

Does an individual make a difference? Migration as a means of community change *

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Abstract

The present article has its origin in the attempt to connect the micro – level (life strategy, more precisely than international migration for work), the meso – level (the community, the place where changes due to the consequences of migration take place), and the macro – level (which at first allows for the appearance of migration, and secondly is influenced by its consequences). The hypotheses try to connect international migration to the changes of communities of the migrants. Migration can be looked at as having a latent function that leads to changes in communities and further to development, maximizing the resources from the individual level, and modifying the behavior. Thus, the consequences have to do with entrepreneurship as a main life strategy that leads to transnational migration. This is an improved version of an article that was originally published in the Romanian Sociology (no. 2/2004).

* This article is based on my BA AT THE Bucharest University, thesis coordinated by Prof. Dr. Dumitru Sandu – June 2003.

The question that I started with was: “What are the macro-effects of some micro-events?” The question has its origin in the fact that individual actions have unintended consequences at the level of belonging communities of the individuals that engage in specific actions. The life strategy that I focus on in this article concerns international migration, and it is studied in a structural – functionalist perspective. Its consequences at the community level are manifested in the form of community change.

Three directions take shape as part of this question:

The first set of questions relates to the relationship between the *macro structure of society and the patterns of life strategies*. I regard life strategies as being generated by social norms, institutional configurations, and structures of opportunities, all these varying from one social group to another, and having a certain national specificity and contextual determination.

Life strategies are a concept that include the process of migration, the family history, educational and occupational trajectories, the carrier, and also the temporary patterns of interacting with the insurance institutions (the dependency in relation to the state system). The temporal dimension relevant for this article is the historical time of the socio – economic change. This must also be related to the phenomenon of migration: the time a migrant spends in a foreign country, and the time that is needed to acquire values, knowledge, skills, that enables a migrant to make changes in her/his own life style, changes that will affect the other members of the community. The present article mentions also as a possible consequence of the phenomenon of migration, the development of transnational networks. In fact this is another form that migration takes in time due to macro changes.

The second set of questions concerns the levels of individual and group action. How do individuals and the families they are part of build their life style? The third set of questions relates to the processes of feed-back from the individual level to the macro-structural one, and the institutional constraints. What are the implications of these processes on social policies? Regardless of how life strategies take shape, they are strong contexts for individuals and groups to make decisions to act in one way or another.

These questions have their origin, on the one hand, in the social reality that I was confronted with through the fieldwork experience; experience that led me to formulate my empirical hypothesis. On the other hand, these questions derive from the theory on migration. The *hypothesis* that the article sets to test refers to the *latent function of migration that leads to community changing, and later on development through the maximization of the resources that an individual disposes of and through modifying the behaviour, such as: private initiative and the initiation of transnational communities*. The next hypothesis, which has a maximum level of generality, I formulated in terms of the pyramid of needs elaborated by the American psychologist H. Maslow. Therefore, an individual follows the fulfilment of a need, which is placed on a superior level only if a need inferior to that one is fulfilled. In other words, human needs are organized in a hierarchy and individuals fulfill them in a certain order. This succession, transformed into a hypothesis allows us to better understand the behavior of migration.

The migratory experience plays an important role in the appearance of these changes in one's behaviour. Upon the return from the primary migration¹, people spend money on goods – this is a conservatory behavior. After the secondary or tertiary migration, they change their patterns of consumption, and start to invest, engaging in entrepreneurial activities. However, the study of migration consequences should not be reduced to the variable concerning the migration experience, on the contrary, it is necessary to take into account other variables, such as: status resources, the wave of migration, and the development level of the belonging community, as can be observed in the following table.

¹ There can be done a classification of the forms of migration based on the migration experience. Depending on the criterium, there can be differences between the primary / first migration (the first change of one's permanent address), secondary and tertiary migration, and so on (Sandu 1984:26).

	Economic Status Resources	Migratory Wave	Level of development of the belonging community
Alimentary consumption	Low income	The first wave of migration	Low degree of development
Consumption of good with prolonged usage	Medium level incomes	The first and / or the second wave of migration	Communities with a low or medium degree of development
Luxury Consumption	High incomes	The first and / or the second wave of migration	Communities with a medium or / and high degree of development
Production	High incomes	The first and / or the second wave of migration	Communities with a medium or / and high degree of development

Tabel 1: Sequential model of the consumption behavior of the migrant.

Resulting from the chart above, the consumption behavior presents an evolution in four steps: alimentary consumption, consumption of goods of prolonged usage, luxury consumption, and production. However, these phases are not mandatory. It may happen that the sequence is contradicted conditioned by the presence of other variables such as the *status of the migrant*, the *development of the community*, and other factors. Therefore, the steps are 'burned' and the production or entrepreneurial behavior may result from the primary migration.

If the theories on the migrant's consumption limit themselves to the subsistence behavior – alimentary consumption – the interviews from the present research show that it is mandatory to take into account the above mentioned variables; i.e. the migrants' status, the migration wave (the initiators represent the first wave of migration, then the second wave, the third, and so on), and the belonging community.

The data are analyzed based on a multi-level schema: macro-structure (social, cultural, political and economic context); meso – the belonging community, social networks; and micro – the individual and the household as the location at

which the decision is made. All of these components are put together in an analysis of migration.

Schema 1: Three levels in the migration analysis²

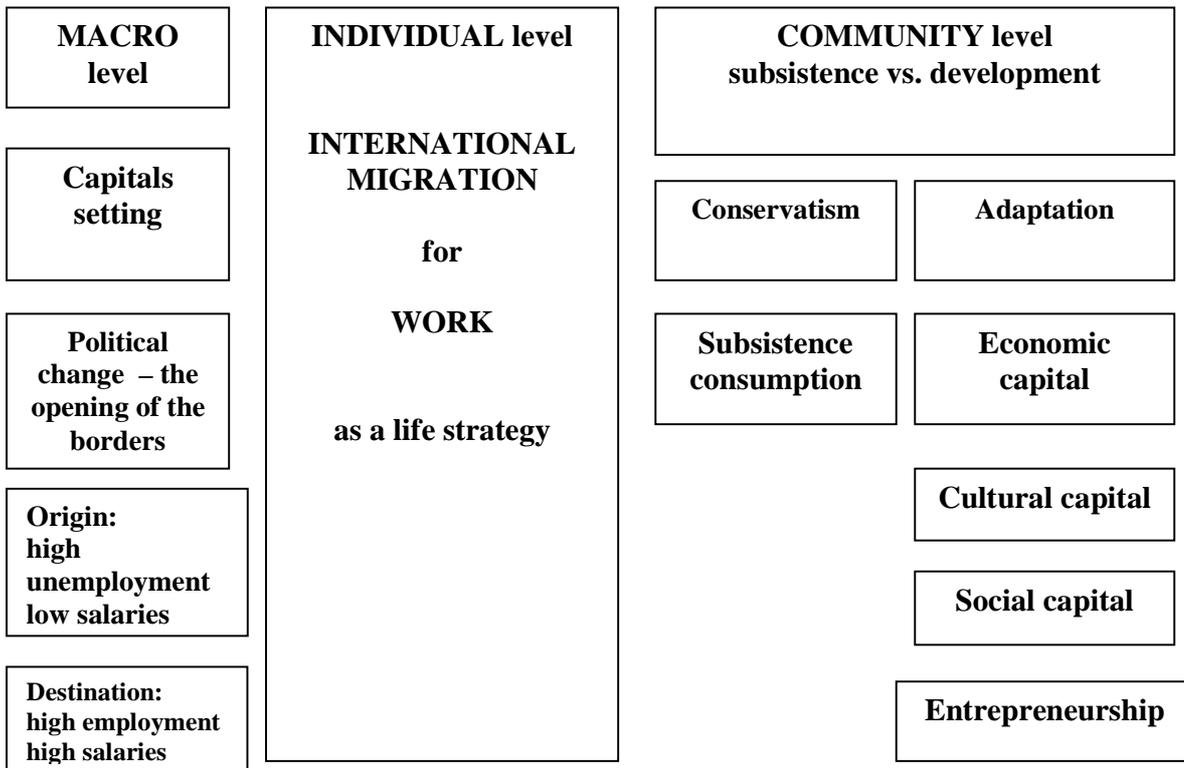
MACRO – STRUCTURAL LEVEL (political economic, cultural structure) ➤ structure of opportunities	MESO – RELATIONAL LEVEL (social relations) ➤ social networks	MICRO LEVEL– INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD resources under the form of capital: economic, social, cultural, symbolic
<p>political rules/patterns: the legislation regarding the territorial mobility (the politics of nation states and the international politics)</p> <p>political problems: ethnic and religious problems</p> <p>the economic situation: income labor force unemployment</p> <p>demography and ecology: the development level of technology population growth</p>	<p>social links: <i>strong links:</i> family and household; <i>weak links:</i> networks of potential migrants <i>symbolic links:</i> ethnic and religious networks.</p> <p>social capital: the resources available to the potential migrants by the participation to the social networks. These links (weak, strong, and symbolic facilitate access to social networks)</p>	<p>individual resources: economic capital cultural capital (individual values: improving one’s life style, risk reduction, having social status, common perspectives on life; <i>education, professional skills</i>)</p> <p>life strategies international migration for work</p>

The concepts presented in the above schema are also central to the following two theories: dual market theory and the new economics of migration. I will return to these theories when referring to the comments of the migrants, as I establish connections between theory and fieldwork.

² The scheme is taken over from Thomas Faist in Hammar, Bochmann, Tamas, and Faist (1997:200).

The working schema:

Figure 2: An explicative model of community change as a consequence of life strategies, the prominent factor being international migration.



This model is made of concepts that are used throughout the article, and are anticipated by initiating questions, hypothesis, and existing theory. The data that I had available for the analysis is the result of research on circulatory migration conducted by the Organization of International Migration, Romania, entitled "The Research of Circulatory Migration at the Community Level"³. The research is

³ The research was conducted in 2001 – 2002 by a team coordinated by prof. dr. Dumitru Sandu, Dana Diminescu, Sebastian Lăzăroiu și Louis Ulrich. The community studies were conducted in eight rural communities by eight students and a Ph.D. from the University of Bucharest, The Sociology and Social Assistance Faculty: Ana Boianiu, Oana Ciobanu, Ph.D. Monica Constantinescu, Răzvan Dumitru, Vlad Grigoraș, Gloria Macri, Alexandra Mihai, Cosmin Radu și Monica Tobă.

composed of two parts; first, a quantitative study, and secondly a fieldwork project. Therefore, the article consists of a secondary analysis, and focuses mainly on the international migration from the rural areas.

The data I used came particularly from the fieldwork endeavor. The sample of the persons that we interviewed in the villages was a snow-ball sample, starting with a few key persons; those who know well the village, i.e. the mayors and other employees of the town hall, the priest, police employees, the school principal, or other professors, and the bus drivers that take people to the city (comutting) or even outside the country to the migrants' destination. Theses interviews guided us towards the persons involved in migration.

Individual interviews, as well as group interviews and observations were conducted in eight villages⁴: Podu Turcului (comune Podu Turcului, county Bacău), Zlătunoaia (Commune Lunca, county Botoșani), Atid (commune Atid, county Harghita), Moisei (commune Moisei, county Maramureș), Gogoșu (commune Gogoșu, county Mehedinți), Volovăț (commune Volovăț, county Suceava), Jigănești (commune Jigănești, county Teleorman), Jebel (commune Jebel, county Timiș). A minimum of nine interviews were conducted in each village. The interview guide has been elaborated by Prof. Dumitru Sandu, and for the present article I have used the questions with regard to capital and migration consequences (individual / household; community). The analysis is organized based on the schema previously described.

Subsistence

Consumption, especially the consumer goods, and the consumption of goods that are part of a traditional and conservatory kind such as landed property and agricultural instruments, is one of the subsistence strategies. Some of the migrants spend the money gained abroad on food. The advantage that derives from this kind of consumption for the belonging community is that the money is spent locally. In Atid, for example, the "house" gypsies work in Hungary and once they return home:

⁴ From an administrative point of view Romania is divided in counties (judet). Each county has a main residential city (municipiu). Within each county there are several villages grouped together in communes.

"They party one month after they come from Hungary. After a month the comfort is over" (A.T., the mayor of the comune – Commune Atid / Village Atid).

The migration to Serbia ensures many families in Gogosu a satisfactory life style relative to the village they live in. The migration to Serbia for work is regarded as an alternative for "rudari" and gypsies due to the large number of these two populations in the village of Balta Sărată and their lack of employment. The money is not invested because this is the only income source for the people there, and therefore it is spent mainly on food. At the same time, due to the fact that the income earned is not substantial, migrants do not send remittances and rather bring back all the money at the end of the season when they return from agricultural work in Serbia. Even the migrants that work in construction, and are better paid prefer to put aside the money and bring them in autumn⁵.

"They spend the money on food, drinks and clothing. Some of them have color TV sets, cars, buses, all you want. They don't have businesses, because they don't think that far ahead, and they have no interest. They think "I made money, I eat and drink. Some build houses, especially in Burila Mica and Balta Verde. The problem is that they [rudari] don't have land, so they need to buy grains, vegetables, potatoes, otherwise what can you live on?" (P.O., male migrant to Serbia, 48 years old – Commune Gogoșu / Village Gogoșu).

The people in the village don't have a constant place to work, and during winter do not have a regular income. They do not have land as I mentioned earlier, or they have only a small amount of land and therefore produce too little. With the money they earn in Serbia they buy corn, wheat, and clothing. They raise animals but not too many. For example P.O. has only one horse that he uses to work the land, and carry wood for the winter.

In the Volovăț village the situation is similar. Even if there are people that built houses and bought cars with the money gained during migration, the money is mainly spent on everyday expenses.

"I: What do you do with the money you gain?"

⁵ The season period of work in Serbia is from the beginning of March and April to late autumn, September, October.

"R: *What can I do with it ... I have five kids, what I make these, all the money goes on cloths, I built this kitchen, a garage, I pay for the doctor, I had lots of problems with the children – with the eyes – I went to Bucharest for a surgery ...*" (A.C., male – Commune Volovăț / village Volovăț).

Once returned, people reinitiate their past subsistence activities.

Why do migrants leave?

The main motivation of migrants has to do with the local constraints (the absence of working places) and with the economic situation of the household (poverty):

"I did not have a place to work, and we needed to go somewhere and work, *as a day-labourer; what else could we do? If one does not have a place to work, s/he goes to Serbia to work*" (P.O. migrant în Serbia, 48 de years old – Commune Gogoșu / Village Gogoșu).

Obvious consequences appear with regard to the economic level of the families that have members working outside the country. Similarly to the previous cases, in Commune Moisei / Village Moisei the money is spent on houses and cars rather than being invested.

In this context the explicative model is made of the dual market economy (Massey et al 1993, 1999) explicative theory on the initiation of the migratory phenomenon. This theory attributes the initiation of migration to the structural demands of modern industrial economies. In this case the individual does not play any role in triggering the migration behavior; on the contrary, it reacts only in the context of a labor force demand. This theory leaves from the assumption that migration is based on labor demand and recruitment. Coming from countries less developed, migrants accept to take over labor positions that are not anymore accepted by the citizens of that particular country. Therefore, in the developed countries some jobs have become to be known as traditionally migrant occupations. To give a few examples; picking strawberries by Romanian women in Spain, nurses to Germany, construction workers to Spain, and the examples could continue. Romania, thus, provides on the international labor force market, a large number of workers at reduced costs. The hypothesis of the present article, however, aims to

show that there are not only advantages for the foreign employers and the economy of the country of immigration, but also for the community of emigration.

The theory addressed above explains the emergence of migration as having an element of reference to the national economies. The new economics of migration (Massey et al 1993, 1999) offers a different explicative model at the micro level (rational choice model). In other words, the accent lies on the household as a unit of decision making, and not on the individual alone. Migration is not an individual action, and most times it is not only one individual that makes the decision to migrate, but an entire household, and sometimes, even the community itself. Another theory of migration – the neoclassic economic theory - places the accent on the labor market, and on the vacant labor places and different level of economic development between origin and destination (Massey et al 1993, 1999). Therefore, it considers that once reduced the gap between the two, migration will come to an end. On the contrary, the new economics of migration offer a more ample perspective.

The key concepts are in this case: risk minimization, profit maximization, and diversifying the income sources. The attempt to reduce risk is done by income source diversification. It is commonly found in the rural areas that in a household some family members commute to the city, others work the land, and some work outside the country. Another means of risk reducing is the private assurance system. This is to be found mainly in the case of developed countries, as such when “institutional mechanisms [...] are imperfect, absent or inaccessible to the poor families” (Massey et al 1999:22) in the case of undeveloped countries. As a consequence, people become more tempted to migrate. Each migratory event replaces an income on the local market.

Therefore, the main reason for migrating is to obtain an income:

G: Why do you think the people from your village migrate?

M: For money, otherwise I would not have left either ...” (P. M, migrant to Italy – Commune Podu Turcului / Villageul Podu Turcului).

One of the most important causes of migration is represented by the desire to buy goods like TV sets, cassette players, CD players, and cars. In the case of the

young families the income that can be acquired through emigration constitutes the only possibility to build a house for themselves and leave the parents' house. The impossibility to accumulate such an amount of money, the difficulty of accessing the banking system due to the absence of a stable working place or due to lack of information, all act as strong reasons in support of one's migration.

Another key element in the analysis of migration is relative deprivation. (Massey et al 1993, 1999). The inhabitants of the rural areas compare one to another. Therefore, income is no longer a homogeneous good as it was considered by the neoclassic theoreticians, but relative in comparison to the incomes of the others. What may be an enormous amount of money for the inhabitants of a community, may be considered medium or even low income in a different community. To reduce the distance between themselves and others, some people make the decision to migrate to increase their income, and to therefore be able to increase other forms of capital including their symbolic capital in the village.

This article must take into account not only the labor market but also the insurance market (in case of unemployment, private insurance market, pensions, agriculture insurance), future markets, capital market, credit market / banking market (Massey et al 1993, 1999). Through the development of such markets and implicit through the reduction of risk by the state policies, migration could be reduced because the motivation to migrate itself would be eliminated.

DEVELOPMENT (cultural, economic, and social capital)

Cultural capital

The development of cultural capital⁶ (Bourdieu 2000) serves the migrant firstly at the destination by facilitating the integration and adaptation, and secondly at the origin where as a returning migrant s/he can better integrate into the labor market due to their newly developed skills and abilities. There are two particular types of knowledge: a new language and a new profession.

Besides skills and abilities, cultural capital also includes values (Bourdieu 2000). The interaction with a foreign country allows the migrant to acquire new

⁶ Cultural capital is defined by Bourdieu in terms of formal education, but also values.

values, a new life style, and a totally new culture in comparison with the one from the migrant's place of origin. Due to the large number of migrants that 'circulate' between the same origin and destination, the cultural capital can contribute to the change of the life style of an entire community.

What concrete situations did the fieldwork reveal to us?

Accumulating skills and knowledge

One of the essential elements in adapting to a new labor market is learning the language. This can be done through organised courses, friends, or everyday usage:

"I did not know the language, I did not even know how to say "Hello!", I started with a conversation guide, with the dictionary. I also had a friend, but she was living far away. Another Romanian was living 2 km from me and she was coming all the time, helping me to learn, translating for me. I went to a German course, I went for about 2 months and a half. That was pretty difficult because all the other students were advanced. It was difficult. Unfortunately in two months I had to move from that town" (R. M., nurse in Germany – Commune Podu Turcului / Villageul Podu Turcului).

The Romanian studies' diplomas are not recognised in Spain. Not being able to prove their preparation for one field or another, migrants are forced to accept unqualified jobs in the economic sectors that manifest a high deficit of the labor force. They cannot compete with the population there for better jobs and this influences their incomes.

"Are your studies recognised? If you find an adequate job, can you be hired?

The diploma is not recognised.

And what does this mean? You can never find a job?

Yes, I can, because they don't require a diploma, they ask me to prove that I know what to do.

And the others?

They need to specialize there" (T.M., ortodox, 45 years old – Commune Jigănești / Village Jigănești).

Learning a new life style

In the rural areas to work the land is the thing to do, it is the reason to live as people say. For those who have migrated, the situation is altered. Someone told me about a family whose children work in Spain. They told the father not to work the land anymore because it is not worth the effort:

"The children of my brother told him: 'dad, don't work the land anymore. And the boy is a very hard working person, he makes lots of money'" (Group interview, adventists – Commune Jigănești / Village Jigănești).

📌 Changes in inhabiting conditions (the houses architecture)

"What changes do the people who work outside bring with them? Do they build houses in a certain way, do they dress in a certain way?"

Yes, of course, I built a summer kitchen when I came from Italy. Yes, you return different from outside the country, you see the world with different eyes ..." (P. M, Italy – Commune Podu Turcului / Villageul Podu Turcului).

📌 Investing in the children's education

Another cause for migration is the necessity to make the money needed to send the children to school in the city. Nevertheless, when it comes to migrants' children, this has on the one hand, positive consequences; providing education for the children, and on the other hand, negative consequences; the children are left unsupervised.

"Those who leave for Hungary raise their children differently. There is a positive thing in all this. They see that school is very useful and they convince their neighbours to send their children to school also. They tell everyone that without studies, without a diploma one cannot make it in life" (A.B., professor – Commune Atid / Village Atid).

One of the migrants to Greece sends money every month to support her sister through high school (Commune Gogoșu / Village Gogoșu).

Economic capital

The economic capital includes as an indicator the consumption behavior, particularly contemptuous consumption according to Thornstein Veblen's typologies (in Bocock 1995). An indicator that offers valuable data on the consumption habits

from a village is the supply in the local shops. The new patterns of consumption have to be synchronized to the new life style that the migrants have acquired in the different societies where they live for various periods of time. At the same time consumption needs to be sustained by incomes.

Products in the villages shops

The products offered in the villages varies. There are mainly bars and a few shops placed around the center, next to the school, town hall, church and police station (fieldwork notes).

What to do with the money?

“What did the people who migrated to work in other countries do with the money they made there?

D: Some built houses, others for example started businesses: the owner of the gas station worked outside the country also, and based on the money he made there he started his business” (D., 28 years old – Commune Volovăț / Village Volovăț).

Another answer is that:

A: A few built houses, but too few. Most of them bought cars, had fun. They were young. Now they think differently, I migrate to work and I put some money aside. Before, they used to have fun, go on holidays ... ” (A., 26 years old – Commune Volovăț / Village Volovăț).

Means of communication

One can notice in the village the fact that people of all ages have mobile telephones. An interviewee told us:

“Do not be surprised if you see an old lady taking out her mobile from her bag” (school principal – Commune Moisei / Village Moisei)

Packages and remittances

The economic capital of the migrants does not limit itself to money and remittances. It also refers to the packages the migrants send home. It is very frequent in Romania that migrants send packages home when someone from their home community goes to visit or goes on holidays. It is also used to send packages

on buses, for example from Germany to Timisoara. As for money, it is most often sent through the post office.

"There are packages from Italy coming every month" (I.I., orthodox priest - Commune Gogoșu / Village Gogoșu).

How much money do migrants make?

"One makes a million and a half in one day in Germany,, in Italy 80 DM a day, and in 100, 120 Israel" (D., 28 years old - Commune Volovăț / Village Volovăț).

Another migrant tells us about his income in Germany: *"In two months there I made my salary for one year here at the hospital"* (R.B., 28, migrant în valul II în Germania – Village Jebel / Commune Jebel).

Social capital

The literature on social capital tells us that in comparison to the other types of capital, social capital does not consume itself . On the contrary, it is amplified by use (Lin 2001, Putnam 1999). To build on this assumption, we notice that social networks become stronger and expand in their capacity to facilitate migration for their members simply by functioning.

There are two types of departures: when leaving with the help of a person who resides / works at the destination (network departures), and in the absence of such a person (independent departures). The majority of migrants have left based on social networks built at the origin. However, these networks expand and in time include persons also from the destination. Most of the time the people included in the network at the destination are of the nationality of the destination country. They help the migrants to receive the necessary residence permits, facilitate their hiring by supporting him/her with recommendations, and so on. Ususally this person is called by the migrants: "my Spanish", "my Italian", "my German".

The social networks that we have identified are the following:

Relatives and friends networks

"I have my daughter and my son-in-law in Italy at Verona [...] my son in law left with a trip and then stayed there illegally. Then he took his wife with him" (professor, female - Commune Podu Turcului/Villageul Podu Turcului).

Ethnic networks

The departures for Serbia are based on local networks (ethnic networks in the case of gypsies and rudari), which in time take the form of family networks, i.e. once a member of a household develops ties at the destination, s/he starts taking other members of the household with him in order to increase the economic capital of the family. The networks develop also at the destination, not only from the origin. In Serbia, networks at the destination play the role of securing one's place to work for the coming year and even to facilitate the access to a new destination like Austria or Italy. Therefore, an important role is played by the relationship between the host and the migrant. Maintaining a relationship with the household from Serbia and gaining the trust of the employer constitutes a guarantee for the working place. (fieldwork notes - Commune Gogoșu / Village Gogoșu)

Religious networks

The network migration to a person they know in Spain particularly characterizes the adventist component of the migrants. A large part of the people from the Southern regions of Romania migrate to Spain, particularly to Madrid where men work in construction and women do housekeeping. This is very common for the adventists from Jiğănești.

"If you don't know someone you have to sleep in the street, no one has money for a hotel, and it is too expensive, and you go there to make money, not to spend it. But if you sleep in the street there is the risk of being caught by the police, and they send you out of Spain. But there are lots of adventists and they help you with a house. There are apartments full of Romanians" (interview notes, I.O., baptist, 42 years old - Commune Jiğănești / Village Jiğănești).

Community networks

Depending on the destination there can be specialized networks for each country or diffuse networks (common for various destinations).

Regarding Italy, in the village Zlatunoiiaia, the first migrant initiated a network. He is the one hosting the migrants from his village, finding them a working place, in other words, he facilitates the migration.

"When C. (the first migrant) went back to Italy, he left his home the address, the phone number ... This friend wanted to go to Italy also, he phoned C., and he

picked him up from Italy, he says "I phoned C. , he waited for me, then he hosted me for 2 weeks. It wasn't that easy, we shared the same bed. Afterwards, he found me a job. The employer tested me, and I stayed." You need someone there, otherwise there is too much risk" (Mayor Zlătunoaia – Commune Lunca / Village Zlătunoaia).

A.D. (female, migrant to Serbia), also migrated based on networks. Before leaving for the first time she spoke with other women who had already migrated, and left for Serbia with a woman from her own village. There they worked for the same family, the woman had worked in the previous years.

Network built at the destination

There are cases of migrants who left first for Serbia, and there they made friends and migrated to Austria⁷. For example, the young man M. tried several destinations.

"... in 1992 I went to Greece, but I was sent back from Macedonia. I went by train. Then we had to walk, go through a vineyard, gardens. We got to Greece, and those who had friends, they came to pick them up. We were 3 girls and 2 boys" (M., migrant in Serbia – Commune Gogoşu / Village Gogoşu).

The ones that want to venture further, after having worked in Serbia migrate to Western Europe. Their access is facilitated by close relations with the host. This is the case of M. who wants to work in Austria. He tried once to run away to Greece but he did not succeed. Afterwards he worked in Serbia and gained the trust of his employer whose children live in Austria.

"I will go with their private car. We will go to Hungary and then to Austria" (M., migrant to Serbia – Commune Gogoşu / Village Gogoşu).

The existence of social networks has significant consequences for the process of migration. The increase of the number of migrants' is noticeable because of the decrease of risk and the decrease in the cost of migration. Many times the networks

⁷ This is an example of chain migration that can be found in the Romanian, Serbian and Austrian systems of migration. It refers to the specific succession between the emigration of a category of migrants, and the immigration of a different category from another administrative unit (region, country). Another type of migration to be found in the above-mentioned migration systems is the step by step migration. This type of migration has been established based on the way the distance between the origin and the destination is covered by the migrant (Sandu 1989:25). Therefore, the Romanian migrants choose as a first destination Serbia, and afterwards choose further destinations based on the social networks built in the new origin.

become institutionalised due to the persistence of the same key persons over a long period of time on the same route between an origin and a destination.

Development of entrepreneurship activities

The central hypothesis of the article is that migrants invest their money in activities that produce incomes and provide jobs in the village of origin. This is the essential step in community development as the action of the individual has consequences at the level of the entire community, and helps redefine the community.

Very frequently people are interested in quick incomes:

"Migrants invest in something that can produce income very quickly: the small shops, they sell juices, alcohol, chewing gum. There are lots who do this but they are not serious investors ... Now the family of B. is interested in buying a building from the former commune small manufacturing factory.

And what do they want to do there?

A bar, something of this kind" (Mayor Zlătunoaia – Commune Zlătunoaia / Village Zlătunoaia).

The team that conducted the fieldwork in Zlătunoaia found out from the discussions with the vice-mayor that other migrants invested their incomes in new houses, cars, and only later businesses like *butcher shops, bar, restaurants, or shops.*

Regarding the connection with their home, migrants frequently send packages. These are sent through a transport company located in Podu Turcului. The relevant element in the discussion of development is that the company belongs to a former migrant. It appears that the former migrants recognized how it was when they themselves were migrating and that this service would be of value in their communities, and therefore would be sure to make a profit.

Investments in houses, cars, businesses, marriage

"He bought a car from Germany. I don't know how he passed the border with it. What do I know? But, here in the village, the car was a luxury" (Mayor of Zlătunoaia – Commune Lunca / Village Zlătunoaia).

"He built here a house, you can see it. It is not finished yet. It is a kind of white house here in Zlătunoaia. (laughter) And they come here very rarely, but they have the house" (Mayor Zlătunoaia – Commune Lunca / Village Zlătunoaia).

"There is one here who has been in Greece for seven years, and all he buys, everything, he brings here in Zlătunoaia" (Mayor Zlătunoaia – Commune Lunca / Village Zlătunoaia).

"Those who build outside the country, also built houses for themselves here in the village ... someone also built a bread factory. It has modern instalations, ovens brought from Italy, everything ... It should open soon" (Mayor of Zlătunoaia – Commune Lunca / Village Zlătunoaia).

L.M. has a bar here in the village, after having been the first owner of a shop in Atid after 1989. After returning from Hungary, he thought:

"I should go back home, and there I have to start something" (L.M., 34 years old, Hungarian, migrant from the first wave to Hungary – Commune Atid / Village Atid).

In the village Gogoşu, those who have migrated to France, especially opened enterprises in the country. However, these are not ruled by them, but by their close relatives. It is the case of I.B. he lives in France and is the owner of a car repairing company ruled by his brother. He is the first person who left from Gogoşu; it was in the 1980s. Besides the company, I.B. also started building a house. He comes to visit every year and recently he came accompanied by a French friend who started a business in the village. The latter married a woman from Gogoşu. There are also other cases of foreigners (French or Italian) who came every year to visit locals and later married Romanian women.

With the money gained in Serbia, D.T., for example, opened a workshop where he works with his father:

"I did not make too much money in Germany. But, the money I have gained in Serbia ... I put it in this workshop" (D.T., 29 years old, migrant from the first wave to Germany, migrant in Serbia – Commune Jebel / Village Jebel).

L.M. has a bar in the village, after having been the first owner of a shop in Atid wright after 1989. After having worked in Hungary, he thought:

"I should return home, and there I should do something with the money I have gained. In Hungary I made the money to open the bar." (L.M., 34 years old, Hungarian, migrant in the first wave to Hungary – Commune Atid / Village Atid).

After many years spent working outside the country, there are some people who have surpassed their position as unqualified workers and have their own businesses at the destination (they say that these businesses are registered at the City Hall). Most enterprises are in the domain of construction. "The employers" (patron, as this is the word they use, mostly in Jigănești) have one or more teams of Romanian workers. Such enterprises are in Spain. The employer speaks directly with the beneficiary and negotiates the price of the entire work as well as everyday salaries.

There are also workers that are not part of a team and they are recruited in a park in Costlada. In these cases, there is also a Romanian that takes a construction job from a Spaniard and employes other Romanian workers.

"Someone comes and says: I need two men. Who knows how to build? 'Me. You know or you don't? I know. Well, you work tomorrow.

And where were you negotiating, in the park?

No, there where you were working" (T.G., adventist, 57 years old – Commune Jigănești / Village Jigănești).

"Who are theses employers? How many are there, about?

These are boys from Romania, but they have the legal paper, and pretend to be autohtonous ... you understand ...

But is it a legal business?

Yes, it is recorded at the Popular Council there. They are the intermediary between the construction team and the beneficiary. And once they take him, or him, and they say for one day, it is 5-6000, when it was the peseta.

How many teams are there?

There are 2-3 teams, depends on how many projects they have.

Could you be more specific, how many people are there, do they make a lot of money?

There are many boys from Jigănești that have their own enterprise and they make good money.

If you were to think, how many people are there?

There are over 20. Some have their own enterprise, some work for others.

Are they both adventists and ortodox?

They are only adventists.

How come?

They were the first to emigrate. In Coslada, 90% are adventists. They left first. They started emigrating in 91, 92, 93" (T.M., ortodox, 45 years old – Commune Jigănești / Village Jigănești).

At least up to this moment the migrants have not made significant investments in the village communal goods.

"Have any of the people with more money invested in the community goods, lets say in the school ...

No, no. They are not that rich. They cannot afford that much. They do not earn that much as to donate money to the kindergarden ... No, for the moment they are looking, they have left, I told you, out of despair, and when they came back they invested the money in the house to create better conditions for themselves. They do not have yet money that they don't have what to do with and therefore donate it to the community" (Mayor, Commune Jigănești / Village Jigănești).

The exception refers to the adventists that have contributed to the decoration of one of the village churches.

"Yes, for example, our brothers that are working outside the country sent us an amplifier which costs 50-60 milion. They have paid to put a piece of marble at the church entrance. So, when I left Spain, we met at a wedding and we said that we should give money for air conditioning because it is very difficult in summer ..." (T.G., adventist, 62 years old – Commune Jigănești / Village Jigănești).

It results that among those who have an entrepreneurial tendency are to be found both among migrants from the first wave as well as migrants from the following waves. To this the variable of status can be added as well as the level of community development.

The diffusion of innovation and community change : the passage from national to transnational

There is a step from the development of capital at the individual and household level, and the involvement in entrepreneurship activities towards the development of the entire community facilitated by the diffusion of innovation. Only this makes possible the change in community and development. The change is obvious because the interviews were conducted not only with migrants, but also non-migrants, and changes in the behaviour are to be found in both categories. The changes are to be noticed in a few directions like: inhabiting style, consumption behaviour, and the principal income sources. Whether migrants or non-migrants, people adopt a new architectural style in building houses, start consuming products on the market that are dictated by the buying power of the inhabitants and their main source of income is transferred from working the land to entrepreneurship.

Conclusions

This article does not place the emphasis on the migration process in particular, but mostly on the idea that this process brings about considerable changes at the level of the belonging community. The migration phenomenon does not remain without consequences. They can be followed on an axis with the following sequence: absence of places to work, low incomes at the origin, labour request and recruitment on the behalf of the developed countries, temporary migration for work, development and social change in the communities of origin, or on the contrary subsistence and conservatism.

This model can be transferred and applied to the community level. To conclude with, the change in the rural administrative units are triggered by the migration process. In the first phase, the changes are of a quantitative nature, i.e. consumption behavior. Later on, more profound changes appear that mark the life style and the inhabiting conditions and take one step further the investment behavior and the engagement in activities that bring about profit. All these together

lead to changes in the profile of rural communities by passing from field work – as a main source of income – to entrepreneurial activities as sources of income.

One may say that the the social history of a country can be written based on the knowledge of the migration flows: “The social history of a country can be read accurately using migration as a phenomenon that captures the reverberations of multiple social forces. [...] We may say without any hesitation that the internal migration history from the past 50 years in Romania is the history of very relevant social events like the forced cooperatization, the industrialization of the socialist system from the 1970s, the macro-social reorientation towards market economy from the 1990s” (Sandu 1966:55)

The perspective mentioned above has as a variable to be explained concerning the flow of migration; different social events such as industrialization or cooperativisation, which play the role of explicative variables, having triggered different forms of migration. In the case of the present article the situation is reversed, i.e. the international migration plays the role of independent variable that draws the social change and community development; these being the dependent variables. These are more frequent than the conceptual couple conservatism and subsistence.

Migration should be regarded as an evolution between two moments : before and after the actual event. In the same way the other components that accompany migration: economic, social, cultural capitals (the individual level) and the social change that follows migration (community level) need to be analyzed.

From the point of view of the sociologist, the scope of the analysis should not limit itself to observing the behaviour patterns and the relations that cannot be otherwise perceived. Its aim should be to develop models and solutions for action⁸. In the case of migration, social action would be materialised in the state politics with regard to this phenomenon. In order to establish the right policies the state has to know the population to which it addresses, to put it differently, *who are the*

⁸ Such models have been developed and theorized in the Romanian sociology by Dumitru Gusti and Anton Golopentia with regard to the education of the Romanian peasant and rural development. The first is the initiator of the Romanian School of Sociology from the 1930s and the Village Museum, and the latter is a member of this school, renowned demographer and sociologist (Zamfir and Vlasceanu. eds. Dictionary of Sociology. 1997. Bucuresti: Babel, p. 29).

migrants? The interviews conducted in the present research show that these are men with between age 25 and 40, and without a place to work at the origin. Their life strategy is migration, and they disconsider the ensurance system, although later on this will affect them as they are not covered by the assurance pension system. Therefore, the state should develop a flexible ensurance market that would diminish the risk the migrants assume when working abroad.

To add to the previous idea, I must say that the state should not be involved only in increasing the number of migrants by establishing bilateral systems, but it should also create a stable environment in which the migrants can invest their earnings and remittances. "If the public policies and investment encourage local production, the offer can expand and respond to the request of goods and services due to the remittances. This will lead also to investments that in time will create new working places" (Massey et al. 1999:253). To conclude, the state politics represent the vital link between migration and development.

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