

PART 5. FLOWS AND NON-EU EUROPE

Romania

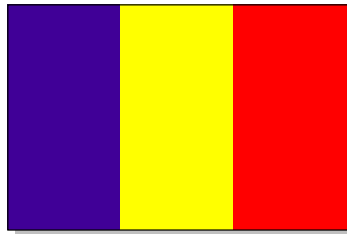


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Romania

1. Introduction¹

A growing number of people from Romania are migrating in different parts of the world in search of better opportunities. The highly skilled labour force represents an important component of Romanian emigrants who are a part of the international migration system.

A better understanding of the main migratory movements occurring at present in Romania needs to investigate the causes of this phenomenon, its quantitative, qualitative and structural dimensions.

It is for the first time that in Romania we are trying to study the emigration problem of higher educated personnel, in spite of difficulties generated by precarious statistical information, confidentiality and the lack of relevant methodologies and research works in this field.

The scale of migration and characteristics of Romanian emigrants, the factors that contribute to migration, the circumstances in which these movements of population are occurring after the collapse of communist regime in Romania have acquired a series of peculiarities related to the new democratic political system in the country as well as to the economic and socio-ethnic situation of the country giving a new saliency to an age-old phenomenon.

The science and technology fragment of contemporary globalisation wave together with the development of multinational corporations are encouraging the unprecedented migratory movements. although. Nowadays ICT are facilitating a new and more consistent sort of movements and contacts between individuals living in different places and countries. High-educated people living in more than one country could be considered as a direct effect of increasing power and requirements of multinational and international corporations.

The challenges and opportunities that current migration pose for government policies are complex and long lasting and oblige to estimate the influence (negative and/or positive) of the simultaneous processes of “brain drain” caused by emigration and “brain gain” as a result of immigration.

One of the main features of the migration in Romania is the freedom of persons to move to other countries, which were granting visa. Romania is equally a country of immigration, emigration and transit.

To varying degrees, flows are both outward and inward-bounded. Immigrants are motivated by current conditions and opportunity for permanent and short-term work in Romania, relatively superior with their opportunities offered elsewhere. Romania is, for example, host for inflows of labour immigrants and asylum-seekers and origin for permanent outflows of ethnic Romanians and other minorities and for temporary outflows of labour migrants, a part of which are high-educated people.

These new aspects of migration phenomena have coincided with Romania’s political, economic and military integration into the EU, and into the European and Transatlantic structures. The building of new migration policies, regulation and institutions in our country has been influenced, to a large extent, by the adoption of West European standards.

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The increased number of emigrants and immigrants from and to Romania is difficult to fully monitor and register. However, the complexity of the problems raised by migration is one of the main causes of the poor statistics in this field. In fact, with this difficulty are confronted many other countries, too.

The most significant migration flows are not often fully recorded especially because of very short-term migrants, irregular migrants or migrants working in informal economy, which cannot be estimated with sufficient rigour and relevance.

The main institutions collecting and processing statistical data on migration in Romania are the Ministry of Interior (Passport Department), National Institute of Statistics and Romanian Office for Labour Force Migration.

Taking into account the new conditions of migration in Romania, the responsible institutions in this field have been confronted with many realities not existing before 1989. That is why, in Romania there are no consistent studies on the topics of migration of H.E persons. The main cause of this situation essentially consists in data lacking or in non reliable statistical records. However, in the last year the situation has improved especially since the negotiations on the related chapters started between Romania and the E. U. (December, 1999).

The statistical harmonisation with EU countries will allow in the future a more correct and comprehensive collection of data and information on migration phenomena in Romania.

In this respect, new concepts, classifications and methodologies for the statistical registration and processing of migration movements have been adopted in Romania, in accordance with the Eurostat procedures. The Statistics Chapter of the Acquis Communautaire has already been negotiated between Romania and EU Commission and temporarily closed.

2. Driving Forces for Migration

The free movement of the persons placed Romania in a new and complex context of international migration, the determinants of which are economically, politically, demographically and culturally relevant.

Investment in human resources and qualifications, and the role of the mobility in creating quality jobs and developing skills are a major driving force of high-skilled population mobility. Empirical analysis and theoretical considerations of migratory flows show that they are determined essentially by two factors: on the one hand, the difference in income and remuneration and prospects of “catching up”; on the other hand, the employment situation in terms of rate of both unemployment and employment.

It is, of course, also necessary to take into account the employment situation, the distance that migrants have to cover, cultural and historical factors and existence of groups of migrants in the host countries (Zaman,2000).

It is well-known that there is a major difference in per capita income in Romania, in comparison with developed countries which represents strong driving force for migration. The transition was accompanied by an explosive decline in the living standard that was another major cause of international movement of labour force. In 1989, an estimated 7% of the population was poor. By 1994, the poverty rate ranged between 22-39%, and from 1997 to 2001 it has increased to over 44% (National Human Development Report, Romania 2001-2002). At

present, around 28% of population in Romania is living under poverty line.

The minimum salary, intended as a basic guarantee of the dignity of labour has fallen dramatically from 1989 level, and the proportion of those earning the minimum salary or close to it, has increased sharply. It is well known that there is a major difference in per capita income in Romania, in comparison with developed European countries. In 2000 average level of wage was 127.7\$/ month, that is several times lower than in developed countries. For a general view of this situation, we may see in Table 1, the level of wages of the Romanian workers with temporary permit abroad (in first quarter of 2003) in some Western European Countries. In R&D and computer science activities the medium net level of wage is at present less than 300\$, much lower than in developed countries (Table 1).

Country	Number of workers	Field of activity	Length of contract (months)	Average monthly wage/ worker (Euro)
Germany	6,473	- seasonal agriculture	3	670
		- agriculture	18	1200
		-seasonal gastronomy	3	670
		- gastronomy	18	1200
		- health	18	1200
Spain	4,195	- seasonal agriculture	3	670
		- agriculture	12	700
		- industry	12	1000
		- construction	12	1000
		- services	12	800
Switzerland	33	- health	18	3081
		- hotels	18	3081
		- agriculture	18	3081
Hungary	9	- machine building	12	300
		- agriculture	6	300

Source: Romanian Office for Labour Force Migration

Another determinant of migration is the large number of unregistered unemployed, who are not receiving any benefits. Despite the decreasing of unemployment rate (8.3% in 2002 in comparison with 11.8% in 1999) the number of persons not having a job is very high. At the end of February 2003, the number of totally unemployed who was receiving benefits was 798,744 and a number of 416,098 persons did not receive such a benefit because they were unregistered.

To varying degrees, flows are both outward and inward-bounded. Immigrants are motivated by current conditions and opportunity for permanent and short-term work in Romania, relatively superior with their opportunities offered elsewhere. Romania is, for example, host for inflows of labour immigrants and asylum-seekers, and origin for permanent outflows of ethnic Romanians and other minorities, and for temporary outflows of labour migrants a part of which are higher-educated people.

Temporary rather than permanent migration mainly for work purpose, is typical for Romania. The new inflow of workers have occurred, polarised between the highly skilled and those finding niches at bottom end of the labour market (Chinese, Turks etc.).

In expert's opinion, in Romania, most foreigners work illegally. In 1998, only 1335 foreign citizens were working in Romania with work permit, coming mainly from Turkey, Lebanon and various Western European countries. In 1999, 7300 foreigners staying illegally in Romania (Gheorghiu, 2000).

Improving skills and managerial capabilities, especially of young and relatively young people, is also a driving force of labour moving out of Romania. Many students, postgraduate and postdoctoral students belong to this sort of migrations.

3. Regulation of Temporary Migration

The greatest success of Romania's foreign policy in 2001 was the abolition of visa requirements for its citizens to the Schengen Agreement countries. The direct consequence of the lifting of Schengen visa restrictions has been a sudden boom in the number of Romanian citizens seeking work abroad by respecting certain legal requirements of Schengen regulations (Gheorghiu, 2000).

The Government admits that regulating the exodus of labour towards the West is an absolute necessity. Consequently, the Office for Labour Force Migration was set up in 2001, as a Department of the Labour and Social Protection Ministry. The Office is in charge of ensuring the compliance with all legal requirements set by the bilateral labour treaties. Romania has signed bilateral labour agreements with: Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Israel, Hungary and, in the next future, new arrangements will be signed with some other host countries.

If for the less skilled Romanian workers employed abroad there are special regulations and agreements at the governmental level, the migration of highly qualified labour force from Romania did not need any regulation.

Within the framework of the Romanian-German agreement, for example, over 19,000 Romanian workers were legally employed by German businesses in 2001, 19,350 in 2002 and 6,395 received the permit to work temporarily in Germany in the 1st quarter of 2003. The major part of temporary workers in Germany (51%) is 25-30 years old and 23.11% are 35-45 years old. One-third of this temporary migrant labour force is coming from the Central regions of Romania where the German influence was important for long time thanks to the coexistence of Romanians and Germans for centuries. Another third of migrants has been recruited from West and Northwest regions of Romania.

It should be worth to mention that these areas with high migrating potential of Romania are, in fact, more developed and with a relatively low level of unemployment.. The selection of labour force temporarily working in Germany has been oriented to the jobless not receiving unemployment benefits. The share of emigrating employed people was around 33.32% and only a small number of temporary emigrants to Germany were workers with low level of education. Almost 90% of the total number of emigrants to Germany with a temporary permit of labour were Romanians and 8.8% Hungarians, and the rest were Germans and Ukrainians. Most of migrants have been employed in agriculture (76% in 2002 and 74% in 2003). A share of 66% of the recruited persons had worked before in Germany. The number of Germans who received the temporary permit of work in Romania was incomparably smaller (78 persons), most of them being of 25-35 years old.

Between Romania and Spain there is an arrangement concerning the temporary migration of workers. In the first quarter of 2003, 4424 persons received temporary work permit, of which, 88% were women.

The number of Romanian migrants, illegally working abroad it is not known. According to some estimates about 20,000 Romanians are working in Israel. According to Spanish Labour Ministry estimates in Spain about 80,000 Romanians are living, of which 50% are working

illegally in construction and housekeeping. Among the migrants to Western European countries, there are persons with higher education level who have accepted a job inferior to the level of their education, and some others got a job after graduating higher education programmes in Western countries.. Finding a job abroad on the Internet is becoming a more and more common practice in Romania.

Although there is no bilateral arrangement between Romania and Finland on temporary working, 45 Romanian workers are hired today by the Nokia company. They are graduates in Informatics, Electronics and Telecommunications in Romania. A similar situation may be noticed in Sweden, USA, Canada and some other countries. Specialists in human resources from abroad are recognising that Romanian ICT engineers hold a position in this field.

As an argument in favour of this opinion could be the example of the Microsoft company where 200 Romanians are employed and Princeton University where 37 Romanians are studying. Today in Canada several thousands of Romanian immigrants with ICT higher education diploma are working at prestigious ICT companies or are deploying their own business in this field. For instance, in Toronto there is at least one Romanian IT specialist working in companies with not more than 50 employees. The Romanian engineers and physicians are frequently employed in Canada and have a good reputation (Capital, No.12/2002).

Despite the efforts of Romanian Government and host countries, experts estimate an increasing number of both short and medium-term illegal Romanian workers in Western Europe. The same estimates reveal that several hundred thousands of legal and illegal workers from Romania are deploying a paid activity abroad.

4. Emigration Trends Over the 1980 to 2000 Period

The scale of migration and characteristics of the Romanian emigrants, the factors that contribute to migration, the circumstances in which these movements of population are occurring after the collapse of the communist regime in Romania have acquired several peculiarities related to the new democratic political system in the country, as well as to the economic and socio-ethnic situation of the country, giving a new saliency to an age-old phenomenon.

The universal characteristics of the science and technology, globalisation are boosting the migratory movements of science intensive labour force. By year 2000, more than 70,527 HE Romanians have celebrated the beginning of the new millennium outside their country of birth (Table 2).

Periods	Total number	of which:			
		Engineers and Architects	Medical, Doctors, Pharmacist	Economists	Other professions
1980–1989	34,410	13,357	5,087	2,570	13,396
1990–2000	36,117	19,122	4,466	4,937	7,592
1980–2000	70,527	32,479	9,553	7,507	20,988

Source: National Institute of Statistics and own estimation

Most of the emigrants from Romania are legal residents of their new countries, but a certain

minority is living there illegally. The number of illegal emigrants is varying and there is non-reliable statistics in this domain.

As regards the evolution of total number of emigrants with higher-education by categories of profession, one can draw the following findings:

- The total number of higher-educated emigrants from Romania is quasi equal for the both sub-periods 1980–1989 and 1990–2000; this is an argument supporting the idea of the permanent migration as an international phenomenon in spite of all types of obstacles encountered under the communist period;
- A higher number of emigrants was registered in the case of engineers and architects (less than 50% of the total number of emigrants) and economists, during the period 1990-2000, as compared with the previous period; this structural change in emigration over the transition period is explained by the fact that these categories of professions have a higher demand in developed countries, where they are anyway better paid than in Romania;
- In each professional category, in 1990 the number of emigrants significantly increased in the first years of the communism collapse; afterwards in the last years, it seems that emigration from Romania is stabilised at a so-called, “normal” limits.

An examination of data over the whole analysed period (1980–2000) indicates that international migration from and to Romania continued, at about the same rate in the 1990s with a peak-exception for year 1990-1992. Less than 0.3 percent of Romania’s higher educated population has been living abroad for a year or longer. From here the conclusion that, from a quantitative viewpoint, the propensity to move internationally, particularly in the absence of compelling reasons (economic long-lasting crisis, political instability, high rate of unemployment, reduced opportunities and lack of attractive prospects in the home country) is limited to a relatively small proportion of Romanians.

On the other hand, despite the modest proportion of high-educated emigrants as compared with the total population of Romania, this emigration is in fact a loss of high-qualified persons for whose formal education Romania has invested a long time without being the beneficiary of the expected return.

In the first decade of the period 1980–2000, the category of **forced emigrants** represented an important share in the whole number of emigrants. They were leaving Romania to escape persecution by the communist regime, conflicts, natural and human-made discomfort or other factors endangering their lives, livelihood or freedom in general. Over the second decade of the analysed period, the number of so-called forced emigrants substantially decreased as a result of Romania’s transition to democracy, free entrepreneurship, observance of human rights, plury-partitism, and to observing and guaranteeing private property rights. On the other hand, the democratic regime in Romania, established after 1989, has allowed the intensification of the **voluntary emigration** including persons who emigrate abroad for better employment and career, study, family reunification or other personal goals. However the difference between voluntary and forced emigration is difficult to be made.

Longer-term voluntary Romanian emigrants could be conventionally be divided into three major groups:

- emigrants searching better paid job abroad;

- higher-educated family members of early emigrants (family reunification);
- postgraduate emigrants/students trying to upgrade their professional and instruction level (specialisation, MBA, doctorate, etc.).

The first category of voluntary emigrants is the most numerous. There are several more or less formal ways of recruitment and employment of Romanian higher-educated persons interested and accepted to work abroad. In Romania, there is no clear regulation concerning the activity of foreign “head-hunters”. However, recipient countries have well-established systems and mechanisms for admission of foreign workers for permanent settlement. Generally, for highly skilled Romanian emigrants, employers find few barriers to entry. For less-skilled emigrants, in turn, barriers and formal admission are very restrictive. Between Romania and a limited number of developed Western countries official labour programs and contracting systems are operating in an effectively regulatory and promising way.

The voluntary emigrants are simply searching for a better paid job, giving up their basic education, skill and training (brain waste). They usually accept lower level skills (fruits and vegetables picking, garments manufacturing, meat and poultry processing, nursing, gardening, restaurant and hotel cleaning, children and elderly nursing, providing other services, etc.).

Besides the legal ways of entry for labour migrants, there also is the clandestine emigration, which is very hard to find statistically, being a part of the black labour market.

Family reunification is another type of voluntary emigration supported by the international human rights law (Castles and Miller, 1998). Family reunion was in 1970s and 1980s major factor of emigration abroad in particular of Jewish and German ethnic groups.

Part of the postgraduates and students are one of the smallest but nevertheless important groups of emigrants. Western European countries, the USA and Canada remain the main destination of Romanian students, trainees for a doctor’s degree and scientific researchers. Engineering, business management, science information technology and communications are the major domains attracting abroad Romanian scholars and students.

A part of postgraduates and students receiving their education abroad do not return to the country of origin which suffers from brain loss while the recipient (host) country takes advantage under the form of brain gain.

If the emigrant students postgraduate for a doctoral program and can be a bridge between the two countries developing mutually profitable relations, the above-mentioned loss at least partly balanced.

The main causes of voluntary migration (Massey,1993) are:

- differentials in wages and employment conditions between Romania and developed countries which allow for income and utility maximisation;
- a household decision taken to minimise risks to family income or to overcome capital constraints on family production activities;
- economic globalisation and market penetration.

4.1 Emigration by Gender

Gender differentiation of emigrants can be determined by many of causes and circumstances stemming from economic, social, professional, behavioural, moral, religious, ethnic and historical area (Table 3).

Periods	Total number	Of which:	
		Female	Male
1980–1989	34,410	17,551	16,859
1990–2000	36,117	19,012	17,105
1980–2000	70,527	36,563	33,964

Source: See Table 1.

A general overview of emigration by gender as presented in this study actually needs a more in-depth analysis. The lack of necessary information makes us to limit very severely our factorial analysis.

Over the transition period, the number of female emigrants was higher as compared with the male emigrants. This is a new trend of emigration if we take into consideration that before 1989 the situation was just opposite.

The feminisation of emigration flows over the last decade is one of the most significant trends, while before 1989 male emigration prevailed. Many of new female emigrants, wage earners (sometimes representing the principal income), proved a greater propensity to move.

In recent years, the increasing feminisation of the emigration from Romania has become a key characteristic of migration (Castles and Miller, 1998). The emigrant women have outnumbered men, being more adaptive and flexible in the new context of the destination country. According to the estimates, for example, more than 50 percent of emigrants are women with higher education, employed primarily in the receiving countries in domains not corresponding to their qualification level and usually relatively low paid.

A year by year analysis of emigrants by gender reveals that (Annex 2A and 2B) male emigrants were exceeding females only in the first years of the transition period, when higher educated men were more eager and determined to emigrate in the beginning without spouses. After being employed or finding an affordable job abroad the male emigrants called the spouses and other member of the family to join them.

4.2. Age of the Emigrants

The age is an extremely important emigration factor to both destination country and the country of origin.

As shown in Table 4, over the period 1990-2000, the 26-40 age group accounted for more than 57% of the total number of emigrants. This group of population is the most inclined to go abroad to set up a new life and way of living, having the strongest potential to learn and to be integrated into a new social context.

Periods	Total number	Of which:			
		26 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	over 60
1980 – 2989	34,410	16,520	6,572	5,199	6,199
%	100.0	48.0	19.1	15.1	17.8
1990 – 2000	36,117	20,721	6,310	4,190	4,896
%	100.0	57.4	17.5	11.6	13.6
1980 – 2000	70,527	37,241	12,882	9,389	11,015
%	100.0	52.8	18.3	13.3	15.6

Source: See the Table 1.

The propensity for emigration is a complex function of the age group. As a rule, relatively young and well-qualified male persons are more able to emigrate in comparison with the older age groups. This is a question of initiative, professional expectations and adaptation to a new economic and social environment.

4.3. Nationality of Emigrants and Country of Destination

During the history of Romania, several minority populations have immigrated, the most important emigrating ethnic groups being Hungarians, Germans and Jews. After centuries of coexistence with majority Romanian inhabitants these ethnic groups wished to emigrate to their countries of origin especially after the World War II.

In this respect the major part of the German and Jewish populations emigrated before 1989 (see Table 5). By 1989, 1990, 1991 the number of German and Hungarian emigrants increased. They were especially persons who were not been allowed or did not dare to express their wish to leave Romania in the communist period. An important part of emigrants with higher education belonging to national minorities left Romania for joining their family abroad and more suitable national environment.

Period	Total number	Of which:				
		Romanians	Germans	Hungarians	Jews	Other ethnic groups
1980–1989	34,410	12,634	14,761	4,829	1,450	736
%	100.0	36.7	42.9	14.0	4.2	2.2
1990–2000	36,117	23,509	8,012	3,866	294	436
%	100.0	65.1	22.2	10.7	0.8	1.2
1980–2000	70,527	36,143	22,773	8,695	1,744	1,172
%	100.0	51.2	32.3	12.3	2.5	1.7

Source: See Table 1.

The most of the emigrants (more than 65 percent of all) from Romania, over the period 1990–2000, were Romanians, followed by Germans and Hungarians with much more modest percentage shares. As compared with 1980–1989 periods, during the transition period the number of Romanian emigrants has almost doubled. This mass emigration of highly qualified Romanian people, especially by 1990–1992, was a consequence of the restrictive regime of emigration over the communist period, of worsening standard of living and of the high social costs of transition. Economic decline in Romania by 1990–1993 years affected a lot of professions, in particular engineers who preferred to leave their country in searching of a job

abroad instead of staying in Romania as an unemployed or a low paid employee for a job not matching to their skill.

Period	Total number	Austria	Canada	France	Israel	Italy	Germany	USA	Other countries
1980-1989	34,410	1,098	895	560	1,748	3,353	17,919	4,064	7,773
%	100.0	3.2	2.6	1.7	5.1	1.0	51.8	11.8	22.8
1990-2000	36,117	2,253	3,133	1,778	708	2,481	13,481	4,132	8,151
%	100.0	6.2	8.7	9.9	1.9	6.9	37.3	11.4	22.5
1980-2000	70,527	3,351	4,028	2,338	2,456	2,834	31,400	8,196	16,029
%	100.0	4.8	5.7	3.3	3.5	4.0	44.4	11.6	22.7

Source: The same at the table no.1.

We expect a substantial decrease in the number of the German emigrants and a relative increase for Romanians, taking into consideration that since January 2002 Romania joined the Schengen country area.

The EU countries are the largest recipients of Romanian migrants. Other significant receiving countries include the USA, Canada and Australia. As a general rule, the industrialised prosperous countries, in particular, experienced a significant growth in their Romanian immigrants.

Germany had the most important potential for immigrants' absorption, during the whole period, mainly due to the relative large number of German ethnic population leaving Romania.

Over the period 1990–2000 as against the period 1980–1989, the migration to the USA, Canada, Austria and Italy is increasing in absolute and relative terms. This tendency is more obvious in the last years of the period 1990–2000. The stock of potential emigration of Jewish and German ethnic groups seriously decreased due to the massive emigration before 1989.

In the recent years one may notice a weak tendency of returning to Romania of Germans and Jews interested to set up a private initiative or to recover and use their former properties.

5. Emigration Patterns in 2001

The number of emigrants from Romania in 2001 represents a small percentage of the total population (0.04%) and it shows a declining tendency, the boom of emigration being registered in the first year of the transition.

The analysis of **emigrant structure by professions** reveals that migrates with higher education - engineers, architects, physicians, and economists - represent an important share (27.5%) of the total number of emigrants, more than workers' share. The other categories of persons (42.3%) are mainly including children and youngsters up to twenty years (30.5%) and old persons (8.2%). In the category of higher educated people, the number of engineers is predominant and exceeds three times the number of teachers and economists separately taken. Those professional components of Romanian emigrants reflect the demand structure of labour force in the host countries and, the potential labour force offered abroad by

Romanians (Table 7).

Table 7. Emigrant structure by professions in 2001.		
	Number of emigrants	% in total emigrants
Engineers, architects	1,543	15.5
Physicians, chemists	192	1.9
Teachers	540	5.5
Economists	456	4.6
Artists, musicians	44	0.5
Technicians, foremen	289	2.9
Workers	2,655	26.8
Other	4,202	42.3
Total	9,921	100.0
Source: National Institute of Statistics		

Some nuances have to be outlined regarding the use of emigrant labour force from Romania in the country of destination, taking into account the profile and level of their education and expertise. For instance, a higher number of engineers, architects, physicians and chemists continue their work for which they are skilled while teachers and economists are ready, in a higher proportion, to change their speciality for another better paid job. For instance, but not fully corresponding to their qualification higher educated persons accept to be employed as labourers, servants, gas station attendants, cleaners, baby-sitters, and so on.

The migration of higher educated people from Romania is usually considered as a loss in financial and human terms.. Their capacity to innovate and create is used in other countries than in the country where they have been trained. In the same way, but at a lower level, the problem of loss for Romania can be also considered in relation to other categories of profession, such as technicians, foremen and workers.

As a **counterpart** of the above-mentioned loss, we can however take into consideration some advantages from these emigration movements consisting of:

- remittances to relatives in Romania, even if these are not regular and are bigger than those transferred by temporary workers abroad;
- the ease of scientific and business relationship between Romania as a country of origin and host countries where emigrants are employed;
- there is certain number of returnees who bring with them a better behaviour, aptitudes and capability of work, as a result of accumulated experience in more developed countries, with higher level of professional performance;
- emigration can be considered, at least for some categories of professions, a factor of alleviating unemployment pressure on the labour market in Romania.

Gender characteristics of migrant populations in Romania revealed the following main aspects in 2001:

- in the total number of emigrants, the gender proportion are almost balanced: half male and half female;
- an unbalanced situation in favour of males is registered for engineers and architects

(65.8%);

- females are preponderant in the case of physicians, chemists, teachers and economists and is an increasing the number of women, especially those who migrate on their own, being the main wage earners for themselves and their families. Migrant women are often facing discrimination because of their status, both as a migrant and as a woman. That is why part of migrant women, after a certain period of staying abroad are coming back home to a greater extent than men. Women are increasingly pursuing educational opportunities working outside of home, generating incomes and remittances to their families living in the countries of origin. At the same time women are gaining greater autonomy through education and work and migrate as applicants for work abroad. The migration of woman in several cases is determined by the desire of family, reunifying in the country of destination (Table 8).

Age group	Total	Engineers & Architects	Physicians & Chemists	Teachers	Economists
20 – 24	0.7	0.7	-	0.9	0
25 – 29	14.5	14.8	5	20.4	7.5
30 – 34	17.6	38.8	25.0	24.4	31.8
35 – 39	8.7	17.8	27.1	16.3	21.3
40 – 44	6.9	15.5	17.7	7.6	7.9
45 – 49	3.8	4.7	8.3	6.11	7.0
50 – 59	2.3	2.3	6.2	6.3	5.7
Together 20-59	54.5	94.6	84.8	79.0	81.2

Age structure. It is generally recognised that people with the best capacity of work and the most creative entrepreneurial capabilities are preferred abroad thanks to their flexibility and capacity of adaptation to the new circumstances (Table 9).

Age group	Total	Engineers & Architects	Physicians & Chemists	Teachers	Economists
20 – 24	0.7	0.7	-	0.9	0
25 – 29	14.5	14.8	5	20.4	7.5
30 – 34	17.6	38.8	25.0	24.4	31.8
35 – 39	8.7	17.8	27.1	16.3	21.3
40 – 44	6.9	15.5	17.7	7.6	7.9
45 – 49	3.8	4.7	8.3	6.11	7.0
50 – 59	2.3	2.3	6.2	6.3	5.7
Together 20-59	54.5	94.6	84.8	79.0	81.2

According to our statistical analysis of the professional categories of emigrants by age groups, the most important percentage for all categories of professions is held by the age groups where migrants have graduated and acquired the necessary practical experience in their speciality. Additionally, in these age groups we can see the most fertile period of creativity and innovation.

Another reason for preponderant migration at this age is the remaining span of time for the active period of life which allows the migrants to make an outstanding carrier and to get a

better position in the society, in the financial, material and, maybe, political terms.

Regional dimension of the Romanian emigration proves the close relation among the economic, social, ethnic and historical characteristics of each county and the magnitude of flows leaving Romania for another country.

Romania's counties analysis, as a specific source for migration, indicates that Bucharest (the capital of Romania) was and still is the main factor contributing to the migration flow with the most important share (18.2%) in spite of relatively low rate of unemployment (less than 6%). However, in absolute terms, the number of unemployed people is relatively high in Bucharest as compared to other counties. Taking into consideration that Bucharest accounts for 10% of the total population of Romania and 80% of the total R&D personnel, we may assess that the capital of Romania is the most important supplier of highly qualified migrating persons.

Other six counties (Brasov, Mures, Timis, Cluj, Bihor, Sibiu), characterised by a relatively reduced rate of unemployment and relatively high level of development, hold an important share (28.2%) in all emigrants in 2001 (Table 10).

We point out that counties with a higher rate of unemployment and a low level of development are not a strong source of emigrants, except some cases concerning the emigration of unskilled labour force.

Most of the emigrants today are Romanians (90.9%), the rest being distributed between Hungarians (6.5%) and Germans (1.4%). At the beginning of the transition period, the share of German and Hungarian ethnics migrating from Romania was higher.

A number of economic and political factors in countries of destination underlies the attraction of Romanian migrants: the level of development, opportunities for getting a better remunerated job, regulation of migration policies, opportunities for social and economic integration, geographical and climate environment.

Before 1990, the major flow of emigrants from Romania consisted of Jews, Germans and Hungarians who decided to return to their countries of origin for the family reunifying reasons. Beside these groups at that time there was a major flow of Romanian refugees and asylum seekers who were illegally leaving Romania, namely for political reasons.

The main destination for Romanian emigration was Western European countries. In the last years of transition there was a shift from Western European countries to the USA and Canada (Table 11).

Table 10. Emigrants by counties and nationalities in 2001							
Counties	Total	Romanians	Germans	Hungarians	Jews	Roma population	Others
Number	9,921	9,023	143	647	72	16	20
Alba	1.2	1.3	-	0.5	-	-	-
Arad	2.7	2.6	7.0	3.9	1.4	-	5
Arges	1.5	1.6	-	-	-	-	-
Bacau	3.1	3.4	-	0.2	6.9	-	-
Bihor	3.2	2.8	0.7	9.4	5.5	-	-
Bistrita-Nasaud	1.1	1.2	-	0.3	-	-	-
Botosani	0.9	0.9	-	-	4.2	-	-
Brasov	6.4	6.5	19.6	2.6	1.4	-	-
Braila	0.8	0.9	-	-	-	-	-
Buzau	0.9	1.0	-	0.1	-	-	-
Caras-Severin	1.5	1.5	7.0	-	1.4	-	20
Calarasi	0.5	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
Cluj	5.4	4.9	0.7	12.8	11.1	-	-
Constanta	2.6	2.8	-	-	-	-	15
Covasna	0.7	0.3	-	6.2	2.7	-	-
Dambovita	0.9	1.0	-	0.15	-	-	-
Dolj	2.3	2.5	-	-	-	-	-
Galati	1.6	1.7	-	-	5.5	-	-
Giurgiu	0.2	0.8	-	-	-	-	-
Gorj	0.3	0.3	-	-	-	-	-
Harghita	1.6	0.9	-	19.6	-	-	-
Hunedoara	1.7	1.8	-	0.3	2.7	-	-
Ialomita	0.5	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
Iasi	3.4	3.7	-	0.15	5.5	-	15
Ifov	0.4	0.4	-	-	-	-	-
Maramures	2.0	1.9	2.8	3.9	-	-	10
Mehedinti	0.5	1.0	-	-	-	-	-
Mures	4.3	2.0	11.9	35.4	4.2	-	-
Neamt	3.8	4.0	-	0.15	11.1	-	5
Olt	0.5	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
Prahova	2.6	2.8	-	-	2.7	-	-
Satu Mare	2.7	2.5	4.2	5.4	-	-	5
Salaj	1.3	1.2	-	3.2	1.4	-	-
Sibiu	2.9	2.7	23.8	1.1	2.7	-	-
Suceava	5.0	5.5	-	0.15	1.4	-	5
Teleorman	0.6	0.6	-	-	-	-	-
Timis	6.0	5.8	21.7	2.2	8.3	100	20
Tulcea	0.6	0.6	-	-	-	-	-
Vaslui	0.5	0.6	-	-	-	-	-
Valcea	1.2	1.3	-	-	-	-	-
Vrancea	1.6	1.8	-	-	1.4	-	-
Bucharest	1.2	19.8	0.7	0.8	18.0	-	10
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 11. Structure of emigrants by countries and level of education (selected countries with high intensity of Romanian immigrants) %		
	Higher-Education	High school and postlyceum education
Australia	0.7	0.3
Austria	1.2	2.4
Belgium	0.8	1.3
Canada	54.4	13.4
Switzerland	0.8	1.0
France	2.6	3.6
Germany	5.3	12.4
Greece	0.5	1.4
Ireland	0.3	1.2
Israel	2.3	3.1
Italy	3.0	24.6
Great Britain	0,96	0.9
Holland	1.4	0.4
Spain	0.4	3.8
USA	15.95	16.6
Hungary	4.7	9.6
Total number	2,688	2,940

As a proof of the above-mentioned tendency destination preference of Romanian emigrants is shown in Table 10, indicating that higher-educated persons preferred to emigrate to Canada (54.4%) and the USA (15.95%). These orientations of emigrants have the following motivation:

- Canada is a country with a very well settled system of selection and integration policies for immigrants;
- USA are a host country where the integration of the immigrants is largely implemented at the level of firms and local authorities;
- The Romanian Diaspora in both Canada and USA play an important role in attracting new immigrants from Romania.

6. Immigration Characteristics and Trends in Romania

Transition to the market economy was a major factor contributing to the tremendous increase in immigration to Romania.. The repatriates (namely the persons who for economic, social or personal reasons have voluntarily resettled in country of their citizenship or origin for the purpose of permanent residence) from Republic of Moldova to Romania constitute by far the largest immigration group in Romania. Some of them (less than 15% according to our estimates) are higher educated persons, relatively better paid in Romania than in their country of origin.

Collecting accurate data on immigration flows in Romania is still quite difficult. As many Romanian governments have little interest in migration, trends are not well documented and widely varying definitions make it extremely difficult to compare. For example, the National Institute of Statistics defines the immigrant as a person who has a stable residence in Romania (repatriates and foreign persons who receive Romanian citizenship) while the statistical evidence of the Ministry of Interior takes into consideration all the foreigners who stay in Romania more than 120 days.

Although during the transition period the economic situation in Romania was not so good (six years of modest and fragile growths and six years of economic decline) the immigration, for different reasons, had the stamp of the main characteristics of the economic and social changes.

According to the data from the Minister of Interior, the main categories of immigrants into Romania on the short term were:

- Specialists granting technical assistance;
- Associates and employees with labour permit;
- Scholars, students, postgraduates (or other specialists providing technical assistance and consultancy, related to the implementation of different international programs);
- Professors and teaching personnel and trainers. (Table 12).

Foreigners who stay more than 120 days in Romania	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Specialists for technical assistance	2,887	3,736	4,450	5,762	6,509
Associates and employees with work permit	32,710	28,144	25,957	28,272	29,735
Scholars and students	18,935	18,739	17,398	17,443	21,289
Teachers and training personnel	520	618	566	537	553
Persons acting in humanitarian and religion field	2,600	2,583	2,516	2,729	3,018
Others	7,103	5,601	4,254	7,103	8,112
Total	64,755	59,421	55,141	61,876	69,216
Source: Data from the Ministry of Interior					

The data in the Table 11 cover all the foreigners; the level of their education can be only partially deduced by each category. The highest percentage of H. E. immigrants occurs in the following professional categories: specialists for technical assistance, and teachers and training personnel. These two categories represent only 5.3% of the total immigrants.

As a rule, higher educated immigrants in Romania are beneficiaries of a series of facilities, such as: accommodation, better wages, and fiscal incentives. In comparison with some other relatively developed Central European countries, Romania cannot be considered as an affluent country for higher-educated people. Rather, it could be considered as an affluent country for transit migrations, seasonal, cross-border individual or contract-based employment for lower educated people.

The relatively large shadow-economy and the lack of strict regulation in the first years of transition, it is rather easy to employ foreigners illegally and this is a factor attracting immigrant workers in Romania. In 2000, the immigrants with work permission represented 42.9% of the total number of immigrants. It still is a large number of unregistered foreign employed persons.

Relatively little attention has been paid to the statistics of immigration in Romania because most of immigrants are still perceived as transit persons. Romania has encouraged the policy of integrating low-income foreigners but the possibility of financial and material support is limited.

An important number of the foreign residents became “repatriates” in Romania as a result of

legislation, which permits them to obtain their former properties. One-third of these repatriates are Western residents with higher-qualification skills (Georgescu, 2001).

A large number of foreign citizens are actively contributing to the rising of knowledge level in Romania. These are teachers and professors of foreign languages for whom in the 1990s the demand was very high.. This type of immigrants were working informally on the short term, and their number cannot be estimated.

About 150,000 citizens from the Republic of Moldova got Romanian citizenship over the period 1990-2000. Most of them remained however in the Republic of Moldova, the Romanian passport being considered rather an insurance against the unstable future of their country.

We consider the wave of emigration from Romania cannot continue at a growing pace because:

- the experience of the first year of transition did not confirmed the expected upsurge of emigration;
- the financial conditions legally imposed to persons leaving Romania, which are difficult to be met;
- the severe supervision of the borders security and of the behaviour of the Romanian residents inside the Schengen area.

From the results of our mini questionnaires on immigration into Romania it turns out that the number of high-educated immigrants increased mainly as a consequence of the following influencing factors:

- business start-ups and foreign-direct investments;
- consultancy activity;
- multinational corporation branches and subsidiaries;
- repatriation of former emigrants who are beneficiaries of property restitution law.

The predominance of male immigrants, in comparison with female ones, was an other tendency of Romania migration over the period 1990-2000, with the exception of year 1991.

The following preliminary estimations for higher-education immigration in Romania could be drawn:

- most of the immigrants belong to the 26-40 age group, followed by the 41-50 group and the 15-25 group;
- during the period 1991-2000, the largest number of immigrants was recorded in 1997-2000, as a consequence of the improvement in legislation and of growing inflow of repatriates receiving their former properties;
- the main source of immigration in Romania are Republic of Moldova, Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, and the USA.
- the increasing number of immigrants with the residence in Romania is also a result of the permission for double citizenship right;
- according to the data from the Ministry of Interior, the largest part of foreigners in

Romania is represented by two categories of professions: associated and employees with work permit (over 41%) and persons studying in Romania (30.1%).

7. Demographic, Economic and Social Impacts

The economic impact of emigration on Romania as country of origin is complex and its effects are both **negative and positive**.

The demographic impact of emigration source country is negative, because of the population decline. Young emigrants can affect age distribution what needs measures to offset the ageing of the population, a process already underway.

Promoting labour export, as a matter of economic policy, followed by the government, has as a result a certain amount of remittances to the country of origin. The decision to remit and the amount remitted varies depending on the location of family members, earnings abroad, costs of migration, destination country, living expenses, duration of stay, etc.

To a certain degree, remittances are important to national economy as an additional source of free currency income. Most of the money transfers are used for daily expenses for consumption (food, clothing, health care, improving housing) and only a smaller proportion goes into savings and investments (purchasing real estates, land or starting business, agriculture equipment, vehicles and so on). The improving consumption in turn has a positive influence on economic development, stimulating economic activity by creating increased demand for goods and services.

Although the economic benefits of remittances are clear, they may have negative consequences also due to the fact that high emigration rates dissuade investment caused by the diminishing available and unreliable workforce.

Emigration may be simultaneously both a gain and a loss in terms of human capital formation, and brain drain. The loss of human resources is the most detrimental to Romania, if we take into account emigration from the sectors of information technology, communications and positive sciences.

The loss of human capital could be estimated by evaluating the costs of education, health, and social infrastructure incurred throughout the life of individuals to achieve an economically active person in good working conditions.

Benefits in the form of productivity gains from work experience during the period of migration, the acquired experience abroad may be used in the country of origin. Direct or indirect emigrants can make explicit use of their experience gained abroad, stimulate economic growth at home (computer scientists and programmers link IT companies from host and origin countries), by developing businesses in Romania and bridging the international cooperation.

Emigration may generate many challenges to the social structures of communities and families with large number of emigrants. Relations between spouses, parents and children may suffer from the absences of fathers leaving families in a vulnerable situation. Remaining at home wives fulfil new duties within the household.

In the 1990s, the transit migration traffic has grown throughout Romania because borders were poorly guarded (lack of necessary logistics, expertise and experience).

The number of unauthorized migrants with higher education was however relatively low.

With the assistance of EU, the institutional and operational capacity to combat migrant trafficking in Romania was at present substantially improved.

One may say that today's Romania has better secured borders and is to a lesser extent a source country for migrants seeking to enter EU without authorization. The decline in the number of attempted unauthorised border crossing to Romania since 1999 is related both to the change in the natural of migration pressures in the region Balkan region, relative stability and substantial improvements in the capacity and competence of involved institutions to detect unauthorised population movements. Romanian's membership to the Schengen area represents a new stimulus for a more effective and reliable control of borders in general and attempted unauthorised migration in particular.

8. Conclusions

1. The main factors for the decision to emigrate from Romania are:
 - the desire to improve standard of living having in view the low level of per capita income in Romania; the economic decline in and the worsening of the living standard in Romania during the transition period contributed to the increase in the number of migrants;
 - the lack of opportunity at home to improve in a short time the economic and financial position;
 - better prospects for professional carrier abroad and more adequate scientific climate and technological endowment for future development of creative capacity;
2. Comparisons between brain-gain and brain-loss are indicating the predominance of the losses.
3. The regulation of migration movements between Romania and different European countries is becoming at present an important instrument for securing the process.
4. Migration is a significant factor in facilitating the Romanian integration into EU.
5. Intensification of globalisation processes is a favourable factor for widespread migration movements using new technologies for information and communication.
6. Romania counts on remittances as an essential source of foreign exchange (2 billions in 2002) especially from workers abroad with temporary labour permits.

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10. Annex of Tables

Table A1. Number of higher education emigrants by selected professions, 1980 to 2000.

Table A2. Proportion of higher educated emigrants by selected professions, 1980 to 2000.

Table A3. Number of higher educated emigrants by gender, 1980 to 2000.

Table A4. Proportion of higher educated emigrants by gender, 1980 to 2000.

Table A5. Number of higher educated emigrants by age groups, 1980 to 2000.

Table A6. Proportion of higher educated emigrants by age groups, 1980 to 2000.

Table A1. Number of Higher-educated emigrants by selected professions, period 1980-2000					
Years	Total	Of which:			
		Engineers & architects	Medical, doctors, pharmacists	Economists	Other professions
1980	2,937	1,039	455	202	1,241
1981	2,869	1,053	436	187	1,193
1982	3,322	1,277	467	231	1,347
1983	2,988	1,026	414	211	1,337
1984	3,444	1,322	493	274	1,355
1985	3,132	1,231	427	258	1,216
1986	3,064	1,194	509	213	1,148
1987	3,756	1,478	502	295	1,481
1988	4,580	1,938	705	377	1,560
1989	4,318	1,799	679	322	1,518
1990	5,816	2,673	827	449	1,867
1991	2,782	1,512	344	221	705
1992	3,436	1,709	413	279	1,035
1993	1,752	1,162	276	188	126
1994	2,085	1,089	235	359	402
1995	4,218	2,103	492	688	935
1996	3,784	1,912	432	665	775
1997	3,497	1,821	428	587	661
1998	2,913	1,738	384	521	270
1999	2,450	1,614	301	411	124
2000	3,384	1,789	334	569	692
Total	70,527	32,479	9,553	7,507	20,988

Source: National Institute of Statistics and own calculations.

Years	Total	Engineers & architects	Medical doctors, pharmacists	Economists	Other professions
1980	100.0	35.4	15.5	6.9	42.3
1981	100.0	36.7	15.2	6.5	41.6
1982	100.0	38.4	14.1	7.0	40.5
1983	100.0	34.3	13.9	7.1	44.7
1984	100.0	38.4	14.3	8.0	39.3
1985	100.0	39.3	13.6	8.2	38.8
1986	100.0	39.0	16.6	7.0	37.5
1987	100.0	39.4	13.4	7.9	39.4
1988	100.0	42.3	15.4	8.2	34.1
1989	100.0	41.7	15.7	7.5	35.2
1990	100.0	46.0	14.2	7.7	32.1
1991	100.0	54.3	12.4	7.9	25.3
1992	100.0	49.7	12.0	8.1	30.1
1993	100.0	66.3	15.8	10.7	7.2
1994	100.0	52.2	11.3	17.2	19.3
1995	100.0	49.9	11.7	16.3	22.2
1996	100.0	50.5	11.4	17.6	20.5
1997	100.0	52.1	12.2	16.8	18.9
1998	100.0	59.7	13.2	17.9	9.3
1999	100.0	65.9	12.3	16.8	5.1
2000	100.0	52.9	9.9	16.8	20.4

Source: National Institute of Statistics and own calculations.

Table A3. Number of higher-educated emigrants by gender, period 1980-2000			
Year	Total	of which	
		Female	Male
1 980	2,937	1,486	1,451
1981	2,869	1,449	1,420
1982	3,322	1,674	1,648
1983	2,988	1,577	1,411
1984	3,444	1,808	1,636
1985	3,132	1,600	1,532
1986	3,064	1,541	1,523
1987	3,756	1,960	1,796
1988	4,580	2,267	2,313
1989	4,318	2,189	2,129
1990	5,816	3,035	2,781
1991	2,782	1,446	1,336
1992	3,436	1,663	1,773
1993	1,752	919	833
1994	2,085	1,125	960
1995	4,218	2,332	1,886
1996	3,784	2,009	1,775
1997	3,497	1,843	1,654
1998	2,913	1,506	1,407
1999	2,450	1,310	1,140
2000	3,384	1,824	1,560
Total:	70,527	36,563	33,964

Source: National Institute of Statistics and own calculations

Table A4. Proportion of higher-educated emigrants by gender, period 1980-2000			
Year	Total (%)	of which	
		Female	Male
1980	100.0	50.6	49.4
1981	100.0	50.5	49.5
1982	100.0	50.4	49.6
1983	100.0	52.8	47.2
1984	100.0	52.5	47.5
1985	100.0	51.1	48.9
1986	100.0	50.3	49.7
1987	100.0	52.2	47.8
1988	100.0	49.5	50.5
1989	100.0	50.7	49.3
1990	100.0	52.2	47.8
1991	100.0	52.0	48.0
1992	100.0	48.4	51.6
1993	100.0	52.5	47.5
1994	100.0	54.0	46.0
1995	100.0	55.3	44.7
1996	100.0	53.1	46.9
1997	100.0	52.7	47.3
1998	100.0	51.7	48.3
1999	100.0	53.5	46.5
2000	100.0	53.9	46.1

Table A5. Number of higher-educated emigrants by age groups, period 1980-2000					
Years	Total	Of which:			
		26-40	41-50	51-60	Over 60
1980	2,937	1,338	666	457	476
1981	2,869	1,361	609	428	471
1982	3,322	1,597	689	465	571
1983	2,988	1,353	588	478	569
1984	3,444	1,578	675	551	640
1985	3,132	1,469	589	507	567
1986	3,064	1,474	527	450	613
1987	3,756	1,766	657	601	732
1988	4,580	2,368	834	627	751
1989	4,318	2,216	738	635	729
1990	5,816	2,559	983	1,134	1,140
1991	2,782	1,416	459	437	470
1992	3,436	1,965	549	433	489
1993	1,752	928	298	229	297
1994	2,085	1,293	346	208	238
1995	4,218	2,805	722	320	371
1996	3,784	2,270	738	368	408
1997	3,497	2,137	658	304	398
1998	2,913	1,672	527	268	446
1999	2,450	1,497	438	233	282
2000	3,384	2,179	592	256	357
Total	70,527	37,241	12,882	9,389	11,015
<i>Source: National Institute of Statistics and own calculations.</i>					

Table A6. Proportion of higher-educated emigrants by age groups, period 1980-2000					
Years	Total	Of which:			
		26-40	41-50	51-60	Over 60
1980	100.0	45.6	22.7	15.6	16.2
1981	100.0	47.4	21.2	14.9	16.4
1982	100.0	48.1	20.7	14.0	17.2
1983	100.0	45.3	19.7	16.0	19.0
1984	100.0	45.8	19.6	16.0	18.6
1985	100.0	46.9	18.8	16.2	18.1
1986	100.0	48.1	17.2	14.7	20.0
1987	100.0	47.0	17.5	16.0	19.5
1988	100.0	51.7	18.2	13.7	16.4
1989	100.0	51.3	17.1	14.7	16.9
1990	100.0	44.0	16.9	19.5	19.6
1991	100.0	50.9	16.5	15.7	16.9
1992	100.0	57.2	16.0	12.6	14.2
1993	100.0	53.0	17.0	13.1	17.0
1994	100.0	62.0	16.6	10.0	11.4
1995	100.0	66.5	17.1	7.6	8.8
1996	100.0	60.0	19.5	9.7	10.8
1997	100.0	61.1	18.8	8.7	11.4
1998	100.0	57.4	18.1	9.2	15.3
1999	100.0	61.1	17.9	9.5	11.5
2000	100.0	64.4	17.5	7.6	10.5

Source: National Institute of Statistics and own calculations.