RURAL POPULATION DYNAMICS
IN THE CURVATURE CARPATHIANS

DANIELA VIOLETA NANCU

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Abstract. This over 10,000 km² sector numbers 800,000 inhabitants, 271 villages grouped into 19 communes and urban centres (18 municipia and towns). The greatest habitat potential have the intra-montane depressions which concentrate approximately two-thirds of the villages in the region, most of them medium-sized demographically with 500–2,000 inhabitants each. Urban population represents 59%, rural population 41%. This geographical area has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic and the Musterian (60,000 – 40,000 BC) a period that made the transition to the Neolithic Times. The analysis of the numerical evolution throughout the rural Curvature Carpathians covers one hundred years (1910–2011) and is based on census data. At communal level, the study focusses on two major periods: communist (1966–1989), when the demographic evolution was rather fluctuating and post-communist (1990–2011), when numbers were mostly on the decline. The analysis of population dynamics has focussed largely on major component elements like the natural and territorial movement which are of primary importance in estimating the demographic vitality of any geographical space.

1. OLDNESS AND CONTINUITY OF HABITATION

The Curvature Carpathians and Brașov Depression have been populated from times immemorial. Archaeological research places it in the Palaeolithic and the Mustarian (60,000 – 40,000 BC), that is the period of transition to the Neolithic Age. Similarly, such old habitation is also found in the Buzău–Sîrîu Mountains and Întorsura Buzăului Depression, while discoveries made at Cernat, Covasna, Reci, and Turia (Boian Culture) and at Moașca (Precucuteni Culture) indicate the Late Neolithic phase. Settlements of the Ariaș Culture, contemporaneous with and influenced by the Cucuteni Culture, exist at higher altitudes (at Ciocâ in the Baraolt Mts.) and on promontories (Cernat, Let, Moașca, Sânzieni, and Reci). The Bronze Age (ca. 2,500–1,200 BC) offers more consistent evidence by the discoveries made at Turia, Reci, Zâbala, Sânzieni, Moașca, Peteni, Poian, Albiș, Valea Seacă, and Valea Scurtă; other vestiges lying on Dealul Melcilor (hillside) and at Șchei (Pietrele lui Solomon – Salomon’s Rocks) stand proof to permanent habitation, the development of an ancient civilisation based on sedentary occupations (the cultivation of plants and metal-working) and a stable life-style. The fortified settlements (Hallstatt) at Bodoc and Cernatu de Sus belong to the Dacia, the time when the first Roman castra were erected at Olteni and Hoghiz.

In Daco-Roman Times there were lots of settlements in the area (vestiges exist at Brașov, Hârman, Codlea, Rotbav, Teliu, Sfântu Gheorghe, Baraolt, Cernat, Poian, etc.). The castra at Râșnov (ancient Cumidava), Covasna and Hoghiz (Fig. 1) bespeak of the Roman Period, the discoveries made at Cristian, Feldioara, etc. are dated to the time when the process of formation of the Romanian people was being completed.

In Post-Roman Times (4th cent. A.D.) other populations, the Carpea and the Goths, would settle beside the majority Daco-Romans. This historical reality is sustained by the money hoard at Cernat and the finds at Reci, other vestiges originating from Cernatu de Sus, Dalnic, Pădureni, and Turia.

1 Senior researcher, Human Geography and Regional Development Department, Institute of Geography, Romanian Academy, Dimitrie Racoviță Str., no. 12, 023993, Bucharest, Romania, nancudaniela@yahoo.co

River valleys and natural depressions were places where the Romanian people created its own social-political organizations, the so-called lands (Rom. Ţări), cnezdom and voivodeships, e.g. Țara Bârsei (“Bârsa Land”) sited in the depressionary area around Brașov, inside the Carpathian Curvature at the point where the three Romanian Principalities were intersecting. It is a strongly populated area with numerous settlements mentioned in documents as early as the 12th century. Another relevant case are the settlements and necropolises of the Ipotești–Cândești Culture (6–7th cc A.D.) and Dridu Culture (8–9th cc A.D.) on the territory of Buzău, which made some historians consider it the nucleus of a former pre-state formation: “Buzău Land”. The continuity of settlement of the Romanian population in this space, when the Szecklers were being colonised, (12th cent. A.D.) is attested by numerous pre-historical archaeological finds (Dacian and Roman) at Ivănețu, Nucu, Găvanele, Chiojdu, Merișor, etc. (Geografia României, III, 1987).

A characteristic feature of the Romanian people, transmitted from one generation to the next, is the intimate link with the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, its birth-place, the hearth of its genesis.

The Carpathian Mountains have always been a polarising element for the Romanians, a state-axis in the time of the Dacian kings Burebista and Decebalus, and has continued to be the hardcore of the Romanian people’s unitary development in the hearth of its forefathers.

The Carpathians have been playing a huge part in the life of our people, being a safe shelter-place in times of affliction and, moreover, a source of vital elements: water, wood, animals, salt and metals (also gold).
2. HUMAN CONCENTRATION LEVEL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The Curvature Carpathians cover a vast geographical space (over 10,000 km²), very much populated (about 800,000 inhabitants in 2011), average density: 70 inh./km², total number of rural settlements: 271 villages grouped into 90 communes; urban centres: 18 municipia and towns; 59% of the population live in town and 41% in the countryside.

Looking at the geographical distribution in the region it emerges that most people (61%) occupy the intra-montane depressions (208,000 inh. and 147 villages). The rural population of the mountainous zone numbers to 132,985 people and 124 villages (Fig. 2). The territorial dissemination of villages by demographic size shows depressions to rank first, most villages (27) being large-sized with over 2,000 inhabitants each, compared to the mountain area (11 large settlements) dominated by small and very small settlements (below 500 inh. each). The large country-side communes (31, 4,000–8,000 inh. each, house 47% of the total rural population); medium-sized communes (41, 2,000–4,000 each, total 36% of the population), small communes (14, below 2,000 inh. each, with 6%) and very large communes (4, with 8,000–10,864 inh. each, total 11%) (Fig. 3).

There are two geographical areas in the territory with a high concentration of population and settlements: 1) the depressionary area (Braşov-Prejmer-Râu Negru) in the central-western part of the region and 2) the mountain-Subcarpathian contact area in the south-south-east.

![Fig. 2 – The territorial situation of villages by demographic size (2011).](image)
The main depressionary areas of the Curvature Carpathians have the best natural conditions for habitation (more than 100 villages) having a marked oikonomic character that dominates geographical landscape dynamics. The second human concentration consist of an alignment of contact settlements under the Carpathian “eaves”, grouping 50 villages in a row, the most of them located at the sources of mountain rivers.

3. NUMERICAL EVOLUTION OF THE RURAL POPULATION IN THE 20th CENTURY AND EARLY 21ST CENTURY

The first census of population and settlements (Dec. 19, 1912) showed 310,338 people living in the Curvature Carpathian country-side, and only 340,985 in 2011, which means an overall increase of 30,647 inhabitants in the lapse of one century, basically less than 10 per cent.

Twentieth-century census data give a demographic maximum (382,079) in 1977, which means overall population increase in the first half of that century (1912–1977) by nearly 72,000 people, and a decrease in the second half (1977–2011) by some 58,000 people (see growth rate in Fig. 4).

The multi-annual evolution of the region’s rural population from 1960 to 2011 (Fig. 5) was distinctly different in terms of the political and economic situation and demographic behaviour. Two major periods can be distinguished: 1) the communist period of population growth between 1966 and 1977 due to the state pro-natality policy, followed by stagnation (1977–1984) as the urban industrialization drive in the region used to attract the rural labour force; 2) the post-communist period (after 1989)
marked a decreasing trend (correlated with demographic decline) owing to the negative natural and migratory balance, lowest values being recorded in 2006; between 2007 and 2011 a slight increase being noticed.

The demographic evolution of communes within the lapse of one century (1912–2011) registered pretty large variations both in communes with high growth rates (Vâlcelele, Covasna County +48%; from 2,769 inh. in 1912 to 4,475 inh. in 2011) and in those with a negative score (Plăieșii de Jos – 47%; from 6,372 inh. to 3,033 over the same interval). Increases were recorded in 50 communes, that is 55% of all of the region’s units, and decreases in 40 (45%). Demographic decline in the region’s communes, obvious throughout the studied period, got momentum in the last two decades according to the analysis of population losses and observations in the territory. The findings have shown that in early 21st century (2002–2011) this situation affected twice as many communes (70) compared to the early 20th century (32 from 1912–1930). The overall population deficit of -8,895 inh. in 1912–1930 was four times higher (-41,731 inh.) in 2002–2011.

The natural demographic movement has always been a demographic determinant in the numerical evolution of an area’s population, the main component, natality, playing a major role in demographic planning and geo-demographic policies. Throughout the Curvature Carpathians, birth-rate index values over 1990–2011 showed fluctuations, yet generally falling from 15.4‰ to 11.1‰ (Fig. 6).
As shown on the map (Fig. 7), some communes have a very high birth-rate (over 100%), e.g. Budila, Hărman, Nereju, Sănpetru, Sita Buzăului, which means a twofold increase of population,
others register sharp decreases (-50%), the case of Plăieșii de Jos, Lemnia, Moașa, Părași, Poiaian, etc. There are also communes featuring a downslide trend at each census (1912–2011), suggestive of almost permanent demographic decline. Each census registered growth-rates at Apată, Nereju, Budila, Brăduț, Măneciu and other communes.

Summing up we would say that, according to census data, the numerical evolution of the Curvature Carpathian rural population in the 20th and early 21st centuries had been on the increase until 1977 (2.6% … 7.2%), followed by a decrease (-6% … -9%) to this day.

4. RURAL POPULATION DENSITY

This demographic indicator stands for the population/territory ratio, basically for the distribution of an area’s human capital. Population density components indicate the extent of anthropisation of the geographical space and the area’s human concentration. Analysing the territorial distribution of population density in the Curvature Carpathians implied calculating both average density and area index in order to find out the territory’s capacity to sustain population numbers.

Average or general density, defined as total population number and inhabited area expressed by number of inhabitants per square kilometre and analysed at communal level, designates the distinct distribution of the rural population. The average density of the Curvature Carpathian rural population in the latter half of the 20th century indicates significant and almost steady decrease from 44.8 inh./km\(^2\) in 1977 (the highest value in the studied period) to only 38.6 inh./km\(^2\) in 2011, a value far below national averages (Table 1).

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<tr>
<td>Average density of the rural population in the Curvature Carpathians</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>38.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average density of the rural population in Romania</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>45.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average density of the population in Romania</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>89.6</td>
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Source: National Institute of Statistics.

The average density of population over most of the territory (two-thirds of all communes) was on the decrease both in the communist period (studied over 1966–1992) and in the post-communist period, a situation correlated with demographic decline throughout the Carpathian area after 1990. Significant average decreases (from 30 to 40 inh./km\(^2\)) were recorded at Paltin, Starchiojd, Poiana Mărului, communes with high concentrations of population (over 100 inh./km\(^2\)), average density being in excess of 30 inh./km\(^2\) only at Șinca (from 96 to 131 inh./km\(^2\) between 1992 and 2011).

Density distribution at communal level registered highest values in the west, south-west and south of the region, in Brașov and Prahova counties at: Cristian 170 inh./km\(^2\), Prejmer 154 inh./km\(^2\), Bod 139 inh./km\(^2\), Șinca 131 inh./km\(^2\), Brebu 126 inh./km\(^2\), Șotrițe 115 inh./km\(^2\), etc.

Average rural population density values of 50.1 – 100 inh./km\(^2\) are characteristic of the intramontane depressions of Brașov, Prejmer and Rău Negru and of some communes edging the neighbouring Prahova Subcarpathians (Berta, Ștefești, Izvoarele, Măneciu, Cerașu, and Starchiojd), the Buzău Subcarpathians (Lopătari) and the Vrancea Subcarpathians (Paltin).

Nearly half the other communes have a below average record (39 inh./km\(^2\)), most of them located at the region’s periphery, only 20–50 inh./km\(^2\), Secăria 28 loc./km\(^2\) and Valea Doftanei 23 inh./km\(^2\) in the Gârbova Mts; Mănăștireni 29 inh./km\(^2\), Bisoca 37 inh./km\(^2\), Vintileasca 24 inh./km\(^2\), Nereju 32 inh./km\(^2\) in the Vrancea Mts. (Furu and Zboina Frumoasă); Cernat 34 inh./km\(^2\), Turia 26 inh./km\(^2\) in the Bodoc Mts.; Comana 28 inh./km\(^2\), Hoghiz 29 inh./km\(^2\) in the Șerani Mts. etc.
Lowest densities (7.5–20 inh./km²) are found in mountainous communes (Întorsura Mts.) at Siriu, Gura Teghii, Zagon, Nistorești and Tulnici (Fig. 8).

In the Curvature Carpathians, area index value (2011) shows broad variations per capita (0.6–13.4 ha/inh.). Low values, below the region’s average (under 2.6 ha/inh.) have 60% of the communes, over 10 ha/capita only Nistorești (11.5 ha/inh.) and Gura Teghii (13.4 ha/inh), with 1 ha/inh. in six communes: Cristian, Prejmer 0.6 ha/inh. each, Bod 0.7 ha/inh., Brebu 0.8 ha/inh., Șotrile, and Sânpetru with 0.9 ha/inh. each.

These index values stand proof to the area’s demographic decline. Thus, in 1977, the year with the most numerous population (382,079 inh.), index values were the lowest (2.2 ha/inh.) (Table 2); in 2011, a year with fewest inhabitants, index values were slightly on the increase (up to 2.6 ha/inh.).

Table 2

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<tr>
<td>Carpathian rural population</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural population in Romania</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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Source: National Institute of Statistics.
The relatively low density and area values are specific to areas of demographic decline. However, it appears that demographic bearability in the study area is by far greater than the all-country average.

5. POPULATION DYNAMICS

The general dynamics of the population depends on two major demographic components: natural movement and territorial movement involved in changing demographic behaviour and number. Population dynamics is influenced by the geographical area, in this case the Curvature Carpathians, and accounts for important changes over time in the population system, e.g. numerical demographic structures and people’s state of mind (psychological, material, spiritual, etc.). Natural and territorial movement are generally determining the level of a community’s demographic vitality, the new generation warranting continuity of habitation. Nevertheless, if the two components have long-time negative evolutions, the result could be depopulation.

Rural population dynamics over 1992–2011 indicate demographic decline in 70 communes (Fig. 9), some 60% of them having decrease rates ran between -10% and -50% (-10% in 25% and more than -50%) at Bixad, Miefalău, Malnaş, Comana and from -0.4% at Bogdăneşti and -78% at Malnaş to +0.9 at Turia and +98% at Bod.

After 1990, all of Romania’s regions, the Carpathian Curvature included, registered numerical loses, distinctively different in town and country-side.

In the Curvature Carpathian country-side the number of inhabitants was declining by 10% on average (1990–2011), natural growth in the whole region being for the first time negative (-3‰) in 1993. The mountain area, inhabited only by a rural population had permanently a natural decrease. All in all, over the same period, the Curvature Carpathian rural population dropped by 35,500 inhabitants, mostly at Malnaş (-4,050 inh.), Starchiojd (-3,200 inh.), Tulnici and Comana (by -2,500 inh., and -2,900 inh., respectively).
5.1. The rural population natural movement

Natural movement signifies permanent numerical change of population in any rural or urban community. The difference between birth-and-death-rates is called natural growth or natural demographic balance, its value whether positive or negative, is added to the initial population number.

Evolution of natality in the rural Curvature Carpathians, according to census data: 1977, 20.1‰, and half this value in 2011 (11.1‰), from 7,959 to 3,688 newborns (Table 3).

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<td>Birth-rate (%)</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death-rate (%)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural balance (%)</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>-1.3</td>
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Source: National Institute of Statistics.

Birth-rate decreases in the country-side are the result of a deeply rural economy in the studied settlements, most people working in the towns of Braşov Depression. This would explain the village-to-town migration, hence the depopulation of villages, demographic ageing gaps in population structure.

The highest natality disparities at communal level registered Nereju: 1966 (33.3‰), 1977 (32.6‰) and 1992 (35.2‰), but steep decreases over the following years: 14.9‰ in 2002 and 15.2‰ in 2011, a proof of demographic decline here, due primarily to negative economic factors despite traditional pro-natality behaviour. The same situation after 2000 in many of the region’s communes (Lopătari, Paltin, Păuleşti, and Vintileasca); 1966: the best situation had Soveja Commune, 11.4‰ decreases, but the same downward trend to only 5.2‰ in 2011 (Fig. 10).

Mortality, a demographic component of population natural movement and dynamics, indicates the rate of death. In the Curvature Carpathian rural area mortality values kept increasing up to a maximum of 13.1‰ in 1992, tending to slightly decrease between 2002 (12.8‰) and 2011 (12.3‰). lowest rates were recorded at Comandău 3.2‰ (1966), Tulnici 5.8‰ (1977), Ceraşu 7.8‰ (1992), Ormeniş 4.8‰ (2002) and Măieruş 6.5‰ (2011), highest values at Soveja, 24.9‰ (2011), Colţ 23.6‰ (1992) and Pârâu 21.5‰ (2002).

The natural balance, or natural growth-rate stands for the difference between natality and mortality, suggesting general evolution trends in the number of population, basically numerical balance or imbalance. The general evolution of the natural demographic balance of the entire Curvature Carpathian rural population and the respective communes was followed over the 1966–2011 period. The findings revealed a maximum threshold in 1967 that is highest birth-rates (27.8‰ versus 9.6‰ death-rates). However, in the post-communist period, natural growth was negative, which means higher population deficit (Fig. 11).
Between 1967 and 1977 the Curvature Carpathians registered rather high natality rates compared to mortality, hence high natural increases, nevertheless decrease numerical. The post-1977 period featured a steep demographic decline of natality and of natural growth, reaching its lowest in 1983 in the whole communist period: 1,446 individuals (3.7‰) even fewer than in 1966 when natural growth in the region’s rural area was of 2,489 persons (6.5‰).

The forcible implementation of pro-natality political measures, in effect until 1989, were strictly implemented through the family planning process. The result was natural growth. The post-communist period began with a negative social interval, dramatic from a demographic viewpoint, the negative balance persisting every year between 1992 (-0.02‰), minimum values in 1996 (-1.4‰) and 2011 (1‰) (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11 – Multi-annual evolution of the rural population natural balance in the Curvature Carpathians.

Fig. 12 – Territorial distribution of communes in terms of natural growth values (1966–2011).
The territorial distribution of the natural balance in the communes of the Curvature Carpathian area and a comparative analysis of cartographic representations for 1966 and 2011 reveal a steep decline of this indicator down to negative values in over 60% of the studied territory (Fig. 12). In 1966, the balance was negative only in 11 communes, that is, more deaths and fewer births – Aita Mare -4‰, Moașa -2.7‰, Brașeș -2.4‰, Măieruș -1.2‰, Ilieni -1.1‰, etc.), on the other hand, in 2011, in nearly two-thirds of the 90 communes the demographic potential was drastically diminished as natural balance values were negative (Soveja -19.7‰, Colță -17.9‰, Brașeș -13.2‰, Vintileasca -11.1‰, Aita Mare -10.2‰, etc.).

5.2. Migration of the rural population

Departures have in time led to demographic imbalances visible especially in the age-group structure.

In general, before 1989 migratory flows went usually from the village-to-town, from the Curvature Carpathian country-side to the local urban centres in the intra-montane depressions – Brașov, Covasna, Zărnești, Săcele, Codlea, Sfântu Gheorghe, Târgu Secuiesc, etc.). This trend was characteristic throughout the country, as the village labour force was attracted to the industrial branches in town. During communism, the highest departure rate was 20.4‰ (1967), minimum values (8.6‰) being registred towards the end of that period, when the urban industry was no longer in need of new workers. At the same time, large cities like Brașov were sealed to new settlers. In post-communist times, departures got momentum (14.7‰ in 1992 and 14.4‰ in 2004) as many people from outside the region would settle in town, or go abroad. Lowest values (10.2‰ and 10.3‰) were recorded in 2000 and 2005, respectively.

A data analysis of migratory flows shows 1990 to be a peak year, around 12,100 people leaving their rural residence to live in town. Departures abroad (40‰), mostly of German nationals, who were very numerous in the region, took advantage of post-communist legal regulations allowing the free circulation of people everywhere in Romania and abroad. In the following years, the rural-urban flow would slow down, but continued to top the urban-rural one until 1996 when things turned he other-way-round, however the urban one use to prevail every year, with ups-and-downs until 2010; however, the upward trend was dominant.

From 1966 to 1989, more than 100 people/year would leave their communes, e.g. 150 from Prejmer (150 persons/year), Păunești (139), Târlungeni (125), Hârman (122), Malnaș, Vulcan, Sânpetru, Mânciu, Feldioara, Oituz, Hâlchiu, etc. and Bertea, Chichiș, Prejmer, Starchiojd and Zâbala after 1989.

Arrivals of population is the second main component of territorial movement with major social and economic impact on the community. In the communist period, the rate of arrivals in the rural Curvature Carpathians fluctuated between a maximum of 15.4‰ in 1967 and a minimum of 33‰ in 1985, average rate 7‰. In post-communist times, ever more townspeople chose to live in the countryside, compared to their rural counterparts who opted for the city. This trend is obvious from 88,579 inhabitants in 1990 compared to 65,413 before 1989. Communes of choice were Hârman, Prejmer, Feldioara, Bod, Sânpetru, Cristian, at an average of over 100 new settlers per year.

The migratory demographic balance, namely, the difference between immigrants and emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants between 1966 and 1989, reveals the rural Curvature Carpathians to have registered a deficit of population every year, with a record low after 1990 (-33.4‰/ per total population, basically 362,000 individuals) due to massive shifts from village to town, and of most German nationals migrating to Central Europe, taking advantage of the new legislation that stipulated open borders and free circulation. However, leaving aside the above situation, the trend of the
migratory demographic balance was upgoing in the Carpathian rural environment in most regions of Romania, from a negative low (-15‰) in 1980 to a positive high (3.6‰) in 2007, and a slight decrease (1.8‰) in 2010, but still positive (Fig. 13).

**Fig. 13** – Multi-annual evolution of rural population migratory balance, Curvature Carpathians (1966–2011).

Analysing this indicator at regional and communal level from 1966 to 2010 indicates a negative-to-positive evolution of the migratory balance in the majority of communes; in 1966, 80% of communes had a negative score: -2‰ at Comăna and -0.1‰ at Budila and Nistorești, while in 2010 only 40% of communes registered negative values: -20.8‰ at Paltin and -0.4‰ at Sita Buzăului (Fig. 14).

**Fig. 14** – Territorial distribution of communes in terms of migratory values (1966–2011).

As a conclusion, it can be said that a temporal and spatial analysis of this phenomenon is not that simple, it depending on several facts, both local (regional) and general (all-country). Although the urban-rural flow has been increasing in the past few years, yet it would be premature to speak of a transition to urban exodus. As a matter of fact, what actually happened is the expansion of the town over its rural neighbourhood, and in some cases, the development of tourist sites revitalising the
country-side. On the other hand, the economic crisis and unemployment discouraged migration to town. However, there is a great disparity between communes on the way of revitalisation, those located in the vicinity of an industrial town, or that have tourist resources, and the category of poor communes in which the demographic and economic decline is ongoing. Now, in two-thirds of the Curvature Carpathian rural space 41% of the population lives and works, and enjoy most of the region’s resources. Therefore, studying the rural and the evolution of its components is of capital importance, as acknowledged also by profile authorities. So, over the past few years, the stress has been laid on promoting a rural development policy instead of an agrarian policy, the aim being also to change the direction of migration and gradually bridge the socio-economic gaps existing between town and village.

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