EMIGRATION AND ITS GEODEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT IN SLĂNIC MOLDOVA CITY OF BACĂU COUNTY, ROMANIA

ANDREEA MORARU¹, I. MUNTELE²

ABSTRACT. – Emigration and Its Geodemographic Impact in Slănic Moldova City of Bacău County, Romania. The article talks about emigration from Slănic Moldova, a city from Bacău county, Romania, and its geodemographic impact, using statistical data from Population Censuses, National Statistics Institute and the own survey conducted in January-April 2015. The study starts with an analysis concerning the amplitude of emigration, in the second part, trying to highlight its importance in the numerical evolution of the population from Slănic Moldova. The third part brings forward the problem of emigration by age and gender, which give a clear view over the situation present in the city mentioned. Using eloquent data, the study show up the demographic changes trying to see to what extent emigration had a contribution to it. To reduce the syncope of a descriptive analysis, the collected data are outlined through cartographic method in order to show the geographical distribution of emigration in the city.

Keywords: birth rate, emigration, gender and age structure, impact, population decrease, Slănic Moldova

1. INTRODUCTION

Analysis of population censuses data, indicate that the population of Slǎnic Moldova decreased with 798 people in the period from 2002 to 2011, representing a decrease from 4996 to 4198 inhabitants. During this period the city has undergone demographic transformations induced by migration on one side and, on the other side, by the demographic changes of youth practices, and the two are in constant relation, migration having an important influence over population emancipation, that results primarily in a declining of birth rates. Thus, in terms of demographic aspects, Slǎnic Moldova has registered a continuous involution since 2002, after a continuous increased between 1992 and 2002. The geographical distribution of the inhabitants of the town indicates Cireşoaia as the most populous, with 42% of the population, given that in 2010, according to City Development Strategy (2010), the percent was approximately 38%, in Slǎnic Moldova was 30% while in Cerdac only 27% of the population.

¹ "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Faculty of Geography and Geology, Geography Department, 700505, Iași, Romania, +40745919707, moraru.andreea@yahoo.com

² "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iaşi, Faculty of Geography and Geology, Geography Department, 700505, Iaşi, Romania, imuntele@yahoo.fr

Since especially the young population in age group 18-40 years is leaving, the reproductive capacity is decreasing, this being one of the reasons why the birth rate decreased in Slănic Moldova city. Emigration has not only an immediate impact on the population, influencing the city's population continuous decrease, but also a long-term impact, as fertile women leave the city in order to work abroad conducting to a damage of demographic indicators as a result of decreasing birth rate. Naturally, reducing or stopping the demographic decline should be achieved by improving the combined result of three major factors: increasing the birth rate, decreasing mortality and reducing emigration.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The impact of migration can be defined as the effect caused by the movement of people between two places, from the origin place to a destination place. The literature treats usually these population movements as an adjustment force in the receiving region. In modern times, labor migration occurs invariably from underdeveloped or developing regions to regions that have an attractive economic development. The impact of labor migration can vary from country to country, depending on the volume, composition and characteristics of migration flows and on the demographic and economic conditions in countries of reference and in the reception. With respect to these issues, there are several comparative studies on migration in Commonwealth of Independent States (Tishkov et al., 2005; Ivakhnyuk, 2006, Mansoor and Quillin, 2006, 2008; Abazov, 2009).

In Romania there are studies that put population decline after 1989 on account of negative net external migration, which is stronger than natural balance of population, and on the rising death rate that exceeds the birth rate (Andria et al., 2010; CNPD, 2006; CNPV, 2009 and 2012; Ghețău, 2004 and 2007; Grant et al., 2004; Kupiszewski, 1997; MMFES, 2007; Roman, 2011; Roman and Voicu, 2010). Salt (2008) conducted a classification of countries according to the importance of migration and the natural balance in the growth or decline of a country population and included Romania - along with other countries such as Poland, Moldova, Ukraine, etc. - in the countries that bear a significant decline in population from both natural causes and due to net migration. Tofan (2014:155) mention in his research about the geo-demographic decline of Mureş defile stating that the decrease of population was "especially due to low birth rates and high mortality rates, plus outmigration".

During post-communism, the Romanian society faced demographic, economic, social and cultural changes, mutations that occurred in both rural and urban areas and left marks on the functionality of the environment. The small towns in Romania, states Petrea et al. (2013:121), are facing serious and generalized issues, represented firstly by the economic restructuring, followed by demographic decline, labor migration and, ultimately by reduced urban functions.

After the fall of Ceauşescu, Romanian emigration was estimated by Mureşan (1996: 832) as having a value of 156,000 people in 1990-1993, while during the 2002 census there were registered about 361,310 people temporarily absent (Dimitriu et al., 2013) - of which 149,000 rural people (Ungureanu et al., 2009). Of course the values are far from

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being the real ones, values recorded in Romania being quite different from those in destination countries and this because many were illegal, unregistered, unreported. Son and Noja (2012) claimed that in 2007 only in the European Union were 1.6 million Romanian migrants, migrants that represented 7.2% of the population.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The study can be divided schematically into three steps: a preliminary documentation stage, research on the field, required to obtain relevant data, and a stage concentrated on analyzing, processing and mapping of information obtained.

In pursuit of this study were used data from the following sources:

- National Institute of Statistics;
- Population Census (2002 and 2011);
- Town Hall Slănic Moldova;
- Investigation in the city of Slănic Moldova

The survey in Slănic Moldova was conducted in January-April 2015, comprising 302 persons, meaning 153 emigrants and 149 people who have never emigrated, neither they, neither their life partners. So, questionnaires were applied one per family. If were living in a house several families, each family received one questionnaire. The questionnaire was completed by one spouse. Thus if in a family have emigrated both partners, the questionnaire was completed only by one to avoid recurrence.

For this investigation the next data were taken:

- Age and gender;
- The level of education;
- Marital status;
- The number of children;
- The country where the emigrant works;
- Domain of work;
- Year of emigration.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Emigration and its amplitude in Slănic Moldova city

After 1990, following the regulation of free movement of persons, there has been a significant migration of the population from Slănic Moldova towards abroad. Thus, in 2011, during the population census, 498 emigrants were registered, meaning 384 on long term (more than 12 months) and 114 temporarily (less than 12 months), emigrants over a long period representing 8.45% of the total registered population and 9.23% if we consider only stable population. All this reality is the result of regression in economic activity characterized by tourism and spa treatment services which decreased significantly after 1990 (General Urban Plan, 2006).

Geographical distribution of emigration in Slănic Moldova (fig. 1), highlights Cireșoaia locality, whose number of emigrants place it in the first position, being declared 183 people that have gone abroad for a long period, which means over 9% (fig. 1). Slănic Moldova locality lost through emigration over a long period 7.93% of the population, which in numbers means that 110 persons living abroad for more than 12 months out of a total of 1 387. Cerdac occupy the last position both in the total population and number of emigrants, but also lost through emigration more than 7% of the population in conditions in which the emigrants over a long period there are likely to remain abroad. According to the definitive annual flow of emigration, data from the National Statistics Institute, Slănic Moldova city lost in the period 1994-2012, 26 people, 19 of them after 2002, most being recorded in 2004 and 2012, meaning 4 and respectively 5 permanent emigrants.

Data from the 2011 Census show that two Italians and six Hungarians were registered in Slănic Moldova, two Italians and two other nationals in Cireșoaia, in Cerdac being no immigrant. Whatever the real numbers, aware that the data do not correspond to reality since the statistics have their shortcomings, the fact is that Slănic Moldova lost people, thus emigration contributing to population decline. In Slănic Moldova as, in fact, across the country, many emigrants are not recorded. Some of the residents are working in other countries, for a period, without having the legal procedures for registration of change of residence or domicile. Thus, official data does not reflect the exact situation of the territory, but this data help us have a picture of the current situation. The fact that a significant number of people emigrated raises questions about the impact of their departure.



Fig. 1. Geographical distribution of emigration for a long period and the number of inhabitants in Slănic Moldova.

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The data (fig. 2) show that during 2002-2011, the volume of emigration increased, without adding the people who have not been registered, because no member of the family remained in the city or the unreported emigrants by their relatives, for various reasons, or those who left permanently without being registered. Another loss in the statistics is due to the fact that some households were omitted during the census, a significant number of people stating that they were not registered, since no census member was in their household. According to official data from the Population Census, in Slănic Moldova emigration has increased after 2002, the number of people who chose as solution leaving the city increased from 84 emigrants in 2002 to 498 emigrants in 2011, meaning an increase of over 16 percent. Although Cireșoaia locality has the highest number of emigrants in 2011, according to census data from 2002, it appears that Slănic Moldova locality has been the pioneer of emigration.



Fig. 2. The number of inhabitants from Slănic Moldova residing abroad.

According to data from the own survey, the country accession to the European Union seems to have had some effect on emigration in the city, the years 2007 - 2010 recording the maximum emigrants (fig. 3). Basically, 2000 is the year when emigration began to record some growth but claims that these figures cannot be generalized since it is possible that most of those who left before 2000 to be established in the destination country, not at home at the time of the investigation and not even having relatives who could declare them, so they have not been included in the investigation. Another limitation of this survey is the fact that in some cases, parents, who completed in the name of their emigrated children, argued that they do not know the year their children left since they left a long time ago. Certainly beyond quantitative shortcomings of this method, there is a reality that can justify this dynamic.

The higher growth after 2000 may have legislation causes, since Italy, which also is the main destination for emigrants from this city, approved some regulatory changes and here it is about two "adjustments, baptized with the name of initiators, Napoletano-Turco (in 2000) and Bossi-Fini (in 2002), when Italia decided to grant residence and labor permits easier to illegal immigrants" (Dimitriu et al, 2013, p. 110). This reduced financial costs of emigration so that this phenomenon has become more accessible. For people emigrated in 1984 and 1985 (fig. 3), resident parents were those who provided data, stating that their children emigrated to the United States at the beginning; the one who had left in 1984 focusing later in 2000 to Italy, the other one choosing the same country as the first, but later in 2002, being no family connection between the two. If their orientation to Italy after 2000 and 2002 was the consequence of this "regularization" or a coincidence, we have no way of knowing, the fact is that most times once emigrated, residents do not return, and, if are not satisfied in the host country, they try to find another option, most often being another country, or another city, returning home being perhaps the last option.



Fig. 3. The dynamics of emigration from the city Slănic Moldova.

4.2. The importance of emigration in the numerical evolution of the population

We have seen that through emigration, Slănic Moldova City lost a significant percentage of the population, but more than this direct effect on the evolution of the population, one should mention the long-term impact on the total population balance. Since, according to statistics, especially young population and especially women from Slănic Moldova emigrated, migration inevitably affect birth once by reducing the birth rate, young people postponing marriage, including bringing up children, and a second time through children who are born abroad. The situation is even more confused about this statement if we consider that sometimes these children are not even registered here, sometimes inadvertently, sometimes unaware of this necessity or even the inability to find enough strong arguments to make such formalities as soon as the baby was born. This led, according to local officials, to the situation where some come to register their children when they have 1 year, 2 or even 3 years. So, to the numbers registered should be added those newborns who will someday be registered, but "not now".

Data from the National Statistics Institute offers information regarding this reality, for the years 2012 and 2013 a differentiated statistics being available for the total number of live births and the number of live births for habitual residence in Romania, meaning the residence of the mother in Romania. Habitual residence is where a person normally spends the daily period of rest, regardless of temporary absences for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. Habitual residence can be the same or may differ from domicile, where people choose to establish habitual residence in another locality than the home country or abroad. Thus, according to National Institute of Statistics, the following persons are deemed to be ordinarily resident in Romania:

- People who lived at usual residence for a continuous period of at least 12 months before the reference date;

- Persons who have been established to address habitual residence in the 12 months before the reference date with the intention of staying there for at least a year (National Statistics Institute).

For the years 2012 and 2013 the newborns who are habitually resident in Romania represent 79 percent of all newborns in the city (fig. 4). In absolute numbers, this means 38 children with habitual residence in the city from a total of 48 for 2012 and 34 out of a total of 43 in 2013. Comparing the data we realize to what extent emigration has an effect over the total number of newborns with habitual residence in Romania.



Fig. 4. The number of newborns in the city of Slănic Moldova, 1990-2013.

Statistics show a steadily decreasing birth rate, which, coupled with the increasing mortality and migration, translates into a decrease in population since both the natural and the migration balance is negative. Both birth and mortality have fluctuated in the period, but there is a general downward trend for the birth rate and an upward trend for mortality, pointing out that in 2013 were recorded lower values for mortality compared to 2012, recording a total of 46 deaths, value below which never reached since 1995. Of the deceased, in 2012 and 2013, 97% were habitually resident in Romania, Slănic Moldova. In addition to these data, which shows how migration affects mortality in this case, there are those cases of falling illness abroad, some respondents stating that there are cases of this type. Emigration affects more births than deaths; for mortality emigration effect is diminished, but the fact is that the population of the city continues to decrease and the impact of emigration is not insignificant.



Fig. 5. The number of children.

In case of emigration, the chances of families to have many children are significantly reduced, 39.86 percent of the emigrants included in the survey said they have no children, no family of migrant parents having more than four children; to mention is that the latter case is unique between emigrant families. As regards the stable population surveyed, only 22 percent said they did not have children while over 8% have more than five children. So, in the city Slănic Moldova, in the non-migrant families there is a higher birth rate, each family assuming two children, while in the emigrant families the value is below. The fact that non-migrant families have more children than emigrant families could conclude that emigration significantly influence the birth rate, but the reality goes beyond these statements, partners level of education being also important. An example is that partners who said they have 9 children and two families with 5 children have primary and secondary schools. Another case is a family of seven children whose mother of 34 years said that she has finished only primary school, while a man of 39 years who emigrated and is married since 2001 has no children. There are cases where partners have said that their emigration influenced the decision not to have children, a special case being a couple, both over 30 years old who emigrated, soon after EMIGRATION AND ITS GEODEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT IN SLĂNIC MOLDOVA CITY OF BACĂU COUNTY, ROMANIA

they got married, him in the United Kingdom and her in Italy. These cases reinforce the idea that, in addition to emigration, there are many other factors that influence birth rate, but the fact is that when couples live in different countries, whether they have migrated both or just one, chances for them to have children are reduced.

To what extent the chances of emigrating are lower with increasing number of children per family, or to what extent the chances of having children decrease with emigration we cannot know exactly, but the fact is that the data shows that emigrant families have fewer children while stable families in the city have a higher birth rate. In support of this idea comes the director of the city school, who states that birth rates decreased significantly due to both emigration and other causes, which translates to closure of some classes as there are no longer enough children to ensure its functionality.

4.3. Importance of emigration in gender and age differences

A demographic aspect particularly important in estimating the costs of emigration is the fertile female emigration since the loss of human potential is higher for women. The younger they are, the more children they are able to give birth to, but they give birth and / or grow their children abroad. Overall, the census of 2011 showed that there were more women who emigrated more than 12 months than men. Thus, the gender structure of emigration recorded during the population census in 2011 show that women constituted over 53 percent. Geographical distribution of emigration by gender shows that male emigration predominates in the area Cireșoaia with a rate of approximately 50%, meaning 90 women and 93 men, while in Slănic Moldova town women represent 60% of the emigrated population, in Cerdac women emigrants percentage being 54.94%.



Fig. 6. Geographical distribution of long-term emigration in the city Slănic Moldova.

The temporary emigration by gender is also important because the female population has higher percentage, representing 65% of the total temporary emigrated population from the city; in all the three settlements this category is represented by a rate of over 55%. If we take into account the chances they have to remain abroad for a long period or even permanently those percentages are really impossible to ignore, long-term consequences on other demographic indicators being inevitable.

The emigration tendency to target young population is observed in the case of Slănic Moldova. The age structure of migration highlights the two groups which has the highest percentage of citizens from Slănic Moldova residing abroad. In 2011 people aged 18-40 accounted 62.2 percent (fig. 7) from the total number of citizens of this city who were living abroad, many generations born before 1990 therefore fits in the most exposed to international migration (Dimitriu et al., 2013). Followed by those in the age group 41-60 years, 28 percent, these two age groups totaling about 90 percent of all emigration recorded during the 2011 census. It also can be noted a slight tendency to increase the percentage of children living abroad who, according to data from the census, represent 7.9 percent of total city population living abroad. Of course, to these data, should be added those undocumented emigrants because the whole family lives abroad, being impossible to be registered during the census, and also emigrants from those families that have been overlooked by reviewers during research, as some people have said that they and their households were not registered during the census because of omission. So, of course we can say that there is a risk of error, since collecting statistical data records failings.



Fig. 7. Emigrants from Slănic Moldova, by age.

To analyze the impact of emigration on the structure by age was applied an adaptation of the formula used by Baude (2008, p. 71) to calculate the rate of emigration. He reports the population emigrated from a developing country to the population bellow

25 years old born in that country. His intention was to represent the probability of emigrating from that country. Being constraint regarding the access to statistical data, the limited age of 25 will be replaced with 40 years and, in this case, the limit of 40 is even more eloquent.

where:

TMit is the rate of emigration from the country *i* to the date *t*

Mit is the emigrated population originating from the country *i* to the date *t*, with less than 40 years

Pit is the population aged up to 40 years in the country *i* and the date *t*.

Applying the same formula of Baude (2008, p. 71), but for a population up to 40 years, for Slănic Moldova Baude's emigration rate is 8.65% while the population up to 40 years has a percentage over 55%. If this percentage is worrying or not we'll see.

An analysis of the emigration by age and gender is possible by using data from the own survey in the city, not having other statistical data on these indicators, not being supplied by the National Statistics Institute, which makes analysis impossible in this direction. We note that emigrants with young and old ages are almost nonexistent, but in the young ages the absence is due to the fact that, at the time of the investigation, no family of emigrants have said that the minor children are taken abroad, as in most cases they were left home with one of the parents or other relatives. Of course there are also cases where children are taken abroad, as we have seen, but at the time of the investigation they probably were not in the country or were omitted since the survey was randomly made and was not applied to all migrants.

Analyzing the data, we see that in Slănic Moldova males emigrate to a greater extent when they are young, and here stands the age group 30-34 years, while the highest percentage of emigrant women are recorded at older ages than for men, the highest values being between 45 and 49 years old. One reason is the field of work for which they emigrate: emigrated women generally work as housekeepers in Italy which explains more advanced ages while men emigrate to work in fields like construction, which requires good physical condition, young people being most preferred. Regarding the age groups, most migrants are between 20 and 49 years, for women high percentages being maintained even after this age, starting to fall to more advanced ages. In the case of emigrated old women, another reality of emigration should be mentioned, namely that in addition to a significant number of women working in the household, a great part of them emigrate in order to take care of grandchildren in the country where their children have emigrated, so sparing the money that would have to pay for a babysitter. A double reality is shown: there are numerous cases in which both spouses have emigrated and there are children who are born and raised in the destination country. If these children are registered here or not and what percentage of them appear in official statistics it is impossible to say, but this really gives us an insight into the effects of emigration on birth and hence over the numerical evolution of the population of this city.



Fig. 8. Structure by age group and gender of emigrants in the city of Slănic Moldova.

As a result of natural growth and migration there have been significant changes in the structures by age and gender; manifesting a narrowing of the age pyramid base. As a result of maintaining a long period of negative natural balance and accelerating the process of labor emigration to developed European countries, the number of inhabitants has seen a continuous decline.

The city's population distribution by gender shows a rather balanced situation, with a slight numerical superiority of the female population, but if we look at the structure of gender and age groups note that the female population earns in percentage after the age of 55 years; before the age of 55 the percentage of women is exceeded by men percentage. Of course the causes of this reduction are due to the increased death rate among men after a certain age, and migration, including emigration. In recent years, the percentage of the female population has seen a steady growth, surpassed that of the male population, having a percentage over 50%, while in 1992 women represented only 48 percent of the total population. In terms of gender structure we see a further decline in the male population at older ages and here we can give the example of the 20-24 age group of 1990, who reached the age of 52-56 in the year 2014 who suffered a greater reduction in men than women and here the decrease cannot be correlated only with emigration since, according to census data, we saw that especially women emigrated.

The population of the age group that recorded the highest values for the year 1992 should now be aged between 52 and 56 years, but we see a decline in this category in the year 2014 (fig. 9), which is explained by the fact that some of them chose to emigrate, as we have seen in the chart with the emigration by age (fig. 7), as well as was stated earlier.



Fig. 9. Population by age and gender in Slănic Moldova.

As regards the geographical distribution of population by gender in the three localities, only Slănic Moldova locality has a predominantly female population, representing 52 percent, Cireșoaia and Cerdac localities having less than 46% and 47% female population. Adding this data to the emigration reality, where we saw that women are more active in this regard, we could say that demographics will inevitably be affected in the future, resulting in a continuing decline in the birth rate, which is already happening.

Another reality that leads to the narrowing pyramid at young ages is the fact that, once one of the parents emigrated, chances are high that the other parent and even children eventually to emigrate, after finishing high school or even in some cases only secondary school. At the time of the survey, there were families where the emigration occurred gradually, initially mothers emigrating to Italy followed by their husbands, who were followed in turn by children, especially boys, who chose to follow the same route immediately after finishing school. Neither in the case of female children such statements are not absent, but there seems to exert influence at a more advanced age; emigrant mother as "badantă" (taking care of a household in Italy) in Italy in 2006 helped her daughter to emigrate and work in the same field two years later, both currently working in Italy. There are also cases of young married, with one or two children, that has not emigrated since they receive money from their mothers who are working in Italy, this being seen as a financial support which combat youth emigration, that without the support of these mothers would not be able to support their families. If parents emigration favors children emigration in some cases, there are also cases where parents prevent children emigration, not seeing emigration as a necessity as they benefiting from money earned abroad by their parents.

Migration increases the city's population aging, since in emigration participates mainly young people and especially women, the city loosing population once due to emigration of those persons and second, in long-term, due to the children that emigrants could have had or have them but are born in the country of immigration. Important to note is that in 2014 the aging factor reached 83.31%, a critical value, which notes a particularly advanced state of the phenomenon, given that in the year 1992 it was 25 percent. To calculate demographic aging (\hat{Id}) was reported the number of people aged 60 years and older (≥ 60) to the number of persons of 20 years and under that age (≤ 20), the value being expressed in percentage (Vert 1995, p. 39).

4.4. The level of education and working areas

There are often talks about a brain drain that brings multiple losses to the country of origin, which itself draws attention. Analyzing education level structure, in the city Slănic Moldova, the situation seems to be the next one: the locals are more likely to emigrate when educational level is very low or beyond high school. Thus, comparing the studies that emigrants have with the studies of stable population, a higher percentage of emigrants finished primary or lower secondary education while at high school level stable population holds more significant percentage. Correlating these data with the birth rate, we can say that the level of education appears not to influence in a significant extent the higher birth rate among the stable population, since higher education is generally associated with low birth rates and here the resident population has lower rates for below-average degree than emigrants. Of course there are those individual cases, mentioned above, but in this case the tendency is to say that to some extent emigration and other factors, rather than level of education, influences the lower birth rate in families where one or both partners emigrate. The level of education is a component but not a pillar.

Work structure in the destination country of emigrants from city Slănic Moldova show a fairly wide area, according to own survey. It confirms the idea previously stated that women emigrate in higher proportion to older ages due the fact that, most of the times, they work in housekeeping in the destination country while men emigrate mainly at young age working in constructions, where the physical resistance is required that decreases with increasing age. Thus more than 50% of emigrants work in housekeeping and construction, agriculture and forestry being the following, with a rate of 8%. Another reality is the presence of a 4% percent of unskilled workers who do not have a steady job in the host country, working only on days when they find work. The category of "other services", which is extremely heterogeneous include a missionary priest in Ivory Coast, social worker, etc. The health sector is also important, destinations in this case being the United Kingdom and Italy with migrants for a long period indicating some stability in that country, thus the city losing health professionals while the nearest hospitals are in Onești and Comănești.

5. CONCLUSION

Slănic Moldova city registered a decreasing birth rate, which, cumulated with an increasing mortality and emigration, translates into a decrease in population number since both the natural and the migration balance are negative. Thus, the city registered a continuous demographic involution since 2002, after a continuous increase registered between 1992 and 2002. The geographical distribution of the inhabitants and the repartition of emigrants showed that Cireșoaia locality (within the city) has both the highest percentage population and the highest emigration.

Distribution by age showed that men emigrate to a greater extent when they are young, especially between 30-34 years old, while the highest percentage of emigrant women are recorded at older ages than for men, the highest values being between 45-49 years. Gender structure of emigration recorded during the population census in 2011 show a feminization of emigration.

The emigration of the city residents affects and, in turn, is influenced by all demographic indicators, even if, as we have seen, we cannot define to what extent as the external migration, in all its complexity is not exactly quantified. The statistical gaps did not allow a more meaningful analysis. The fact is that if we want an answer closer to reality one only has to ask, as we did, those people who are directly affected by this phenomenon because they are the ones that can provide a clear picture of their reality, so that we can approximate the extent to which there is a positive or negative influence of emigration. We conclude with the meaningful words of a 53 year old lady, whose brother works as a shepherd in Italy: "Since migration has many negative consequences, why not working in your own country?"

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