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Republic of Moldova - at the confluence between East and West

Cristian CARAMAN*

Abstract

Recent developments in relations between the European Union and the Russian Federation are of major interest for the international community. The way in which the two will cooperate in the context of the Crimean crisis and in other issues related to the Eastern European space is very important not only for them, but also for the other countries, which are find themselves at the confluence between them, such as the Republic of Moldova. The role of the Republic of Moldova in securing stability and peace in the region is growing, and with it, the responsibility of the Moldovan authorities to manage their relations with the great powers is growing as well. The study aims to present the effect which the relations between Moldova and the great powers have on its economy and future political perspectives and their evolution in the context of recent events.

Keywords: Eastern Europe, economy, relations, perspectives

Introduction

The geographical position of the Republic of Moldova was a defining factor for its evolution as a state, but also for its relations with the great powers in the area. At first glance, this strip of land would not be of great interest to the states that have influence, but if we look closely, history shows that the Republic of Moldova has always been a major concern for the Russian Federation and the European Union. The Moldovan state is often seen as a protection shield for Russia in the context of the NATO-Russia conflict, but also a peacekeeping zone between the Kremlin and Brussels.

The difference between Eastern Europe and the former republics of the Soviet Union is, however, quite large. In the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet era usually remembered as a nightmare while the Russian population feels deeply insecure. In Moldova, however, there is a genuine nostalgia for the Soviet times, in fact this is characteristic for almost every former Soviet republics. Actually, in Moldova, the communist rule did not end in 1992. The Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM), continued to lead Moldova until 2009. In fact, the party did not

^{*} Cristian CARAMAN holds a MA in Economics and International Business from Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi, e-mail: christian.caraman@yahoo.com



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have a real ideology, but offered a continuation of ties with Russia and a sense of familiarity for a country that prefers the comfort instead of change.

The permanent changes in the Moldovan political arena have led to a lack of confidence among Europeans towards the success of implementing several fundamental reforms, in particular those related to justice and free market competition. Even though Moldova has been largely listening to financial institutions since it gained its independence, the government had failed to provide the necessary amount of real changes in order to assure the development of the country.

1. Moldova's economic background and its dependency on big powers' economies

The state of the Moldovan economy is quite precarious. The republic is often considered to be one of the poorest countries in Europe, if not the poorest. The most recent case that demonstrates the reality it's facing is the banking system crisis as a result of the fraudulent extortion of one billion euros from several commercial banks subsidized by the National Bank of Moldova. To be more specific, this amount at that time represented about 12.5% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) and shattered the confidence in the banking system, but also in the Moldovan political class (Chiroiu, 2015). Besides, the Moldovan economy is basically dependent on remittances from abroad, especially from Russia and Central or Western European countries such as Italy, Spain or Portugal. In the same order of ideas, the ease with which the citizens of Moldova can obtain the Romanian has conditioned their mass exodus in the last period in search for a better paid job. It is also worth mentioning that the official statistics may be far from reality as long as a large number of those who have emigrated and work abroad are often illegally doing it (Nica, 2017).

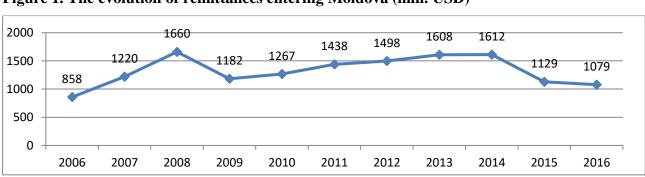


Figure 1. The evolution of remittances entering Moldova (mln. USD)

Source: own representation based on data from Moldovan National Bank of Statistics

Contrary to its neighbors, until recently, Moldova has not used its proximity to the European Union market to its advantage, partly due to the EU's restrictive policies towards agricultural products from non-member countries. At the same time, it has rarely developed new markets outside the former Soviet Union. Thus, Moldova remains strongly dependent on the CIS market, especially Russia and Ukraine due to its exports dominated by agricultural and fuel imports. There are recent signs of exports to the EU, mainly due to German and Italian investments in the textile industry and the use of their distribution channels throughout Europe and of course in the wine industry due to the recent Russian embargo. Trade with Romania is significant - its western neighbor is the third trading partner, but the investments in this country are very low due to the lack of interest from both the Romanian business community and the Romanian government. In addition to that, the relations between the two countries have deteriorated since the Moldovan authorities abandoned the reform plan.

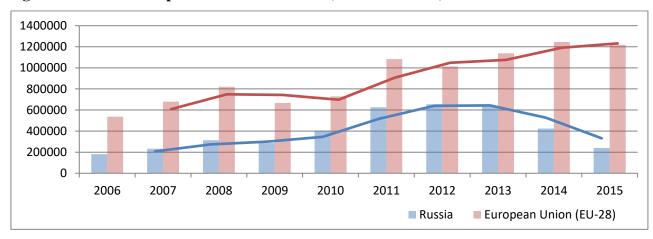


Figure. 2. Moldovan exports in Russia and EU (thousands USD)

Source: Moldovan National Bank of Statistics

Russia remains the destination of many Moldovan exports, and around 7% of the total FDI in Moldova are coming from Russian Federation. In reality the amount could actually be higher, since the Russian businessmen are well-known for using other states banking systems like Cyprus to move money around due to less-restrictive policies. In addition, at least 300 000 Moldovans work in the Russian Federation on a temporary or permanent basis, and their remittances are enormous (Barbăroşie, 2013).

However, from 2013 onwards, EU markets have become more accessible to Moldovan producers and their exports have increased. As a result, relations between the EU and Moldova have experienced a dramatic improvement. The Russian Federation saw this as a danger to it influence in the area and hit the Moldovan economy with serious sanctions, especially in the agro-food sector. As

a result, trade relations between them have suffered. At the same time, we do not have to hyperbolize the economic importance of the Republic of Moldova for the European Union, with just over 3 million inhabitants, the Moldovan market is not expanded enough to attract a major interest from the EU.

From the investment point of view, we should be able to distinguish the interests of economic entities from those of the country in which the money is invested. While state resources are not being properly exploited, the arrival of foreign investors can only bring benefits to the recipient country of investment. De facto, with increasing investment flows in Europe, more jobs would be provided for Moldovans, wages would increase, and the economy would modernize and bring additional revenue to the state budget. On the other hand, the free movement of production factors would also provide Moldovan investors with the opportunity to internationalize their business and sell on far more extensive markets. But it is important to determine whether they can compete in the already very competitive environment in the European Union. Taking this into consideration, the European financial assistance goes further in the public domain than in the private sector in order to ensure a process of economic and legal reform of the Republic of Moldova.

Currently, according to Chisinau authorities, Moldova has around 100 projects funded exclusively by money coming from the European Union. A major drop in the flow of funds occurred after the theft of the billion in the banking system, and the recovery of the confidence of European investors will take some time. In addition to major donors such as the United States, the EU, the World Bank or the United Nations, direct development help has been also provided by countries such as Romania and Germany. Romania is actually one of the most generous donors, followed by other EU countries such as Germany, Austria and Sweden. At the same time, at the level of 2015, the private FDI level was 182.4 million euros, with the EU accumulating a share of 52.4% of the total, while the CIS countries accumulated only 11.1% (Nica, 2016).

3. The evolution of Moldova's economic performances in correlation with the economic sanctions imposed by Russian Federation

While the economic integration processes of the last period has intensified, the Moldovan economy has been put under severe pressure, especially following several sanctions imposed by the Russian Federation. As it has been mentioned several times before, the signing of the Association Agreement with the European Union was seen by the Kremlin as an attempt to diminish Russian influence in the area. Euro-integration aspirations have also been seen very negatively by the Russians, and their response came very quick.

The insecurity of the Moldovan producers and their skepticism towards constructive cooperation with the Russian partners increased several times as a result of the harsh reactions to the political aspirations of the Moldovan state. In the last 10 years, the Republic of Moldova has faced at least three embargoes imposed by the Moscow authorities on a group or several groups of products of Moldovan origin. Most of the times, the reason of the embargoes was Moscow's will to put political pressure on Moldova. Since then, many of the Moldovan entrepreneurs have long stopped exports to the Russian Federation for many of their products and went searching for other markets.

Being an economy where the agricultural sector is still very important, the embargoes on wine and agrarian products in 2006, 2009 and 2013 respectively have caused major damage to the Moldovan economy as a whole. The wine branch is considered a pillar of the Moldovan economy and rightly so. By 2006 it was the most profitable domain, and the Russian market managed to absorb up to 70% of total Moldovan wine exports sometimes. Even if the quota was lowered during the years, Russia kept its status as the main Moldovan wine importer. The embargo brought enormous damage to local producers and the economy in general. The GDP that year fell by 3.4% and value losses were over 60 million US dollars. It is clear that we cannot put it all on the decrease of wine exports, but the events of that time posed many questions for Moldovan wine producers, who now understood the need to export their product to other markets, especially in the West.

The year 2013 was marked by a third shock for the Moldovan wine industry. Due to the negotiations and the signing of the Association Agreement with the EU, Russia totally prohibits imports of Moldovan wines in September of the same year. This meant huge losses for companies such as Bostavan, which had lost more than 14 million euros, and wine exports to Russia were reduced by more than 3 quarters and total exports by over 40 percent (Ciochină, 2014).

This meant that the Moldovan wine producers started to focus their efforts on the European Union market. Judging by the data provided by the National Bank of Moldova, with the reforms initiated and the European Parliament's abolition of export quotas for Moldovan wines, the share of Moldovan wine exports to EU countries increased from 15.1% in 2009 to 25.9% in 2014. At the same time, the import of agricultural products has been increasing during this period, the countries of the European Union becoming more important partners for the Moldovan farmers. It is worth mentioning that Romania has become the most important trading partner for Moldova, covering 13.5% of total Moldovan imports and 13.1% of exports, judging by the date from 2014 (Pristas, 2015). However, the director of the most famous Moldovan winery - Purcari, said that the market share held by the company on the Russian market was only 16% and the revenues suffered even less due to the better prices obtained on the EU markets (Macovei, 2013).

With the signing of the EU Free Trade Agreement, the Kremlin authorities have acted quickly and imposed a new embargo in the summer of 2014 - this time on Moldovan fruit. Under the pretext of health and standards issues, several fruits, especially Moldovan apples, were confiscated and destroyed. Shortly after the embargo on fruit, the Russian Federation declares that imported meat from the Republic of Moldova is showing signs of concern, and for this reason, based on a report by Rospotrbnadzor, both meat and meat products of Moldovan origin were forbidden on the Russian market (Ceapai, 2014).

4. Moldova's security problems in the context of Ukrainian crisis

After the annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol by the Russian Federation, the Moldovan authorities are more reticent about a possible repetition of the scenario in the region on the left bank of the Dniester. Moreover, for more than two decades, the loyal to Russia authorities in Tiraspol are still trying to hurry a possible accession process to Russia. Now that there is a precedent, territories like Transnistria could follow the fate of Crimea as long as the Russian-speaking population, which consists the majority, demands it. It is clear that in the present context, such a scenario would be risky for the Russians and could hit the country with new economic sanctions, but such a future perspective cannot be totally excluded.

In November 2013, Moldova signed an association agreement with the European Union. Thus, like Ukraine, Moldova is in a precarious situation because of its political proximity to the European Union and the tendency to maintain its economic partnership with the Russian Federation. Unlike Ukraine, Moldova did not give up to Moscow's pressures and began the process of officially signing the Association Agreement in November of the same year and finalized it on June 27, 2014. Moldova's decision did not prevent the Russian Deputy Prime Minister from visiting Moldova, threatening to introduce economic sanctions against the country. Deputy Prime Minister Dmitri Rogozin said that the measures taken to prevent Transnistria from communicating with the rest of the world will constitute a direct threat to the security and constitutional freedom of the 200,000 Russian citizens permanently residing in Transnistria. Rogozin remarked later that Russia considers itself "the guarantor of the constitutional rights of its citizens" (Soloviev, 2014). The Kremlin has used similar tactics as in Ukraine and Armenia, leading to the abandonment of the agreement. Through pro-Russian parties and Gazprom's representatives, the Moldovan authorities were virtually blackmailed that the signing of the Association Agreement would have serious repercussions on the political and

economic situation in the region and could lead to a destabilization of the Transnistrian situation (Dumitraş, 2013).

Besides Transnistria, Gagauzia's situation is also delicate, the authorities even organized a referendum, considered illegitimate by Chisinau, in order to get closer to Russia. Its results showed that the population of the territorial unit is over 98% pro-russian (Mihăeş, 2014). All this not only hinders the prospects of the European integration of the Republic of Moldova but has serious economic and political effects in the long run. The Moldovan government still seems interested in adopting the EU vector, but is also concerned that the Crimean crisis could generate a new wave of separatism in Transnistria and Gagauzia. At the same time, the challenges faced by the country in the context of the crisis in Ukraine remain the responsibility not only of the country itself but also of the international community as a whole.

From the economic point of view Moldova has recovered during 2016 and has registered a growth in the GDP department, stimulated by a rise in consumption and fiscal stimulus. However, the risk for the economy to slow down is very real, taking into consideration the upcoming parliamentary elections in 2018. It is very possible that the implementation of reforms is not going to be the main concern for Moldovan politicians. Secondly, Moldova might be affected by the growth in other economies like Russia and EU which is also expected to be weaker than in the previous years. Meanwhile slow productivity growth and capital accumulation, combined with low labor force participation, point to a need to rebalance the drivers of growth. At the same time it is very important to advance key economic reforms to create a more transparent and rules-based environment for private sector employment creation in the future. The main challenges that the Moldovan politicians have to adjust are: the weak rule of law and the well-functioning of economic institutions, in particularly the financial system and the energy sector; numerous tax exemptions and efficiency of fiscal spending, especially those related to health and education, and the need for better salaries, which would stop the mass exodus of the labor force and also ease the pressure that is now on the pension system.

Conclusion

In the current geopolitical and economic context, the Republic of Moldova is just one of the strategic points on the European continent. However, although it has more territorial problems, the Moldovan authorities seem to have chosen the vector they will follow. Or have they? Perhaps four years ago, the prospects for Moldova's integration into the European Union seemed much more real.

Meanwhile, a series of events in the Eastern European space area made this mission more difficult and divided the Moldovan society even more. The economy of the Republic of Moldova remains in a precarious state and its dependence on the Russian market remains a cause for concern for Moldovan producers. They constantly find themselves forced to search for new markets just to be able to keep their businesses running. Even if the European Union seems to be trying to help Moldova in this matter that may not be enough since the European institutions have to take care of their own citizens' interests first. At the same time, from the political point of view, we are in the situation where the European Union does not seem so interested in its prospects for enlargement to the East, but countries like Moldova continue to see European integration as the most obvious and perfect way to ensure a durable development. In essence, the EU is not concerned about the affiliation of these countries to an economic block or another. However it considers that the normative policy and its core values such as democracy, human rights, free economy and good governance are the way to provide these countries a lasting development internally and stability and prosperity throughout the European space as a whole.

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Developing economic cooperation in modern conditions. The case of Ukraine and China

Natalya CHERNENKO*, Leonid SOLODOVNYK**, Harry RANDHAWA***

Abstract

Ukraine and People's Republic of China (PRC) are cooperating in some areas like: machinery, transportation etc. China is interested in partnering with Ukraine for selling Chinese consumer goods. Ukraine is interested in selling raw materials to China. To study this possible cross-border cooperation and commercial relationship, the current paper uses the "intensity of interaction" (namely, the depth of integration) model, which is based upon the existing "gravity model". The index for existing model has been obtained by adding a "dummy variable" in the standard "gravity model" which reflects the influence of regional nuances upon the level and direction of trade flow. The strategic partner relationship must be based on: "complementing" the economic structure of the partners, which means equality in the relationship and lack of significant disparities.

Keywords: the gravity model, strategic partnership, scientific-technical cooperation, Ukraine - China relationship

JEL Classification: F5, F6

Introduction

From an economic point of view, People's Republic of China (PRC) is an economic powerful country and is a very promising prospective business partner for Ukraine. A lot of Ukrainian goods and services could possibly find a place in the massive global Chinese markets. Because of polarization, countries which cannot qualify as participants in large international trade relations need to develop bi-lateral trade relations with likeminded countries, such as: Ukraine and PRC. Ukraine and PRC are already cooperating in some areas like: machinery, transportation etc. China is interested in partnering with Ukraine for selling Chinese consumer goods. Ukraine is interested in selling raw materials to China. Ukraine does not think such a relationship is sustainable over the long haul. To study this possible cross-border cooperation and commercial relationship, we have used the "intensity of interaction" (namely, the depth of integration) model, which is based upon the existing "gravity

^{***} Harry RANDHAWA holds a Master of Science in Mechanical Engineering, San Francisco, USA.



^{*} Natalya CHERNENKO is Associate professor, PhD, Kyiv, Ukraine, e-mail: chenenkonata@mail.ru.

^{**} Leonid SOLODOVNYK is *Doctor of Sciences, Professor of* Economics` Enterprise *Department,* State Higher Education Institution "National Mining University", Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine.

model". The index has been obtained by adding a "dummy variable" in the standard "gravity model" which reflects the influence of regional nuances upon the level and direction of trade flow. The strategic partner relationship must be based on: "complementing" the economic structure of the partners, which means equality in the relationship and lack of significant disparity maintaining, at the same time, the life style of the people and society. Development of economic cooperation amongst countries is also an important aspect. Moreover, in the analysis there were taken into account additional important aspects, such as energy, food, strategic raw materials, natural resources, access to the vital places of the world, national security, etc.

Amongst the researchers who had developed methodical approaches to international cooperation and implementation of trade and economic activities, there are noteworthy works of Ukrainian scientists. Some researchers, who analysed the Ukrainian - Chinese relations, pointed out the need to increase Chinese investments in Ukrainian economy. The important question of determining the road blocks and obstacles to be faced by Chinese investors was not touched, nor was the possible benefit to be accrued by Ukraine economy clearly defined. Despite the profound and good work completed by above researchers, much work still remains to be completed.

The aim of the article is to use the "gravity model" by adding a "dummy variable" so that it reflects the influence of regional aspects on the level and direction of trade flow. Another aim is to study the possibility of cooperation between Ukraine and China bearing in mind their differences and their economic structures. The last aim is to evaluate the possible cooperation at the scientific and technical level. The task of the article is thus to analyse the present situation of the relationship between two countries and their current economic capabilities. The study also aims to present recommendations to intensify the scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

1. Developing economic cooperation

Globalization and innovative changes in financial and trade make it impossible for any country to stay insulated from rapid and sometimes radical changes in the world economy. Today's world economic trends which suggest openness to any country's market and economy, spurs competition creates a core of powerful, rich and stable countries as leaders and the weaker, less progressive ones on the periphery as followers. Thus, in many countries the government's role in managing their economies' declines. These countries are forced to react and find new and innovative ways to combat this trend and to find new ways to manage their national, economic, political and legal environments, policies, rules and regulations. A successful example is China. They have designed and executed their

proprietary innovative system which extracts, copies, imports or poaches upon global experience and technology in innovation and rapidly applies it to its national economic system. Thus PRC benefits not only nationally but also transnationally. According to the information obtained from The World Bank (1991- 2015) one can see how rapidly PRC's GDP per capita increased since the Independence of Ukraine in 1991. The growth rate of GDP and GDP per capita was slow from 1991 to 2005. But in the next 10 years: 2005-2015, GDP per capita increased more than 3.8 times or 283%.

Clearly the important method of accomplishing scientific and technical cooperation amongst all countries in the world is: import technologies and export technologies. Via the import technologies, China increases its technological and industrial efficiencies very rapidly thus decreasing the overall growth timeline. Per statistical information (Eurostat, 2014, 2015), in 2014 China's import technologies were USD 830.6 million which was 35.9 % of entire worlds import technologies. Already in 2015, China's technical imports stood at USD 783.7 million, which is 46.6% of the entire worlds import technologies. China's major import technologies were in areas like patent acquisition technique, technical consultation, technical services and technical equipment purchases. China concentrated heavily on import technologies in industries like electronics, electric power generation and distribution, steam, hot water, chemicals and chemical food production (Eurostat, 2014, 2015). Presently, China's import technologies are mainly from Japan, USA, EU and ASEAN countries.

China started to be attractive for other developed countries with superior technologies but high labour costs to conduct business in the accessible and cheap labour market of China. China was able to obtain superior technologies at an unprecedented scale. This led to construction and start-up of many research centres. With the presence of so many foreign investors on the mainland, it was possible to promote multi-lateral exchange of technologies amongst them. China's auto industry signed joint agreements with foreign auto companies. Similar joint agreements in other industries lead to China becoming a world leader in manufacturing inexpensive consumer products. This allowed Chinese auto companies to adapt best production practices and techniques and emerge as a leader on the world stage. The other interesting aspect was that Chinese companies became stock holders in foreign companies and began to get a part of profit dividends from stock capital investments of these companies in other foreign markets. This further opened the way for China to obtain more sophisticated technologies from some of the famous leading technological companies of the world (Bugayova, 2010). Firstly, it should be noted that a collaboration on the basis of bringing in licensed technologies is also a strategic right step: firstly, there is a cooperation with foreign companies (during the process of signing and obtaining the license agreements). Secondly, the licenses help indigenous manufactures to apply these sophisticated licenses to innovate proprietary technologies. The

establishment of joint research centres also helps to permanently increase and improve the scientific talent base as well as the skills of scientists, researchers and technologists.

In 2012 (Table 1), PRC invested USD 143 million or 1.7% of their GDP on Research and Development (R&D), thus putting PRC at 21st place in the world. In the same year, Ukraine spent USD 1.51 million or 0.86% of their GDP on R&D. This got Ukraine 36th place in the world (Eurostat, and World Bank, 1996-2015).

Table 1. PRC investment in China on R&D (millions US dollars)

Years	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Expenses	300.31	371.02	461.6	580.21	706.26	868.7	1029.8	1184.7	1301.6	1425.2

Source: Eurostat and World Bank, 2006-2015

Table 1 shows that during the period from 2006 to 2015, China's R&D investment took a steady growth of 15-20% per annum. During this period, goods for developed countries were produced under the license agreements but for the "third world" goods were produced under license agreements as well as copies of pre-production models.

There is definite potential for Ukraine to act as a gateway or entry point or so called "Silky Way". Ukraine can act as a landing point or transit camp or port of entry for Chinese goods bound for Europe and EU countries. Plans were in place to build in Crimea a deep water port to allow large merchant ships to dock and to construct warehouses to store goods. Annexation of Crimea by Russia has nixed these plans. Now plans will need to be made to provide these facilities on mainland Ukraine.

Big amount of scientific projects and developments will bring a "desire" to sell a commodity which could be done by the new technologies, around the world's markets. As China does not have a strong customs tariffs with many countries, it pushes to the searches of optimal variants for the realization of such program.

On the June 27th, 2014 Ukraine signed a trade agreement with an executive body of the EU. This agreement allows domestic Ukrainian goods and consumer products to be sold in Europe and vice versa. This agreement encourages and motivates domestic Ukrainian manufacturing industries to improve their technologies to match the superior European technologies. Superior domestic products will hopefully in the long run, increase exports to Europe. There is significant human scientific and technical talent in Ukraine. This agreement also promotes exchange of technical and scientific knowledge which in turn promotes innovation in Ukraine. Ukraine has some world renowned universities with excellent teaching and research facilities. This agreement also allows universities, especially higher education universities to establish relationships with EU universities

to further promote R&D and innovation. Consequently this acquired new knowledge and ideas can help domestic higher education institutions to interact with local industries and manufacturing establishments to make their operations more technically savvy, sophisticated and efficient. One way to spread the innovation is to create regional clusters in Ukraine. Once this activity starts, innovation can spread rapidly by Domino effect to every region of Ukraine and lift the quality and speed of production of goods and services in Ukraine.

Now the question is: how does one predict what happens in every bilateral agreement? Can we apply the "gravitational model" as is or not? Because every region in Ukraine is unique and every industry in every region is unique too, there is a need to tweak the "gravitational model". Therefore to predict scientific and technical collaboration between any two entities engaged in bi-lateral activity, there is a need to add a dummy variable into existing "gravitational model" and give the name an index "intensity of cooperation". This dummy variable will account for an array of regional and local variances and once it is properly determined, will make the "gravitational model" very accurate.

The standard gravitational model (formula 1) which predicts the volume of trade between two countries, has three variables; GDP of each country and the distance between the two countries. The transportation and tariff costs are affected by the distance between the two countries, therefore distance is the third variable in the gravitational model (Moskovkin *et al.*, 2007).

$$Iua/ch = \frac{GDP_1 \times GDP_2}{r^2},$$
(1)

 $I_{ua/ch}$ - the index "intensity of cooperation" between two countries, (thousands of conventional money signs in a square kilometres);

GDP₁ and GDP₂ - the gross domestic product, adjusted economy of a country, thousands of conventional money signs;

r – the distance between countries, km.

Table 2 displays the statistical data about the foreign economic activity between the two countries from 2013 up to 2015 (The Ministry of finance of Ukraine and World Bank, 2013-2015).

Table 2. The basic indexes are for settling the "gravitational model"

No	Indexes		Ukraine		China			
745	indexes	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015	
1	Density of population (persons per km ²)	75.2	75.2	75.2	141.3	141.7	142	
2	Density of transport networks (thousands of km per km ²)	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.38	0.38	0.4	
3	Area (territory) of country (km ²)			603550		9598 089		
4	Population (millions of persons)	45.4	45.4	42.9	1357	1360.7	1367.8	
5	Export to GDP (%)	43.42	49.15	52.7	24.6	23.9	22.3	
6	Incoming investment (millions of US dollars)	4500	847	3050	290000	268000	249000	
	Exports of services (billions of US dollars)	22.61	14.88	12.36	207	280.4	286,54	
7	Exports of commodities (billions of US dollars)	59.1	50.55	35.42	2149	2 224	2143	
	Exports of high-tech products (billions of US dollars)	2.19	1.9	1.6	560.1	558.6	555,6	
8	Working population (millions of persons)	18.9	17.1	15.7	930.9	925.3	926.1	
9	Commodity turnover of the country (billions of US dollars)	174.25	134.9	96.77	4473	4667	4476	
10	GDP per capita (thousands of US dollars)	3986	3065	2114	6991	7587	7924	

Source: The Ministry of finance of Ukraine and World Bank, 2013-2015

The authors define (see the formula no 1) the index "intensity of cooperation" ($I_{ua/ch}$) as the conditional distance between the capitals of two countries i.e. 6.457 kilometres. The next results (see table no 3).

Table 3. The index "intensity of cooperation" between Ukraine and China using the standard "gravitational model" (2013-2015, thousands of conventional money signs per km²)

Years	2013	2014	2015
I _{ua/ch}	0.00610509	0.00558696	0.00518967

Source: Authors' calculations

From the data (see table no 3), we note decline in the intensity of cooperation between two countries; from 8.5 % in 2014 to 7.1% in 2015, both compared to their previous years respectively. Though the distance between the two countries remained the same, Ukraine's GDP reduced, therefore the index "intensity of cooperation" changed.

Although the bi-lateral trade potential between the two countries is high, possibility of conducting trade goes down, as the distance between the countries increases. This is due to taxes and tariffs imposed by both countries as well as other different countries en-route as the goods travel via sea lanes through them. Also higher transportation costs are incurred over longer distances. All these costs are billable to the exporting country. To account for the tariffs, taxes and transportation costs, it is necessary to insert a variable K into the standard "gravitational model" (see formula no 2).

Iua/ch =
$$k \cdot \frac{GDP_1 \times GDP_2}{r^2}$$
,

(2)

K - a dummy variable that characterizes intensity of particular area of Ukraine where imports from China are received.

Let us adjust (formula no 2) to reflect the "infrastructure" capabilities or resources of different regions of Ukraine (see table no 4).

Table 4. Index "intensity of cooperation" between some areas of Ukraine and China adjusted to the feature "infrastructure", in 2013-2015

Areas of		nport`s service		A dumm	y variable	"K", (by	Index "intensity of cooperation"			
Ukraine		nds of USA do			years)			_{ch}), (by year		
	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015	
Republic of Crimea	3132709.7	-	-	0.0123	-	-	0.000069	_	-	
Vinnytsya	621249.4	15120.9	11840.2	0.0054	0.0032	0.0030	0.000033	0.00002	0.00002	
Volyn	504068.6	20480.5	16702.7	0.0069	0.0044	0.0043	0.000042	0.00002	0.00002	
Dnipro	309420.5	370389.1	402092.8	0.0818	0.0789	0.1030	0.000499	0.00044	0.00053	
Donetsk	268632.3	352362.2	199811.5	0.1008	0.0750	0.0512	0.000615	0.00042	0.00027	
Zhytomyr	191581.3	14091	9189.4	0.0025	0.0030	0.0024	0.000015	0.00002	0.00001	
Zakarpattia	181439	33156.9	20857.2	0.0079	0.0071	0.0053	0.000048	0.00004	0.00003	
Zaporizhzhya	167387	75529.6	66689	0.0168	0.0161	0.0171	0.000102	0.00009	0.00009	
Ivano- Frankivsk	113178	22757.7	13221.7	0.0056	0.0048	0.0034	0.000034	0.00003	0.00002	
Kyiv and Kyiv region	103378.7	2780976	2409849	0.5586	0.5923	0.6172	0.003410	0.00331	0.00320	
Kirovohrad	78194	32669.8	22615.2	0.0078	0.0070	0.0058	0.000048	0.00004	0.00003	
Luhansk	77872.5	141198.1	96837.3	0.0272	0.0301	0.0248	0.000166	0.00017	0.00013	
Lviv	75919.1	83382.4	50226.9	0.0184	0.0178	0.0129	0.000112	0.00010	0.00007	
Mykolaiv	48413	53212.1	51416.2	0.0127	0.0113	0.0132	0.000077	0.00006	0.00007	
Odesa	48311.7	217467.3	132453.8	0.0436	0.0463	0.0339	0.000266	0.00026	0.00018	
Poltava	42374.2	194887.1	151916.8	0.0311	0.0415	0.0389	0.000190	0.00023	0.00020	
Rivne	34378.9	23125.8	15091.4	0.0045	0.0049	0.0039	0.000028	0.00003	0.00002	
Sumy	33167.3	48929.8	66542.8	0.0126	0.0104	0.0170	0.000077	0.00006	0.00009	
Ternopil	30397.5	8467.8	10392.7	0.0021	0.0018	0.0027	0.000013	0.00001	0.00001	
Kharkiv	27916.4	128314.1	103556.6	0.0294	0.0273	0.0265	0.000180	0.00015	0.00014	
Kherson	20453.1	4759.7	8080.5	0.0008	0.0010	0.0021	0.000005	0.00001	0.00001	
Khmelnytsk	16556.8	11043.8	10198.6	0.0027	0.0024	0.0026	0.000016	0.00001	0.00001	
Tcherkasy	15274.7	32724.8	18675.6	0.0033	0.0070	0.0048	0.000020	0.00004	0.00002	
Chernivtsi	12633.6	1441.8	1820.2	0.0004	0.0003	0.0005	0.000002	0.00000	0.00000	
Chernihiv	10028	28928	14341.3	0.0049	0.0062	0.0037	0.000030	0.00003	0.00002	

Notes: Because of the annexation Republic of Crimea there is no data after 2013.

Source: Authors' calculations

Analysing the database (see table no 4), it is fair to conclude that different regions of Ukraine have different appeal to investors. This includes influences like: quality of roads and highways, availability of nearest port(s), availability of scientific and technical resources, specialty of the region etc. Kherson is attractive for agriculture and related industry. Dnipro area is a space rocket manufacturing area with a lot of scientific and technical activity. Kharkiv area is known for Engineering, Architecture and instrument manufacturing.

Some scientists like: (Anderson *et al.*, 2003) suggested to include a "variable index' into the existing "gravitational model". The argument was that "artificial" obstacles such as trade organizations or union activity could prevent countries from entering into a trade agreement. In this case, China and Ukraine are already members of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

2. Findings and recommendations

Overall, considering the analysis conducted above, we conclude that the "gravitational model" needs review and revision, also the "gravitational model" had some inaccuracies which are listed below:

- 1. Distance between the countries was measured as a straight line between the capitals. In fact the two parties could be in opposite corners of the countries or for that matter anywhere else in the country. Consideration of physical barriers like rivers, mountains, rail road lines, highways and roads was also ignored. Therefore (see formula no 1) can only be used if the exact route and physical distance between two points is defined and known.
- 2. The calculations of GDP (it's when information taken from the public statistics) can be conducted by the national currency exchange rate, but the index of PPP exchange rate of each separate country will be ignored, this fact can make an influence on the result of general research.
- 3. Mathematical interpretation of "gravitational model" does not take into account the effect of illegal trade activity. This is very difficult to measure. A "legal import" has a big matter at the programs which stimulated an industries of economy and methods of fight against the illegal import of commodities at the own (indoor) market. A legal import at the local market, strengthen a competition between the commodities` producers and thus becomes the main factor of increasing the competitiveness of the Ukrainian producers. Obviously, with the advent of the "shadow" products at the local market, which unladen by taxes and duty, threatens to existence of many enterprises and whole economy.

In order to promote vigorous trade between China and Ukraine, Ukraine has to drastically reform its trade practices and revise relevant rules, regulations and tax codes. Some specifics are listed below:

- 1. Revise defence of owner's property rights in Ukraine. Revise legal system such that disputes can be settled quickly. Provide equal rights to exporter(s) and importer(s) in a court of law. Current laws are biased against a foreign enterprise or entity. Current laws that allows predatory takeover of foreign investment like property, factory etc., should be abolished.
- 2. Evaluate and improve investment climate. The permanent monitoring and broadcasting of macroeconomic indices must throw light on problems and issues in different segments of the economy. Reports must be accurate and truthful.
- 3. Significantly lower business, property and investment federal, state and local taxes. Besides lowering taxes there should be constant review of tax rate and tax codes to reflect the state of business

climate. In 2015 the average tax rate on commercial income in China was 67.8% and in Ukraine it was 52.2 %. As evident, difference in rates between two countries was not very large. At the same time note the much lower tax rates in UAE the rate at 15.9% and in UK at 32% (Bussiere *et al.*, 2015).

4. Government and its ministries of trade to ensure a stable and thriving economy. Provide dynamism and pro-activism in the crisis management procedures and agencies. Review national economy and risks from world markets regularly.

In the long run it is difficult to guarantee stable and steady development of an economy through insufficient internal demand, weak economic bases, irrational structure of export, imperfect banking system. The Ukrainian market at this time is immature and there are profound risks for investments and collaboration activities. Ukraine is rich in natural resources, has a strong industrial base and has a very large scientific and technically savvy work force. Political shocks, absence of long and short term economy plans are averse to foreign investments. Audits, evaluations and ratings of financial institutions both government and private must be performed by international organizations.

Conclusions

China owns a large industrial base, sound economy, large investments and scientific talent. In Ukraine the amount of foreign investments is insignificant, industrial base is weak and technology is backwards. Also Chinese investors need to adhere to the unfavourable, Ukrainian laws, investigate investment risks by factoring in a lot of risk contingencies. Also there are language and cultural barriers plus the geographical remoteness between the two countries. The considerable geographical remoteness included in the "gravitational model" is inversely proportional to the distance between them and proportional to the commodity turnover. The silver lining is that both countries participate in WTO, an organization that minimizes tariff barriers, assists, adjusts trade relations and prevents discriminatory practices. Therefore the main objective of the Ukraine and China collaboration should be to create the most attractive terms of collaboration. This should include lower property taxes and import tariffs, fair defence of investor interests, stability in financial institutions, low interest rates and readily available commercial loans and creation of joint ventures for the production of goods and services.

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EU's metaphorical representation in the Moldovan economic press

Magdalena DANILEŢ*, Olesia MIHAI**, Anca Maria CLIPA***

Abstract

The study aims to identify the metaphors associated with the EU in the economic press published in Romanian and Russian languages in the Republic of Moldova after signing the Association Agreement (AAs). It set out to answer the following research questions: How Moldovan economic newspapers frame the EaP issues through metaphors? Are these metaphors meant to increase the EU appeal to readers of economic newspapers? For this purpose, we conducted a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of a corpus of Moldavian economic newspapers in order to identify the EU-based metaphors.

Keywords: content analysis, metaphor, economic press, European Union, Republic of Moldova JEL Classification: M31, Y8

Introduction

The relations of the Republic of Moldova and the European Union under the Eastern Partnership (EaP) have developed through constant cooperation. The Republic of Moldova is a partner country of the Eastern Partnership within the European Neighbourhood Policy. The EaP was inaugurated on the 7th of May 2009 and it is an initiative governing the relationships of the European Union with the post-Soviet states, such as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine. The Eastern Partnership initiative is an effort to revitalize the partnership-building process in the East (Korosteleva, 2011). It is intended to provide an institutionalized forum for developing trade, economic strategy and travel agreements and other issues between the EU and its Eastern neighbours.

An Association Agenda was signed in 2014 and it outlines the priorities for reform in Moldova and is based on the commitments included in the 2014 Association Agreement. The Agreement introduces a preferential trade regime – the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA). Starting with the 28th of April 2014, the visa obligation for citizens of Moldova who hold a biometric passport and want to travel to the Schengen zone for a short-stay was abolished.

^{*} Magdalena DANILEŢ is Lecturer, PhD, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi, Romania, e-mail: madalind@uaic.ro. ** Olesia MIHAI is PhD student, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi, Romania, e-mail: olesiamihai@yahoo.com.

^{***} Anca Maria CLIPA is PhD student, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania, e-mail: anca.clipa@gmail.com.

The economic press has been vital for raising awareness of the business community on the opportunities provided by the agreements signed with the EU. Traditionally, businesses have been the most fervent advocates for joining economic agreements fostering economic development and trade. In our case, the EU is the newcomer on the agreements setting of this post-soviet country. For more than two decades, the trade agreements had been mostly confined to the CIS-dominated area. The new player arrived with a new agenda, a new game and different objectives (The Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Radosław Sikorski, 2016). Obviously, the old and the new agendas are not always harmoniously orchestrated. The sonority and tones used to reveal the new reality are presented in the economic press and generate consequences for audience.

The premises we start from are that "a media frame [...] provides in a positive, negative, or neutral manner an organizing principle to the structure of a news story and therefore potentially to citizens' understanding of and thinking about political, economic, and social topics" (de Vreese *et al.*, 2011) and media are agents in constructing perceptions of reality (Buckingham, 2013). Previous studies outlined the public perceptions of Moldavians towards the European Union and there is "an increasing congruence in public perceptions of what the EU does for Moldova and what people really need, neatly expressed in the phrase "I really feel change, in education, in justice and in our lives" (Korosteleva, 2014 - Moldova's Values Survey: Widening a European Dialogue in Moldova). Therefore, an insight into the metaphors associated with the EU used by the economic press in the Republic of Moldova may help map out and get an understanding of the attitudes and views of the local population towards its potential integration into the European Union.

1. Metaphor - a link among language, thought and action

Since the early 80s, numerous studies in linguistics, psychology and sociology (Charteris-Black, 2011; Kövecses, 2010; Gibbs R. J., 2008; Gibbs R. W., 1993; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) have confirmed that metaphor is fundamental for language, thought and experience. A metaphor is more than a way of speech and it goes beyond linguistic function. In the view of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors are figures of thought as representations of the ways in which people reveal, develop and extend their thoughts. A metaphor is a way to see something as if it were something else, it is an analogy. Practically, a metaphor ensures the link between the known and the unknown. It reveals the perceived relation between different things, between the whole and the part. The metaphors involve the same process that is found in relationship-building. It is the process of establishing significant connections among ideas, among people, among different entities that have been initially separated

and different (Duck, 1994). A metaphor facilitates the access to our truths and to truths of other people as the perception of truth means the discovery of an analogy. The theory of conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2010; Gibbs R. J., 2008; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) states that the metaphor is a cognitive tool used to understand difficult and abstract concepts (the target domain) through different concepts but more concrete and easier to understand (source domain),

It is important to make a distinction between conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions. A metaphorical expression is a specific statement that draws upon a general conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, 1993, p. 209). For example, the statements "France decided to go to war" and "Germany is our ally" are two different metaphorical expressions, but both draw upon the same conceptual metaphor: STATES ARE PERSONS (Drulák and Königová, 2007, p. 7)

Metaphorical conceptualization is a process in which the speaker is under two competitive pressures: the pressure of universal embodiment and the pressure of local, cultural and personal context (Kövecses, 2008, p. 182). Recent studies (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff, 2004) proved that metaphors may be used as ideological tools when dealing with economic and political issues. New metaphors have the power to create a new reality. If a new metaphor enters in the conceptual system that we base our action on, it will alter that conceptual system and the perceptions and actions that the system gives rise to (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 146). Also, more recent approaches (Lakoff, 2004) show that metaphors may be used as ideological weapons to frame and to reframe the political and economic issues.

2. The metaphors associated with the EU

To understand the complicated and abstract concept of the European Union, a wide variety of metaphors have been used in the public discourse. These metaphors benefitted have been extensively researched. Andreas Musolff conducted several studies on the metaphorical mapping of the European Union (Musolff, 2000; 2001; 2004; 2017). He provides a comprehensive account of metaphors deployed in the political discourse about the EU. Musolff (2004) coined four main conceptual metaphors for the EU: the EU is a Family/ Love-Relationship, the EU is Moving Along a Path, the EU is a (Human) Body, the EU is a Building. The conceptual metaphors "the EU Has a Core and an Outer Circle(s)" and "the EU is an Orchestra" complete the picture of the EU. Musolff (2004, p. 52 and 153) scrutinizes the speed (tempo) and the unanimity of the EU with a firm core and a periphery. His most recent studies provide a deeper analysis of the metaphor the EU is a (human) body, (Musolff,

2003; 2008), 2003) and the EU is a (human) body with a diseased, dead, non-existent or rotten heart, in the Brexit context (Musolff, 2017).

Other studies on metaphor associated with the EU cover a more limited period of time than the time frame in Musolff's studies and focus other source domains. In the studies of the Czech conception of the European Union conducted by Drulák (Drulák and Königová, 2007; Drulák, 2006; Drulak, 2004), three conceptual metaphors were considered: CONTAINER, EQUILIBRIUM and MOTION. These metaphors embed three different discourses and visions of the European integration. The CONTAINER metaphor implies a state-like entity, clearly differentiated from the outside world, within which there may be a strong actor promoting his own interest. In contrast, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor sees the EU as several containers (its members), The MOTION metaphor captures the unceasing transformation of the European integration (Drulák and Königová, 2007, p. 8). Drulak and Königová's study underlines the influence of context on the metaphorical conceptualization. The use of the three conceptual metaphors associated with the EU is unevenly distributed in the discourse of various Czech public institutions. Czech government officials use the EU mainly as the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor, the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs tend to use the MOTION metaphor and the civil servants incline towards the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor (Drulák and Königová, 2007, p. 19).

The study of Caterina Carta (2014) based on statements made by high-profile EU representatives, the understanding of the international role of the EU (the EU's international role) is structures using three metaphors: Candide – the EU as an idiot power in search of a world garden; Pangloss – the EU as a self-proclaimed garrulous model; and Don Juan – the EU as a global power in its infancy. Candide, Pangloss and Don Juan are metaphors used by the author to stress out the centrality of the EU's subjectivity found in the discursive practices, the EU as a model and the EU as an actor capable of pursuing its goals in a hostile environment.

The metaphors associated with the EU are often analysed in their context and refer to specific issues, such as immigration (Charteris-Black, Britain as a container: immigration metaphors in the 2005 election campaign, 2006), Turkey's candidacy to accede to the EU (Buckingham, 2013), Romanian political discourse about EU (Pricopie, 2014), the perception of multilingualism in the EU (Đurović, 2009), euro crisis (Arrese, 2015).

3. Methodology

In order to identify and map the metaphors associated with the European Union in the economic press of the Republic of Moldova, we used the conceptual metaphors associated with the EU analysed by Andreas Musolff (Musolff, 2008; Musolff, 2004). The table below summarizes both the macrostructures and microstructures for the four conceptual metaphors associated with the EU in public discourse.

Table 1. The EU metaphors in political discourse

Conceptual Metaphors (Macro-structure)	Metaphorical Expressions (Micro-structure)
THE EU IS A FAMILY/ LOVE-	Love, Friendship, Support, Partnership, Engagement, Marriage, Couple, Faith, Fidelity, Adultery/Menage a trois, Separation/ Divorce, Family,
THE EU IS MOVING ALONG A PATH	Parents, Godparents, Father(s), Mother, Child, Brother, Cousins); Journey: Way/ Path, One-way street, Cul-de-sac/ Dead end, Crossroads, Distance Sign, Access, Obstacle, Speed (Fast, slow, two/multi speed), Timetable, Ticket, Journey (Train, Maritime, Car, Bicycle), Air/Space Travel, Volume (Tankage);
THE EU IS A (HUMAN) BODY	Life, Birth/ Baby, Adulthood, Death, Disease, Fever, Poison, Cure/ Therapy/ Care, Recovery, Healthy, Body Part (<i>Heart, Muscle, Arteries, Liver, Gall Bladder, Head</i>);
THE EU IS A BUILDING	Architecture/ Architect, Blueprint, Building site (Abandoned), Foundation(s), Building material, Pillar, Walls, Building, House (Common European), Door/ Backdoor/ Gate/ Gatekeeper, Window (to Europe), Roof, Gable, Home, Room(s), Balcony, Cellar, Refuse dump, Yard, Garden/ Allotment, Caretaker, Furniture, Tenancy (right of) – Tenant/Landlord/Rent;

Source: Musolff, A. (2004) - Metaphor and political discourse. Analogical reasoning in debates about Europe

For this study, we selected the most important newspapers and economic magazines available online based on data provided by BATI (Bureau for Auditing the Circulation and the Internet Audience of the Republic of Moldova), According to the data presented on this website, economic news in Romanian language could be found only in specific sections of general newspapers. In fact, there is no economic magazine in Romanian language. After browsing the main newspapers and magazines, we selected the online website called noi.md as it had more than 150000 real users and allowed the downloading of articles. Based on data provided by BATI, there are two economic magazines in Russian language available online, Business Class and the Economic Review

(Экономическое обозрение), These two magazines were the only ones that contained articles covering a wide range of economic topics, including the relations with the European Union, compared to other newspapers and magazines that had only advertisements and local news. We included these two magazines into our corpus although the data on their real users were not available on the BATI website, the monitored period was between January 1, 2015 and April 30, 2016.

In order to select the corpus of articles to be included in the study, we first searched the articles that included references to the European Union. For this purpose, we used the search browsers of the three websites (the economic section of noi.md website, businessclass.md and logos.press.md) to search the following key words: European Union, Europe, EU and Euro. After this search, we first downloaded the articles containing the key words and then built two corpuses of articles, one in Romanian language made of 40256 words and another one in Russian language composed of 21990 words.

In the process of identifying the metaphorical expressions associated with the EU and in the mapping, we used the conceptual metaphors associated with the EU analysed by Andreas Musolff (Musolff, 2004; 2008) and the procedure summarized by Cristián Santibánez (2010, p. 978),

Example:

- a. Obtaining linguistic expressions for target domain "Moldova poate întreține relații comerciale libere cu EU și Comunitatea Statelor Independente", "EU nu poate accepta două regimuri comerciale într-o singură țară", "EU sprijină reforma în sănătate prin diferite modalități", "EU este extrem de îngrijorată de scandalul bancar din Moldova" etc. "Moldova may maintain free trade relations with the EU and the Community of Independent States", "The EU cannot accept two trade systems in one country", "The EU supports the health reform through different methods", The EU is extremely worried about the banking scandals in Moldova", etc.
- b. Distinguishing conceptual source domains Family or Love-Relationship.
- c. Naming the conceptual metaphor contained EU is Family/ Love-Relationship.
- d. Describing the situational logic of the source domain— the adultery or multiple relations are perceived differently by the involved audiences; what is normal and desirable for one party may be inacceptable for another; the provided support is questioned when the agreed rules are violate.
- e. Characterizing aspects of the source domain –Family or Love-Relationship require loyalty and complying with the mutually agreed rules.
- f. Putting forward correspondences or mappings between the domains–Moldova and the EU have to walk the road along which the evidence of compliance with the principles and rules of

coexistence and cooperation agreed in the signed agreements will determine the nature of the relationship in which they will engage in the long run. The identification of the metaphorical expressions and their mapping was first made individually by each researcher. The individual results were then checked, compared and adjusted during several joint meetings. The next section describes the results.

4. Results

Based on the analysis of the two corpuses mentioned above, we have identified 326 metaphorical expressions associated with the EU, 223 in the Romanian language corpus and 103 in the Russian language corpus. Even if the ratio of the two analysed corpuses in terms of size is two to one (40256 words and 223 metaphors in Romanian language versus 21990 and 103 metaphors in Russian language), the percentage distribution of metaphorical expressions associated with the EU in terms of conceptual metaphors provides several important ideas.

Table 2. The Distribution of conceptual metaphors for the EU in the analysed corpus

	Rom	anian	Ru	ssian	Total Corpus	
Conceptual Metaphors for EU	Co	rpus	Co	rpus		
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY	143	64.1%	45	43.7%	188	57.7%
WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED	69	30.9%	36	35.0%	105	32.2%
LIFE-BODY-HEALTH	2	0.9%	4	3.9%	6	1.8%
ARCHITECTURE-HOUSE-BUILDING	5	2.2%	3	2.9%	8	2.5%
THE EU IS AT WAR	3	1.3%	11	10.7%	14	4.3%
THE EU HAS A CORE AND OUTER CIRCLE(S)		0.0%	2	1.9%	2	0.6%
OTHERS	1	0.4%	2	1.9%	3	0.9%
TOTAL	223	100%	103	100%	326	100%

First, according to data presented in Table 2, in the corpus of economic press in Moldova, the EU is a Family/ Love-Relationship and the EU is Moving Along a Path are the preferred conceptual metaphors. The Moldovan general press takes over and debates the public statements of the EU, national and the CIS leaders in which the source domains, such as Life-Body-Health, Architecture-House-Building, War or Core and Outer Circle(s) are easy to identify as in the examples a, b, c and d below.

- a. "Şeful comisiei europene a vorbit despre frica care domneşte în UE" (noi.md, 22 iulie 2015),
 "The Head of the European Commission discussed about the fear prevailing in the European Union".
 - "Если европейцы будут лишь ссылаться на высокую мантру более тесного союза, то их учреждения атрофируются". "If Europeans will only preach the elevated mantra of a "closer union", their institutions may become atrophied". (Economic Review, June, 2015)
- b. "Misiunea EU la Chișinău a fost "fortificată" cu cosilieri noi: în domeniul băncilor, finanțelor și luptei cu corupția" (noi.md, 18 august 2015), "The EU Mission in Chișinău was fortified with new counselors: in the area of banking, finance and fight against corruption"
- c. "Poziția mai conciliantă a UE față de Transnistria, probabil, se explică prin nedorința de a intra în conflict cu Rusia din cauza blocadei exporturilor din această regiune în Uniunea Europeană" (noi.md, 13 aprilie 2016) "В прошлом году европейская паника сопровождалась историей с Грецией, в этом году основной удар принимают на себя банки". "Last year, the European panic went hand in hand with the story of Greece, this year the banks have taken the main blow." (Business Class, April 2016)
- d. "Даже если она сохранит свое членство в EC, Великобритания будет продолжать неуклонно двигаться дальше от Европы"
 - "Even if it retains its membership in the EU, the UK will continue to steadily move away from Europe" (Economic Review, 2015)

In the corpus of Moldovan economic press selected for this study, the four source domains appear only sporadically and it is not accidental. Moldova still has to consolidate many required aspects in the process of the pre-accession negotiation. The EU-Moldova Association Agreement fully entered into force in July 2016, so it is still far from its embodiment into the EU lacking the availability to intervene significantly in the EU's construction (and deconstruction), it is situated in the OUTER CIRCLE(S) of Europe, with areas of painfully close conflicts. Therefore, it is natural that the analogies in these four source domains should be unreachable in the Moldovan economic press.

Instead, the image of the EU in this corpus is rooted mainly in the concept of Family or Moving Along a Path. In Europe, where all European nations are the children of one family, and the plans for an EU-enlargement may be viewed as a coming home of the lost children into the fold of the family (Musolff, 2004, p. 16 and 17), the status of Moldova as a lost child has a special connotation. Moldova is still Europe's lost child but also a child disputed by the two parental authorities, and, therefore still confused on which way to go.

"Возможность предоставлена, но никто с распростертыми объятиями в Европе нас не ждет.", s"The opportunity is provided but no one in Europe is waiting for us with open arms." (Business Class, March 2015)

"Comisarul european a confirmat că autoritățile Uniunii Europene sînt predispuse să sprijine Moldova și în continuare în înlăturarea dificultăților cauzate de restricțiile venite din partea Rusiei și în modernizarea sectorului agricol." (noi.md, 17 ianuarie 2015), "The European Commissioner has confirmed that the leaders of the European Union are prone to further support Modova in overcoming the restrictions imposed by Russia and in modernizing its agriculture."

"Moldova poate întreține relații comerciale libere cu EU și Comunitatea Statelor Independente" (noi.md, 28 aprilie 2015), "Moldova can maintain free trade relations with the EU and the Commonwealth of Independent States"

Often, the metaphorical expressions subsumed under the conceptual metaphor Way-Movement-Speed appear in the larger context of the relations between the EU and Moldova. The EU is presented playing the role of a parental authority as a Strict Parent or as a Nurturant Parent (Musolff, 2004) and Moldova appears as a Child, a child who is helped and closely watched in choosing its way and staying on it (or on the path) at standards and pace set by the EU agreements.

"Delegația UE în Moldova menționează că participarea Moldovei în Programul ENPARD denotă atenția permanentă a Uniunii Europene pentru dezvoltarea relațiilor de parteneriat cu RM pe calea acordării asistenței în dezvoltarea și modernizarea țării, inclusiv a sectorului agricol și localităților rurale. Principalul scop al extinderii parteneriatului UE și Moldovei este apropierea RM către standardele UE." (noi.md, 26 martie 2015),

"The EU delegation in Moldova mentions that the participation of Moldova in the ENPARD Program shows the constant concern of the European Union for developing the partnership relations with the RM by providing assistance and modernizing the country, including its agriculture and rural communities. The main aim of the EU-Moldova Partnership enlargement is bringing Moldova closer to the EU standards."

"Tapiola: UE este dispusă să ajute, dar Moldova trebuie să treacă de la teorie la practică." (noi.md, 22 decembrie 2015),

"Tapiola: The EU is willing to help but Moldova has to move from theory to practice."

The second issue shown in Table 2 concerns the differences between the corpus in Romanian and Russian languages. The Corpus in Romanian language, the discourse focuses on EU's image in the Family Scenario (64,1% of the metaphorical expressions), The source domain Way-Movement-Speed is found in 30.9% of metaphorical expressions in the Romanian language and reflects the

opportunities and challenges accompanying putting on stage the Family Scenario of the EU and Moldova. On the other hand, in the corpus in Russian language, the metaphorical expressions associated with the EU are more shaded. The EU in the Family Scenario covers 43.7% of the identified metaphorical expressions, while the conceptual metaphor Eu Is Moving Along a Path covers appears in 35.0% of the metaphors. The distinction is made by the 10.7% of the expressions in Russian illustrating the EU target source with the source domain War. The EU as a newcomer on the agreements' setting of Moldova, a post-Soviet country is presented as a competitor potentially entering into a conflict potential with the old international relations setting of Moldova.

"Обеим сторонам нужно искать выход; но Запад, хотя и вышел с победой из Холодной войны, похоже, не только проиграл мир, но и находится на пороге нового раскола Европы."

Both sides need to find a way out; but although the West won the Cold war, it seems not only to have lost the Peace but is even on the verge of a new Schism in Europe (Economic Review, September 2015).

Table 3 shows positive, negative or neutral framing of the metaphorical expressions associated with the conceptual metaphors EU is a Family/ Love-Relationship and EU is Moving Along a Path.

Table 3. Positive, negative or neutral framing of EU conceptual metaphors

Conceptual metaphor	framing	Romanian Corpus	Russian Corpus	Total Corpus
	positive	79%	69%	77%
LOVE - MARRIAGE –	negative	10%	22%	13%
FAMILY	neutral	3%	9%	5%
	positive & negative	8%		6%
TOTAL		100%	100%	100%
	positive	80%	56%	71%
WAY MOVEMENT	negative	14%	25%	18%
WAY - MOVEMENT – SPEED	neutral	3%	19%	9%
	positive & negative	3%		2%
TOTAL		100%	100%	100%

Both corpuses present mainly positively the EU and the path of its relationships with Moldova. In the corpus in Romanian language, the metaphorical framing of EU is positive in 80% of the cases. Again, in the corpus in Russian language, the EU framing in terms of positive or negative is more shaded. The family scenario is mainly positively framed in both corpuses and the EU and the Moldova's Moving Along a Path is questioned mainly in the corpus in Russian. Also, this corpus

presents more clearly the position of Moldova in the OUTER CIRCLE(S) compared to countries in the CORE area of the EU.

"Отмечается, что самые дорогие и самые дешевые страны континента в Евросоюз не входят."

"It has been noted that the most expensive and the poorest countries on the continent are not part of the EU" (Business Class, June 2015)

In the corpus in the Romanian language, the image of the EU, as the parental authority in addition to that of the EU as a partner, is presented positively and sometimes neutrally and the analogies with adultery, ménage a trois, separation, divorce—are included into the expressions showing the threats to the relations between the EU and Moldova. In the Russian language corpus, more often appear metaphorical expressions supporting the status of Moldova as the partner of the EU without conferring to the EU the parental authority and the analogies, such as Engagement (no Marriage) and Separation are framed positively and negatively.

Conclusions

From the perspective of strengthening the bilateral relations of the EU and Moldova, the results of this study provide an optimistic view on the dominant attitudes towards the European integration and its appeal to the readers of economic press in Moldova. These results indicate that conceptual metaphors associated to the EU in the analysed corpus allow for considerable variation in the conceptualization of the European Union, the main framing being positive. Characteristic patterns of distribution of the two main scenarios EU is a Family/ Love - Relationship and the EU is Moving Along a Path and the use of source domain War for EU indicate attitudinal differences between the two studied corpora.

The results of the study cannot be generalized for the entire economic press of Moldova. The limitations of the study are due to the size of the corpus, the period of time covered by the corpus and the inherent subjectivity accompanying the process of identifying and mapping metaphorical expressions. Considering that little research was done on the EU metaphors used by the press in the Republic of Moldova, more contributions are expected to be developed and further research should be done. Further testing of the findings is worth exploring in different contexts and in comparative studies.

If we go back to metaphors as representations of ways in which people reveal, develop and extend their thoughts, the results of the study may be interpreted as an invitation to engage into a

deeper dialogue or public debate on the relations between the EU and Moldova. Exploring and incorporating a variety of source domains for the EU target source may be the expression of a more in-depth and shaded understanding of the (still) abstract EU.

On the other hand, the EU in the Family Scenario, with all European nations animated by hope and engaged into the EU-enlargement plans, is negatively coloured in 2017 in the Core of Europe. In the heart of Europe, the rhetoric in the public space and the general moral are dominated by the metaphor the EU is a (human) body with a diseased, dead, non-existent or rotten heart (Musolff, 2017), Brexit, the identity crisis and the crisis of migrants are just a few issues undermining the positive attitudes positive towards the EU and its enlargement. But in the OUTER CIRCLE(S) peripheral areas of Europe, trust for the EU and the perspectives of enlargement remain optimistic.

In the EU report presented on 13 March 2017 in Brussels by the European External Action Service and the European Commission ahead of the EU-Moldova Association Council on 31 March 2017, the High Representative/ Vice-President, Federica Mogherini said "The European Union and the Republic of Moldova have a strong relationship, reinforced through our joint Association Agreement that entered into force nine months ago" (European Commission, 2017).

The crises faced by the EU are seen differently at the periphery of Europe in the period analysed by this corpus, January 2015 – April 2016. In 2017, EU-Moldova Association Council reaffirmed on 31 March 2017 their commitment to the process of political association and economic integration. For the countries of the outer circle, the EU maintains its role of an extended family and a landmark for the paths to be crossed.

If new metaphors have the power to create a new reality (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), we could ask ourselves how do we enrich the EU metaphors as to enable them to build the EU with more meaning also for the Europeans and not just for ourselves.

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The spirit of the constitution. The institutionalized unsociability in Greece

Savvas MAVRIDIS*

Abstract

With this article attempts a comparison of the Greek Constitution of 1975, the constitutions of Germany, USA, Switzerland, Austria, France, UK and Italy on the issue of property relations and general interest, in order to highlight those notified differences relating to these communities and resulted in specific social situations. While the constitutions of the other countries, which are among the most representative democracies of the Western world, are characterized by an increased institutionalization of sociability, the Greek constitution on the issue of general interest takes an antisocial and, at best, neutral attitude. The convergence of the Greek constitution on this issue with the other constitutions is considered a prerequisite for overcoming the crisis and, more generally, for social development. This little effort hopes to contribute to a more social future formulation of the Greek constitution and a corresponding behaviour of Greek society.

Keywords: Constitution, property, well-being, society, capital flight

Introduction

In his monumental work The Spirit of the Laws (1748) Charles-Louis Montesquieu, suggested that laws should reflect reason (logic) and be adjusted accordingly to each society's needs. Montesquieu tried to classify the various phenomena and to extract historical determinism. This article attempts to compare the Greek Constitution of 1975, with the constitutions of Germany, USA, Switzerland, Austria, France, UK and Italy on the issue of property relations and general interest, in order to highlight the differences relating to those societies and result in specific social situations.

The term "syntagma" (Constitution) was introduced in Modern Greek legal and political terminology by the pioneer of Greek Enlightenment Adamantios Korais (Smyrna, 27 April 1748 – Paris, 6 April 1833) who rendered thus the French term constitute (Droulia, 1997, p. 260) The beginnings of this term are traced back to Aristotle who studied 158 treatises peripoliteion among which only *The Constitution of Athens* has survived according to Diogenes Laertius (Nikoloudis, 1993, pp. 17-22). In more recent era the term "constitution" is found in the Anglo-Saxon world and specifically in the revolution of 1640 (Tomkins, 2005, p. 67). In his classic work The Spirit of the Laws, Charles-Louis Montesquieu (1689 – 1755) maintains that laws are shaped according to the necessities of societies and introduced the concept of the separation of powers to legislative, executive

^{*} Alexander Technological Educational Institute of Thessaloniki, e-mail: mavridissavvas@gmail.com

and judicial. Laws must take into consideration the structure of each society and serve the general welfare while securing liberty (Montesquieu, 1748, Chapter 3). Korais was a staunch supporter of Montesquieu's ideas (Kitromilidis, 2010, p. 219). Georg Jellinek, the famous Austrian constitution expert maintains that even though in most contemporary states the constitution contains the fundamental regulations of law, those do not meet with wide acceptance unless they are enforced by the state authorities. He attributes to this fact the failure of the French Revolution of 1789 and of the German one in 1848 (Schulz, 2004, p. 193).

This article attempts to compare the Greek "economic constitution" of 1975 with the corresponding ones of Germany, USA, Switzerland, Austria, France, United Kingdom and Italy. PavlosBakoyiannis, who was murdered on 26 September 1989 by the terrorist organization 17November, wrote the following about the socio-political conditions of the period in which the 1975 constitution was written: "The demand for renewal was in conflict with the fact that the way the political change took place brought forth the same persons who had led parliamentarism to a crisis before 1967. Along with these persons the ideas of that period re-introduced and found expression in the Constitution of 1975 (Bakoyiannis, 1977, p. 299).

Panayiotis Pikramenos, Prime minister (2012) and former president of the Council of State, remarked the following about the Constitution of 1975: K. Karamanlis believed that Greece needed a Constitution of parliamentary democracy which would empower the executive power without limiting the responsibility of the government before the members of parliament. What actually resulted was a "Greek Constitution", a liberal constitution adjusted to the special conditions of the country, with a definite character of a social state. K. Tsatsos, who was the president of the Constitutional Committee, was elected President of the Republic as soon as the Constitution was approved (Pikramenos, 2013).

The Constitution was drafted and voted in without broaching the distinction of powers, but not that of persons. Mr. Pikramenos makes the following comments about its content: It contained, however, redundant regulations, proclamations and vague details which should not be encountered in a brief and succinct text of a Constitution. It underwent revisions which burdened it even more and overturned its equilibrium. Above all, though, it was not always applied in the best possible way. Concerning the role of the 1975 Constitution, P. Dimitrokallis, an ex-member of parliament with the New Democracy party, points out the vast difference that existed between what it appeared to be and what it actually was. As far as the operation of our political is concerned, it adopted the conclusions of poll conducted by the Institute of Strategic and Developmental Studies "Andreas Papandreou". According to that poll 60.3% of the citizens believe our republic is in crisis. 22.5 % consider "big

business" as the institution with the greater power, while delegating 5.2 % to the Parliament. Furthermore, they consider the Army and the Church as the most attractive institutions and reserve the 14th position of the Greek Parliament, approximately the same place as... the telephone and the electricity company (Dimitrokallis, 2001 p. 16).

2. Explanation of the concept of general interest in the constitutional texts.

Let us discuss now the relation between private property and general interest as it is presented in the 1975 Constitution as well as in constitutions of other countries because without comparison we cannot arrive unreliable conclusions. That is the reason Aristotle studied the systems of government of many city states as he mentions in his works: Politics, Nicomachean Ethics, and The Constitution of Athens. Similarly Montesquieu examined the political systems of England, Rome, Naples, Tyrol and Holland (Holz and Götzl, p. 363).

Article 17.1 of the 1975 Greek Constitution states the following: Property is under the protection of the state, but the rights deriving from it may not be exercised to the detriment of the general interest. The academic explanation of the term general interest stands as follows: "The Constitution does not anticipate a general provision in favour of public rights above, beyond and independent of the individual and personal rights of all, in front of which the fundamental rights of the citizens should surrender. The constituent law maker perceives the public right as the general interest, that is as the composition of the interest of the bearers of constitutional rights. This notion of the constituent law maker is absolutely correct (Dimitropoulos, 2004, p. 71). This point of view constitutes a legal and political position as the constituent A. Dimitropoulos teaches Constitutional Law at the University of Athens. Hence, it is his opinion that the general interest does not necessarily prevail over personal interest. Thus on 04 January 2016 there were severe reactions from the side of certain prosecutors against the announcement of the Union of Greek Prosecutors about the use of wrangled products as evidence against tax evaders. The reactions were provoked so that this evidence would not be used against Greek tax evaders who were in the list drafted by Christine Lagarde, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (Papadakou, 2016). Essentially the opinion of the dissenting prosecutors goes along with the academic teachings of the spirit that is promulgated by article 17.1 of the 1975 Constitution.

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¹Article 17.1 of the Greek Constitution in Greek: Η ιδιοκτησία τελεί υπό την προστασία του κράτους, τα δικαιώματα όμως που απορρέουν από αυτήν δεν επιτρέπεται να ασκούνται εις βάρος του γενικού συμφέροντος.

In Article 14.2 the British Constitution provides the following: "This Article does not in any way impair the right to enforce such laws as may be necessary to control the use of property in accordance with the general interest or to secure the payment of taxes or other contributions or penalties." The British Constitution is inexorably strict in protecting the general interest. After the end of WWII in France in the constitutional provision of 1946 the following principle is included among others: "All real estate and all enterprises whose operation has acquired the characteristics of public service or of a monopoly must become property of the community". The spirit of communicality is very intense.

In Italy Article 42 of the Costituzione della republica italiana states: "Private property is recognized and is guaranteed by law which defines the ways of purchase, enjoyment and its limits in order to ensure its social operation and become available to all". "Private property may be expropriated, on the occasions foreseen by the law and be compensated for reasons of general interest"³.

In Germany Article 14.2 of the constitution (Grundgesetz) of 1949 which still valid states: "Owning property entails obligations. Its use should simultaneously serve general interest." The difference is obvious in that the German constitution clearly binds private property to serve general interest while the Greek simply forbids to harm actively the collective interest, but turns a blind eye and a deaf ear to passive harm. In the former the collective prevails over the private, whereas in the latter it is not clear what is in force. Moreover in the relevant German bibliography it is considered a given that private capital is subject to social obligations Furthermore, the socio-philosophical concept of "social obligation" (*Sozialpflichtigkeit*) was developed in relation to Article 14.2; according to this the use of private property is obliged to serve public wellbeing (Lau, 1997).

In Switzerland Article 94 provides as follows: The confederation and the cantons are obliged to uphold the principle of economic freedom. They protect the interests of Swiss economy in its entirety and the private sector contributes to the wellbeing and financial security of the population.⁶

²Préambule de la Constitution du 27 octobre 1946.

³La proprietàprivata è riconosciuta e garantita dalla legge, che ne determina i modi di acquisto, di godi-mento e i limiti allo scopo di assicurare le funzione sociale e di renderlaaccessibile a tutti. La proprietàprivatapuòessere, neicasipreveduti dalla legge, e salvoindennizzo, espropriata per motivi di interessegenerale.

⁴ Eigentum verpflichtet. Sein Gebrauch soll zugleich dem Wohle der Allgemeinheit dienen.

⁵(das Kapitaleigentum der Sozialbindung unterliegt) Scherhorn Gerhard, Ein Plädoyer für die Berücksichtigung ethischer Aspekte bei der Geldanlage. *Orientierungen zur Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftspolitik*, 118 (4/2008), pp.40-46.

⁶Grundsätze der Wirtschaftsordnung1 Bund und Kantone halten sich an den Grundsatz der Wirtschaftsfreiheit. 2 Sie wahren die Interessen der schweizerischen Gesamtwirtschaft und tragen mit der privaten Wirtschaft zur Wohlfahrt und zur wirtschaftlichen Sicherheit der Bevölkerung bei.

As one can perceive the relation between private property and collective interest is characterized by the same spirit in the constitutions of Germany and Switzerland. The spirit or the perception of European constitutions is characterized by a sociality while this provision of the Greek constitution is in discordance with the rest. In real life these societies prosper and set an example for the rest of the world. Therefore, this worldview of their constitutions is a proper one and it should be incorporated in the Greek constitution.

The constitution of the United States of America of 1787 states in Article 1, Section3b: "A regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time [...]"⁷.

This provision of the 1975 Constitution displays which were the real intentions toward society and its effects are still felt today. Reviewing the relevant bibliography, the spirit of Article 17.1 of the 1975 Constitution would belong, in my opinion, in a category which Alfred Muller-Armack established in his work: *The Genealogy of Economic Style* (Müller-Armack, 1941, p. 18). In order to establish this new term, that is *economic style*, Muller-Armack refers to Max Weber and specifically to the changes that religious reformation brought to Europe in his work *The Protestant Ethic* (Weber, 2007). He defines the concept style as follows: The style of a period is the visible unity of expression and stance on various sectors of social life. By extension, he continues, we are talking about the economic style of a period "when the manifestations in the sector of social and economic life reveal similar characteristics. In every period there isn't just one and unique Style, but several less important exist alongside the dominant one".8

3. Economic behaviours or practices

In this article we intend to approach the "economic style" which led to the massive outflow of the savings of Greek citizens abroad and the way the Greek state handled the situation with respect to the spirit of Article 17.1 to the 1975 Constitution.⁹ We will also examine similar phenomena in other countries. Before we come to the facts, let us examine the role of money in contemporary theory of relevant social sciences. Georg Simmel, a theoretician of money and colleague of Max Weber,

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⁷A regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time (Constitution of United States of America of 1787) Article I. Section 3b.

⁸Stil ist ...die in den verschiedenen Lebensgebieten einer Zeit sichtbare Einheit des Ausdrucks und der Haltung. Alfred Müller-Armack, 1941, p.21 Kurz das Geld ist Ausdruck und Mittel der Beziehung der Aufeinander-Angewiesen sein der Menschen, ihre Relativität, die die Befriedigung der Wünsche des einen immer vom anderen wechselseitig abhängen lässt (Müller-Armack, 1941, p. 120)

⁹ The 1952 Constitution in the same Article (17), does not refer at all on the issue of property with regard to general interest except in case s of expropriation.

write in his monumental work The Philosophy of Money (1900). "Briefly, money is an expression and a means of interdependence among people, which allows them always to satisfy their desires while mutually dependent on one another". According to Georg Simmel, those who possess money are obliged to use it taking into consideration the needs of those who belonged to the other side of the function while they were earning it.

Article 17.1 of the 1975 Constitution behaves rather "loosely" toward Simmel's position on property which includes money as well. The dominant "economic style" of our era, as Muller-Armack would say, is characterized by lack of interest toward the rest of the society where money is concerned. How was this regulation expressed in practice?

According to the report of the Bank of Greece the withdrawals of savings in Greece after the beginning of the current crisis was as follows:

Table 1. Outflow of deposits in relation to GDP and public debt in the years 2009 -2014 in billion Euro

Outflow of deposits in	GDP	% Outflow of	Decrease of	Debt in billion	GDP/
billion Euros		deposits/GDP	GDP	Euros	Debt
3.6	233.2	1.54	-2.0	299.7	129.7
24	222.1	10.8	-4.9	329.5	148.3
33	208.5	15.8	-6.5	355.7	170.6
100	193.3	51.7	-7.8	344.6	176.7
53	185.1	28.6	-4.4	347.6	188.4
16	186.5	8.6	+0.7	3493	188.9
J	3.6 24 33 100 53	billion Euros 3.6 233.2 24 222.1 33 208.5 100 193.3 53 185.1	billion Euros deposits/GDP 3.6 233.2 1.54 24 222.1 10.8 33 208.5 15.8 100 193.3 51.7 53 185.1 28.6	billion Euros deposits/GDP GDP 3.6 233.2 1.54 -2.0 24 222.1 10.8 -4.9 33 208.5 15.8 -6.5 100 193.3 51.7 -7.8 53 185.1 28.6 -4.4	billion Euros deposits/GDP GDP Euros 3.6 233.2 1.54 -2.0 299.7 24 222.1 10.8 -4.9 329.5 33 208.5 15.8 -6.5 355.7 100 193.3 51.7 -7.8 344.6 53 185.1 28.6 -4.4 347.6

Source: Bank of Greece, The Yearly Report of the Managing Director of the Bank of Greece for years 2009-2014

Cumulatively, the net outflow from the totality of deposits rose to 111 billion euro (39% of the initial balance of deposits in September 2009) The net outflow of deposits of non-financial enterprises rose to 20 billion euros (52% of the corresponding initial balance) and that of household deposits to 69 billion euros (36%)¹⁰. Specifically, where non-financial enterprises and households are concerned, the net outflow of time deposits rose to 53 billion Euros or 39% whereas the net outflow of one day deposits rose to 35 billion Euros or 36%. That is except for the speculators, Greeks or not, who would multiply their property in case of the collapse of Greek economy, there were some naive persons who believed that by exporting their capital from Greece they would help the country by returning it at some point in the future.

OECD attributes the predicted higher percentage of negative effect of the multiplier in Greek economy than in others to the fact that the Greek one is less open than the others (Barrell *et al.*, 2012 p.75). According to the 2013 report of the Bank of Greece during the period of crisis Greek banks

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¹⁰According to Bank of Greece (2013), p. 140.

were cut off from the international markets. Until June 2012 they suffered an unprecedented outflow of deposits, which represented 1/3 of the base of deposits. In order to withstand these problems, they resorted to short term financing from the Eurosystem in a continuously greater intensity. At the peak of the crisis in June 2012 the amount of this financing came close to 140 billion euros (Bank of Greece, 2013, p. 4). Two years later we read in the following in the report of the Bank of Greece about Currency policy: "[...] at the present phase the outflow of deposits (which came close to 30 billion euros in the period October 2014 – April 2015), concern mostly withdrawals of bank notes from accounts which are eventually hoarded, while there is also capital flight abroad". That is it ignores the negative effect of capital flight on economy, but also the moral obligation of its owners toward those who were the other side of the function while earning it.

By interpreting Article 17.1 of the 1975 Constitution coherently with the above mentioned developments one reaches the conclusion that the spirit of this article fed or allowed these behaviours of certain parts of society. Among these parts of society, we find a large percentage of elected members of parliament of the aforementioned parliamentary period (Makeleio, 2015). The Greek state had never taken any measures to prevent the outflow of deposits abroad, nor had it taken another to bring it back. What economic style characterizes this part of society which disposes great sums of money that it exports abroad? In my opinion the economic style which dominates but is not the only one, is the style of institutionalized unsociability. After these capitals were withdrawn from the Greek banks the government imposed capital controls which allowed withdrawals from accounts not to exceed 420 Euros per week. After the imposition of capital controls the Greek banks needed recapitalization.

The first subject of capital flights in Greece took international dimensions because of the so called Lagarde list. In 2010, the Managing Director of IMF sent to Greece a five-year-old list of 2,062 Greek customers of private bank HSBC which had been stolen by an informer. According to Finance Minister Varoufakis, only 49 customers had been audited until May 2015 and 31.000.000 Euros fines had been imposed (Zeit Online, 2015):

By contrast, in Germany the state acts differently toward its citizens. Hence, recently 150 to 200 inspectors were mobilized in all Germany and arrested 54.300 tax evaders who had deposits in Luxembourg (Handelsblatt, 2015a). The Obama government has filed complaint with the Chinese one because the latter sends agent in the USA to arrest Chinese citizens who have deposits in that country (Levin, 2015).

¹¹ According to the *Monetary Policy 2014-*2015 (Bank of Greece, 2014, p. 5).

Frankel and Rose's report (1996) which concerns developing countries during the period 1971 - 1992 as well as that of Eichengreen *et al.* (1995) which concerns developed countries reach the conclusion that national currencies of certain countries face attacks from international speculator funds which result in the destabilization of national economies. Dornbusch (1987) stresses that the great accumulation of imported consumer goods in Chile during 1979-82 had the same consequences on capital as the flight of capital (Dornbusch, 1987; Tabellini and Alesina, 1996). Especially after the prevalence of globalization, international financial capital intensifies its activity in that direction with greater ease than in the past (Epstein, 2005; Le Quan, 2006; Adekunle, 2011).

The phenomenon of the flight of capital is not observed only in Greece, but also in other countries that were called PIGS. In Greece, however, it is observed much more intensely than in other theoretically or actually comparable countries such as Spain, Portugal and Italy. The chart below shows the tendency of capital flight was already stronger in Greece.

Table 2. Average of capital flight with relation to GNP in PIGS

Countries	World Bank Capital Flight 2009-2011 Averages (% of GDP)	WB 2011 Estimates (% of GDP)	
Portugal	(% of GDF) 7.74%	23.10%	
Italy	-1.81%	-7.44%	
Greece	14.74%	33.23%	
Spain	7.27%	5.80%	

Source: McCaslin, 2013, p. 50

The law, as George Jellinek might say, is not broadly accepted unless is protected by the power of the state. Joachim Poß's ascertainment that Lagarde's list consists of a proof of the Greek state failure, concerning not only SIRIZA administration but all previous administrations too (Handelsblatt, 2015b), makes overbearing the need for change to the Greek state referring not only to the colour, but to its content as well.

Conclusions

Article 17.1 of the 1975 Greek Constitution which states that: "Individual property is under the protection of the state, however, the rights that spring from it cannot be exerted at the expense of general interest" goes against Montesquieu's view which holds in his work "The Spirit of the Laws" that laws are formulated according to the conditions of life and are obliged to serve general well-being. Article 17.1 either went unnoticed by the political discussion in Greece or it was purposely overlooked. The analysis of this Article aims at the creation of a wide discussion which could lead to

its change toward a more socially minded approach de jure and de facto. Hence, this article must change along with the spirit of the Greek Constitution in such a way as to serve the well-being of society, and not simply to forbid actions at the expense of general interest. The reason is that between those two views there is space for misinterpretations and side effects. The flight of so much capital that help foreign economies could help decisively the Greek one, as they ought to, because as Demosthenes stressed: "We need money, for sure, and without money nothing can be done that ought to be done" (Demosthenes, 1981).

Of course, there are many other ways to improve the financial situation, but this choice belongs strictly to the jurisdiction of the Greek government and is not affected by any other authority. It increases the flow of currency in economy without effecting negatively the development of external debt. The productive restructuring of economy and generally the reorganization of society is impossible with such legal provisions and even the constitution itself which indirectly but essentially urges the citizens to institutionalized unsociability instead of social institutionalization which characterizes the constitutions of the countries we saw above and probably no only those.

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Texts of constitutions

Bundesverfassung der Republik Österreich

Bundesverfassung der Schweiz vom 12. September 1848

Constitution of United States of America of 1787

Das Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vom 1949

La Constitution de France du 3 Juin 1958

La Constituzione della Repubblica Italiana

The Constitution of Greece of 1952

The Constitution of Greece of 1975

The constitution of the United Kingdom of 1991 – 2014



Vaslui county in the national context: evolution and effects of mobility of the working age population

Roxana Florina MUNTEANU*

Abstract

The following paper shows the transition from internal to external migration and places Vaslui County into a spatial and time frame from the perspective of population mobility. Moreover, the consequences of the downgrading of internal migration by international migration are subject to the evolution of demographical and social indicators on which there are reflected: birth rate, general fertility, the rate of population growth, the index of demographical aging, because the involvement of the young population and young adult population in international migration led to a numerical decrease of the population with ages between 0-14, from 23,7% in 1990 to 15,0% in 2012, the increase of the majority of the old age population, of 65 years old and more, from 10,3% in 1990 to 15,0% in 2012 and of adult the population, 15-64 years old, from 66% in 1990 to 70% in 2012, according to National Institute of Statistics.

Keywords: labour force, emigration, birth rate, Vaslui County

JEL Classification: E24, J21, J6, O15

Introduction

By analysing these changes from the spatial point of view, one can notice a rapid increase in the volume of emigrants between the census of 2002 and that of the 2011. Moreover, the final or circulatory character of the Romanian emigration shows severe consequences on the demographic processes and loses of the labour force from all economical layers, both nationally, regionally but especially locally. The analysis on county level records, in this case, the various spreading of emigration in the territory thus noticing a concentration of temporary and long-term emigration to the north side (Maramureş, Sălaj and Bistrița-Năsăud Counties) and to the north-east of the country (Iaşi, Suceava, Botoşani, Bacău, Neamţ and Vaslui Counties) in comparison to the counties from the west and north-west of the country which are known to provide temporary emigration.

At national level, the analysis reveals Vaslui County as a region of a fairly strong and locally active internal migration, and recently the population focused towards external migration. According to the analysis of distribution of this phenomenon at territorial level, the role of urban centres in

^{*} Roxana Florina MUNTEANU is PhD Student at Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania, e-mail: roxana_munteanu_florina@yahoo.com.

proving this mobility, where, according to a Population Count in 2002, the presence of migration was mostly noticed in three main local urban towns of Bârlad, Vaslui and Huşi. The official statistics data shows these three urban centres as main providers in international migration of the population from Vaslui County but also the most important places of diffusion of migration towards the rural areas.

In Vaslui County, internal migration was characterized by two features, first by the rural exodus affecting the home villages but also at regional or national level (until 1997 most of the countryside were commuters, about 30%, reaching at present, more than 10% in 2009) and then as a result of the industrial destabilization since 1997 the urban exodus (ADR Nord -Est, 2007-2013, p. 57).

According to its socio-economic status, this region was characterized by multiple transformations in industry and agriculture, lately experiencing an increase in external migration despite differential accessibility to infrastructure, information or services. Also, one can notice that the extension of the external mobility of the Vaslui population followed a progressive route and it went from 0.84% emigrants of the resident population in 2002 (3601 migrants registered in 2002) to 7.02% of emigrants in 2011 (25919 migrants registered in 2011) of which 77.9% are emigrants for a long period of time and only 22% are temporary migrants (Figure 1).

The article captures the domino effect of these migratory movements showing the conditionality between the evolutionary trajectories of internal and external migration and the outcome that has resulted in substantial changes in the demographic structure of population. The migration of the population causes a series of consequences that are visible in the distribution of the total number of the population because demographic indicators tend to decrease.

An important aspect of how the influence of migration on population distribution is also linked with the flows of both genders that are involved. The long-term emigration affects the fertility rate and birth rate in this region because those who are involved represent people at a young age having between 20- 35 years old, which is the most important segment of the labour force and the most reproductive group of this county. These changes are visible with the decline in the birth rate in Vaslui, from 13 ‰ in 2002 to 9.3 ‰ in 2011 and even 8.2 ‰ in 2015, therefore the first demographic imbalance appears resulting in the decrease the school population, young labour losses accelerating demographic aging (ADR Nord -Est, 2007-2013, p. 57).

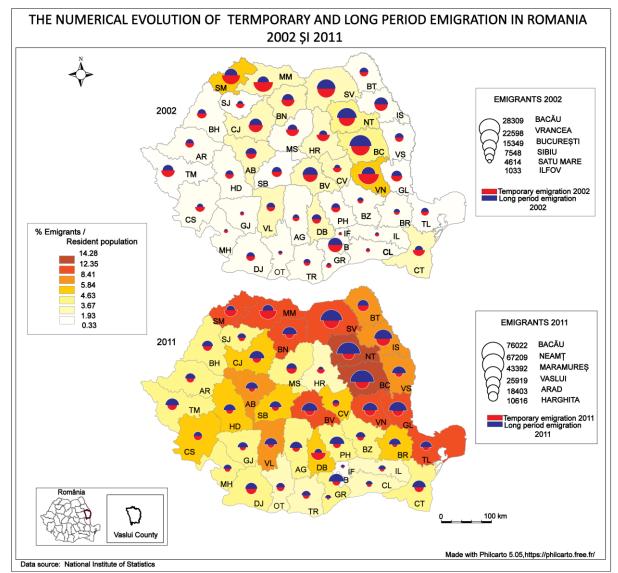


Figure 1. The numerical evolution of temporary and long period emigration in Romania

Source: Own representation

1. The evolution of international migration in Vaslui County between the two censuses of 2002 and 2011

Vaslui County is considered to be a place of a fairly strong and locally active internal migration, and during this last period, directed towards a resetting of the population towards external migration, demonstrating also that the circumstances of everyday life forces the individual to get out of the "sandbox" and cross borders for a better life. In the census of October 2011, the extent of emigration in Vaslui was clearly revealed by the fact that only 15694 inhabitants were confirmed, of which 20195

were away for a long period (almost 5% mostly young), with an additional of 5724 temporary emigrants.

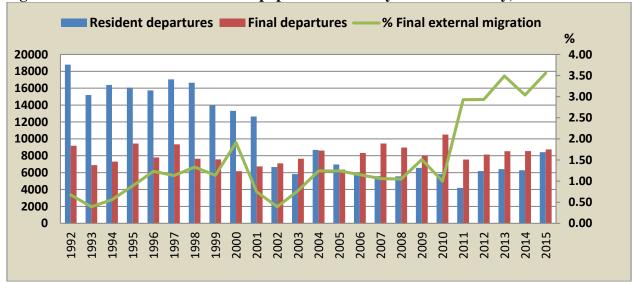


Figure 2. The numerical evolution of population mobility in Vaslui county, 1992 - 2015

Data source: National Institute of Statistics

In this context we compare the evolution of the numbers regarding the population migration between 1992 and 2015 which shows the dominance of resident departures in the last decade of the 90s until 2001 (16th nationally both in 2002 and in 2011) and after that it began to decrease systematically (with a maximum of over 18000 people in the year 1992 and a minimum of 4204 people registered in 2011). The highest number of emigrants was recorded in 2010 when over 10406 people moved, and the minimum in the early 2000s when 6046 people left (Figure 2).

This behaviour concerning external migration was launched after 2002, and this was the moment when emigration exceeded internal migration. If we were to compare, in 2002, 1853 of short term emigrants were registered and 1748 emigrants over a long period, and after 10 years their number tripled on short term emigration reaching to 5724 emigrants and in the case of those who left for an extended period the increase was tenfold reaching to 20195 emigrants.

This increase in external migration continued in the following years when, according to the National Institute of Statistics for the year 2014, 33505 emigrants were recorded, ranking Vaslui among the top 15 counties with an important scale in emigration among the working age population (12th place nationally).

When analysing the distribution at the local level one can see the role played by the urban centres in the event of such mobility, which in early 2002 was dominated by internal temporary

migration and for a long time, but we may notice the presence of emigration, especially in urban areas such as Bârlad, Vaslui (where there is the largest number of migrants), Huşi, Negreşti or rural areas in their neighbourhood (Figure 3).

The propensity towards internal migration is proved by the 8537 migrants registered for a longterm migration and the 5598 migrants for short term. If we analyse the numerical distribution of migrants from the rural areas, we see that temporary migration is more active in the north and western part of the county than the centre and east of the county since, compared with long term migration occupying several locations in northern and south-eastern county municipalities represented by Fălciu Berezeni and Vetrișoaia.

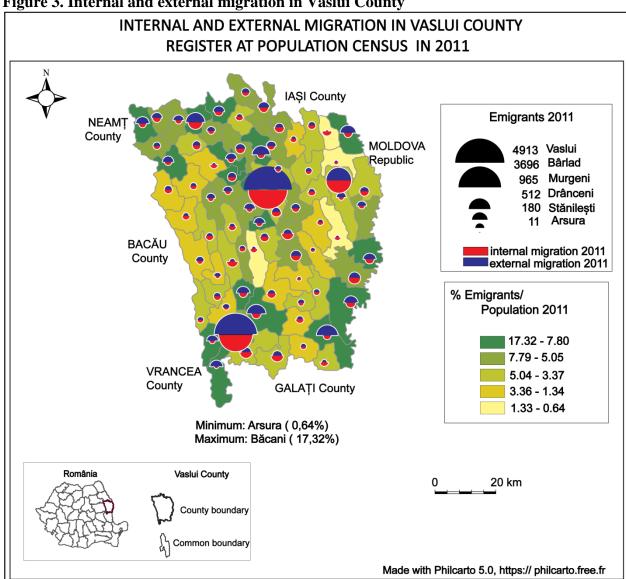


Figure 3. Internal and external migration in Vaslui County

Source: Own representation

Data source: National Institute of Statistics

The situation changed in 2011, and the presence of both types of mobility is becoming more relevant. Then urban areas are the largest providers of migrants, but there is a higher insertion of the rural population in these two forms of mobility in the last decades.

The spatial distribution of migrants highlights the different aspects of the relationship between short term migrants and emigrants and which of the urban centres have lost a significant part of the population of working age.

What should be emphasized in this case takes into account the fairly small distance from the urban centre polarisation represented by Bârlad, Vaslui, Huşi and Negreşti that have an important role in facilitating access to certain information and services. By comparing the two forms of mobility, we see that both internal migration and international migration, either temporarily or for a long time are present in all administrative units in Vaslui, the exception being in the rural areas in the centre of the county and isolated in the localities of south where internal migration is still the main form of mobility chosen by population.

Considering migration over a long period of time we can trace a surprising reversal of the two forms of mobility, exposed by the fact that long term emigration exceeds internal migration registering 20 195 emigrants to 8401 according to 2011 census. The main suppliers for long term emigration are Vaslui that registered 4470 emigrants which represents a rate of over 23% of all migrants in Vaslui County and Bârlad with 3245 migrants respectively 17% of total long-term emigrants, followed by Huṣi, Murgeni and Negreṣti.

Out of the 81 municipalities located in rural areas, 16 municipalities registered a long term internal migration over an emigration for a long period and the remaining 65 municipalities are involved in this new trend of migration, of which only 35 of them stands with over 100 emigrants such as Zorleni (highest number of municipalities that county 601 immigrants) Drănceni (455 migrants) Văleni (412 migrants), Fălciu (386 migrants), Vetrișoaia (335 migrants), Tutova (283 migrants), Berezeni (257 migrants), Ivești (250 migrants), Pungești (240 migrants), Lipov, Rebricea, Ștefan cel Mare, Codăiești (199 migrants), Băcești, Bălteni, Oșești, Munteni, Deleni, Roșiești, etc.

We can identify at the local level certain "hot spots" placed first of all around the residence of the county, which have extended their influence in nearby rural areas, the second area stands in the northwest county, the third represented by the municipalities Fălciu Berezeni and Vetrișoaia alongside Murgeni city, and the fourth in the south, where there is the city of Bârlad. The spatial distribution of these "outbreaks" is explained by the influence of urban centres, the first and main transmitters of migration, but also by the location when it is close to the main roads of regional

significance or in the proximity of another county, especially in the north where we find Iaşi county or in west, Bacău county.

Regarding the population contact with the international labour market it took place much later than other counties in the country, but what is surprising is the speed with which Vaslui went from 0.84% of the resident population of emigrants in 2002 (3601 migrants registered in 2002) to 7.02% of emigrants from stable population in 2011 (25919 migrants registered in 2011) of which 77.9% are emigrants for a long period and only 22% of short period emigrants (Figure 4).

Given the dynamics of international migration in this space we must remember that in countries like Italy and Spain after 2002, permutations regarding residence permits for illegal immigrants occurred, which made this an accessible phenomenon for a lot of people (Dimitriu et. al., 2013, p.110,). We see in 2002 a concentration of emigrants in urban areas and less in the rural areas, unlike the figures recorded in the 2011 census that show an intensification and expansion of this phenomena in all the municipalities in the Vaslui county.

We can see that in the 5 urban settlements, only two municipalities have over 50% of emigrants and the highest number of emigrants is registered in Vaslui (4913 emigrants) followed by Bârlad (3696 emigrants) and Huşi (1320 emigrants) but also cities like Murgeni captures a growing number, the city Negreşti (965 emigrants to 750 emigrants) and among rural areas, Zorleni with 723 emigrants ranks first, followed by Văleni with 631 emigrants and Drănceni with 512 emigrants.

Also, then numerical distribution in the territory clearly highlights the differences between the administrative areas of the county and the Vaslui central area between the north and south of Bârlad which is characterized by the lowest number of emigrants. This can be explained both by the direction taken by the majority of the population to an internal migration, but also by the young population deficit due to lower birth rates.

If we were to compare the share of short-term emigrants and long-term emigrants in 2011, we distinguish more homogeneous groups in the spatial distribution of migration on a temporary period. Although from numerical point of view emigration over a long period is 4 times higher than the short term one, temporary migration has a high occurrence in the northern and western half of the county. In this case the maximum is owned by the city of Bârlad, followed by Vaslui, Huşi, Negreşti and then Murgeni last place, and in the rural area Băcani with 6.08% is in first place.

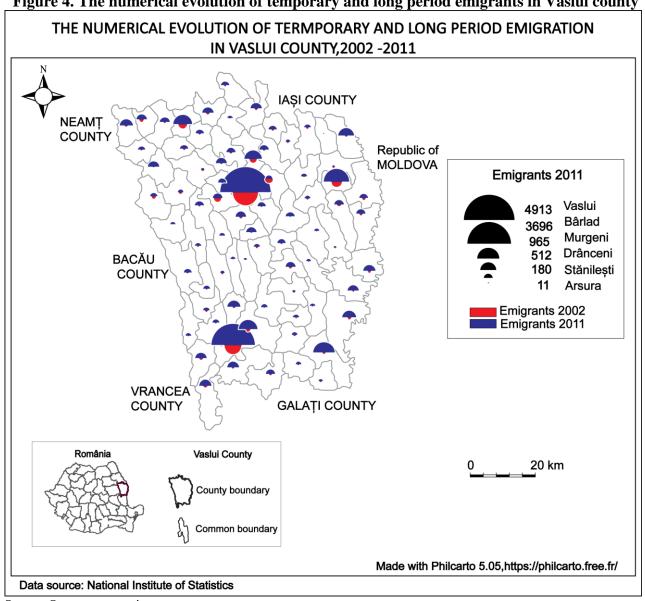


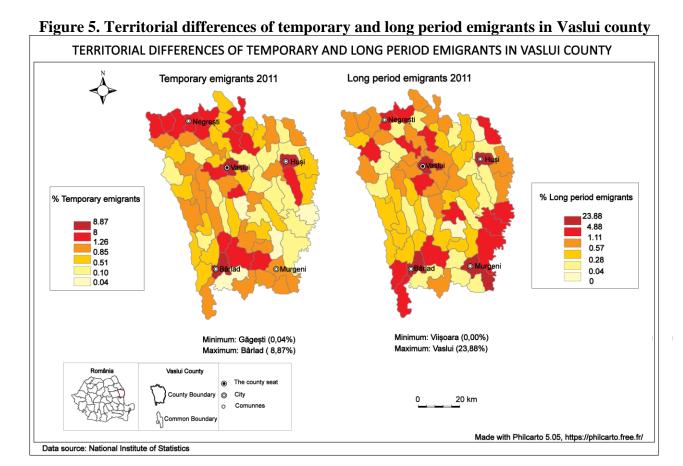
Figure 4. The numerical evolution of temporary and long period emigrants in Vaslui county

Source: Own representation

I must highlight the differences in distribution between these two forms of mobility present in the rural areas where there were 8 villages with under 10 migrants temporarily (Vetrișoaia and Găgești only 2 migrants Temporary each Costești 3 migrants Pogana 9 migrants Tanacu 5 migrants Tătărani 8 migrants Arsura 7 emigrants and Bogdana 8 emigrants), while 3 villages with below 10 migrants (Arsura, Cantemir and Epureni) and one village does not have any migrants a long period (Viisoara) (Figure 3). Unlike temporary emigration, long term emigration is a phenomenon concentrated mainly around the residence of the district, which extends its range of influence from the north to the south in the northwest where the representative is the city Negrești around Bârlad and the river Prut area.

Recent developments in such forms of emigration were truly spectacular in the last period between the censuses, especially among emigrants over an extended period of time. If in 2002 both temporary emigration and emigration for a long period had a similar number of emigrants, respectively, temporary 1853 emigrants and 1748 emigrants over a long period the census in October 2011 showed a significant increase in the number of emigrants about 25919 emigrants. This occurred against a background of increasing economic deficit, helped by changes in the international labour market and spread by ties of kinship, friendship, religious organizations, recruitment organizations or study programs.

Distinguishing between temporary migration, which takes into account those who have emigrated for more than a year, we cannot think that this form of mobility can be converted into a long period exceeding the threshold of one year, which certainly was the case in light of the changes in the number of inhabitants. Although the purpose of these temporary departure was not directed only to search for a job according to the information obtained from the census in October 2011, where nationally over 7000 individuals were studying, 27000 were looking for a job, 58000 left for family reasons, 12000 to 31000 were tourists, we may notice some inconsistency and insincerity of those interviewed proving a weight in determining the precise reason and period of stay abroad.



Source: Own representation

Analysing temporary emigration we notice that the highest number of emigrants is located in urban centres in 2002 with a maximum in the county capital, but the situation changed in 2011 with increases in both the urban centers where the maximum is reached by the city of Bârlad, especially in rural areas where there are nine villages with more than 100 migrants (Zorleni, Băcești, Todirești, Vulturești, Solesti, Deleni, Văleni, Băcani, Pădureni) first Băcani with 309 emigrants (only 8 migrants registered in 2002), the second place with 219 emigrants Văleni (81 emigrants registered in 2002) and the third place with 189 emigrants Pădureni (11 emigrants registered in 2002) (Figure 5).

The relationship between temporary emigration and the resident population was surprizing in 2002 due to minor losses of less than 1% of the resident population in most county municipalities except Tanacu (2.53% in 2335 inhabitants), Văleni (2.31% in 3507 inhabitants) and Laza (1.78% in 4390 inhabitants) where although the number of migrants did not exceed the population, losses were felt due to differences between the number of inhabitants.

In 2011 the loss of population became increasingly significant with only 30 municipalities having less than 1% of the population as emigrants, 34 communes 1% of the population are emigrants, 10 communes with 2% of the population, 2 communes 3% of the population, a common with 4% of the population 3 to 5% of common and 1common with 6% of population. The maximum is recorded in Băcani with a percentage of 14.67% of the population being temporarily abroad (compared to 2002 where he had a share below 1% of immigrant population). What stands out at the local level is that all these communes which was recorded a rate of over 3% of the population being emigrants are connected by access roads (in the northwest Băcești, Todirești and Dumești, south Suletea, Epureni, Blăgești and Mălușteni or west town Băcani, Alexandru Vlahuță, Poienești, Laza).

The evolution of emigration for a long period followed the same route with the temporary emigration in terms of growth, only that the latter experienced a higher intensity, at a rate of 0.40% of the resident population registered as emigrants in 2002 to a 5.47% population are emigrants over a long period in 2011. Within a decade we notice that only in Vaslui, the numbers have grown from 722 emigrants to more than 4 000 immigrants, followed by the city of Bârlad which recorded a total of 271 emigrants, and in October 2011 there were 3245 emigrants (Figure 6). If in 2002 the majority of rural areas were under 100 emigrants and even 8 villages with no emigrants (Blăgeşti, Bogdana, Bogdăniţa, Găgeşti, Hoceni, Pogana, Voineşti and Zapodeni) in 2011 in 34 communes were registered between 100 and 600 emigrants over a long period. Although the two urban centres, Vaslui and Bârlad, combine more than 40% of the total emigrants over a long period in the county and the municipalities in rural area have soared in the number of emigrants such as: Băcani, Drănceni, Iveşti, Munteni, Fălciu, Pungeşti, Zorleni, Văleni and Vetrișoaia.

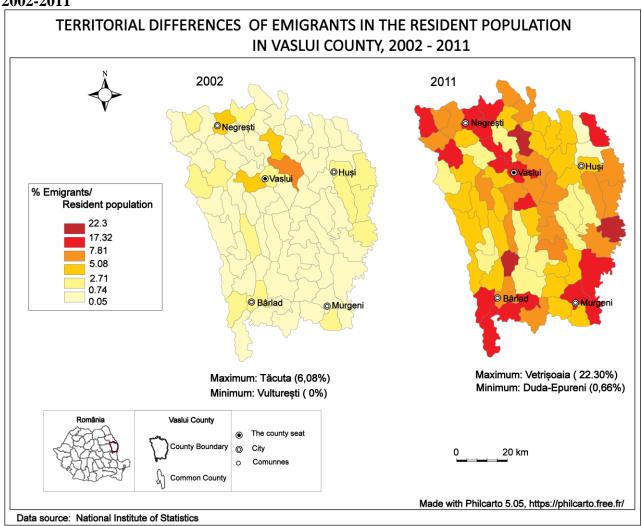


Figure 6. Territorial differences of emigrants in the resident population in Vaslui county, 2002-2011

Source: Own representation

However, differences between these two forms of mobility are visible more in the urban centres and this brings up the question of how many of them come back or transform this type of mobility as a permanent emigration.

So, if you look at the period between 1991 and 2015 we can see that emigration definitely registers a sinuous evolution, with increases and decreases, maintaining itself a long time under 4%. Beginning with 2011 the number of emigrants began to grow steadily every year so far reaching a rate of 8% (2015). Although the proportion of permanent emigration is much lower in this county compared to other counties (ranked 23 in 2015), calculated from 1991 until 2015, about 3904 people chose to emigrate permanently according to statistics. Across the two areas we notice clear differences, in urban areas this emigration form prevails with 3546 migrants while rural areas have lost only 358 people in the period 1991-2015.

The statistical data obtained from the National Statistics Institute show an increase of this form of emigration in urban and rural areas in 2011 with 150 people. The maximum number of permanent emigrants was recorded in 2013 when 482 people chose to settle abroad, and the minimum number was set in 1993 with 27 people (Figure 7). After this maximum was recorded, a small decline was registered in 2014 reaching a total of 409 immigrants, while in rural areas the number of permanent emigrants reached 100 people compared to 50 recorded in 2011, but the number in the urban areas declined rebounding next year when there were 481 permanent emigrants.

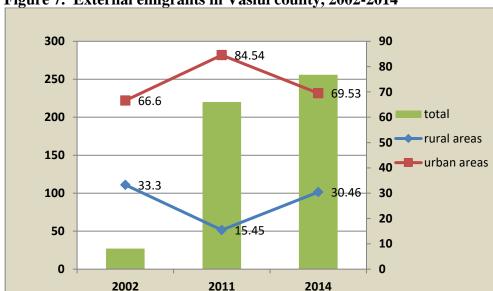


Figure 7. External emigrants in Vaslui county, 2002-2014

Source: Romanian National Institute of Statistics

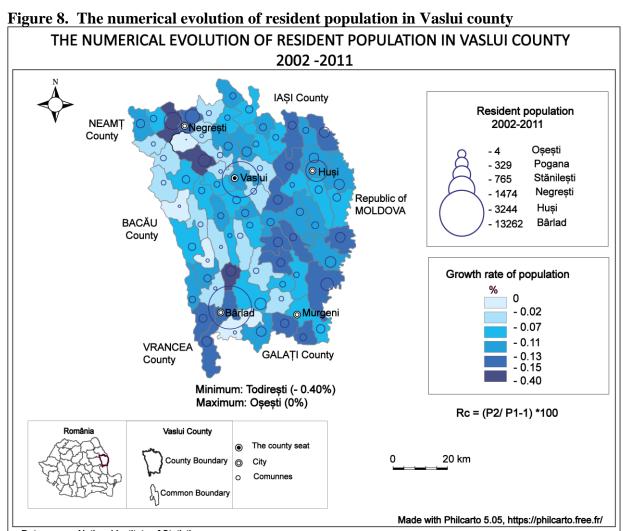
2. Demographic imbalances in the Vaslui population

The quantitative evolution of the population in Vaslui shows that the number of inhabitants decreased in all areas, especially in the last period between censuses, 2002-2011, when the resident population losses were similar to the size of a city about 59550 people (Department of Statistics Vaslui County, 2015).

Comparing these trends to the censuses between 1992 and 2002, we see that the population of the county was subjected to a loss of more than 6325 people, which brings us to the conclusion presented before mentioning the strong and lasting impact of external migration on population. Given the fact that emigrants for a short period of time were included in the residential population it becomes even more difficult to believe that they were in the country at that time or that they will return home. Although the biggest losses are recorded as regards the long-term emigration, Vaslui county has an active and constant internal migration which has been slowly depopulating the territory. In fact, these map representations highlight the cumulative consequences of the demographic indicators and the

extension of the migratory behaviour in this space, which exceeded the individual scale and was transformed into a mass movement leaving behind losses in each community.

Regarding the rate of the population growth between 2002 and 2011, which is still negative in Vaslui county, we see that the greatest losses were recorded in the urban areas, the city of Bârlad taking first place with 13262 people, followed by Vaslui county with 9414 people and Huşi with 3244 people, but in rural areas the losses were significant too, as we see in Todireşti exceeding the total loss of the two cities in the county, Negreşti (1474 people) and Murgeni (-555 persons) with 2 178 people, followed by Fălciu with 1119 people and Delesti with 1084 people. A loss below 100 inhabitants was recorded only in 6 communes of the county that were Vultureşti, Voineşti, Oşeşti (-4 people), Bălteni, Alexandru Vlahuţă and Iana (Figure 8).



Data source: National Institute of Statistics
Source: Own representation

Following the distribution of the population growth rate we can notice that most establishments in the east of the county have rates between -0.11% and -0.15%, comparative with those in the west that are showing rates between 0 and 0.07% explained by their minor losses for emigration In relation to these rates one can notice that the number of residents dropped in most places in the eastern and central county of Vaslui with an average population between 2000 and 3000 people, and this is related both to the changes in the birth rates and the migration population in these areas.

If we correlate this result with the natural growth rate, which refers to the difference between births and deaths per 1000 inhabitants, it is clear that the eastern part of the county is more affected than the west of the county. Urban centres with negative rates in 2002 are Bârlad and Huşi. In the countryside only a few villages in the northwest and centre have a positive rate, the highest being recorded in the village Dragomireşti (133 births to 45 deaths).

The main demographic problem caused by this movement is the declining birth rate and thus the impairing fertility rate of population replacement for generations. From 1990 to 2015 these two demographic indicators showed a downward trend influenced by socio-economic changes experienced by the population of this area. Although it was one of the counties with the highest rates of births nationwide, at present Vaslui has a birth rate of 8.2 ‰ (2015) being 28 nationally ranked alongside Bacău and Vrancea counties (figure 9).

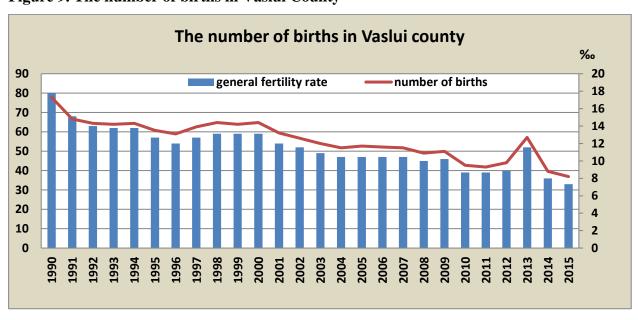


Figure 9. The number of births in Vaslui County

Source: Romanian National Institute of Statistics

The immediate effect of these two changes in the evolution of the demographic indicators which are significant for the age structure of the population in Vaslui county was that shifted to older ages.

This confirms that most of the towns with declines in birth rates have higher figures of the emigrated population.

Conclusions

The local analysis offers a clear vision of the trends of the migration phenomenon and of the emigrant's profile in the two environments of resistance thus being able to explore the spatial, social and economic implications. Moreover, comparing the emigrational structures of the two resistance environments it is shown that the population which is most predisposed to this form of mobility has social particularities and reasons such as emigrational chains, social status, level of education, age which allows us to a better understanding of individual migratory behaviours which take place on the level of the two environments of resistance.

Emigration has had a devastating impact for a long period in Vaslui as it affected places like Berezeni, Fălciu, Vetrișoaia, Bârlad and periphery-urban area to its north county and bordering areas which determined a decrease in the birth rates below 10 ‰ more pronounced than in other areas of the county. As expected in the central and western county where temporary emigration is active, the birth rate decreased to 11 ‰ rate birth (in 2002 here encountering the highest values of birth).

In the new context, the involvement of young male and female in this area brings slippages in the total fertility rate and at national level it has already dropped below, the replacement of population reaching more than 1.3 children per woman (CNPV, 2006, p. 8).

In other words, the changes that occurred as a result of emigration, affected the population structure by gender and age groups in Vaslui county. We cannot establish for sure the extent to which the emigration of the population of the two environments of resistance has irretrievable effects on social-demographical structure of a territory what can be noticed, according to the two population counts and to the sociological inquiry, is that they are directly connected to the period of the emigrants living in the destination country because, the longer they remain abroad, the more difficult the return will be in terms of reintegration as financial aspects have an important role in terms of the average duration of migration.

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A challenge for Europe: meeting the national specifics in disaster and emergency management systems, towards attaining efficiency, resiliency and integration

Luciana Teodora ROTARU*, Sorin VOICESCU**

Abstract

This paper highlights the advantages a more integrated European emergency care and disaster management system would bring in this very divided field of work through the lens of emergency physicians and contributors with a specific focus on the example Romania has to offer in matters of legislation, financing, dispatch centres, education and training of professionals, pre- and in-hospital care and European cooperation mechanisms. At the same time, we share the belief that this desiderate of attaining a certain degree of homogeneity inside the European Union is more likely to be reached by following slightly different paths, according to national specifics of the countries. To sustain this theory, we will bring various examples in our study of such events that already happened and together concurred to prove the above mentioned ideas. We do believe that the dream of a Europe without borders transforms unfortunately into a nightmare when it comes to disasters, which definitely know no borders. Our response to their threat should be standing together in unity and acting in solidarity.

Keywords: European Union, emergency care, disaster management, resiliency, cooperation

Introduction

The current paper aims to analyse a series of emergency and disaster medicine management systems and their congruency inside the European Union, while putting accent on the most worldwide renowned for their performances or simply for the principles that stay at their grounds and inspired other countries to found their own systems following the example they offered.

At the same time, we will strike to bring up solid arguments in favour of our strong belief that, albeit the motto of the European Union *In varietate concordia* (English – United in Diversity) continues to inspire us and remains the symbol that should drive us further together, in terms of emergency and disaster medicine, the progress can only be achieved by building bridges of common knowledge, principles, laws and practice, while, of course, learning all the lessons which diversity has to offer. Therefore, unity should be the stronghold of this particular domain, with palpable results in the future in terms of successful interventions, lives saved and costs spared.

^{*} Luciana Teodora ROTARU is associate professor at University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, e-mail: lucianarotaru@yahoo.com

^{**} Sorin VOICESCU is student at University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, e-mail: sorin.voicescu@yahoo.com

In order to have a better understanding of the domain, it is of utmost importance to present the current state of things with regard to the domain. The European Society for Emergency Medicine offers us a very conclusive definition of emergency medicine, which includes the full spectrum of medical assistance, from prevention to diagnosis and acute treatment, all of this put in a very restrictive time framework and being done both in and out of the hospital. Therefore, we are entitled to affirm the certain degree of complexity and diversity this particular branch of medicine brings along, which can partly explain the various perspectives nations have regarding essential aspects of its organisation. The current status of implementing the 2005/36/EC Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7th September 2005 on the recognition of professional qualifications in the field of emergency medicine 12, which is firmly gaining acceptance among states, is that a number of 20 member states 13 have accepted, in one form or another, this specialty as part of the authorized and recognized qualifications in the field of medical professionals (EC, 2005).

When it comes to defining disaster, the only certain thing is uncertainty. World Health Organization offers us anyway a sort of definition which mark disasters as being "a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society causing widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources" (WHO, 2008a).

Koenig states in the preface of Koenig and Schultz *Disaster Medicine: Comprehensive Principles and Practices* the following:

Conceptually, at the most basic level, we are describing a scenario in which the need exceeds the available resources at a given moment. It is not the event itself that defines a disaster; rather it is the functional effects of that event on the system of reference at the time. For example, if an airplane crashes, is this a disaster? From the perspective of the regional trauma hospital, if everyone is uninjured or if everyone dies, there may be absolutely no effect on hospital

¹ "Emergency medicine is a specialty based on the knowledge and skills required for the prevention, diagnosis and management of urgent and emergency aspects of illness and injury affecting patients of all age groups with a full spectrum of undifferentiated physical and behavioural disorders. It is a specialty in which time is critical. The practice of Emergency Medicine encompasses the pre-hospital and in-hospital triage, resuscitation, initial assessment and management of undifferentiated urgent and emergency cases until discharge or transfer to the care of another physician or health care professional. It also includes involvement in the development of pre-hospital and in-hospital emergency medical systems", European Society for Emergency Medicine, http://eusem.org/about-us/policy-statement/

² "Emergency Medicine is currently recognised as an independent specialty in 18 member states of the European Union (although only 9 are listed in the EU Directive 2005/36/EC) and in two EU countries it exists as a supra-specialty [...]It is thus recommended that all other European countries should work towards the establishment of Emergency Medicine as a primary medical specialty", European Society for Emergency Medicine, http://eusem.org/about-us/policy-statement/

operations, and thus this might not be considered a disaster. From the perspective of the first responders or the mortuary teams, if the crash does generate mass fatalities, baseline operations would likely need to be augmented, and this event would require the implementation of disaster protocols (Koenig and Schultz, 2010).

The question may come naturally. If there is no certain thing to base on, then how can disasters be best approached? The answer may seem to be as simply as -it cannot-. However, while understanding the major problems which are being raised by the complexity of any given intervention to a disaster, from the unicity of the scenario, the irreproducible chain of events and lack of patterns to the high grade of unpredictability and spontaneity, it is our duty to obtain continuous improvement in dealing with disasters and analysing certain events or even simulating different systems' reaction. This is why we will try throughout this study to plead for unity and emphasize at the same time the importance of acting accordingly to a unitary plan of actions. Changing the perspective may prove essential in the future understanding and approaching of disaster intervention in Europe, because if we are going to see ourselves as an orchestra which is singing for life, then we should at least follow the same score

Before the closure of our introduction, we would like to state that, although we present our point of view about the effectiveness a more integrated European system would have on this matter, it remains obvious that we understand the features and hallmarks the member states have and that the emergency systems cannot, at least not in the near future, act by the same rules in all of their parts.

1. Foundation of emergency medicine systems – a brief look back in history

Only a deepened knowledge of the domain, including its history and foundations, can make the deciders of its future more aware of the relevance of the field in current medical practice and, more specifically, of the importance of common laws and practice.

At the end of 1960, the chosen president of the medical staff from the Alexandria Hospital, USA, James Mills Jr. was confronting with a very worrying setback. The emergency department of the hospital he run, registered a hard to manage, 300% increase in the number of patient visits in only a decade. At the same time, the number of medical staff willing to work in the department lowered with more than 50%. Facing all these problems and some failed attempts to restore the functionality, dr. Mills came with the idea of giving entirely up at his general practice and to exclusively focus on emergencies. His choice was followed by a small team of devoted doctors, who together put the basis of what was to be the Alexandria Plan, the launchpad of this revolutionary field of medicine, a new

medical specialty to deal with emergency medical cases. The mentioning of this brief lookback to the foundation of the domain, from our point of view, is important due to its capacity to highlight some makings which we consider to be of utmost importance if we are to succeed in our desideratum towards attaining resiliency through integration at a European level. Disaster medicine systems, as a field where the available resources are exceeded by the 'acute' need, similarly to the case above mentioned, requires innovative measures, openness and close cooperation in order to prove itself efficient and, furthermore, trustworthy.

2. Legal framework for EMS in Europe – current status and future implications

This brief look back into the origins of the domain obliges us to take into consideration the relative youth of the domain, which more or less explains the fact that some countries do not yet have comprehensive legislation or regulations with regard to the structure, functionality and establishment of their emergency systems.

Figure 1. Decade during which EMS legislation was enacted (by EU countries)



Notes: *Croatia and Malta are missing Source: World Health Organization, 2008

As we can clearly observe, a vast majority of EU countries enacted the legislation after 1990 in matters with regard to the financing mechanisms, required training for staff operating in EMS, minimum standards of care and equipment, minimum requirements of qualification and free access for all to in-hospital care (including uninsured & unidentified persons). However, only the latter is guaranteed in all of the EU countries, which constitutes a major advantage, being given the constantly increasing pace of mobility of citizens throughout Europe.

In problems regarding crisis preparedness and disaster management, the EMS is referred to, by most EU Member States' legislation (24), as a major component of the intervention. Anyhow, just mentioning the EMS in the legislation cannot be enough, as other aspects such as the continuous education and training of the staff involved or financing mechanisms are to be clearly convened. In terms of financing, most the States appear to assume that it is the Government's responsibility to

mobilize funds according to the needs that may appear during a certain disaster, with limited or no regulations or direction on certain possible scenarios (WHO, 2008b).

One of the conclusions of the same study conducted by the World Health Organization showed that the field of EMS throughout Europe consists of a large, diverse legislation which directly conducts to different procedures and ways to smooth over the effects of any given disaster. On one hand, it is somehow obvious to see that the most relevant "mitigating" circumstances for all of these happening can be, of course, national history and cultural diversity. But, on the other hand, it is important to take benefit from the relatively short-term development of the legislative systems, which presumably offers them plasticity and openness to improvements, as stated before, and start to commonly work on a real harmonization of these for the benefit of all civil protection mechanisms and finally, for the benefit of the European society in all of its components. (WHO, 2008b)

3. The example the European emergency number in terms of legal coordination between states

A positive example of legislative harmonization is represented by the success of the idea and implementation of a European emergency number – 112 – encountered. The decision of introducing a common emergency number for all members of the European Union emerged with the Council (nr. European) Decision of 29 July 1991 on the introduction of a single European Emergency Call Number no 91/396/EEC. Later on, this decision was reinforced through Directive 98/10/EC and then included in the Universal Service Directive in 2002.

The enactment of 112 was particularly significant having in mind the steady increase of the migration of people in Europe, people who, when confronted with an emergency, should be in complete knowledge of where to ask for guidance or help. The chosen number of 112 was not very widespread at the moment it was voted to become the common emergency number in Europe, as it was being only used by the German fire brigade and the Italian police forces. Knowing this, it is more of a real success the high awareness 112 has through the citizens of Europe, as the numbers encompassed in the Flash Eurobarometer 339 reveal a rate of over 86% percent in six out of seven countries where this is the sole/main emergency number – Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, Denmark, Romania and Portugal- and more than 50% in the majority of states where 112 operates alongside other emergency numbers. The lowest awareness rates were in 2013 in the UK and Greece with less than 2%. (EC, 2012)

Since 2008, the number operates in all Member States of the EU, while in 21 countries an integrated dispatch centre¹⁴ will take over the calls and take decisions. In other 7 countries, security services will take the call, with the noticeable exception of some regions of Germany, where Red Cross is involved in the procedures.

What remains to be noticed is the fact that, although 112 was imposed as a mandatory emergency care number for all Member States, differences continue to exist between countries. However, this is somehow understandable and does not affect the addressability of individuals who can reach the emergency number wherever and whenever, free of charge and free of area code.

4. Raising efficiency through integrated dispatch centres – a path to the future? Romania's example.

In this particular matter, we will stop and discuss the case of Romania to present how dispatch centres are functioning at the moment and to highlight some important aspects of how the system developed throughout the years. We choose to present this particular case of Romania in order to enforce our belief that the road of reaching a better integration in terms of disaster medicine should be paved with the best examples and to demonstrate, that this does not necessarily have to be, at least not in every single aspect, a long, time-consuming process.

Since the implementation in the Romanian legislation of the bill no. 160/2008 regarding the functioning of the National Unique System for Emergency Calls, the system of dispatch centres underwent a serious transformation, reaching the point where, nowadays, integrated emergency dispatch centres are at citizens' disposal. They manage to represent a viable interface, well suited to its purposes and accessible, between the citizen confronted with an emergency situation and the responsible structures. According to the Health Law, the dispatch centre includes all from the security services, fire brigades and medical pre-hospital units at the same place, covering all of the country's surface, 24/7, from 42 DC, one in every county. (Romanian Parliament (2006), Law no. 95/2006 regarding the reform in Health domain)

As we are speaking, Romania represent, alongside with 4 other member states an example of good practice in the domain, having one of the best response time of 3,74 seconds, high accuracy in call detection, and the highest rate of calling 112 during an emergency situation at an impressive 98%

¹⁴ "The integrated dispatch centre is the specialized structure which, besides taking the emergency call, assures the alarm and coordination of intervention teams of all the specialized intervention services, both medical and nonmedical, from the same physical location. The coordination is made by specially trained personnel, having a medical coordinator with superior studies from the Ambulance Service or S.M.U.R.D., in permanent function" (Romanian Government, 2008)¹⁴

(Special Telecommunications Service of Romania, 2016). Raising the awareness of the existence of 112 as unique phone number for emergencies was done mostly using TV stations, and in a far less range using radios, newspapers or public advertising. Important to say that the proportion of interviewed people who admit receiving information at least once is at a peak of 53%, according to Flash Eurobarometer no. 368/2013. Keeping in mind that all of this performance was only attained in less than 10 years (Romania officially joined EU at 1stJanuary 2007), we are perfectly entrusted to affirm that seeking performances in this matter is only a matter of political will, rather than an unsolvable problem (European Commission, 2013).

Based on the existing data with regard to dispatch centres and the course of action between emergency call and reaching emergencies care units, a WHO report to which we submit recommended the foundation of institutions capable of providing quality indicators concerning out-of-hospital EMS, to propose internationally recognized curricula of first aid for first responders such as fire brigades, volunteers and police, an institution which could "pave the way for a common research strategy in the European Union" in the future (WHO, 2008). It is therefore widely acknowledged and commonly accepted that the most efficient course of action would be the development of common strategies for the future, rather than bringing solitary improvements by any region or member state.

5. Education in EMS

Emergency Medicine System is a system which, like any other system, exists through its professionals, whether we speak about physicians, nurses, paramedics or technicians. There was, during the past decades, a big evolution in the understanding of emergency medicine as a critical part of any medical system, which mirrored in the ways education, training and legal framework are now being provided in the interest of empowering the system and reaching better results. Emergency Medicine as a recognized accredited specialty is no longer a dream in most of the European Countries and, moreover, EM has undoubtedly managed to become what some call a global specialty. (Fleischmann and Fulde, 2007). Although there is a certain majority of European Countries which included the specialty in their national board of specialties, for EuSEM remains an important target "to work with the national societies and national governments to make the specialty of emergency medicine become a reality in EACH European countries and with the same level of quality" (Petrino, 2017). This means there is still room for improvements and reaching the same level of quality can only be done, as far as we are concerned, by acting with the same weapons.

In terms of European policy regarding medicine, the European Union recognizes 53 different medical specialties, one of which is Emergency Medicine (EC, 2006). This, however, does not consequently mean a certain uniformity throughout member states, which is clearly to be observed in the manner the specialty developed or is planned to be developed. Education and training in the field of emergency medicine varies widely between states, lack of uniformity is the main finding when confronting data regarding educational programmes. A certain desire and inclination to change is, however, obvious if we are to assess the launch of a common core curriculum establishing the basis for the specialty, which was created so that it would serve as a guide and a standard for all European countries seeking to train future emergency physicians. The main recommendations and directions for this document were primarily set in 2002, but the first meeting of the Task Force of the European Union of Medical Specialists to discuss its content was first held in 2007 in Novara, Italy in the presence of representatives of 17 countries: Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom as members of EU together with Turkey and Switzerland. The final form of the Curriculum was signed during the Fifth European Congress on Emergency Medicine held in Munich in September 2008.

The documents approval was considered to be a huge step forward towards a unitary development of the specialty, as it clearly states, right from the beginning, the status of Emergency Medicine as an independent medical specialty, following the role model of other countries, such as Australia, Canada, Ireland, United Kingdom or USA. In addition, the recommendations were made for a minimal length of five years of postgraduate training, enforcing the guidelines included in the European Doctors Directive from 2006, which pleaded for the same minimal amount of time. (EuSEM, 2009). It is important to note that the existence of such an important document was made possible through common teamwork and multinational cooperation, from within and without EU's borders, underlining once again the importance and effectiveness of working together for uniformity and progress.

Going back to numbers, it is of utmost importance for our study to throw a lookback at where the specialty of emergency medicine caught roots in Europe. Hungary established emergency medicine as an academic branch in 1979 according to a study of WHO, whereas the United Kingdom only in the 1980s, although a certain form of training programme in the field of "Accident and Emergency Medicine" existed since 1977. Seven more countries managed to develop educational programmes in the 1990s, followed by ten more during the 2000s. This steady increase in numbers regarding educational offer can be easily linked with the development of the specialty by itself, but also with the foundation of European organizations, such as EuSEM in 1994, which managed to bring

together more and more countries and, of course, different point of views regarding the matter. By the end of 2009, a number of 19 EU countries recognized EM as a specialty by law, whereas a number of 16 countries included EM courses as a mandatory part of their undergraduate curriculum. At a postgraduate level, specialist education for physicians, but as well, for nurses and paramedics are offered by government, universities or private institutions. In fact, in the matter of training physicians most countries prefer university-based programmes of training (10), while government-based include 6 countries and private only 3. The situation is balanced in the matter of nurses between these three forms of education providers and differs substantially when it comes to paramedics preparation where government-based programmes lead the top of preferences with 9 countries out of 14. The situation of paramedical staff and nurses is even more heterogeneous, as even data gathering could prove a real challenge at the moment, not to speak about reaching a form of standardization in the near future.

Based on all this data put in connection with the actual information regarding the domain, we are right to highlight the remarkable differences in the education systems of the EU, although certain steps were made in the direction of bringing harmony to this sensitive domain. It is a matter of time and political commitment to evolve to similar systems which we think is the key to a more prepared Europe in front of not only disasters, but other casualty incidents as well, where multinational cooperation could prove to be literally life-saving.

Further on our study we will focus on the example the Romanian education system regarding the education professionals in the field of EMS receive, both during undergraduate and postgraduate mandatory educational programmes. We will assess both weak and strength elements of the system itself, hallmarks and points of congruency with other EMS systems around Europe and the way the Romanian example could influence the face of other similar systems.

As we speak, unfortunately we cannot bring proofs of a common perspective about emergency medicine throughout the medical universities in the country. The study programmes during undergraduate degree vary significantly in matters which include principles, objectives, organization, logistics or evaluation methods. These are somehow normal drawbacks if we consider the variable penetration the subject of emergency medicine had in the mental of academic communities, as a result of lack of explanation regarding its purposes or loss of knowledge in matters of cost-benefit analysis.

Nowadays, emergency medicine is being studied as a stand-alone subject in five universities from Craiova, Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca and Galaţi, while in one university students undergo emergency medicine courses during the Anaesthesiology and Intensive Care clerkship (Targu-Mures) and at the Medical University of Timişoara there is a pre-hospital training programme for students offered by the Public Ambulance Service. At another academic centre, there are no emergency

medicine related courses whatsoever. It is however simplistic to perceive as a failure the lack of uniformity which is understandably hard to attain even when we refer to one country, but this is only if we refuse to take into consideration aspects regarding where the domain situated in the past. Generally speaking, we can observe a continuous concern in all academic centres regarding the field of emergency medicine and an increasing trend of inclusion of the specialty in the curriculum, things we consider to be the normal consequence of a gain of experience and human resources in time combined with a slight change of perception between medicine professionals, in a positive manner, towards this medical specialty. A special remark has to be made on the situation from the Medical University of Craiova, where alongside with the mandatory studying of emergency medicine subject in the VIth academic year, all students need to pass a First-Aid Medical Course during the 1st year of study. It was important to mention because it drives us to a consistent question of our study. How much attention should we invest in the future in the field of training professionals, which are the best methods and how can we allure people to this domain, how can we make it attractive for people in search of a career? Of course, the answers are and will be intricate, but what better way to find them than to sit together, all nations of Europe with their own perspective, examples and results and then to act together, as well. If we are to speak about disaster medicine or crisis management regarding medical resources, no course for students is available whatsoever at any of the medical universities in the country.

In the majority of academic centres the practical clerkships in the field of emergency medicine students are offered the possibility of having direct or via group assistants contact with the acute patients. While having in mind this very important aspect for a proper practical education, it is however of same importance, at least in the context of emergency medicine, to gain some kind of customization of the debated casuistry, with the aim of both extending the horizons of knowledge of individuals and obtaining uniformity of the study programmes. This is reachable through an extended use of technological capabilities which can play an important role in simulating different scenarios, mannequins or even the use of trained actors. The effectiveness of direct participation of students at intervention exercises would be interesting to study as well.

Both postgraduate education for doctors and the rigours at which the participants are constrained differ, generally speaking, from a university to another. The aspects which are clearly defined by law and practice itself are the residency in emergency medicine with a length of 5 years, as recommended by the European Union and the certificate of medical training in the field of emergency medical assistance, both pre-hospital and in-hospital, which are directed to the specialists

in domains such as general practitioners or family medicine, who were already acting in the emergency assistance system.

What the above-mentioned information concerning the undergraduate support for medical students in the field of EMS state by itself is that variety is not only an attribute of Europe as a whole, but of countries in particular as well, which makes the idea of attaining a certain degree of uniformity in Europe, at least in terms of common education and training, in the near future not realistic. On the other side, it remains debatable the extent to which uniformity is to be useful and where it has to stop, in order not to restrict future research and development.

6. European Cooperation Mechanism

The dream of a Europe without borders is unfortunately a nightmare when it comes to disasters, which definitely know no borders. This is why, although at first a disaster involves local communities and depends almost exclusively on local resilience, really major incidents will end up in being treated and solved internationally. Preparedness is, from this point of view, of great relevance. During the past decades, history offered the world countless unpleasant events in which international cooperation proved to be vital for the success of interventions. Nonetheless, these are examples from which we need to learn to stand together in front of disasters, especially having things eased up by the existence of the European Union.

Multinational and international cooperation mechanisms in the field of EMS represent an essential pillar when it comes to resilience, preparedness and adaptability of different systems in front of a disaster. Its purposes are mainly directed towards those situations who exceed the capabilities of local, regional or national response mechanisms. The trans-national assistance showed, on countless occasions, its relevance, utility and efficiency and, at times, proved to be an indispensable element of the intervention in cases of disasters. Whether we speak about the immediate period of time after the occurrence of any given catastrophic event or we refer at the aftermath of such an event, international teams offered the necessary support for a convenient result.

As we are to see in the upcoming lines, the adaptability of international aid mechanisms and, in particular, European mechanisms, is a crucial matter in terms of the success of the intervention. One of the keys towards progress and making them more effective could reside in attaining certain common standards and values at a communitary, European level among member states. This would/is primarily and practically (be)/(already) visible in setting EU-controlled institutions in charge with the matter of European aid, capable of deploying resources and unitary recognised. Furthermore, a

common legislation combined with proportionate degrees of involvement of states would be desirable.

As we speak, in the EU works since 2001 the European Civil Protection Mechanism (CPM), under the control of the European Commission (EC). Nowadays, this particular mechanism encompasses all 28 Member States and Iceland, Norway, Serbia, Montenegro, Turkey and FYRO Macedonia. The declared purpose of its existence is that of foster a coordinated assistance among participating states in case of disaster occurrence, both on European and non-European territory, when the aid is asked for by the state in need or at the call of the United Nations or one of its agencies.

A coordinated assistance should include efficiency as a vital matter in situations regarding the dislocation of intervention forces, of costs and time management and, naturally, of acting in a proportionate manner in relation with the amplitude of the disaster and the current needs in its aftermath. Putting into action the resources of one nation could be a harsh, time-consuming process, let alone coordinating the resources of 34 participating states. However, the utility and efficiency such a mechanism brings to the matter is not questionable, if we are to think of it as a main coordinator and a dispatcher of capabilities. Having an exact dimension of all the resources, both human and technical, this group of states can offer, is a major advantage in terms of time management. For the party who asks for support it is obviously more effective to alert one mechanism, instead of having bilateral discussions with 34 different states.

Since its launch in 2001, EuCPM has monitored over 300 worldwide disasters and received over 230 assistance calls. It is noticeable a constant concern towards improvement and development, if we are to think not only about the extension in the number of participating countries, but also in terms of quality, through the creation of new structures for a better monitoring, organisation, analysis and control of events. The number of interventions had known an important increase, from a number of only 8 between 2003 and 2005 to a number of 14 missions in 2016 alone (EC, 2016a).

In addition, EuCPM provides support for the participating states in matters of training professionals, exchange programmes for a better connectivity and teamwork, common, periodic exercises and guidance for the harmonisation of the intervention techniques. The Emergency Response Coordination Centre, which has is headquarters in Brussels, Belgium is the European institution in charge of permanently analysing and monitoring disaster situations, making intervention plans and field deployment of experts, equipment and specialised teams (EC, 2016b).

In 2014, Emergency European Response Capacity was launched which is basically the voluntary fusion of states' resources for the mechanism. It is hereby obtained a sort of centralisation

of data and resources, whether we speak about experts, intervention teams or technical support, with benefic outturn on the final result. (EC, 2916c)

A relevant example of how the system improves by itself after learning practical lessons is the observation of a certain in the lack of medical personnel during the recent Ebola crisis, immediately followed by the establishing of the European Medical Corp, as part of the voluntary fund of resources of the EERC. By this time, 9 states are rated as contributors to this particular corp, which consist of medical emergency teams and public health professionals, advanced medical posts and medical evaluation and coordination experts and logistic support. All medical teams are certified according the World Health Organization standards. Furthermore, EMC is the common contribution of the European Union to the Global Health Emergency Workforce (EC, 2016d).

Conclusions and Future Debates

As we were mentioning right from the introductive part of this paper, a durable and sustainable development in this sensitive domain is a question of sharing, at an European level, a series of common values and ideas, which are to be established through consensus between member states and based on the desire of harnessing the specifics different models, patterns and visions states or regions have, while having in mind the past experiences and the lessons learned.

We strongly believe that, although it is impossible to reach all of the essential points in this paper, a future common strategy in matters of civil protection in case of emergencies and/or disasters should be built around some fundamental pillars. While stating this, we bear in mind the significance of a better integration and increased interconnectivity, long-term sustainability, flexibility and adaptability as starting points of this debate. Assessing the strengths and weaknesses, the opportunities and the threats every national system may have could prove to be a difficult task. However, we are confident that the results of such an effort, combined with reaching common points of interest between member states and a more unitary vision, would exceed the expectations on medium and long term results.

It is perhaps useless to say that an efficient system in terms of lives-saved, costs spared and resources used can only be achieved through attaining adaptability and flexibility in face of the numerous regional or national specifics. It is obvious that we cannot share the same "modus operandi" for regions with, for example, different landforms, but debating between multinational taskforces specialised in only some of the matters could lead to effective results and a similar or even identical structure in terms of intervention protocols and procedures. This standardisation could be of essential

significance in case of a disasters where multinational teams would have to work together. As well, in cases of cross-border mass casualty incidents, having joint teams working by the same rules could prove to be life-saving.

An increase in terms of resilience communities would have in face of emergency and/or disaster situations is undoubtedly the most important attribute that comes into light from our study. Resilience, as the result of a thorough planning, adaptability, interconnectivity and multinational completion of operational, logistics, support or "know-how" needs, should be the aim and the stronghold of our common goals. While reaching resilience, as we have already stated, is most important, the path which will bring us there is significant, too. Sustainability, as key-element of our future common projects, will assure the development and harmonization of the new components in the already functional gear that we nowadays bear.

We completely understand that European policies cannot go from being unthinkable to inevitable without any intervening stage. A certain degree of openness, both financial and professional, combined with a real desire for improvement are vital for attaining our purpose. We therefore plead for the importance flexibility and convergence should and will have as part of the road and as part of the final mechanisms. Only they will drive us to reaching multinational integration.

To sum up, we foresee the evolution of the emergency care and disaster management systems throughout Europe as a matter which, inevitably, will concern and involve every single one of the member states. With more and more hazardous events occurring on the continent or even around the globe, whether we speak about manmade or natural causes, Europe should evolve to a more unitary, ready to intervene system, taking advantage from the existence of the European Union and developing inside its mechanisms a proper, well-suited to modern times system. Of course, we reaffirm the importance national or even regional specifics have and should have in the future in the debate for a more integrated disaster management vision, while at the same time supporting the need for congruency in matters concerning procedures, education of professionals, logistics usage or technical support.

History usually teaches us the best lessons and it is our duty to act accordingly to this saying. If we are to bear in mind the effects and the tremendous problems past unfortunate events brought, events that definitely put a mark on the way we see disaster's before and aftermath, such as hurricane Katrina, Haiti earthquake or even the recent Ebola outbreak, it is mandatory for us to react properly and decisive in the direction of a better integration, as the single and most effective manner to reach a certain level of preparedness.

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