

Abstract

The migration of the Romanians to Canada represents a very complex issue. First, this process has a particular specificity. Canada and Romania are at a considerable distance from one another. A considerable distance separates them. In addition, there is a major difference in how they formed themselves as states. If our country was constituted by creating institutions and their evolution through the efforts made by the majority of the indigenous population, Canada is the result of centuries of colonization, the Europeanization of the natives who lived according to millennia-old relationships. The Anglo-Saxon and Francophone populations have had a dominant role. By accelerating the modernization of Canada in the nineteenth century, the migration of Europeans was forced, this wave encompassing Romanians, especially from Northern Transylvania, Banat, more connected to European values, as compared to their brethren in Moldova and Muntenia.

Canada itself is distinguished on the North American continent. In Canada, multiculturalism has become a state policy, while the admitting of migrants has grown into an extremely institutionalized phenomenon, in the sense that there are official institutions governing the migration of foreigners, according to a set of well-defined criteria which confer, if fulfilling them, the right to residence and, implicitly, to citizenship under the provisions of law.

However, as it has emerged from our research, the access of a candidate to the status of Canadian resident, through their profession, does not necessarily imply the providing of a job, which this qualification can grant, but it offers a place on the labour market. It primarily depends on whether they can fit in, and in what area they will activate.

Through the existence of this institutionalized institution, Canada differs from the United States and the European states, which are based on the existence of national majority and minorities. Thus, the Romanian associations in Canada cannot have the role that similar associations hold in Europe, to support the migration.

Our research revealed that, unlike Europe, in Canada, newcomers are fully integrated, breaking loose from the environment of their country of origin. They keep in touch with relatives, but a Romanian settled in Canada does not take into account the returning to Romania, unless there are exceptional circumstances.

The Romanian from Canada believe that they will remain in Canada until the end of their life and that their descendants will still be there, becoming Canadians of Romanian origin. Basically, just a good economic position may cause them to choose spending holidays in Romania, compared to other destinations.

The doctoral thesis was conceived by starting from eight major goals. First, we wanted to reconstruct the waves of migration, including the needs that determined them. Secondly, we intend to investigate the manner in which the first Romanian community established itself there. Thirdly, we want to examine how the Romanians' migration to Canada fall within the typology of international migration, from a theoretical standpoint. Another objective is the integration of the Romanian communities in the political, economic, social and cultural centre of Canada.

The conclusions drawn from theoretical research were made complete with the information processed in a questionnaire, on a target group of 150 people belonging to all categories of Romanians who migrated (descendants of the first two waves, representatives of other waves), who answered a set of questions focused on the need to find out how they migrated, settled and implicitly integrated, the manner in which the theories on international migration can be verified, and how they can be extended.

In this thesis we determined that the Romanians came to Canada in 5 waves of migration. We aimed to highlight issues such as the discovery of initial affinities (practicing, in the country, of occupations that are demanded there), the subsequent ones (qualification according to the situation found there), how people with special training can be integrated according to them, on the labour market (if a new social status is required), how community coheres, the creation of networking points for those who had previously migrated, the binominal individuality- community (whether they retain their cultural heritage, develop it, or promote it during the integration process).

The paper is a continuation of the sociological research of the Romanian diaspora from Europe and America, and constitutes a part from the project carried out under the aegis of the Doctoral Sociologic School, within the University from Craiova.

The novelty of the paper emerges from the fact that it depicts the historical trend on addressing the migration of Romanians in Canada (1.3% of all the foreigners in Canada and 0.3% of Canada's population), identifying the economic, political, personal and group aspects that Romanians faced when they decided to move to Canada. At the same time, there will be identified the aspirations of the communities, the way they settled, the expansion, the promotion. They will be considered the legal developments in Canada and Romania, the way in which the migration was encouraged or obstructed.

Sociology, fully reintegrated into the scientific life of the past 25 years in Romania, kept the pace with the international development, taking over and developing the existing theories. The essential scientific contribution will be pursuing how the migration of the

Romanians in Canada falls within the existing theories. At the same time, the work is going to bring forward additional information, where there are observed advancements of the concepts presented in theories, particularly in the economic ones, or within the migrants network.

Canada cannot be classified as a country of immigration, given that, for a long time, emigration was more consistent. Only the post-war developments, and especially from the last two decades, confer this country the present categorical status. In addition, after leading, for a century, a very selective policy, once with the liberalization of immigration, it had to receive a considerable amount of Asian population, being in accordance with the general situation on addressing the international migration.

Canada assumed its multiculturalism because, as compared to the United States, this country needs highly qualified and skilled manpower, from Europe, Asia, Latin America. Annually, about 250 000 people and makes complete Canada's economy, and, implicitly, the Canadian society background. They come with their set of values, are willing to integrate into the economy, without abandoning themselves, in terms of identity. At the opposite side, there are communities founded by the immigrants from the first waves that have been living for over 3 generations in Canada. Even if their connection with the place of origin are symbolic, the ethnic culture dominates in their communities, being the attribute of "distinction" within the Canadian society.

Canada is one of the most developed countries of the world. As a surface, it is the largest state in North America and second in the world, right after the Russian Federation. Canada had two broad categories of population that gave rise to the formation of what we call Canadian people: the indigenous people (Inuit, mestizos) and Europeans (French and British).

If indigenous people are registering, at present, due to the period of economic development, a positive population growth rate, nonetheless, Canada is a special case among the developed countries, especially considering that it is also a member of the famous G8. About 20% of the current population that exceeds 30 million inhabitants, comes from people who were not born in Canada.

The contribution of the Canadian immigration was provided by French, German, Romanian, Greek, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian, followed by Asians.

If the first immigrants were drawn to the vast spaces of the centre and west of the country, adequate for farming, mining, forestry, today, the trend of the immigrants is to come

in large urban spaces from the south and east, where they concentrate 80% of Canada's population.

Canada presents the particularity that each year it encourages the entry of at least 250 000 immigrants on the basis of national and provincial immigration programmes, (especially in Quebec). The Canadian cultural policy is based on multiculturalism. Another feature is that in Canada, as a developed country, an important role is played by the industries from the primary sector (agriculture, forestry, exploitation of resources), because a large part of its territory is not inhabited, due to the location in the vicinity of magnetic North Pole and the Arctic Circle.

Among the immigrants, those from Romania and Republic of Moldova represent a significant proportion.

In Canada, the Romanians acquire the status of permanent residents. After an adaptation period of about a year, they manage to find work, often below their training level. When the financial situation allows, they are generally interested to receive training to help them achieve their Canadian equivalent of the qualification.

Canada embodies the projection of a society based on ethnic and cultural mosaic. Since the first agricultural and forestry settlements, Canada has grown to be a member of the G8 Group. Canada has a reduced population, as compared with the huge area. However, the intensive designed community development, has made Canada a continuously expanding superpower.

Although many rushed to compare it with the southern neighbour, the United States, Canada has its own cultural and political profile. If in the United States, those who come are "Americanised", the "Canadian Dream" is an expression that is still struggling to become a concept, studied by sociology, history, cultural studies.

A first step has been already made official when, in 2006, there was introduced the concept of "Canadian ethnicity" for those who were born in Canada, whether they come from the original colonists, indigenous or migrants from the first waves.

At the opposite side, there are the communities founded by the immigrants of first waves, which have been for over 3 generations in Canada. Even if their connections with the place of origin are symbolic, the ethnic culture dominates their communities, representing the attribute of "distinction" within the Canadian society.

The immigrants are involved in a complex process, with social, economic, cultural influences felt the integration into the society of destination. This process is lengthy and it is necessary to evolve in the new context, up to three generations.

We can talk here about a long process of "adapting-acceptance" that involves further assimilation of values that characterize this society and that does not exclude the opposite, the process of "cultural resistance".

Basically, the "adapting-acceptance" means that newcomers make efforts to integrate themselves from the economic, social and cultural point of view, in meaning that they will have a job, a home, they will be able to ensure the education of children that accompany them, or those who will be born in the future, in case of young couples or single immigrants who want to start a family. The cultural resistance is the preserving of the initial cultural background and the attempt to popularize it, when the newcomers have defined the future of evolution background.

Another term that is found in the specialised literature, referring to immigration and which can represent a synthesis of "adapting-acceptance" and "resistance" is "acculturation".

Basically, through "acculturation", it takes place an exchange of values between the immigrants and the members of the hosting society, meaning that the first keep in touch with the home environment ("mother country"), while members of the hosting society may take up some elements from the culture to newcomers, if they think that they are useful for their own becoming.

When we intend to study the migration of Romanians in Canada, we ought to start from the theoretical details of migration in general. They provide us with general elements and can also offer ways forward, in the investigation of particular phenomena.

Thus, the Romanians in Canada were, at first, a community theoretically integrable, in the primary acceptance of this sociological and historical term. Because Romanians have arrived in Canada within five main waves of migration, the integration of the newcomers was done gradually, in a double direction. Basically, those from the second wave, unlike the first ones, can be said that had two possibilities of social and cultural action.

First, they were directed towards the places where there were already Romanians, because they could communicate culturally, and could integrate themselves into the economic activity, relying on the experience accumulated by the previous ones.

The Romanians from the first wave came mostly from the Romanian territories under foreign occupation. The use of mother tongue in schools was forbidden, as is the exercising of religious beliefs, their access to the benefits offered by the society being diminished, in relation with the obligations, so once in the "New World", their national values and the possibility of using them, were considered an absolute gain.

The more successive waves were, the better the newcomers approached this double integration: in the society of destination and in the already established community.

In the last three decades, Canada has implemented this policy of the specialised migration. People do not arrive in groups anymore, but, in most of the cases, as families, through a rigorous selection. The newcomer is already a resident in Canada and they are accepted owing to the social and cultural "dowry" from home: the knowing of French or English, a qualification that makes him eligible on the Canadian labour market.

The acculturation is also a complex term, reflecting the fact that the total assimilation into the main culture does not represent the only option and it is not an absolute requirement for the success of the integration process. This term refers rather to the phenomenon by which the immigrants gradually take over major elements from the surrounding cultural environment, but without completely abandoning their original cultural identity. At present, many immigrants have connections with the countries, cultures and religions of origin, and, of course with the members of their communities. These transnational contacts are facilitated nowadays, by the process of globalization. The acculturation is not a unilateral process, signifying that the hosting population can equally take over some elements of the migrants' culture.

The research of the particular phenomenon regarding the migration of Romanians in Canada, in the contemporary period, would be from the beginning corrupted, in the lack of the prior study of more general phenomena of migration. This primarily has a guidance role, providing guidelines and useful tools, but also one of interpretation, the contextualization contributing to the increasing of complexity and consistency of the final result. We therefore believe that the first natural step, in our approach, must be a general historical overview with a focus on what it is generically called "modern migration" (19th and 20th centuries).

The Romanians from Canada evolved from being a community, in the strict sense of the sociological and historical term, to the extended one, based on national and cultural identity through the transition from the residence in a small space, consisting exclusively of ethnic Romanians, to the dwelling within the larger frame of the Canadian society, getting involved as part of the political, social and cultural system. The desire to return home has decreased over time, the watchword today being the visits in the country, for short periods. Most Romanians from Canada are currently considering that Romania cannot provide the conditions for their basic needs to be met, therefore they choose to stay there, preserving their national identity.

The language of a people is in an inextricable link with all the values that make up its national culture. It is known that an individual, as part of a group learns the language of his people, meanwhile also realizing the acquisition or the absorbing of his people's culture. The more the individual will advance in the knowledge of other languages, during the development of his social role, the more he will understand what he has learned, by relating to the "mother tongue". He will get in touch with other people's cultural background, he will be able to grasp what unites and what divides them.

The first immigrants from Canada settled in the small communities, forming a separate body to other inhabitants. The fact that most of them came from Romanian groups living in the historical provinces under foreign domination, they felt that their language, culture and customs are their valuing element, on the social ladder.

This sense of national value also left a mark on those who came later, after World War II. Having a high level of education, they were able to promote their values in the highest spheres where they had access.

Canada presents itself today as an example of ethnic and cultural complexity. Although immigration to Canada was constant until the second half of the twentieth century, there was a tendency to promote assimilation, to the detriment of cultural diversity. A milestone was represented, in 1971, by the Canadian government's decision to introduce "the multiculturalism" as a state policy aimed at integrating migrants into the Canadian "cultural mosaic".

As regarding the contemporary society, it was observed that the communities, which had been established on the territory of other states, did not remain in the stage of the closed communities, surrounded by the majority population, like enclaves, but open themselves towards the society, adapting to the policy that encouraged the multiculturalism. Meanwhile, the desire to return home was mitigated.

We have chosen, as a case study, the presenting 10 success stories of Romanians settled in Canada. They can be included in the historic time interval 1977-2004, meaning the last two waves of emigration. They managed, since the beginning of the immigration period, to have access to the upper levels of Canadian society. Most of them chose to equate the studies or to work in fields related to those that they had specialized in, while living in the country.

As they asserted, there was a concern among them as regarding the economic and social interaction with the Romanians settled, as them, in Canada. They keep in touch with

the country, they are actively involved in promoting their identity, and the interests of Romania.

As a conclusion, we can emphasise that the Romanians from Canada have seen an evolution of their mentality. The first Romanians who chose Canada, belonging to the emigrational waves 1 and 2, originated mostly from the provinces that, in 1918, unified with Romania. There, the Romanians were persecuted on ethnic, religious grounds. However, they hoped at some point to return to the places of origin, to consolidate the position they had had at home. This appears from the way they have chosen to live: in settlements and locations of those settlements that look similar to the home lands, being consistent to their national values and customs.

The third wave, the veterans of the Romanian community in Canada said they were totally against the communist system in Romania before 1989, and were integrated into the Canadian society, to raise awareness on the totalitarian system from Romania.

The last two waves were basically focused on individual and family developing. They refused to remain under the rigors of the last years of communism, they were not able to adapt to the long and painful transition, of more than 17 years, before joining the European Union.

The Romanians were tempted to leave and settle in a society where the individual security and the conditions for self-development are provided, a conception corresponding to Maslow's pyramid: if the individual feels threatened on addressing the housing and personal development needs, the superior desires for the development of the personality, the establishing of role and social status are neglected.

It should be pointed out that the Romanians who came in the first waves of emigration, had a much higher degree of self-assessment as concerning their cultural identity, as they sought to remain in the complex North American area as little as possible, later returning to their places of origin. The others, who came from economic or political reasons, although aware of their identity, had to adapt to themselves to the requirements of a booming Canadian society, prepared to assimilate them, in terms of multiculturalism that had become state policy. They are the ones who also created a distinction between their origin, which they were very proud of, and the need to have a proper life in the new country of destination. It can be seen that the degree of internal cohesion is diminishing, as the number of Romanian immigrants who have to adapt to the new realities, is continuously growing.

There are several theories regarding the integration of the immigrants. One of them considers that the immigrants are assimilated by the new society, over a period of two or even

three generations, and, at the end of this process of assimilation, there are no longer visible differences between the newcomers and their children, on the one hand, and the host society, on the other hand, maybe just on addressing the name and appearance (skin colour, etc.).

Some authors believe that the assimilation is leading to the abandon, by all the parties involved in this process, of certain elements of their own culture and identity, and taking others from different cultures, rendering an amalgam of elements, both from the immigrants' cultures and the host culture. It is obvious that the communities, developed owing to the migration phenomenon, want to strengthen their cultural identity, sometimes in spite of the fact that their members can display a full and active participation in the host society.

In other words, the active and full participation in host society does not necessarily imply the abandoning of the specific cultural identity. Thus, what had originally been labelled as assimilation, turns out to have two dimensions that do not necessarily coincide, a structural and a cultural dimension. The first shows the increasing of the social participation among the people and groups in the extended society at institutional level (labour market, education, health system, etc.), while the second (the cultural dimension) implies the reorientation processes of the values, and the cultural identification of the immigrants. The studied issue includes the analysis of the degree of human development and, implicitly, the community and social development of the Romanians, having as basis the traditional culture combined with the modern culture, which results from the interference with other cultures from Europe and the World (acculturation).

The fundamental (academic) research on how to integrate the Romanians in Canada, from the cultural point of view, in the broader context of globalization and the narrower ethno-globalization is motivated by the fact that the Romanians, as all peoples, must contribute qualitatively to the *cultural definition*, in all the spheres of Canada.