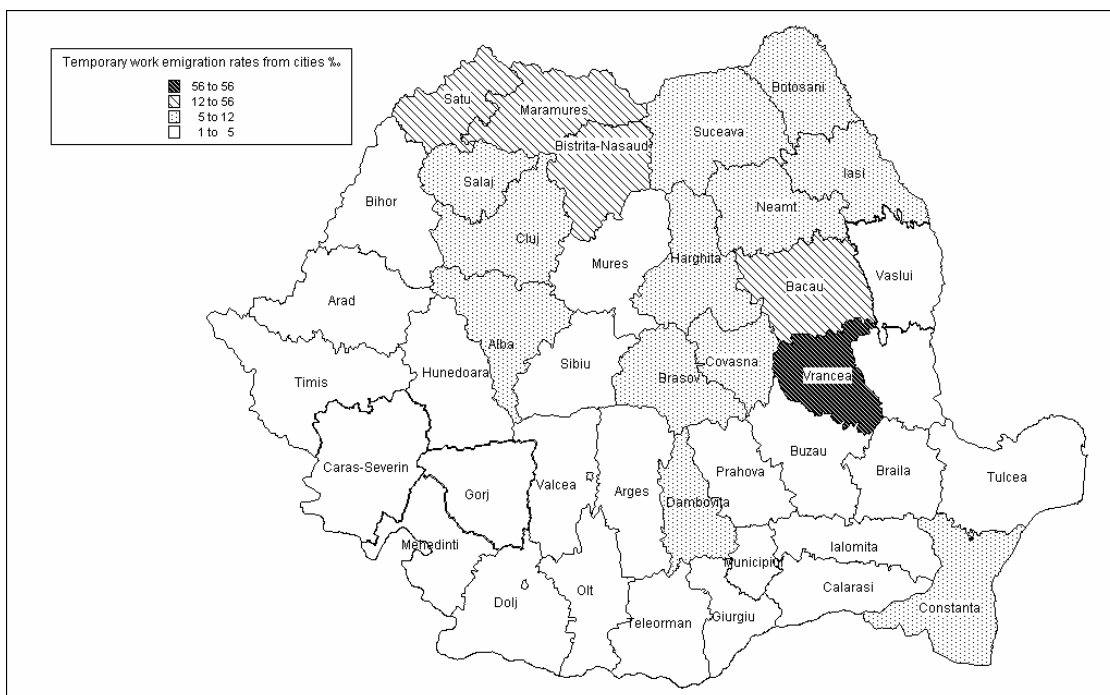


Figure 5. Work emigration rate from cities by counties, 2002
 (Data source: NIS, 2002 census. Own computations. Data series were segmented by natural brake method).

The above six findings indicate the clear rural community patterns of WEM. The first pattern indicates that human capital counts but not in a linear manner. The people with the highest propensity for WEM from rural area are those with a medium level of education. In the Romanian rural context this is the case of gymnasium graduated people (seven or eight grades).

The second pattern establishes a connection between an external form of migration and two forms of internal migration. Communities with a larger share of returned migrants from urban areas and with a low number of village to city commuters are recorded with larger rates of WEM. People that have been born in the village, lived and worked in a city for a considerable period and have been obliged by urban unemployment and living taxes to come back to the village have a culture of territorial mobility. Confronted with the low incomes from agriculture and with the lack of urban facilities they are easily stimulated by the context to convert the territorial mobility culture into a value orientation favoring WEM.

Table 6. Predictors of work emigration by rural and urban communities, 2002

	Model for rural communities			Model for urban communities		
	B	Beta	p	B	Beta	p
(Constant)	-28.28		0.00	-57.48		0.00
YOUTH1829	0.41	0.16	0.00	0.75	0.20	0.00
ADULT3059	0.03	0.01	0.63	0.17	0.06	0.41
GYMNASIUM	0.20	0.12	0.00	0.34	0.16	0.15
HIGHSCHOOL	-0.12	-0.05	0.03	0.17	0.08	0.46
NETWORK	10.78	0.27	0.00	17.13	0.31	0.00
NONORTHODOX	0.27	0.61	0.00	-0.08	-0.17	0.37
ROMA	-0.19	-0.11	0.00	-0.23	-0.07	0.31
HUNGARIANS	-0.27	-0.53	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.98
INMIGRANTS	-0.01	-0.12	0.00	-0.02	-0.17	0.02
LOCSIZE	1.15	0.06	0.01	0.40	0.04	0.60
MOLDOVA	1.48	0.06	0.03	6.69	0.24	0.00
TRANSYLVANIA	-2.55	-0.12	0.00	1.92	0.09	0.29
RETURNMIG	0.09	0.08	0.00			
COMMUTING	-0.02	-0.13	0.00			
DISTANCE	-0.05	-0.06	0.01			
COMDEVELOP	1.71	0.13	0.00			
R2	0.30			0.20		

Data source: NIS, 2002 Census. Own computations . For variable definition see Table A 1

One could obtain a more synthetic view on community patterns of migration by testing the initial hypothesis of emigration community types (Table 3). About 40% of the country population lives in MIDCOM. The share of people in WEMCOM is of about 20% (Table 7). Here the emigration rate is of maximum level, of about 22‰ on the average community of that type. Emigration rates from NWEMCOM and DUALCOM are much lower, at about 12‰. For about one third of country localities the average emigration rate is close to zero.

Table 7. Profiles of communities defined by emigration type and intensity

Profile variables	Communities by emigration type					Total
	WEMCOM	NWEMCOM	DUALCOM	MIDCOM	LOWCOM	
Location in Moldova % *	49.3	12.9	21.9	14.4	12.8	21.6
Location in Transylvania, Banat or Crisana-Maramures % *	33.4	80.0	66.3	17.8	8.4	33.3
Location in South regions % *	17.3	7.0	11.8	43.4	74.4	34.8
Urbanization % *	50.0	77.8	76.5	58.4	7.6	52.7
Rural to urban commuters to 1000 inhabitants*	58.1	46.4	55.1	75.3	76.5	64.8
% people of 10+ age that graduated no more than primary school*	20.4	15.5	15.7	19.3	28.9	20.2
% people that are of Christian-nonorthodox religion *	17.9	27.6	19.9	7.5	3.0	13.2
% Hungarians *	7.1	18.3	12.0	2.9	0.4	6.6
% Roma*	1.9	2.8	2.2	2.5	2.8	2.5
Index of local quality of life QLIFEUR**	-4.1	41.7	33.1	-1.2	-13.1	0
Average distance from the communes in the emigration category to the nearest city of over 30 thou. inhabitants (km)	17	16	17	20	22	20
% population in the community category	20.9	17.6	5.9	39.2	16.5	100
% communities (communes or cities) in the column category	19.3	10.6	3.4	33.3	33.3	100
Mean emigration rate per community category ‰	21.8	12.8	12.1	4.2	0.9	9.1

* all the figures refer to percentages or per thousands people with the row-specified quality out of the total population of the column-specified community type. Reading example: 49.3% out of the total population in WEMCOM are located in Moldova historical region.

**The index is a factor score with zero mean and 1 standard deviation, multiplied by 10. See Table A 1. Cell values are averages for the localities in the group, not weighted by population. The input indicators for that index were measured for the period 1994-1996. They have a historical value as several changes took place up to the 2002 census. Even so, it is relevant for the hierarchy of localities in the period when the temporary emigration started, at the mid of 90s.

The profile of the five types of communities is rather well structured. The regularities identified in the previous pages by more abstract approaches, working with regression models, are specified here by reference to more concrete entities like community types:

- the quality of life is much higher in NWEMCOM compared to WEMCOM;
- the quality of life in LOWCOM is much lower than for all the localities with high emigration rates;
- there is a distance hierarchy to the nearest town for the communes from each emigration category: NWEMCOM are the closest ones to cities and LOWCOM the more isolated.

- Moldova is the preferred place for WEMCOM, while the Central-West regions (Transylvania, Banat, Crisana-Maramures) are the specific place for NWEMCOM. Low emigration communities are the mark of the South regions.
- The NWEMCOM population is the most urbanized and has the highest concentration of Hungarians and non-Christian Orthodox people;
- Commuting is higher in MIDCOM and LOWCOM, as compared to higher emigration communities.
- The Roma population is not clearly associated with a certain type of community. There is a certain indication that this ethnic group is not specific for WEMCOM.

Matching emigration intentions and community typologies

The typology of migration intentions matches very well the emigration typology of communities (Table 8):

- Work emigration intentions are specific for work emigration (WEMCOM) communities as specified in the Table 3. They are also more than randomly expected into DUALCOM.
 - The higher propensity for work emigration from WEMCOM is a very stable pattern. The association between the type of intention and the type of community is significant in four out of the five surveys that have been cumulated.
 - The pattern of higher WEM intentions from DUALCOM is rather unstable being recorded only in two waves of the Public Opinion Barometer (2001/wave 2 and 2004/wave 2).
- The highest share of people having non-work intentions for emigration (education, business, tourism) live, as expected, in NWEMCOM and DUALCOM.
 - The pattern is very stable in relation with NWEMCOM. It appears as significant in all the five surveys.
 - It is unstable for the case of DUALCOM .
- The highest concentration of people without any emigration intention is in LOWCOM, and, secondly, in MIDCOM. That pattern is very stable for LOWCOM and stable for MIDCOM (significant associations in four out of five waves of the survey).

The only exception to the theoretical expectation is that of the people that have simultaneously work and non-work intentions that are not mainly located into DUALCOM but in NWEMCOM.

The main conclusion generating from crossing the two typologies is that the potential emigrants think about emigration by using community models that favor emigration mainly for work or emigration mainly for non-work reasons, for both or do not encourage it at all.

If you are from Moldova, you are encouraged by the local community culture to think about emigration for work (see comparatively Table 7, Table 8). If you are from urban localities with many Hungarians and/or Catholics or Protestants from central-Western regions of the country you are more encouraged by the local culture to go abroad for

education, tourism or business. But if you live in localities with low education stocks and larger shares of village to city commuters from South region of the country, local culture tell you that is better not to leave abroad for work or non-work reasons. That means that migration ideologies are deeply rooted into community cultures that grow from the soil of different social structures and regional experiences.

The previous findings come from a large pooling of five samples that have been collected by the same methodology but in different periods.

Table 8. Intentions of temporary emigration by community emigration type (%)

Communities of	Emigration intention by reason				Total
	work and non-work	work	non-work	no intention	
work emigration WEMCOM	8.6	9.8	12.4	69.3	100
non-work emigration NWEMCOM	11.3	7.5	16.6	64.6	100
work and non-work emigration DUALCOM	8.4	10.3	14.4	66.9	100
mid level emigration MIDCOM	7.1	6.7	10.7	75.5	100
low level emigration LOWCOM	5.3	6.6	3.8	84.3	100
Total	7.9	7.7	11.1	73.3	100

Data source: Public Opinion Barometer POB, OSF, cumulated data for 2001, 2002, 2004 second wave, N= 9911 interviewed persons in five surveys. Reading example: 9.8% out of the total interviewed persons from WEMCOM expressed their intention to leave the country in the next 12 months to work abroad. Shadowed cells indicate situations of significant association as resulted from an adjusted standardized residuals analysis by comparing observed and expected frequencies.

A multilevel model to predict emigration intentions

Are the community profiles still relevant for migration intentions even if one controls for the effects of personal resource? Are there significant regional effects on migration intentions if one keeps constants the levels of personal resources and the community profiles?

The regression model from Table 8 allows for such a complex exercise of controlling some factors as to see the effects of others. It is a model built function of indicators referring to:

- the key forms of capital (human, network, material and cultural ones)
- definition of the life situation by life satisfaction
- community profiles by emigration and employment indices and
- regional location and regional development

Age and gender are demographic control variables that are relevant for multiple individual level variables.

The model shows, first of all, that community counts for migration intention even if one controls for the effects of regional location, capital resources, life satisfaction and age-gender differentials. People living in WEMCOM have a higher propensity for emigration even if on controls for several other factors. This could be interpreted as indicating a community culture effect. If one lives in a WEMCOM or DUALCOM environment, it significantly increases the odds for potential emigration compared to the situation of living in a LOWCOM milieu. The propensity of work emigration is also higher in high unemployment communities from more developed regions.

Living in a NWEMCOM context does not increase significantly the odds to work emigration but increases the odds to non-work migration abroad.

Non-work emigration seems to have a much larger area of formation than work reasoned emigration. All the types of communities that are different from LOWCOM and that are generally poorly developed are favorable to potential emigration for non-work reasons. Community selectivity for work potential emigration is better structured than in the case of non-work potential emigration.

The second basic family of findings from Table 8 refers to the significance of the regions for emigration. Location in Moldova historical region keeps being a significant predictor for potential work emigration. No matter what are the community profiles, county development, capital resources or life satisfaction, location in Moldova increases the probability of work emigration.

Transylvania and the West regions are no more relevant for potential emigration if one controls for all the other factors included into the regression model. Non-work potential emigration is significantly lower from Moldova as compared to other regions. Regional effects are rather weak if one control for community profiles and personal resources of networks, knowledge and values. Regions seem to count for emigration potential more by their development level than by their cultural profile: work and network potential temporary emigration are higher in developed counties compared to poor counties.

Some other findings derived from the data of the same complex analysis:

- Some factors are important for favoring both types of emigration intentions. This is the case of media consumption and traveling experience;
- Some factors play opposite roles for the two types of emigration:
 - There is a higher propensity for gymnasium and vocational schools educated people to emigrate for work. The same categories of persons are systematically less inclined to emigrate for non-work reasons.
 - High life satisfaction favors the propensity for non-work emigration but reduces the propensity for work emigration.
- Some other factors play a significant role only for one type of intention:
 - Higher education is significant and favorable only for non-work emigration intentions;
 - Material and network capital contribute, by their higher values, to stimulate non-work emigration. The intentions for work emigration are not significantly connected to these two forms of capital.
 - Roma ethnicity is positively associated only with the dual form of work and non-work reasons for emigration intentions.
 - Ethnic Hungarians have a low propensity for work emigration.
 - Being Catholic, Protestant or Greek-Catholic increases the propensity for non-work emigration.

Table 9. Multinomial logistic model to predict the type of emigration intention

Predictors	Dependent variable : Type of emigration intention (Reference category: no intention to migrate)					
	Work reasons		Non-work reasons		Work and non-work reasons	
	Exp (B)	p	Exp (B)	p	Exp (B)	p
Age	0.93	0.00	0.97	0.00	0.92	0.00
Male*	2.56	0.00	1.07	0.33	1.76	0.00
Graduated gymnasium*	1.59	0.01	0.61	0.00	1.02	0.89
Graduated vocational school*	1.97	0.00	0.76	0.04	1.23	0.18
Graduated high school*	1.81	0.00	0.95	0.71	1.23	0.17
Graduated higher education*	1.07	0.79	1.40	0.02	1.00	1.00
Index of media consumption	1.06	0.03	1.14	0.00	1.13	0.00
Basic goods index	1.02	0.68	1.39	0.00	0.96	0.26
Network capital index	1.01	0.68	1.15	0.00	1.19	0.00
Christian-Orthodox*	0.87	0.43	0.58	0.00	1.03	0.88
Hungarian*	0.50	0.01	0.78	0.18	0.78	0.31
Roma*	1.68	0.08	0.47	0.23	2.00	0.02
Worked abroad*	3.82	0.00	0.90	0.55	2.48	0.00
Traveled abroad*	2.10	0.00	3.93	0.00	3.13	0.00
Life satisfaction**	0.70	0.00	1.27	0.00	0.72	0.00
Urban*	0.91	0.45	1.24	0.05	1.18	0.21
Moldova*	1.37	0.04	0.99	0.92	1.02	0.93
Transylvania*	1.07	0.72	0.76	0.07	0.94	0.73
West regions*	1.13	0.44	1.07	0.66	1.15	0.46
Unemployment rate at community level 2002	1.01	0.04	1.01	0.12	1.00	0.84
County development index***	1.01	0.04	1.02	0.00	1.02	0.04
WEMCOM	1.54	0.02	1.86	0.00	1.51	0.06
NWEMCOM	1.14	0.54	1.60	0.02	1.59	0.05
DUALCOM	1.44	0.12	1.63	0.03	1.20	0.48
MIDCOM	0.96	0.81	1.25	0.16	1.16	0.40

* Dummy variables included into the model as covariates. Pseudo R²=0.24. N=9080

** "How satisfied are you the way you live?" 1 not at all..... 4 very satisfied. Reading example: an increase by one unit on media consumption index increases the odds of being potential migrant by work reasons by a 1.06 times higher than for the reference category of potential non-migrants. The standard errors are corrected for the non-independence in the case of persons from the same locality by using cluster specification in mlogit command from STATA. Running the same model in SPSS allows for the estimation of R Nagelkerke that takes the value of 0.41.

*** Index of county development computed as a factor score with variables referring to human capital, unemployment, material capital and general fertility rate at the county level (Sandu, 2000)

Conclusions by policy and research practice implications

One could summarize and interpret the findings of the study in a standard academic way, with or without little reference to policy or research practice implications. I will try a second route of concluding, by regrouping the key findings of the study from the point of view of the policy or research practice they could be relevant for.

1. Temporary emigrants are highly heterogeneous and it is better to analyze them by types rather than globally¹³.

1.1. The patterns of emigration are consistently different by the motivation for work or non-work reasons, even if the two forms of emigration are positively related at community¹⁴ and regional level. Rates of migration at aggregated community or regional levels and migration intentions at individual level could be easier explained or understood if the work / non-work distinction is adopted explicitly.

1.2. The alternative, rather frequently adopted into the research and data reporting practice, is that of presenting emigration figures without a break by work / non-work reasons. **Finding out the differences between work emigration and non-work emigration communities gives an idea of how artificial the conclusions could be if one makes a global treatment of emigration data.** The statement has Romania as referent. If the social contexts for the two types of emigration are similar, it could be legitimate to present them by unique figures of emigration.

2. Research work and policy design in the area of migration could take benefit from the five emigration types of localities or from similar typologies. The types that have been identified by the structure and intensity of emigration have very specific profiles. The intensity of emigration combined with the ratio between work / non-work shares of the migration streams generates a highly relevant typology of local communities: with higher shares of work emigration (WEMCOM), with higher shares of non-work emigration (NWEMCOM), with rather equal work and non-work emigration rates (DUAL), with mid level emigration rates (MIDCOM), and with very low emigration rates (LOWCOM). These five emigration types of communities have very specific profiles:

2.1. The quality of life is much higher in NWEMCOM compared to WEMCOM.

2.2. The quality of life in LOWCOM is much lower than for all the localities with high emigration rates. Not having emigration is a sign of higher community poverty. **Such a sign could be useful for targeting in social policy actions by state or NGOs actors.**

2.3. There is a hierarchy based on the distance to the nearest town for the communes from each emigration category: NWEMCOM are the closest communes to cities and LOWCOM are the more isolated.

2.4. The Roma population is not clearly associated with a certain type of community. There is a certain indication that this ethnic group is not specific for WEMCOM.

- 2.5. The NWEMCOM population is the most urbanized and has the highest concentration of Hungarians and non-Christian Orthodox people;
- 2.6. Commuting is higher in MIDCOM and LOWCOM, as compared to higher emigration communities.
3. **The areas of high poverty and low emigration need more than other areas to be considered as targets for regional policy actions.**
- 3.1. Moldova is the preferred place for WEMCOM, while the Central-West regions (Transylvania, Banat, and Crisana-Maramures) are the specific place for NWEMCOM. The pattern of a higher rate of NWEM vs. WEM is more established in Transylvania, at the level of the counties with a higher development level and/or with a larger share of ethnic minorities or ethnic minorities culture. Low emigration communities are the mark of the South regions.
- 3.2. WEM rates are systematically higher than NWEM rates in Moldova, Muntenia, the Northern part of Crisana-Maramures, and in the less developed counties from Transylvania (Bistrita-Nasaud, Salaj, and Alba) (Table A 3). The only exceptions are Galati in Moldova, and Prahova, in Muntenia, with slightly higher non-work compared to work migrations.
- 3.3. WEM has the highest intensity in six counties (Figure 1, Table A 3). Three of them are in Moldova historical region – Vrancea (35‰), Bacau (13‰), and Suceava (13‰), two in Crisana-Maramures – Satu Mare (23‰) and Maramures (18‰), and one in the Northern Transylvania (15‰). Five out of the six counties are neither very poor nor very rich
- 3.4. The six counties with the largest share (over 40%) of their population in LOWCOM are situated in the South regions of the county. These are Olt and Gorj in Oltenia, Calarasi, Giurgiu, Ialomita, Teleorman and Buzau in Muntenia. These are also known as rather poor counties and **emigration analysis suggest that they could be especially relevant for regional development policy actions.**
4. **External migration policies could be better designed by working with the idea of a national migration system, where internal and external streams interact and current streams are influenced by the previous ones** (Sandu 2005a, Sandu 2005b)
- 4.1. Rural communities with a larger share of returned migrants from urban areas and with a low number of village to city commuters are recorded with larger rates of WEM.
- 4.2. People that have been born in the village, lived and worked in a city for a considerable period and have been obliged by urban unemployment and living taxes to come back to the village have a culture of territorial mobility. Confronted with the low incomes from agriculture and with the lack of urban facilities they are easily stimulated by the context to convert the territorial mobility culture into a value orientation favoring WEM.

5. **Studies on migration intentions could consider the use of emigration typologies for all the localities of the country as relevant reference points.**
 - 5.1. The typology of migration intentions matches very well the topology of communities function of their emigration behavior (Table 8).
 - 5.2. Work emigration intentions are specific for work emigration (WEMCOM) communities as specified in the Table 3. They are also more common than randomly expected in DUALCOM communities.
 - 5.3. The highest share of people having non-work intentions for emigration (education, business, tourism) live, as expected, in NWEMCOM .
 - 5.4. The highest concentration of people without any emigration intention is in LOWCOM, and, secondly, in MIDCOM. That pattern is very stable for LOWCOM and stable for MIDCOM (significant associations in four out of five waves of the survey).
6. **Understanding migration as a life strategy could take profit from considering the predictors that proved to be relevant in explaining migration intention.**
 - 6.1. Community counts for migration intention even if one controls for the effects of regional location, capital resources, life satisfaction and age-gender differentials. People living in WEMCOM have a higher propensity for emigration even if one controls for several other factors (Table 8).
 - 6.2. Location in Moldova is a more significant predictor of emigration intentions than any other historical region. No matter what are the community profiles, county development, capital resources, or life satisfaction, location in Moldova increases the probability of work emigration.
 - 6.3. There is a higher propensity for work emigration intentions for young ethnic Romanians of medium level educations, which worked or traveled abroad, are dissatisfied with their life conditions, and live in high unemployment localities from more developed counties in the regional context of Moldova historical region.
 - 6.4. Potential emigrants for non-work reasons are richer in network, material, and human capital compared to work-intention emigrants. They also traveled abroad, belong to a larger degree to religious minority groups, are rather satisfied with their life, and live more in urban than in rural areas. If one controls for personal and community variables, non-work potential emigrants do not seem to have a specific regional location. The predominant location of such potential emigrants in some counties from Transylvania or Banat is not a regional but a socio-cultural composition effect.

Annexes

Annex 1: Variables

Table A 1. Variables for community level analysis

Name of the variable	Description of the variable
YOUTH1829*	% population of 18-29 years old in 18+ population
ADULT3059*	% population of 30-59 years old in 18+ population
GYMNASIUM*	% gymnasium graduated population in 10+years old pop.
HIGHSCHOOL*	% high school graduated population in 10+years old pop.
NETWORK	Regional network capital. A counting index that was computed from Public Opinion Barometer of OSI, using cumulated data from 1998-2004 waves (26792 interviewed persons). The measure counts the existence of useful relations of the person to solve medical, judicial, administrative, police, jobs and banking problems. The index takes the value of 6, for maximum network capital, and 0, for minimum. An average value of the index was computed for each of the 16 cultural areas of the country. All the localities from the same cultural area have been assigned the resulted value of the cultural area network capital.
NONORTHODOX*	% population of non-Christian orthodox religion
ROMA*	% Roma population
HUNGARIANS*	% Hungarians
INMIGRANTS*	Rate of last time in-migration
LOCSIZE*	Locality population (ln transform)
MOLDOVA	Residence in Moldova historical region (1 yes, 0 no)
TRANSYLVANIA	Residence in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana-Maramures (1 yes, 0 no)
RETURNMIG*	Rate of return migrants from cities (‰)
COMMUTING*	Rate of commuting population (‰)
DISTANCE	Index of distance to the nearest city of more than 30 thou. people
COMDEVELOP*	Index of commune development
UNEMPLOYMENT*	Unemployment rate at locality level
QLIFEUR	Index of local quality of life as a factor score of infant mortality rate, out-migration rate and an estimation of natality rate non-affected by age structure. That last estimation is a series of residual scores after predicting natality rate function of the percentage of 60+ age old population. The factor score was multiplied by -10 as to have a direct scaling and to read it in an easier way.

*Indices computed on the basis of National Institute of Statistics (NIS) data from 2002 census.

Table A 2. Individual level indices/typologies

Variable	Construction
Network capital index	The measure counts the existence of useful relations of the person to solve medical, judicial, administrative, police, jobs and banking problems. The index takes the value of 6 for maximum network capital and 0 for minimum.
Basic goods index	A counting index of owning private car, color TV, refrigerator and automatic washing machine. Minimum value 0, maximum value 4.
Index of media consumption	A counting index of the number of media (TV, radio, journals) that are used daily or two-three times a week. Minimum value 0, maximum value 3.
Type of temporary emigration intention	1 work and non-work reasons, 2 work reasons, 3 non-work reasons, 4 no intention

Data source for computing indices: Public Opinion Barometer of OSF, cumulated data from five waves of the survey: 2001/1, 2001/2, 2002/1, 2002/2, 2004/2 (/1 spring wave and /2 fall wave). N=10322.

Annex 3: Measures of quality of life and development at country level

Table A 4. Urbanization and development in European countries 2003

	% urban popul.	ISCED 5 and 6 levels ****	Quality of life indicators		Economic indicators			
			Life expect. at birth	Infant mortality rate	GDP per capita PPP USD	% employed agriculture	Contrib. agric. to GDP**	Contrib. services to GDP**
Sweden	83,4	39	80,2	3	26750	2	2	70
Italy	67,4	25	80,1	4	27119	5	3	69
Spain	76,5	42	79,5	4	22391	6	3	66
France	76,3	65	79,5	4	27677	.	3	72
Austria	65,8	26	79,0	4	30094	6	2	66
Belgium	97,2	53	78,9	4	28335	2	1	72
Germany	88,1	31	78,7	4	27756	3	1	69
Finland	61,0	38	78,5	4	27619	5	3	64
Netherland	65,8	39	78,4	5	29371	3	3	71
UK	89,1	71	78,4	5	27147	1	1	73
Greece	60,9	25	78,3	4	19954	16	7	70
Irlande	59,9	71	77,7	6	37738	7	3	54
Portugal	54,6	38	77,2	4	18126	12	4	66
Denmark	85,4	54	77,2	3	31465	3	3	71
Slovenia	50,8	40	76,4	4	19150	10	3	61
Czech Republic	74,3	25	75,6	5	16357	5	4	57
Croatia	59,0	.	75,0	6	11080	.	8	62
Poland	61,9	71	74,3	6	11379	19	3	66
Slovakia	57,5	29	74,0	7	13494	6	4	67
Hungary	65,2	36	72,7	7	14584	6	4	65
Lithuania	66,8	58	72,3	8	11702	18	7	62
Bulgaria	69,8	41	72,2	14	7731	26	13	59
Latvia	66,3	63	71,6	10	10270	15	5	71
Estonia	69,5	40	71,3	8	13539	7	5	65
Romania	54,6	20	71,3	18	7277	36	12	46

Data source for the first four columns *Human Development Report 2005*. UNDP, <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2005>. Last four indicators in the table from Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2004. NIS, http://www.insse.ro/anuar_2004/asr2004.htm. Reference year is 2003. * 2001, **2002, ***2003. **** % 5 and 6 ISCED levels in population of 20-29 years old, *Education accross Europe 2003*, EC EUROSTAT http://www.om.hu/doc/upload/200507/education_in_europe_2003.pdf

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- *** *Education accross Europe 2003*, EC EUROSTAT, http://www.om.hu/doc/upload/200507/education_in_europe_2003.pdf (consulted web on November 2005)

Notes

¹ The next sections of the paper are based on my paper *Patterns of temporary emigration: experiences and intentions at individual and community levels in Romania* presented at the Workshop on *Development and Patterns of Migration Processes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Migration Online Project and Faculty of Humanities, Charles University of Prague, Prague, 25-28 August 2005

² The OSF data are available online at www.fsd.ro (last accessed - August 2005).

³ The index value for NETWORK (see Table A 1) has the average value of 1.47 for ethnic Hungarians from Romania, 1.16 for ethnic Romanians and 0.50 for ethnic Roma. All the paired values are significantly different for $p=0.05$ (cumulated OSF sample for the period 1998-2004, $N=26,792$).

⁴ Technically, the type of emigration at the community level was computed by first subtracting the NWEM rate from the WEM rate. The resulted variable was recoded as to have the cut-off points at 33% and 66% of its ordered values.

⁵ The census data refer, in a technical sense, not to emigration but to emigrants. It does not count events, as in standard analysis of migration, but migrants. I use the phrase emigration rate in this paper with the meaning of „rate of temporary emigrants”.

⁶ The ranking was done function of the values of the index DEVJUD98 as described in Sandu 2000.

⁷ The average value of the index NETWORK (Table A 1) for that area is 1.71, compared to 1 for the whole country. Vrancea is part of a cultural area together with Suceava, Neamt, Bacau. In the Moldova historical region there are three cultural areas. The NETWORK index for the area including Vrancea (0.82) is the highest in Moldova.

⁸ The correlation between the NETWORK index and the Christian non-orthodox religion is 0.04, significant for $p=0.01$, $N=26792$, using Open Society Foundation data of Public Opinion Barometer (1998-2002).

⁹ The share of Hungarians within Satu Mare county is 35%, indicating that it is not only ethnicity that explains the large share of non-orthodox people in this county.

¹⁰ Vrancea county has practically the highest rate of WEM at the country level. This is a county with 97% ethnic Romanians and 98% Christian orthodox. The network capital here is high, but only in Moldova historical region context.

¹¹ Urban Vrancea is formed by five cities: Focsani (102 thou. inhabitants), Adjud (17 thou. inhab.), Marasesti (12 thou. inhab), Panciu (9 thou. inhab), and Odobesti (8 thou. inhab). Their NWTE rates were 75‰ Focsani (the second in the national urban hierarchy, after Borsa), 26‰ Panciu, 12‰ Adjud, 10‰ Odobesti and 10‰ for Marasesti (NIS, 2002 census, own computations).

¹² The units of analysis have been all the 2686 communes of the country existing at the date of the last census. The significance levels are considered only in a conventional way in this case, as the computations included the whole population of communes. They could be considered as a sample only in a very specific and rather conventional way, by time reference. The values for 2002 might be viewed as a selection in time.

¹³ All the bold letters statements from that final section are interpretations that combine findings information and subjective personal assessments on policy implications or on patterns of research practice.

¹⁴ The correlation between the rates of work emigration and nonwork emigration at the level of all the localities of the country, by using 2002 census data, is of $r=0.44$ ($N=2951$ communes and cities).