



YEAR XII

No. 2/2012

---

# Journal of Community Positive Practices

*www.jppc.ro*  
*email: office@jppc.ro*

---

ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROMOTION  
CATALACTICA



## JOURNAL OF COMMUNITY POSITIVE PRACTICES

### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT REVIEW

#### Director:

Ph.D. Sorin CACE - President,  
ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROMOTION CATALACTICA

#### Scientific Committee:

*PhD, Professor Cătălin ZAMFIR*, Corresponding Member of Romanian Academy  
*PhD, Professor Asher BEN-ARIEH*, Haruv Institute, Jerusalem, Israel  
*PhD, Professor Gary B. MELTON*, University of Colorado, Denver, USA  
*PhD, Professor John LUTZKER*, Georgia State University, Atlanta, USA  
*PhD, Professor Michael J. PALMIOTTO*, Wichita State University, Kansas, USA  
*PhD, Professor Jill KORBIN*, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, USA  
*Professor Keith HALEY*, Tiffin University, Ohio, USA  
*PhD, Professor Jimmy TAYLOR*, Ohio University, Zanesville, Ohio, USA  
*PhD, Professor Elizabeth ECKERMANN*, Deakin University, Victoria, Australia  
*PhD, Professor Amitabh KUNDU*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India  
*PhD, Professor Claude MARTIN*, Research Director CNRS, Université de Rennes, France  
*PhD, Professor Munyae M. MULINGE*, United States International University (USIU), Nairobi, Kenya  
*PhD, Professor Manuel Antonio GARRETON*, University of Chile, Santiago de Chile, Chile  
*PhD, Professor Renata FRANCO*, Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar", Zagreb, Croatia  
*PhD, Professor Asun LLENA BERNE*, University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain  
*PhD, Professor Nicolae SALI*, Free International University of Moldova, Chişinău, Moldova  
*PhD, Professor Valeriu IOAN-FRANC*, National Institute of Economic Research, Bucharest, Romania  
*PhD, Professor Corina CACE*, Academy of Economy Studies, Bucharest, Romania  
*PhD, Professor Mircea ALEXIU*, Western University, Timisoara, Romania  
*PhD, Professor Ştefan COJOCARU*, University "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi, Romania

#### Editorial Board:

*PhD, Professor Victor NICOLĂESCU*  
*PhD Radu MIRCEA*  
Andraia-Nicoleta ANTON



**Bucharest, Romania**  
CNCSIS: cod 045/2006  
Editor-in-Chief: Valeriu IOAN-FRANC  
Editor: Paula NEAÇŞU  
Cover design: Nicolae LOGIN  
Design and layout: Luminiţa LOGIN  
Phone: 0040-21 318 24 38; Fax: 0040-21 318 24 32;  
e-mail: edexpert@zappmobile.ro  
License to the Ministry of Culture no. 1442/1992

#### Edited by:

ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL  
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
AND PROMOTION CATALACTICA  
Colentina Road, no. 26, block 64, B2  
ladder, apartment 97, sector 2,  
postal code 021181, Bucharest;  
Phone: 0040-21-240 73 03;  
Fax: 0040-21 240 73 03; e-mail:  
www.catalactica.org.ro;  
corsorin@mailbox.ro

# CONTENT

ROMA COMMUNITY PRACTICES AS SUBJECT ENCOUNTERS WITH STATE POLICY EVENTS .....	156
Bettina J. BROWN	
CITIZENSHIP A TOOL OF SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.....	170
Sipho Jonathan NKAMBULE	
THE DISPLACED BLACK WOMEN IN THE ARMED CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA: SOME MEMOIRS OF THE VICTIMS .....	185
Bibiana Escobar GARCÍA Jorge Eduardo Vásquez SANTAMARÍA	
RURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: BETWEEN ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE .....	204
Gabriel PRICINA	
RURAL NON-FARM ECONOMY IN INDIA: A STUDY OF UTTAR PRADESH .....	222
Aviral PANDEY, Rakesh RAMAN	
TOURISM, IDENTITY AND ECONOMY IN A MAGYAR VILLAGE FROM ROMANIA.....	240
Alexandru IORGA	
AUSTERITY – THE TRIGGER FOR WAVES OF CONTENTION IN ROMANIA .....	256
Ruxandra GUBERNAT, Henry RAMMELT	
PERSPECTIVES ON THE LIMITATION OF THE RIGHT TO ABORTION DURING 1966-1989. CASE STUDY: TELEORMAN COUNTY.....	266
Mihaela Cristina UDVULEANU	
EMPLOYMENT POLICIES FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE INFECTED WITH HIV/AIDS .....	278
Oana BANU	
BUDDHISM: RETHINKING SEXUAL MISCONDUCT.....	303
Huai BAO	
FUNDAMENTS IN THE PARADIGM OF DESISTANCE.....	322
Andreea FAUR, Gabriel OANCEA	
<i>BOOK REVIEW.</i> BETWEEN OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS: THE OFFER OF SOCIAL ECONOMY IN BUCHAREST-ILFOV AND SOUTH-EAST REGIONS OF DEVELOPMENT .....	335
Simona STĂNESCU, Sorin ÇACE, Filip ALEXANDRESCU (coord.); Corina CACE, Victor NICOLĂESCU	

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

Authors wishing to publish papers at JCPP are asked to send their manuscripts at office@jppc.ro. For publishing a paper, authors must follow the requirements and conditions set forth below.

**Who can publish:** Papers can be sent by researchers, academics and professionals with interests related to socio-economic sciences. The main criteria considered by the reviewers are originality, novelty, potential to spark debate and coherent exposure. Documents submitted for publication will be examined by editors before being placed into the process of review.

**Requirements for publishing:** The paper must be submitted in **Romanian or English**, by e-mail, as attached **Word** file in a single document which will include all images and tables. Minimum requirements must be met on the following:

- **Size:** the paper should contain a maximum of 20 pages including bibliography
- **Paper title:** should be concise and summarize the most appropriate contents of the paper
- **File format:** Microsoft Word
- **Text format:** Times New Roman 12, 1 line spacing, with diacritics if the text is in Romanian
- **Information about the author/ authors (a maximum of 200 words):** for each author it must be mentioned the academic title, current position, institution to which it belongs, contact details – telephone and e-mail. For the selected authors, all this information will be made public. The submission of a manuscript implies that the author certifies that the material is not copyrighted and is not currently under review for another publication. If the article has appeared or will appear in another publication, details of such publication must be disclosed to the editors at the time of submission.
- **Abstract:** will present shortly the purpose, field of application, research methods, results and conclusions of the paper. It should have a maximum of 250 words and will be written in Romanian and English.
- **Key-words:** are designed to provide a rapid classification of the paper. The key-words must be written in English, separated by semicolon (;) and placed below the abstract.
- **Tables:** as simple as possible, with explanatory titles, numbered in the order they appear in the text. The source of the data must be mentioned below each table (Times New Roman 10, italic, aligned left).
- **Graphs:** should be made in Excel, in black and white and must be inserted and numbered in the order of appearance in the text. Each graph should have an explanatory title and the source of the data should be mentioned below the graph (Times New Roman 10, italic, aligned left).
- **Footnotes:** are inserted in the text and numbered with Arabic numbers. Their size should be reduced by bringing clarification on the text.
- **References:** should be cited as follows: the name of the author, year of the publication and page, all in parentheses (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003, p. 93) or if the name of the author is mentioned within a sentence it should be included as follows: ... Ritzer and Goodman (2003, p. 93). At a first citation containing from three to five authors, all names are mentioned, afterwards, it is used [the first author] "et al.". If more than one paper by the same author, from the same year is cited, the letters a, b, c etc. should be included after the year of publication. The citation of a paper available online should be performed following the same rules as for a book or a magazine specifying the electronic address where it was consulted.
- **Bibliography:** the full list of the references cited in the text must be presented at the end of the paper, below annexes, in alphabetical order of the names of the authors and in a chronological order for a group of references by the same author. The order is the following: name of the author/ authors, year of appearance, title, publisher, city; for example:  
*Rea, A., Tripier, M., 2008, Sociologie de l'immigration, La Decouverte, Paris.*

The process of review: Papers are reviewed by two specialists. Depending on their recommendations, the editors decide whether publish/ reject the paper or make suggestions for improvement to the author/ authors. The editors have the right to make minor editorial changes to submitted papers, including the correction of grammatical mistakes, punctuation and writing, as well as modify the format of the paper, but no major changes will be performed without the approval of the author. If major changes are needed, the paper is returned to the author for him to make the necessary changes. Authors are informed by e-mail on the status of the papers sent in no more than 6 weeks from their receipt.

Papers accepted for publication are sent to authors for good press. Authors are asked to respond to the editorial board within 7 days. Authors submitting papers to the editorial board implicitly declare their publishing agreement in these conditions.

# ROMA COMMUNITY PRACTICES AS SUBJECT ENCOUNTERS WITH STATE POLICY EVENTS

Bettina J. BROWN\*

*Abstract:* This paper examines the discursive entanglements of migratory flows of 'bodies' and commerce, by way of the hegemonic logic of neo-liberalism, and site-specific Roma community practices of contestation in Germany to the Schengen Agreement. Roma subject encounters are also explored with respect to human rights policy and implementation within the context of the European Union; the Council of Europe; and NGOs as Amnesty International, and the European Roma Rights Centre. Further interrogation, investigates the macro-political implications in connection to capital markets and state membership eligibility, with respect to the EU and IMF, in juxtaposition to Roma micro-political encounter and event.

*Keywords:* Roma; Sinti; Community Practices; Micro-political encounter, European Union

## 1. Introduction

The contextual terrain within which Roma communities encounter forced expulsion, persecution, and "appropriations of cultural forms in capitalist systems" by some EU leaders and citizens of member states, exacts a spatio-temporal cartography of mobility (GSO Conference Paper Call, 2012).

Currently, the 'unification' of Europe, with the opening of borders, the common European citizenship, and the common currency coexist with increasing internal

---

\* Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, USA. Email: [bjbrown@hawaii.edu](mailto:bjbrown@hawaii.edu)

fragmentation, regionalism, and the claims of post-national identity. European unification as practices of EU policy encounter and event, become sites of contestation with a resurgence of xenophobia, racism, and ethnocentrism, practices in part as 'micro'- and "hyper-nationalisms" (Braidotti, 2011, e-book). "Sociological categories" such as "marginals", and "migrants", or "minorities", are no longer adequate in the shifting landscapes of advanced capitalism, global diasporas, transnational flow of capital, and the emergence of alternate, multi-layered, mobilized subjectivities. Instead, subject positioning and re-positioning of and by mobile subjects are continually articulated as self-reflexive, situated practices of contestation and contradiction. Difference may be rearticulated no longer as the ebb and flow of migration between socio-economic and political spaces of center to periphery, or of 'multiculturalism', but in place difference emerges as an affirmative "transculturality" and "pluriethnic fragmentations within the same culture (Saskia Sassen cited in Rosi Braidotti, 2011). In Deleuzian grammar it is a "becoming minoritarian" process of Europe, as a way of both bypassing the binary global-local or glocal fusion, and as a destabilizing of established definitions of Euro-centric hegemony in its construction of social, economic, and political collective identity (Gilles Deleuze cited in Braidotti 2011). The homogenization and collective 'identification of 'European-ness' by EU actors, appropriates minoritarian forms of cultural self-articulations and subjectivities by way of programmatic directives and policy administration. In some ways, it elides the increasing complexity of fractionated subjectivities, assemblages, and affiliations between global capital exchange and intersecting alliances of trans-, post-national identities. As such, however well intentioned, EU agency posits itself as a regulatory and structural 'body' inhabiting an identity 'problematic'.

In the following, the aforementioned considerations on migratory flows of 'bodies' and capital are investigated by way of a critical, discursive intervention to normative institutional and regulatory state-centric practices. Specifically, this critical inquiry evokes two alternating registers of analysis within the context of site-specific Roma community practices, contestations, and cooperative affiliations. The first register of analytical inquiry, examines sites of contestation by Roma transnational migrations, both political and economic, and how they relate to citizen-centric and EU policies, as well as NGO and Roma activist organizations. The second analytical register deploys Roma community encounter and event in site-specific juxtaposition to the hegemonic logic of neoliberal globalization or market fundamentalism.

## **2. Discursive Interventions**

This ethnographic cartography regarding Roma practices and trajectories of social, political, and cultural economies of self-articulation employs fieldwork notes and research in Germany. However, as the information becomes relevant in the analysis regarding regional governance and EU policies, other national policy approaches and

interests will be analyzed. In this way, to refrain from generalizations or broader determinations regarding local, state, national and regional interventions, my analysis is site-specific when situated to the larger queries regarding Roma subject trajectories and community practices. These questions are framed within the context of the Schengen Agreement, and the forced 'return' of Roma living in Neukölln to Kosovo. Investigations regarding site-situated articulations of subject trajectories such as gender, race, class, and nation are driven by contextually relevant loci of contestation. Unless otherwise indicated, the information presented is based on my field notes pertaining to the structural or institutional dynamic at given site visitations. Specific information regarding dates, names, quotations, and policy-based provisions are cited. What follows is a brief introduction to the constitutional and ideological debates that currently inform developing situational contingencies regarding Roma human and civil rights debates in Germany.

### ***3. Constitutional and Ideological Considerations***

The Romani movement emerged in response to the extermination of 1.5 million Roma and Sinti in Nazi death camps. The Holocaust Museum in Heidelberg, Germany is located at the Roma and Sinti Documentation Centre. It is also the site of the central office or *Zentralrat*, an activist and legal advisory board regarding Romani civil rights issues in Europe. I visited this site and had the opportunity in my conversations with those affiliated with the central office, to access information regarding constitutional and ideological considerations framing Romani 'refugee' debates in Germany. The *Zentralrat* has regional offices in the other federal states or *Bundesländer*, with the exception of the participating regional offices in Hamburg and Lower Saxony. By way of support from the Society for Endangered Peoples, the *Zentralrat* was able to gain support politically and financially from the SPD under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party in 1982 (Matras, 1998, p. 56). During this period, the German Federal Government accepted responsibility for the Romani Holocaust.

This set in motion the establishment of *Bundesländer* government supported offices to address the reparation claims made by Romani Holocaust victims. It became the basis from which Roma activist organizations were formed and mobilized under the legal provisions of German national and legal identity. Other Roma activist groups and organizations in central and eastern EU member-states were formed and based on socio-economic issues, and grassroots efforts concerning site-situated Roma community initiatives. Individual Roma assistance requests based on material concerns and needs in German communities spawned further administrative coalitions and efforts by the *Bundesländer* affiliated offices. Organizational efforts are aimed at short and mid-term measures to improve the socio-political status of Roma communities, backed by financial and institutionally based structural support. The

Zentralrat Roma activists work in cooperation the European Roma Rights Centre based in Budapest, Hungary. Their cooperative affiliation is in part mobilized by formal appeals to the European Union and the European Commission on structural recognition, policy provisions and financial support for European regionally situated concerns. According to Robert Kushen, Director of ERRRC, formal appeals currently focus on the educational segregation and institutional discrimination of Roma children ([www.errc.org](http://www.errc.org)). National and regional structurally based educational discrimination is further complicated by local Romani clan based considerations such as linguistic differences within and between local communities. For example, Gigi who identifies herself as a German Romani poet, from Romania, speaks a dialect specific to her clan affiliation in a community of Bucharest. She describes her linguistic practices and affiliations as a Creole based on her clan and Kalderasha dialect, and Romanian and German language attributions. She lives and works in Heidelberg in an administrative position at the university, and considers herself a “EU citizen of Romani descent and heritage” (Heidelberg field notes: June 15, 2011).

The contestation sites of Roma community practices and subject trajectories splinter into varying articulations of self-diversification, and presents debates concerning local, national and regional loyalties regarding Romani rights based advocacy. In my conversation with an activist at the Roma and Sinti Documentation center in Heidelberg, he describes himself as Sinti, an affiliation and Romani dialect based on, but not restricted to “Germanophone soil” (Matras, 1998, p. 70). He states that the goal of the Zentralrat is to assist “German Roma” (Heidelberg field notes, June 15, 2011). This has caused debate among other activist cooperatives, as in Hamburg. I spoke by phone with an advocacy worker at the Roma National Congress. She, like others, requested that I withhold her identity in fear of jeopardizing their organizational efforts with other Bundesländer offices. She stated, “I think that excluding Roma requests for assistance based on national allegiance is very misguided. To tell my Rom sisters that I can’t help them is something I refuse to do. My efforts here formally or informally are daily, seven days a week; why should I limit my outreach based on German citizenship requirements?” (Berlin field notes, June 3, 2011). She identifies herself as “a stateless Kalderasha Rom with legal residency in Germany. She immigrated to Germany from Russia over 6 years ago, and attained her ‘legal’ status by way of her brother, who is now a German citizen. She states that under the EU 2006 amended Schengen Agreement, providing ‘freedom of movement’ with a EU identity card or passport, German legal residency is easier to attain. Germany is part of the EEA (European Economic Area), differentiated for example, by the EFTA (European Free Trade Association). State membership in one EU organization does not necessitate nor grant membership in another. For example, Switzerland chooses singular EFTA member-state status under EU policy provisions. Germany however, has full EU membership status, which under regional and German federal law expedites the granting of EU citizenship (<http://www.en>



wikipedia.org/wiki/Schengen-Agreement). As such, an individual who emigrates from a EU non-member state into an EEA member-state is by way of immediate family affiliation and employment, student status, or other indices verifying self-sufficiency, eligible to become an EU citizen. After 5 years of self-sufficient or employed residency, Germany under its *Freizügigkeitsgesetz* (a national partial implementation of EEA policy provisions) grants permanent residency status to an individual applicant on a case-by-case basis (Berlin filed notes, 2011).

The contestation sites of Romani membership eligibility within local, state, national, and regional parameters are interconnected with Roma geographic trajectories, and community practices and inter-articulations. At issue in the debate central to the Zentralrat's advocacy focus on German Sinti Roma is continued federal government recognition and financial assistance, based on Roma advocacy efforts for and by victims and survivors of the Holocaust. Appeals for assistance from Romani diasporic immigrants, and socio-economic refugees from the EU Balkan member-states and responsive local, national, and regional efforts, led to the development of the pan-European identity. Divergent Roma community grassroots efforts to this effect arose from varied directions and ideological approaches. Within the German national context, this pan-European identity became engendered out of pragmatically located efforts (as in the Hamburg based Roma National Congress) to assist transnational economic and political Roma refugees from the war torn states, such as those of 'Yugoslavia', or 'Czechoslovakia'. EU economic and political integration efforts, alongside its own organizational and 'mission based challenges', can be articulated as neglecting Roma communities and their integration advocacy concerns as a highly prioritized issue on the EU policy implementation agenda.

One such instance emerges in a 2009 Roma migration study within Italy, initiated by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Council of Europe Report concludes, "the Roma and Sinti are still widely considered by the Italian public to be a nomadic population, even though the majority of them have in fact been settled for along time. Consequently, many Roma and Sinti have been placed in camps instead of regular housing (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 2008). The Roma housing issue has been addressed by regional EU human rights discourse, as article 3EHCR, which is based on the judgment by the European Court of Human Rights Grand Chamber in the case of *Cyprus v. Greece*. "In particular, the court has established that if a population was condemned to live under debasing conditions which violated the very notion of respect for the human dignity of its members, such discriminatory treatment amounts to degrading treatment under Article 3 of the Convention" (Amnesty International, 2010, p. 24). Despite further decisive language for various policy recommendations and review, as the "follow-up plan of its plan for the integration of Roma people", adopted by a High Level Pan European Ministerial meeting in Strasbourg, the call for urgent action by

EU Commissioner Viviane Reding may likely be tabled by other economic priorities (Enterprise Europe Network, 2011). Overshadowed by discussions on the Danube River, its transport of liquefied gas through “EU’s industrial core,” priorities as this often sideline ‘action’ regarding implementation of Roma community rights discourse and practices. Despite the availability of 13 billion euros from the European Social Fund, between 2007 and 2013, to finance Roma housing and education programs, the European Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, Laszlo Anders stated, “At the end of the day not much has really changed” (Deutsche Welle). The EU has appointed a task force to investigate why EU member-states have not acted on the available funds (Deutsche Welle). Exemplary of the Western policy milieu, as well as the complexity of competing cosmologies and orders of social and political economies, alternate Roma community based practices and rights based coalitions (e.g., discussed previously within Hamburg and Heidelberg) may serve better the needs and concerns reflected by advocacy initiatives.

Further debate and questions remain as well over the use of the regulatory discourse ascriptions and category ‘nomadic’ within existing EU human rights discourse on housing, which equivocates the term ‘nomads’ as an ethnic slur specific to Italian Roma communities, in order to substantiate appeals to rights claims for “regular housing” (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 2008). What ‘regular’ housing alludes to may be questionable, however of another departure point of inquiry is the minority-nomad, majority-sedentary construction of dyadic Roma community identification. The semiotic over-coding of state-centric subject eligibility discourse with membership rights language by the European Commission, points to a critique leveled by the non-governmental agency, the European Roma Rights Centre. “Considering that the itinerant lifestyle is part of Roma identity, nondiscrimination in access to public housing as in principle imposed by Directive 2000/43/EC (Article 3 AS 1, h) should be understood as obliging the authorities to provide sufficient places for caravans” (The European Roma Rights Centre). The critique, “the Roma should be able to choose to lead an itinerant or semi-itinerant lifestyle, even there where there are good justifications for country planning legislation, which in principle denies them stopping places for their caravans,” equates state centered socio-economic interests with ‘country planning’ (The European Roma Rights Centre). In some instances it appears, human rights discourse by the EU or NGOs confound socio-economic interests with concerns of Romani ‘autonomous’ choice and community based cultural (self) governance and practice. Implicated further in this dynamic of EU/EC administrative challenges is the dissolution of the former Soviet bloc countries, as well as the territorial and administrative priorities of East German integration (Lippert et al., 1993, pp.1-38).

Working outside of Germany’s constitutional and state policy formulations, pan-European Roma organizations such as the International Romani Union, and the

World Romani Congress, continue their community work across clan, local, state, national, and regional boundaries. Also, by seeking multilateral policy recognition and intervention from the Council of Europe and United Nations, in part as political and financial support, these pan-European practices and articulations of Roma diasporic, political migration dramatically diverged from the Zentralrat's appeasement of German federal immigration requirements (Matras, 1998, p. 58). This ideological split is based in part on the argumentation "that there was no state in which the Roma were granted protection (Matras, 1998, p. 59). Germany's inter-articulation of EU citizen rights by the Schengen Agreement for freedom of movement and 'gainful' employment (implied as exclusionary practices of persons not reliant on state funded financial support) is a site-situated, nationalistic coding of citizenship and ethnicity requirements. Such policy entanglements appear as systematically exclusive of the immigrant rights EU citizenship is stipulated to protect. Within the context of the aforementioned critical inquiry into Roma and state-centric sites of contestation, this is central to the debate of the EU rights narrative, EU member-state 'sovereignty' and the integration of economically and politically marginalized peoples. As Nevzat Soguk states, "the truth claims as to the permanence of, naturalness, and self evidence of the sovereign state (as the sole spatiopolitical site of life activities) and the citizen (as the sole proper subject of the state's political site) having been exposed, the task of statecraft seems now much more difficult and much more contingent than ever before" (Soguk, 1999, p. 43). Furthermore, "for the practitioners of the state, what is at hand here and now is nothing less than a crisis of representation of the relations and institutions of the state" (Soguk, 1999, p.43).

Pan-European Roma advocacy efforts eventually won over the Zentralrat's resistance against the 'statelessness' argument, convinced that it merely reinforced the 'nomad' Romani stereotypes, and that it would whittle away its initial efforts to gain Roma and Sinti rights protection based on their minority status in Germany. However, increasing appeals for assistance by Roma transnational economic refugees from Eastern Europe, as well as increased calls for cooperative efforts between the Bundesländer affiliates, resulted in the Zentralrat's participation in pushing for international Roma rights resolutions (Heidelberg field notes, June 13, 2011). The founding of EUROM in 1990, as an international Roma community organization, structurally engaged the push for support of Romani rights by the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1992, and one year later by the Council of Europe (Matras, 1998, p. 61).

#### **4. The Global Economic Crisis and EU, IMF Directives**

In Brussels, September 14, 2010, Viviane Reding, Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, stated, "Let me be very clear, discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or race has no

place in Europe. It is incompatible with the values on which the European Union was founded. National authorities who discriminate ethnic groups in the application of EU law are also violating the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which all Member States have signed up to” (Reding V., 2010, p. 2). In stark contrast and juxtaposition to Reding’s formal declaration, according the 2010 Amnesty International Report on the forced return of Roma to Kosovo: “Two young Romani men in their early 20s who had returned on the same plane from Germany in May of 2010, had been involuntarily taken from their homes in the early hours of the morning. On arriving in Kosovo one had been given six months rent and financial assistance, and the other had received assistance from the Organization for Migration, of 350 euro.” Another report states, “Florim, an Ashkali man was returned to Kosovo from Germany in April of 2010. ‘I lived in Germany for 20 years. All my five children were born there and went to school there. I worked there until we didn’t have the right to work because of all the Germans that were unemployed. We were granted *Duldung* (tolerance) status. My wife and children were returned on 17 March 2010” (Amnesty International, 2010).

As such, the granting of *Duldung* status (relevant to the expulsion of the Roma men cited in the previous report) by German government officials is an example of site- situated enforcement of state policy event, fraught with tensions that speak to the erosion of EU member-state sovereignty (within the contextual implementation of the Schengen Agreement) and the euro zone counterweight, implemented as a logic of employment analysis and market based values. This fraught and complex dynamic necessitates a closer examination of the larger contestations between ‘social democratic’ ideals, and the neoliberal globalization project, with respect to the migratory flows of ‘bodies’ and commerce, as well as the varied ethno-political orders and spatio-temporal entanglements it engages. For example, one such development enacted within the political economy of the EU’s current debt crisis, invokes a brief overview of counterweight euro zone measures employed by the European Central Bank. It raised interest rates in efforts to calm fears of further inflation in Germany, burdening southern countries already struggling with their debt. Some months later, the debt crisis escalated, exacerbated in part by governments’ imprudent borrowing practices, and regulators who allowed banks to treat bonds as a no risk proposition. Investors who did not make distinctions between bonds of troubled economies such as Greece, further escalated the banking crisis. It became the new sub-prime and lured investors from the U.S. looking for what was considered a safe calculation.

The 2008 financial crisis that struck global markets tested the efficacy of the euro zone states and the EU to find counterweight measures to deal with the fiscal emergency. One response to address the crisis was a series of euro zone meetings, as EU leaders converged in the European Council to renew their single market commitments and stimulate recovery while maintaining public spending. An overhaul

of the global financial system it was decided was desperately needed and the G20 transferred 832 billion euros into the International Monetary Fund to assist those states (such as Greece and Italy) in need. Street protests erupted in response to more government imposed austerity measures. In May of 2010, in response to the Greek situation, the EU and IMF structures a financial assistance plan of 110 billion euros for a period of more than three years. Protestors in Greece however were not impressed, and now included the EU and IMF as protest targets. EU leaders leery of a domino effect that could include Portugal, Ireland, Italy, and Spain addition to Greece, opted for the bailout plan. If Greece left the euro zone it is feared, the EU and U.S. economies would feel the aftershocks (Bache, 2011, p. 217).

The Greek economic crisis is pertinent to emergent EU member-states such as Kosovo (not fully recognized as a state by all EU member-states) and developing countries. Its post-war economy is too weak to meet the immediate public assistance and welfare needs of thousands of Roma expelled from Germany. It also places states on notice that are in the planning phases meeting EU requirements to gain entry as member-states. European Union membership is not necessarily a panacea for economic 'integration' such as Greece, as it contends with new leadership; partial shut downs of state and city services, and debates of self-determination outside the euro zone. "Within this European solidarity, it is necessary for the individual country to first face its responsibility," Hans-Peter Friedrich states in a television interview. Angela Merkel's German coalition government is becoming increasingly unpopular, specifically her CDU led-coalition which lost the election in Baden-Württemberg, a state known for its consistent conservative Christian Democratic support since 1952 (Kulish, 2011). The German electorate appears to be quick to anger in matters considered to be the fiscal irresponsibility of others. This sense of indignation however, does not seem to resonate regarding forced Roma deportations. "In this renationalization of European countries, and the rise of xenophobia, governments are very careful toward new migration flows," states Catherine de Wenden, Director of Research at the Center of International Studies in Paris (Kulish, 2011). At the same time, this is contradictory with liberal European models and the needs of the labor force in most European countries" (Kulish, 2011).

Catherine de Wenden's observations of macro-political connections and implications regarding migration may be elaborated further in Roma community micro-political encounters, as in the deportation of Elvis Berishaj from Dimgelbe, Lower Saxony, to Kosovo. Elvis is currently contending with various competing state membership eligibility requirements. He articulates his subjectivities as a Serb speaking Kosovar Roma, who grew up in Germany, speaking German and Romani. He considers Dingelbe his home. He has childhood memories of Kosovo, yet now feels foreign around ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, and does not speak the language. According to German government regulations, Elvis no longer a minor in age, has to obtain a

Kosovo passport in order to apply for legal residency status in Germany; Kosovo is not yet a fully recognized as EU member state. Kosovo immigration officials speak Albanian, and due to his extended and continued absence (by way of the Duldung status), lack of identity documentation, as well as destroyed birth records during the 1999 war, are now reluctant to provide him with necessary paperwork for a passport application. He has been denied political refugee status in Germany, and the Ministry of the Interior deems his 'repatriation' (deportation), commonly referred to by Roma as *Abschiebung* (to cast off) to Kosovo as 'safe for return'. His deportation reflects a current forced expulsion policy of "50,000 Roma, most of them Serbian speaking," to Kosovo since 1999, with as many as 12,000 people facing deportation from Germany alone" (Human Rights Watch, 2010). However, by way of concerted local Roma family and Dingelbe community coalition efforts to petition and speak out publicly against Elvis's *Abschiebung*, his German 'legal' residency was granted.

### **5. Berlin Field Notes**

In my attempts to inquire about the forced expulsion procedures of Duldung status Romani in Neukölln, I was asked by a police precinct officer if I wanted to file a complaint. I expressed my inquiry be based on questions of 'procedure', and was informed unless I wanted to file a formal complaint, no further assistance was necessitated (Berlin field notes, May 23, 2011). Two days later, I visited the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin and was denied access to the building. I presented my U.S. passport at the entrance checkpoint and was asked about the reason for my visit. I introduced myself, and my dissertation research purpose. I was informed unless I had a specific reason, my access would be denied. I inquired if I could schedule an appointment with someone there regarding "matters of public inquiry." I was denied. I made a follow-up phone call requesting by name to speak to an entry-level official. I was asked the phone extension number. I had no such number and again was denied access (May 25).

On the following day, after several repeated unsuccessful attempts to contact a Ms. Rosenberg by phone at the Romani Union in Berlin, I visited the office located on the Kyffhäuserstrasse. The office had been vacated. After various inquiries regarding a forwarding address to no avail, I received assistance from an art gallery director in an adjacent space. I gave him the phone number associated with the present location. There was no answer. He subsequently contacted the building landlord, who also had no information to provide (May 26). This lack of information pattern persisted as I visited the EU/EC offices in Berlin's city center the following week. I asked for information regarding their knowledge on the Duldung status deportations of German Roma. I was given a bulky packet and quickly returned back to my hotel (May 31). The packet included data analysis on topics entitled 'Dynamic Progress' and 'Globalized and Interdependent'. It contained various glossy brochures and

pamphlets with member-state per capita wealth and income distributions and information regarding the European Union that states: “The EU acts out of enlightened self interest just as much as global solidarity. On an increasingly interconnected planet, supporting economic development and political stability in the wider world is an investment in one’s future” (European Commission, 2007). I pivot here to turn to a critical intervention by way of juxtaposition with two additional document citations.

The first document, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) report from the office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities, October 2010 states: “The Schengen Borders Code also provides for the abolition of intra-Member State border controls. Under this provision no controls are permitted at EU internal borders (Article 21). Police checks within the territory of a state are permitted but they must: not have border patrols as an objective; be based on general police information and experience regarding possible threats to public security; and aim to combat cross-border crime. The checks must be devised and executed in a manner distinct from systematic checks on persons and only be carried out as spot checks” (Cahn, C., & Guild, E., 2010, p. 28).

The second document, the Official Journal of the European Union: Directive 2004/38/EC of The European parliament and of The Council of 29 April 2004 states: Expulsion of Union citizens and their family members on the ground of public policy or public security is a measure that can seriously harm persons who, having availed themselves of the rights and freedoms conferred on them by the Treaty, have become genuinely integrated into the host member State. The scope for such measures should therefore be limited in accordance with the principle of proportionality to take account of the degree of integration of the persons concerned, the length of their residence in the host Member State, their age, the state of health, family and economic situation and the links with their country of origin” (Directive 2004/38/EC).

Such evidentiary documentation as juxtapositions of discursive practices by Roma community members and organizations, NGOs and IGOs, attest to sites of contestation and contradiction. Ongoing violence against state recalcitrant ontologies of the Roma diaspora is manifest in the destruction of Roma camps on the outskirts of Paris and Lyon. President Nicolas Sarkozy’s orders the expulsion and deportation of ‘illegal’ Roma and the Elysee Palace confirms legislation to ensure the process “for reasons of public order” (Saltmarsh M., 2010). To maintain such ‘public order’, Interior Minister Brice Hortefeux states, “He would use decrees to dismantle about 300 illegal camps, of which 200 belong to Roma, citing such camps as the source of illicit trafficking, children exploited for begging, prostitution or delinquency” (Saltmarsh M., 2010). Furthermore, “those in France illegally or who have committed public-order offenses will be sent ‘almost immediately’ back to their countries of origin

without the possibility of returning (...) promising the use of digital fingerprinting technology toward this end” (Saltmarsh M., 2010). Countering such claims, Le Ligue des Droits de l’ Homme states the government is “mixing up the situation of the European Roma with the Travelers who have French nationality,” and “as a result of a few cases, are developing the idea that there is an ethnic solution to the problem of delinquency” (Saltmarsh M., 2010). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and other international human rights interventions and directives, appear within these site-specific instantiations to lack an agency of policy implementation.

## 6. Conclusions

Often recalcitrant to the integration projects of late-modernity and the market fundamentalism of neoliberal globalization, Roma community practices are mobilized along and within the interstitial spaces of bio- and geo-political demands. Roma identity practices and trajectories confound further considerations regarding their integration into the market economy. Incongruent with the ethico-political appeals and treatment of migrant labor by NGOs, EU/EC, and the UN, community advocacy efforts by and on the behalf of many site-specific Roma communities, present an open-ended endeavor. Such contingencies of encounter and event recruit specific articulations and embodiment of Roma community and cultural practices. The situated specificity of spatio-temporal contingencies, mobilize discursive community practices and economies of and by Roma subjectivities. Many traditional ‘ways of life’ and agency are mediated, disrupted or lost to demands of immanent conditions of physical, economic, and social survival. As such, this dynamic often engenders the conceits of regulatory, institutional ideals and mechanisms, as dismissals of Roma community practices. Roma subject trajectories that are articulated as varying practices of family coherence, traditional gender roles, specific clan allegiance and self-designation, oral historical narratives, performance, and trade craftsmanship is ascribed within the hegemony of neoliberal logic, as anachronistic and non-conforming. This engenders further critical provocations regarding xenophobic objectifications of Roma identity practices (e.g., uneducated, dirty, thieves, lazy) and gestures towards the objectified identity markers, and meta-applicable indices of state membership eligibility.

The politics of global, regional, national and state capture of subject eligibility (e.g., EU, IMF, UN) unfold as contentious debates of constitutional and ideological primacy. The liberal left of Western democratic ideals of freedom, human rights, a globalized ‘free’ flow of commerce and movement of ‘bodies’, counters and substantiates the further radicalization of right-center regimes, in and by tighter centrifugal privileging of regional, national, and ethnocentric fervor. The primacy of Western and Eurocentric rights and democracy discourse over-codes the habitus of



locally embodied situated economies of encounter and event. The global 'democratization' of technology, and increasing access to digital modalities of varied economies of exchange, confounds further, socio-economic interests, with 'freedom' of autonomous agency and choice. "In so far as values market exchange as 'an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action and substituting for all previously held beliefs', it emphasizes the significance of contractual relations in the marketplace" (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). This directly calls into question the increased criminalization of poverty in Roma communities; the erosion of the welfare state and rifts various competing cosmologies of (de) legitimating constructions of subject eligibility. Paradoxically, the socio- and ethico-political orders of subject and community intelligibility, as static productions of transnational or state-centric discourse and practices, pronounce the tenuous and destabilized 'status' of embodied 'subject sovereignty'. In *Reading "Adam Smith": desire, history and value*, Michael J. Shapiro states, "the European Union and increasingly, the state-as-coherent-actor or unitary entity has been destabilized as various 'subnational' or tribal and ethnic groups have asserted desires to reoccupy old sovereignties that preexist the current geopolitical map" (Shapiro, 2002, p. 31).

## References

- \*\*\* "European Roma Rights Centre", <http://www.errc.org>
- \*\*\* "Schengen Agreement", <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schengen-Agreement>
- Amnesty International, (2010) *Not Welcome Anywhere: Stop the Forced Return of Roma to Kosovo*, Amnesty International Publications, London, p. 19 (Italicized letters and translation of Duldung are my emphasis).
- Bache, I.; George S.; Bulmer S. (2011), *Politics in the European Union*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Braidotti, R. (2011) "Nomadic European Citizenship", *Nomadic Theory: The Portable Braidotti*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Brown, Bettina J. (2011), Field Notes: Ethnography, May 9 to June 22, *The Roma in Germany*.
- Cahn, C., & Guild, E. (2010) "Recent Migrations of Roma in Europe", *Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe*
- Deutsche Welle, "EU Searches for Answers in Roma Integration Debate," <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0..6107407.00html?maca=en-rss-en-all-157-rdf>
- Directive 2004/38/EC of the European Parliament (2004) in *Official Journal of the European Union*

- Enterprise Europe Network (2011), "Hungarian d. Foreign Minister, 2011 EU Chair, Ivan Baba to EuroFora on EU Priorities: Economy + Danube," <http://www.eurofora.net/newsflashes/news/hungarianeu2011chair.html>
- Enterprise Europe Network (2011), "Hungarian d. Foreign Minister, 2011 EU Chair, Ivan Baba to EuroFora on EU Priorities: Economy + Danube" <http://www.eurofora.net/newsflashes/news/hungarianeu2011chair.html>
- European Commission, (2007), „Soft Power”, *The EU in the World: The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Directorate-General for Communication, Brussels
- GSO Conference Paper Call (2012), University of Hawaii, Honolulu, May 2
- Harvey, D. (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Human Rights Watch (2010), "HRW Protests Deportation of Roma to Kosovo", <http://www4report.com/node/9215>
- Kulish, N. (2011) "Norway Attacks Put Spotlight on the Rise of Right Wing Sentiment in Europe," in *The New York Times*, 2011, 23 July
- Lippert, B.; Stroehmann, R.S.; Guenther, D.; Viertel, G.; Woolcock, S. (1993), *German Unification and EC Integration: German and British Perspectives*, Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York.
- Matras, Y. (1998), "The Development of the Romani Civil Rights Movement in Germany 1945-1996", in Tebutt S. (ed), *Sinti and Roma Gypsies in German Speaking Society and Literature*, Bergham Books, New York.
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2008), High Commissioner on National Minorities, *Assessment of the Human Rights Situation of Roma and Sinti in Italy*, Report of a Fact-Finding Mission in Milan, Naples and Rome on July 20-26
- Reding, V. (2010) "Statement on the latest Developments on the Roma Situation", Brussels
- Saltmarsh M. (2010), "Sarkozy Toughens on Illegal Roma," *The New York Times*, July 29, sec. A7.
- Shapiro, M.J. (2002), *Reading "Adam Smith": desire, history, and value*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, Maryland.
- Soguk, N. (1999), *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*, University of Minnesota Press, MN.
- The European Roma Rights Centre. "EU Experts Recommend Directive on Roma Integration: European Union Network of Experts in Fundamental Rights Calls for Roma Integration Directive", <http://www.errc.org/cikk=1921>

# CITIZENSHIP A TOOL OF SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Sipho Jonathan NKAMBULE\*

*Abstract: During apartheid South Africa White minority had full citizenship and majority of the population had less or no entitlement to citizenship. When the democratic government resumed office, it attempted to create a new citizenry whereby everyone would have equal access to socio-economic and political citizen rights. The rise to power of the African National Congress brought hope to the historically exploited, excluded and oppressed populations. Furthermore, it gave a sense of entitlement among the historically marginalized mainly black population to the fruits of citizenship in the new democracy. The paper aims to evaluate whether universal citizenship have been achieved in the post-apartheid South Africa. The paper argues that although the South African constitution is based on common citizenship but there are many challenges in realization of this. Part of the reason for this was the adoption of a neoliberal macroeconomic policy which has hindered public institutions to effectively address the racial and social disparities of the past. In addition, social citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa is used as a tool for exclusion and inclusion.*

*Keywords: citizenship, social, inequality, exclusion, inclusion, gender*

## 1. Introduction

Citizenship is at the centre of contemporary South African politics. It holds the promise of 'better life for all' South African. For Enslin (2003) the rise to power of the African National Congress (ANC) brought hope to the historically exploited, excluded and oppressed populations. Furthermore it gave a sense of entitlement among the historically marginalised mainly black population to the fruits of citizenship in the new

---

\* Teaching Assistant at the Sociology Department at Rhodes University, South Africa. Email: msuthu77@yahoo.com

democracy. However South Africa is still faced with high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. During apartheid South Africa White minority had full citizenship and majority of the population had less or no entitlement to citizenship (Hammett, 2008, p. 3). When the democratic government resumed office, it attempted to create a new citizenry whereby everyone would have equal access to socio-economic and political citizen rights. Although the South African constitution is based on common citizenship but there are many challenges in realisation of this (Vally, 2007, p. 39). Part of the reason for this was the adoption of a neoliberal macroeconomic policy which has hindered public institutions to effectively address the racial and social disparities of the past (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 56). It can be said therefore that South Africa's conception of citizenship is found in the fight against apartheid and the new constitution. The fight against apartheid resulted participatory idea of democratic citizenship. The idea of full citizenship was reflected most significantly in the 1980's in the mass mobilization against apartheid regime (Sokupa, 2010, p. 11). Hassim (1999, p. 6) notes that 'citizenship in South Africa has always been a politically charged notion'. I argue that South African social democratic welfare is a result of successful political struggle to attain full citizenship under the context of democracy. Furthermore democratic South African citizenship act as a de-stigmatisation from apartheid as the social democratic welfare South Africa provided dignity and security for all. However, it has also become a tool for inclusion and exclusion. Before and during apartheid, those seeking welfare were intentionally stigmatised and viewed as lazy and undesirables.

The paper has been divided into three main section and two sub-sections. The first section gives brief introduction of the issue, second section discusses citizenship and inequality, and this section has two sub-sections namely gender and citizenship, and urban-rural citizenship. The final section of the chapter discusses the conclusion.

## ***2. Citizenship and inequality***

Citizenship is a concept that is almost universally used, however its definition is highly contested. From social policy view social citizenship is concerned with government social policies and the rights of citizens to promote a socially desirable, minimal livelihood without being dependent on the market (Marshall, 1950, p. 59). The crux of the contemporary views on citizenship can be located in the Sociology of T.H Marshall. Marshall divided citizenship into three categories namely civil, political and social aspects. Civil or legal rights are important for individual liberty that is freedom of speech, thought and religion and rights to justice. Once these rights have been realised, it allow people to seek political rights, that is right to participate in the political arena (Marshall, 1950, p. 32). For example right to vote, right to participate in any political party. The democratic rights paved way for citizens to contribute in government policy and this resulted in the granting of social rights. These social rights were institutionalised in the welfare state and involve:

*“The whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and live as a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions closely connected with it are the educational system and social services” (Marshall, 1950, p. 32).*

Like Marshall ideology of citizenship, South African constitution is also premised on universal citizenship ideal. Against this social citizenship there is a neoliberal ideology that state cutting in its social spending is the basis of a good society. The absence of universalist social policies and state funded social security programs characterises the mixed nature of South Africa’s social citizenship regime. Furthermore it reflects a radical division within the country’s system of social security, between social insurance, which is linked to permanent employment, and social assistance as safety for the poor and the marginalised from wage labour, however limited in its amount. In brief high degree of commodification characterises social citizenship in the post-apartheid. This is reflected to the:

*“The dependence of social provisions and living standards on individual labour market positions and waged employment, rather than on subsidization from either employers or the state” (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 57).*

Despite the adoption of T.H Marshal idea of social citizenship by South African most political parties particularly the ANC one learn that the neoliberal policies actually favour the rich people leaving out majority of poor population having no access to basic services. Therefore, South African social citizenship is based on economic power<sup>1</sup>. I therefore add on what van Niekerk 2007 argued that:

*“The extent to which the formal entitlement to social rights can result in meaningful outcomes which improve the livelihood of the working class and disadvantaged groups is dependent on the extent to which they can mobilise around civil and political rights to expand the scope of social rights” (van Niekerk, 2007, p. 59).*

Social rights entitlement in South Africa will not solely dependent on mobilization around political and civil rights but also will depend on mobilization of economic resources to improve the conditions of the marginalised and exploited precisely because of the neoliberal economic that was adopted by the government.

For Marshall as the industrial societies evolved, the citizens’ rights also evolved (Turner, 1993, p. 6). However “Marshall did not provide a causal explanation of how

---

<sup>1</sup> BusinessDictionary.com-definition-condition of having sufficient productive resources at command that give the capacity to make and enforce economic decisions, such as allocation of resources and apportioning of goods and services

citizenship expands. He merely provided a historical description of evolution of social rights in Britain, but he made little reference to the role of social class, new social movements or social struggle in the promotion of citizenship rights” (Turner, 1993, p. 8). I argue that civil, political and social rights are interlinked. Once an individual for example has freedom of speech, he/she needs to join a social movement or political party in order for his/her voice to be heard for example that he/she needs access to health care. However this must be a collective concern in order for social rights to be realised.

According to T.H Marshall citizenship was an attempt to address the problem found between democracy and capitalism as an economic system. It was a way on how to resolve “formal equality with the continuity of social class divisions (Turner, 1993, p. 6). Marshall views reflect that the contradiction found between democracy and capitalism can be solved through a welfare state. However a welfare state alone cannot solve the problem of social inequalities. For Titmuss (2000) believed that this problem could be resolved through positive selective discrimination to provide extra assistance to the most poor. From the above views, the welfare state could unite people and provide them with a shared sense of citizenship. This because “if I am right...that citizenship has been a developing institution in England at least since the later part of the seventeenth century then it is clear its growth coincides with the rise of capitalism which is a system not of equality, but of inequality (Marshall, 1982, p. 9). Employing T.H Marshall theory of social citizenship in South African context social rights citizenship emerged as a result of inequalities caused by apartheid and capitalism. Apartheid and capitalism are inseparable they both produce inequalities in the society. Capitalism does not allow economic justice hence it encourages commodification of social services. It was actually an endeavour to provide equality to access to social rights regardless of gender, race, class, political affiliation, creed, religion, ethnicity etc. However in reality it fails to live up to this standard.

For citizenship to be effective it requires institutions, procedures and arenas where it can be put into practice for example the local governments. It is worth noting that local government is not an institution which determines citizen status, but it offer an “arena in which many of its rights are exercised or denied” (Grest, 2002, p. 41). Over the past few years South Africa has witnessed the rise of urban-based community activism against commodification of municipal services and demanding decommodification of basic social services like water, healthcare, housing etc (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 63). The community activism against commodification of basic services reflects failure of the government to achieve egalitarian citizenship. It is indisputable that the problem lies with the adoption of neoliberal policies. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to move from rhetoric universal social citizenship to action social citizenship.

## 2.1. Gender and Citizenship

Citizenship has always been created along the lines of gender. In the past citizenship in South Africa has been used as a tool to exclude others on basis of gender, race etc. After the democratic elections in 1994 the understanding of this concept had to be reworked in order to provide all people with access to full participation in social life. It is within this framework that citizenship rather than nationalism has become a political vehicle through which the aspirations and the needs of the exploited, oppressed and marginalised are expressed (Shope, 2004, p. 4). What was expected from the struggles for democracy is the idea that political change would automatically eradicate social and economic disparities, including those of gender (Hassim, 1999, p. 6). Although South Africa has achieved political freedom but it has failed to achieve social, economic and gender freedom. The fact that South Africa has political power it means it has the power to change everything including gender issues which remains a key challenge in the democratic South Africa.

The feminists contributions to the arguments of participation and universalism have had a profound effect on theorising the concept of citizenship. Feminists have clearly revealed the 'fundamental masculinism of citizenship's foundations'. This has led Pateman to call for an urgent need to 'reformulate the concept of citizenship so that women are not simply included, but the full diversity of women's identities and interests is encompassed' (Hassim, 1999, p. 8). Furthermore feminists have challenged Marshall's idea that universal status results to equality, pointing out that even at a formal level it is impossible for all citizens to be equal (Hassim, 1999, p. 8) pointing out that citizenship is based on power which can only be exercised through political, social and economic structures that maintain the exclusion of some social groups (McEwan, 2000, p. 632).

For O'Connor (1993, p. 505) the problem with T.H Marshall's ideal of citizenship "evolved when women were still denied or had only just achieved political citizenship and were not participants in the political decision making process". In the case of democratic South Africa even though citizenship has been made universal at least in theory, but women and men are incorporated differently; men as breadwinners and women as mothers or caregivers. Furthermore although entrenched in the constitution but judicial and legislative definition of equality will become a site of struggle because it can either be interpreted as universalistic or gendered way. In light of this the contestation of inclusive and unclear definition of citizenship and equality should not only mediated or resolved by the Constitutional Court only but by also active participation of women's organizations (Hassim, 1999, p. 10) because they understand better the needs and problems faced by women. However that does not mean that women organisations are more progressive (McEwan, 2000, p. 638). This is also confirmed by a study that was conducted by Hassim (1991) on Inkatha Women's Brigade:

*“A women’s movement per se does not guarantee that women’s position in society is being fundamentally challenged or indeed that there will be any impact on existing political organizations or parties, trade unions or policy makers” (Hassim, 1991, p. 73).*

Although democracy in South Africa has extended the citizenship rights, the conditions of effective exercise of such rights remains a serious problem for political marginalised groups like women and the poor. To stand for elections is part of citizenship rights however women are unable to exercise such right as men (Hassim, 1999, p. 11). As Signe Arnfred (1998) notes that:

*“In spite of all this triumphalist talking about gender equality and rights, what actually happens are increasing polarizations between rich and poor, and among the poor a majority are women.”*

The model of universal citizenship in democratic South Africa that is treating women and men equally actually reinforces and perpetuates inequalities (Shope, 2004, p. 4-5). This has led Hassim (1999, p. 11) to conclude that:

*“Universal suffrage has proved that formal equality can co-exist quite comfortably with systematic inequality.”*

For example evidence shows that female are poorer than male heads of households. The poverty rate for female heads of households in 1995 was sixty percent, which was twice that of male headed households, this was aggravated by the concentration of female headed households in rural areas. Urban households are well off than rural households concerning access to basic services etc. Rural households in 2001 accounted for fifty six percent of all poor households (Triegaardt, 2007, p. 4).

Social security system has been used in South Africa as a tool to address issues of poverty. It has successfully contributed to the reduction of poverty in impoverished areas more especially the rural areas. However majority of the social grants reaches more female than men (Triegaardt, 2007, p. 5). This causes a gendered citizenship and moreover it causes diswelfare to the illegible men. It can be argued that this might cause dependency of women to welfare. However there is no evidence confirming that social grants do actually contributes to dependency. Actually evidence reveals that:

*“In households that received the social pension, 9% of adults were employed in March 2005 and another 15% were actively looking for work. In households that did not receive the pension, only 7% were employed and another 13% were actively looking for work. Receipt of the social pension was associated with a 2% higher probability of finding employment and a 2% higher probability of actively looking for work. Alternatively, receipt of the social pension was associated with a 4% lower probability of not participating in the labour force.*



*The child support grant demonstrates a similar effect. Working age adults - particularly women - in poor households that receive a child support grant are more likely to look for work and more likely to find employment than comparable adults in households that do not receive the child support grant. The matched Labour Force Survey similarly provides a dynamic picture of how labour force participation changes for households receiving and not receiving the child support grant” (Samson, 2006, p. 9-10).*

With regards to the women who receive social pension their social citizenship entitlements is determined by their old age, whereas on the other hand the women who receives child support grant their social citizenship is incorporated in their children’s rights.

Activists South Africa has always been fighting against this rhetoric egalitarian citizenship to ensure that women’s rights are incorporated in the constitution. This is an endeavour to create a policy structure that is able to incorporate diversity into citizenship in a manner that does not hinder gender equality. This can only be achieved by a public policy that acknowledges that women’s citizenship “derives as much from the private sphere as it does from the public sphere” (McEwan, 2000, p. 646).

There are numerous factors which prevent women from effectively exercising citizenship rights. Firstly socio-economic factors play a vital role: generally speaking women do not make decisions in families, they are less educated than men and they occupy minor sectors of the economy. Another factor is that women voices within political parties and social movements are silenced (Hassim, 1999, p. 11).

## **2.2. Urban-rural citizenship**

The formation of the 1910 South Africa was based on segregationism and it still remains even today (Westaway, 2010, p. 2). This is marked by the ‘urban bias’ in development thinking, which demotes rural societies to the periphery of macro development strategies. Such bias poses danger to the creation of an inclusive national citizenship (Munro, 1996, p. 2). The divide found in the urban and rural areas is exemplified by the people staying in Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth regardless of race are governed by development, democracy and rights. On the other hand people of Lusikisiki, Keiskammahoek and Cofimvaba which are all black are governed by welfare, custom and tradition (Westaway, 2010, p. 2). This has a negative impact on “universal” citizenship adopted by democratic South Africa.

Mamdani (1996) asserts that a ‘bifurcated colonial state’ is characterised by separation of urban and rural, modern and customary law, and civil and traditional society. The argument is premised on the idea that colonial state use to control

indigenous people through the practice of 'decentralised despotism' whereby citizens in the urban areas were separated from the subjects in the rural areas across Africa. This challenge faces the democratic South Africa today whereby there is a:

*“Breakdown between ethnically defined rural subjects and racially-defined urban citizens” (Sokupa, 2010, p. 13).*

The lesson that can be learnt from Mamdani's argument is that the relationship between the state and the urban population is different from the rural population; furthermore they will have different expectations of citizenship.

After eighteen years of democracy black rural South Africans still live in abject poverty. The people of Ciskei and Transkei for example are now regarded as South African citizens, with the right to vote but they have limited or no role to play in the economy; moreover they still drink water from the river and use fire wood for energy. It is indisputable that the government has expanded welfare scheme since 1994, however poverty still persist in the Bantustans even today. In reality as the poor in the rural areas got poorer since democratic elections in 1994, the rich got richer. Since 1994 national inequalities has increased. The Gini Coefficient has increased from 0.64 to 0.69 (Westaway, 2010, p. 6). There are various kinds of inequalities namely consumption inequality, economic inequality, land inequality, power distribution inequality and services inequality. Inequality has two parts to it, those in the bottom income group and those at the top income group (Eglin, 2010, p. 4). If it is accepted that there is a state obligation to redress the diswelfares caused by apartheid through equal access to social rights, then South African inequalities raises thought provoking questions about citizenship and social policy, which is whether post-apartheid South African citizenship is embedded on socialist social policies or selective social policies which is driven by neoliberal policies.

There has been a decline in the former Bantustans which are basically rural. This arose during the period of sustained national economic growth, symbolized by tremendous increase in “public purse”, and massive growth and consolidation of wealth by the dominant urban based individuals. The rural people in 2010 are poor, sick, uneducated, have no water and food to eat, unemployed and have no hygienic toilets. By comparison the urban residents on the other hand are better educated, earn higher income, more employable and have access to better basic services (Westaway, 2010, p. 6). As Sokupa points out that:

*“Despite the universalism of rights found in the South African constitution; rights are not natural, but conferred, and they could also be de-conferred” (Sokupa, 2010, p. 13).*

This leads us to the question of whether there have been some continuities or discontinuities of the legacy of apartheid in rural areas. The lessons from above reflect that the apartheid method of governance in rural has been reinforced but in a

more sophisticated way. Evidence reveals that economic development in the democratic South Africa is governed by a spatial perspective. In short decision makers have used the map to determine why and where economic investment should take place. They are of the idea that some geographic areas are worthy of investment than others. For example Coega gets everything and Ciskei gets nothing (Westaway, 2010, p. 10). This kind of inequitable development strategy “thrives on uneven development and social marginalisation” (Helliker, 2008, p. 80). This reflects that citizenship ideals may not only discriminate noncitizens, but also preserve status hierarchies whereby rights and duties are allocated unevenly among members of different societal groups (McCluskey, 2002, p. 799). Analysing South Africa citizenship in rural areas one would conclude they are second class citizens because basically their rights are less than the urban dwellers. Marshall has failed to recognise inequitable citizenship status specifically as applied to rural dwellers.

All the areas of government have adopted such strategy in their interventions and programmes. This is exemplified by the concepts like zones and nodes used by municipalities to determine the allocation of resources. It is the Spatial Development Frameworks controls the spatial coherence and logic of provincial and municipal plans. The Eastern Cape Province and its constituent municipalities have been redesigned into unstrategic and strategic areas. As a result huge resources have been allocated to Spatial Development initiatives Zones. Most of the resources are channelled to these areas leaving out most poverty stricken areas at the receiving end of social transfers only. As the Chris Hani Municipality notes in its IDP that “In localities with low development potential, government spending, beyond basic services, should focus on providing social transfers, human resource development and labour market intelligence to enable people to become more mobile and migrate, if they choose to, to localities that are more likely to provide sustainable employment or other economic opportunities” (Chris Hani Municipality, 2008, p. 48). Consequently this kind of separate economic planning paradigm has promoted underdevelopment of “unstrategic” rural areas and development of “strategic” urban areas.

Although the President Zuma administration promised that rural development would be one of its priorities for the period 2009-2014 (Westaway, 2010, p. 10). Perhaps universal economic planning is good for treating everyone equally regardless of where they are situated. Selective economic planning on the other hand is bad as it will be socially divisive. The post-apartheid separate economic planning is another sign of “bifurcated colonial state” as it argued by Mamdani in his thesis of Citizens and Subjects.

This is also confirmed by Grest (2002) that “South Africa's cities are, in many ways, the strategic arenas for the development of a new citizenship based on a new social contract between citizens and the state”. The post-apartheid city managers and planners have the major task of unifying the cities spatially and politically. This is a

way of ending the inherited spatial segregation and creates a more inclusive urban area whereby all citizens can fit in and new citizenship can develop. From the above it can be said that post-apartheid citizenship is unifying mechanism in the nation building and also encouraging access to citizens' rights (McEwan, 2000, p. 629). Nevertheless urban areas themselves are sites for contestation of new ways and forms of citizenship. The idea of citizenship involves a compact between citizens and the state, entailing obligations and rights on each side. The compact is found in the constitution and legal system. The practices of citizens as they carry out a number of activities associated with reproduction and production, with the informal economy progressively more noticeable. The past oppressive policies of apartheid are being substituted by new democratic ways of governance based on developmentalism. However the resources are constrained by the government's neoliberal macroeconomic policies and limitations on state spending (Grest, 2002, p. 38-39). This has led to what Barchiesi (2008, p. 56) call a hybrid social citizenship regime because of the mismatch combination of developmentalist and macroeconomic neoliberalism approach in the new democracy's social policy. Although citizenship in the Constitution is based on the idea that all human have equal access to rights, but the adoption of a conservative macroeconomic policy encouraged that those with financial ability have their rights enforced. The post-apartheid social citizenship originates from combination of labour market, unequal and selective social policy model (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 56). Based on Richard Titmus (1959) social division of welfare the adoption of the of macroeconomic neoliberal policy in the democratic South Africa supports fiscal and occupational welfare, the former of which is determined by direct tax paying ability and means testing of eligibility for benefits, while the latter is dependent on employment status and the ability to contribute to insurance scheme for example (van Niekerk, 2007, p. 10) leaving majority of the poor population denied full citizenship to access social rights such as quality health.

### ***3. Tools for Social Inclusion***

Although there are numerous challenges in the realization of universal citizenship, but there are many projects and programmes which have been implemented to achieve this. In addition, there are many signs that show that the post-apartheid South African government has moved from selective citizenship towards universal citizenship. From above one can note that the South African Constitution seek to heal the divisions of the past and create a society grounded on fundamental human rights, democratic values and social justice. It also lay the basis for an open an democratic society "in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law" (ISER, 2011, p. 38). This then suggests that the South African Constitution commits that government to act on behalf of its citizens to fulfil their interests. Since 1994, the South African government has guaranteed rights of citizenship regardless of age, race, financial background, religion, gender etc. In the education sector for instance there are many legislations which were passed

such as the South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996), the National Education Policy Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996), and the Higher Education Framework (Republic of South Africa, Department of Education, 1997). Policies found in these documents try to “redress past injustices and enact the country’s commitment to reducing inequality and improving the quality of life of all South Africans by building an education system based on democratic values and principles of social justice” (Hill, Baxen, Craig, Namakula, 2012, p. 240). Labour and worker organizations like Congress for South African Trade Union (COSATU), on the other hand have played for the formerly racially oppressed masses “a decisive role, which was not limited to workplace-based struggles, but advanced visions of social rights and citizenship to complement democratic expectations” (Barchiesi, 2005, p. 1). The struggles and solidarity of trade unions political discourse represented the foundation of legitimate claims and moreover, the basis of social policies based on full employment, social equality, redistribution and decommodification of state provided public goods (Barchiesi, 2005, p. 1). Such social inclusion tools (programmes, policies, legislations, etc) are about “the political struggle and the political will to remove barriers to full and equitable participation in society by all. Further the vision of social inclusion is a positive vision that binds its proponents and adherents to action” (Saloojee, 2001, p.3).

#### **4. Conclusion**

Employing T.H Marshall Theory of social citizenship in South African context social rights citizenship emerged as a result of inequalities caused by apartheid and capitalism. Apartheid and capitalism are inseparable they both produce inequalities in the society. Capitalism does not allow economic justice hence it encourages commodification of social services. It was actually an endeavour to provide equality to access to social rights regardless of gender, race, class, political affiliation, creed, religion, ethnicity etc. However, in reality it fails to live up to this standard.

The absence of universalist social policies and state funded social security programs characterizes the mixed nature of South Africa’s social citizenship regime. Furthermore it reflects a radical division within the country’s system of social security, between social insurance, which is linked to permanent employment, and social assistance as safety for the poor and the marginalized from wage labour, however limited in its amount. In brief high degree of commodification characterizes social citizenship in the post-apartheid. This is reflected to the: “The dependence of social provisions and living standards on individual labour market positions and waged employment, rather than on subsidization from either employers or the state” (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 57). Despite the adoption of T.H Marshall idea of social citizenship by South African most political parties particularly the ANC one learn that the neoliberal policies actually favours the rich people leaving out majority of poor

population having no access to basic services. Therefore, South African social citizenship is based on economic power. I therefore add on what van Niekerk 2007 argued that: "The extent to which the formal entitlement to social rights can result in meaningful outcomes which improve the livelihood of the working class and disadvantaged groups is dependent on the extent to which they can mobilize around civil and political rights to expand the scope of social rights" (van Niekerk, 2007, p. 59). Social rights entitlement in South Africa will not solely dependent on mobilization around political and civil rights but also will depend on mobilization of economic resources to improve the conditions of the marginalised and exploited precisely because of the neoliberal economic that was adopted by the government.

Over the past few years South Africa has witnessed the rise of urban-based community activism against commodification of municipal services and demanding decommodification of basic social services like water, healthcare, housing etc (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 63). The community activism against commodification of basic services reflects failure of the government to achieve egalitarian citizenship. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to move from rhetoric universal social citizenship to action social citizenship. Citizenship has always been created along the lines of gender. In the past citizenship in South Africa has been used as a tool to exclude others on basis of gender, race etc. After the democratic elections in 1994 the understanding of this concept had to be reworked in order to provide all people with access to full participation in social life. It is within this framework that citizenship rather than nationalism has become a political vehicle through which the aspirations and the needs of the exploited, oppressed and marginalised are expressed (Shope, 2004, p. 4). Although South Africa has achieved political freedom but it has failed to achieve social, economic and gender freedom. The fact that South Africa has political power it means it has the power to change everything including gender issues which remains a key challenge in the democratic South Africa. Social security system has been used in South Africa as a tool to address issues of poverty. It has successfully contributed to the reduction of poverty in impoverished areas more especially the rural areas. However majority of the social grants reaches more female than men (Triegaardt, 2007, p. 5). This causes a gendered citizenship and moreover it causes diswelfare to the illegible men. It can be argued that this might cause dependency of women to welfare. However, there is no evidence confirming that social grants do actually contributes to dependency.

After eighteen years of democracy black rural South Africans still live in abject poverty. The people of Ciskei and Transkei for example are now regarded as South African citizens, with the right to vote but they have limited or no role to play in the economy; moreover they still drink water from the river and use fire wood for energy. It is indisputable that the government has expanded welfare scheme since 1994, however poverty still persist in the Bantustans even today. In reality as the poor in

the rural areas got poorer since democratic elections in 1994, the rich got richer. Since 1994 national inequalities has increased. The Gini Coefficient has increased from 0.64 to 0.69 (Westaway, 2010, p. 6). If it is accepted that there is a state obligation to redress the diswelfares caused by apartheid through equal access to social rights, then South African inequalities raises thought provoking questions about citizenship and social policy, which is whether post-apartheid South African citizenship is embedded on socialist social policies or selective social policies which is driven by neoliberal policies.

Although “the universalism of rights found in the South African constitution; rights are not natural, but conferred, and they could also be de-conferred” (Sokupa, 2010, p. 13). This leads us to the question of whether there have been some continuities or discontinuities of the legacy of apartheid in rural areas. The lessons from above reflect that the apartheid method of governance in rural has been reinforced but in a more sophisticated way. Evidence reveals that economic development in the democratic South Africa is governed by a spatial perspective. Analysing South Africa citizenship in rural areas one would conclude they are second class citizens because basically their rights are less than the urban dwellers. Marshall has failed to recognise inequitable citizenship status specifically as applied to rural dwellers. This suggests that social citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa is used as a tool for exclusion and inclusion. Due to this reason I would like to concur with Ramphele (2001) when she asserts that “the majority of South Africans, the social rights of all citizens, as entrenched in the new National Constitution, remains a far-off dream. The egalitarian and integrative potential of modern citizenship remains unrealised”. Although there are numerous challenges in the realization of universal citizenship, but there are many projects and programmes which have been implemented to achieve this. In addition, there are many signs that show that the post-apartheid South African government has moved from selective citizenship towards universal citizenship. I argue that South African social democratic welfare is a result of successful political struggle to attain full citizenship under the context of democracy. Furthermore democratic South African citizenship act as a de-stigmatisation from apartheid as the social democratic welfare South Africa provided dignity and security for all.

## **References**

- Arnfred, S. (1998), *Myths and Ideologies of gender Equality and Rights*, Roskilde University: IDS.
- Barchiesi, F. (2005), *Inequality, Wage Labor and Social Citizenship in the Making of South Africa's Post-Apartheid Democracy*. Paper presented at the Annual

Meeting of the African Studies Association, Washington, DC, Marriott Wardman Hotel 17-20 November 2005

- Barchiesi, F. (2008), *Hybrid Social Citizenship and the Normative Centrality of Wage Labor in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, *Mediations* 24.1 (Fall 2008) 52-67.
- Chris Hani Municipality (2008), *Draft Integrated Development Plan, 2008-2009*. Unpublished Municipal document, accessed in BRC Resource Centre.
- Eglin, R. (2010), *The Inequality Scandal: A Source of Collective Shame and Anxiety*. *Transformer development and governance journal*, Vol.16, No. 4.
- Enslin, P. (2003), *Citizenship Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, *Cambridge Journal of Education* 33(1): 73-83.
- Grest, J. (2002), *Urban Citizenship and Legitimate Governance: The Case of the Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street Urban Renewal Project*, *Durban, Transformation* 48.
- Hammett, D., *The Challenge of the Perception of 'un-entitlement' to Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. *Political Geography*. Elsevier, Edinburgh.
- Hassim, S. (1991), *Gender, Social Location and Feminist Politics in South Africa*. *Transformation*, 15, 65-81
- Hassim, S. (1999), *From Presence to Power: Women's Citizenship in a New Democracy*. *Agenda Feminist Media*, Agenda No. 40.
- Helliker, K. (2008), *Bridging the Gap*. Unpublished document prepared for the Africa Groups of Sweden (South Africa Office), accessed in BRC Resource Centre.
- Hill, L.D.; Baxen, J.; Craig, A.T.; Namakula, H. (2012), *Citizenship, Social Justice, and Evolving Conceptions of Access to Education in South Africa: Implications for Research*. *Review Of Research In Education*, Vol. 36, pp. 239-260
- Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) (2011), *South Africa's Social and Economic Challenges in the Post-Apartheid Era*. Summer School, September 2011, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
- Mamdani, M. (1996), *Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 218-264.
- Marshall, T.H. (1950), *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*, Westport CT: Greenwood.
- Marshall, T.M. (1982), *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism: Max Weber and the Protestant Ethic Thesis*. Hutchinson, London.
- Mccluskey, M.T. (2002), *Efficiency and Social Citizenship: Challenging the Neoliberal Attack on the Welfare State*, *Indiana Law Journal*, Vol. 78:783
- McEwan, C. (2000), *Engendering citizenship: Gendered Spaces of Democracy in South Africa*, *Political Geography* 19 (2000) 627-651 Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Munro, W. (1996). *Re-forming the Post-Apartheid State? Citizenship and Rural Development in Contemporary South Africa*. *Transformation*, 30.



- O'Connor, J.S. (1993), *Gender, Class and Citizenship in the Comparative Analysis of Welfare State Regimes: Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Sep. 1993), pp. 501-518.
- Petersen, C. (2008), *Contesting Citizenship: Civil Society Struggles over Livelihood and Educational Access in Coastal Settlements of the Western Cape, South Africa*, Centre of African Studies University of Edinburgh.
- Ramphela, M. (2001), *Citizenship Challenges for South Africa's Young Democracy*, Daedalus, 130 (1), pp. 1-17.
- Saloojee, A. (2001), *New Way of Thinking? Towards a Vision of Social Inclusion: Social Inclusion, Citizenship and Diversity*. Department of Politics and School of Public Administration, Ryerson Polytechnic University
- Samson, M. (2006), *Universalism Promotes Development: Evidence from Southern Africa's Social Transfers*.
- Shope, J.H. (2004), *The Right to be Free from Harm: Rural Women, Citizenship, and Domestic Violence in South Africa*. Department of Sociology and Anthropology Goucher College
- Sokupa, T. (2010), *Class, Citizenship and its Effect on Public Participation in Rural Communities*. Transformer Development and Governance Journal, Vol.16, No. 4.
- Titmus, R. (2000), *Universalism and Selection in Pierson and Castles 2000*, Allen Unwin, London.
- Titmuss, R.M. (1959), *Essays on the Welfare State*, George Allen and Unwin Limited, London
- Triegaardt, J. (2007), *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: Policy Options and Consequences for Planning in an Emerging Democracy*. Prepared for the Living on the Margins Conference, Stellenbosch.
- Turner, B.S. (1993), *Citizenship and Social Theory*. SAGE Publications Ltd. CUNY, USA.
- Vally, S. (2007), *From People's Education to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa*, Review of African political Economy, p. 39-56.
- Van Niekerk, R. (2007), *Social Policy and Citizenship in South Africa: The Development of Inclusive, De-racialised Social Policies in the Periods 1939-1961 and 1989-1998*, Lincoln College, Michaelmas Term, Oxford.
- Westaway, A. (2010), *Rural poverty in South Africa: Legacy of Apartheid or Consequence of Contemporary Segregationism*. Conference paper presented at 'Overcoming Inequality and Structural Poverty in South Africa: Towards Inclusive Growth and Development', Johannesburg, 20-22 September 2010.

# THE DISPLACED BLACK WOMEN IN THE ARMED CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA: SOME MEMOIRS OF THE VICTIMS\*

Bibiana Escobar GARCÍA\*\*  
Jorge Eduardo Vásquez SANTAMARÍA\*\*\*

***Abstract:** A close look to an internal armed conflict like Colombia has lived enables the recognition and encounter with the historical truth and its shocking existing consequences of a society that still endures some of those concerns. This article explores from the narratives of black women the distress and the consequences left by the displacement that has, also, made of them victims of the conflict as well as to make a contribution to the admission of the violation to their rights and the victimization that the displacement implies. Those contributions are achieved by way of the use of a qualitative methodology, with historical hermeneutical approach relying on testimonies and semi structured interviews through which with the bravery of the victims, an approximation to this enriching culture of African heritage is obtained.*

***Keywords:** black woman, displaced, victim, internal armed conflict, state.*

---

\* It is this the final article of the research project "Women, Black, Displaced: Memoirs of Black People" funded by the City Council of Barcelona, Spain, the Assembly of Cooperation for Peace, Shaping the Future Foundation, and the Universidad Autónoma Latinoamericana of Medellín, Colombia. The authors participated as researchers from the Faculty of Law at the Universidad Autónoma Latinoamericana from the line of research "Latin American Culture, State and Law". The project also involved as researchers Nora Isabel Saldarriaga Flóres, Beatriz Elena Sierra Villegas, Walter Raul Mejía and Alexander Cardona Nizhelski Álvarez. The translator of the article was teacher Gustavo Adolfo Arenas Rubio from the Universidad Autónoma Latinoamericana.

\*\* Doctoral candidate in philosophy at Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana. Teacher for the Social Sciences Department at Universidad de Medellín and, teacher for the Law Faculty at Universidad Autónoma Latinoamericana, Colombia, Email: bescobarg@gmail.com

\*\*\* Researcher of research group Ratio Juris of the Law Faculty at Universidad Autónoma Latinoamericana, Colombia, Email: jorge.vasquez@unaula.edu.co – georgevas19@hotmail.com

## **1. Introduction**

2011 was declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations as The "International Year of African Descent", which is why the research project "*Woman, Black, Displaced: Memoirs of Black People*" takes in the tragedy that most of this particular Colombian population live in their ancestors' lands, the systematic violations of their rights and the massive forced displacement inflicted on women.

The figures derived from the internal armed conflict in Colombia have been very discouraging. In one approach to this phenomenon the National Planning Department of Colombia - DPN - based on information from the Social Solidarity Network, reported that between 1995 and 2005, 1,166,284 displaced people in the country, noting that in the last two years of that period there were decreases in displacement figures, reaching 219,315 cases in 2003, and 145,995 in 2004 (Ibañez & Moya, 2007, p. 10).

The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre dependent of The Norwegian Displacement Council, reported in the first half of 2008 the highest levels of mobilization between 1593 to 3890 people in the south west of the department of Arauca, the southern department of Nariño, southern department Cordoba and the western department of Valle del Cauca, which added to the data offered by the UN agency for the refugees which in 2010 reported a total of IDPs in Colombia equivalent to 3, 5 million people (ACNUR, 2010).

Meanwhile the Centre for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Rights of the Republic of Colombia said that between January and October 2010 were presented by release date 108,472 cases of displacement, and by date of declaration of such status 183880; in 2011 by release date were reported 106,141 people and 286,758 the cases declared.

Within this terrible reality the black population is identified as one of the main victims because only in 2001, 37,000 of the 342,000 of the displaced people were from African descent (Human Rights Observatory of the Vice Presidency of Colombia, 2001). So because the research focuses on the testimonies of black women displaced from the departments of Chocó and Antioquia, is remarked from the Human Rights Observatory of the Vice Presidency of Colombia (2012) that in the period January to September 2009 in the department of Chocó were 5,536 displaced persons, and in the same months of 2010, 1,817. In the case of the department of Antioquia the number of people in 2009 was 16,694 in 2009 and 10,409 in 2010.

The violence of the armed conflict in Colombia makes it the second world country with the largest human displacement, making the Afro-Colombian population one of the most affected, together with the indigenous, and peasants, being among them, the black women the worst afflicted by suffering a kind of triple discrimination and victimization: As displaced homeless, as black and as women.

These women are the mother earth, they are life, "*They are the corner guaiacum or guayacán*"<sup>1</sup> (Restrepo Forero, 1997), the vital pillars of the Afro-Colombian families and their neighborhoods. They represent the hope for their own black communities and an invaluable contribution to the Colombian people; if we were aware and if we valued the richness of black culture, the leadership of their women, their experience of peaceful coexistence and solidarity in both urban and rural settlements as part of the diversity and Colombian nationality, we would understand the economic, social and political challenges that are subjected upon them on daily basis: moving to the city, finding expensive living standards in a context alien and unwanted, unemployment, discrimination, and inclusion in poverty.

## **2. What is displacement in Colombia?**

### *And What is to be a victim?*

The complex situation of black women displaced from the countryside to the city, those who open the memory of its people through their narratives, takes shape in this case in the form of two qualifying determinants: displaced and victims. Andrés Ibáñez Londoño defines displacement as the "migration phenomenon whose genesis lies in a multiplicity of causes inherent to situations of violence, whether political, economic, social or cultural," and to it he attributes that the inciting causes and the handling of the conflict that generates this displacement originate "within a permissive state, misdirected public policies, unsatisfying basic needs, unjust distribution of land, unstable victims reparation processes and discrimination that prevent the explicit recognition of the true effect this has on the population"(2009, p. 301).

The displacement in the words of Castillejo (2000) implies going from the "territorial - traditional to the uprooting of urban - modern," which should not reduce the identification of the displacement to a time-bound action, without extension nor durability in which the subject makes a particular change of place and condition, but, as explained by Correa de Andrei Palacio Sañudo, Jiménez Ocampo, and Díaz Benjumea. There is "*a change in the structures of representation about what is displacement in considering this phenomenon as a long-term, process highly de-structuring, due to a conflict that persists and experiences mutations supports and prolongs the state of displacement*" (2009, p. xii). From the legal field, Law 387 of 1997 in Article 1 defines the offset as follows:

(...) Any person who has been forced to migrate within the national territory, abandoning his place of residence or customary occupations, because his life,

---

<sup>1</sup> The woman mother of the family is represented as: "*The corner guaiacum or guayacán*". The guaiacum is a very much priced tree for its fine wood from the jungles of Chocó used as column mode or stakes to hold the stilts of the housing built on water, even in Quibdó, the city capital of the Afro-Colombian in Chocó.

physical integrity, safety or personal freedom have been violated or are directly threatened due to any of the following situations: internal armed conflict, internal strife, widespread violence, massive violations of Human Rights, violations of International Humanitarian Law or other circumstances originating from prior situations that can drastically alter public order.

The law also provides for the attainment of the rights of the displaced population, principles such as the right to request and receive international aid generates a corresponding right of the international community to provide humanitarian aid, the right to freedom from discrimination for their social status of displacement, because of race, religion, political opinion, place of origin or disability, the right to access solutions to their situation; the right to return to their place of origin, the right to freedom of movement subjected to no other restrictions than those provided by law, among others. (Act 387, 1997, Article 2).

Displacement has come to be seen in Colombia as a feature or parameter identification of the displaced person, but in correction of the above mentioned, this events must be understood as the phenomenon caused to an individual in the name of a third party which generates a state of transit or mobility that implies the ousting from the starting point and the shifting to a state of anxiety that outlines an unsafe point of arrival. The banishment triggers the uprooting and the vulnerability of a person in a determined socio-territorial context that brings about the violation of a number of rights of different hierarchies.

On the other hand the victim in the Colombian legal system is referred to as: "anybody who has suffered damages as a result of violations of international human rights or international humanitarian law in the context of armed conflict" (Ministry Justice and Law, 2012) which is clearly explained by the Government of Colombia in the book "Victim's Law and Restitution Act of lands" (2011):

For the purposes of the Law Act, victims will be "*those people who individually or collectively have suffered harm for events taking place from 1 January 1985 as a result of violations of International Humanitarian Law or gross and obvious violations to the International Human Rights, which occurred on the occasion of armed conflict*". Consequently, a victim is any person who suffers harm as a result of violations of Human Rights standards and IHL infractions, regardless of who was the perpetrator.

In order to be coherent with the Colombian context in which only the grossest violation must be reported, all the violations occurred in the context of the internal armed conflict subsequent to January 1, 1985 will be included. The Restitution Act will cover the dispossessed after January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991. In any case, the victims of acts prior to 1985 will accede to the symbolic reparation and guarantees of non-repetition. (Ministry of Justice and Law, 2011, p. 8).

It so happens that these women are no longer in their hometown, they are in Medellín as displaced victims of the armed conflict; told their stories there to everyone, the Colombian people make part of them and the world will understand only a fraction of the overwhelming conflict this country has lived. These stories are for us to relate, to sympathize with them, to understand that an armed conflict brings into play the whole society, the coexistence, democracy, justice, equity, the life itself, the dignity and humanity especially in women.

That is why this research proposed as objective to explore, beginning with the testimonies of the black women, the footprints and the effects left in them by the displacement and recognize the violation of their rights and the victimization that such displacement implies as well as its interrelation with other forms of historical and structural discrimination.

We wonder. What does having the black skin mean in a country like Colombia? What means that the black body is female? What consequences come along besides the black body being a displaced woman? How the body does evidence three victimizations? How does being victim in three senses impact in the inner self? ¿How is living in the public? It should be noticed that the emphasis of this research focused on the situation of women already living in the city of Medellín? Where they had arrived as displaced? How have they reorganized their lives? How do they resist and heal back? What kind of relations do they create after their displacement? How is their cultural memory affected by the displacement?

Colombia is one of the oldest democracies of the continent and has one of the most modern constitutions in which cultural diversity and the black population in particular are recognized; with international agreements ratified by the state in which is stated the guaranty and security of its citizens in general and of the ethnic groups in particular, but the internal armed conflict places the country as one with the highest levels of human rights violations in the world with crimes against humanity and breaches to the International Humanitarian Law.

In the framework of this conflict the displacement is considered a breach to the norms of that law, and also a violation to the human rights. This implies a violation of property rights, freedom, dignity, the good name, to name a few and at the same time linked to other violations such as threats, disappearances and killings. It even affects economic, social and cultural rights and also the special rights obtained by the afrocolombian and indigenous people that lead to multiple violence that intertwine and feedback from multiple actors, some armed and visible like the guerrillas, paramilitaries, and the State and others less visible with multiple economic and political interests.

It is a conflict in which secular, historical and structural inequities join together; the presence of the guerrilla, paramilitaries, groups that emerged after the demobilization

of the before mentioned and gangs in confrontation for the production and control of drug trafficking and other markets; private interests from nationals and foreigners, interests from the private megaprojects and/or the State. All of them actors in dispute for lands, for towns, for the natural resources and richness and, for the political control; violence is present in the framework of the globalization processes, markets opening and efforts of the country in joining and integrate to them as in the case of the free trade treaty with the United States and South Korea.

From the State the involvement of some of its agents on violations to rights either for action or omission, exposed and denounced by national and international organizations, with reiterative advocacy from them for an efficient action of rights protection, as were those pointed out the High Commissioner for the Human Rights office of the United Nations in the last report about the situation of those rights in Colombia 2010 (Pillay, 2010). The State is not able to provide effective protection to the rights of all its citizens, maintaining widespread impunity.

With the international pressure, from victims' organizations and the Colombian Constitutional Court by way of judgments (Law 387, 2007), that has not been effective, as evaluation from the Court confirmed, demanding from the State to have as a priority the development of policies for the prevention, care and compensation of displacement victims. (Colombian Constitutional Court, 2004, sentence T - 025).

This care must be timely, comprehensive ethnic and culturally integrated, with two fundamental components consisting in emergency humanitarian attention and socioeconomic stabilization. In April, 2011 the Congress of the Republic sanctioned the Law of victims and land restitution, in which compensation does not constitute a "gesture of solidarity" from the State, as assumed and established by the recent Law- but the fulfillment of its obligation-. This last Law does not make any special consideration of the victims either black or indigenous, and that is why the present government has been committed to make a previous consultation to sanction a specific Law for that purpose.

With respect to the black displaced communities, the Constitutional Court has recognized the disproportioned impact of displacement, its re-victimization as displaced, the massive violation of their rights, the worsening of their life conditions at all levels, their impoverishment getting even, to mendicancy. That is why The Constitutional Court compels the government to more efficient action, to formulate protection, special and specific care programs for the Afro-Colombian population (Colombian Constitutional Court, 2009, Court Act 005).

The black communities are entitled to their right to territory, one of the special ethnic rights, one of the most affected by displacement. For the Afro-Colombian population the territory is a central issue of their culture and ethnic identity, for this reason the forced displacement of which they are victims attempts against their existence as an

ethnic group (Rodríguez Garavito, 2009, p. 109) and against their special rights to the territory.

With regards of the great impact of displacement on the black population, the Constitutional Court identified three factors that place them at increased vulnerability (Rodríguez Garavito, 2009, p. 109) and: structural exclusion, which results in further marginalization and vulnerability, the existence of mining and agricultural processes in certain regions that impose severe strains on their ancestral lands that has helped their dispossession, and weak legal and institutional protection of collective territories of Afro-Colombian, which has encouraged the presence of armed groups that threaten the people to leave their territories.

However, having their rights recognized, having a public policy against displacement, despite the Court's judgments urging effective prevention, care and compensation to victims, of pointing out special rights of displaced people and the obligation of the State to implement special attention to people like the Afro-Colombians, the present reality is violence and forced displacement against the black population, which instead of diminishing, has increased in number.

Thus, the role played by the State is defined in a condition of expectation, because of the public policies that have been designed lately in relation with the humanitarian crisis that cause the displacement of the Afro-Colombian population, expecting to provide comprehensive care with a differential approach allowing access to the very roots of the problem that plagues this population.

It is expected not to fall in the response of simple handouts, it means, a differential approach to public Afro-Colombian-ethnic policy wishing to succeed in stopping and preventing displacement and in transforming the conditions of structural exclusion in which that part of the population live.

Since 2005, appears in Colombia the concept of transitional justice,<sup>1</sup> resulting in the demobilization of paramilitary groups. A regulatory framework through the courts was created as a setting for the search for truth, justice and reparation of the victims, prompting the issuance of Law 975 of 2005. The atoning paramilitaries would be able to enjoy alternative sentences of up to 8 years, even for crimes against humanity as long as they made known their crimes and repair the damage.

---

<sup>1</sup> Transitional justice is an answer to systematic or widespread violations of human rights. It aims to recognize the victims and to promote peace, reconciliation and democracy. Transitional justice is not a special form of justice but is justice adapted to societies that are transforming themselves after a period of widespread violation of human rights. In some cases, these transformations happen at any moment, in others it can occur after many decades. (Centro Internacional Para la Justicia Transicional CIJ <http://www.ictj.org/es/tj/>).



For a peace and national reconciliation process this transitional justice alternative is well regarded and accepted internationally, as it seeks a greater good for society, especially to stop the spiral of violence, ensuring non-repetition of acts of barbarism to which it has subjected the civilian population. This first step was accompanied in 2008 by decree 1290 through which victim's reparation via administrative and not judicial venue was promoted.

With this rule, the compendium of legal issues to repair includes facts of armed conflict dating back to 1964 having as actors guerrilla and paramilitary groups, and leaving out the acts attributable to State agents. In this rule is established a "fee" of harm through which is offered to the victims of violence up to 40 legal monthly minimum wages (approximately 8,500 Euros). To date there are over three hundred thousand claimants<sup>1</sup> and official statistics speak for more than 30 thousand people "repaired". The law expired on April 22, 2010.

In 2011 was discussed in the Congress of Colombia the aforementioned new Victims Act aspired to be an improvement in all issues in recent years of their predecessors standards. Contrary to earlier legislation still in force, the words: woman, black, Afro-native islanders and palenqueras do make part of text. The so-called differential approach begins to have more space on this new approach in search of restorative justice with this population<sup>2</sup>. But perhaps the biggest advance in the intention to integrate all state bodies around the exploration for the satisfaction of the rights of victims is at least the intention to make effective the constitutional principle of harmonious cooperation between State institutions to address the humanitarian crisis.

Among the main aspects that contribute to public recognition of the victims and their rights, the law passed contemplates the inclusion of farmers in the list of groups recognized as vulnerable, so that the State provide more guarantees and safeguards.

It contains specific provisions on gender, meanwhile, it contemplates that living free of violence is an autonomous right claimable by women. It consecrates as duty of the Public Defender Office to incorporate differential assistance criteria as well as a component of assistance for women victims, in all its actions as their legal representative.

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Acción Social 331,604 applications for administrative compensation were received

<sup>2</sup> Article 13. Differential Approach. The principle of differential approach recognizes that there are people with particular characteristics because of their age, gender, sexual orientation and disability. For this reason, measures of humanitarian aid, care, assistance and reparation established in this Act shall have that approach.

It widens legal action in matters of health and education that will benefit victims, such as exemption from any co-payment fee to those who are covered by the subsidized health plan, the possibility of exemption of charges for services including private academic institutions, the inclusion in health services and HIV testing for STDs, for cases where the victim has been subjected to rape or sexual violence.

It considers as one of the fundamental purposes the creation of a civilian transitional justice framework that overcomes the access barriers present in ordinary legislation as well as the implementation of a unified information system of stripped land to contribute to the restitution of rural properties. With regard to ethnic communities, provisions are made for them to be able to exercise their fundamental right to prior consultation. This is the overall framework of the situation of women resident in the new city; part of the population, victim, now the subject of initiatives and legislation such as the aforementioned.

That is why; to approach the displaced black woman in Medellín a qualitative methodological approach with a historic-hermeneutical focus was used along with strategies of oral stories from the testimony. As a technique was used a semi-structured interview on black displaced women from Chocó province from western Colombia and the Urabá coastal zone of Antioquia province, who were located after their displacement in the suburbs of Medellín.

Qualitative methodologies (Galeano, 2004, p. 20) and strategies such as oral stories are widely used by social sciences because they enable an approach and understanding of complex realities as those generated by human beings taking into consideration both their objectivities and subjectivities.

These methodologies proposed horizontal relations, humanistic, dialogical among subjects participating in research (researcher / researched) enabling knowledge and recognition of their reality by those involved in it. They put special emphasis on the experiential and "privilege the local, the everyday life and the cultural to understand the logic and meaning that the social processes have, for the actors, who are those living and producing the socio-cultural reality" (Galeano, 2004, p. 20) while they are transforming it.

As pointed out by Theodore Adorno, knowledge is generated by the recognition of real problems observed in everyday life of the society. Society as an object can be observed not only objectively, as it is also subjective (Galeano, 2004, p. 68)<sup>1</sup>. He proposes that social science seeks the emancipation of man and society itself, in the social construction of scientific knowledge has to be a priority the interest in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Explaining the thinking of Thuillier: "No matter how great is your desire for objectivity, the researcher does not get rid once and for all of all their beliefs and prejudices, of all images or transmitted habits and more or less directly imposed by society".

transformation of reality, which become painful or contingent on those who experience them.

The qualitative enables to view the social actors such as the displaced black woman and build up from their testimonies and narratives other versions of history and from reality. From this methodology we wanted to approach the Afro-Colombian woman from their subjectivity and also from their particular culture; to know how they live, feel and fight against their situation of triple discrimination. The qualitative research implemented starts with the human actions as the core objective of the research, it folds around the intention of the individual and the collective context in which they live, address manifestations of human nature such as languages, experiences, conflicts, meanings and thoughts.

The possible qualitative visible social actors as the black woman displaced and build from their testimonies and narratives other versions of history and reality. Since this methodology was aspirated Afro-Colombian women get from their subjectivity and also from their particular culture, know how to live, feel and fight against discrimination triple your situation. Qualitative research implemented part of human action as the central object of inquiry, covers the intent of the individual and the collective context in which this unfolds, addressing manifestations of human nature as languages, experiences, conflicts, meanings and imagined.

It was by virtue of the oral stories through testimonies that the reality that black women face in Medellin was known. In this effort to approach the reality of these women from the language point of view, we rely on the philosophy of language and hermeneutics. The latter, as a research method, goes beyond mere literary episodes to address the human reality as meaningful text. Supported on the philosophy of language, it contributes to the understanding of the objectives, motives, and not only of the causes for social behavior but also it is how it helps to make sense of the society.

The philosophy of language focuses on the language from the meaning that it enables the gaining of knowledge and in turn is a means of expression, information and communication of thought. This leads to focus its study outside of logical analysis, in the games and concrete manifestations of language as a valuable human product. It originates in the open conceptions of reality, does not reject possible answers to the evidenced problems, it describes realities and its conclusions guide new scientific ideas and reflections, and it is more interested in the meaning that the description of the facts, since it is not limited to a mere descriptive observation.

These testimonials are part of a violent reality that muzzles the word; it is an act of bravery of these women to render their testimonies. With these tools we sought to "understand" what in their stories, in their own language they wanted to communicate: the unspeakable pain, the paralyzing and isolating fear, whatever was

stated or half stated out of that fear, the silences, the feelings, their frustrations and their dreams. The methodological challenges here were the effort, the rigor, the wittiness, the seriousness to achieve the understanding of their testimony, to "communicate" with them and "communicate" what they tried to communicate, the respect for their words, their context and an ethical commitment to society and reality.

These narratives are not only historical events that account for the processes that have lived and still live displaced black women, but they are also narratives of experiences that can organize experiences in the consciences of those who tell and of those who listen, granting a better understanding of the phenomenon of which we speak.

Memory is subjective, personal, and private; but its impact is still political and public. The displaced black woman that recalls the traumatic occurrence of leaving "their own" narrates her feelings and keeps silent about whatever it is she does not want to say or would rather forget. To this extent we did not want to settle for a fragment of the story or for its official version, we declare there is more! That is the reason we do not censor the words that express the experiences of black women victims of the armed conflict in Colombia from the moment they were cast out their homestead until the day we talked with them, so as to sense a violent road that is not over yet.

This research is thus a contribution to the liberation of speech that examines the phenomena of positions already created. The locals stepped in, subjectivities derived from race, class, sex and sexuality found in the particular context of an uprooted community in an armed internal conflict.

### ***3. Africa: The first voices***

Black, woman, displaced and victim are elements that together characterize human communities in Colombia in a symbiosis that has an invisible ancient origin, silenced by a society that, lost in the conflict and displacement, has led to the uprooting of the ancestor and secularization of the cultural richness. These women carry the heritage of a continent that injected in the history of Colombia one of the most distinctive and important cultural events that identify the territory of that country: being black.

But the problems and differences that black women have to face are bear in a journey where the root of their identity does not disappear, and the cultural practices of their people are not abandoned, at least not from their recollection. Thus, the condition of being a black woman recalls the story of people enslaved and subjected to the interests of colonists of continents who, since the imposition ousted these communities from Africa to new lands that required effort and work for the settlement of new civilizations and as part of the European nations interests to expand Catholicism and appropriation of wealth.

The narratives of black women illustrate some enriching samples of the experience of Africa in Colombia, a cultural variable of that country, living in a community monopolized by the white men, which on their own decided to narrate their stories and others' not letting the main characters' voices be heard, decided also to learn their world view and decided as well to see them as national peers with an enriched cultural heritage adding to the rich diversity of the nation.

In the attempt to identify and visualize the feelings, perceptions and difficulties of the displaced black women, the voice of Antonia and Roberta can be heard in their role of main characters in the custody their black African recollections to later on illustrate a reconstruction of the African ancestry that makes part of what is Colombia nowadays, and in it the displaced black woman. Calling upon their remembrances engraved in their soul as an inherent idea some black displaced women were asked to recreate in their minds what it was, what they understood, what ideas or images awakened in their minds the word *Africa*. In storytelling more than the living voices of the speakers, it is the arousal of their memories and their perception of the world before their eyes what is provoked. It is there and then when to Antonia's mind comes: (...) it is a country where there are more black than white, where there are sectors that are not as bad as they are portrayed, skinny ones and malnourished, the black's ethic is humbleness, the black one might have billions but always has his meekness, not as the white man who has had more opportunities from civilization and less abuse.

Roberta is innate, too, from her elder's continent of famine and poverty image that was sold to the public.

*Africa, because Africa, I understand as Africa, is a country of black people, because I understand so, is like a country of blacks where much poverty is observed, (...) I have a picture, a present from a state representative, it depicts only black people in meager condition, undernourished, in and horrible, and you see those pictures and want to cry (...) those children.*

To them, black women, Africa is a blacks' country or, at least a country where most of its inhabitants are but, as they are classified for their skin color there is also a bond established, focused on the material conditions in which they live, as it is for them scarcity and poverty. In Roberta the semblance of Africa promotes multiple sensations. Astonishment, uncertainty and struggle are expressed before her own representation of Africa and she even finds similarities between her images of Africa and her own experiences in Colombia.

*Are these pictures real, my God? Or is it that people bring this out as to, as to demoralize the black people, for I think all that because they are very shocking pictures where people are seen practically as, like a thread out of malnutrition, unable to eat, there lying, and I put on much confusion, and I said once, to the state*

*representative I know: Have you really been in Africa? And he said that yes, that he had taken those pictures there, and I said : My God, that is true, that here, is true and, he said yes, that's how people in Africa look like, and I have that book I still keep it with me.*

*In Colombia no (...) not the same, not the same, because here there are children that struggle not only afros, here there are antioquians, indigenous, all of them with low malnutrition, so you can't say that is only us blacks that are in that situation, they are white and black in general, you go to several communes and see children with high malnutrition, rather skinny and all.*

The image and perception of Africa goes beyond the idea of a country of colonized Negroes, it drives to a narrative of historical records in which the arrival of the ancestors and their cultural conditions are acknowledged. Antonia explains that her people come from Africa.

*We, in fact, come from slave ancestry, but the people are not aware that we also come from royal ancestries, from very wise and intelligent people, our ancestors knew many things although we almost don't, now, even though we never forgot our dialect and culture. I love my people and my African people, and I miss all things I do with my people and our customs should never be lost; when my son passed away we did all the rituals and chants for him.*

The alabaos, the songs, are manifestations of the cultural richness that survive and are transmitted among black people in Colombia, Antonia explains: "*The alabaos are some customs of our ancestors, are habits of the black race, then we say the prayers to learn how to enter the kingdom of God, because they are one thousand years of waiting to enter heaven (...)*". The alabao has shifted to black women in the department of Chocó and Roberta that is also now in the city of Medellín:

*(...) There are many kinds of alabaos, alabaos that are sung, the alabaos when a person dies, the adult alabao the alabao of children, those are alabaos that are sung. When a person dies is that one makes his alabao, that's why I sing, cry and all that stuff. Have you seen that here in Medellín? Yes, because I once was with a lady who sang, here are many who sing that, but I'm sorry, but here are many, for example here when a person dies they are folicles pa 'singing, but there are of them do not sing because several of them apparently angry because people say why when a person dies a celebration in honor, those are the alabaos, who sing their songs that they know pa 'their dead, which are different alabaos that the person when he was young, when the person was old, (...) are wonderful things, (...) Here people will feel sorry, here are many people who sing the alabao but I feel sorry (...).*

The alabao emerges from the narratives of the black woman with with a history of the individual, the family, the community. That song is present during the different stages

of the life of a Negro and, beginning with the event with which it is associated, it impels the community to meet. The alabao represents the feeling of the blacks, the experiences of the customs that accompany those human groups to different territories where they spread those practices, territories they arrive for violence and aggression reasons, territories where the songs are silenced by pain and displacement.

#### **4. Memories in the displacement**

Josephine is a 39 year old woman with 4 children, three men and a woman. She has tried to give them all the opportunities she never had when she was a child in the Chocó province, one of the poorest of the country.

*I am from Istmina. From a village near there, Its name is Bazuru, they are two streams in the shape of a Y, and the town is in the middle of both. It is very small, with only a few inhabitants, with near, I think, a hundred houses or so. Now lonelier than ever, because the people have moved from there, to Istmina, to Cali, so people are diminishing because violence is harder there (...). Last year I went with my children, we had never visited there since I had left, and now it is more desolated, the rivers are gone, they are finished, they are dry because of the mining, no! Sadness.*

When she came to Medellin, at 14, she started to work in a family house. There she experienced humiliation from other women, her employers demanded that everything had to be the way they liked it. Labor conditions for women working in houses are still deplorable and there, their condition of dignified human beings becomes altered for the imaginary of a culture that sees them as second category beings. They are women who arrive from displacement willing to study, but many do not get it, have only the rural teachings of the countryside and of the production for their families and the community.

*The guerrilla followed us much where we lived and then now one (...) like we worked there on the mountain, there is much fear to go to the mountain and work because you never knew what was going to show up and guerrilla kept to the mountain and the people remained in their houses and the one who stays home starves and then we had to come here (...) It never is the same in the field (...) One there, at least I started to work from ten years and my son who is eighteen years old does not work yet, so I tell them my life has been very hard, that if I did not work I did not eat. They instead do not work like that, at eighteen they get up and get an arepa to eat, which I could not do in Chocó if I did not work.*

The city is home for many displaced people and in it internal displacements happen and despite having friends and family does not feel like home.

There (in Bazurto) there are still a few relatives but most of them are here.

*More than once I thought in returning, Chocó is now worse than before. Now there are more armed groups, besides in the town abuse women and because have children and they are very young I am afraid. It has always been like that, but I think people now are more like without pity. (...) I had to see the abuse on women from the armed groups, not somebody close but people I knew, then you are forced to leave because those are things that scare me very much. They had already committed many homicides. Although return well, yeah.*

In memories you return to your land that you recognize and identify; a land where no matter how hard it is to live there are feelings of yearning, hopes and willingness. There humiliation does not exist, where the perspectives of working the land compared with the present situation makes you remember a better life in your hometown.

Antonia is a woman who comes from Apartadó, in Antioquia province. In her story the happenings are so painful and plentiful: To be stalked on because of a brother in UP<sup>1</sup>, incarcerated, living the death of her husband and a son leave her own, her house, her lifestyle. But nothing has forced her to back up, stop being to help herself, to help others. Antonia is black woman that has been able to transform tragedy in opportunity to learn, to be a better human being.

To Antonia violence and displacement start when the multinational arrive to the Caribbean region of the Antioquia province. Peace, working the land, happiness give way to pain and dead, fear to opening the house and give a glass of water because she might be branded as of collaborator of some party or armed group.

*(...) because people did not share whatever they had and .people are never satisfied with what they have but they want more and more (...) their interests are for money, to get richer, even by killing their Colombian brothers, because people no longer look at what is inside.*

Antonia is a fighter who cries every time she remembers her son recently killed in the city of Medellín, She lives with three daughters, after moving for different neighborhoods of the city in search for a place where she would be able to live peacefully and permanently. She has organized with other women and bravely they denounce the mistreatment of the victims, they work for justice in the country.

*I live with a daughter who was raped and is ill (...) is mentally ill, I do not know what to do(...) most displaced have psychological problems and as in my case, there are too many, to many women happened the same thing they kill our children, what we love the most.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Patriotic Union Political Party.



*(...) I see my enemies as brothers because we are all brothers, White, black and all, because we walk on the same soil, rich and poor, just like the story of Cain and Abel the kill each other (...) I have remained silent for very long time but now my talk is from the heart , because one loves our children and the family , my little son used to wash cars to help me, sometimes he came so dirty from washing cars, for him to come to Medellin and get killed.*

Finally, Roberta is a woman born in Condoto, Chocó; she “learned to responsible” taking care, since she was 10 years old, her nieces in the Municipality of Apartadó, in the region of Urabá in the Antioquia province.

*There was my sister killed. They were looking for another woman by the same name, they got her, and they killed her and left her there dead. I always lived with my little sister and that was why I took care of her daughters and that made me be responsible, I got married had two daughters and any way I kept being responsible of my nieces.*

*We were threatened, because the problem was that we had to flee the zone, the case is that it was a wrong killing, they expect the family to take some kind of reaction and we because of her dead had to get out of there. At that time in Apartadó there was a lot of violence, and then it was that in those neighborhoods was the guerrilla, the paramilitaries killing people , there were many and we thought in coming here, because we thought Medellin being such a big city and maybe we can make a living.*

Roberta is an example of the displaced woman who upon her arrival could not work to subsist due to the rejection of her condition. She said she avoided begging not only for all the contemptuous looks that situation attracts but also because an independent and proud of her skin color, woman, experiencing that humiliation is a painful blow. Humiliation that has been perpetuated ever since America received the African black slaves considered to be soulless and valueless, a memory we inherited and refuses to understand that we all are humans and deserve to be treated as such.

They are black women who yearn for a better life conditions for them and for the whole displaced population. Roberta, who has helped to cook in farms, serving peasants in her hometown Apartadó, has made brooms, mops, and a woman who does not stay still to go forward in life. She organized a group of women, she does workshops, manages to help people of her community who need it as much or more than her; she works restless so that the city, Medellín, understands that the displaced are people who suffer and need serious actions and committed with their situation, which is in itself burdensome as Roberta’s is but it could be even more and, turn even worse in the city.

*I was displaced from the neighborhood. You know that the work of a leader is very sensitive (...) the problem of displacement of the neighborhood was because I have*

*an association and I work for the community and I did a lot of social work and you know that the paramilitaries (...). The problem is that now the communitarian police that had always existed there was taken out of there, the police come to my home social because we do social work and you know that as these neighborhoods are hot, they think one is a snitch, a Police messenger; I do not know what they imagine.*

*I had a well put together program there in the neighborhood. We had several activities there, we made brooms and mops, we worked recycling. Then some women made brooms and mops and the others recycled in the same association program we had 160 boys and we gave them a glass of milk, then we moved a lot of little things with the city community in mind (...)*

*When I lived in Apartadó our idea was talent. Because we went, danced, at that time they took us to dance in comparsas or group dancers. Girly things. We danced in those events and all, now when I came out to Medellín, I lost my liking for the customs, I do not like to dance now, I lived now, lived like a different culture different from Apartadó, because there, there was music all over, and dancing and the ambient and all those things, I arrived here to Medellín and took to work.*

*(...) Here they celebrate San Pacho's holidays which is the patron's saint day in Quibdó, that is celebrated in Chocó but right here there are many Chocoans, now at the end of October was the holiday. I do not attend that now because I am no longer on those whereabouts, but I like to see it. They dance, dance every kind of talents. It is like here a holy week, they take the saints out on a parade, just like that is San Pacho's holiday, they take the saint out and many people come out. And they celebrate the Afro-Colombianidad. The mayor authorizes the celebration of the Chocóan fiesta, San Pacho's day, slavery day.*

## **5. Conclusion**

The socio-cultural richness of a country like Colombia perhaps has not been internally estimated and in less measure in the international context. The historical configuration of its diverse population comes together in the same multiculturalism of ideologies, beliefs, and customs which because of economic and political happenings have condemned a whole country to an armed conflict of multiple actors with huge consequences for more than 40 years.

After many atrocities and suffering, Colombia looks up various sectors of the population, to identify and recognize the victims as part of the experience of a crude process that has segregated differing social sectors to situations of profound vulnerability. Among them are the black women of the country, women who carry one of the most memorable and tangible legacies of the African colonial history that raise the foundations of much of Latin-American.

These black displaced, victimized women are Colombian, mothers, wives, sisters, workers, friends, neighbors, leaders, voices of courage and hope who materializing one of the clearest cases of forced displacement, discrimination and vulnerability have maintained the from color of their skin to the strength of their ancestral chants, the hope for the return to their territory and for the turn of history in a country they love in which they keep their most profound roots.

Memories of slavery, strength, community, submission, they are voices of truth that from the suffering of uprooting and lost, fight the memories of a conflict that forced them to a change their lives in a country that has not yet, been able to visualize them effectively for their recognition and protection of their rights. But similarly as with their chants they raise their voices together with the truth. Such a common truth that permits Colombia today to acknowledge and not to forget that it was worse and that we do not know everything yet but, that we are committed to listen and built together the memory of a population.

## **References**

- Andrei Correa, A.; Sañudo Palace, J.; Jiménez Ocampo, S.; Díaz Benjumea, M.R. (2009), *Forced internal displacement. Restoring urban and social identity*, Ottawa, Editions Uninorte.
- Castillejo, A. (2000), *Poetics of the other: Anthropology of war, loneliness and internal exile in Colombia*, Bogotá, ICANH.
- Colombian Constitutional Court (2004), Sentence T-025. Judge Proponent: Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa.
- Colombian Constitutional Court (2007), Court Act 109. Judge Proponent: Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa.
- Colombian Constitutional Court (2007), Court Act 233. Judge Proponent: Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa.
- Colombian Constitutional Court (2008), Court Act 116. Judge Proponent: Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa.
- Colombian Constitutional Court (2009), Court Act 005. Judge Proponent: Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa.
- Congress of the Republic of Colombia (1997), Law 387 whereby measures are taken to prevent forced displacement, the care, protection, consolidation and economic stabilization of the internally displaced by violence in the Republic of Colombia.
- Galeano, M.E. (2004), *Strategies of qualitative social research: The shift in gaze*. Medellín: La Carreta Editors.
- Ibáñez Londoño, A. M. (2009), *Forced displacement in Colombia: an irreversible path toward poverty*, Bogotá, Editorial Kimpres Ltd. First Edition.

- Ibañez, A.; Moya, A. (2007) *The displaced population in Colombia: Examination of socioeconomic conditions and analysis of current policies*, Bogotá: National Planning Department of Colombia.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2008), Online document taken from: [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/093BEDA2D1625DDCC12574E3004828C3/\\$file/col\\_ocha\\_idps\\_1jan-30jun08.gif](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/093BEDA2D1625DDCC12574E3004828C3/$file/col_ocha_idps_1jan-30jun08.gif)
- Ministry of Justice and the Law of Colombia (2012), *Law of victims and restitution*. Online document taken from: [http://www.leydevictimias.gov.co/#!\\_\\_quien-es-victima](http://www.leydevictimias.gov.co/#!__quien-es-victima) april 28, 2012.
- Observatory of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law of the Presidency of the Republic of Colombia (2012), Online document taken from: <http://www.derechoshumanos.gov.co/Observatorio/Paginas/Observatorio.aspx>
- Pillay, N. (2010), *Annual Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on the human rights situation in Colombia*. United Nations. General Assembly. March 4, 2010 online document taken from: <http://es.scribd.com/doc/28310256/Informe-de-La-ONU-Sobre-Los-Derechos-Humanos-en-Colombia-2010> el día 23 de mayo de 2011
- Restrepo Forero, C.I. (1997), *Solidarities and conflicts in neighborhoods of Quibdó*. Thesis (Anthropologist), Medellín: Antioquia University, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Anthropology.
- Rodríguez Garavito, C. (2009), *Displacement Afro*. Bogota: Uniandes Editions, The Andes University, first Edition.
- UN Refugee Agency - UNHCR (2010), Online document taken from: <http://www.acnur.org/t3/noticias/noticia/el-desplazamiento-en-rdc-alcanza-niveles-desastrosos-segun-antonio-guterres/>

# RURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: BETWEEN ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Gabriel PRICINA\*

*Abstract. The efforts to understand the social and economic changes in Romania require the understanding of the social context and the factors contributing to its ongoing growth. Although the expectations of the 1990s have not resulted to improved the living standards, we find that the rural population did not witness how the dynamics of the Romanian society, but the extent of their capacity for assessing individual interests trying to adapt to new demands of the modern society.*

*The current difficulties a given by the efforts of the grafting the modern elements on the traditional funds to prospect the behavior checked in the past but with mixed results today.*

*In this article we seek to identify the possibility of connecting the opportunities to the traditional mentality of a society comprised of the fever requirements of globalization and find answers to questions about the ability to maintain the traditional cultural background or if the current upgrade price is the traditionalism.*

*Keywords: Rural entrepreneurship, globalization, rural environment, peasant culture, traditions.*

## 1. Introduction

The traditional societies, especially those from Eastern Europe have experienced a history of fluctuating under the influence of some periodic changes in the global geopolitical configuration. The differences between Eastern and Western companies

---

\* Lecturer, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Craiova, Romania, Email: gabriel.pricina@gmail.com

have resulted in taking the population to two different life philosophies: Western followed by America, where Western philosophy was taken to the highest levels of economic performance, the company development based on excellence and economic competitiveness, up to a high concentration of economic and military domination. East followed a different path of evolution, the social balance has become the focus of the small rural communities, and continuously exposing the risks of various geopolitical events that have reshaped repeatedly the social and the economic context, not oriented the economic competitiveness.

The economic strength of the Western civilization has spurred the development impact in other fields: social, cultural, educational, etc. The trend was that the emergence of the social systems with a coherent and harmonized rapid transmission area role models, supported by favorable profitability ratios resulting from weaker countries, militarily and economically. The main gain of this configuration was the social development boost and the population change their tolerant and versatile.

The Eastern countries such as Romania, have been characterized by efforts of connecting to orbit developed societies, made up of small rural communities, autarchic, concerned with subsistence and not by profit. In this case, the balance was the main goal of social organization, economic and religious. The family structures and community relations were subsume with perpetuating community in which economic needs were integrate into a harmonized system. The dynamics, implied by the context, aimed to identify the social functions seeking the balance, in the absence of the external influences the preservation of this common tendency, which maintained balanced the social structure. The tradition has become the main reference of the rural communities that offer continuity and perpetuation of landmarks.

The current differences between companies in developed and developing countries reveals a historical foundation that does not allow initiation of social development in the second category of countries at a pace similar to the first category. The community inertia, based on a useful mechanism in the past coexists with the trends of modernization and adaptation to the systems values that actually are better suited to individual aspirations.

The discrepancies between contemporary societies show a difference of structure in the location of economic activities in the world community. In developed countries it occupies a central role, due to material values prevalent, while in countries like Romania are integrate into a universe based on religious and traditional values.

## ***2. The specific rural entrepreneurship in Romania***

The research conducted in the interwar period showed a specific economic Romanians philosophy, other than the Western one. This traditional Romanian

perpetuated over time as a way of understanding the work, maintained even under the communists, the Romanian villages was a sought transformation of the social units based on peasant household, the agricultural production units for efficient exploitation of agricultural potential.

Although the results were remarkable, an important share in the payment of the external debt in the late 80 s back agriculture. We consider that land dispossession of the peasants and the agricultural areas for large concentration of labor productivity growth enjoyed adhesion among peasants, first outsourcing surplus value derived from intensive agricultural land and its transfer to the national economy.

The peasant philosophy subsistence oriented, reconfigured according to the political changes, maintaining even the farms by reducing the agricultural land area possessed.

This shift achieved by diversifying sources of income needed for family household. Commuting from the communist phenomenon is an example of this form of adaptation. For those who have left the villages there was a tendency to return after 1990. Some of the industrial cities returned from retirement age. Nevertheless, there are large proportions of those who left the jobs in the urban side and returned to their villages, with the original purpose of dealing with agriculture. The difficulties that followed during the 22 years of transition have brought the focus of family diversification through temporary migration inflows, especially abroad; there is no possibility of commuting. Note that economic ties between the left, especially young people, and family groups did not cease, and plans to return to their native places are obvious, especially thanks to the investments in construction of houses.

The analytical perspective is open by the approach that helps to explain some paradoxes of the Romanian society. Although the agricultural potential is significant, however, rural residents are not oriented in investments in the labor productivity growth and benefit gained from working outside the community is intend to provide comfort and modernization of farms. Employment in agriculture continues to be limited to the needs of the family or the circumstances under occupation temporary inability to work better paid.

Keeping a point of view that the economic profile of peasant farming "does not share, in terms of economic behavior, rational philosophy oriented capital, whose aim is the exploitation of the gains as large, high rent capitalist. Its aim is not the labor productivity, but the employment of the labor available" (Dumitrescu, 2009, p.470).

Currently, the employment of the labor is not compulsory in farming, but by working under the best paid areas. The alternative offered by the different areas of economic activity of agriculture has reduced propensity to gain ground. This principle of economic adjustment can justify many cases partial exploitation of agricultural lands

while refusing the sale of worked. They can be considering by owners required reserves during the crisis of labor occupied in productive activities other than agriculture.

These readjustments of the world today a based on specific rural villages in the interwar period, identified by the researchers of the Sociology School of Bucharest. In the work mentioned above, Mircea Vulcanescu, one of the stalwarts of student teams led by Dimitrie Gusti, is paraphrase: "Between the capitalist enterprise and the peasant economy is a difference of structure. Holding the capitalist revolve around money, a fundamental element, as long as peasant farming foundation is the family group. Capitalist enterprise is the unit of production to achieve a maximum income per unit of expense money due to continue running a business. Peasant household is a foreign capitalist philosophy in the sense that its core, the family group, it operates with categories such as rent, wages, material costs, net profit etc..., and the work is intermittent. Romanian household is both a producer and a consumer unit. Based on the work of its members, it aims to meet consumer needs based only on the family group." (Dumitrescu, 2009, p.471).

The interwar analyzes of "peasant question" have shown a true aspect of the present farms: persistence and ability to survive in any social context. The farms are more flexible and adapted to change than farms based on the flow of capital, with predominant focus on the minimum allowed ignoring the maximum possible "in terms of intensity of labor exploitation, capitalist enterprise seeking the maximum profit per unit of *expense* money. With insufficient exploitation of resources, the low productivity of labor, occasioned by a technologically primitive production costs exceeding the total cost, capitalist enterprise goes bankrupt. The goal is to maximize the income per peasant household labor unit, in this case exist a lower limit-bankruptcy-but a "relatively high" that consumer needs. Moreover, it is and explains the survival of peasant farming in contexts characterized by scarcity of resources the capitalist enterprise seems pointless." (Dumitrescu, 2009. p. 471).

Foregoing illustrates the systems value of the Romanian rural communities compared to Western in substance between peasant and capitalist economy.

The main factor is the economic downturn, which has disrupted the economies of rural economy specific niche. The lack of the economic peasant's subterfuge led to a deterioration of households who are marginalize in the economy based on specific capital inflow modern economy. Thus, "[...] 93.7% of Romania's territory is rural territory in the rural side today lives 45% of Romanians, 40% of those working are employed in activities located in rural, agricultural contribution to GDP is building, but only 13.4% in 2002 (although in 1990 was 21.2%)." (Badescu, 2009. p.476).

The collapse of agriculture in the area occupied by the economic productivity, revealed by decreasing the impact on GDP, but with high labor employment,



illustrates by the current turmoil in the Romanian society, still unable to find balance target set in the rural population. Although after 1990s has appears many modern farms, productive and a major impact on national economy. Still visible in most of the population is not observing improvement in the living standards, which suggests the idea of moving from there to the phrase " two Romania countries - one urban and one rural " a tint of vision on rural areas where two worlds coexist: the traditional and modern one. The price paid from the status quo is the constant impoverishment of a large proportion of the rural population. The dimensions of the rural poverty are three times higher than in urban areas and indicators that show size analysis are those of severe poverty (Badescu, 2009, p.476), which in 2002 reached 11%. Use of the statistical indicators of poverty can be misleading in a one-dimensional approach. Extreme poverty, defined as income less than a dollar a day has reduced weight, suggesting a reduced rate of poverty. The indicator that best illustrates the dimensions of poverty, with future implications difficult to estimate at present is that of poverty vertical range of specialists presented the Sociology Institute of the Romanian Academy (Badescu, 2005, pp.33-39).

The development in the rural areas of two philosophies based on two existing lines: a crystallized around profit, following the Western model, the other based on the traditional philosophy of the rural economy.

In the case of the two categories are entitled to a brief comment on Romanian traditional value system.

Traditional old world included work on the same footing with the other elements of the universe specific areas. Hierarchy of social values based on the principles, which excluded profit as a priority group and individual existence.

In an effort to produce a typology of values, the author Rudolf Rezsöházy (2008, pp.18-21), advancing a classification dividing them into: core values, structural values, peripheral values, final values, instrumental values values overall, sectorized values, explicit values, default values, hidden values. Using this reference, in an effort to understand the traditional philosophy, believe that the definition given by the author mentioned values structuring is relevant: "They all orders, create hierarchy, provides the ultimate explanation of crucial decisions. Through them, the actor gives their life orientation. For some, the families structure, for others, love and professional success, religion or football or any combination of two or three predominant values. They allow plotting profile actors and profiles reveals that large grouped families have similar values present in society: e.g. "postmodernists", "traditionalists", Christians, laity, right, or left orientations, following criteria" (Rezsöházy, 2008, 20).

The persistence of these values related to the specific culture of a nation's culture and social model in culture. If Romanians can see the two forms of socializing the

individual: the first is based on traditional values, values which are transmitted structured way of understanding the world and existential universe, and the second belongs to the formal education system and institutionalized. The two social systems complement each other to a point where the individual will build on those social forms that are closest to their own personality structure. The general tendency will be to prioritize the passage of the two systems and one in the background, although they do not involve removing the other. This shift is support by the orientation of the population to levels that meet the educational needs of hearing individuals at a time. In this case, adoption of traditional philosophy of life is follow by taking a lower level of education, because that tradition provides answers existential questions. Limiting education exposes individuals only when necessary to major risks in times of crisis. For example, in 2005, the researcher reports: "The rural population, 23.7% have an average education level (high school and colleges), 20.9% less than in urban areas. This gap added and the stock at higher education, which reached -15.2% below the city, for the two components of the stock reaching rural-urban gap threshold of 36%" (Badescu, 2005, pp. 6-7).

The educational gap favoring the traditionalist orientation of the peasants at the expense of entrepreneurship of Western origin, generating risk aversion and reluctance bank financial instruments designed to transform subsistence peasant economy, based on the principle of the minimum allowed, the maximum possible oriented farms. It can be a good reason of reduced financial support for investment in agriculture. In addition, accessing European funds for developing agricultural farms is insignificant. Although financing conditions incubate a number of cumbersome bureaucratic and discouraging conditions, however, believe that indifference to small landowner's possibilities is justified further by defining value system.

References to rural entrepreneurship are defines largely by economic definitions. In parallel with this we refer to the transformation of rural areas, a different attitude, which, though undefined, may be an entrepreneurial vision of Romanians: if the economic definitions distinguish between the farm production and peasant economy, in terms of the rural residents can speak of the peasant economy understood as a means of a family support group. This is not an end in itself and is not regard as a permanent objective of the activity. Since determining the value system of the rural traditions, low labor intensity to the level of assurance minimum allowed, making the family to seek new opportunities for self-supporting, giving, easy even for the operation of agricultural property. Alternatives found in the communist era consisted in carrying out professional activities in other non-agricultural sectors, located predominantly in urban areas. The family center still has floated around the village household, reduced by political reasons to housing and supporting the group. The investments made by the new proletarians of the houses are a clue of their intention. The constant links with the family, in the traditional vision, is the argue trends

changes in the way of obtaining the minimum allowed by the traditional household storage, in many cases only the symbolic value, and the subsistence of the family by working outside the home.

Although the traditional world was unbalanced by eliminating or reducing a component (joint work of the family), however, other components of the traditional values have remained present and accounted for substitute work outside the home had enough to perpetuate the traditionalist model. Later in 1990, the trend of returning to areas from regaining ownership, led to a symbiosis between the two formulas to ensure the minimum acceptable. The new owners or the potential owners (the future rights of inheritance) compared the alternatives and chose the most convenient formulas by reporting the requirements to ensure their effort. We appreciate that in this context, traditional philosophy was preserved, and the rural residents were specifically adapted to a modern economic context, ensuring the minimum allowed by the outsourcing of the economic activities in order to ensure convenient report work-incomes.

The frequent economic crises of the last 22 years have affected the income from work in industry, and for a period of the economic emigration has become the main outlet. The recent global economic crisis has affected the constant financial turn flow from developed countries targeted by Romanian families in rural communities, leading to limiting the use and ownership of a state of expectation. Recovery trend in agriculture is low due to how the report needs work is valued for work outside the home.

The concerns migrants show interest in their home communities through major investments in building homes and modernizing traditional households, but only in terms of housing and not the intention of turning into farm production.

The peasant economy, understood as an economic unit, entered into dissolution, but the spirit that has sustained for centuries this form to ensure their subsistence remained alive. The subsistence farm work was a means of ensuring survival. In the present economic alternatives offered by the industry and its work overseas units underlying the economic downturn, but the mutual support system of the family members has remained relatively constant.

Change in components of the traditional values: customs, traditions, superstitions, etc. are dynamic. The functions performed by the time they disappeared, they gained importance only to the ritual devoid of meaning in a period of the secularization of society.

In the present context we can say that in terms we can speak of a rural family-based entrepreneurship and spiritual soul ties between members, the economic activity is complementary.

The relationship between economics and culture requires a complex connections. Ignoring them can lead to failure of the whole reform program. The past experiences

of development policies revealed that similar projects implemented in similar geographical areas in the world of economic, do not include condition of successful comparable conditions of different cultural foundations. In this mean, the anthropologist Conrad Kottak (1990, pp. 723-731) classify projects into two consistent categories "compatible culturally projects and incompatible culturally projects". This conclusion results from the study of many World Bank projects implemented in several regions. Cultural differences have become in many cases insurmountable obstacles in the development of regional or local. Ignoring this feature has led to failures in some regions where tradition is strong in comparison with the development. The paradigm underlying the reductionism in implementing development projects resulting from the economic approach to social reality, which is much closer to Western philosophy.

The cultural dimension of a community is defined differently and is located mostly in the background, without the cultural equivalent economic size, some authors consider culture as "being a static and a voice coming from the past" (Rao and Walton, 2004). Culture is for many practitioners as having a purely theoretical value, isolated from any practical use "Rather than being seen as a practical way to solve everyday problems, culture is seen as tradition records that are stored symbolic elements and of identity. When speaking of a group culture, most people think of artifacts, music, language, food, heritage, symbols, myths and archetypes in other words, an amount of nonsocial and noneconomic objects, floating somewhere above society" (Chelcea, 2006, p.124).

Another approach to practitioners is that of considering culture as a "residual variable", a generic term that includes any element "of what is not explained by education, income, age, gender, capital, etc." (Chelcea, 2006, p. 124).

Returning to the relationship between culture and economy, consider that in the case of Romania, the rural population is the holder of a traditional cultural heritage in the economy is only one dimension of a complex system. In this case, cognitive effort requires notification of when they meet the conditions for the development or community development. It is important the will of change and how it is perceived. The research in biology and paleontology has allowed explanation of the causes of evolution, which have transposed by anthropologists to explain the changes through which a society passes. Alfred's Law Rommer (Chelcea, 2006, p.126), innovation and evolution appears were the body survival is necessary, affected by a hostile context and the purpose is the system balanced and not evolution.

From this point of view, the willing to change conditioned by the need to seek social life balance. Social development can be planned according to the cultural context in relation to the tectonic geopolitical affected by globalization.

To what extent attachment to the family group will be affected by the dissolution of traditional integrator universe is a question that will get a satisfactory answer in the coming years.

### ***3. The rural entrepreneurial trends***

The transformations in Romania during the transition period led to some significant changes in the economic sectors.

The globalization has generated and rushed to adopt a new set of values, similar to advanced societies. The rule of property values led to a number of changes with effects more or less noticeable now.

In Romania we find a clear distinction between the two social environments, the focus tends to modernize the urban area and most the entrepreneurial, while the rural areas is dependent on the agricultural work.

Between the two social environments there is a functional interdependence of economic agents, the relocation of businesses in cities in neighboring villages to reduce the maintenance costs, but provides services and products towns, intense trade that led to activation economic environment in cities and rural areas to place depending on the urban economic and social front.

In the rural areas, we cannot speak of a labor market and the employment is different activating the population by the level of education. The urban area attract the skilled workers overqualified while the rural elderly population is concentrated, poorly qualified workforce and low population studies. The statistics indicate that such a state of affairs raises serious problems in modernizing rural communities, the lack of development agents.

The current trends in entrepreneurial activities are different from those in the urban areas. Although the number of landowners is high, one cannot speak of the emergence of an entrepreneurial culture.

With regard to the urban educational structure shows that the population of working age, investments in various sectors, of which emerges the tertiary sector, illustrates an adaptation of the model of Western urban economy. One of the most important factors contributing to this change is that of the foreign investment, especially big corporations peak areas like telecommunications, IT, finance and banks, which have become agents of the corporate culture in Romania.

These agents increase the modernism, given by the specific activity, favored the implementation of a new set of the social values of the urban Romanians. Started under the communists, because the forced industrialization, this new set started to be really internalize after 1990. Productivity, competitiveness, profits have become

milestones in active Romanians working in these sectors. The Romanian traditional cultural specificity, based in rural areas, has lost a number of features and major cities of Romania like in terms of values assumed by the West.

Some statistics (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, data processing) are relevant in understanding the discrepancies between the two environments. Although in terms of population living in rural areas almost half of the Romanian citizens (44.9% in 2009), however in terms of employment only 28.7% of the population were enrolled in agriculture. Most of the population is employ in industry, 42.8%, followed by those in the services sector with 21.1% and 7.4% are employing in construction. Between years 2008-2009, there were few changes in the percentage of core business areas: employment in agriculture increased from 27.5% to 28.7%, industry employment increased from 42.0% to 42, 8% in services employment decreased from 22.6% to 21.1%, while construction employment rate fell from 7.9% to 7.4%.

The slight increase in the employment in agriculture had concluded in the previous section regarding the use of labor in agriculture as a refuge in times of economic crisis. The reduced activity in areas such as construction services can be found in the other two major areas, such as industry and agriculture, (overall decreases in the first two areas meet 2.0%, identical to the percentage growth in employment in sectors where there was an increase).

The different cultural foundations can be found in economic concentration in the two residences.

By processing the statistical data (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, data processing) and comparing the results obtained shows that at the beginning of recorded (2002) farms had 3.19% of all enterprises, the industry trade and other services accounted for 96.15% and financial and insurance accounted for 0.65%.

Between years 2008-2009, the same types of companies (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, data processing) had the following percentages: those in agriculture increased from 2.45% to 2.79%, those of industry, commerce and other services decreased from 96.29% to 95.87% and financial and insurance increased from 1.26% to 1.34%.

These changes, which try to capture the economic configuration changes, indicate a decrease of entrepreneurship in agricultural activities, due to trend growth rate of employment in agriculture.

Increasing the share of the financial and insurance companies reveals urban economic orientation towards the tertiary sector, due to the consolidation of these institutions in the cities.

The specific activities of the rural areas, particularly agriculture, is carried into the emergency investments on individual holdings or, rather, into refugees from the crisis due to the lack of the economic opportunities in the urban areas or the lack of jobs for professionals such as the industrial and requiring a medium or lower level qualifications.

How the land is distributed in, the rural areas continue the trend to keep the individual holdings, the family and difficulties in the developing economic entities with legal personality. Recall that the second category, which includes units with legal personality, is one that involves the use of wage labor.

Thus, depending on the legal status of farms, the results of the Agricultural Census in 2002 shows an overwhelming proportion of over 90% of the agricultural land owned by the individual farms. For comparison, census data have been update through the structural surveys in 2005 and 2007.

The trends in these statistics (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, and data processing) indicate a decrease in the total number of farms between years 2002-2007, with a rate of 12.34%. The number of farms exploited agricultural areas decreased by 10.41%. The reducing farms have led to lower land farmed, by 1.28%. Returning average size of farms increased by 12.54% and a surface that is used land holdings increased by 10.19%.

Increasing agricultural land area per unit of production is due to decrease their number.

By comparison, of the legal status and individual, we find that the number of individual holdings fell by 12.29% and those with legal status decreased by 21.93%. Among those who used agricultural area, individual holdings fell by 10.35%, while those with legal personality fell 21.15%. If agricultural land use is established and the first difference that highlights the differences in structure between the two entities: the individual holdings utilized agricultural area increased by 16.31% and the use of legal personality holdings fell by 23.07%.

The agricultural areas that a assigned an individual holding higher 32.37% and 30.00% for those who use agricultural area. Holdings with legal decreased 1.45% and 2.43% for those who use agricultural areas.

These differences show that due to the economic inconsistencies lose much of Romania's agricultural potential by non-exploitation. To assess the full extent of losses should the Romanian economy, as the figures above, to add other factors that contribute to the overall decline of agriculture: the lack of modern facilities, lack of technology, preferences subsistence the crops (wheat and corn). From this point of view, the use of large areas of agricultural land is not sufficient for realizing the existing potential. If the yield per hectare is lower than in the past or than the maximum you can get, we can speak of understanding the agricultural potential.

Recent research has revealed that rural restructuring involves the overcoming obstacles, which turns into identified factors of the current events in rural areas. C. Doltu (2011, p. 15) mentions six such obstacles "in rural areas are less opportunities to find jobs compared to urban areas. Second, government programs that address rural often suffer an inconsistent approach to encourage small businesses. Thirdly, the rural development of human capital is lower, compared to urban areas. Fourth, the expertise that exists at local government level is not sufficient for recovery potentials. Fifth, most times, the existing infrastructure in rural areas is in a precarious state and prevent business and reduce transition costs. Finally, often government for rural development approaches have proved ineffective precisely because they ignored the importance of involving communities and, especially, have sought to promote entrepreneurship in rural areas".

Another important element of productive agriculture was in relation to the philosophy of life in the previous section of this article. Thus, selling large quantities of products, generating a profit for those involved in this field, but also for the Romanian state. By providing a minimum level allowed by the individual producers believe that the current preferences of individual properties and preservation of a small family group subsistence non-agricultural labor or in cities or abroad, will change and will prefer the intensive use of agricultural land owned.

The statistical differences above illustrate that depending on individual holdings the dynamic national economy are more adaptable than with legal personality, whose share is declining.

The farms with the legal category consist of the following entities: companies/agricultural associations, businesses, government units, cooperative units and other organizations.

These entities have different trends (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, data processing). Between years 2002-2007, companies and agricultural associations decreased by 34.76%, and those who use agricultural land 34.31%. Agricultural area decreased by 36.87% and the average returns for such an entity that has used farmland decreased by 3.90%. Statistical data show a decline in agricultural societies or associations.

Companies (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, data processing) decreased by 16.15%, and those who use agricultural areas have reduced the number to 13.30%. Exploited agricultural land decreased by 10.04%. The average area of companies, increased by 7.28% and 3.76% for those used agricultural area. This percentage shows a tendency to extend the tenure and not exploit it. In a way we can explain the increased average area of land that belongs to a company compared with the the increase only half of the companies exploited areas. The weakening of the number of these entities is an increase in the average



agricultural land, which is a company, which as maintaining a relatively constant surface amid dynamic economic entities with this profile. The conclusion that emerges is that of the agricultural land use as a liability in other transactions, used as collateral for bank loans or purchased in anticipation of price increases.

The government units decreased by 26.69%, while those who used agricultural areas decreased by 26.40%. Utilized agricultural area decreased by 34.71% and the average land that an entity of this type decreased by 11.29% for those who use agricultural areas. Negative values of these statistical indicators show the trend of sharp decline in economic importance of this type of economic entity.

Cooperative units (National Statistic Institute, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2010, data processing) reduced their share to 18.39%, while those who used agricultural areas decreased by 9.09%. Utilized agricultural area increased by 537.94% and the average agricultural land, which accounted in 2007 for a unit of this type, compared to 2002 increased by 601.63%. This dynamic is the main argument of the tendency of association of small farmers.

The comparison of the farms with the legal personality dynamics indicates the formation of the rural economic structure. It continues to be drive by a small agricultural property and the future seems to belong to the cooperative units, where it seems that there is the strong growth. Given the use of the economic rent for these entities, believe that this formula is the closest economic future intentions of the landowners in the rural areas. The combination reduces the workload necessary to maintain the individual farm and allow family members to seek revenue growth in non-agricultural activities.

If units with legal appreciate that quality standard adopted is closer to requirements of modern agriculture and statistical structure of the data presented above show that the association of individual holdings is as labor in agriculture modernization closest to the needs of the rural population areas.

Trying to correlate statistical data reveals that the Romanian traditional cultural substrate that the earth is a landmark in subsistence. The current dynamics of land ownership shows that there is logic for a large part of Romanian. The current mindset is the result of long searches in the social functions performed by the reference to tradition replaced with the corresponding present stage of development. This process is underway, and the balancing trends upheaval due to the strong impact of globalization.

The dynamism of the social system in rural areas is evident in the current conditions. But you can find directions in field research that shows a lack of action and solutions unit of time on substantive issues. Transition from subsistence household to agricultural farm is a prerequisite for the development boost, a uniform way of rural

communities. Production activities anywhere in the world are dependent on existing or potential markets. Downtime production units, large or small, the market is specific to the Romanian rural and effects found in minimalist philosophy and strategies based on the family group and family work outside the home.

In Romania, we cannot talk now of an entrepreneurship following the Western model but a peasant family adapt to new changes in time. The central pivot in the current social and economic context remains family and group family subsistence. Center of gravity given by the traditional peasant economy, tightened around the house home. Time solution found by Romanian outsourcing labor available and creating adding value through the financial aid sent to the leaving one.

#### ***4. Conclusions: is there a possibility for a real entrepreneurship in the rural Romanian environment?***

Instead of conclusions, we prefer to conclude with this question, which is a result of the annalistic point of view of the current dynamics of the rural Romanian processes.

The economic attractiveness of the current configurations of the Romanian rural area is limited to the certain areas or regions. The functionality of the private companies, based on a modern philosophy of profit can disrupted by competition with a high volume of individual farms, as witness partial or complete cycles of use depending on the cost-benefit minimum circumscribed and maximum possible allowed. The brutal intervention does not guarantee rapid transformation and internalization the Western value system in which all-economic activity focused on profit. Family strategies are a mindset and proven to future actions, supported by existing statistics are focused on maintaining the family group and the peasant economy was subsistence as an assurance instrument specific to the traditional communities. Today the meaning of financial support is working on possible qualified outside the home where profit is higher than agriculture.

The economic reform of the Romanian society requires special attention to how the agricultural potential used as the expected value and the increased productivity needed to balance the social macrostructure. Under current conditions of the rural economic reforms are insufficient to balance the countryside, as long as the balance between teaching traditional philosophy involves delimiting each rural community cultural, spiritual, social, and economic. Although reform may be strong pressure, it will not cause social hierarchy from the economic frameworks, but there will always tend to balance the complex connections between all four frames, and costs will reflected in the subordination of other frames supporting agricultural productivity and substitution work in agriculture to non-agricultural labor when there is this possibility.

The subsistence needs of the family group will require continuous cost-income ratio and the expense of sacrificing other social frameworks is a misnomer in the current

context. Predisposition to development can be found in the rural population. Thus, any analysis of the traditions preserved in the Romanian villages shows a loss of the traditional customs and rituals that accompany them. However, field research conducted in recent years, denoting a subordinate mentality foundation of social balance. If traditions explain the existential understanding of the universe and had the necessary functions to balance the community now rural population living in a secularized world that we accept without opposition, but the objectives found in the rural citizens are confined to ensuring institutional pillars of community needed to balance the new conditions. In every village wants a system to medical, educational, economic, religious, and cultural. Its absence is compensated by temporary or permanent migration for education, travel to cities or communities where there are medical centers; the desire of each community has at least one church or the existence of jobs in town or closer to it. The cultural needs are covered by a full coverage with a satellite television and the increasing number of dwellings in rural areas who have an internet connection. Modern means of communication (fixed and mobile) are widely used in rural areas.

These opinions denote the reorganization of the social system from within and without foreign interference in its own rhythms and needs to identify by the villagers. The transformation is the current goal of identifying the new functions balancing community systems, and the proof is giving up the traditional no longer do so. This mentality of the rural population is based on the idea that these communities cannot exist only as groups of profit-oriented investors in agriculture, but the existential and the areas of social and community life.

In opinions of the experts, "in the current economic conditions worldwide and in relation to our situation we should question the overall strategy of medium-term development, realization of a, including that of an economy driven by knowledge of the type, with an economic structure and competitive modern industrial-agricultural and tourism developed with diverse functions: cultural, medical, leisure, education, etc.. "(Hoffman and Glodeanu, 2009, p. 490).

The resistance to change can be explained in cultural terms, are result of a particular philosophy, probably restricted to the basic needs of the family group, conditions that are difficult to prepare a rural development policy and support of entrepreneurship, given the general orientation individuals to protect what they hold. A good example is the case of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, in a century has been passed by the Britain's in economic and innovation because of the tendency to preservation of order present and limit investments in commercial capacity by building ship. (Doltu, C., 2011, p. 19).

The current research conducted in rural areas, appears that people are confused, and the problems mentioned people seem overwhelming. Overall vision and focus on

the relief identify existing problems and not to identify opportunities. The strategy behind this attitude is based "on the idea of convincing the authorities to give them more support, more public resources" (Doltu, C., 2011, p. 23). Such a strategy involves waiting and delaying, making problems persist, and the infusion of capital helps to limit the consequences of problems only and not to eradicate them. Focus human and material resources to solve problems is relative in terms of results given that they are effects of the lack of development programs and causes of stagnation. For example, guaranteed minimum support has generated wealth in the communities where the number of persons included in this category. Support helps to limit survival to keeping certain people. Along with social measures, such as the previous example, the limited economic collapse of a whole class of citizens, future projections are needed to determine which endpoints and intermediate strategies, other than those aimed at solving problems. We believe that many problems can be solved by individual solutions found by citizens, public institutions mission.

The imitation is not a solution for rural reform and the consequences are unpredictable at the start of the reforms based on imitation.

The economic reforms should aim at re-evaluation of the cost-income population, subsistence necessary for work in agriculture or non-agricultural activities carried out in the rural communities.

One of the factors with the major impact on how people calculate the cost-benefit is the lack of assistance in marketing of farm products, the impossibility of annual agricultural production planning and lack of markets. Sizing crop is guide by possibilities of selling individual and popular markets. The individual farm level is not able to carry out an effective marketing and production of early contracting. Any investment trends in agricultural production weighted by market instability of agricultural and speculative pressure to disrupt the onset or development of a coherent flow of agricultural products from producers to buyers.

We believe that intervention in this area is a first step towards regulating the rural economy and facilitate local agricultural production by providing superior dissolution of agricultural products allows valuing the cost-benefit of the small farmers producers. Add to this the need for support and assistance in financing the necessary equipment and the establishment of crop production. The provision of such services we can hope for agriculture in non-farm diversification activities. The development of such agricultural support transfer calculations can expected from individual cost-benefit, now conveniently through outsourcing of labor surplus to labor use in agriculture and individual investments in agricultural holdings, which the productivity and sales provides a cost-benefit ratio than that achieved by outsourcing labor.

Solutions offered over time suggests that the objectives of rural development policies are identified and known, but the results so far show that paths have been identified and steps had been taken for them to be achieved.

Relative resistance to change is justified by reference to the principles presented in this article, and strong family links substantiate strategies is the result of an individual adaptation to a hostile economic and social context. For example, statistical calculations (National Statistics Institute, 2002), showed a rate of economic dependence on the inactive 1449 to 1000 active people. In urban areas the rate of dependence is 1329 inactive to 1000 active people, while in rural areas this rate dependence is 1598 inactive people to 1000 for active people.

This report is higher than in the year 1992 (National Statistics Institute, 1992) and census results of 2011 will confirm or disprove this trend continuing. Increasing the economic dependency is the tendency to detachment of macro social policies and preference for survival niches. Between the two systems, there are no annoyance relationships, and population choices are not base on anti-modernist tradition but accepted calculation of the easiest and most convenient report in this context.

In an attempt to answer the question in this section, we consider that a genuine Romanian entrepreneurship can be possible only if the group built around family and its interests and not the profit based on the Western philosophy, which, at least at this stage involves major sacrifices for most rural citizens.

## *References*

- Bădescu, I. (2005), *România rurală, structuri și procese sociodemografice-Ruralizarea sărăciei*, Institutul de Sociologie al Academiei Române, București
- Bădescu, I. (2009), *Economie rurală și involuție comunitară*, în Bădescu, I.; Cucu-Oancea, O.; Șișeștean, G. (coord.) (2009), *Tratat de sociologie rurală*, Editura Mica Valahie, București
- Chelcea, L. (2006), *Cultură și dezvoltare: perspectiva antropologiei culturale*, in Zamfir, C.; Stoica L., 2006, *O nouă provocare: dezvoltarea socială*, Editura Polirom, Iași
- Doltu, C. (2011), *Mediul rural între supraviețuire și oportunități de afaceri*, Editura Expert, București
- Dumitrescu, L. (2009), *Economia țărănească*, în Bădescu, I.; Cucu-Oancea, O.; Șișeștean, G. (coord.), *Tratat de sociologie rurală*, Editura Mica Valahie, București
- Hoffman, O., Glodeanu, I. (2009), *Dezvoltarea rurală corporativă și mediul rural din România*, în Bădescu, I.; Cucu-Oancea, O.; Șișeștean, G. (coord.) (2009), *Tratat de sociologie rurală*, Editura Mica Valahie, București
- Kottak, C. (1990), *Culture and „Economic Development”*, *American Anthropologist*, 92, (3) apud Chelcea, L. (2006), *Cultură și dezvoltare: perspectiva antropo-*

*logiei culturale*, in Zamfir, C.; Stoica L. (2006), *O nouă provocare: dezvoltarea socială*, Editura Polirom, Iași

National Statistic Institute (1992), *Population and Housing Census*

National Statistic Institute (2002), *Population and Housing Census*

National Statistic Institute (2010), *Romanian Statistical Yearbook*

Rezsöházy, R. (2008), *Sociologia Valorilor*, Editura Institutul European, Iași

### **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

*This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/89/1.5/S/59758”*

*Title and intellectual and industrial property rights on the results of the post-doctoral research internship belongs Romanian Academy*

# RURAL NON-FARM ECONOMY IN INDIA: A STUDY OF UTTAR PRADESH

Aviral PANDEY\*  
Rakesh RAMAN\*\*

***Abstract:** Leap frog strategy adopted by India has not relieved the burden of agriculture in absorbing the labor force in state like Uttar Pradesh (highest populated state of India) and residually a larger part of the workforce are still employed in agriculture sector and it is creating problems of over dependency of workforce on agriculture and unplanned migration to big cities in India. In search of solving the problem discussed above and generating employment opportunities for rural people in rural areas, rural Nonfarm sector is gaining serious policy discussions in India. The interesting fact is that the size of non-farm sector is not similar in different states of India or different district of Uttar Pradesh. To provide satisfactory insight to the problem the study has selected Uttar Pradesh for the deep study. To promote rural Nonfarm economy in a state like Uttar Pradesh the present work discusses the scenario of rural non-farm economy in Uttar Pradesh. The study finds that the extent of rural non farm employment is not similar in different districts of the state. To identify the determinants of rural non-farm employment in districts of Uttar Pradesh a multiple regression analysis has been done. The study concludes that infrastructure facility, agriculture productivity and agriculture commercialization significantly explain the variation in rural non-farm employment across the district of Uttar Pradesh. Finally, present study also concludes significant role of rural non-farm employment in reducing rural poverty in Uttar Pradesh.*

***Keywords:** Agriculture, Employment, Poverty, Rural Non Farm Economy, Uttar Pradesh.*

---

\* Research Scholar, Department of Economics, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi and presently ICSSR Doctoral Fellow at Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. Email: aviral.iegindia@gmail.com

\*\* Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Uttar Pradesh.

## 1. Introduction

Leap frog strategy adopted by India has not relieved the burden of agriculture in absorbing the labor force in state like Uttar Pradesh (highest populated state of India) and residually a larger part of the workforce are still employed in agriculture sector and it is creating problems of over dependency of workforce on agriculture and unplanned migration to big cities in India. In search of solving the problem discussed above and generating employment opportunities for rural people in rural areas, rural Nonfarm sector is gaining serious policy discussions in India.

The occupational structure in the Indian economy remained practically unchanged during 1950s and 1960s but it, started changing in 1970s and the share of rural workers employed in the non-farm sector has steadily increased since then, from 16.5 percent in 1972-73 to 22.5 percent in 1983 and again from 25.9 percent in 1993-94 to 31.9 percent in 2009-2010. The important fact is that the process of diversification towards non-farm employment is not similar in all part of country and some states have been much slower as compared to other states (Mitra & Mitra, 2005, pp. 121-136). One likely reason could be that the factors affecting RNFE are not similar across the states of India. But the important issue is that the effect of various factors in rural non-farm employment is not universal<sup>1</sup>. In this work an attempt has been made to analyse the growth of rural non-farm sector (RNFS) in the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP) (highest rural populated state of India). Overall, according to Census data the extent of rural non-farm employment is not similar across various districts in Uttar Pradesh. There is need of explanation about the role of factors in explaining the growth of rural non-farm employment across the districts. This work also discusses the overall growth phenomena and in which way growth of non-farm employment in Uttar Pradesh supports the modern growth pattern.

In the thrust of above discussed research questions present work discusses the size, nature and growth of rural non-farm employment in Uttar Pradesh. The discussion is divided into six parts. Section II provides a detail of composition of the rural workforce in recent years at India and Uttar Pradesh level. A detail of Rural Enterprise and Employment by Occupation in Non-agriculture Sector for the state of Uttar Pradesh, 1990, 1998 & 2005 has been given in section III. The determinant of rural non-farm employment across the districts of Uttar Pradesh has been discussed in section IV. Effect of rural non-farm employment on poverty has been discussed in section V. Finally, section VI gives policy suggestion for promoting the growth of RNFE in Uttar Pradesh.

---

<sup>1</sup> Like in some regions rural non-farm employment is positively linked with prosperous agricultural situation while there are some regions where non-farm employment is affected by distress arising out of agriculture stagnation.



## 2. Composition of the Rural Workforce

### 2.1. Workforce Participation Rates

Overall agriculture has a strong base in the Uttar Pradesh, and has the potential to feed a major population of the country. At the national level and Uttar Pradesh, the share of industry and services during 1980-81 to 2005-06, has gone up. But still the share of agriculture in total domestic product is high in Uttar Pradesh compare to all India level. It suggests that, at the national level, the dominance of agriculture has reduced significantly but the dependency on agriculture in Uttar Pradesh is high<sup>1</sup>. The trends of sectors suggest that Uttar Pradesh economy is an agrarian economy in terms of sectoral share of agriculture in total State Domestic Product (SDP) comparison to all India average. In the background of the above trend it is imperative to find out the share of these sectors in rural economy; because the share of agriculture of total SDP is decreasing in Uttar Pradesh, so is the decreasing pattern resulting in the occupational pattern.

The worker-population ratios provide an idea about the participation of population in economic activity.<sup>2</sup> Table 2.2 provides an idea about the participation of population ratios for the period of 1993-94 to 2009-10. The table shows that at all India level rural work participation (ps & all workers) has decreased in 2005-10. At all India level rural male work participation has increased in 2005-10. On the other hand rural female work participation has decreased during 2005-10 after a significant increase during 1994-2005. The pattern of change in work participation rates during 1993-2010 in rural Uttar Pradesh is also similar to India. Male Work participation (ps & all workers) has it has increased during 2005-10 after a decline during 1994-2005 in Uttar Pradesh. On the other hand Female work participation has decreased during 2005-10 in Uttar Pradesh. Above trend shows that during 2005-10 employment opportunities has decreased for females and they have to suffer more in comparison to male in Uttar Pradesh and India, both.

Census data suggest that Uttar Pradesh has highest share of rural population across the states of India. Employment in agriculture has decreased and employment in

---

<sup>1</sup> The share of agricultural gross domestic product (AGDP) in total domestic product is higher in Uttar Pradesh comparison to all India average.

<sup>2</sup> In order to capture the complexities of the employment situation in predominantly agrarian and unorganized economy like India, the estimates of employment and unemployment by NSSO are derived on the basis of three concepts, the Usual Status (US): Current Weekly status (CWS) and Current daily Status (CDS). The three concepts are based on three different references periods for ascertaining the activity status of a person. A deficiency of the present time criteria-based estimates is that one gets to know little about how well employed (income, etc.) are the person who are seen as employed. They also do not provide the multiple activities by person/households.

non-farm sector has increased in rural Uttar Pradesh. On the other hand decreased work participation ratio suggests that growth of non-farm employment in rural areas of Uttar Pradesh is not sufficient. It has been widely recognized that agriculture has less capacity to provide jobs to growing labour force and non-farm employment is only solution to provide jobs to the rural people, so it imperative to know the growth phenomena of rural non-farm employment in depth for the state like Uttar Pradesh.

Table: 2.1  
*Rural Work Force Participation Rates Uttar Pradesh and India*

Uttar Pradesh/ India	Year	Males		Females		Persons	
		ps workers	all workers	ps workers	all workers	ps workers	all workers
Uttar Pradesh	1993-94	50.6	52.2	13.1	21.9	32.8	37.8
All-India	1993-94	53.8	55.3	23.4	32.8	39	44.4
Uttar Pradesh	2004-05	47.7	49.6	12.3	24	30.4	37.1
All-India	2004-05	53.5	54.6	24.2	32.7	39.1	43.9
Uttar Pradesh	2009-10	48.1	50.4	9	17.4	29.2	34.4
All-India	2009-10	53.7	54.7	20.2	26.1	37.4	40.8

Ps = Principal Status and All = Principal + Marginal workers.

Source: NSS Various rounds NSS

## 2.2. Growth of Rural Non-farm Employment

Diversification of employment is a significant component of modern growth. In Uttar Pradesh, population is diversifying their activities in non-farm sector to ensure their minimum livelihoods.<sup>1</sup> In recent decades diversification of activities towards non-farm activity is a common phenomenon in Uttar Pradesh. The Growing recognition to the sector needs a comprehensive study that how rural non farm sector is growing in Uttar Pradesh; whether it is growth push related phenomena or distress push related phenomena, nature of jobs in rural non-farm sector etc.

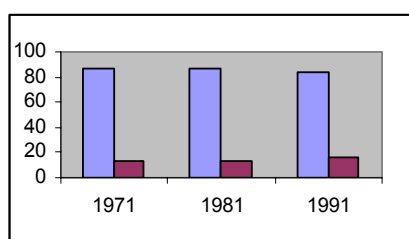
The size, nature and growth of occupational diversification can be analysed with the help of secondary data source like census. Analysis of the data on employment supports the argument that the pace of diversification of rural employment in U.P. is slow in comparison to other states (Singh, 1997, pp.346-64). According to Census data the share of non-agriculture workers in total number of rural workers has

<sup>1</sup> As population increases availability of per capita land decreases and marginalization of rural land has increased in Uttar Pradesh during the decades. It is therefore insufficient to sustain the livelihood of the rural people employing only in farm sector.

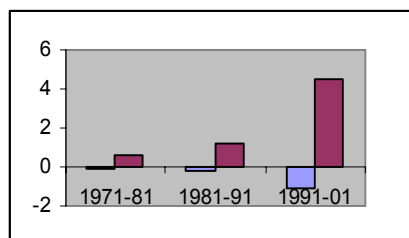
increased only moderately during the last three decades- from 12.9 per cent in 1971 to 15.5 per cent in 1991 to 24 percent in 2001 (Singh, 2005).

**Chart 2.1**  
Sector-wise Growth of Rural Main Workers in Uttar Pradesh, 1971-2001

A. Workforce in Agriculture and Non-Agriculture Employment



B. Growth in Agriculture and Non-Agriculture Employment



Notes: 1. Figures for before 1981 has been taken from Singh (2005) and after 1981 figures have been calculated from Census report. Growth rate has calculated in exponential term. Sources: Singh (2005), Census Reports.

**Table 2.3**  
Rural Workers (Usual Principal Status+ Subsidiary Status)  
In Non-Farm workers in Uttar Pradesh (%)

Year	UP	India	Year	UP	India	Year	UP	India
<b>Male workers</b>			<b>Female workers</b>			<b>Total workers</b>		
1972-73	18.1	16.7	1972-73	15		1972-73	NA	14.3
1977-78	19.8	19.5	1977-78	10.9		1977-78	NA	16.5
1983	22.1	23.2	1983	11.3		1983	18	18.4
1987-88	21.7	25.5	1987-88	8.7	15.3	1987-88	17.8	21.7
1993-94	23.7	26	1993-94	10.7	13.8	1993-94	20	21.6
1999-00	28.2	28.6	1999-00	12.5	14.6	1999-00	23.5	23.8
2004-05	33.4	32.9	2004-05	13.3	11.4	2004-05	27.0	26.8
2009-10	38.7	36.4	2009-10	13.8	20.4	2009-10	32.8	31.4

Sources: Singh (2005), Ranjan (2009), Bhaumik, 2002, NSS quinquennial, reports.

The trend of employment in Uttar Pradesh during the above four decades shows that the growth in non agricultural employment has been substituted agricultural sector employment very slowly in Uttar Pradesh. Due to the limitation of census data it cannot possible to analyse the sectoral trend of employment observed on the basis of census data<sup>1</sup>.According to National Sample Survey(NSS) data, non-agricultural rural employment has increased at an annual compound growth rate of 0.63 percent during 1983-94 against a growth rate of 1.04 percent observed at all India level. During the period 1994-2010, non-agricultural rural employment increased at 3.11 percent in UP, though it increased to 2.12 percent in country as whole (Table 2.5). Disaggregated data suggest that after economic reform, diversification of rural workforce towards RNFE has increased sharply in Uttar Pradesh and India during 1994-2010 and it was higher comparison to all India. But the pace of diversification has decreased after 2004-05

Table: 2.4  
*Annual Compound Growth Rate of Rural Non-farm Employment  
in Uttar Pradesh and India*

State Country/Period	1983 -1994	1994-05	2005-10	1994-2010
Uttar Pradesh	0.63	3.16	2.98	3.11
India	1.04	2.16	2.04	2.12

Source: Calculated from table number 2.4

Disaggregated trend of sectoral employment shows that rural employment level in primary sector has declined between 1988 and 2010. While rural employment level in Secondary sector has increased significantly during 1994 to 2010. In mining & quarrying sector employment has decreased during 1994-2000 but it has increased during 2000-10. Employment in Electricity, gas & water was overall stagnant during the period. Employment in tertiary sector has been increased slowly during 1994-2010. Overall rural non-farm employment grew from 2 to 3 percent during 1994-2010 in Uttar Pradesh.

---

<sup>1</sup> Census provides data of employment by sector till 1991. But 2001 census provides data for cultivator, agricultural labour, and other manufactures only. That is why sectoral distribution of workforce in 2001

**Table: 2.5**  
*Sectoral Distribution of Workforce in Rural Uttar Pradesh*

Sectors	1993-94			1999-2000			2004-05			2009-10		
	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P
Primary sector	76.2	89.9	79.9	71.8	87.5	76.2	66.3	86.5	72.8	60.9	85.4	66.9
Secondary sector	10	5	8.7	13.1	6.9	11.4	17.3	8.2	14.5	23.7	8.3	19.9
Mining and quarrying	0.2	0	0.2	0.2	0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0	0.3
Manufacturing	7	4.8	6.4	8.3	6.4	7.7	9.6	7.4	8.9	7.7	6.3	7.3
Electricity, gas and water	0.2	0	0.1	0.2	0	0.1	0.1	0	0.1	0	0	0
Construction	2.6	0.2	2	4.4	0.5	3.5	7.4	0.6	5.3	15.6	2	12.3
Tertiary sector	13.8	5.1	11.4	15.1	5.6	12.4	16.3	5.1	12.8	15.2	6.3	13.2
Trade, hotels and restaurants	5.1	2.1	4.3	6.7	1.8	5.4	8.2	1.8	6.2	8	2.6	6.7
Transport and communication	2.1	0	1.5	2.9	0	2.1	3	0.1	2.1	3.2	0.1	2.5
Other services	6.6	3	5.6	6.9	3.7	4.9	5.1	3.2	4.5	4	3.6	4
Total non-farm	23.8	10.1	20.1	28.2	12.5	23.5	33.6	13.3	27.3	38.9	14.6	33.1

Source: same as Table 2.3.

Sex wise sectoral distribution of employment suggest that over the period 1993 to 2010 employment in primary sector declined for both male and female. And the share of secondary sector has been increased, but it has been increased more for male comparison to female. The growth in tertiary sector employment was slow for both male and female comparison to secondary sector during 1994-2005. But the share of rural female in service sector employment has increased during 1994-2000 and 2005-10. In secondary sector the share of worker in manufacturing sector has been high during the 1994-2005 for both male and female except during 2005-10 male workers share was high in construction sector. The share of worker in construction increased for male, while for female it was near stagnant during 1994-2005 but it has increased during 2005-10. In tertiary sector share of workforce employed in trade, hotels and restaurants has been increased for male but for female, its share has been declined during 1993-2000 and then it has been become stagnant during 2000-2005, but it has increased during 2005-10. Employment in other service has been decreased for both male and female during 2000-2005. Overall employment growth trend suggest that diversification of workforce in rural areas was high among males comparative to females in Uttar Pradesh.

### 3. Rural Non-farm Income

#### Rural Non-farm Income in India and Uttar Pradesh

Estimation of rural non farm income (RNFI) is very critical issue. There is very limited work which explores the contribution of rural non-farm sector in terms of Income for a particular state or region of an economy. For the state of Uttar Pradesh limited information about rural non farm income is available. According to the NCAER data, non-farm income in rural India contributed, on average, about one-third (34 per cent) of total household income in 1993-94 (Table 3.1). When compared to about 55 percent from cultivation and 8 percent from agricultural wage labour. It is clear that the non-farm sector is an important source of income, even at this highly aggregated national level. Examining the contribution of non-farm sources to total income across different per capita income quintiles indicates that, among them middle three quintiles, the contribution from non-farm sources are nearer to two-fifths than a third, while for the lowest and highest quintile the share is around 31 per cent. Taking all non-farm income sources together, therefore, the evidence in Table 3.1 suggests that the importance of non-farm income is fairly evenly spread across quintiles. This is in contrast with agricultural wage labour income, which contributes only a negligible amount to total income among the top quintile, but is fairly high for the lower quintiles. For the poorest quintile in rural India, agricultural wage labour income contributes as much as 28 per cent of total income. Cultivation income shares, on the other hand, rise with per capita total income quintiles.

Table 3.1

*Non-farm Income Shares in Rural India by India and Uttar Pradesh (Income Shares by (Real) Per Capita Income Quintile)*

Quantile	Cultivation	Agri-culture wage labour	Nonfarm labour	Nonfarm self employment	Nonfarm regular employment	Total non-farm source	Other sources	Real per capita income
<b>India</b>								
Lowest	38.2	28.2	15.8	11.4	4.4	31.6	2	1146
Q2	38	21.3	14.7	16.8	7	38.5	2.3	2113
Q3	45.2	13.4	10.1	16.3	11.7	38.1	3.2	3141
Q4	50.1	7.5	6.1	14.6	18.6	39.3	3.2	4712
Highest	64.5	2.1	2	7.9	21.1	30.9	2.5	11226
Total	54.9	8	5.9	11.5	17.1	34.4	2.7	4468
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>								
Lowest	48.4	14.2	16.3	14.2	5.1	35.7	1.7	995
Q2	44.2	9.7	15.9	19.9	9	44.8	1.4	2008
Q3	46.8	4.7	9.2	17.6	19.1	45.9	2.6	3047
Q4	50.7	1.9	5.1	15.1	24.7	44.8	2.5	4553
Highest	61.2	0.3	2	8.5	26	36.5	2	10317
Total	54.6	2.9	5.7	12.6	22.1	40.4	2.1	4185

Note: All India quintiles defined at national level. Source: Lanjouw & Shariff, 2004, pp. 4429-4446

**Table 3.2**  
*Non-farm Income Shares in Rural India by States*

State	Total nonfarm source	Real per capita Income	State	Total nonfarm source	Real per capita Income
Andhra Pradesh	23.4	5046	Madhya Pradesh	21.4	4159
Bihar	38.9	3690	Orissa	39	3027
Gujarat	24.2	5272	Punjab	36.2	6380
Haryana	33.3	6368	Rajasthan	39.2	4227
Himachal Pradesh	51.7	4168	Tamil Nadu	46.4	4867
Karnataka	20.1	4767	Uttar Pradesh	40.4	4185
Kerala	34.7	5768	West Bengal	49.7	3158
Maharashtra	19.6	5524	North-east States	56.5	5071

Source: Lanjouw & Shariff (2004)

The picture is somewhat altered when one breaks non-farm incomes into three alternative sources: casual non-farm wage income; regular non-farm wage income; and self-employment/ own-enterprise income. For the poorest quintile, casual non-farm wage income accounts for about 16 per cent of total income. This drops to 15 per cent for the second quintile and continues to fall monotonically across quintiles, to only 2 per cent for the top quintiles. In contrast, regular non-farm wage income shares rise sharply with the income quintiles - from only 4 per cent among the poorest quintile to as much as 21 per cent for the richest. At the all-India level casual wage income accounts for about 6 per cent of income and regular wage income contributes 17 per cent to total income. Own enterprise income shares are highest for the 2nd and 3rd quintiles (around 16 per cent) and lowest for the top quintile.

#### **4. Rural Enterprise and Employment by Occupation** *in Non-agriculture Sector, 1990, 1998 & 2005*

##### **Rural Enterprises in Uttar Pradesh**

The extent of rural non farm employment has also been analysed in terms of the rural industrialisation in India. Economic Census provides data about enterprises in India. According Economic Census, in 1990 12.92 lakh enterprises was located in rural areas of UP, it was increased up to 14.79 in 1998 and recently data shows that U.P. have 22.05 lakh enterprises in rural areas in 2005. It was increased by 14 percent during 1990 to 1998 and it has increased by 49 percent during 1998 to 2005. Growth of agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises has been higher in second period comparison to first period.

**Table 4.1**  
*Number and Growth of Rural Enterprises in Uttar Pradesh*

Types of enterprise	Number of enterprises (in lakhs)					Number of workers (in lakhs)				
	1990	1998	2005	% increase 1990-1998	% increase 1998-2005	1990	1998	2005	% increase 1990-1998	% increase 1998-2005
Agricultural	0.67	1.16	2.32	73.13	100.00	1.19	1.95	4.68	63.87	140.00
Non-agricultural	12.24	13.63	19.73	11.36	44.75	28.30	30.37	36.14	7.31	19.00
Self-employed	10.45	12.17	17.04	16.46	40.02	NA	17.56	23.45	NA	33.54
Establishment	2.46	2.62	5.01	6.50	91.22	NA	14.76	17.37	NA	17.68
Total	12.92	14.79	22.05	14.47	49.09	29.49	32.32	40.82	9.60	26.30

Source: Economic Census, UP, 1990, 1998 & 2005

The self employed enterprises constitute 81 percent in 1990 and its share has decreased during 1990 to 2005 and it was 77 percent in 2005. On the other hand share of establishment in total enterprises has increased during the whole period. The number of workers has increased in both agriculture and non agriculture enterprises but it has increased higher in agricultural enterprise in comparison to non-agricultural enterprises. Overall growth of employment in both enterprises has been high in both periods. Percentage of self employed workers in total enterprise has increased during 1998 to 2005; it shows the informal nature of growth of rural enterprises in Uttar Pradesh (Table 4.1). In rural non-agricultural enterprise and rural non-agricultural enterprise worker, both are dominated by two sectors: manufacturing & retail trade. They respectively employ 23.67 per cent and 53.98 per cent of total enterprise in these enterprise and 33 per cent and 40.67 per cent of total workers in these enterprises (Table 4.2). But these two sectors provide low income in comparison to organized sectors.

**Table 4.2**  
*Nature of Rural Enterprises and Employment by Occupation in Non-Agriculture Sector, 2005*

Type of occupation	Number of enterprises		Number of employees	
	Nos.	Percent	Nos.	Percent
Mining & quarrying	5717	0.29	10961	0.30
Manufacturing	467188	23.67	1195018	33.06
Electricity, gas & water	2364	0.12	5838	0.16
Construction	8033	0.41	10651	0.29
Sale, maint.& repair m/v & m/c	24240	1.23	43152	1.19
Wholesale trade	23711	1.20	40909	1.13



Type of occupation	Number of enterprises		Number of employees	
	Nos.	Percent	Nos.	Percent
Retail trade	1065243	53.98	1469907	40.67
Restaurants & hotels	67692	3.43	109413	3.03
Transport & storage	27087	1.37	44289	1.22
Posts & telecommunications	31567	1.60	43411	1.20
Financial intermediation	3769	0.19	15275	0.42
Real estate banking & service	27902	1.41	49755	1.37
Public admin defense social sec	15912	0.81	59379	1.64
Education	85206	4.32	338488	9.36
Health & social work	35093	1.78	60623	1.67
Other community personal service	82556	4.18	116727	3.22
Other activities	83	0.00	160	0.004
Non-agricultural activities	1973363	100.00	3613956	100

Source: Economic census, UP, 2005

### 5. Factors Influencing Variations in the share of Rural Non-Agricultural Employment across the district of Uttar Pradesh

The process of the diversification in occupational structure has raised a serious debate and several hypotheses have been developed and tested to identify its casual perspective. The main hypothesis put forth in the literatures has been “inferior goods hypothesis”, “demand and supply inter-linkages hypothesis” and “residual sector hypothesis”. Several studies have tested these hypotheses and identified a large number of factors explaining the magnitude of growth and development of various kinds of non-agriculture activities in the region. These includes patterns of agriculture growth, yield rates, extent of commercialization of agriculture, distribution and size of operational holdings, growth of literacy, urbanisation, government policies, internal and external demand conditions (Vaidyanathan, 1986, pp. 130-146 ; Unni, 1991, pp. 109-22; Dev, 1990, pp. 1526-1536). Many studies found weak inter-linkage relationship and a “strong residual sector hypothesis” in explaining high growth of non-agricultural sector in the region. Going with these studies the study seeks to explore the inter-districts variation in Uttar Pradesh in the share of rural non-agricultural employment for persons for the year 2000-2001 and 2004-05. The data on rural non agriculture employment, number of total main workers, total rural population have been calculated from publication of Census for 2001 and Economic Census 2005. Because data of rural non agriculture employment for the recent years is not available at the district level, we have confirmed our analysis for the two point of time; 2000-01, 2004-05. For the analysis based on the data of 2000-01,

percentage of non-agricultural workers<sup>1</sup> to total main workers (NAW/MW) has considered as a function of different explanatory variables explained below for the model for the study. To find out the determinant of employment in rural non agriculture enterprise; percentage of workers involve in non-agricultural-enterprise<sup>2</sup> to total rural population<sup>3</sup> has taken as explanatory variable.

#### **Dependent Variables**

1. RNFE: Rural non-agriculture employment as a percentage of the total employment in 2000-01. Data source is published Census data of 2001 (data is given in annexure).
2. RNAE: percentage of workers involve in non-agricultural-enterprise to total rural population in 2004-05. Data source is published Economic Census report of 2004-05 (data is given in annexure).

#### **Independent variables**

1. AGPHEC: Gross value of output per hectare of gross sown area 2000-01 and 2004-05, Statistical abstract Uttar Pradesh
2. AGRPOPERRU: Gross value of output per rural population 2000-01 and 2004-05, Statistical abstract Uttar Pradesh and Census 2001
3. COMMINDEX: commercialization agriculture index has prepared using factor analysis and the variables; uses of fertilizers per hectare of land, uses of electricity per hectare of land, percentages of land used for commercialized crops, have taken. These indicators with their relative weight in parentheses are .68, .48 and .47, Statistical Abstract Uttar Pradesh 2000-01, 2004-05.
4. IFI: Infrastructure index has prepared using ratio of Gross irrigated area to gross cultivated area (.49), Numbers of agriculture mandis on per lakh net cultivated area (.41), road length per square km (.71), number of commercial bank per lakh population (.49). Statistical abstract Uttar Pradesh 2000-01, 2004-05.
5. POPDEN: Number of population per square km, Census 2001.

---

<sup>1</sup> Non agricultural workers calculated with the help of Census data.

<sup>2</sup> Those enterprises which engaged in economic activities other than agricultural activities (excluding activities pertaining to agricultural production and plantation) are termed as non-agricultural enterprises.

<sup>3</sup> Projected rural population.

**Table 5.1**  
*Detail of Variables Used in the Study as Explanatory Variables*

SN	Variable name	Proxy for
1	AGPHEC & AGRPOPERRU	Production linkages
2	COMMINDEX	Production linkages
3	IFI	Infrastructure induced growth
4	POPDEN	Pressure on resources -Push F

The ordinary least square estimates of first two equations are presented in table 5.2. In all the adjusted R-square is good. The present study attempts to test the hypothesis – “Distress push/ Demand Pull Diversification” about the growth of rural non-farm employment for the state of Uttar Pradesh. The sign of coefficient in table 5.2 are along the expected line. The estimated coefficients of variables other than infrastructure and agriculture productivity are robust (significant at 1 per cent level of significance).

It is interesting to note that the relationship between agriculture productivity and RNFE is positive not significant. On the other hand relationship between agriculture commercialization and RNFE indicates the presence of inter-linkages between two sectors and hence, refutes the residual sector hypothesis. This suggests that large commercialization in agriculture increases opportunity for non-farm growth. On the other hand linkages between RNFE and Population density and relationship between agriculture productivity and RNFE suggest that due to low income in agriculture sector and limited capacity of land to provide jobs to rural people, they are diversifying their activities and hence high growth in RNFE. Overall linkages between agriculture productivity and population density suggest that distress push factor is determinant of RNFE in Uttar Pradesh.

**Table 5.2**  
*Determinants of Rural Non-Farm Employment in Uttar Pradesh*

Particulars	Coefficient	t	Coefficient	t
AGRPOPERRU	0.00054	1.11		
AGPHEC			0.000188	1.53
IFI	0.002935	0.46	0.002748	0.44
COMMINDEX	0.011584*	3.15	0.010581*	2.82
POPDEN	0.015733*	3.36	0.013789*	3.04
_CONS	4.441711	1.4	4.537117	1.67
Adjusted R-square	0.54		0.54	

The ordinary least square estimates of third equations has done for analyzing the determinants of variation in employment in rural non agriculture enterprise and it is presented in table 5.3. In all adjusted R-square is not very high, intercept in all the specifications are significant, and thus suggest that variation in RNAE in the sample requires more explanatory variables in the model. The sign of coefficient in table 5.3 are along with the expected lines. It is interesting to note that variables related to agriculture are strong determinants of RNAE. In a linear form of relationship, the infrastructure index is most important determinant of non RNAE in Uttar Pradesh. On the other hand linkages between commercialization of agriculture and population density suggest that RNAE is supporting “push factor induced hypothesis”.

**Table 5.3**  
*Factors Determining Rural Non-agriculture enterprise Employment: Multiple Regression Results*

Particulars	Coefficient	t	Coefficient	t
AGRPOPERRU	0.0001121*	2.73		
AGPHEC			0.0000264*	2.5
IFI	0.0009841***	1.84	0.0010619**	1.98
COMINDEX	-0.0001922	-0.62	-0.000297	-0.92
POPDEN	0.0006036	1.53	0.0002458	0.63
_cons	1.13912*	4.26	1.319724*	5.66
Adjusted R-square	0.31		0.30	

Note: \*, \*\*, \*\*\* are significant at 1, 5 and 10 percent level of significance

Overall, the relationship between growth in rural non-farm employment and agricultural productivity suggests that agricultural prosperity has played a limited role in the promotion of non-farm employment in Uttar Pradesh. One can find out several other causal reasons to explain the growth of rural non-farm employment in Uttar Pradesh. Distribution of extent of RNFE is not similar across the districts of Uttar Pradesh. In explaining the causal reason behind the dissimilar extent of RNFE, the analysis based on regression method shows that it is not easy to give conclusion that “push” or “pull” factor is explaining the growth of RNFE in U.P. Push factor and pull factor both are playing significant role in determining rural non-farm employment in Uttar Pradesh. Linkages between Infrastructure and RNAE suggest that infrastructure is playing a major role in the growth of rural non-agricultural enterprise and thus rural non-farm employment.

## 6. Rural Diversification and Poverty

The above discussions suggest that in rural area people are shifting towards non-farm sector and the employment in agriculture sector is declining. This may have affected the extent of welfare in rural area. Percentage of population below poverty line could represent the welfare change in districts of Uttar Pradesh due to the growth of RNFE. The Nature of rural non-farm employment at the present time is interesting for any studies in developing countries. There is little chance decreasing poverty in that section of population who are marginalized and mostly based only on agriculture production because of their diversification in various non-farm activities. That is why the association between poverty ratio and rural non-farm employment is negative in most part of the developing world. Rural poverty depends mostly upon agricultural performance, concentration of non agricultural employment, quality of human capital and quality of resources. To identify role of different variables disused above we have done a multiple regression analysis, using percentage of rural population below poverty line, as explanatory variable and Gross value of output per hectare of gross sown area 2000-01 (AGPHEC, proxy for agricultural performance), Rural non-agriculture employment as a percentage of the total employment in 2000-01 (proxy for non-farm employment), Rural literacy ratio, 2001 (proxy for human capital) and percentage of marginal land, 2004-05 (proxy for quality of resources) as a explanatory variables. High ratio of marginality represents land is less productive than average productivity.

Table 6.1  
Poverty and Agriculture Productivity and Rural Non-Farm Employment

Particulars	Linear estimates	t
MARGI	0.8*	3.16
RNFE	-0.48*	-2.51
AGPHEC	-0.0009*	-4.31
LIT	0.21	0.98
_cons	-11.83	-0.45
Adjusted R- square	0.43	

Note: \* is 1 percent level of significance

In Uttar Pradesh effectiveness of RNFS on rural poverty level is really interesting and similar to above justifications. There is significant negative relationship between non-farm employment and rural poverty across the districts of Uttar Pradesh, while there is significant and negative relationship between poverty and agriculture productivity

and the effect of rural non- farm employment on poverty is becoming much higher than the agriculture. Above result indicates that rural non-farm employment is much effective in decreasing poverty in not only those districts where agriculture productivity is high but also in those districts where agriculture productivity is not so high. On the other hand relationship between percentage of marginal land and poverty suggest that quality of land is a major hurdle in eradicating poverty in rural Uttar Pradesh.

### **Conclusion**

The NSS data on employment for recent periods (1999-00, 2004-05 and 2009-10) shows a sharp increase in rural non-farm employment in Uttar Pradesh. Manufacturing leads the rural non farm sector more than 8 percent of rural workers. The analysis also reveals that the participation of women in agriculture sector is still high and women in Rural Non Farm Sector in Uttar Pradesh is very low and they are mostly employed in low income activities like the household industry, other services, etc. Information from enterprise survey shows that rural people are employed in manufacturing and retail sector. The enterprise data trend also supports the NSS findings.

The regional dynamics of growth also appears to be different in different parts of the state. In relatively prosperous region of western UP, employment in rural non-farm sector is high but in the poorer region like southern UP, the extent of rural non-farm employment is low. During 1999-2000 to 2004-05 the growth in rural non-farm employment was higher in western region but it was low in southern region. It shows that rural prosperity is important to increase the growth of non-farm employment in rural area. On the other hand analysis also suggests that around 36 percent of non farm state income is coming from rural area. Relationship between rural non-farm employment and poverty suggest that rural non-farm employment is playing significant role in reducing poverty in Uttar Pradesh.

### **References**

- Bhaumik, S.K. (2002), "Employment Diversification in Rural India: A State Level Analysis", *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol. 45, No. 4, pp. 619-744
- Dev, S.M. (1990), "Non-agricultural Employment In Rural India - Evidence at a Disaggregate Level", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25(28), pp. 1526-1536.
- Lanjow, P.; Abusaleh, S. (2004), "Rural Non-Farm Employment in India: Access, Incomes and Poverty Impact", *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 2, 2004, pp. 4429-4446

- Mitra, A.; Mehta, B. (2011), "Cities as the Engine of Growth: Evidences from India", *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, June 2011, pp.1-12.
- Mitra, A.; Mitra, S. (2005), "Rural Non-farm Sector: A State level Profile", (eds.) *Rural Transformation in India: The Role of Non-Farm Economy*. Institute for Human Development, New Delhi. pp. 121-136.
- Ranjan, S. (2009), "Growth of Rural Non-Farm Employment in Uttar Pradesh: Reflections from Recent Data", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 4.
- Singh, A. K. (1997), "Agricultural Growth. Employment and Poverty in Uttar Pradesh: Some Recent Trends", in GK Chaddha and AN Sharma (eds.). *Growth, Employment and Poverty: Change and Continuity in Rural India*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, pp. 346-64.
- Singh, A. K. (2005), "Role of Rural Non-farm Sector in Rural Transformation in Rural Transformation: Evidences From Uttar Pradesh", (eds.) *Rural Transformation in India: The Role of Non-Farm Economy*. Institute for Human Development, New Delhi. pp: 239-252.
- Unni, K. (1991), "Regional Variations In Rural Non-agricultural Employment-An Exploratory Analysis", *Economic And Political Weekly*, 26(3), pp. 109-22.
- Vaidyanathan, A. (1986), "Labour Use in Rural India: A Study of Spatial and Temporal Variations", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 21, No. 52. pp. 130-146.

Table 1  
*District Wise Variation in Rural Non-farm Employment*

DISTRICTS	NAWMW	NAWRP	PERWORNIA	DISTRICTS	NAWMW	NAWRP	PERWORNIA
Bijnor	30.49	6.97	3.14	Pratapgarh	24.68	5.23	2.13
Muradabad	26.98	7.25	2.81	Allahabad	35.24	7.99	2.75
Rampur	16.4	3.87	2.39	Bahraiech	11.86	3.22	1.88
Saharanpur	32.41	7.71	3.32	Sultanpur	26.32	5.55	2.55
Mujjafarnagar	31.36	8.13	2.9	Siddarth nagar	13.32	3.24	1.7
Meruth	41.76	10.6	3.53	Maharajganj	17.87	3.94	2.54
Gaziabad	52.87	12.73	2.81	Basti	18.7	4.36	1.86
Bulandsahar	37.01	10.31	2.02	Grakhpur	31.75	5.68	2.99
Aligarh	31.95	7.61	2.99	Devariya	28.34	4.82	2.65
Mathura	30.62	8.13	2.03	Mau	32.79	6.54	3.07
Agra	33.84	7.65	2.32	Ajamgarh	27.55	5.33	2.28
Firozaqbad	35.52	7.75	2.21	Jaunpur	28.27	5.68	2.94
Eta	15.05	3.61	2.02	Balia	30.9	5.6	2.75
Mainpuri	12.47	2.9	1.39	Gazipur	27.82	5.94	3.08
Badau	11.18	2.88	2.45	Varanasi	57.14	13.65	4.7
Bareli	19.6	4.73	3.35	Mirzapur	35.93	8.49	2.19
Pilibhit	15.82	3.49	2.93	Sonbadra	20.09	4.99	1.77
Shahjhapur	12.56	3.09	2.21	Sant ravidas nagar	61.19	12.07	2.93

Lakhimpur	14.06	3.71	1.61	Kusinagar	19.78	3.92	1.72
Sitapur	14.08	3.65	2.33	Mahoba	16.27	4.92	2.88
Hardoi	12.92	3.48	1.72	Ambedakar nagar	23.93	5.18	2.08
Unnao	17.38	4.5	2.08	Kausambhi	22.3	5.66	1.33
Lucknow	28.49	7.05	3.56	Jyotirba Fula nagar	19.7	4.97	3.01
Raibarali	20.84	4.82	1.85	Gautam budha nagar	46.28	10.87	5.64
Farukhabad	15.81	3.86	1.89	Mahamayanagar	30.83	6.84	2.32
Eawa	18.04	4.03	2.41	Chitrakut	15.14	4.56	2.01
Kanpur dehat	21.6	5.25	3.48	Chaundali	36.42	7.54	2.24
Kanpur nagar	25.14	6.28	2.93	Srawasti	10.71	3.1	1.18
Jalaun	15.26	3.83	2.4	Balrampur	10.51	3.2	1.94
Jhansi	18.51	5.29	2.24	Sant kabir nagar	18.24	3.78	2.5
Lalitpur	14.63	4.42	2.44	Bagpat	35.81	9.03	3.81
Hamipur	18.76	4.98	2.13	Kannauj	14.83	3.73	1.12
Banda	15.52	4.28	1.79	Auraia	19.87	4.88	2.3
Fatahpur	20.44	5.35	2.89				



# TOURISM, IDENTITY AND ECONOMY IN A MAGYAR VILLAGE FROM ROMANIA

Alexandru IORGA\*

*Abstract: Using field data I will try to explore the mechanisms of identity construction through tourism, in a Magyar village from Romania, focusing on two dimensions of the tourism: cultural and economic. On the one hand I bring arguments that the village is an ethnic enclave, and that the tourism practiced here is a cultural/identitary one. On the other hand, I am trying to show that the tourism as it is practiced here is adopted by the community as a strategy for local development. However, some implicit aspects of this process can be seen as pertaining more to an "ethnic economy" (I. Light). In the final part of the paper I will try to discuss the applicability and relevance of the definition of the ethnic economy given by Ivan Light, within the context of this village.*

*Keywords: Magyars [from Romania]; tourism; enclave; "ethnic economy"; Ivan Light.*

## **1. Introduction**

Starting from the general theories about tourism, I will discuss about the theoretical implications, socio-economic and socio-cultural, both for the host (destination) and for the tourists, trying to make a profile of the tourism in Coltău village. These two dimensions of the impact of tourism were selected considering that they can describe and analyse best the situation from Coltău village, thinking that the cultural dimension (particularly the ethnic one) and the economic dimension are intercorrelated, interacting and influencing mutually on a permanent basis. Of course, one of the most interesting aspects concerns the mutual interaction.

---

\* Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, University of Bucharest, and Research Assistant at the 'Constantin Brăiloiu' Institute for Ethnography and Folklore, Email: al.iorga@gmail.com

The analysis will focus on several questions such as: is the tourism practiced in Coltău village, a cultural, identity, thus “ethnic” tourism? If yes, which are the elements defining it and which are the consequences of this thing?

In the second part of the article, using the theories which debate the socio-economic implications of the tourism, I will discuss the directions for [economic] change at the local, “community” level. One of the stakes is the question whether this case is a case of community development or not. Going further, and through the prism of the theories on the “ethnic economy” and “economy of ethnic enclave” (Light) I will formulate several questions about the situation from Coltău village, bringing into discussion the mentioned theories and their capacity of applicability, therefore of generalization.

## ***2. Tourism and tourists in the field literature***

The purpose of this paper is not an elaborate incursion into the, more or less arid, field literature on the history and origin of tourism and on the concept of “tourism”. We will also not approach the polemic on tourism as anthropologic subject (see Nash, 1981 and Burns, 2004). However, some clarifications are necessary.

The concept of “tourism” was proposed in the field literature by the definition of the people of practicing this activity, i.e. by the definition of tourists. Well, what is the tourist? “A tourist is a person, in his/her spare time who, voluntarily visits a place remote from his/her residence, with the purpose to experiment a change” (Smith, 1989, p. 2 cited by Stronza, 2001, p. 265). Of course, questions were asked on what drives these people to travel, with what purpose, who they are, which their socio-cultural characteristics are, etc. The case studies so far proposed a range of answers and put new questions, delimiting types of tourism, implicitly of tourists. For instance, Erik Cohen, in a paper from 1984, was identifying eight “conceptual” approaches which he considered important for the study of tourism. I will just enumerate them here: “tourism as commercialised hospitality”; “tourism as democratic way of travelling”; “tourism as modern way of spending the free time”; “tourism as modern variety of the traditional pilgrimages”; “tourism as expression of the basic cultural themes”; “tourism as a process of acculturation”; “tourism as a type of ethnic relationship”; “tourism as a form of neo-colonialism” (Cohen, 1984, pp. 374-376). I will revert on some of these concepts later in this paper.

Discussing about the causes of tourism, David Nash asked some questions, drawing work directions and concluding that the “role of external forces such as the entrepreneurs, advertisers and governmental or supra-governmental agencies is worth taking into consideration; however, the traditions of the host society in terms of services, hospitality and housing of the foreign intrusive elements plays a role in the determination of the situation in which tourism appears and will blossom or not”

(Nash, 1981, p. 465). Thus, tourism is not just an action of an individual decision of the tourist to spend his/her free time by travelling to some place, but the result of many other factors which, on the one hand, configure the destination, while on the other hand, configure the decision of the tourist. However, it is certain that any form of tourism involves two important parts: the tourist/guest (individual or groups) and the host (individual, family, community etc.). This is what yields the two sides. Discussing about the shortcomings of the theoretical and empiric research, Amanda Stronza states: "the current literature on tourism can be divided conceptually into two parts, one orienting towards understanding the origins of the tourism, and the other oriented towards analysing the impact of tourism. One of my main ideas is that both orientations, even when taken together, seem to tell just half of the story. The problem is that many studies on the origins of tourism tend to channel on the tourist, and many researches directed towards the impact of the tourism, tend to analyse only the local people" (Stronza, 2001, p. 262). She proposed that the future studies target both the tourists and their hosts, monitoring them throughout all stages involved by tourism (idem). This proposal targets the explicit need to have a full image on the tourism, taking into account the complementarity of the two dimensions: the tourist and the hosts (local people), in order to understand better what determines the origin of the tourism (in a specific areas, for instance), and what drives the tourists to choose that particular destination. On the other hand, a full image of the tourist-host-place relation may provide pertinent explanations for the impact of tourism in a particular destination.

Undoubtedly, tourism is a complex phenomenon, in permanent connection and interaction with the economic, psychological, social and cultural elements (Burns, 2004, p. 11). There is a wide range of tourism types and their number and form keeps developing.

The ideas on the impact and consequences of tourism are again, divided. On the one hand, here are those postulating that the effects of tourism are negative on the population, environment, host communities and on the elements of culture, nature and everything pertaining to the local traditions: "the anthropologists conceptualised tourism as a factor influencing the fate of the host in several ways such as: whether they will develop economically or not; whether they will be proud or ashamed of themselves or of their traditions, or whether they will find motivation to protect or destroy their environment" (Stronza, 2001, p. 268). Furthermore, within the context of the "exotic", non-Western destinations, tourism is seen as the only solution for local economic development, and as a form of intimate or internal colonization, as a variety of neo-colonialism (see Cohen, 1984, p. 374-376), which aims to continue exploiting the less economically-developed areas.

On the other side are those supporting tourism, mostly economists, who "promote tourism as an ideal strategy for development" (Stronza, 2001, p. 268). The underlying

consideration is that besides the benefits (jobs, money etc.) for the people involved in the system of tourism, or for those displaying touristic activities as hosts, it also develops elementary-collateral matters for the proper exercise of the touristic activities (for instance, infrastructure, services etc.). Even though, sometimes just a fragment of the population from a touristic destination is integrated in the touristic activities, presumably the population which is not directly involved in touristic activities also benefit, or may benefit, of the developed infrastructure or from the touristic practices.

Many times, tourism is seen with suspicion, and as a process leading to the destruction of the local culture, implicitly, to the loss of identity by the host populations, by the adoption of life styles and values specific to the guests/tourists, particularly according to the idea that the “local people have been fooled to accept tourism, rather than accepting it consciously, as an option for themselves” (Stronza, 2001, p. 269). However, there also are opinions supporting the idea that not always commodification necessarily leads to the change of the local customs and traditions; on the contrary, it may revitalise them (Cohen, 1984, p. 387). Even in the cases when the hosts, apparently change some aspects of their quotidian life, in order to be more attractive for the tourists, this doesn't involve directly the fact that they lose their “culture or ability to judge for themselves what is or what is not authentic” (Stronza, 2001, p. 273). On the contrary, as Stronza says, the hosts may feel entitled, by their interaction with the outside people, to redefine who they are and what aspects of their identity they may show or conceal” (Stronza, 2001, p. 273). The conclusion of Stronza (2001) is that tourism may both strengthen the local economic development, or may make it dependent on tourism, while commodification may support sometimes the tradition (with the meaning of particular, specific local elements).

### ***3. Tourism and change. Case study: Coltău village, ██████████ Maramureş County***

For a better understanding of what happens today in the locality/village, we need to make an introduction in the history of the locality<sup>1</sup>, with the purpose to delimit the context within which tourism is rooted, considering that “it should be clear from the very beginning, that any study on the causes and consequences of tourism must take into account the broader social context to which they belong” (Nash, 1981, p. 466).

Coltău village lies about 17 km away from Baia Mare. The access road is covered in asphalt, being a county road. About 3 km from the centre of the village flows Lăpuş

---

<sup>1</sup> This information comes from two main sources: townhall of Coltău and monograph of Coltău (see Csaba 2008).

River. Most of the village population consists of Magyar ethnics<sup>1</sup> (62.3%), followed by the Roma community (37.1%<sup>2</sup>). Of the total 2,254 inhabitants, just 15 people are Romanian ethnics (0.6%).

The settlement was attested by documents in 1405, as Kolcho, then in 1414 as Koltho (from *koho*, oven)<sup>3</sup>. The local history has been, and still is, marked by the castle<sup>4</sup> built in the time of Maria Tereza. As of 1845, the castle administration was in the hands of Teleki Sandor – count, writer, revolutionary colonel. In 1846-1847, the poet Petőfi Sándor<sup>5</sup>, pays several visits to count Teleki. The friendship of the count and the natural environment made Petőfi Sándor and his wife, Szendrey Júlia, to spend their honeymoon at Coltău (between September 9 – November 19, 1847). Another important character who visited Coltău was the romantic writer Jókai Mór. Count Teleki died in 1892 and was buried in the park near the castle, below a cornel tree. In 1936, the tomb is moved to the cemetery of the village, becoming a pilgrimage place, thus touristic attraction. The last owner of the castle was count Teleki Ioan, who left the castle for good in 1937, leaving the castle as donation to the commune of Coltău. Under the communist rule, the castle was turned into a functional building with several uses. In 1960, one room was turned into „Petőfi Sándor memorial room”. Gradually, the entire floor was assigned to the same purpose, which was the moment when tourism started in the village.

As of 1968, after the territorial reorganisation, Coltău village was included in the large commune of Săcălășeni, where it remained until 2004, when it separated from that commune, together with a small village, Cătălina<sup>6</sup>, with the intention to make a new commune and to manage better their ideas and needs. The action relied on strictly functional and objective reasons: difficult access to public services and the neglect of the two villages because of the long distance from the commune centre, at the margin of Săcălășeni commune. The separation was the result of common action of the local elites and the population (a referendum was organised).

The village has a varied range of natural resources, facilitating the agricultural practice and animal farming. Similarly to other rural areas from Romania where the

---

<sup>1</sup> I will use the term of „Magyar” to refer to: i) ethnic affiliation, and ii) the local population (in order to make simpler the difference between the local population and the Hungarian population from Hungary).

<sup>2</sup> The percentage is the official variant, but it is quite approximative, because of the immigration (from other villages) and of the rather high birth rate of the Roma population.

<sup>3</sup> There are several opinions on this matter, and part of them can be found in the monograph of Coltău (see Csaba 2008).

<sup>4</sup> In fact, this is a rather large villa, with two floors.

<sup>5</sup> He is the national poet of Hungary.

<sup>6</sup> Cătălina village is small, along the road, and it consists mainly of holiday or summer houses.

population was both ageing and with a rather low stock of education (medium towards low), Coltău village also displays these features. Education and the access to education are a general problem of the village:

*[now], as of this year, I understood that one or two children will go on; I don't know whether they didn't change their mind. But they didn't want to go to a high school; they wanted to go to vocational, apprentice schools. I don't know whether they enlisted, because the subscription is expensive, it is not worthy, because anyhow they will have nothing left. But I think it is worth trying...<sup>1</sup>.*

The Magyar population grows seedlings and vegetables in gardens and greenhouses, which they sell in Baia Mare. Besides this, they cultivate the land (very fertile land, in the meadow of Lăpuș River) and they farm animals (pigs, cows, horses) and/or work (commute to Baia Mare, working in the bakery and in a local company making PVC products, in small carpentry shops). In the past, most of the people worked in the mining sector (commuting to the mines around Baia Mare) and agriculture (women and the men not working in the mines). Many of the Magyars migrate temporarily, for short periods, in Hungary, where they work for 1-3 months in various sectors (usually farms and agriculture). They come back for a while and then they go back. Many Magyars make incomes from agro-tourism (see Iorga, 2008).

The tourists started to come here from the 1960s years, but after 1989 there was a boom of tourists. The most important touristic element is the castle hosting the Petőfi Sándor museum, and the incoming tourists are almost exclusively from Hungary. There are 12 boarding houses<sup>2</sup> in the village, each of them with two daisies, *all alike*<sup>3</sup>. The services they provide consist in accommodation and meals – very appreciated: *they are very satisfied with the food...*, but they can also organise travels on touristic routes, rides in carriage, etc.

Sarmasi Josef, boarding house owner, told us that the boarding houses appeared quite late in Coltău (2004-2005), *and there were a lot of difficulties with their authorization*. He explains their establishment by the increasing flow of tourists who need accommodation: *they are blooming*<sup>4</sup>, *because the number of visitors coming to us is increasing*. Generally, the tourists come in groups (which are preferred by the hosts due to economic reasons), *for more than one night, because they are sight-seeing a lot* [in other areas], and the peak inflow is between April and September. However, there are tourists coming in the other months of the year too.

---

<sup>1</sup>A., Magyar person, social worker, expert in local Roma problems.

<sup>2</sup> 2007 statistics (source: Coltău townhall). Actually, there are much more households receiving tourists, but they are not yet accredited or registered.

<sup>3</sup> The words in Italics, with no further note, belong to J. S. and are extracted from our interview with him.

<sup>4</sup> „Blooming” has the meaning of „increasing”, „developing”.

Owning a boarding house in Coltău is not seen as a business, but as a complementary source of incomes for the household. It only means the legalisation of the assistance provided to the tourists, because the people running boarding houses are using their own houses to this purpose, and the tourist (the “guest” as they call the tourists) is seen and accepted as a family member for as long as he/she stays<sup>1</sup>. However, the profit, in most cases, and part of the household savings, as invested to arrange, expand or improve the house: *if you want to maintain the house, to keep to rooms in the best condition* (S. J.), because the tourists *want better and better conditions... Before it was not like this: the people were coming and were living in your house, in the existing conditions. Now, it is no longer like this! They are demanding.* (I., boarding house owner). In the recent period, special buildings, for tourist accommodation were built, with a strong entrepreneurial character, which makes us reconsider the opinion expressed by the local people, that the [agro]tourism practiced in Coltău is not a business.

Within this context, the transformation of the usual touristic practices, which consisted in the informal hospitality, in this form of “commercialised hospitality” (Cohen, 1984, p. 374-375), through a process of “commodification” (Stronza, 2001, p. 270) is strongly tied to two elements: first, the [commodified] cultural legacy, and then the situation of niche (niche economic practices). We presented above the elements of cultural legacy, but not those behind its revival.

*Starting with the early 1990s, with the support of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Cults, with the assistance of the employees of the Petőfi Museum of Literature, started the systematization, reorganisation and updating of the entire material of the museum. The objects and materials which had no direct connection with the subject of the exhibitions were stored and each hall was personalized. Thus, were born the Teleki hall, the Jókai hall, the Petőfi hall (Csaba, 2008, p. 51, my emphasis).*

In other words, the inheritance from Coltău is not just a local inheritance concerning strictly the Magyars living there; rather, it is a cultural, ethnic legacy which concerns not just the local interests. In this formula, the causes of commodification can have two sources: a) the actions of the Hungarian state, interested in the promotion and maintenance of the elements of the Magyar culture (on cultural, or rather cultural-ethnic grounds), and then the local Magyar ethnics interested in the inflow of a many tourists as possible (on economic grounds). Irrespective of the causes of commodification, its effects are concrete and functional: “the truth is that the industry of patrimony became, in important and powerful ways, a site of consumption, like any

---

<sup>1</sup>The tourist(s) eat together with their hosts (unless they express directly another option), they share the house with their host (the front rooms, or the “good”, “clean” rooms); sometimes they can even participate in various household works.

other market on which the material culture expands rapidly” (Mitchell, 2002, p. 200 cited by de Weiss, 2007, p. 416). The process of commodification isn’t limited to the aspects of the cultural inheritance; it goes further, trying to introduce within the touristic circuit any element that might or could get touristic value. However, this touristic value can only be obtained through a strong symbolic load, which one side or the other assigns to some marks (be it the “Petőfi legacy”, or the “Colțau panorama”, or the “Vajda spring”, etc.). On the other hand, the so-called “Petőfi legacy” has commodifying capacity: besides the fact that after 1990, the house of culture from the village was named after the poet, the most interesting example of commodification seems to be the local celebration. It started in 1939<sup>1</sup> as a ball, developing thereafter as “celebration” (sic!). In 1984, the ball is banned by the communist regime and it was reactivated after the fall of the communist regime. After the separation from Săcălășeni commune, the Petőfi celebration became the “Petőfi days”, and corresponds with the date established by the local authorities for the days of the commune. This aspect is rather interesting, particularly by the fact that the moment is of huge intensity; in the middle of September in each year, countless busses with hundreds of Hungarian tourists flow in the village. This is a moment when even the Roma are “tolerated” and invited to perform artistic shows (dance and music) for a program of total celebration, of communion, tolerance and “inter-ethnic” harmony. This latter aspect might also have a note of commodification, and it might form the elements of an image which the Magyar ethnics would like to propose to their co-ethnics across the border.

### **3.1. Tourism, migration and development**

The implications of the tourism are not to be found just at the socio-cultural level, but at the economic level too. As shown above, the general idea is that the local people adopted tourism as a solution/economic strategy, and this influences the local/community economic development. The increasing number of accommodation determined the development of the entrepreneurship in the field of tourism or in the related fields. Thus, they passed from the ordinary accommodation in the same house (in the usual conditions of life of the hosts, the guests being seen and treated as family members once they have been accepted in the house), to accommodation in separate buildings, in increasingly better conditions, anyway different from the usual conditions of the place. These conditions appear as express demands by the tourists or as elements of host empathy. It is certain, anyhow, that the field of constructions developed; owning a boarding house became a business and the number of those wanting to own, or who already own a boarding house is increasing steadily.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Csaba 2008: 19.





*Photo 1. Statue of Petőfi Sándor - Szendrey Júlia, done by sculptor Pogány Gábor Benő, unveiled in 1998, in the park from the centre of the village, near the castle.*



*Photo 2. The castle from Coltău*



*Photo 3. House turned into boarding house (right) and a new house intended exclusively for tourists (in the back).*



*Photo 4. Boarding house under construction.<sup>1</sup>*

Hosting tourists in own house requires a minimum of investments required to create some conditions (for instance, indoor toilet, building a kitchen or fitting a proper kitchen etc.), and the money gained from tourists are reinvested, most times in a better endowment of the house or in a new building. For instance, the husband of the host where we stood for the first week, was away in Hungary working, and when he returned they already started the work to expand the kitchen, because the old kitchen was no longer proper for the accommodation requirements. At the same time, they started a new building in the same courtyard, but didn't finish it. For this, they will need a lot of tourists and many months of work in Hungary.

The temporary migration for work in Hungary is a frequent practice in the Magyar households from Coltău: most families had or will have at least one case of migration for temporary work in Hungary (usually 1 to 3 months), generally in agriculture and/or various farms. The factors which support and influence this practice are: the Magyar

---

<sup>1</sup>Photos by the author of the paper.

language and the easiness to get in a short time in Hungary. The Magyar language is the main factor determining the destination, because it is much easier for them to go to a country whose language they speak, and then the fact that there are just a few hours of travel from the village to Hungary. The financial capital obtained from these travels for work abroad is invested in the reconfiguration of the houses, in the construction of new houses or in different tourism-related endowments. In other words, those who have such (touristic) initiatives, invest almost all this capital in support of these initiatives.

Another factor which supports the temporary migration abroad is the social capital. Invariably, the contact with tourists (through whom information travel), is a source of social capital, and “the more it is used, the more it increases”, being “an important feature for the development of the local economy” (Evans & Syrett, 2007, p. 58).

### 3.2. Discussions

Indisputably, the Magyars from Coltău are a valuable community (language, religion, common aspirations, etc.), properly formed, solidary and which has a high social capital<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the village is an oasis in the zonal-regional landscape, isolated [locally] – from the majority population (Romanians) and from the Roma population (living in proximity), but with a global opening (I mean particularly its relations with Hungary and the migratory practices). Given the strong isolation (I don't mean just the territorial isolation, but also to the social, linguistic and cultural isolation, which can be successfully translated in terms of social distance<sup>2</sup> or social closing), the locality has the characteristics of an ethnic enclave.

On the one hand, the tourism practiced in Coltău is oriented towards knowledge, cultural tourism, based not on natural factors (local resources which the local people try to commodify and sometimes they even succeed to do this), but on the motivation of getting rich and of broadening the cultural horizon; this is rather an identity travel. On the other hand, changes occur both regarding the tourists, and regarding the hosts, the phenomenon of acculturation being bilateral. Furthermore, considering that the “proximity in the social space produces automatically unity” (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 18), and the touristic practices generate proximity, and that by relating with the

---

<sup>1</sup> The social capital is understood both through its *structural* form (‘[e]mphasizing networks, organizations and linkages through which information and norms are conveyed’ (Evans & Syrett, 2007, p. 57, also see Coleman, 1988 and 1990)), and through its *cognitive* form (‘[w]hich focuses on shared norms, values, trust, attitudes and beliefs’ (idem, also see Putnam, 1993)). In other words, as long as the human capital consists of individuals, the social capital is found in their relations (Woolcock, 2001, p. 12).

<sup>16</sup> It represents the “perceived difference between people or groups in relation with a criterion [...]” (Vlăsceanu, 1998, p. 175)

tourists – who are co-ethnics, we might say that at least the hosts – which interact most with the tourists, if not the whole Magyar community from Coltău, preserve their local identity, while concomitantly “refreshing” their ethnic identity by the contact and relations with the tourists and with the organisations which promote and support tourism in Coltău (local organisations or from Hungary). Of course, a direct consequence might be self-enclavization.

The tourism practiced in Coltău is cultural – identity, on ethnic bases, whose consequences, among other, are the preservation of the [ethnic] identity of the host and the perpetuation of the situation of enclave, after all.

#### **4. Ethnic economy**

Following the studies started in the 1970s about entrepreneurship and welfare within several minorities (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, black) from the USA, Ivan Light published, alone, or together with other researchers, several papers in which he defined the concept of “ethnic economy” as a concept having maximal relevance for the studies of sociology and economic anthropology. Undoubtedly, the theory of the “ethnic economy”, as it was proposed by Ivan Light, is one originating from empiric research, being an explanation of the reality as it was studied by the researcher within a specific context (also see the ‘grounded theory’). In other words, we may easily suppose that the theory has its limitations regarding the explanative capacity and the degree of generalization. Even though the supporters of the theory developed it by subsequent studies and completions, the fact that the initial structure proposed by Light remained, is problematic, however.

The “ethnic economy” implies invariably several elements through which it is defined. The case of the minorities from which Light started is that of immigrants [to the USA] who, using various means, and within a specific context, developed a business and/or are involved, one way or another, in a “co-ethnic” business: the “concept of «ethnic economy» refers to any ethnic group or group of self-employed immigrants, their co-ethnic employees and the members of their families” (Light & Gold, 2000, p. 9; Light & Karageorgis, 1994, p. 663, Wahlbeck, 2007, p. 545). Ivan Light (1972) explains the successful situations of some minorities and the unsuccessful situations of others regarding the activities of the ethnic economy by referring to the ethnic relations and networks. For instance, in the case of the Chinese and Japanese, these relations and networks already exist in the country of origin, being just transplanted within the new context; in the case of the Afro-Americans, these relations have been weakened or even destroyed during the period of slavery (also see Kwong, 1997, p. 365). Thus, the accent is not on the financial capital, but on the social capital which, in this case, has ethnic bases. In other words, Light considers that the drive in the ethnic economy is represented by the ethnic affiliation, seen as resources. However, this thesis of the social capital on ethnic bases has its criticisms

(see Sanders & Nee, 1987 and Portes & Jensen, 1989). Peter Kwong demonstrates, in his research on the ethnic economy practiced by the Chinese minority from the USA, that the ethnic solidarity “was constantly fabricated by the economic elite of the Chinese community in order to acquire a better control over the co-ethnic employees” (Kwong, 1997, p. 366).

Briefly, the practice of ethnic economy involves: a migrating minority (a community<sup>1</sup> of immigrants, or an already stable minority, or an enclaved ethnic group etc, usually in another country), within whom entrepreneurial practices develop. These entrepreneurial practices presume employee-employer (sometimes consumer<sup>2</sup> too) relations between people of the same ethnic affiliation: “the economy is ethnic because the people involved in it are co-ethnics” (Light & Karageorgis, 1994, p. 649, also see Brednikova & Pachenkov, 2000, p. 108).

### 5. *Ethnic economy? Economy of ethnic enclave?*

Olga Brednikova and Oleg Pachenkov, in a study of the immigrants arrived from the Caucasus area for work in Sankt Petersburg, question critically the theory of the ethnic economy, because its supporters “are not interested in the subjective factors of the immigrant’s activity. They consider that if an immigrant is Chinese (for them this is an «objective» aspect), his/her behaviour fits the behaviour of a Chinese, for instance, he or she will cooperate with other Chinese people. In the empirical research, such researchers try to find (and they usually do) only confirmations of the correctness of their suppositions” (Brednikova & Pachenkov, 2000, p. 108). Reevaluating the definition of Ivan Light, they propose an understanding which to include the subjective perspective of the ethnic group too: „our research proposes to understand the definition of the «*ethnic economy*» as an economy which *involves individuals who in a subjective and conscious manner shape their economic behaviour on the basis of their own ethnic origin, understood in a subjective manner and on the basis of the ethnic origin of the people they are cooperating with*” (idem, authors’ emphasizing). This proposition appeared in the idea that the social-economic networks which the immigrants build and use at destination may also have other causes than the ethnic origin. The conclusion of the researchers is that the “social networks of the immigrants from Caucasus to St. Petersburg, particularly those with economic character, were not at all organised according to the ethnic criterion. This implies that these social networks have not been constructed consciously by the social agents, which would shape subjectively their actions on the ethnic affiliation of those with whom they cooperated (co-ethnic people) (Brednikova & Pachenkov, 2000, p. 114).

---

<sup>1</sup> With the meaning assigned by Sandu (2005), of community of value, even if it also is a territorial community.

<sup>2</sup> For this last category, see Wahlbeck 2007.

As shown in the above pages, the village has an aspect of ethnic enclave<sup>1</sup>. However, for a better understanding, following are some clarifications on what an enclave is. Thus, the concept of “ethnic enclave”, in the discussions about the ethnic economy, has been defined historically in many ways<sup>2</sup>, taking into account, one at a time, or together, several elements such as: geography-spatiality; statistically significant ethnic composition; business or production and/or entrepreneurial activities of a person of different ethnic origin than the majority local population etc. The diversity of the used definitions has two direct effects: i) the difficulty to compare studies on the same topic and ii) it bestows the concept with a high degree of ambiguity, whose consequence is rather an abstraction of the concept within an umbrella category, than an operational multi-side clarification.

On the one hand, what happens in Coltău in terms of economic activity cannot be included in the typeset of the theory proposed by Ivan Light, because the economic actors are not within a context of immigration, of minority or enclave in a foreign space (another country). In contrast with this aspect, the population has all the characteristics of a community [of immigrants] (mutual assistance, relations based on kinship networks, lack of knowledge of the local, majority language, practicing niche economic activities<sup>3</sup>). On the other hand, if I were to put myself, somehow simplistically, on the position which states that the “economy is ethnic because its staff is co-ethnic” (Light & Karageorgis, 1994, p. 649, Brednikova & Pachenkov, 2000, p. 108), things would be simpler: yes, in Coltău, the economic practice can be labelled as an economy of ethnic enclave, because the people involved in these economic activities, are either self-employed in a business (boarding house, workshop etc.), or the employees are co-ethnic and, in any of these cases, the household members are or can be involved (see Wahlbeck, 2007, p. 545). Furthermore, even part of the consumers (the tourists from Hungary) are co-ethnic people. However, beyond these indicators, the theory of the ethnic economy presumes that the immigrants have “additional resources which are usually called «ethnic»” (Brednikova & Pachenkov, 2000, p. 108). And these resources are those which, among other, determine the economic strategies of the immigrants. The “ethnic resources” are presumed to come from the fact that the individuals, the members, have the same ethnic origin and consists in the fact that they are united,

---

<sup>1</sup> The various types of isolation that we discussed about in the above pages, determine the character of ethnic enclave of the village. However, this latter aspect doesn't imply a true reciprocal. In other words, the village, or the enclave, is not totally closed; rather, as shown, it has relations with the exterior (cultural, economic etc.). In a specific way, we might say that the locality is isolated locally, but opened globally.

<sup>2</sup> The theories on ethnic enclaves and on the hypothesis of the ethnic economy of enclave rely almost exclusively on urban studies.

<sup>3</sup> See Kwong, 1997, p. 366.

they cooperate sharing information and developing social and economic networks on the basis of these resources.

## 6. Conclusions

In the first part of the paper I tried to describe what kind of tourism is practiced in Coltău village and to identify which are the social, cultural and economic levels bearing the consequences of the tourism activities. In the second part I determined the theoretical criteria for a possible classification of the type economy practiced in Coltău as “ethnic economy”.

Discussing about the type of tourism exercised in this village I developed and argued the idea that this is an identity tourism relying on the local cultural legacy and that this form of tourism involves a bivalent situation in the construction, conservation and reconfiguration of the ethnic identity: on the one hand, the tourists (mostly from Hungary, of Magyar ethnics) come to Coltău to “retrieve” or reconfirm some elements of Magyar ethnic cultural elements (fragments from the life of the national Magyar poet); on the other hand, the contact with tourists, plus a specific type of cultural commodification, helps the hosts to preserve their Magyar identity and to conserve the enclave in which they are living and in which their community develops.

I also expressed the hypothesis that also through tourism, the social capital of the hosts increases and supports the temporary migration abroad. Besides the social capital, migration has an additional determining cause: the isolation (particularly linguistic; this aspect implies the relative deprivation of the possibilities, with adverse effect on the local labour market) and the territorial proximity from Hungary.

I consider that by the commodification of the cultural legacy, the community from Coltău village adopted the tourism as a strategy for local economic change. The tourism in Coltău has implications on the whole community: economic, socio-cultural and relational by their nature; they have identity consequences both on the public space and on the individual and collective welfare. The village has the premises of a sustainable development based on tourism and agrotourism. By developing the local infrastructure and by renovating the castle, Coltău village might become a significant touristic spot not just for the Magyar population.

Although it seems improper to adopt a theory of immigration – the theories on the ethnic economy – in this case, I consider that these theories can be and need being reviewed. The definition of the ethnic economy, as proposed by Ivan Light, comes from empiric research and has limitations in terms of the degree of explanation and applicability, as also shown by other researches which, by their results, reevaluate the comprehensive and explanative capacity of this definition. At the same time, my opinion is that the theories of the ethnic economy can be applied to some rural cases and to situations such as that from Coltău.

In this situation of [ethnic] enclave, the Magyar community from Coltău, isolated despite its proximity to a large town (Baia Mare), and rather deprived (particularly in terms of the linguistic impediments, since most of its members have problems with the Romanian language, or better said they don't know the Romanian language), considered opportunely to adopt tourism as niche activity<sup>1</sup>, by capitalising on and commodifying the cultural legacy, as single strategy for local change (development). In other words, the "local society"/community have chosen this for itself and it plays an important role "for the determination of the type of tourists which they receive and for the form of tourism they practice" (Nash, 1981, p. 462). The elements of attraction reach and target [just] a specific segment of tourists: the Magyars. It could be no other way, since the cultural legacy is of strictly identitary interest [Magyar, Hungarian].

## References

- Bourdieu, P. (1999), *Rațiuni practice. O teorie a acțiunii*, București, Editura Meridiane.
- Brednikova, O.; Pachenkov, O. (2000), „Ethnicity of ‚Ethnic Economy’: Economic Immigrants to St. Petersburg”, in Brednikova, O.; Voronkov, V.; Chikadze, E. (eds.). *Ethnicity and Economy. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in St. Petersburg (9-12 September 1999)*, St. Petersburg, CISR, Working Papers, No. 8, pp. 108-115.
- Burns, G.L. (2004), “Anthropology and Tourism: Past Contributions and Future Theoretical Challenges”, in *Anthropological Forum*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 5–22.
- Cohen E. (1984), “The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues, and Findings”, in *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 10. pp. 373-392.
- Coleman J.S. (1988), “Social capital in the creation of human capital”, in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, Supplement, pp. S95-S120.
- Coleman, J.S. (1990), *Foundations of social theory*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Csaba, B. E. (2008), *Kolthó - Coltău. Micromonografie*, Manuscript.
- Evans, M.; Syrett, S. (2007), “Generating Social Capital?: The Social Economy and Local Economic Development”, in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Vol. 14(1), pp. 55-74
- Iorga, Al. (2008), În comuna Coltău, turiștii calcă pe urmele poetului Petőfi Sándor, in *EuRoCom. Revista Comunităților Locale și Regionale din România*, No. 38 (May)

---

<sup>1</sup> Among other, the geographical area where Coltău village is located (south) is not part of the touristic Maramureș, and Coltău is a “hidden” and somehow “odd” touristic spot in this area.

- Kwong, P. (1997), "Manufacturing Ethnicity", in *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 17, pp. 365-387
- Light, I. (1972), *Ethnic enterprise in America*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Light, I., Gold, S.J. (2000), *Ethnic economies*, San Diego, Academic Press.
- Light, I., Karageorgis, S. (1994), "The ethnic economy", in Smelser, N.J.; Swedberg, R. (eds.), *The handbook of economic sociology*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 647–671.
- Nash, D. (1981), "Tourism as an Anthropological Subject", in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 22, No. 5, pp. 461- 481.
- Portes, A.; Jensen, L. (1989), "The Enclave and the Entrants: Patterns of Ethnic Enterprise in Miami before and after Mariel", in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 6 (Dec.), pp. 929- 949.
- Putnam, R.D. (1993), "The prosperous community: social capital and public life", in *The American Prospect*, Vol. 4, No. 13, pp. 35-42.
- Sanders, J., Nee, V. (1987), "Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Ethnic Enclave", in *American Sociological Review*, No. 52, pp. 745–767.
- Sandu, D. (2005), *Dezvoltare comunitară. Cercetare, practică, ideologie*, Iași, Polirom.
- Stronza, A. (2001), "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives", in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 30. pp. 261-283.
- Vlăsceanu, L. (1998), "Distanță socială", in Zamfir, C.; Vlăsceanu, L. (eds.) *Dicționar de sociologie*, București, Babel, p. 175
- Wahlbeck, Ö. (2007), "Work in the kebab economy: A study of the ethnic economy of Turkish immigrants in Finland", in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 7(4), pp. 543-563
- Weiss, L. (2007), "Heritage-making and Political Identity", in *Journal of Social Archaeology*, Vol. 7, pp. 413-431
- Woolcock, M. (2001), "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes", in *ISUMA, Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, Vol. 2(1), pp. 11–17.



# AUSTERITY – THE TRIGGER FOR WAVES OF CONTENTION IN ROMANIA.

*Representation of the Romanian street  
protests of January-February 2012 in the  
international press*

Ruxandra GUBERNAT

Henry RAMMELT\*\*

*Abstract: This paper deals with the international media coverage of the Romanian protests from January-February 2012. The purpose is to analyze whether the events managed to transcend the borders of national representation in the media. Our hypothesis is that, due to the fact that Romania is not considered to be a major player in world politics and economy, the representation of the social protests in foreign publications will be mainly informative, describing the series of events as a consequence of the economic hardship and integrating this social movement in the wave of protests which occurred all over Europe, after the economic crisis of 2008. Results of a combined approach to the analysis of newspaper content – integrating both qualitative and quantitative methods – suggest that the international media depicts endemic corruption and public discontent as the underlying profound causes for the protests, where austerity was the trigger.*

*Keywords: Romanian protests, international media coverage, content analysis, corruption, public discontent, austerity measures.*

---

\* Université Paris X Nanterre, GAP, Email: ruxandra.gubernat@gmail.com

\*\* Institut d'Etudes Politiques Lyon, Triangle UMP, Email: henry.rammelt@sciencespo-lyon.fr

## 1. Introduction

Social protests that took place in Romania in January and February 2012 raised several questions about this country's civic engagement, generally described as being apathetic and unorganized. Was this movement a spontaneous one, a normal reaction to wage cuts provoked by the economic crisis? Or do the reasons and motivations behind this movement, which took over most of the major cities in the country, underline a deeper cleavage between the political class and the unsatisfied citizens? Should this movement be placed under the simple definition of "social demands" or should it be taken a step further, questioning the relationship between the political field and the electorate and their way of understanding political roles, which leads to a trial of "redefining" and "re-organizing the public sphere"?

Beyond the obvious results of this Romanian social movement – and we are talking here about the government's resignation a few weeks after the protests started and the government's decision to give up the implementation of its health care reform; etc. – the purpose of this article is to analyze how and if the Romanian public discontent managed to transcend the borders of national representation and what was the message sent on a global level. Romanian national media consecrated legion of articles debating upon the goals of this movement, emphasizing the civic reawakening and the novelty of the political claims. But what was the counterpart in terms of media coverage in the international press?

Our hypothesis is that, due to the fact that Romania is not considered to be a major player in world politics and economy, the representation of the social protests in foreign publications will be mainly informative, describing the series of events as a consequence of the economic hardship and integrating this social movement in the wave of protests which occurred all over Europe, after the economic crisis of 2008. This paper is, hence, an attempt to explore the representation of the relationship citizens – public institutions in Romania during the protests of January-February 2012, in the international press. For the purpose of the present article, we decided to use the technique of content analysis – both quantitative and qualitative – over a corpus comprised by articles concerning our subject published in major international newspapers in France, United Kingdom and USA, for a period of a month (10<sup>th</sup> of January - 10<sup>th</sup> of February 2012). The selection was made upon criteria of circulation strength, impact on an international public and upon linguistic constraints.

Even if we are dealing with "protests", the purpose of this paper is rather analyzing reporting on protests, than the protests themselves. In what concerns the paper's scope, it will, hence, be distinguished from what is called 'Protest Event Analysis (PEA)' that is used to „map, analyze and interpret the occurrence and properties of large numbers of protest *by means of content analysis* [...]“ (Koopmans/ Rucht, 2002, p. 231., emphasis added).

## 2. Description of the analytical framework

This paper attempts to determine, via a series of variables, the image of a series of events, described as one of the main purposes of content analysis. As such, we decided to analyze the themes and the general tone used in the titles and the content of the articles belonging to our corpus. In accordance to Neuman (1997), 'content' "refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated" (Neuman, 1997, 272–273). The choice to use quantitative and qualitative content analysis is, then, justified by the need to analyze both manifest and latent content. Accordingly, the purpose is to describe *the form* as well as *the meaning* of our corpus, in order to *identify* the main directions of the media content under analysis and to *explain* their probable interpretant of the audience. In accordance to Morris' classical trichotomy in the analysis of signs ('syntactic', 'semantics' and 'pragmatics'; Morris, 1971) our purpose is, in a first step, to analyze signification, the content of the selected texts, and, therefore, it is meant to be a semantic approach to content analysis. In a second step, we tried to focus on the content-interpretant relationship, and therefore, to apply a stance to content analysis that could be classified as pragmatic, following Shoemaker/ Reese (1996), who consider that "reducing large amounts of text to quantitative data (...) does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes, since texts may contain many other forms of emphasis besides sheer repetition" (Shoemaker/ Reese, 1996, 32).

Following Laurence Bardin's (Bardin, 2007, 125ff.) definition, the first phase of our analysis was dedicated to the selection of documents, to the formulation of hypotheses and objectives and to the identification of the indicators that will be used for the final interpretation. Being dedicated to the winter time protests in Romania, especially in Bucharest, the sample of data comprises the part of the population of articles in five daily newspapers in France, United Kingdom and USA, responding to our search routine. For the sample period, we took under consideration the time frame between the approximate beginning of the protests and the change of the government, considered to be the period of maximum intensity in terms of representation in the media.

To identify the sample, we applied the full text search of the selected newspapers with the search routine 'protest\* /and romania\*'. The purpose of using the truncated forms as a means of suffix stripping is a method to get a more complete sample within information retrieval systems. A truncation of protest and Romania (via the \* symbol) resulted in all relevant articles related to protests in Romania such as: protest, protesters, protesting, Romanians, Romania's, Romania etc.

The units of analysis are words and word-connections.

The core of quantitative content analysis is its category-system. Categories are parameter values of the interesting variables comprised by "a group of words with similar meaning or connotations" (Weber, 1990, p. 37). In what concerns the construction of the category-system, our approach was more empirically than theory-oriented. We followed here the directions indicated by Bardin (2007), who understands content analysis as an empirical method, dependent on the type of 'word' that is discussed and the type of interpretation aimed (Bardin, 2007, p. 207ff.). For the interpretation of our variables we made inferences, by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages (cf. Holsti, 1968, p. 5). Understood as intermediate procedures, whether the inference methods are based on quantitative indicators or not, inferences enable the transition from mere *description* to the *interpretation* of the text.

After a preliminary reading of the articles, and after dividing the content in meaningful units, we identified three major themes, present in the titles and the content of the articles: "*Austerity measures*", "*Corruption*" and "*Public discontent*". Having these three trends in mind, we formulated a second, „open“ hypothesis, in the form of a question: Are the categories equally distributed in our corpus of articles? Is the frequency of these categories (or of the corresponding index variables) correlated with the newspaper's country?

Based on our first impressions of the three guiding explanations of the protests we chose to formulate coding rules by using an intensional definition of the categories, describing their characteristics and adding the most frequent index-variables, generating the corpus of the category-system. The categories are dichotomous, which means that the unit of analysis does either refer to the category or does not refer to the category. Hence, every unit of analysis is exclusively disjunctive by referring to one single index-variable or being included in the intensional definition of the related category.

**Table 1**  
*Category-system*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Intensional definition</b>	<b>Index-Variables</b>
<b>Austerity</b>	All the words and word-connections referring to government imposed measures to reduce its deficit.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ pay/wage/pension/job cuts</li> <li>⤴ incomes/public salaries reduced</li> <li>⤴ austerity measures/ anti-austerity protests</li> </ul>
<b>Corruption</b>	All the words and word-connections referring to abuse of public office, abuse of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– cronyism/clientelism (f.e. "mafiosi")</li> <li>– corrupt*</li> <li>– personal benefits (f.e. "feathering their</li> </ul>

Category	Intensional definition	Index-Variables
	power, conflict of interest, cronyism.	nest")
<b>Public discontent</b>	All the words and word-connections referring to a general attitude of disaffection towards public institutions, elites and the system itself.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. unhappy with the government/political class</li> <li>2. lack of confidence in the system (f.e. "political blindness sapped public confidence" )</li> <li>3. lack of responsiveness (f.e. "govern against the will of the people" or "scission between the country's political class and the people on the street" )</li> </ol>

The three categories have different explanatory localizations, different scopes of inclusiveness. Apparently, the category "*Austerity measures*" is much more specific than the "*Public discontent*" category. But it is not the purpose of this part of the study to determine whether one category might be the result of a broader social feeling, covered by another category, but to display the distribution of explanations for the protest within newspaper reporting.

### Pretest

We tried to assess the validity of the category-system by pretesting it. For the pretest we chose to apply a certain form of sorting: three reviewers (of former journalistic profession) were asked to match the index variables and the definitions with the three broad categories. Categories, index variables and definitions were assigned bijectively and after a short group discussion we decided to keep the category-system.

### Media sample

This study is approaching newspapers as being one of the main sources of actuality, through which the messages of the Romanian street protests were transmitted to a global public. The first stage of our analysis was dedicated to a quantitative content analysis method, which allowed us to observe and ascertain what information was presented, through a manual coding frame, in order to establish the frequency of our variables and to identify the main directions in the representation of the events. This first step was used for verifying the hypothesis and confirming the choice of our categories. Considering this step as being incomplete, we decided to apply a qualitative content analysis, in order to penetrate the manifest content and to understand the meaning assigned to our categories.

As stated in the introduction, we analyzed fifteen broadsheet daily newspapers from France, United Kingdom and USA, which resulted in a total amount of 50 articles,

mainly news and feature stories. We selected the publications *Le Parisien*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Libération* and *La Croix*, for the French press, *The Sun*, *The Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Independent* and *The Guardian*, for the UK press and *The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times* and *Washington Post* for the US press, the criteria being the daily circulation of these newspapers in 2011 and their international notoriety. We took under consideration every reference to our subject present in the title, headline and the main text.

Within the French press, we identified 18 articles related to the protests, in the five publications analyzed. The representation of the subject was very unequal, 9 articles (55%) being found in *Le Parisien*, 6 articles (30%) in *Le Monde* and 1 article (5%) in *Le Figaro*, *Libération* and *La Croix*. The number of articles dedicated to the social protests in Romania were more equally distributed in the UK press. Nine out of 19 articles were published in *The Guardian* (47%), followed by *The Times* and *The Independent*, each with 4 articles (21%) on the subject, and *Financial Times*, with 2 articles (11%). No article was found in *The Sun*. The US press dedicated 13 articles to the subject, 7 articles (53%) being found in *The New York Times*, 4 articles (30%) in *USA Today* and 2 articles (17%) in *The Wall Street Journal*. *Los Angeles Times* and *Washington Post* didn't publish any article on the subject.

The majority of the articles appeared in the first two weeks of the protests (10-25<sup>th</sup> of January), a second wave of interest being shown after the fall of the Romanian government, in the first week of February.

### Reliability

In what concerns the assessment of reliability of results, we decided in favor of simple inter-coder reliability calculation, in order to examine the degree of similarity of nominations between the two coders. A calculation of the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient appeared to be less conducive than a simple inter-coder reliability. To calculate the observed agreement, we divided the number of items on which the coders agreed by the total number of items.

Table 2

*Number of total references to our categories in all publications analyzed, by country*

Category	France	United Kingdom	USA	ICR
Austerity measures	68	63	63	0,77
Corruption	19	21	17	0,84
Public discontent	76	41	22	0,74

### 3. Results of the content analysis

The results of our quantitative content analysis show that the category “*Austerity measures*” was the most represented in all analyzed publications. We identified 194 references to austerity, almost equally distributed in our press sample. We took under consideration phrases such as “austerity measures” (“*mésures d'austerité*” or “*cure d'austérité*”, as the equivalents in the French press), “wage” and “job cuts”, etc., but also explicit sentences that we considered to be relevant for the description of this category, such as “*protester contre la dégradation de leurs conditions de vie*” (“*protest against the degradation of their living conditions*”) (*Le Parisien*, 17<sup>th</sup> of January).

As shown by the qualitative analysis, the coverage of the street protest, in the majority of the surveyed newspapers, was mainly concentrated on describing the movement as a consequence of the economic hardship and of the austerity measures implemented by the Romanian government after the economic crisis. The theme “*Austerity measures*” was found in more than 80% of our sample. Here, the reporting normally followed a logic of portraying the austerity policies as the most pronounced and noticeable explanations for the protests, by enumerating a detailed series of measures.

For our second category, “*Corruption*”, we identified 57 references, present in more than 60% of the articles, also almost equally distributed in the newspapers analyzed, by country. Even if this category is the least represented in the publications, in terms of total number of references (only one article, out of 50 articles analyzed, found in the edition of January 17<sup>th</sup> of *Le Monde*, described the topic of corruption in detail), we would qualify the theme as being more nuanced, providing contextual information about reasons for mobilization.

We didn't intent to measure the intensity of reporting concerning “corruption”, nor to analyze the state of “corruption” in Romania, but to withdraw the explanations given to its relationship with the protests. It is important to note that the topic of corruption, together with what media defined as “cronyism”, was constantly associated both with the protest and the politicians, but only as a general theme, cases of corruption being mentioned only in order to describe the general environment. We listed here sentences such as: “*la "corruption" de la classe politique, majorité et opposition confondues*” [“*the corruption of the political class, majority and opposition mingled*”] or “*Nous sommes ici pour dénoncer la corruption(...)*” [“*we are here to denounce corruption*”] (*Le Parisien*, January 19<sup>th</sup>), “*many protesters are also angry at what they see as cronyism and corruption*” (*The Guardian*, January 24<sup>th</sup>) or “*deep-seated corruption*” (*The New York Times*, February 7<sup>th</sup>) and “*cronyism in state institutions and widespread corruption*” (*The New York Times*, January 15<sup>th</sup> and *The Independent*, February 6<sup>th</sup>).

Throughout the articles under analysis, we found that corruption was depicted as being one of the main causes for social mobilization in Romania. Expressions such as “ras-de-bol' face à la corruption de la classe politique” [“browned-off, frustrated by the corruption of the political class”] (*Le Parisien*, January 19<sup>th</sup>), “politicians (...) interested in feathering their nest” (*The Guardian*, January 24<sup>th</sup>), “(...)governments hadn't stolen so much and bled us dry” (*Usa Today*, January 19<sup>th</sup>) or “mafioso government” (*The New York Times*, January 15<sup>th</sup>) were used in order to describe additional reasons for citizens' disaffection with the political elites.

The endemic state of discontent of citizens towards the Romanian politicians, because of the unethical behavior of the elites, together with a bad image attributed to the president and the government, due to a general perception of lack of responsiveness and efficiency, were summed up by the authors of the present paper under the category “*Public discontent*”. Throughout the corpus, we found 139 references to this third category, highlighting a general feeling of exclusion of the citizens from the political discourse – “le manque d'intérêt des politiques pour les problèmes concrets des gens” [“the lack of interest of politicians for the practical problems of the people”] (*La Croix*, January 17<sup>th</sup>) and the disappearance of the public trust in the ruling class – “political blindness has only sapped public confidence in the government” (*The Guardian*, January 24<sup>th</sup>). The biggest quantity of references to this category was found in the French press, which has allocated a total number of 76 references, a three times the number found in the US press and an almost twice the number identified in the UK press.

The articles from the majority of publications under surveillance assigned strong connotations in order to describe this category, using expressions such as “*dictatorship* formed by president and prime minister” (*The Guardian*, January 24<sup>th</sup>), “*l'autisme de la classe politique*” (*Le Monde*, January 23<sup>th</sup>), “PDL (parti au pouvoir), USL (opposition), même *misère!*”, (*Le Monde*, January 17<sup>th</sup>; *Le Parisien*, January 19<sup>th</sup>) or “people saying that all parties are just as *dirty*” (*The New York Times*, January 19<sup>th</sup>). The dissatisfaction with the current leaders is, as such, to be understood as a deeper cause for the protests, as a chain reaction of the citizens claims – “We want change – from the top to the bottom” (*Usa Today*, January 19<sup>th</sup>).

The articles also presented the president Traian Basescu as being one of the focuses of discontent. The analysis showed that Basescu lost his credibility and was found responsible by the protesters for the decline in living standards. The articles reproduced slogans such as “Death to the dictator Basescu”, “Clear out, you dirty dog”, and “Basescu can seriously damage your health” (*The Guardian*, January 24<sup>th</sup>) and insisted on the fact that Basescu became an unpopular figure for the citizens: “(...)Traian Basescu, jugé responsable d'une baisse du niveau de vie” (*Le Parisien*, January 14<sup>th</sup>), “le président Basescu, dont la cote de popularité est au plus bas” (“president Basescu, whose popularity is at its lowest”), (*Le Monde*, January 17<sup>th</sup>)



or “many Romanians have become disenchanting with their once-popular president” (The New York Times, January 25<sup>th</sup>).

One of the main reasons for the high number of total nominations of “*Austerity measures*” compared to relatively small number of nominations of “*Corruption*”, can be found in the detailed description of what austerity implies: wage/ job/ pension cuts etc., whereas corruption was often mentioned as mere context factor. The following paragraph, that could be found in several articles (*USA Today*, *Le Monde*) appears to be exemplary: “It imposed harsh austerity measures under the agreement, reducing public wages by 25 percent and increasing taxes. Anger has mounted over the wage cuts, slashed benefits, higher taxes and widespread corruption” (*USA Today*, January 19<sup>th</sup>). “Widespread corruption” is depicted as one of two major sources of anger but, in what concerns a frequency analysis, it is clearly outnumbered by the six nominations for “*Austerity measures*”.

#### 4. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to design a portrayal of the Romanian social events, as sketched by major international newspapers. After a thorough analysis of the corpus, we can state that the Romanian protests had no major impact on an international scale, but had benefited of almost daily reports in the first two weeks of the events. Especially in short articles, and mainly in newspapers written in English, a short description of the events was followed by an *enumeration of austerity measures* implemented by the government. Thereafter, the events were described as part of a global phenomenon of growing disaffection between citizens and elites after the financial crisis, involving countries like Greece and Portugal (cf. *USA Today*, February 6<sup>th</sup>). In the French press, we observed a more nuanced description of the *reasons for mobilization*, focusing more in detail on context factors, such as detailed descriptions of acts of corruption, or by telling stories about public misbehavior. The topic of civic reawakening didn't find its place in the reporting of the protests, with the exception of two articles published in *The Guardian* and *Le Monde*.

The use of “*Corruption*” and “*Public discontent*” in the reporting, as – what we called – *context factors*, could lead the readers of the articles to interpret them as *underlying profound causes* for the protests, whereas the above-mentioned enumeration of “*Austerity measures*”, even if substantial, could be understood as the *trigger*.

#### References

- Bardin, L. (2007), *L'analyse de contenu*. Presses universitaires de France, Quadrige.  
Holsti, O.R. (1968), „Content Analysis”, in Lindzey, G.; Aronson, E. (eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Amerind Publishing, 596-692.

- Koopmans, R.; Rucht, D. (2002), „Protest Event Analysis”, in Klandermans, B.; Staggenborg, S. (eds.), *Methods of Social Movement Research*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 231-259.
- Morris, C. W. (1971), *Writings on the general theory of signs*, The Hague, Mouton.
- Neuendorf, K. (2002), *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Shoemaker, P.; Reese, S. (1996), *Mediating the message: theories of influences on mass media content*, White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Weber, R. (1990), *Basic content analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Newbury Park, Sage Publications.

**Analyzed Newspapers (10th of January - 10th of February 2012)**

Le Parisien, Le Figaro, Le Monde, Libération, La Croix.  
The Sun, The Times, Financial Times, The Independent, The Guardian.  
The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, The New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post.

# PERSPECTIVES ON THE LIMITATION OF THE RIGHT TO ABORTION DURING 1966-1989. CASE STUDY: TELEORMAN COUNTY

Mihaela Cristina UDVULEANU\*

*Abstract: The main purpose of this paper is to give an account of the legislative and aspects related to the ban on abortions during 1966-1989. Starting from the motivations behind this decision, the paper aims to make a detailed analysis of Decree 770: context of issuing, analysis of the provisions and of the subsequent changes. The last section offers a comprehensive framework of debate regarding the limitation of the right to abortion, based on the perspectives and experience of the women from the period of Ceausescu.*

*Keywords: abortion, divorce, fertility, family policies, birth rate*

## 1. Introduction

In the developing countries, the problem of family planning policies is developed in close connection with the achievement of demographic objectives and less by focusing on the family itself. Consequently, in these states the growth of population slowed down because the birth rate decreased (United Nations, 1990) or because they encouraged or deterred migration to specific areas of a particular country (United Nations, 1981).

The confusion between the family policies and the demographic policies appeared because of a family planning policy oriented towards demographic factors that were included in the public discourse of the 1960 years.

---

\* PhD Student, University of Bucharest, Email: [udvuleanu.mihaela@yahoo.com](mailto:udvuleanu.mihaela@yahoo.com)

The demographic policy is a system of measures taken with the purpose to influence the demographic variables into the direction which the state finds desirable, on the short-term and, particularly, on the long-term, in agreement with the general interests of the state, in observance of the fundamental human rights and of the rights of the couples of people (Trebici V., 1994). However, if the state interests in the demographic growth are sometimes aligned to utopian ideals, the demographic policy can be implemented through coercive measures bearing adverse effects on the population.

An emblematic model in this direction is the communist period of Nicolae Ceaușescu when one of the toughest and most repressive demographic policy was enforced between 1966-1989, based mainly on the ban on abortions, by Decree 770, and on the limitation of divorces, by Decree 779.

Immediately after Romania reviewed the restrictive policy regarding the abortions and contraception (December 1989), the abortion on demand became the main way used to manage fertility, while the use of the modern contraceptives remained very low. Thus, after 1989, Romania witnessed a fast decline of the birth rate: about 35% in 1992 compared to 1989. In all countries from the former communist block, this process was deep and the decline of the birth rate was stronger than predicted by the long-term demographic trends (except for Albania). In Romania, the crash of the birth rate was so serious, that the natural growth of the population turned negative in 1992 (Zamfir E., Zamfir C., Pop E.A., 1994, pp. 13-15).

As fertility decreased below the limits of the natural growth of the population, the abortion on demand reached unprecedented rates in the early 1990 years (the rate of abortion was eight times higher per one thousands live births in 1990 than in 1989). The proportion of abortions decreased from 182 abortions at 1,000 women aged 15-49, in 1990, to 123 abortions at 1,000 women aged 15-49, in 1994, but in 1990 and 1993, less than one women of fertile age in ten was using efficacious contraceptive methods to prevent unwanted pregnancies. The proportion of illegal abortions recorded before 1990 explains the fact that Romania had the highest incidence of maternal death in Europe (Zamfir E., 1995).

The wide availability of abortion and the acceptance by the public opinion, amplified by the limited access to efficacious contraceptives and by the dominant prejudices regarding the modern methods continued to put abortion on the first place as the most important method for family planning in Romania, trend present among the young people too (Nicolaescu, V., 2010, p. 156).

This study is constructed around two main axes: the legislative perspective and the social perspective on the limiting of the access to abortion during the period of Ceausescu regime, 1966-1989.

The section dedicated to the legislative aspects includes the regulations regarding the abortion: the context of Decree 770 issuing, the analysis of its provisions and of the subsequent changes.

The second axis of the paper, the social perspective of the pro-birth policy, aims to present and identify the consequences felt by the individual people after the abortion was included among the penal infractions.

Even though the population of Teleorman County and of the whole country increased spectacularly in the early years after the adoption of decree 770, as the time went by, the people started to find methods to get rid of the unwanted pregnancy; the consequence was the decrease of the birth rate, which was in contradiction with the plans of the leader.

## ***2. Decree 770. Legislative aspects***

In 1965, the birth rate had decreased dramatically in Romania. According to the census of March 15, 1966, Romania had a population of 19,105,056. (Dobos C. et al, 2010, p. 115)

The birth rate didn't cover even the simple reproduction of the population, i.e. one female child from every woman during her fertile period (15-49 years old). (ANIC, File 101/1966, p. 106)

Thus, on the background of a dramatic decrease of the birth rate, the communist leadership was determined to take coercive measures to stop this fall.

At the public level, the first such mention made by Nicolae Ceaușescu was at the National Women Conference of June 23-25, 1966: "It is necessary to fight firmly against the retrograde attitude, against the manifestations of carelessness towards the family, whose consequence is a higher number of divorces, shattered families, neglected child education, the children are no longer prepared for life. (ANIC, File 44/1966, p. 13) (...) We must also say that the legislation has gaps which favour the decrease of the birth rate; the courts of law show no exigencies when approving divorces, and some legal provisions are indulgent towards the attitude of desconsideration of the family and child education" (ANIC, File 44/1966, p. 14)

The ban of abortions on demand in communist Romania was not sudden, rather the result of almost nine months of discussions and negotiations between the technocrats and the political power (Dobos C. et al, 2010, p.115).

The starting point of the demographic policy during the time of Ceaușescu was the proposal of the Ministry of Health to prevent the adverse effects of the abortions. Due to the involvement of the political class, this measure turned in time in a demographic strategy in which the women had the patriotic duty to give birth to as many children as possible.

Thus, several studies were issued at the end of 1965, and in the early months of 1966 (*Some problems on the dynamics of the natural gain of the Population in the Socialist Republic of Romania; Medical aspects of the abortion; Medical assistance of the population of the Socialist Republic of Romania and measures for improvement and Study on the situation of the birth rate in the Socialist Republic of Romania and measures to revive the birth rate in our country*) (Dobos C. et al, 2010, p. 116) whose purpose was to increase the birth rate and to decrease the number of abortions.

The regulations on the ban of abortions were debated during several meetings in August-September: meeting of the Executive Political Committee of August 2, 1966 (ANIC, File 102/1966), Meeting with the medical staff of September 20, 1966 and the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of September 27, 1966 (ANIC, File 127/1966).

At these meetings, N. Ceausescu exposed firmly his intention to limit the number of abortions by changing the 1957 law which had liberalized the abortion: "In my opinion, by the Decree which legalized the abortions, we legalised prostitution by allowing abortions and by lenience towards divorces" (ANIC, File 102/1966, p. 24). Furthermore, willing to restore the situation of the birth rate he proposed "to think and take out from the material the problem of the birth control means." (ANIC, File 102/1966, p. 25)

Thus, on October 1, 1966, the State Council issued Decree 770 which banned abortions, published in the Official Monitor no. 60.

### **2.1. Analysis of the Decree text**

Decree 770/1966 had 8 articles and an introductory part which said that "Abortion is an act with dramatic consequences on the health of women, which harms seriously the birth rate and the natural growth of the population" (C.P.A.D.C.R., Final Report, 2006, p. 64).

The eight articles approached three basic problems: exceptions from the law, institutionalization of the provisions and sanctions for breaching the law (C.P.A.D.C.R., 2006, p. 64).

Only a few exceptions were allowed from this rule, when due to medical, eugenic, social, legal and ethic causes, abortion is allowed, provided the legal conditions are observed. (Loghin O., Filipas A., 1983, p.55)

The cases of exception from the law are stipulated in article 2: when pregnancy was endangering the life of the mother; when one of the parents had a disease which was transmitted by heredity; when the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest; when the

women has disabilities; when she is above 45 and she already has four children which she raises. Same as in the present legislation, the abortion could be performed only during the first three months of pregnancy. The next section was stipulating that abortions could be performed only by the specialist doctors in hospitals.

The other articles were stressing that the authorization of abortions was to be issued by a medical commission and that failing to observe the legal provisions was sanctioned according to the Penal Code. Article six of Decree 770/1966 mentioned that “in cases of extreme medical emergency, when the abortion has to be performed immediately, the doctor has the obligation to announce the authorities before the intervention or, when this is not possible, no later than 24 hours after”.

The equivocal and general expression of this section and the classification of the spontaneous abortions within the category of extreme emergency situations, allowed the doctors and women to justify some abortions.

For instance, in 1971, more than 66% of the total abortions were recorded as spontaneous abortions, most of them performed during the night shifts or outside the working hours, when surveillance and control are lower, which yielded the conclusion that many abortions were intended, not fortuitous. (C.P.A.D.C.R., Final Report, 2006, p. 518)

If a woman was affected by one of the exceptions stipulated by the law, she had to justify her initiative of abortion in front of a commission, which approved or denied the abortion. If the abortion was denied, the file was sent back to the doctor, who had to monitor the pregnancy in order to avoid a possible abortion.

Along with Decree 770, the Official Monitor of the Socialist Republic of Romania published Decree 771, which reviewed the Penal Code, particularly the content of Article 482: “The person who, by any means, causes the abortion outside the conditions admitted by the law, is guilty of the infraction of abortion.” (Ministry of Justice, 1967, p. 31)

## **2.2. Subsequent modifications**

### *a. Period 1972-1983*

Despite the efforts of the communist leader to increase the number of the population, the strategies used by the population to block access to their private life were increasingly efficient.

Within this context, on February 17, 1972, the first modification was done to the anti-abortion legislation by Decree 53, according to which the age at which a women could make abortion decreased from 54 to 40.

The reason behind this decision pertained mostly to the low fertility of the women aged 40-45. Noticing that the decrease of the birth rate was not halting, in 1974, the content of the Decree was altered again. The changes to Decree 770/1966 were included in 47 articles, assigned to 7 sections, on a total of 21 pages (Kligman G., 2000, p. 72). They were supplemented by another 11 pages which presented the “medical reasons for abortions” and had the title of “Instructions for the enforcement of Decree 770/1966 regarding the regulation of abortions, of the incomplete abortion and to improve obstetrics-gynaecological medical assistance.” (Kligman G., 2000, p. 72)

Several previous articles were affected: the commission which approved the abortion had to be appointed by the Director of the Sanitary Directorate, by a prosecutor and by the head inspector of the county department of the Ministry of the Interior; the meetings of this commission were to be assisted by a representative of the prosecutor’s office and by a representative of the Ministry of the Interior, too (Kligman G., 2000, p. 72). Also in 1974, was established a new Commission assigned to analyse the monthly sales of the drugstores; the purpose of this measure was to block the access of the population to medicines that could start an abortion.

By these measures, the state tightened its grip and consolidated its control over the human reproduction. Initially, the two changes to Decree 770 supported the increase of the birth rate, but shortly after it displayed a consistent decreasing trend.

#### *b. Period 1984-1989*

The decrease of the birth rate coincided with the degradation of the living conditions, because N. Ceaușescu decided to pay back all foreign debt and thus all production was heading for export.

The meeting of the Executive Political Committee of February 1985, witnessed an angry N. Ceaușescu: “I saw that we have the highest number of abortions in Europe, higher than in Federal Germany, France, England, the socialist countries included. Nowhere else there is such a high number of abortions. Although we banned abortions, we still have a very large number of cases... This situation is inadmissible. We need to discuss with the women about this, with the population and with the doctors.” (CPADCR, Final Report, p. 520)

New modifications to Decree 770 are made on December 26, 1985. This time, the alterations are much more restrictive: the minimal age for abortion was brought back to 45 from 40, while the number of children in care was increased from 4 to 5 (Decree 411/1985). It also introduced the compulsory gynaecological surveys for the women at the optimal age for child birth. One year after revision, a system of taxation is introduced to discriminate the childless couples over the age of 25. The marital age for girls decreased from 16 to 15.



### 3. Decree 770. Social aspects

Classifying the abortion among the penal infractions as of October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966, was one of the coercive measures of the communist regime which affected particularly the feminine population.

In order to restore, as far as the analyses allow, the aspects of the private life during the communist period, we decided on the structured interviews as working method to complement the information we tracked in the archives. By this we aimed to see how the people perceived the ban on abortions, how much this ban affected the family life and whether, by limiting the access to abortions, the state interfered with the private sphere. The interview also analysed the opinions of the women about the titles and privileges offered by the communist state as incentive for giving birth to children, as well as their opinion on the liberalization of abortions after 1989.

Our survey was conducted in Teleorman County, on a sample of 60 women aged 45 to 71. In order to get an image as clear as possible, the respondents were selected both from the rural areas (communes of Frumoasa, Cervenia and Draganesti Vlasca), and from the urban areas (towns of Alexandria, Zimnicea and Turnu Magurele). From the very beginning of the survey we noticed the reticence and fear of the women to speak about this period, particularly in the case of the women which were confronted with unwanted pregnancy, the adverse print left by the communist regime still being visible.

Although the discussions on the ban of abortions last for about nine months, the publishing and adoption of the Decree took most of the population by surprise, as shown mainly by the spectacular raise of the birth rate both in Teleorman County, and in the whole country. M.D. (public official, 56) said that: "I was shocked by this Decree 770. I didn't know any means to avoid a pregnancy, other than the calendar method, which was not always accurate".

F.U. (nurse, 55) said that in medical terms "the decree was a tragedy for women, particularly from the rural areas". C.R. (professor, 62) said that "immediately after the decree was adopted, I didn't think it would be that bad and that the provisions of the decree will be observed entirely. Sometime later I saw that my neighbours, my friends, were investigated by the police and sometimes sentenced for abortion. At that moment I realized that the situation was dramatic and that us, women, would have a lot to suffer".

As the time went by, the people started to find methods to get rid of the unwanted pregnancy, and the consequence was that the birth rate decreased in the 1970 years, which was in contradiction with the plans of the leader. The clandestine abortion was a method that used empiric methods. The illegal abortions were the seen as the only chance to limit the number of children in a family.

However, there were situations when the abortion was performed in the medical-sanitary institutions, by gynaecological doctors, which classified an illegal abortion as spontaneous abortion, as M.D. (nurse) told us. The records tell us that in January 1968, in Teleorman County, there were 74 spontaneous abortions and one illegal one. The average monthly number of abortions performed in the Teleorman County Hospital was 60 to 70 (D.J.T.A.N., File 8/1968, pg. 1); very seldom, the woman who had an abortion was 45+ or had 4 children in care.

From the analysis of the interviews with the 60 respondents, it results that the main causes leading to an abortion were material (no economic means), "We didn't have a home of our own and we were living with the parents of my husband"(M.C., 63, public officer), followed by marital problems "Even though we got married at an early age, we were not yet ready to have children, we just wanted to wait a little more."

Without taking into consideration the material difficulties of a family with many children, the state was encouraging childbirth in different ways: state allocations according to the number of children and to the order of birth, allocations for the families in which one of the parents was employed by the state, early retirement depending on the number of children (at the minimal age of 50). The incomes could be increased by the donation of the mother milk (Decree 100 of the State Council). Also depending on the number of children in a family, the women could be awarded decorations and minor privileges «heroine mother», «maternal glory» and «maternity medal» (Decree 940, October 7, 1967 – Legal Monitor, 1967, Accessed on May 3, 2012).

These incentives which the state offered to women were not enough to determine them giving birth to children. E.V. (pensioner, 60), said that "the state didn't care how much money was needed to bring up a child." M.O. (gynaecologist, 72) said that "a medal cannot compensate for the birth of a child and after all, you give birth to a child because you want it, not for material reasons. The communist regime was trying to buy children from us, the women becoming surrogate mothers of the state."

From the information we collected from the interviewed subjects we may infer, depending on the methods of avoiding the unwanted pregnancies, two large groups: the women who had access to birth control means and the women who used abortions.

The first category consisted of women privileged due to their place of work (for instance, F.U. nurse, 55, was saying: "I didn't have problems with unwanted pregnancies because of my profession which gave me general information, I had other possibilities because of the relations with the doctors") and the women with a good financial status (G.D. public official, 51, who had 7 abortions during that period).

The second category consisted of the women who were doing the abortion themselves or who were asking a different person to do it using empirical means.

The women who were starting the abortion themselves usually had a poor financial situation, lived in rural areas, but there also were women advised by doctors on how to do the abortion.

Significant to this situation, is the statement of S.T. (economist, 68) who told us that she was going to the hospital, she recorded the pregnancy, and was waiting until the second month before starting the abortive manoeuvres.

S.T. described the stages of an abortion. "First, I was introducing an empty probe, and after 2-3 days, the actual abortion started. During the 2-3 days I was using a brick heated on the stove, which I was putting in a bucket with boiled water. I was staying about one hour wrapped in a towel above the bucket. I was doing this until the pregnancy was out. After elimination, I was taking an antibiotic and Ergomet for couple of days". After the foetus was eliminated, she was going to the hospital where she was declaring a spontaneous abortion. Generally, the method used by S.T. didn't leave visible lesions which the doctors could notice.

Some women tried to get rid of the pregnancy through physical work. F.U. told us about such a case: "she had two children and at the third one she tried to have an abortion. She crossed a river carrying a heavy load on her back in order to start the abortion. She didn't succeed. She also went to a woman to try an abortion but this didn't work either. I failed to tell you that the woman was in the second quarter of pregnancy, almost 6 months. After three months she gave birth to a girl who had encephalopathy. The woman didn't care about the child, wanting to get rid of it. After one and a half months of breastfeeding she didn't try to find methods to feed her, which caused protein-caloric malnutrition of level II-III." Other complications appeared in time and finally the child died.

The women were asking other people to perform abortion for a fee and this was associated to a double fear: the fear of complications and the fear of being discovered by the authorities.

R.D. (accountant, 72) had an abortion in 1974. "I already had two children and I was pregnant with the third one. After long discussions with my husband I decided to go to an acquaintance about whom I heard that was performing abortions. What marked me was that when I got to that woman, she invited me in the kitchen where she did it. It was horrible. I was very frightened. She inserted something in my uterus, some kind of draining device, through which she poured some kind of solution, I don't know exactly what. My luck was that I didn't have complications or haemorrhage, as it happened to other women.

A significant example is that of S.S. (who died on December 12, 1977), admitted to the hospital of Turnu Magurele with "hypogastrum pains, metrorrhagia, tachypnea, agitation of abdomen felt upon palpation" (D.J.T.A.N., File 1/1974-1981, p. 43). Due

to the abundant haemorrhage, the doctors performed uterine curetting, but the health state of the women didn't improve. In order to stabilise the patient, the doctors did a «laparotomy with subtotal hysterectomy, but the patient died during the surgery» (D.J.T.A.N., File 1/1974-1981, p. 43). They considered that the woman was pregnant in the third month and she wanted to have an abortion using empirical methods.

When a woman was performing an illegal abortion and the doctors reported this situation, the case was taken over and investigated by the Prosecutor's office. Some women were sentenced for their act.

The documents of the Sanitary Directorate of Teleorman County include a list with the names of the women who were involved in abortions and whose cases were to be investigated by the Prosecutor's office. (DJTAN, File 26/ 1985-1986, pg. 1)

I checked the records of the county population and I managed to find and interview one of the women on that list. She is N.N., 71, from Cervenia commune, Teleorman County (in the file, the information about her address was wrong).

As she told me, she got involved because her daughter (21 at that time) had an abortion. "They had set the wedding date and she got pregnant meanwhile. Her mother in law didn't want to keep the child". In the rural areas, a pregnancy before wedding was casting a bad image on the family and daughter. Thus, N.N. went together with her daughter to the person who did the abortion. The case was investigated by the police because a neighbour had complained. "We were summoned to the police for statements. There, the police officers P. And N. asked us whether we had an abortion and I said no. Then N. slapped me and asked me to confess. After their statements to the police they were sent to the hospital for a gynaecological check-up. M. remained in the hospital because they discovered she was pregnant but the foetus was dead". After her daughter was released from the hospital, they were sent to Alexandria court of law, where they were told that there would be no punishment because it was their first time.

The information we obtained from the interviews with several gynaecologists who had worked during the communist period reveal the dissatisfaction of the medical staff about the ban on abortion, because "it was against the will of the woman"(Dr I.G. gynaecologist, Zimnicea).

Most doctors said that the limitation imposed on abortions only intensified the use of empirical methods to terminate the pregnancy. They were surprised by the multitude of used methods, from the introduction of various objects into the vagina (hair pins, knitting needles), of pills (vitamin C, 10-15 minutes before the intercourse), various plant stems and roots (country mallow) to washes using vinegar (1 teaspoon to 1 litre of water) and lemon juice.

Although there were women who had access to birth control methods, all of them acknowledged that the state intervention in the life of the couple was negative because of the control on sexuality (F.U. nurse – “I was feeling more than subordinated, the state didn’t give me the liberty to run my own life as a couple”). Thus, a state of permanent tension occurred between the partners, and many of the male partners were affected by the abortions did by their female partners. As it results from the interviews, the state cancelled the public-private border, the daily activities of the people being monitored constantly.

Another purpose of the interviews was to obtain the opinion of the subjects about the liberalization of abortion after 1989. Thus, all women agree with the abrogation of Decree 770, some of them because of their profession don’t agree with abortions performed in medical institutions, much less with the illegal ones.

They proposed the use of contraceptive methods first, while the abortion must be just an emergency means to terminate the pregnancy. “They had to be allowed to decide for themselves on the contraceptive methods which they wanted to use. But before all, these methods had to be available. The system compelled the women to illegal abortions” (M.C. 68, nurse).

#### **4. Conclusions**

The demographic policy from the period of Ceausescu managed, through the system of coercive measures, to blur the border between the private and public sphere, the respondents agreeing unanimously on this issue. Consequently, many of the state policies at that time focused on the private life of the citizens. The demographic policy aimed within this context to increase the size of the population and to create a new type of citizen and new social norms, mainly by banning the abortions and limiting the divorces. The vision of the country leader is significant to this extent: “A birth rate-increasing policy will be enforced consistently; the children and the families with many children will be assisted, so that the population of Romania reaches at least 25 million by 1990, and 30 million by 2000 (Program of the Communist Party of Romania to construct the developed many-sided socialist society and for the advancement of Romania towards communism, 1975, p. 92).

One of the main consequences of these intrusive policies was the stigma thrown over those people who didn’t obey the rules which ordered their daily life. This policy affected all citizens over 25, both men and women. The physical body of the people was the property of the socialist state and if had to be shaped and modelled into the political body of the socialist state (Kligman G., 2000, p. 13).

Romania of the period of Ceausescu is a true answer on empiric bases to the question of how far may go the blind faith in utopian ideals to reconstruct humanity.

## References

### I. Field literature

- \*\*\* Ministerul Justiției (1967), *Colecție de legi, decrete, hotărâri, și alte acte normative*, Ed. Științifică, București
- Antoniou, G.; Daneș, Ș.; Popa, M. (1996), *Codul Penal pe înțelesul tuturor*, Ed. Societății Tempus, București
- C.P.A.D.C.R. (2006), *Raport Final*, Președinția României, București
- Ceașescu, N. (1980), *Creșterea rolului femeii în viața economică și social-politică a României Socialiste*, Ed. Politică, București
- Cioroianu, A. (2006), *Pe umerii lui Marx*, Ed. Curtea Veche, București
- Dobos, C., (coord.); Jinga, M. Lucian; Soare, F. (2010), *Politica pronatalistă a regimului Ceașescu. O perspectivă comparativă*, Institutul de Investigare a Crimelor comunismului și Memoria Exilului Românesc, Polirom, București
- Kligman, G. (2000), *Politica duplicității. Controlul reproducerii în România lui Ceașescu*, Ed. Humanitas, București
- Loghin, O.; Filipas, A. (1983), *Drept penal, Partea specială*, Ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, București
- Nicolaescu, V. (2010), *Familia tânără din România între tradiție și modernitate*, Ed. Expert, București
- Trebici, V. (1994), "Este necesară o politică demografică în România", în *Revista de cercetări sociale*, nr. 2, București
- United Nations (1981), *Population Distribution Policies in Development Planning*, New York
- United Nations (1990), *World Population Trends and Policies: 1989 Monitoring Report*, New York
- Zamfir, C.; Pop, M.A.; Zamfir, E. (1994), *România '89-'93 Dinamica bunăstării și protecția socială*, Ed. Expert, București
- Zamfir, E. (1995), *Situația copilului și a familiei în România*, Ed. Alternative, București

### II. Archives:

#### Central National Archives of History:

1. Fond CC al PCR, Secția Cancelarie, Dosar.101/1966, Dosar Nr. 102/1966
2. Fond CC al PCR, Secția Organizatorică, Dosar 44/1966

#### Teleorman County Directorate of the National Archives

1. Fond Direcția Sanitară a Județului Teleorman, Dosar 1 /1974-1981, Dosar 26/1985-1986, Dosar: 10/1985

### III. Internet:

1. Monitorul Juridic, <http://www.monitoruljuridic.ro/act/decret-nr-940-din-7-octombrie-1967-pentru-conferirea-titlului-de-onoare-de-mama-eroina-si-a-ordinului-mama-eroina-a-ordinului-gloria-materna-si-a-medaliei-maternitatii-unor-28495.html>

# EMPLOYMENT POLICIES FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE INFECTED WITH HIV/AIDS

Oana BANU\*

***Abstract:** The purpose of this article is to analyse the topic of the young people infected with HIV/AIDS (the social group most affected by this virus both in Romania, and worldwide), stressing on the forms of including these people on the labour market. The first part of the article is a brief introduction into the matter of HIV/AIDS and it provides several statistics and estimates on the infection with HIV/AIDS worldwide and in Romania. The article also shows the important aspects from Law 582/2002 on the measures to prevent the spreading of HIV/AIDS in Romania and to protect the people infected with HIV or having AIDS. We also presented the exclusion of the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS from the labour market and the difficulties they experience in trying to get a job or to preserve a stable job.*

*The second part of the article makes an analysis of 6 projects implemented from 2007 to 2011, projects which aim to integrate the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS on the labour market. The analysis refers to the objectives, activities, results and progress of each project, as well as a comparative analysis of the projects.*

***Keywords:** HIV/AIDS, exclusion, labour market, young people, integration, projects, analysis*

## **Introduction**

HIV/AIDS is a complex matter which affects all the components of the society, particularly the public health.

It has been acknowledged as real social problem only during the past two decades, being of major interest for the epidemiologists and sociologists in the field of health.

---

\* Researcher for the Association for Socio-Economic Development and Promotion CATALACTICA, Bucharest, Romania. Email: ony\_banu@yahoo.com

AIDS is a “*disease of the society, in the deepest meaning of the term, being fundamentally related to the life style and social behaviour*” (Rădulescu, 2002, p. 180).

It is known that the people infected with HIV virus are confronted with various problems; most times they are discriminated and labelled by the other members of the society. The low level of information on the legal rights determined the people infected with HIV to consider that some of the discriminatory behaviours they are confronted with are only normal.

The stigma and instinct of rejection are often associated with the infection with HIV/AIDS, which affects dramatically the level of social integration of the infected people, limiting their access to the resources of the society.

HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) is a virus that attacks and destroys the immune system, and thus the organism can no longer cope with the aggressors of any kind (viruses, bacteria, moulds, cancer cells). This causes infections and forms of cancer that can be lethal.

AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) is the terminal stage of the HIV infection, when the immune system is very affected by the virus, when the number of important cells of the immune system that defend the organism decrease dramatically, and when the organism can no longer cope with the infections (Blaglosov, Constantin, Lazăr, Luca, 2007). A person can be carrier of HIV, but this doesn't mean that he/she has AIDS.

### **Statistics on the infection with HIV/AIDS**

According to the estimates of the compartment monitoring and evaluating the HIV/AIDS infection in Romania from the National Institute of infectious diseases „Prof. Dr. Matei Balș”<sup>1</sup>, in December 2010 there were more than 34 million people living with HIV/AIDS. The number of people infected with HIV in 2010 is 2.7 million, of which 2.3 million are adult people and 390,000 are children below the age of 15. In 2010, 1.8 million people died of AIDS.

UNAIDS reports reveal that in 2010, almost 7,000 were infected with HIV worldwide, on a daily basis. More than 97% of them come from poor countries and from developing countries; about 1,000 are children below the age of 15, almost 6,000 are aged 15-49, of which 50% are women, and 41% are aged 15-24.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Institute for Infectious Diseases „Prof. Dr. Matei Balș”, Compartment for HIV/AIDS monitoring and evaluation in Romania. Statistics available at <http://www.cnlas.ro/date-statistice/>

<sup>2</sup> UNAIDS WORLD AIDS DAY REPORT 2011, available at [https://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/documents/unaidspublication/2011/JC2216\\_WorldAIDSday\\_report\\_2011\\_en.pdf](https://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/documents/unaidspublication/2011/JC2216_WorldAIDSday_report_2011_en.pdf)



In Europe, the number of people with HIV is increasing, as well as the risky sexual behaviour (CNLAS, 2011).

In Romania, HIV/AIDS phenomenon displays a particular characteristic by its demographic and geographic concentration. The epidemiological burst noticed among the paediatric population from the 1987-1989 generation, peaked statistically in 1990, thereafter decreasing dramatically, Romania aligning to the universal patterns of transmission. The causes of disease are: degradation of the health care system during the years of the socialist regime (transfusions using blood not tested for HIV, injections using non-sterilized needles), limited possibilities of laboratory diagnosis and epidemiological study, lack of sanitary education and of information, particularly among the population living in a permanent state of poverty, the policy of non-acknowledgement and even denial of AIDS patients under the former regime (Buzducea, 2002 in L. Pop, 2002, p. 691).

The first case of HIV/AIDS in Romania was diagnosed in 1985, and after 1989, cases were also noticed among the children. Only in 1990, over 1,000 infected people have been diagnosed, most of them children.

In Romania, in 1985-2011 (cumulatively), the total number of HIV/AIDS cases was 17,212, of which: 9,866 children aged 0-14; 7,346 adult people aged 14+. The total number of deaths due to AIDS (1985-2011) was 5,850 people, the number of children and adult people missed from registration is 597, and the number of alive HIV/AIDS patients is 10,765.<sup>1</sup>

The table below shows the trend of HIV/AIDS transmission (vertical, MSM, IDU, heterosexual, unknown) in Romania, in 2007-2011.

*Trends of HIV/AIDS transmission in Romania, 2007-2011*

Routes of transmission	December 31, 2007	December 31, 2008	December 31, 2009	December 31, 2010	September 30, 2011
Vertical	9 (2.44%)	12 (2.7%)	22 (5%)	21 (4.8%)	10 (2.5)
MSM	14 (3.8%)	33 (7.5%)	34 (8%)	46 (10.5%)	63 (15.5%)
IDU	3 (0.8%)	3 (0.7%)	5 (1.1%)	12 (2.7%)	62 (15.3%)
Heterosexual	278 (75%)	302 (69%)	324 (75%)	329 (74.7%)	254 (62.7%)
Unknown	64 (17%)	86 (20%)	43 (10%)	32 (7.3%)	16 (4%)
Total	368	436	428	440	405

*\*New cases detected and registered in the database in 2011*

*Source: Compartment for HIV/AIDS monitoring and evaluation in Romania – INBI „Prof. Dr. Matei Balș”*

<sup>1</sup> The Institute for Infectious Diseases „Prof. Dr. Matei Balș”, Compartment for HIV/AIDS monitoring and evaluation in Romania. Statistics available at <http://www.cnlas.ro/date-statistic/>

### **Important aspects from Law 584/2002, regarding the measures to prevent the spreading of AIDS disease in Romania and to protect the people infected with HIV or having AIDS**

According to the international legislation, all categories of people, including the people with HIV/AIDS, must benefit of all the human rights, with no exception or form of discrimination.

The introduction of specific programs and laws, both national and international, to increase the access to medical and social services, was determined by the existence of the various forms of discrimination and stigmatization of the people infected with HIV/having AIDS (ARAS, 2011).

At the national level, the laws in support of the people infected with HIV / having AIDS are as follows:

- **Law 448 /2006** concerning the protection and promotion of the rights of the people with disabilities. In terms of the services of medical assistance, the main rights of a person with disabilities include free accommodation and meal services for the person accompanying the child with serious or strong disability; upon doctor's recommendation free ticket for spa treatment; free and equal access to a form of education in agreement with the type and level of disability and with the educational needs; professional guidance; state allocation. In Romania, HIV infection is assimilated to serious or strong disability, depending on the stage of the disease. Therefore, the ill people benefit of the legal rights for the people with disabilities.
- **Law 584/2002** concerning the measures for the control of AIDS spreading in Romania, for the protection of the people infected with HIV or having AIDS. This is the main law regulating the situation of these people.

According to this law "the people infected with HIV or having AIDS benefit of social protection, non-discrimination treatment in terms of the right to education, the right to work and to social protection of the work, to professional training; their state of illness cannot be reason for firing".

Law 584/2002 stipulates the "obligation of the medical units and of the doctors, irrespective of speciality, to admit in hospital and to care in agreement with the particular pathology of the patient, as well as the free medication, antiretroviral and for all the diseases associated to the infection with HIV or to AIDS".

The duties of the people with HIV are generally related to the protection of the other people and are stipulated by the law in the section regarding the measures to control the spreading of AIDS. A person infected with HIV or having AIDS must "inform his physician, dentist, on his HIV status, when he/she is aware of this status. The

voluntary infection is punished, according to the Penal Code (article 309, paragraph 2) with imprisonment from 5 to 15 years". In complement to the methodology for the enforcement of Law 584/2002 "several government orders and decisions have been adopted: Order no. 73/2004 of the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family to approve the Methodology of granting the monthly food indemnity for the adult people and children infected with HIV or having AIDS and of controlling the actual use of this right by these categories of people; Government Decision no. 2108/2004 to approve the Regulation for the enforcement of Law 584/2002; Government Decision no. 839/2004 regarding the amount of food allocations for the collective consumption in the public medical units and in nurseries, and Government Decision no. 1342/2004 for the approval of the National Strategy to Monitor, Control and Prevent the cases of infection with HIV/AIDS" (Blaglosov et al., 2007, p. 116).

### **Exclusion from the labour market of the young people infected with HIV / having AIDS**

In Romania, the people infected with HIV / having AIDS are confronted with major obstacles upon employment.

Many of the young people infected with HIV / having AIDS want to be independent, primarily by getting a job. The data on the educational level of these young people show that many of them have a low level of education, they dropped out of school before finishing the compulsory education, or finished just 8 grades. This situation narrows considerably their odds to get a job, and if they do find a job, the work is generally poorly paid or unskilled. If the unskilled work relies on physical effort, the young man infected with HIV is unlikely to hold too long to this job because the physical effort may have adverse effects on his/her health state: they may need admission in a hospital, thus ending the job (Blaglosov et al., 2007).

There are two critical aspects regarding the employment of the young people infected with HIV:

- "1. To what extent an employer will hire/keep an employee infected with HIV;
2. Which are those types of work/activity that the people infected with HIV can perform and/or which are those that they cannot perform" (Blaglosov et al. 2007, p. 106).

Regarding the first aspect (the extent to which an employer will keep an employee with HIV), since the law guarantees the right to confidentiality, it is not necessary that the employer knows the HIV status of his/her employees. There are studies showing that after being informed on their diagnosis, many people gave up their jobs being afraid of the attitude of their work colleagues; they preferred to leave the job rather

than being sacked. According to the same studies, there were situations in which at the moment when the diagnosis was made public, both the person infected with HIV, and the family members working in the same company were sacked (Blaglosov et.al, 2007).

Regarding the second aspect, which are those types of work/activity that the people infected with HIV can perform and/or which are those that they cannot perform, law 584/2002 comes in support of the people infected with HIV/having AIDS. The law stipulates that the people infected with HIV/having AIDS benefit of non-discriminating treatment regarding their right to work and regarding the social protection of the work, regarding professional promotion, and that the state of their health cannot be reason for sacking. However, there are situations when HIV test is demanded upon employment, such as for the beauty salons, manicure, hair dresser, eatery units, health care and nurseries (Blaglosov et al. 2007).

In conclusion, we may say that the stigmatization and discrimination of the young employees living with HIV/AIDS takes different forms, including testing before employment, refusal to hire the young people living with HIV/AIDS and redirection or firing the employees living with HIV/AIDS, irrespective of their working capacity. The stigmatization and discrimination at work may be the result of the attitude displayed by the employer and by the work colleagues, which leads to the social isolation of the employee with HIV status.

The fear of the society towards the people infected with HIV, determined by the lack of information on the routes of transmission of the infection, as well as the historic stereotypes regarding the intrinsic relation between immorality and HIV/AIDS cause the social exclusion, actually being the defining factor of the discrimination.

### **Presentation and content analysis of six projects targeting the integration on the labour market of the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS**

We will now present and **analyse the content** of six projects aiming the employment/integration in work of the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS. The data on these projects were retrieved from the websites of the project implementers (Global Fund for the Fight against HIV/AIDS, RAA, UNOPA).

The content analysis is defined as an *“assembly of techniques for the quantitative/qualitative investigation of the verbal/nonverbal communication, consisting in the identification and objective and systematic description of the manifest/latent content of the communication with the view to reach scientific conclusions on the personality of the people that are communicating, on the society where the communication is done and on the communication itself, as social interaction”* (Chelcea, 1993, p.26).

Here are the objectives of the analytic approach:

- A. Gathering information for the people coming into contact with the people infected with HIV/having AIDS, so that this disease is no longer an obstacle for employment / integration in work;
- B. Clarification of the matter: what is the discrimination and exclusion from a job of the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS
- C. Operationalization of the matter: exclusion from the labour market of the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS generated by the disease, by self-exclusion, by marginalisation and by discrimination.

Following is the presentation of the six projects aiming the integration on the labour market of the young people infected with HIV/having AIDS.

*Project 1: „Vocational training and training stages for the PLWHA” (People Living with HIV/AIDS) (2007-2009)*

This project run in several towns, among which: Bucharest, Arad, Constanța, Galați, Bacău, Fălticeni, Dâmbovița and Baș-Slatina.

Following, as exemplification, is a brief presentation of the project implementation at „Lizuca” centre in Bacău County.

The partner of the project was the Foundation for the Development of People.

The purpose of the project was to train and educate for life a number of 192 young people living with HIV/AIDS, residents in Bacău County. This was accomplished by activities of counselling and by the establishment of support groups with the following subjects: family planning and avoiding unwanted pregnancies; drug consumption (about 80 of the 192 people); prevention of sexually-transmitted infections, etc. The project also aims to establish 7 groups of peer-educators, supported by 4 people trained to this purpose. Since one of the purposes of this project is to provide vocational training for 10 people living with HIV/AIDS from Bacău County, these people will attend training and apprenticing stages which will help them get a job. Following their participation in the vocational training, the young people living with HIV/AIDS will acquire abilities enabling them to live independently and to take a job (Global Fund, 2008a).

*„The planned number of people living with HIS/AIDS (PLWHA) being counselled for professional and vocational guidance was 623 people, but the actual figure that we reached was 898 people.” (RAA, 2009a).*

This means that the indicator was achieved 144% and that the exceeded target is 144%. The explanation consists, according to the implementers, in the fact that more people living with HIV/AIDS than planned were interested in counselling on how to write a CV, how to get a job, how to identify and register for vocational training, etc. (RAA, 2009b).

„Vocational training and training stages for the PLWHA” as mentioned before aimed to increase the odds for professional integration of the PLWHA, by access to vocational formation, because many young people living with HIV/AIDS didn't have full access to educational services, many of them displaying serious educational gaps.

The project included several activities.

A1: Establishment of the project team and authorisation of the counselling service

A2: Promotion of the service and selection of the beneficiaries

A3: Vocational counselling

A4: Courses for professional training

A5: Monitoring and evaluation of the young people attending the training courses for professional formation

A6: Applied practice

A7: Evaluation and monitoring of the stages of applied practice

Before starting the vocational counselling, the young people were evaluated in order to determine their interests and attitude towards work. Monitoring consists of information on their past activities, degree of interest, acquired knowledge and, possibly, working history. The final evaluation was performed after the end of the applied practice using evaluation questionnaires and activity reports.

*Project 2: „Support for continuous education for specialists and for YPLWHA” (Young People Living with HIV/AIDS) (2007-2009)*

Activity number 3 of the project *Counselling for professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS* aims to include the training of the suppliers of services – social workers, psychologists, educators, in individual and group sessions, in 18 localities, being of interest for the analysis to be performed.

“The intention of this project was to facilitate the access to formation by providing services of professional integration and by making visible the experience of some organisation with the professional integration of the.” (Global Fund, 2008b)

The project objectives are: *acquisition of knowledge and abilities by the staff working with young people living with HIV/AIDS, which to favour the work with the young people towards their professional integration; provide support to further the education of the young people living with HIV/AIDS* (Global Fund, 2009a)

The project beneficiaries are 20 people (employees of organisations – 5 NGOs and their partner associations – 4 parents associations) working with the YPLWHA. One young man infected with HIV, beneficiary of FDP Arad services within „Casa Izvor” unit. The foreseen methods and the strategies used to accomplish the objectives of this project are: training for the specialists from the partner organisations for the development of services of professional integration; seminars for exchange of experience between the partners to share their experience; visits for exchange of experience to the project partners. The visits for technical assistance consisted of 7 days/2 days /2 persons FDP. The visits are made at the partner organisations and associations (Noua Speranță Association - Petrița, Neghinița Association - Dâmbovița, Speranța Association - Constanța, Lizuca Association - Bacău, Red Ribbon Association - Fălticeni, Baylor Foundation - Constanța, Copiii Noștri Foundation - Balș, Scop Foundation - Timișoara, Inimă de Copil Foundation - Galați. (Global Fund, 2009a)

During the visits for technical assistance the project aimed to make an initial evaluation of the needs for formation in the field of vocational counselling of the staff from the partner organisations. To begin with, the specialists used a questionnaire to assess the needs for formation. Based on this evaluation the specialists determined the curriculum for the formation seminar. At the end of the training seminar, the participants are to fill in a questionnaire to evaluate their knowledge. The expected outcome is to deliver improved services (Global Fund, 2009c)

The planned target for young people living with HIV/AIDS (YPLWA), which benefitted of activities of information, education and counselling during the programs of “Education for life” between July 2007 – June 2009, was 1,463 people, but the actual number of people was 2,100, which means that the indicator was accomplished 144%. The exceedingness was possible due to the activity of the 20 organisations member of UNOPA. They implemented the program “Education for life” by monthly group sessions with 6-10 young people each. The implementers were: UNOPA, FDP, Inimă de copil, Noua Speranță, Lizuca, Baylor Marea Neagră, I Noștri Bambini, Red Ribbon, SCOP, Alături de voi, Health Aid Romania, Romanian Children’s Appeal the covered Bucharest city and the counties of Arad, Dâmbovița, Galați, Hunedoara, Bacău, Constanța, Dolj, Suceava, Timiș, Iași, Neamț, Caraș Severin, Vaslui, Botoșani, Sibiu, Mureș, Giurgiu, Prahova (UNOPA, 2009).

*„The planned target of the number of suppliers of services that are trained for family planning and professional integration for the young people living with HIV/AIDS, was*

340 people, but the actual figure that we reached was 462 people, which means 136%. The value expresses the number of specialists formed for family planning (trained people: family planning doctors, gynaecologists, general practitioners) and to provide counselling for the professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS (persons for psycho-social support)" (RAA, 2009b). In this respect, 217 clergy members and specialists in the psycho-social field from religious organisations were educated in matters related to the alleviation of stigmatization within the community in connection with AIDS; 201 doctors and specialists in the psycho-social field were educated in matters related to the reduction of discrimination within the medical and psycho-social services (RAA, 2009b).

The project implementers were Romanian Children's Appeal, SECS, FDP.

The participants in the training courses were from Bucharest city and from the counties of Bihor, Vaslui, Cluj, Iași, Dâmbovița, Hunedoara, Covasna, Brașov, Constanța.

„Support for continuous education for specialists and for YPLWHA”, aims to provide continuous education for the young people living with HIV/AIDS and for the staff working with them.

Same as the previous project, this project has several activities and expected results (Appendix 1B of the Sub-Grant Agreement, *Project description*, 2009)

A1: Preparation of the seminar for staff training in the field of vocational counselling

A2: Running the seminar for staff training in the field of vocational counselling

A3: Seminars for exchange of experience

A4: Visits for technical assistance and evaluation

A5: Grants for the young people infected with HIV

A6: Monitoring/evaluation

There will be an initial evaluation of the needs for formation of the staff from the partner organisations, which is to be done during the visits for technical assistance in the field of vocational counselling. The expected result is the provision of better services.

*Project 3: „Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania” (2007-2009)*

This project was run by UNOPA in partnership with CENTRAS, with the aim to increase the capacity of the psycho-social services to provide counselling and



support for the school and professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS.

There were 7 training courses for the specialists working with people infected with HIV/having AIDS, with the purpose to provide services of better quality, accessible and adapted to the problems of the people infected with HIV/having AIDS. The courses were attended by 140 specialists working young people living with HIV/AIDS, from 30 counties of Romania. The project organized 29 round tables and a national conference on the subject of "HIV/AIDS and the place of work", conference which revealed the problems confronting the young people living with HIV/AIDS when they want to get a job. 140 specialists working with people living with HIV/AIDS were informed about the "Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the working young people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania", having thus the possibility to provide higher quality services to the beneficiaries of their services. 90 young people were counseled, guided educationally and professionally by trained specialists. By March 31, 2009, 973 young people living with HIV/AIDS benefitted of information, education and counseling within the program "Education for life". 445 young people attended groups of peer education and benefitted of information for the prevention of unwanted pregnancies, of sexually-transmitted infections and drug consumption. The project run a survey to identify the proportion of employers (public or private) which have policies and specific programs for the people living with HIV/AIDS; it also worked to evaluate the situation of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania in terms of their present needs and of the response of the social services to these needs (UNOPA, 2009).

The project increased the capacity of the organisations dealing with people living with HIV/AIDS to provide quality services to the PLWHA and to the community, and increased the level of information of the employers and of the community regarding HIV/AIDS. Specialists from 30 counties acquired higher skills for quality services provided to the PLWHA, there was a higher awareness of the local communities that HIV/AIDS is a problem of the community which concerns us all, that the community must get involved in the sustainability of the programs (UNOPA, 2009).

The project experienced difficulties such as poor involvement of the local authorities in the actions run at local level, at which they were asked to participate; most people (authorities and local people) were little aware of HIV/AIDS, problem that concerns us all, not just an isolated group of people; the local and central authorities didn't support almost at all the continuation of activities, although they are to the benefit of the communities and they solve social problems which are the responsibility of the authorities at every level (UNOPA, 2009).

*Project 4: "Advocacy to reduce stigmatization and discrimination of the PLWHA" (2008-2009)*

The purpose of the project was to educate the employers in Romania with the view to increase the socio-professional integration of the PLWHA, promotion and defence of PLWHA rights, within the context of their socio-professional integration.

The manner of intervention was decided in agreement with the following specific objectives:

Q1: at the end of the first year of implementation there was a higher level of information of the employers in Romania regarding PLWHA needs at their place of work and international practices of the ILO (International Labour Organisation) regarding HIV/AIDS;

Q2: Advocacy to improve the national policies, strategies and programs in terms of observing the human rights and the needs of the people living with HIV/AIDS (UNICEF & UNOPA, 2007).

The beneficiaries of the project were the people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania; the employers active in Romania; 20 organisations of the people living with HIV/AIDS involved in the project; the local communities from Bucharest, Bacău, Târgu Mureş, Constanța, Piatra Neamț, Mediaș, Reșița, Vaslui, Medgidia, Giurgiu, Petrla, Mangalia, Fălticeni, Craiova, Bârlad, Botoșani, Galați.

Main activities of the project:

- **National conference "HIV/AIDS and the place of work"**

The conference tried to answer questions such as: which is the current situation in Romania? Which are the current problems of the PLWHA? Are the employers ready to hire PLWHA? Are the PLWHA ready to get a job? What are the resources and which are the solutions? Can we something that the PLWHA status is no longer an obstacle at the job?

The research report of UNOPA showed, with concrete field data, the position of the employers towards the people living with HIV/AIDS, towards the people with disabilities, their level of information regarding HIV/AIDS and the legislation regarding the people with handicap, as well as the level of PLWHA acceptance by the employers active in Romania.

The project had a positive result, to the benefit of the PLWHA: "there was a higher level of information of the community, at the national and local level, of the problems and needs of the PLWHA; there were fewer cases of stigmatization and discrimination due to HIV/AIDS; opportunities were established for the collaboration with different employers and for PLWHA employment; opportunities for social and professional integration of the PLWHA were established" (Global Fund, 2009b).

*Project 5: „Evaluation of the services of professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania” (2008-2009)*

The purpose of the project was to facilitate the professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania through: services of counselling and professional or occupational guidance; enrolling the young people in courses of vocational training; integration of the young people in protected workshops and units; information of the employers on the right to work of the people living with HIV/AIDS; organisation of activities of occupational therapy for the young people; training the psycho-social specialists for the counselling and professional guidance of the PLWHA (Global Fund, 2009a).

The financing of the Global Fund allowed activities to the benefit of the YPLWHA from 11 counties: Bucharest, Bacău, Suceava, Galați, Arad, Dâmbovița, Hunedoara, Timiș, Iași, Mureș, Constanța, with the contribution of the specialists from 11 governmental organisations.

By the end of 2008, after these activities, 600 YPLWHA benefitted of counselling for professional guidance; about 100 psycho-social specialists were trained to provide counselling and professional guidance to the PLWHA; there are 20 functional protected workshops and workshops for occupational therapy where the young people can acquire various professional abilities; about 200 young people enlisted for training courses of vocational formation provided by accredited providers or organised within the protected workshops. The organisations facilitated stages of applied practice at different employers for almost 40 young people; 9 young people were employed by protected units (farms and printing houses); 30 young people were housed permanently or temporary in 5 apartments, 2 family houses and an emergency centre; almost 200 young people benefitted of occupational therapy (Global Fund, 2009b).

*Project 6: „Socio-professional integration of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania” (2009-2011)*

This project is co-financed from the European Social Fund through the Sectoral Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

The project is implemented by the National Union of the Organizations of the People Living with HIV/AIDS (UNOPA) in collaboration with 20 organisations of the people living with HIV/AIDS from 18 counties and from Bucharest. The project extended for a period of 30 months (January 2009 – June 2011) (UNOPA, 2009).

The expected results are:

- Higher access of the PLWHA to services of counselling and socio-professional guidance;

- Improved skills of the providers of social services for the PLWHA to deliver services of counselling and socio-professional guidance to the PLWHA;
- Better professional training of the PLWHA to get a job;
- Better information and education of the community about HIV/AIDS and about the rights of the PLWHA;
- Higher number of employed PLWHA;
- Problem-free implementation of the project (UNOPA,2009).

### **Project analysis**

The six projects were presented in the order of the importance of aptitude acquisition both for the people living with HIV/AIDS („*Vocational training and training stages for the PLWHA*”; „*Support for continuous education for specialists and for YPLWHA*”; „*Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania*”; „*Advocacy to reduce stigmatization and discrimination of the PLWHA*”), and for the specialists in the services for professional integration for the young people living with HIV/AIDS („*Evaluation of the services of professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania*”; „*Socio-professional integration of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania*”).

The projects are developed by non-governmental organisations (NGO) from Bucharest and from several counties, part in HIV/AIDS program financed from the Global Fund for the Fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The organisations displayed a delayed response, maybe because the lack of credibility for a longer life of the young people living with HIV/AIDS.

The socio-professional profile of these young people, according to the existing data (Buzducea, 2007) shows that:

- Most of them live in the families of origin, less in family-type houses, in protected apartments or in care units;
- About 30% of them didn't graduate any form of education, or maybe the elementary school;
- About 40% of the young people of school age don't attend any form of education; school dropout is often, on grounds of health state, discrimination, parents' decision, or own decision.

The purpose of the first project: „*Vocational training and training stages for the PLWHA*”, is to prepare and educate these categories of young people by allowing them to attend vocational courses including training and apprenticing, thus preparing

them for a possible job. The purpose of the project suits the needs of the young people living with HIV/AIDS and they displayed a major interest for counselling in writing a CV, finding a job, enlisting for vocational training, as supported by the 144% accomplishment of the proposed target (898 people vs. the planned 623 people) (Global Fund, 2009a).

The intention of the second project: „*Support for continuous education for specialists and for YPLWHA*”, is to favour the access to formation by providing services for professional integration and to make visible the experience of some organisations in the professional integration of the YLPWHA.

The people trained to provide services for the young people living with HIV/AIDS must adapt to the specificity of the group of HIV people, they must show patience, empathy and capacity to explain things in such a way so the beneficiaries understand them. The 20 organisations, UNOPA members, allowed exceeding (144%) the set target of YLPWHA beneficiaries receiving support for continuous education.

The activity of the third project: „*Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania*”, aims primarily to provide support for further education of the YLPWHA. This type of activity may be an advantage for the young people who reached a particular age and who didn't acquire the educational abilities specific to their age, and who need thus special support for learning. The counselling provided by specialists played an important role in their choice of particular training courses.

Another important aspect of this activity includes the training of the services providers (social workers, psychologists and educators), the acquisition of abilities and knowledge, abilities which facilitate working with the young people for their professional integration.

The actual number of beneficiaries (2,100), compared to the set target (1,463) shows that the activities and courses included in the programs of “*Education for life*” proved very attractive for so many young people, and this means that the strategy of project implementation was efficient.

The next step in the progress of the young people living with HIV/AIDS is revealed in project 3, „*Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania*” which, unlike project „*Support for continuous education for specialists and for YPLWHA*”, aims to provide higher quality services, available and adapted to the problems of the YPLWHA. The project covered 30 counties, which is much more than the previous projects, showing thus a higher efficacy of the project activities, first by the success of the programs and then by the higher potential of socio-professional integration of the YPLWHA.

This project included a national conference, “*HIV/AIDS and the place of work*”, attended by 140 specialists from the 30 counties covered by the project. The benefits of this conference materialized in a higher capacity of the organisations serving the YPLWHA to provide quality services to their beneficiaries and to the community by better informing the employers and the community on HIV/AIDS matters. The specialists also acquired more knowledge and there was higher awareness of the local community that HIV/AIDS is a problem of the community that concerns us all.

The project was confronted with difficulties: poor involvement of the authorities in the activities at the local level; most representatives of the local authorities displayed low awareness on HIV/AIDS matters. The local and central authorities didn't support almost at all the activities of the project. This shows that project effects sustainability can be decreased because the relations of collaboration and support with the local public authorities (which don't assign particular importance to this problem) are at the minimal level (UNOPA, 2009).

There have been two types of researches: a research for the identification of the number of employers, public and private, which have policies and specific programs for the people living with HIV/AIDS, which increases the relevance of the project; the second research aimed to evaluate the situation of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania in terms of their actual needs and of the response of the social services to these needs (UNOPA, 2009).

The purpose of project “*Advocacy to reduce stigmatization and discrimination of the PLWHA*” is to educate the employers active in Romania as to increase the socio-professional integration of the PLWHA, the promotion and defence of the people living with HIV/AIDS within the context of the socio-professional integration. The second specific objective of the project: *advocacy to improve the national policies, strategies and programs within the context of observing the human rights and the needs of the people living with HIV/AIDS*, shows that the national policies for the PLWHA are insufficiently developed or are in disagreement with the rights and real needs of this category of people, requiring reevaluation or the development of new programs.

The national conference “*HIV/AIDS and the place of work*”, continued during this project too, trying to answer in more detail to the problems of the people living with HIV/AIDS. The conference tried to answer questions such as: which is the current situation in Romania? Which are the current problems of the PLWHA? Are the employers ready to hire PLWHA? Are the PLWHA ready to get a job? What are the resources and which are the solutions?

The research report of UNOPA showed, with concrete field data, the position of the employers towards the people living with HIV/AIDS, as well as the level of PLWHA acceptance by the employers active in Romania. Among the results of the project

one may notice that there were fewer cases of stigmatization and discrimination due to HIV/AIDS, there were higher opportunities for the collaboration with different employers and for PLWHA employment, as well as opportunities for the social and professional integration of the PLWHA (UNOPA, 2009).

Project 5, „*Evaluation of the services of professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania*” had the purpose to evaluate the results obtained until 2009, the subsequent progress and sustainability. The project focused on the adequacy, relevance and quality of the services provided to the young people living with HIV/AIDS in terms of socio-professional integration and of the acquisition of skills allowing them to lead an independent life.

The evaluation didn't monitor necessarily the number of young people infected with HIV who got a job after attending the training courses, rather whether the involved organisations and the beneficiaries consider that the YPLHWA have higher opportunities to get employed and to lead an independent life. The quality of the services provided to the young people living with HIV/AIDS to assist their professional integration was evaluated in terms of accessibility, level of training and competence of the staff, graduation, quality checking and efficiency (RAA, 2009b).

The project evaluated the satisfaction of the YPLHWA with the services of professional integration made available to them.

Project „*Socio-professional integration of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania*” expands for 30 months, ending in 2011. The expected results presume continuing the earlier programs of education for an independent life and for the professional integration. The teenagers turned into young people who need to integrate socio-professionally because the dependency on their family and on the support systems (NGOs, the public system of social work) just stagnate and consolidate their social handicap.

I will now **compare the results** obtained/to be obtained by these projects (by qualitative analysis) to see whether there are significant differences between these projects in terms of efficacy, relevance and impact.

The efficacy analysis will consider the objectives and targets and their accomplishment. The relevance refers to the adequacy of the services to the needs and possibilities of the beneficiaries and to the local opportunities. The impact of the services developed for the young people living with HIV/AIDS refers to the progress achieved (measured by the accomplished results: participation, graduation, employment etc., showing the efficacy of the actions) compared to the initial situation.

One may notice that the activities of the first project „*Vocational training and training stages for the PLWHA*” relied in several principles and a linear, progressive logic starting from the existing services (and accreditation of those not yet accredited), the

needs of the beneficiaries and the existing resources, so that they tend towards a maximal relevance, particularly for the target group.

The results formulated for each activity are justified, the exact number of the beneficiaries attending these training courses being the planned target. The progress can be measured through the outcomes of the project activities. Because the organisations have many people on their records, there must be a limited number of beneficiaries and their selection is an important matter. Selection of the beneficiaries was necessary due to the limitations imposed by the budget and due to the lack of interest of some young people, due to the lack of necessary abilities, or to the low attendance of the activities developed by the organisation.

*„Support for continuous education for specialists and for YPLWHA”* targets the continuous education for the young people living with HIV/AIDS and for the staff attending them.

The results of project activities refer mostly to a higher quality of the services delivered to the YPLWHA, stressing on the methods to improve the delivered services and analysing in detail the activities depending on the needs.

In terms of efficacy, the set target was exceeded, the indicator being accomplished 144%; the number of the people benefitting of support for continuous education within the programs of “Education for life” being higher than foreseen. This was possible due to the activity of the 20 organisations member of UNOPA.

The impact of the activities must be measured by monitoring the number of young people still benefitting of the provided services, in terms of their progress seen in their attitude towards employment. The motivation of the young people for participation and the awareness of the usefulness of these services show the high relevance of these services.

*„Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania”* focused on increasing the capacity of the psycho-social services to provide counseling and support for the educational and professional integration of the YPLWHA in Romania.

The activities included 7 training courses for the specialists working with YPLWHA, with the intention to provide higher quality services, accessible and adapted to the problems of the YPLWHA. The concern to provide high quality services for these categories of people is noteworthy, making aware the processes by which the young people can acquire knowledge and abilities and the fact that they need carefully evaluated services for their needs.

This project was implemented in 30 counties and very many specialists working with young people living with HIV/AIDS participated actively in the improvement of the



psycho-social services capacity to provide counselling and support for the educational and professional integration of these young people.

Major progresses have been made in several areas, which can be supported by the results: higher level of information of the YPLWHA regarding a healthy sexual and reproductive life; regarding the prevention of transmitting HIV infection; the organisation of YPLWHA increased its capacity for quality services for the YPLWHA and for the community; the employers and the community were better informed on the meaning of HIV/AIDS; the YPLWHA were informed on the risky behaviour; the training level of the specialists increased in the 30 counties where the project was implemented; the awareness of the local communities also increased in relation with the fact that HIV/AIDS is a problem of the community that concerns us all, and that the local authorities and the community must get involved in program sustainability (UNOPA, 2009).

Making an analysis of these results, we may say that the services of psycho-social counselling, educational and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS had a high relevance and a rather high efficacy, determined by the motivation of the young people to enlist and to participate in various activities. It is very important that the independence of the young people develops as they get involved in such activities.

*“Advocacy to reduce stigmatization and discrimination of the PLWHA”* struggles to educate the employers active in Romania for a higher socio-professional integration of the PLWHA, for the promotion and defence of the people living with HIV/AIDS within the context of their socio-professional integration (UNOPA, 2009).

This project organised in June 2008 the National conference *“HIV/AIDS and the place of work”* and in 2009 the National conference *“Human rights within HIV/AIDS context”*. Among the activities of the project there were round tables with the local authorities, the press and the employers, organised by the 20 organisations involved in the project, with the purpose to educate the employers active in Romania (RAA, 2009a).

Another important aspect of the activities consisted in the two investigations, one among the employers active in Romania, and the other in order to evaluate the situation of the PLWHA in relation with the labour market and to avoid the barriers that may arise when seeking a job. Through these research activities, UNOPA was able to support, with field data, the position of the employers towards the people living with HIV/AIDS, their level of information on the matter of HIV/AIDS as well as the level of PLWHA acceptance by the employers active in Romania.

Among the results of the project were fewer cases of stigmatization and discrimination due to HIV/AIDS, higher opportunities for the collaboration with

different employers and for PLWHA employment, as well as opportunities for the social and professional integration of the PLWHA.

The research conducted within this project, particularly the evaluation employers' position towards the PLWHA, ensured a high relevance and efficacy to the project, because this situation had to be clarified since the employers are the main pillars for an independent life of the PLWHA. This project, by its results, showed to be particularly successful, thus showing the usefulness of the research. By its objectives, activities and results, this project continues the advocacy for the promotion and defence of PLWHA rights. The research conducted by UNOPA will provide support for the PLWHA organisations in their endeavour to promote and defend PLWHA rights in Romania.

*„Evaluation of the services of professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania”* aimed to accomplish the planned purpose by: services of counselling and professional or occupational guidance; enrolling the young people in courses of vocational training; integration of the young people in protected workshops and units; information of the employers on the right to work of the people living with HIV/AIDS; organisation of activities of occupational therapy for the young people; training the psycho-social specialists for the counselling and professional guidance of the PLWHA, providing protected dwellings in which the abandoned YPLWHA or those coming from institutions can develop their abilities for an independent life (Global Fund, 2009c).

Counselling is very important and highly efficient because it motivates the young people to enlist for training courses, to be active in various fields and to continue this way in the future too. By counselling, the young people can be guided towards different preoccupations.

Next to counselling, the services of professional or occupational guidance have been developed in order to stimulate the interest of the young people and to allow them acquire abilities and skills useful to their socio-professional integration. The efficacy of these services can be quite high and their impact can be measured by their initiatives and creativity.

The training courses are of success and yielded adequate results; their relevance also is high because they allow the young people to get hired in the fields they were prepared for.

The stages of applied practice at employers have a high relevance because they allow the young people to make practice according to their qualification, by which they get applied, not just theoretic, abilities and skills whose impact can be seen in time.

The integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS in protected workshops and units may provide a working environment similar to that from the labour market, thus

making them aware that they have clear duties and assignments, as well as rewards. The direct impact on the young people is that they may have thus the possibility to join the labour market and to actually work there.

The information of the employers on the right to work of the PLWHA has an impact that cannot be measured for the time being; however, by knowing the rights of the people living with HIV and of the ways of AIDS transmission, their attitude is expected to be a positive one in time, by accepting the young people living with HIV/AIDS.

The training of the psycho-social specialists for counselling and professional guidance of the PLWHA was meant to form continuously the specialists, keeping them updated with the latest developments in this field, so that they can provide to the beneficiaries services that are as adequate as possible to their particular needs (RAA, 2009b).

The results of the project were positive, progresses of the YPLWHA being recorded for every activity of the project.

„Socio-professional integration of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Romania” is a recent project ending in 2011. It is run by UNOPA in collaboration with 20 organisations delivering services for PLWHA. The expected results aim to provide higher quality counselling services to the PLWHA, their proper training to get a job and to increase the number of employed PLWHA. The project will carry on with these activities.

The **projects aim** to expand the opportunities and possibilities that the young people living with HIV/AIDS are part of the community having the right to a job, like everyone else, where they are not confronted with situations of discrimination, stigmatization or even exclusion from the labour market.

If we make an attentive analysis of the project objectives and results, if we **compare** them, we may say that the projects complement each other, all of them struggling for the social and professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS.

All the services developed by the projects were adequate to the needs and possibilities of the PLWHA, and this aspect generated their motivation for participation and involvement in the planned activities.

The general objective of the projects was to improve the opportunities for professional integration of the young people living with HIV/AIDS. The objective has been accomplished through the process of formation, which has been constantly accompanied by activities of professional counselling in order to help the people get oriented. The high efficacy of the projects, in most cases, can be measured by the accomplishment of the set targets, over 90% or even higher than the set target. The

accomplishment of the targets has been proved by the indicators (the usual indicator was the number of young people enlisted in courses, the number of young people which graduated the courses, etc.) used to monitor the process.

No project actually determined the number of YPLWHA who get employed immediately after graduating the training courses; however, they could acquire abilities that give them chances to get employed in the near future. However, there may be problems hindering YPLWHA employment such as: their health state, which many times presumes admission in a hospital, low educational level, or low skills for independent life.

In terms of geographic coverage, the most comprehensive project was „*Psycho-social counseling, school and professional guidance of the young people living with HIV/AIDS from Romania*”, which was implemented in 30 counties of Romania and which included 140 specialists working with the young people living with HIV/AIDS. The lower geographical coverage of the other projects may be due to the unavailability or inexistence of organizations working with PLWHA in different towns or localities.

One may conclude that the services developed by the 5/6 projects have a high relevance and efficacy, both by the utility of the programs they run and by the fact that they aim to increase the employment potential of the YPLWHA.

## **Conclusions**

In conclusion, we may say that the young people living with HIV/AIDS want to get and maintain a job in support of their welfare and independent life. As expected, most of them have low educational levels: they either dropped out of school before finishing the compulsory education, or finished just 8 grades. School dropout is usually caused by the news of the diagnosis, being afraid of the reaction of their colleagues upon breaking the news about the infection to them, of the defence reactions that may appear from their colleagues and of the situations of discrimination and stigmatization that may appear.

Most employers don't have enough information regarding HIV infection, such as routes of transmission, signs and symptoms, strategies to reduce the risk of getting infected with HIV etc.; they also don't know the legal provisions regarding the people living with HIV/AIDS and have no standard procedures to deal with the situation when a PLWHA is discriminated at the job. HIV/AIDS must therefore be acknowledged as a problem that may appear at work and be treated as any other serious disease or disturbance that the employees may have.

Many times, the PLWHA turn down a possible job because one of the requirements upon employment is the HIV test, or they quit if they need medical leave.

Among the important aspects of the law guaranteeing the rights of the people infected with HIV is that it is of utmost importance that their diagnosis is not made public, that they are entitled to confidentiality. Thus, the employers should not know the HIV status of their employees and should not reject them upon the disease criterion. However, there are studies (Blaglosov et al, 2007), which documented the fact that after they found out the HIV diagnosis, many people resigned from their jobs being afraid of the attitude of their fellow workers.

As seen from the presentation of the projects, a preventive intervention is needed in order to inform the employers on the rights of the HIV people, on the minimal risks of disease transmission at the place of work, and on the adaptation of the working schedule according to the possibilities of the person with AIDS which is able to work.

The areas where the people living with HIV/AIDS are discriminated most often are: the **labour market** – compulsory HIV testing upon employment, rejection of the employment if the result is positive, harassment on the job, sacking; **education** – difficulties at enrolment of the children living with HIV/AIDS, rejection, harassment and marginalization of these children; **health care services** – rejected access to dental care, to dermatologic services, excessive protection measures when health checking people living with HIV/AIDS, failing to provide free treatment and services according to the law; **social work** – failing to provide food allocations for the people living with HIV/AIDS, failing to grant the rights stipulated by the law, such as free subscription for public transportation, personal care for the persons with serious disability (HIV/AIDS), etc. (ARAS, 2008)

## References

- ARAS (2008), *HIV/SIDA și discriminare* (<http://www.arasnet.ro/resurse/publicatii/?type=studii-accesat la 8.05.2012>)
- Blaglosov, A.; Constantin, C.; Lazăr, F.; Luca, A. (2007), *Informare și sensibilizare în problematica HIV/SIDA*, Ed. PsihoCover, București
- Buzducea, D. (1997), *SIDA - Confluențe psihosociale*, Ed. Știință&Tehnică, București
- Buzducea, D. (2002), „Protecția socială a persoanelor infectate cu HIV/SIDA”, în Pop, L.M. (coord.), *Dicționar de politici sociale*, Ed. Expert, București, pp.689-695
- Buzducea, D. (coord.) (2007), *Riscuri la tineri. Studiu de caz: Adolescenții HIV/SIDA din România*, Ed. Universității din București, București
- Chelcea, S. (1993), „Analiza conținutului” în Zamfir, C.; Vlăsceanu, L. (coord.), *Dicționar de sociologie*, Ed. Babel, București, p. 26
- CNLAS, (2011), *Date statistice privind evoluția HIV în Europa* (<http://www.cnlas.ro/date-statistice.html>, accesat la 11.05.2012)

- Global Fund, (2008a), Implementatori Asociația „Lizuca” (Asociație a Persoanelor Afectate de HIV/SIDA din Bacău) (<http://www.fondulglobal.ro/implementatori/hiv/asociația-lizuca-asociație-a-persoanelor-afectate-de-hiv-sida-din-bacău.html>- accesat la 4.05.2012)
- Global Fund, (2008b), „Al treilea raport de progres al programului HIV/SIDA Runda 6” (<http://www.fondulglobal.ro/stadiul-implementării/hiv-sida/report-2009-08-10.html>, accesat la 3.05.2012)
- Global Fund, (2009a), „Ancheta asupra comportamentelor cu risc de transmitere HIV în rândul tinerilor care trăiesc cu HIV/SIDA în România” ([http://www.fondulglobal.ro/plain/files/Ancheta\\_Comportamentala\\_Tineri\\_HIV\\_SIDA\\_Raport\\_2009\\_RAA.pdf](http://www.fondulglobal.ro/plain/files/Ancheta_Comportamentala_Tineri_HIV_SIDA_Raport_2009_RAA.pdf), accesat la 3.05.2012)
- Global Fund, (2009b), “Conferința pe HIV/SIDA și locul de muncă din 12 iunie” (<http://www.fondulglobal.ro/stiri/2009/june/15/conferința-națională-unopa-cu-tema-hiv-sida-si-locul-de-munca.html>, accesat la 29.04.2012)
- Global Fund, (2009c), „Anexa 1.B la podul de sub grant” ([www.fondulglobal.ro/plain/upload/A3\\_RO\\_FDP.doc](http://www.fondulglobal.ro/plain/upload/A3_RO_FDP.doc), accesat la 29.04.2012)
- Institutul de Boli Infecțioase „Prof. Dr. Matei Balș”, Compartimentul pentru monitorizarea și evaluarea infecției HIV/SIDA în România, Date statistice, disponibile la <http://www.cnlas.ro/date-statistice/> accesat la 10.05.2012
- Legea nr. 448/2006 privind protecția și promovarea drepturilor persoanelor cu handicap*
- Legea nr. 584/2002 privind măsurile de prevenire a răspândirii maladiei SIDA în România și de protecție a persoanelor infectate cu HIV sau bolnave de SIDA.*
- RAA (2009a), Termeni de referință-evaluator ([http://www.fondulglobal.ro/plain/upload/TERMENI\\_DE\\_REFERINȚA-EVALUATOR.pdf](http://www.fondulglobal.ro/plain/upload/TERMENI_DE_REFERINȚA-EVALUATOR.pdf), accesat la 27.04.2012)
- RAA (2009b), „Consiliere psihosocială, orientare școlară și profesională a tinerilor seropozitivi din România” ([www.ccmromaniagfatm.com/editor/ .../Rezultate%20finale\\_30Nov\\_HIV.doc](http://www.ccmromaniagfatm.com/editor/.../Rezultate%20finale_30Nov_HIV.doc), accesat la 6.05.2012)
- Rădulescu, S.M., (2002), Sociologia sănătății și a bolii, editura Nemira, București
- UNAIDS WORLD AIDS DAY REPORT 2011, disponibil la [https://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/documents/unaidspublication/2011/JC2216\\_WorldAIDSday\\_report\\_2011\\_en.pdf](https://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/documents/unaidspublication/2011/JC2216_WorldAIDSday_report_2011_en.pdf), accesat la 10.05.2012
- UNICEF, UNOPA (2007), „Raportul Forumului Tinerilor Seropozitivi” ([http://www.unopa.ro/?page=pagini\\_list&Pagelid=Evenimente\\_14&ArticleId=Raportul+Forumului+Tinerilor+Seropozitivi+2007\\_13&m=1](http://www.unopa.ro/?page=pagini_list&Pagelid=Evenimente_14&ArticleId=Raportul+Forumului+Tinerilor+Seropozitivi+2007_13&m=1), accesat la 5.05.2012)
- UNOPA (2007b), „Advocacy pentru reducerea stigmatizării și discriminării persoanelor seropozitive” ([www.fondulglobal.ro/.../hiv/unopa-uniunea-națională-a-organizațiilor-persoanelor-afectate-de-hiv-sida.html](http://www.fondulglobal.ro/.../hiv/unopa-uniunea-națională-a-organizațiilor-persoanelor-afectate-de-hiv-sida.html), accesat la 5.05.2012)

UNOPA (2008b), Implementatori UNOPA (Uniunea Națională a Organizațiilor Persoanelor Afectate de HIV/SIDA) (<http://www.fondulglobal.ro/implementatori/hiv/unopa-uniunea-nationala-a-organizatiilor-persoanelor-afectate-de-hiv-sida.html>, accesat la 7.05.2012)

UNOPA (2009), „Integrarea socio-profesională a persoanelor seropozitive din România” ([http://www.unopa.ro/?page=pagini\\_list&PagId=Proiecte+in+derulare\\_17&m=](http://www.unopa.ro/?page=pagini_list&PagId=Proiecte+in+derulare_17&m=), accesat la 4.05.2012)

# BUDDHISM: RETHINKING SEXUAL MISCONDUCT

Huai BAO\*

***Abstract:** Man has actively engaged in creating religions ever since the beginning of humankind. Religion, reversely, creates an illusory reality for man to live in, which sets its systematic moral sanction that can be rendered a double edge sword: one edge works as moral enhancement and the other what I call moral terrorism, derived from the dominant moral claim and the fear of inability or failure to fulfill. This article explores under the revival of Buddhism in post-Mao China, how the dominant interpretation of sexual misconduct has, instead of functioning as initially intended, victimized women and queer bodies, pushing them to the forefront of moral criticism. Through textual analysis and sociological approach, the article attempts to give an up-to-date interpretation to sexual misconduct, largely not only helping man, oftentimes stuck in such a dilemma, abstain from growing materialism but liberate from fear created by man himself.*

***Keywords:** Buddhism, sexual misconduct, collective unconscious, sexuality, religion*

## **1. Introduction**

Discourses over China's booming economy and the obsession with money for a culture have been dominating domestic and international media, while not so much attention has been given to the increasing need of spiritual fulfillment across China. If enhancing the standard of living is the prerequisite of a happy life, once that goal has been largely achieved, the disillusion of a communist utopia will generate an earnest expectation for a new illusion and a new utopia. Thus, it is not hard for us to understand the current revival of religions in the PRC (People's Republic of China),

---

\* Ph.D. student at the Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies, Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Burnaby, BC, Canada. Email: baohuai@yahoo.com



especially Buddhism, which remains the most popular religious belief in the PRC. It is notable that though the PRC is officially an atheist state, Buddhism has a history of about 2,000 years, having played an instrumental role in shaping the collective mindset of the Chinese people, let alone their art, literature, architecture, philosophy and their indigenous religions.

People need spiritual fulfillment and yet feel intimidated by the precepts and all discourses regarding the outcome of violating these precepts. As people rediscover Buddhism in present-day China, however, they also find the dominant interpretations of the precepts horrendous, especially the discourses around sexual misconduct, leaving them struggling between thoughts about their acts and corresponding moral judgments. Sexual misconduct as a sociological term is understood as a range of behaviors that include sexual assault, sexual harassment and child abuse, but as a religious term, the interpretation is much broader. Buddhism, Christianity and Islam all talk about sexual misconduct in the discourse of commandments or precepts, but what is exactly sexual misconduct? Adultery? What is adultery? Masturbation? Homosexual acts? Who has the right to interpret sexual misconduct? It has been the concerns of many in a context of globalization and glocalization in China in terms of values and morals being perceived. Arguably, any religion, which is founded by the early predecessors and edited, interpreted, reinterpreted and manipulated by the successors, may lose the original meaning given to it over the course of the long historic evolution, as our perception, cognition, knowledge and technology about ourselves have been greatly developed over the last few centuries. In studying the prevailing Buddhist discourses with misogynous concepts, homophobia and transphobia, I argue that the dominant interpretation of sexual misconduct particularly in China's Mahayana Buddhism has largely victimized women and the queer bodies. It does not justify compassion and fairness; it only rejects those who seek spiritual asylum. I will seek to elaborate these two areas in this paper, examine the discourses, societal reality and responses through textual analysis and literary criticism.

With rare exceptions, we are all sexual beings as much as spiritual beings. By claiming spiritual, one either conforms to a religious belief or conducts spiritual practice independently. Whichever way one takes, as a sexual being one may encounter social and religious taboo regarding sex and sexuality and struggle with the confusion and pressure from the mainstream interpretation. Notably, many people's ideas about sexual morals and norms are deeply religion-based. This article discusses Buddhism in relation to sex and sexuality, in an attempt to examine how those sacred scriptural narratives revolving around the celebration of celibacy, condemnation of sexual misconduct and the relevant mainstream interpretation affect and effect our sexual thoughts and behaviors. The aim of this article is, through subverting the dominant interpretation of sexual misconduct in Buddhism in the PRC, to help those who struggle rethink mores and morals in relation to self-improvement and the reality we live in, and find our place in the moral juxtaposition.

## 2. *The Revival of Buddhism in Post-Mao China*

Religion plays an important role in our daily lives, through its established interrelation between humanity and spirituality, the teachings of moral values, and its contribution to the rule of a nation-state, regulating societal norms, orienting mentality and organizing behaviors in both the private and public spheres. If sciences are considered to primarily deal with the problems of this life, religion gives a meaning to this life with its heavenly promise of the afterlife, while expounding doctrine on faith and morality.

According to David B. Barrett's *World Christian Encyclopedia* (2001), most people in the world follow one religion. This source provides data based on census or public survey, including the estimated numerical strength of each religion listed, showing the percentage of the world's population. It is estimated that about 32% of the world population are Christians, 22% Muslims, while Buddhists constitutes about 6%.<sup>1</sup> To identify a person's religion they have to claim that they follow the faith, including but not limited to the special codes of ethics.

The PRC nowadays is not a communist country ideologically even though the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) still rules the state. In the post-Mao PRC, while the economy is booming, the standard of living has been raised significantly, and people become increasingly wealthier with the emergence of the nouveau riche class, society has been undergoing an ever-intensified crisis of faith especially during this past decade. Under the rule of atheism where the once highly appreciated Buddhism, indigenous Taoism and Confucianism have been replaced by Marxism, Leninism and Maoism, as the dream for a communist utopia has shattered since the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, there has been a vibrant revival of official and unofficial religions in the post-Mao PRC despite the limited religious freedom and rigid regulation, among them the five major religions: Buddhism, Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism and Taoism (Lai, 2003, p. 44). The data Lai quotes from official sources in the PRC reveals the status of religions in the PRC and the increased number of places of worship and religious meeting places as of 2003 (Lai, 2003, pp. 44-47). A government-sponsored survey on cotemporary religious life based on a poll of 4,569 interviewees conducted by Shanghai's Eastern China Normal University in over 30 cities across the PRC from 2003 to 2006 found that the number of religious believers was over 300 million by 2006, out of the total population of 1.3 billion people (Xu, 2008, p. 283). The findings provide growing evidence that the revival of religions in the PRC is replacing the communist doctrine while the younger generation is more likely to accept religions as their belief.

---

<sup>1</sup> The data can also be found from the web source at <http://www.religioustolerance.org/worldrel.htm> Retrieved on April 10th, 2012

The pluralism of religions growing in the PRC is another dynamic we should look at, as while Buddhism remains the most popular religions in the PRC, Christianity is expanding in the PRC rapidly, the believers of Protestantism and Catholicism together constituting about 18.1%, according to the aforementioned government-sponsored survey by Eastern China Normal University (pp. 283-284):

Table 1

*Religious membership in Contemporary China*

Religions	N	Percent	Percent of cases
Protestantism	274	12.0%	19.1%
Buddhism	756	33.1%	52.7
Islam	223	9.8%	15.5%
Taoism	147	6.4%	10.2%
Catholicism	139	6.1%	9.7%
Shenism	263	11.5%	18.3%
Ancestor Veneration	345	15.1%	24.0%
Others	137	6.0%	9.5%
Total	2,284	100.0%	159.2%

*Adapted from: "Spiritual Crises and Religious Revival in Contemporary China". May 10, 2012, <http://iccs.aichi-u.ac.jp/archives/report/034/4a121ae56b13c.pdf>*

The dramatic growth of Christianity in this government-sponsored survey has also been confirmed by David Aikman, Ph.D., former *Time* magazine's Beijing bureau chief and author of *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*. In his book he believes that the PRC's Christian population will grow to about 400 million over the next three decades. The revival of Buddhism and expansion of Christianity in the PRC can be understood as an inevitable result of the fast economic growth and material inflation in an predominantly atheist society where people need to find a new meaning and new hopes to their life. As Lai summaries, "The revival has been fuelled by a number of factors: the state's lifting of its ban on freedom of worship; by widespread disillusion with the official ideology; economic and social uncertainties in the wake of modernization and reforms; and the enduring nature of religious belief" (Lai, 2003, 40). If the reality man lives in does not give man any continued illusory promise, man will seek spiritual asylum in the heavenly reality and rediscover what spiritual fulfillment he had lost some time ago. As has been confirmed by the aforementioned news sources, atheist propaganda does not thoroughly erase the deep-rooted memories of fragments of Buddhist discourses. Under such a vibrant Buddhism

revival, concerns about spiritual improvement and moral standards are totally understandable.

### 3. *The Interpretation of Sexual Misconduct*

From sociological perspective, sexual misconduct is normally understood as a range of behaviors including rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment, intimate partner violence, stalking, and any other sexual conduct with a lack of mutual consent or with an ambiguous consent. The interpretation of sexual misconduct in religious texts, however, appears much more broader than sexual crimes. Critical debates over the definition of sexual misconduct in Buddhist discourses have brought much attention to the textual studies of the Buddhist sutras, among them the *Sutra of the Upāsaka Precepts*,<sup>1</sup> which is a Mahayana Buddhist sutra particularly introducing the *Five Precepts*<sup>2</sup> for *upāsaka* (lay followers), with sexual misconduct being the third, and the *True Dharma Contemplation Sutra*, a Theravada Buddhist sutra, which documents the Buddha's alleged definition of sexual misconduct: "Sexual misconduct includes these acts: if a man has oral or anal sex with his wife; if he has any form of sex with another man's wife; if he compels or forces others to do any sexual act..."<sup>3</sup>

The *Sutra of the Upāsaka Precepts* also exemplifies sexual misconduct such as "sex at the wrong time, wrong place, wrong partner, virgin or another man's wife; or if he indulges in sexual self-gratification," "sex with any animal, decomposed corpse, prisoner, fugitive, teacher's wife, monk or nun; or at the monastery," sex "at the road-side or in any public area; or by the side of a stupa, temple or place of worship," "sex with any female person protected by her parents, brothers or the king/law-even if beforehand, knowing his sex motive, she has consented to it or has accepted his date or invitation, gift or money" and "[a]ny form of sexual act near a corpse or near any Buddha/Bodhisattva picture..." and "[e]ven one's fantasy of committing illicit sex with the wrong partner."

The *Sutra of the Upāsaka Precepts* and the *True Dharma Contemplation Sutra*, therefore, have left narratives that build the solid base for the dominant interpretation of sexual misconduct in contemporary Mahayana Buddhist discourses. Given the aforementioned broad definition of sexual misconduct that contains masturbation and oral sex, how many people are able to totally justify their "innocence" remains questionable. According to the 2010 data from U.S. National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior (NSSHB), over 80% men ages 19-49 and over 60% women ages 19-

---

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in the Northern Liang Dynasty by the Tripi-aka Master Dharmak-ema from India.

<sup>2</sup> Both Theravada and Mahayana Buddhist traditions require their lay followers to follow *The Five Precepts* as the basic code of ethics to abstain from killing living beings, stealing and robbing, sexual misconduct, false speech and drinking alcohol.

<sup>3</sup> Web source: <http://www.buddhawords.com/sins/sexual-misconduct> Retrieved on April 10th, 2012.

49 reported masturbating during the past year. The survey also indicates that while vaginal sex is the most common sexual behavior reported by adults, partnered masturbation or oral sex is not uncommon among sexual events (National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior NSSHB, 2010). Even though the survey was conducted in the U.S., given the universality of human nature, the data also has reference value for present-day China.

One of the major functions of religion is moral sanction through a promise of sacred justice that works for its believers. “[E]ssentially all the world’s major religions were founded on the principle that divine beings or forces can promise a level of justice in a supernatural realm that cannot be perceived in this natural one” (Esptein, 2010, p. 109). In the case of Mahayana Buddhism, it is the promised causality that sanctions lay followers’ counter-preceptive behavior, as the *Sutra of the Upāsaka Precepts* tells the evil karma for committing sexual misconduct that the sinner “loses his wealth and has a short lifespan, and his wife does not love him,” “[a]fter death, he will fall into hell to accept an ugly appearance, debility, a long lifespan, and immeasurable suffering, including hunger and thirst...” and “[l]ater on, when he is reborn as a human, he will again have an ugly appearance and a vicious mouth, and others will dislike seeing him. He will be unable to protect his wife, concubines, and children...”<sup>1</sup>

As elucidated above, moral sanction in religion may turn out to be a double edge sword, using its power of determining the outcome of a profane behavior. On the one hand it may serve as moral guidance that leads man to do good and to abstain from unlawful and harmful behaviors. On the other hand the horrendous interpretation of sexual misconduct causes fear and inner struggles that oftentimes occur between terminating certain acts and renouncing one’s religious belief, both of which may be technically hard. It also remains questionable how coherently true the definition or interpretation of sexual misconduct is to the core teachings of the Buddha as the idea of sexuality varies greatly in different Buddhist traditions and schools. In Vajrayana Buddhism, which is popular in Tibet, alternately known as *tantra*, where sexual intercourse is flaunted as a path leading to enlightenment, and sexual polarity is central to Tantric Buddhism, especially in Tibet (Herrmann-Pfandt, 1997, pp. 12-34). In Western Buddhism, sexuality has been given a personal reading, as Winton Higgins says in his talk at the Macquarie University, “if in our sexual lives we act non-violently, do not take what is not freely given, do not deceive and do not act out of delusive and irresponsible mindstates, we cannot fall foul of the third precept anyway.”<sup>2</sup>

Considering the conceptualized non-violent and non-deceptive sexual lives as falling out of the third precept generates even more legal questions in relation to marital

---

<sup>1</sup> Web source: <http://www.sutrasmantras.info/sutra33c.html> English translation from the digital Chinese *Canon*.

<sup>2</sup> Web source: [http://www.buddhanet.net/winton\\_s.htm](http://www.buddhanet.net/winton_s.htm) Retrieved on April 10th, 2012. (Cited from a talk given to Unibuds, Queer Dharma, The Macquarie University Buddhist Society and the Friends of the Wat).

status, consent as well as moral issues. In a sense, consensual and non-exploitative sex may not be marital, while marital sex may not be consensual at all times, and under certain circumstances premarital or extra-marital sex may be perceived as more moral than marital sex particularly if it's exploitative. It is often ignored in Chinese society that sexual activities within a marriage require consent and the consent must be clear, unambiguous and voluntary. It is also often ignored in Buddhist discourses that premarital or extra-marital sex may be consensual while marital sex may be nonconsensual, and that one cannot obtain consent from his or her spouse who is asleep or mentally or physically incapacitated due to such conditions as alcohol or drugs.

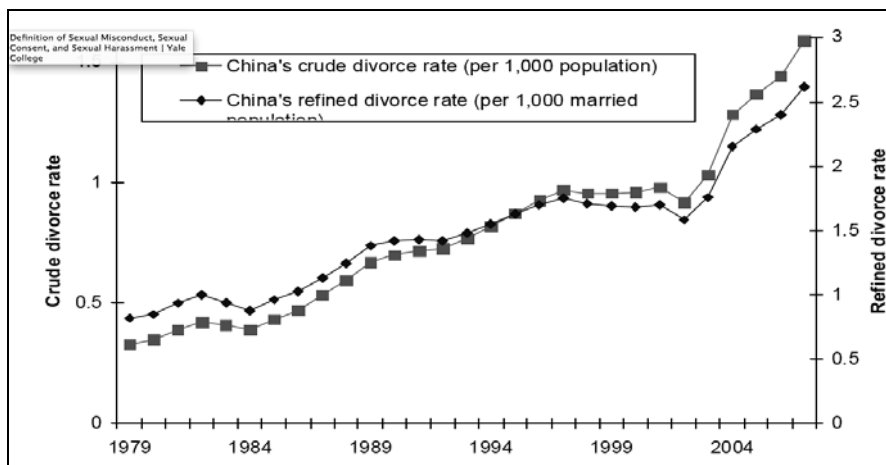
It is noticeable, however, that in recent years in the PRC's Buddhist communities, there has been an increase in discursive production about sexual misconduct being primarily interpreted as extramarital sex and homosexuality, largely due to the increasing emergency of these phenomena as the by-products generated by the popularization of Internet and IT technological development in a globalized context. The dual emergency of both Buddhist revival and the discourses over sexuality in a modernized but traditionally prudish and conservative society, generate critical debates over the dynamic intersection between spiritualism and hedonism/ materialism. A dichotomous situation is created for spiritual development seekers, devoted lay followers of Buddhism in particular, that while there is an increasing demand for spiritual asylum in our modern society, the sexual liberation and the pornification of the visual culture, however, boost or reveal more "sexual misconducts," which need a careful reevaluation. Here, I will focus on the two aforementioned aspects in contemporary Mahayana Buddhist discourses about sexual misconduct-extramarital sex and homosexuality, as these two areas constitute the two largest sectors of the discursive spectrum.

#### ***4. New Concubinage and Victimization of Women***

The legal framework on marriage in the PRC has been formed since 1980 when the Marriage Law was enacted. Modified in 2001, the Marriage Law is not substantially different from any Western country in providing general principles on freedom of marriage and divorce including gender equalities and the prohibition of bigamy and domestic violence (Chen, 2008, p. 409). While the Marriage Law advocates freedom of marriage, restriction on divorce, established by the Supreme People's Court in 1989, has made changes from the initial "breakdown in affection" to "breakdown in marriage relations" (Chen, 2008, p. 428). Restricting freedom of divorce has not only invited arguments from scholars and communities, but also is a factor that is considered to have contributed to the increase in extramarital relationships and yet does slow down the significant increase in divorce rates.

Graphic 1

Trends of divorce rates in China, 1979-2007. "China's Divorce and Remarriage Rates: Trends and Regional Disparities!"



*Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*. 2010. Web. May 14, 2012.

The above figure indicates the PRC's crude and refined divorce rates from 1979 to 2007, both having increased drastically, especially since 2002 (Wang & Zhou, 2010, p. 259). It is clear that the substantial economic growth in the PRC particularly during the last decade and the significant increase in divorce rate in the mean time are not simply coincidental. In fact, the economic growth will continue to contribute to further increases in divorce rates in the PRC. The reason why economic growth contributes to the increase in divorce rates is perceived as a connection chain. While economic growth has increased income, quantitative analysis over the statistics from the China Health and Family Life Survey carried out between August 1999 and August 2000 concludes that high income leads to more extramarital sex, both commercial and non-commercial (Zhang, Parish & Laumann, p. 14). Furthermore, research conducted by sociologists shows the quantitative relationship between extramarital affairs, marital satisfaction and divorce: While extramarital affairs affect marital satisfaction, marital satisfaction affects the decisions of divorce. In fact, it is noticeable that extramarital affairs are common in the PRC in the mean time. Quantitative analysis over the aforementioned data also suggests that extramarital sex is common in urban China (Zhang, Parish & Laumann, p. 12) and even more common than in the U.S. due to the easy availability of commercial sex in China (Zhang, Parish & Laumann, p. 14).

A public opinion poll of about 4,000 interviewees carried out by the PRC's National Women's Federation in 10 provinces and cities in China in 2000 suggests that nearly

90% of the interviewees in the Guangdong province support penalty against extramarital affairs. While traditional values disapprove of extramarital affairs, societal norms have demonstrated decreased power resisting the occurrence of infidelity among married couples as the aftermath of the sexual revolution in China fueled by the Internet in the last decade.

As introduced above, extramarital sex is labeled as sexual misconduct in Mahayana Buddhist discourses. If we agree that extramarital sex is sexual misconduct that may lead to very critical karma, then we will have to think how many people may engage in this “sexual misconduct.” According to Peggy Vaughan, author of *The Monogamy Myth*, “Conservative estimates are that 60 percent of men and 40 percent of women will have an extramarital affair. These figures are even more significant when we consider the total number of marriages involved, since it’s unlikely that all the men and women having affairs happen to be married to each other. If even half of the women having affairs (or 20 percent) are married to men not included in the 60 percent having affairs, then at least one partner will have an affair in approximately 80 percent of all marriages. With this many marriages affected, it’s unreasonable to think affairs are due only to the failures and shortcomings of individual husbands or wives” (Vaughan, 2003). Here, I argue that the meaning of extramarital affairs as sexual misconduct is personal that should reject any static and uniform definition to set a framework for it, particularly due to the legal framework that constructs the imbalance between freedom of marriage and the restriction on the freedom of divorce. The universality of the Marriage Law in many countries lies in the fact that it advocates affection as the ground for marriage but it does not recognize the breakdown in affection as the ground for divorce. Notably, the restriction on the freedom of divorce is also a reason for the increase in extramarital relationships in China, often talked about in the context of new “concubinage,” meaning a married man, often well off or a government official, keeping one or more than one mistresses for sexual gratification which he fails to have in his marriage in a way that is very similar to the feudal concubinage in pre-Mao China. Firstly, the man has an ongoing, stable long term relationship with the mistress(es). Second, the man supports the mistress(es) financially to keep her or them exclusively to himself, offering housing and living expenses. Third, the man does not necessarily want to divorce to marry the mistress(es). I argue that under the biosocial gender difference, while societal norms condemn both the man for infidelity and his mistress(es) for disrupting other’s marriage, oftentimes the condemnation of adultery becomes imbalanced or biased, with women as the sole target of the condemnation as it is believed that the role of mistress they play is no different than a prostitute, as the new concubinage is always thought of as an exchange between money (or power) and sex, and having a mistress is like maintaining a prostitute on a “long-term basis” (Chen, p. 430). In China’s long history of feudal patriarchy and concubinage, men’s legalized promiscuity within a polygamous marriage was never identified as sexual



misconduct, nor was domestic sexual violence within a marriage in particular, as women absolutely had to be subordinate to men, obeying men's orders and satisfying men's carnal desires unconditionally. It may be understood that in a patriarchal society where women suffered from the social inequities, men, especially those from the privileged class and on top of the social political hierarchical system, had the discursive power and the right to interpret sexual misconduct.

In present-day China, though concubinage has long been abolished under feminist movements in the Mao style for decades, as the economy booms concubinage has been widely recurring, albeit wearing a disguise. Starting with tens of thousands of wealthy Hong Kong businessmen crossing the Hong Kong and Shenzhen border to open new businesses and exploit new markets in Mainland China, a "mistress village" emerged in Shenzhen (Williams, 1999, p. 79), as those businessmen found their mistress, paying for their housing, buying them expensive material goods so as to own the "exclusive rights" to their mistress (Shen, p. 2005). These businessmen oftentimes have to compensate more materially or financially for their inability or unwillingness to divorce and to marry their mistress. This "second wife" lifestyle has been followed by more and more inland upstart men as a way to flaunt their wealth and social status (Williams, p. 1999). It is believed that the "second wife" lifestyle trend across China demonstrates the mingling between deep-rooted feudal male-dominance and the modern, imported ideology of commercialized sexuality (Williams, p. 1999). The recurring patriarchal concubinage, whatever disguise it wears, proves that male supremacy in present-day China cannot easily be thoroughly erased from the historic inheritance and the collective unconscious of the nation, and, in contemporary Buddhist condemnation of adultery or extramarital sex as sexual misconduct, women who become the "second wife" are more likely to become the sole target of condemnation again, as most of the "second wife" cases involve a married man and an unmarried or divorced woman, and hence it is naturally believed that these women disrupt other women's marriages by stealing their husbands.

The fact that Buddhist texts have been preserved and composed by men has constructed Buddhism's patriarchal history where women's voices are seldom heard. Buddhist textual sources regarding sexual ethics largely focus on teaching men how to stay away from being ruined by women rather than vice versa. In the well known *Sigalovada Sutra*, translated into English from *Pali*, the Buddha, in instructing a young man named Sigalovada how to achieve success in life, says that one way to ruin a man is women as "Dice, women, liquor, dancing, singing, sleeping by day, sauntering at unseemly hours, evil companions, avarice - these nine causes ruin a man." (<http://www.accesstosight.org/tipitaka/dn/dn.31.0.nara.html>). The one time remark has been fueled by the patriarchal tradition. Hence, the contemporary dominant Buddhist interpretation of adultery has been largely male-centered and has

objectified women, as women's feelings, voices, requests and desires seem to have been ignored. As a result of the biosocial fact that women are rendered more visible as the "third party" in extramarital affairs according to sociological statistics, it ends up over simplifying a complex issue and stigmatizing women more than men who are involved in an extramarital affair. Is the "third party" always the guilty one? Is the "third party" always the one that should be condemned? The rise of Chinese feminism under Western influence has presented divergent views regarding extramarital affairs and so would interrogate the interpretation of adultery. Some Chinese feminists believe that divorce laws should punish men and the third party, while making adultery a criminal offense (Eckholm, 1998; Economist, 1998; Wan, 1998); whereas others believe that the increasing divorce rate can be viewed as female empowerment (Eckholm, 1998), not simply a moral issue with stigma attached to it. With extramarital affairs and divorce rate on the rise, feminists seek to view the whole picture from a nuanced, multi-layered perspective instead of merely looking at the violator of the "sexual misconduct" - the "guilty party" of the illegal affair. Who is guilty and who is innocent remain a legal question, while who should be condemned is a complex moral issue that is often disoriented by a gender-based double standard that favors men. First of all, from the traditional biosocial point of view, it reifies the biological differences between men and women as grounds for justifying men's promiscuity. Men flaunt their masculinity by maximizing their sexual partners in order to inseminate as many women as possible; while women, on the other hand, tend to maximize their births in order to hold onto the relationship (Schwartz & Rutter, 1998). This may be seen as the ground for the gendered double standard that is always partial towards men, and therefore, society tends to be more tolerant of men's promiscuity while has zero tolerance to women's promiscuity but requests their chastity and infidelity. This biosocial theoretical ground, when entangled with moral judgments, likely leads to the stigmatization of women and lenience for men. Second, it is also difficult to define extramarital affairs as sociologists believe that there are three kinds of extramarital affairs: first, emotional involvement with someone other than the marriage partner, but no sexual intercourse; second, only sexual but no emotional involvement; third, both emotional and sexual involvement with someone other than the marriage partner (Thompson, 1984). All the extramarital affairs may be divided into three categories: "projective, fantasized and actual involvement" (Johnson, 1970, 449). Given the complexity of extramarital affairs, the mainstream Buddhist condemnation of "adultery" as sexual misconduct becomes more questionable. Do we consider someone who has only emotional involvement with someone outside his or her marriage but no sexual intercourse infidel or someone who has sexual intercourse outside of his or her marriage but no emotional involvement infidel? It is a very subjective matter as people have divergent views: Some are more intolerant of emotional infidelity, some are more intolerant of sexual infidelity, and some are intolerant of both. In addition,

should we tolerate someone's extramarital affair if he or she is in a marriage without love, or even an abusive marriage? Should we condemn them for having committed sexual misconduct or adultery and intimidate them with those Buddhist narratives around karma? If so, is this subjective, terrifying and over simplified condemnation compatible with mercy and leniency taught by Buddhism?

### ***5. Homosexuality as Sexual Misconduct?***

The numbers of estimated homosexual population in the PRC vary between official release and independent researchers' claims. According to Yang Hongtai and Gao Huikai's *Same Sex Marriage Law Legislation Study*, the PRC first officially released in 2004 that the estimated homosexual population in the PRC was between 5 million and 10 million, but according to Zhang Beichuan, a renowned Chinese expert on homosexuality from Qingdao University's Medical School in Shandong Province claimed in 2002 that the number of male homosexuals was estimated to be about 20 million and the number of female homosexuals about 10 million. Considering that the number of homosexuals normally accounts for 4-6% of the total population, experts believe that the number of the PRC's homosexuals may reach 40 million.<sup>1</sup>

Homosexuality was considered both a crime and a mental illness in the PRC until the 1990s. Not only had it been decriminalized, it was also removed from the list of mental illnesses by the Chinese Psychiatric Association in 2001. According to a University of Southern California web article by Steffi Lau on March 10, 2010, *Homosexuality in China*, "Since then, the Chinese gay community has rapidly expanded, with dozens of gay bars and hangout spots across the country, hundreds of Chinese gay websites, and many lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) organizations. These groups help organize gay rights campaigns, HIV/AIDS prevention efforts, film festivals and pride parades."<sup>2</sup> Though homosexuality is legal in the PRC now and public attitudes are becoming more acceptable under Western influence, same-sex unions are still illegal, and same-sex relationships are censored from media.

The increasing visibility of homosexual scenes across the PRC has drawn more public attention this past decade. Homosexuality has meanwhile also become a far more common moral topic in religious especially Buddhist discourses than before in the PRC, with new vocabulary and concepts incorporated from the West. In a heteropatriarchal tradition such as the feudal tradition in China, women can always

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Same Sex Marriage Law Legislation Study*, by Yang Hongtai and Gao Huikai on the online journal of Hunan Sociology ([http://www.hnshx.com/Article\\_Show.asp?ArticleID=7865](http://www.hnshx.com/Article_Show.asp?ArticleID=7865)), retrieved on May 15, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Web Source: [http://www.uschina.usc.edu/article@usct?homosexuality\\_in\\_china\\_14740.aspx](http://www.uschina.usc.edu/article@usct?homosexuality_in_china_14740.aspx) Retrieved on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

find their allies in the queer community when both face heterosexual male hegemony. Not only misogyny, there is also a certain degree of homophobia and transphobia particularly in contemporary Mahayana Buddhist discourses, even though Buddhism is generally believed to be relatively gay friendly.

The Mahayana Buddhist text *The Buddha Expounds Mahayana Image Creation Virtuous-Merit Sutra* has narratives around what karmas may cause men to be reborn as hermaphrodites - "the most inferior among all people" according to the text. These bad karmas are all manners considered to be sexual misconduct: *First, pollute or defile any respectable place of worship. Second, male-to-male's oral or anal sex (homosexuals, pederasty or sodomy). Third, sexual self-gratification or self-masturbation. Fourth, sell woman's sex-appeal to entice any man.*<sup>1</sup>

The text also introduces the four bad karmas that cause men to be reborn as homosexuals: *First, slander people for fun or out of aversion. Second, like to be a woman, to dress up or adorn oneself. Third, commit incest with a female relative. Fourth, absurdly let others prostrate to them, despite not possessing superior, noble qualities deserving such reverence.*

Notably, the text calls these four karmas "sins" which are due to the man's "abnormal orientation," but if a homosexual man sponsor the Buddha's image production or printing and even free distribution, his "sinful karma will be cleared..." Apparently, this text regards hermaphrodites as "inferior" as the outcome of bad karma from previous lives, and homosexuality as abnormal also stemming from sinful karmas from previous lives. In a sum, they are both the suffering a man deserves due to the sexual misconduct he had committed in his previous lives. Critical debates are often raised around the authenticity of the text as to how much it has been purely composed and modified by men in a homophobic and transphobic cultural environment deeply influenced by their societal and cultural norms, for reasons that, first, the core teaching of Buddhism is against cults of personality; and second, the recognition of the homosexual identity during the Buddha's era about 2,500 years ago was non-existent. The terminology of homosexuality was conceptualized as a sexual identity, not a mere practice only in the modern history, as Michel Foucault has argued that sexual identities only emerged in the 19th century (Foucault, 1976). The text also claims that the Buddha labeled both oral and anal sex as sinful sexual misconduct whether the sex partner is of the same sex or of the opposite sex, otherwise they would be reborn in the Hell. It also emphasizes that the Buddha discouraged all sensual pleasures. I argue that the discourse around non-harmful, consensual and non-exploitative homosexual practice and even masturbatory act as sexual misconduct and homosexuality as abnormal is not compatible with the core

---

<sup>1</sup> Web source: <http://www.buddhawords.com/sins/sexual-misconduct> Retrieved on April 10th, 2012.

teachings of Buddhism that embrace all bodies and advocate compassion, but creates what I call moral terrorism among lay followers with the fear of being reborn in evil realms, or reborn to suffer. In fact, within different Buddhist divisions, views upon homosexuality are very diverse, and sexual misconduct is subject to interpretation according to the cultural specifics, social norms and individual perceptions. Theravada Buddhism, for example, is one of the largest divisions of Buddhism, known as the “Southern School,” which is the predominant school in such countries as Sri Lanka, Thailand and Myanmar. It is believed to be a division most inclusive and tolerant, where homosexual or heterosexual relationships are all considered as personal matters of mutual consent, built upon happiness and well-being of both parties and free of any external interference. While it sees any form of sexual pleasure hindering one’s path of seeking enlightenment, it does not enforce celibacy or abstinence upon its practitioners. Thailand, as a Buddhist country of the “Southern School,” where nearly 95% of the population is Buddhists<sup>1</sup>, is the paradise for queer tourists from all over the world largely due to its high acceptability of non-normative sexualities that also boosts its sex tourism. It is also a country that has a high tolerance of the third gender, *kathoey*, which does not have any special stigma attached to it. Western Buddhism is also considered to be relatively gay friendly, and there is no central authority with the privileged right to define sexual misconduct. It is normally viewed more as an individual decision. In terms of homosexuality, Western Buddhists tend to emphasize the teachings of the Buddha regarding compassion, tolerance and inclusion of all peoples, following one’s own spiritual path and seeking the truth independently. This accounts for the increasing popularity of Buddhism among the queer bodies in the West. Tibetan Buddhism as another division, however, bans all homosexual activities between men. The prohibition of homosexual acts between men was initiated by Tsongkhapa<sup>2</sup>, a 15<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan scholar. How much the prohibition was based on the *Pali Canon* text remains questionable, as it is believed that he created his ideas based on earlier indigenous Tibetan texts.

With the booming economy and globalization, the rise of visible queer scenes and advocate for queer rights in big cities across China and the recurring Buddhist practices to fill the spiritual vacuum, there also has been an increase of Buddhist discourses over the narratives of bad karma for engagement in homosexual acts. AIDS, for example, is believed by those radical Buddhists to be a karmic retribution to gays. Some Buddhist bloggers, for example, even claim that Heath Ledger died of his bad karma for having promoting the corrupt, degraded gay lifestyle by playing a

---

<sup>1</sup> According to the CIA Factbook on Thailand, nearly 95% of Thailand’s population is Buddhist of the Theravada school.

<sup>2</sup> Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) was a famous teacher of Tibetan Buddhism, also known as Je Rinpoche (rje rin po che). He had a profound influence in the formation of the Geluk school.

gay character in the Academy Award winning film *Brokeback Mountain*. There are also tons of narratives on the Internet with regards to “theories” about bad reincarnation for homosexuals. These reincarnation “theories” that transcend several previous lives and afterlives are allegedly based on high-ranking Buddhist masters’ “clairvoyant” observations in a meditative state. This kind of intimidating remark using the religious power and a distorted interpretation of karma to manipulate people’s mentality and behavior, which is prevailing over the Internet in China nowadays, is a manifestation of moral terrorism, for it causes panic and damage to one’s mental health and is no better than criminalization and persecution of homosexuals. It needs to be clarified that homosexuality itself does not cause the transmission of AIDS or STDs. In fact, among lesbians there is a lower rate of STD transmission than among heterosexuals. In addition, male-to-male anal sex does not transmit HIV more efficiently than male to female anal sex. It is clear that it is the behavior itself rather than a sexual orientation that causes the transmission. One question may be raised here: If religious texts have been composed, edited, modified, and even distorted this much to manipulate and intimidate people, especially those who are to be condemned simply because who they are, why don’t they simply abandon it, renounce it, and escape from the extra emotional burden and the struggle against it? This dichotomous dynamic, as I believe, is deep-rooted in the fantasy about the afterlife intermingled with our reluctance to believe nothingness in the afterlife and our instinctual protest against suffering in reality. As Karl Marx wrote in *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right: Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people*<sup>1</sup>.

Arguably, the statement that religion “is the opium of the people” above has built a firm ground for China’s atheist propaganda and rigid regulation of all religions, even though the opium here may be perceived differently. People now have begun to rethink about it, realizing religion could be the “opium” - in an unpleasant way - of the people, as well as a source of food for thoughts. As today’s cutting edge NDE research and clinical case studies are providing more evidence, it is clear that those Buddhist narratives around afterlife that used to be conceived as a hallucination may be a reality. There is no doubt that people turn to religion for an illusory happiness, a get-away from worldly suffering, and in seeking the religious solace they are confronted with new suffering - the religious suffering. I would question whether we are living in an era to liberate our sexuality towards a healthy future or continue to repress it as we did during the dark medieval time, and whether it is following the Buddha’s teachings on compassion, tolerance, mercy and lenience, or trying to

---

<sup>1</sup> This widely quoted statement can be found in Karl Marx’ *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right* which appeared in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, published in Paris, France, in February 1844.

discourage or even technically terrify those in pursuit of spiritual improvement and commitment, since the denotation of sexual misconduct is too broad to exclude anyone that can fully justify his or her sexual “purity” and “innocence.” Curses in Buddhism and other religions like “it’s a sin and you will go to hell,” “you will have a bad karma,” “you should be stoned,” or “you shall be punished by God” only cause terror and new suffering.

Notwithstanding the mythological notion of the Buddha “talking” on homosexuality in the Mahayana Buddhist text, *The Buddha Expounds Mahayana Image Creation Virtuous-Merit Sutra*, there is no evidence in the *Pali Canon*, which documents the original teachings of the Buddha, that the Buddha ever discussed sexualities. Of all the remaining volumes of Buddhist scripture in the Chinese language, most are the not the literal translation of the original *Pali Canon* texts, but the teachings or interpretations of the indigenous Buddhist scholars. Historically, it is unclear that the Buddha ever did condemn homosexuality (especially because in the ancient times when homosexuality did not emerge as a sexual identity). As I have stated above, the Buddha did not give any specific explanation to the term “sexual misconduct” in the *Pali Canon* texts. Instead, the Buddha said, “Above all, do no harm to others or to oneself.” Apparently, based on the interrelated logic between “abstain from sexual misconduct” and “do no harm,” the Buddha constructed the essentiality of the connotation of sexual misconduct on the ground of harming others or oneself (notably, some scholars interpret this as the Buddha’s belief that the same rules regulating sexual behavior apply to both same-sex and opposite-sex couples, without any implication that one is morally superior to the other). It is also important to know that these precepts are *not* commandments; following these precepts is totally a personal choice to demonstrate commitment to the Buddhist practice. Failure to follow them either partially or wholly is not considered sinful but unskillful. Different from Christianity or Islam, in deciding whether an action is good or bad, Buddhism only looks at the motivations as being good or bad. Someone, for example, donates money to a street person who later on buys a gun with the money in an attempt to rob a bank. The donor is still considered to have done a good deed due to his good intention regardless of the consequences with the money he has donated. Based on this belief, the subjectivity of moral evaluation of a singular activity is to be framed within a specific actual context, not based on a literal interpretation of lines derived from a passage from the Holy Scripture. In a sum, Buddhism is against quoting *out of context* to draw a rigid moral line, but mostly concerned about concrete character of truth.

Not only did the Buddha not leave any specific remarks on homosexuality, he also requested followers after him not to have blind faith in any “Buddhist authorities.” In encouraging his followers to be independent in seeking the truth, he said, “Be a lamp onto yourself.” He was saying that the truth did not come from anyone else who

claimed authority or was acknowledged as such; instead, the truth was discovered through one's independent self-enlightenment.

Some scholars also interpret the core Buddhist teachings on abstaining from sensual pleasure as forbidding homosexual acts since homosexual practice is purely pleasure-oriented. As one of the steps from the *Buddha's Eightfold Path* teaches: *You must renounce the pleasures of the senses; you must harbor no ill will toward anyone, and harm no living creature.*

It should be noted that the "pleasure of senses" includes all sensual pleasures, be it heterosexual or homosexual or simply masturbatory, since it is technically hard to differentiate which manner is more pleasurable or more pleasure-oriented. In *The Mind of Clover: Essays in Zen Buddhist Ethics*, Robert Aitken Roshi says, "For all its ecstatic nature, for all its power, sex is just another human drive. If we avoid it just because it is more difficult to integrate than anger or fear, then we are simply saying that when the chips are down we cannot follow our own practice. This is dishonest and unhealthy" (Roshi, 1984, 41-42). In stating "no ill toward anyone, and harm no living creature," the Buddha positioned all manners of harmless sexual pleasure on the same plane without leaving out any single particular manner. In addition, celibacy is only a monastic rule; for lay followers, celibacy or abstinence is encouraged but not mandatory.

Notwithstanding the relative lack of homophobia and transphobia in Buddhist discourses, it is still dangerous to conclude that homosexuals in those countries with a large Buddhist population are free from social prejudice and discrimination, particularly because Buddhist teachings have been conflated with or incorporated the dominant social and cultural norms and beliefs. Therefore, for example, queer Buddhists in the West tend to be more attracted to the division of Theravada Buddhism in such gay friendly countries as Thailand than to some of the other divisions. It may be claimed that while we respect the original teachings of those ancient sages including but not limited to the Buddha, there has certainly been a considerable degree of subsequent modification, addition and interpretation to the original in each area of distribution, deeply influenced by the specific cultural, social and legal norms as well as indigenous religions historically and geographically.

## **6. Conclusion**

Atheist communism has ruled the PRC for over half a century while Mahayana Buddhism has a history of about 2,000 years in this land, impacting the national identity and rendering the contemporary Buddhism revival a smooth, predictable process. The vibrant revival of Buddhism along with the expansion of Christianity marked by the growing number of church goers and emergency of underground churches across rural and urban areas in the PRC are evident that atheist ideology



does not meet people's spiritual needs but only exacerbates corruption caused by the crisis of faith.

People turn to Buddhism or other religions to escape from their suffering and yet find new suffering from the authoritative interpretations of sexual misconduct and the moral sanction that extends to a form of "moral terrorism." I argue that the fear caused by the overall moral condemnation of sexual conduct leads to the victimization of women and queer bodies who engage in extramarital affairs and non-normative, non-procreative sexual acts, regardless of the biosocial and gender-based facts. The dilemma of whether or not to seek spiritual fulfillment or renouncing a belief pushes the task to the forefront of reevaluating the discourses over sexual misconduct in consideration of our updated perception of human nature in a contemporary globalized context.

Through textual analysis, interrogating dominant discourses and sociological approach I conclude that the meaning of sexual conduct is largely personal, as man does not necessarily commit sexual misconduct; rather, it is man that gives a meaning to what one does. In a deepened understanding of human nature within a globalized context that transcends the societal norms and cultural specifics, particularly with the rise of feminism and queer theory, sexual ethics in the Buddhist (or any other religious) discourse are fluid and need to keep pace with contemporary perception of moral codes and values.

## *References*

- Aikman, D. (2003), *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Changing the Global Balance of Power*, Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.
- Barrett, D. B.; Kurian, G.; Todd, M. (2001), *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Oxford University Press.
- Chang, A. (2008), „China discovers the sexually permissive society”, in *USA Today*, March 2, 2008.
- Chen, J. (2008), *Chinese Law: Context and Transformation*, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Eckholm, E. (1998), „Divorce Curb Is Dividing Feminists in China”, in *New York Times*, November 18, 1998.
- Esptein, G. M. (2010), *Good Without God: What a Billion Nonreligious People Do Believe*, New York, Harper Collins, p. 109.
- Foucault, M. (1976) (1998), *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge. London, Penguin.

- Glass, S.; Wright, T. (1985), „Sex differences in type of extramarital involvement and marital dissatisfaction”, in *Sex Roles* 12: 1101-1120.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, A. (1997), „Yab Yum Iconography and the Role of Women in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism”, in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXII, No. 1. Spring, pp. 12-34.
- Johnson, R. E. (1970), „Extramarital Sexual Intercourse: A Methodological Note”, in *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 32: 279-282.
- Lau, Steffi (2010) *Homosexuality in China*, In *US-China Today*. Web. [http://www.uschina.usc.edu/article@usct?homosexuality\\_in\\_china\\_14740.aspx](http://www.uschina.usc.edu/article@usct?homosexuality_in_china_14740.aspx) April 10, 2012.
- National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior (NSSHB) (2010), Findings from the National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior, Centre for Sexual Health Promotion, Indiana University. In *Journal of Sexual Medicine*, Vol. 7, Supplement 5.
- Roshi, R. A. (1984), *The Mind of Clover: Essays in Zen Buddhist Ethics*. New York: North Point Press. pp. 41-42. “Sigalovada Sutta: The Discourse to Sigala (DN 31),” translated from the Pali by Narada Thera. Access to Insight. 24 March 2012. Web. <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/dn/dn.31.0.nara.html>. April 10, 2012.
- Schwartz, P.; Rirginia, R. (1998), *The Gender of Sexuality*, Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press.
- Shen, H. (2005), “The first Taiwanese wives” and “the Chinese mistresses”: the international division of labor in familial and intimate relations across the Taiwan Strait, in *Global Networks* 5(4): 419-437.
- Thompson, A. P. (1984), „Emotional and Sexual Components of Extramarital Relations”, in *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 46: 35-42.
- Vaughan, Peggy (2003), *The Monogamy Myth: A Personal Handbook for Recovering from Affairs*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York, Newmarket Press.
- Wang, Q.; Zhou, Q. (2010), „China’s Divorce and Remarriage Rates: Trends and Regional Disparities”, in *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, Vol. 51, Issue 4, 2010.
- Williams, L. (1999), *Wives, mistresses, and matriarchs: Asian women today*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Xu, J. (2009), *Spiritual Crises and Religious Revival in Contemporary China* Web. <http://iccs.aichi-u.ac.jp/archives/report/034/4a121ae56b13c.pdf> May 10, 2012.
- Yang, H.; Gao, H. (1012), *Same Sex Marriage Law Legislation* Web. [http://www.hnshx.com/Article\\_Show.asp?ArticleID=7865](http://www.hnshx.com/Article_Show.asp?ArticleID=7865) May 15.
- Zhang, X.; Parish, W.; Laumann, E., *Explaining Extramarital Sex: Evidence from Urban China*. AllAcademicResearch. Web. [http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/0/2/3/1/3/pages23135/p23135-12.php](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/2/3/1/3/pages23135/p23135-12.php) May 14, 2012.

# FUNDAMENTS IN THE PARADIGM OF DESISTANCE

Andreea FAUR\*  
Gabriel OANCEA\*\*

**Abstract:** The recent decades have been marked by the emergence of the paradigm of desistance in relation with the people in conflict with the penal law. Unlike the traditional criminological approach which aims to study the causes of the offending behaviour, the paradigm of desistance focuses on the factors which lead to quitting the infracting behaviour. In this paper we will systematize the main research conducted in the field of desistance, which captured the importance of a multitude of factors involved in this process. We will also try to show how much the institutions from the correctional sphere (probation, penitentiaries) may get involved in the initiation and support of the desistance process.

**Keywords:** desistance, rehabilitation of the offenders, infracting behaviour

## 1. Introduction

Traditionally, starting with the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the concern of the criminologists was to provide and answer to the causes making some people to commit infractions.

All these concerns have been subsumed to the *etiological criminology*, the research showing, in time, the existence of a multitude of factors involved in the assumption of an infracting behaviour. Thus, it was considered that the underlying cause for infractions consists of a multitude of physiological, genetic and social factors, whose knowledge and identification form the premises for a successful progress of the process of rehabilitation/social integration of the offenders.

---

\* PhD student, Bucharest University – Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, University of Bucharest, Romania. Email andreeaotto@yahoo.com

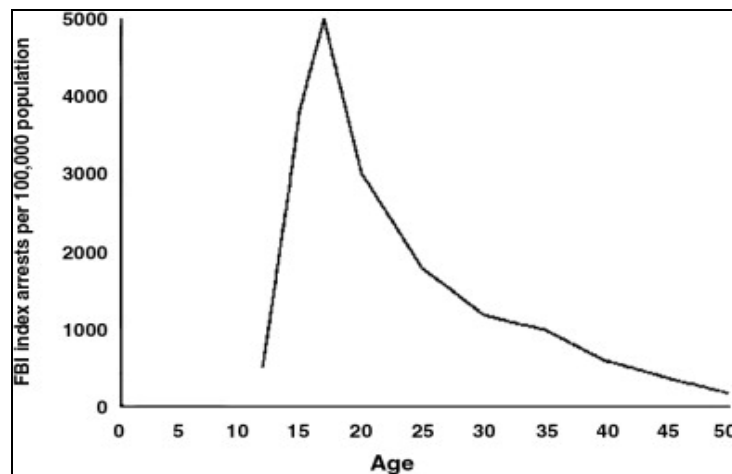
\*\* Lecturer, Bucharest University – Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, University of Bucharest, Romania. Email oancea.gabriel@gmail.com

Starting with the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, criminology researches which no longer focus on the causes of the infraction phenomenon, rather on the identification of those factors which may induce the people to abandon this behaviour.

These concerns rely on research and observations on the offending career of people, research which captured the fact that as the people get older, the intensity of the offending preoccupations reduces consistently. On the other side, the transformations within the systems of penal law regarding the efficiency of the community sanctions were directed towards several aspects such as the adequacy of these sanctions or the identification of the particular way of sanctioning which ensure both the requirement of public protection and of the social reintegration of the people in conflict with the penal law (Nicolăescu V., Sandu O., 2009)

The figure below relies on several researches conducted in the United States of America (Blumstein, 1988) and it is exemplificative for the correlation existing between the age of the infractors and the *intensity* of their involvement in infracting activities.

One can notice an intense involvement in infracting activities particularly of the minor and young offenders, with a peak of the infracting career around the age of 20, only to decrease obviously as the people get older.



Within this context, the paradigm of desistance appeared in the research of the infracting phenomenon, desistance being defined as the process by which the infractors abandon the infracting behaviour, with or without the intervention of the institutions from the system penal justice (Weaver, 2007).

It is important to highlight that when we are speaking of the process of desistance, we take refer exclusively to the category of the infractors who persist in their infracting behaviour, those who develop true infracting careers.

In Romania, there have been no consistent actions towards the process of abandoning the infracting career, the concept of *desistance* being rather new.

Under these conditions, we consider that the review of the main theoretical aspects characterising the paradigm of desistance will be useful for the future studies of this phenomenon.

## ***2. Theoretical foundations of the paradigm of desistance*** ██████████

The underlying theories formulated during the recent decades, which explain the process of desistance, have been assigned to three categories: individual, structural and interactional theories (Weaver, 2007).

The *individual theories* have been formulated at the beginnings of the study of desistance, phenomenon understood as a consequence of the inherent process of maturation. The criminologist David Matza introduces in his book *Delinquency and Drift*, the idea of restructuring the deviant behaviour (*maturational reform*), towards its abandonment, when the juvenile delinquents get matured (Matza and University of California Berkeley. Center for the Study of Law and Society, 1964).

Later on, the abandonment of the offending career as the delinquents mature, was explained by their *ageing*, associated to their incapacity to get involved in delinquent activities (Gottfredson, 1990).

These two individual theories have in common the fact that they set a connection between the phenomena of maturation/ageing and the accompanying physical, mental and biological changes, the abandonment of the delinquent behaviour appearing as a normal fact, which occurs irrespective of the social, temporal or economic context (Weaver, 2007).

Under these circumstances, the phenomenon of desistance is seen rather as an automatic, spontaneous act, which will occur anyhow, with no real possibility to control or influence it.

Unlike the individual theories, the *structural theories* enrich the explanation of the process of desistance by the fact that they associate it to several circumstances which are external to the person, circumstance that may inhibit the delinquent behaviour.

Several researches, that we will refer to in this paper, revealed the importance of some factors such as the existence of a stable relation, of a job, or of community integration, in taking and maintaining the decision to abandon the offending career.

Regarding the importance of the family for the process of desistance, the studies (Farrington, 1990) showed that the single people have higher rates of delinquency than the married people. Subsequent research on the mechanisms by which marriage contributes to ending the offending career, subsequent research (Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., Wimer C., 2006) detailed the factors which promote desistance among the married people: change of habits, change of the groups they attend, new routines of the everyday life; surveillance and monitoring (at least indirect) by the family members, etc.

Some of the mechanisms noticed within the family and which support the mechanism of desistance have impact (Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., 2003) on the existence of a job. Thus, the necessity of organising the time so as to preserve the job, contributes to the change of the quotidian habits, the consequence being the abandonment of the delinquent career.

Another factor with impact on the process of desistance consists of the *peer associations*. The impact of the peer associations on the start of the infracting career was studied in the 1960s by the criminologist Travis Hirschi (Hirschi & Selvin, 1967).

The process of maturation determines the appearance of substantial changes in the relation of the individual with the group of friends from the period of teenage. Several changes which occur, such as finding a job or establishing a family, lead to fewer contacts with the group members, implicitly, fewer opportunities to commit delinquencies.

Thus, the existence of a family limits drastically the time spent with the group of friends (Warr, 1998). Moreover, the family members also act as a factor of control/surveillance of the former delinquent.

Another factor contributing to the reduction of contacts with the group of friends and, implicitly, easing desistance, is the work. Besides the reorganisation of time, which we mentioned earlier, the constant involvement in a working activity contributes to the abandonment of the former group of friends, and spending the time with the work fellows, which can be examples for pro-social life (Wadsworth, 2006; Wright, 2004).

However, some research (Graham, 1995), revealed that the factors which we mentioned previously, do not contribute necessarily to the desistance of the delinquents. Thus, the existence of a family or of a job *per se* does not provide factors inhibiting the offending career. Most important is *that they are perceived* by the delinquents as being important, and therefore, invested with a specific value, the involvement in a subsequent offending career bringing important losses when related to these factors (possible separation from the partner, loss of the job, disappointment of the friends etc.)

Furthermore, we must not fall into the trap of formulating simplistic explanations regarding the emergence of desistance into the life of the people with a history of delinquency. For instance, even if the perpetrator starts a family, which offers a supportive environment and which exercise control over him/her, explaining the abandonment if the infracting behaviour exclusively from this perspective may lead to neglecting other factors of similar importance for this process.

Thus, it is as well possible that the decision to start a family is based on pre-existing changes in the life style of the perpetrator, a reconfiguration of his/her system of values and beliefs, an analysis of the losses suffered due to a life based on law infringement, all of them contributing to the substantial transformations occurring in the life of the former culprit. Under these circumstances, as expression of his/her will to change, he/she may get involved in working activities, may start a family or may review his/her attitude in relation with the group of friends frequented previously.

Practically, as highlighted (Krohn, Lizotte, & Hall, 2009), the relation between the external factors involved in the process of desistance is somehow similar with the question: what was first, the egg or the hen? Transposing this question within the framework of the preoccupations in the field of aetiology of desistance, the studies should capture the preeminence of either of the two categories of factors mentioned previously during the process of abandoning the infracting activities.

This difficulty led to the emergence of the *interactionist theories*, which provide a much deeper explanation to the underlying mechanisms of desistance.

Thus, the *interactionist theories* combine elements from the two theories mentioned earlier. The studies subsumed to these theories focus on the statements of the offenders regarding the changes which occurred during the process of desistance, underlying the subjective changes which intervened at the level of the personal identity, changes reflected in the change of motivation, in the existence of a higher concern for the others and in a better attention paid to the future (DeLisi & Beaver, 2011; Laws & Ward, 2011).

What characterises the interactionist theories, is that the personality of the offender is brought to the forefront, highlighting his/her inner experiences throughout the process of abandoning the history of delinquency, the way in which he/she uses a set of external circumstances that can be of help in his/her endeavour to change. Under these circumstances, the importance of the external factors is acknowledged, factors which may influence the process of change, but at the same time they bring in front elements pertaining to the personality of the culprit (beliefs, inner dialogue, perception about self etc.).

Thus, the studies associated to the interactionist theories (Giordano P. C., 2002) show that the cognitive changes are those establishing the process of desistance.

Under these conditions, the reorganisation which the person makes at the level of cognition is likely to determine several changes regarding his/her emotions and actions. The relation existing between thinking, feelings and action underlies the cognitive-behavioural theories from psychology, developed during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

These theories highlighted the fact that the cognitive processes of the individual influence his/her feelings/sentiments which, in turn, determine several actions of the individual. For instance, in the specific case of the people in conflict with the penal law, an inner dialogue of them focusing on the history of his/her failures (*if I have a criminal record nobody will hire me*) is not likely to strengthen his/her dysfunctional convictions which, in turn, determine the onset of a feeling of impotence to make significant changes in his/her life (*and in these conditions, there is no point in seeking a job*), with the immediate consequence of going on with the criminal activities (*I can only go on doing infractions*).

The model of the interactionist theories contributes to a much more coherent explanation of the mechanisms subsequent to the process of desistance. Desistance is no longer the result of a process of maturation or of development of new attachments of the former culprit; rather, it is the result of much deeper and consistent processes, related to the reorganisation of the cognitive system of the person, and implicitly, of his/her system of values. In turn, they determine changes in all compartments of the life of the individual (family, group of friends, involvement in working activities, etc.).

Returning to the previous question, to the identification of the factors (internal or external) which prevail within the process of desistance, the interactionist theories provide a much clearer answer highlighting primarily the importance of the internal factors involved in the process of change.

This approach is also important in terms of practice because, as we will show, actions can be taken within the correctional services which to support the abandonment of the infracting activities. Desistance is no longer a nebulous process pertaining to the maturation of the individual or to the establishment of a family, aspects which obviously, cannot be influenced by institutional actions; desistance is a process relying on internal actions on whom one can intervene by specialised programs of work with the perpetrators.

From this perspective, of the interactionist theories, the study of Shaad Maruna, *Liverpool Desistance Study* (LDS), ( Maruna S., 2001), is relevant.

This study was the result of the desire of a researcher to know details of the process of rehabilitation of the offenders and who acted as observer in Liverpool. Throughout the study, Shaad Maruna, located initially a number of primary offenders which he



asked to participate, rather formally, in a study of the process of desistance, group formed with the “snowball” sampling method. The sampling method was simple: the more former delinquents he met, the bigger was the snowball, because they put him in contact with other delinquents. Thus, in 1997, after two years of work, the project team transformed the small-scale explorative research into a project with a well defined pattern of hypotheses that can be verified (Maruna S., Porter, L, Carvalho, I, 2004).

The idea of the Liverpool research relied on the identification of two groups: one of former convicted people who continued their perpetrating activities after the probation release, and another groups of desisted delinquents.

The interest was to capture the common characteristics of the way of thinking, and to determine whether these patterns of the infractors who gave up delinquency, differed from those of the people who remained active in their criminal activities.

On the other hand, the common characteristics of the two surveyed groups of culprits were represented by their age (around 30) and history of delinquency (at least three years in prison). Most of them dropped out of school at the age of 16 and had no professional training in any skill; their first conflict with the penal law was at the age of 15, and the first arrest at the age of about 20.

What Maruna was to notice was that the statements of the people who persisted in their criminal behaviour were marked by a *scenario of dooming*, making reference to the fact that they have nothing to lose by getting involved in criminal activities, just to gain and to satisfy their pleasures. These people considered themselves, in a way, predestined to a criminal career, their real possibilities to make a change in their life being limited by several factors which were out of their possibilities of control/intervention. In other words, *they don't want to commit crimes, but they have no other option, cannot give up the offending career*. Under these circumstances, it is more than obvious that the actual possibility of the people to change their infracting behaviour is much more than limited.

By contrast, the declarations of the people who abandoned their history of delinquency might be subsumed to a *scenario of redemption*; they make a clear distinction between their previous behaviour and their contemporary behaviour, they see themselves as good people, identify several positive attributes in themselves and consider that their pro-social life style is their basic characteristic. Moreover, Maruna even distinguished the existence of *Rituals of Redemption*, which document the importance of the social and interactional activities underlying the process of desistance.

By abandoning their criminal career, the former culprits make reference to people from the community (people from the system of penal justice, family members or

other relevant persons), who can confirm their good intentions and the changes in their behaviour. These persons, to whom the former delinquents referred, are important not just for the certification of the changes which occurred in the life of the former perpetrators, but they also highlight the importance of the support group, of relations with people who have positive influence on the former infractor.

It was also Shadd Maruna who provided a more comprehensive contemplative pattern on the phenomenon of desistance starting from the studies on the causes of the deviant behaviour, studies conducted by Edwin Lemert (Lemert, 1967).

He considers that two processes are the roots of this behaviour: the primary deviance and the secondary deviance. The primary deviance is associated to the early infractions committed by the individual, which don't involve changes in the structure of his/her personality, which is why he/she doesn't perceives self as being an infractor. Unlike the primary deviance, the secondary deviance presumes the internalization of the identity of infractor.

Starting from this distinction, Maruna introduced the terms of *primary desistance* and *secondary desistance*. The primary desistance presumes just giving up to commit crimes, while the secondary desistance is associated to the restructuration of the infractor's personality, who appears as a changed person (Maruna, Porter, & Carvalho, 2004 ).

In other words, the primary desistance simply means that the person refrains from getting involved in criminal activities, while the secondary desistance involves much deeper changes into the personality of the infractor who no longer perceives self as being an infractor, and also is no longer perceived by the other people as being an infractor. This last form of desistance is the ideal to be sought by the services of probation within the process of rehabilitation of the infractors.

### ***3. Institutional actions in support of the process of desistance***

Under the conditions in which the fundamentals of desistance consist of factors identified in time, several studies focused on the way in which this process may be supported in the practice of the correctional services or of other institutions.

Desistance must be a process to be promoted and integrated in the practice of these services. In this direction, the interventions must be directed towards supporting the process of desistance, must observe and facilitate self-reflexiveness on the side of the infractors and must rely on legitimate and respectful relations.

It must also focus on the social capital of the individual (networks and opportunities), as well as on the human capital (motivations and capacities) of the people; it needs

to explore the strengths of the individual and to take into consideration his/her needs and risks (Durnescu, 2009; Wadsworth, 2006).

Thus, a study conducted in 1999 (Rex, 1999), focused on the process of assisted desistance, on a number of 60 offenders on probation, showed that the infractors who identified a change of behaviour during probation, justified this change by the personal and professional involvement of the probation officer, materialised in an attitude characterised by correctness and encouragement in relation with the sentenced person, attitude which seems to have contributed to the emergence of a feeling of loyalty and trust. Moreover, the offenders interpreted the advices of the probation officer as a proof of his/her concern for a good evolution in the future, thus increasing their motivation.

Beyond the role of the probation officer, the type of sanction applied to the culprit may also have a determining role in the process of desistance. As it has been shown (Farrall, 2002), the enforcement of a sanction which doesn't presume the privation of liberty may also have an indirect impact by the fact that it allows making natural changes in terms of the group of friends, dwelling or job, thus supporting the process of desistance. Unlike the liberty-depriving sanctions, probation has the major merit of leaving the door open for the expected behavioural changes.

As we were showing in this paper, the interactionist theories, by the fact that they bring the changes occurring within the cognitive processes to the forefront of the process of desistance, create the possibility of starting actions to reorganise the cognitive processes within the infractors.

Before explaining the concrete ways of intervention at the cognitive level in the practice of the probation services or of the penitentiaries, we will have to make some preliminary clarifications.

After a recoil of the ideal of rehabilitation, in the 1970s, following some studies on the efficiency of the delinquent rehabilitation programs (Martinson, 1974), subsequent investigations (Ross & Gendreau, 1980) proved that under specific conditions, culprit rehabilitation is not a mere ideal, identifying several new working methods that can reduce the risk of recidivation in the people in conflict with the penal law.

The *what works* current emerged thus in the sphere of criminology, which highlights the importance of including the behavioural approaches developed during the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century into the practice of the correctional institutions. It also shows the importance of interventions in agreement with the criminogenic needs of the individual, with his/her risk and responsiveness (the RNR model), as well as the importance of including the offender in integrated interventions which include relevant institutions from the community (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta, Andrews, & Canada Public Safety Canada., 2007).

Under these conditions, several programs were developed, whose purpose was to improve the social and cognitive abilities of the people in conflict with the penal law. These programs aim to make the perpetrators aware of the cognitive mechanisms that may ease their involvement in criminal activities.

Furthermore, these programs aim to contribute to the improvement of the resolutionary abilities of the delinquents and to support them to identify the alternative solutions to the problems confronting them. Since these structured programs are implemented in the practice of most probation services and penitentiaries from the western countries, we may say that this new way of intervention is a standard in the process of rehabilitation of the people in conflict with the penal law.

Given the fact that the interactionist theories have proven the importance of the cognitive factors within the process of desistance, it is obvious that the inclusion of the offenders with a history of delinquency in these programs may ease the process of desistance for them, by making them aware of the processes underlying the infractions.

Last, but not least, we must take into consideration that the process of desistance doesn't target just the infractor. As we mentioned earlier in this paper, this is a process which involves relevant people from the proximity of the delinquent and even the whole community to which he/she belongs.

Under these circumstances, the endeavour of the infractor to change must be supported by the community to which he/she belongs by the establishment of services addressing his/her social and criminogenic needs, services which must take into consideration the individual particularities of the person, thus allowing the personalized administration of the services.

Maybe the most important thing is that at the community level there must be receptiveness, openness and trust in relation with the effort for change of the former offender. Any change depends on the way in which the individual perceives the nature of the events confronting him/her and it is influenced by internal decisional factors, the external institutions being just the pillars supporting the subsequent changes.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The paradigm of desistance opens new opportunities to understand the mechanisms underlying the abandonment of the criminal career. This abstention of the delinquents to get involved further in criminal activities doesn't rely on a feeling of fear for the possible penal sanctions (the deterring effect of the punishment), but on a range of complex mechanisms. These mechanisms include mainly cognitive

transformations which support the emergence of important changes that reshape the personality of the ex-convict and that help him/her avoid recidivation in the future.

The consequence of such approach is that desistance is no longer a product of the hazard; rather, there are institutional interventions (specialised cognitive-behavioural programs) helping the delinquent during the process of desistance. Within this context, it is important that the correctional services (probation, penitentiaries) integrate the paradigm of desistance within their practice and that they consider the broad use of the structured working programs with the offenders, paying attention particularly to the programs aiming to develop the individual resolving abilities or the problem-solving capacities.

The community institutions play an important role in support of offender desistance. They must establish specialised support services, personalized according to the social and criminogenic needs of the delinquent. These services must rely on a set of practices established on the observance of human rights and of human dignity and, maybe most important of all, on the observance of the principle of non-discrimination.

## References

- Andrews, D.A.; Bonta, J. (2010), *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed.). Albany, N.Y., Lexis Nexis/Anderson Pub.
- Blumstein, A.; Cohen, Jacqueline; Farrington, David P. (1988), „Criminal Career Research: Its Value for Criminology”, *Criminology* 26(1-36).
- Bonta, J.; Andrews, D.A. (2007), Canada. Public Safety Canada.. *Risk-need-responsivity model for offender assessment and rehabilitation*. Ottawa, Public Safety Canada.
- DeLisi, M.; Beaver, K.M. (2011), *Criminological theory: a life-course approach*. Sudbury, Mass.: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.
- Durnescu, I.; Lewis, S.; McNeill, F.; Raynor, P.; Vanstone, M. (2009), *Reducerea riscului de recidivă după închisoare*, București, Lumina Lex.
- Farrall, S. (2002), *Rethinking What Works with Offenders: Probation, Social Context and Desistance from Crime*, Devon, Willan Publishing.
- Farrington, D.P.; West, D.J. (1990), „The Cambridge study in delinquent development: A long-term follow-up of 411 London males”, in G.K. H.J. Kerner (Ed.), *Criminality: Personality, Behaviour and Life History* (pp. 115-138). Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Gottfredson, M.R.; Travis, Hirschi (1990), *A General Theory of Crime*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Graham, J.; Bowling, B. (1995), *Young People and Crime*, Home Office Research Study, (145), London.
- Hirschi, T.; Selvin, H.C. (1967), *Delinquency research: an appraisal of analytic methods*. New York, Free Press.
- Krohn, M.D.; Lizotte, A.J.; Hall, G.P. (2009), *Handbook of crime and deviance*, Dordrecht, New York, Springer.
- Laws, D.R.; Ward, T. (2011), *Desistance from sex offending : alternatives to throwing away the keys*. New York, London, Guilford Press.
- Lemert, E.M. (1967), *Human deviance, social problems, and social control*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall.
- Martinson, R. (1974), „What Works: Questions and Answers about prison reform”, *The Public Interest*, 22-54.
- Maruna, S. (2001), *Making good: how ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives* (1st ed.), Washington, D.C., American Psychological Association.
- Maruna, S.; Porter, L.; Carvalho, I. (2004), „The Liverpool Desistance Study and Probation Practice: Opening the Dialogue”, *Probation Journal*, 51(3), 221-232.
- Matza, D., University of California Berkeley. Center for the Study of Law and Society. (1964). *Delinquency and drift. From the research program of the Center for the Study of Law and Society, University of California, Berkeley*. New York, Wiley.
- Nicolăescu V., Sandu O. (2009), „*Munca în folosul comunității - clarificări conceptuale și reglementări normative*”, Social Perspectives on quasi-coercive treatment, Timișoara, 4-5 noiembrie 2009, pg. 329-339
- Peggy, C.; Giordano, S.A.C.; Jennifer, L. Rudolph (2002), „Gender, Crime, and Desistance: Toward a Theory of Cognitive Transformation”, *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(4), 990–1064.
- Rex, S. (1999), „Desistance from Offending: Experiences of Probation”, *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(4), 366-383.
- Ross, R.R.; Gendreau, P. (1980), *Effective correctional treatment*, Toronto, Butterworths.
- Sampson, R. J., John H. Laub, Christopher Wimer. (2006). Does Marriage Reduce Crime? A Counterfactual Approach to Within-Individual Causal Effects. *Criminology*, 44, 465-508.
- Sampson, R. J., John H. Laub. (2003). Life-Course Desisters? Trajectories of Crime Among Delinquent Boys Followed to Age 70. *Criminology*(41).
- Wadsworth, T. (2006), „The meaning of work: Conceptualizing the deterrent effect of employment on crime among young adults”, *Sociological Perspectives*, 49(3), 343-368.
- Warr, M. (1998), „Life-Course Transitions and Desistance from Crime”, *Criminology*, 36, 183-216.

- Weaver, B.; McNeill, F. (2007), „Desistance“, in Canton, R.; Hancock, D. (ed.), *The Dictionary of Probation and Offender Management*, pp. 90-92, Cullompton, Devon, Willan.
- Wright, J.P.; Cullen, F.T. (2004), „Employment, peers, and life-course transitions“, *Justice Quarterly*, 21(1), 183-205.

## Book Review

# BETWEEN OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS: THE OFFER OF SOCIAL ECONOMY IN BUCHAREST-ILFOV AND SOUTH-EAST REGIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Simona STĂNESCU, Sorin CACE, Filip ALEXANDRESCU  
- coordinators -

*Corina CACE\**  
*Victor NICOLĂESCU\*\**

Social economy offers presently solutions to reduce social exclusion by increasing the employment rate of the vulnerable persons and by creating the mechanisms that may help these people (Arpinte D., Cace S., Cojocaru Ș., 2010, p. 66). While the focus on the practical implementation of Europe 2020 strategy is associated to the definition of the social economy as a serious partner of the civil society and of the state (Zamfir E., Fitzek S. 2010, p. 8), there is a critical need to monitor and evaluate the initiatives in this field and to present the mechanisms which establish a healthy and vibrating ecosystem through this form of economy supported by innovating social entrepreneurs (Cace S., Arpinte D., Cace C., Cojocaru Ș., 2011, p. 65). Thus, social economy evaluation and monitoring is a challenge both for the beneficiaries

---

\* PhD, Associate Professor, Head of Teachers Training Department, Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest, Romania, E-mail: corina.cace@dppd.ase.ro

\*\* PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Work and Sociology, Petre Andrei University, Iași, Romania, E-mail: vic72ro@gmail.com



and for the structures running social economy projects (Katsikaris L., Parcharidis I., 2010). Another important aspect regards highlighting the proactive ways to incorporate the experiences which prove that social economy may actually contribute to achieving social cohesion and that it may be one the major players fighting social exclusion (Cace S., Nicolăescu V., Scoican A. N. (2010, pp. 192-193).

The book “Between opportunities and risks: the offer of social economy in Bucharest-Ifov and South-East regions of development” (Expert Publisher, Bucharest, 2011), was developed within the framework of the project *INTEGRAT – resources for the socially excluded women and Roma groups*, co-financed from the European Social Fund (ESF) 2010-2013 through the Sectoral operational program Human Resources Development, 2007-2013, priority axis 6 “Promotion of social inclusion”, major area of intervention 6.1 “Social economy development”. The project is implemented by a consortium coordinated by the Association for socio-economic development and promotion Catalactica, as coordinator, in collaboration with the Research Institute for Quality of Life (IQL) belonging to the Romanian Academy and with the international partner Bolt International Consulting L. Katsikaris & Co. Limited Partnership. This book, coordinated by three researchers of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, contributes to the active promotion of the social inclusion on the labour market by the activation of the social economy (SE), of the women and of the Roma groups. It provides the basic arguments for the development of partnerships and to stimulate the involvement of the socially excluded people from Bucharest-Ifov and South East regions of development (RD) into the life of their community.

The book makes an innovating analysis of the developmental stage of the social economy in Bucharest-Ifov and South East regions of development, being oriented towards gathering information on the offer of social economy. From the very beginning, the book defines the offer of social economy as the “entire supply of goods and services available in a society at a particular moment, offered through specialised providers” (p. 21). Thus, SE offer is presented from the perspective of the representatives of SE organisations (NGOs, CAR units, credit cooperatives and cooperative societies), paying particular attention to the professional insertion of the vulnerable groups, particularly of the women, of the Roma population and of the people with disabilities. The book consists of five main sections: the first section describes the national framework of organisation and functioning governing the social economy organisations; the second section presents the social economy organisations from Romania as classified by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection (non-governmental organisations, mutual aid organisations, credit cooperatives and cooperative societies); section three makes an analysis of the human resources involved in the SE from the perspective of a group of beneficiaries confronted with difficulties of insertion on the labour market (people with disabilities) and from the perspective of specialist SE suppliers (graduates of master programs

specialised in social economy within Romanian universities); section four makes a qualitative analysis of the SE, both theoretical and methodological and empiric; the final section is a summary of the conclusions and recommendations for social economy development in the two regions of development, and of the national trends for this form of economy.

The field survey which gathered data on the offer of social economy had two components: qualitative and quantitative. Thus, within the quantitative component, the project team investigated 692 social economy organisations: 229 non-governmental organisations, 235 cooperative societies and 228 mutual aid organisations from Bucharest-Ilfov and South-East RD. The qualitative analyses, based on interviews or focus-groups, conducted in the localities and counties included in Bucharest-Ilfov and South-East RD, yielded 69 case studies. Besides these detailed information, of context, supplied by the qualitative research, the team has also nuanced the interpretation of the quantitative data.

The first part of the book (including two chapters), reviews the history of the legislative framework for the organisation and operation of SE organisations in Romania, and analyses the perceptions of the SE organisations representatives regarding the impact of the recent legislative changes on the SE activities, the propositions for the improvement of the legislative framework and the perceptions regarding the institutional construction and the collaboration both with other SE organisations, and with the representatives of the public administration with responsibilities in this field. The concluding remark shows that the “current legislative framework regulating the activity of the SE organisations operating in Romania is efficient, particularly in the case of the CAR units” (p. 68); however, the “employers have to be sensibilized and informed on SE matters, and they must be supported financially; mechanisms have to be developed for the preparation of the vulnerable groups for insertion on the labour market” (p. 68).

The section dedicated to the Romanian social economy organisations debates on the non-governmental sector, a subject rather less approached by the analyses on the NGO sector in Romania. Another subject refers to the situation of the mutual aid houses of the employees (CARS) and to their role of supporting the welfare of the employees both during the crisis period and during the period of economic relaxation. The other chapters of the book describe the mutual aid houses of the pensioners (CARP) and make complementary analyses on the cooperative societies in terms of their function of social protection of the cooperative members and of the community, and in terms of their economic activities (state of development). This section also makes a synthesis of other analyses of the distinct sectoral interventions in the field of social economy (Alexandrescu F., Mihalache F., 2011; Stanilă G., Căce C., Preoteasa A.M., 2011; Căce S, Nicolăescu V., Anton A.N., Rotaru S. 2011).

The third part of the book analyses the human resources involved in SE activities, focusing on a distinct category of vulnerable persons, and to the persons creating the services of social economy offer. Thus, the people with disabilities lead to the idea of transforming the SE organisations from “fighters for the cause of the people with disabilities” to organisations that provide competitive services and opportunities for the people with disabilities. From the perspective of the potential entrepreneurs and creators of public policies in the field of social economy, the book makes an analysis of the representations and expectations of the graduates from master studies in social economy at four universities from Romania (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Oradea and Timișoara), whose first promotion will go in business in 2012.

The qualitative analysis of the volume, structure presented in part four of the book, includes three chapters: a chapter on the typology of SE organisations, which provides theoretical and methodological headings for the definition and enunciation of the operational principles of the social economy; a chapter showing the social economy profile in 13 counties selected from South-Muntenia, South-West Oltenia and South-East regions of development; the final chapter gives some case studies of some representative SE organisations.

The closing section, dedicated to conclusions and recommendations, shows that “the integrated national strategy to support SE organisations must rely in their sustainable elements and must include several degrees of support to the SE organisations” (p. 361).

By the complementary approaches relying on methodologies of quantitative and qualitative research, the book has an applied value providing, with arguments and justifications, very many directions for further investigations in this field. The coordinators of the book agree in the final section that “The analyses included in the book fundament the intentions to develop action plans initiated by the representatives of SE organisations, of local, regional and national strategies to promote social economy in general” (p. 363).

## *References*

- Alexandrescu, F.; Mihalache F. (2011), *Economia socială și cooperativele*, Expert Publisher, Bucharest
- Arpinte, D.; Cace, S.; Cojocaru, Ș. (2010), „Social economy in Romania”, Preliminary approach, in *Revista de Cercetare și Intervenție socială*, Iași, vol. 31, pp. 64-79
- Cace, S.; Arpinte, D.; Cace, C.; Cojocaru, Ș. (2011), „The social economy. An integrating approach”, in *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*, Cluj-Napoca, No. 33 E/2011, pp. 49-66

- Cace, S.; Arpinte, D.; Cace, C.; Cojocaru, Ș. (2011), „The social economy. An integrating approach”, in *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences, Cluj-Napoca*, No. 33 E/2011, pp. 49-66
- Cace, S.; Arpinte, D.; Scoican, A.N. (2010), *Social Economy in Romania*, Expert Publisher, Bucharest
- Cace, S.; Nicolăescu, V.; Anton, A.N.; Rotaru, S. (2011), *Organizațiile neguvernamentale și economia socială*, Expert Publisher, Bucharest
- Cace, S.; Nicolăescu, V.; Scoican, A.N. (2010), *Best Practices in Social Economy sector in Greece and othe UE Countries*, Expert Publisher, Bucharest
- Katsikaris, L.; Parcharidis, I. (2010), „Monitoring and Evaluation of the Social Economy”, in *Journal of Community Positive Practices*, Bucharest, No. 3-4, Year X, pp. 84-92
- Stanilă, G.; Cace, C.; Preoteasa, A.M. (2011), *Mutual organisations and social economy*, Expert Publisher, Bucharest
- Zamfir, E.; Fitzek, S. (2010), „Economia socială, o soluție la incluziunea socială pe piața muncii”, în *Revista Inovație Socială*, Bucharest, No. 2/2010