

THE RECENT MIGRATION OF THE ROMANIAN ROMA TO FINLAND

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Motto:

“I am sitting on the tram number 10 in Helsinki city. It is a windy and cold spring day. In front of me, two ladies are having an intensive discussion. I can see their concentrated facial expressions. As an echo I hear fragments of their chat...

“...Have you seen the beggars in the city centre? There are so many of them... ”

“I heard that they are from Romania...Romanian Gypsies. But I cannot understand why are they coming here? Why doesn't Romania take them back? (...) The beggars are something that does not correspond to the image of this society (...)”

“Well dear that is the concrete benefit that Finland is in the European Union (...) you can feel it every day on the streets of the city... They are the new EU citizens and migrants!”

I am sitting on the tram number 10 in Helsinki city and I can hear a systematic echo on my ears: the beggars (...) the beggars (...) the Romanian beggars (...) the Romanian Gypsies (...) the EU migrants (...)

Extracted from my diary

ABSTRACT

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The aim of the study was to describe the recent migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland through the experiences of the migrants themselves. The study looked at the factors and characteristics of migration at the different micro, meso and macro levels of migration. The theoretical approach used was represented by the theories of migration, especially the system theory of migration and push- pull theories of migration.

The study follows qualitative research methodology, primarily utilising semi-structured interviews. The primary data for this study was collected by the project Roma on the Road, developed by Helsinki Deaconess Institute and the City of Helsinki. From this data, eight interviews have been randomly selected and used for the study. All interviews were conducted among Romanian Roma who migrated to Finland in 2008.

The findings showed that the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland is a process of circular mobility resulted from the interaction of pushing factors in the home country and pulling factors in the destination country. The main elements of the migration are represented by the migration networks which are transmitting and shaping information, life alternatives, attitudes and migration related values. Moreover, described as a continuous and dynamic process, the migration of the Romanian Roma was pictured as a lifelong strategy that contains its own cultural features. Last but not the least, it was concluded that a culture of migration is developed among the Romanian Roma migrants.

Keywords: recent migration, the Romanian Roma, qualitative study, system theory, migration networks, migration culture.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Could you walk on the streets of Helsinki without noticing the people begging, playing music or selling flowers? Mass media, public opinion and individuals were considering and trying to formulate hypothesis on the so called “new phenomenon” during the last two years. The practice of street activities is not a new one, but one of the oldest means to generate income in the world. However, street activities haven’t been very much present in the Finnish society in the last decade. Moreover, the ones that were on the streets this time were coming from outside of the Finnish society. Their physical appearance, their clothing, as well as behaviours and habits, immediately translated in the mainstream eyes, the fact that they are coming from a different country and culture. Therefore, many questions arose such as who are these people? Where are they coming from? Why are they coming to Finland?

Under all these questions, together with the social and ethic aspects, that a group of people has to “beg” their income in the streets, the officials from the City of Helsinki reacted quickly. Therefore the Department of social affairs of the city and the Helsinki Deaconess Institute developed the project entitled Roma on the Road. The main goals of the project were to meet the people in the streets and answer to questions such as: where are the migrants coming from, which are the motives of their migration to Finland, what is their life situation in the home country as well as in the newly arrived country. Acute humanitarian aid and was also one of the project goals, as to promote respect towards human rights and human dignity (Vesalainen&Leinonen, 2008, 4).

The project Roma on the Road conducted field interviews among the Romanian Roma people having as a focus: the reasons why people migrated to Finland, their socio-economical conditions in the home country Romania, their conditions in Finland, the groups or family members which are accompanying them. Altogether 54 interviews were made until the 1st of October 2009, from which 24 interviews were stored using digital recorder. The findings of the field work were presented in the mid-term report

“From Day to Day, from Country to Country-Objective: income“, published in December 2009 (Vesalainen&Leinonen, 2008, 4).

As a Romanian migrant in Finland, studying social work, I was very motivated to look at the situation and reasons why this group is migrating to Finland. Therefore, I started my cooperation with the Roma on the Road project as a practical trainer. From this position I participated at the project activities and at the field interviews conducted among the Romanian Roma people. At that moment I thought that by using the data and experiences gathered by the project, I would develop a study that would bring a comprehensive description of the migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland. I started a discussion with the Helsinki Deaconess Institute in relation to the use of data that the project collected. The answer was positive and the whole process will be further discussed under the fifth chapter, entitled Type of the study.

Designing the study I wanted to go beyond the “begging” issue and to look at the Romanian Roma as EU migrants, for which begging is just an element of the migration mechanism. I started from the premise that the picture of their migration is a dynamic and not a static one. Therefore, the core idea of the study is to let the Romanian Roma migrants speak for themselves about their migration experience (Cohen, 2004, 26). Only by knowing and understanding how they live, how they feel, what they hope for, talking, listening and negotiating with them the reason behind the migration phenomenon, can be truly understood.

Moreover, the migration of the Roma who are settled in different East European countries towards the West European countries is a phenomenon which increased after the enlargement of the European Union borders in 2004 and 2006. Literature also shows that, the Romanian Roma people started to migrate towards the Western Europe after the collapse of the communist regime in Romania in 1989 and especially after 2006 when Romania became a Member State of the European Union (Cahn&Guild, 2008, 75). The recent migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland is considered a new phenomenon that started in 2008. Therefore, there are few studies conducted in this area (Vesalainen, Leinonen, 2008, 4).

The aim of this study was to describe the recent migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland through the experiences of the migrants themselves. Questions such as: Which are the factors that determine and describe the migration from Romania to Finland and which are the characteristics of the migration?, were addressed in order to describe the migration of the Romanian Roma people. The study looked at the experiences and factors of migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland from the perspective of three different levels: micro-individual level, meso-social ties level and macro-nation states level.

I have based the research on the perspective given by the theories of migration, with strong emphasis on the system theory of migration and its push- pull models of migration. Having this theoretical framework as a base I adapted a three levels model for the description of migration. A holistic and comprehensive picture on the micro, meso, macro characteristics of the migration experience was the result of the study.

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2. THE ROMA PEOPLE IN EUROPE

2.1 A history of migration

This study describes the migration of the Romanian Roma people from the perspective of the subjects themselves. Therefore, a deep understanding of who are the ones who were approached, their origins, history as well as present situation in Europe and in Romania is very important for the study. However, the goal is not to generalize, since the Roma people are very a heterogeneous groups (Mayall, 2003). On the other hand, there are not many documents related to the Roma people's origin or some of these might contain different information, therefore exact data might be difficult to present.

To start with the term a "Roma person", in the context of the European Union it refers to:

An umbrella term including groups of people who share more or less similar cultural characteristics and a history of persistent marginalization in European societies, such as the Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Ashkali, and Kalé (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, 7.)

From this umbrella definition, I focused in the study on a heterogeneous group that belongs to the Romanian Roma community.

Most of the academic sources confirm that Roma people in Europe are descended from groups which left India around one thousand years ago and began arriving in the territory of today's European Union in or around the 14th century (Fraser, 1992; European Commission, 2004, 7-8; Barany, 2002). After their arrival to Europe the mobility of the group continued towards different countries, on the basis of the socio-political and economical factors. For example, literature estimated that around 14th – 15th centuries, the Roma communities were found in today's southern Greece, while, later on, some of the groups moved on the territories of the Southern Balkans and to the parts of the present East-Central Europe (European Commission, 2004, 7.)

After their main settlement in different European countries, the history of the Roma varies according to the countries where they have migrated. Certain moments and experiences they have lived are mentioned as part of the history of the European countries. It is mentioned, for example, that in the territories of the present Romania, the Roma groups were taken as slaves and forced to work for landowners around the year 1348, and their slavery continued until the years 1844 - 1866 (Barany, 2001). The poor economical situation of the Roma communities and the lack of work in agriculture represented the reason for which the Roma people were enslaved and forced to work in the lands of the monasteries. The documents which attest these aspects recall that the Roma people in Romania were called during that time “tsigan” and “rob” which translates to “Gypsy” and “slave” (Barany, 2001, 52).

The Hitler domination and rules are also recalled as an important moment in the Roma history. At that time, in Germany, as well as in other Nazi-occupied countries, there have been many crimes against the Roma people. Therefore, the regime ruled by Hitler is known as the Romani Holocaust, it is said that a half a million of Roma across Europe have been executed during those years (Fraser, 1995; Lewy, 2000).

Moreover, the communist regime in different European countries is characterized as a regime that committed many violent acts and crimes against the Roma people in countries such as Albania, Germany, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Poland (European Commission, 2004, 9.) For example, during the communist time in Romania (1947-1989), the strategy of the Government was to integrate the Roma by acts of forced assimilation. Therefore, the Roma communities were obliged not to practice nomadic lifestyle, or the Roma families were forcefully dispersed among Romanian communities. The Romanization process of the Roma communities in Romania was not just an involuntary one, but one based on crimes and violence. (Helsinki Watch Report, 1991).

As it might be noticed from the brief historical review, the Roma communities have had a history of migration in search of a good socio-political and economical environment. After some of the groups had settled in Europe, the history proves that they had an unprivileged position in most of the European countries, as they were representing an ethnical minority. This aspect was related to the fact that, most of the time; their socio-

economic status was a low one, which could influence their future migrations as well. Relating to the overall situation of the Roma people in Europe, Marden remarks that the situation of Roma was not one that improved in time, and he mentions some of the key moments for the Roma history in Europe:

Nazi Germany killed at least half a million Roma in the Holocaust, Switzerland enacted a policy of taking Romani children from their parents care and giving them to non-Roma to raise, and Sweden barred Roma from entering the country. This list is not exhaustive, but it provides a general sense of the level of persecution faced by Roma throughout Europe (Marden, 2004, 1182.)

2.2 Present situation

Nowadays, sources estimate that there are between seven and nine million Roma people in Europe and they represent the biggest recognised minority. 70% of the Roma people are living in Central and Eastern Europe and in the countries of the former Soviet Union (World Bank, 1995; Liégois, 2007). Zielonka (2002), for example, reports that the following figures in Table 1 are the most current estimates of Roma people living in selected European Union member states today.

TABLE 1: Numbers of Roma in selected EU countries

EU country	Roma Population Estimate
Hungary	140,000-600,000
Bulgaria	313,000-800,000
Czech Republic	32,000-200,000
Slovakia	80,000-520,000
Romania	600,000-1,500,000

Source: Zielonka (2002, 60)

The low and high estimates of the Roma population in these selected EU countries are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2 below.

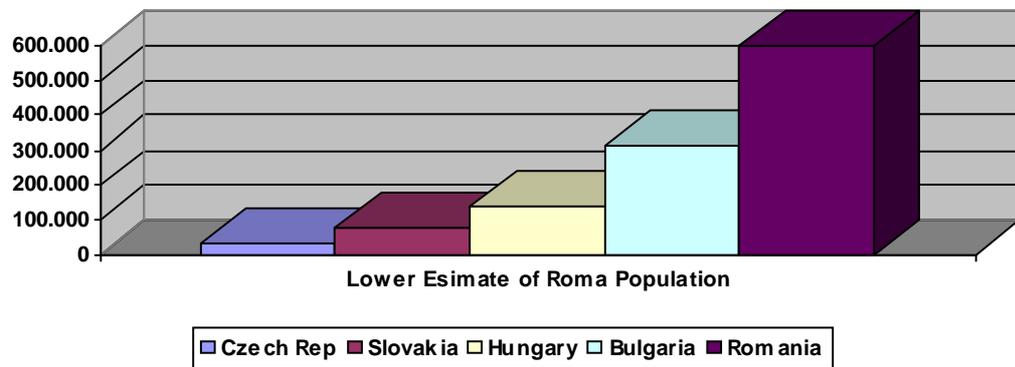


FIGURE 1. Lower estimates of Roma populations in selected EU countries

Source: Based on tabular data in Zielonka (2002, 60).

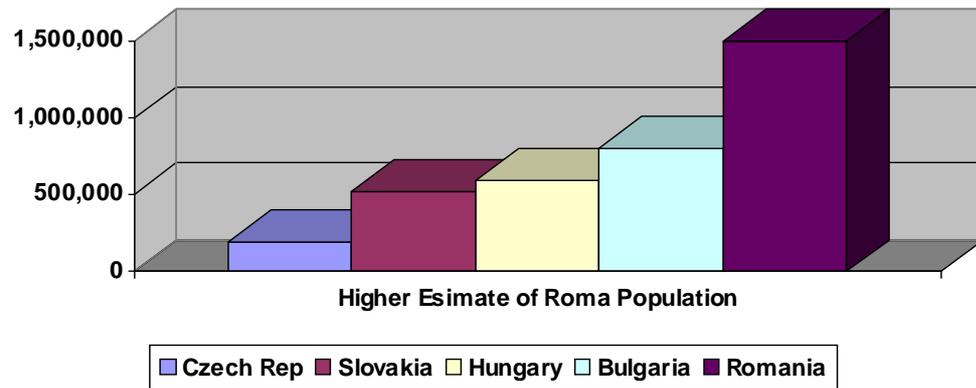


FIGURE 2. Higher estimates of Roma populations in selected EU countries

Source: Based on tabular data in Zielonka (2002, 60).

As we can see from the charts above, while the actual numbers differ sharply, the relative numbers of Roma estimated to be living in these selected EU member states remains consistent from the low to the high ones. The variation of figures is based on the unbalanced data collection, the Roma's mobility, and the Roma's opposition to register as "Roma" in censuses for fear of being stigmatized, as well as the ethical question of who identifies oneself as being Roma (Tanner, 2005).

Approaching the situation of Roma communities, in the last ten years and especially the East European Roma, the European reports and researches are reporting the worst situation in regards to access to education, health, employment, housing, social security and

discrimination in all areas of life. All these aspects have their roots in a multitude of factors. Recently the focus is also on the migration and mobility of the Roma from the East European countries to the Western countries in search of a better life (European Commission, 2004, 17-35.) This study describes also the migration of the Roma people from Eastern Europe towards the Western countries, precisely the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland.

2.3 The socio-economic conditions of the Roma people in Romania

At a European level, the highest number of Roma people is said to be found in Romania. It is hard to estimate it, since sources dispose different information. For example, Human Rights Watch estimated in one of its publications that there are at least 2.5 million Roma people living in Romania, which is over 10% of the total population (Human Rights Watch, 1991.) The last National Census conducted in Romania estimated that between 1992-2002, there were 535,140 Roma people living in the country, which is 2.5% of the total population (Romanian National Institute for Statistics, 2002.)

The Romanian Roma represents a very diverse group regarding several aspects: historical background, religion, language, occupations, and the socio-economical situation. Therefore, it is desirable to avoid generalizing in regards to the Roma people. However, for the majority of the Romanian Roma, the socio-economical status is characterized by statistics and studies through poverty or risk of poverty, unemployment, low level of education and qualification, poor housing condition, poor health and discrimination (World Bank, Ministry of Labor, Family and Equality of Chances, and NIS-Romania 2007; Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens, 2005, 104).

The poverty rate for Roma in Romania was estimated to be 76% in 2003 and 58% in 2006. According to the statistics, in 2003 the poverty rate for Roma was three times higher than the national average, and in 2006 it was more than four times higher (World Bank, Ministry of Labor, Family and Equality of Chances, and NIS-Romania 2007.) The risk of poverty for the Roma people in Romania can be also seen in Fig. 3 and Table 2. Some common features of the phenomenon of poverty concerning the context of Roma minority are revealed in the study of Zamfir and Zamfir (1993). Therefore, it was

found that the income derived from formal employment wages constituted a significantly lower proportion of average income for the Roma than for the majority of the population. A lot of Roma people are gaining their income from a combination of part time, casual, and self-employed work, most of these actions being done in the informal economy and at the times on the margins of legality. The low level of education and qualifications for those unemployed are also a very common cause for this status. (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993).

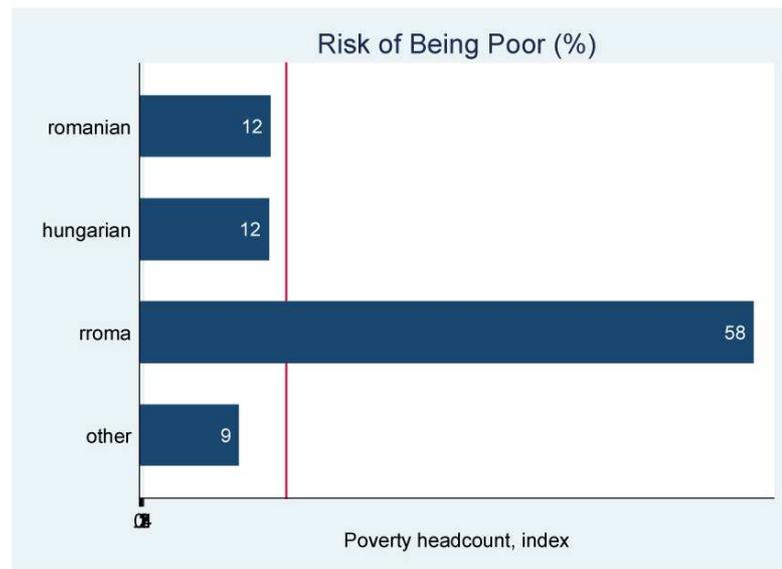


FIGURE 3 RISK OF BEING POOR (%)

Source: World Bank (2007, 23)

TABLE 2 Poverty rates among Roma and Non/Roma households, 2000.

Country	50 percent of median		\$2.15 PPP Per capita	\$4.30 PPP Per capita
	Per equivalent adult	Per capita		
Bulgaria				
Roma	36.1	37.2	41.4	80.1
Non-Roma	3.8	3.4	4.1	36.8
Hungary				
Roma	24.5	26.3	6.6	40.3
Non-Roma	4.5	3.6	0.5	6.9
Romania				
Roma	39.5	43.1	37.6	68.8
Non-Roma	10.9	11.1	7.3	29.5

Source: Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens (2005).

A main cause for the poverty of the Roma households was the high rates of unemployment on the official labour market among the Roma people. Roma employment, on the other hand, has been categorized in literature into four types of occupations: work abroad, day labours, trade and subsistence occupations (Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens, 2005).

Poor employment possibilities are strongly related to low educational level in the Romanian Roma communities. According to the statistics, unschooled Roma children represent about 80% of the total number of unschooled children in Romania. Moreover, pre-school enrolment of Roma children (aged 3-6 years) is one quarter of the national average (17.2% compared to 67%) (Surdu, 2003, 23-34.) Three quarters of the Roma children attend primary and secondary education, 17% attend high school and technical school and just 1% attend college (EUMAP, 2007.) On the other hand, the national average of graduating students is 90.3% for primary and secondary education, 52.8% for high school and technical school, and 38% for university level. Furthermore, the 2002 Census showed that over 100.000 Roma people aged 11 and above were recorded as illiterate (Surdu, 2003, 23-34).

The statistics are based on various factors, such as lack of economic resources, discrimination that the children face in schools or any other practical issues, e.g. living in remote areas. Academic sources emphasize also the following aspect:

Now before it is cold and before the earth freezes, they go more. After the winter comes, we don't send them anymore-we don't have clothing and shoes, there is no food either (Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens, 2005, 104).

Another aspect related to the Roma people's socio-economical status in Romania is represented by their housing conditions. Lack of infrastructure and access to services are the main characteristics for the Roma households, both in rural and urban areas. Moreover, conditions are usually poor, characterized by extreme overcrowding and lack of services. The access to utilities, such as water, gas, electricity, or public services is another issue that Roma people have to deal with (Save the children, 2001a).

Romanian Roma people are also confronted with poor health conditions and bad access to healthcare. For example, family planning and healthy reproduction services are almost unavailable for the Roma families since they are located in the urban areas and require a financial cost they cannot afford. The professional interventions are replaced with informal advice and support from people in the community. Moreover, sometimes even the access to general healthcare services is endangered for those living in remote areas. Some of the general causes for this are represented by the lack of communication means in those areas that delay the urgent medical interventions, economic constraints that they face and lack of information and communication between patients and service providers (Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens, 2005).

A low access to social benefits has been noticed in the case of Romanian Roma and it makes the poor economical status even more difficult, since many Roma households are users of these benefits. The main reason is the general economical and political situation in Romania. For example, due to the economical transition period difficulties, the range of social services and benefits, as well as their availability, has dropped very much in Romania. Moreover, the task of delivering social assistance has been transferred to local municipalities. Therefore, the gap between poor and wealthy municipalities increased at the same time as the support offered to their users (Ringold, 2000).

As a result the distribution of the social assistance benefits takes place in a random and unequal way, since it is dependent on the location of municipalities. On the other hand, the annual budgets of different municipalities are distributed on subjective eligibility criteria:

I received benefits twice... In Cernavoda (another municipality) they pay it every month. Why is it that we don't receive this money? (Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens, 2005, 143).

Access to security is also vulnerable among the Romanian Roma. The Helsinki Human Right Watch urged Romania several times to guarantee the security of Roma people against the violent attacks in Romania. Since 1989, when Romania became a democratic country, there have been at least 16 attacks on Gypsy communities in no more than a period of 20 months. Roma homes have been burned, their possessions destroyed, they have been chased out of villages, and many have been beaten or even killed.

On September 20, 1993, 3 Gypsy men were killed by a mob in the village of Hadareni following the stabbing death of an ethnic Romanian. During the violence, 13 Roma houses were set on fire and destroyed and an additional 4 houses were seriously damaged (Helsinki Human Right Watch Report, 1991).

Last, but not the least the Roma in Romania are commonly facing discrimination in relation to their ethnicity and treated on the basis of negative stereotypes. For example, recent reports are stating that the status of the Roma in Romania is mainly discussed in relation to themes such as illegal or shameful immigration to the Western countries, criminality and disrespectful attitude towards the social norms, violent acts, illegal housing and nomadism (Government of Romania, 2009).

All in all, it can be concluded that the majority of the Roma in Romania have a low socio-economical status compared to the other ethnic groups. Moreover, their conditions in Romania can be described through poverty and exclusion from some of the basic needs. It can also be noticed that there is a vicious circle of factors that links to their low status and access to employment, resources, education, security, social assistance, health and the issues related to these. The relationship between the socio-economical status of the Roma communities, the status that they belong to and the degree of participation and accessibility to rights and services seem to be in a dangerous interdependence and multifaceted therefore it is a phenomenon.

3. MIGRATION OF ROMA WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION

3.1 Defining migration

The present study approaches the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland - both Romania and Finland being EU members. Therefore, international migration is going to be revised from the perspective of the European Union migration in between member states. The migration of the Romanian Roma within the borders of the European Union is going to be analysed thoroughly, and, ultimately, the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland.

The umbrella concept of international migration refers to a wide range of population mobility, with different migration reasons, and to the legal status of the migrants: rights and the duration of staying in the migration country (World Health Organization, 2003, 9.) Boyle has defined the international migration as follows:

International migration refers to the mobility to another state and taking residency there for at least six months. Therefore, the other types of mobility refer to touristic movements or business trips (Boyle, 1998).

In order to contribute to the conceptualization and description of migration, we can distinguish between different types of migrants in literature. For the most typologies, the push- pull mechanism can be determined as the one which develops and shapes the migration characteristics. For example, Cahn and Guild (2008, 37) proposed a migrants typology classification in relation to the Roma migrants in Europe:

Persons forced to move: migration either within the borders of one country, or internationally, caused by extreme poverty or social exclusion. These persons are defined by the European Committee of Social Rights as “Roma who choose to follow an itinerant lifestyle or who are forced to do so” (European Committee of Social Rights&Council of Europe, 2004, 7.)

1. Persons who left the regions of Central/South-Eastern Europe periodically after 1989 (Balkan states for example) and moved to Western Europe temporarily or permanently. Among them we can find long term residents of the country they have migrated to, or people who live in excluded conditions, which means that the access to social rights, employment, health, education or documents is limited.
2. Bulgarian and Romanian Roma, who share similarities with the communities integrated by the second type, but they have lately acquired the EU rights.
3. Persons and communities constructing a rewarding existence and lives around new opportunities for mobility in the EU, by establishing centres of “vital interest” in more than one country. Social exclusion in the home country, among others, might determine Romanian Roma to make regular back and forth travels between Romania and some of the Western Europe countries. Therefore, these types of groups have centres of central interest in more than one country.
4. Roma people who are applying for the asylum, refugees and persons with a protection status, although inside the European Union the asylum regime should be diminishing for persons from the Member states.
5. Nomadic Roma/Gypsies: communities with nomadic traditions and practices present in countries such as France, United Kingdom and Romania. Some of these groups are crossing the borders throughout Western Europe for seasonal travelling.
6. Persons living in very excluded Roma settlements that don't have Roma roots, but are seen as Roma because of their affiliation.
7. Domestic Roma of a country to which other Roma migrate, who are sometimes confused and subjected to measures aimed at foreign Roma.

Source: Cahn&Guild (2008, 37)

The model proposed by Cahn and Guild (2008) brings a general perspective on the Roma migrants' typology but it is very difficult to distinguish between accurate categories given that the status of the people is very dynamic and they might belong to different groups at the same time.

3.2 Migration inside the European Union - legislative framework

The member states of the European Union are part of a common immigration policy and legislation at the level of the Union. Therefore, at a macro level, the migration in between the member states is managed according to the common policy standards. In this study, the migration takes place between Finland and Romania, both member states countries of the European Union. Therefore, a review of the EU policy regarding the

migration of the EU citizens of the EU inside the borders of the member states' is necessary in order to analyse this aspect as a potential macro level factor of migration.

One of the fundamental documents that establish the migration inside the EU borders, as well as the rights and principles for the member states, is the Treaty Establishing the European Community. Article 17 is relevant in this respect as it refers to citizenship within the European Union: citizenship derives automatically as long as a person is citizen of one member state. As a result, any citizen of a member state is a citizen of the European Union and is subjected to all rights and responsibilities brought by this status in relation to migration (European Parliament, 2006, art. 17).

The 18th Article of the same treaty links the citizenship issue to the mobility inside the EU borders and announces the general frame of mobility freedom inside the EU borders. According to it, all nationals of the 27 member states have the right to enter the territory of any other state on presentation of a valid ID card or passport. Restrictions on entry are only permitted on the grounds of public policy, public security or public health and accepted if they are proportionate and based exclusively on the personal conduct of the individual, previous criminal convictions doesn't constitute such ground. The personal conduct of the individual must represent a genuine, present and sufficiently serious threat affecting one of the fundamental interests of the society:

Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty and by the measures adopted to give it effect (European Parliament, 2006, art. 18).

The 39th Article entitled "Free movement of persons, services and capital" clarifies the issue of migrant workers inside the EU and a free movement of workers is established. Therefore, anyone who is crossing the borders with a purpose to seek employment has the right to do it. Moreover, the freedom of workers' migration includes the principles of equality and non-discrimination among the workers of the Member States in relation to employment, training, working conditions, professional organizations, social protection, and social security, as well as social advantages and access to supply of goods and services, including houses (European Parliament, 2006, art. 39).

According to the Directive, the EU citizens have the right enter to the territory of a Member State and reside freely for a period of three months. For those residing longer than this period of time, an official registration is required. At the same time, for the period of residence, the persons should not represent “unreasonable burden” for the social systems of the respective country. In other words, they should have an independent living and the responsibility for it as much as possible (European Parliament, 2006). The Directive states as well that expulsion of the EU citizens from a Member State is not permitted besides: on grounds of public policy or public security (European Parliament, 2004, Art. 27).

As for the Romanian Roma migrating to Finland, the principle of free mobility applies as it was established through the Treaty Establishing the European Community since both countries, migration country and destination country, are Member States. For Romania, this status was acquired just only in 2006, when the country became a new Member State. Moreover, before 1989, Romania was part of the communist regime, and the borders were totally closed for the Romanian citizen’s legal migration. These two aspects, and especially the last one, represent an important macro factor mechanism for the recent migration of the Romanian Roma.

3.3 Recent migration of the Romanian Roma

When referring to the recent migration of the Roma, the study approaches the migration that occurred between the 19th and the 20th centuries within the European Union countries. During this time, at the European level, it has been noticed that the Roma from the South-Eastern European countries fled to the Western and Northern countries. It is considered that the fall of the communism in Eastern Europe around 1989, and the enlargement and integration of countries which used to belong to the Eastern European Block in the EU between 2004 and 2007, are the background forces which shaped and impacted the migration (European Commission, 2004). There are a few studies which approach the recent migration of the Roma in Europe and a report that discusses the issue of the Romanian Roma migrants to Finland as well as the push and pull factors for the migration.

According to the study conducted by Cahn and Guild (2008), “The Recent Migration of Roma in Europe” the main countries of origin for the Roma who migrated recently include countries such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, countries in which the Roma represent around 10% of the total population. The main destination countries have been Austria, Germany, Italy and Czech Republic. Regarding the migration of the Romanian Roma, the study reveals that they have migrated especially in the last ten years to countries such: Italy, Spain, and France. The fact that these countries have Latin roots might have constituted one pulling factor for the Romanian Roma (Cahn, Guild, 2008, 33).

The general factors for migrating from the home country are described to be the poverty and the social exclusion that Roma people face in the countries mentioned. Related determinants for migration are the high unemployment rates, low work opportunities and discrimination, the lack of social assistance and medical care. All these elements are described as a cause and effect for the phenomenon of exclusion previously mentioned. Moreover they are leading for some groups to the fact that households cannot fulfil the basic needs such as food, shelter, hygienic conditions or medical care (Cahn, Guild, 2008; Max Weber Sociology Professional College and Research Centre on Inter-ethnic Relations, 2006). On the other hand, the lack of identity documents and the difficulties for obtaining these make the accessibility to rights difficult and develop another push factor for the recent migration of the Roma. The discrimination that comes from the authorities and officials, but also from the mainstream population is mentioned as well (Romeurope, 2008).

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights conducted and published a study in 2009 entitled: “The situation of Roma EU citizens moving to and settling to other EU member states”. The study approached the recent migration of Roma from Central Europe, especially Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, to Finland, France, Italy, Spain and United Kingdom.

This study also found out that the main pushing factors for the Roma people from the countries mentioned above are: poverty, experiencing racism and discrimination in the countries of origin. Poverty was described in strong relation with the unemployment status that people faced:

I didn't know what to do. We had so little. I started to despair so much that I was considering committing suicide. It was a stalemate situation and there was no way out. My husband then decided that the only way of surviving was to leave for the United Kingdom.

(Interview extracted from: European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, 18.)

My family and I lived on social assistance [in Romania], which amounted to 100 euro a month. How are four people supposed to manage with 100 euro a month? [...] Also, my mother is ill and old, should I not take care of her like she took care of me? The need to give more to my children and my parents is what gets me out of Romania.

(Interview extracted from European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, 18.)

The same study revealed some other pulling factors for the Roma migration towards Finland, France, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom: the friends and family connections which are already migrants of a specific country and provide support and information, the hopes for improving the living standards, and the plans of finding employment on the official or unofficial labour market.

I heard from other people that here it is possible to work; that there are opportunities and I saved bits of money little by little from what I was getting for the children.

(Interview extracted from European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, 19.)

The Helsinki Deaconess Institute and the City of Helsinki published a mid term report: "From Day to day, from country to country – Objective income. The report presents the work done by the project Roma on the Road among the Romanian Roma migrants in the Helsinki area between June and December 2008. The field study and findings in relation to the migration of the Romanian Roma were also presented by the report (Leinonen & Vesalainen, 2008, 4).

The report describes the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland, as a living strategy that the people adopt in order to generate income. In relation to the factors and characteristics of migration the report refers: the poverty conditions in the home coun-

try, limited social support from the authorities, homeless conditions, lack of work opportunities, low salaries level, discrimination and corruption. On the other hand the migration to Finland is presented as being determined by the expectations for a better life. Generating a wealthier income by practicing street activities such as playing music, selling flowers and begging are the key thoughts that influence the migration decision. Moreover, a very important aspect of migration is the picture represented by friends and relatives who were previously migrating to Finland (Leinone&Vesalainen, 2008, 5).

4. THEORIES OF MIGRATION

4.1 Review of the main theories

Migration is determined by various reasons and occurs in different contexts. Moreover, the experience of the migration process is very individual and subjective for the migrants themselves. Therefore, there is no theoretical frame or theory that would provide a comprehensive and universal description of the migration experience. However, migration theories can bring explanations and added value when reflecting them through specific data and contexts. In this study I looked at the migration experience of the Romanian Roma from the perspective of the migration theories, more precisely the system theory of migration. Moreover, throughout the study, the model of the three stylized levels of migration analysis was used when looking at the migration experience and its characteristics at the micro, meso and macro level. The result was that a description of the phenomenon was provided by linking the individual experiences to its meso and macro contexts.

The oldest concept of migration was developed in 1885 when Ernest Georg Ravenstein elaborated the “laws of migration”. His main findings stated the fact that migration has at the base a “push- pull” process. That meant that migration dynamics are on one side the unfavourable conditions in one place (“pushing“ factors) and the positive opportunities in another place (“pulling” factors). Moreover, according to his theory the main cause of migration are the better economical opportunities that a potential migration country can sustain (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889; Bähr, 2004).

Since then, several approaches have been designed in order to explain the mechanism of migration and its different factors. However, most of the theories followed the same push-pull model developed by Ravenstein. Everett Lee (1966) reformulated Ravenstein’s migration laws. Keeping the same push-pull migration mechanism, in his theory there were introduced new concepts such as: “intervening obstacles” in the migration

process - distance, political barriers, community or family dependents - and “personal factors” influencing the migration - age, gender, education, family ties (Lee, 1966.) The further developed theories of migration can be divided in between the theories on the economics of migration, and the theories on the perpetuation of migration.

The most common theories on the economics of migration are: neoclassical theories, new economics of migration theories, dual labour theory, and system theories of migration. According to the neoclassical theories of migration, at the macroscopic level, migration is guided by factors such as the capital and labour market potential of different regions in the world (Lewis, 1954; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1976). On the other hand, at the microscopic level there are other factors, such as the rational and individual decisions of the people that are willing to improve their living standard and employment opportunities (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro 1969, 1976; Todaro and Maruszko, 1987.) The decision-making process appears to be an analytical calculation in between the costs and benefits of the migration and its variables. Therefore the migrants will leave the countries with a low labour supply and will migrate towards countries with a high potential of labour (Massey, Aarango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Taylor, 435.)

The new economies of migration theories keep the same economic emphasis of migration, but they move from the individualistic approach on migration to the household or to the community one (Stark and Levhari, 1982; Stark, Oded, 1985; Katz and Stark, 1986; Lauby and Stark 1988; Taylor, 1986; Stark 1991.) According to these theories, decisions and patterns of migration are determined by families, households or other forms of group and not individually. Moreover, the new economies of migration are suggesting that migration is not influenced just by “absolute deprivation” factors but also by “relative deprivation determinants” as a strategy of the household to maximize the potential to assure capital (Stark and Taylor, 1989.) These theories are therefore concluding that migration studies should be developed in relation to specific units and not for autonomous individuals (Massey, Aarango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Taylor, 436.)

The dual labour market theory, as well as the world system theory moved the focus of migration towards the nation states and therefore to the macro level factors of migration. The emphasis is also on the pulling factors towards a country of migration more

than on the pushing conditions in the home country. For example, according to the dual labour market theory, migration is the result of the economical development of the industrial countries, therefore the need for labour in these countries represent the pull factors for migration and, actually, the cause of migration. The idea of the labour demand of the modern industries being central for the migration dynamics puts aside the individuals' decisions as a cause of migration (Piore, 1979). The world system approaches focuses on the role of the cultural globalisation that affects the movement of cultural values worldwide. According to this theory the economic differences, lifestyles and models are circulated and perceived easier and therefore they shape and impact migration (Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1989).

The theories on the perpetuation of migration are going even further from models proposed by the neoclassical theories of migration. The focus on migration is not anymore on the potential economic benefits of the migrants. On the other hand, the emphasis is on the importance of the family and friendship networks in the home country as well as in the destination country for the migration mechanism. For example, the network theory emphasizes the role of migrant's networks in the migration process. It is considered that the socio-economical factors have a decreased importance in comparison to the network ties of the migrant in a specific country of migration. These ties represent a guarantee for the future economic and social stability of the migrant in the country of migration (Hugo, 1981; Massey 1990). Theories recognizes that as a valuable social capital (Boyd, 1989.)

Moreover the cumulative causation theory, explains that once a number of migrants have settled in a migration country they create a social structure and capital that would sustain further migration (Castles&Miller, 2003; Massey 1990, Massey et al, 1998.) Bocker (1994) describes the migration function of previous migrants as "bridgeheads" for the potential migrants. According to this hypothesis, migration mechanism feeds itself through the migration process and develops further mobility more likely to happen (Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki, 1986; Taylor, 1992.) Therefore Migration is seen as a continuous social process and an integrated part in people's life (Tilly and Brown, 1967; Lomnitz, 1977.) As a conclusion the cumulative theory comes with the hypothesis that migration is characterized through selectivity since it attracts those with a human capital potential. At the same time it develops economic growth and labour de-

mand in receiving societies while having the opposite consequences in the countries of origin, mechanism that sustains further migration (Massey, 1990; Myrdal 1957.)

The institutional theory brings into attention the role of the different types of institutions and organizations that have been built over the time in supporting or organizing legal or illegal immigration. On one side, illegal markets might develop a business of providing services and facilities for migrants to access the other countries' territories, such as clandestine transportation, labour contracts, arranging documents and registration papers. On the other hand, different legal organizations might support social services, counselling and legal advice on immigration issues that facilitates the migration process. Therefore, if international migration occurs on a large scale it starts to sustain itself at an institutional level (Massey et al., 1993).

4.2 System theory of migration

System theory of migration developed the hypothesis according to which migration networks and institutions are developing stable, international migration systems between receiving countries and specific sending countries (Zolberg and Smith, 1996.) However, the receiving and sending countries that are part of the international migration systems are not linked just by the flow of people but also by other factors such as: historical, cultural, colonial, technological ones (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992, 3.)

Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) developed a model of two countries (sending and receiving countries) which are interacting in a system of international migration represented through the example of Marocco and France in Figure 4. As it is visible through the representation, the migration system has spatial and temporal dimensions. When referring to the spatial dimension countries which belong to the same migration system share aspects like: geographical closeness, historical or technological links. The temporal dimension of the migration system is represented by the changes and dynamics that occur in the context of the migration system and its components. The same figure disclosure is the fact that the system theory of migration does not emphasize so much the role of causalities in migration but the functions of migration determinants. The determinants of migration are divided into four different categories: economy: society, pol-

icy and connections between countries (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992, 3).

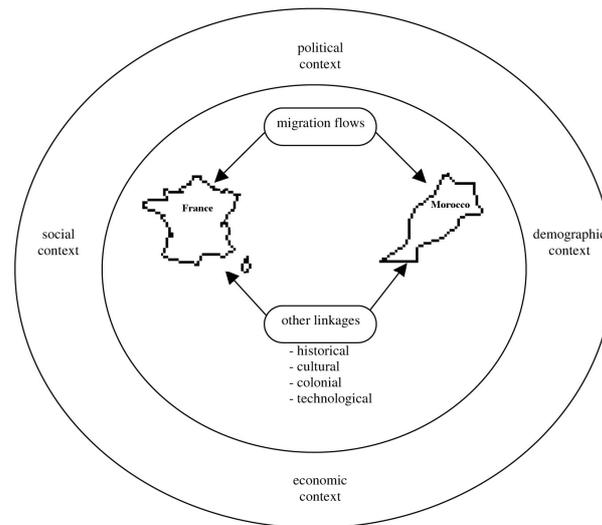


FIGURE 4. Two countries in a system framework of international migration

Source: Kritz and Zlotnik (1992, 3).

Furthermore, the international migration systems among countries with their complex exchanges and interactions are perpetuating and sustaining the migration flows between the specific sending and receiving regions. Therefore, the structure that they built it's visible and persists across space and time dimensions (Mabogunje 1970, 12.) This type of structure and its connections are referred to as transnational communities (Castles 2002, Riccio 2001, Vertovec 2004.)

Another migration concept and approach that is developed from through the system theory of migration is the one of culture of migration. Through migration the sending communities are in a continuous contact with the norm, practices, lifestyles and values of the destination societies. Moreover, the already settled migrants are continuously transmitting directly or through their personal examples the wealth and successful stories and societal models (Fadlollah et al, 2000). This leads to the fact that some people in the sending communities are adopting the value that migration is their only future perspective for building life. As Fadlollah and Schoorl (2000) put it for many young people the question is not so much whether to migrate or not, but when and how to migrate. The context when migration becomes a sort of social norm in a community leads to the emergency of a culture of migration (Massey et al, 1993, 453.)

4.3 Three stylized level of migration analysis

In his book, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Faist (2000) elaborated a theoretical model through which he looks at the migration theories by using a multiple levels type of analysis. More precisely, he elaborated a micro, meso and macro model of analysis through which the migration characteristics and dynamics are analyzed and furtherly conceptualized. In the study of the Romanian Roma migration I used and adapted the model of three stylized level of migration analysis developed by Faist (2000, 31-32). I looked at the migration of the Romanian Roma linked it to the system theory of migration at the three levels of analysis.

The content and the explanation of the micro, meso and macro level analysis developed by Faist (2000, 31-32), are summarized in Table 3. The definitions and characteristics of each level of analysis further on discussed in the next paragraphs.

TABLE 3

MICRO values or desires and expectancies	MESO collectives and social networks	MACRO macro-level opportunity structures
individual values and expectancies - improving and secur- ing survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimula- tion, autonomy, affilia- tion, and morality	social ties - strong ties families and households - weak ties networks of potential movers, brokers and those who stay; symbolic ties kin, ethnic, national, po- litical, and religious or- ganizations; symbolic communities content of ties -transactions obligations, reciprocity, and solidar- ity; information, control, and access to resources of others	Economics - income and unemploy- ment differentials politics - regulation of spatial mobility through nation- states and international regimes; - political repression, ethnic, national, and religious conflicts cultural setting - dominant norms and discourses demography and ecology - population growth; - availability of arable land - level of technology

Source: Faist (2000, 31-32).

Therefore, the micro level of migration refers to the individual level of decision-making process concerning migration. Moreover, it refers to the autonomy of the individual in relation with the evaluation of the migration factors and decision. The influences brought by the personal relations of the individuals in the home country or in the country of destination are included in the same context, such as: families, households, friends, neighbours, and members of the communities that the individuals belong too (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993).

The meso level of migration focuses on the symbolic and social ties, the system of social relations around the migrant in the home country and in the destination country, and the impact of this cooperation (so called “social capital”) on shaping the migration dynamics. As it was mentioned, they represent the connections of the migrant with specific communities in both countries. They can be religious communities, ethnic communities, official or unofficial organizations that are working with migrants, voluntary associations or trade unions (Putnam, 1993). The resources that arise from this level of interaction are considered by the meso theories extremely important in the migration characteristics. Some of these concrete outcomes would be that migrants are facilitated the access to resources by the others, information in relation to the destination country and support during the migration process (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993.)

The macro level refers to the nation states levels and structures in both home and destination countries. More precisely, it refers to the political, economical and cultural structures of the state’s levels, as well as of the world systems. The theory supports the idea that in the socio-economic-cultural context, different countries develop a different degree and content for the pushing and pulling mechanism of migration. Therefore, the economical differences between two countries, concretized in differences in the quality of life, income or employment opportunities might develop a pushing and pulling migration mechanism between two countries. An important aspect in this flow is the linkage to the world system theory, according to which, through globalization, people can get the contact and view of the politico-socio-economical and cultural differences between countries (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993.)

5. PROCESS OF THE RESEARCH

5.1 The aim of the study

The aim of the study was to describe the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland that occurred between 2008 and 2009. By examining the migration experiences, determinants, factors, related feelings, the goal is to represent the model of migration that they sustain and reform. The migration is represented through the eyes of the migrants themselves. As Cohen would say, by letting the migrants speak for themselves (Cohen, 2004, 26).

The study looked at the model of migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland at three migration levels: micro, meso and macro level. The micro level described the individual representations that shape the migration. The meso level looked at the social ties and organizations that are describing the migration. Last but not the least; the macro level looked at the migration at the level of the nation state Romania as a home country and Finland as a destination country. This model of looking at the migration phenomenon was adapted from the theories of migration models and especially the system theory of migration that served as a theoretical framework for this study (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993.)

Last, the base of the study is represented by the fact that the recent migration of the Romanian Roma in Europe, phenomenon that has been very much debated but not very much studied (Cahn, Guild, 2008.) Moreover, in Finland the recent migration of the Romanian Roma became visible around 2008. Hence there have been lots of questions related to it such as "Who are these people?", "Why are they coming to Finland ?", "Why did they leave Romania ? ". From this perspective the study aims to bring an understanding and to develop a comprehensive description of the migration phenomenon. Thus, possible proposals could arise for the professionals working in this area.

5.2 Type of the study

The study's approach is a qualitative one. The general reason why I used this approach was the fact that the fundamental frame of the research was to explore and describe the phenomenon of migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland, the way people see it, feel it and experience it. Therefore, the research sought to arrive to new understandings and definitions of this phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1998.) Moreover, in this study I used the phenomenological approach, characterized as being the study of the phenomenon, its nature and meanings. The phenomenological purpose is to expose a vast description of the experiences as they are lived by subjects (Husserl, 1936/1970) and to capture rich descriptions of the phenomenon and their settings (Kensit, 2000, 104.)

The frame and characteristics of the qualitative phenomenological research were considered the most appropriate for this study. Firstly, the research aimed to provide a description of subjects' experiences regarding their own migration to Finland. The subjects' experiences, feelings, beliefs, cultural values, relations and networks are the most valuable issues in constituting the living picture of their reality and of the mobility phenomenon.

The purpose of the study was not to arrive to a generalized perspective from the point of view of a vast number of persons, but to look at this phenomenon through the eyes of a small number of subjects and to arrive to an understanding of it, in the context of the specific sample. As a researcher, I looked at the phenomenon and at the research process with openness and curiosity towards the results. I was very interested in listening to what people have to say, the way they say it, the way they feel it and describe it. Dahlerberg describes openness as a characteristic of phenomenological studies:

Openness is the mark of a true willingness to listen, see and understand. It involves respect and certain humility towards the phenomenon, as well as sensitivity and flexibility (Dahlberg, 2001, 97.)

Another reason to use this type of research was the fact that the research area was not a much explored one. The recent migration of the Romanian Roma (after 2006) is a new

European mobility phenomenon noticed for the first time in Finland in relation with this specific group, so there was not much information available. At the same time, the researched topic required a lot of flexibility that could be supported by the phenomenological method (Mack, Woodson, Mac Queen, Guest, 2005.) The adaptation and the flexibility in this study were qualities that were applied at all levels and stages of the process: from the planning stages to sampling the interviews and to data collection methods and tools.

As a research method, I used the thematic semi-structured interview, since the focus was on gathering concrete individual details of the experiences described which could give a clear picture of the phenomenon and not abstract views. In this respect, I used questions such as: “Could you describe the situation back home?” that stimulated the narrative style of the interviews (Wertz, 2005.) The direction of the interviews was towards the participant’s feelings, beliefs, and convictions (Welman & Kruger, 1999, 196.)

The form of the qualitative interview is described as being non-directive, unstructured and non-standardised one (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, 88.) The interviews realised for this study can be described by the same characteristics. The structure of the interviews was built around three central themes, but their order varied, since that is one of the characteristics of the thematic interviews: the topics and themes are known before the interview but the exact order of questions is not decided beforehand. The themes of the interviews were: the pushing factors which acted as reasons for migrating from Romania, the pulling factors which acted as motives to come to Finland and how have these been experienced by the subjects at an individual level, community level and institutional level.

The flexibility provided by the semi-structured interview, was essential for this research process as well. Sensitive or intimate issues were discussed (Metsämuuronen, 2006, 115), such as the personal situation of the individuals and households in Romania, therefore there was a need to adapt the interviews almost for each participant’s style and personality. Moreover, this type of interview allowed an open, interactive and relaxed atmosphere that influenced in a positive way the sharing of thoughts. All the interviewed persons had a low level of education, and it was very important to make the

questions simple and clear, to explain them and to over check the answers for accuracy.

Bauer states:

Any possible misunderstandings involving both the interviewee and the interviewer can be prevented directly by means of clarifying questions and answers, immediate and fast collection of information, abundance and completeness of data (Bauer, 1996, 68.)

5.3 Data collection

The primary data for this study was collected in the project Roma on the Road, developed by Helsinki Deaconess Institute and the City of Helsinki. The Project was initiated on the 2nd of June 2008, since a new group of Romanian migrants, mainly the Roma, migrated to Finland and started to practice different street activities. The aim of the project was to find out the situation of this group and the reasons for which they have left Romania and migrated to Finland, as well as securing the acute humanitarian aid (Vesalainen, Leinonen, 2008, 3).

The project developed street work among the Romanian Roma people in the Helsinki city area and between June 3 and October 31, 2008, there have been 54 interviews were carried out by using the semi-structured interview method, and 24 of them were stored using digital recorder. The themes of the interviews were: the pushing factors that acted as reasons for migrating from Romania, the pulling factors that acted as motives for choosing Finland, and the experiences of the subjects on these aspects. All interviews were transcribed into Romanian and translated afterwards into Finnish. Later on, the information was included in the Mid-term report "From Day to day, from country to country - Objective: income" (Vesalainen, Leinonen, 2008).

I have established contact with the Roma on the Road project and we have agreed to get involved and do the practical research for my studies, I have expressed my interest in the project's themes and work since they were very much related to my academic and professional interests, as well as to my national identity roots. Moreover, since I participated in the street work and in taking the interviews mentioned above, I had the access to the interviewees and to the information obtained afterwards. I got interested and motivated in going further by analysing the data and I have built a study based on some of

the interviews gathered. I have expressed my interest in the research topic to the working team, they were interested in it and the Ethical Commission of the Helsinki Deaconess Institute approved it.

Using the random sampling network, I have randomly selected eight interviews from the ones mentioned previously, that represented twelve pages after the transcription. The only selection condition was that the interviews were addressed to the Romanian Roma who have recently migrated to Finland. I have also chosen those interviews because I was present when they were carried out. The eight interviews within the study are marked with a letter and a number: W 1, W 2, W 3... W 8 (W meaning a Romanian Roma, recent migrant to Finland). To be more precise, the sample was formed of eight Romanian Roma who migrated to Finland in 2008 out of which half were men and half women to keep the gender balance and diversity, but also because there weren't enough interviews taken from women.

Four of them belonged to the same Romanian Roma and relatives group, so they share the same or close living places in Finland and in Romania (Southern Romania). They also have similar lifestyles and values, family structure and organisation. Their migration to Finland might therefore have common aspects. On the other hand, the other four belonged to different, separated groups, which come from different areas and communities in Romania (North- Eastern regions of Romania, Western and Southern regions of Romania).

The average age was between 18 and 40 years old, and all had an average education, less than primary school, and no type of vocational education. Two of them spoke about brief work experience in picking vegetables and berries in other countries. They were all married or in a long term relationship with their partners and they all had at least two children back in Romania. Finland was not the first country of migration for them and they had been in other European countries before.

The reason why I chose this sample is because, firstly, I didn't have a fixed number of persons to be interviewed. I knew that the interviews were very different, and so was the data that they can bring out. Thus, I started to transcribe and analyse the interviews from the project until a saturation point was reached in my study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967.)

However, all the interviews I have chosen were the ones I had taken part in. I believe that this is important as I would have had direct contact with the interviewees, this giving a better understanding of the information provided, and I would be able to clarify the questions and answers.

Regarding the people interviewed, I thought it is important that they come from different families, that they are not relatives and that they belong to different Romanian geographical areas as this would ensure a wide range of different perspectives. The gender diversity could also bring up different issues and common aspects as well. However, choosing the sample was limited by the possibilities that the project has had in conducting the interviews and the will and participation in the interview of certain subjects.

5.4 Data analysis

For a phenomenological analysis, the aim of the investigator during the analysis process is the reconstruction of subject's inner experiences. Each individual has his own way of experiencing temporality, spatiality, materiality, but each of these coordinates must be understood in relation to the others and to the total inner 'world' (Hycner, 1999, 153-154.) For this study, this meant that I looked at the pieces that represented the push and pull phenomenon of migration at different levels and, at the same time, always looking at the wholeness of the migration phenomenon (Hycner, 1999, 161.)

During the first stage of the analysis, I followed the steps proposed by Hycner (1999) for the data analysis: bracketing and phenomenological reduction, delineating units of meaning, clustering of units of meaning to form themes, summarising each interview, validating it and, where necessary, modifying it, extracting general and unique themes from all the interviews and making a composite summary.

The first step, bracketing the data, consisted of listening and then reading and rereading the transcripts of the interviews and making notes on the thoughts that came up. The aim was to become more familiar with what the participants in the interview said and expressed and which are the pieces of the pulling and pushing migration mechanism for the Romanian Roma. The process helped me to become more familiar with the phe-

nomenon as it is described by the subjects (Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999.) The process was challenging since the interviews brought up a lot of unstructured data. Moreover, since the interviews were open and comfortable, there was a lot of irrelevant data as well. Also, a few answers had an ambiguous meaning or inexplicit language, so it was difficult to clearly understand – though the aim was to avoid this through direct explanations during the interview.

The second step consisted of emphasising the component data which is more significant for the research questions: statements that deepen the understanding of the researched phenomenon were extracted or isolated (Creswell, 1998; Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999.) Therefore, at this stage I was more selective with the data and I looked precisely at the relevant data. The clustering of unit's stage consisted of grouping together the data with a similar meaning in themes (Creswell, 1998; King, 1994, 26; Moustakas, 1994) so that new significant themes were found. For the study this was a challenging process, since each participant in the interview brought large and different perspectives, so it required a lot of work when organizing themes.

During this step I had already started to summarize each of the eight selected interviews. Common themes, but also unique variations, constituting a wholeness of the phenomenon were revealed (Hycner, 1999, 154.) Relevant variations were noticed in relation to the gender differences, but also in relation to the hometown area of migration and to the group or community that the respondents belonged to.

The second stage of the analysis had as aim to connect the findings brought up by the interview's data to the theoretical framework of the study, process which had already emerged during data processing. The approach used was an abducting one as a way to arrive to new findings from the data (Anderson 1995; Aapel 1967; Fann 1970; Hanson 1965; Reicherts 1991 b; Tursma, 1987; Wartenburg, 1971.) The reason for using the abduction was the goal of using both a logical as well as an innovative character in the process of linking the theory and the data and not missing the profound meanings (Flick, Kardorff, Steinke, 2004, 160.)

More precisely, I looked at the results of my study and tried to organise them into the System Theory of Migration and its three levels model of analysis. I searched the simi-

larities, connections, patterns and relationships between the two levels of information. I have reached the conclusion that the everyday expressions of the Romanian Roma were organised into expressions appropriate to the scientific discourse that supported the study (Sadala and Adorno, 2001, 289.) The process was very dynamic since the patterns between these levels were very complex, hidden and multilayered.

I have also paid a special attention to the profound meanings of the data and the differences and wholes between the theoretical framework of the study and the data brought up by the participants in the study. This level of analysis revealed relevant and new perspectives on the specific of the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland. It was obvious that there are gaps and differences between the system theory of migration and the migration of this group. Afterwards, I formulated and reported under specific themes the results that emerged from this process.

5.5 Reliability and validity of the study

The reliability and validity of the study were followed throughout the whole process. Lincoln and Guba describe the following as being criteria of reliability and validity: credibility, neutrality, conformability, consistency and applicability (1985, 300.) I will describe how these aspects were applied in the process, by emphasising their strengths and weaknesses.

Concerning the credibility of the study, I consider that a key strength is represented by the fact that I have spent a very long time doing field work due to my involvement in the project Roma on the Road. Therefore, there was a chance to get insights and orientation related to the world of the persons that were part of the study. If in the beginning the contact with their reality was superficial and vague, in time I succeeded in getting to the depths of the issue. The same thing happened to the subjects: if in the beginning they were not very interested in talking to me or they were wondering about my role and identity, in time we managed to build a relation based on trust and fairness. This is a very sensitive issue since the subjects are coming from a background where they faced unethical situations, so it is not enough to say that there will be confidentiality, you must gain their trust as well. Moreover, they might have had a bad relationship and bad

experiences with the authorities, and at the same time they might have been misunderstood, so a long contact brought a better understanding on my role.

However, I am a Romanian, but a non-Roma, so I can understand and be part of what they experience in Romania, as long as it does not affect the culture. Speaking of cultural aspects, the subjects regarded me as an outsider of their world and reality because I was not one of them, but the study did not seek to emphasise cultural issues.

As a validity method, debriefing was used in the study as well (Lincoln and Guba, 1985.) Considering my own bias implication in relation to the study – since I am myself a Romanian migrant in Finland I developed discussions with other project worker. My colleague was a Finnish person and had a strong contact with the Romanian migrants. I used this method in order to become aware about my implication in relation to the data.

For this research the only method applied to gather the data was the interview. There have been used eight interviews taken from eight subjects. Therefore, it can be argued that there were not used a diversity of methods and the data was limited. For a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the phenomenon, it would have been necessary to use different qualitative methods such as observation and diary. A possibility for triangulation of data would then have been available (Lincoln and Guba, 1985.) Also a bigger number of interviewed people could have been considered. However, the interviews presented gave very complex information and were gathered from subjects with different backgrounds. A small number of interviews allowed at the same time better quality and preparation for each developed interview.

No member check was formally conducted, but it was applied informally during discussions and meetings with the subjects after the interviews. I think that their continuous participation and confirmation of the data is a key issue for the validity as well as for the ethics of the research. However, the research was not done with each participant and it did not have a systematic frame due to the practical constrains.

The transferability of the results was approached in this study through the deep description (Geertz, 1973) of the information collected. This also represented a quality of the

phenomenological approach in the study that provides a description of the research questions as represented by the subjects. There was no tendency to summarize or to cut from the amount of information, especially at the first few steps in presenting the results.

Reflexivity was used as a tool for confirmation. Considering the issue:

A researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions (Malterud, 2001, 483-484.)

I reflected both my implication in the process as well as the paths of each step in the research. I achieved this by using a reflexive diary (Lincoln&Guba, 1985.) The research topic was strongly influenced by my bias. On one hand I was interested in finding out what pushes people to migrate from my home country and what pulls them to Finland – process that I also went through years ago, though it was a different context. As a Romanian, I was interested in understanding the Roma perspective. I could recognize my choice of using a phenomenological approach regarding my interest in psychology and philosophy. Also, my position regarding the participants of the study was the one of belonging to their group and reality, probably because of our common status: being a Romanian migrant in Finland.

There was no other audit research used that could prove or confirm the dependability of data in this study The reason for that is the fact that my desire was to provide a unique perspective on the Romanian Roma migration to Finland.

5.6 Research ethics

The research ethics has been very important for this research process not just because the study had to follow the research ethics of any qualitative study, but also because this was a study on a specific ethnic minority: the Romanian Roma minority.

A group being a European Ethnic minority has therefore been approached (the Roma) as well as an immigrant minority in the host country, Finland. The Ethical Commission of the Helsinki Deaconess Institute evaluated the research ethics for this study starting with the planning stage. The permission to use the interviews gathered by the project was handed to the Ethical Commission of the Helsinki Deaconess Institute and approved.

The fundamental ethics frame is represented by the framework offered by the Belmont Report (National Institutes of Health, 1979) and had as core values the respect and dignity for the persons, benefits, justice and respect for communities (Weijer, Goldsand, Emanuel, 1999.) In practice it was not always easy to find tools and methods to apply and support these values at all research levels. Moreover, being aware of the codes of ethics (Rubin&Rubin, 1995, 96, as quoted in Patton, 2002, 411) was only a step forward, but afterwards the actual process brought up challenging ethical situations and questions. For example I had to think how to develop the research process without affecting the relation between the subjects and the communities that they belonged to. That was a problem knowing that the Roma people are strongly connected with their groups and communities.

A special attention was paid to the informed consent of the participants in the research, as a tool for ensuring respect and dignity for the participants (Family Health International, 2005, 9.) All the participants in the interview have been informed and explained details: the research topic and questions, what the results will be used for, their voluntary based participation and possibility to interrupt the cooperation at any time and the protection of their identity and confidentiality. Moreover, it was very important that the subjects understand the research – their low level of education and poor Romanian language skills required special vocabulary and explanatory tools. None of them accepted to be part of the study before they consulted their close relatives; in the case of women especially the husband's permission was necessary. An oral consent was agreed with each of the participants and with the communities they belonged to. A Written consent was avoided due to confidentiality issues and to the fact that half of the participants were illiterate.

The subjects' identities were protected and confidentiality was ensured. I assured each participant that I will keep any information for myself about anything they share in relation to outsiders or to the other participants in the study. No names or data that could reveal their identity appeared in any written material or in the research report. The interview materials were taken from the Helsinki Deaconess Institute and returned after they have been transcribed. The written information was stored in safe places and destroyed after there was no need of it.

The semi-structured interview research method was respected, as well as the ethical issues. Therefore, language was used as a tool in order to be understood and not to influence the answers. The educational level of the interviewed persons, as well as that their native language (undetermined, a mixture of Roma language elements and Romanian language) were aspects that were considered when formulating the questions. Romanian language as a household language for the Roma was not used for the interviews in order not to need a translator between the subjects and myself as a researcher. Therefore, I have used Romanian since all interviewed persons had a very good level of spoken language. However, I paid a special attention in clarifying the misunderstandings, unclear questions and answers.

A central ethical question for this study was the one related to conducting research among an ethnic minority group: the Roma. According to literature, the race and cultural influences and differences (Chow, Wilkinson, Zinn, 1996) should be aspects that the researcher should be aware of. One of the culturally sensitive issues regarding the Romanian Roma participants was the process of building trust. It took a long time to gain the trust of the group and to make my role clear and understood so that I can proceed with the interview. I have faced another problem: the participation of the Roma women in the interview. I had to have group discussions as well as talks with their husbands or other male relatives and have their consent. They have also known about the Roma on the Road project and they knew us as project workers, so I was asked if they had to accept to be part of the interview because they have to or because they need to please me or the project. I have explained to them that it is all on a voluntary basis.

The relation between me as head researcher and the subjects had ethical implications as well and involved a dual way of influence and interaction: myself – the Roma subjects

and the Roma subjects – I. Therefore, I carefully reflected on the role of my own bias in the research process. Personal attitudes and beliefs in relation to the Roma ethnic group and possible influences on the process were revised as well (Fouad, Nadya A. & Arredondo Patricia, 2006, 390.)

I was a Romanian migrant in Finland conducting a study among the Romanian Roma, being specified the fact that the Roma community in Romania is an ethnic minority. Moreover, my status in Finland is one of an international student and migrant worker, while their status was one of temporary migrants practicing mainly street activities. All these aspects raised questions in relation to the power dynamics and openness and fairness during the process. There were many times when people referred to me as being a Romanian, thus a person who understands the hometown context that they are talking about. On the other hand, when they described Roma related aspects, they treated me as an outsider of their own world, since I was Romanian so I cannot understand them or enter their ethnic area. I had previously gained values, ideas and thoughts about the Romanian Roma, so I needed time to become aware of them and diminish their impact on the study as much as possible.

Collecting information on ethnical basis is another aspect that has to be considered when developing studies among the Roma. Literature presents a position according to which collection of data on ethnic basis have had only negative impacts on the Roma communities, especially by increasing the stereotypes and prejudices. On the other hand, there is a position according to which data on the Roma is required in order to develop policies and projects that are culturally sensitive (Council of Europe, 2000). The researchers interviewed persons who identified themselves as being Roma and were sensitive towards keeping the confidentiality and rights of this group and avoiding stereotyping. Therefore, the sampling of the population in this study did not have an ethnical basis, but an emphasis on those persons who have recently migrated from Romania to Finland. The outcome showed that all of the interviewed persons were from Romania and described their ethnical background as being a Roma.

5.7 The role of the researcher

Since the role of the researcher has a power to impact not only the scientific quality, but also the ethical base of a research, I have strongly considered the ethical commitment of the researcher concretized both in actions and principles (Kvale, 1996; Eisner & Peshkinn, 1990, 244.) It was visible that the planning process in relation to these aspects was not enough, since ethical dilemmas in relation to the role of the researcher emerged while conducting the process itself.

The voice of the person who conducted the study was directly present in the text, through the pronoun “I”. I chose this approach in order to make my role recognized as an active observer in the study. Concerning the participants in the study, I took the general approach of conducting a study among their experiences rather than “experiences of them”. The motivation for that was the ethical implication of the first mentioned approach (Wolcott, 2001).

As a researcher, I have organised, as well as applied, the interviews. Therefore, I represented the main tool in obtaining information and the most important factors for the research process were honesty, fairness, knowledge and experience (Kvale, 1996, 117.) These are aspects related to the bias and my multiples roles as a project worker and the one who conducted the study. The interviewed persons were familiar with me from the street work organised by the project Roma on the Road. So one question is if the subjects’ answers were influenced by their attitudes, feelings or expectations towards the project itself or by our previous relation? On the other hand, my double role could have had a good impact since it was not the first contact, so the persons who were interviewed felt comfortable and at ease during the interviews.

Moreover, the fact that I shared the same nationality as them and the migrant status in Finland had an effect as well. The subjects shared a type of common understanding and trust that I can understand what they say and their background, since we have origins in the same country. At the same time, I belonged to the Non-Roma group, so they sometimes spoke to me as to an outsider of their Romani world, especially in relation to cul-

tural aspects. It was very important to be sensitive towards these details and differences and to build trust so they can discuss freely and express them. Further discussions around these issues will be developed in the chapter concerning the validity and limitations of the study.

Regarding the role of the researcher and ethics, literature speaks about three roles in relation to: the researcher's role in relation to the scientific reliability, the persons that were interviewed, and to the own independence towards the data gathered. The first aspect mentioned has been clearly emphasised in this study especially because of my bias and connection to the data. Most of the answers and questions had ties with my own experience, a Romanian migrant in Finland. So, I had to pay attention to my own output during the interview process, in order not to influence the subjects or the data.

The second aspect reflects the relation developed between the researcher and the persons who are interviewed (Kvale, 1996, 118.) According to Glesne and Peshkin (1992) there are a few typical roles that researcher involved in qualitative processes is taking: exploiter, reformer, advocate or friend. The last aspect highlights the researcher's ability to keep the research process as independent as possible. Therefore, the researcher should have the capacity to operate independently towards the results of the research and to avoid emphasising or diminishing the importance of specific issues because they represent his own interests. Another issue is that by using the interview as a research tool, there is a mutual dialogue developed between the researcher and the subjects that might affect the professional distance that should be considered by the researcher. That can influence the results of the research, since the reports show everything from the perspective of the subjects (Kvale, 1996, 118).

5.8 Professional development during the research process

The research process was a very complex and rewarding one in relation to the achievements and the continuous learning process. There were different themes for the skills acquired: knowledge about how to conduct research, the topic of my own research and the subjects of the study, my own interests and future professional prospects.

During the process I have developed a better understanding of the qualitative research and especially of the phenomenology. It was very challenging to design and apply the theoretical levels at all levels of the research. However, I understood for example that the phenomenological approach is very close to my personality and understanding of reality. From the research process the ethical consideration represented as well a new area for me, but one that I felt very interested in. Moreover, I have developed my own professional understanding that for me the ethical aspects are the most important, therefore under no reasons I would threaten the community or environment of a research group.

The area of research developed academic themes that I am very interested in is Migration, as a very dynamic and complex umbrella concept, which represents my main area of interest. The study has also given me the understanding that assessing the reasons for migration in a mass quantitative way is not enough in order to understand such a unique and individual process. I have also developed an understanding of new trends and movements in the migration area, and the need to be aware of them and not just to classify them under “ready made boxes”. That is the clear example of the Roma who answered to this study and are constructing a continuous migration and return migration process in their living.

The Romanian Roma people as participants for the study meant a professional achievement for me. First of all, I have learned a lot about the need of being culturally sensitive. That was very visible in the study process and required tools and understanding. One of the questions was “How to involve Roma women in the study, if their families won’t allow that?”. Very interesting issue was developing research in relation to a minority group. I have tried to learn a lot about how to minimize the power relations at a concrete level. The ethical issue of conducting research without threatening the Roma community required a lot of development as well.

The research process had a strong impact on my future academic plans. I have fulfilled my interest in developing my knowledge and practice in the area of migration studies and migration research. For example, I planned that I will continue to study the migration of the Romanian Roma people in the context of different European countries.

Comparative studies that would present also the perspective of the subjects that did not migrate from the home communities would be very valuable as well.

Recommendations on the flexibility on the labour market for washing dishes or this kind of job, do you need a university or to speak lots of language? If the state really wants to receive people, it could be more flexible triple jeopardy or instability for women.

6. MIGRATION CULTURE AS A LIVELYHOOD STRATEGY

The data gathered and analyzed by the study is presented in this chapter. The data is organized and represented by using the model micro, meso and macro levels model (Faist 2000, 31-32), introduced in the theoretical part. Therefore, each chapter describes one of these levels in relation to the pushing or pulling conditions of migration. The result was a description of the migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland, as a result of the interaction of the push and pulling conditions (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992, 4.) Moreover, a image of the system of migration in between Romania and Finland from the perspective of the Romanian Roma people who migrated here in 2008, was constituted as well.

6.1 Poor socio-economic status of the households

The micro level of migration (Durkheim, 1964, 28), represented by the groups close to the subjects and their socio-economical situation was described as being the central push factor for the migration from the home country. What it was described to be as a micro level was not the individual level but the one of the nuclear family and mostly the extended family of the subjects. The ties to the family structure and to the situation of the households were pictured as very strong and important one and a key issue in the migration mechanism. Basically, all subjects constructed their discourses around the family group; they always started to speak about the push factors from Romania on behalf of their family context and household reasons and not on their individual situations. Table 4, represents the main findings of the study in relation to the micro level characteristics of the migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland.

TABLE 4

<p>MICRO LEVEL described through: Household and Family Situation Expectations Values</p>	<p>Pushing factors of migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The poor socio-economical status of the household in the home country: <p>Poverty Unemployment Poor Housing Conditions Risk to skip school for children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Responsibility and Obligations to provide access to resources for the extended family ▪ Expectations <p>Short term: secure and improve wealth, status, comfort and autonomy</p> <p>Long term (not much emphasized, but mentioned): Returning migration- improving the social status in the home country and returning there.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Values <p>Model of migration learned from the family or community members as an answer to the socio economic status of the households</p>
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A poor economical status of the family was mentioned by each interviewed person as a main cause for leaving the country. Through this it was meant that the families' did not have enough resources or means to generate income. The income of the household could not cover the basic needs for all members of the household. Lack of food resources, clothing, housing facilities and school items were commonly mentioned as challenges that families faced.

I have two children and my wife doesn't work. We live on the social benefits and then we work sometimes as daily workers. But the money is not enough. We live from one day to another (W8).

...and then you ask yourself why are the Roma people leaving from their country? Don't you have to leave if you are starving, or what shall you do? (W 3)

We left Romania because we don't have with what to live. We are poor, we don't have work, we don't have anything (W7).

Lack of employment was the first cause mentioned for the lack of income and therefore a consequence for leaving the country. Unemployment was described as well as a characteristic of the household or of the extended family. None of the people interviewed had legal paid job since after 1989 – the year when a democratic regime has started in Romania, neither did the extended family members. The only jobs that were mentioned were the so called “munca neagra”, which refers to the daily jobs that were found on the black market. These jobs were described as unsecure, lacking financial consistency and sustainability in supporting the family and requiring lots of work. Especially the men described in many details the possibilities to find work and the difficulties related to the daily work on the black market.

In Romania the only possibility is to work as a daily worker for 30 RON a day, as a daily worker in agriculture. How much is 30 RON? About €8. How can nine persons live with €8 a day? And also as a daily worker, there is not much work available...You don't have work everyday. The land was given to big associations, so there is no work. (W 4)

The lack of employment opportunities was described as a result of several factors that are mainly related to the political and economical structures in Romania of the macro level of migration (Faist, 2000, 32.) The majority of the interviewed people found the cause of this in the collapse of the communistic regime in Romania and the instauration of the capitalistic market. All people used to work during the communistic regime, there were workplaces distributed automatically back then, and if they did not accept the work they were sent to jail. When democracy and capital market were established, people had to secure independently their work places. The association between this and the lack of education, qualifications and skills required on the labour market, had as result minimal work possibilities that all the interviewed people shared.

I was working at the communist farms and my family could live then on Ceausescu's time. But when the farms were closed, everything was closed and there were not workplaces anymore (W 5).

During the Ceausescu's time everyone worked both the poor and the rich. After he died, all factories were closed. Private companies are using lots of machines so they do not need so much manual workforce (W 7).

There are people with university degree and can't find work in Romania. So what can we find? We don't have any other possibilities. For exam-

ple, nowadays, the private companies are hiring just only qualified people even in the building industry. And we do not have any diplomas (W7).

Another aspect related to the lack of employment was, firstly the disharmonious relation between the work possibilities the work related efforts and the income generated, and secondly between the incomes generated and the possibilities to support one's own house-hold. To concretize, many people felt the impossibility to support their family with the income obtained by daily black market work. Moreover, the uncertainty that you can have two or ten days work during a month was expressed as not being very motivating.

I have six children. Right now in Romania to work as a daily worker in agriculture on the informal market, I would get 30 RON a day that means around €8. How can eight people live with €8? (W8)

Another element of the poor socio-economical status of the households, and a push factor for leaving Romania was the poor housing condition of the households and through this we mean the overcrowding in one house. Several extended families had to share the premises of the same small house or of the same room. Another aspect related to the housing conditions was the one concerning the housing facilities such as: running water, electricity and poor warming system. There was little access to these facilities.

We don't have a house... we don't have windows... there are four families living in one room, my brother's family, my parents' and my sister's. We don't have a house, none of us, so that's why we sleep in the same place (W1)

I live in a hut - with all my children and nephews. No water running system, no warming system no electricity in an empty hut (W3).

The risk of abandoning school for the children after the primary school or soon after represented a household push factor with roots in the poor socio-economic status as well. The people described that they are pushed to go away from their households in order to provide financial possibilities to buy clothing and books for the children to be able to go to school. The nine grades education itself was described to be free of charge in Romania, but on the other hand providing the necessary items for attending school is a big responsibility and puts a lot of pressure on the families.

School is starting in autumn. We have to buy clothes, shoes books, pens for our four children. How can you send them to school without this? That's why we have to go abroad to make money (W9).

The value of education in the context of this mechanism was seen differently by each subject. Some of them had strong feelings that they have to make sure that their children have everything they need to go to school, since the education is the only tool to have accessibility to the labour market and therefore to have better socio-economic situation in the future. On the other hand, some other subjects don't believe in better opportunities for their children in what education is concerned. When talking about educating their children, the levels that they had as a target are mainly the eight or nine grades of schooling. In the case of girls the level was up to four grades or five grades, since afterwards they were supposed to help with the housework.

An aspect that was not directly emphasized, but was present in all interviews was the one related to the situation of the children left at home while their parents or one parent being pushed to earn income abroad. Most of the time the older brothers and sisters are actually responsible for the households, being exposed to many risks, out of which one is also the one of abandoning school. The subjects describe this as a normal component of the migration process and experience and not as its cost.

6.2 Lack of employment versus migration culture

Regarding the push factors of migration, at a micro level, some of the Romanian Roma's individual values, desires and expectations were described (Faist, 2000, 31). As already mentioned the micro level was not strongly emphasized as an individual level but described through the perspective of the households and extended family.

The lack of education and professional qualification was described main reason for the lack of employment opportunities on the Romanian labour market and therefore as a pushing factor for migration. A gender difference was visible in relation to aspects. Most of the men graduated after eight years and had some work experience. On the other hand, all women were illiterate and went to school and attended about four years. They did not have any work experience, except those who were older and had been

working on the farms during the communism. These aspects were regarded by some subjects as a consequence of the families and household situation: big family network that needs support or lack of financial means to support the education process. Others, especially in regards to women, emphasized the role of Roma culture concerning education. According to that women do not attend school for more than four years, since afterwards they are at home with their families and learn the housekeeping work.

I had 6 siblings. After I went for four years to school, I had to stay at home to help with the housekeeping and to baby sit my brother (W3).

For us Roma, women don't go to school so much. I, for example stopped going to school when I was 13 years old. Two years after I got married and one year later I had my first child. So I didn't learn any profession afterwards (W 6).

The study found that a culture of migration or a model of migration characterizes the migration of the Romanian Roma (European Commission - Eurostat, 2000.) The migration decision and attitudes had at the base the models of their friends or relatives who migrated abroad and succeeded in improving their welfare. So the subjects themselves preferred to look for opportunities outside Romania than to seek them in the home country. This was not feasible for the women who seemed to have a passive role and follow their male friends or relatives.

At the expectation level, the subjects had either immediate expectations or long term expectations. The expectations that acted as a push factor for migration were securing and improving wealth, status, comfort and autonomy (Faist, 2000, 31.) Especially in the case of the men, it was felt that they are the ones which have to secure the wealth of the family. In relation to the to the long term expectation, the Romanian Roma hoped for a return migration and settlement in the home country. For example, they expected that the situation of their home household will improve in few years, so they will return there. Their future plans were related to building life in the home country and not in the migration country.

Who knows maybe the salaries and life will be better in Romania. I hope that, and I hope I can go to work there and sleep with the head on my pillow and in my bed (W 8).

6.3 The failure of the socio-political system

The push factors at the macro level emerged already through the answers related to the meso level of the migration mechanism. The push factors were always described as a characteristic of the households but immediately in the discourse they found roots in the macro situation of the country of origin, Romania. The main push factors associated to this level were economical - the lack of job opportunities and wages that would support the living of the households; political ones - corruption; social - the lack of sustainability and access to social benefits and health care services (Table 5).

TABLE 5

<p>MACRO LEVEL described through: Economic Factors Political Factors Social Factors Health System related Factors</p>	<p>Pushing factors of migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Economic Factors <p>Unemployment as a consequence of the present capitalist market and its requirements</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political Factors <p>Lack of trust in authorities, Corruption Lack of transparency and reliability Lack of power / Voice inside the system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social Factors <p>Lack of efficiency of the social support benefits in reports related to the needs of families Conditions for the eligibility and accessibility of the social benefits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Health System related Factors <p>Eligibility and accessibility to the health care public services</p>
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The lack of employment opportunities was already described as a characteristic of the household's. The main mechanism described in regards to the macro pushing factors was the capitalist labour market in Romania. That was very deeply described through a

comparison to the communist labour mechanism. On one side, the communistic labour possibilities were seen as being available and secure for everyone, besides the level of education and profession. On the other hand, the present capitalist market in Romania was seen as inaccessible, requiring skills and experience that our subjects did not have, discriminatory and unequal. Moreover, the present official labour market in Romania was seen as a system that the Romanian Roma cannot access.

The macro level was represented through some of the political aspects in Romania as well. Corruption, lack of transparency and interest for the welfare of the citizens were described. Especially the lack of trust in local as well as national authorities were emphasized and the lack of power for influencing the political decisions:

No one listens to us, they push us outside from the City Hall when we go there (...) Our future is in the hands of our government, in what they decide (W6).

The lack of financial sustainability of the social support system for the households was described as an element of the pushing mechanism of migration as well. All the interviewed persons and their families have been long term users of social support benefits. Social support was said to be main source of income for the households. For example, one lady described how she used to buy food from the shop without an immediate payment, but leaving as a guarantee the coupons for the children's benefits.

I mean in Romania we don't make any money, we live from one day to another. If you have money today you eat, if not you don't. We take for example food from the shop on debts and then when the children's benefits are coming we are paying back. We buy food as long as we have money from the children's monthly allowance. (W 1)

People complained that the money coming from the monthly social benefits are not enough for supporting a family, especially a family with many members. Because of the low financial power of the money received, families fail to cover their monthly basic needs.

We have a social benefit of €20, from which we cannot support so many persons, seven or eight members of the family. Romania helps us with a social benefit of just €20 a month (W 2).

For example, in Romania one egg is almost 4 RON - that means €1 and for us who have three children we have to buy at least ten eggs to eat one lunch. So where to get these money from? (W1).

The child benefit is around €7 a month. What can you do with €7, you buy a hamburger and they are finished and you have to wait a month for that. Do you think that is good? (W 3).

Moreover, social benefits for adults were presented as a support that it is not received automatically by each family, but as a reward for doing work in the benefit of the community. Most of the people mentioned that in their municipalities you have to do at least nine days work in the benefit of the community in order to be eligible to receive social support. Subjects considered that the amount of money received as a social support doesn't remunerate fairly the amount of work that they do in the benefit of the community. Moreover, that money is not enough in order to sustain the stability of the families. Furthermore, the eligibility to access social support was represented as a subjective decision depending on the authorities' preferences towards specific people or linked to corruption.

The delivery and availability of social benefits were also described as being a random one, depending on the financial possibilities of the municipalities and the willingness of the mayor. The financial crisis through which Romania is going through was mentioned as a factor that makes the situation of the municipalities even more critical in distributing social benefits.

The access to social benefits was strongly connected to the access to health services. Unemployed people and the users of social benefits have an automated health insurance under the Romanian health public system. In case people are not registered as users of social benefits they fail to have the health insurance coverage as well. That has a direct consequence on the financial possibility to access the health care services.

Not everyone has a social support it's up to wishes of the authorities, who gets and who doesn't get social benefits. If he they don't want they just don't approve your applications (W3).

The subjects described concretely how they experienced the situations when they needed the public healthcare systems and realized that they do not have a health insur-

ance anymore so they had to pay for the services themselves. On the other hand, the private sector is too expensive in order to be accessed.

Also related to accessibility to healthcare, only one subject mentioned discrimination against Roma as a push factor. Actually she did not directly describe it as a discrimination act against the Roma but as an inequality act. The subject described how she went to the hospital and she was refused to receive services while at the same time discriminatory comments were made by the health professionals.

6.4 Perspectives for securing vs. improving wealth

The data collected in relation to the pulling dynamics of migration was also organized at three levels of migration. At a micro level the factors which influenced the migration to Finland was linked by the Romanian Roma people with their expectation, values and culture of migration, as it can be noticed in Table 6.

TABLE 6

<p>MICRO LEVEL described through: Household and Family Situation Expectations Values</p>	<p>Pulling factors of migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Household necessities and expectations: Securing and improving survival, wealth and socio economic status of the household in the home country through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generation of Income in Finland - Practicing street activities in Finland ▪ Values Necessity for a migration culture Migration as a family characteristic of survival ▪ Link to the family/community Community values as individual values –migration culture transmitted among communities and families.
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The main pulling force regarding the migration to Finland was the perspective of generating income and securing the wealth of the family back in the home country. The main plan in relation to this was to do either formal work or to practice informal street activities to get money, such as begging, playing music or selling flowers. Most of the time, the focus was on these last mentioned activities, since there were more realistic chances to access them. It was seen that the estimated generated income from these activities represents much more than the income they can generate in Romania and has the potential to sustain the basic needs of the family back home.

I am just playing music in the streets, in order to send money to my family back home. From the money that I earn, I save and if I make €50 in a week, then I send it to them. So in Romania, the whole family can live with €50 a week (W4).

The pulling decision was described also as a result for improving the situation of the family in the home countries. For example, some individuals expressed the motivation for coming abroad and working in order not just to secure the present situation of their families, but also to make savings and achieve different goals for the house hold. Main plans were to improve the condition of the houses where they are living or to simply get some savings that could sustain the needs of the family when they are in Romania.

Some other people also mentioned that they accumulated debts in Romania, so migration was represented as the only solution to pay them back.

We came here to beg, to make some money, to save some money. We stay here until the cold weather comes, then we go to Romania, and we have some money saved. Then with the savings we buy food, shoes for the children for us, we can also put some savings in order to renovate a house etc (W1).

I have found a room and a kitchen and they asked me €1700... So I thought I want to beg and save this money here in Finland or I would find someone to help me so I can buy my own house in the village (W3).

The most relevant aspect related to the plan to improve the living through earning income abroad, was the purchasing power in Romania with the income gained in Finland. It was obvious, that the interviewed persons rely on the fact that the income that they get in Finland has a higher power to sustain the family compared to the income they

would get in Romania. Therefore, they presumed and calculated that the income gained by one member of the family from street activities will be enough to cover the costs for the basic needs for the whole family back in Romania.

If I make €50 a week I send them back home to the family. So every week or every two weeks I must make around €50 and send them. With €50 you can live almost one week in Romania (W4).

Another aspect related to the pulling micro level of migration was the tendency towards a necessity for a migration culture. Most of the interviewed persons were not migrating for the first time. They have been temporary migrants in some other countries, so Finland was just a new destination but not a first country of migration. Most of them had to build their lives around temporary migration experiences for the last six years or more. By temporary migration experience we mean that they were spending a few months in a certain country, generating income and afterwards going back to the home country or moving to another destination country. The length of the migration to a country was influenced by the local socio-economic situation or by their own expectations and networks in regards to another destination country. The connection to the home country has always been very strong through the relatives left home and the money sent.

Two years ago I was in Spain. We had a good life there, but afterwards we decided to move to Germany. I was in Norway as well, before coming to Finland. (...) I made some money to refurbish one of the rooms where we live in Romania (W6).

The need for migration culture was described as a characteristic of the extended family life. Therefore, most of the subjects explained how their extended family members are practicing street activities or working in some other European country in order to secure their living. Some subjects themselves had temporary migration experience even since they were an adolescent and they were migrating abroad together with their parents or older brothers. Therefore, migration was part of their families' and households' history. Only one person came from another Romanian region and for whom the migration has been ongoing for the last two years.

My parents are in Ireland with my brother's family. They have been there before as well, so they know the country. Maybe I will go there also after leaving Finland (W7).

6.5 The support of the family and networks of friends/social networks

A main pulling factor of migration at the meso level is represented by the migration network ((Massey, 1987; Boyd, 1989, Fawcett, 1989.) It has been revealed in this study as well that almost all Roma migrants had a network in the destination country Finland before going there. The network of migration had as a central point the family or the inhabitants of the same community in the home country, and was pictured through different elements such as the information provided, the design of specific models and expectations and the support in the migration act. The migration patterns at the meso level of the pull factors can be noticed in the table 7.

TABLE 7

<p>MESO LEVEL described through: Social ties – strong ties extended families and household in the home country Romania.</p>	<p>Pulling factors of migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Migration networks providing and shaping: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information Models and Expectations Support during the migration process and in the destination country ▪ Support organization in the destination country <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experiences from the previous migrations and expectations that there will be support organizations in the destination country
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Information proved to be an important pull factor for migration. In migration studies information as a pull factors is considered to affect the migration decision as well as the choice of the specific country of destination (Hugo, 1987.) In this study the information area that was described to be part of the pulling decision was very diverse. The opportunities for generating income was one of them and was described as a result of the economical development of the country and the fact that there are not many foreign groups practicing street activities in Finland. The work opportunities and the level of wages in Finland compared to the one in Romania were other valuable information for the mi-

grants. There was also information concerning the EU regulation in crossing the borders. The subjects had no knowledge about the rights and regulations, but they were aware just of the fact that they can cross the borders since Romania it is a Member State. Most of the time the information was presented as vague, imprecise and explained through the experience of others and not by official sources:

I heard that we can get more money here. You do make €15-20 a day, and then we buy food and we save the rest of the money (W 1).

One boy said to me that there is work to be done. He promised me to work in constructions... He said that the salary will be 2500 every two weeks. When I arrived here, he said that there is no work. So we had to do something to get money, and we started to play music (W7).

The information was not necessarily a verbal one, but it might have been the concrete example of one family in the home community who succeeded to improve the wealth of the household through the income generated in a foreign country. That is why the fragments of verbal or visual information have proved to be supplemented by the imaginative approach of one's own expectations and desires of improving the life quality of their own household. No one thought carefully how the wealth was achieved none of the previous migrants seemed to give complete information.

One of our neighbours was begging in Finland. People used to give a lot of money to beggars back in those times, since they had money to build a small house when they came back. Now it looks like people don't give money to beggars anymore (W1).

Another information area is the one related to the social protection that they can access in the destination country. This type of information is related not only to what they heard about Finland, but also to their own expectations and experiences from earlier migration European countries. Therefore, the subjects had information and the expectations that they can receive some support regarding housing and financial support as well as child benefits if the case requires so. This type of information was associated also to the rights of the seekers who get this type of support in Finland. However, the information was not complete or based on official sources, but mixed with one's own expectations and desires.

In any European country, you get some social support if you don't have a place to sleep or what to eat (...) why do the Bosnian Roma get social benefits in Finland, for example? (W2)

The subject's didn't offer any official information related to the EU migration regulation, labour market regulations and situation in Finland, health care system, education system, tax system, or legal regulations. Most of them didn't know any information about Finland except the fact that it's a: wealthy, cold country... (W6)

The information is passed further on through the family or friends who have already been in Finland or persons related to these sources. This was not described directly and was somehow it was kept as a secret area. However, from the discussion it was pictured that relatives, friends or neighbours from the home community, who have had migrated to this country provided the migration experience and information. Official sources or organizations were not mentioned at all as a source of information.

Providing information is not the only component of the networking mechanism. Different types of assistance, financing the travelling costs, supporting housing or other facilities in the destination country are part of the networking mechanism as well (Choldin, 1973; Gurak and Kritz, 1987; Hugo, 1981.) For most of the Romanian Roma people who have migrated to Finland, there was a network in their home communities that facilitated the transportation to Finland. In similar cases this is brought up by subjects were transporting the people to Finland by bus. It was mentioned that payment for this service can be done after generating income in the destination country. Some other subjects had their own relatives who assured transportation by bus, so the costs were not so high.

A boy from our village brought us - he brought me free of charge, and when I go back I have to give him back €200. So I have a debt for these trips (W4).

We came by some bus; some people organized a common transportation. We didn't sleep during the night. There were 20 people in a bus that is meant to transport 9 people. So you can imagine how we felt during this trip (W2).

Among the same groups extended family represented a source of support with regards to the housing places and other types of support. The subjects of the interview were all members of different Romanian Roma groups in Finland. So they did not mention clear

connections between the groups but between their members. This type of support was described as a natural, ethnical characteristic of the Roma people.

The migration networks and their support were represented by relatives and friends and not any organizations or official sources. This aspect might arise questions concerning the existence of such organizations in the home countries or their credibility among the migrants. Secondly, the premises that low socio-economical status migrants do not usually access any other sources than the family and community connections, might be confirmed by the study (Fawcett&Arnold, 1987, 671- 675).

The role of gender in migration as a pushing and pulling factor has been recognized in migration studies (Boyle, 2002; Chant, 1992; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992; De Jong 200; Ellias, 1996; Fincher, 1993). This study did not mean to focus on gender differences. Therefore, the network characteristics were visibly different for the Romanian Roma women and Romanian Roma men. It was obvious that men had more information and networking contacts than women. The Romania Roma women shared mainly the information that was transmitted by their male partners or relatives. Therefore, having or knowing a member of a network in the destination country, usually represented by the partner or a close relative was much more important and common for the women and was also a pull factor of migration.

I came here because my husband heard that we can get a better income. I don't know how to read, write or speak foreign languages, but my husband knows because he went to school. So he can speak English when we need that (W3).

6.6 The perspective of welfare in the Nordic countries

Analyzing the data related to the macro level of migration, it was visible that the Romanian Roma migrants didn't mention so many factors that attracted them to come to Finland. They rather spoke about general positive aspects related to migrating to Northern Europe or several countries in this region. The pulling conditions associated to their migration are represented in Table 8.

TABLE 8

<p>MACRO LEVEL described through: Economic Factors Political Factors Social Factors Health System related Factors</p>	<p>Pulling factors of migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Economics <p>Better economical situation- possibilities for higher income</p> <p>Different currencies in Romania Finland – Better power of purchase in the home country</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Politics <p>Regulation of Spatial Mobility –EU Directive for Free Mobility inside EU(Finland and Romania EU members)</p> <p>Finland and Scandinavia – a new destination country for migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Socio –politics <p>Trust on the social welfare system support</p>
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As a macro level pulling factor of migration the economic ones were most often mentioned. What was expressed through this, were the different income possibilities between Romania and Finland. The subjects did not have so much information about the economical situation of Finland as a country but they knew that it is a country where you can get better income than in Romania.

From whom should I beg in my village? Most of the people are in the same situation as me. So that's why I come and beg in Finland (W5).

Another aspect related to the economic attraction was the fact that the money gained in Finland had a greater power of purchase used on the Romanian market. The two countries still have different currencies (Euros and RON) and different market prices. As the subjects and their families planned to save money in Finland and use that in different ways in Romania was a very good stimulating factor to choose Finland as a country of destination.

Finland as a new destination country for Romanian Roma people was as well a relevant pulling factor for migration. Most of the subjects expressed the fact that Finland is a country where there are not many migrants practicing street activities compared to their

previous destinations such as Spain or Italy. Therefore, Finland was described as a new market for generating income.

In Spain it was good we could have free lunch at different organizations and shelter for homeless people. In Romania no one cares if you can support your daily living or not (W3).

As for the political aspects, people expressed a general view that the borders have been open ever since Romania became a European Union Member State, so the freedom and possibilities for migrating were very accessible nowadays. However, the subjects had nearly no any information on the migration rights and responsibilities inside the European Union borders or in Finland.

A socio-political aspect was meant to act as a pulling mechanism as well. Many of the subjects relied on the fact that in case they are not going to manage to secure their basic needs in Finland the social welfare authorities will provide support and secure those needs. Another aspect mentioned by them was the existence of any type of support organisations such as churches or non-governmental support organisations that could help them. They believed that the Finnish authorities would take better responsibility of these matters than the Romanian authorities for example. This idea came mainly from the networking information received but also from previous experiences that they have faced in different European countries.

In Spain it was good we could have free lunch at different organizations and shelter for homeless people. In Romania no one cares if you can support your daily living or not (W3).

The strong contrast between the male and female subjects was visible at this level. The women did not have such strong attitudes or arguments for choosing Finland as a destination country. Most of the time, their individual attitude were taken from their male partners or relatives. Some of them did not have any information about the country they arrived in, before coming to Finland. The males made usually the migration decisions and destinations plans, as well as took care of the practical aspects. However, the women think this is normal since the men are the "heads of the household". Thou it was not directly expressed it was visible that the women migration was shaped by the males attitudes and beliefs.

7. DISCUSSION

7.1 Household migration decisions as a survival strategy

The results of the empirical analysis shows that the push and pull determinants of migration at the micro level found their roots in the social units of the individuals, the Romanian Roma people, such as family and households. This confirms the importance of the social choice approach as a determinant of migration in the new economics theories (Stark, 1991).

The meaning of the household for the Romanian Roma people was very similar to the approach described in the report of the European Communities: Push and Pull Factors of International Migration, published in 2000. The study showed that the households in the case of Romanian Roma people were formed by more persons living together- usually members of the nuclear and extended family - who made common arrangements in order to support the subsistence and daily necessities of the group (European Communities, 2000). Therefore, the micro level is generating pushing and pulling determinants of migration assumed collectively by the migrant's networks.

The research proved that at the micro level of migration, both the push and pull factors are related to the impossibility to secure the socio-economical wealth of the family in the home country and the need of finding possibilities of securing and improving the situation of the households. The findings are strongly related to the general situation of the Roma communities in Romania that is characterized by a very poor socio-economic status because of unemployment, poverty, lack of education, low access to health care services (Ringold, Orenstein, Wilkens, 2005.) Moreover, at the same level the push and pull mechanism constituted determinants related to the perspective of improving the wealth of the household and to return afterwards in the home country, therefore the prospect was towards a temporary income generating migration.

From this perspective the migration of the Romanian Roma migrants could be described as Bardhan and Udry (1999) called a household strategy for socio-economical survival. It was founded that the migration determinants are not generated just by the income gap but also by other reasons, depending on each family, as Stark (1991) stated. From this standing hypothesis, the study proved that the push pull micro decision depends on the income position of the household that determines the socio-economic status of the family in the home community. The migration of the Romanian Roma people can therefore be described as a mean of achieving a better status for the household in the home communities. This aspect, links strongly to the fact that Roma have the lowest status among the communities in Romania, in relation to all areas of life, as the statistics and studies showed in the theoretical framework (Government of Romania, 2009).

The so called concepts of social space and time space associated to the new theories of migration (Hägerstrand, 1975) were found to operate. More precisely the study revealed that at the micro level of pushing and pulling expectations, values and subjective images are operating among the household and communities. Therefore, the migration of the Romanian Roma people was strongly impacted by the migration models built by previous migration experiences or by friends or community members and the images and values spread by them among the community. A concrete example was represented by the fact that every person who participated in the study was not migrating for the first time in Europe and had at least a family member who had migrated before to Finland. (Munshi, 2003).

Moreover, related to the migrants' households and families in the home country or in the migration country, the study showed that the networking between them played an important role in shaping migration. According to Munshi (2003) the migration networks reduce the costs of migration and facilitate support in the destination country. In this study, it was visible that the migration networks had an important role, both push and pull mechanism, as well as models of survival and support and facilities for migration. It was also visible that the information support developed by the household's networks was much more tangible and valuable than other sources.

7.2 Left out of the labour market

The study confirmed the hypothesis of the system theory of migration according to which the systemic unemployment in the country of origin and the prospects for better employment opportunities in the destination country are an important factor of the migration mechanism (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993.) A few other socio-political aspects were very relevant as well for the migration mechanism. In the case of the Romanian Roma migrants it was obvious that the systemic long term unemployment that all members of the households faced forced them to search for the European possibilities of generating income as a survival strategy.

The systemic unemployment could be regarded through the economical differences in between Romania and Finland, but a few other socio-political aspects are very relevant as well. Therefore, one of its characteristics was related to the Romanian transition from the communist regime to the democratic one, and therefore to the capitalist labour market after 1989. It was confirmed within the study that the status of the Roma in Romania on the labour market was the lowest. Their skills and level of education and the labour opportunities did not match (Ringold, 2000). A very interesting approach brought by the study, was the one that the migration did not necessarily occur as a motivation to find official employment but to practice unofficial street activities that could generate income. The result was probably developed by the lack of success in finding job opportunities during other migration experiences.

The migration related socio-political aspects were analysed by the study as well. To start with the entitlements of the free mobility for the EU member states citizens had an impact on the migration decisions towards the EU countries. On the other hand, it was visible that the new migration flow of the Romanian Roma towards Finland was impacted by the socio-economic-political factors that they (or relatives) have faced during their previous migration experiences in other European countries. On the other hand, if we look at the migration of the Romanian Roma people inside the EU borders, specific patterns and characteristics were evident in relation to different migration countries.

Racist events or the high rates of unemployment in South Europe influenced the migration of the Romanian Roma people towards new destinations such Finland.

7.3 Towards a new culture of migration?

One of the main findings of the study confirmed the hypothesis according to which migration develops as a process which contains within itself migration systems. The migration of the Romanian Roma people was characterized as being a very dynamic process consisting of a sequence of events across time (Boyd, 1989.) More precisely, the study described the Romanian Roma people migration as a process at the level of European countries (especially after 1989) that directed lately also to Finland as a new destination. Therefore, the previous migration flows of the Roma to different European countries along with the socio-politico-economical changes in Europe and in Romania had an impact on the present migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland.

One relevant component of the migration system developed by the migration of the Romanian Roma was represented by the migration networks. Defined by Massey they are described to be sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al, 1993, 448.) The study confirmed that also in the case of the Romanian Roma a system of network is operating at the micro level- individual levels and at the same time developing linkages to the social, economic and political structures of the macro level (Faist, 1997; Haug, 2008).

Moreover, the migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland could be characterized as chain migration (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964). A chain migration meant in the case of these subjects the fact that the migration related values and benefits were transmitted in their home communities developing a pushing mechanism. Migration support is also arranged through the networks of the previous migrants. The same migration networks are transmitting models of life and ideas, back to the home communities through the so called "feedback mechanisms" (Mabogunje, 1970). This type's dynamics are not only developing further migration, but shaping migration as a life model attitude. It came obviously that the Romanian Roma people assumed the migration as a life

attitude and value. They lived in their community in the middle of success stories related to other migrants and they adopted it as an own strategy and afterwards as an attitude. It was also visible that they didn't trust or valued so much the opportunities in the home community comparing to expectations related to the Western countries. Such values were transmitted among generations and communities. In relation to this, in the case of the Romanian Roma, a street activities culture was developed as well as a mean of sustaining migration.

The study showed that the migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland is a circular, interdependent and complex process, constituted by different micro, macro, me so systems of factors that are continuously impacting each other (Magobunje, 1970.) The recent migration of the Romanian Roma people was described as an interaction of these the result being that migrants are building life around a few centres of migration in more than one country. Therefore, it was not a linear migration Romania-Finland, but a circular one between these two countries and possible other destinations as well. Kings (1983), refers to this type of migration as circulation, since the mobility to and from movements are continuously taking place in between two places.

In between the socio- economic and political conditions in the home country Romania and the expectations and models related to the migration countries, in this case Finland it looks like a migration culture is developed among some of the Romanian Roma communities. At the first look adopted as a strategy of providing wealth, migration becomes easily a life model. In the case of the Romanian Roma one specific characteristic of migration was this dynamic relation with the destinations country. There was not a strong connection and commitment for example towards the migration to Finland, but it was a positive attitude towards migrating to any country that might offer good opportunities.

7.4 Proposals

During the process of conducting the research study and as well in the stage of discussion of the results, few proposals were visible for future researchers and practicionaires in the area. Some of the aspects related to the research methodology and

design were already reviewed in the chapter entitled: Study process as well as in the chapter Reability and validity of the study. Therefore, in these chapter the focus is going to be on the general proposals in relation to practice and research in the field of Roma migration.

To start with during the whole process there was a visible need for further studies in the area. When I designed my study there existed a single report related to the recent migration of the Romanian Roma people to Finland and few studies on the migration of the Romanian Roma groups in Europe. Moreover, in Finland it was such a new phenomenon that there was very little data concerning general issues such as: who are the these migrants, where are they coming from? why are they migrating? which are the characteristics of their migration?

Moreover, the study confirmed that the recent migration of the Romanian Roma takes place under the legal and space frame of the European Union. In some member states countries the recent migration of the Romanian Roma people happened earlier while some countries are "new destinations", therefore there would be a need for understanding the phenomena at the level of different countries and at the level of the European Union. Furthermore, considering the fact that the member states of the European Union have a common legislation related to the "free mobility" policy and the social status of Roma groups is the lowest in the Eastern European societies, it's predictable that the migration of these groups is going to continue in searching for a better life.

In relation to the designing of further studies in the areas few aspects resulted from the study "The experience of the recent migration of the Romanian Roma to Finland". One issue was related to the involvement of the migrants themselves in the designing of the methodology that was used in the study. I have noticed for example that it would have been very good to get advice from the Roma migrants themselves in relation to the ways through which they describe better their reality. A useful aspect was the one that I was myself a Romanian migrant in Finland.

Moreover, the study emphasized that the Roma people represent an ethnic group in Europe as well as in Romania, thou a very diverse one. I conducted a study as a Romanian that doesn't belong to the Roma group. It was visible that a beforehand involve-

ment with the group was crucial for the study. Therefore, involvement of the Roma migrants themselves in the study group that conducts the study rose as a proposal.

The authorities in Helsinki, Helsinki City and Helsinki Deaconess Institute developed an action plan immediately when the migration of the Romanian Roma was visible in Helsinki. Most probably, the reason for that was the visibility of these migrants and their practices: begging their income on the streets. Moreover, looking at the progress of the project Rom po Drom as well as the debates at the societal level, it was visible that a good understanding of this phenomenon is vital. One visible aspect was the finding according to which for the Romanian Roma the family and community values and linkages are very important. They are also the ones at the base of the migration mechanism and dynamics. On the other hand, the groups are not so open to the outsiders – non Roma persons. Therefore, in practice, the network ties and community value based could be used for the understanding and empowerment of the Romania Roma.

“I am sitting on the tram number 10 in Helsinki city. It is a windy and cold autumn day. Around me people are sitting on the benches of the tram number 10. The tram is crossing the Aleksanterinkatu Street. Through the window of the tram for all of us it is opening the image of few beings sitting on their knees. You can hardly distinguish any of their features.

Through the window of the tram images are moving in front of me...The Romanian Roma with their families and communities...with their migration plans and expectations...with their migration activities and strategies for generating income... with their own thoughts and criteria's about best migration countries and best practices of street activities...with their own language of thinking and acting...

Aren't they more than the Romanian Gypsy beggars?”

Extracted from my diary

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