

Research on the evolution of migration in Romania after the fall of the communist regime

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Abstract. *Migration is one of the oldest socio-economic phenomena, which have inevitably influenced and continues to influence today's society because millions of citizens of different states decide to migrate to another country for various reasons. The migration process never stopped, even more it gradually expanded taking on new forms. Consistent with the studies and economic research that has been carried out over the years, it has come to the idea that migration must be seen as a normal phenomenon of today's society, which has undergone various changes throughout history. One of the most important and significant characteristics of the population is the movement from one geographical area to another geographical area.*

This paper entitled "Study on the evolution of migration phenomenon in Romania" highlights the migratory flows that took place in Romania after the fall of the communist regime and so far, putting there is a special emphasis on the economic and social impact on the migration that brought with it. During the period considered in the analysis, Romania knew various forms of this phenomenon through the fact that it made the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy and later joined the European Union in 2007. In this situation, the circulation of Romanians became complete. The problems resulting from this phenomenon are major: on the one hand the financial consequences and on the other hand the social impact that could be observed on the families of migrants.

The novelty element of this paper is the forecast on the migration phenomenon in the coming years, more precisely during the years 2021-2026, in Romania. Through this research we want to identify and analyze the future trend taking into account the fact that migration can be considered one of the sources of problems in the labor market or can even be its solution. An important aspect to mention is the idea that the temporary nature of travel, as well as the transnational nature of flows offers the possibility to reorient migrants to the state of origin. In order to achieve an ideal reality in terms of balance in the labor market, it is necessary to adopt and implement effective measures that offer benefits to each employee.

Keywords: migration, socio-economic phenomena, market economy, European Union, labor market.

JEL Classification: H26, J61, P25, R23.

Introduction

After 1989, when the border barriers fell, the migration phenomenon reached its peak in Eastern Europe, but especially in Romania. Regarding the opening of Eastern Europe in relation to other countries globally after 1990, it brought with it a number of significant advantages, such as: capital inflows and investments in innovation, which materialized through the creation of institutions much more complex, much more efficient management of economic activity, as well as higher efficiency. At the same time, a number of negative effects could be identified, such as the considerable exodus of the population and the loss of intelligence.

Migration is now an increasingly complex phenomenon that is attracting more and more interest for economists, sociologists, researchers, geographers and last but not least, for government circles at the level of several states. In these circumstances, it is particularly important to carry out a multidisciplinary analysis and the innovative element of this paper is the treatment of labor migration in Romania from an economic, demographic and social perspective. Regarding the present research, it is a qualitative one, because it is based on a series of criteria that were studied in order to analyze the complexity of the migration phenomenon in Eastern Europe in the period 1989-2020, among them being:

- The main reasons that influence individuals in making this decision (age, marital status, level of qualification from a professional point of view, background, professional perspectives, etc.);
- Migration has become a social phenomenon over the years. This is mainly highlighted by the fact that most people who have settled in another country have created real migration networks, which have facilitated the access of many families to the labor market. Through these migration networks, people find much faster essential information about available jobs in that state, labor market conditions, wage levels and so on.
- The level of remittances is closely in line with the educational and occupational level.

The biggest challenge in the current context of the migration phenomenon is the ability and insight of people to accurately describe and predict the dynamics and magnitude of such a process. The objective of this research is to identify and present the evolution and effects of migration in Romania since 1990. The structure of the paper aims on the one hand to highlight the literature in this field of activity and case study. At the end of the paper is presented a set of conclusions relevant to the present research.

Literature review

In a world in constant change, in which periods of economic growth alternate to some extent with periods of crisis, the most important strategic resource of society and the economy remains the human resource. According to the economic literature, the general movement of the population consists of two fundamental processes, namely: the natural movement which is determined by the actual demographic events (birth rate, mortality) and

the migratory movement. This involves changing the residential, social and last but not least, professional state of the people who decide to take such a decision. In contrast to demographic phenomena, migration is considered to be the "black sheep of demography".

Over the years, many empirical studies have been conducted on this field of activity, but the perspectives are contradictory. An eloquent example is Barro and Sala-i-Martin, who argue that the migration phenomenon in the United States and Japan has "positive effects, especially on the long-term growth rate" (European Commission, European Agenda on Migration: continued efforts to support progress, Brussels, 14 March 2018).

The analysis of the migration phenomenon has been carried out over the years both from the perspective of the emigration countries and of the immigration countries. A topic that aroused the curiosity and interest of economists was the "brain drain" that occurs in the states of emigration. This was mainly influenced by demographic and social pressures, which resulted from the expansion of the migration phenomenon. According to Bonin's scientific research, these measures are due to the "impact that this process had at European level after 1990, when it was wanted to attract as many young immigrants as possible, who are considered competitive economically speaking, thus having the capacity to alleviate to some extent the problems resulting from the aging population" (Massey et al., 2005). Another study that highlighted the importance of migration on emigration states is conducted by Louka T. Katseli, Robert E.B. Lucas and Theodora Xenogiani. Consistent with the before mentioned study, the idea was reached that "remittances significantly influence both the microeconomic and macroeconomic contexts" (Louka et al., 2006). Temporary migration is what causes an increase in the flow of remittances to the country of origin, in relation to permanent migration, especially of people who are poorly qualified from a professional point of view and aim to return to their country of origin. Undoubtedly, studies focusing on the effects of migration in Romania have shown that in the context in which "Western states will continue to attract human resources from our state, this action will materialize by reducing the gross domestic product and implicitly, the rate of economic growth" (Dăianu, 2009).

The theory of migrant networks was developed by Taylor and Massey in 1952 and involves the idea that migration is mainly influenced by kinship, friendship that manifests itself with people from other states. Most people who decide to migrate base their choice on the presence of other individuals in the state of migration. According to the specialized economic literature, "migrant networks form a set of interregional relations that unite migrants through the state of origin, the state of destination, family ties, friendships, etc." (Massey et al., 2005). More specifically, this concept highlights "the way in which people who have continued to maintain social relations with the community from which they left, regardless of the economic, social, demographic context in which they find themselves" (Massey et al., 2005). "The evolution and extent of migrant social networks has been determined by several factors, such as: the priority and need for family reunification, the development of various clandestine forms of migration, the inability of public policies to manage this situation optimally" (Petersen, 1958). According to the American economist

Michael Joseph Piore, he argues that "international migration has spread more and more globally, due to the increase in labor demand in developed economies" (Kritz et al., 1992).

Compared to the demographic phenomena that describe the natural movement of the population, the theme of migration is known as "the black sheep of its demography" (Rotariu, 2009, p. 146). Over the years, different personalities have expressed their views on migration, such as the demographer Vladimir Trebici who argues that "immigration has the same meaning as births, emigration is a loss". (Trebici, 1991).

Romanian psychologist Adrian Neculau is of the opinion that migration is "a process of transforming a social reality into a mental object, a process involving selection according to the position occupied by the individual, his social status". (Neculau, 1996, pp. 34-51). At the same time, he perceives the migration process in a distinct way compared to the other approaches mentioned above "a relational process because mental development is dependent on the situation of the person, group, institution, social category in relation to another person, group, institution, social category". (Neculau, 1996, pp. 34-51)

According to a study conducted by the European Commission, in Romania the discussions referring to the demographic crisis, the labor market, the effects of the migration phenomenon, including the labor market, immigration have intensified considerably in recent times. The consequences of human capital movements for countries of origin "externalities" concern: the phenomenon of "brain drain", which negatively affects, at least in the first phase, the economic performance of the country of origin; the educated workforce is a factor in attracting FDI and development flows through research and development. Remittances are also considered as amounts sent by migrant workers, usually to their families or friends, and are presented the factors that influence the volume and frequency of remittance flows (number of migrant workers; wages; economic activity in the country of origin/recipients exchange rate, political risk, facilities for transferring funds, marital status, level of education of migrants, whether the migrant is accompanied by a wife/children, time elapsed since the date of migration, level of family income). Research on the use of remittances shows that most of it is used for food, clothing and health services, construction or rehabilitation of housing, land acquisitions or other durable goods and only to a small extent for "productive investments" (with multiplier effect of creating new jobs). (Perspectives on migration policy in the current demographic context in Romania, European Institute of Romania).

According to research conducted by Monica Roman and Bogdan Ileanu, entitled "Modeling the remittance decision of eastern European emigrants" income is a decisive factor that positively influences both the decision to remit and the amount remitted. Also important is personal attachment to the country of origin, as well as the degree of integration into society. Demographic factors, such as: age, sex or education, most often does not influence the probability of remittance or the amount remitted. More specifically, it can be said that factors that show strong attachment to relatives and origin have a positive impact on remittances from net income, while factors related to a strong integration of migrants into society have a negative impact on remittances.

Research methodology

In this paper we used a mixed research methodology, because it includes both a descriptive analysis used to achieve the stage of knowledge and a dynamic macroeconomic analysis used to analyze the evolution of the migration phenomenon in the period 1990-2020.

Also, to carry out this work we used the database taken from the website of the National Institute of Statistics (INS) on the evolution of the unemployment rate, for the analyzed period 1990-2020. At the same time, in order to identify the future evolution of the migration rate, we also made a forecast in its Excel program for the period 2021-2026.

Migration in Romania during 1989-2020

At the level of Romania, in the last half of the century, two periods of the migration phenomenon were registered, characterized by economists as being of great intensity.

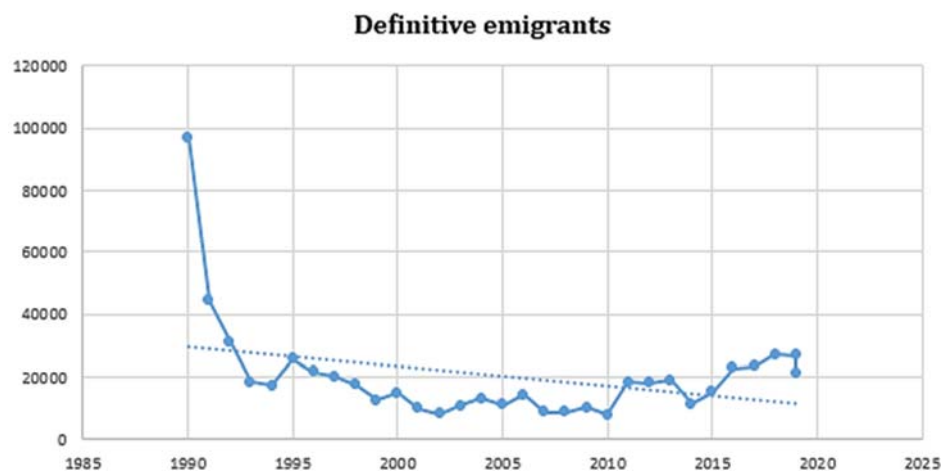
The first period took place between 1971-1981, when about two million citizens of the state moved from rural to urban areas, thus registering an annual average of about 180 thousand changes of address. The second wave was recorded after 1989, during which time about 100,000 people permanently migrated to Germany. The last period considered in this analysis is the most important, namely, post-December emigration. Initially, departures were from rural to urban areas and later expanded by migrating to different destinations. The migration phenomenon began to increase significantly over the years, with the identification of the advantages and benefits that other states offer, but also when eliminating the visa requirement for Romanians in the Schengen area. Thus, the idea can be stated that Romanians have gradually begun to orient themselves towards states that are much better developed from an economic point of view and at the level of which they will have the possibility to obtain a proper living in accordance with the effort made. At the same time, according to a study conducted by INS, the temporary external migration that took place after 1989 significantly exceeded the internal migration, known as village-town migration from the communist period of the 1970's.

At the time of the fall of the communist regime, more precisely in 1989, the migration phenomenon in Romania was characterized as a worrying one, due to its international expansion. According to studies conducted by Eurostat, in an article entitled "Migration and migrant population statistics", at that time about 96,929 people left the territory of the Romanian state, this being an effect of opening borders, and later, in the first 3 years, more precisely 1989-1991 reached the number of 170,000 people. An important aspect to mention is the fact that 75% of the emigrants were Hungarians, Germans and Jews. This was mainly due to the fact that the former Soviet states had been in an economic and social crisis for more than a decade and were therefore isolated on the international stage, and the only way for citizens to escape from these prisons it was represented by the flight across the border to the west.

Taking into account the information presented by Eurostat in the article "Migration and migrant population statistics", we can affirm the idea that during the 32 years post-communism, two fundamental periods could be identified that characterize the migration at the level of the Romanian state, namely:

- The first period took place between 1989-1995, which was mainly characterized by a migration rate of 7 individuals per 1000 inhabitants. In this context, the destination countries were represented by: Turkey, Hungary, Italy, Israel and last but not least, Germany.
- The second period took place between 1996 and continues until today, the emigration rate being identical to the one mentioned above, of about 7 people per 1000 inhabitants, but this time, other states were considered by emigrants, more precisely: the United States of America, which has become "the land of all possibilities", Canada and Spain. Also, this process continue even today due to the appearance of Schengen visas and Romania's accession to the European Union in 2007. An important aspect to mention is that the emigration rate it increased significantly, reaching 28 people per 1000 inhabitants. Currently, the states considered by emigrants are: Italy, which holds about 40% of active migrants in the labor market, Spain 18%, Hungary 5%, being equal to Germany and Israel by one percentage point more much, 6%.

Graph 1. *Definitive emigrants*



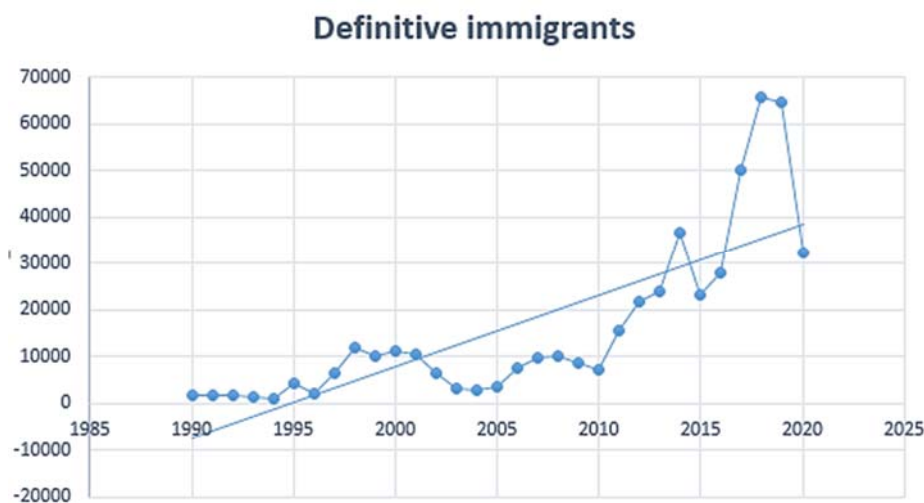
Source: Graph made by the author based on information published on the official INS website.

According to the graph presented above, which shows the number of permanent emigrants from Romania during the years 1990-2020, it can be seen that the highest value was recorded in 1990 by 96929 people and the lowest in 2010 by 7906 people.

During the period considered the values fluctuated significantly. Along with the negative natural increase, migration is in the current context in Romania a major cause of the constant decrease of the population on the territory of the state. The citizens' perspective on the short-term and medium-term evolution of economic and social indicators gradually leads to a significant increase in departures from the country of origin. The main cause that

determined the magnitude of this phenomenon during the analyzed period is the need to improve the quality of life for both them and the whole family, in their conception, in another country you can get many more advantages compared to the state of residence. At the same time, the stability of family relations aims at their reunification with those abroad and this aspect had and continues to have a fairly large influence on the migration balance.

Graph 2. *Definitive immigrants*



Source: Graph made by the author based on information published on the official INS website.

During the period considered, the value of this indicator fluctuated quite a lot, the lowest value being recorded in 1990 (1587) and the highest in 2018 (65678).

According to statistical data published by the NIS, since 2008, the year of the economic and financial crisis, there has been a downward trend of temporary emigrants and subsequently, in 2012, the lowest migration balance was registered. In this situation, the difference between immigrants and emigrants was 2920 people. Two years later, the trend of migration began to increase gradually. An eloquent example to highlight the idea mentioned above, is represented by the fact that in 2007, the year of Romania's accession to the European Union, the average monthly net salary was about 1042 lei, later in 2017, it reached 2383 lei. This increase was 128% compared to Romania's accession to the European Union. Although the salary level increased, Romanian employees continued to have much lower salaries compared to other European countries and this led them to adopt the decision to migrate, the gap being significant. It should be mentioned that the salary increases did not have a direct correspondent in the evolution of the living standard of the population because the inflation rate was quite high, thus leading to the increase of expenses and the decrease of the purchasing power.

In Romania, but also in other European countries, not only the salary level influences the decision to migrate, another significant factor is the socio-economic context as a whole, which in our country is characterized by a high instability. In terms of immigration, it

reached 20 percentage points, being represented mainly by pupils and students, as a result of advantageous scholarships and the field of research, development and innovation offered by other states.

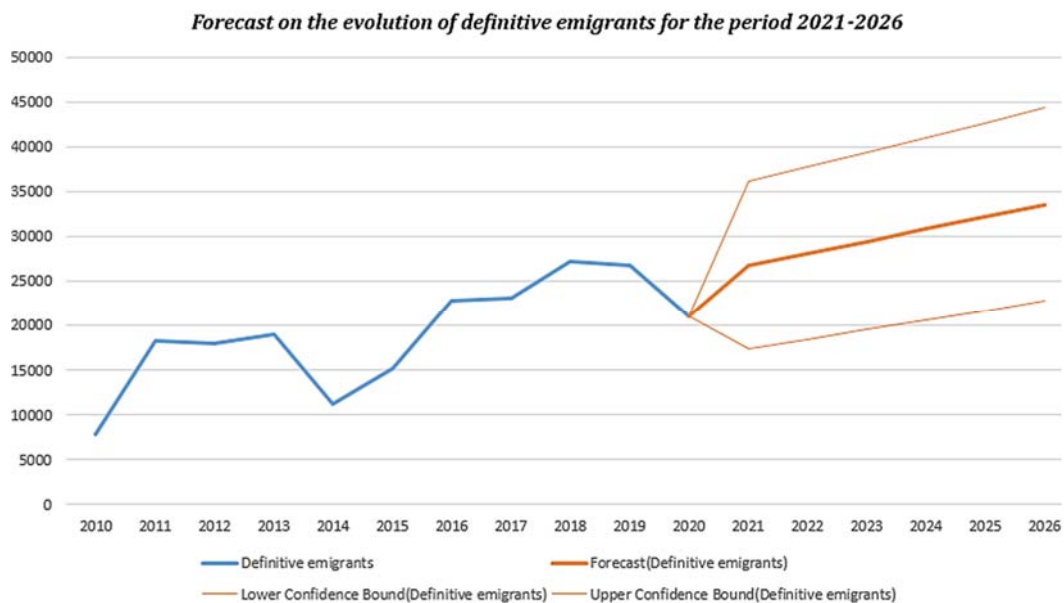
Forecast of the migration rate in Romania in the period 2021-2026

Forecasting is known in the economic literature as a technique by which future trends are projected using conclusive statistics. Also, the forecast is a very complex and important process, because it offers the possibility to obtain some probabilities and which would represent in the current context the best course of action.

In this article, a forecast was made using Excel, as it offers a variety of tools in this area, while having a high capacity to store calculations and view data. The evolution of the migration rate both at the level of Romania and at the level of the member states of the European Union is an intensely debated issue, which has a significant impact on the decision-making process.

To obtain this prediction of the future evolution of migration, the quantitative method Exponential Smoothing was used, abbreviated ETS, which is based on an algorithm for identifying, but also for detecting seasonal patterns and confidence intervals.

Graph 3. Forecast on the evolution of definitive emigrants for the period 2021-2026



Years	Definitive emigrants	Forecast(Definitive emigrants)	Lower Confidence Bound(Definitive emigrants)	Upper Confidence Bound(Definitive emigrants)
2010	7906			
2011	18307			
2012	18001			
2013	19056			
2014	11251			
2015	15235			
2016	22807			
2017	23156			
2018	27229			
2019	26775			
2020	21031	21031	21031,00	21031,00
2021		26814,87345	17414,83	36214,92
2022		28166,92465	18475,30	37858,55
2023		29518,97584	19542,06	39495,89
2024		30871,02704	20614,58	41127,48
2025		32223,07824	21692,39	42753,77
2026		33575,12943	22775,08	44375,18

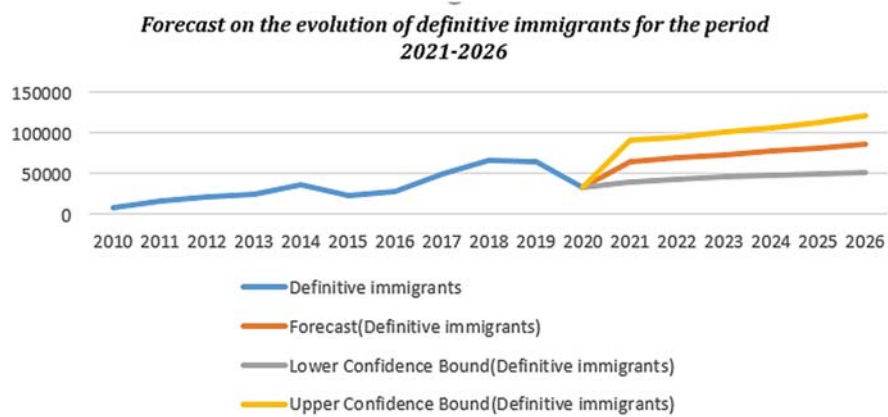
Source: Graph made by the author based on information published on the official INS website.

According to the graph resulting from the forecast, the average level of permanent emigrants in the following years will be:

- 2021 – 26814.87;
- 2022 – 28166.92;
- 2023 – 29518.97;
- 2024 – 30871.02;
- 2025 – 30195.01;
- 2026 – 33575.12.

It can be seen in accordance with the chart presented that the level of the indicator was around 20220.75. With 95% confidence, the expected result will be between upper and lower 20220.75-37550.97.

Graph 4. Forecast on the evolution of definitive immigrants for the period 2021-2026



Years	Definitive immigrants	Forecast(Definitive immigrants)	Lower Confidence Bound(Definitive immigrants)	Upper Confidence Bound(Definitive immigrants)
2010	7059			
2011	15538			
2012	21684			
2013	23897			
2014	36644			
2015	23093			
2016	27863			
2017	50199			
2018	65678			
2019	64479			
2020	32250	32250	32250,00	32250,00
2021		65233,7247	39631,96	90835,49
2022		69425,96747	43322,20	95529,74
2023		73618,21024	46422,38	100814,04
2024		77810,45302	48777,40	106843,51
2025		82002,69579	50314,06	113691,33
2026		86194,93856	51035,09	121354,79

Source: Graph made by the author based on information published on the official INS website.

According to the graph resulting from the forecast, the average level of permanent immigrants in the coming years will be:

- 2021 – 65233.72;
- 2022 – 69425.96;
- 2023 – 73618.21;
- 2024 – 77810.45;
- 2025 – 82002.69;
- 2026 – 86194.93.

It can be seen in accordance with the chart presented that the level of the indicator was around 20220.75. With 95% confidence the expected result will be between upper and lower 46583.85-104844.81.

Taking into account the predictions made, it can be stated that the level of migration in Romania will be in an appropriate and normal range taking into account the magnitude of the phenomenon in the European Union. The characteristics of the process in Romania reveal that our state is both a destination and an origin of international migration, but nevertheless, its primary status is a country of net emigration, and this could be proven for the coming years, more precisely until 2026, with the help of the forecast.

With regard to the COVID-19 pandemic, it has had a number of negative consequences for human activity globally, and the most affected category is migrants, as confirmed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, abbreviated OECD. At the same time, migrants are those who would have managed to contribute to the proper functioning of important sectors, such as: the medical, commercial, logistics sector, even during the period of restrictions.

At the same time, migrants are more affected by the economic consequences of the pandemic than other groups. Many of them work in gastronomy, in hotels, in tourism – so exactly in the industries that are now fighting for survival. In the so-called HORECA sector in the EU, about a quarter of employees come from third countries, twice as many as in the

rest of the economic sectors. Employment contracts in the field are often very short-term. As such, migrants are the first to be sent into unemployment.

According to the economic literature "a situation similar to that encountered during the COVID-19 pandemic was encountered in the case of the Spanish flu, which occurred between 1918 and 1920, affecting one third of the global population at that time, more precisely, about 500 million people, causing the appearance of about 50 million deaths, in three recurrent phases" (World Bank Group and Knomad, 2020, p. 2). In this context, it is pointed out that, if the pattern of the twentieth century were to be repeated, the pandemic and the COVID-19 crisis could have a much longer duration than that predicted by the governments of the states.

Research conducted at European level indicates that the measures adopted in the Member States and at the level of the European Union, implicitly in Romania in an attempt to reduce the impact of COVID-19 on citizens' health have led to the establishment of real challenges on intra-EU labor mobility, implicitly, on the European labor market which, of course, generates interdependent effects on the economy as a whole. Specifically, the majority of those working in the different EU Member States whose citizenship they do not have are affected by the impact of the pandemic, whether we are talking about long-term workers settled in another Member State or cross-border workers, seconded or seasonal.

In the context of the existence and development of the Covid-19 pandemic, more precisely in 2020, the conduct of migration policies continued to be prudent from the perspective of economic recovery following the severe contraction due to the pandemic shock, in order to reduce and consolidate the migration rate.

The evolution of the migration rate in the coming years, more precisely until 2026 according to the forecast, is influenced by a multitude of interconnected sources of risks, especially uncertainties that are mainly associated with developments in public health, which are also gaining weight with the onset of the second pandemic wave in the fall of 2020 and the possibility of a new wave in the fall of 2021.

In this context, until a normalization of the situation in the medical system, in relation to the prospects for the evolution of economic activity, it is expected that downward risks will continue unquestionably.

The effects of migration in Romania

The increasing trend of the migration phenomenon was felt mainly after 1989 and was influenced by a number of factors:

1. Objectives:

- The economic situation at the state level.
- The political context.
- Social situation.

2. Subjectives:

- The hope and desire of citizens to get a job that is remunerated as expected.

The impact of the migration phenomenon on the state of origin is a broad and complex process, which involves not only knowing the costs, but also the benefits of this process from an individual, local, national and international point of view. Migration, as previously mentioned, is one of the most complex processes, which has the ability to generate both positive and negative effects, for the country of origin and for the destination. According to specialized studies, one of the advantages of migration for the country of origin is the reduction of the unemployment rate, as well as the decrease of the tension manifested in the labor market, a result that will materialize later by reducing the balance of social expenditures in total state budget expenditures.

Graph 5. *Personal remittances, received (current US\$) – Romania*



Source: Chart taken from the official website of the World Bank.

Another effect that could be observed at the level of the Romanian state is the increase of remittances. These remissions are in the current context an external source of funding for the state budget. Also, the financial resources sent by emigrants to the country of origin were for their families perhaps the only source of livelihood, it is known that most Romanian emigrants are those who live in rural areas and who adopted this decision out of a desire to satisfy one's own and families' needs. In view of these remittances, the living standards of emigrants have increased considerably over the years, due to the fact that their families have managed to build houses and invest in various areas so that at the time of their return, these people have the opportunity to live properly in accordance with the effort

made. More specifically, these remittances essentially represent savings of people who have migrated, savings that thus become a source of investment in the home country.

According to the graph presented above, it can be stated that the volume of remittances has increased more and more, the highest value being reached in 2019 of \$ 7,692 billion. According to article conducted by the United Nation, "Migration", the Romanian state was characterized as the second country with the highest population growth of the diaspora of about 7.3% per year, an increase that was mainly influenced by the mobility of the force, but also in view of the fact that a significant part of it was related to the development and evolution of some regions in Romania.

Also, according to the World Bank (World Bank, Migration and Remittances, September 26, 2019, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/labormarkets/brief/migration-and-remittances>) Romania for about 10 years is among the first states to receive remittances at the level of the European Union, exceeding the value of 6 billion euros of remittances per year. The National Institute of Statistics states in the article "Exploratory study on migration stocks", that over 5 million Romanians work in another country, of which about 68% send financial resources to their families. The main states considered for migration are: Italy, which registers more than 1 million Romanian migrants, Spain with approximately 650 thousand Romanian citizens and last but not least, Germany with 590 thousand Romanian migrants.

However, the migration of family members leads in most cases to emotional imbalances. There are situations when one of the children stays with a parent or there are situations when they remain under the tutelage of grandparents or other relationships, which later affects their behavior, decisions and actions. In this situation, the idea can be stated that the most affected by the migratory phenomenon over time were children, because no other person can take the place of the mother. Another important aspect to highlight is the fact that many young Romanians decide to migrate to another country for various reasons: the possibility to obtain a higher salary and to be remunerated in accordance with the educational level they have, the possibility of professional ascension, because sometimes Romania imposes certain barriers, the need to satisfy one's own and family's needs, as well as offering much more advantageous scholarships than those in Romania. A positive side of Romanian migration is the cultural impact, which is reflected in the fact that living in states with a higher cultural level, but also with a different civilization, people tend to borrow from behaviors.

Conclusion

In this article we analyzed the evolution of emigrants, respectively immigrants from Romania in the period 1990-2020, as well as the impact felt as a result of this phenomenon. The consequences that have been identified are both economic and social. The effects felt from the economic and financial point of view are: the accentuation of the imbalances of trade balance, which thus favors the imports of goods, as well as the loss of human capital.

The context that brings with it the most problems is the one related to the temporary abandonment of children and families in the country of origin and in these conditions public authorities are required to develop and implement policy measures to support and monitor the situation of minors. These actions thus lead to an increase in government spending.

Taking into account the predictions made, it can be stated that the level of migration in Romania will be in an appropriate and normal range taking into account the magnitude of the phenomenon in the European Union. The characteristics of the process in Romania reveal that our state is both a destination and an origin of international migration, but nevertheless, its primary status is a country of net emigration, and this could be proven for the coming years, more precisely until 2026.

In conclusion, we can affirm the idea according to which the migration of Romanians has evolved during these years due to the economic evolution of other states, which opens new possibilities for future analyzes.

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Annex

Table 1. *Definitive emigrants and definitive immigrants*

Year	Definitive emigrants	Definitive immigrants
1990	96929	1587
1991	44160	1602
1992	31152	1753
1993	18446	1269
1994	17146	878
1995	25675	4458
1996	21526	2053
1997	19945	6600
1998	17536	11907
1999	12594	10078
2000	14753	11024
2001	9921	10350
2002	8154	6582
2003	10673	3267
2004	13082	2987
2005	10938	3704
2006	14197	7714
2007	8830	9675
2008	8739	10030
2009	10211	8606
2010	7906	7059
2011	18307	15538
2012	18001	21684
2013	19056	23897
2014	11251	36644
2015	15235	23093
2016	22807	27863
2017	23156	50199
2018	27229	65678
2019	26775	64479
2020	21031	32250

Source: Made by the author based on information published on the official INS website, <http://statistici.insse.ro:8077/tempo-online/#!/pages/tables/insse-table>