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THE RECENT DYNAMICS AND STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY OF MOLDAVIAN POPULATION

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Abstract: During the last few years the international migration of our fellow citizens has become a day to day trifle. Even before accessing the European Union, Romanians had learnt what Europe stands for, what it aspires to and especially how the real and rich Europe functions, that all so desired and precious Europe. However, this learning act did not occur through the classical method, in a theoretical - didactical manner; instead it was achieved on a more empirical note, in which the place of the classrooms and the sophisticated conference rooms was taken by the actual economic activities performed by Romanians in the West after 1989. Up to this point, adapting and finding a common goal meant physical and nervous effort as opposed to intellectual exercise and academic approach. Categorized by the mass-media with such derogatory titles as "strawberry-pickers", "Italians" or "voyagers" - these migrants play an important role for the Romanian social landscape, that of a catalyst for the integration of this country into an economically functional system. More than anyone and anything, they constituted the binding material to connect the rest of the country to the West. All these recent past years, they formed the "source" and the "pipeline" through which the wellbeing of so many people poured, from the packed European wallet to the spacious local money belt. Thus, in recent years in Romania, the rich uncle from America multiplied into millions of copies. In fact there was a rather sudden change from an almost entirely internal migration imposed by political restrictions of the movements within a confined space (with a prevailing village-towards-city trajectory) to a totally different structure, in which the main element of novelty is represented by the (re)activation of migration flows with international destinations. Once activated, especially after the year 2000, this type of migratory behavior tends to become one of the most important socio-economic phenomena manifested in present Romania.

Key words: Migration, Emigration dynamic, Age-structure migration, Moldavia, Romania

Moldavia – a land in search of its wellbeing

Abandoning the communist regime and the centralized-planned economy system meant that multiple changes took place in the Romanian society, which were visible on absolutely all levels. The overturn of a social organization pattern which was already deeply rooted in the collective memory and replacing it with another one with opposing features is

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very difficult to realize – fact proved not only by Romania's example but by other excommunist European countries.

After 1989 a series of very difficult social constrains have disappeared such as the extremely pronatalist policy that wasn't accompanied by social protection measures, the extreme lack of aliments and the absence from the general market of common goods, the poor quality of services, affected by the restrictions imposed in order to pay the external debt (cutting the electrical current was a common fact and the household heating was extremely deficient) or the system of job placements (in which an individual could be

forced to work in a different part of the country).

While these aspects had a general uniform territorial distribution at a smaller scale there were differences in the living standards. Thus, if the western and southwestern parts of the country (Transylvania and Banat) and the capital city have had higher living standards the eastern province of Moldavia has consistently situated at the opposite pole. During the course of history the poor economic development of Moldavia represent a constant state of facts the main element that impeded the economic development was represented by the lack of natural resources. Having a peripheral status on a national scale, Moldavia has always been under Russian influence which didn't have a favourable influence on the economic life at that time especially if we were to compare it with the western part of the country where through the German and Hungarian minorities - a more different pattern more similar to the Western European one was adopted. The north-eastern part of Moldavia was for a short period of time under Austro-Hungarian control (during the XVIII century), which allowed for the apparition of a more advanced economic organization especially as far as the industry goes.

Due to these disparities in economic development between the eastern and the western parts of Romania, Moldavia (holding a demographic vitality that seldom surpasses the national average) constituted the starting point of some important internal migratory flows, especially after the Second World War, either towards Transylvania and Banat or towards the more prosperous cities from the south (for example Bucharest and Constanta).

In order to reduce these disparities but to also keep in conformity with the legislation at that time, that needed to keep "a balanced and judicious territorial development", the Romanian government invested primarily in the less developed regions trying to reduce the existing disparities even those at a historical level, by building industrial units and focusing on the heavy industry. Unfortunately when making these investments the state only followed the principle of equal territorial development and neglected a series of other

principles, which is unheard of in some situations, like for example the existing communication network, connecting the new industrial enterprises to the existing culture heritage, or even the necessity of the finite products on the internal or external market. The overall effect was that many of the industrial objectives that emerged in the triumphant communist era didn't stand out for their superior efficiency or productivity as some of them where kept functioning thanks to subsidies offered by the state.

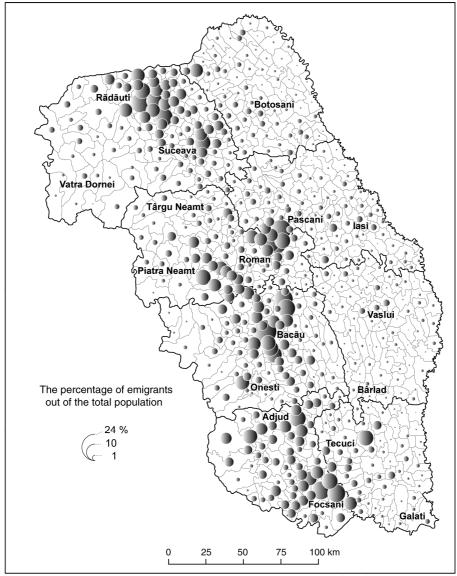
All these factors, to which we can add the lack of interest generated by the lack of private property of the production means, explains why the Romanian industry suffered a huge collapse shortly after the 1989 Revolution.

One of the rights earned after the events that took place in December 1989 and the disappearance of the centralized-planed organizational model is the freedom of circulation. This manifested both on an internal aspect (through significant territorial rearrangements either from city to city either from villages towards cities) but also externally, the valuing of the possibility of crossing the border, and applying the personal will and resolution to this type of decisions leaves important marks upon demographic, economic and social features of the population. Once embraced, this type of migratory behaviour tends to become especially after the year 2000, one of the socio-economic defining phenomenon manifested in nowadays Romania.

Known, unknown and more importantly, still to be discovered migratory aspects

The only available statistical data that we dispose of that can present a dimension of the Moldavian emigration phenomenon are those offered by the population census from 2002, even though – as is the case many times when it comes to delicate subjects – the data is certainly arguable and under evaluated.

But, no matter the degree of viability of the official data (which were probably halved)



Data source: The Population and Settlements Census (2002)

Figure 1. The geographical distribution of the emigration phenomenon in Moldavia (2002)

and assuming that the lack of trusts of the population is equally manifested territorially we can realize and analysis of the entire Moldavian space that can point out the place and characteristics of the population from this sub-Carpathian sector from this particular point of view (fig. 1).

The approach we pursued reveals that within the Moldavian space there are three major emigration basins:

- a northern basin, centred around the Rădăuți Depression with significant extensions either towards the western part either – similar to an appendices - towards the town of Suceava;

- a second basin (southern) that mostly overlaps with the administrative outline of the Vrancea County with the note that similar to before characteristically secondary extensions exist towards the sub-Carpathian area as well as towards the west part of Galați County up to Tecuci;
- finally a third major emigration basin (that has a central location) is easy enough to identify, along the Siret Valley, north of Roman and up to Adjud, that merged with the previously presented basin. A totally different secondary area can be pinpointed towards the Trotuş Valley, which goes up to the city of Oneşti.

One can observe at a first glance that as far as the territorial distribution of these emigration points goes they are all located west of the Siret Valley (which divides the province on a north - south direction in two almost equal shares), the Moldavian major axis that functions as a borderline that separates different compartments. The major basins release ramifications that irradiate only subsidiary towards east, as in the case of Dorohoi towards north, or Roman (where the social binding agents are much stronger and harder to eliminate; here, on both sides of the Siret Valley the common denominator is very well defined). Within the "dessert" territorial representation from the eastern part of Moldavia, only the cities Iasi, Vaslui, Tecuci and Târgu Frumos represent "oasis" (fact only partially true when it comes to Galati).

Unfortunately the 2002 census doesn't offer any information regarding the destination of the emigrants but our onsite research made in different cities and regions of Moldavia (finalised or ongoing) showed a definite prevalence of people that choose Italy as a destination point namely 60 to 75% of the total number of emigrants. The second country of choice but following at a large distance is Spain with a share of 10-15% from the total flows.

The question one can ask observing all this is: what is the logic that guides this type of distribution, what are the reasons that make for significant areas react identically or on the contrary for them to be separated from such different features? It is impossible to offer a short, generally valid and with a sociogeographical catholicon characteristic answer because the diversity of the situations is too great (which does not stops us from intuiting some sequential explanations).

On a scientific level, studies regarding the migrants were elaborated in Romania in the latest years by a series of sociologists (D. Sandu, Dana Diminescu, S. Lăzăroiu etc.), considering mainly aspects like: characteristics of the emigration phenomenon on a regional scale, areas of migration, selectivity of the potential migration, aspects regarding the integration within the host society, evolution of the attractiveness of the

destinations and especially the reasons for migrating. Another preferred direction was the analysis of the relation existing between entrepreneurial and migration (R.G. Umbreş), as well as the consequences that this type of migrations have on young children (Romelia Călin).

Although these sociologic studies are interesting and welcomed on the scientific stage their utility is more than once truncated from a geographical point of view as they only cover the phenomenon at a general scale and frequently have gaps as far as the structural segregation of the population samples goes, which are viewed as an amorphous mass or in the best cases - in a syncretism stasis that doesn't justified a more elaborated analysis. The obstinate analysis of the behavioural motivations (for example) is not always able to facilitate the decoding of the existing mechanisms behind the international migrations network.

On the other hand, the geographical attempts (I. Muntele, O. Groza, I. Ianoş and others) are useful for their contributions brought in deciphering the trends of the migratory flows, with emphasis on the region (or county) of departure as well as the most important receiving counties. These studies were based partly on the statistical data provided by the *Romanian Statistical Yearbook* (editions issued after 1989) which constitutes a more important source of quantitative information and also have a higher degree of credibility.

The studies made by foreign geography researchers are more numerous but they from analyse this phenomenon perspective of the communities that receive the emigrants, we hereby name a series of French, Italian and British specialists that manifested constant interest in this matter (Violette Rey, Maria Luisa Gentileschi, P. Nodari, Flavia Cristaldi and others). In such cases it is only natural that the topics of interest would be those concerning the establishment and rendering functional of the emigration networks (either legal or illegal), ethnical segregation of the urban minorities (analysed in some cases even at a street level) or the changes occurred in the percentage that

the national minorities register due to the qualitative and the quantitative changes of the immigration phenomenon. In addition to this, studies with interdisciplinary features have emerged that analyse - within this context - the intercultural relationships, the intercommunity solidarity of different ethnic groups or purely social aspects like delinquency, education level (and even the school results that the children of the emigrants obtain) or the health care of the new comers.

All these point out towards the necessity of obtaining valuable data concerning the nowadays international migrations and the method of choice in this case would be that of the *rationalised (guided) survey*. This type of survey has the advantage that unlike the random survey, it offers population samples more relevant for the subject of interest, as it is based on a pre-established principle – *that of taking into consideration only the population sample that it is actively involved in the analysed phenomenon*.

Thus, using this method there were registered a number of 11 691 persons that temporarily or permanently left the country leaving from Moldavia between 1990 and 2006 and presented an economic-financial reason as the exclusive purpose for these movements².

This type of emigration has almost entirely (93%) a temporary character (oscillatory), most often with annual comebacks, but it is very hard to categorize from this point of view those persons that are gone for a long period of time, that already have a legal status in the country of residence but still want to return to Romania.

Dynamic and structural characteristics of the Moldavian emigration phenomenon

The official data regarding the emigration phenomenon at a national level as they appear in the *Romanian Statistical Yearbook* (2007)³ shows that between the years 1990 and 2006 it presents a rather

winding trend with a general descending character and reaching a maximum value in the early years following the fall of the communism, with an "altitude" of 96 929 persons (25.1% out of the total number of emigrants for the entire period) - obvious expression of the regained freedom of circulation but also a viable indicator of the post revolutionary sympathy of Western Europe objectified through an increased tolerance in accepting the emigrants coming from our country (fig. 2). In spite of all this, also consider the must ethnic composition of the primary emigration flows that have a strong allogeneous trend, so that at the present time we rather have a regrouping of the main co-inhabiting ethnic groups (fig. 3). Thus, during the '90 the Germans represented 62.0% of the population that was migrating and the Hungarians 11.4% while the Romanian contribution constituted only a quarter of the total population (more exactly 24.6%).

The fact that the West has opted for such a rapid legislative withdrawn on this matter is obviously emphasized by the subsequent evolution of the migratory phenomenon, with a drastic lowering of the echelons until 1995, when, the deterioration of the socio-economic climate of the country due to the often inflation accesses - generated a new migratory flow, this one with a secondary feature (almost 26.000 persons). Later on, the profile of the graph becomes more sinuous with a secondary peak in 2000, as a result of the opening of the Schengen borders and another one in 2004, especially due to the legislative relaxation adopted by the Italian government regarding immigration.

One mustn't forget the fact that due to the increase of the availability degree, the financial costs necessary for the migration process dropped (a series of intermediaries were eliminated, either the guides or the so-called tourism agencies), so that they became accessible to an ever larger sample of population. Meanwhile, international migration has become a "product" easier to "purchase", due to the balancing of the demand and offer ratio.

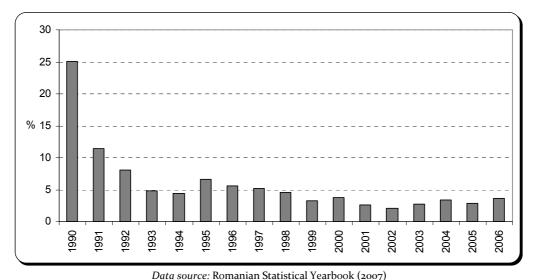
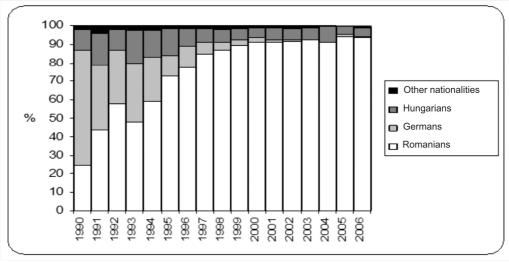


Figure 2. Dynamic of the Romanian emigration (1990 - 2006)



Data source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (2007)

Figure 3. The ethnic structure of the Romanian emigration (1990 – 2006)

If all these were the features of the general (national) evolution we can observe that the dynamic of the emigration phenomenon from Moldavia has been one entirely different (fig. 4), with ascending features. The common points of the two graphical representations are represented by the peak from 1995, as well as the boom from the year 2000, followed by a decrease⁴, according to the general trend of the Romanian emigration.

Far from surprising us, this mirrored image is the effect of the socio-economic and cultural disparities within the country; while the first groups of post-communist groups of emigrants came from the intra-Carpathian

regions (as a result of imitating the traditional behaviour of the population in this area), the eastern part of Romania has suffered a much slower process of de-partitioning and the time difference was actually allocated readjusting the mental space needed to start and maintain the migratory actions. In other words this resuscitation of migration that took place after the events from December 1989, at a later moment than the national average, is a feature characteristics only to our area of interest, and is visible even when things are analysed at a regional scale (in the care of Bacău and Neamţ counties as pointed out by I. Muntele, 2003).

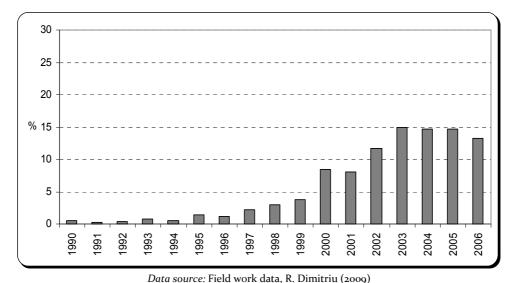


Figure 4. Dynamic of the Moldavian emigration (1990 – 2006)

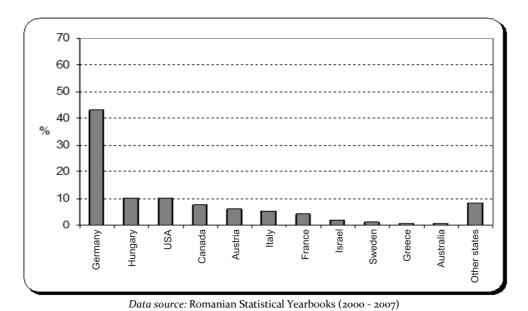


Figure 5. The main destinations of the Romanian emigrants during 1990 and 2006

These entire migratory flows have of course a destination point. In Romania's case the geometry of these flows is mostly oriented towards Germany and Hungary, as a consequence of the departures that affected the two ethnic groups and it is also possible that an important part of the emigration flows that targeted Austria to be made out of members of the German community in our country (fig. 5). The same ethnic resorts were the ones that partially animated the departures towards Israel, as the Jews have gained more and more the status of a residual community in our country.

In the case of the Moldavian emigrants as far as the preferences regarding the destination countries goes the undisputable leader is Italy where more than 60.3% of the population that crosses the borders for economic purposes tarry in (fig. 6). The rather loose legislation from this country, more pragmatic towards foreigners, the relative easiness in finding a job, but also the presence of a series of common cultural elements (that facilitates and shortens the adaptation period), all justify this decision of the majority of the population.

The second most important destination – more recent and less consistent

(materialized after the year 2000) but highly active – is Spain that absorbs 17.0% of the volume of immigrants from Moldavia. Similar to Italy there is a special preference for the capital city.

While in the case of the first two destinations there were a series of common features – like for example the lenient

legislation of the host country, the relatively easiness in obtaining a job, and a kindred cultural environment – this doesn't apply to the migratory flow heading towards Great Britain (3.9%) which is known as a country having a particular strictness concerning visas and work permits granting.

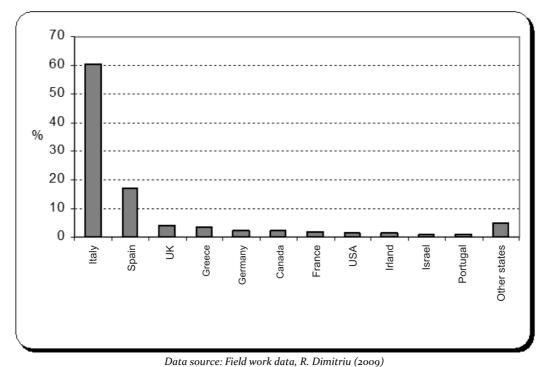


Figure 6. The main destinations of the Moldavian emigrants (1990 – 2006)

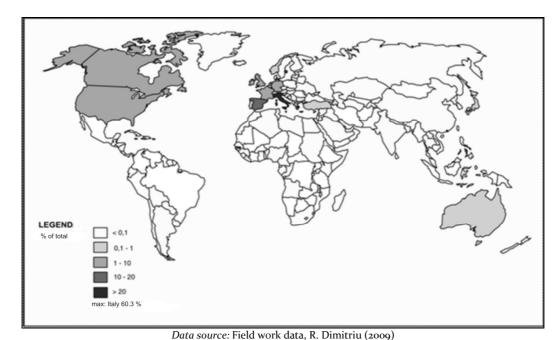


Figure 7. The geographical distribution of the Moldavian emigrants

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Also noticeable is the castling between the USA and Canada regarding the attractiveness factor – bigger in the case of the first country for the Moldavian emigrants. Can we assert that the USA is actually a target harder to achieve for the Moldavian emigrants?

We cannot neglect the recently activated destinations; some of them are pretty exotic. This category includes countries like Japan (that attracts feminine labour force which are active primarily in hotels and restaurants), but also a series of African states (Madagascar, Nigeria, Sudan, Maghreb countries) or Asian ones (India, Pakistan, Thailand, Singapore) the usual target for high education specialists (doctors, professors, engineers in oil exploitation and processing).

The structural characteristics of the flows of emigrants also leave a mark on the destination points, due primarily to the fact that the demand of the labour market in various countries is in itself wide-ranging. Thus, a very interesting correlation is represented by the one drawn between the labour force demand specialized in one domain or the other and the level of education of the emigrants (fig. 8 a b)⁵.

Analysing the data from this point of view one can easily conclude that the lower the education level is the more obvious the orientation towards the two main countries (Italy and Spain) becomes. This fact is not surprising because – on one side – these two

countries are in great need of labour force that doesn't necessarily requires higher qualifications (especially in constructions and in geriatrics) and – on the other hand – the two destinations points are easiest to achieve considering the existence of an important Romanian community fact that facilitates the social and professional integration of the newly arrived population.

In the case of the intellectual category the panoply of the destinations is totally different, emphasizing the state that practice (in a larger or smaller scale) a certain selection of the immigrants – as in the case of the USA, Canada, France or even Great Britain (fig. 9).

An important series of data concerning the structural segregation of the immigrants can certainly be obtain by analysing the age groups as well as the gender characteristics of the population involved in the process.

According to a survey realized in 2002 requested by the Romanian Government the profile of the average Romanian emigrant is outlined by the following major lines: young, with ages between 35 and 35, having a medium education level and not having any means of ensuring the necessary means for a decent living (mainly he doesn't have a house or apartment). Of course this study is merely an average analysis, and doesn't include factors like the adventurous spirit (characteristic for younger persons) or the instances in which children or grandparents accompany their families (more and more frequently lately).

Even if the above mentioned survey has only an informative status, it offers the possibility for establishing a starting point for an analytical overview, and we therefore consider that the segment of population aged between 20 and 40 years old are the most likely to be inclined towards adopting such life strategies and so it should consist the focus of our analysis.

From this fact alone two major categories stand out from the very beginning: the fact that the base of the pyramid is extremely fragile (which is not entirely surprising though) and moreover the fact that it is decapitated at its peak practically stopping around the ages 55-59 (according to the biological and psycho-social evolution of

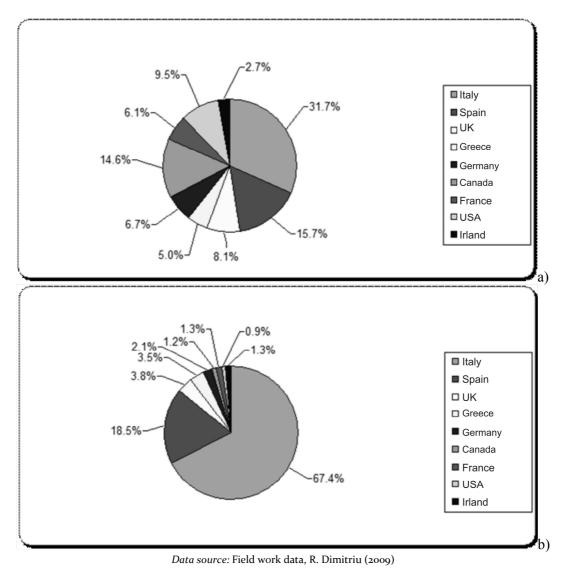


Figure 8. Main destination points of the Moldavian emigrants based on the level of education: a) intellectuals; b) other categories

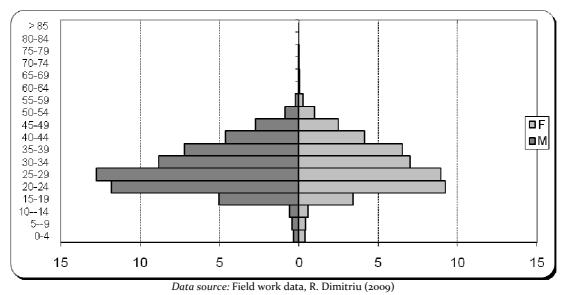


Figure 9. Age and gender structure of the Moldavian emigrants

the human being, which is less capable of intense labour of major changes to their life rhythms and habits after that age), even if as an exceptional fact – there are two additional levels (of 60-64 and 65-69 years old). Furthermore, the male percentage is slightly higher than the female respectively 55.4% to 44.6%.

While the median part of the pyramid is more strongly developed towards the left side, the overall percentages balance themselves towards the age group 40-44, and for the next four age groups (and in the same time the last ones), the female segment becomes more predominant, naturally expressing the professions that Romanian have in Western part of Europe (at that age a male for example is no longer eligible to work on a construction site but a woman can be active in the housekeeping business).

Still the international migration is a complex phenomenon that includes a wider range of social aspects that would also include the confessional features of the population. In the case of the international migration phenomenon, the main religion (Christian – Orthodox) is not as important as the secondary religions especially the ones that are strongly rooted in Western Europe.

In accordance with that, within the central-western Moldavian space, the Roman-Catholic group represents a compact one, formed through the infiltrations of population groups originated from the Transylvanian space, during the last three centuries⁶. Nowadays the Moldavian Catholics register significant percentages (even up to 100%) in the villages surrounding Roman and Bacău (and a secondary location around Onești), thus resulting an almost perfect overlapping with the area holding an immigration high incidence degree that we determined in the beginning of our analysis. It is obvious that this particular characteristic has allowed the apparition of this respective area, supported by the fact that within this area the emigration towards Italy registers above average values⁷.

As a matter of fact, it was precisely the Moldavian Roman-Catholics living around the town of Bacău that acted as pioneers for the Moldavian emigration, as they were the ones who founded the Romanian community existing nowadays in Torino⁸. We also

mention the rural record set by Luizi-Călugăra (where the Catholic population registers 98.6%) where, at the level of the 2002 population census the emigrant population represented 2.4% of the total (but surely once again the official data is lower that the reality).

Contrary to this, in the more isolated Roman-Catholic communities (and probably less organized) situated on the east side of the Siret Valley the emigration phenomenon has a lower degree of participation compared to the neighbouring communities where the Orthodox population represents a majority.

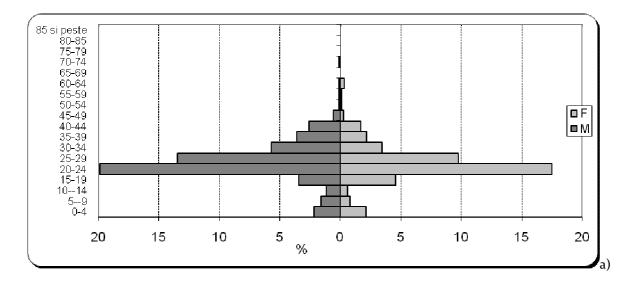
Very good relations with the West also characterize the Neo Protestant communities that that are capable in similar ways to act as virtual catalysts of the emigration process⁹. Once again the relationship between the confession and the emigration process is extremely powerful and it comes to explain once again the above average incidence registered in the northern part of Moldavia, in Rădăuți Depression and around the town of Suceava (especially Pătrăuți, where the Neo-Protestants register the highest shares in all Moldavia, of 40.9%).

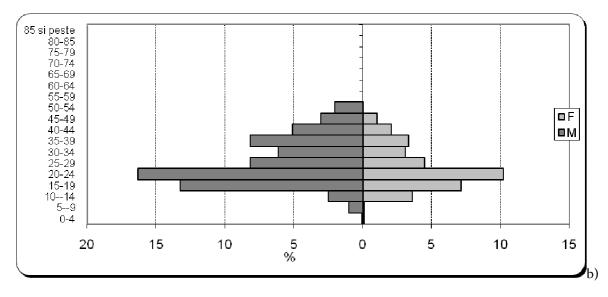
This fact of Neo-Protestantism being a favourable factor as far as international migrations are concern is also visible in the number of Romanian churches abroad. According to the information offered by the Romanian Embassy in Spain out of the total 41 Romanian churches established in this country, 17 are Neo-Protestant (meaning 41.5% of them) – a clear overrepresentation especially if we were to consider the overall share of the adherents of this religious group in our country (only 0.58% at the 2002 census).

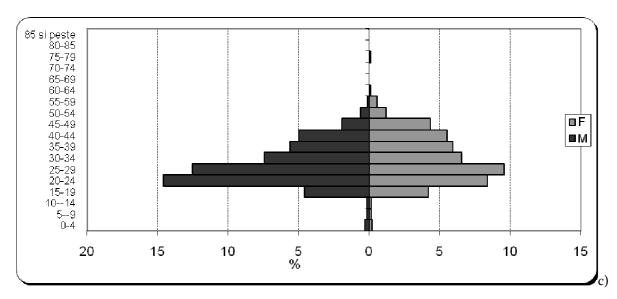
The analysis of the age and gender structure of the emigrant Moldavian population according to the main religious groups (Orthodox, Roman-Catholic and Neo-Protestant) is both interesting and useful: (fig. 10 – a b c).

A series of clear cut conclusions stand out from this point of view:

- The only pyramid having a more or less large base is the one representing roman-Catholics, feature justified by the above average birth rate in the destination country, but also by including the very young children in this type of movement.







Data source: Field work data, R. Dimitriu (2009)
Figure 10. Comparative analysis of the age and gender structure of the main religious groups of the Moldavian emigrants: a) Roman-Catholic; b) Orthodox; c) Neo Protestants

- The characteristic of this type of pyramid is due to the (already proven) fact that the roman-catholic emigrants acted as pioneers in Moldavia so that they already have a financial stability stronger than their fellow countrymen pertaining to other religions. Moreover it is probable that by emigrating towards a similar confessional environment (such as Italy, Spain or Ireland), de degree of psychic and social security would be higher and thus the decisions of increasing the family would become easier to take. Another reason to sustain this theory is the fact that the Roman-Catholics have the lowest average age of the young adults that are involved in the emigration phenomenon.

- The pyramid representing the orthodox emigrants is the most balanced on and the less masculine ne on e (as the males only register 53.4% of the total population). In the same time we not a higher that average presence of women aged above 40, which comes to demonstrate the fact that the housekeeping and the geriatric sectors are in reality a field of work in which orthodox predominate. The less powerful connection with the western world of the orthodox emigration may be explained by the fact that the departures for this category are done at a later moment in time, around the age of 30.3.

- The Neo Protestant pyramid is the most masculine one (64,3%), due to the fact that in this community the social roles of the two genders as well as the parent-children relationships are more rigorously defined.

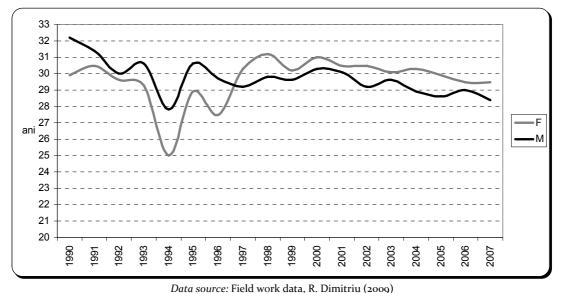
In any case, apart from the religious affiliation the average age at departure of the Moldavian emigrants is experiencing a slow and constant decrease which is valid for both genders in order to reach the value of 28.4 years for males and 29.5 years for males at the level of 2007 (fig. 11). From a dynamic point of view, after a period of research and adaptation which lengthen between 1990 and 1998 (caused by the lack of experience on the part o the emigrants but also by the uncompromising legislative system of the host countries), the Moldavian emigrants had to specialized in their professions at their destinations, in constructions (which required young male work force) and in housekeeping (especially in the case of women above 40 years old).

It is obvious though that the variety of professional occupation specific to the Moldavian emigrants is much larger as shown by our enquiry (fig. 12). While the two major specializations do register the most important shares (31.4% in constructions and 23.4% in housekeeping), a very important share of the population work in industrial sectors (12.5%). In this situation however the professional specializations that the immigrants earned back home is kept, especially if we refer to mechanical or chemical industry. In some cases, the present international migration phenomenon is nothing but a reactivation of the flows that originated sometime before 1989 as part of the economic relations established between the partner countries of the communist block. Such reactivations explain the migration of the former worker of the glass factory from Dorohoi towards Celje (Slovenia) or the departures of the former miners from around Călimănesti towards southern Poland.

Even if they don't hold an important percentage within the occupied population the restaurant and hotel activities tend to become a new specialty for the feminine emigration especially in Italy, Spain and Great Britain.

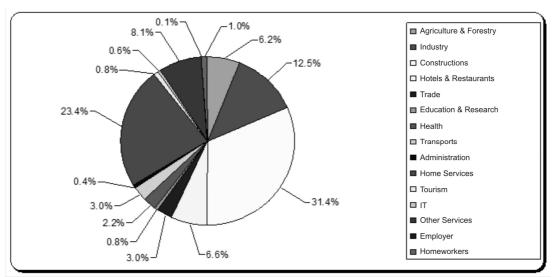
The health care sector is becoming more and more attractive for the Romanians both for medics as well as the sanitary personnel, the destinations in this case are extremely diverse so that there couldn't be emphasised a particular preference. The interesting fact is that in the Moldavian hospitals the medics and nurses are replaces by qualified personnel from the Moldavian Republic¹⁰.

In this panoply of activities another category of "other services" stand out extremely heterogeneous and includes such activities as priests (Orthodox and Roman-Catholics) that serve in the Romanian communities, lawyers, bankers, IT specialists (and even less honourable occupations like beggars and prostitutes).



Dutu source. Field work data, R. Dillittiu (2009)

Figure 11. The gender dynamics of the average age at departure



Data source: Field work data, R. Dimitriu (2009)

Figure 12. Domains in which the Moldavian emigrants activate in the host counties

Conclusions

The qualitative-quantitative analysis of the present international migration phenomenon is difficult, complex and almost impossible to categorize. The structural demographical differences (ethnic and confessional affiliation, professional and economic), even if minor, when they are reflected by the mentality and local customs they become major in different proportions so that by combining the same elements sometimes the results are different. In other cases, the similitude of the biome cause-effect is only a facade feature, and the road covered between the two points has

different routes and most often different functional explanations that shatter any trace of synonymy. In this maze, the en-gross categorization is forbidden, and the usage of general logical schemes can be done up to a certain level, after which the "interferences" are perturbing the analectic analysis more than they should.

Up to this point at a national level, the 2002 population census and the Romanian Statistical Yearbooks allow us to find out (but only in a small relative degree) from where ones leaves and where one arrives. But these two milestones are not sufficient for us to understand the complexity of the

phenomenon; and between the two there is still a lot of facts and motivation that remain opaque. Only by controlled surveys we will be able to find out more answers to more questions (how does one leave? or who and when ones leave?).

Thus, the main impediment that must be overthrown in such an analytic analysis consists in pulverizing an immense informational hiatus – a discouraging action that calls for important efforts and huge time resources. And even if all these obstacles are removed, another unwanted perspective raises in front of the researcher: the impossibility of comparing the results due to the lack of other similar studies, of this rather common reality but so unknown. Let's just hope that this is only a temporary feature.

Emigration and its consequences must be analysed in a very realistic manner precisely because it is a process that reverberates – in different ways and degrees – upon all the human-geographical aspects. The way in which this opportunity (resource) will be managed is hard to anticipate for now, but it will definitely have an important role to play – hopefully a positive one – in the evolution of the Romanian people and implicitly the Moldavian ones.

NOTES

1.-1

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¹ The population census from 2002 shows that in Moldavia there are 130 462 emigrants for a total population of 4 687 710 inhabitants, which would translate into only 2.8% share of the population.

² The respective sample was drawn from 33 cities and 103 Moldavian villages.

³ The data supplied by this source refers to the permanent migrations no matter their purpose definitive.

⁴ It is interested to observe that Moldavia in the years 1996 and has a few special features, while in the first year there is a decrease of the emigration followed by an immediate increase, in the second year an increase followed by a decrease takes place.

⁵ According to the survey made 9.7% of the Moldavian emigrants have superior studies and 79.6% posses a medium education (high school or a professional school).

⁶ At the 2002 Population Census the Roman-Catholics represented 5.20% out of the total Moldavian population.

⁷ In this case the relations with the Vatican (and thus with Italy) formed more quickly especially through the *Caritas* branches, that function in the main cities of the country or through the catholic foundations which are active even in the rural areas.

⁸ According to the surveys that were realised the emigration waves that started from Iaşi County connected in a first phase with this already functional one formed by the inhabitants of Bacău County.

⁹ Neo-Protestantism registered at the last census 2.24% adherents out of the total population.

The same phenomenon of replacement happened in the main Moldavian theatres (Iaşi, Piatra Neamţ, Botoşani etc.), who's actors choose to leave the country in higher numbers.

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