

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF ROMANIANS – TYPOLOGIES AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. CASE STUDIES

Gabriela BOANGIU*

ORCID: 0000-0002-6897-1781

Abstract: International migration is a major research topic, both at the world and national level, due to the socio-economic situation of Romania in the last thirty years, more precisely, after the revolution of 1989, although international migration existed before the revolution, but in a much reduced flow.

At the international level, migration is caused by some reasons related to a low economic situation of the people who choose to emigrate, or to extreme social situations – wars, totalitarian political regimes, revolutions or civil war, etc.

Romania's integration into the European Union led to numerous migration legislations, to the formulation of rights and obligations of people who migrate within the European Union, being true migratory waves from economically less developed areas, such as former communist countries, to more developed areas from an economic point of view such as Western countries – Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, etc.

Keywords: international migration, social development, sociology, cultural identity, theories about migration.

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* 3rd Degree Scientific Researcher, PhD., “C.S. Nicolăescu-Ploșșor” Institute for Research in Social Studies and Humanities from Craiova, of The Romanian Academy; E-mail: boangiu_g@yahoo.com

“migration is a global phenomenon, which involves large masses of people over longer or shorter distances. Although there is a diversity of territorial movement routes, we can identify some as more important in terms of the volume of citizens who frequent them. Thus, we encounter the following international migration corridors: 1. To North America (USA and Canada) which mobilizes people from all over the world, especially from South America, Eastern Europe and the Pacific Region (...); 2. To Western Europe, especially to Germany, England, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Holland, etc., highly industrialized countries, with a diversified economy and possibilities to absorb foreigners (...); 3. To the oil-rich states of the Middle East, which registered about 7 million immigrants, coming from Asian, European and African countries (...); 4. Towards Japan and the newly industrialized states of the Far East”¹.

At the same time, “Emigration to the countries of Western Europe for economic reasons has registered, from 1990 onwards, rapid increases and at very high rates, only from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe attracting, according to some statistical estimates, an annual volume of about 850,000 people. (...) Statistical data, published by Eurostat, show that, in 2008, 3,800,000 immigrants were registered in the European Union. among the countries with the highest number of foreigners (from 100,000 upwards) coming to their territory, we note the following: 1. Spain – 726,000 immigrants; 2. Germany – 682,100 immigrants; 3. Great Britain – 590,000 immigrants; 4. Italy – 534,700 immigrants; 5. France – 216,900 immigrants; 6. Belgium – 150,800 immigrants; 7. The Netherlands – 143,500 immigrants; 8. Austria – 110,000 immigrants; 9. Sweden – 101,200 immigrants”².

These statistical data speak about the magnitude of the international migration phenomenon, at a certain moment. Migratory flows, however, vary over time. International migration is a global phenomenon that is constantly expanding. Thus, “migration is both a cause and an effect of the wider development process, but also an intrinsic feature of permanent globalization. Not being a substitute for development, migration can be a positive force for development when supported by fair and comprehensive legislation. Increasing global mobility, the increasing complexity of migration patterns and their impact on countries, migrants, families and communities have all contributed to international migration becoming a priority for the international community”³.

THEORIES ABOUT MIGRATION

The global pattern of international migration has changed recently. The destinations of migrants have also changed, “countries that were once origins of

¹ Adrian Otovescu, *Conservarea identității culturale în mediile de imigranți români din Europa*, Bucharest, Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române Publishing, 2013, p. 53.

² Europe in Figures, 2011, p. 150 *apud* Adrian Otovescu, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³ Alexandra Deaconu, *Românii din Olanda. Monografia unei comunități de imigranți*, Craiova, Beladi Publishing, Sitech Publishing, 2019, p. 15.

migration have become destinations of migrants and vice versa. The shift in the direction of emigration from Europe to America and Australia mainly during the 20th century is perhaps the most striking recent historical example. At the beginning of the 20th century, a million migrants a year left Europe, mainly to settle in North America. In 2010, the European Union absorbed 1.2 million migrants who settled in the EU, more than the number of permanent migrants in the United States of America (over one million), which represents a significant change in the global migration system from the last hundred years”⁴.

The theories that approach the phenomenon of international migration vary, emphasizing a certain characteristic of it, “population migration is a complex phenomenon, and its theoretical understanding was not possible through a single theoretical explanation. Up to now, 14 theoretical approaches are known: The theory of E.G. Ravenstein, Samuel A. Stouffer theory, Everstt S. Lee theory, neoclassical economics theory, new migration economics, segmented labor market, world systems theory, migration network theory, systemic theory, social capital theory, dependency theory, cumulative causality, institutional theory, transnationalism”⁵. These theories do not exclude each other, but complement each other, enhancing a certain characteristic of the phenomenon of international migration.

The theory of neoclassical economics was “developed in the 1960s and 1970s and combines the macro and micro variants, which explain international migration through the prism of the economic gap between underdeveloped and developed states”⁶. People from underdeveloped countries who come from an excess of labor, migrate to countries that are economically developed, but which have a shortage of labor in certain fields. However, according to neoclassical theory, “labour mobility is essentially seen as a formula of equality, moving labor from low levels to higher levels, over time acquiring the ability to produce a new equilibrium in which wages have the same level everywhere”⁷. As far as the neoclassical theory is concerned, the individual is evaluated singularly, and the only factor that determines migration or not is the economic one.

The new economics of migration is based on the principles of neoclassical economic theory, while formulating certain new amendments. The originator of this theory was Oded Stark, who no longer treats the individual as an isolated being and considers other factors, in addition to the economic one, to be important, “so, in the new economy of migration, the decision to emigrate does not rest with the individual, but with the family or the household, they acting collectively with the aim of diversifying sources of income and thus succeeding in limiting the risks that have

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁶ Wedad Quffa, *Imigrația românilor în Anglia*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2015, p. 62.

⁷ Allan Findlay, Alistar Geddes, David McCollum, *International Migration and Recession*, in “Scottish Geographical Journal”, Londra, Routledge Publishing, 2010, 126:4, p. 300 *apud* Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

arisen, which are associated with the failure of the markets at origin; thus, more opportunities are reached for the individual, and the risk is lower and lower”⁸.

The segmented (dual) labor market is the theory initiated by Michel Miore (1979) and brings news compared to the first two theories already mentioned, this theory “emphasizes the factors at the destination and not at the origin, thus they dominate the volume and especially the direction of international migration. (...)In advanced economies, there are unstable jobs that lead to the division of the economy due to migrants who are willing to fill unskilled and rather poorly paid positions. The primary sector is occupied by specialized and extremely well-qualified individuals (...). Why is migration needed? Poorly paid wages, poorly seen or poorly qualified jobs are not wanted by the natives, for this reason someone else is needed for this demand, so the secondary sector falls to the migrants”⁹.

The world systems theory was initially formulated by Wallerstein (1974), arguing that international migration is one of the results of global capitalism, thus highly developed economic systems need foreign labor in certain fields. This theory supports the existence of three concentric spheres: core, semiperiphery and periphery states. Migration also had consequences on capitalist expansion, influencing production modes, communications, transports, economic development. Thus, the owners in the center, i.e. among the dominant powers, also act in the peripheral spheres to acquire the advantages they offer, such as: cheap land and raw materials, poorly paid labor, but above all a new market for consumption¹⁰.

The theory of migration networks is based on the concept of a network, to be able to study how resources, goods and ideas circulate through individuals, through social or symbolic ties¹¹. Migration networks “have the role of connecting individuals to each other, thus creating connections between the countries of origin and those of destination (...). Through such networks, individuals choose to migrate in large numbers because they have acquaintances in the destination country, willing to help them, and this issue attracts multiple benefits, such as: the chance of a better-paid job, finding a home better and cheaper, but the risks that appear in the migration process also decrease, they also end up having the support of institutions that facilitate both movement and integration into a new society”¹².

Cumulative causality is a theory that was initiated by Gunnar Myrdal several decades ago¹³. D Massey and his collaborators claim that “the following socio-economic

⁸ Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 71–72.

¹¹ Thomas Faist, *A Review of Dominant Theories of International Migration*, in the paper “The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces”, Oxford, Oxford Academic Publishing, 2000, p. 291 *apud* Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹² Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

¹³ Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, *Worlds in motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Calredon Press, Oxford, 1999, p. 45 *apud* Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

factors are responsible for the cumulative nature of the migratory phenomenon: income distribution, land distribution, agricultural organization, culture, regional distribution of human capital, but also the social meaning of work”¹⁴.

The systemic approach was pioneered by the geographer Akin Mabogunje, who defines the migration system as “a set of places linked by flows and counter-flows of people, services and information that tend to facilitate further exchanges between these places, including migration”¹⁵. Despite some criticisms regarding the descriptive aspect of the systemic approach, this theory has proven its effectiveness in terms of numerous sociological researches carried out to date.

The perspective of transnationalism or transnational migration theory appears at the beginning of the 90s, bringing a new breath to the study of international migration. Transnationalism is a theory that emphasizes the links between people, goods, capitals, information, connecting all these things and thus reaching a close connection between the places of origin and those of destination. Linda Green Basch, one of the promoters of this theory, defines transnationalism as “the processes through which migrants develop and sustain complex social relations that unite societies of origin and destination. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize the fact that many migrants are currently building social fields that cross geographical, cultural and political borders”¹⁶. Thus, “transnational ties should be on the agenda of the governments of all states, in order to be able to build not only a democratic, non-discriminatory society open to the flow of individuals, but an entire connection between all the states of the globe. (...) Globalization represents one of the most important factors of transnationalism, because the phenomenon of globalization can lead to changes thus influencing migrants, but also their adaptability in destination societies”¹⁷.

THE TYPOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS AND THE ROMANIAN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Migration takes place in time and space and is therefore defined by distance and time thresholds. For international migration, a nation-state border must be crossed, although this is not as simple as it might seem at first glance, as such borders can come and go (like the situation in the former Soviet Union or the former

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ Akin Mabogunje, *Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration*, in “Geographical Analysis”, no. 2, pp. 1–18, 1970 *apud* Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–77.

¹⁶ Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Green Basch, Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Transnationalism: a New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration*, in “Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences”, 1992, p. 1 *apud* Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–78.

¹⁷ Wedad Quffa, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Yugoslavia) and may be of different “density” and thus be “open” or “closed” borders to migration (eg internal borders within the EU versus the external border of the Schengen area).

In terms of time, the threshold for statistical registration of migration (as opposed to other forms of mobility such as tourism) is usually set at one year in the host country, but beyond this there is enormous variation: from migrants with contracts on a year, to those who remain, say, five or ten years, or to permanent settlers.

Temporary migration sooner or later leads to return migration, while permanent migrants may make return visits to their country of origin from time to time. Note that the one-year threshold omits seasonal migrants, who are vital to certain economic sectors such as agriculture, tourism and construction.

In sum, three “core groups” have dominated the study of migration in the past and still do to some extent: temporary labor migrants, settler migrants, and refugees. The “Age of Migration” has seen a proliferation of new types of migration and international mobility that form important elements of the increasingly complex global map of population movements. Post-Fordism, space-time compression and the incorporation of migration and mobility into the forces of globalization have introduced new forms of mobility where none existed before.

Therefore, we find new migrations covering the globe, which have no historical precedent – as happened after the dismantling of the Iron Curtain; “residential tourism”; the extension of tourist stays to several months and new forms of circulation based on business visits and the migration of labor contracts.

We also find international migration related to family reunification and childcare, marriage migration, student migration, retirement migration, skills migration and the brain drain, environmental migration and climate change – this is by no means a complete list. All this typological and terminological complexity makes migration studies a challenging field for the social sciences.

Seen from the perspective of professions, Romanian migrants come both from the ranks of the highly qualified, such as doctors, pharmacists, chemists, IT specialists, etc., as well as from the ranks of the poorly qualified who have found work abroad in fields such as agriculture, construction, etc., “the main fields of work in which our fellow citizens work are construction, agriculture, tourism, social services. Some have also succeeded in business, having their own activities that they run successfully. The statistics recorded, for example, at the beginning of April 2008, that 17,000 Romanians set up construction companies in Italy. Others have asserted themselves in special fields, such as showbiz, art or performance sports (...)”¹⁸.

The migration of Romanians, today, however, is much more patchy, with numerous niches between performance and low qualifications. The types of

¹⁸ Adrian Otovescu, *Migrația internațională*, in Dumitru Otovescu (coord.), *Tratat de sociologie*, Craiova, Beladi Publishing, 2010, p. 639.

Romanian migrants vary in terms of gender (female migration has increased), age, education, profession, etc.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change is “the phenomenon of the transition of a social system or a component of it from one state to another state, differing qualitatively and/or quantitatively”¹⁹. At the same time, “sociology approaches change at two levels:

– macrosocial (of global society); – microsocial (of certain subsystems or components of society). Between the two levels there must not necessarily be a temporal correlation/concordance. Sociological theories regarding social change – numerous, given that they refer to the growth, evolution, development, progress and/or regression of society or one/some of its components – aim to identify and describe: the factors of change, the differences between two successive states, production mechanisms, etc.”²⁰.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social development is “perceived as a positive, directed social change, the meaning of the concept emphasizing the transition from an initial state, which is desired to be transformed, to a final, desired one”²¹. Also, “although in many situations the concept of development is used interchangeably with that of progress, we can highlight a number of differences between the two concepts. As Cătălin Zamfir pointed out, the idea of progress is reflected in the perception that the present is better than the past and certainly the future will be better than the present. Society, pushed by diffuse internal forces, progresses over time for the better (Cătălin Zamfir). In other words, we are dealing with a positive evolution. The idea of progress, however, is based, in particular, on the technological revolution that began in the 16th–17th centuries and is especially aimed at economic progress – in other words, economic development. This is not necessarily synonymous with social development, being only a necessary but not sufficient condition to generate social development. Technical innovations are assimilated into production, generate economic progress and promise a better and better life, but not necessarily for all citizens. Social and individual well-being generated through economic progress can

¹⁹ For more details, see https://ibn.idsi.md/sites/default/files/imag_file/221-228_5.pdf, accessed at September 2, 2022.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ For more details, see <https://www.rasfoiesc.com/sanatate/asistenta-sociala/Relatia-dintre-dezvoltare-soci85.php>, accessed at March 3, 2024.

be highly unequal and can massively affect social development processes. In this situation, the state plays a key role by creating an institutional system for the redistribution of welfare and supporting social development programs such as those regarding equal access to education or investments in the health system (universal access to primary medical services) and the system of social security”²².

MIGRATORY TRENDS OF ROMANIANS IN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN NORTHERN EUROPE

The migration of Romanians to Europe, in particular to Northern Europe, represents a widely investigated social phenomenon, both from the perspective of European researchers and from the perspective of Romanian sociologists and statisticians. In this sense, certain more general aspects are included in quantitative research, while more detailed aspects, which can be made visible through qualitative research, are less investigated. Thus, Sociological research and official statistics attest that Romania is a constant source of fuel for the immigration phenomenon in Europe. In a 2003 study by the World Organization for Migration, it is highlighted that, after 1990, “12% of the total population of Romania traveled abroad for tourism, 4% for work and 1% for studies, as well as the fact that permanent migration does not exceed the percentage of 3–5%». Subsequently, the mentioned values increased considerably”²³.

The migration of Romanians to Europe took place in several waves, due to some economic, political, social factors, “statistical data show us that there are two peak moments of emigration from our country: one, in the interval 1990–1993, explained by the gaining of freedom of circulation by Romanian citizens, and another, corresponding to the years 2003 and 2004, which succeeds the year 2002, when on January 1st visas for travel in the Schengen area (from Western Europe) were abolished. Annually, around 10,000 Romanians established their domicile abroad. To these are added those temporarily away for work, studies, family visits, etc. also, with Romania's accession to the European Union, the dimensions of the phenomenon of temporary and permanent emigration abroad have increased. It is estimated that, currently, around 5 million Romanians are abroad. Most are in Italy, Spain and the USA, the predominant reason for going to these countries being to work and, of course, most return home after accumulating substantial income, which they needed to make ends meet the problems in their own country”²⁴.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Adrian Otovescu, *Românii din Italia. Monografia unei comunități de imigranți*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2016, p. 124.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

As for the destination countries of Romanian migrants, they also vary over time. Thus, “in 1999, the first 5 countries preferred by those who left Romania were, in descending order of weights:

- USA – 18.9% of all emigrants;
- Germany – 18.8%;
- Canada – 12.9%;
- Italy – 11.2%;
- Hungary – 6.1%”²⁵.

However, the year 2005 records varied data regarding the structure of Romanian emigrants and the preference of destination countries. So Italy is “at the top of individual preferences:

- Italy – 24.9% of the total of those who left Romania;
- Germany – 20.1%;
- USA – 15.3%;
- Canada – 11.1% etc.”²⁶.

In the USA, during the period 1990–1999, there is a very large increase in migrants from Romania, “a number of 48,136. The number remains relatively constant and, in the period 2000-2009, a slight increase is observed, up to 52,154 immigrants”²⁷. Figures related to Romanians who emigrated to the U.S. varies, thus, “in 2011 there were 464,539 people who came from Romania, representing 0.13% of the 356,932,300 inhabitants of the United States, being, from a numerical point of view, the 36th immigrant community according to the figures official They are evenly divided among the four regions, 115,547 in the North-East Region, 124,628 in the Central-West Region, 104,263 in the Southern Region and 123,718 in the Western Region. Of these, 296,439 said they were born in the United States of immigrant ancestry, while the remaining 168,046 were born outside the United States, more than a third of whom were not currently US citizens (58,445). of all those born outside the USA, 36.4% arrived after 2000, 34.2% between 1990 and 1999 and 29.4% during the communist regime, before 1989”²⁸.

The situation of Romanians residing in Canada records particularities regarding the years of initial migration, thus “the number of Canadian citizens and permanent residents originally from Romania amounted to 204,625 in 2011, constantly increasing over time, from 24,405 in 1971, to 42,140 in 1991, respectively 192,170 in 2006, according to previous general censuses. Out of the total of 204,625 persons declared to be of Romanian ethnic origin in 2011, 82,995 had a single ethnic origin, and 121,635 had multiple ethnic origins. Also, 8,050 Moldovans were registered, of which 3,670 had a single ethnic origin, and 4,385 multiple ethnic origins”²⁹.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 129.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ Dan Valeriu Voinea, *Imigranți români din Statele Unite ale Americii*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2015, p. 63.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ Elena Basarab, *Românii din Canada*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2017, pp. 85-86.

Regarding the migration of Romanians to Northern Europe, there are numerous statistical data. Thus, regarding the migration of Romanians to Denmark, “according to the Danish Statistics Institute, on April 1, 2019, there were 31,342 people with Romanian citizenship residing in Denmark. At the same time, on April 1, 2019, 29,029 migrants originating from Romania and 3,692 of their descendants, totaling 32,721 people, appeared in the statistics published in the country of residence. The difference of 1,379 people is given by people originally from Romania who, after coming to Denmark, obtained Danish citizenship”³⁰. Thus, the numerical distribution of Romanians by region:

“Hovedstaden: 7,499 people (Copenhagen: 2,725 people)

Sjælland: 2,275 people (Ringsted: 170, Næstved: 229, Slagelse: 235, Roskilde: 148, Køge: 213);

Syddanmark: 8,017 people (Odense: 894, Vejlen: 702, Vejle: 655, Esbjerg: 530, Sønderborg: 447);

Midtjylland: 9,866 people (Aarhus: 2,046, Horsens: 1,063, Ringkøbing-Skjern: 1,036, Viborg: 712; Randers: 804) ;

Nordjylland: 3,685 people (Aalborg: 1,156, Frederikshavn: 846, Hjørring: 314, Vesthimmerlands: 306, Mariagerfjord: 249).

Distribution of members of the Romanian community according to age categories:

0–19 years: 5,710 people

20–64 years: 25,459 people

≥ 64 years: 173 people”³¹.

In the year 2023, a data update was made, so “According to the Danish Statistics Institute, on October 2, 2023, 45,400 people with Romanian citizenship had residence in Denmark. Numerical distribution of Romanians by region:

Hovedstaden: 11,167 people;

Zealand: 4,303 people;

Syddanmark: 11,317 people;

Midtjylland: 14,122 people;

Nordjylland: 4,491 people.

Distribution of members of the Romanian community according to age categories:

0–19 years: 9,367 people

20–64 years: 35,304 people

≥ 64 years: 729 people”³².

³⁰ For more details, see *www.statbank.dk*, *apud* <https://copenhaga.mae.ro/node/797>, accessed at August 16, 2019.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² For more details, see *www.statbank.dk* *apud* <https://copenhaga.mae.ro/node/797>, accessed at December 10, 2023.

Most people of Romanian origin are in the category of 20–64 years old, mature, who migrated in their youth, and children and teenagers can be considered as part of the second generation of Romanian migrants, most of them being born in Denmark. People of the third age are less numerous, in their case it is a migration before 1989 or even immediately after 1990, if they migrated to Denmark in their youth.

Here are some data on the “numerical distribution of Romanian citizens by region and age category:

	Region Hovedstaden	Region Sjælland	Region Syddanmark	Region Midtjylland	Region Nordjylland
0–4 years	737	230	995	1241	405
5–9 years	498	229	742	1006	338
10–14 years	317	121	370	546	183
15–19 years	288	141	367	455	158
20–24 years	1002	415	1092	1415	313
25–29 years	1630	415	1380	1634	464
30–34 years	1945	611	1728	2214	642
35–39 years	1699	635	1669	2129	750
40–44 years	1097	551	1173	1343	485
45–49 years	810	424	746	850	308
50–54 years	488	277	455	560	208
55–59 years	295	134	251	360	138
60–64 years	131	62	161	170	45
65–69 years	103	33	100	127	27
70–74 years	65	18	49	50	17
75–79 years	36	3	25	11	7
80–84 years	12	1	10	7	2
85–89 years	7	2	2	1	0
90–94 years	5	0	2	2	0
95–99 years	1	1	0	1	0
100 years and over	1	0	0	0	1

These are the data also provided by the Romanian Embassy in Denmark³³.

All age categories are representative, demonstrating the continuity of the waves of migrants from Romania, most settling for the first time in Denmark at young ages, between 19–40 years.

Regarding the situation of Romanians in Sweden, it is as follows: “according to the data published by the Swedish Statistics Office, on December 31, 2021, 33,695 people born in Romania had residence in Sweden, of which 16,445 (48.8%) female and 17,250 (51.2%) male. In terms of size, the group of people born in Romania is the 18th among the groups of residents in Sweden born abroad and the 3rd among the groups of residents born in a member state of the European Union (after Poland and Germany)³⁴.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ For more details, see <https://stockholm.mae.ro/node/755>, accessed at February 3, 2022.

Also, “statistical data on the period in which people born in Romania immigrated to Sweden show that 4,473 people (13.3%) immigrated before 1989, 3,592 (10.7%) in the period 1990–1999, 6,124 (18%) in the period 2000–2009, 16,403 people (48.7% of the total) in the period 2010–2019 and 2,997 in the years 2020–2021 (8.9% – the period of immigration for 106 people is unknown)”³⁵.

The waves of migrants from Romania have grown steadily over time, the most important being the one between 2010–2019, the period after Romania became a member state of the European Union and the movement of people became much easier in this area of Europe as well of the North, establishing bilateral relations of cooperation in the economic and employment fields between Romania and the countries of Northern Europe.

Also on December 31, 2021, the territorial distribution of resident persons born in Romania was as follows:

- Regions with the most resident persons born in Romania
 - Skåne (with the capital Malmö) – 8,405;
 - Stockholm – 8,298;
 - Västra Götaland (Gothenburg) – 5,864;
 - Kronoberg (Växjö) – 2,376;
 - Jönköping (Jönköping) – 1,509;
 - Halland (Halmstad) – 1,107;
 - Östergötland (Norrköping) – 1,102.
- Municipalities (in Sweden, the municipality is called a kommun) with the most residents born in Romania:
 - Stockholm – 3,034
 - Gothenburg – 2,975
 - Malmö – 2,512
 - Helsingborg (Skåne region) – 1,024
 - Ljungby (Kronoberg) – 887
 - Linköping (Östergötland) – 686
 - Växjö (Kronoberg) – 668
 - Södertälje (Stockholm) – 569
 - Borås (Västra Götaland) – 529
 - Huddinge (Stockholm) – 524
 - Halmstad (Halland) – 505”³⁶.

Romanian migrants in Sweden settled mainly in the 3 largest cities in Sweden – Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, with a uniform representation, around 2,500–3,000 Romanians in each city. At the same time, Romanian migrants settled in other cities, where the representativeness is lower, around 500–600 Romanians in each city.

³⁵ *Ibidem.*

³⁶ *Ibidem.*

All these data and details regarding the international migration of Romanians speak of certain identity, socio-cultural strategies of the Romanians to integrate into the adoption societies, but they also represent attempts to preserve the Romanian identity, of some socio-cultural signs beyond the barriers on which could impose certain social stratifications on them.

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