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The Europeanisation of Everyday Life:
Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identifications Among EU and Third-Country Citizens

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Transnationalism in migration studies is intended to shift the approach from one- to multi-sited approaches, from container national spaces of methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002: XV, 7) to societies interrelated by complex networks or fields (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Individuals, families, communities and societies are the main units of analysis in transnational studies. Currently, regions are less employed as a ground for research in transnational migration. Regions as transnational agents are mentioned especially for large countries as Brazil or India and only under the aspect of sub-state policies (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) to sustain regional identities. Even if regions are identified as significant in structuring transnational migration fields (Sandu, 2005), the process of building regional transnational spaces is less often assumed as a research target.
The present chapter is devoted to reconstituting such a building process by considering a multiregional perspective on Romanian transnational social fields. The analysis framework involves a multilevel and a multisited approach with different types of origin and destination regions. The first part of the paper presents the key ideas in the regional study of transnational fields. A second section of methodology introduces the hypotheses, the data sets and the main indicators for data analysis. The third part presents the findings by two subsections: a) configuration of the main transnational migration fields (TMF) as identified by clusters of origin microregions and destination countries or clusters of clusters; b) profiles of TMF as frames for specific *ways of being* and *ways of belonging* (Levitt & Schiller, 2004), starting from survey data. The fourth part of the chapter brings forth the conclusions. The chapter as a whole is in the series of social transnationalism approaches (Mau, 2012) by its interest for the way average citizen of the country, migrant abroad, former migrant or non-migrant are making specific transnational fields with specific origin and destination or attachment regions.

Regional level in transnational studies

Going beyond the container space view of methodological nationalism implies not only "adopting a transnational social field approach to the study of social life that distinguishes between the existence of transnational social networks and the consciousness of being embedded in them" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004: 1006). Transnational networks that are essential for any transnational field establish bridges not only and, frequently, not essentially, between national societies. They connect different actors not only beyond national borders but also beyond cumulative borders that are either national & local or national & regional. Communities and regions are frequently used as data collection units for transnational studies. The specific meaning of connecting communities beyond national borders is explicitly recognised by concepts such as *translocality* (Appadurai, 1996) as a local formation that is moulded by local and global forces.
Regions are less often mentioned as places to build transnational fields. *Regional transnationalism* is a rightly supported perspective but the focus in research practice is mainly on the macro-regional level (Alisdair Rogers, 2004). Transnational networks are structures that are usually built at regional level at origin and at destination. The scales of the regions could be very different: micro-/mezo/macro. The TMF could emerge in asymmetric multiregional spaces, with microregions at origin (Yuva as a pseudonym for Giresun in Turkey, for example) and regions or macroregions at destinations (New Yuva in

USA), or micro/mezo regions on both sides of the migration field (DiCarlo, 2008). Embedding a multiregional perspective in transnational studies could be a significant step in passing from a container view to a matrix view of space. The process could contribute also to a better structuring of quantitative approaches in transnational studies. Currently, there is a challenge in this research area arising from the fact that the basic concepts and views originating from the analysis of transnational migration are borrowed from anthropology (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994), favouring approaches in terms of transnational communities and networks. Adding regions as a framework of data collection and analysis to communities and nation-states could also favour the quantitative and mixed methods approach to transnationalism. An emerging trend to complement immigration transnationalism with transnationalism of return migrants or of non-migrants in origin societies is also asking for theoretical and methodological elaborations on regional transnationalism. This is because origins of migration fields are of a smaller scale compared to areas of destination. And last, but not least, *regional transnationalism* works with the awareness of the fact that linking regions across national borders is more than crossing only national borders.

Methodology

The approach of a multi-sited and multilevel regionalism in the analysis of transmigration fields is applied for Romanian migration. Transnational fields of Romanian migration are analysed by four axes or perspectives: migration streams, transnational networks, *transnational habitus (Guarnizo, 1997)* and migration experience (see Table 1). Microregions, regions, and Romania as a whole country, and destination countries are the spatial levels to measure the indicators for the mentioned dimensions. All the measures that are origin based come from census data or from survey data. The EUCROSS survey on Romanian natives provides information only at the national level without any regional specification. Data from the Eurobarometer 73.3 on *New Europeans* could be specified at the level of the eight NUTS 2 regions. The highest territorial specification is at the NUTS 3 level (*județe/* counties) as administrative microregions and this is available only in the census data.

Table 1. Data sources for the analysis by measurement levels and perspectives

Measurement level at origin	Perspectives on transnational migration fields					
	Volume of emigration streams by destination countries	Transnational networks by foreign countries	Transnational habitus		Migration experience at personal and family level
			Attachment to foreign countries	Multilevel space identification	
Microregions (NUTS 3)	NIS				
Regions (NUTS 2)			EB73.3	EB73.3	EB73.3
Country		EUCROSS		EUCROSS	EUCROSS

Data sources: NIS – National Institute of Statistics, Romania 2011, Special Eurobarometer 346 *New Europeans,* part of EB 73.3, March- April 2010, EUCROSS survey on 1000 native Romanians, 2013.

The use of different data sources is necessary so as to capture all the four key dimensions of the transnational fields of migration. The research strategy was to delineate the transnational fields by the microregional census data on streams of emigration from each of the counties to a set of 16 countries. Each field of migration is determined by a cluster of similar and/or neighbouring countries of destination and by clusters of neighbouring counties as origin for the emigration towards those destinations. The degree of structuring of migration fields is tested, first of all, using the EUCROSS survey data on transnational networks. Their spatial specification is only possible at the national level, but it provides very good mappings of the transnational networks the interviewed persons have with close friends and relatives abroad. The clusters of destination countries with common origins in Romanian counties (NIS census data) are compared with the clusters of interrelated networks Romanians have abroad (EUCROSS data). A mapping of emigration streams (Figure 1) is compared to a mapping of transnational networks (Figure 3). Native Romanians that worked/ lived abroad or not are expected to have transnational networks that are structured by foreign countries in a similar way the emigration streams cluster by origin counties and destination countries.

The Romanian Census of October 2011 severely under-recorded the number of temporary emigrants. It indicated only approximately 728 thousand long term temporary emigrants (with the duration of migration of more than one year) and 386 thousand short term temporary emigrants (with the duration of migration of less than one year). It was only in Italy and Spain that the official number of Romanian immigrants was close to 2 million (1.9 million according to EUROSTAT data for 2012).[1] The under-recording for long-term emigrants could be related to several reasons, ranging from poor public memory about those who left communities a long time ago to weaknesses in data collection. Short-term data on emigrants seems to be of better quality than the long term one. In spite of these shortcomings, census data on temporary emigration functions as a good large sample in order to map out the transnational migration fields by origin counties and destination countries. The rate of temporary emigration abroad, as computed on the 2011 census data, is a significant predictor of a human development index at locality level, keeping several other factors under control.[2] The criterion validity (Babbie, 2010) of the temporary emigration rate is supported by this equation.

The EUCROSS survey data on native Romanians were collected by mobile telephone interviews on 1000 adult persons. The sample was weighted in order to achieve representativeness by using information from the EUROBAROMETER survey from fall 2012.[3] Microdata from the EUCROSS national survey in Romania and from the Eurobarometer 73.3 provide empirical evidence on ways of being and ways of belonging (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) for different migration fields.

The first hypothesis (H1) supports the idea that transmigration fields towards clusters of countries emerge from clusters of similar and neighbouring microregions (the hypothesis of microregion selectivity). Its falsification involves the rejection of the alternative hypothesis that there is a lack of selectivity in emigration towards macroregions abroad, function of non-contiguous microregions. Having empirical ground to rejecting the alternative hypothesis would bring support for H1. The hypothesis is in line with methodological transnationalism considering national spaces not as containers but as matrices (Gottdiener, 1994: XV, 7) with relevant configurations for the reference phenomenon. Testing it involves the use of census data at county level specifying microregional profiles by destination countries.

The second hypothesis (H2) formulates the expectation that transnational networks are regionally structured, by origins and destination, in a consistent way with transnational fields of migration (network hypothesis). Cross-border relations of native Romanians, with or without migration experience, are very likely to follow the regional configuration of TMF with friends and relatives. The validity of this second hypothesis is conditioned by the validity of the first one. Cross-border networks are expected to be regionalised at origin and at destination to the degree the migration fields are also regionalised.

The mapping of destination countries with similar profiles of origin microregions is expected to be consistent with the way transnational network capital is structured at individual level. Having clusters of counties that provide emigration towards Italy and Spain, for example, should provide a significant statistical relation between having personal connections in Italy and Spain, at the same time. Validation of this hypothesis could also be relevant for the fact that transnationalism at regional level is consistent, manifest as a way of being[4]. This is a hypothesis that will involve the use of the EUCROSS aggregated microdata on close connections native Romanians have abroad in comparison with the mapping of TMF resulting from census data.

The third hypothesis (H3) brings the expectation that transnational habitus as bifocality (Vertovec, 2004) in the frame of reference of the people is differentiated by transnational fields of migration with their characteristics of origin and destination places (transnational habitus hypothesis). Different TMF are marked by a differentiation in the configuration of spatial ways of belonging. Its validation is tested by measuring the role of origin and destination characteristics of transnational fields on the qualitative variation of space identification.

All hypotheses, if validated, would indicate that transnationalism is structured not only between pairs of countries but also at multiregional level, between clusters of microregions at origin and clusters of macroregions at destination.

Migration networks that facilitate to a large degree Romanian migration abroad are the effect of the agency of migrants abroad, returned migrants at home in Romania, non-migrants in Romania and natives in potential destination countries. Similar neighbouring microregions in Romania are an environment to facilitate emergence and reproduction of networks among returned migrants, emigrants from those regions abroad and nonmigrants in the origin country. At the empirical level, counties in Romania having similar emigration profiles are expected to be in neighbouring spaces and/or similar from the point of view of their ethnic composition or previous migration experiences. This could be a new form of transnationalism having as agents or terms not national societies in interaction, not countries at origin and macroregions (like European Union) at destination but clusters of regions of different levels.

Testing the first hypothesis involved the construction of origin profiles for main streams of temporary emigration from Romania according to the 2011 census data, produced by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS). Each profile is constituted by a set of 126 values of emigration streams (logarithmic transformation) from each of the 42 counties (microregions) of Romania multiplied by three types of measurement (less than one year emigrants, more than one year emigrants and total number of emigrants towards the reference country; see the structure of the input data in Table A 1).

For each of 16 main destinations countries or clusters of countries (Italy, Spain, Greece & Cyprus, Belgium, France, Portugal, Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark & Norway & Sweden, United Kingdom, Ireland, USA & Canada) the microregions emigration profiles are determined. The German field of emigration from

Romania, for example, has an origin profile of maximum similarity with the Austrian field (the correlation between the two profiles is high: r = 0.82) and, to a lower degree, with the fields of emigration towards North America (r = 0.79) and towards Scandinavian countries (r = 0.77). Counties of prevalent emigration towards these countries have a high profile German culture (Brasov, Sibiu, Timiş, Caraş-Severin, Arad, Alba, Suceava etc.). The finding is entirely consistent with historical information providing a kind of face validity (Babbie, 2010).

The network capital of migrants is tested by using the native Romanians' subsample from the EUCROSS data. The hierarchy of the stocks of network capital Romanians (with and without migration experiences) have in different countries, generated from the EUCROSS survey, is consistent with the hierarchy for Romanian immigration in the reference destination (see Table 2).

Table 2. Main streams of temporary emigration from Romania and the network capital Romanians have in relation to their destinations

	Immigration country								
	Italy	Spain	Germany	France***	United Kingdom	Belgium	Portugal	Austria	Ireland
Immigrants from Romania (thou), 2012*	1.072	866	171		95	43	37	32	18
% interviewed persons** declearing having close relatives and friends from Romania in..	43	29	25****	12	7	4	1	6	1
% interviewed persons** declearing having close relatives and friends,non-Romanians, in..	8	6	4	2	1	1	1	2	0
* EUROSTAT	** EUCROSS survey in Romania, 2013, weighted data								

*** France does not report to EUROSTAT data on nationality of immigrants. Data countries with small number of immigrants from Romania are not included in the table. **** The share of Romanians having close connections in Germany are much higher than the share of Romanian temporary emigrants in Germany (Table 3). For the case of Italy and Spain there is no such an inconsistency. The fact deserves further analysis to see if it is related to sampling (see table A4 and note 2) or non-sampling factors. It is hard to support the hypothesis that a community of immigrants as Romanians in Germany, five times smaller than the Romanian community in Spain, brings a network transnational capital that is rather equal with that of Romanians in Spain. The exodus of the Saxons from Romania in the 1990s contributed to an increase of the refered stock but this is valid only for rather small sub-regions of Romania (Sibiu, Brasov and Banat).

The highest stocks of personal networks of Romanians are in Italy, Spain, and Germany, the countries where there are also the highest concentrations of Romanian immigration (see Table 3). The densities of the networks Romanians have abroad are much higher with Romanian emigrants than with non-Romanians. The share of Romanians having close connections with other Romanians living as immigrants in Spain is five times higher than the corresponding share with non-Romanians from Spain. Similar ratios are encountered for the networks in Italy, Germany, and France. This is a profile that is specific for a recent emigration country. The ratios between the same types of networks are much lower in immigration countries like Italy, Spain, United Kingdom, and Germany. Native Italians, for example, are having the largest share of close connections in Germany but the commented ratio is of 13% (with Italians in Germany) to 7% (with non-Italians in Germany).

Transnational habitus is measured by a nominal variable of space identification combining information on maximum identification ("very attached") with Europe, own nation, other nation and locality & region of residence. The first three variables constitute a *property space* of 2*2*2 = 8 cells or identification types. The final typology is the result of two operations of *reduction* (Barton, 1955) or collapsing neighbouring categories of low frequency and the split of no attachment category function of identification with the

locality. The outcome is an exploratory typology of six categories of space identification (see Table 7): European & own country, residence country, non-residence country, residence & non-residence countries/nations (transnationalism), localistic and uprooted (without any space identification). The classification partially overlaps with the one proposed by (Rother & Nebe, 2009), due to the differences in the criteria for analysis and, also, to the fact that I used a dichotomy between "very attached" and "lower attachment" and not the dichotomy between "attached" and "non attached".

Transnational fields of Romanian migration

The major transnational field of Romanian migration could be identified by destination countries having specific microregional origins in Romania (see Figure 1). Their identification resulted from a data mining procedure that looked at the patterns of similarity of temporary emigration streams function of the microregional profiles at origin (see Figure 1 and Table A2). The German field, for example, is constituted by temporary emigration towards Germany and Austria. Origin of this field is located mainly in the Western part of the country (Timiş, Caraş-Severin and Arad counties) with an extension in the Central part with Sibiu (see Figure 2). All four counties are by tradition spaces of German culture in Romania. The share of emigration (see Table 3) within this field seems to be an increasing one, with 10% in recent emigration (in the last year before the 2011 census) compared to about 6% in total older temporary emigration (of more than one year at the census moment). Not all the emigration from the four counties goes towards Germany and Austria. It is only one third of emigration that is making the connection between German cultural areas from Romania and the German field. The other preferred destinations from the same areas are Italy (26%) and Spain (18%).

The origins of emigration to UK are largely overlapping with the origins of emigration to Ireland and North America (Canada and the US). These are, one the one hand, in areas of university centres such as Bucharest, Cluj, Iaşi, or Brasov and in areas with a high mobility tradition, in the North-West parts of the country (Maramureş and Satu Mare) or, harder to explain in a few words, in Suceava and Bacău counties.

There are five major migration fields from Romania, with a share of more than 5% out of the total emigration (see Table 3). They are oriented towards Italy, the Mediterranean field (Spain, Greece, and Cyprus), the German field (Germany and Austria), the French field (France, Belgium, and Portugal) and the British-American one (UK, Ireland, USA, and Canada). The minor ones, with less than 5% out of the total emigration are towards Hungary and Northern Europe (Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Switzerland).

Table 3. Recent and older migration streams by transnational fields of migration destination

	Transnational fields of Romanian migration by destination (%)								
	Major fields					Minor fields			
	Italian	Mediterranean	German	French	British-American	Hungarian	North Europe	Other	
older migration	47	27	6	6	9	1	2	2	100
recent migration	44	22	10	9	7	4	2	2	100

Data source: NIS, census, 2011. All persons that left the country for more than one year at the census moment (October 20th, 2011) are considered to be older migrants. They are considered to be „recent" if they left the country for less than one year. This second category is included into the resident population according to EUROSTAT rules.

The South macrofield, with Italy and Spain as the main attractors or sub-fields, covers about two thirds from Romanian recent emigration. The importance of the European South in the Romanian migration system continues to be overwhelming but is declining in favour of the German, French, and Hungarian fields.

It is not only by destinations that the Romanian migration fields are rather concentrated. Territorial concentration or specification is also obvious if one looks at the origins of the fields (see Figure 2): the German field, for example, is mainly concentrated in the West part of the country and Sibiu county in the Centre; the Hungarian field originates mainly in the Central part of the country, in the neighbouring counties of Covasna-Harghita and Mureș, with a high share of ethnic Hungarians; the Italian destination field is segmented in four origin regions, each of them with specific profiles; the Mediterranean (mainly Spanish) emigration starts essentially from the South of the country (especially from Teleorman, Călărași, and Dâmbovița counties). All this data is consistent with the expectations of the first hypothesis that temporary emigration has a high regional selectivity by microregions of origin.

A special type of regionalisation is for the case of the British-American transnational field. It originates mainly in areas that are influenced by the dynamics of the large and developed urban centres of București, Brasov, Cluj (with its neighbouring county of Sălaj), and Constanța.

The fact is not a result of the dynamics of the migration process but a long lasting feature of it in Romania. An older map of rural TMF, based on entirely different data, for rural Romania 2001, brings forth the same image of high regional selectivity of temporary emigration (Sandu, 2000, 2005). In spite of variation in the borders of origin fields, their nuclei remained at the same locations for the German, Hungarian, French, and Mediterranean fields. The main changes are related to the expansion of the Italian field out of the Moldavian historical region in Romania, the contraction of the German and Hungarian fields to a smaller number of origin counties, and the quasi-disappearance of a Turkish field that was located in the South-East of the country.

The emigration regions that are formed by clusters of counties with similar profiles of external migration (see Figure 2) are, to a large degree, approximated by the development regions of the country (see Figure3). The finding could be explained by the fact that development regions (that do not have an administrative status but function as NUTS 2 in Romania) are highly structured as subregions of historical regions and as functional regions. Internal migration streams prove this fact convincingly (Sandu, 2013a) . Both Eastern regions – the North-East and the South-East – are mainly oriented toward migration to Italy. The typical Italian-Spanish field is located in Oltenia (the South-West region) and, close to it, is the typical Spanish-Italian Region of South Muntenia. The highest diversity of emigration streams is for the most developed regions of the country, namely Bucharest, the Centre, the West and the North-West.

Table 4. Recent emigrants from development regions of Romania by destination fields

Development regions	Development level 2008*	Main destinations for recent emigration streams (%)							
		Italian	Spanish	German	Hungarian	British-Amer.	French	other	
Bucharest-Ilfov	96,5	19	17	12	0	20	10	22	100
Center (Central Transilvania)	76,0	22	16	22	22	7	5	6	100
West	73,8	31	18	28	1	7	11	4	100
North-West	71,5	43	18	8	3	8	16	4	100
South-East (Low Danube)	67,3	61	18	5	0	5	5	6	100
South-West (Oltenia)	64,0	48	30	6	0	5	9	2	100
South-Muntenia	63,7	29	47	6	0	6	8	4	100
North-East	63,6	60	15	6	1	7	7	4	

Data source: NIS, 2011 census. * Weighted average of a locality social development index (SDI), which is a factor score multiplied by 100 for seven indicators of human capital, vital capital, material capital, size-residential status of locality (Sandu, 2011).The high regionalisation by NUTS2 for migration abroad is grounds to expect that European identity building and, more generally, spatial identity are embedded into regional patterns.
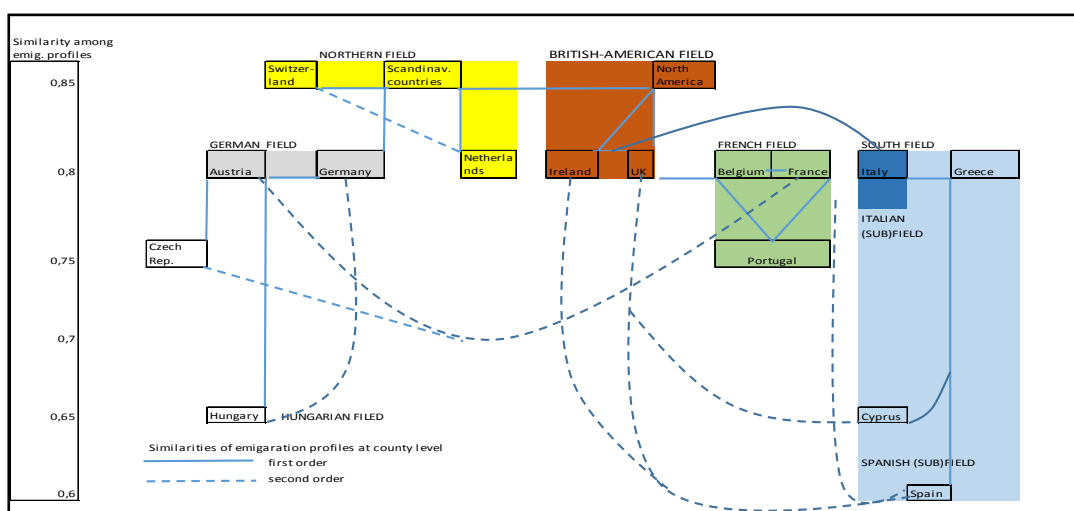
Figure 1. Degree of similarity among microregional emigration profiles for Romanian transnational fields (macroregional level)

Data source: NIS, 2011 census data. Migration fields are labelled by destination countries/macroregions put in rectangles. Each destination country has an origin profile as given by the volume of emigration streams at county (microregion) level. The degree of similarity between two connected profiles is indicated by the position of the horizontal connector on the left hand scale or the lowest end of the connector on the same scale. Reading example: the profile of the Austrian field of emigration from Romanian microregions is similar to the profile of the German field of emigration from Romania to the level of 0.80 and to the level of 0.75 with the profile of the field towards the Czech Republic. The diagram is constructed on the basis of a technique of pattern recognition.[5]
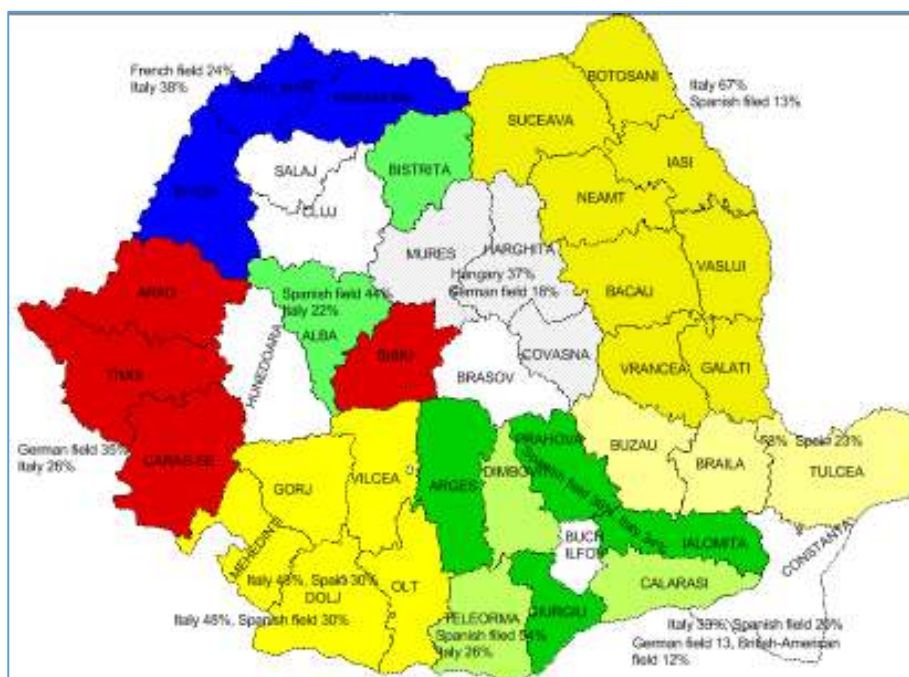
Figure 2. Transnational migration fields of Romania by origin microregions and destination macroregions

Data source: National Institute of Statistics (NIS), census 2011, Migrants with less than one year since they left the country. Capital letters are for the origin county. Percentages indicate the share of emigrants from a certain cluster of counties towards a certain European destination. Map design and data computations – D. Sandu.


Figure 3.Key destinations of recent emigration by development regions

Data source: National Institute of Statistics (NIS), census 2011, Migrants with less than one year since they left the country. Percentages indicate the share of emigrants from a certain development region towards a certain European destination. Map design and data computations – D. Sandu.

Networks structuring by transnational fields

The second hypothesis of the paper formulates the expectation that transnational migration fields originating in Romania are also fields of network transnationalism (Dahinden, 2009) that are regionally structured. The first testing of it is done using EUCROSS survey data. This data is significant for cross-border networks connecting Romanians, without specification of the micro or meso-regions, to people from other countries. The survey questions in this case are about „family members, in-laws, and friends who live in other countries". A comparison between the cross-border networking revealed by the EUCROSS data and the migration fields revealed by the census could only be done by destination country. The EUCROSS survey does not provide any spatial data on region of residence or type of residence (urban or rural). This is why I developed, first of all, a comparison of migration and networks fields only by destination, as specified by the EUCROSS data. Secondly, I focused on networks that are specified by regional origins and destination in the framework of the Eurobarometer data.

The list of possible relations with friends and relatives abroad included 50 countries in the EUCROSS survey. In order to compare the mapping out of emigration streams with the mapping of cross-border networks I used the same set of 20 foreign countries of connections by migration streams or by interpersonal networks, selecting only those twenty that are most relevant for the migration streams, as presented in the national census from 2011.

The procedure to identify connected networks abroad is exactly the same as for reconstructing the image of connected streams of migration. The pair of countries where Romanians have the highest number of cumulative connections are, according to the EUCROSS survey, Italy and Spain (see figure 4). Only in that case, 22% out of the total number of interviewees had connections in both countries. The basic finding from the comparison of Figures 1 and 4 is that countries of destinations with a high overlap in microregional origins of migration streams are also countries where cross border interpersonal networks overlap. This is especially the case for Italy-Spain, Scandinavian countries-Switzerland-Netherlands, Belgium-Portugal, Germany-Austria-Hungary-the Czech Republic, and North America-Ireland. Common origins for migration fields of different destinations lead to fields of interconnected networks. It is as if living in regions that send migrants to different destinations contributes to opening access to multiple transnational networks for people in those origin regions. The finding is crucial for a sociology of transnational fields that incorporate migration origin as a frame of reference. It could complement the mainstream approach that considers transnational fields mainly from the point of view of immigration countries.

The mapping out of interconnected cross-border networks is also different from the mapping of migration fields (compare figures 1 and 4). Migration fields having the highest interconnections by common origin are, first of all, those of the Northern countries, secondly, those of the British-American field, and thirdly, the field including Germany and Austria. All these fields are less structured in the analysis of networks. Italy and Spain streams of migration are connected by common origins mainly in the South-Muntenia region, which is close to Bucharest, and in two counties that are close to Cluj city, another large and developed city.[6] The fact that the Spain and Italy fields are so highly correlated by overlapping networks at personal level could be explained, very likely, mainly by the

selection procedure for the EUCROSS sample with over-representation of areas of common origin for Italian and Spanish emigration.

Table 5.Transnational capital of native Romanians by residence regions

Regions of residence in Romania →	Central	North-East	West	South-East	Bucharest	North-West	South	South-West	Total
Main attraction (+) or avoided (-) fields (countries) for identification in the region →	+Hungarian -French -North Eur.	+Italian -Hungarian -German	+German	-French -Hungarian	+French -Hungarian	none	+Spanish - Hungarian	-Italian -Hungarian	
% having friends abroad	58	48	47	41	41	41	36	32	43
% having relatives abroad	44	50	39	36	24	43	27	23	36
% having friends in Romania, coming from abroad	19	11	16	10	27	16	11	7	14

Data source: Eurobarometer 73.3. The most attractive and the most avoided countries for identification are specified for each region. The questionnaire asked about the attachment of the person to one or two foreign countries. The preferred country of attachment was cross-tabulated with the region of residence in Romania and adjusted standardised residuals were computed for preferred or rejected countries on personal attachment. Reading example: the West region is the specific location of the persons that are mostly attached to Germany and Austria (German field); it is also in that region that 47% of the interviewed people declared that Germany or Austria are their maximum attachment countries.
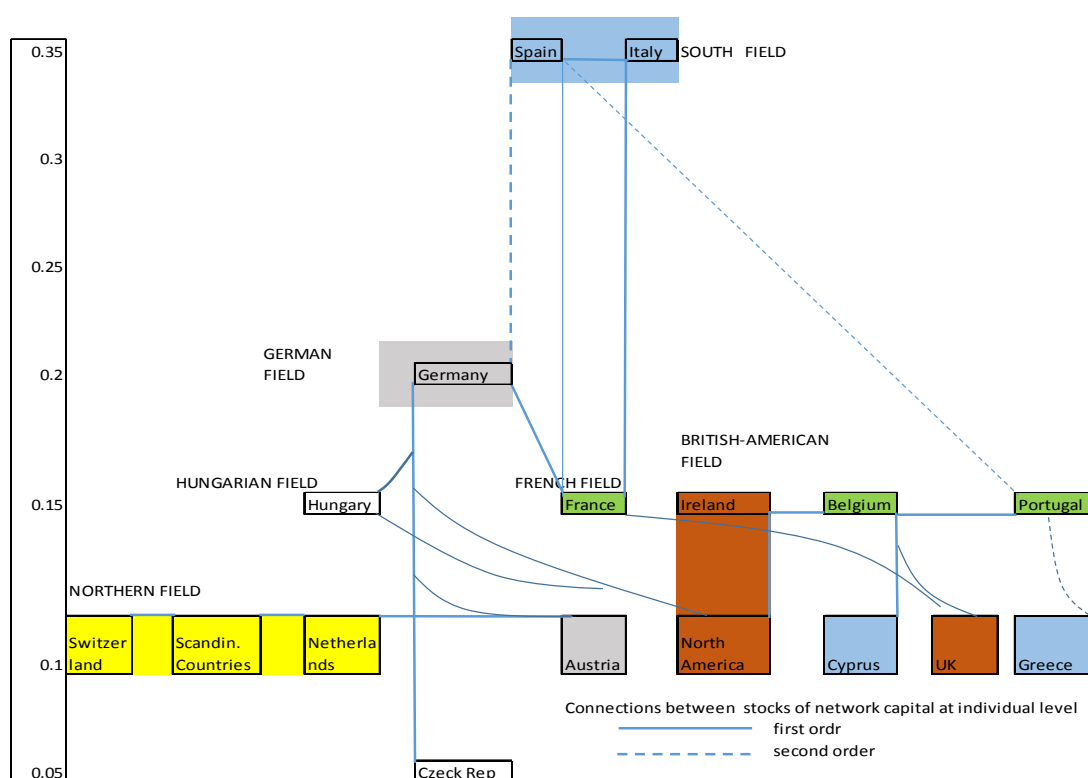
Figure 4.Connections among stocks of network capital abroad for Romanian natives
Data source: EUCROSS, survey on native Romanians, 1010 weighted cases. Each country name is a name for the variable measuring if the interviewed person in Romania has close connections (relatives or friends, born or not in Romania) in the reference country. If the person has no connection in the reference foreign country s/he gets a 0 score, a 1 score for having either connections born in Romania or connections that are not born in Romania, and a 2 score for having both types of connections in the specified foreign country. The level of correlation between paired variables is indicated by the position of horizontal lines versus the left hand scale or, in the case of non-horizontal lines, by the position of the lowest end of the segment on the correlation coefficient scale. The pattern recognition procedure is the same as for Figure 1. Reading example: for resident Romanians, having close connections in Italy is significantly associated with having close connections in Spain at a level of r=0.35.

An identification of the factors favouring the networking of native Romanians with friends abroad is a way to understand how network transnationalism (Dahinden, 2009) is built and the way identification processes (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) work. The Centre, West and North-East regions of Romania are the richest ones in transnational network capital and the South and South-West ones are the poorest from that point of view (see Table 5).

Even if one controls for measures of human and material capital, for relatives abroad and for personal experience abroad, regional location also counts significantly in Romania for the friendship human capital abroad (see Table 6). People in the Centre (or Central Transilvania) region have a significant propensity for being in touch with friends abroad, irrespective of many other factors related to age, gender, education, or migration experience. At a lower level, the tendency is also present for people in the West region. Both of these regions are multi-ethnic, multi-religion and developed regions. This could explain their high stocks of transnational network capital of friendship. It is not so clear why living in the rather poor North-East region, with a low percentage of ethnic minorities, the network capital abroad is also high. A longer time experience of temporary living abroad for people of this region could be an explaining factor.

The causal pattern of factors influencing network capital abroad for native Romanians is closer to the pattern in other New Member States (NMS) than to the pattern of citizens from EU15. NMS people, including Romanians, have the tendency to develop cross border friendship relations, more than the EU15 citizens, as a result of speaking foreign languages and living into urban areas (see Table 6).

Table 6.Predictors of having friends abroad: natives of Romania, EU15 and MNS

		Model EU15		Model NMS11		Model Romania1		Model Romania2	
		Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
	age	0,998	0,479	0,986	0,005	0,976	0,000	0,975	0,000
	man	0,939	0,101	0,934	0,431	1,030	0,850	1,012	0,939
	urban residence	1,112	0,202	1,210	0,003	1,607	0,007	1,698	0,005
human capital	higher education	1,224	0,023	1,347	0,003	1,325	0,152	1,367	0,116
	speaks fluently a foreign language	1,708	0,000	1,870	0,000	2,214	0,000	2,047	0,001
	access to internet	1,131	0,096	1,204	0,005	0,659	0,081	0,652	0,077
	follow news from another country	1,712	0,000	1,492	0,000	1,589	0,020	1,592	0,023
material capital	index of goods in hhd	1,114	0,000	1,054	0,027	1,271	0,000	1,277	0,000
experience abroad	relatives abroad	3,838	0,000	3,309	0,000	6,055	0,000	5,842	0,000
	worked abroad	2,103	0,000	2,620	0,000	1,979	0,056	1,954	0,064
	lived abroad for other reasons than work or study	1,828	0,000	1,457	0,015	14,346	0,011	14,177	0,012
	studied abroad	2,031	0,000	1,370	0,102	0,699	0,769	0,687	0,759
	spend holidays abroad	1,459	0,000	1,338	0,101	2,588	0,073	2,787	0,055
Residence region in Romania	North East							1.502	0.141
	South_East							1.158	0.598
	South							1,056	0,851
	West							1,518	0,191
	North_West							0,834	0,542
	Center							2,121	0,017
	Constant	0,143	0,000	0,435	0,012	0,422	0,007	0,364	0,006
	N=	15459		10101		1022		1022	
	Pseudo R2=	0,220		0,170		0,270		,280	

Data source: Eurobarometer 73.3. Logistic regression models.

Having lived abroad before for reasons other than work or education seems to be a specific factor for transnational friendships of Romanians, with a much higher impact than that in

the EU15 or the NMS11 countries. Studying abroad is less frequent for the NMS citizens and, consequently, has a non significant impact on their friendship cross-border capital.

The role of higher education to bring higher values of transnational network capital is visible especially for major immigration countries in the EU, for UK, Italy, Spain, France, and Germany. Poland is the only country where higher education has a significant positive impact on having friends abroad. The same model seems to be valid for Romania if one works with a better specified model by including regional location variables.[7] It can be hypothesized that education becomes a glue for forming friendship transnational capital, especially for large immigration countries and for emigration countries of longue durée experience. Gender does not impact on cross-border friendship in the NMS. Aggregated data suggest that, for the EU15 population, women are more inclined to develop friendship relations abroad. If one takes a closer look at the data, country by country, one realizes that the relationship is valid only for Germany in the West and for the Czech Republic in the East. It is not clear why these two are the exceptions. It is likely that a better specification of friendship regression models would make the gender effect for those two countries disappear.

High spatial identifications by multiregional and personal spaces

The previous chapters of the analysis brought forth migration streams, networks and migration experiences as layers in the regional structuring of transnational fields for Romanians. Another layer announced by the third hypothesis is related to the configuration of space identification with the local community, the region, one's own country, another country, or Europe. The hypothesis advances the expectation that space identifications, in their multilevel combinations, are significantly differentiated in Romania by transnational fields.

The focus in this section is on strong identifications. As mentioned in the methodological section, survey subjects were asked about their attachment to their locality, region, own country, another country, and Europe, with possible answers on four-point scales from *very attached* to *not at all attached.* A classification resulted from cross-tabulating the variables before their dichotomisation, opposing those who were *very attached* to the other three categories of attachment. Social desirability effects are, most likely, more highly concentrated in the *attached* category, at least in the case of identification with the European Union (the percentage of answers in this category is 42% in Romania, 46% in NMS11, and 41% in UE15). Due to this, and in order to capture highly structured opinions, the identification typology looks at the *very attached* category versus the rest of the categories.

The space identity profile of Romanians in the European context is closer (see Table 7) to the NMS from Central Europe than to the profile of the extreme East macro region of the European Union (the Baltic countries, Bulgaria, and Romania). Their specific categories in Romania and in Central-Eastern countries are persons attached to their own country and persons with no spatial attachments.

Transnationalism as a bifocal attachment to one's own country and to another country is specific to people from Western and Northern Europe. Attachment to one's own country and to the European Union is specific to people from the Southern countries of the European Union.

A very high attachment to Europe is a kind of fringe identification. It only appears in association with the identification with one's own country and a country other than the country of residence.

Table 7. Space identification in Romania and in macroregions of the EU (%)

Macroregions of EU and Romania	Space identification						
	uprooted	localistic	residence country	non-residence country	residence & other country (transnationalism)	own/other country& Europe	Total
Romania	26	6	37	12	10	9	100
Baltic countries and Bulgaria	14	5	51	7	12	11	100
Centra-East Europe NMS	23	6	39	9	11	12	100
South EU	19	10	35	9	10	17	100
West EU	21	6	23	21	17	11	100
North EU	20	7	32	17	19	5	100

Data source: Eurobarometer 73.3. Highlighted cells mark significant positive associations according to adjusted standardised residuals, for p=0.05. For the classification of the EU countries by macroregions see (Sandu, 2013b).

The type of identity that is better rooted in multiregional fields and migration experiences of native Romanians is that of transnationalism, of double attachment to one's own country of residence and to a country other than the residence country. The most transnational Romanians are living in the West region (with the Banat historical region as a nucleus) and the lowest degree of transnationalism is recorded into the South-East region. The former is more economically developed and known by tradition to be multi-ethnic and tolerant. It is not only the microregion that counts in Romania, but also the foreign poles of the transnational fields the residents are involved in, irrespective of their migration experience. It is only living in Romanian counties associated to the Italian field that does not have a significant impact on transnationalism. All of the other fields – the Spanish, German, French, and Hungarian – favour bifocal or transnational orientations of the population. It is not clear, with the available data, why Italian field does not impact significantly on building Romanian transnationalism. Answers to several questions could lead to an answer: is Italian environment for Romanians more favourable to either stay there for long term or returning home; is it an effect of the fact that transnational orientations are very weak in the specific origins for emigration from Romania to Italy (Table 8).

The reasons to adopt different types of identifications vary. Some of the reasons are self-declared as an answer to the question "what are the reasons you feel attached to… (COUNTRY NAME)?" There are three patterns of reasons for attachment to another nation, the EU or to one's own & another nation: having friends in another country, without relatives there, favours national & European identification; having relatives abroad, without friends there is the typical case for other nation attachment or bi-national attachment; transnationalism as attachment to own and another nation is a matter of return migration

experience and of cultural options. Culture, networks and migration experience combine in different ways so as to give the type of identifications at the national and European levels.

All of the above reasons fall in a series of "in-order-to motives" (Schutz & Embree, 2011). There are also reasons for territorial attachment that could be assigned ("because reasons" in Schutz's terminology) on the basis of the observed relationships in Table 8. A high identification with another nation or with one's own & another nation is favoured by economic reasons, by the fact that the nations of high identification are, generally, better-off, with a higher GDP per capita. Transnationalism and identification with a non-residence nation is not only a matter of culture, friendship, relatives and migration experience. It is also the valuation of a better-off society, compared to the Romanian one.

Romanians with local identities (i.e., mainly attached to their region and city or village) are poorly specified by the fact that only few predictors are significant for this category: they did not live in another country, are rather old aged, in high subjective social class and in a region that is different from South-East Romania. Those with a strong attachment exclusively to Romania are also older age persons from other regions than the South-East. Specifically and with a nationalistic note, they do not mention Hungary on the list of other countries they are attached to.

Table 8. Predictors of the main space identifications of Romanians

		Type of main space identification **										
		uprooted		localistic		residence country		non-residence country		residence & other country (transnationalism)		own/other country& Europe	
		coef	p	coef	p	coef	p	coef	p	coef	p	coef	p
social status variables	age	0.020	0.091	0.026	0.000	0.012	0.251	0.046	0.000	0.036	0.000
	man*	0.382	0.239	-0.028	0.881	0.045	0.882	-0.145	0.657	0.104	0.711
	urban*	0.277	0.485	-0.296	0.158	0.042	0.901	-0.987	0.015	-0.677	0.042
	index of material goods	-0.165	0.180	0.056	0.440	0.068	0.570	0.160	0.211	0.173	0.103
	subjective social class	0.293	0.085	-0.040	0.666	0.571	0.000	0.402	0.010	0.203	0.118
human and cultural capital	speaks a foreign language	0.228	0.565	-0.171	0.499	0.263	0.473	-0.478	0.221	0.252	0.422
	follows news from another country	0.237	0.603	0.130	0.646	0.820	0.023	0.021	0.957	1.090	0.002
reasons for attachement to another country	relatives	0.983	0.108	-0.314	0.437	0.800	0.043	1.264	0.002	0.210	0.645
	friends	1.017	0.085	0.402	0.342	0.750	0.075	0.683	0.123	1.168	0.006
	lived in the country	-12.623	0.000	0.776	0.395	0.939	0.264	2.179	0.008	0.190	0.846
	cultural ones	0.643	0.488	0.999	0.118	1.042	0.063	1.399	0.014	0.437	0.516
region of residence in Romania	North_East	-0.548	0.266	-0.336	0.217	-0.047	0.925	-0.839	0.118	0.423	0.314
	South_East	-1.387	0.009	-1.337	0.000	-0.732	0.155	-1.364	0.012	-1.411	0.016
	South	0.274	0.597	0.020	0.947	-0.243	0.630	-0.950	0.112	0.644	0.137
	West	0.070	0.928	0.430	0.340	1.218	0.060	1.294	0.047	0.922	0.156
	Center	-0.773	0.274	-0.018	0.963	-0.549	0.361	-0.861	0.146	-0.586	0.358
country or region of attachement*	Italy	-0.442	0.575	-0.255	0.607	0.706	0.215	0.855	0.163	0.353	0.524
	Spain	-0.479	0.531	-0.118	0.821	1.589	0.007	1.542	0.022	-0.930	0.179
	Germany and Austria	0.234	0.836	0.590	0.383	1.203	0.058	1.385	0.051	0.729	0.315
	France, Belgium, Portugal	-0.565	0.665	0.282	0.655	1.611	0.015	2.244	0.001	0.769	0.238
	Hungary	-0.758	0.460	-2.310	0.003	3.585	0.000	3.653	0.000	-0.748	0.422
develop.level for country of attachement	GDP per capita as % of EU mean for country of attachement	-0.008	0.514	-0.011	0.084	0.045	0.000	0.048	0.000	0.006	0.441
	constante	-2.419	0.022	0.389	0.499	-8.767	0.000	-9.558	0.000	-4.247	0.000

Data source: EB 73.3, N=912, Pseudo R2=0.25. Multinomial logistic regression. Use of robust standard errors and data weightings for computations in STATA 13. * Referencec category - British-American field and other. ** Reference category: uprooted or without any spatial identification persons.

Conclusions

The analysis supports the idea that Romania is a highly regionalised country by transnational fields. These are well structured by the line forces of temporary migration abroad, transnational networks and habitus, and by migration experiences. These transnational social fields are structured at multiple levels, with specific microregions or regions in Romania and macroregions as clusters of countries in Europe and North-America. Survey microdata from the EUCROSS and the Eurobarometer and national census data from Romania 2011 (at county level) support each other in creating a coherent image of a country that is connected to Europe and North-America by complex transnational fields. These fields are practically the basic grid to understanding that ways of being (networks) and ways of belonging develop not in a container national space but in transnational interactions involving multiple regions here and there.

Transnational identity of Romanians as a bifocal attachment to their own country and another one is at the same level as in the NMS and the South of Europe (see Table 7). Its causal profile (see Table 5) for native Romanians is markedly differentiated from space identification in the categories of nationals & Europeans, other nation, own nation and localistic[8]. Transnationalists from Romania are attached to another country because they lived and have relatives there, by explicit cultural reasons. They are particularly located in the Western development region (and very few in the South-East) and live in transnational fields having foreign attraction poles in the Spanish, French, German, and Hungarian fields (and very few within the Italian field).

A strong European identification is a fringe one (Table 8), being intensely associated with a strong national /country identification. Transnational friends (not relatives) and consumption of news from abroad are a strong support for this type of multicultural and multilevel identification. Older persons from rural areas are more inclined to adopt this European-national identification. More data and analysis is needed to clarify the reason for this pattern. As a hypothesis one could state that the degree of relative frustration is higher for rural than for urban Romanians. Consequently, the most frustrated, under *ceteris paribus* conditions, would be more inclined to see their future in a bi-dimensional milieu, with Romania and Europe as best frame s for identification.

Identification with a country other than Romania is specific for people living in the Spanish, French and Hungarian fields and having relatives in the reference foreign country.

Those with local and national identity orientations have rather sparse territorial roots or social ground giving them specificity. For those with local identities, for example, the only profile traits that are highly visible is that they did not live abroad and are not from a particular region in the country (the South-East).

The density of transnational networks measured by the EUCROSS survey in Romania follows, generally, the intensity of temporary transnational migration as measured by the 2011 national census. The two main attraction centres for Romanian indefinite time migration abroad (over 70% of long time emigration) are Italy – first, and Spain – second. The density of close connections abroad is also high for these two countries and fields they represent. Germany and Austria are the third attraction macroregion for Romanians (about 6% out of the total long term temporary emigration). It is not yet clear why the density of transnational connection of Romanians in this field is so high (over 25%).

A very important social glue in the development of transnational social fields are interactions taking place in microregions that are at the origin of different migration fields. The simple fact of living in areas where streams of migrants or mobile persons to different

destination countries emerge from contributes to the development of interconnected transnational networks. This is the case, for example, of the South Muntenia region, close to Bucharest, as a common origin for Italian and Spanish migratory movements of population. Similarly, Covasna - Harghita - Mureș counties are common origins for migratory or mobility movements towards Hungary, Germany, and Austria. This is the basis for interconnected networks of communication and, possibly, for the creation of similar spatial identity patterns.

In the area of methodological lessons of the analysis, the key finding is that a multiregional perspective[9] in transnationalism requires the use of multiple data sets that are compatible. Maps that were generated from census county data were very useful to set frames for the spatial analysis of microdata provided by surveys. Romanian census data on temporary migration severely underestimates the size of the phenomenon. The EUCROSS survey data on native Romanians severely overestimates the share of higher educated people, being a closer approximation of the situation in Bucharest and Cluj areas, rather than reflecting the general situation in the entire country. But putting together micro and macro data in multivariate analyses increases their relevance substantially.

Appendix

Table A 1. The structure of the data matrix for the regional analysis of transnational streams of temporary emigration (f_{kij})

regional profiles at origin		Destinations countries (j=1 to 16)				
Type of emigration stream (k=1 to 3))	counties (județe) (i=1 to 42)	Country1	..	Country 14	USA& Canada	Scandinavian countries
last wave emigrants (less than one year) from county i to country j	county 1 (Alba)					
	county 2 (Arad)					
	..					
	county 41					
	Bucuresti					
earlier wave emigrants (more than one year)	county 1 (Alba)					
	county 2 (Arad)					
	..					
	county 41					
	Bucuresti					
total number of emigrants	county 1 (Alba)					
	county 2 (Arad)					
	..					
	county 41					
	Bucuresti					

Data source for the matrix: NIS census data, 2011. Each figure in the table is a measure of the number of emigrants of type k from county i to country j stream of migration f_{kij}. Effective computations in factors analysis converted absolute frequencies by natural logarithm transformation, so as to reduce the influence of outliers.

*Table A 2.*Clustering of destination fields function of similarities of their micro-regional origin profiles

	Macro-fields of migration as latent variables		
	NORTHERN EUROPE	CENTRAL WESTERN EUROPE	SOUTHERN EUROPE
Switzerland	.900	.160	.259
Scandinavian countries	.827	.301	.338
USA+Canada	.800	.424	.243
Germany	.759	.495	.049
Netherlands	.726	.255	.483
Portugal	.111	.853	.352
Austria	.547	.786	-.105
France	.329	.768	.294
Belgium	.462	.681	.396
Czech Rep.	.450	.677	.164
Ireland	.533	.597	.327
Greece	.106	.296	.855
Cyprus	.358	-.274	.829
Italy	.198	.451	.763
Spain	.207	.382	.624
UK	.515	.453	.619

Data source: NIS. The table presents factor loadings after PCA extraction and Varimax rotation. N=126. KMO=0.882. The three factors (latent variables) explain 82% of the variation in data matrix, with 30% explained by the Northern Europe and North America factor, 28% by the Central-Europe factor and 23% by the third one.

One generates migration fields by reading the results of a factor analysis on 16 country profiles of emigration by microregions. There are three large multi-country transnational fields of Romanian migration abroad: towards Northern Europe and North America, towards Central-Western Europe, and towards Southern Europe. There are also some countries that belong to two or three fields. The UK is the only country belonging to all the three macrofields of Northern, Central-Western and Southern Europe.[10] People going to the UK from Romania are coming from counties where the temporary emigration towards the Northern, Southern and Central Europe is also high. Emigration to the UK has overlapping sources of microregional emigration with emigration to Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Ireland, and Canada.[11]

Table A 3. Fields of recent migration abroad by origin and destination

Fields by destination and regional origin	Fields by county origin (judeţ)	Destination fields (%)							
		ITALIAN	SPANISH (Spain, Greece, Cyprus)	GERMAN (Germany, Austria)	BRITISH-AMERICAN (UK, Ireland, USA, Canada)	FRENCH (France, Belgium, Portugal)	HUNGA-RIAN	NORTH EUROPEAN (Scand. countr., Netherlands, Switherlans)	Other destinat.
ITALIAN field from MOLDOVA	VRANCEA	87	6	1	3	1	0	1	1
	NEAMT	77	12	3	5	3	0	1	1
	SUCEAVA	54	12	9	11	11	0	1	2
	BOTOSANI	68	18	5	3	4	0	1	1
	VASLUI	54	23	6	7	7	0	1	2
	BACAU	68	10	5	7	4	3	2	1
	IASI	67	16	5	5	4	0	2	1
ITALIAN field from LOW DANUBE region	GALATI	67	16	3	4	5	0	2	3
	BRAILA	46	25	9	7	7	0	2	4
	BUZAU	44	34	4	4	9	0	1	4
	TULCEA	59	26	4	3	3	0	2	3
ITALIAN field from OLTENIA	GORJ	52	21	7	4	11	0	3	2
	VALCEA	52	25	6	9	4	0	1	3
	OLT	45	39	5	3	5	0	1	2
	DOLJ	49	33	4	4	7	0	1	2
	MEHEDINTI	41	21	9	2	23	0	2	2
SPANISH-ITALIAN field from MUNTENIA	PRAHOVA	33	35	8	6	9	0	3	6
	ARGES	37	35	9	5	8	0	2	4
	GIURGIU	33	39	13	3	7	0	3	2
	IALOMITA	32	35	7	8	13	0	2	3
SPANISH field from MUNTENIA	TELEORMAN	9	77	3	3	7	0	0	1
	CALARASI	27	57	4	4	3	0	1	4
	DAMBOVITA	30	49	5	7	7	0	1	1
SPANISH field from TRANSILVANIA	BISTR.-NASA.	23	47	13	6	5	2	2	2
	ALBA	20	39	19	7	9	2	2	2
GERMAN field from BANAT and TRANSILVANIA	SIBIU	13	19	51	5	5	1	3	3
	ARAD	20	18	27	11	16	2	2	4
	TIMIS	29	16	33	6	12	1	2	1
	CARAS-SEVERIN	38	18	32	2	6	0	1	3
FRENCH - ITALIAN field from CRISANA-MARAMURES	MARAMURES	48	21	6	7	16	1	1	0
	BIHOR	21	18	12	10	18	12	2	7
	SATU MARE	29	4	10	11	40	5	0	1
HUNGARIAN field from TRANSILVANIA	HARGHITA	10	4	15	7	3	52	7	2
	COVASNA	16	5	16	5	2	47	4	5
	MURES	18	21	20	6	5	24	3	3
MULTIPLE DESTINATIONS field from developed areas (large municiăpalities fields)	BUCURESTI	18	15	13	20	10	0	6	18
	ILFOV	26	25	11	13	10	0	5	10
	CLUJ	24	27	10	16	8	7	3	5
	SALAJ	36	22	11	5	9	14	2	1
	BRASOV	47	11	17	11	6	3	3	2
	HUNEDOARA	39	21	16	9	8	1	2	4
	CONSTANTA	33	22	9	9	6	0	6	15

Data source: NIS, 2011 census

Table A 4. Weighting the survey on Romanian natives by education

	Census data 2011	Eucross	education weights
Higher education	15.9	36.1	0.4
post-high school and foreman education	3.5	7.4	0.5
high school	27.0	31.6	0.9
vocational education	15.3	13.5	1.1
gymnasium	25.8	5.4	4.8
primary	10.4	5.1	2.0
without primary	2.0	.9	2.2
	100.0	100	1

Census data are from NIS, population of 18 years old and over in 2011.

Table A4 clearly reveals the fact that the Romanian natives survey, EUCROSS 2013, overestimates the share of high-school and higher educated people. The impact of this overestimation is obvious for the way in which the survey measures transnational capital. It is only the capital city of the country that has a share of 36% higher educated people out of the total population, 18 years old and older. The share of Romanians having no close connections abroad is of 26% for the unweighted sample. Using education weights resulting from the table above increases this percentage to 30%.

Notes

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[1] EUROSTAT figures of Romanian immigrants are, very likely, an overestimation due to the fact that some of the immigrants continue to be into the local records of the receiving country even after their re-migration by an inertia effect.

[2] The multiple regression analysis was done on the 2011 census data, for almost all the communes of the country (2400 out of 2681 communes) using the OLS method:

LHDI = -4,53 + 0.402*URBAN_COMMUTING + 0.084*RURAL_COMMUTING + 0.328*RATE_SALARIED_PEOPLE + 0.325*DEMOGRAPHIC_SIZE_OF_COMMUNE + 0.168*RATE_PEOPLE_WORKING_ABROAD_LONG_TERM + 0.115*RATE_TEMPORARY_EMIGRATION_ABROAD +0.061* URBAN_CONNECTIVITY – 0.028*GENERAL_FERTILITY_RATE +0.06*URBAN_LOCALITY, R^2=0.689.

All the regression coefficients are statistically significant for p=0.05.

[3] The EUCROSS sample distributions on age, gender and education were tested against standard EUROSTAT survey data from fall 2012. The EB data was considered to be closer to parameters in the population due to the fact that the survey is repeated two times a year and the data is collected by random route selection and face-to-face interviews. The resulting data is weighted by using national statistics data.

EB distributions were computed, by country, only for the population of 18+ years old, having mobile phones or landlines, so as to make them comparable with EUCROSS frame (for the Romanian case, the percentage of adult population without a phone is of at least 7%). The weighting variable that brings native samples closer to population parameters was constructed by using EB data on gender, four age categories (see table below) and education (only primary versus higher levels). The ways in which education is coded in the EB and EUCROSS natives' survey are very different. Dichotomising, function of primary education, was the only way to achieve comparability. The new weighting variable is in the SPSS weighting file.

The main reasons for which we propose the use of this variable for weighting are related, first of all, to the fact that the bias of the EUCROSS data, compared to the EB tested data, is consistent. Comparative analysis of weighted and unweighted data shows extreme cases of overrepresentation of primary education in Denmark,

underrepresentation of 25-29 years old persons and of more educated persons in Germany, overrepresentation of aged persons in UK and of 40-54 old persons in Italy, Romania and Spain.

The data in table A4 show that the EUCROSS sample of native Romanians severely overestimates the population with higher education. The country's educational structure was only reproduced in the subsample for the capital, Bucharest. The analysis of the transnational capital based on sample data (see Figure 4), with a very high association of close connections in Italy and Spain, is specific only to the areas surrounding Bucharest and Cluj.

[4] "Ways of being refers to the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions… In contrast, ways of belonging refers to practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004: 1010).

[5] Input data is a correlation matrix for the similarity among all the emigration profiles (those named in table 2 plus the field for Hungary as destination). For each destination country (or group of countries) are kept for graphic representation only the first two correlation coefficients as measures of similarity. The profile of Austrian emigration, for example, is similar, first of all, to the profile of emigration toward Germany at the level r=0.80 and secondly, to the profile of emigration towards Czech Republic (r=0.75). The links of similarity are represented in Figure 1 according to the rules at the bottom of the table. The technique is similar to the method of nearest neighbour in cluster analysis but it operates with first two highest correlations for each object of classification (not with only one as in the clustering method) and is oriented not on generating clusters but networks of highest similarities among a set of objects. It was used designed and used under the name of "structural analysis of correlations" (Sandu, 1988). The method is in fact a data mining one allowing for identification of networks of similarity among the profiles of a reduced set of objects.

[6] The findings in this paragraph, together with data from table A4 are grounds to consider that the EUCROSS sample of natives for Romania is mainly representative for the urban population of large cities, with high education, and for the areas surrounding them and characterised by a common origin for emigrations towards Italy and Spain. The data collection procedure using phone calls on mobile phones favoured such a result.

[7] Comments in the paragraph are based on results of running multiple regression models for each of the EU countries (model 1 for Romania).

[8] "Localite" as an influential in media communication "largely confines his interests to this community. Rovere is essentially his world. Devoting little thought or energy to the Great Society, he is preoccupied with local problems, to the virtual exclusion of the national and international scene. He is, strictly speaking, parochial" (Merton, 1968: 447). Like localite influentials, persons of localist identification are mainly interested in local topics, are parochial.

[9] Similar, to a significant degree, with the logic of multiregional demography (Andrei Rogers et al., 1986)

[10] The country profile for the UK has high loadings on all the three factors giving the major fields of Romanian migration abroad (0.62 for Southern, 0.51 for Northern and 0.45 for Central-Western Europe).

[11] The correlation coefficient for the emigration profiles for the UK and Belgium is r = 0.81. The UK emigration profile also correlates very highly with the profiles for Italy (r = 0.80), the Netherlands (r = 0.77), Ireland (r = 0.79), and Canada (r = 0.81) (Sandu, 1988).

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