DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS – FACETES OF ROMANIAN MIGRATION

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Abstract

Since 1990 Romania has been confronted with the phenomenon of international migration, an aspect which has been debated lately by Romanian specialists in population issues, particularly due to its intensity, the european demographic context where it is manifesting, but also due to the emphasized demographic decline of the country. Although migration as a form of spatial mobility of people and labor remains a relatively complex multifactorial process, it is not in itself a novelty of the end and the beginning of the millennium. As a phenomenon, migration can be considered from the first moments of the men's existance on Earth. There were only the forms of manifestations, destinations, the movement of the the migration borders' centers that that suffered disruptions. There are transformations that are otherwise related to a number of favoring stimulus-factors of flows and migratory routes. From this perspective, how can we interpret the intensity of international migration from Romania? Are we on the edge of a demographic abyss as many specialists have not refrained to say? Or can we simply interpret the phenomenon in a context of a contextual-structural normality, specific to the Romanian society at the moment, temporarily boosted by a number of factors to which it is bound in some way to react? If so, which are these factors? What are the facets of Romanian migration and how they influence future demographic developments? This article comes with an answer that does not claim compliance with the principle of exhaustiveness. It seeks only to deliver a few pieces of a puzzle in progress. We can name them moving radiographs that probe a possible complementary support for the construction of a solid explanation.

Key-words: demographic decline, population dynamics, migration, immigration, demographic aging, space mobility, remission, static population.

JEL Classification: J1,J10

I. Some aspects of a conceptual - contextual nature

When a population is pictured by considering the static distribution of variables that define the demographic structure (number, density and structure at a time), that description (snapshots) can be found in the specialty literature as the population's statics. When on the contrary, it is proposed a presentation of the population in motion, where the variation in the two specific components: the external migration (immigration versus emigration) and population reproduction (birth vs mortality) have a decisive role, we are facing a description that is called population's dynamics.² Both vehicles bring a wealth of analytical information, necessary to the demographic projections of populations. This article is focused on the second form of description, with a particular focus on international migration (external). Există un evantai mai larg prin care este definită migratia. There is a wide range of definitions regarding migration. Customizing on international migration, if the displacement of people (emigrants) beyond the state's borders (leaving home state) is known as a process of emigration, the entry of the persons concerned (immigrants) within the borders of another state is called the process of immigration. ³ It should be stressed in this context that both the country of origin (where the emergence of some stimuli is crucial) and the country of destination (where the existence of attraction factors is major) influence through the correlation of several factors (political, social, economic) the phenomenon of international migration.⁴ Perhaps, not coincidentally, for example, in the case of the refugee crisis in Europe, the confidence in the economic

¹ The population census is the best example, because it represents a precise snapshot of the stable population on groups of age and sex, at a certain moment in time.

² In demography, there are also used indicators of fertility and marriage.

³ Academician Vladimir Trebici signaled in his work "Earth's population, world demography " (see Trebici Vladimir, *Populația Terrei, demografie mondială*, Editura științifică, București, 1991) that in the demographic evolution of a population, immigration had the same significance as the births and emigrations are nothing but losses. Probably Germany's opening regarding immigration policy was not a coincidence, as the German specialists forecast an inevitably demographic decline for Germany at the horizon of 2060, with an estimated reduction of the German population with approximately 8 to 18 million inhabitants and a reduction of domestic work force from 60% (currently) to 50%.

⁴ According to Professor Dumitru Sandu, in Romania's case for example "the external rural migration was largely a response to changes in the domestic migration, a decline in rural-urban commuting brought by industrial decline in the urban area and return to the migration from city to village", generally with "a tendency of autorecruting the migrants to work temporarily abroad, especially from the villages with a high level of socio-human capital", see Sandu, Dumitru, *Dezvoltare comunitară* – *cercetare, practică*, ideologie, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2005, pag. 115, respectively 128.

prosperity of the most developed EU countries, as well as the political stability that characterizes them, represented determinant attracting factors, indirect generators of massive disslocations of populations from the north of Africa and the Middle East to Europe. The phenomenon, however, needed continuous supply of fuel needed to migration flows (internal stimuli): conflicts, poverty, human rights abuses in their home countries. To this we can add a functional requirement complementary to the atraction factors: the use of international migration as a tool to alleviate labor market shortages and slow down/ lock aging populations. Europe's population has been characterized for several decades by a slow but well-structured, demographic aging. It is moreover a phenomenon specific to the whole modern world. Changes in family structure, which have demographic implications, are the products of the modernization process. Improved quality of life accompanied by the increasing participation of of women in the labor market are just two of the variables involved in the erosion of the old model family with several children, facilitating the transition to a model of one, maximum two children (to which it can be added the widespread us of contraception). The situation describes the dynamics of a population that has no ability to replace generations.

It means a population that can no longer reproduce. The process of industrialization leads to profound changes not only in terms of fertility (low birth rates). Improved quality of life is also responsible for the significant increase in average life expectancy, which advances as living conditions become increasingly better. In other words, on the one hand, current trends indicate major changes in the age structure of populations, raising the stock of passive population (especially the elderly) at the expense of the economically active population (persons of working age employment), an imbalance that has as a consequence both the inability of financial support of the inactive population by the active population and labor shortages amplification (due to low birth rates)². On the other hand, it indicates a serious process of demographic decline.

As part of the European demographic trends, after 1990, Romanian population has also been confronted with the phenomenon of international migration which, due to the scale and unexpected intensity has further deepened the country's demographic decline. Statistics show that in 2013

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¹ The demographic decline in many industrialized European countries is highlighted from the mid-twentieth century. History also records with this date the first waves of immigration from the Middle East. In fact, it tries to offset labor shortages by importing cheap labor from less developed countries.

² According to data from Eurostat, in March 2016, life expectancy at birth has increased on average in the last 50 years, at EU level, by about 10 years. In other words, an European who was born in 2014 was expected to live 80.9 years, on average.

the stable population (resident) of Romania was approximately equal to that of 1969, the decrease of which is in constant motion. Unfortunately backwards. It means passing a route that indicate a steady reduction of the stock of resident population every year.

II. International migration – contributor to the aging process of Romanian population

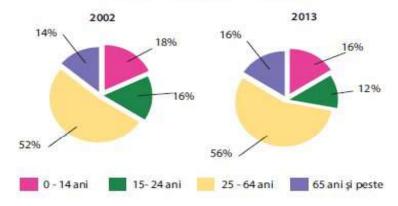
According to Eurostat Regional Yearbook, at the beginning of 2015, on the EU-28 teriorry lived about 508.5 million people, with a stock of young population (0-19 years) of approximately 20.9% and working age population (20 -64 years) of 60.2%¹. Persons older than 65 years (elderly people) accounted for about 18.9% of the population of the 28 European countries. It should be noted that in the period 1960-2015 the EU-28 population grew annually by an average of 0.4% (total increase of 101.7 million inhabitants). Starting with 1964, when it was reached the peak of natural demographic growth (3.6 million more births than deaths) the birth rate declines steadily, along with a gradual rise in average life expectancy. Forecasted by experts to be the "equinox" of natural population growth, year 2003 registers a balance, the birth rate being nearly equal to that of deaths (about 100,000 more births than deaths). Yet, after this year the birth rate and consequently, the natural population growth begin to rise again in many European countries, being slightly slowed by the financial and economic crisis in the period 2008-2013 (when natural demographic growth decreased from 578 000 to 82,000 in 2014, still being recorded a natural population increase of 191,000). In the period 01.01.2014 - 01.01.2015 the EU-28 population grew by 1.3 million (an increase of 2.5 to 1,000), resulting in a combined product of natural demographic change and net migration². It should be added that in 2014 there were registered about 3.8 million immigrants, of which 1.6 million belonged to member countries, 1.3 million belonged to another EU Member State other than that of destination, about only 870,000 nationals and 12 400 stateless persons. Part of the EU-28, Romania's demographics undergo a variety of changes, some of which tend to become structural according to leading specialists in the population analysis (changes in age structure of the population).

¹ According to the data, from the working age population, 12.2% was between 20-35 years, 28.6% between 35-54 years and 12.8% between 55 to 64 years.

² According to Eurostat, in 2015, the population grew in 17 European countries (the highest growth rates: Luxembourg: 23.3 per 1,000 residents, Austria: 14.4 per 1,000 residents, Germany 11.8 1,000 residents), and in the other 11 it fell (the highest rates of decline: Lithuania: -11.3 per 1,000 residents, Latvia: -8.7 per 1,000 residents, Croatia: -8.2 per 1000 residents. For Romania, the weight was -5.6 per 1,000 residents).

The whole complex problematic issue determined Professor Vasile Ghețău, director of the Center for Demographic Research of the Romanian Academy, to warn a few years ago on a possible major demographic crisis, generating profound changes in the population structure of Romania: "It's a european trend. Europe is demographically sick as a whole [...] There are signs that the current European civilization is diminishing. After 2015 the number of deaths in Europe will be higher than the number of births. It is a civilization that has completed its cargo of progress. What will happen to us? Imagine the 67-70 generations retiring after 2020 - 2030. There will be very long generations. They will have to be economically maintained. If fertility remains at the current level, here it's who will have to support them: those born after 1989, at half the previous ones".

Structura populației rezidente a României la 1 ianuarie, pe grupe de vârstă



Source: Data from the study "International migration of Romania", INS, Bucharest, 2014²

Compared to the EU-28 area, the structure of the Romanian stable population (residents), by age, in 2013, does not outline a worrying picture at first glance, the data provided by the National Statistics Institute showing the above configuration. What worries is that in January 2013 Romania's stable population reached 20.01 million inhabitants, meaning a level

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¹ See http://cursdeguvernare.ro/vasile-ghe%C8%9Bau-directorul-centrului-pentru-cercetari-demografice-demografia-romaniei-e-iremediabil-compromisa.html / Vasile Gheţău, sociolog, profesor universitar şi directorul Centrului de Cercetare Demografică al Academiei Române.

² See

http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/publicatii/pliante%20statistice/Migratia_internationala_a_Ro maniei_n.pdf

approximately equal to the population of 1969. According to the National Statistics Institute, Romania's population grew by 26% from 1960 to 1990 and decreased by 14% in the period 1990-2015.

Over the course of only 23 years (1989-2012) statistics show a reduction of about 3.1 million resident population (resident) in the country. Even though research shows that to this drastic reduction contributed high mortality rate (quite high after 1990) or specific family planning policies 1, 77% of Romanian's resident population stock decrease was attributed to international migration. Only in 2007 (considered the peak of emigration) about 458 000 people left the country. 2 Data provided by the National Institute of Statistics show that international migration was accompanied by changes in the age of people who emigrate. Thus, during 2002-2012, for the age group between 25-64 years (working age population) the indicator increased from 68% to 76%. 3

Structura emigranților la 1 ianuarie, pe grupe de vârstă



Source: Data from the study "International migration of Romania", INS, Bucharest 2014^4

 $http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/publicatii/pliante\%20 statistice/Migratia_internationala_a_Romaniei_n.pdf$

¹ According to the National Institute of Statistics, in 2013 it was registered a 51% decrease in the number of births, as compared to 1989.

² According to the National Institute of Statistics, in 2014 around 185 thousand Romanians emigrated, many of them choosing as destination UK, a state that was ranked in 2014 the 2nd place in the top destinations for emigration, after Italy.

³ There is a decrease in the share of the following age segments: 0-14 years and 15-24 years, from 10% to 8% and from 22% to 15%.

⁴ See

For the same period, it was recorded a sharp increase in the number of emigrants per thousand inhabitants (from 48.6 in 2002 to 116.5 in 2012).¹ Statistically, since 1990, only due to international migration, the annual population of Romania decreased by approximately 104 200 people. Immigration of over three million Romanians, generally active working age people (young population), has contributed indirectly to the increase in the average age of the resident population (from 37.8 years in 2002 to 40.9 years in 2012) generating serious changes in the gender and age groups thereof. ² Marking these changes in the demographic dynamics of the Romanian population entitles us to affirm that international migration contributed substantially to the beginning of the Romanian population's demographic decline and its accelerated aging process. The process was exacerbated by the sheer volume of people who left Romania in search for a job (young population, with women at fertility age). International migration is indeed an important contributor to Romanian's accelerated aging process of the stable population. It also contributes to some pesimistic scenarios, which predict that on a course relatively similar, at the horizon of 2060, it is expected that Romania's stable population will reach somewhere around 14 to 15 million inhabitants.³

III. International migration - a result of economic disparities

The phenomenon of international migration in the European context remains circumscribed to the functionalist theories, which mostly start from the premise that as long as there are economic gaps between countries/regions, the propensity to emigrate will know no substantive changes. More specifically, it will not diminish and as a consequence, poorer countries / regions poorer (European or non-European) will continue to remain suppliers of workforce for the economies of industrialized countries. A Report from 2016 of the International Monetary Fund points out that given

¹ It must be said that in 2012, according to the National Statistics Institute, there was a balance between the number of emigrants compared to the number of immigrants (a difference of just 3,000 people).

² Since 2013, the number of women is higher than men for each age exceeding 50 years, although the birth of boys is higher than girls (a higher mortality rate in men than in women).

³ "The least enjoyable phenomenon for Romania is the demographic decline. (...) It is very hard to get to balance some major imbalances that have emerged in the last 25 years in the structure of the population. (...) It is very hard to get to balance the age structures in a reasonable period. In my opinion, the big problem of Romania is not that we got from 23,200,000 in 1990 to 19,800,000. The major problem is that the population age structure radically changed. This is the problem that we will have to face in the next 20-30 years and if we go on pessimistic scenarios (...), we will probably reach 14-15000000 inhabitants in a period of 30-40 years, "Professor Tudorel Andrei, director of the National Institute of Statistics.

the differences still high between the Eastern and the Western Europe in terms of "standard of living", "guarantee human rights", "law enforcement" or "contracts", the phenomenon of international migration will continue with important consequences in terms steeper population decline, limiting prospects for economic growth and slower income convergence of the Eastern resident population to the Western average income. The poorer Eastern Europe is likely to continue in the near future to remain the basin of labor recruitment to cover deficits which are specific to industrialized states, which will try to create optimal conditions for the eastern european immigrationists currents (given that, most of the studies have shown that the populations from the Est present skills and cultural values which ease integration and adaptation)¹. From this perspective, given that, for example, in 2014, the GDP per capita in Romania averaged 7,500 EURO,² (27.300 EURO european average), we may say that there is a possibility that the volume of Romanian migration "raids" to the developed countries of the EU not to suffer modifications of substance.

Obviously, this will be possible in the context where in the equation (present scenario) there will not be room for another variable ("black swan") to fundamentally change the current Romanian/ EU socio-economic context. This is because although the pace of recovery is quite high (between 2004-2014 the GDP per capita in Romania increased 2.6 times from 2,900 EUR 7,500 EUR), representing the largest increase in the EU-28 area, mathematically speaking, only in 2031 Romania can reach the European average, while maintaining growth indices both at home and in the EU-28 ³ (yet, it's only a pure mathematical calculus). Moreover, another variable (internal stimulus) does not help building an optimistic scenario: Romania is a country of wide disparities (disparity index is the difference between the national and regional level).⁴

The data that the National Prognosis Commission bring forward in this respect is not encouraging. If in 2016 the GDP per capita is estimated to exceed EUR 10,000 in Bucharest and other five counties (Ilfov, Timis, Cluj, Brasov and Constanta), equally, other 5 counties will not exceed EUR 5,000 (three are from North - East / Neamt, Botosani, Vaslui, plus Mehedinti and

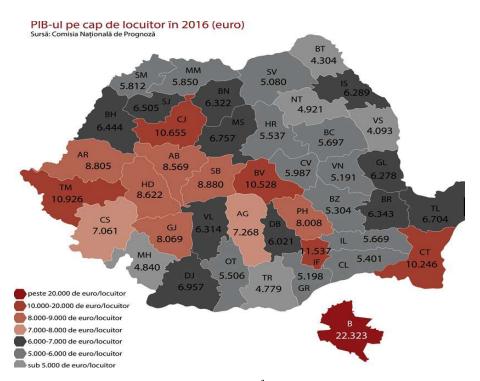
¹ During 1990-2012 five states were "hosts" (destinations) of 73% of the emigrant population of eastern Europe - Germany (41%), Italy (11%), USA (9%), Spain (8%), Austria (4%).

² According to the National Prognosis Commission, in Bucharest, in 2014 the GDP per capita was 19 711 EURO

³ Average GDP per capita in the EU-28 for the same period increased from EUR 22,300 to EUR 27,300.

⁴ According to data provided by the National Commission for Prognosis if the disparity index in 2012 was 62.7%, in terms of GDP per capita, the latest estimates showed that in 2017 the index would be 62.2%.

Teleorman counties). In Bucharest, in 2016, the GDP per capita is expected to reach 22 323 EURO.¹



Source: National Commission for Prognosis²

But yet, neither the 2004 scenarios did not forecast the rithm that Romania had to impose in the ten years that followed (recovery of GDP per capita as compared to advanced countries of the EU and particularly against the neighbors - from 2.8 times lower in 2004 to 1.4 times lower in 2014, compared to Hungary; from 1.9 times to 1.4 times lower than in Poland, etc.). Yet increasingly more profesioanly prepared categories are already in the antechamber of new immigration frontiers.³ Keeping regional disparities seem to support a migration flow already installed: from east to west.

¹ According to the National Bank of Romania's Governor, Mugur Isarescu, Bucharest could enter the euro zone at any time, given the present level of development similar to that of Lisbon and Berlin.

² See http://cursdeguvernare.ro/prognoza-in-profil-teritorial-cum-va-arata-economia-fiecarui-judet-in-2016.html

³ According to Professor Dumitru Sandu, after 2007 "there has been a reduction in the departure of medium- skilled workforce, in favor of low-skilled or high- skilled workers", interview conducted on 11.05.2010 by Mirela Ciucur: see " De ce au migrat românii " www.universulromanesc.com

IV. International migration - the result of a failed transition

Many studies undertaken so far have stressed that the experiment itself, largely unsuccessful, of socio-economical transition has generated a strong centrifugal force, pushing for international migration, a phenomenon interpreted as a correct reaction to the economic recession and that worsened the economio-social situation of many Romanian families ¹. The intensity of this process, noticed especially after 1997², involves, according to the specialists' vision, a complex causal chain, according to which two were strong variables: rebound of optimism that was often very high in the early 90s (disappointment with the new political-economic system in place after 1990) and the emergence of a symptom that force work in Romania was not confronted until 1989: unemployment. The sudden disappearance of about 40% of jobs, loss of respect in certain professions, generally liberal, the powerful inflationary movements of national currency, have practically marked the beginning of a "irregular" migration process, which largely maintains until today. We do not posess so far sociological research that give us reliable data about the curriculum matrix (human capital) of those who were willing to leave Romania in search of a job in the early years of international migration and decided to remain permanently abroad. What we know is that the intensity of the final abandonment of Romania, comprising in the international migration equation factors completely different from the current specific migration³, tempered, international migration representing today mostly temporary positions on the European labor market.⁴

Certainly, the start of the exod was spurred largely by the scarcity of jobs in Romania. But the fall of respect for many professions and the absence of public policies perspectives, did nothing to increase the phenomemon. Warn

¹ Ibidem

² Year 1997 is representative from a demographic perspective, representing the time frontier, which changes the major direction of the internal migration, from city to village (for the first time, the number of those leaving the city for the village exceeds that of those leaving the village for the city).

³ The fall of the communist regime had no way to permanently stop the emigration already installed well before 1989. The data provided by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees show, for example, that the number of Romanian citizens who had applied for refugee status in Western European countries, grown between 1980-1990 with 500%. Furthermore, according to Professor Dumitru Sandu, only in 1990 we noticed a permanent emigration of 60,000 Germans, representing about 60% of the total emigration of that year. He stresses, however, that since 1998, only about 11,000 persons have permanently left Romania per year ("Riscuri și inechități sociale " Report to the Presidential Administration in September, 2009).

⁴ Sandu, D., 2000a, "Migrația circulatorie ca strategie de viață", *Sociologie Românească*, 2, pp. 5-29 și 2000b, "Migrația transnațională a românilor din perspectiva unui recensământ comunitar", Sociologie Românească, 3-4, pp. 5-50.

of possible impoverishment, amid closure of large companies and massive restructuring, lacking professional horizon, in terms of a transition process addressed mostly through an aggresive pesudo-professionalism, a significant part of the population in Romania did not hesitate to use very quickly the book of opportunities and the existing opportunities of the legislation, living and working conditions from many western European countries (especially Italy and Spain), giving a start to the demographic decline of the Romanian population.¹

V. International migration – financial remittances and social differentiation. Role in economic development vs. consumption development

According to a World Bank report, in 2015 the total value of remittances worldwide was 582 billion dollars (the total amount sent by immigrants to relatives in their country of origin).²

Even if the report shows a decrease of 2% as compared to the previous year (first after 2009, the year when the global crisis emerged), the amount is double as compared to that of 2005.

Being directly correlated with the number of immigrants, the amount of remittances indicates an increase in their number from about 191 million in 2005 to about 243 million in 2015. Approximately 3% of the world population is currently outside the country of origin.³

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¹ Dumitru Sandu highlights that beyond social discontent specific to the post-revolutionary period, and the openings launched by some Western countries to the labor market from Romania, changes in internal migration had a significant role, an important segment of the population that was actually forced to leave from city to village could be found among the group of the first waves of mass emigration after 2000.

² Of these, \$ 109.4 billion belong to the EU; to the EU is returning, in the form of remittances, approximately \$ 36.5 billion, see "Sending Money Home: Flows and European markets"

³ For comparison, over 16% of Romania's population of 1990 is currently abroad.



Source: Study IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development), 2015 - "Sending Money Home: Flows and European markets"

On average, each immigrant sends anually to its family in the country about 240 \$. Remittances of workers outside their home countries represent important parts of the global economy. They describe on the one hand, the areas of great financial flows and, on the other hand, the main poles of international migration, which are true barometers of wealth/poverty installed at one time, globally. Regarding the EU-28, according to Eurostat, on the 1st of January 2015, the number of third country nationals residing in the EU-28 was 19.8 million, while the number of people born outside the EU, but living in EU-28 was 34.3 million. The number of people born in another EU Member State than that of their residence, which also included the Romanian immigrant cohort, was 18.5 million on the 1st of

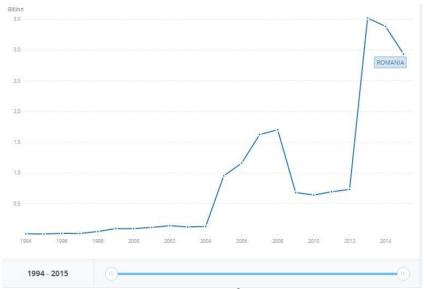
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¹ See https://www.ifad.org/documents/10180/3594696/money_europe.pdf/5ac7733f-39e6-4b1b-a1dc-f7038b5caa0b?version=1.2

January 2015. According to the latest data from the National Statistics Institute within the EU-28 teritory there are working and living around 2.35 million Romanians and outside Europe the are more than 200,000 (US, Israel, Canada, etc.). Their number is certainly much higher.²

According to the World Bank Report³ the value of remittances to Romania varied year by year, as the number of Romanian immigrants increased, the peak being reached in 2008, when in the country officially entered approximately \$ 7.58 billion (later the crisis has tempered the value of remittances: 2009 / \$ 4.198 billion; 2010 / \$ 3,238,000,000; 2011 / \$ 3.055 billion).

After a slight increase, starting with 2013, the value of remittances came back to a downward trend: 2013 / \$ 3,519,000,000; 2014 / \$ 3,381,000,000; 2015 / \$ 2.933 billion ⁴ (the figures are certainly much higher as in many cases Romanians used informal money transfer routes to send money to thier families, thus avoiding transfer fees).



Source: World bank / Data World Bank, 2015⁵

 $ttp:\!/\!databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2\&series=BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT\&country=ROU$

¹ See http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration and migrant population statistics

² A report of the World Bank shows a total number of 2,769.1 emigrants in 2010. See http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECA/Resources/Romania.pdf

³ See http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECA/Resources/Romania.pdf

⁴ See

⁵ See http://data.worldbank.org/indicator

Interestingly, in 2014, according to World Bank data, from Romania left in the form of remittances about 638 million dollars, which indicated the presence of a cohort of immigrants already quite large (Filipinos and Indians in particular). According to World Bank data, the structure of remittances is as follows: about 87% come from the EU, 9% from North America (US and Canda) and 4% from other countries (estimates show that a ranking of remittances would sit on the podium Italy, Spain, Germany and Hungary, where can be found most of the Romanian immigrants).

Conclusion

- A static representation (number, structure and geographic distribution) of demographic phenomena from EU-28 area (including Romania) describes a population shaped by multiple disparities, where international migration seems to be the independent variable that fundamentally influenced the current demographic context, being responsible both for the population decline in 11 states ("departures") as well as the natural growth of the other 17 ("arrivals");
- Statistically, however, during the past 55 years, the EU-28 population grew annually by an average of 0.4%, resulting in a total increase of 101.7 million inhabitants, this being a combined product of natural demographic change and net migration;
- There is a certainty that developed European states will seek in the future to cover the deficit of labor/ to stop the aging process, leaving the valves opened for immigration;
- In the future it is possible that as the disparities between certain countries and regions in the EU-28 will disappear, the Eastern Europe, currently in a race of recovering the gaps, will alter the current direction of migration flows eastward;
- The demographic future of Europe will probably decide on how will be dealt the tension created around two variables that will need to work together: assuming modernity versus international migration (considering the other person, the alien immigrant, as a contributor and part of the European economic and social destiny);
- As part of the EU-28, Romania is currently in the midst of a profound demographic crisis, as after 1990, it became the leading provider of workforce for the industrialized states (mostly in the European area);
- As compared to 1990, 16% of Romania's population is currently outside the country's borders (annualy, Romania's resident population is shrinking by about 100,000 people);
- Following strictly the birth dynamics, it may be considered that it follows the current European trends and it can be observed serious

deviations regarding reproductive behavior (increased number of births among population with an average age under 15), the high rate of infant mortality (9 to 1000 births, as compared to the European average which is 4.1), and especially in regard to the changing age structure of the population (the latter creates the premise that at the 2030s' horizon, the social insurance system will collapse);

- Most of the research call for major reflections on the current demographic crisis, emphasizing the importance of state policies that support birth rate increases; according to The National Statistics Institute, the birth rates of Romanians that live abroad is one third higher than in the country (12.5 to 1000 / 9.1 to1000), and in recent years, over 14% of those who emigrated were aged less than 15 years old (a sign of family reunification and permanent establishment abroad);
- Policies supporting the birth rate increase are necessary, but not sufficient, because within the matrix generating international migration interect more factors (stimuli): low living standards, lack of guarantee of human rights and freedoms, violation of law or contracts, breach of professions etc.;
- The key to slowing emigration waves that fundamentally eroded the present age structure of the population and stimulated profound deviations from the expected demographic behavior, might be the reshape of the current socio-economic model adopted by Romania in last 27 years;
- Sterilization of policies that target interventions to halt the demographic decline determined by international migration, cannot solve the structural problems of the Romanian population.

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