

MIGRATION OF ROMANIANS FOR WORK DURING RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC. CASE STUDY: ROMANIANS LEAVE TO PICK ASPARAGUS IN GERMANY

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Abstract : *The Romanian authorities have not been able after 30 years to develop a strategy on managing departures from the country as they have achieved in the case of immigration. Labour migration from Romania during the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic in other European Union countries, such as Germany or Austria, has once again shown the lack of any national regulation on this phenomenon. The case of Romanians leaving for asparagus in Germany from Cluj-Napoca airport has raised questions about various aspects related to the conduct of this action during restrictions. But they overlap with an unregulated situation for a very long time. This article presents the risks and uncertainties of those who decide to leave Romania for work in other countries, when the Government has chosen not to get involved in any way in this matter. The lack of measures by the authorities increases the risks and uncertainties of those who choose to leave, and the situation of the thousands of people who have gone to work in other countries during the COVID-19 pandemic is an example of this.*

Key-words: *Emigration of Romanian; asparagus; Germany; agriculture; risks; pandemic COVID-19*

1. Emigration of Romanians in statistical data

Romanian emigration increased in 2018, when, according to data of the National Statistical Institute, 238,926 people went abroad for a period of more than 12 months, an increase of 19,599 people compared to 2017. The number of temporary immigrants is the highest since 2010, 2018 being the fifth consecutive year of growth, and compared to 2015, the number of emigrants has increased by 51,460, which is almost 27.5% (according to INS data). Migration in 2018 was lower than in 2009, when 246,626 people left the country in an economic boom in one year. Over a four-year period (2015-2018), 855,175 people left the country, or 4.4% of Romania's resident population on 1 January 2019.

Table no.1.Number of Romanian emigrants in 2008-2016

YEAR	TEMPORARY EMIGRANTS	DEFINITIVE EMIGRANTS
2008	302.796	8739
2009	246.626	10211
2010	197.985	7906

2011	195.551	18307
2012	170.186	18001
2013	161.755	19056
2014	172.871	11251
2015	194.718	15235
2016	207.578	22807
2017	242.193	23156
2018	231.661	27229

Source: *Tempo Online – I.N.S.S.E.*

Table no.2. Destination countries of permanent Romanian migrants

Destination countries Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total	8739	10211	7906	18307	18001	19056	11251	15235	22807	23156	27229
Australia	82	128	81	112	92	97	45	116	111	114	128
Austria	345	421	569	1089	1032	981	569	804	1347	1531	1746
Canada	1738	2045	858	967	846	954	688	1184	1086	1048	1126
Switzerland	120	99	85	93	88	130	114	165	234	260	290
France	431	576	405	663	660	663	495	628	886	890	1075
Germany	1788	1938	1399	2014	1907	2283	2.008	2780	3959	4088	3961
Greece	85	124	133	160	162	110	60	129	169	177	184
Israel	50	111	62	2857	2292	2506	22	43	75	66	61
Italy	1098	984	844	1906	2097	2607	1553	2033	3575	3449	4553
Slovakia	7	6	26	3	6	12	6	5	16	14	17
Spain	238	547	882	3352	4605	4968	3134	3375	5361	5547	6910
USA	1591	1793	1086	1350	1073	819	536	802	1281	1165	1243
Sweden	7	15	17	20	29	44	51	104	167	181	173
Hungary	354	331	266	514	355	346	286	420	390	271	304
Other countries	805	1093	1193	3207	2757	2536	1684	2647	4150	4355	5458

Source: *Tempo Online – I.N.S.S.E.*

The countries with the most Romanian citizens are: Italy – 1.2 million people, Spain – 680,000 people, Germany – 590,000 people, United Kingdom – 450,000 people, USA – 367,000 people, Canada – 193,000 people, Austria – 103,000 people, Belgium – 87,000 people, Portugal – 31,000 people, Ireland – 29,000 people, Denmark – 28,000 people (Eurostat, 2020). The Romanian Embassy in the U.S. estimates that there are over one million Romanians in the United States. (Romanian Embassy in the United States, 2020) Eurostat data and Romanian authorities as well are estimating that around 5 million Romanians live and work outside the country. The data provided by Eurostat on the extent of the migratory phenomenon are lacoured and contradictory compared to those provided by national institutes for analysis in absolute terms.

Although countless alarm bells have been raised in the public space regarding the negative effects of migration on economic and social life in Romania, the authorities have not carried out any strategy for managing

emigration, as they have done with immigration¹. The risks and uncertainties generated by the decision to leave Romania for work in other countries are left solely to those who choose this path, without the Government getting involved in any way. The lack of measures by the authorities increases the risks and uncertainties of those who choose to leave, and the situation of thousands of people have gone to work in other countries during the COVID-19 pandemic is a telling example of this. According to official figures, in 2017 and 2019, Romania was the main country of origin of immigrants from Germany (15.1% of all immigrants), followed by Poland (9.2%) Bulgaria (5.2%).²

2. Coronavirus pandemic in Romania. The state of emergency³

During the entire state of emergency (16 March-15 May 2020) established on the territory of Romania, 16,437 cases of people infected with the COVID virus – 19 (coronavirus) were confirmed. Of the people confirmed positively, 9,370 were declared cured and discharged.

Table no.3. Number of confirmed cases, by counties, according to the report of the National Institute of Public Health

Nr. crt.	County	Number of confirmed cases
1.	Alba	256
2.	Arad	691
3.	Argeş	193
4.	Bacău	418
5.	Bihor	492
6.	Bistriţa-Năsăud	292
7.	Botoşani	646
8.	Braşov	604
9.	Brăila	19
10.	Buzău	97
11.	Caraş-Severin	110
12.	Călăraşi	69
13.	Cluj	513
14.	Constanţa	256

¹ The Romanian government has developed a national strategy on immigration, which has as its starting point the idea that "Migration is a process that must be managed and not a problem that needs to be solved". The document can be found here: <http://igi.mai.gov.ro/ro/content/strategii> (accessed at 12/05/2020).

² According to official figures, around 1.59 million people immigrated to Germany and 1.19 million left Germany. Net immigration was about 400,000 people. <https://www.dw.com/ro/rom%C3%A2nia-principala-%C8%9Bbar%C4%83-de-origine-a-imigran%C8%9Bilor-%C3%AEn-germania-%C3%AEn-2018/a-51932779>(accessed12/05/2020).

³ Romania entered a state of emergency on Monday, 16 March 2020, and the Decree was published in the Official Gazette on 16 March, the measure being instituted for 30 days. The stated aim of the authorities for the establishment of a state of emergency was to combat the coronavirus pandemic by allocating new resources, more money for the purchase of medicines and necessary medical equipment, with simplified procedures.

15.	Covasna	228
16.	Dâmbovița	170
17.	Dolj	154
18.	Galați	529
19.	Giurgiu	202
20.	Gorj	88
21.	Harghita	36
22.	Hunedoara	598
23.	Ialomița	319
24.	Iași	342
25.	Ilfov	404
26.	Maramureș	80
27.	Mehedinți	89
28.	Mureș	641
29.	Neamț	824
30.	Olt	53
31.	Prahova	79
32.	Satu Mare	56
33.	Sălaj	55
34.	Sibiu	442
35.	Suceava	3.386
36.	Teleorman	113
37.	Timiș	488
38.	Tulcea	96
39.	Vaslui	146
40.	Vâlcea	27
41.	Vrancea	501
42.	Mun. București	1.591
43.	-	44
TOTAL		16.437

Source: Strategic Communication Group of the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs on 15th of May 2020

During the state of emergency, 1,056 people diagnosed with COVID-19 infection, admitted to hospitals in Dolj, Bucharest, Iași, Suceava, Arad, Bacău, Timiș, Cluj, Neamț, Hunedoara, Constanta, Satu Mare, Sibiu, Ialomița, Bistrița-Năsăud, Covasna, Dâmbovița, Vrancea, Galați, Caraș-Severin, Mureș, Giurgiu, Bihor, Arges, Vaslui, Botoșani, Alba, Sălaj, Brașov, Mehedinți, Teleorman, Gorj, Prahova, Vâlcea, Călărași, Maramureș, Olt și Ilfov, have deceased. On the last day of the state of emergency, 190 new cases of illness were recorded, and 219 patients were admitted to intensive care facilities at hospitals in the country. In Romania, there were 14,441 people in institutionalized quarantine and 14,791 other people were in isolation at home and were under medical monitoring. To date, 294,601 tests have been processed at national level.

Regarding the situation of Romanian citizens in other countries, according to information obtained by Romanian diplomatic missions and consular offices abroad, 2,887 Romanian citizens were confirmed to be infected with CoVID-19 (coronavirus): 1,698 in Italy, 561 in Spain, 29 in France, 453 in Germany, 86 in the United Kingdom, 28 in the Netherlands, 2 in

Namibia, 3 in the USA, 4 in Austria, 3 in Belgium, 6 in Japan, 2 in Indonesia, 2 in Switzerland, 2 in Turkey and one each in Argentina, Tunisia, Ireland, Luxembourg, United Arab Emirates, Malta, Brazil and Sweden. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 outbreak (coronavirus) to this time, 103 Romanian citizens abroad, 31 in Italy, 19 in France, 34 in the UK, 8 in Spain, 5 in Germany, 2 in Belgium, one in Sweden, one in Switzerland, one in the USA and one in Brazil, have died. As can be seen, most cases of Romanian citizens from other states who have contacted the disease were in Italy, Spain and Germany, where there are also the largest communities of Romanians who left their country.

Of the Romanian citizens confirmed with the new coronavirus, 22 were declared cured: 9 in Germany, 9 in France, 2 in Indonesia, one in Luxembourg and one in Tunisia.

By 14 May 2020, 1,277,188 cases have been reported in the EU/SEE, United Kingdom, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, Andora. Most cases were recorded in Italy, France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. Globally, 4,308,809 cases were confirmed, of which 85,762 were declared cured (36,947 were cured between 14 and 15 May).

The state of emergency is governed by the Romanian Constitution, by Law No. 453 of 1 November 2004 for the approval of the Government Emergency Ordinance No. 1/1999 on the curfew and the state of emergency regime and emergency Ordinance No 1/1999. 21/2004 on the National Emergency Management System. According to Article 93 of the Constitution - "Exceptional measures", the President of Romania may establish, as an exceptional measure, a state of emergency throughout the country or in some administrative-territorial units. The President must ask Parliament to grant a declaration of emergency no later than 5 days after it has been taken. If Parliament is not in session, it shall convene by law within 48 hours of the imposition of the curfew or state of emergency and shall operate throughout the period.

The state of emergency during this period was an unprecedented measure imposed in peacetime which imposed a number of restrictions: limiting travel, especially for the elderly; limiting access to health services; suspension of courses in all educational establishments; suspension of sports activities; closure of many economic sectors - tourism, food, production, etc. Those who did not comply with the new measures were sanctioned by the police with very large fines of up to 20,000 lei, the equivalent of more than 4,000 euros. In the two months, 2,304 people were placed in institutionalized quarantine who did not comply with the self-isolation period and 238 quarantined persons left the location where they were placed, for which the quarantine measure was ordered for a further 14 days. The keywords spoken thousands of times daily on all media outlets were "isolation" and "social distance" - a misused expression with the meaning of "physical distance".

After the state of emergency, immediately, on 15 May 2020, the state of alert was established, which, according to the authorities, would come with relaxation measures, but many voices claimed that the measures are in fact

even more restrictive, especially since it has become mandatory to wear the mask in closed spaces. As of 15.05.2020, the movement of persons outside the dwelling/household within the localities has been allowed, in compliance with measures to prevent the spread of infection and to avoid the formation of pedestrian groups of more than 3 persons who do not belong to the same family.

It was forbidden to people to move outside the locality/metropolitan area with some exceptions which concerned: travel for professional purposes; travel for humanitarian or voluntary purposes; travel for agricultural activities; movement for the marketing of agri-food products by agricultural producers; travel for the care or administration of a property in another locality or the issue of documents necessary to obtain rights; travel for programmes or procedures to treatment centres; travel for other justified reasons, such as the care of children, family members, the assistance of the elderly, sick or disabled, the death of a family member; travel for individual recreational-sports activities carried out outdoors with the participation of up to 3 persons; travel for participation in family events with a limited number of people and compliance with the rules of social distance; travel for the purchase, service, ITP or other vehicle maintenance operations, activities that cannot be carried out in the place of residence. The isolation/quarantine measure of persons coming to Romania from abroad has also been maintained. Persons who do not comply with the home isolation/quarantine measures will be placed in institutionalised quarantine for a period of 14 days to bear the cost of accommodation and feeding during this period.

3. Case study: Migration for asparagus harvesting in Germany

Among many other restrictions during the state of emergency was the suspension of flights to and from several countries in Europe, including Italy, Spain, France, Germany.

In the midst of a period of restrictions, an event with the agreement of the authorities on the departure of thousands of Romanians to Germany, with charter flights from Cluj-Napoca airport, picking asparagus and strawberries, created discontent among the population for several reasons: thousands of people leave, on special flights, in full pandemic, when flights to and from Germany were cancelled; these persons are transported hundreds of kilometres from their residence to Cluj-Napoca airport at night, provided that, according to the legal regulations imposed by the state of emergency, any travel is prohibited between 22.00 and 6.00 hours; those who go to work in Germany take the risk of getting sick while in Romania the business has closed without those who owned or worked for them being asked whether or not to take the risk of getting sick; Germany ranks third in Europe by the number of patients with COVID-19; thousands of people leave to work in agriculture in another country, while for agriculture in Romania there is no labour.

Timeline of events

1. In the second part of March, farms in Germany announced that they were at risk of losing asparagus production for this spring due to the scarcity of seasonal workers to handle the harvest, in the context of movement restrictions imposed as a result of the coronavirus pandemic. To overcome this difficulty, some farms have decided to book air tickets for their seasonal workers, but some of them are not accepted in the country even if they have valid work permits. Under these conditions, farms do not hesitate to increase wages in order to attract seasonal workers. *"For asparagus growers our partners provide double the normal salary, very good accommodation conditions and meals for workers"*, explains Emese Molnar, director of a Romanian company that sends seasonal workers to Germany and the Netherlands. *"At the moment the need for manpower is very high and our partners need hundreds of people"*, argues Emese Molnar, adding that in Romania people need a job. He also showed that Romanians will be able to return to work abroad. In view of this situation, German Agriculture Minister Julia Klöckner has launched the idea of facilitating the hiring of restaurant staff, unemployed persons and asylum seekers to cover farmers' labour demand. The German agricultural sector immediately needs 30,000 seasonal workers and 85,000 in May, the Agriculture Minister stressed. However, German farmers fear that vocational training will take too long. *"If for a Romanian or a Polish man who has several years of training I have to hire five Germans, then it is not worth the effort"*, claims a German farmer (www.agerpres.ro/economic-extern/2020/03/25/coronavirusul-afecteaza-recoltele-din-europa-din-cauza-lipsei-de-muncitori-sezonieri--473553);

2. On April 9, 12 charter flights to Berlin and Dusseldorf were organized from Cluj-Napoca airport, paid for by agricultural companies, for about 2,000 people who left to work in agriculture in Germany. The director of Cluj-Napoca airport said that none of the workers who arrived at the airport had a travel ticket and did not know the exact destination, only that they were going to Germany. At the airport people told journalists that they have financial problems, that they fear infection with the new coronavirus, but more fear that they have nothing to put their children on the table;

3. Shortly in the press, revelations emerged about the non-compliant conditions under which they are accommodated and work. Prime Minister Ludovic Orban said the Government monitors any violation of the rights of Romanian citizens and intervenes in such situations. He noted that many of those who left during this period to work abroad left on their own, not through a recruitment agency. Minister of Labour and Social Protection Violeta Alexandru announced that she had started talks with the German Ministry of Labour to monitor compliance with local legislation on Romanian workers in this country, and the Ombudsman asked the German authorities for information on the health safety of Romanian seasonal workers;

4. The situation generates political disputes in Romania, with representatives of the PSD, the main opposition party, accusing the liberals led by Prime Minister Ludovic Orban and the country's president, Klaus Iohannis, of national treason. *"PNL, instead of incentivising Romanian farmers to produce cheap and healthy food for Romanian citizens, by providing labour, including Romanians returning to the country, to provide storage and disposal space and to offer state-guaranteed credit, they crowd people into airplanes, regardless of the COVID-19 pandemic and sends them to Germany to collect their asparagus production! The decision is all the more irresponsible because Romania is already facing one of the most severe dryouts in decades. Farmers who will have to replace all compromised crops with new ones will have a huge need for these agricultural workers that the PNL Government is sending out of the country! (...) Iohannis and Orban are getting rid of tens of thousands of Romanian citizens who are risking their lives to work abroad in areas that have been marked on the map of Europe as the strongest outbreaks of the coronavirus pandemic. The PNL is not interested in the lives of these Romanian citizens, but only in reducing the burden of paying unemployment benefits and re-employment. It is a sign of great stupidity and an inability to anticipate the critical situations that are going to be acting exactly the opposite to the states that are already preparing to prevent the food crisis. Instead of encouraging Romanian farmers to stay in the country to provide food for Romanian citizens, the PNL Government lacks this vital resource and makes it available to other European states,"* said PSD deputy Răzvan Rotaru. *"The government does not care about Romanian citizens who have gone to work abroad and uses them only for electoral purposes. He's packing them up, on the bus, on the plane. Speaking of airplanes, I want to tell you that we are the only country in the world that currently allows charter flights to deliver as a cargo seasonal workers in Germany. Unfortunately, what is happening now in Germany with Romanian citizens is unacceptable. This government was wrong when, at first, it crammed them into buses, into minibuses, crammed them into the airport, sent them to work in Germany. The purpose of work itself is a noble goal, but this Government had to ensure that Romanian citizens have fair and decent working conditions in Germany. We have all seen on social media and in the press images that are unacceptable, Romanian citizens who are forcibly quarantined without being paid, Romanian citizens who have actually had their identity papers confiscated and for the issue of the document are asked 300 euros each, which is the value of the plane to return home. (...) The Romanian government should have negotiated for these people testing, quarantine with pay, one way - return free and a salary better than the minimum wage guaranteed in payment in Germany,"* said former Social Democrat Minister of Labour Marius Budai. (<https://www.agerpres.ro/stiri/2020/04/14/comunicat-de-presa-deputat-razvan-rotaru-psd--486722>);

5. After a week, the Romanian Minister of Transport stated that of the total of 2,000 who left Cluj-Napoca, only 361 moved by organized means, coaches that are registered with the ministry, and the others used personal

means or came in 8+1 minibuses, which are not covered by the Romanian Road Authority checks. He also said there were criminal investigations into how boarding was done, without complying with sanitary conditions. *"Flights with seasonal workers were also carried out before the pandemic. I saw, like you, the statements of the people who chose to go to these seasonal jobs and said that they have been doing this work for 10, even 15 years. They said they were in direct contact with farmers' associations, farmers in Germany. So let's not be hypocrites! These people, when the military ordinance that regulated charter flights with seasonal workers appeared, they didn't need anyone to organize them, to organize any institutions. They were ready to organize. Moreover, I want to say one more thing: the money earned by seasonal workers goes back to the Romanian economy for a large part. So I think it's good that this mechanism has restarted. At the same time, I believe that the Government must make efforts to keep this pandemic under control. Also, in parallel, to keep branches of the economy alive"*, Minister Lucian Bode said on 15 April on B1 TV;

6. And from Sibiu Airport, between 9 April and 6 May 2020, about 3,300 people left for Germany and Austria to work in agriculture, mainly picking asparagus, but also picking strawberries;

7. The People's Advocate of Romania has asked the German authorities to specify whether German employers were allowed to bring in seasonal workers after proving compliance with the natural hygiene standards in the accommodation and workplaces during this period, what happened and what will happen to the seasonal workers detected with coronavirus, if there is a possibility of isolation or quarantine, with the possibility of working for newly arrived workers, who have to work separately from other employees for 14 days and are not allowed to leave the company headquarters, what happens to seasonal workers who get sick and need medical assistance, who provides them with medicines and under what conditions they have access to specialized medical care in the hospital. (Source: Avocatul Poporului).

8. On 11 May 2020, the Ministers of Labour and Foreign Affairs were heard in the Romanian Parliament on this case.

9. Prime Minister Ludovic Orban argued that there is a demand for labour from Germany that needs tens of thousands of seasonal workers, especially in the agriculture sector, and even Italy will soon need seasonal workers. *"And here there will still be supply on the labour market. (...) Certainly, apart from the sanitary restrictions that are necessary and require all EU countries, we will not create any kind of obstruction for those who have the possibility to have seasonal employment contracts, because we are in Europe and the EU is the place where the freedom of movement of citizens, goods, ideas is guaranteed,"* Orban said on a TV show. The Romanian Labour and Foreign Ministers were heard on 11 May 2020 in Parliament on the situation of Romanian workers abroad after both the Romanian and German media presented that they live in precarious conditions on the farms where they work and that many have become infected with SARS-COV-2, and some have also died. According to the Foreign Minister, *"there was no agreement between*

Romania and Germany to allow Romanian seasonal workers to go to work in Germany, for the simple reason that no such agreement is needed, this possibility arising from European legislation providing for freedom of movement of labour". He also presented a contract concluded by a Romanian seasonal worker in Germany, which he said was concluded in Romanian and German and therefore the worker is aware in the Romanian language of its contents. "German law on the matter is applicable. There are detailed provisions on working conditions. For example, there is talk of a remuneration of EUR 9.35 per hour for those persons. From the information we have, it follows that, no matter how much they work, the seasonal worker is guaranteed the minimum wage in Germany. The minimum wage on the economy in Germany, according to my information, is 1,621 euros, but in practice, the average earnings for a seasonal worker working over a period of about 70 days (...) can reach up to 8,000 euros net, and on average it is 4,500 euros net", Aurescu pointed out.

Romanians leave their country, which has a human development index (IDU) of 0.816, to work in Germany, a country where the IDU is 0.939¹. Germany receives about 300,000 seasonal workers from abroad each year for its agricultural sector, most of which come from Romania and Poland, according to Data DBV, Germany's main agricultural trade union (<https://www.agerpres.ro/economic-extern/2020/03/25/coronavirusul-afecteaza-recoltele-din-europa-din-cauza-lipsei-de-muncitori-sezonieri--473553>).

Beyond the legal aspects, from a sociological point of view the case shows that, at the moment, the great agriculture in Germany is in the hands of the poor Romanian, Polish or Ukrainian worker, many of them from rural areas and accustomed to field work. Without the work of their arms, the huge German farms would become, at least at this point, non-values.

The case of asparagus and the lack of seasonal workers in Eastern Europe was also presented by the German press, and in one of the press materials a farmer talks about shortcomings he faces. He was forced to recruit 16-year-olds and 65-year-old retirees to work with. But his new employees say they don't work as fast and with the same experience as seasonal workers who also work ten hours a day, singing up to 15 kilos of asparagus an hour (<https://www.zeit.de/arbeit/2020-04/erntehelfer-osteuropa-coronavirus-krise-ernte-deutschland-spargel-gemuese>).

¹ Data according to Human Development Report Office 2019, source: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/2019-human-development-index-ranking>; Romania entered the category of countries with very high human development in 2015, i.e. those countries where IDU is above 0.8. The human development index is calculated by the United Nations Development Programme on the basis of three factors: the value of gross domestic product/inhabitant at purchasing power parity (PPP) expressed in dollars, life expectancy at birth (years) and education (average number of years of schooling of adults over 25 years and years of schooling expected to be followed at the level of children). The IDH value is classified into 4 categories: very high (greater than or equal to 0.8), high (between 0.7 and 0.8), mean (between average 0.55 and 0.7), low (below 0.55).

Another aspect concerns the relationship between Romania and those who go to work in other countries, which in this way is in no way regulated. For this reason, there are no statistics on labour migration and the social effects of this phenomenon. In order to obtain the labour force, the German Farmers' Association urged and succeeded in concluding an agreement with the Federal Ministries of The Interior and Food and Agriculture whereby these two institutions approved the opening of borders during the pandemic period only at airports and only in the case of seasonal workers, who have contracts with farmers. As a result of this internal agreement, access to the country for seasonal workers was allowed from 2 April 2020 throughout the pandemic period. This request was introduced, as an exception, in 2 days in Bucharest in military ordinance No.7. Only with the agreement of the government, the German Farmers' Association – Deutscher Bauernverband – organized the bringing of Romanian seasonal workers to Germany.

The Romanian government, however, has not concluded any agreement with all parties involved, including recruitment firms, stating clear obligations for each, so that at least these departures during the pandemic period are made safely. The action was not made public by the authorities, but was left to the recruitment firms. Otherwise, the masses of the peripheral society are pushed into a relationship of service and imitation towards the center and are stripped of the entrepreneurial spirit. Those who went to pick asparagus in Germany did not have complete information to assess all the risks, because they had never faced such a situation before. Moreover, they didn't even know which area they were going to go to, just that they were going to Germany. So their family did not have from the beginning the dates/coordinates of the destination of those to whom they cared in this situation.

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18. *** <http://igi.mai.gov.ro/ro/content/strategii>;
19. *** <https://www.mai.gov.ro/>;
20. *** <http://www.monitoruloficial.ro/>;
21. *** <https://washington.mae.ro/>;
22. *** <https://www.zeit.de/arbeit/2020-04/erntehelfer-osteuropa-coronavirus-krise-ernte-deutschland-spargel-gemuese>.