



YEAR XII

No. 3/2012

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

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CONTENT

PATHWAYS FOR YOUTH MENTORING: MERGING COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE	345
Nicole WEBSTER, Shakoor WARD	
INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN NEW ZEALAND: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF THEIR INFLUENCE ON FUTURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY	361
Andries J. du PLESSIS, Jinming CHEN, Mr. William TOH	
THE DESIGN OF A NATIONWIDE SAMPLE FOR ROMANIAN YOUTHS LIVING IN RURAL AREAS: A MULTIPLE SOLUTION PROBLEM	380
Iulian STĂNESCU, Vlad ACHIMESCU	
IDENTITY, CONTESTATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH EAST INDIA: A STUDY OF MANIPUR, MIZORAM AND NAGALAND	403
Komol SINGHA	
TOURISM CONTRIBUTION TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: BEST PRACTICE IN MACEDONIA	425
Biljana PETREVSKA	
IDENTITY FEATURES OF THE ROMANIAN IMMIGRANTS FROM ITALY	441
Adrian OTOVESCU	
IMPROVING THE SITUATION OF THE RUTHENIAN MINORITY IN SERBIA	462
Mihajlo FEJSA	
THE RESISTANCE OF LAND-LOST FARMERS IN CHINA: 'INTERESTS-STRIVING' AND 'STRUGGLE BY ORDER'	478
Hongping LIAN	
CURRENT ENTERPRISE RESOURCE PLANNING SNAPSHOT IN BOSNIAN SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES	500
Muhammed Kürşad ÖZLEN	
IMPORTANCE OF FINANCING THE SOCIAL ECONOMY PROJECTS	520
Victor NICOLĂESCU, Corina CACE, Sorin CACE	
FOUNDATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL ECONOMY IN ROMANIA	537
Claudia OȘVAT, Florica ITEFĂNESCU, Amalia JURJ	
POSITIVE PRACTICES IN REORGANISING THE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS	556
Mariana STANCIU	
ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS: THE ENVIRONMENTAL GUARD FROM ROMANIA – GETTING READY FOR CHANGE	571
Silvia BRANEA	
BOOK REVIEW. RADICAL REFORM: INTERRACIAL POLITICS IN POST-EMANCIPATION NORTH CAROLINA DEBORAH BECKEL	589
Victoria A. REDD	

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PATHWAYS FOR YOUTH MENTORING: MERGING COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Nicole WEBSTER¹

Shakoor WARD²

***Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to elicit a richer conversation for youth development practitioners and academic researchers related to the approach of youth mentoring training based on Vygotsky's (1967) sociocultural and activity theory. More specifically to conceptualize and guide youth mentoring research, particularly in inner-city communities where the environments can be most challenging to the health, social and academic development of young people. Recently, there has been an increasing call for youth development researchers to direct their efforts toward solving contemporary social problems that plague today's youth, particularly in environments that are most challenging to the well-being and academic development of our young people. While youth development practitioners are seen as being on the "front line" and continuously engaged in this endeavor, academic institutions are sometimes viewed by social activists as being self-serving and not fully committed to such endeavors. Using the principles of activity theory, this paper advances previous literature proposing a participatory paradigm as a basis for shared youth development work between practitioners and academic researchers. The paper describes the elements of a participatory youth mentoring training program and presents a case example to demonstrate its' characteristics.*

***Key-words:** Mentor training; positive youth development; sociocultural and activity theory*

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1. Introduction

Recently, there has been a strong push for researchers to engage in youth development research with clear behavioral, academic, and socioeconomic implications. However, academicians who understand the role of youth and community voice in research are pushing for a more inclusive theoretically driven research methodology. Rather one in which the researcher does not solely control the process; a participatory approach in which researchers, practitioners, and participants negotiate the process. Moving to this process enables a greater number of features of the program itself to be explored, as well as the broader context within which it was implemented. Without given priority to these issues, it is more likely to undermine 'the development of the empowerment and voice of the participants, which we argue are key preconditions for program success. In relation to the program itself, the preference for didactic methods and frameworks encourages a participant-driven nature of the project and negative learner attitudes to the program.

2. Defining positive youth development

While there are a myriad of definitions that define positive youth development, the authors are drawn to the definition created by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development which states.

Positive youth development strives to help young people develop the inner resources and skills they need to cope with pressures that might lead to unhealthy and antisocial behaviors. It aims to promote and prevent, not to treat or remediate. Prevention of undesirable behaviors is one outcome of positive youth development, but there are others including the production of self-reliant, self confident adults who can become responsible members of society (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992).

This inclusive definition centers on an approach that includes the voices of youth and the presence of caring adults. It addresses the broader development needs of youth, in contrast to deficit-based models, which tend to focus on youth problems. Our strengths based definition provides for a more natural learning process to occur between youth and adults (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, and Hawkins, 1998; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992; Pittman and Cahill, 1991), and takes into account important development constructs (see Table 1 below) which when incorporated into youth programs have proven successful for both the youth and the adults involved.

Table 1
Positive Youth Development Constructs

1.	Promotes bonding
2.	Fosters resilience
3.	Promotes social competence
4.	Promotes emotional competence
5.	Promotes cognitive competence
6.	Promotes behavioral competence
7.	Promotes moral competence
8.	Fosters self-determination
9.	Fosters spirituality
10.	Fosters self-efficacy
11.	Fosters clear and positive identity
12.	Fosters belief in the future
13.	Provides recognition for positive behavior
14.	Provides opportunities for prosocial involvement
15.	Fosters prosocial norms

Source: R.F. Catalano, M.L. Berglund, J.A.M. Ryan, H.S. Lonczak, and J.D. Hawkins, 2002.

In order to achieve these successes, youth are often situated in social learning environments that increasingly support positive behaviors, attitudes, and values (Quinn, 1995). This trend is linked to earlier shifts toward adaptive educational techniques to keep youth engaged and as a means to provide formal and informal opportunities and experiences that support youth. For example, Ison and Watson (2007) define social learning “as achieving concerted action in complex and uncertain situations”. It is argued that those involved in positive social systems may learn and therefore enhance their adaptive capacity through their involvement in decision making processes, critical thinking, connections to the larger community, and caring relationships (Kriete and Bechtel, 2002; Quinn, 1999). Research suggests that comprehensive, high quality programs, as defined above, create positive experiences and opportunities for the young people, the adults, and the community at large. In this article, we attempt to clarify the concept of social learning and what it means in the context of relationships between youth and adults.

Early work conceptualized social learning as individual learning that takes place in a social context and is hence influenced by social norms, e.g., by imitating role models (Bandura, 1977). However, this conceptualization is not particularly useful, because most learning takes place in some social context. Recently, a different school of thought has arisen, as reflected in a number of articles (e.g., Pahl-Wostl 2006, Ison and Watson 2007, Mostert et al. 2007; Pahl-Wostl et al. 2007a,b; Steyaert and Ollivier 2007; Tàbara and Pahl-Wostl 2007; Pahl-Wostl et al. 2008; Prell et al. 2008).

This paper proposes an alternative youth mentoring training approach, based on Vygotsky's (1967) sociocultural and activity theory, to conceptualize and guide youth mentoring research, particularly in inner-city communities where the environments can be most challenging to the health, social and academic development of young people. The paper stresses the nature of learning and the interactions between academic personnel (trainers and researchers), youth development professionals (practitioner), and the youth and adult participants (communities) in youth mentoring.

3. Communities of Practice

For the purposes of this paper, youth mentoring initiatives are programs or projects that are interventions for positive change in the social, emotional, academic, behavioral, mental and physical health of young people. Such initiatives involve both a prevention and intervention component. Arguably, the triangular interaction between the academic researcher(s), the practitioner(s), and the community(s) participants is a central determinant of the levels of success and/or failure of youth mentoring intervention. Wertsch's (1998) sociocultural and activity theory approach is employed for the purpose of better conceptualizing this triangular interaction. Activity theorists purport that individuals need to focus on the joint activity in which they are involved in order to comprehend the nature of the interaction (Van Vlaenderen, 2004). According to the educators Lave and Wenger (1991), the concept of communities of practice is present on a daily basis. They consider that people are generally involved in a number of them ranging from school, home, and work and even in civic and leisure activities. Etienne Wenger was later to write:

Communities of practice are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour: a tribe learning to survive, a band of artists seeking new forms of expression, a group of engineers working on similar problems, a clique of pupils defining their identity in the school, a network of surgeons exploring novel techniques, a gathering of first-time managers helping each other cope. In a nutshell: Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly (Wenger, 2007).

In order to understand how Lave approaches the concept of community of practice, we have to understand that human behavior is culturally and socially mediated towards a purpose, whose meaning is understood within a social context (Wertsch, 1998). Lave's (1991) term "community of practice" captures this idea in the most holistic of manners. Lave contends that an activity is socially situated and grounded in the movements or enterprises taken on by people.

Being alive as human beings means that we are constantly engaged in the pursuit of enterprises of all kinds, from ensuring our physical survival to seeking the most lofty

pleasures. As we define these enterprises and engage in their pursuit together, we interact with each other and with the world and we tune our relations with each other and with the world accordingly. In other words we learn (Wenger, 1998, p. 5).

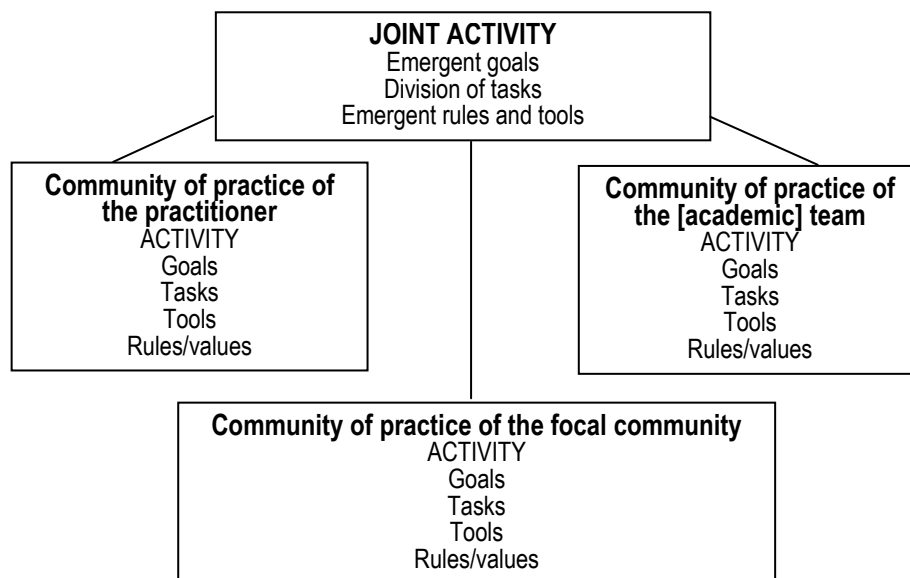
As Van Vlaenderen (2004) states, “a community of practice provides goals, structure, meaning and values/rules, significance and tools for those engaging in the activity” (p. 136).

Over time, this collective learning results in practices that reflect both the pursuit of our enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. It makes sense, therefore to call these kinds of communities, communities of practice. (Wenger, 1998, p. 45)

Borrowing from the ideas of Gilbert (1996), the process of a youth mentoring training program can be understood as a gathering of different communities of practice in a single activity. Within this community of practice framework, the academic trainers and researchers, the practitioners who work directly with youth in a professional capacity, and the community participants interact with each other on activities that are embedded in each of their particular goals, tasks, tools, and rules/values. Figure 1 is a modification of Van Vlaenderen’s (2004) model in order to apply it to a particular youth mentoring training program that also includes an additional community (i.e. practitioner).

Figure 1

Merging of triangular communities of practice of a youth mentoring project.
Adapted from Vlaenderen (2004, p. 137).



3.1. Facilitating the Merger of Communities of Practice

The integration of communities of practice requires a type of approach to youth development intervention that must not limit itself to the prevailing positivist methods mostly associated with academic researchers. It requires a course of action which makes known and reaches understanding of the distinctiveness between the communities. This explicit understanding will hopefully develop into a jointly owned youth mentoring intervention process.

Local knowledge, or knowledge that is mostly represented by the focal community and the practitioners of that community, is represented within the concepts of goals, tools, and rules/values. Local knowledge is tacit and refers to 'what is' and 'how things are done' (Van Vlaenderen, 2004). For communities to engage in an authentic joint activity, it is necessary that the academic researchers utilize the local knowledge of the communities and incorporate the local knowledge in the on-going development of the intervention process.

3.2. The Participatory Process

A researcher typically guides all phases of the youth intervention process, including development, implementation, supervision, data collection and analysis, and sustainability or closure (Lutz and Neis, 2008; McIntyre, 2007). However, applying communities of practice approach involves a joint effort between the academic researcher, practitioner, and members of the focal community (Brown and Vega, 1996; Brydon-Miller and Greenwood, 2006). Additionally, within a participatory approach (Leadbeater, 2006; Zlotkowski, 1999), input from practitioners and community members are necessary to avoid cognitively alienating any of the communities, thus making the processes of the intervention firmly rooted within the community of practice of the researcher. As noted by Van Vlaenderen (2001), the participatory process involves a number of techniques that include the voices, perceptions, opinions and most importantly, the vision of the community. Participatory approaches increasingly communicate a more trusting relationship among stakeholders as well as other possible social and long term relational and program benefits such as sustained results. A vivid example is presented in order to illustrate this point.

3.3. Participatory: The Meeting of Minds

In the fall of 2010, two researchers and 4 graduate students from a research institution in the northeast embarked upon a youth development training program to influence the manner in which mentors and mentees interacted. The participatory

mentor training program was developed with an emphasis to increase the ability of the mentor/mentee pair to feel empowered and engaged throughout the mentoring process. Attention was given to the understanding of the process of engagement, connection, and bonding—critical components needed in a quality participatory mentoring program.

After the development of the foundation of the Three Phase (3P) Mentor Training Program, the research team worked with the local Cooperative Extension Service staff to further develop the core content of the training program. Through numerous rounds of discussions, it was decided that the intent was to provide activities, tools, and resources to guide youth and adults through the process of engaging equally and authentically to enhance successful mentoring partnerships within established mentoring programs. Foundations of effective youth and adult partnerships were explored and included the nuts and bolts of soft skill development, effective communication and cultural competence framework to enhance and sustain the mentoring relationship. The team wanted to improve the effectiveness of youth and adult relationships in existing youth mentoring programs and community programs that have an established history of adult-youth engagement (e.g. Boys and Girls Clubs of America, after-school programs, YMCA, and the like). Given the unique format of the 3P Mentoring Training Program, the adult mentor and youth mentee were both participants in the training. We recognized that this method was not the typical approach to mentoring training, which focuses on preparing mentors for mentoring and does not typically consider preparing mentees for the mentoring relationship. The research team along with cooperative extension staff and a community liaison was assigned the task of piloting the program in the city of Philadelphia. It was decided to roll out the program in this particular county because of the solid connections with existing mentoring groups and organizations within the city.

After several introductory meetings consisting of the academic researchers, a youth development professional and the principal (practitioners) of the middle school where the trainings occurred, it was clear that the practitioners' local influence and knowledge provided a more realistic context of the community setting and participants, as well as matters involving program logistics and accessibility to local resources. This was essential to the feasibility of the trainings and helped construct the roles within this participatory approach. For example, the practitioners knew where the youth participants resided, and had access to local resources that were able to arrange the means of transport to the training site, whether by school vans, personal vehicles, or providing tokens to cover the fare for public transportation.

The process of selecting the dates and times of the trainings was highly influenced by the practitioners whose familiarity with the participants and community background knowledge and experiences helped determine the best training dates and times for youth and adult participants. Moreover, the youth development

practitioners had relationships with the various adult community members who were caregivers of the youth we sought to assist. In some communities, particularly in minority communities, it is important to be aware of the existence of cultural norms that adhere to generational hierarchy (Ward and Webster, 2011). The practitioners already established respectful relationships with many of the caregivers, as the rightful gatekeepers to the youth of the community that was rewarded by trust and access (Webster and Ingram, 2007). The established relationships with caregivers were important for gaining access to the youth participants. Quite often, academic researchers are rarely positioned to establish such relationships.

4. Participatory: Academic Team, Focal Community, ██████████ and Practitioners

3P Mentoring Training Overview for the Philadelphia Site

The training material primarily focused on training existing mentors and youth protégés, and included activities and program resources that totaled to about fifteen hours of training. The agenda was broken into three separate sessions to accommodate volunteers' busy schedules.

Because the tone of a mentor-youth relationship can be set quickly during the first few meetings, it was important to develop training that allowed for both youth and adults to learn jointly and independently of one another. Thus, the activities were intended to build on key concepts and lessons learned within each group and then discussed more fully or reiterated within the larger joint group. The 15 mentors and 15 mentees represented members of the focal community. And the practitioners (a middle school principal, 2 teachers, and 3 other youth development professionals) helped facilitate the training where appropriate and manage youth behavior when necessary.

Out of the 30 youth and adult community participants involved in the training program, 27 were Black American or of African/Caribbean descent and the remaining 3 were White American. There was an even gender mix with 15 males and 15 females. The adult community participants represented a range of professions, from community activists, teachers, corporate employees, and self-employed. All of the students were in grades 10 and 11 and were from three different city high schools in Philadelphia.

Training content provided motivators that adults have identified for youth to have for success such as self-efficacy, confidence, self-motivation, critical thinking and coping skills – which can lead to resiliency, academic persistence and an overall positive outlook on life.

The expectations upon completion of the training, was that participants (both youth and adults) would be empowered to work with one another, understand the “place” from which they come and use these experiences to create a lasting bond with one another. This bond would hopefully transcend beyond the usual mentor/youth relationship, and provide both with a platform to make a difference in each other’s lives.

Delivery mode. The training occurred in three sessions. Each session lasted approximately four hours. The activities were intended to help the mentoring program accomplish its goals and to address individual program contexts. To emphasize this point, the youth development professionals often acted as impromptu co-facilitators to offer direction to the mentors and mentees of their programs to serve their need. For example, during the second training session, the professionals matched youth with mentors for the activities. Activities engaged the pairs to explore topics, listen to one another, and push each other outside of their boundaries. Critical to the training was the opportunity for pairs to establish best practices for communication and interactions. Other key components of the training included group activities, individual reflection time. Although the university trainers did not plan to implement the activities in that manner, it was clear to the trainers that matching the youth with mentors was vital to the goals of the training program, thus the trainers adapted accordingly.

At the completion of the program, an honor reception was held. Participants were presented with a certificate of completion and were formally recognized as P3 graduates to community partners, city officials and other stakeholders.

Evaluation. Upon completion of the program, all participants were given a self-survey to assess their attitudes, knowledge and behaviors as it related to mentoring and youth and adult relationships. Information collected from the survey was used to inform the grant funders, practitioners, and researchers about the process of quality mentoring training programs and assist the academic team in revising components of the manual for future training sessions.

Reflection, Feedback and Self-Survey

Reflection. After each activity, youth and adult participants considered how the exploratory experiences, knowledge, and sharing of ideas related to their own lives, their community, and the mentoring relationship. Through varied discussion, they thought about their needs and the needs of others, their actions, their impacts, knowledge gained, what went well and what did not go so well, and their contribution. This reflection and discussion process included both analytical and affective responses and enabled all participants to reflect in the moment and give what we felt more honest and open ended responses.

Feedback. Trainers often assess training at the end of the training program. However, for a training program with multiple training sessions, knowing how things are going in the daily training sessions from participants is more advantageous for measuring and achieving participant engagement. The university team received beneficial feedback from the practitioners and adult volunteer mentors following the first training session. For example, the feedback revealed that the mentoring programs were the impetus for future trainings between youth and adults and would require minor adjustments to recognize the infancy stage of the mentor pairs. Also, many of the mentors did not distinguish between a tutor and a mentor thus understood their role as a mentor was synonymous with the role of a tutor. The university team, practitioners, and some of the mentors cooperatively agreed that the participants would need a foundation of mentoring, and increased emphasis on relationship building incorporated in the trainings.

The trainers capitalized on the idea of post training session feedback by incorporating a structured method for collecting comments. They decided to use the Plus/Delta feedback tool (sometimes called Plus/Change) as a means of identifying what was working well and what should be changed between training sessions. The desirability of this tool was its ability to direct trainees to focus on what is working to advance their learning in the training program and what trainers and facilitators can improve. The tool was implemented in the following manner. After the conclusion of the second training session, the members of the research and training team posted two Post-it® Easel Pads at each of the two exits. One of the easel pads at each exit was for the Plus feedback and the other was for the Delta feedback. The Plus feedback was to capture what worked well during the training. The Delta feedback was to capture what to change or improve upon in future trainings. Participants were provided with Post-it® Notes and were asked to provide unlimited open-ended feedback and post on the appropriate easel pad. They could provide as many feedback notes as they wished because we did not want to people to feel that they had to prioritize their feelings. The university trainers also decided that by not putting limitations on what the participants could write would capture more substantive feedback. Therefore, they did not mind knowing if the room was too hot or that participants did not prefer the lunch provided. Even if there were factors beyond the university's team and practitioners' control, these factors still played a role in the training experience and possibly may be addressed to some degree. The responses were collected, summarized, and led to important and necessary adjustments prior to the next training (see Table 2).

Table 2
Results from Plus/Delta Feedback Following the 2nd Training Session

Positive (PLUS)	Please Change (DELTA)
"Everybody came together and it was fun."	"I think we could be more social with other groups (mentors, mentees)." ^a
"I think we all came together more."	"Identity Mangle <i>activity</i> [researcher insert]: More time should be placed on the reason why we chose our answers."
"Communication for cohesion."	"Match mentor/mentee earlier (at least conceptually)." ^b
"The activities (today) were exceptional."	"Something that I think that need improvement is the organization of the activities."
"Good activities and finding out where we are similar and different."	"Meeting more people in the group."
"Interaction with 'the mentee.'"	"More one-on-one time with our personal mentors."
"Discussion of differences and commonalities."	
"I enjoyed everyone's company."	
"Real dialogue!"	
"Class Reunion activity. Good!"	
"I thought that today's curriculum was great because we was able to communicate among each other."	
"Had a good conversation with my mentor."	"More time between mentors and mentees scheduled."
"The exercises were concise."	
"I think the students were more interested today. They participated more."	"Continue with the participatory exercises."
"Interacting with each other."	

^a *The participant's comment is understood by the training staff to mean that he or she wanted participants to interact with others who are not their mentor/mentee or who are not seated at their table.*

^b *Participants were matched with their mentor/mentee at the beginning of the day. Thus, the participant preferred the matching to have occurred in the first training (1st Phase).*

As demonstrated in Table 2, participants' social interaction with each other (quantity and quality) played an important role in how they viewed the training. Also several comments could be interpreted as having a proclivity toward a sense of community. Considering the social and relational requests expressed by community youth and

adult participants, the trainers adjusted the delivery of activities to allow for more youth and adult social engagement. Although the duration of activities was previously scheduled, trainers allowed for the continuation of activities that incited a great deal of discussion and expression among participants.

Self-Survey. The survey was connected to the 3P Mentoring Training Program and the process relied on the research knowledge of researchers on the university team. The researchers largely determined the content and format of the questionnaire and the university team distributed the survey.

Despite several program highlights, the process was not without its deficiencies and flaws. In hindsight, a participatory research approach would have been more preferable because the practitioners were not significant contributors in the research and evaluation process. As a result, the practitioners' ideas and interests may not have been captured in the survey design and data collection process. Although the practitioners worked with the university research and training team to implement the program, they were not included in the program evaluation process which affected the perceived necessity for follow-up communication by the university team. As a result, the intervention had little potential for sustained results because the project was seen as the universities project. A program reflection piece, inclusive of the three communities, at the conclusion of the training program would have been highly desirable and beneficial for all parties.

5. Conclusions

This paper highlights the successes, challenges, and sometimes discrepancy between the conceptual and methodological approaches used by social science researchers in the host community to contribute to advancing youth development research and practice in the community while involving communities in stages of the intervention process. A participatory research approach, which accompanies the participatory intervention (e.g. development and training), may lead to more sustainable intervention outcomes. Activity theory is suggested as a suitable theoretical framework to conceptualize participatory youth development intervention and research in a global context. However achieving complete participatory intervention and research may not be practical or suitable in many circumstances where cultural norms, written and unwritten codes of conduct, government intervention, pedagogical differences, and other forms of philosophical incongruence pose as significant barriers to practice. Van Vlaenderen (2004, p. 143) emphasized that "participatory research is not an easy endeavor and that despite an adherence to the theory of participatory research, practical constraints and community dynamics may provide obstacles to a successful participatory approach". Another such constraint is often the demands made on social science researchers by funders and

academic departments that may not make a complete participatory intervention and research approach practical in many cases.

The genesis of this project was an interest to promote positive youth development in the form of paired mentoring training. Our mission was to enable transformation for individuals in their contexts by providing creative, participative processes that deal with issues of identity and facilitate awareness, communication and change. In an effort to further understand how this process contributed to positive mentoring relationships, we developed approaches that would promote participatory development. Our framework through which we worked brought together an understanding of the development that takes the pairs (youth and adult) and their holistic needs as the primary focus of development and sees the participation in the context of the community as a vital aspect of the way that development should take place.

We realized through this project that the participatory process was instrumental in the overall development, implementation and outcomes of the program. By including youth and mentors in the process, we appreciated that they were able to speak to issues that researchers, trainers and others affiliated with the program were completely naïve. More importantly, the process honored and centered the experiences of people most directly affected by issues in their communities. We were able to create a process where our participants were valued as experts in their own experiences, and allowed us to deliver information that spoke to their many different ways of knowing and being. By opening the process of program development, and incorporating the mentor and mentee voice, we created a participatory approach that integrally involved them in aspects of the design & implementation of the research, and of the analysis and distribution of the information gathered. Helping to facilitate a process that allowed for youth and mentors to contribute to their own process of learning enabled us to produce an active group of participants. Traditional training programs that encourage passive participation stifle the process of learning and engagement. Our program took a sharing approach to build community and movement, to develop leadership, and to empower individuals to take change. We did not develop this program to “prove” an assumption or hypothesis, but rather to test an idea that we felt would improve a process of teaching and learning and our *communities* as a way to make change.

Our principles and values towards the collective process guided the process and allowed us to stay accountable to our mentors and mentees throughout the process. Accountability is a universal condition for positive change in individuals and communities.

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INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN NEW ZEALAND: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF THEIR INFLUENCE ON FUTURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

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***Abstract:** International tertiary students could be some of the future inhabitants of New Zealand. They could be the leaders of tomorrow and it is important for a tertiary institution to determine what their perceptions, attitudes and behaviours are towards sustainability. Some similarities and differences of opinion were identified and discussed between the different nationalities, religions and ages between the two age groups under 20, and 20 to 39 years of age. Comparisons resulting from the 2011 data to identify trends in student approaches to sustainability issues add value to this research. This study determined that the demographic factors affects an individual's thinking patterns to some extent, and the different religions have similar perceptions regarding protection of natural resources, limited resources and pollution caused by various sources. The research is based on the assumption that positive attitudes lead to positive behaviours and aims to establish what people's attitudes towards sustainability and the environment are. The results show the development of a positive trend in terms of thinking and the behaviour towards environment conservation. Recommendations for tertiary institutions form the last section before the conclusions.*

***Key-words:** International students; education; sustainability; perceptions; future*

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1. Introduction

Each month, New Zealanders dispose of enough rubbish to fill a rugby field 30 stories high. Almost half of the average rubbish bag could be composted. Composting food and garden waste saves space at your local landfill, and using fewer rubbish bags can also save you money. There are ways of saving water such as a leaky tap or toilet cistern that drips every second that can waste up to 10,000 litres of water a year. Even when on standby, appliances use a surprising amount of energy. A saving of up to \$75 a year by switching appliances off at the wall when not in use could save our environment. Save power by using energy efficient products, such as eco-bulbs. These use only one-fifth the power of a regular light bulb for the same light output, and they last longer. Another method of saving New Zealand for our future generations is to treat the sun as free heat for one's home when building or renovating designs are being drawn up. Use materials that retain heat naturally and save money on heating. Ceiling insulation can save a homeowner up to \$400 per year and cut heat losses by 35 per cent. Under-floor insulation can save up to \$300 per year and cut heat losses by another 14 per cent. When designing and building a new home think about its life cycle and whether it will meet New Zealand's future needs. There may be higher up-front costs to build for the future, but it will pay off in the long run (Anonymous, 2008).

The word sustainability has become the buzzword in recent years and is often used interchangeably with concepts such as environmentalism or being 'green'. A definition of sustainable development is meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This definition confirms that sustainability is about the relationship between people and our planet; referring to the fact that we are inextricably part of this planet, and that our societies and economies depend upon healthy biological and physical systems. We can therefore say that sustainability refers to the quality of a state or process that allows it to be maintained indefinitely. At present, there are indications that the way we are living is not sustainable. New Zealanders need to take it on them to save the natural resources for and physical systems and to prevent irreversibly damage and depletion (University of Canterbury, n. d.). Ni, Sun, Li, Huang, and Borthwick (2010) are of the opinion that the luxurious human lifestyles have led to severe environmental conditions such as soil erosion, desertification, and water and air pollution and global warming.

More than 80,000 international (foreign) students studied in New Zealand in 2002, earning the country \$1.7 billion and making education the fourth-largest export earner (Ministry of Education New Zealand, 2011). Nearly 86% of all foreign fee paying students are from Asia and as described by Biggs (1996) of Confucian Heritage Culture (CFC). A more recent study was done and it was found that the

international student population is projected to continue to grow rapidly over at least the next decade. Projections prepared by the British Council, Universities UK, and IDP Australia, assumed 6% annual growth to 2020 in international tertiary enrolments, in the main English speaking destination countries of the USA, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Brida, Osti, & Faccioli, 2011).

Growth in the potential economic benefit to New Zealand from international education assumes that New Zealand is successful in expanding its level of provision, and in attracting a proportional share of the growth in international student demand. Projections for international student enrolments to 2025 for the public tertiary education institutions (universities and polytechnics) assume initial growth of 2% from 2010 to 2012, and 7% from 2013 to 2025. Projections for annual student growth in 34 schools are 2% to 2025, and 5% for private English language schools (The Economic Impact, 2008; Ministry of Education New Zealand, 2011). This information validates the study that was done among international tertiary students in 2011 at UUNZ Institute of Business, Auckland. The question could well be asked whether the international students will stay in New Zealand after they have completed their studies. If they do stay in New Zealand, are they prepared to accept the fact that New Zealand has a “clean green image”, and what will their value add be to this image?

A survey was executed to explore and understand students' perceptions and attitudes towards environmental sustainability and other issues related to the subject. The first study was executed at Unitec New Zealand in March 2007 and repeated in 2010. With permission from the researchers the questionnaire was adopted and revised to its current form to suit UUNZ Institute of Business in Auckland, New Zealand. Although this is the first study of this nature at UUNZ, it is regarded as a longitudinal study. The objective is therefore identifying trends in international student approaches to sustainability issues. Since the area of student perception is under-researched, it is an important step towards changing their behaviours to intentional sustainable actions (Treanor, 2010). Almost two decades ago already, Biggs (1996) refers to foreign (international) students' experiences and influences in Western countries, such as New Zealand's educational institutions, culture, businesses' structures and the influence of their family background. This study is based on the perceptions of international students.

The study has revealed recognition by the respondents of the positive and long term impacts of the sustainable development. It was also determined that the demographic factors affect an individual's thinking patterns to a great extent, and the social and cultural impacts are found to be positive. The results show the development of a positive trend in terms of attitudes and the behaviour towards environment conservation.

The next section of this paper discusses a literature review followed by the problem statement, aim of the study and the methodology sections. A discussion follows on the comparative analysis of the data collected and correlations identified. The next section presents the authors' recommendations from the study and finally the paper provides a summary and conclusion followed by references.

2. Literature review

Sustainable development was originally addressed by the Brundtland Commission (1987, p.24, as cited in Elliot, 2011), and was then defined as a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Starik and Rands (1995, as cited in Elliot, 2011) put the emphasis of this statement on maximising the natural resources. On the other hand they proposed ecological sustainability as an alternative that could provide the ability of one or more entities, either individually or collectively, to exist and flourish for lengthy timeframes, in such a manner that the existence and flourishing of other entities is permitted at related levels and in related systems. Johnson (2009) explains that sustainability is to utilize the natural resources wisely and to meet the necessities of our lives, considering the need for the resources for the future generations to survive.

A term which also comes under the umbrella of environmental sustainability is climate change, or as the term is lately known as global warming. This is defined as "a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere" (UNFCCC 1992, as cited in Elliot, 2011, p.3). He argued that environmental sustainability is an essential prerequisite for social and economic development. In this sense, environmental sustainability represents a set of constraints on the use of renewable and non-renewable resources in the production of goods and services and on pollution and waste assimilation in their consumption.

The recent global economic downturn, the uncertainty of the financial future, the war on terrorism, the war for talent, the progress in e-business and e-media and others all add to the tough times that people are experiencing in the every-day environment. Organisations and communities are looking up to strong leaders to take charge during these rapid environmental changes to ease out the negative impact it could have on businesses (Nel et al, 2012).

What has changed though, are the focus areas, and the increased complexity of the employees as well as the business environment. With a renewed focus on the importance of sustainable organisations, audacious decision making and effective communication, businesses should be on the right track. The employer has the opportunity to engage employees and get them committed to the organisation so that

they can add value in business recovery and sustainability after the recession. Another key challenge for the employer is to get new employees to high levels of collaborative approach towards sustainability that will enhance toleration of cultural differences and aid sustainable business.

Employers, managers and organisations have the opportunity to allow employee input into decisions, share information, and to treat employees with respect that will definitely enhance commitment to sustainability. These organisations strengthen shared perceptions of congruence between employee and organisational values, integrate employees into the life of the organisation, and increase employees' identification with the organisation. This approach is definitely applicable to international students staying in New Zealand and becoming part of the diverse workforce (Meyer & Herscovitch 2001 as cited in Wright & Kehoe, 2008).

The decline of ecology on a global level puts the emphasis on the importance of a clean environment and protection of the natural assets. It suggests that the ever increasing population and the free trade policies result in exploitation of resources and increase effluence stresses (Keys, Thomsen, & Smith, 2010). Unrelenting economic conditions, increasing inequity among nations, continuous degrading quality of life despite all the social efforts and increased costs to produce food worldwide, erratic changes in the climate and deteriorating atmospheric conditions are some of the other trends of the environmental sustainability problems (Kagawa, 2007).

Peattie and Collins (2009) are of the opinion that sustainable consumption is expected to minimise the environmental damage, through socially equitable consumption patterns as it allows every individual to consume only what their fair share of natural resources is. Industrialised nations and their consumers use more than 80% of the limited natural resources that have led to consumption inequality amongst nations across the globe and support a sustainable consumption (Huang & Rust, 2010).

The global environment is changing rapidly and more dramatically than ever expected. The precariousness of the environment is now evident to even the most casual observer. Climate has become unpredictable with the UK and USA experiencing the coldest winter in a hundred years during their last winter season, and this has drastic effects on people across the world. Population growth increased industrialisation and improper utilisation of resources have negatively impacted the ecosystem which resulted in a disrupted natural cycle of global resources and have destabilised environmental sustainability (Orimoogunje, Adegboyega, Banjo & Funmilayo, 2011).

International students, and therefore people, perceive sustainability differently, as confirmed in Table 1 below (Aras & Crowther, 2008). Sustainability could also include preserving the natural capital. However, for modern human beings, living involves

using the non renewable resources (Bonevac, 2010). Pronk (2001, as cited in Halme et.al 2002) argued that many problems related to environment are due to globalisation. He emphasised that to have a sustainable environment there should be new production and consumption patterns, growth towards labour-intensive and bottom-up development that reduces poverty. In the same line of thought Bansal (2005) emphasised the three principles of sustainable development and if any one of the principles is not supported then economic development is not sustainable. These principles are *environmental integrity* (ensuring that human activities do not erode the earth's land, air and water resources), *social equity* (ensuring that all members of society have equal access to resources and opportunities), and, *economic prosperity* (promoting a reasonable quality of life).

Until now, governments, institutions and organisations are developing tools, such as discussion forums, posters, and even enforcing legislation to provide awareness and informing the man on the street about the importance of sustainable environment. Not only that, the importance of sustainability has been extended to educational systems to promote learners' self-interest in understanding and embracing the challenges the environment is bringing. One of the outcomes of UNCED (United Nation conference on environment development) conference that took place in Rio de Janerio in June 1992, was for the educators to incorporate environment education as an essential part of learning. On the other hand NGO (Non-government organisation) also practices in the field of environmental education by helping communities and countries with reorienting environmental sustainability (Tilbury, Goldstein & Ryan, 2003).

According to Pedro and Xavier (2010) energy efficiency and conservation are major factors in the reduction of the environmental impact of the energy sector, particularly with regard to climate change. Bhandari and Abe (2002, as cited in Gilbert, 2003) have also pointed out that education for sustainable development has become the focus of environmental education. They describe its evolution as moving from an emphasis on changing behaviour, understanding, knowledge, awareness, and skills, to a broader concept with a central focus on equity, quality of life, human rights, and environmental quality. The researchers agree with these authors and postulate that tertiary institutions could assist in the effort to control the increasing atmospheric temperatures by creating awareness and outlining policies regarding the issue at a global level in their programmes they present to students.

Kyoto protocol is an example of one of the efforts across the world to make people aware and to get them involved in saving our resources for future generations. Its main objective is to control the greenhouse gasses emission in the atmosphere, by limiting the amount of gasses emitted by each country (Roth, 2004). Lockyer, Du Plessis and Maritz (2007) explain the background to global warming (climate change) and how the Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) was negotiated and

adopted by most nations at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit. Under this convention, nations agreed to implement ways to limit greenhouse gases emissions before they reach dangerous levels. Industrialised nations also expressed an intention to stabilise their emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. The second FCCC that was held in 1996 at Geneva indicated that few countries would meet this emission reduction target and the less developing nations were exempt from emission reductions despite them accounting for a large and increasing proportion of greenhouse emissions. The Kyoto Protocol was established at international level and adopted in 1997 to control the emission of greenhouse gases, has received sufficient support to become a force. Similar to the European Union (EU) it also has an Emission Trading Scheme (Cirman, Domadenik, Koman & Redek, 2009).

The above authors further report that committed countries are required to reduce their greenhouse gases emissions by 5% below their country specific 1990 level over the period 2008 to 2012 with penalty clauses for non-compliance. The Kyoto Protocol established three market based mechanisms for achieving emission reductions: the first is international emissions trading which allows countries to trade greenhouse gases emissions if lower than their target, to other countries; the second mechanism is the Joint Implementation Projects which allows any country to be credited for emissions reductions achieved by investing in projects located in other countries and the third mechanism is the Clean Development Mechanism that allows a country to be credited for emissions reduction achieved by investing in projects located in developing countries under specific conditions (Lockyer, Du Plessis and Maritz, 2007).

By 2011, 191 countries including Russia (signed on 1999), The People's Republic of China (signed on 1998), and India (no record that they signed on but accepted the ratification in 2002) had signed or accepted the Kyoto Protocol. In total the 191 countries are all members of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) aimed at combating global warming (Wikipedia, 2012). However, the US opposes Kyoto Protocol's global emission reduction approach because of economic uncertainties; the fact that developing countries aren't participating in it and the cost of compliance would damage the US economy according to Lockyer, Du Plessis and Maritz (2007). The US is a member and signed in 1998 but has no intention to ratify. Ratification means that a developed country or one with an economy in transition has agreed to cap emissions in accordance with the Protocol (Wikipedia, 2012). To determine the inevitable effects of sustainability issues on a population and people perceptions on that, it is important to understand their reactions and analyze their attitudes towards sustainable development and environmentalism. An attitude can be defined as an individual assessment of an object of thought in the person's mind towards people, environment, situations or ideas (Bohner & Dickel, 2011).

The consequences of global warming are already evident in the Pacific region in forms of higher sea levels, increased high tides, unpredictable weather and salination of water and soil. New Zealand is a member of the Kyoto Protocol and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (Stephens, Smith & Lincoln, 2008).

In this research study our main objective is to summarise the key points of environmental sustainability and get feedback from respondents on their views on environmental sustainability. Some of these key points are driven from the literature. Due to limitations to the length of the article it is not possible to use more and wider literature and to discuss all the questions in the analysis section. As an indication of how we drive these questionnaires we have summarised the key points. Healthy life-style, pollution, natural resources, energy-efficient and global warming are the main issues highlighted in the environmental sustainability literature review above.

3. Problem statement

Sustainable development programmes have the objective of changing individual attitudes and approaches towards sustainability and conservation of natural resources. Some international tertiary students could be some of the future inhabitants of New Zealand. They could be the leaders of tomorrow and it is important for a tertiary institution to determine what their perceptions, attitudes and behaviours are towards sustainability. A study could shed some light on their perceptions and behaviours so that curricula could be altered or upgraded to include sustainability papers.

4. Aim of the study

The focus of this article is on a comparative analysis of international tertiary students surveyed in 2011 to understand students' approaches and current trends towards sustainability. Which factors affect their 'green' behaviour, and how perceptions are formed, with specific consideration to the demographic factors. This article also discusses any similarities and differences of opinion identified, between the different nationalities, religions and ages of the respondents. The value comes from the comparisons resulting from the 2011 data to identify trends in student approaches to sustainability issues. It will also enable international comparisons of similar studies.

5. Methodology

5.1. Research Design

The quantity and quality of the responses collected in the form of questionnaires warranted a quantitative research. A quantitative study helped in keeping the results

unbiased and irrelevant to the circumstances under which the research was carried out. The comparative analysis of the respondent's perceptions and attitudes confirmed the existence of different groups where members had similarities and variation in the thinking patterns.

The target population were international tertiary students of UUNZ Institute of Business, Auckland, New Zealand. The 115 questionnaires distributed, resulted in 92 usable questionnaires returned and therefore an 80 percent response rate. Sibbel, (2009) postulates that higher education institutions can be used to make students aware of sustainability.

A survey was distributed to undergraduate and post graduate students studying business at the institute. The choice of business students is deliberate because the researchers believed they will get a cohort of people with similar background, religion and age in addition to materialistic aspirations. In future some of these students may perhaps become senior managers who could have a deciding standpoint on these issues.

The revelation of the identity of respondents was not required and the respect for rights confidentiality and preservation of anonymity is present throughout the questionnaire. There is no harm to cultural or social insensitivity or deception in the questionnaire or study. There was no conflict of interest and the intellectual and cultural property ownership was respected.

5.2. Questionnaire Design

A questionnaire was designed with 52 questions (using a Likert scale from 1 very strongly disagree to 7 very strongly agree) regarding some important characteristics about the views of people towards environments, culture, self feelings towards life regarding money and health, human and their interaction with natural resources. Including in this amount were six questions asked about some personal information of the participants in the survey.

5.3. Data Collection

Questionnaires were distributed in the classes through the lecturers. Students completed the surveys anonymously and returned it to a box in their respective classes without the lecturer being present. Participation of all business students in the study was voluntary and through informed consent. Questionnaires are locked in the primary researcher's cabinet for a period of five (5) years.

6. Analysis

The data was entered in Excel and then transferred into SPSS to get some descriptive statistics and also to apply some statistical tests. Results are analysed using the SPSS package. The researchers did some analyses based on the research questionnaire.

For this paper we used six closely related items or where the one could have an influence on the next question, as in the six questions below. Short and easy to understand questions were asked to the respondents and they had to indicate their preferred answer from 1 to 7 where 1 is strongly disagree and 7 is strongly agree. The six questions from the questionnaire (statements) are:

Q 19 I recycle whenever possible

Q 20 I have energy efficient appliances in my home

Q 22 I will not use products that are harmful to the environment

Q 24 The choices I make today influence what happens to future generations

Q 25 The future is more important than the past to me

Q 29 I am concerned about Global Warming

It is interesting, in Table 1 below, that in the age group under 20 years 69 percent strongly agree that they recycle whenever they can but only a third (31%) of the same group have energy efficient appliances in their homes or that it is safe to use harmful products (38%). On the other hand more than two thirds (69%) agree that their choices could influence the future as the future to them is more important than the past (also 69%). More than three-quarters (77%) are concerned about global warming, but they use harmful products (Q22).

Another important factor is that three quarters of the Russian respondents strongly agree that they have to recycle (75%) and that they are concerned about global warming (75%). It can be deduced that this high awareness of global warming could be because Russia has signed the Kyoto Protocol in 2004 already and most Russians are aware of it. In their responses the Indian students (63%) agree that they recycle and only 25% use energy efficient appliances, but they agree that the future is more important than the past (63%). Similar results were noted for Chinese respondents (see Table 1 below). There were no Muslim participants in this study.

Table 1
Comparison of age, religion and origin

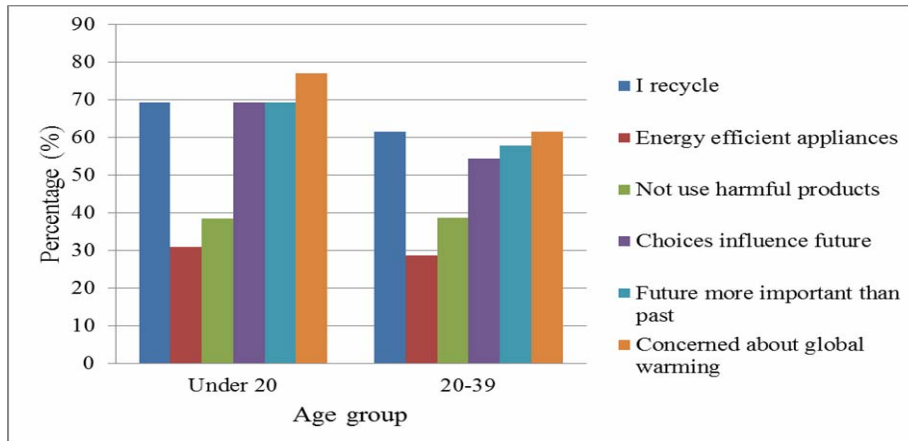
	I recycle whenever possible	Energy efficient appliances	Not using harmful products	Choices influence future	Future more important than past	Concerned about global warming
	Q19	Q20	Q22	Q24	Q25	Q29
Under 20	69	31	38	69	69	77
20-39	61	29	39	54	58	61
Buddhist	57	14	43	57	29	86
Christian	56	44	31	63	63	63
Hindu	75	50	50	63	63	75
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non religious	69	14	45	55	62	52
Chinese	50	50	25	75	50	75
Indian	63	25	41	50	63	53
Russian	75	50	42	88	67	75
Other	50	43	50	67	50	75
	48	22	30	48	52	61

Source: Developed by the authors

Almost two thirds of the respondents (61%) were in the age group 20-39 years old (Table 1 above) that strongly agrees that they are concerned about global warming. In contrast to this figure only 29 percent of the same group of respondents are using energy efficient appliances in their homes. With only 39 percent of them strongly agreeing that they are not using harmful products to the environment, it is not convincing and it can be deduced that because they are in a foreign country they don't accept responsibility for using energy efficient appliances or to be careful not to harm the environment in New Zealand.

In Figure 1 below, it is evident that the age group under 20 years have two problems in their life already and that is that they strongly disagree (69%) that they use energy efficient appliances to save the environment, as only 31 percent of them strongly agreed. Their second problem is that they are of the opinion that they are immune against harmful products. Only 38 percent strongly agreed that harmful products do not affect them. Worse results were identified for the non-religious respondents and it could be deduced that they are in the same age group of under 20 years old.

Figure 1
Age groups in percentages



Source: Developed by the authors.

Correlation between the age and country of origin

In selecting questions from the 2011 data regarding country of origin or nationality and questions regarding age, the correlation coefficients matrix to determine the strength of the relationship between these two factors, it was found that there is a significant relation between Q19, Q25, Q29 and Q50. Questions 20, 22, and 24 have little relation with Q 50 (age of respondents) regard the use of energy efficient appliances and not using harmful products in the environment. Figure 2 below depicts the respondent's nationality.

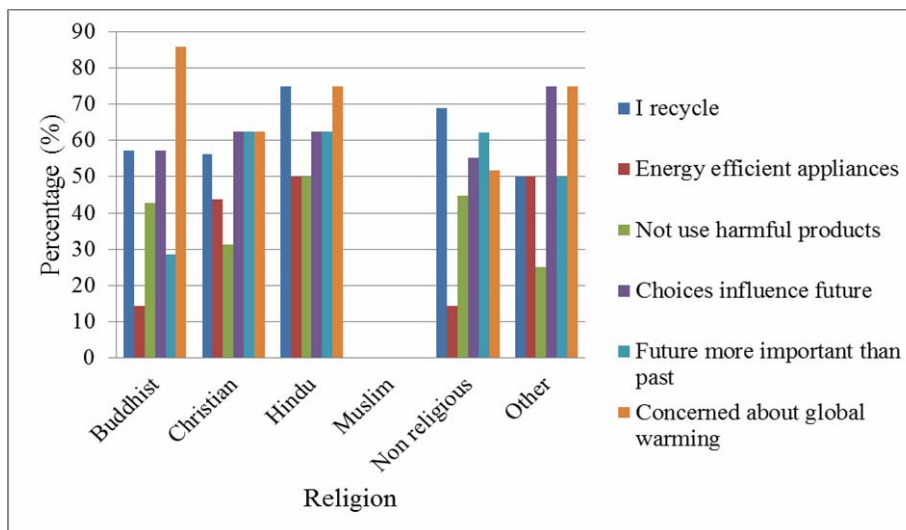
It can therefore be deduced that in 2011 people from different nationalities and ages, whom are in New Zealand to study only, were linking their attitude to recycle and their concern about global warming to enhance their influence on the future environment and the clean green image of New Zealand (Emanuel, & Adams, 2011). Students who only study in New Zealand usually return to their home countries. If we, in New Zealand, could influence or convince them to be more vigilant towards recycling and a green image, they will take it back to their countries and they could influence people in other countries to safe resources for the future.

There were no Muslim respondents in Figure 2 below. Saving the environment for the future is regarded important for all religious groups including the non-religious with the exception of the Buddhists whose percentage is significantly lower. Their choices that people could exert on others for example the government or colleagues

to influence them to save resources for the future are the strongest for the Christian and Hindu respondents. The Buddhist and non-religious respondents follow closely.

Concern for global warming is the highest for the Buddhist respondents (86%). In contrast to this they are the lowest in the area of using energy effective appliances with only 14 percent. It can be deduced that they see no connection between using ineffective and high energy appliances and its possible contribution to global warming.

Figure 2
Respondent's religion

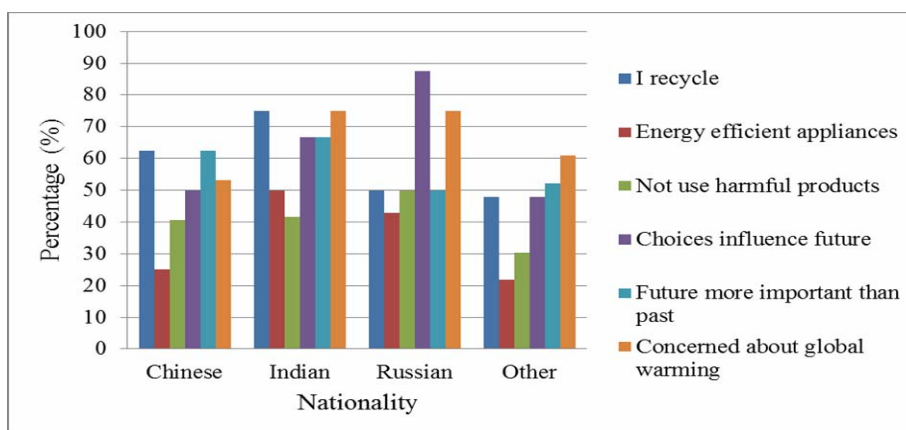


Source: Developed by the authors

Figure 3 below depicts the nationality or origin of the respondents. The Russian respondents are well aware that the choices they make now (88%) will have an impact on the future resources and environment. In contrast to this they do not regard the future as more important than the past. It can be construed that because they know how important their choices they make currently are and therefore in a few years time what is currently seen as the future will then be regarded as the past, their choices could be regarded as good and therefore there is not a huge difference between their past and their future. In some countries people are not so aware to save energy or by saving energy they could contribute to the well being of the future.

Indian and Russian respondent's view on global warming are the same whereas the Chinese respondents are less concerned with it. The question could be asked if it has to do with their huge industries and their contribution to carbon monoxide emissions that they are less concerned about it although they are members of the Kyoto Protocol and UNFCCC?

Figure 3
Respondent's nationality



Source: Developed by the authors

Trends in tertiary students' behaviour

As the environment has become more uncertain, engaged employees want more than to know the organisation will survive. They want to know how the organisation will best respond to challenges and capitalise on opportunities. Those organisations that have been in sheer survival mode will have a tougher time in sustainability and reducing carbon monoxide emissions and therefore restoring / maintaining trust in their organisations that they are committed to saving resources for future generations and how they will comply with it in their strategic direction. The current international students studying in New Zealand could be some of the leaders in the future and they will certainly need to lead from the front also on the sustainability of resources. Ryan, Tilbury, Corcoran, Abe and Nomura (2010) refer to higher education students becoming the managers and leaders of the future; therefore it is vital to "educate" them on sustainability, more so for international students.

The positive trend towards sustainability is evident in this research project. The respondents are very concerned about global warming and this confirms the trend

towards saving our resources for future generations. Another positive trend is that the majority of respondents are aware and even concerned about the choices that they make now and its influence it will have on the future. Considerable personal strength is required in the future to conserve our resources, and the notion that we now require audacious leaders to take advantage of opportunities does seem apt. Tertiary institutions should engage employees to develop curricula and to implement strategies in their institutions to develop future leaders' capabilities, to develop a greater sense for sustainability among students and to add value through their institutions by developing the trend that these students are showing to be more positive towards sustainability.

Recommendations

Sustainable competitive advantage will be gained from effectively leveraging social capital as our global economy continues to become more complex and more collaborative. As human capital is restricted to the individual, the knowledge creation capacity of social capital is of greater importance in ensuring a sustainable competitive advantage for the organisation. There needs to be a commitment from top management, governments and leaders to develop both human capital and social capital, and this will lead to greater synergy across the business, and more sustainable outcomes saving our resources for future generations. This recommendation is supported by Kouzes and Posner (2009) view on leadership.

The problems we face in achieving sustainability are large, but they can be overcome. They can't be solved just by changing the light bulbs (though that is certainly a good start). We will require new ways of thinking about how we live our lives – how we work, how we do business, how we eat, shop, travel and participate in our communities. We need to view resource use not as a linear process – turning raw materials into useful items, then disposing of them when they are no longer useful – but a cyclical process, where resources are instead reused indefinitely (University of Canterbury, n.d.).

It is of the utmost importance that international tertiary institutions take cognisance of this study and “re-develop” their curricula to include at least one session in every paper presented in their programmes about sustainability. This session could only cover the basics of conserving our most important resources for future generations.

7. Conclusions

It is evident that all the survey participants strongly associate the concept sustainability with their environment and it emphasises the need to link the

sustainable development with the economic, social, and cultural factors for the students to understand the complications and the challenges about the topic.

Some interesting factors came to the fore in this research project. It was found that it is the duty of everybody in New Zealand to protect our natural resources, all religions, and even the non-religious respondents (55%) agree that we are responsible for the future of our resources (nature) by the choices that we make now so that we protect our natural resources for future generations. It is evident that all the respondents strongly associate the concept sustainability with their environment and it emphasises the need to link the sustainable development with the economic, social, and cultural factors for the students to understand the complications and the challenges about the topic.

Furthermore, the research revealed that religion does not play a role in perceptions of international tertiary students in regards to choices that we make now for the future existence of our resources. Global warming is regarded as important and maybe crucial because the “strongly agree” responses recorded a high percentage for all religions, age groups and different nationalities. Despite the differences in the use of energy effective appliances, there were many similarities that appeared constantly across the survey such as for Question 24 that mankind’s choices have an influence on the environment.

The under twenty years of age group differ in their approach to the use of energy efficient appliances and they are of the opinion that harmful products do not affect them.

This study was done among international students and the trends in their approaches to sustainability issues were identified as they are from three different countries. This research determined and exemplified the current trends and attitudes of international tertiary students across all courses in that they want to save the resources for generations to come. The study puts together some recommendations that could be used to develop and formulate future strategies (in curricula) to encourage sustainable consumptions such as the fact that we need strong leaders to set the example and commitment from top management.

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THE DESIGN OF A NATIONWIDE SAMPLE FOR ROMANIAN YOUTHS LIVING IN RURAL AREAS: A MULTIPLE SOLUTION PROBLEM

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Vlad ACHIMESCU²

***Abstract:** This paper looks into methodological issues of sample design for a specific target population: Romanian youths (aged 16-35) that reside in rural areas. The first part of the paper will provide an overview into general issues that come from demographic trends, such as the overall population decline and especially the wave of emigration to Western Europe, and the pros and cons of the most widely used sampling techniques in Romania. The stages of the survey design itself comprise the second part. The most challenging part was how to reduce undercoverage problem by putting forward a sample frame, namely fieldwork procedures to identify as many elements of the target population as possible under real-life conditions. Multiple solutions were taken into consideration, before choosing one after field testing. The final part features an analysis of the survey focusing on the outcome of the sample design.*

***Key-words:** youths, sample design, random route, electoral register, systematic sampling*

1. Introduction

In real-life situations, designing a sample is not a straightforward task. Besides the demographical issues of our times that arise from mass migration towards Western Europe, there are other, more practical issues, such as the client's needs and requirements, cost containment, and the need to keep field operator error to a

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minimum. This paper aims to bring forward a discussion on the practical problems that arise from such issues while designing a nationwide sample of rural youths. All things considered, sample design in real-life situations is part of category of problems that have multiple solutions. Unlike the classical situation where a problem has just one correct answer, all other being false, we are dealing with several solutions, each with a different degree of efficiency.

The survey was part of a larger human resources development project of the Romanian Ministry of Labour and Social Protection entitled “An inclusive labour market in rural areas”, and with European Social Fund co-financing. BPI Management Group, a member of the project consortium, ran the research part of the project and commissioned a study on poverty, social exclusion and labour market opportunities for young people aged 16 to 35 that reside in rural areas. The overall research project was larger in scope, with the survey of rural youths being just one component. In addition, the project featured a policy and institutional framework analysis, secondary analysis on the social and economic status of rural youths, based on official statistics, a survey of employers and prospective employers, another survey of local and county officials with responsibilities concerning employment and social inclusion, as well as an ample and in-depth qualitative research on rural youths, employers and public officials. This paper will look only in the rural youth survey component of the research, more specifically the sample design.

The project covered seven out of the eight development regions of Romania. This meant 40 out of the 41 counties, with one county and the municipality of Bucharest forming the eighth development region. As this region was more than 90% urbanized, it made no sense to be included in the project as a whole and in the research component. Furthermore, the client’s brief asked that all counties should be included in the survey. In addition, the interviews would be face to face based on a multi-thematic questionnaire. This is an important element. The usual practice for nationwide Romanian samples for surveys using face to face interviews does not entail going into all the counties, mainly due to costs. The target size of the sample was set at 2,000 individuals; with the sample being representative of all youths aged 16 to 35 from the 40 counties. The fieldwork period was set in August 2011.

2. Demographic trends in Romania: population decline and migration issues

The first issue concerns the overall number of rural youths in Romania. For the 40 counties comprising the area selected for the survey, the total rural youth population amounted to 2.61 million persons aged 16 to 35, as of July 1, 2010, according to the National Statistics Office. In relative terms, this represented almost 98% of the entire

rural youth population of Romania. However, this data is accompanied by a revealing disclaimer note on the National Statistics Office website (INS, 2012). The main source of the statistics is administrative data provided by the Interior Ministry. According to the disclaimer, “the source does not cover the entire migration phenomenon, especially emigration. As a result, there is a severe underrepresentation of this phenomenon that leads to an overestimate of Romania’s population”.

Taking into account the client’s requirement to reach all 40 counties, the issue of the nationwide and county population total in rural areas becomes even more significant. Setting up a survey for the rural population might seem unusual for in a European society. Like other Central and Eastern European countries, Romania still has a large, significant minority of the population residing in rural areas (Cace C., Cace S., Nicolăescu V, 2011, p. 20). In fact, the industrialization and urbanization process was not that far away in time. After the World War Two, just two generations ago, more than three quarters of the population resided in rural areas (INS, 2002). The share of the population residing in rural areas decreased to around 45% by the end of the Communist regime in 1989. In absolute terms, the rural population declined from 12.16 million to less than 10.84 from the late 1940s to 1989.

After the 1989 Revolution, the share of rural the population remained around 45% (INS, 2012). On July 1, 2010, 9.63 million persons were registered in the official statics as residing in rural areas. Based on this data, rural youths would represent around 27.8% of the entire rural population and 42.4% of the entire youth population of Romania.

The two overlapping demographic trends, (1) a net loss in population, including rural population, due to failing birth rates and another (2) net loss in population due to emigration, are important for sample design. In the 40 counties included in the research there are 2,824 communes – the lowest level of administrative division comprising one or, in most cases, several villages. The population decline, especially due to emigration, might lead to situations in which some villages have very few youths. The decline in fertility occurred in the late 1980s, as a social feedback to the forced pronatalist policies of the old regime (Zamfir, 1999), and increased markedly during the 1990s, first as a result of the legalization of abortion, second due to the explosion of poverty and decrease of the living standards (Zamfir, 1999, Zamfir, 2004, p. 47-51, Ghețău, 2004).

While in the 1990s, the main source of population decline was the low fertility, it was superseded by emigration in the last decade, with immigration far too low to make an impact (Ghețău, 2007, p. 3). During the two decades since the 1989 Revolution, work migration and emigration were low, with a visa regime in place for Western Europe. Romania’s process of accession to the EU changed this. First, visa for the then 15 EU member states and the Schengen area were waived in 2001. On January 1,

2007, Romania joined the EU, which further eased travelling abroad. A revealing insight about the size of the emigration wave was revealed by the 2002 census. The final census data showed a difference close to 1 million persons between the administrative data of the Interior Ministry, which forms the basis for the official population statistics (INS, 2012).

After the completion of this survey, the preliminary results of the 2011 census released in early 2012 revealed that Romania's population decreased to just 18.3 million, with some 700,000 being temporary out of the country (INS 2012). Even with arguable inherent organizational deficiencies that result in some part of the population not being counted, the overall figure of the census means a population decrease close around 17% less than a quarter of a century. All this has an impact on sample design, as public figures on the county and commune population totals are according to the Interior Ministry figures, not census data. To this extent, the disclaimer of the National Statistics Office becomes even more relevant.

3. The practice of survey design in Romania: electoral register, random route or CATI?

The practice of designing nationwide samples in Romania features probability designs, with stratified multistage samples being by far the most common. The probability design "assigns to that each element in the frame a known and nonzero chance to be chosen" (Groves, 2004, p. 94). The main difference between these designs is the sample frame used in the last stage of the sampling. The three types of sample frames used in Romania are:

1. all adults, through the use of the electoral register, which includes all non-institutionalized adults and excludes those that have lost the right to vote because of a penal sentence (a tiny minority); this type of sample frame is called in practice "the electoral register";
2. households, through systematic sampling in sample areas, such as city blocks or housing units that comprise a polling station; in survey practice, this is called "the random route" option;
3. households, through lists of fixed and mobile telephony subscribers; this is usually named after the data collection method, that is the computer assisted telephone interview (CATI).

As we have seen above, the name of data collection method takes over the type of survey design. The data collection methods most widely used are: (1) face-to-face interviews with printed questionnaires (PAPI – paper and pencil interviewing), which is under a rather slow, especially in academic research, process of being replaced with (2) computer assisted personal interviews (CAPI). The latter eliminates the

possibility that fieldworkers would complete the questionnaires themselves, enables real-time monitoring of the fieldwork, and dramatically decreases the completion time of the database. Moreover, there is no cost with inserting the data from the paper questionnaire into a database, as it is done by computer software at the moment the field operator presses the key on the terminals (tablet PC or small laptop). Computer assisted telephone interview (CATI) is rapidly gaining ground especially in marketing, outside academic research.

The key issue is to what extent the theoretical probability design is carried through in practice. The importance is critical, because from the client's point of view a survey is worth the cost as long as the sample data is representative for the target population. The representativeness of a sample is quantifiable for probability designs only. Because of different sample designs, "representativeness is a relative notion" (Rotariu, 2006 p. 87) even for such samples are less or more representative, not just entirely representative or not at all. Probability designs, as the name suggests, rely on the mathematics of probability theory to infer that sample data describe characteristics of a population. The central limit theory, for instance, is valid for probability distributions only (Brase and Brase, 2009, p. 302). There are also non-probabilistic designs such as snowball sampling, or more recently responded driven sampling (Heckathorn, 1997). While sometimes successfully approximating rare and dispersed populations (such as drug addicts), these designs are more efficient on local samples than on a national level, where interview operators are hard to control. Let us review the above mentioned sample frames with their advantages and disadvantages.

The use of the *electoral register* presents the obvious unique advantage of include almost all adults. In European countries, including the UK where voter registration is made by the authorities by default, without the citizens having to register to an electoral authority, the electoral register is used extensively for random sampling at the last stage of respondent selection (Foster, 1993). Persons that have lost their right to vote because of sentencing or institutionalized persons are not included, but such persons make a negligible minority. Moreover, the use of an electoral register as a sampling frame is consistent with PAPI or CAPI data collections and with multi-thematic questionnaires, which are used in academic research. Another plus is the possibility to select a random sample of respondents from the electoral register of a precinct. For obtaining a probability sample, a simple random sample of individuals is always better than a systematic one of households. In short, the electoral register satisfies best both the undercoverage and the randomness issues. Last but not least, it is easier to monitor the progress and performance of field operators. The selection of respondents from the sample frame is done by those in charge of sampling, not by field operators, thus removing an important source of error.

In practice, the use of the electoral register as a sample base is severely limited. There are two causes: the unavailability or lack of access to the electoral register and, quite unexpectedly an issue with overcoverage instead of undercoverage. Due to changes in administrative law in the mid 2000s, access to the electoral register, even for research purposes only, has been severely restricted. There is just one place nationwide where access is granted to the electoral role in electronic form: the Permanent Electoral Authority. While access could be asked for, it is not the same thing with being granted. Moreover, the only way to access data is by the terminals at the Authority's premises and to a very limited number of persons. This seriously hampers the sampling work by taking much more time. For a nationwide sample of 1,200 or 2,000 persons, such as the case for the rural youths research project, plus a considerable number of reserve contacts for the field operators, the amount of time required would simply be unpractical. Another way of gaining access to the electoral register is by submitting an official request to the mayors in each of the communes or cities included in a sample. In this case, the electoral register is given in hardcopy only, while paying a tax for the cost of the photocopies. The cost tends to be significant per page. Additionally, acceptance or denial of the request is at the will of the mayor's office. In short, the logistics and costs of access to the electoral register deem this variant unpractical, too. In rural areas, the electoral register has one more flaw. The addresses are not updated, so that the house numbers (most villages have no street names) do not correspond with those on the list, making it very difficult for the field operator to find a person just by its name in a village of thousands or hundreds. Moreover, in some villages, most inhabitants have similar surnames, an addition source of difficulty.

The second issue with the electoral register comes from the size of the population included in it. For the past more than 20 years since the Revolution, the population total on the electoral register has increased, while the overall population, both the Ministry of Interior and census data, which differ, point to a decrease.

Table 1

Population totals (adults only) in the electoral register, official statistics and census

Year	Electoral register	Adult population – official statistics	Census 2002
1990	17.200.722	16.608.208	
1992	16.380.663	16.288.133	
1996	17.218.654	17.146.982	
2000	17.699.727	17.437.135	
2004	18.449.344	17.088.071	16.833.541
2008	18.464.274	17.257.981	

Source: National Statistics Office

As we can see in table 1, the total number of adults registered in the electoral register has increased over time. During the same period, the Interior Ministry data shows a far lower increase, while the census data points to a decrease. This difference could not be became an obvious issue at the 2004 election. According to Comşa and Rotariu (2004, pp. 31-32), this phenomenon could not be explained by demographics, rather through low administrative capacity. The mayors do not update the electoral register. Therefore, people that moved on to another place, emigrated or are no longer alive still figure in the electoral register. In practice, this overcoverage of population means more that more contacts need to be given to field operators. Hedging for this and low response rates in urban areas, a field operator would require up to three times as many contacts for a certain target of interviews. This means more work and more time allotted for sampling from the electoral register, more time, frustration and travel costs for the field operators, especially in rural areas.

As a result of the abovementioned difficulties in accessing the electoral register, very few surveys use it as a sample frame. The most notable example of its usage in Romania is the Research Institute for Quality of Life's program of surveys, which began in 1990 (Mărginean and Precupeţu, 2011). Taking into account the time and cost requirements of the client for the rural youths survey, it could not be considered as an option for sampling frame, in spite of its advantages.

The so-called *random route* is still the most widely used sample frame in survey design in Romania. It is used with the face-to-face interview data collection method. In fact, it is area sampling, with systematic sampling of households over an area, be it usually a precinct or just a part of a city or town. The field operator selects one in several households across his or hers progression through the sample area. Sometimes maps are provided. This would be an equal-probability method of selecting respondents, since every household seems to have the same theoretical chance of being included in the sample. It would make systematic sample function in a similar manner to simple random sampling, hence the random route name. In order to further "randomize" the approach, the procedure for selecting the individuals inside the household is a random one, usually the field operator looking for the person that is about to have or just had his or hers birthday. Notice that this is a hybrid, with a systematic sampling of households and a random one of individuals inside the households. Therefore, the random route is not really random. Developed in marketing surveys, this procedure is easy to use, cost effective, and benefits from field operators experienced at its use. However, marketing surveys are focused more on cost effectiveness at the expense of precision, while academic and other type of research require precision, even at a higher cost.

Its disadvantages lie in the risk of undercoverage and biased selection. The result is a non-probability sample, which is not representative of the population, regardless of

the sample size or the correct procedures used in selecting the sample areas. Of the three sample frames, it is the only one in risk of resulting in a non-probability sample. The main weakness lies in giving the field operator control over the selection of the households and, even more important, of the respondent from within the household. The field operator could easily not comply with the skip or sampling interval, through intended or unintended error.

However, the most serious problem is with respondent selection inside the household. If the selection probability among households is equal, the chance for a single adult to be selected is not, as it becomes inversely proportional to the number of adults in the household. There is little incentive for the field operator not to select the first person who comes across and report that person as the next that would or had his or hers birthday. This leads to underrepresentation of certain categories, such as males, young people or those with a job or a business and overrepresentation of other categories, such as retired people and women. After the sample data is collected, weighting becomes no longer just an option, but a requirement. Another source of undercoverage is the fact that the field operator does not progress through the entire sampling area. The selection process is completed when the interview target is achieved. In a precinct of 1,000 people this would understandably leave a significant part out of the selection process. Nevertheless, this is an unavoidable issue with area sampling.

The initial procedure called for a systematic sampling of households, followed by a systematic sampling of individuals. In effect, this meant a mini-census of the sample area, which is time consuming and not cost effective. In order to skip the birthday selection method, prone to fraud, and avoid its effect, the underrepresentation of certain population subcategories, Kish (1965) introduced the use of grids or contingency tables. The goal to achieve randomness and representation might have been reached in the mid 20th century America, but recent work in Hungary, a neighbouring Central European country, suggests that modifications are needed to fit the specifics of the survey (Nemeth, 2003).

In practice, the problem of lack of control over the field operators is partially resolved through a costly operation of field control. This requires another person to retrace, on the phone or on the field, the steps of the operator and check the compliance with the skip, the selection procedure inside the household, and the completion of the interview based on all the items on the questionnaire. Should fraud be detected, the same operator or another one would remake the interviews for the allotted sample area. While reducing the risk, the procedure is costly and reasonably effective with small samples that do not cover a large area or do not have so many sample areas. In many cases, while there is a procedure for control, it is not that extensive due to costs.

The so called *CATI* method is a sample frame comprising households reachable through fixed and mobile telephony. In this case, the frame consists of the list of telephony networks' clients that use subscriptions or pre-paid cards. As a sampling technique, *CATI* features several advantages. Firstly, it dramatically reduces costs. Phone operators are paid much less per questionnaire than field operators. There are no transport costs, which usually are a significant part of the survey budget. As with *CAPI*, the database is created by the software. Moreover, since the interviews could easily be recorded, the risk of operator fraud is completely eliminated. Secondly, it provides randomness in selecting the respondents. Unlike face to face interviews, the field operator no longer has to look for the respondents. The software selects the respondents from its database directly through random digit dialling (Groves, 2004, p. 74) or preceded by a stratification of sampling units (Groves, 2004, p. 127).

The main weakness of *CATI* as a sampling frame procedure stems from the risks to the probability design. The basic approach is a random selection from a list of households (for fixed telephony) and individuals (mobile telephony). There are three main sources of risk for that each individual in the target population would have the same known and nonzero chance of entering the frame: (1) ineligibility, (2) clustering, and (3) duplication. (1) Ineligibility means that some of the population has no telephony access, the numbers may be non-working or nonresidential (business, public services, etc.), or the numbers may be private, no longer listed in the phone list. In addition, the respondents for fixed telephony numbers tend to be older and female, according to the subset of population that spends more time at home. Poor people are less likely to be covered, while younger, more active people are more likely users of mobile than fixed telephony. (2) Clustering occurs when more users are assigned to the same number, usually fixed telephony. A person's chance to be selected is inversely proportional to household size. (3) Duplication means that one person could have in use more telephone numbers, being at the same a subscriber to one fixed telephony network and one or more mobile networks. This would increase that person's chances of entering the frame as compared with others. In addition to these three there is the issue of nonresponse due to refusals. Younger people or those living in large urban areas are less likely to accept the interview to lower social trust. The basic solution to these problems is the use of quotas sampling. In the sample design, the population is stratified according to age, sex, region etc. Targets of number of interviews are given to the phone operators' supervisor. As a technique, *CATI* is by and large avoided in academic research, especially because of the use of multi-thematic questionnaires that entail longer interviews.

4. Designing a sample for rural youths: stratification

This section will cover the stratification part of the design sample. In itself, it did not pose difficult challenges. The project's brief called for communes from 40 counties out of 41 to be included in the sample, which is seldom asked for by research clients. Since most clients do not have a detailed brief and because of cost containment, nationwide samples in Romania usually include a number of counties from the mid 20s to the mid 30s.

For the stratification procedure, the question was what kind of criteria to use for breaking down into categories the 2,824 communes in the 40 counties. Due to Romania's geography, plains, hills and mountains make up around one third of the area. Therefore, the communes vary not only in terms of population, but more importantly in terms of the layout.

Table 2
Sample strata for nationwide rural youths survey

No.	County	Communes by population size							
		Total number of inhabitants				No. of communes selected in the sample			
		Small	Medium	Large	Total	Small	Medium	Large	Total
1	Alba	12.074	16.939	12.177	41.190	0	1	1	2
2	Arad	8.478	20.394	28.625	57.497	1	1	1	3
3	Arges	48.371	25.882	12.987	87.240	2	1	1	4
4	Bacau	3.841	21.217	90.111	115.169	0	1	5	6
5	Bihor	12.211	30.204	39.735	82.150	1	1	2	4
6	Bistrita-N	5.958	16.150	37.094	59.202	0	1	2	3
7	Botosani	7.044	27.936	33.847	68.827	0	1	3	4
8	Braila	5.477	16.628	9.514	31.619	0	1	1	2
9	Brasov	5.240	14.054	28.385	47.679	0	1	1	2
10	Buzau	10.560	23.322	36.459	70.341	1	1	2	4
11	Calarasi	5.558	14.259	30.074	49.891	0	1	2	3
12	Caras-Severin	16.263	15.196	5.556	37.015	1	1	0	2
13	Cluj	12.709	12.834	36.651	62.194	1	1	1	3
14	Constanta	6.144	17.044	45.096	68.284	0	1	2	3
15	Covasna	7.234	6.028	19.577	32.839	0	0	1	1
16	Dambovita	3.821	16.188	85.917	105.926	0	1	4	5
17	Dolj	20.840	20.198	39.027	80.065	1	1	2	4
18	Galati	8.653	8.631	60.739	78.023	0	1	3	4
19	Giurgiu	6.910	15.983	27.170	50.063	0	1	2	3
20	Gorj	8.275	21.127	25.359	54.761	1	1	1	3
21	Harghita	7.495	17.973	27.669	53.137	1	1	1	3
22	Hunedoara	12.312	11.682	1.129	25.123	1	0	0	1
23	Ialomita	13.216	18.085	8.522	39.823	1	1	0	2
24	Iasi	4.265	18.379	110.569	133.213	0	1	6	7
25	Ilfov	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	Maramures	6.448	17.661	38.446	62.555	0	1	2	3

No.	County	Communes by population size							
		Total number of inhabitants				No. of communes selected in the sample			
		Small	Medium	Large	Total	Small	Medium	Large	Total
27	Mehedinti	12.760	15.156	9.685	37.601	1	1	0	2
28	Mures	13.881	19.846	45.049	78.776	1	1	2	4
29	Neamt	7.714	16.910	76.526	101.150	0	1	4	5
30	Olt	22.358	27.712	17.543	67.613	1	1	1	3
31	Prahova	8.805	14.918	88.416	112.139	1	1	4	6
32	Salaj	11.480	17.525	7.511	36.516	1	1	0	2
33	Satu Mare	6.411	16.679	35.597	58.687	0	1	2	3
34	Sibiu	7.363	16.496	19.269	43.128	0	1	1	2
35	Suceava	5.839	25.707	88.543	120.089	1	1	4	6
36	Teleorman	19.219	25.082	16.339	60.640	1	1	1	3
37	Timis	13.710	26.862	38.037	78.609	1	1	2	4
38	Tulcea	7.919	13.796	12.704	34.419	0	1	1	2
39	Valcea	15.423	26.260	13.391	55.074	1	1	1	3
40	Vaslui	11.730	25.832	33.188	70.750	1	1	2	4
41	Vrancea	9.470	15.446	41.292	66.208	0	1	2	3
	Total	433.479	748.221	1.433.525	2.615.225	22	38	73	133
	Share (%)	16,6	28,6	54,8	100	16,5	28,6	54,9	100,0

Where terrain is flat or hilly, the housing is usually clustered, either alongside around the major road through the commune or at least in compact major subunits. In mountainous area houses are more scattered, sometimes even making the mapping of the area very difficult. Another criterion would be the communes overall development level, which in turn is often strongly correlated with the proximity of a major city. Official data in terms of breaking down communes by predominant terrain type or level of development, though useful, is lacking. What is available is a population total for each commune, even the number of people aged 16-35. This data is provided by the Ministry of the Interior, so they should not be taken for granted. How much the emigration wave has changed the situation remains to be revealed by the 2012 census. However, we considered this data to be a useful criterion with the benefit of the doubt.

According to the number of inhabitants aged 16-35, the 2.824 communes from 40 counties feature the following breakdown (see table 2):

- up to 604 inhabitants; 959 communes totalling 433,479 people, 16,6% of total rural youth population;
- from 605 to 1.025 de inhabitants; 943 communes with 752,032 people, 28,6% out of total rural youths;
- over 1.025; 922 communes with 1,485,313 people, 54,8% out of total rural youths.

A matrix was designed using the two stratification criteria, the county and the commune type by population. Each commune had allotted to it 15 questionnaires, resulting in 133 communes in the sample (a handful had 16 due to rounding up to 2,000), selected with a probability proportional to commune size in terms of youth population. The result was a matrix with 120 cells (40 x 3), all eligible. For each cell selection of one or more communes, according to the matrix, by a simple random selection the total number of communes ranked alphabetically. As a result, the sample of communes was as follows:

- 22 communes in the first category, totalling 330 questionnaires, amounting to 16,5% of sample size;
- 37 communes in the second category, totalling 557 questionnaires, 27,85% of sample size;
- 74 communes in the third category, totalling 1,113 questionnaires, 55.65% of sample size.

Once the communes were identified, each one was checked up with the local field operators, looking for communes in the first category, which would be seriously depopulated or for other issues. In Hunedoara County, the single commune from the first category was replaced, aptly called “Bătrâna” (Romanian for Old Lady), after it was reported that the total number of youths in the commune is significantly lower than official data: less than 20 instead of around 50. The main challenge in the next step of sample design was the sample frame, namely devising the procedure for respondent selection.

5. Designing a sample for rural youths: the sample frame

After selecting the 133 communes where the fieldwork would take place, the last stage posed the challenge of what kind of sample frame to use. As we have seen above, all three major types of sampling frames – electoral register, random route and CATI – have their own pros and cons. Under the research brief, the use of the electoral register was not a realistic option due to time constraints. Added to the difficulty of access to the electoral register was the required additional effort to sort out the youths from all the entries in the electoral register. CATI was not really on the table since the brief called for a multi-thematic questionnaire. The interview’s duration meant a very long phone call, at or above the limit of what is practical. The only option left standing was to devise a procedure of systematic sampling in the manner of the random route, using as sample areas parts of villages. As noted by Kalton (1983, p. 62), “the difficult problem of sampling rare populations arises when the survey population comprises only a small fraction of the frame, and when the frame does not provide the means to identify elements in the survey population”.

This section of the paper deals with the ideas that were put forward, the presumptive solution, its field work and the final set of procedures for systematic sampling that made up the sampling frame for the survey of rural youths in Romania. As we have discussed above, the main disadvantage of the random route is the biased selection of the respondent households member by the field operator. Intuitively, the path to the solution meant limiting the control of the field operator over which household and which person within the household to visit.

The first option was the use of Kish tables. The field operators lacked experience in using them, which was a drawback. Moreover, it would not guarantee in a reasonable manner the reduction of household or respondent selection bias. The operators could add fictive household members so that the interviewee would be the person at home at the time of visit. Besides, having a households list as sample frame was risky due to demographics. Field operators could spend a lot of time before finding households with youths in the overall context of population decline and emigration.

A mini-census of youths in the village was another idea. It would involve asking for assistance from the local authorities for drawing up a list of young residing in the village, followed by random or systematic sampling. This option implied full co-operation from commune mayors, which was far from certain. Besides, field operators would again be in some control, as could change the order on the list to fit the persons they found at home.

The mini-census idea had the merit of bringing forward a change from a household list to individuals. The frame would not contain households from a sample area, but individuals from the survey's target population. Addressing the issue of surveys that have as target population only a part of the sample frame, Kalton (1983, p. 61-62) suggests a two-phase design. In the first phase a cluster of households is selected to provide a list of at adults several times over the target of interviews. This is followed in the second phase with conducting screening interviews to select from all the adults in sample area only those that fall in the target population. A systematic sample is then used, with no more than one adult from a household.

At this point we developed a procedure for the selection of youths from sampling areas to be tested in a real-life situation. In order to get a list of all persons aged 16-35 from a village area, the field operator would need to cover the entire area, namely housing, small businesses, shops etc, in effect giving a picture of how the villages look like. All this information would be entered in a field card. For each household, just the youths, but every single one, would be entered, in descending order by age, with the first name, gender and age. The selection by age was introduced to two reasons. First, so that the field operator would not interview the first youth found in

the household; second, to circumvent the bias of non-selecting those around and over 30, which spend less time at home due to work.

The overall selection procedure required the following:

- the field operator visits each households in his or hers progress in the sampling area;
- a sampling interval of three, meaning a skip of two youths; the sampling interval covers youths only, not households;
- no more than one questionnaire per household;
- all people aged 16-35 are to be entered in the field card, but those that have left the household abroad or in other parts of the country would not be counted in the sampling interval; those that commute to work count for the sampling interval;
- if there are more than 3 youths in a household, they are entered in the field card, but do not count for the sampling interval;
- the first interview will be conducted with the eldest youth from the first household with youths;
- in case of refusal, the sampling interval is maintained with the skip of the following two;
- if the selected youth is not at home, the field operator would return later in the day; under no conditions should an interview be conducted with the next youth in the household.

Other detailed instructions were about the progress through the sampling area (see the *Typical village* figure). Operators would continue on the same part of the street from where the first interview was conducted. Rules were set about continuing on adjacent streets. Each field operator was provided with detailed instructions, including the attached map with an example for respondent selection in a typical village. The skip was set at two because of the population decrease trend. With the average household around 2.8-2.9 in rural areas, according to the 2002 census, the probability that a household would have more than 3 youths ages 16-35 would be low.

Another issue was where the operator would begin once in the village. The standard procedure was used during field testing, that is to choose a reference point on the main road like the commune hall or the church and start opposite. The field testing was done at the same time with the one for the questionnaire in Dâmbovița County, which due to its geography features communes in plains, hills and mountains. Field testing revealed a flaw in the procedure to select respondents, in that the reference point could take the field operators towards an area with few households. Therefore,

another procedure was put forward, whereby the mayors would be asked to recommend a starting point, preferably on the main road, in an area with enough households to reach the target of interviews. The target was set to 8 in the most populated village of the commune and 7 in one other randomly chosen village, but excluding from the selection hamlets, i.e. severely depopulated, small settlements.

6. Analysis of the field cards database

The data from the field cards was entered in a database of its own, different from the survey database. While the survey database includes 1,943 valid questionnaires, the other one is considerably larger with a total of 6,028 entries. It covers all the persons from the target population included in the target frame as well as those excluded because of long-term absence from their residence, like emigrants. This section of the paper features an analysis of the data from the field cards database. Using statistical tests, we will look into whether or not differences exist between the distributions of the youths that entered the survey sample, the ones in the sample frame, as well as other relevant categories, such as those unavailable or out of the country.

Out of the total 6,028 youths included in the field card database:

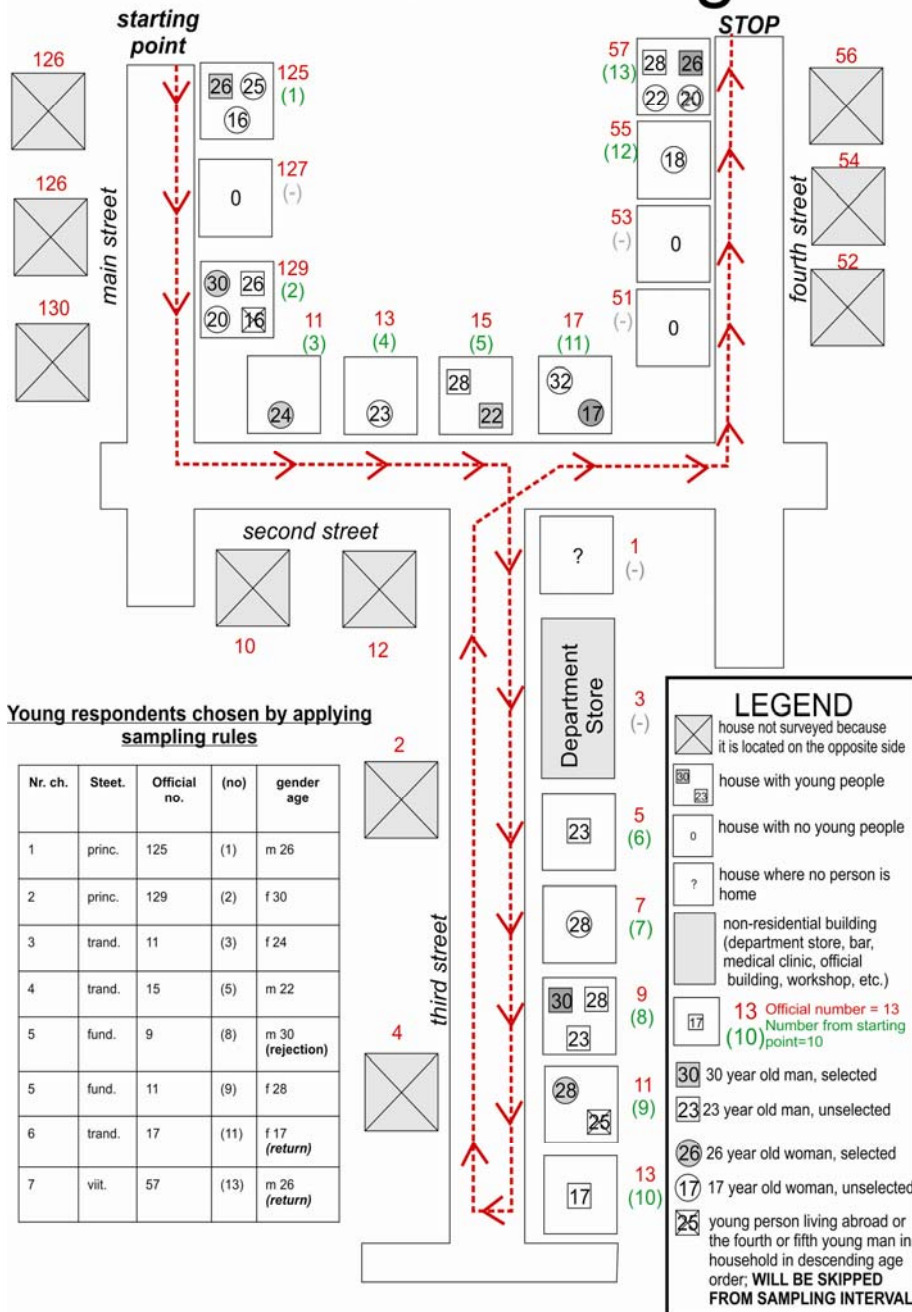
- 32% are youths that were interviewed, they formed the source for the survey database;
- 53% were screened but skipped, including those residing in Romania that were not at home at the time of the survey;
- 13% were not available, approximately half of which were out of the country;
- 2% were non responses due to refusal to take part in the survey.

The number of persons that were unable or unwilling to be interviewed is quite low. The former might be underestimated because of the difficulty to obtain socio-demographics data for youths where there was no relative at home at the time of the field operator's visit. These situations were in part remedied by using the neighbours as informants.

Table 3
Gender distribution: percentage of the survey database youths, skipped, unavailable, emigrants, and field card database total

Category	Survey database	Skip	Unavailable	Emigrants	Total
Men (%)	51	53	62	61	53
Women (%)	49	47	38	39	47

TYPICAL Village



Young respondents chosen by applying sampling rules

Nr. ch.	Street.	Official no.	(no)	gender age
1	princ.	125	(1)	m 26
2	princ.	129	(2)	f 30
3	trand.	11	(3)	f 24
4	trand.	15	(5)	m 22
5	fund.	9	(8)	m 30 (rejection)
5	fund.	11	(9)	f 28
6	trand.	17	(11)	f 17 (return)
7	viit.	57	(13)	m 26 (return)

The gender profile of the survey database youths does not differ significantly (chi square test P-value is above α at 5% level of significance) compared to the field card database total: 51% percent men compared to 53%. However, for those that were unavailable the share of men was much higher than that of women (62% vs. 38%). This might be due to the fact that a disproportionately higher share of rural men is employed compared to women, thus increasing their chances of not being available.

Table 4

Age group distribution: percentage of the survey database youths, skipped, unavailable, emigrants, and field card database total

Category	<18	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35
Survey database	13	18	25	22	22
Skipped	13	19	27	22	19
Unavailable	6	14	30	27	23
Emigrants	3	11	31	30	25
Total	13	18	27	22	20

The age group distribution for the survey database youths is very close to the one of those that were skipped and, more importantly, to the field card database total. There is a statistically significant difference between the survey youths and those skipped for the 31 to 35 age group: 22% compared with almost 19% (chi square test P-value is above α at 5% level of significance, but not at 1% level of significance).

Those that were unavailable have a higher share for the 21-30 age group (57% compared to 47% in the survey database), most likely due to commuters. For those out of the country, the age group distribution reveals a very low share for those under 21, which is explainable through the difficulty of finding work in another country at such an age. However, this does not affect the overall sample, as emigrants are around 7% of the field card database.

Table 5

Age group distribution, women: percentage of the survey database youths, skipped, unavailable, emigrants, and field card database total

Category	<18	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35
Survey database	13	16	24	22	25
Skipped	15	20	27	21	17
Unavailable	7	14	34	21	24
Emigrants	6	10	37	23	24
Total	15	18	26	21	20

The largest difference of percentage points for all socio-demographical categories was found at the age group distribution for women. In the survey database the share of women aged 31-35 group is 8 percentage points higher compared with the same group in the skipped category and 5 percentage points higher than in the field card database. Such a difference in percentage points is statistically significant as well (chi square test P-value is below α at 1% level of significance). The higher response for housewives compared with employed women might be a cause. For women, the chance of employment is much higher around 30 and over than for in the lower or mid 20s.

Table 6

Age group distribution, men: percentage of the survey database youths, skipped, unavailable, emigrants, and field card database total

Category	<18	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35
Survey database	12	19	27	22	20
Skipped	11	19	27	23	20
Unavailable	5	13	28	31	23
Emigrants	2	11	27	34	26
Total	11	18	27	24	20

For men, there are no statistically significant differences between the survey database, the ones that were skipped and the field card database. Therefore, in the overall database, when both genders are included, the difference for the 31-35 age group between the former and the latter databases climbs down to just 2 percentage points, which is reasonable.

Table 7

Employment status distribution: percentage of the survey database youths, skipped, and field card database total

Category	Survey database	Skipped	Total
Not employed	71	71	72
Employed in the village	16	14	15
Employed, commuter	11	14	11
Employed, unspecified	2	1	2

Regarding the employment status, between 70-72% are not employed, 14-16% are employed in their village, 11-14% are employed outside the village, having to commute, and for the rest of 1-2% that are employed there was no available

information. There are no significant differences concerning the not employed category between the three main categories, survey database, skipped, and field card database. The differences between employed in the village and commuters are statistically significant (chi square test P-value is below α at 5% level of significance), but their share in the overall population is low. Further differences on employment status in terms of gender and age group are very low and not statistically significant.

The analysis of the field cards database and its components on those that were not selected for interviews and thus not included in the survey database – skipped, unavailable, emigrants – suggests that the field operators complied with the respondent selection procedures. Further systematic control of the field workers confirmed that the sample interval was by and large complied with. There are no major differences in the distributions between those included in the survey database and those skipped in terms of gender, age group or employment status.

The youths that were to be selected, but did not carry out the interview, were mainly unavailable, not at home during the field operator's visit. Some of them were commuter workers. Men aged 25-30 and women aged 21-25 were unavailable more often than other categories. The profile of those that are out of the country is similar to the others that were unavailable: likely males, aged around 30 and over. The overall share of those that were to be selected, but did not carry out the interview is reasonably low (15%). Since their profile is not very different compared to the rest of rural youths, the survey database could be used without weighting.

Table 8
Comparison between field card database, the survey database and the National Statistics Institute's (INS) population statistics

Total	Field card database	Survey database	Ins	Percentage point difference
Men	51	52	53	-2
Women	49	48	47	+2
16-18	13	13	9	+4
19-20	18	19	14	+4
21-25	25	26	26	+1
26-30	22	22	24	-2
31-35	22	20	27	-5

A comparison between the sample data and the official data from the National Institute of Statistics shows only minor differences in terms of gender (2% less females in sample) and age (4% more youths aged 16-20, 2-5% more youths aged

26-35 in sample). Keeping in mind that the official data does not fully take into consideration the emigration phenomenon, these differences can be accounted for.

7. Discussion

Sample design, including the issue of sample frames is a problem with multiple solutions. When dealing with large populations, there is no such thing as on the one hand a single correct, full-proof way of designing a sample, representative of the target population and on the other hand an infinite number of incorrect sample designs. Each sample design has its own degree of representativeness, of cost efficiency and data quality. The client's needs and goals play an important role, ranging from the highest potential precision to as cost effective as possible at the expense of precision. Therefore, the basic approach to sample design should set its starting point in the project's brief and not in a universal sample design applicable by sociologists to all briefs.

Dealing with the unknowns about the target population and the undercoverage issues of any major sample frame type leads to a situation where decisions need to be taken under persistent uncertainty. Open cognitive systems tend to make better decisions when faced with these challenges. Such systems for decision feature several traits, such as: continuous exploration for alternatives, sensitivity to feedback, keeping decisions open to revision, admitting relative truths, and the logic of problems with more than one solution, but with different levels of effectiveness (Zamfir, 1990, pp. 90-92).

The challenge of designing a representative sample for the young population of Romania falls into this category, as many possible options are available, but none seems to avoid all known biases. Our solution was developed from both theoretical and empirical points of view, always keeping the issue of costs in mind. In the end, it was an elimination process that led to the final two-step design presented in this article. *CATI* and *random route* were excluded mainly because of inflated sample frame (most households do not contain youths, most fixed line telephony subscribers are people over 35) but also undercoverage, since using a random route would have meant skipping over households with many youths, and the fact that not all young people use phones. Non-probabilistic methods, like *responded driven sampling* were also excluded, due to not being representative for such a large population such as the 2.6 million of rural youths. *Sampling with electoral lists* was disregarded because of their unreliability and the legal impediments to use them. In conclusion, after eliminating these methods and checking the available literature (Kalton, 1983, p.61), all that remained was to use a two-step design, the first step being a mini-census of an area of the village from the sample (insufficient funding prevented making a census of the whole village).

There remained the problem of selecting the respondent. The lack of experience of interview operators and the difficulty of verifying them disfavoured the use of Kish tables and led us to choose the systematic sampling of individuals and not households in the second step. Field testing before starting allowed for some more fine tuning (such as setting the starting point and revising the statistical step), and through this iterative process a method was put forward. The data collected through field cards allowed for an analysis that validated the choices made in the sample design for the rural youths survey, recommending it for future national studies where the target is only a fraction of the entire population and is not found in every household.

On a more general note regarding the three main types of sample frames used in Romania, there should be more use of the electoral register. The problem of undercoverage is best resolved with this type of sample frame. Access to the electoral systems should be revised, returned to the more open manner of the 1990s. Since the electoral register is maintained by taxpayer money, including the public institution that has the software and the database for its centralized maintenance, there is no sensible reason for making access so difficult, even for commercial research purposes. On the other hand, the overcoverage of the electoral register is a serious issue, stemming from poor administrative capacity. It is unacceptable for a country in the 21st century that the total of registered voters is higher by the order of millions than the current population statistics and census data.

In Romania, the list of fixed and mobile telephony users is arguably the most used sample frame of the (near) future. Its use will become even more widespread for marketing, due to its cost efficiency. Some, but not all, non-commercial surveys, will use CATI as well, while in some special circumstances, such as academic research projects, face-to-face interviews will remain and call for the use of the other two sampling frames. Without electronic access to the electoral register, even with a modest tax, CATI is the only practical, cost-effective alternative. Internet based polls could become an option for target populations such as urban residents, upward mobile, younger people.

Last but not least there is the random route. When the sampling interval uses households, the random route is not really random. A screening process should be followed by systematic sampling of individuals. For both sampling frames that use face to face interviews as data collection methods, it is essential to reduce the risk of questionnaire fraud and selection bias by keeping key decisions, such as the respondent selection, away from the discretion of the field operators. On the other hand, this should not lead to the other extreme of control freakery or demanding the all but the impossible from the field operators. Field testing is essential both for the sampling frame and questionnaire design.

As for data collection methods, PAPI is to be replaced by CAPI in Romania as well. The process has already begun with major market research organizations. While the initial cost is substantial, there are long term benefits in costs per research reduction, less risks of questionnaire fraud, fieldwork monitoring and decrease of database completion times. Not wasting paper is an additional point for consideration. Regarding sample size, the higher the better. Although sometimes challenging logistically, it is better for a nationwide sample to be much higher than a 900-strong minimum. Even if the overall margin of error does not decrease by that much, advanced analysis becomes more robust and overall precision is gained, reducing the occurrence of risky stratification choices. Also in terms of precision, randomness is a strong point, from the selection of sampling areas during stratification to selection of respondents in the sample areas by use of the sampling frame.

The data collected through field cards allowed for an analysis that validated the choices made in the sample design for the rural youths survey. As a final note on the sample design process, let us remind ourselves of C. Wright Mill's (2000 [1959]) call for keeping an open mind, using the sociological imagination, while trying to avoid abstract empiricism and the bureaucratic ethos.

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IDENTITY, CONTESTATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH EAST INDIA: A STUDY OF MANIPUR, MIZORAM AND NAGALAND

Dr. Komol SINGHA¹

Abstract. The buzz word 'development' encompasses growth with institutional changes. Despite some basic commonalities, India's North Eastern-most three immediate neighbouring states – Mizoram, Nagaland and Manipur have got asymmetric development performances due to asymmetric institutional structures. Of the states, Manipur is quite different from other two and experiencing nearly a complete breakdown of its development mechanisms in the recent years, especially in 1990s. Communal violence, human rights violation, and uncertain law and order condition, etc. are the fallout of institutional failure and consequently these factors led the State's economy to a crippled one. Infrastructure, especially, road and communication aggravates to the present state of condition, and also breaks relationship with the neighbouring states, among the communities within the State. Otherwise, this state should have been one of the most advanced states in the country when we traced the early history and its development trajectory. Why is the government (centre) apparently benign with the states of Mizoram and Nagaland when dealing with public demands while it appears to be malignant in Manipur? What factor(s) led to mass uprising, conflict in the State of Manipur and remains unsettled so long – are also raised in this paper.

Key-words: Development; Institutional Structure; Infrastructure

1. Introduction

The buzz word 'development' relates to less developed regions or economies. It is also a dynamic process which transforms an economy from a relatively backward to

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a more advanced one (Singha, 2011). In nutshell, it encompasses growth with institutional changes. Therefore, rich in resources (say, economic resources) alone is not sufficient for development of a region, unless they are fully exploited or efficiently utilised. At present, there are number of countries (e.g. African nations, East Asian countries) in the world which have rich natural resources, but are still poor and under-developed. On the other side, the countries like, USA, Japan, and European nations are considered as developed in the world which have relatively limited natural resources. Most of the poor nations, at present, in the world are heavily plagued with upheavals and political uncertainties. Probably, that led them to impoverish. Therefore, development of a state/region requires effective policy measures with strong social, political and economic resources (Singha, 2011).

India's North Eastern Region (NER) consists of eight states¹, is a 'mixed bag' of several ethnic groups, covers an area of 262,500 km² (8% of India's land mass) and its population is 45.6 million. The region is endowed with rich natural resources (NAAS, 2001) and agriculture is the principal sources of revenue of the region and plays a pioneering role in strengthening the region's fiscal backbone (Singha, 2012). Socially, ethnically and topographically, these states have some basic commonalities and anthropologists classify them as *Tibeto-Burman* speaking communities of *Mongoloid* race, excepting some sections of Tripura and Assam. However, in a broader homogenous outlook, there are lots of inter and intra differences as well among them, in terms of social, cultural, political and economic structures. Consequently, overall development condition defers from one State to another, one community to another, depending on the policy and accessibility to resources. For the present study, of the region, the eastern-most three States – Mizoram, Nagaland and Manipur have been selected on the basis of their proximity, similarities of physiographical conditions, social and political structures. Of the three, the State of Manipur has been encountering social upheavals, ethnic crisis, and human rights violation, etc. for the last two to three decades. However, the condition is opposite for the case of other two States. As the law and order conditions have improved significantly, these two states have shown a dramatic improvement in the overall development levels in the recent years.

With these realities, the paper attempts to analyse the approaches that have been adopted for economic growth, culture, identity, and other social structures. What are the similarities and differences in their development trajectories, and what are the factors that are responsible for these differences and similarities in the region. Why is the government (centre) apparently benign with Mizoram and Nagaland when dealing with public demands while it appears to be malignant in Manipur? What

¹ The Eight States of NER are- Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura

factor(s) led to mass uprising in the State of Manipur and remains unsettled so long – are also raised in this paper? Further, it also tries to find out some possible alternative ways and means of the social upheaval and mass uprising.

2. Brief Profile of the three States

Before analysing the issues of identity, contestation and development, it is pertinent to have a glimpse of socio-economic status of the three states. Brief history of the states also helps in understanding the reason why a particular state behaves differently from one another, and it is also a basic concern for the national leaders. Table 1 depicts the socio-economic structures of these States, and from it, one can easily infer that the State of Mizoram is relatively better than the other two, in terms of Human Development Index (HDI), literacy rate, Per Capita Income (PCI), and Below Poverty Line (BPL), etc. and Manipur falls at the bottom in this context.

Table 1
Socio-economic Structure of Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram in 2011

Parameters	Nagaland	Manipur	Mizoram
Population (in Lakh)	19.00	27.20	10.90
Area (in '000 sq. km)	16.50	22.30	21.00
Literacy (in %)	80.00	80.00	90.00
HDI (in 2005)*	0.770	0.707	0.790
BPL (in % in 2006-07)	31.86	30.52	20.76
PCI (in Rs)	21434	29684	45982

Source: Collected from the respective states' Statistical Handbooks, Economic survey (2011)

* Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram were 4th, 5th and 2nd positions respectively in the Country

2.1. Mizoram: Mizoram is one of the eight states of NER, covering an area of 21,087 sq km with a total population of 10.9 lakhs as per 2011 census. Mizo is a collective noun, consisting of around eight distinct tribes like Lushai, Ralte, Hmar, Paite, Pawih, Lakher (Mara) with many other sub-tribes. Though *English* is considered as an official language, different tribes have different dialects. *Mizo* – the mother tongue of *Lushai* tribe is used as lingua-franca in the State now. As for the geographical boundary, the State shares border with the nations – Myanmar in the east and Bangladesh in the south and the Indian State – Tripura in the west. In the northern side, the state shares boundary with the Indian States – Manipur and Assam. Under the British administration, Mizoram was known as *Lushai Hills District*, as it is a rugged hilly terrain. It was one of the districts (Lushai hills) of Assam till it became a

Union Territory in 1972 and thereafter it was re-named to Mizoram, became the 23rd State of the Indian union on February 20, 1987.

2.2. Nagaland: Nagaland, the land of Nagas, covers an area of 16,579 sq km with a population of 19.8 lakh as per 2011 census. It shares border with the Indian state of Assam to the west, Arunachal Pradesh and part of Assam to the north, Manipur to the south and the nation of Myanmar in the east. Like Mizoram, the State is mostly mountainous, except small/negligible areas (small part of Dimapur) bordering Assam. The State was a part of Assam till it became 16th State of the Indian Union, established on December 1, 1963. The Nagas (people of Nagaland) comprise of 17 major tribes and over 20 sub-tribes, and each tribe or sub-tribe, speaks a different dialects. Though *English* is considered as an official language, *Nagamese* – a distorted Assamese and Bengali language, is used as lingua-franca in the State. Probably, Assam's dominance in the pre-statehood period and large number of Bengali migrant workers reached the State on the eve of early statehood for different developmental works could have been the birth of this language (Nagamese).

2.3. Manipur: Manipur covers an area of 22, 327 sq km with population of 27.2 lakhs as per 2011 census. The State came under the British rule from 1891 till 1947 and after their departure on 14th August 1947; the State was annexed to Indian Union as part 'C' State¹ on 15th October 1949 (Sharma, 2011; 2010). Ultimately, the status of full-fledged statehood was given on 21st January 1972 and became 20th State of Indian Union. Geographically, the State consists of two regions – hill and valley. The former consists of five districts – Ukhrul, Tamenglong, Churachandpur (CC Pur), Chandel and Senapati, with a total area of 20 thousand sq km (9/10th of the State's geographical area), and the latter region covers four districts – Imphal East, Imphal West, Thoubal and Bishnupur, with 2238 sq km of area (1/10th of the State's geographical area). Interestingly, the valley area is inhabited by 61.5 percent of the state's population, and hardly 38.5 percent of the State's population lives in the hill region of 9/10th of State's total geographical area. The community or ethnic group inhabits in the valley is known as *Meitei*, a non-tribe community including Meitei Pungal (*Meitei Muslim*). On the other hand, a total of 33 recognised tribes with other sub-tribes inhabit in the hill areas of Manipur (Hanjabam and Raginibala, 2011). Though different tribes and sub-tribes in the hills speak their own dialects, Manipuri (*Meitei-loi*), the mother tongue of *Meitei* community, is considered as lingua-franca of the State as *Meitei* is the dominant community in the State. Manipur borders with the

¹ Part C states included both the former chief commissioners' provinces and some princely states, and each was governed by a Chief Commissioner appointed by the President of India

nation of Myanmar on the east and the Indian States of Nagaland on the north, Assam and Mizoram on the west, and a portion of Myanmar and Mizoram on the south (refer to Figure 2.b).

3. Development Indicators of the three States

Economic development is a primary and most important driver for overall development of human society. To determine economic development and growth level of these States, the conventional parameters like State Per Capita Income (SPCI) and State Domestic Product (SDP) have been computed in Table 2. As we can see that the state of Mizoram is on the top in terms of both Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of SPCI and SDP with 6.3 percent and 9.1 percent respectively in the last five years (2004-05 to 2008-09). However, Manipur is at the bottom during the same period, as shown by the CAGR of SPCI and SDP with 2.9 percent and 4.9 percent respectively.

Table 2
State Domestic Product and Per Capita Income (at Constant 2004-2005 Prices)

States	Component*	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	CAGR#
Manipur	SPCI	18.64	19.48	19.43	20.11	21.17	2.9
	SDP	4603	4907	4992	5267	5652	4.9
Nagaland	SPCI	30.27	33.07	35.07	37.32	38.92	6.4
	SDP	5421	5986	6454	6978	7399	8.1
Mizoram	SPCI	24.66	25.83	26.31	28.47	31.92	6.3
	SDP	2400	2577	2693	2988	3437	9.1

Source: Author's estimation from Economic Survey (2010)

Note: * SPCI is in term of rupees in thousand (Rs in '000) and SDP is in term of Rs in Crore

#CAGR implies Compound Annual Growth Rate (in %).

With the emergence of modernisation and growth of socio-economic status of the people, the requirement of energy has also diversified from the traditional (fire-wood, biomass, dung, etc.) to modern modes, especially towards electricity. Therefore, in this modern world, electricity plays not only an important role of sustainable development, but also it is considered as a parameter of overall development (Burney, 1995). In the findings of some scholars (like, Qurashi and Hussain, 2005; Altinay and Karagol, 2005) found that the electricity is an essential commodity for promoting living standards and the level of material progress of a country, and the

very living standard or development is often measured in terms of per capita electricity consumption. Table 3 shows the level of per capita electricity consumption in three States. From this parameter as well, Mizoram is placed on the top with per capita electricity consumption of 377 kWh in 2009-10, compared to 218 kWh for Nagaland and 240 kWh for Manipur. The growth rate of per capita electricity consumption of Mizoram during the twenty-nine years has been 15.6 percent, and is above the other two States.

Table 3
Per Capita Electricity Consumption (in kWh)

States	1981-82	1989-90	1999-00	2009-10	Growth Rate
Nagaland	34.2	85.6	84.7	218.0	6.6
Manipur	7.9	79.5	69.5	240.2	12.5
Mizoram	5.6	65.0	120.8	377.0	15.6

Source: Collected from Statistical Handbooks of the respective states, Economic Survey (2011)

The third dimension of development indicator included in this paper is the infrastructure disparity index, which shows disparity of infrastructure in the states. Availability of adequate infrastructure, especially road and communication facilities, is the pre-condition for sustainable economic and social development (WDR, 1994) in a society, and often, the very development is impeded by the low quality and limited accessibility or disparity of infrastructure (Klytchnikova and Lokshin, 2011).

Table 4 depicts the intra-state disparity of infrastructure, quality and quantity of road network of the States. The coefficient of variation (CV) of intra-state disparity of infrastructure index in Mizoram is placed at the lowest level with 26.07 percent (lower the CV, lower the disparity). As for Manipur, it is found to be on the top in term of disparity with 49.46 percent of CV. It implies that the disparity rate (49.46%) in Manipur is very high compared to Mizoram (26.07%) and Nagaland (with 30.59%). In term of road length per 100 sq km as well, the disparity index of Mizoram is at the bottom with CV of 43.33 percent. However, Manipur falls at the top of disparity of this index (with CV of 80.78 percent). This indicates that Mizoram is much better than other two states in terms of infrastructure indices.

Table 4
Intra-state Disparity of Road Network and Overall Infrastructure Index

States	Component	Road Length /100km ² *	Surfaced Road % Total Road*	Intra-state Disparity of Infrastructures**
Manipur	Mean	15.53	1.60	39.35
	Std. Dev.	12.54	0.21	19.46
	C.V. (%)	80.78	12.88	49.45
Nagaland	Mean	15.82	0.56	33.74
	Std. Dev.	7.82	0.37	10.32
	C.V. (%)	49.44	66.00	30.59
Mizoram	Mean	8.09	1.08	27.15
	Std. Dev.	3.51	0.41	7.08
	C.V. (%)	43.33	38.15	26.07

Source: Singha (2011)

Note: * while constructing indices of Road length and Surfaced road (column 3 and 4), the weightage assigned by DoNER (length and surfaced road) are 24 and 2 respectively; ** 21 components (7 major and 14 sub-components) have been included while constructing State Infrastructure Index (SII), given in column 5.

Coming to the conflict issues, Table 5 shows the magnitude of insurgency related fatalities. From the Table one can easily identify that the insurgency related fatalities or conflict in Manipur is figured out as an exceptionally high. The number of killings of human lives due to the recent spurt of armed conflicts has reached to death of 5767 people in 20 years from 1992 till March 4, 2012. However, the number of fatalities in Mizoram is nearly zero. The state of Mizoram has shown excellent performance in terms of law and order condition, not only in NER but also in the country as a whole. Similarly, Nagaland is also seen as a settled State in the aftermath of ceasefire agreement between insurgent groups and the government, especially from 1997¹. The economic condition of Nagaland has also increased significantly in the recent years. Using above parameters, the state of Manipur can be categorised as a crippled State. Therefore, it is very important to analyse why the immediately neighbouring states with similar geo-polical characters (Mizoram and Nagaland) have got different development trajectories. Why has Manipur been different from other two states and become an epicentre of violence at present?

¹ Though there were some instances of inter-group (intra-state) conflict, Nagaland also became peaceful after entering into cease-fire agreement between Naga insurgent group and Government of India in 1997

Table 5
Insurgency Related Killings in Manipur, Nagaland and Mizoram (1992-2012)

Year	Manipur				Nagaland			
	Civilian	Security	Terrorist	Total	Civilian	Security	Terrorist	Total
1992	84	30	51	165	34	33	29	96
1993	266	91	66	423	62	43	68	173
1994	189	98	63	350	110	26	56	192
1995	183	64	74	321	80	25	108	213
1996	117	65	93	275	144	48	112	304
1997	233	111	151	495	104	38	218	360
1998	87	62	95	244	26	14	72	112
1999	89	64	78	231	26	4	118	148
2000	93	51	102	246	13	4	84	101
2001	70	25	161	256	25	2	76	103
2002	36	53	101	190	5	2	29	36
2003	27	23	148	198	3	3	31	37
2004	40	41	127	208	35	1	22	58
2005	138	50	143	331	9	0	31	40
2006	107	37	141	285	10	1	81	92
2007	150	40	218	408	20	0	88	108
2008	131	13	341	485	42	2	101	145
2009	77	18	321	416	7	0	11	18
2010	26	8	104	138	0	0	3	3
2011	25	10	30	65	7	0	8	15
2012*	8	9	20	37	1	0	12	13
Total	2176	963	2628	5767	763	246	1358	2367

Year	Mizoram			
	Civilian	Security	Terrorist	Total
1992	0	0	0	0
1993	0	0	0	0
1994	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0
1997	0	4	0	4
1998	0	0	0	0
1999	0	0	0	0
2000	2	5	0	7
2001	4	7	1	12
2002	0	0	0	0
2003	0	1	0	1
2004	0	1	0	1
2005	2	0	0	2
2006	1	0	1	2
2007	2	0	6	8
2008	0	4	1	5
2009	1	0	0	1
2010	0	0	0	0
2011	1	0	0	1
2012*	0	0	0	0
Total	13	22	9	44

Source: South Asia Terrorism Portal (2012)

Note: * Data till March 4, 2012.

4. Why is the Manipur different from Other Two States?

As mentioned above, development processes cannot be preceded unless and until social, political and cultural institutions are placed in proper order. Though, it is very difficult to quantify, the role of these non-economic factors or institutions has been recognised as very significant factors for attaining sustainable economic development. Chaotic social and political institutions often translated into violence or social upheavals in NER. Consequently, it leads to negative impact on States' economic condition (Bohlken and Sergenti, 2010). It means, violence breaks down economic structure and impoverishes society. At present, in NER, a large section of people are living in the web of insecurities which are not created by them. Delving deeper into the causes, one could ascertain that this is in fact largely caused by failure of the state (Acharya, *et al.* 2011).

Mizoram and Nagaland had been the victims of a large number of conflicts, ranging from self-determination to ethnic clashes and so on, for over five to six decades. But Mizoram has been largely peaceful since the signing of the *Mizo Accord*¹ in 1986 and the state of Nagaland has also almost settled down from late 1990s after the signing of ceasefire agreement between India Government and warring armed groups. However, the magnitude of upheaval and conflict in Manipur has been increasing day-by-day, is primarily caused by a number of factors like human rights violence, insurgency movement, religion, and political autonomy movement, etc. The deployment of over-sized security forces in the state and mushrooming of insurgent groups has also had many adverse impacts in the State (CICS, 2005). All these issues have often resulted to fatality of lives in the region or State.

For the present paper, blockades in the National Highways (bandhs), protests, ethnic violence, and insurgency related fatalities, etc, are considered as *social upheaval* in Manipur. It is one of the most important factors that holds the development to ransom in the State now (Sharma, 2011; Bohlken and Sergenti, 2010; CICS, 2005). The causes of the underlying continuous upheaval situations in Manipur in the recent past can be categorised broadly into three major heads in the section 4.1 to 4.3.

4.1. Defects of Meitei Community

Meidingu Pamheiba (1708-1747 AD) became the king of *Kangleipak* (earlier name of Manipur) on 23rd August 1708 AD. He was influenced by *Hinduism* and with the help of *Shantidas Gosai*, a preacher from Sylhet, now in Bangladesh, converted himself from the *Sanamahi*, the original religion of Meitei to the *Ramanandi Sect of Vaisnavism*

¹ Mizoram became a peaceful state after signing peace agreement between insurgent group Mizo National Front and Government of India in 1986

(Hinduism) in 1710 A.D, (Tensuba, 1993). He introduced first time the term “Maharaja” in place of “Meidingu or Ningthou” for the King, and *Manipur* in place of *Kangleipak* (Kamei, 1991). King Pamheiba expelled all his *Maichous* (scholars) and people who opposed to this new religion (Hinduism) to far away from the central valley or the kingdom, *Kangla*, the fort situated at the heart of the State capital- Imphal. As an effort to popularise Hinduism and to make it as a state religion, on a full moon day of October (*Wakching* in Meitei), in 1729 AD, he collected all the Holy books (*Puya*) related to *Sanna-Mahi* religion and burnt them completely, devastated the ancient Manipuri (Meitei) scriptures and cultural history. This is known as *Puya-Meithaba* among Meiteis till today and the day is being remembered as *black day* in Manipur every year (Sharma, 2011). King (Meidingu) *Pamheiba* wanted to rewrite the Meitei/Manipuri history in the line with the Hinduism. To intensify further his movement, he levelled the people who defied Hinduism, as *untouchable* or *backward* community. For instances, the ‘*Loi Communities*’ of Manipur which are believed to be the earliest known settlers of Manipur, also known as the *Chakppa*, the ardent followers of the traditional religion (*Sanna-mahi*), were chased out to the far-flung areas by the King (but remained in the valley) on the ground that they refused to embrace Hinduism and levelled them (*Lois*) as degraded community (Sharma, 2011). As they were still remained in the valley, subsequently they assimilated with Meitei Community and slowly converted themselves as well to Hinduism. However, as they were deprived of economic resources for long in the far flung areas, government initiated as affirmative action for alleviation from the backwardness and included them under the Scheduled Castes (SC) list. As the infrastructure condition improves in the valley coupled with reservation for SC, their economic status has raised significantly in the recent decades, and at present, no difference is noticed between the *Loi* and *Meitei* community in Manipur, excepting the SC category.

However, the communities who did not assimilated with the Meitei are the different communities (*tribes*, at present) in the hills. They continued to follow their original religion (e.g. *Tingkao Raguang Chap* of *Kabui community*), and recently converted into *Christianity* after the arrival of British and Christian Missionaries (Singha, 2011). Still, some tribes are practicing their traditional faiths (not Christian) till today. Generally, the socio-economic conditions of the tribes are relatively weaker than the valley (Meitei) due to prolonged neglect of their basic needs, lack of proper infrastructures and economic resources. Like *Loi Communities*, they were also treated as untouchables by the Kings, one after another and subsequently by the Meitei as well, on the same ground. This is the genesis of division between the two communities (Tribe/hill and Meitei/valley), and leads to social upheavals and demands for self-determination, greater autonomy (Hassan, 2007). This idea has also been highlighted by Montalvo and Reynal-Querol (2005) in all over the world. Using 448 observations, they explored that the religious and ethnic differences are important social cleavages; the social response to this heterogeneity could generate violence and civil war. Besides, not

much care and attention was given by the King of Manipur as well (Hassan, 2007) and despite different reservation policies of job, education, land regulation, etc., their economic and political power were still relatively weaker than the Meitei due to limited presence of the state for long. Tribal organisations believed that they have been excluded and the state government has not been fair in distribution of resources to their areas. The poor condition of educational and health services, adverse economic conditions and poor infrastructure in these areas have often been the source of tribal complaints and their consequent anti-state mobilisation (Hassan, 2006), and led to anti-Meitei movements. They resort to call for economic blockades in the National Highways passing through hill areas, which led to huge economic losses in the State (Shimray, 2004).

Figure 1

a) Agitators burn goods laden trucks; b) A mode of Agitation;
c) Stranded trucks on the NH 39



Slowly, the demand for separate States of the tribes has emerged. To trace the origin, the demand for merging *Mao area* (Northern part of Senapati District of Manipur, bordering present Nagaland) into Nagaland was initiated in the pre-statehood period and formed tribal revolutionary movement thereafter (Singh, 2011), but not as strong inclusive of all hills/tribes as of now. As the state is connected with the rest of the country by the two National Highways (NH 39 and NH 53) passing through the hill areas, the economic blockades on these key roads (blockades in NH) has become one of the most effective means of the tribes, to put pressure on the government to redress their grievances (Shimray, 2004). Besides, religious, economic and political factors, the other important factor that helped to divide the two communities – the Meitei and hill is MLR&LR Act 1960 in Manipur¹.

¹ This Act does not allow valley people (Meitei) to buy and own land in the hill

4.2: Dominance over the Land

When *Meitei* insurgent groups (mainly United Nations Liberation Front or UNLF) started fighting for sovereignty or independence of Manipur in the early 1960s, the Naga insurgent group led by National Socialist Council of Nagalim- Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) was also fighting for *Greater Nagaland*, demanded for merging all the Naga dominated districts of Manipur¹ with the present-day Nagaland. With the intensification of Naga integration movement, the polarisation of hill communities into two – Kuki and Naga, and division between hill and valley have deepened (Singh, 2011; Shimray, 2004). However, after realising their unachievable mission, the demand of the Naga integration or merging with present-day Nagaland has now narrowed down to a mere separate administrative arrangement of the community within the Indian framework, but separate from the Manipur government (Singh, 2011; Mentschel, 2007). In nutshell, the complex problems faced by the State can be analysed in few equations:

- i) if the aspiration of NSCN-IM or Naga for separate arrangement for the community or Naga integration is granted, *Kuki* group (equally strong tribal group) will not be remain silent as we have seen 123 days economic blockades in 2011 on the issue of creating the *Sadar Hill* area as a revenue district (refer Figure 2 a).
- ii) At the same time, *Kuki* group is also fighting for independent homeland by bifurcating Churachandpur district and a portion of Senapati district (*Sadar Hill* portion) and Chandel districts from the present-day Manipur (Cline, 2006). If the *Kuki*'s demand is met, will Naga remain silent, as half of the Senapati district (*Naga*'s proposed capital) is losing from their hand (Shimray, 2004)?
- iii) *Hmar* (another tribal group lives in Churachandpur district, bordering Mizoram) is also demanding for merging the district with present-day Mizoram (Rajagopalan, 2008), which *Kuki* claims it as their homeland. This is again resulted in fratricidal clashes, which have then spread into the communities at large.
- iv) Alternatively, if the two major hill communities – both Nagas and Kukis compromise themselves over the issue of *Sadar Hills* area of Senapati district and jointly demand two separate States (one each of *Kuki* and *Naga* respectively) by bifurcating hills from the State, will the *Meitei* be satisfied with the four valley districts – Imphal East, Imphal West, Thoubal and Bishnupur districts? *Meitei* will not leave easily for two reasons. One, as the National Highway (NHs) is passing though the hill areas and control over the NHs will be out of the hands of *Meiteis*. The Highway blockade by the hills/tribes is one of

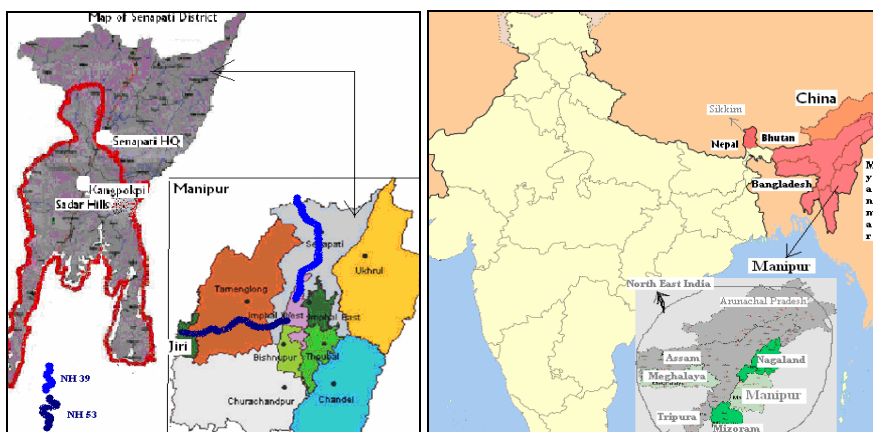
¹ The identity of Nagas of Manipur is still not clear and who (how many tribes) are included under this (*Naga*) broader category

the most difficult problems encountered by Meiteis even the administration is controlled by them. It is the only means of transporting essential commodities (food, petroleum products and life saving drugs, etc.) from the other parts of the world. Secondly, besides operation of insurgent groups in the hills, the dream of independent Manipur is also losing its dream.

- v) If the fourth option (one each state for Naga and Kuki) is granted, two more issues will come up: One, the *Jiribam sub-division* under Imphal East district, where Meitei community dominates (marked as *Jiri* in Fig. 2:a) should also be given a separate State, as it is not possible to reach this sub-division by crossing other two States. Two, if the hill areas (Districts) are separated from the valley, will the thousands of hill people those who have already settled for years in the valley leave the valley, as no Meitei is allowed to own or buy land in the hills under the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms (MLR&LR Act 1960) Act?

Figure 2

(a) Disputed Sadar Hill Area; (b) Location Map of Manipur



4.3. Demand for Sovereignty and Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act

With the growth of separatist movement, Manipur was declared as a 'disturbed area' in 1980 (Harriss, 2002) and subsequently the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958 (AFSPA) was promulgated. There are allegations of the very Act being misused by the members of the state forces, as the Act allows security forces to kill anybody in mere suspicion of anti-national. Also, the Act permits/allows even the lowest rank of security force (an illiterate Sepoy) to kill anybody on the same ground mentioned above, and no complain can be made against them. Besides killing, there have been

number of cases of rape and enforced disappearances of young children by the state forces (Manoharan, 2012). Therefore, the Act has resulted gross violation of fundamental human rights in Manipur in the last few decades (Das, 2011; Goswami, 2010; Chasie and Hazarika, 2009; Mentschel, 2007), and consequently leads to unprecedented people's uprisings in the State. For instances, the agitations like, self-immolation by student leader like Pebam Chittaranjan, naked demonstration of women agitators and hunger strike by Irom Sharmila Chanu for more than a decade, etc. Besides, many unwanted atrocities have been done by the security forces, e.g. rape and murdered of Thangjam Monorama by paramilitary Assam Rifle (refer to the Figure 3).

Figure 3

(a) Irom Chanu Sharmila- fasting for 11 years against AFSPA; (b) Naked Protest against Rape and Killed of Thangjam Manorama by state Forces; (c) Self-immolation of Student leader, Pebam Chittaranjan against AFSPA; (d) Thangjam Monoram, was raped and killed by state Forces on 11 July 2004



However, the very draconian Act (AFSPA) is not practically operated in the hill districts of Manipur, though it was enforced in the hill area initially. Knowing the consequences and with the growing demand of the civil organisations, the Government of India set up a five-member committee in 2004 under the Chairmanship of Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy, former Judge of the Supreme Court of India. The committee submitted its report in 2005, and recommended for the repeal of the Act (Part IV, pages 67-81). But the government has not removed this Act, and continues to deploy excess security forces at the ratio of 1:40 (1 security personnel for every 40 civilians) in the State (ICFFR, 2009). Due to the defects of the Act *per se* and misused of it by the security forces, the problem of insurgency and its related fatalities have increased significantly in the last two decades.

Despite the existence of this draconian Act since 1980, violence and insurgency movement has not been brought down till date (CICS, 2005). Still, the government entrusted the security forces to play an interventionist role in the State and officially, the remaining wings of the Government do not have a definite role in the issue (Maring, 2008). In other words, according to Shimray (2004), the current socio-political problem in the region leads to the threatening of India's internal security. In spite of socio-ethnic sensitivity and political instability, the concerned issues are not addressed in political and democratic terms but with the might of armed forces (Acharya, *et al.*, 2011). Excess militarization with no protection of the people, limited development initiative and unequal administration mechanism, leads to self-alienation and frustration of the people. Prolonged deployment of the security forces and the longevity of extremism in the State often reinforce popular perception of government's insincerity in resolving the conflict is also well acknowledged (Hussain and Deka, 2011).

5. Why is the Upheaval not Solved?

The complex issues that have been confronted by the State while taking development initiatives in the State can be summarized as follows— *Meitei* armed groups seeking an independent homeland (pre-merger status), opposed to the territorial divisions demanded by Naga and Kuki groups (Robinson, 2005) is getting momentum in the recent years. Goals of the various *Meitei* movements generally are similar to those of other groups already discussed. However, the different dimension of *Meiteis* (Manipur) from other two (Nagaland and Mizoram) is that the *Meitei* armed groups are fighting not only for a separate homeland, but also a return to traditional religion, cultural practices including eliminating the Indian script for writing. We have witnessed some significant movements that have attempted to restore the traditional *Meitei* religion, the *Senamahi* and *Meitei script* in the recent years (Cline, 2006).

They (*Meitei* armed groups) have also been trying to make a unified command by integrating all the armed groups of North Eastern Region of India (e.g. ULFA of

Assam, NLFT of Tripura, etc.) to fight against the government of India for a common goal of separation/freedom from India. This strategy is noticed by the Government of India as well [e.g. India's national events like Independence Day on August 15, Republic Day on January 26 are being boycotted by the major armed groups of NER]. Above all, no Meitei armed group has shown their willingness to have political negotiation (to settle within the Indian framework) with the government in the five decades of insurgency movement (Cline, 2006). Also, the some of the major Meitei armed groups have sought to project a *pan-Mongoloid identity*, and they have built linkages with other groups across the boundaries in this context (Rajagopalan, 2008). It is a great threat to India's internal security and integrity. From the geographical perspective as well, the NER (seven States out of eight, Sikkim), including Manipur is connected by a narrow strip of land approximately 20 km at Siliguri of West Bengal State and the region shares border with China, Myanmar and Bangladesh (breeding ground of several insurgent groups of NER). Therefore, integrating all the major insurgent groups of the region (NER) might have adverse impact for the security of the country.

However, the tribal armed groups of Manipur (Kuki and Naga) do not cooperate to the movement of integration of the insurgent groups of NER initiated by the Meitei armed groups, as they are against the Meiteis, demanding for separation from the State or Meitei, but not from India (Singh, 2011). Knowing these realities and keeping the threats posed to the nation in mind, Government of India has devised a mechanism to use one community against the other. Therefore, the communal conflicts in Manipur have increased significantly in the recent past. For instance, a number of tribal armed groups are actively collaborating with Indian troops against the Meitei insurgent groups (Bhaumik, 2007). Probably, this is the reason why, security forces do not interfere in the communal and fractional conflicts in the State (Singh, 2011), and conveniently centre (government) does washed off their hands in this regard, and saying that it is a "state affairs" (Mentschel, 2007). Evidences are numerous. To mention a few – altogether 800 people were killed, 480 wounded and 5713 families had been displaced during the bloody Kuki-Naga conflict in the 1990s. In 1997, in the Kuki-Paite clash, altogether 162 people were killed, 93 got injured, 71 were kidnapped and 3521 houses were burnt (Hussain and Phanjoubam 2007). In 2011, Manipur was cut off from the rest of the world for straight four months (123 days) due to the economic blockades called on by Kuki and counter blockade called on by Naga over the issue of territorial dominance in Sadar Hill area of Senapati district (Bachaspatimayum, 2012). The present divide and rule policy of the government further aggravates and multiplies the social upheaval (Sharma, 2008). The Government of India has been making dual commitment to different communities in the State, and plays delaying tactics in dealing with the conflicts in the region (Singh, 2011). On the other hand, the Naga community accused the

Central government of appeasing the Meiteis and blamed for not settling the Naga issue for the sake of Meiteis (Shimray, 2004).

Initiative of State legislature on the issues is concerned; they are hypnotized by the party high command from the centre (Delhi). It is also clear that some of the social groups and leaders have benefited from the high levels of subsidies paid out by the centre (Harriss, 2002). For instances, at present, most of the contract works meant for development of Manipur are jointly carried out both by armed groups and their leaders (involved directly or indirectly). Therefore, very often, the State government is often termed as a percentage government in Manipur. They cannot be called as *people's representatives* as the votes can be bought by money and muscle power. Citizens in the State do not rely on the present representative election system. For instance, in 2007, the 9th Manipur Legislative Assembly election was decided by 37 percent of voters only, and it was also bought by the means mentioned above (Bachaspatimayum, 2012). The neglect of the society by the government (both centre and state) led to social upheaval and its burden is now being faced by the country (Hassan, 2007). However, by and large, the other two States (Mizoram and Nagaland) have moved towards the peace and its result is visible now.

6. Recommendations

Richards and Bekele (2011) explored that mere improvement in the state's delivery services *per se* is unlikely to alter the conflict situation significantly without addressing its causes directly. Therefore, after analysing the complex equations of social upheaval of Manipur, we can arrive at a conclusion that the problem is not a permanent and irreparable one. Nash Equilibrium condition can be achieved if the political will and institutional structures are placed in proper order. To curtail social upheaval and frequent economic blockades in Manipur, some of the possible recommendations are given below.

- As there is limited road network connectivity in the State – between hill and valley, and inter- state connectivity (Manipur and other neighbouring States), development of road network in the State is need of the hour. As there is only one road (NH 39) linking the State with the rest of the country and it is often interrupted by the hill communities for their various demands, the need for operationalising other two highways (NH 53 and State Highway 150) is very essential, i.e. 1) National Highway 150 (approx. 350 km) connecting Kohima, Jessami of Nagaland; Ukhrol, Imphal, CCpur, Tipaimuk of Manipur; and Aizwal of Mizoram, 2) National Highway No. 53 (approx. 240 km) that connects Imphal (Capital of Manipur) and Silchar in Southern Assam. Definitely, this can bring better communication/connectivity among the States and will bring inter-personal relationship between the hill and valley. Similarly, the timely completion of the ongoing construction of railway line (approx. 150 km) that

connects Jiribam, a border town of Manipur near Cachar district of Southern Assam to Toupul of Manipur, about 35 kms in the west of Imphal (Capital city of Manipur) is very important, not only for transportation facilities but also for better communication and accessibility of the people. This would definitely relief the people of Manipur from the clutches of economic blockades to a great extent, and brings varied communities closer to one another. Even, Meitei may allow the demand of hills (separate arrangement for the hills), provided the rail and road communication is well developed and it is ensured that the hill people do not disturbed the highways.

- The *Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958* is to be repealed permanently from the State. People of this State should be given a right to life. Government should initiate peaceful means to solve the conflicts and public demands of Manipur. Thousands of innocent people in the State have been victimised by this Act. Instead of imposing this inhuman Act, government should create infrastructural facilities, income and employment generating facilities as a sign of love, belongingness, and oneness to the people of Manipur. Country's policy of *unity in diversity* should be translated with an appropriate institutional mechanism, honest approach for development of Manipur with maximum equality. It will definitely reciprocate positively from the people of Manipur.

- Government (centre) should be honest and have strong will to solve the institutional drawbacks that have been hampering the State's overall development for long. Government should not apply dual policy for appeasing few section of the society. Often, genuine movements of the civil society are being politicized and consequently, the movements get lost on the way. For instance, Oinam (2008) confirmed that how the leaders of two civil organisations in Nagaland and Manipur—Naga Hoho and the Ima Keithel women organisation respectively succumbed to the pressure exerted by the contending forces. As a result of which, basic objectives of the movement have been distorted on the way. Therefore, instead of applying divide and rule policy, government should extend unconditional developmental works, irrespective of individual community interest, irrespective of political party. At the same time, civil society should also support the initiatives taken up by the government.

- Modification of MLR&LR Act 1960 is important, allowing valley people (non-tribes of Manipur) to live in the hills is also an urgent need of the government so as to bring about security of life and peaceful co-existence among the varied groups of people, between hill and valley. Till date, the Act does not allow valley people to live or own land in the hill area, while hill communities can live and own land in any part of the State. For this purpose, Meitei (dominant group) should also come down from the class (community) hierarchy and do away the religious differences, especially the segregation of community on the basis of caste and religion.

- Warring communities and the armed groups should also understand that the separation is not the panacea for the problems faced by them. Development cannot be determined by a mere demarcation of geographical area. Also, the demand for autonomy or separate arrangement is not ensure that there will not be any further sub-division of the State. We should not forget that there is *centre-periphery* difference anywhere under the sun. Therefore, alternative ways are to be explored for sustainable development of the society. For this, education should be given at the precedence in the State.

7. Conclusion

Despite some basic commonalities, India's North Eastern-most three immediate neighbouring states – Mizoram, Nagaland and Manipur have got asymmetric development performances due to asymmetric institutional structures. Of the States, Manipur is quite different from other two and experiencing nearly a complete breakdown of its institutional structure in the recent years, especially in 1990s. Though, the other two states of Mizoram and Nagaland had been the victims of a large number of conflicts, ranging from self-determination to ethnic clashes and so on, for over five to six decades, they have been largely peaceful since the signing of the *Mizo Accord* in 1986 and ceasefire agreement in Nagaland from late 1990s.

However, the magnitude of upheaval and conflict in Manipur has been increasing day-by-day, is primarily caused by divide and rule of the government. The deployment of over-sized security forces in the state and mushrooming of armed groups has also had many adverse impacts in the State. All these issues have often resulted to fatality of lives in the region or state. The conflicts and uprisings could have been solved in Manipur long before if India embraces the State as its own part through economic development policies.

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TOURISM CONTRIBUTION TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: BEST PRACTICE IN MACEDONIA

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***Abstract:** As one of the greatest sources for development, tourism is detected by many undeveloped and developing countries as the only way-out for economic prosperity. This research aims to investigate tourism contribution to regional development in Macedonia, highlighting the South-West region as the best practice. In particular, the paper makes an attempt to explore and compare eight planning regions from tourism prospective, pointing to the best one according to up-to-date results. For this purpose, it reports on analyses based on stylized facts obtained from secondary data spreading over a sample period from 2004-2011. The outcomes point to the fact that the South-West region is the leading statistical region in Macedonia when referring tourism and regional development issues. So, the paper strongly recommends this empirical evidence as good example for boosting regional development through tourism application. Furthermore, it urges the need for identifying effective framework for mitigating modest results and creating sound public policies. Additionally, the contribution of this paper lies in the fact that it enriches the poorly-developed empirical academic work within this scientific area in Macedonia.*

***Key-words:** Tourism; Regional development; South-West region; Macedonia.*

1. Introduction

Tourism has emerged as important factor for regional development. It has major economic and social impacts at regional and local levels, particularly in the areas where tourism activities take place. In those areas, tourism is one of the greatest sources of job creation. Moreover, it contributes to integrating less developed regions

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or gives them equal access to the fruits of growth. In this respect, one of the major challenges consists of setting up mechanisms to improve competitiveness and quality of tourism at regional and local levels, as well as to ensure sustainable and balanced tourism development at national levels.

So, regional development of tourism can trigger general economic growth by creating new dynamic. It can contribute to better land use planning by countering rapid urbanization in developed countries and by attracting populations to new regions where tourism is developing. However, some guidelines for development must be laid down in order to preserve resources, ensure complementarity between areas and define tourism poles. Yet, tourism development in the underdeveloped areas enables development of the periphery, retaining the population in the home land, infrastructure is improved as well as all other activities which contribute to prosperity of the region and a country.

Like many countries, Macedonia has been affected by growing regional inequalities. Namely, the pre-existing regional inequalities have intensified during the transition process in 1990s and have been exacerbated by non-economic factors. As a result to that, per capita income in the capital city of Skopje is far above the rest of the country and became the main pole of development. While the other regions have secondary towns that are poles for their development, none can compete with the capital. Consequently, this kind of mono centric pattern of development underpinned huge differences in life quality among other regions.

Accordingly, the regional policies have been put in place over the years and a process of decentralization has been applied since the end of 2001 conflict. However, they have as yet not addressed many fundamental inequalities. In recent years eight planning regions have been defined, each with own specific characteristics and development problems. In that line, the Law on Equal Regional Development, set in 2007, laid the foundation for a regional policy that conforms to EU standards and foresees resolving the problem of delayed development of some regions in an institutional manner. For that purpose, a Council for Equal Development has been established with a mandate to coordinate regional development policy. Moreover, a Council for the Development of the Planning Regions has been established as a body responsible for policy implementation in each planning region. The former Agency for Economically Underdeveloped Areas was transformed into the Regional Development Bureau. Additionally, the National Strategy for Sustainable Development and National Strategy for Regional Development (Government of the Republic of Macedonia 2009a and 2009b) offered possibilities for revitalization of numerous deserted areas in Macedonia. Furthermore, recently revised National Strategy of Tourism Development (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012) gives recommendations for tourism development and identifies five strategic clusters as a framework to

Macedonian tourism development. Positive tourism trends are forecasted to continue in future (Petrevska, 2012a).

The objective of this paper is to disentangle tourism influence on regional development of Macedonia in terms of basic economic parameters and tourism indicators. In order to achieve that goal, the paper addresses the case of the South-West region as the best practice. In particular, the paper makes an attempt to explore and compare eight planning regions from tourism prospective, pointing to the best one according to up-to-date results. For this purpose, it reports on analyses based on stylized facts obtained from secondary data spreading over a sample period from 2004-2011. The outcomes point to the fact that the South-West planning region is the leading statistical region in Macedonia when referring tourism and regional development issues. It is reach on recommendations for this region as a good example for boosting regional development through tourism application. Furthermore, it urges the need for identifying effective framework for mitigating the up-to-date modest results and creating sound public policies. Additionally, the contribution of this paper lies in the fact that it enriches the poorly-developed empirical academic work within this scientific area in Macedonia.

The remainder of the paper is organised as follows: Section 2 provides a critical overview of the theoretical and empirical literature on the tourism-regional development relationship. In Section 3 the methodology is presented which comprises of different types of analyses mostly based on available sources of secondary data, being reach on stylized facts. Section 4 provides the analysis, results and discussion of the research. Future challenges and recommendations are presented in Section 5 which is the final section of the paper.

2. Literature review

The concept of regional development includes on one hand, the dynamics of development of specific areas, primarily understood as a regional economic development of those areas, but also regional traffic, population or environmental development. There is a large body of literature which main thesis are that regional development must be based on the exploitation of best potentials of the regions environmental features, and sustainable development must be based on reasonable regional development.

In this respect, the conventional thinking about the relationship between tourism and regional development is present in the most studies (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Rayan, 2010; Stabler et al, 2010). Other researchers investigate the local, place-based factors that influence tourism development, and ask why some tourism areas develop more than others (Raina and Agarwal, 2004). Likewise, a focus is put specifically on the less developed world and by arising many assumptions about the role of tourism in

development and, in particular, highlighting the dilemmas faced by destinations seeking to achieve development through tourism (Huybers, 2007; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). Some authors even endeavor to a critical approach within a multi-disciplinary framework to relook at the complex phenomenon of tourism development (Babu et al, 2008; Ramos and Jiménez, 2008). In the last twenty years, large regional differences in the quality of life have emerged within many transition economies (Bartlett et al, 2010).

Tourism is seen as a 'sunrise' industry that is labor intensive and therefore offers the potential to be a substantial source of employment. In short, much attention has been directed to tourism's economic potential (Hall and Jenkins, 1998; Jenkins et al, 1998; Butler et al, 1998). Due to the relationship between food and tourism, some authors underscore the significant opportunity for product development as a means to rural diversification (Bessière, 1998). Others examine the contemporary issues and reasons for tourism development as a strategy for urban revitalization (Pearce and Butler, 2002) as well as for providing the basis for a better informed integration of tourism in regional development strategies (Sharma, 2004). Moreover, some discussions are towards various policy innovations as activities by regions in terms of tourism development considering continuous growth within the sector (Giaoutzi and Nijkamp, 2006). Additionally, as tourism and regional development are closely linked, regions and local authorities play a key role in the formulation of policy and the organization and development of tourism (Constantin, 2000).

3. Methodology, analysis, results and discussion

The paper makes an attempt to document different views and paradigms on tourism development in an in-depth manner. So, the objective of this research is to give an overview of tourism importance as a source of economic development in the south-west part of Macedonia. In order to fulfill its main aim, the paper is reach on different types of analyses mostly based on available sources of secondary data, being reach on stylized facts.

Yet, despite the enormous potentials, tourism in the South-West region in Macedonia, still has not reached its peak point. On one hand, this empirical evidence underscores a good example of tourism application in regional development, but on the other, points out the necessity of undertaking governmental measures and initiatives for enhancing tourism contribution to the regional development.

Generally, the paper addresses the issues of tourism flows, accommodation capacities, as well as tourism potentials of the South-West region. For this purpose, the analyses are based generally on official sources of secondary data spreading over the sample period 2004-2011. The research findings point out that the South-West planning region is the leading statistical region in Macedonia when referring tourism and regional development issues.

3.1. NUTS Classification

Under the imperative to harmonize its laws with the EU, in 2007 Macedonia adopted the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS 3 level) and created eight statistical regions: Vardar, East, South-West, South-East, Pelagonija, Polog, North-East and Skopje. These regions serve as main units for development planning. Moreover, they have been assigned the role of planning regions entitled for planning process and implementation of a consistent regional development policy and for harmonization with EU regional policy. Each of the planning regions has a Centre for development established for the purposes of carrying out professional tasks relevant for the development of that particular region.

The experience of the Central and Eastern European countries show that there is no obligation under the EU law to align NUTS units to the existing administrative organization of the country. However, "for practical reasons regarding data availability, the design of the statistical units follows the borders of the existing administrative units, and it is usually revised following an administrative reform in the respective country" (Marcou, 2002: 182).

3.2. Tourism Flows

The planning regions were created for regional development planning and for realization measures and instruments for promoting balanced regional development. With regards to tourism development, the data point to the South-West planning region as the leading statistical region in Macedonia.

Table 1 describes tourist arrivals within the sample period 2004-2011. It is noticeable that the South-West region is by far absolutely dominant in terms of tourist arrivals in comparison to other planning regions in Macedonia. In 2009, 170 127 domestic tourists visited the South-West region, thus representing 52% of total domestic tourism demand. Similar positive conclusion can be underlined when referring to international tourism demand, when the region was visited by 87 353 foreign tourists representing one-third of the total foreign tourists in Macedonia.

Speaking generally, this region participates with 40-50% or nearly one-half of the total tourist arrivals in Macedonia. This fact indicates that the South-West region is the leader in tourism development and may serve as a good example for other planning regions.

The South-West region has once again the leading role when analyzing tourist nights spent for the period 2004-2011. Namely, Table 2 performs that two-thirds of the total tourist nights spent are registered within this region i.e. 58-67% of the tourist nights spent are noted within the past eight years. This fact is not a surprise since it is in a

direct correlation to the previously analysis outcome in terms of tourist arrivals. It can be concluded that the South-West region still has the biggest piece of the cake, although a downward trend is noted from 2008-2010 as a consequence to the world financial crisis.

Table 1
*Tourist arrivals by statistical regions in Macedonia,
2004-2011*

Region/year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Vardar	8 334	7 564	8 173	8 419	7 799	9 448	10 572	12 086
East	9 865	9 377	12 069	10 813	13 739	12 680	13 054	13 615
South-West	222 950	236 434	233 218	255 257	276 669	257 480	234 665	249 746
South-East	44 094	61 851	58 577	66 043	84 031	90 998	84 856	108 555
Pelagonija	56 710	58 553	51 970	51 715	63 325	50 740	69 712	76 469
Polog	22 679	20 555	21 890	17 188	19 153	31 596	31 828	29 153
North-East	3 373	3 672	2 433	3 657	3 395	3 560	3 098	3 803
Skopje	97 010	111 700	111 143	123 120	138 209	131 268	138 456	154163
Total	465 015	509 706	499 473	536212	605 320	587 770	586 241	647 568

Source: Author's own calculations based on: State Statistical Office (various years).

The analyzed data perform that even 71% of total domestic nights spent and 43% of total foreign nights spent are registered in the South-West region. The last available official statistical data addressing 2011 indicate that 56% of the total tourist nights spent is recorded in the South-West region.

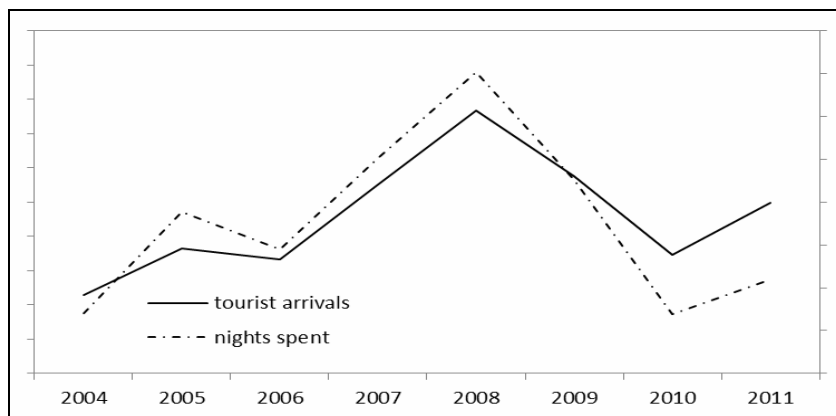
Table 2
*Tourist nights spent by statistical regions in Macedonia,
2004-2011*

Region/ year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Vardar	17 772	15 803	16 880	15 530	13 861	17 228	20 137	21 139
East	26 406	19 909	28 989	21 694	28 449	27 509	25 687	28 852
South-West	1170481	1288135	1244487	1351806	1452205	1326192	1168824	1 209 187
South-East	233 738	208 858	218 077	211 619	260 351	277 030	262 787	312 377
Pelagonija	176 930	178 814	155 461	152 726	171 928	139 699	170 354	208 918
Polog	53 450	50 476	53 824	37 986	45 345	61 146	61 455	54 787
North-East	5 684	6 066	4 003	5 677	5 130	6 247	5 628	6 807
Skopje	180 973	201 980	195 674	222 674	258 251	246 555	305 345	330 967
Total	1865434	1970041	1917395	2019712	2235520	2101606	2020217	2 173 034

Source: Author's own calculations based on: State Statistical Office (various years).

Chart 1 represents tourist arrivals and tourist nights spent in the South-West region in Macedonia for the observed period. It is noticeable that the peak point for both variables was reached in 2008, being followed by sharp decrease in 2009 and 2010. Namely, due to the world economic crisis, the up-ward trend was replaced with negative results. Yet, first positive impulses are noted in 2011 with modest, but encouraging recovery.

Chart 1
Tourist flows in South-West region, 2004-2011



Sustainability of tourism as a leading accelerator for development in the South-West planning region is supported by another positive finding. Namely, this region is well-established as a leading tourist center in Macedonia since it fulfills the highest average length of stay. So, between 2004 and 2011, the average length of stay is between 5 and 5.4 days. When compared with the average of Macedonia which is 3.4 to 4.2 days, it is 1.5 times higher. Thus, one must respect tourism results of the South-West region and appoints tourism as the strategic priority areas for regional development.

3.3. Accommodation Capacity

The analysis of the accommodation capacity is important since it argues the (in)appropriateness of tourism accommodation supply in Macedonia (Petrevska, 2011). In this respect, it is noted that the comparative analysis of the estimated values regarding the number of needed hotel beds with the existing ones, points to an over dimension of hotel accommodation capacities in Macedonia (Petrevska, 2012b).

Table 4
Accommodation capacity by statistical regions in Macedonia, 2008-2011

Region/year	2008		2009		2010		2011	
	Number of rooms	Number of beds	Number of rooms	Number of beds	Number of rooms	Number of beds	Number of rooms	Number of beds
Vardar	550	1 504	508	1 360	554	1 496	589	1 701
East	588	1 729	598	1 718	533	1 591	544	1 606
South-West	16 154	41 703	16 369	42 103	16 013	41 458	16 033	41 454
South-East	2 095	5 893	2 152	5 750	2 105	5 714	2 277	6 069
Pelagonija	3 053	8 993	3 102	8 999	3 390	10 229	3 330	10 165
Polog	1 020	3 046	1 080	3 182	1 011	3 057	1 018	3 058
North-East	291	800	297	805	292	633	302	645
Skopje	2 201	5 429	2 284	5 644	2 291	4 914	2 355	5 039
Total	25 952	69 097	23 390	69 561	26 189	69 102	26 448	69 737

Source: Author's own calculations based on: State Statistical Office (various years).

The issue of accommodation capacity is addressed with an aim to lead us to concluding remarks weather key actors which are responsible for tourism policy, should carry out measures and activities for enhancing tourism competitiveness in the South-West region. Table 4 gives an overview of the accommodation capacity in all eight statistical planning regions in Macedonia for the past four years (2008-2011). On average, during the sample period, the South-West region accounts for 63% of the total number of rooms in Macedonia and 60% of the total number of beds. However, the limited data regarding the structure of the accommodation capacity prevented us in more in-depth analysis.

3.4. Social Impacts of Tourism in the Regions

In order to gain more interesting concluding remarks, the research is continued with analyses on social impact of tourism. In this respect, Table 5 presents some of the basic socio-economic indicators by statistical regions in Macedonia for 2011.

Table 5
Socio-economic indicators by statistical regions in Macedonia, 2011

Region	Estimated population	Natural increase rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Average net wage per employee (EUR)	Active business entities	GDP per capita* (EUR)
Vardar	153 822	-0.3	38.0	36.4	260	5 858	3 333
East	179 387	-1.9	48.7	16.4	244	5 845	3 335
South-West	221 517	1.3	32.4	42.8	298	7 385	2 509
South-	173 056	0.4	64.4	9.3	261	6 248	3 544

Region	Estimated population	Natural increase rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Average net wage per employee (EUR)	Active business entities	GDP per capita* (EUR)
East							
Pelagonija	233 628	-3.0	43.8	31.4	311	8 308	3 636
Polog	315 964	3.7	30.0	31.8	319	7 100	1 594
North-East	175 266	1.4	21.7	59.6	402	4 279	1 753
Skopje	605 899	4.3	38.9	30.7	584	28 095	5 076
Total	2 058 539	0.7	39.7	32.3	335	73 118	24 780

Source: Author's own calculations based on: State Statistical Office (2012). Regions of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012, Skopje, pp. 93-107.

Note: *Data for 2010.

The demographic indicators at regional level presented in Table 5, show considerable differences which point to big disproportion in the territorial distribution of the population. The Skopje region encompasses one-third of total population in Macedonia confirming the forth mentioned fact for mono-centric development. Differences are also noticeable in natural increase rate. Namely, half of the regions are below the national average natural increase rate, which result in unfavorable demographic policy. The employment and unemployment rates of the population at the regional level show oscillations (differences) in relation to the total rates at the country level. In this respect, the employment rate in the South-East, East and the Pelagonia region is above the total rate at the national level, with the South-East region having the highest employment rate of 64.4%. With regards to the South-West region, the employment rate is 32.4% and simultaneously has very high unemployment rate of 42.8%. Since tourism is the leading source of income and local economic development in this region, it argues the necessity for improvement in this issue. Yet, the average net wage per employee is only 298 EUR being below the national average. Furthermore, the Table 5 presents data on active business entities and the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. In this respect, the biggest share in GDP of Macedonia in 2010 belongs to the Skopje region, while the smallest share belongs to the Polog region. Compared to the average of Macedonia, the higher share belongs only to the Skopje region, while all other regions had an average below the national.

Table 6 presents the gross fixed capital formation (GFCF) which represents the value of purchased fixed assets by the business entities, residents of specific region. Generally, the distribution of regional GFCF is calculated by the mixed method, so the majority of GFCF that refers to business and state entities is calculated by bottom-up method. In most cases, the GFCF value is distributed according to the residency of the business entity and activity of investment. However, it is possible that the value of gross investments in certain regions has been over- or underestimated due to the lack of relevant information. Observed by sectors of

activity, the sector accommodation and food service activities had a share of 14.7% in total GFCF (Table 6). Expectedly, the Skopje region has the highest share (115.7%), followed by the South-East region (34.1%). Referring the South-West region, it has the lowest share in GFCF of only 4.5% pointing to conclusion for undertaking urgent measures and activities for improvement.

Table 6

Gross fixed capital formation by statistical regions in Macedonia, 2010 (mil. EUR)

Region	Accommodation and food service activities
Vardar	7.4
East	9.0
South-West	4.5
South-East	34.1
Pelagonija	6.2
Polog	11.6
North-East	8.5
Skopje	115.7
<i>Macedonia</i>	197.0

Source: State Statistical Office (2012). Regions of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012, Skopje, pp. 45.

Table 7 is reach on data for the number of active business entities in the statistical regions in Macedonia for the period 2009-2011. Presented data for 2011 show that the highest share of 38.4% belongs to the Skopje region, while the South-West region encompasses 10.1%. This, as well as the forehead mentioned facts can be noted as one of the leading constraints for better tourism development in this region.

Table 7

Number of active business entities by statistical regions in Macedonia, 2009-2011

Region/Year	2009	2010	2011
Vardar	5 567	5 915	5 858
East	5 788	6 069	5 845
South-West	7 119	7 386	7 385
South-East	6 032	6 488	6 248
Pelagonija	8 130	8 272	8 308
Polog	6 577	7 280	7 100
North-East	4 190	4 397	4 279
Skopje	27 307	29 690	28 095
<i>Macedonia</i>	70 710	75 497	73 118

Source: State Statistical Office (2012). Regions of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012, Skopje, pp. 76.

The social impact of tourism in regions may be easily noted from the Table 8. It presents interesting facts regarding different catering indicators. Namely, it is clear that the South-West region has dominant role among other statistical regions in the country since it embraces the largest part of catering business entities, as well as seats. Together with the capital region of Skopje, encompasses half of the working force in the catering service. Thus, clearly indicates the importance of tourism development for job-creation and social balance in this region. Finally, the South-West region is far ahead in terms of total catering turnover, with exception of the Skopje region.

Table 8
*Indicators for catering by statistical regions in Macedonia, 2011**

Region	Business entities	Employees	Seats	Total catering turnover** (EUR mil)
Vardar	114	803	9 787	6.5
East	123	710	7 296	6.9
South-West	176	2 023	23 648	22.2
South-East	140	1 774	10 419	10.0
Pelagonija	142	966	10 936	6.7
Polog	131	615	8 131	6.1
North-East	123	638	10 264	5.1
Skopje	164	2 331	14 360	39.0
<i>Macedonia</i>	1 113	9 860	94 851	102.5

Source: Author's own calculations based on: State Statistical Office (2012). Regions of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012, Skopje, pp. 76.

Note: *The data on private catering establishments were not available.

**Include: beverages, food and beverages, nights spent and other catering turnover.

One may argue that tourism has great importance for the development of the South-West region, mostly owing to the natural characteristics of Ohrid Lake and the cultural and historical significance of the Ohrid area, protected by UNESCO. No less important for the development of tourism is the National Park Galichica, as well as the mineral and hot water springs near Debar.

3.5. Tourism Potentials for Regional Development

Due to variety of positive economic impacts, Macedonia identified tourism as a national strategic orientation. In this respect, five strategic clusters were defined and

recommended as starting points to boost tourism development in Macedonia (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012). So, lake tourism, wine tourism, cultural tourism, rural and mountain tourism are introduced as strategic orientation of the country by 2015.

Table 9
Cluster for cultural tourism

Place	General condition	Image/ international brand	Image/ regional brand	Tourism resources	Involvement of interested parties	Accessibil ity	Total points
Ohrid (South-West)	+++	++	+++	+++	+++	++	16
Prilep (Pelagonija)	+	-	+	++	++	+	7
Skopje (Skopje)	+++	+++	++	+	++	+++	14

Source: Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2012: 88).

Table 9 presents the selection of top-three locations within the cluster for cultural tourism. It is visible the effort for balanced regional development. Based on several criteria, generally on tourism resources, comparative tourism values and development potentials, the city of Ohrid is ranked on the first place.

Although all eight statistical planning regions in Macedonia have potentials for tourism development based on variety of natural and cultural attractions, the undertaken analysis indicates on shortage of identified types of tourism as priorities for regions' tourism development. Yet, the priorities may serve as a starting point in the process of creation competitive tourism supply which might enable regional development, but with obligatory attention of their sustainability.

Table 10
Tourism potentials of South-West planning region

Place	Type of tourism
Ohrid	Lake tourism; Eco tourism; City tourism; Events; Cultural tourism; Wine tourism; Alternative forms of tourism
St. Naum	Lake tourism; Eco tourism; Cultural tourism; Fishing
Struga	Lake tourism; Eco tourism; City tourism; Events; Cultural tourism; Wine tourism; Alternative forms of tourism
Kicevo	Mountain tourism; River tourism; Fishing; Hunting; Eco tourism; Cultural tourism; Transit tourism

Place	Type of tourism
Debar	Thermal tourism; Mountain tourism; River tourism; Fishing; Hunting; Eco tourism; Rural tourism; Lake tourism
Pesna	Speleological tourism
Radozda	Lake tourism; Fishing
Pestani	Lake tourism; Cultural tourism; Fishing; Eco tourism
Trpejca	Lake tourism; Cultural tourism; Fishing; Eco tourism
Vevcani	Rural tourism; Cultural tourism; Events; Mountain tourism; Eco tourism

Source: Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2012: 41-42).

The forth mentioned analysis outcomes clearly indicate an inappropriateness of current tourism development. This is mainly due to the lack of correspondence and balance between existing tourism potentials and development effects. Table 10 presents certain tourism potentials of the South-West planning region which might produce positive results, not only within that particular region, but in broader frames as well.

4. Future challenges and recommendations

Positive effects of tourism are rising from day to day, not only for a separate region like the South-West, but also for Macedonia. It is noticeable that tourism has strong influences on the regional development so the developing countries as Macedonia are exploring it as a chance for development. Namely, tourism development affects the regional development and is interconnected with variety of other activities, like new jobs creation, traffic development and higher prices of land, from agricultural to building land, and alike.

However, numerous constraints and opportunities for regional prosperity through tourism development arise in the case of the South-West region. The key challenge is the lack of critical mass of users and suppliers. The local consumer base tends to be too small to support a diversity of businesses. Consequently, it is difficult to develop a range of tourism product, and many regional destinations become tourism 'monocultures' with a small number of product types. Furthermore, tourism businesses tend to build greater reliance on tourism markets than those in major urban areas. This increases the pressure on tourism infrastructure, particularly transport and destination marketing. It also increases the need for tourism businesses to collaborate within and across other seven regions, as it will require a number of destinations to build an experience that will justify a visitor making the trip.

Beyond tourism policy, regional development policy generally can contribute to innovation capacity of destinations. In this respect, it is necessary that several point

marks are included: (1) Departments of regional development to recognize that departments of tourism have traditionally been charged with promotion rather than development and management; (2) Many regions are not well connected with the people and organizations who represent important interests at state and national level, and facilitation is required to forge connections; (3) Expansion of public sector funding programs to include build capacity to assess feasibility; and (4) To follow recent trends in regional development programs toward specific developments with immediate impact on particular communities.

The research in general presents that the potential role of tourism to economic development of the South-West region is significant. However, further tourism development depends on: (1) Public policies directed towards specific investments which is tailored according to the needs of the region; (2) Efforts to increase tourist accommodation capacity and the occupancy rate in the planning region and (3) Significant efforts to increase tourism income through subsidies or tax deductions as precondition for regions' tourism development.

Furthermore, from the analyzed data can be seen that tourism potentials of the South-West region are still insufficiently used. The reason for this lies mostly in the nonexistence of a tradition of tourism development, poor development of the traffic network and the lack of modern hotel accommodation. There are only few geographic areas in Macedonia which are strongly affected by location factors in tourism development. This is the first factor that makes the South-West planning region different from other planning regions in Macedonia. With exception to the past few years due to the global financial crisis, this region notes upward trend in terms of tourist arrivals and nights spent. The foreign tourists mostly come from the neighboring countries and together with the domestic ones visit it for the well preserved and clean environment, the Lake Ohrid and the numerous cultural and historical monuments. Additionally, the research outcome disentangle that tourism industry must have a significant position in the regional programs and the development strategy being defined as a key opportunity for development.

So, the research allows increased understanding of the way tourism operates in the South-West region, and identifies potential challenges Macedonia may face in its attempt to employ tourism as part of a comprehensive regional development strategy. At the same time, it defines some strength that can be brought to tourism planning and management processes in the South-West region.

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IDENTITY FEATURES OF THE ROMANIAN IMMIGRANTS FROM ITALY

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Abstract: The Romanian transnational migration represents one of the most important social processes that our country had to face during the past two decades, involving over 3,5 million citizens. The most compatriots have left, especially for working, to Italy, Spain, France, England, Greece, and to other continents. The biggest Romanian immigrant community in different European states is in Italy and Spain, and the migration phenomenon from Romania is still in process. The main purpose of this article is to respond at three important questions: Who are those who have left from Romania to Italy, in what regions they are living and working? Which are the most important reasons of their options for this country? In what measure living in a foreign society has influenced their cultural identity and their value options? In the article is also presented a brief history of the sociological researches on Romanian immigrants from Italy, socio-demographical data and comparative analyses. The main research methods that we have used are the statistical method and the opinion query based upon questionnaire. The initial hypothesis, that Romanians from Italy have preserved, generally, their cultural identity, was confirmed by the results of the sociological field research

Key-words: immigrant population, socio-demographic structure, stages of emigration, reasons for emigration, potential migration

1. Introduction

After 1990, many Romanian citizens emigrated abroad (Nicolaeescu, 2011). According to some unofficial statistic estimations, their number is almost 3.5 million people. Most of them, around 2 million, arrived to Italy and Spain, although their presence is also notified in other European countries, especially the western ones,

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and other continents too. The Romanians' trans-national migration constitutes one of the most important social phenomena that marked our society in the contemporary period. During the last two decades, Italy, Spain, France, England and Germany confronted with a great number of immigrants that came especially from the developing countries, from Central and Eastern Europe, but also from northern Africa or other continents. The amplitude of the immigration phenomenon places Italy among the European countries with an important share of foreign population. For example, at the 1st of January 2006, the foreign people represented almost 9% of the German population, over 6% of that of Spain, over 5% from that of Great Britain and over 6% of that of France.

According to the official statistic data, published by the Italian state, at the 1st of January 2011, the total number of the resident foreigners from its territory was of 4.570.317 people, being with 335.000 more immigrants than the previous year. In 2011, Italy had 60.6 million dwellers, among which 7.5% were foreigners that came especially from European, African and American countries. Most of them (86.5%) were concentrated in the northern and central areas of the country, known both for their high level of economic, social and cultural development and for their permanent touristic importance (The National Institute of Statistics – ISTAT [online] at www.istat.it, accessed October, 2011).

At the beginning of 2011, the official statistic data indicated the fact that the number of the Romanian citizens with permit of residence on the Italian territory reached over 1 million people (9.1% more than in 2010). In reality, their number was thought to be much bigger, some specialists that studied this problem, mentioning the number of approximately 1.3 million people (in their total number being also present those who don't have a permit for residence in Italy). Thus, the Romanian community from the Peninsula became the most numerous, being followed by the communities of citizens that came from other countries, such: Albania, Morocco, China, Ukraine, Philippine, Moldova Republic, India, Poland, Tunisia etc. The migration for working and, implicitly, for a better living, represents the main cause of the migration phenomenon from one country to another and from one geographical area to another. In Europe, there were noticed that the most immigrants came from all over the world during 2010. There was calculated that one of three international immigrants lives on the European continent. Also, at the European level, were registered 77.1 million children born from immigrant parents (*World Migration Report 2010*, International Organisation for Migration, Geneva, 2011, p. 245). We mention, related to this context, that the total number of the international immigrants was estimated to 214 million people in 2010, USA being considered the country with the most immigrants in the world (*Ibidem*, p. 115).

Because of the permanent immigration were produced modification in the composition of the population from many occidental societies. Altogether, they knew an economic

reviving of the domains that lacked the manpower, being attracted a large volume of manpower, especially young one. Yet, there also appeared multiple problems related to the managing of the immigration process, of professional, social, educational, cultural integration of the foreigners. For the temporary immigrants, working in the developed countries meant better incomes and an improving in the living standard of the families that remained in the origin countries. The world statistic data attest that, in 2008, most part of the money sent home by the immigrants were registered among those people who worked in Italy: 12.7 billion dollars (*Ibidem*, p. 184).

The economic crisis from the last years and the drastic measures of austerity taken by several western governments led to the introduction of restriction on the labour market and, implicitly, to a deterioration of the working and living conditions of the immigrants, determining alarming increases of the unemployment rate among the foreign population. For example, in Italy, the unemployment rate among the entire immigrants came to 10.75% in 2009. In such circumstances, the access of the immigrants to the labour market was limited and conditioned by the fulfillment of certain more strict criteria. An example is that from 2008, when the Italian authorities gave only 150.000 of working permits to the immigrants who solicited them and rejected 700.000 requests (*Ibidem*, p. 198). In a report of the International Labour Organization is mentioned the fact that, until the end of 2012, the unemployment phenomenon will affect, worldwide, over 200 million people. Altogether, it is appreciated that, nowadays, there are necessary 50 million jobs to reach the number of the employees registered in 2008 in the entire world.

In the present work we wish to examine few of the identity features of the Romanian immigrants' community from Italy, on the basis of few pieces of information extracted from certain official statistic data and on those collected with the help of a poll. Through the undertaken analysis, we will try to find a well documented answer for three questions:

1. Who are the people who left from Romania to Italy?
2. What are the main reasons for their option regarding this country?
3. To what extent did our conational people keep their cultural identity in the new social adoptive environment?

2. Short presentation of the sociological researches on the Romanian immigrants from the Italian society

In the last decade were made several polls and field researches for knowing the Romanian immigrants from different European countries. They were realized both by the Romanian and Italian specialists. Among the polls, we mention those made in 2007 by *Metro Media Transilvania*, on the social working and living conditions of the

Romanians from Italy, on their expectations and value orientations (under the coordination of Prof. Vasile Dâncu); in 2008, by CURS Bucharest on the Romanians from Italy and Spain (under the coordination of Dorel Abraham). Between 2004 and 2008, Pietro Cingolani studied the life of the Romanian immigrants from Torino (it holds the second position, after Rome, regarding the number of Romanian citizens) and, in the same time, he realized case studies in the village Marginea from Suceava County (half of the dwellers from that locality being in Italy, most of them near Torino) (Cingolani, 2009, p. 180). Prof. Dr. Dumitru Sandu is the author of a series of major works on the theme of migration, among which we mention, related to this context, the researches regarding the Romanian communities from Italy (*Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990-2006*, published in 2006) and from Madrid Autonomous Region (September 2008) and also the book *Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate* (2010).

From an anthropological perspective, were canalized by Carmen Banța, in 2009, „the identity cultural guide marks of the immigrant Romanian people from Bruxelles”. Their identity profile of the Romanian immigrants from France was examined by Marius Matichescu in a book published in French (2011). As for us, we studied the Romanian community from Italy, including their social and cultural identity, in a work published in 2008.

3. Socio-demographic characteristics of the Romanian immigrants from Italy

In the following paragraphs we will analyze the corps of Romanian immigrants in Italy, related to the foreign population from this country, in terms of some socio-demographic characteristics (age, gender, civil status, national membership etc) and of some qualitative evaluations. In this way, we will have the possibility to know the general and particular features of the immigration phenomenon from the Italian society, to reveal the cities or regions in which they are living most of the foreign citizens and, finally, to get an edifying image of the Romanian immigrants, based upon their socio-demographic structure.

a) The accentuated growth of the Romanian population and its distribution in the territory

In the period of time before 1990, the number of the Romanian citizens from Italy was very low, as comparing to the number of the citizens arrived from Morocco, Philippines, Yugoslavia, Egypt and Tunis – countries that occupied the first five positions and had, each, over 10 thousand resident people in Italy. Romania held the 25th place from the total number of 30 states that had resident permit in Italy.

The statistic data reveal that, in 1989, was registered a total number of 490.338 people with residence permits in the Peninsula. Almost 43% of them came from 30 countries and the rest of 57% belonged to different countries of the world (Otovescu, 2008, p.153). Between 2002 and 2006, the number of the resident foreigners in Italy was doubled (from 1.549.373, in 2002, to 2.938.922, in 2006), because of some normative documents that allowed the immigrants from the territory of Italy to legalize their residence in this country, changing their clandestine situation. During two decades (1989-2011), the foreign population resident in Italy grew from almost half a million people to approximately 5 million nowadays. This fact makes us wonder whether the future of this country will be that of a multi-ethnic society, and also that of the other western European states, permanently assaulted by immigrants arrived from the Third World countries or other areas dominated by poverty and economic difficulties.

Table 1
The dynamic of the immigrant population in the Italian society

Year	The number of resident people	The number of the Romanians in the total of the residence permit immigrants
Until 1978	Almost 350.000	No data available
1989	490.388	3.365
1 st of January 2007	2.938.922	342.200
1 st of January 2011	4.570.317	968.576

The source: Information selected from:

- Luigi Preti, *Immigrația în Europa*, translation by George Lăzărescu, Editura Tehnică, Bucharest, 1993, p. 40
- The Service of Statistics from the Ministry of Interior (become The National Institute of Statistics – ISTAT, from 1992, date at which was started the systematic registration of the foreigners)
- Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, Roma, 2007; document *La popolazione straniera residente in Italia al 1 gennaio 2007*, available on www.istat.it, p. 1
- Istat, *La popolazione straniera residente in Italia al 1 gennaio 2011*, available on www.istat.it

As for the administrative-territorial organization, Italy is divided in 20 regions. The statistic data attest that the largest communities of foreigners are, in the descending order of their shares, in the next regions: Lombardy, with the capital at Milano; Veneto, with the capital at Venice, Lazio, with the capital at Rome; Emilia-Romagna, with the capital at Bologna; Piedmont, with the capital at Torino; Toscana, with the capital at Florence. As a rule, the largest urban concentrations from Italy, absorbed the most numerous contingents of immigrants. Although the foreigners are spread in all the 20 regions of this country, in 9 regions are met the highest values, their share exceeding 5% of the entire population from each region. At Milan, Rome and in the afferent regions, the foreigners represent 8% of the total resident population.

The accentuated raising tendency, observed in the case of the immigrants, in general, is valuable also for the people that came from Romania. We mention that there are important communities of Romanians in 15 from the 20 region of Italy and in 4 of them their number exceeds 30.000 people. Other important cities preferred by our conational citizens are Milan, Padova and Verona. In the 5 mentioned cities are over 33% from the total number of the Romanian immigrants, the rest of almost 67% being spread in different regions of the Peninsula. We can say that in the case of the Romanian citizens appeared a steep growth. Thus, if in 1989, were around 3.000 immigrants with residence permits in Italy, signifying under 1% of the total number of the residence permit people, later, on the 1st of January 2007 (the date when Romania became a member of the European Union), their number raised to approximately 350.000, representing almost 125 from the total of foreign residents (around 3 million people).

From the official statistic data, it results that on the 1st of January 2007, there were in Italy six great communities of foreigners that had over 100.000 people each. In descending order, they were formed from citizens arrived from Albania, Morocco, Romania, China (144.885), Ukraine (120.070) and Philippine (101.337).

Table 2
The first three communities of immigrants

No.	Country	Number of immigrants	The Share in the total number of foreign population
1	Albania	375.947	12.8%
2	Morocco	343.228	11.7%
3	Romania	432.200	11.6%

Source: Istat, *La popolazione straniera residente in Italia al 1 gennaio*, Rome, 2007, p. 6 [online] at www.istat.it

Five years later, in 2011, the Romanian community from Italy reached the highest number of foreign population, after a rapid and explosive growth that would propel it in the top of the classification. It was followed by that of the Albanians, Moroccans, Chinese (209.934), Ukrainians (200.730), Philippines people (134.154), the citizens from Moldova Republic (130.948), from India (121.036), Poland (109.018). Therefore, if in 2007 there were six communities of immigrants of over 100.000 members, in 2011, their number grew to ten.

Table 3
The first three communities of foreigners from Italy
(1st of January 2011)

No.	Country	Number of immigrants	The Share in the total number of foreign population
1	Romania	968.576	21.1%
2	Albania	482.627	10.6%
3	Morocco	452.424	9.9%

Source: Istat, *La popolazione straniera residente in Italia al 1 gennaio 2011*, [online] at www.istat.it

On the whole, it can be noticed an increase of the foreigners from 2.938.922, in 2007, to 4.570.371, in 2011 (according to the official data). In reality, as some researchers of this subject say, their number is constantly increasing. Also, in the same interval of time is tripled the number of Romanian residents on the Italian territory that, in 2011, will represent 21.2% from the total number of foreigners.

b) The structure of the Romanian immigrants (on age, gender, legal status groups)

The large presence of the Romanian immigrants in Italy transformed their community into an important economic, social and demographic force. Moreover, among this community was also registered the higher birth rate (10.2%, in 2006), for example, the statistic evidence from Italy mention the fact that in October 2006, one of four babies born in the Rome Region was Romanian and at Milan, one of five newly born children had Romanian parents. We underline that the birth rate is generally higher among the foreign population from Italy than among the Italian one. In 2006 only, were born 398.000 children from foreign parents, representing 10.3% from the total number of births happened on the territory of this country and forming the second generation of immigrants (Otovescu, 2008, p.136), fact that contributes to the rejuvenating of the population from the Peninsula.

The share of the underage people from the foreign population was maintained relatively constant at over 20% of its total, between 2002 and 2006. at the 1st of January 2007, there were 665.625 underage children from the total of 2.938.992 foreigners.

After the analysis of the statistic data it results that there is a relatively balanced report on genders as regarding the foreign population from Italy. For example, in 2007, there were 50.12% males and 49.88% females, representing a number of 102 men and 100 women. In 2003, those with the age between 18 and 44 constituted almost three quarters (74.32% - 1.117.245 people) from the total of immigrants. The preponderance

of the young people is generally explained through the priority motivation for working of those who are in Italy, representing an important source for covering the necessary manpower from the economy and the social activities from the Peninsula.

The sociological research of a sample of 1066 Romanians from Italy (of 18 years old and over) reveals us the fact that the average age of the Romanian immigrant in this country was, in 2007, 33 years old, characteristic both for men and women.

Almost a quarter (23%) of the questioned subjects were between 26 and 30 years old, 18% belonged to the age group of 21-25, 17% were between 36-40 and 16% were between 31-35. As much as the age grows, the Romanians share in Italy decreases. For example, at the age group 51-55 were 3% and at 56-60 only 1% (Metro Media Transilvania, 2007, p.58). The gathering of the percents for the age groups between 18 and 45 years, leads us to the conclusion that the Romanians from this country are, in proportion of 89%, young people with obvious working availabilities. The same conclusion results from another sociological research (coordinated by Prof. Dumitru Sandu) that evidences that abroad "left for working more young than old people" and especially those that graduated a vocational school or the high-school (Sandu, 2006, p.18).

In the same time, as for the Romanian state, the sociological researches showed the fact that in Italy came for working those who had a labour contract (44%), so, with a vocational qualification. To them, were adding, according to their share, the people who were working in their households (14%), those who were self-employed, without authorization or workman's pass (14%), unemployed or day-labourers (10%) (Metro Media Transilvania, 2007, p.17, 31).

Considering the legal status, the statistic data from 2003 show that over a half (52%) of the foreigners from Italy were married and the percent of the married people, among the Romanians, was even higher (66%, according to the estimations of Prof. D. Sandu) for the entire interval of the departures from 1990-2006.

4. The stages of the working emigration and the Romanian regions from where the people left

The emigration of the Romanian citizens for working abroad (both for short and long term) is a phenomenon that increased its intensity along the years and involved an important number of families. This is also attested by the conclusions of a sociological study, under the coordination of Prof. D. Sandu who mentions that: "Over a third from the country's households, approximately two and a half million, had at least one of their members left abroad after 1989. Almost a fifth part of the Romanian households had at least one member who worked abroad. The share of the 18-59 years old people who worked abroad is of at least 12%".

The examination, from the historic perspective, of the Romanians' temporary migration abroad, led the named author to the conclusion that there are three distinct stages of this process:

Period	The maximum rate of emigration
1990-1995	3‰
1996-2001	7‰
after 2001	28‰

Source: D.Sandu, *Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990-2006*, Bucharest, noiembrie 2006, p. 18

The same stages are met, with small differences of time interval, in the case of the Romanian emigration in Italy: "from a maximum number of 14 thousand Romanians during 1990-1996, it goes to a maximum of 34.000 and at the end of 2005 the number of the residence permits of the Romanians from Italy reaches 300.000" (Ibidem, p.24).

Although the leaving abroad for working was made from all the historic regions of Romania, yet, Moldova, Muntenia and Oltenia registered a higher intensity as comparing with those motivated by touristic interest and family visits. Moldova is the region considered to be even "typical for the economically motivated leaving". In 1990-2001, the dwellers from Moldova left in relatively equal shares for working in Italy and Israel. After 2001, the departures to Italy from this region reach 75% from the total number of working leavings". "The dwellers from Oltenia are reorientating from Canada towards Italy. For the dwellers from Transylvania, the direction change of the working migration implies the substituting of Hungary, a privileged destination, with Italy. The people from Banat, replace Serbia and Sweden with Italy too" (Sandu, 2006, p.24).

The poll realized by Metro Media Transilvania among 1066 Romanians from Italy, of over 18 years old (during 20th of November – 15th of December 2007) who were in that country for other purposes than tourism, evidenced the fact that their domicile in Romania was in the following regions: Moldova – 43%; Transylvania – 30%; South – 22%; Bucharest – 3% (Metro Media Transilvania, 2007, p. 57).

The main domains where the Romanian immigrants from Italy work are building and agriculture, where activate especially the men; housekeeping, taking care of the aged people, commerce, touristic services, where the women are employed. Over 80% of the Romanian residents in Italy have the statute of workers, carrying out execution services. Yet, there is a growing category of business men that work especially in the building department and commerce, certain media materials informing that there are over 17.000 Romanians who founded building companies

(*Evenimentul zilei*, 28th of March 2007). What is sure, many of them, initially left just for finding a job, succeeded later in organizing their own businesses on the Italian territory or in activating in fields of great public notoriety and to gain the sympathy and the approval of the Italian citizens. A significant category of conational people is that of the football players Adrian Mutu and Cristi Chivu, of some artists and television personalities such is Ramona Bădescu, of some models world-wide recognized, as Catrinel Menghia and, recently, Mădălina Ghenea, who enjoy a wide notoriety and recognition of their professional talent and value, being part of a category of “exceptional” Romanians who work and live in Italy.

5. The reasons of their options for Italy and the potential migration

In Italy, the first legal dispositions for the regulation of the immigrants' situation were registered in 1986, following the pressures exercised by the fluxes of citizens come from the African, Asian and Arab world. To them, was added, in 1990, the massive entering of citizens from the ex-communist states, phenomenon that produced a real problem for the Italian society and for different state institutions that either ignored the immigration control or made it impracticable (Preti, 1993).

The main reason for the people's immigration to Italy was, from the start, that of finding a job. Before 1989, this country confronted with a high rate of unemployment, phenomenon that affected almost 2.5 million employees. From here, it came the Italians' fear, in front of the foreigners wave, of the act that they would lose their jobs, because the immigrants would accept lower wages and wouldn't be pretentious about the working conditions. Only in 1990 was ended a scientific study on the migration phenomenon in Italy that revealed that 58.1% of the foreigners were for at least 3 years in that country, that 40.3% came her with the hope of finding a steadfast job and other 35% were from family reasons, for studies or for travelling (Preti, 1993, p. 44). Starting from here, were conceived the statistic tables in which the reasons were: working, family, religion, chosen residence, studies, tourism, asylum, (unsolved) asylum request, others (businesses etc).

The consulting of the information registered in the foreigners' residence permits (on the 1st of January 2007) and published by the National Institute of Statistics from Italy, allow us to underline that 60.0% from the total number of foreigners from this country was there for working, 31.6% for family reunion, 2.14% for studies, 1.85% for residence and 1.33% for religious reasons. The working motive was mentioned by 78% of the immigrant men and by 44% of the immigrant women. On the 1st of January 2007, the two types of permits, for working and family reunion, represented the motives for the presence in Italy of 90% from the total number of foreigners (Istat, *La popolazione straniera residente in Italia al 1 gennaio 2011*, p. 4 [online] at www.istat.it)

We should mention that the elaboration of the data regarding the presence of the foreigners in Italy was initiated in 1992 by The National Institute of Statistics from Italy. Until 1992, the information about the immigrants was collected by The Department of Statistics of the Interior Ministry.

After the research of 1066 Romanians from Italy, made in December 2007 by Metro Media Transilvania, came that 8 reasons were at the origin of the decision when they chose Italy as a temporary or permanent destination, after the departure from Romania:

1. „Money” – said 26% from the total number of the investigated people;
2. „Job, working” – 25%;
3. „For a better living, a better life” – 10%;
4. „Poverty, the low incomes from Romania” – 9%;
5. „For better earnings” – 6%;
6. „Family motives, reunion, divorce, bereavement” – 6%;
7. „For helping my family” – 4%;
8. „The lack jobs, the economic situation from Romania” – 4% (Metro Media Transilvania, 2007, p. 9).

These categories of motives were obtained after a question with free answers and can be noticed that they are interconnected, being able to be evaluated in an associative manner. Money, working, better living are, actually, the preponderant reasons, of whose fulfillment represent for every man the guarantee of the material and moral existence. Secondary, we met motivations determined by the family situation – of associative type (family reunion, marriage) and dissociative (divorce, death). Although that range of motives (identified through the poll) don't explain why was particularly chosen Italy instead of other country (because the same reason could have been fulfilled in any other developed European country), it is significant for understanding of the needs and significant aspirations of the Romanian immigrants. As we can notice from the above data, the first two reasons are related to *money and work*, being interdependent values: work generates earning, and this is obtained after carrying out a social useful activity. The both categories of motives characterize over half (51%) of the subjects from the sample and illustrate a preponderant economic motivation for the presence of the Romanians in Italy (doesn't matter if they were forced to emigrate because of poverty, unemployment or low salaries and insecure jobs).

The greatest share of the questioned people declare themselves “quite satisfied” and “very satisfied” by “the way in which they live” in Italy (67%), by the money they earn

in this country (61%), by the friends they have (77%), by the family life (85%), by their health (83%) (*Ibidem*, p. 10), meaning that they enjoy multiple satisfactions that they didn't experienced in their country. The fact that their relatives, their friends, colleagues and acquaintances from Italy were those who helped, generally, their conational citizens to come in that country and to work, indicates us the presence of some active and long lasting social networks, Romanians helping each other and making a permanent connection wit the origin social environment. Certain polls revealed that 34% of the Romanians intended, in 2006, to leave for working in Italy and 20% in Spain (Sandu, 2006, p. 25).

As for their intention of returning to the country or retro-migration, some sociological researches evidence that 35% of the questioned Romanian immigrants from Italy expressed their desire of permanently returning home and other 21% decided to remain definitively in Italy. With the money they earned, some immigrants wish to buy land in Romania (25%), to build a house (31%), to invest into a business in our country (23%), while others desire to change their house in Italy (27%), to begin a business here (8%) etc. (Metro Media Transilvania, 2007, p.39).

6. The preservation of the cultural identity among the immigrants

In the same time with the increasing of the Romanians, temporarily or permanently established in Italy, were manifested their interest of organizing and declaring themselves as a community willing to promote their cultural and national identity. Along the specific activity developed by the Romanian Embassy in this country, can also be seen other institutional forms that assure the legal support for the manifestation in the public space of our conational people. Thus, at the end of 2006, we meet in Italy a national organization called *The Romanian League from Italy* that consisted of 14 associations functioning in different regions with the headquarters at Rome, Torino, Milan, Palermo, Padova, Brescia etc.

Also, there is a political formation, named *The Romanian Identity Party* (founded at Rome, on the 9th of December 2006) and a Romanian newspaper *The Romanian Gazette* that appear at Rome starting with 2003, a weekly publication with the highest number of copies printed among all the foreign publications from Italy. As, well there are other publications that, along with the Romanians associations, are preoccupied of the realizing a viable communication among them, of keeping the Romanian cultural values and of maintaining the conscience of national belonging of the immigrants.

Another form of institutional organization of the Romanians from Italy is represented by their affiliation to a national syndical structure that attest their capacity of understanding that, once they are integrated on the labour market, they have not

only obligations, but also rights. According to the estimations made by *The National Federation of the Builders and Wood Workers*, to which the Romanians are also affiliated, in 2006, were working in Rome, legally, “almost 9.000 Romanians and other 150.000 activated illegally in constructions, meaning that certain right of the illegal workers were ignored and unprotected”.

The preservation of the Romanians' from Italy cultural identity constitutes a problem of which the official institutions of our state and the organizations founded by our conational people from this country take care. From the sociological perspective, it is important to know what kind of changes were produced in the horizon or in the cultural code of the Romanians who ended working and living in Italy, whether they remained more Romanian or they became more Italian (as Emilia Lewandowska was asking regarding the Poles, in a study from 2004: *More Polish or More British?*). For the gathering of the field data, we drew up a sociological questionnaire that we applied for 125 subjects from Italy. They were found with the help of some relatives, friends, former colleagues that keep in touch with the persons from Italy.

The questionnaire applied in Romania was filled out though the direct contact with the 125 subjects, during their leave spent in the country or on the occasion of some religious holidays, when they came home. Most of the subjects from the lot (82.2%) had their domicile in Craiova and the rest of them in localities from five counties of Oltenia. The main cities of residence in Italy were Rome (for 22.6% of them), Torino (12.3%), Napoli (11%), Milan (7%), Bologna (5%). Others were living in (2.7%), Padova (2.7%), Bari (2.1%), Florence (2.1%) etc. Because there wasn't up to this moment, the possibility of making a representative sample group that would have allowed us to exploit the obtained data and conclusions, we resorted to the identification of an exploratory share of subjects, therefore the gathered information is referring only to that group of respondents. In the summer of this year we are going to make a direct documentation in Italy, on the Romanian community from Torino and, on this occasion, we hope e will succeed in forming sample groups according to the rigors of the scientific research.

The questioned lot was made of males in a proportion of 54% and females, 46%; 18.3% were between 18-25 years old, 40% were between 26-35 years old, 16.7% between 36 and 45, 12.5% of 46-55 and 2.5% between 56 and 65 years old. Half of the members of the lot were married (over a third with children), 42% unmarried and 5% were divorced. Almost 48% graduated the high-school, 30% graduated a university and 12.4% graduated a vocational school. A quarter of the subjects were in Italy for under a year, 30% for 1-3 years, 23% for 4-6 years, 12% for 7-9 years and 10% for 10 or more years (these were entirely workers).

If in Romania approximately 30% of them were workers, 13% without occupation, 16% were doing intellectual activities, 10% with medium qualification, in Italy, over

66% of the subjects were workers and only 4% of them in the profession for which they had high qualification (doctors, engineers, teachers). Most of them (85%) worked in Italy for the first time since they had left Romania, while 15% of them had worked previously in other countries. The main reasons for their decision about working in Italy are those known from the anterior researches, financial ones (mentioned by 53%) and finding a proper job (20%), to which are added, on the third place, the family relations, for an important part of the subjects (10%). The biggest majority (84.1%) of those who left confessed that found here what they had been looking for: the desired job (42%), the possibility of earning money (33%), family/friends (5.4%) etc. The major difficulty in the new life social environment was, for 39% of them, to speak Italian; for 14% to make new friends and acquaintances; for 12% to change their eating style; for other 12% to get a residence permit; for 10% to find a house and for 5.5% to bring their entire family in Italy.

When they left from Romania, most of the subjects of the lot, almost 64% intended to find a job in Italy and then to return home, 21% wanted to remain permanently in this country, 7.5% wished to “forget out country” and 2% couldn’t appreciate. Over 70% self-evaluated as being “poorer” the moment they left from Romania, almost 27% considered they had “the same material situation” that they have in Italy, 1.4% thought they were “richer” and the rest didn’t answer. Must be observed that for 40% of the incomes from Italy (as comparing with those from Romania) are enough to a “very great and great” extent, for 52% are considered “appropriate”, for 5% are enough “at all” and for 3% are enough to a “small or very small” extent.

We know that the bases of the national identity are language, history and culture. What’s more, we may presume that, among the immigrants, the conscience of the national belonging is stronger than among other citizens from the country, because being in the middle of the strangers determines you to learn the norms, the values, the thinking and behaviour pattern of the foster country, that is to notice and to leave the differences. In order to evaluate to what extent the group of Romanian immigrants from Italy preserve its cultural identity, we resorted to the use of some indicators or analytic descriptors, on which we designed the questions from the questionnaire (with free and pre-formulated answers):

- the speech in the maternal language;
- the observing of some Romanian customs and traditions;
- the preserving of tight connections with the family from the country;
- the use of the same culinary practices;
- the manifestation of “homesick”;
- going to church;

- the conscience of belonging to the national culture and history;
- the consumption of Romanian cultural products (music, TV, books etc);
- the self-evaluation of their own national identity.

One of the hypotheses from which we started, in realizing the field research, was that the immigrants from the questioned lot are willing to preserve their national and cultural identity in their new social environment from Italy. An important role is that played by the maintaining of the relation with the family members from the country and periodic visits at home, the use of the Romanian language and watching the Romanian TV programs etc.

Although each of the indicators mentioned below were illustrated through adequate questions in the questionnaire, in the present context we will confine ourselves only to some pieces of information. For example, the subjects were requested to appreciate if they consider that they would become like all Italians or they would preserve the status of Romanians among Italians. The obtained answers indicate the fact that over three quarters of the questioned people mentioned the preserving of their national identity.

Table 4

Your intention and preoccupations are....?	
Of remaining a Romanian among the Italians	76.7%
Of becoming like all the Italians	12.5%
DA	10.8%
Total	100.0%

Source: *Identitatea socio-culturală a imigranților romani din Italia*, Report, Institutul Social Oltenia, 2011.

If at the declarative and group level exists the sincere and quasi-sincere preoccupation of maintaining the Romanian identity (in high percents they said that they are for under 6 years in Italy), as the time passes (we are referring to those that have over 7 years of residence in this country) the perception of the immigrants change, meaning that, once they are established in the Peninsula, their goal is that of becoming like all the Italians, as it results from the statistic data put in the next table:

Table 5

Intention Period	Of becoming like all the Italians	Of remaining a Romanian among the Italians	DA	Total
Under 1 year	7,1%	89,3%	3,6%	100,0%
1-3 years	7,9%	76,3%	15,8%	100,0%
4-6 years	17,2%	69,0%	13,8%	100,0%
7-10 years	78,6%	7,1%	14,3%	100,0%
10 years and more	70,0%	30,0%	0,0%	100,0%

Source: *Identitatea socio-culturală a imigranților romani din Italia*, Report, Institutul Social Oltenia, 2011.

A significant change is that as regarding the use of the Romanian language inside the family or in the relations with the conational people, under the influence of their time spent in Italy, yet, without the canceling the linguistic identity of the users. For the period of “10 years and over” in Italy, the differences are important: half of the questioned people preserve their maternal language in the family, other 40% speak Italian and 10% the both languages.

Table 6

The language spoken in the family Period	Romanian	Italian	Both	DA	Total
under 1 year	69,0%	6,9%	24,1%	0,0%	100,0%
1-3 years	83,8%	5,4%	8,1%	2,7%	100,0%
4-6 years	75,9%	14,1%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%
7-10 years	78,6%	14,3%	7,1%	0,0%	100,0%
10 years and more	50,0%	40,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%

Source: *Identitatea socio-culturală a imigranților romani din Italia*, Report, Institutul Social Oltenia, 2011.

If at the beginning of their entering into the Italian society, the Romanian immigrants are intensively connected to the other conational people, later, after they learn the language, after they find a convenient job and house, they widen their social circle and are integrating more and more in the community environment, socializing with the Italians in the same way they did with the other Romanians, sometimes getting married. It seems symptomatic the statement of a student (left from Craiova for working in Lodi, a city in which her brother was working for several years): “As I’ve seen, most of the Romanians left for Italy because they wanted to earn money,

initially, and then to return to the country to live there. But, after they spent few years in this country, it's difficult for them to return, because they don't have a job. In my opinion, almost half of them remain in Italy and the other half returns home. This also happens because some of them are getting married, especially women, and remain there”.

The process of integration into the Italian society is made, first of all, through the working activities that the Romanian immigrants do, but also through the way they live and behave in the social environment where they live. Moreover, there are interesting their own appreciations, resulted after the gathering of all the answers for the question: *Do you consider assimilated by the Italian society to a...extent?*

Table 7

Assimilation Period	To a very great extent	To a great extent	To a small extent	To a very small extent	Not at all	DA	Total
Under 1 year	3,4%	10,3%	24,1%	24,1%	31,1%	6,9%	100,0%
1-3 years	0,0%	26,3%	34,2%	23,7%	10,5%	5,3%	100,0%
4-6 years	6,9%	27,6%	41,4%	0,0%	17,2%	6,9%	100,0%
7-10 years	7,1%	28,6%	42,9%	7,1%	14,3%	0,0%	100,0%
10 years and more	20,0%	70,0%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%

Source: *Identitatea socio-culturală a imigranților romani din Italia*, Report, Institutul Social Oltenia, 2011.

In this case, the period for residence in Italy left its mark on the options. It can be seen, in the above table, that the share of the answers at the heading “to a great extent” and “to a very great extent” raises simultaneously with the number of the years spent in that country. The social climate from the Italian localities where the Romanians live is favorable for the process of integration for our conational people. Around 60% of the investigated subjects see the Italians in a positive and even in a praising way, considering them civilized, sociable, correct, respectful, nice, hospitable and talkative.

Generally, we can appreciate that the first formulated hypothesis, that according to which the Romanians preserved their cultural identity, was confirmed with the help of the data resulted on the assemble of the questioned lot. Therefore, to the information presented before, we also add the fact that 78.2% confessed that in their thought still persists “the pleasant memories from Romania”; 85% could name one or more classical Romanian writers; 65.5% listen to Romanian music most of their time; 92% communicate with their parents (from which 19% daily); 72.5% observe the Romanian traditional customs, especially the married ones (the dying of eggs, the

decorating of the Christmas tree, caroling) and 64% don't know any traditional Italian holidays; 91% feel homesick (from which 42.5% "all the time"), especially those who left their children in the country, miss their families (70%), the native places (11%) and friends (8%); 63 of them consider themselves "more Romanian than Italian", through the way they think, feel and talk; 75% speak Romanian inside the family and in the relations with other Romanians; 59% don't have the feeling that they are uprooted from their native world; 77.1% kept their religion; 76% have traditional Romanian objects in Italy etc.

7. Conclusions

During the last two decades, the transnational migration became not only a global social phenomenon, but also an increasing one. In the *World Migration Report 2010*, of the *International Organization for Migration* it was mentioned that the total number of the international migrants reached 214 million persons and the United States of America were in the forefront of world countries with most immigrants. It was also calculated that, in 2010, one in three international migrants was living in Europe. Economically developed societies have become the most attractive for foreigners, coming, to their majority, from different European, Asian and African states, affected by the poverty and financial crisis. The official statistical data show us that immigrants represent almost 9% of Germany's population, 7.5% of Italy's, over 6% of Spain's and France, over 5% of Great Britain's population. Migration for work and for a better life represents the main reason of the migration phenomenon from a country to another, from a geographical region to another. Other significant reasons which determine people to abandon their countries are related to family reunion and studies in international prestigious universities. According to the International Labor Organization, the unemployment will affect over 200 million persons, till the end of 2012, which will lead to an increase of the migration flows to developed countries.

Italy is one of the occidental countries that are confronting with a permanent flux of immigrants. In 2011 it had 60.6 million dwellers, 7.5% of them being foreigners come from different European, African or American countries. Among these, there is also an impressive number of Romanians (according to some unofficial data, around 1.3 million persons).

The Romanians' migration in Italy, especially for working and for family reunion, followed an accelerated course in the last decade. Officially, their number is around one million people, but is continuously growing. The Romanian Community from Italy became an important economic, social and demographic force. If in 2007, Albania and Morocco had the biggest communities of citizens in Italy, later, in 2011, Romania gained the first place, being followed by Albania and Morocco. The Romanian community from the Peninsula became not only numerous, but that in

which are born most of the children and that with the citizens most willing to remain permanently here (between 20 and 25%, according to some sociological opinion polls). The statistical data show us that in October 2006, one in four newborns in Roma was Romanian, and in Milan, one in five newborns had Romanian parents. On the whole immigrant population from Italy, the birth rate was higher than in the case of Italians, fact that contribute to the rejuvenation of the population from this country (only in 2006, for example, there have been born 398.000 children whom parents were foreigners).

There are important communities of Romanians in the 15 from the 20 regions of Italy, although their presence is mentioned along the entire country. In four regions, the number of the Romanians exceeds 10.000 people. At Rome and Torino are met the most important Romanian groups: over 30 thousand in every city. Over a half of the foreigners from Italy (52%) are married, and in the case of the Romanians, their share is higher, over 66% of their total.

In the total number of the Romanian immigrants are preponderant the young groups (18-45 years old). Certain sociologic researches attest that the average age of the Romanian immigrant was 33 years old in 2007. Although the leaving abroad for working was done in all the regions of Romania, Moldova, Muntenia and Oltenia supplied to the greatest extent the emigration from economic reasons. The main domains in which the Romanians activates in Italy are, for men, building department and agriculture, and for women, housekeeping, aged people caring, tourism services etc. over 80% have the professional statute of workers. Some Romanians built a carrier in sports and entertainment. Generally, the Romanians who work and live in Italy declare themselves satisfied and very satisfied with their earning and with the lives they have in this country. Many Romanians have started their own business in Italy, mainly in constructions (over 17.000 in 2007) and in the commercial sector, especially.

The results of a poll demonstrates that most part of the Romanians preserve in the new social environment representative elements of their cultural and national identities and their family life in Italy plays an important part here.

Residence in Italy has had an impact on the way that immigrant have feel assimilated in the Italian society. So, 70% of those who are living in Italy for more than 10 years have appreciated that they feel themselves assimilated to a great extent. Even if they are feeling assimilated by the Italian society, generally, the Romanian immigrants have kept their Romanian cultural identity (72,5% of those questioned observe the Romanian traditional customs, 91% feel homesick, 75% speak Romanian inside the family and in the relations wit other Romanians).

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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

IMPROVING THE SITUATION OF THE RUTHENIAN MINORITY IN SERBIA*

Mihajlo FEJSA¹

Abstract: The author deals with several factors that undoubtedly influence and improve the life conditions of the Ruthenian / Rusyn national community in Serbia / Vojvodina at the beginning of the third millennium. The factors are: National Council of the Rusyn National Minority; Institute for Culture of the Vojvodinian Ruthenians; Apostolic Exarchate for Greek Catholics in Serbia and Montenegro; Ruthenian-language educational vertical; Internet; new cultural organizations and manifestations; revolutionary changes in the Carpathian Area; favourable international conditions etc.

Being recognized administratively the Ruthenian minority enjoys as high degree of self-government as possible. Legislative, executive and judicial bodies exercise power in all areas in which the language and cultural rights of the Ruthenian minority are especially important. This applies particularly to education, culture, media and local authorities.

Key-words: minority; administration; minority rights; factors of preservation; educational plans.

1. Introduction

The 1981 European Parliament Resolution on a Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and on a Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities, requested national, regional and local authorities to allow and promote the instruction of regional languages and cultures in official curricula from nursery school up to university level; to allow and to ensure sufficient access to local radio and television; and to ensure that individuals are allowed to use their own language in the field of

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public life and social affairs in their dealings with official bodies and in the courts (para. 1). The Resolution recommended, furthermore, that the regional funds should provide assistance for projects designed to support regional and folk cultures and regional economic projects (paras. 4 and 6). Finally, Parliament called on the Commission to review all Community legislation or practices which discriminate against minority languages (para. 5) (Toggenburg, 2000, p. 4). Since Yugoslavia / Serbia has implemented the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages the Ruthenian language has been given special protection under Part III of the Charter (together with Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, Romani, Romanian, Slovak and Ukrainian).

Several categories of languages other than official languages can be identified in the European Union and its member states: a) minority languages specific to a region of one or more member states; b) languages spoken by a minority in one member state but which are official languages in another EU country; c) non-territorial minority languages; d) non-indigenous languages – languages of recent emigrants who came to EU-member states as “Gastarbeiter”; e) dialects of official or minority languages (Šmihula, 2008, p. 52). The Ruthenian language belongs to the a) category together with Basque, Breton, Catalan etc.

The Autonomous Province of Vojvodina attained extensive rights of self-rule under the 1974 Yugoslav constitution, which defined Vojvodina as one of the subjects of the eight subjects of the Yugoslav federation. At the same time five of the Vojvodina’s peoples were given the status of official nationalities – Serbs, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, and Ruthenians. Consequently, the Ruthenian language became one of the five official languages of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. This meant that for the first time it was possible to use the Ruthenian language in court, in offices, on public signs etc. Translators were employed at state expense in municipalities where there was a significant number of the members of the Ruthenian national community (Фејца, 2010, p. 118).

The author has chosen the topic to point out, on the one hand, that the Ruthenians had attained extensive minority rights even before the European Parliament requested national authorities to allow and promote the instruction of regional languages and cultures in official curricula from nursery school up to university level and, on the other hand, that Serbian legislation is fully consistent with the guidelines specified in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, drafted by the Council of Europe, and the Ruthenians have obtained a large amount of assurance that the minority rights in the areas of education, culture, information, and official use of the Ruthenian language and alphabet will be, at least to a significant extent, respected.

The article consists of two main parts. In the first part the author provides the historical background and in the second one he discusses the improvement of the situation of the Ruthenian minority at the beginning of the 21st century in Serbia / Vojvodina.

2. Historical background

For centuries the Ruthenians / Rusyns lived within the borders of Hungarian Kingdom. They lived in the northeast Hungarian counties, namely, in Zemplén, Saros, Abauj-Torna, Borsod, Szabolcs, Ung, Ugocsa, Maramaros and Gemér. Most of these counties are today in Eastern Slovakia, and others in Hungary, Ukraine and Romania. They have called themselves or have been called by others – like Carpatho-Rusyn, Carpatho-Russian, Uhro-Rusyn, Ruthen, Ruthenian, Rusnak, etc. Some 260 years ago, groups of Rusyns began migrating south from their homeland in the Carpathian Mountains to the Srem and Bačka regions of what is now Vojvodina in Serbia and Eastern Slavonia in Croatia.

After the defeat and retreat of the Ottoman Empire from Bačka, Srem and Banat in 1699, the Austro-Hungarian authorities needed more population in the south of their state and supported colonization of Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks and others, among them Rusyns as well (Gavrilović, 1977, p. 153). That is why the ancestors of the Vojvodina Rusyns, citizens of free status under Habsburg Monarchy («Ruthenus Libertinus», as they were called) and of Greek-Catholic (Uniate) faith, in total number of around 2.000 were allowed to settle under the contract with the state authorities in the »dessolata possessio Keresztur« and nearby locality of Kucura in the central Bačka region in the mid of the 18th century (Хорњак, 2006, p. 25).

In the new world, the newcomers built houses, economic establishments, churches, schools and other public institutions.

The Ruski Krstur parish was founded in 1751, and the Ruski Krstur primary school began to work in 1753. The first Greek-Catholic church in Kucura was built in 1765. The Ruski Krstur and Kucura parishes were included in the Križevci Bishopric for Greek-Catholics in 1777. Before that the parishes had been parts of the Kaloča Catholic Archbishopric. The Ruthenians had become Uniates (Greek-Catholics from 1772) by the Brest (1596) and Užhorod (1646) unions.

The primary school in Šid began to work in 1818, in Novi Sad – in 1823, in Bačinci – in 1847, and in Djurdjevo – in 1880.

Ever since the first Ruthenians settled in these parts and up to the First World War, they were predominantly farmers. Their craftsmen were organized in a guild, while there were very few priests and teachers. In time, the Ruthenians even made progress in their economic, national and cultural life. They succeeded in preserving their identity. They formed their language and raised it to the level that they could use

it to print books. The first book in the Ruthenian language is the poetic wreath *Z Mojoho Valala / From My Village* by Havrijil Kosteljnjk published in 1904.

At the end of the First World War the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed. All branches of the Rusyn people had, until the year 1918, lived and developed within the framework of a single state, the Habsburg Monarchy. Now for the first time several branches of the Rusyn people were somehow cut off. The Rusyns in Bačka had to find their own way.

Within Serbia (or the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, or, later, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the Ruthenians were permitted to form national and cultural institutions by virtue of the collective rights of all national minorities, which was not the case in their homeland. They were granted the status of national minority of Slavic origin in 1919, first and for many years to come the only one among their kinsmen in the Carpathian area. This was an event of utmost importance which opened the way of their national and cultural development.

3. Cultural-educational development

Under such circumstances the Ruthenians felt that the founding of the Ruthenian Popular Educational Society, the so-called Prosvita / Education, was the first step in which they manifested their striving for an independent national cultural life. At the founding meeting, on the 2nd of July 1919 in Novi Sad, the Ruthenian national community decided to elevate its colloquial language (not the Russian or Ukrainian languages) to the level of a literary language. The first cultural-educational organization adopted resolution to use its everyday speech in the education, cultural life and the press. This decision was based on the fact that books of religious and literary character had already been published in this language (Medješi, 1993, p. 146). The most important figure of the historical meeting was priest Mihajlo Mudri (Фейса, 2004, pp. 374-375).

The first Ruthenian cultural organization published several books of great significance. The most influential book of the time was the first Ruthenian grammar *Hramatika Bačvansko-Ruskej Bešedi / Grammar of Bačka-Rusyn Speech* by Havrijil Kosteljnjk published in 1923 (Fejsa, 2000, p. 277). The Ruthenian Popular Educational Society published calendars (1921-1941), journals *Ruski Novini / Ruthenian Newspaper*, 1924; *Naša Zahradka / Our Garden*, 1937) and other publications (*Bukvar / Primer*, textbooks, *Jeftajova Dzivka / Jeftaj's Daughter* by Havrijil Kosteljnjk – the first Ruthenian non-one-act play, 1924, *Pupče / Field Poppy* by Janko Fejsa – the first Ruthenian collection of children poems, 1929). One of the most important things the RPES did was the foundation of the first Ruthenian printing house in 1936 in Ruski Krstur.

The second cultural-educational organization, the Cultural-Education Union of Yugoslav Ruthenians, the so-called Zarja / Beam, was founded on the 3rd of September 1933 in Vrbas (Фейса, 2008, p. 92). The members of the CEUYR were dissatisfied with the Ukrainophile tendencies of the RPES. They promoted the idea that the Vojvodinian Rusyns, like all Rusyns, were a branch of the Russian nationality (Magocsi, 2002: 510). The organization published calendars (1935-1941), newspapers and other publications. The most influential book of the CEUYR was the first Ruthenian history *Istorija Rusckoho Naroda / History of the Russian People* (1935) by Nikolaj D. Olejarov.

After the Second World War, in 1945, several important cultural events took place. First, the first high school in the Ruthenian language was established in Ruski Krstur. Second, a new Ruthenian organization was established for all Ruthenians in Yugoslavia – Ruska Matka / Ruthenian Home. Third, the Newspaper-Publishing Institution Ruske slovo was established (published: *Ruske Slovo / Ruthenian Word*, 1945; *Ruski Kalendar / Ruthenian Calendar*, 1946; *Zahradka / Garden*, 1947; *Švetlosc / Light*, 1952).

In the following two decades with liberal funding from the Yugoslav government, elementary and secondary school system and radio programming (1948) came into being.

The Institute for Publishing Textbooks was established in 1965. The Institute started to publish textbooks for primary and secondary school regularly. It has published around 1,000 titles.

The Autonomous Province of Vojvodina gained extensive rights of self-rule under the 1974 Constitution and the Ruthenians were given the status of an official nationality. The Ruthenian language became one of the five official languages of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

The Society for the Ruthenian Language and Literature (established in 1970) started to publish its herald the *Tvorčosc / Creativity* (1975), later the *Studia Ruthenica* (1988). A series of school grammars and *Gramatika Rusckoho Jazika / Grammar of the Ruthenian Language* (Кочиш, 1977) were prepared by Mikola Kočiš, that is by the Institute for Publishing Textbooks. Mikola Kočiš is also the author of the first *Pravopis Rusckoho Jazika / Orthographic Rule-Book of the Ruthenian Language* (Кочиш, 1971).

TV programming in Ruthenian came into being in 1975.

It is important to point out that everything from the previous, post-war period was preserved and even improved. Especially it concerns the field of education. The Department of the Žarko Zrenjanin High School from Vrbas became the Educational Centre Petro Kuzmjak in Ruski Krstur (1977). All subjects in one class out of three of the unique high school have been taught in Ruthenian.

The Ruthenian language is also taught in the three primary schools. The whole teaching process is in Ruthenian in the Petro Kuzmjak Primary School in Ruski Krstur (Primary and High School Petro Kuzmjak, since 1990; Primary and Secondary School with Home for Students Petro Kuzmjak, since 1990), whereas it is bilingual, Serbian and Ruthenian, in the Bratstvo jedinstvo / Brotherhood and Unity Primary School in Kucura and the Jovan Jovanović Zmaj Primary School in Đurđevo. All subjects in these primary schools are taught in Ruthenian.

In order to enhance further knowledge and use of the Ruthenian language, in 1973 – the Professorship of the Ruthenian Language, and by 1981 – the Department of the Ruthenian Language and Literature was established at the University of Novi Sad (Фейса, 2006, p. 35).

The creative potential of the Ruthenians had resulted in doubtlessly notable results in culture and education. The readers for elementary and secondary schools in Ruthenian (printed after 1984) prove that the Ruthenians in Yugoslavia were neither an exotic culture nor cultural outskirts. In fact, by their educational and academic maturity, they are in the very centre of European trends and achievements.

Generally speaking, it was the most favourable period for the Ruthenian culture. It can be said that the period presented the golden age for the Ruthenians.

The Newspaper-Publishing Institution Ruske slovo published more books in the Ruthenian language than ever. It even started to publish a journal for young people named MAK / YAC (Youth – Activity – Creativity, since 1972) regularly.

The ethnocultural development of the Ruthenian culture was interrupted during the mid-1990s war in former Yugoslavia. Hyperinflation paralyzed the whole country. Dissolution of Yugoslavia followed.

As far as the Ruthenian national community is concerned Yugoslavia / Serbia continued to admit existence of Ruthenian minority and tried to preserve everything that had been achieved.

4. Minority rights

Nowadays the Republic of Serbia adopted international standards concerning national minorities rights. The two most important international documents of the Council of Europe signed by our country are the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (signed by the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2005) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (signed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 2001). The essence of these documents has been incorporated in the 2006 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

The 2006 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, in its Article 75, guarantees collective minority rights on the basis of which persons belonging to national minorities, directly or through their representatives take part in decision-making or decide by themselves on specific issues related to their culture, education, information and official use of the language and script, in accordance with the Law. The Constitution incorporates all the relevant international documents concerning minorities.

The members of the Ruthenian minority have the right to be educated in their native language and to attend classes that focus on the minority's history and culture and at the same time the parallel teaching in the Serbian language is compulsory.

The members of the Ruthenian minority are entitled to officially use their language within the municipality or locality in which they form 15 % of the local population. The Law also provides for the official use of the Ruthenian language in judicial procedures, as well as for electoral materials. The Ruthenian minority is granted the right to name streets and other topographical indicators in its language. In areas where the Ruthenian minority makes up to 15 % of local population the state's legislation is to be issued in the Ruthenian language.

One of the noteworthy provisions is the right granted to members of national minorities to freely establish and maintain relations with legal subjects resident in foreign states, with those to which they bear some collective, cultural, linguistic or religious similarities.

The state is also obliged to finance the main cultural activities organized by the members of a national minority. For financing cultural projects the organizers are encouraged to seek funding from private and state's organizations and institutions based abroad.

Nowadays the broadest cultural activity of the Ruthenian national community takes place within the framework of around twenty nonpolitical cultural-educational-artistic organizations and institutions. Nationally, the most important cultural-educational organizations are: Ruska Matka / Ruthenian Home, established in 1945, re-established in 1990 in Ruski Krstur; Društvo za Ruski Jazik, Literaturu i Kulturu / Society for the Ruthenian Language, Literature and Culture, established in 1970 in Novi Sad; Kulturno-Prosvitne Društvo DOK – Kocur / Cultural-Educational Society DOC – Kucura, established in 2006 in Kucura. Other cultural-artistic organizations or associations of citizens are located in Novi Sad (Ruske Kulturno-Prosvitne Društvo / Ruthenian Cultural-Educational Society, Matka – Društvo Rusnacoh Novoho Sadu – Vojvodini / Home – Society of the Ruthenians of Novi Sad – Vojvodina, Forum Mladih Ruskej Matki / Youth Forum of the Ruthenian Home, NVO Ruski Forum GEA / NGO Ruthenian Forum GEA), Kucura (KUD Žatva / CAS Harvest, Etno Klub Odnjate od Zabuca / Ethno Club Brought out of Oblivion), Đurđevo (KUD Taras Ševčenko / CAS

Taras Ševčenko, Hor Rozanov / Rosanov Choir), Vrbas (KPD Karpati / CES the Carpathians, Umetnjicka kolonija Njaradi / Art Colony Njaradi), Ruski Krstur (NVO Mladih Rusnacoh Pact Ruthenorum / NGO of Young Ruthenians Pact Ruthenorum), Šid (KPD Đura Kiš / CES Đura Kiš), Novo Orahovo (KUD Petro Kuzmjak / CAS Petro Kuzmjak), Kula (RKUD Dr Havrijil Kosteljnik / RCAS Dr. Havrijil Kosteljnik), Subotica (Društvo Rusnacoh u Subotici / Society of the Ruthenians in Subotica), and in Sremska Mitrovica (Društvo Rusnacoh u Srimskoj Mitrovici / Society of the Ruthenians in Sremska Mitrovica). Ruthenian professional institutions are located in Ruski Krstur: Nacionalni Sovit Ruskej Nacionalnej Menšini / National Council of Rusyn National Minority, Zavod za Kulturu Vojvođanskih Rusnacoh / Institute for Culture of the Vojvodinian Ruthenian, Ruski Narodni Teater Petro Riznič Đađa / Ruthenian National Theatre Petro Riznič Đađa and Dom Kulturi / Home of Culture.

There are around twenty five traditional cultural festivals / manifestations: Festival of Ruthenian Culture Red Rose, Festival of Theatrical Performances for Children and Adults the Drama Memorial Petro Riznič Đađa, Cultural Manifestation Kosteljnik's Autumn, Multimedial Manifestation Dnjovka, Festival Vodova Fest, International Voluntary Work Camp (in Ruski Krstur), Festival of Authentic Creativity of the Ruthenians Kucura Harvest, Fine Arts and Literary Colony Erato above Kucura, International Festival of Humour and Satire Kucura Corncob, Struggle against Primitivism in Music Karaoki Stop Beautiful Singing Forward, Fine Arts Colony from Our Past to Our Future, Christmas Concert, Easter in Kucura, Children's Drama Meetings (in Kucura), Festival of New Ruthenian Songs in Folk Spirit Rose Garden, Festival of Monodrama and Duodrama, Days of Mikola M. Kočiš, Professor Havrijil H. Nađ Memorial, Festival of Children's Creativity Veselinka, Poetic Threads of Melanija Pavlović, Meeting of the Ruthenian Primary and Secondary Schools (in Novi Sad), Festival of Authentic Singing Not to Forget (in Đurđevo), Festival of Folk Orchestras Melodies of the Ruthenian Court (in Šid), Cultural Manifestation Spring of Dr. Maftej Vinaj, Concert of Serious Music (in Subotica), Literary-Theatrical Encounter Anniversary of Birth of Fable Author Štefan Čakan, Manifestation the 13th of May (in Novo Orahovo), Meeting of Choirs, Art Colony Njaradi (in Vrbas), Fine Arts Colony Meeting at Bodnarov's (in Gospodinci), Meeting of Elocutionists (in Kula), and others.

The effective safeguarding of the collective identity of the Vojvodinian Ruthenians relies on the full implementation of the novel legal provisions and on the attitude of the Ruthenian minority itself towards the question of preserving the community identity.

According to the 2002 census, there are 15,905 Ruthenians in Serbia. Ruthenians make up 0.2 per cent of the population of Serbia and 0.9 per cent of the population of Vojvodina.

5. Factors of preservation in the 21st century

In the last few years the Republic of Serbia has even taken several steps that undoubtedly reveal a great deal of effort to improve Ruthenian minority status. Eight years ago, Provincial Secretariat for Administration, Regulations and National Minorities established a completely new institution – National Council for each minority. National councils, as the highest organs of minority self-management in the Republic of Serbia, were established on the basis of the Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities in 2002 in former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which was verified by the Assembly, and with organizational and other support of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights (Руснаци, 2009, p. 17). In the same year, among the first national communities, the Ruthenian national community founded its own Council on the 2nd of November 2002. The mandate of the first *National Council of the Rusyn National Minority* lasted to the 30th of October 2004, when, after the early Electoral Assembly, the new one was elected, whose mandate ended in the middle of 2010.

The main fields of activities of the National Council of the Rusyn National Minority are culture, education, media and, generally speaking, almost everything that is important to the Ruthenian minority. The Council is the only legal representative of the Ruthenian minority. All Ruthenian institutions and organizations apply with their projects to different Provincial Secretariats (for national minorities, for education, for science and technological development, for culture, for religion, for economy and others) and NCRNM approves or denies their financing by provincial authorities. The National Council of the Rusyn National Minority also receives periodical funds both from the Ministries of the Republic of Serbia from Belgrade and the Provincial / Vojvodinian Secretariats for sponsoring, to some reasonable extent, the whole cultural activity.

The Law on the National Councils was passed in 2006. Generally speaking, the National Council of Rusyn National Minority have been given a possibility, but also the obligation to coordinate and take care of the implementation of minority rights in the fields of education, culture, information and in the field of official use of language and script.

Since the National Council of Rusyn National Minority represents the most legitimate self-management body of the Ruthenian minority in the Republic of Serbia, it can be said that the Ruthenians, for the first time in their history, have received the opportunity to create a great deal of their own fate with the funds provided by the state (Руснаци, 2009, p. 18).

In accordance with the Law the immediate elections were held for the first time on the 6th of June 2010. The establishment of the NCRNM is a radical innovation. It has its precedent in Hungary legislation.

The next factor of existence is the establishment of the *Institute for Culture of the Vojvodinian Ruthenians*. The Institute was founded as a public institution on the basis of mutual Decision of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina Assembly and the National Council of the Rusyn National Minority, on the basis of the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, the Law of Public Services and the Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities. Necessary financial resources for work and programme activity of the Institute are supplied from the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina budget, the income made by own activities, as well as from the means donated by domestic and foreign funds.

The main goal of the Institute is giving assistance in attaining and affirmation of excellence of culture of Vojvodinian Ruthenians in the broadest sense. Its programme is realized through the documentation-informative programme, development-research programme and programme for international cooperation and cooperation with associations of citizens, nongovernment organizations, local self-managements and other institutions. The Institute intends to raise cultural level of authors and audience and to connect Ruthenian cultural system with local, regional, provincial, national and European cultural systems (Руснаци, 2009, p. 32).

Since the Institute was founded only a couple of years ago (2008), its first steps were addressed to making strategies for almost all cultural fields. The Ruthenian national community expects that in the near future the Institute for Culture of the Vojvodinian Ruthenians and the National Council of Rusyn National Minority join their forces and realize some of great Ruthenian projects, such as the National Museum, the National Gallery and the National Archive. The Institute for Culture has already conceived several concrete projects towards systematizing and preserving the cultural heritage.

Another factor is the establishment of the *Apostolic Exarchate for Greek Catholics in Serbia and Montenegro*.

The Ruthenians established parishes soon after their settlement in Bačka. They built churches only a few years after their settlement in Krstur and in Kucura. In the beginning the Ruski Krstur and Kucura parishes had been included in the Kaloča Roman Catholic Archbishopric, and, in 1777, they became parts of the Križevci Bishopric for Greek Catholics. Church Greek Catholic tradition helped them to stabilize the values which had literally been unchanged from their settlement until the First World War.

Since the 28th of August 2003 a separate Apostolic Exarchate for Greek Catholics in Serbia and Montenegro has existed, and the first exarch has been bishop Dr. Heorhij

Džudžar. The Apostolic Exarchate consists of the following parishes: Bačinci, Beograd, Berkasovo, Bikič Do, Vrbas 1, Vrbas 2, Gospodinci, Đurđevo, Indija, Kula, Kucura, Markovac, Novi Sad, Novo Orahovo, Ruski Krstur, Sremska Mitrovica, Subotica, Šid, and the parishes in Bačka Topola and Vršac are being formed (Руснаци, 2009, p. 67) There are around 22,000 believers in the Apostolic Exarchate, and, apart from the Ukrainians and Romanians who are also Greek Catholics, almost all Ruthenians (around 16,000) are Greek Catholics. The pilgrimage place of the Apostolic Exarchate is Vodica.

Unquestionably, the Apostolic Exarchate participates in preserving not only the Greek Catholic values but also in preserving the Ruthenian language and tradition. The Apostolic Exarchate publishes a monthly journal the *Dzvoni / Bells* and several publications yearly.

One of the most important factors is the existence of the *educational vertical* – from preschool education to the Department of the Ruthenian Studies in Novi Sad.

There are a children`s nursery, extended stay and educational groups for preparing children for school in Ruski Krstur. Educational groups in which children are prepared for school in the Ruthenian language and extended stay for preschool children exist in Kucura and Đurđevo. In places where there is no possibility of organizing regular educational groups in the Ruthenian language, Ruthenian is taught within a special subject called Fostering the Ruthenian Language with Elements of National Culture. Such educational groups have been organized in Kula, Novi Sad and Vrbas, and there is a plan to organize preschool fostering the Ruthenian language within the preschool departments in Bačinci, Berkasovo, Bikič Do and Šid (Руснаци, 2009, pp. 25-26).

According to the Law Ruthenian pupils attending primary schools in those Vojvodinian municipalities and localities where a considerable percentage of Ruthenians live (up to 15 %) are entitled to three classes in their mother tongue a week. All other subjects (or most of them) are also taught in Ruthenian. The Serbian language (three classes a week) and two foreign languages (the first foreign language from the 1st grade, the second foreign language from the 5th grade – two classes a week) are exceptions and they are compulsory.

Apart from the regular teaching (all subjects) in the Ruthenian language from the 1st to the 8th grade in Ruski Krstur, Kucura and Đurđevo (Сакач-Фейса et al., 2008, pp. 312-313), in other Ruthenian places where, because of a small number of pupils, there is no possibility of organizing regular teaching in the Ruthenian language, the Ruthenian language teaching with elements of national culture is organized. The subject is optional and delivered on a two-classes a week basis. It takes place in Bačka Topola, Gospodinci, Kucura, Kula, Novi Sad, Novo Orahovo, Petrovaradin, Savino Selo, Sremska Kamenica, Sremska Mitrovica, Subotica, Veternik, Vrbas, and

in Šid where there are separate departments in Bačinci, Berkasovo and Bikič Do. The total number of places amounts to 16 and more than 330 pupils from 35 schools are included in them (Руснаци, 2009, p. 27). General trend is that the number of pupils in schools with regular teaching is getting lower and the number of pupils in schools with fostering is getting higher.

Primary education in Ruthenian is both compulsory and free of charge. The necessary minimum number of schoolchildren for organizing a class is 15, but with the approval of the Ministry of Education it is possible to organize a class for even less number than 15.

No private schools teaching in the Ruthenian language currently function in Vojvodina at any level.

The Petro Kuzmjak High School (Gymnasium) in Ruski Krstur has provided a complete secondary education in the Ruthenian language since 1970. It is the only high school in Ruthenian in the world (Фейса, 2006, p. 34). There is a boarding accomodation for schoolchildren and because of that it is possible to register schoolchildren from Serbia and from other countries where the Ruthenians / Rusyns live. It is very important to emphasize that even the Rusyns from the Carpatian area feel the high school as its own, especially those from Ukraine who have almost nothing of the educational vertical in Serbia.

With respect to elementary and secondary education the responsible organs are authorized to allow for the arrangement of teaching programmes in Ruthenian (as well as in the languages of other national minorities) when less than 15 pupils / students per class are native speakers. The fact is that the overall number of pupils / students per class taught in the Ruthenian language has slightly been decreasing.

The Department of the Ruthenian Studies presents the highest level of education in Ruthenian. The new curriculum of the Department of the Ruthenian Studies, based on the Bologna Declaration, was accredited last year. Apart from the Ruthenian Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax, Historical Grammar, Ruthenian Literature, Ruthenian History and Ruthenian Folklore Studies, several new courses were introduced: Ruthenian Language Orthography, English-Ruthenian Contrastive Grammar, and Carpatho-Rusyn Language (professor Mihajlo Fejsa's courses), and Ruthenian Children Poetry, Novel and Drama (professor Julijan Tamaš's courses).

Since the Ruthenian population in Vojvodina / Serbia is rather small the Department of the Ruthenian Studies is specific for a relatively small number of students. Approximately twenty five students study at the Department. On the average there are five students enrolled per school year.

The Ruthenian language courses can also be taken at the Media Department where there is a possibility to enroll two budget students. Students from several

departments at the Faculty of Philosophy can study the Ruthenian language as an elective course.

Thirty seven students have graduated from the Department of the Ruthenian Studies so far.

The *Internet* is an extremely important source of information both for the Vojvodinian Ruthenians and for the Carpatho-Rusyns in general.

Within the NPI Ruske slovo there is an agency of daily news called *Ruthen Press*. It broadcasts news every day except on Sunday.

There are several sites dedicated to the Vojvodinian Ruthenians. The e-address of the National Council of Rusyn National Minority is www.rusini.rs, the e-address of the Institute for Culture of the Vojvodinian Ruthenians – www.zavod.rs, and the e-address of the Ruthenian Home – www.ruskamatka.org. The private site www.rusnak.info (created in 2001) by Miroslav Siladji is very important since users can read uncensored information. The presentations on the Internet have been aimed to draw together all of the former and present residents of the Carpathian area and all others interested in the culture of the Carpatho-Rusyns. Being almost uncontrolled, the World Wide Web is very useful to the Carpatho-Rusyns, especially to overcome some of those problems mentioned above.

One of the most important factors is represented by the *revolutionary changes* in Central and Eastern Europe that brought the rebirth of cultural identity for the Carpatho-Rusyns. Mutual awareness and closer contacts between the Vojvodinian Ruthenians and their brethren in the Carpathian homeland – a process initiated in 1989 – can in the future assist all Carpatho-Rusyns in their ongoing struggle to survive as a national community. Today the Ruthenians of the Republic of Serbia / the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina are recognized officially as a distinct national minority with their own literary language. The Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Poland and the Slovak Republic have acknowledged Rusyns as a distinct minority as well.

The Rusyns / Ruthenians of Serbia are no longer alone. They have many opportunities for joint projects of different kinds. For example, a book containing Rusyn poetry of all Rusyn enclaves *Rusinski / Ruski Pisnji* (1997), edited by Natalija Dudaš; a bilingual English-Rusyn manual *Let's Speak English and Rusyn / Bešedujme po Ruski i po Anglijski* by P. R. Magocsi and M. Fejsa (1998); *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, edited by Paul Robert Magocsi and Ivan Pop, was published in English (Magocsi and Pop, 2002); Paul Robert Magocsi edited *Rusinskij jazik* (Magocsi, 2004). After 1989, the Carpatho-Rusyns have obviously risen like Phoenix out of ashes, and we may conclude that the Rusyn question has not been resolved in the Stalin way.

Two decades after the Velvet Revolution it is clear that the Carpatho-Rusyns were never completely wiped out from their homeland. Today, the governments of Slovakia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, and Croatia recognize the Carpatho-Rusyns as a national minority. In Hungary there are today 32 communities in which Rusyns have their own minority self-government. In Romania the Rusyns have their own deputy representing specifically Rusyn cultural and civic interests in the National Parliament in Bucharest (Magocsi, 2006, 109). All the mentioned countries have recorded Rusyns in their most recent census reports: in Slovakia – 55,000; in Serbia – 16,000; in United States – 12,500; Croatia – 2,300; Poland – 5,900; Hungary – 1,100; Czech Republic – 1,100; Romania – 200. As historically been the case with stateless minority peoples, Rusyns are often reluctant to identify themselves as such or have simply not been recorded by governments in the countries they live (for ex. in Canada and in Australia) (Magocsi, 2006, p. 11). Only the government of Ukraine refuses to recognize the Carpatho-Rusyns as a national minority. According to official data there are 10,000 Rusyns, regardless of the effects of Stalin's policy that have been the strongest in Ukraine, where the Carpatho-Rusyns have officially been considered to be a subethnos of the Ukrainian nation. Only this summer has the government of Ukraine recognized Rusyns.

So called *international factor* is also very important. We have already mentioned that our country ratified the most important international documents that ensure the existence of the Ruthenian minority.

6. Concluding remarks

According to the first periodical Report of the Committee of Experts on the Implementation of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (accepted on the 12th of September 2008) (to which the Republic of Serbia is obliged by accepting the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 2001) the Ruthenian language has been given special protection under Part III of the Charter (together with Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, Romani, Romanian, Slovak and Ukrainian).

In the part Overview of the Situation of Regional and Minority Languages, paragraph V, the Report says: „The level of protection of Ruthenian is high, which is reflected by its official status in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, in municipalities and courts. In education, Ruthenian benefits from good teaching materials, a growing number of pupils and the only Ruthenian school worldwide. Deficits exist regarding the availability of television and radio programmes in Ruthenian in all areas where Ruthenian is used” (see the website of the Ministry for Human and Minorities Rights – www.humanrights.gov.rs).

In the New Europe without borders the Rusyns / Ruthenians expect to be one of the distinct peoples numbering possibly up to several hundreds of thousands of members. The contacts between the Carpatho-Rusyns will certainly have positive effects on raising awareness of national identity. The contacts will also be very usefull on intellectual, cultural, linguistic and emotional relations.

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Acknowledgement:

**The paper is a product of projects No 187002 and No 187017, funded by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia.*

THE RESISTANCE OF LAND-LOST FARMERS IN CHINA: 'INTERESTS-STRIVING' AND 'STRUGGLE BY ORDER'

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Abstract: This paper discusses the nature of activities brought about by land-lost farmers whose collectively-owned land has been expropriated in China. Through a case study, it is argued that the ultimate purpose of land-lost farmers' activities is mostly to improve their economic status, thus their responses to land expropriation are characterised as 'interests-striving' activities. Their activities are mainly based on a paradox combination of institutionalized and paternalist order and are much contingent under the macro policy of 'maintaining stability' (weiwen, 维稳), thus the most effective means of resources that they try to mobilise can be claimed as 'struggle by order'.

Key-words: land-lost farmers; resistance; interests-striving; struggle by order

1. Introduction

Since the mid 1990s, urbanization has become a chief rhythm in Chinese development. Rapid industrialization demands land for urban infrastructure, employment placement and housing. Large-scale rural land located adjacent to the peripheral area of cities has been being converted into urban land and thus many farmers have lost their land. According to some estimates the number of land-lost farmers may well exceed 110 million by 2030 in China (Lu and Ye, 2005). A variety

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of social issues in contemporary China arise out of land expropriation, such as land-lost farmers' resettlement, employment, family register (*hukou*, 户口), schooling of children, medical insurance and other welfare provision. All of these are occurring during a transitional period from a homogenous and closed social structure towards one which is characterized by diversity and opening up. The land-lost farmers' resistance against governmental expropriation has been usually referred to as a time bomb for the state (Woolcock, 2006, p. 104).

There have been perspectives that land-lost farmers make responses to protect their rights (*weiquan*, 维权), following which the interpretative frameworks such as 'policy-based resistance' (Li and O'Brien, 1996) and 'struggle by law' (Yu, 2004) have been theorised. However, through empirical fieldwork study, this paper will point out that the concept of 'rights' is not the most appropriate expression in Chinese context, especially in rural China. Similarly, neither 'policy-based resistance' nor 'struggle by law' is precise enough to interpret land-lost farmers' responses. It will demonstrate what the land-lost farmers mostly strive for and the general nature of their resistance.

2. Background information

2.1. Predominant interpretative frameworks

Resistance studies is the field concerned with the struggles of the 'subordinate', 'subaltern', 'oppressed' or 'marginal' populations to combat the 'domination' at the hands of powerful 'elites'. Resistance is usually described as the struggle for equality, the fight to end exploitation, and the desire to achieve a more just and humane society (Fletcher, 2001). With regard to this theme, Jenkins' (1982) study concludes that research on peasant resistances has centred on two basic theories: first, a structural theory of class relations pointing to the greater political volatility of smallholder tenancy; second, a historical theory pointing to the strength of traditional village institutions in the midst of the increasing economic insecurity of the peasantry. After analysis, he corroborates the basic propositions of the historical theory: peasants rebel because of threats to their access to economic subsistence, not because of the particular form of class relations in which they are enmeshed.

During the process of resistance, the seemingly powerless usually turn out in fact to have a certain amount of power. Barbalet (1985) holds that though the governors can exercise exclusive power over subordinate agents, those subordinate agents can mobilize, through resistance, other social resources to influence power relations. Jenkins and Perrow (1977) argue that the important variables to account for either the rise or outcome of insurgency pertain to social resources – in their case, sponsorship by established organizations. Farm workers themselves are powerless; as an excluded group, their demands tend to be systematically ignored. But the

balance may be tipped in the favour of the powerless if the official response is neutral and certain political elites sponsor insurgent challenges by contributing resources. Piven and Cloward also reflect upon the relatively rare occasions when the lower classes and the poor mobilise, agitate, organise, and win reforms in modern US history. They identify a powerful counter force that lies behind the successful reform movements, namely, 'interdependent power' by means of which popular movements break the rules and disrupt the status quo (Piven and Cloward, 1977; 2000; 2005; Piven, 2006). Thus, in their point of view, the only fruitful strategy for the emancipation of the lower classes entails escalating disruptive protest when possible by 'pushing turbulence to its outer limits' (Piven and Cloward, 1977, p. 91).

The main form of resistance adopted by the Chinese farmers is appeal (*shangfang*, 上访), or its institutionalised name, the system of letters and visits (*xinfang*, 信访). Though there are legal stipulations for the system of letters and visits, *Regulations on Letters and Visits*, there are few constraints on activities undertaken and the officials visited in the course of appeals within the system. From the ordinary people's point of view, the advantage of the letters and visits system is that it is not bound by rules and regulations; as long as there are problems, appellants can immediately go to any place that they regard as likely to resolve such problems and complain about the injustices visited upon them (Zhang and Zhang, 2009, p. 3).

In the Chinese context, there are basically two perspectives on contemporary farmers' resistance. The first holds that farmers' rights-safeguarding (*weiquan*, 维权) activities are based on development of their rights' consciousness and thus tend to be politicised. The dominant interpretative frameworks flowing from this perspective include 'policy-based resistance' (Li and O'Brien, 1996) or 'rightful resistance' (Li and O'Brien, 2006) and 'struggle by law' (Yu, 2004). Li and O'Brien analyses the farmers' utilization of policies at the national level during the appeal to safeguard their own rights from the encroachment of local governments and officials. In Yu's interpretative framework, i.e. 'struggle by law' which is grounded on 'policy-based resistance', farmers' rights-safeguarding activities have developed from resistance for rights and interests to resistance for political rights. Under 'struggle by law', resisters become organised to some extent, form rudimentary institutionalised decision-making mechanisms, and work towards progressive agendas for reform.

Nonetheless, the other perspective holds that present farmers' resistance is not concerned with political rights and tends to be unorganised. It is argued that the farmers resemble Mao's guerrillas more than modern 'Westernized' protesters (Zhou, 1996, p. 14). By comparing Chinese farmers' expressions with Western social movements and the South-Asian paradigm provided in subaltern studies, Ying (2007) analyses Chinese farmers' expression from the perspective of 'grass-roots mobilization'. In his point of view, such grass-roots mobilization makes the means of

farmers' expression of group interest expedient and its political nature vague. Given the fact that the state has never at any point tolerated organised confrontation, any action that challenges the state must remain unorganised if it is to be effective. A state that concentrates extraordinary powers simply engenders 'an aggregation of large numbers of spontaneous individual behaviours' (Zhou, 1993, p. 54). This acts to limit formal institutions of countervailing power on the part of the farmers.

Although the above frameworks are not particularly applied to the resistance of land-lost farmers, they represent the main models to interpret the subject in the present paper. Zhang and Zhang's (2009, pp. 77-80) recent investigation found that land disputes due to urbanization constituted the main source of appeals. It is necessary to empirically observe and present a convincing view of what really happens in ordinary resistance.

2.2. The case study

I conducted fieldwork in City C situated in central China on three occasions¹, which constituted a tracking-mode over time and 12-months of investigation in total. The central geographic position, neither high nor low levels of economic development relative to the Chinese average, and presently rapid urbanization point to its representativeness of wider socio-economic change. During the fieldwork, City C has been implementing the 'reserve-land' resettlement method, which means a particular proportion of the total expropriated land is reserved for land-lost farmers' subsistence and production. Farmers of a particular village are resettled collectively by allocating a piece of land as residential space, which is called the resettlement community. Such resettlement communities are brought under the jurisdiction of street agencies.²

I gained access to resettlement communities by means of official introductions, ordinary people's recommendations and second-hand informants. I undertook investigations in 24 resettlement communities spread throughout the administrative districts of City C using qualitative methods. The main research techniques include participant observation in resettlement communities and government institutions and semi-structured interviews with land-lost farmers and government staff. During my

¹ In order to protect anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality, I make necessary technical treatment on the names of places and characters involved in this study, in accordance with sociological academic convention, particularly when the content of this paper has a certain extent of sensitivity.

² Street agencies are governmental field agencies of municipal districts or municipalities that do not set up districts, approximately equating to the level of town before institutional rearrangement brought about by urbanization.

more recent visits from February 2010 to May 2010, I interviewed 157 land-lost farmers. 35 of these study participants were active members within their own communities and even well known to people of other communities, so that they were often mentioned by government staff, and recommended by other land-lost farmers. The other 122 study participants were chosen according to my observation or at random or by snowballing. I also conducted formal and informal interviews with local government staff responsible for land management at various levels, from the provincial to resettlement community level.

In interviews with land-lost farmers, I was usually interested in such questions like their opinions about local government and its behaviours, their participation in activities in relation to land expropriation and resettlement, their opinions about other land-lost farmers within their communities, and so on. As to active members of the group, I tried to get as clear description of their activities as possible. While in interviews with local government officials, I was interested in questions such as their opinions about land-lost farmers' complaints and related activities, the measures they took to deal with land-lost farmers, and so on. In focusing on such topics, then, I did not limit in any other way on participants' accounts but rather let them decide on what to talk about. And this often led to the opening up of unexpected avenues of enquiry.

Participant observation was also used to obtain a level of contextual insight of the data garnered during the course of the fieldwork. Specifically, in the field I played a role of 'researcher-participant' (Gans, 1968). Often I wandered around the resettlement communities, observing people and their everyday lives, including those activities seemingly irrelevant to land expropriation, such as when land-lost farmers played games of poker or mah-jong or when they were having casual conversations in the neighbourhood. Whenever there was an open day for 'letters and visits' at various levels of local government, I spoke to the appellants and tried to observe and remember as many of the interactions and discussions between land-lost farmers and local officials as I could. Sometimes I even encountered occasions of muddle and confrontation when a mass of people were involved; on such occasions I became one of the crowd and my existence did not represent a threat to anybody. Overall, participant observation of this sort provided me with a good opportunity to look into the measures taken by each side within a naturalistic setting.

2.3. Land expropriation in City C

My investigations identified two main policies of compensation and resettlement governing land expropriation at the municipal level in City C. In March 2000, City Government Order No. 60 was issued. Thereafter, by-laws worked out by the different districts and street agencies according to their specific conditions conform to

Order No. 60. That city policy dominated the operation of land expropriation for at least eight years though there were also policy documents issued by the higher levels of governments. Latterly, the city's policy could not be properly carried out any more and many individual cases arose among land-lost farmers. Taking into account the requirements of the changing situation, City C Government Order No. 103 was issued.

Land-lost farmers were resettled on rebuilt land under Order No. 60, which meant that the government arranged land for the land-lost farmers with a quota area to build houses to a uniform standard. Order No. 60 required overhaul due to the poor levels of compensation involved. But actually there was an underlying problem. The policy applied principles of compensating every object which left much room for maneuver. This led to particular households getting several tens of thousands extra in compensation packages. In a word, after running for several years, it was clear that the policy operated unevenly and that it was subject to much abuse.

In April 2008, City Government Order No. 103 took effect. Its primary aim was to overcome the shortcomings of Order No. 60. First and foremost, the new order raised the standard of compensation. Second, all households buildings were to be compensated according to a categorization made up of area, condition and structures involved. Land-lost farmers were to be resettled by indemnificatory housing. This means the District Government would build resettlement flats and sell them to the land-lost farmers at a low price. Third, social security provision was to be included to assist land-lost farmers in making the transformation to urban residents. Order No. 103 was designed to have much more rigid guidelines in order to avoid uneven and opaque settlements.

Order No. 60 applied a reserve-land resettlement approach, while Order No. 103 would apply monetary resettlement, with affordable resettlement housing calculated as part of the package and social security provision taken into account. Cases selected for discussion in the present study relate to problems under the old policy of Order No. 60. The period of implementation of Order No. 103 is still recent, and its effect is still unclear.

Compensation for the removal of over-ground attachments, that is, residential homes, farm buildings, and so on, is another problematic issue. Actually, compensation in this regard represents the largest portion of compensation given to land-lost farmers. Thus, this area of compensation is what the land-lost farmers most strive for. Legislation directs a particular department of district government to take charge of the situation, the local Office of Removals. Nevertheless, the work of removal is undertaken jointly by different departments, especially the court, city management office, and public security office, in cooperation with the street agency and local community.

3. What are land-lost farmers mostly striving for?

As smallholders occupying their own piece of land for many years, the commonplace maxim is 'saving your breath to cool your own porridge'. It is true that the land-lost farmers live in a collective. Nonetheless, in the change from a centrally planned economy to a socialist market economy, people are preoccupied with attending to their own interests without looking at others.

In my study, I found that most land-lost farmers tried to request only the portion of compensation which they believe that they *rightfully* deserve. When I talked with some frequent appellants (*lao shangfanghu*, 老上访户), I found that they were repeating economic demands which did not conform with the existing rules of compensation. It might be the behavior of repetition itself that strengthens their belief in returns from appeal (*shangfang*, 上访). For example, Liu, who was the most active and frequent appellant in S Community, repeatedly claimed that her family had suffered much from land expropriation. Although her family had got three flats, more than 300 square meters for living space, she remained dissatisfied. In accordance with the City C Government Order No. 60, she had received 145,000 yuan in compensation. However, she sought more than two million yuan in compensation. She thought that the government and the property developers could build up new flats on her land and those new flats could be sold at a price of about three million yuan. She ignored a basic fact that the land has been state-owned and land market has been strictly state-controlled according to Chinese law, though many people criticized that it does not follow the principle of market economy. In addition, she simply disregarded the input of the government and the developers in her words. Sometimes, this is understandable, as what these land-lost farmers object to is actually the disparity between the compensation they get and the market price of their original land after development. As Liu said,

I am not a protester against the regime as the local government defamed. I just want what I deserve. The current amount my family got is just not enough. I don't care whether my requirement is lawful, but I believe it is reasonable. The land was originally owned by us and is now developed for resale, thus of course we must get compensation at its resale price.

Moreover, with the indistinct definition of land ownership as regards collectively-owned land, the land-lost farmers understandably mix together all of the relevant rights and interests as simplistic economic, material self interests. The voice of villager A in D Community can be used to illustrate this phenomenon,

When we owned the land, though it could not make us rich, we lived a self-supplying life. We could rely on the land, and our offspring could also rely on the land. But now what can we rely on in the future? I often feel a lot of

insecurity with my life and with my family's future. Thought I am not sure what human rights mean, I think our human rights are deprived.

In addition, most land-lost farmers compared their own situation with that of others. After comparison, they often came to believe that they were worse off, no matter whether that was objectively true in fact. The popularity of once-and-for-all monetary resettlement allowed land-lost farmers to make straightforward comparisons based on total amounts of compensation money. For example, villager B in D Community told me:

Whereas some people whose houses were only several dozen square meters got a compensation package of several hundred thousand yuan, my family also got several hundred thousand yuan even given that the area of my house was more than a hundred square meters. You can see how unfair this society is.

Under the reserve-land resettlement approach, the collective management of reserved land serves as an income stream and thus also affects land-lost farmers to a large extent. They not only make comparisons within their own neighborhoods but also with those of adjacent resettlement communities. The basis for comparisons among different communities is that policies implemented by a particular grassroots government agency are very specific, even when acting under the general guidelines set by the senior administration. For example, many land-lost farmers in S Community mentioned imbalances between the treatment gained by themselves and that gained by those of the adjacent resettlement community. Villager C told me:

People of GS village which is only one kilometer away from us get one-off payments of 50,000 yuan and an extra dividend of 20,000 yuan. The one-child families were subsidized with a bonus of 38,200 yuan. By contrast, we only obtain one-off payments of 20,000 yuan, thus have to suffer losses.

Being famous for not compromising with the local authorities, ignoring her own interests, but appealing on behalf of all land-lost farmers of her Community, the firmest appellant, Tan, was elected as a Deputy to the National People's Congress in her District. However, she told me that if she got a resettlement house for her two daughters whose household registration (*hukou*, 户口) had been moved to other districts after marriage, she would stop appeal (*shangfang*, 上访). She not only strived to ensure the potentially beneficial policies being implemented, but also tried to get additional interests for her own family.

When some appellants got their own additional benefit, they gave up their complaint in the name of collective interests. After Tan became a 'cadre', she withdrew from appealing to Beijing and over time became an intermediary between the local government and land-lost farmers. As she herself said, if the officials of the District and the Street Agency had difficulty in dealing with local land-lost farmers, they

would always consult her. She could smoothly solve the conflict between the government and the farmers. From her expression, she seemed to be very proud of her current political role. In this sense, she was no longer the aggrieved party in the activities but a reconciler or even an official agent. As she received political benefit, her function of appeal has been tremendously weakened. It was found that some local farmers began to question her role on behalf of the interests of the community.

There are still some people who only ask for an explanation from the government (*taoge shuofa*, 讨个说法) (Ying, 2001). Such cases take place especially when the appellants are forcefully suppressed by the government. As a Chinese proverb goes, people only fight for their dignity (*renhuoyikouqi*, 人活一口气). Such land-lost farmers feel they have not just lost material benefits, but they also become infused with negative emotions, such as loss of control and damaged self-esteem, thus their desire for dignity appears overwhelming. Nevertheless, it was found in my investigation that only a small minority of land-lost resisters belong to this group.

It is important to understand what land-lost farmers are mostly striving for. Though they attempt to resolve their problems by apparently politicized means, with sporadic requests for political improvement, they have neither explicit political objectives nor organized political power. Their activities mainly aim at that issue of economic equity, and of their own specific interests in the development process, the most important part of which is their economic interests.¹

In this regard, I do not intend to morally blame the behavior of the land-lost farmers. Rather, this is understandable. As Marx claims, 'everything for which man struggles is a matter of his interest', self interest is the fundamental motivation of people's behaviour (Marx, K., 1842, [Online] at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1842/free-press/ch06.htm>, accessed March 3, 2012). Particularly, as the class standing nearly at the bottom of Chinese society, land-lost farmers care more about their own immediate interests,² which are tangible and pragmatic to them compared with social or political rights.

The concept of 'rights', therefore, as a Western deontological creation concerned with triumph over other interventions, has few roots in Chinese tradition (Peerenboom, 1995). In China, rights (*quanli*, 权利) are usually interpreted as state-approved measures which promote the unity and prosperity of society, to which citizens then have access, and from which they benefit, rather than institutionalized mechanisms of checks and balances for individuals on their own behalf to withstand

¹ This falls into the priority given by Jenkins to historical theory, which holds that peasants rebel because of their economic concern, over structural theory, which instead emphasizes political class relations. See Jenkins (1982).

² Dahl (1961, p. 221) finds out similar phenomenon.

outside intervention and to protect and represent themselves. Even interpreting rights by a utilitarian approach, it can be seen that there is a low degree of awareness of statutory 'rights' at the grass-roots level. As Li and O'Brien (1996, p. 54) argue, the opportunistically acted-on 'rights' are conditional (they can be withdrawn) and programmatic (they can be withheld until conditions are 'ripe'). Most land-lost farmers are uncertain about their statutory rights with regard to the land, let alone the details of their civil and political rights. By stark contrast, they are very much aware of their interests, although the amount of interest they wish to pursue is still vague for them. Such representation of economic interest can also be identified as commoditization of rights under Chinese context.

With this in mind, I would characterise land-lost farmers' responses to land expropriation as 'interests-striving'¹ activities rather than as 'rights-safeguarding' (*weiquan*, 维权) activities or as acts of resistance, which have mistaken connotations of rights' movements and political mobilization.

4. Are the activities organized?

Facing the governmental action of land expropriation in the process of urbanization, most farmers in China passively accept the arrangement of the government. When they feel that their interests are jeopardized or their dignities insulted, they may complain to the authority. However, suspicion among land-lost farmers who came from the village world (Adas, 1980, p. 528) and the tendency to 'free-riding' (Olson, 1971) limit the possibility of organized action on the part of land-lost farmers.

Most ordinary farmers would not like to participate in the appeal as they are frightened of the authoritative power. Instead, they choose to privately curse local government and disseminate rumors about officials. This is the most frequent form of everyday resistance. The activist Liu in S Community felt impotent and disdainful of other land-lost farmers in her community:

I once tried to ask the land-lost farmers of my community to collectively demonstrate in front of the government's buildings, but many farmers declined. They were frightened of being beaten up, as well as the economic costs to them, and they prefer 'free-riding'. More than 90 per cent of land-lost farmers have little literacy and they do not understand the government's policies, so I will not give them any more information and avoid wasting my time. But if I succeed in getting more compensation, then these 'free-riders' will certainly take the opportunity to get some too.

¹ Mitra (1980, p. 71) has similar nomenclature of 'benefit-seekers' in India.

Meanwhile, ordinary land-lost farmers, such as Huang, confided to me that she believed that Liu as an activist got much money from the local government without telling other people. It is clear that Liu's behavior rarely attracted widespread public support. Similarly, though Tan was respected by most land-lost farmers in Q Community, there were still a small minority who disliked her and murmured that 'she has her own political ambitions, and additional money has fallen into her own pocket'.

Even though certain actions were taken by many farmers, these actions were far from organized. For example, in June 2002 dozens of land-lost farmers assembled at the door of Q Street Agency. They blocked the exit and did not allow the officials to come out for half day. Afterwards, the official investigation indicated that this incident had not been organized by anybody in advance. It was thought that two or three farmers just wanted to express their discontentment and then an increasing number of farmers followed their action by accident.

Different land-lost farmers hold 'multiple' or 'split' purposes and take inconsistent actions (Gramsci, 1957, p. 66; Garson, 1973). With different specific personal experiences, situations, and social capital owned, land-lost farmers evolve distinct attitudes. There are those who are active in searching for their 'deserved rights' and their followers, those who grumble about unreasonable implementation of policies without the presence of officialdom, those who keep detached, as well as those who even stand at the same side as local government. Only a rather small number of activists and their followers can be regarded as active. The local cadres usually call them recalcitrants (*diaomin*, 刁民). Even the activists usually appeal to government individually. For example, Wen as an activist of D Community goes to Beijing alone every time, and Liu of S Community usually goes to Beijing only with her closest follower, her sister. It is clear that most of land-lost farmers' activities are disorganized. They do not have a unique goal and their participation is not unified. Each individual acts irregularly, and the majority of land-lost farmers have not been totally colonized by the propaganda of the activists.

5. *Struggle by Order*

Many legal avenues are not available in practice. For example, administrative reviews cannot play their due role of administrative supervision. The disputed agency is usually subordinate to the department seizing the case and their interests are interwoven. Under the circumstances, most administrative reviews are revoked. Administrative litigation is also rather exceptional. It means that the aggrieved party files lawsuits in the courts of the jurisdiction where the administrative agency locates. However, judicial independence has not been established in China. The courts shall observe the orders issued by local Party committees and government leaders. They

even execute compulsory removal of real estates of the farmers. Their everyday budgets are allocated and firmly controlled by the local government. Therefore they shall play a functional role for local government and serve the local economy. It is difficult for them to declare the orders of the local government illegal. Most land-lost farmers said, 'We once appealed to the court, but the court did not accept our case.' Meanwhile, 'lawyers are prudent about taking on cases concerning land-lost farmers. How courageous it would be to engage in a lawsuit against the government.' Therefore, the legal system for land-lost farmers to make complaint has not been working effectively.

The appeal system made available by the central state for ordinary people in their dealings with local bureaucrats, which is institutionalized as the system of 'letters and visits' (*xinfang*, 信訪), appears as the most familiar and practicable approach for farmers to achieving their goal of getting more compensation from the government. However, when land-lost farmers adopt the measure of appealing to the higher authorities, is it legally used by them?

Most land-lost farmers have to be persuaded into joining demonstrations and mass protests. Often in demonstrations, many of the attendees are old ladies with little literacy. Only a handful of farmers have a passable working knowledge of the law. Therefore, interests-striving activities are not always conducted on the basis of the law.

Sometimes the farmers do use the documents transmitted from the central or provincial government which act as the legal basis for their assertion of rights. Nevertheless, it is found that these 'policy-based' resisters were likely to intentionally misread central policies, tailor them and search additional interests. A common example is of land-lost farmers who have already received compensation requiring the government to retrospectively pay them more in accordance with a new regulation, regardless of its applicability to their own situations.

Incident 1:

After a provincial document was issued in 2005 with regulations that the rural collective economic organization should disburse no less than 75 per cent of compensations to the land-lost farmers if it is unable to arrange other rural land for farmers to resettle, more than 100 land-lost farmers, whose rural land had been expropriated and who had been resettled four years previously in 2002, came to the Q Street Agency on the morning of 17 April 2006 and required the agency to compensate them more pursuant to the new policy. The cadres patiently explained to them that the prime reason for different criteria at different times is the rise of expenditure and that the present policy

cannot be retrospectively applied to previous land-lost farmers. Nonetheless, the farmers could not comprehend such statements, and claimed that they had run out of the original compensation sums, which had been insufficient, and could not maintain their subsistence. They threatened that if the street agency did not deal with their problems, they would appeal to the provincial government.

According to the *Regulations on Letters and Visits*, where two or more visitors intend to present the same matter through appeal, the number of the representatives shall not exceed five¹. From my own investigations, many land-lost farmers intentionally broke that rule.

Following on from incident 1:

More than 100 land-lost farmers crowded into Q Street Agency and then congregated in front of the entrance to the District Government. Later, they also held a sit-in at the entrance to the Provincial Government one afternoon. In this case, a woman 'unintentionally' hit a policeman with a bottle she had in her hand. This was considered as attacking the policeman and the woman was taken to prison. Seven land-lost farmers were arrested, three of whom had gone to Beijing to appeal in 2004.

It is also stipulated that where visitors intend to present their matter, it shall be received by the government body at the corresponding level or the next higher level.² However, the activists of Q Community appealed to Beijing for four times without having recourse to local and intermediate levels of government. They ignore whether or not an appeal to the capital is procedurally legal or illegal. They instead deem this action to be the most effective. Eventually, Q Street Agency supplemented 15,800 yuan for each land-lost farmer, and one-child families were awarded an additional amount of 3,800 yuan.

Farmers also tried to publicise their problems by every possible means, e.g. through television, newspapers, websites, and especially the overseas media.

Incident 2:

On 10 April 2010, because of issues with regard to the expropriation of a collective plant in D Community, more than 100 land-lost farmers joined a demonstration. The negotiations did not go smoothly. Several land-lost

¹ The Regulations on Letters and Visits (*Xinfang Tiaoli*, 信访条例) article 18.

² *Ibid.*, article 16.

farmers clashed with the representatives of the street agency and were hurt. A few minutes later, the Channel of Politics and Law of the Provincial TV Station was called in by the land-lost farmers. When the reporter tried to find out what was going on by asking the people who were hurt, other land-lost farmers gathered around them and all talked at once, even when the reporter asked them to be quiet. In the end, the reporter seemed to get little useful information and went away, saying that the station would follow up on the outcomes of formal negotiations.

The prompt recourse to media intervention manifests that land-lost farmers were aware of the potential significance of publicity. As the regional or even the entire inland media were politically constrained, and could not do much for them, they tried to get sympathy from overseas. Many interviewees asked for my help when they knew I studied abroad, hoping that I could pass information on to the foreign media. Some appellants even uploaded their information to websites using overseas servers which are legally forbidden in China to publicise their situations.

Although it is regulated that when a letter-or-visit matter has been accepted, or is under review, the matter cannot also be considered by another government body at a higher level,¹ land-lost farmers still have recourse to pestering appeal (*chanfang*, 缠访) towards the same level or higher levels of government (Ying, 2001, p. 42), whenever they believe their problems have not been resolved.

Also following incident 1:

The land-lost farmers continuously urged the street agency to release the people legally detained, to implement the new policies for compensation retrospectively in their case, and to make the accounts of the collective transparent. Even after the release of the arrested people some 20 days later, the land-lost farmers remained in a sustained state of pestering appeal.

Their expectation was that pestering appeal would make the government cadres fed up and leave them no alternative but to respond to farmers' requests.

Taking their interests-striving activities a step further, some land-lost farmers adopt more extreme measures, such as kneeling down, crying and screaming, and even self-mutilation and suicide outside the buildings of state organizations. In that sense, their activities are extra-legal.

¹ *Ibid.*

Incident 3:

The most renowned activist Chen in D Community once attempted to commit suicide in Tiananmen Square with two other land-lost farmers. He used a sword to puncture his abdomen three times. It had very significant political ramifications. His story was even reported by foreign websites. Though he was punished for his criminal activity against the state, his claims were finally met, and he got more compensation than many other people.

Incident 4:

Another man, Jian, attempted to set fire to himself in his home to resist being removed. Though he got hurt in the course, he eventually received an extra 150,000 yuan.

Finally, timing is everything. There are times when the government cannot risk repressing sections of its own political base. It is often in these moments when disruptive action or the threat of such action can yield results (Piven, 2006). Land-lost farmers tend to lodge appeals or to engage in other interests-striving activities on important dates. For example, many land-lost appellants attempted to flood into the country's capital during the session of the National People's Congress and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in March of each year.

Though it seems China's land-lost farmers lack institutional 'interdependent power' and thus are short of more positive institutionalized actions of opposition, it may not necessarily mean that they cannot squeeze a way out to exert counter force. There are actually cases where Chinese land-lost farmers engage in disruptive or even extreme action that challenges order of governance and eventually forces the political system to grant very substantial concessions. Under the present resilient authoritarianism in China, in some cases local governments carry out flexible 'humanized compensation standards', which adds 'affectionate operation' to the land expropriation process. This means that sometimes they may 'bend the rules (*kaikouzi*, 开口子)' in order to maintain order of governance. To some extent, this operation is compatible with economic rationality, as the 'affectionate' amount would not go higher than what they have to pay if ordered to pay fuller compensation by their superiors. Under such circumstances, on the part of land-lost farmers, gains won survive to enhance the capacity for effective action in future rounds, and given the gains, such methods become more widely adopted.

6. Logic of land-lost farmers' responses

Land-lost farmers scarcely question the authority of the central government and its ideology. Observed from the investigation, most farmers hold the opinion that the policies of the central government are good but cannot be properly implemented. In other words, they deem that if the policies were implemented, the outcome would be favorable to the common people. In this way, the local governments are at the forefront of the land-lost farmers' complaint. Many land-lost farmers complain that 'the local government only distributed a little resettlement allowance, which cannot even cover the expenses for building the resettlement house'. As the heritage of the royal aureole, the central government is destined to bear its obligation of protecting the ordinary people from local governments' abuse of power.

These views of their situation seem to be consistent with Li and O'Brien's concept of 'policy-based' or their later term 'rightful' resistance. Within their interpretative framework, land-lost farmers make use of policies of the central government to challenge the rulings and legitimacy of the regional and local authorities. Nevertheless, in many cases, the relationship between the local government and the farmers is more accurate to be identified as bargaining than as pure confrontation, with the policies and ideologies of the higher authorities acting as one important pretext of their bargaining.

The appeals' system represents an institutionalized approach of the populace towards officialdom, framed as neither contestation nor resistance, but rather as a means of airing grievances, which casts officials in the role of 'parental' figures (*fumuguan*, 父母官) rather than as impersonal representatives of state 'power'. Such a traditional conception is especially true of farmers due to their rural political habitus. Recourse to appeal is well understood by the rural populace to operate as follows – weak younger children complain to their parents about overbearing elder children in the disentanglement and resolution of family disputes – and so, means gaining the attention and recognition of officials at higher levels (*qingtian*, 青天) in order to deal with the ordinary people's woes. Based on widespread experience, many land-lost farmers are of the opinion that matters can be tackled only when they make a disturbance (*nao*, 闹), to gain recognition. The greater the disturbance is the more attentive official treatment will be. The approach is known as, 'crying children can be fed milk'. A farmer Huang provides a vivid depiction of what the process involved and the logic of its application:

The relationship between the ordinary people (*laobaixing*, 老百姓) and the government is just like the children and the parents. When a child is hungry, he may make trouble for his parent and ask for more food. The parent may be annoyed and give his/her kid a slap. But if the child is still crying for the food, the parent is likely to give him some.

His metaphor is quite close to the reality. In land-lost farmers' opinion, the government should give more attention to recognizing their troubles. Even if grass-roots government does not care, the higher authorities will. It can be seen that land-lost farmers are laying claim to the legitimate morality of their actions, in line with Thompson's (1971) and Scott's (1976) conception of how eighteenth-century English crowd and Southeast Asian peasants resist development. In the present case, farmers respond to the marketization of land in changes from the old centrally planned to the socialist market economy, with the argumentation that administration of the new system still has moral obligations to them, for example in terms of the paternalistic relationship they have always struck with the authorities.

7. What is the real concern of the higher authorities?

As what was mentioned earlier around, land-lost farmers sometimes intentionally broke the law and policy. Thus, it can be claimed their actual weapon is not the law and policy that they refer to. They have a real weapon that the higher governments really concern: order.

The tactics used by the knowledgeable land-lost farmers are not limited within the rules stipulated by the government, such as *Land Administration Law* and *Regulations on Letters and Visits*. Their mind was occupied by how to appeal, who is going to be associated with in higher authorities, which leader is useful and can help them to get more compensation. They hope that their complaints could be heard by people who have discourse power, especially senior officials. As a farmer said, 'If you get ill, you need to find a famous doctor; similarly, if you appeal to the higher authorities, you need to find a high-ranking official.'

They know the benefit and harm so well that they have to lodge appeals in this way. They do not trust the grass-roots government and universally deem that they should resort to appeal in Beijing. Some may even resort to extremes to arouse the attention of the central authority. Once the attention of the central authority is enlisted, it is much more likely that the local governments will reply to their requirements more quickly and fairly. In most cases, it is because they make their activities conform to the chief political direction that their dispute is solved. When asked why they broke the *Regulations on Letters and Visits*, the frequent appellant Lei in D Community told me:

We just wanted to make the matter more severe so that the provincial and central government would pay attention to our claim. You need to know what the central government particularly considers at every specific stage. We travel to Beijing and learn a lot of hearsay. For example, if the government has a potential intention to solve the problem of corruption, we may try to find vulnerable points (*xiaobianzi*, literally pigtails, 小辫子) of

local cadres and threaten to report on their guilt. It does not matter whether their fault is concerned with our issue. Once we know their drawbacks, we would make use of their scariness to achieve our own intention. In fact, maintenance of the social stability (*weiwēn*, 维稳) is the primary concern of the central government. They are afraid of riots. They are sensitive to foreign journalists. Once you understand their situation, you know how to get more money.

In order to ensure 'harmonious society'¹ and 'maintaining social stability', legal certainty is severely sacrificed in dealing with appeals by land-lost farmers. Social stability is the bottom line for Chinese political policies. Many forms of responses by land-lost farmers such as demonstrations or sit-ins, which might seem more or less justified in Western societies, are regarded as disorder and chaos. These activities are required to be suppressed by every possible means. The state power is much centralized. Thus the central government creates much pressure on local government. Administrative pressure further bends the legal rules, as social stability is an important denominator of local administrative achievement to be examined by the central government. The quota system for appeal is noteworthy. Once there are a certain number of persons going to Beijing for appeal, the achievements of the relevant officials will be simply denied. The local officials in charge will thus be politically questioned and even dismissed from their posts. It becomes a source of political accountability for the local governments.

Local governments are thus mostly worried if land-lost farmers go to Beijing for appeal. They make an effort to adjust their institutional working strategies. For example, Q Street Agency set up a reception room for letters and visits and arranges it so that leaders have a rota of accepting days. Every Tuesday and Thursday, the Chief Secretary, the Vice-Secretary, the Vice-Director, the Director of the Office of Urban Construction and Development, and the Commissioner assigned by the District take it in turns to handle appeals. In this way, local government hopes to manage land-lost farmers' demands and avert conflict. However, direct appeal to higher authorities never stops. Under the circumstances, local government may also use extra-legal measures to deal with appeals, such as accompanying land-lost farmers in their appeals to the higher authorities (*peifang*, 陪访) in order to demonstrate their responsibility, holding up appellate farmers before they reach the

¹ The construction of a harmonious society is the dominant socio-economic vision that is said to be the ultimate end result of Chinese leader Hu Jintao's signature ideology of the Scientific Development Concept. The idea deviates China's focus from all-out economic growth to overall social balance and harmony. It indicates that China's leaders have become concerned in recent years about social tensions including clashes broken out by land-lost farmers.

location of higher government (*jiiefang*, 截访), sending the appellants to asylums for reeducation and coercing them to sign on the promise of not to appeal to Beijing again.

With understanding of the authoritative concern, land-lost farmers make use of the pressure of the government to realize their goals, i.e. getting more monetary compensation. To achieve their own interests, they try various means to challenge the order of governance. Compared with their wider objectives of compensations and redress, it may be worth taking the risk, though they still have to weigh up situations and try to gain the most with fewest losses. As one land-lost farmer said:

The local government does not allow me to go to Beijing. Great! It implies that those officials are afraid of our going to Beijing. The conclusion is, only if extra-legal means of appeal are adopted, such as visiting the locations of the state leaders, sit-ins in front of foreign embassies, suicide in Tiananmen Square, can we get more compensation.

Though rule of law is advocated in China and a modern court system has been being established, the law is not adequately complied by both the government and the land-lost farmers. It might be related to Chinese legal culture, and more importantly, the current political structure, whereby the official authority still supersedes the law and the judiciary is not independent. The solution of disputes tends to be contingent and unpredictable subject to the flexible relationship between the land-lost farmers and the government.

8. Conclusion

Russell (2003) holds that the successful opposition of the farmers living near Mexico Airport to governmental expropriation of land manifests the triumph of democracy over neo-liberalism, the power of globalization, and the power of modernization.¹ Farmers in other Western countries can be more drastic. However, the nature of these activities cannot hold explanatory leverage for the resistance of Chinese land-lost farmers. Chinese farmers' responses have their own logic of actions.

Using the case study in City C, this article illustrates that during the process of resistance, the seemingly powerless usually turn out in fact to have distinct definition of rights and interests, and they have a certain amount of power. For land-lost farmers, other than political gains, the computation of benefits (as well as costs) is largely predicated on material rewards for the individual. They come to make appeals

¹ The former President Vicente Fox cancelled the plan of building an airport on a sprawling stretch of communal farmland just outside the north-eastern edge of the capital after violent protests by machete-wielding farmers who refused to cede it.

and take action only after their livelihoods and material interests have been directly threatened. In this transitional stage from the planned economy to the market economy, the pursuit of interests becomes more and more evident and even utilized as a moral justifier on the part of the land-lost farmers. Thus the nature of their resistance is manifested as 'interest-striving' activities. It is owing to such individual and split pursuit of interests that their activities are difficult to be organized.

Though the rule-awareness of land-lost farmers is increasing, their understanding of relevant information and procedures is ad hoc and fragmented, and they adopt the approaches that are the most direct to them. With their knowledge of the state's deep concern to contain situations that might disrupt social order, land-lost farmers use a strategy of 'struggle by order', rather than 'policy-based resistance', 'rightful resistance' or 'struggle by law'. They can do this through threatening to use the approach of appeals against officials to their seniors, risking black marks on officials' professional and political careers, and also suggesting that officials cannot control matters to maintain order locally. Albeit sometimes appearing extra-legal, many of these measures are veiled under the cover of the institutional system of appeal. It may seem to the land-lost farmers that they are making morally legitimate complaints and appeals to the higher authorities phrased in paternalistic terms. With the evidence provided in the paper, land-lost farmers strive for their materialized interests by tentatively setting feet on the margins of the juxtaposition of institutional and paternalistic order.

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CURRENT ENTERPRISE RESOURCE PLANNING SNAPSHOT IN BOSNIAN SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES

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***Abstract:** For the companies relying on hundreds of internal and external suppliers for the millions of components required to produce goods and services, it is quite important to integrate all these functions and departments in order to prevent information inconsistencies, to leverage multiple sources of information within the enterprise and to gain dominance among competitors, and to perform much higher efficiency levels and sustainable performance standards. Therefore, the importance of Enterprise Resource Planning emerges as a major area of interest for many enterprises in order to facilitate the flow and share of information among the different functions within and outside a company.*

However, especially in low income countries, there may be various barriers such as bureaucracy, poor technology infrastructure, and lack of consultancy firms in order to plan, develop and implement an Enterprise Resource Planning project.

This study becomes important that it presents the Enterprise Resource Planning implementation through the leading small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A survey-based study is applied to empirically test the Enterprise Resource Planning implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the short interviews with relevant respondents are considered to observe the current Enterprise Resource Planning scenarios of their organizations. Furthermore, some of the surveys can also be considered as interviews.

In the conclusion and discussion parts the survey and interview results are discussed and future research areas are addressed.

***Key-words:** Enterprise Resource Planning, survey, interview, small and medium-sized enterprises*

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1. Introduction

Organizational information is generally spread through many in house developed information systems in different functions or organizational units which are called information silos. However, they cannot provide integrated information to increase enterprise-wide performance. Moreover, the maintenance of these systems can cause considerable costs.

For the companies relying on hundreds of internal and external suppliers for the millions of components required to produce goods and services, it is quite important to integrate all these functions and departments in order to prevent information inconsistencies and to leverage multiple sources of information within the enterprise. Therefore, ERP software has emerged as a major area of interest for many businesses in order to facilitate the flow and share of information among the different functions within and outside an enterprise. Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) has been used in order to effectively plan and manage organisational resources (Koh et al., 2009; Ketikidis et al., 2008; Jacobs and Weston, 2007; Loh and Koh, 2004) and to enhance internal efficiency by integrating different organisational business functions (Tarn et al., 2002). Furthermore, ERP vendors have developed additional modules such as Supply Chain Management (SCM), Supplier Relationship Management (SRM) and Customer Relationship Management (CRM) systems as a result of the demand for integrated information systems and increased competitiveness in supply chains (Hendricks et al., 2007; Møller, 2005). ERP with these systems and internet based systems (e-Business) (Weston, 2003) improved organizational internal and external integration. Therefore, the vendors have developed new generation ERP with the name ERP II (Møller, 2005).

Enterprise resource planning (ERP) market has grown significantly in the last two decades (Mabert, Soni, & Venkataramanan, 2000; Reilly, 2005; D'Aquila, Shepherd, & Friscia, 2009).

IS literature is full of studies related to ERP implementation in almost all aspects including benefits, success rates, success indicators, and success factors. Because of the specific issues of ERP, its implementation has become very important. ERP implementation may have quite serious outcomes on the performance of the overall organisation due to high costs and its integrative character.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is located in the Balkan region and still struggling with the legacy of the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s. Bosnia and Herzegovina can be described as a federal democratic republic that is transforming its economy into a market-oriented system, and is a potential candidate for the European Union and NATO membership (Imamović, 2008).

Consequently from the literature, the research becomes important that it aims to examine the implementation of ERP Systems through 37 Bosnian high technology enterprises by employing an extensive survey. The study was not employed to one specific sector. Instead, it aimed to reach all sectors in order to have more representative picture. Furthermore, 28 of the surveys can also be considered as interviews.

The study includes six sections starting with this introduction. The second section provides a literature review. The next section is about the research methodology. Then the results are presented. In the fifth section, the findings are discussed and finally the paper is concluded by implications for research and practice.

2. Literature Review

Hasan et al. (2011) aimed to investigate the reasons of ERP implementation in Australia and the implementation issues by the help of a survey study. It was observed that the planned and actual ERP usage is pervasive in the Australian manufacturing sector.

Chang and Chou (2011) studied the impacts of post-implementation learning on ERP usage and ERP effect and identified the influencing factors of post-implementation learning, such as social capital and post-training self efficacy by employing a survey to examine the perceptions of ERP users. It was found out that post-implementation learning has a significant positive influence on ERP usage and ERP impact. Moreover, social capital and post-training self-efficacy are observed to be important antecedent factors of post-implementation learning. Finally, post-training self-efficacy also found to be significantly influential on ERP usage and ERP impact.

Livermore and Rippa (2011) collected the most influential factors in ERP implementation into two categories: Internal and External. Internal variables included (1) Organizational culture, (2) Leadership, (3) Communication, (4) Company size, and (5) Company history while external variables consists of (1) National culture, (2) Industry, (3) Economic conditions, and (4) Political conditions.

Dezdar and Ainin (2011a) examined the effects of organizational factors (i.e. top management support, training and education, enterprise-wide communication) on successful ERP implementation in Iran by employing a survey. According to the results, top management must fully support the project and ensure the plans are communicated and understood through the company, adequate training and education related to the systems must be provided to all users to ensure their ability to use the system effectively and efficiently and therefore contributing to their satisfaction which will in turn affect the implementation success.

Lee et al. (2010) proposed a model to examine the impact of organizational support on behavioral intention (BI) for ERP implementation by considering the technology acceptance model (TAM) through a survey study. It was observed that the organizational support is influential on perceived usefulness (PU) and perceived ease of use (PEOU). Additionally, PU and PEOU highly affected interest in the ERP system and BI to use the system.

Reamers (2002) studied the necessary implementation process and contextual variables such as local or foreign ownerships in China by focusing mainly on SAP R/3 users. The findings suggested that the local Chinese organisations are as successful as the foreign organisations. Hawking (2007) found language, culture and currency as the major issues for ERP implementation in the Asian region. Abdul-Gader (1997) studied the implications of the pertinent economic, sociopolitical, legal and cultural variables for multinational corporation (MNC) IS global policy formulation.

Livermore and Rippa (2011) noticed relatively little research on the relationship between national culture and the ERP projects and aimed to explore this issue by using two case studies from the US and Italy. They observed that national culture is influential on ERP systems implementation manner.

Kumar and Thapliyal (2010) ordered the fundamental activities before implementing an ERP system as: (1) conducting a feasibility study of organizational needs by analyzing the availability of hardware, software, databases, and in house computer expertise, and decide whether ERP is necessary, (2) educating and recruiting end users to be involved, (3) developing a project team consisting of experts, (4) hiring a team of system consultants, (5) training employee and managers, (6) handling the system installation process, and (7) converting data and information in the databases for the new ERP system. Kumar and Thapliyal (2010) suggested management and auditor role, organizational change process, people, and implementation cost and time and employee morale as the fundamental issues to be considered for successful implementation of an ERP solution.

The literature suggests that ERP system implementations have positive influence on operational performance (Mabert et al., 2001; McAfee, 2002). Madapusia and D'Souza (2012) studied the influence of ERP implementation on organisational performance by developing a literature-based and theory-driven model and tested the model through a field study. It is identified that the implementation of each ERP system module has different influences on operational performance measures differently.

Fub et al. (2007) by employing a survey study studied the probable advantages and disadvantages of ERP in the banking sector. The study identified better information transparency, improved inerrability, improved quality of business process and faster

compliance with legal requirements as benefits and loss of flexibility and vendor dependence as the main disadvantages.

Pan et al. (2011) aimed to identify, assess and explore potential risks of ERP in long-term in the post-implementation and exploitation phase by employing a case study. They identified 37 risk events for ERP exploitation.

ERP implementation research is mainly focused on exploratory case studies' results (Motwani et al., 2002; Subramanian and Hoffen, 2005) by considering some critical success factors (CSFs). Livermore and Rippa (2011) reported the most cited CSFs for ERP implementation as: (1) Inadequate requirements definition, (2) Legacy status and ERP customization, (3) Absence of strong commitment on the part of top management, (4) Lack of clear strategy relating to redesign of processes, (5) Resistance to change and lack of involvement on the part of end-users, and (6) Inadequate qualification of end-users.

Dagher and Kuzic (2011), by employing interviews and questionnaires, searched ERP implementation influencing issues, their level of importance and the influences of implementation activities on success and failures of five Australian companies. Their results suggested that Top Management Support, Project Management and Project Champion, and Vendor Tools or methodologies used in ERP implementation as the most important critical success factors.

Al-Turki (2011) investigated existing trends and success factors for ERP implementation in Saudi Arabia. He identified the best implementation practices, encountered difficulties, critical success factors and benefits. According to the results, time and/or cost overruns in ERP implementation, management commitment and the existence of a clear strategic objective were critical for the success of the ERP implementation, and Change management programs and extensive training were essential for smooth implementation process.

Dezdar and Ainin (2011b) aimed to identify critical success factors for the successful implementation of ERP systems especially related to the ERP project environment including project management, team composition and competence, and business process reengineering. They conducted a survey questionnaire through ERP users in Iranian organizations. They observed a significant influence of project management and team composition on ERP implementation success.

Maditinos et al. (2011) produced a conceptual framework in order to investigate the influence of human inputs (top management, users, external consultants) on communication effectiveness, conflict resolution and knowledge transfer in the ERP consulting process and on effective ERP system implementation through a survey study. It was observed that consultancy service during the ERP implementation process is essential; knowledge transfer significantly influence ERP system success;

knowledge transfer is more important than effective communication, and resolution among organizational members; top management support is found to be less important users support.

Consequently from the literature, this study is trying to identify: (1) the strength of external and internal (organizational motivation) forces, (2) the need for consultancy, (3) advantages (organizational and information related) and disadvantages, (4) difficulties, (5) success factors, and (6) outsourcing/insourcing issues in ERP implementation through Bosnian SMEs.

3. Research Methodology

It is difficult to have and therefore give information about the situation of SMEs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dimitrijevic and Rodic (2011) signified the problem of unarranged statistics on SME sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They also reported that data about SME sector cannot be achieved on EUROSTAT, OECD databases, European Innovation Scoreboard or other statistical databases. Furthermore, they stressed on the importance of Adjustment of statistical system for monitoring of SME sector and its performances for Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to define a better policy making for SMEs in general. MAPEER SME reports that there is also no specific data available for defined sectors of ICT and Environmental technologies (Dimitrijevic & Rodic, 2011).

The survey was conducted personally, by visiting 62 public and private organizations which are identified through a detailed search through internet (Table 1). Mainly, program development and consulting companies were targeted. The targeted companies have less than hundred employees. Almost all international Enterprise Resource Planning tools and their providers exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The companies were selected by considering their possible interest on ERP. Since there are not so many registered companies, the survey has only been conducted in one program developing company and a few other companies dealing with Information Technology software and hardware. It was the similar for consulting companies. Additionally, the survey was distributed to the manufacturing companies varying from food production, over construction and pharmacy, up to textile and maintenance tools. Furthermore, the study also included service providing companies which are accounting, marketing, and transportation.

The survey responses were obtained by personal visits (28 were interviews) and via e-mail. The research is strengthened by the interviews during the completion of the surveys. And 28 of the surveys are completed with the respondents together. The respondents made their comments during the completion of the survey. So 28 of the responses can also be considered as interviews.

Table 1
Survey Responses

Targeted firms	Walk-in		Online	
	No response	Hand-Filled forms	Mail sent	Mail received
62	10	28	15	9

4. Results

According to Table 1, the respondents are mainly from IT selling and consulting companies, Textile, Accounting, Food, Furniture, Production Companies are followed them, Commercial, Marketing, Pharmacy Companies came in the third and there are few representatives from Architecture, Management, Metal, Petrol Station, Transportation, and Wood processes Companies.

Table 1
Classification of the Respondents by Company Type

Company Type	Frequency	Percent
Missing	1	2.7
Accounting	3	8.1
Architecture	1	2.7
Commercial	2	5.4
Food	3	8.1
Furniture	3	8.1
IT	8	21.6
Manageme	1	2.7
Marketing	2	5.4
Metal	1	2.7
Petrol Station	1	2.7
Pharmacy	2	5.4
Production	3	8.1
Textile	4	10.8
Transportation	1	2.7
Wood Process	1	2.7
Total	37	100.0

The respondents (Table 2) are generally managers and professionals within the surveyed organizations.

Table 2
Respondents by Position

Positions	Frequency	Percent
Missing	1	2.7
Associate Professionel	1	2.7
Manager	20	54.1
Professionel	15	40.5
Total	37	100.0

The respondents are in general from Zepche, Sarajevo and Visoko (Figure 3). Actually, the survey was targeted to be conducted where the organizations have facilities.

Table 3
Respondents by City

City	Frequency	Percent
Breza	1	2.7
Jelah	1	2.7
Mostar	1	2.7
no comment	1	2.7
Sarajevo	11	29.7
Teshani	1	2.7
Visoko	6	16.2
Zenica	2	5.4
Zepche	13	35.1
Total	37	100.0

The majority of Bosnian SMEs accept ERP as a helpful tool for their organizations. However, few of them considered ERP as an additional tool (Figure 4). On the other hand, six companies could not make any comment about ERP.

Table 4
ERP Consideration

ERP Consideration	Frequency	Percent
Additional tool	2	5.4
ERPisHelpful	29	78.4
I dont know	6	16.2
Total	37	100.0

The surveyed companies have generally somewhat in an ERP development phase (Figure 5). Only a few doesn't have ERP in any phase and some are not aware of what ERP was.

"...I am not aware of ERP and its benefits" (Anonymus, Company Director).

Malik Koljenovic, Vice director of Mekom, stated that there is no sufficient information about ERP and its benefits in BiH business environment. Additionally, BiH companies need help in order to implement and maintain ERP systems. Edina Halilic, General Director of Pharmacon, suggested that there should be more educated people in this field in order to provide help and services when certain problems occur. Furthermore, he concluded that there is "...a shortage of capable programmers and service staff".

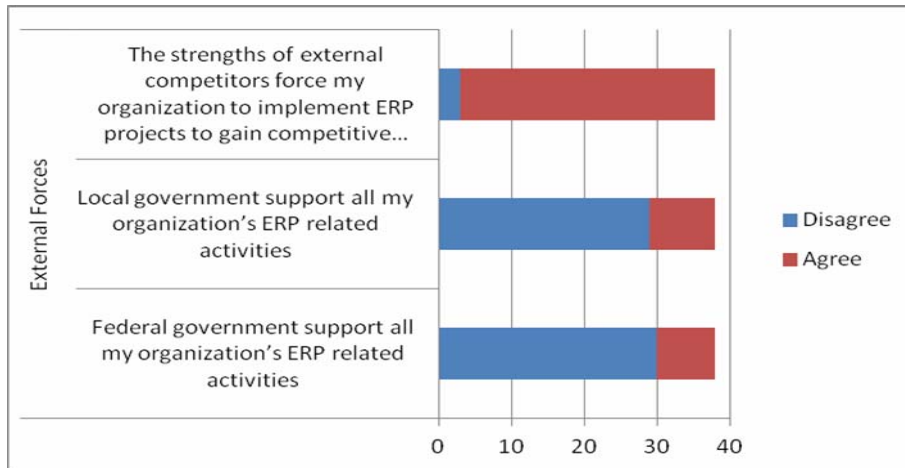
Table 5
Classification of the Respondents by ERP implementation phases

ERP Implementation Phase	Frequency	Percent
Development phase	6	16.2
draft ERP strategy	6	16.2
has an ERP strategy	15	40.5
No ERP	4	10.8
No strategy but some application	1	2.7
not aware of ERP	3	8.1
no comment	2	5.4
Total	37	100.0

The respondents feel uncomfortable about federal and local laws. On the other hand, there is a great influence of external competitors. Therefore they don't want to lose their competitive force and they believe that their organizations need to implement ERP projects (Figure 1).

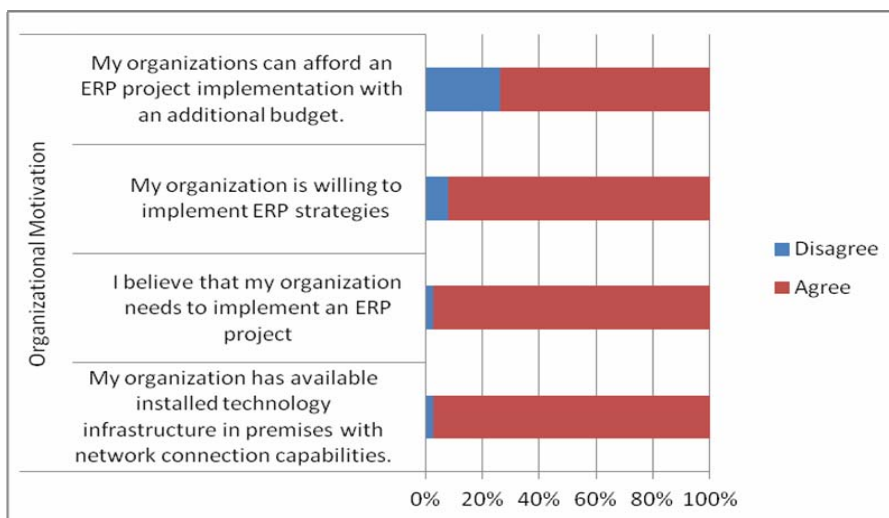
"...In my opinion, ERP is very important for enterprises especially recent surroundings or environment. Therefore, investing on ERP is the best investment a company can do." (Smajic E., Consultant).

Figure 1
External Forces



It has been understood that the organizations can afford ERP projects and they have available installed technologies to implement ERP projects. They believe that ERP implementation is necessary for their organisations and strongly want to implement ERP strategies (Figure 2).

Figure 2
Organizational Motivation



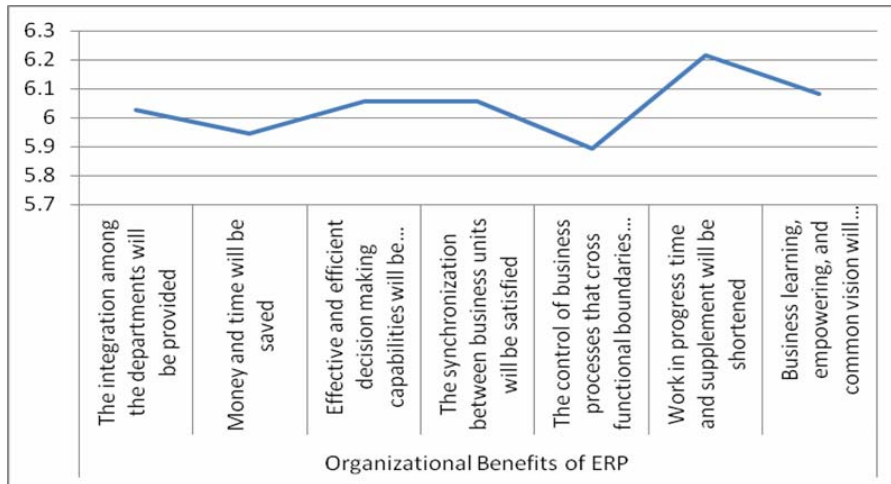
Contrarily, the organizations claim that there are not many available consulting companies in order to develop and implement ERP solutions in BiH (Figure 3). Furthermore, during the interviews one of the company directors stated that the lack of ERP consulting organizations had an influence on their organization in the way that the company had no clear plan about implementation costs so they had to pay extra money and rearrange their budget.

Figure 3
Need for Consulting Companies



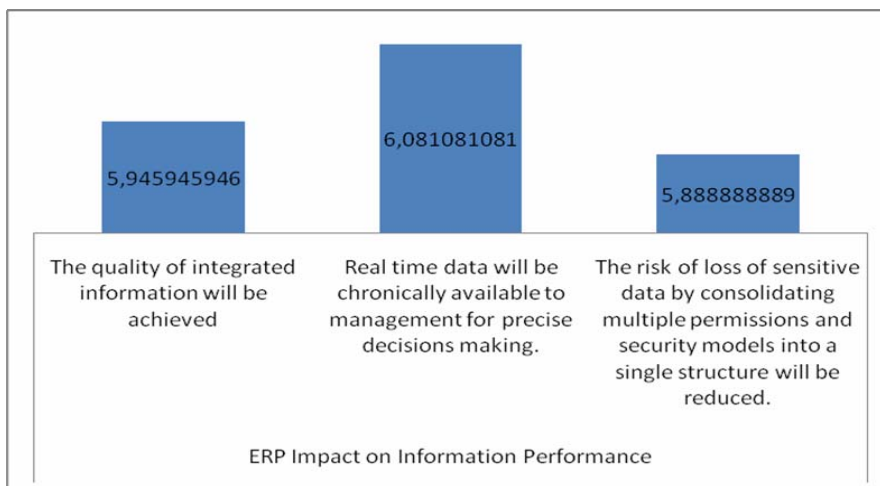
The respondents believe that ERP is a necessary tool for the organizations to achieve organizational benefits such as acquiring the integration of the departments, effective and efficient decision making capabilities, the synchronization of business units, the control of business processes, business learning, empowering, and common vision, and saving money and time (Figure 4).

Figure 4
Organisational Benefits of ERP



The respondents are agreed on that ERP is beneficial on information performance by integrating the data, providing real data for decision making reducing the risk of losing sensitive data (Figure 5).

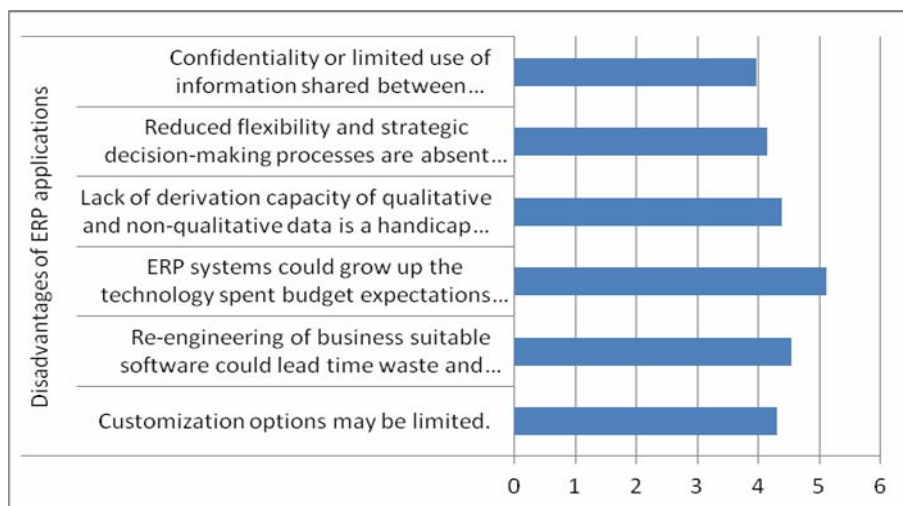
Figure 5
ERP Impact on Information Performance



However, the respondents are observed to be neutral on the probable disadvantages of ERP systems such as limitation of customization options, losing time and therefore competitive advantage while re-engineering suitable software, lack of derivation capacity of qualitative and non-qualitative data, reduced flexibility and strategic decision-making processes, and confidentiality or limited use of information shared between departments. But they slightly agreed that the probable cost for ERP was high (Figure 6).

“...Prices for implementing ERP are very high” (Kunic, I., IT operator, Kuna Koza).

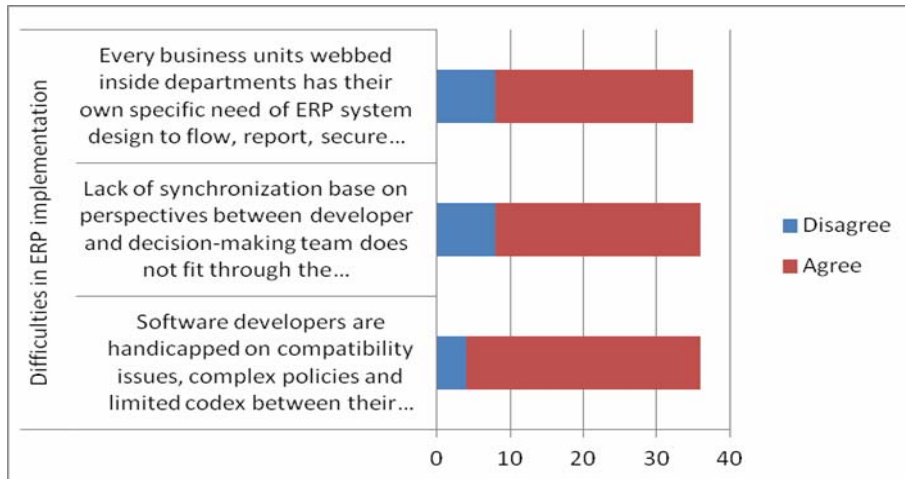
Figure 6
Disadvantages of ERP applications



As observed from Figure 7, the companies believed that software developers could not solve compatibility issues, complex policies and limited codex between their perspectives and differentiated structures of organizations. The developer and decision-making team may not work properly through the project fundamentals. Furthermore, specific needs of ERP system design for every business units may cause problems.

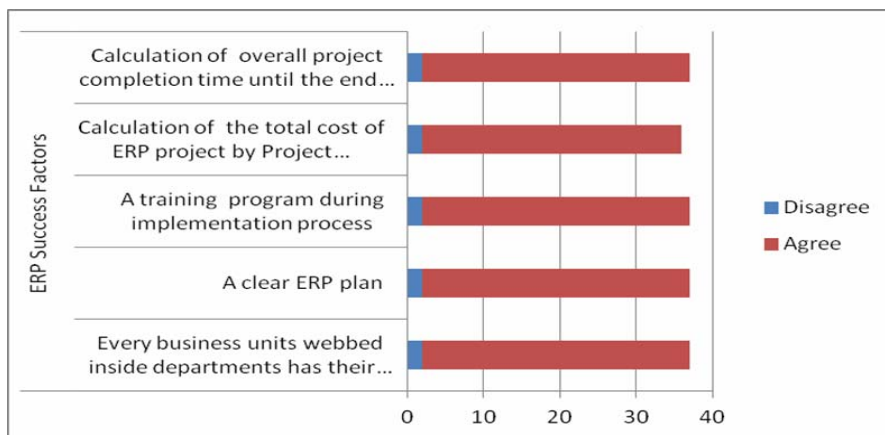
It has been supported in the study that ERP project objectives should be clearly defined. “... It is necessary to have a clear ERP plan, available budget, and clear expectations from ERP, correlations between sectors or departments and visions about the upcoming ERP system” (Almir Zeric, General Manager, Dell-Disti).

Figure 7
ERP Implementation Difficulties



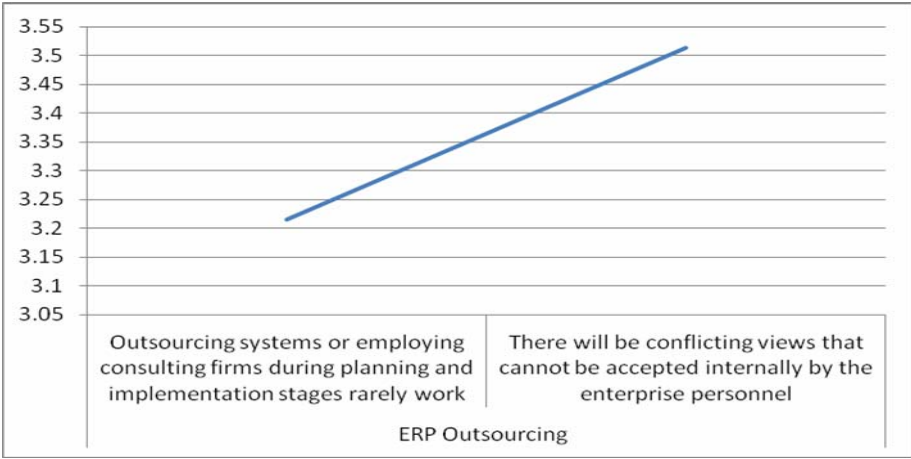
Additionally, a clear ERP plan, a training program during implementation process, calculation of the total cost and overall project completion time until the end of ERP project by Project managers and consultants are also necessary in order to be successful on ERP projects (Figure 8).

Figure 8
ERP Success Factors



The companies are slightly agreed on that outsourcing services can work and there will not be any conflicting views of the company staff (Figure 9). Therefore, outsourcing ERP applications were not disagreed, but at the same time not considered by the companies.

Figure 9
ERP Outsourcing



Contrarily, ERP insourcing is considered by the companies that expertise team members within the company could make more precise software operation planning, decrease long delays and outsource related cost in short run, and increase profit gain in long term (Figure 10).

Figure 10
ERP Insourcing



5. Discussion

According to the literature, the importance of ERP as a comprehensive organization wide system has been growing for vast variety of organizations and industries. On the other hand, the empirical findings showed that the BiH scene does not present a satisfactory result. There is a need for qualified staff to run ERP-like systems through BiH SMEs. Even the awareness of ERP is not reasonable.

Additionally, it is observed that there is not enough number of organizations in BiH to conduct the survey. However, the majority of available companies resist filling out the survey. Furthermore, many organizations among the surveyed SMEs do not want to be in a further research and some of them do not want to get the results of the survey even they have completed the survey.

On the other hand, there are some managers who are interested on ERP and other types of high technologies. For example, Almir Zeric, General Manager, Dell-Disti suggested to study on online ERP, Cloud computing etc.” (Almir Zeric, General Manager, Dell-Disti). Therefore, future studies may consider adoption and diffusion of new technologies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Despite, BiH high-technology enterprises feel the force of outside competitive environment in order to implement ERP; they don't feel political support. Hence, it is necessary for them to inform government about the issue or make strategic decisions in order to overcome this problem. Secondly, this study observed that the enterprises have motivated to implement ERP-like projects and feel the organizational strength to start the implementation. But, they cannot find proper consultation firms in order to adapt the projects to the organizations. Moreover, the surveyed organizations are aware of the possible advantages, disadvantages, difficulties and critical success factors of ERP implementation. Finally, the organizations seemed not to outsource ERP implementation but instead to develop in-house.

6. Conclusion

This study becomes important in ERP implementation that it somewhat clarifies the ERP-related considerations in Bosnian market. Therefore, it may have some important implications for the enterprises that they should consider the external competitive environment and the political situation. They should also consider the outsourcing and insourcing options which are identified by this research in order to successfully implement ERP.

Since this study has presented a current snapshot of ERP considerations from Bosnian high-tech firms, its implications become important. For practice, external environment is not found to be supportive. It is suggested that companies may influence the external forces by effectively reporting their situation and creating a

competitive business environment. Moreover, the organizations in Bosnia should be aware of the technological progresses and develop employee skills by arranging and attending training programs. In this scenario, the role of universities and academicians becomes important.

Although one response could also be counted as one organization and 28 hand-filled responses may also be accepted as interviews, the fundamental limitation of the study is the number of respondents.

Second limitation is the lack of high-tech organizations. On the other hand, some of the targeted organizations haven't applied ERP yet, and some does not know what ERP was.

We aimed and employed the survey through all available enterprises in Bosnia. But, the examination of one specific industry for future research may be suggested. Future studies may consider one specific ERP product through the industries.

Future research may develop Bosnia specific adoption and diffusion models based on the current study findings and search the most influential factors in order to explain the implementation and diffusion processes.

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Abbreviations

- ERP: Enterprise Resource Planning
- BiH: Bosnia and Herzegovina
- SMEs: Small and medium-sized enterprises
- SCM: Supply Chain Management
- SRM: Supplier Relationship Management
- CRM: Customer Relationship Management
- BI: Behavioral intention
- TAM: The Technology Acceptance Model
- PU: Perceived Usefulness
- PEOU: Perceived Ease of Use
- MNC: Multinational Corporation
- CSFs: Critical Success Factors

IMPORTANCE OF FINANCING THE SOCIAL ECONOMY PROJECTS

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Sorin CACE³

Abstract: *The re-emergence of the social economy sector as important agent for occupation, economic growth, social solidarity, associationism and social services, coincided with a higher importance of running program and project-based activities in all European countries, irrespective whether they are member states of candidate states. Within the context of the benefits specific to the social economy projects it is important to debate and analyse the subject of continuing the activities of this form of economy by consolidating the financial allocations. Thus, complementary to the identification of new consistent sources of financing of the activity performed by the social economy organisations, it is important to know the position of the initiatives within the current context of the global economy and to apply rigorously the project implementation methodology.*

Key-words: *social economy, project, financial allocation, evaluation, project management*

1. Introduction

The social economy sector acquired a significant importance over the past 30 years, in terms of economic activity and social policies planning, both in the EU member

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states and worldwide, because of the increasing unemployment rates during the late 1970s and because of the lower assistance provided by the welfare state.

Within the context of the current economic crisis, negative consequences overlap and this reflects on the vulnerable groups: social tensions generated by the higher rate of poverty, the fear of unemployment, the higher number of families with serious financial problems, restrictions upon financing the credit for consumption and effects due to workforce mobility (Bostani I., Grosu V., 2010, p. 20). However, presently, social economy provides solutions to decrease social exclusion by increasing the employment rate of the vulnerable people and by establishing mechanisms in support of these people (Arpinte D., Cace S., Cojocaru Ș., 2010, p. 66).

At the European level, during the Lisbon Council of Europe (2000), the control of social exclusion was tackled by a coherent package of policies – social, occupational and economic – all of them highly interdependent (Lambro M., 2010, p. 165). In Romania, “within the academia, within the government and within the international organisations, a consistent level of expertise to measure poverty and social inclusion formed, accompanied by a solid history of using the indicators of poverty and social inclusion” (Briciu C., 2009, p. 165). When social economy interventions to control poverty are to be implemented, caution is recommended in choosing the working method, because “each of the poverty lines, irrespective of the method of calculation, include a large amount of subjectivism and relativity” (Pop, M.A., 2009, p. 394).

Running social economy projects gives the possibility to start lots of initiatives, because the expression itself comes from the combination of two terms which are often contradictory (Neamtan, 2002):

- „Economy” refers to the actual production of goods and services by a business or to an enterprise which contributes to a net increase of the collective wealth;
- „Social” refers to the social profitability, as expression which sometimes is opposed to the purely economic profit. Social profitability is evaluated in terms of contribution to the democratic development, encouraging an active and consolidated citizenship and of promoting the projects of individual and collective initiatives. Social profitability improves the quality of life and increases population’s welfare, particularly by making available more services. Social profitability can be evaluated in terms of job creation both in the public sector, and in the traditional private sector.

Planning, implementing and evaluating social economy initiatives based on project management relies on principles with universal value for most projects, irrespective of their size or complexity. This ensures the rigorous management of the projects by applying formal mechanisms and procedures which are important for the management of resources which the financiers quantify. Nowadays, it becomes acute

need to monitor and evaluate projects undertaken in this sector and to reveal the mechanisms which create a healthy ecosystem and vibrant economy that support these innovative and social entrepreneurs (Cace S., Arpinte D., Cace C., Cojocaru Ș., 2011, p. 65; Koutmalasou E., 2011; Katsikaris L., Parcharidis J., 2010, p. 90).

2. Establishment and development of the social economy initiatives – identification of the defining project elements

The main forms of social economy appeared in the 19th century, but the associative expression of the people with socio-economic purposes started in ancient times. However, it is difficult to state that the genesis of social economy identifies largely with the gradual historical establishment of the different forms of human association.

The emergence of social economy followed the acknowledgement of the right to free association in some European countries (Ministerul Muncii, Familiei și Protecției Sociale (2011), aspect shown below in terms of chronology of the development of different social economy initiatives.

Box 1

Establishment of the social economy structures in the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain and France

United Kingdom

- Influence of the socialist current: William Thompson, George Mudie, William King, Thomas Hodgskin, John Gray, John Bray
- 1824-1835 – the associated labour unions joined the socialist movement within the context of emancipation of the working classes
- 1831-1835 – 8 cooperative congresses coordinated both the cooperatives and the labour unions activity; establishment of the *Grand National Consolidated Trade Union* during one of the congresses, which unified all British unions
- 1844 – William King established the cooperative *Rochdale*, with 28 workers; the principles of Rochdale cooperative have been adopted by all types of cooperatives
- 1895 – establishment of the *International Co-operative Alliance* (ICA) in London

Germany

- Promoters of the movement to associate the industrial workers: Ludwing Gall, Friedrich Harkort, Stephan Born
- Pioneers of cooperatives; urban areas – Victor Aimé Huber and Schulze-Delitzsch, rural areas – Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen (in 1862 he established the first credit union at Anhausen and in 1877 he established *the German Federation of the Raiffeisen-type Rural Cooperatives*)

- 1876 – adoption of special legislation on the rural mutualism and on the worker mutual assistance societies

Spain

- 1840 – the weavers from Barcelona established their first labour union *Asociación de Tejedores*, concomitantly with the provident-type mutual society, *Asociación Mutua de Tejedores*, which became in 1842 *Compañía Fabril de Tejedores*

Italy

- During the first third of the 19th century there have been many mutual societies of assistance, which preceded the first cooperatives
- 1853 – the society of mutual assistance *Società operaia di Torino* led to the establishment of the first consumer cooperative – *Magazzino di Provvidenza di Torino*, in order to defend the purchasing power of its employed members

France

- Influence of the socialist current: Claude-Henri de Saint Simon, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc
- 1834 – first important cooperative of the workers was established in Paris – *Association Chretienne des Bijoutiers en Doré* – by Jean-Phillippe Buchez, disciple of Saint-Simon
- 1847 – the workers associations were behind 2,500 societies of mutual assistance, with 400,000 members and 1.6 million beneficiaries

Source: CIRIEC, 2007, p. 11-13.

The term of social economy has multiple meanings that can be analysed starting from the crystallization of the first initiatives in this field. Thus, the term appeared simultaneously both within the establishment of a social science, and to designate a group of practices and institutions (Demoustier, 2004):

A. As concept, social economy was launched in the 19th century, and experienced several adaptations:

- Either as consolidation of the political economy – production of means of existence beyond the material production, by liberals (such as Charles Dunoyer in 1830, which provided the starting support for another author in 1848 – John Stuart Mill),
- Or as critique and substitute of the political economy (by Christians and socialists, such as Auguste Ott in 1851),
- Or as a form of integrating the political economy (Prodhon)

- Or as a complement to some economic currents within which the public economies were growing (Walras 1896, Gide 1905).

B. As assembly of practices and institutions, social economy freed progressively from the theories developed by the economists, then by the organisations of company owners, only to be defined gradually in terms of economic association. Thus, the rediscovery of the social economy in the 20th century was marked by the increased autonomy of the collective private organisations in relation with their integration within the public interventions, as particular forms of the non-capitalist companies, in opposition with the mistrust and selectivity imposed by competition and by conditioned financing.

The ambivalent relations between the social science and practice denote the importance given to the innovation and reciprocal influencing of the two spheres; this highlights the importance of the initiatives, in general, and of the projects, in particular, to open new horizons of knowledge.

Within this incipient framework of social economy establishment, one may easily observe that there is no specific framework for the implementation of projects, as they are known from the current specific and diverse terminology. In order to have idea on the significance of projects we will cite the definition given by the Foundation for the Development of the Civil Society – Centre for Non-governmental Organisations Development (FDSC, 1998):

Box 2
Definition of the project
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anticipative thinking directed towards the purpose to make a change, perceived as favourable by the one intending to make the change • Technical and financial documentation, rigorously composed, used to develop a particular system with predetermined characteristics and performance, and with limited risks. • Activity with a start and an end, planned and controlled, conducted with the purpose to make a change.

From this point of view, this pioneering stage (1830-1945), of theoretical genesis and testing of the social economy practices, is specific to socio-economic initiatives and innovating activities. Thus, in order to avoid starting social economy activities which are not backed by project management, we need to know comparatively the characteristics of the activities and of the projects:

Table 1
Projects versus current activities

Projects	Current activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involve significant changes • Limited as extent and duration • Unique • Use temporary resources • Are temporary • Management directed towards accomplishing project objectives • Characterised by risk and incertitude 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The possible changes are small and gradual • Never end • Have a repetitive character • Use stable resources • Are permanent • Management directed towards accomplishing a role • Characterised by a feeling of stability

Source: Bărgăoanu, 2004.

Within the context of comparing the stage of social economy emergence with the current stage fundamented in project management, the six major differences between activities and projects reveal their validity:

- The project has a clearly defined start and end: going through a project from the beginning to the end implies a properly defined sequence of steps or activities;
- The projects use resources (human, time and money) specially allocated for the accomplishment of the project activities;
- Each project produces unique outcomes. These results have specific objectives of quality and performance. When the project finished, something new has been created, something that didn't exist before;
- The projects unfold according to a plan; they are organised so as to achieve the set objectives;
- A project usually involves a team which to accomplish the project;
- The projects always have a unique set of stakeholders that includes: the project team, the clients, the project manager; the executive managers; governmental representatives; other people interested by the project. The stakeholders always have different expectations on the outcomes;

Unlike other types of management, the project focuses entirely on a final result, and when this result is obtained, the project ceases to be necessary and it is therefore discontinued (Newton, 2006). The first crystallizations of the social economy forms didn't aim to achieve specific final results; the absence of the project terminology was obvious and it made inoperable initiatives of elaboration, implementation and evaluation of projects.

3. Current characteristics of the social economy projects

The social economy initiatives based on project management are clearly relying on principles that are of universal value for most projects, irrespective of their size or complexity. Thus, the rigorous administration of the projects is ensured by the application of formal mechanisms and procedures which are important for the administration of resources which the financiers quantify.

Table 2
Principles of project management

Principle of commitment	It is applied between the financier (sponsor, supplier of resources, financing agency) and the institution/organisation aiming to run a project. Before the start of any activity there has to be an equitable engagement. This engagement means that both sides involved know very well what effort must be deployed in order to accomplish the project; that they know, at least in general, the processes and risks associated to the project, that they are willing to share and assume responsibility for the risks and for a possible failure.
Principle of the predefined success	The underlying norms which make a project to be considered successful, both in terms of running, and in terms of the outcome, must be defined from the very beginning, before any activity starts. Thus, the agreed success criteria may be the basis for the decision-making process and for the final evaluation. Thus, there are two types of criteria of success describing the progress of a project. The first one refers to the observation of the time limits, of the budget, to the efficient utilization of any other type of resources (human, equipment, locations) and to the perception developed around the project. The second one refers to the outcome of the project and consider the quality, technical standards, relevance of the project, its efficiency, field of action, as well as to the perception developing around the end product/outcome.
Principle of efficiency/internal consistency/interdependence	This is the relation of interdependence existing between the scope of the project, the allocated time, the budget and the projected quality of the end product. The four elements are interrelated; they must be achievable and reflect each other. Any change in one of these elements leads to changes in the other elements. The change of the project scope causes changes in the quality, time and resources required by the project.
Principle of strategy	Any project must have an underlying strategy. Within the field of social economy, planning always precedes execution. In plain words, this principle sets what has to be done and when.

Principle of control	All projects must be governed by rigorous and efficient policies and procedures of control and monitoring. Unlike the previous principle, this principle sets how a particular thing must be done and by whom.
Principle of the single communication channel	Between the financier and the project manager there has to be a single channel through which the vital important decisions for the project are communicated. This principle doesn't exclude the principle of transparency or the principle of the unimpeded access to information. It is important that within the process of decision-making and of communicating the decisions within the framework of the project, both the financier and the promoter of the project, communicate via a single representative. Otherwise, the decisions will get erroneously to the executive unit, they become contradictory; this affects the proper execution of the project.
Principle of the stimulating working environment	The duty of the project manager is to create, for the team members, a stimulating working environment, which to enable the expression of their full potential. This environment can be achieved both by adopting a style of management adequate to the particular project, and by the smart administration of the relation with the whole organisation. The project manager must be concerned not to isolate the team he/she is leading from the rest of the organisation, that the project he/she is directing is known, accepted and appreciated within the organisation.

Source: Florescu M., Marton B., Neamtu B., Balogh N., *Project management. Sustainable development; course lecture*, pp. 26-27, http://www.apubb.ro/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Managementu_-_proiectelor_Dezvoltare_durabila.pdf

The first step of the interventions in the field of social economy in order to apply the principles of the project management refers to the knowledge of the main mechanisms which operate in this field (as seen in the table below).

Table 3
Main mechanisms operating within the social economy

	Non-governmental organisations	Mutual associations	Cooperatives
Role	Supply of services to its members and/or to the entire community	Supply of services to its members and their families	Supply of goods and services to its members and, in certain circumstances, to the community

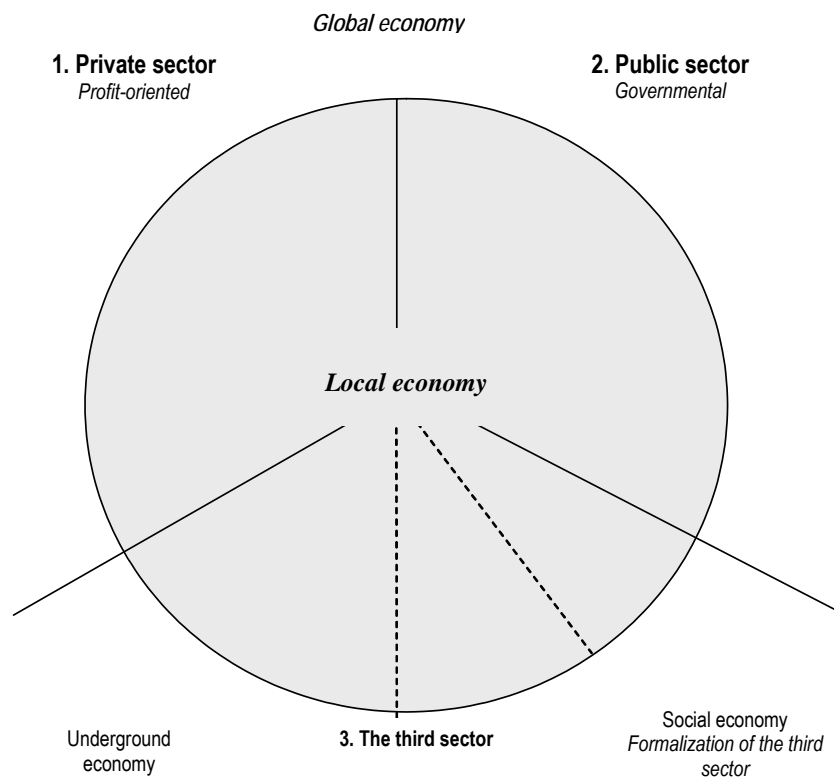
	Non-governmental organisations	Mutual associations	Cooperatives
Types of products and benefits	Goods and services that generally are not on the market, but with increasing demand. Depending on the methods of implementation, which are quite variable, both the members and the community may enjoy the benefit of these goods and services	Services which essentially are not on the market. The benefit of its members depends on their needs.	Goods and services available on the market too. Each member has benefits depending on the number of transactions achieved within the cooperative
Membership	Individuals or entities, privately	Just private individuals	Individuals or entities, privately
Power division	The "one man one vote" principle is applied within the general assembly	The "one man one vote" principle is applied within the general meetings of the members	The "one man one vote" principle is applied within the general meetings of the members
Financing	Membership fees and/or donations. When the members withdraw/resign, their membership fees are not reimbursed	Membership fees paid at regular intervals. When the members withdraw/resign, their membership fees are not reimbursed	Subscriptions for shares and/or contributions are regular intervals. When the members withdraw/resign, they are reimbursed
Distribution of the surplus	Never distributed to the members The surplus must be invested in an activity of social utility	Never distributed to the members May be used as backup fund and/or to decrease the membership fees and/or increase benefits	Partially distributed to the members May be used as backup fund to improve the services or to develop further the activity of the cooperative

Source: Defourny J., Develtere P., „The Social Economy: the worldwide making of a third sector”, in Defourny J., Develtere P., Fonteneau B. (eds.) (1999), *L'Economie sociale au Nord et au Sud*, De Boeck, Bruxelles

Generally speaking, there are three main sources of income available to the social economy organisations (Hatzi-Miceva, Katerina, p. 5-8):

1. **Profit generating activities:** fees for the supplied services, sales, membership fees, renting, investments, business (forming 53% of the income);
2. **Governmental financing** (central and local) (forming 35% of the income);
3. **Philanthropy** (financial donations and in kind support from volunteers) (forming 12% of the income).

Figure 1
Location of the social economy

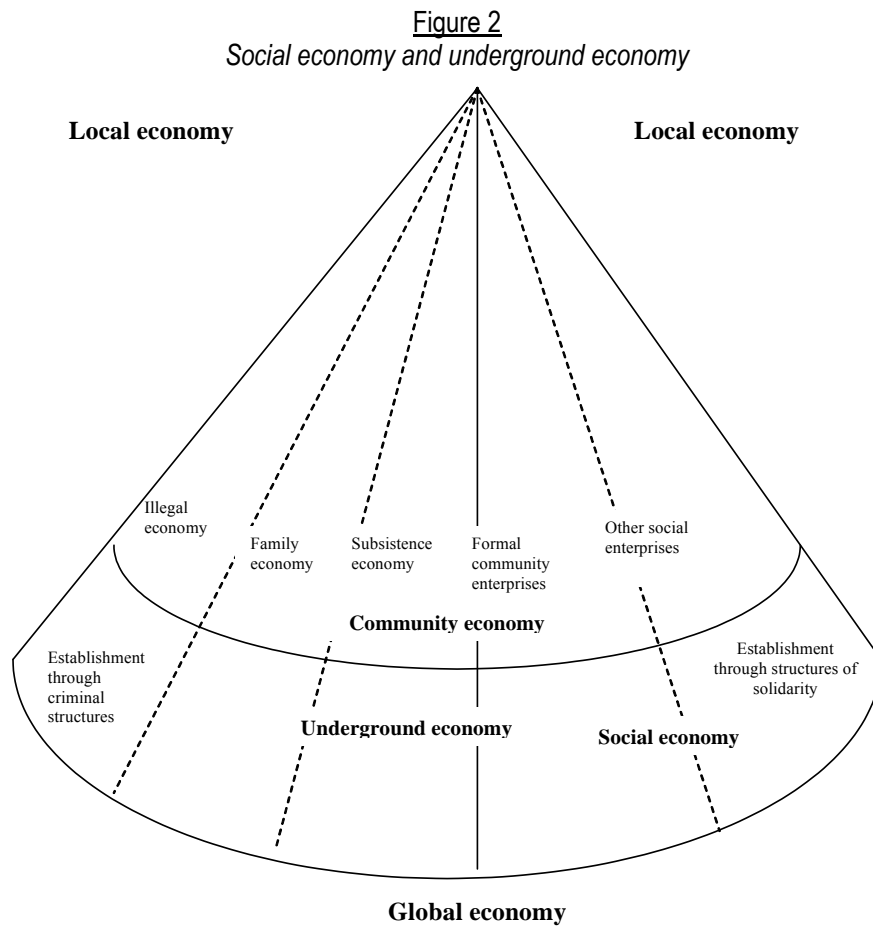


Source: Evans, M., *The Social Economy and the Shadowy Side of the life Course*, Horizons, vol. 8, No. 2, February 2006, Government of Canada, Ottawa, p. 49

The relative importance of these three sources varies with the country and region, and no independent approach may improve the problem of sustainability. Each country must

evaluate which is the strategic priority depending on the local circumstance. The provision of diversified sources of financing is important for the viability and development of the different types of organisations. However, some sources are more important than other, just like at the global level, where the social economy organisations active in the field of health and social services take most of the governmental financing.

Irrespective of the source of financing the activity of the social economy organisations, the project implementation methodology applies; it is of utmost importance to know the location of this form of economy within the current context of the global economy.



Source: Evans, M. (2006), *The Social Economy and the Shadowy Side of the life Course*, Horizons, vol. 8, No. 2, February 2006, Government of Canada, Ottawa, p. 50

As it may be seen in the figure 2, the location of the social economy under the extended umbrella of the community economy, next to different forms of the underground economy, clarifies, by comparison, the need to approach this field in a structured and formalised manner. Thus, project management is the determinant and main characteristic of the social economy activity.

The first analysis of a social economy project involves placing it within the general typology of the projects, the most used classification including 3 characteristics (scope, area of activity and size) (Scarlat&Galoiu, 2002):

1. By their scope:

- Organizational;
- Local (locality, county, group of counties);
- National;
- Regional (the project is of interest for several counties from a particular geographical area);
- International.

2. By the field of the project objective and activities:

- Industrial projects;
- Social projects;
- Commercial projects;
- Cultural projects;
- Environmental protection projects;
- scientific projects (research);
- Educational projects;
- Management projects.

3. By their size:

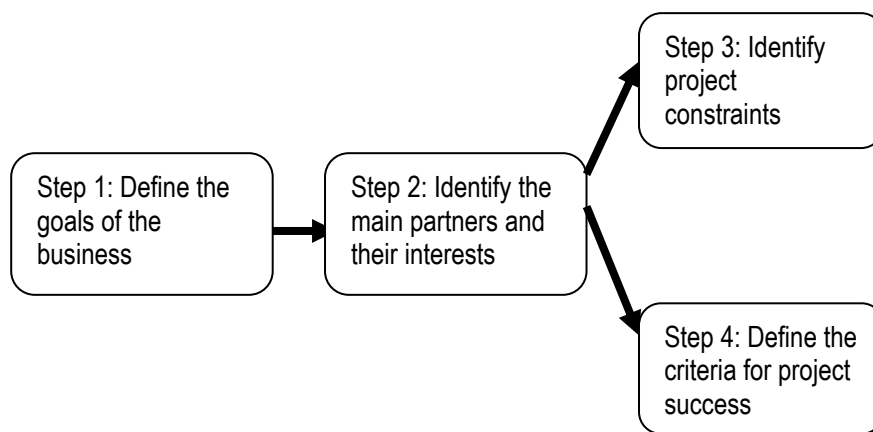
- Small projects: this type of projects has a duration of no longer than one year; low values; allow part-time employment; have modest technological requirements and allow the direct daily monitoring;
- Medium projects: their duration extends from two to three years; they have medium values; allow both part-time and full-time employment; have medium technological requirements and are monitored by periodical reports;

- Large projects: they have long terms, more than three to five years; have high value; allow only full-time employment; have high-tech requirements; use specific instruments and software; they are monitored through inspection reports.

The current financial limitations brought into discussion the need to measure the success of a project so that on the basis of evidences quantified by methodologies previously validated in practice, the project outcomes can be evaluated with the purpose to continue financing or the multiply the action within other initiatives.

Four subsequent defining factors can be taken into consideration in order to know where the project is heading:

Figure 3
Process of defining the criteria for success



Social economy activities (economic or social activity) are characterized by three main elements (inputs, process(es) and outputs); the context of project implementation must be shown both individually and in combination:

- **Inputs** – They can be: financial resources, work (paid and unpaid), knowledge/research, capacity building, learning possibilities, state policies, state legislation, infrastructure, community organisation etc.
- **Process(es)** – Two important criteria for process evaluation are efficiency and efficacy. They may include: how the work is done, including the values they embody and the relations they strengthen; such as administrative practices, partnerships, participation in decision-making (for instance, the democratic processes), human capital development, results (services, products, etc.), innovation, etc.

- **Outputs** – The two main criteria for evaluation that are usually very important are the impact and the sustainability. Within the context of the social economy, there are two major results that we may want to measure, the economic and the social one. However, there also are other important, non socio-economic results, such as sector development.

Examples of quantification of the social economy results are given in the paper of Greek authors *Functions planning and technical requirements of the active social economy observer in Greece* (Greek Ministry of Employment and Social Protection, EQUAL Program, 2006, p. 49-51).

Table 4
Quantification of social economy activities

Types of indicators	Measuring
A) General indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of the different types of social economy companies, compared to the total number of social economy companies • Proportion of the social economy companies by type of activity (national/regional/local, etc.) • Other
B) Economic indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average income • Average expenditure of the social economy companies by type of company and geographical location • Proportion of turnover financing of the social economy companies by type of company and geographical location
C) Occupational indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average proportion of the staff employed by the social economy companies by type of company and geographical location • Average proportion of job creation by the social economy companies by type of company and geographical location • Other
D) Visibility / promotion indicator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of visibility/promotion of the products/services of the social economy companies active on the market
E) Innovation indicator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of social economy companies which introduced, during the past 3 years of activity, innovative activities for their products/services, by type of company
F) Indicator for collaborating organisations/authorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of social economy companies which established cooperation relations with the EU/public authorities/other social economy companies, by type of company and geographical location

Social economy development is at a crucial stage due to the present economic crisis which will validate or invalidate specific economic patterns; the process of social economy projects evaluation and monitoring is a priority because it allows demonstrating the need to continue the innovating initiatives that may change people and communities.

Within the context in which major stress is out in the implementation of Europe 2020 strategy, which 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), it is absolutely necessary to monitor and evaluate the social economy initiatives and to display the mechanisms that establish a healthy and vibrant ecosystem through this form of economy which supports the innovating social entrepreneurs (Cace S., Arpinte D., Cace C., Cojocaru Ș., 2011, p. 65).

Conclusions

The re-emergence of the social economy sector as important agent for occupation, economic growth, social solidarity, associationism and social services, coincided with a higher importance of running program and project-based activities in all European countries, irrespective whether they are member states of candidate states

The social stake of the European Union to consolidate the welfare of its member states is particularly active by the promotion of social economy projects; there is a rather comprehensive range of programs that can be accessed by the social economy organisations by the elaboration and implementation of projects. The structural funds and the Fund of Cohesion are financial instruments of the policy of economic and social cohesion. These instruments help narrowing the gap between the development levels of the different regions of the EU member states, thus promoting the economic and social cohesion. The general rules for the structural funds and for the cohesion fund were set by the *Regulation of the Council of the European Union 1083/2006 from July 2006*, which defines the general framework for the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Fund of Cohesion.

The proposal from the regulation regarding ESF¹ for the period 2014-2020 includes a budget envelope of 376 billion Euros, while for the concentration of financing in agreement with the accomplishment of a sufficient and demonstrable impact, it includes the following provisions: the support for the administrative capacity should be limited to the member states with less developed regions or with regions eligible for the Cohesion Fund; at least 20% of the amounts allocated through ESF should be used to promote social inclusion and to control poverty; within the operational

¹ COM(2011) 607 final, Bruxelles, 6.10.2011, 2011/0268 (COD).

programs, financing should concentrate on a limited number of investment priorities. Also, in agreement with the draft regulation for ESF 2014-2020, four thematic objectives are targeted: promote labour force employment and worker mobility; investments in education, building competencies and life-long learning; promotion of social inclusion and control poverty; consolidate the institutional capacity and the efficiency of the public administration.

Complementary to the identification of new consistent sources of financing of the activity performed by the social economy organisations, it is important to know the position of the initiatives within the current context of the global economy and to apply rigorously the project implementation methodology.

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FOUNDATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL ECONOMY IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: This paper sets out as an explanatory approach, supported with theories and statistical data, for the development of the social economy sector in Romania.

Following a brief review of the literature, which informs the theoretical basis of this paper, We presented a series of economic and social data, expressing the needs of several social groups, potential actors in the social enterprise arena. The study has dealt with the issue of social economy by analysing two daily papers and a professional journal, as well as by interviewing 14 experts who work in the social field, in state institutions and NGOs. After analysing the articles published in the two papers and the journal, it can be stated that there is, in the context presented, a certain interest in the issue of social economy. The articles on this subject referred to different approaches in the field of social economy, the main idea being, particularly in the journal, that social economy represents a potential for creating jobs and for the social integration of the disadvantaged.

As far as the results obtained after analysing the interviews are concerned, social economy is seen by experts as an opportunity to integrate disadvantaged groups into the labour market, to reduce social marginalization and to improve local communities' quality of life. The conclusions of the paper point to the need, but also to the possibility of developing social economy in Romania, the need to stimulate and sustain it, especially in regards to social entrepreneurship.

Key-words: social economics; social entrepreneurship; development; social enterprise.

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1. Introduction. About social work. Analysis of definitions ■■■

The social economy, also called solidary economy (Eme and Laville, 2006, p. 302), entreprises promotrices (Münkner, 2010), “the third sector” (Defourny, 2004, p. 1) or social and solidary economy (Canfin, 2008), functioned, even though maybe not as aspect of conceptualization, but definitely and actually, in the traditional societies too. It started to take shape as specific form of organisation only in early 19th century, when the first regulations on the mutual assistance societies appeared and when the social economy enterprises participated consistently in the universal exhibitions.

The specificity of the social economy, as its name reveals, is to insist on deeper integration of the economic and social under different aspects. So, the syntagma “social economy” is pleonastic, because economy can only be social due to the economic agents, producers, consumers, of the community where it operates, etc. Otherwise, there are many common aspects between the social enterprises and the rest of enterprises: both are open systems in relation with the environment, they have a purpose which they pursue in their activity, they produce goods or services by combining the production factors, they operate according to specific rules (Schwarz et al., 1996, p. 27).

Then why did this problem imposed rather strongly in front of the public opinion, of the politicians, institutions and to the community of researchers during the last two decades of the past century and at the beginning of this century? The specialists consider that the most important reason comes from the fact that the economy moved away from its humanist purposes and sought profit, almost exclusively. We might also add the excessive use of mathematics and the attempt to transform the economic science from a social science into an exact science, as well as the focus on people as mere workforce reflected in the wages (whose size is inversely proportional with the size of the profit), to the detriment of the aspects pertaining to the social solidarity and responsibility of the companies. All these determined the need for economic alternatives, or the need for a “économie plurielle” (Aznar et al., 1997) which to compensate the mentioned deficiencies.

For any objective researcher, it is obvious that any enterprise also has a social dimension, which doesn't exclude, however, the attempt to substantiate the option for the enterprise in which the focus is just on this dimension, and only secondarily on the economic dimension. Of course, for many economists, such alternative has little chance to come true under the conditions in which the social enterprises coexist with the rest of the economic enterprises within the same competition context of the market economy. This is why the social economy has at least two directions of development: one in the Anglo-Saxon area, which focuses on the social entrepreneurship, and another in the Latin area, which focuses on the collective dimension of the social enterprises (Gardin, 2010).

According to the principles and values which it incorporates, as well as of the areas of activity which it targets, social economy seems to be oppose not just to the run for profit, but also to the excessively technicised economy, generally promoting handwork, the basic, non-invasive technology and implicitly, work sustainability.

The term of "social economy" has been give many definitions in the attempt to capture as exactly as possible the specificity and field of work of it, using fir this purpose legal, economic and sociologic criteria (Vienney, 1994). We may group these definitions according to what their authors considered to be defining for this concept. Thus, we may identify definitions:

- Which aim the finality of the social economy: social finality
- Which aim the way of taking decisions: democratic
- Which aim the people employed by the social enterprises: disadvantaged groups
- Which aim the way in which the social enterprises are established: by free affiliation
- Which aim the form of organisation: cooperatives, associations, mutual aid societies
- Which aim the way of obtaining and using the profit: non-profit activity, reinvest the profit for development
- Which aim the field of activity: social protection and social services, health, banking and insurances, agriculture, craftwork, proximity services, education and formation, culture sport and leisure (Charte Européenne de l'Economie Sociale, 2002)
- Which aim the underlying principles and values: self-promotion, democracy, liberty, solidarity, equality, equity, honesty, transparency, social responsibility, care for the others (Résolution de l'Alliance coopérative internationale sur la réforme des principes coopératifs lors de son congrès à Manchester en septembre 1995, (http://uce.universite-cooperative.coop/images/pdf/ACI_1995.pdf).

In order to capture the specificity of the social economy enterprises in relation with the other enterprises, we approached comparatively the two types of enterprises:

Table 1
Liberal economy versus social economy

Dimension	Liberal economy	Social economy
Drive of the economic development	Individual profit	Social values
Decision-makers	Owners of the production means	Members of the organisation
Primary factor	Economic efficacy and financial profitability	Meeting the needs of the users or the human needs
Role of the capital	Basic	Instrumental
Purposes	Mainly economic	Preponderantly social

Source: Processing after Münkner, 2010, p.57

While the liberal economy relies mainly on the production of individual profit, focusing on financial efficacy and profitability, the social economy is oriented towards supporting the social values, towards integration and accomplishment of the social needs existing within a given context.

Synthesizing, a definition that might comprehend all these characteristics is exactly the one deriving from the Chart of social economy: the assembly of enterprises not belonging to the public sector which, with democratic operation and administration and with equal rights and duties for all the organisation members, operates a special system of property and task assignment, the profit being intended for that particular entity and to improve the services for the community (Charte de l'économie sociale, 1980).

2. Image of the social economy in Romania

In Romania, social economy, in the true meaning of the word, has developed during the last decade, even though the cooperative property has been present in the communist period too as agricultural production cooperatives of as consumption and credit cooperatives. Only that, by the way of establishment and by the control of the state, these enterprises transcend the characteristics of the social enterprises, being necessary their reconstruction, often difficult because of the memories about the older cooperatives. We think that the reticence of those who could have established such enterprises in Romania is due to the association with the old cooperatives. Presently, the Ministry of Labour estimates that "Romania is among the states with a permissive system for the development of the social economy, system which is reforming; this is why measures are necessary which to define clearly the sector, which to ensure the equal opportunity for all the categories of social economy organisations and for the

vulnerable groups undergoing situations of risk” (http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/image-manager/images/file/Rapoarte-Studii/301210Raport%20de%20cercetare_ES.pdf).

The purpose of the social economy is to provide jobs for a segment of population which is in difficulty, the employers being most times private employers (associations, foundations, cooperatives, organisations etc.) (Cace et al., 2010).

Compared to the EU, where the social economy sector “comprehends 2 million units (10% of the total business in Europe) and uses over 11 million people (6% of the workforce in the EU)” (http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/promoting-entrepreneurship/social-economy/index_en.htm), the sector of the Romanian social economy comprehends 67,000 social economy organizations which employ 159,847 people, representing 3.3% of the total workforce (Institute of social economy <http://www.ies.org.ro/economia-sociala-in-romania>), which is a quite large gap, showing, implicitly, additional possibilities to develop this sector.

The main areas of activity of the social enterprises in Romania are: provision of services, agriculture and food industry, trade and industrial production, non-banking financial institutions (credit cooperatives, CAR units of employees or pensioners) organised as cooperatives, associations, foundations, protected workshops, non-profit organisations, small and medium enterprises (http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/image-manager/images/file/Rapoarte-Studii/301210Raport%20de%20cercetare_ES.pdf). The table below shows the dynamics of these social economy organisations from 2000 to 2009.

Table 2
Evolution of the active social economy organisations, 2000-2009

	Registered associations and foundations/active associations and foundations /activity rate	NGOs with economic activity and rate of economic activity	Mutual Aid Units (CAR employees/ CAR pensioners)	Crafts cooperatives	Consumption cooperatives	Credit cooperative/ cooperative banks	Total
2000	32.160/10.730/33.4%	1.265/11.8%	380(247/133)	800	874	*	14.049
2005	49.038/16.937/34.5%	2.536/15%	741(571/170)	771	941	*	21.926
2007	56.832/19.819/34.9%	3.203/16.2%	843(657/186)	799	927	*	25.591
2008	60.261/20.945/34.8%	2.416/11.5%	834(656/178)	819	922	*	25.936
2009	64197/23.100/36%	2.471/10.7%	897(704/193)	788	894	65	25.744

Source: Constantinescu, Ș. (coord.) 2011. Atlas of the Social Economy apud Virjan, D. (2011). Journal of Social Economy, p. 122.

The most significant data can be noticed for the associations and foundations, being the only ones which displayed increasing values in the interval 2000-2009. The

NGOs ranked on the second position in terms of economic activity in the interval 2000-2007, showing an increasing trend. The consumption and crafts cooperatives are next, without significant variations in the interval of reference. The Mutual Aid Units reported a spectacular increase in 2000-2005.

On the basis of these data we considered to determine the presence of the Romanian social economy in the press as another indicator, given its social impact. We had selected randomly three press representatives with different levels of generality: a newspaper of general information (Gândul), a newspaper with economic specificity (Financiarul) and a journal of speciality (Journal of social economy). In the newspapers we monitored the number of articles/news on this topic, as well as the subjects presented in the interval January 1st, 2011, June 30th, 2012, while in the journal of speciality we monitored the topic of the articles during the same period.

The table below shows the results.

Table 3

Survey of the social economy presence in the newspapers Gândul and Financiarul

Quarter	Gândul (total: 16)	Financiarul (total: 20)
I (31.03.11) Gândul: 2 Financiarul: 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *alternative services to the banking credits (Mutual Aid unit of BOR) • Promotion of the activities performed by people with disabilities within protected units and lobby by the town hall to employ people under interdiction in the protected shops 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of small markets by association of several farmers • Irregularities noticed in the unauthorized protected units which didn't employ people with disabilities • *POSDRU: giant on the labour market (inclusion of the disfavoured social categories) • *BNR governor: the banks must grant credits to the SMEs and to the cooperative structures and they must also provide business consultancy and draw funds for these units • USA ambassador (conference): the social entrepreneurship will create opportunities for the people having no access on the labour market in Romania
II (30.06.11) Gândul: 2 Financiarul: 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bio agriculture (Metropolitan church of Ardeal in partnership with different associations) • *Emergency Ordinance draft to support the SMEs employing graduates, unemployed people over 40 years old, disabled people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bio agriculture (Metropolitan church of Ardeal in partnership with different associations) (citing from Gândul) • *the SMEs will receive state grants and subsidies for the interests to the bank loans for investments, according to an adopted emergency ordinance. • What business can be started with non-

Quarter	Gândul (total: 16)	Financiarul (total: 20)
		<p>reimbursable European funds? (for instance, crafts cooperatives, consumption cooperatives, support youth and women initiatives)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restaurant opened by a charity foundation under the motto "Pay how much you can", "joining business, charity and feeding" • Efficiency of the Turkish agricultural cooperatives • Multinational project running at Bacău with the purpose to develop a "Guidebook for the implementation of the corporate social responsibility in the SMEs from the European Union" • Profitable agricultural cooperative at Curtici, Arad County, which developed starting from a former agricultural cooperative of production
III (30.09.11) Gândul: 1 Financiarul: 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *the pensioners from Vaslui take loans through CARP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *additional financing from IMF and EC to support programs on the labour market (to solve the problems of employment and the social problems of vulnerable social categories such as the people over 45, the young, the disabled people, the ethnic minorities) • How do the farmers fight the middlemen and the super-markets: "We will open our own shops"
IV (31.12.11) Gândul: 3 Financiarul: 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *the first job market for the inmates at Ploiești, POSDRU project: "Transition towards liberty through Regional Centres of Social Inclusion" • **Participation of the Ministry of Labour at the fair of social economy • Governmental priority in agriculture: the association necessary to access European funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centre of counselling and therapy for the cancer patients, opened at Iași within POSDRU project Axis 6 "Promotion of social inclusion", Major intervention area: "Development of social economy"
I (31.03.12) Gândul: 3 Financiarul: 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *socio-professional reintegration of the inmates - POSDRU project of the Romanian Patriarchate • *Recovery of the children with disabilities through pet-therapy within a project run by Don Orione Centre in Voluntari (the services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *Ministry of the Agriculture: association is important in order to make profit in agriculture

Quarter	Gândul (total: 16)	Financiarul (total: 20)
	<p>provided to the persons outside the project are for a fee, the resulting funds being invested in the foundation)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural cooperatives 	
<p>II (30.06.12) Gândul: 5 Financiarul: 4</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *farm:shop restaurant from London, where the food is made of ingredients produced under the same roof (environmental protection) • the Ponta government intends to initiate the Law of social economy in order to support the social enterprises • *event in Bucharest to raise the awareness of corporations social responsibility (CSR), which will have to report the social and environmental impact of their activity • Promote association in agriculture • Social actions of the movement of the "outraged" from Spain, which addresses the immigrants and the poor people, setting the basis for a food bank, of a cooperative supplying services (sanitary, house painting), of "time banks". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institute of Public Policies: the NGOs suitable to implement European projects for the disabled people; in Romania there are social enterprises operating with European funds, despite the fact that the project of the social economy law has not yet been finalised • Closing conference of the project "Participation of the vulnerable groups to the social economy" in the presence of the Ministry of Labour • State secretary in the Ministry of Labour: the Law of social economy and the single framework for the social services will be finalised by fall • The companies with at least 50 employees must employ disabled people (L. 448/2006)
<p>Themes</p> <p><i>a. common</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European funds - Agricultural cooperatives (association/small markets of the farmers) - Support the SMEs - Integration of the labour market - Protected units - Law of social economy - bio agriculture - cooperative social responsibility <p><i>b. different</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non-banking credits - complex services provided to the children with disabilities - social movement: social support - various examples of social economy activities 		

Sources: www.gandul.info, www.financiarul.ro

Note: *doesn't mention the syntagm "social economy" (for instance, the draft of Emergency Ordinance has direct consequences for the social economy, such as promotion of the protected units for the people with disabilities etc.); ** mentions the syntagm "social economy", but the article has a different subject

A high percentage of articles do not specify the terms of social economy, social enterprise or entrepreneurship. It was necessary to interpret the various situations and to confront them with the criteria (rather ambiguous) defining the social economy with its various forms of activity. Generally, we took into consideration those articles in which the mentioned activities had a clear social mission, and the funds/profits were used to finance the activities that support the mission.

Even though we didn't expect to find a very large number of articles on social economy topics in the two daily newspapers, the result of 16 and 20 articles in one year and a half may express, for the actors in the field of social economy, the lack of outstanding social economy activities, the lack of concern for their image, for marketing; on the side of the press, this means lack of interest for such subjects, lack of readers, of the demand for articles on this topics, the existence in the public space of events of high interest and impact for the public. However, while one may understand this in the case of a general newspaper, this is harder to accept for a newspaper with economic profile.

The Journal of Social Economy (vol. I, nr. 1 din 2011; vol. II, nr. 1 din 2012) is divided in several sections:

- a) *Theoretical aspects*, which approach theories of the social change, work ethics, the concepts of social economy, social enterprise, community development and social dependence
- b) *Empiric perspectives* on the role of the social economy, the situation of social economy in Romania and Europe, organisation and functioning of the social enterprises
- c) *Experiences, organizations and practices*, which includes examples of projects, exchanges of experience, patterns of organisation, functioning of the social enterprises, utilization of the European funds
- d) *Reviews* of papers on this topic

Theoretical aspects

1. Theories on the social change
2. Social economy as opportunity for the development of work ethics in the national space (focusing on the religious, socialist and liberal perspectives on work)
3. The concept of social enterprise and applications specific to the different regional socio-economic contexts = solution to the deficient involvement of the

state/system of social assistance – integration on the labour market – variables in the characterization of the differences between the social enterprises.

4. Definition of the social economy (history, types, principles), solidarity and social participation, community development
5. Economic perspective on the community development: entrepreneurial culture, community and identity, elites and leadership, institutions and institutional development
6. Social dependency (theories, types), dependency on social benefits: the guaranteed minimal income in Romania and in other European states

Empiric perspectives

7. Role of the social economy in creating new jobs, in developing abilities and the social inclusion of the socially marginalised people, description of the evolution of the social economy in Romania (history, types of entities, number of employees, examples of organisations), moral argument for the development of social economy (“charity”)
8. Interview about the social economy in Romania: the (wrong) trend of focusing on non-profit organisations (to the detriment of the organisation for profit), the need to diversify the sources of financing and to support the social economy by a reasonable allocation of funds.
9. Interview about a research about the social enterprises conducted in several European states, among which Romania (Selusi): social economy and innovation (in services, processes, production), promotion and political prioritization of the social economy
10. Interview with a manager from NESsT Foundation, Romania: social enterprises and solving the social problems, stress on the mission and less on the legal form of organisation, making the beneficiaries responsible and active, problems in Romania (too much conceptualization to the detriment of lobbying and advocacy; lack of coherence between the institutions regulating the activity of the enterprises), services provided by NESsT: capacity forming and tutoring, access to flexible financing, networking.

Experiences, organisations and practices

11. Social economy structure for the people with disabilities (HIV/AIDS): social economy development in support of Law 448/2006 – protected units, from social

work to business (lack of experience of the sector and lack of attractiveness for the companies, from charity to efficient marketing and sales strategy, professional PR, shifting the stress from the story of the beneficiaries to the utility, quality and price of the products), lack of support from the state

12. Interview about social economy in Poland: utilization of the European funds, model of the support centres for social enterprises (inefficiency due to the lack of experience in management/economy of the employees, bureaucracy, support granted only to specific social economy organisation)
13. Exchange of experience in Italy: types of social enterprises, integration of the labour market of the disabled people, partnership with the families, voluntarism
14. "Graduate" project of a foundation from Iași: support for integration of the post-institutionalized young people on the labour market, holistic approach, dependence on social services, on-the-job tutorship provided by an employee
15. Cafe-Bookstore cooperative from Poland, social franchise, employment of the beneficiaries of social dwellings, promotion of human rights and of gender equality (a similar project is also running in Romania <http://www.ypccafe.ro/concept/>)
16. POSDRU project – Romania: corporative social responsibility (CSR), contribution of the business environment to the sustainable development and to the establishment of a competitive market economy, favourable to inclusion, workforce employment, business sustainability
17. POSDRU project – Romania: development of the Roma communities, social inclusion, sustainable development, partnership with the local authorities, innovation.

Reviews

18. The non-profit sector and the entrepreneurship
19. Examples of good practices in the field of social economy in Europe, role of monitoring and of evaluating the social economy entities
20. Modern theory of social work: critical analysis of the theories related to social work, theories and applications
21. Mass-media and democracy
22. Patterns of social enterprises/cooperatives, historical analysis of their evolution and the socio-economic context

23. Development of capitalism in the former communist countries, post-communist transformations and historic legacy, social policies and programs of reform
24. Critical analysis of the humanitarian “aid” and of the role of the charity organisations from anthropological perspective
25. Notions of general sociology

In conclusion, the two volumes of the journal (Journal of Social Economy, 2011, no. 1 and 2012, no. 2) highlight the potential of the social economy to create jobs and to integrate the disfavoured categories on the labour market, as well as the necessity to reduce the public expenditure, under the conditions in which these categories became dependent on social services and benefits and are thus not encouraged to work.

The language is sometimes stigmatizing in relation with the “beneficiaries” of the social economy initiatives, who have minimal participation in decision-making (against to the principle of the social economy: participative leadership), which is explainable through the charity perspective and through neoliberal exigencies which shape these new preoccupations. Among the categories of beneficiaries are: people with disabilities, Roma people, beneficiaries of the guaranteed minimal income, post-institutionalized young people, people with HIV/AIDS etc.; generally they are beneficiaries of the non-profit organisations.

It is shown that the organisations for profit may also support social economy, either by donating part of the profit to answer community needs (CSR), or by purchasing the services and products supplied by the social economy organisations (such as the protected units).

An important source of financing mentioned by several journal articles are the structural funds granted by the European Union, which contribute to the promotion of social economy – several examples are provided of POSDRU projects running both in Romania and in other European countries. In order to maximise the profit, the specialists stress on the development of the marketing and PR components, the adaptation of the social economy organisations to market demands and promote a more efficient sales strategy, accompanied by lobbying and advocacy actions to obtain support from the state and from the local community. Within this context, there is the problem of the economic specialisation of the managers of social economy organisations and of the staff from the public institutions which give consultancy, as well as the problem of the motivation to develop a social economy organisation.

Another relevant aspect in the conceptualization of the social economy refers to the legal framework that may limit or be more permissive in defining the social economy organisations (associations and foundations, social cooperatives, mutual societies

etc.); this has implications on the financing of programs and/or on providing fiscal facilities as much as the social economy is a priority for the state.

There have been subjects insufficiently approached by these papers, such as the role of social economy in promoting human rights, voluntarism, innovation and development of social services, they didn't present the view of the beneficiaries and of the suppliers of services recruited from among the beneficiaries.

3. What justifies the development of social economy in Romania. Study of the social specialists on the need for social economy. Methodological aspects

We will analyse two categories of considerations which, in our opinion, justify the development of social economy in Romania: the economic considerations will be supported by statistics and by reports from the Ministry of Labour, while the social considerations will be backed up by a qualitative survey based on interviews.

a) Economic considerations

1. A first economic consideration is represented by the unemployment level in general, and of the disfavoured segment (people with disabilities, deinstitutionalised young people, women, old people, people from the rural areas etc.) in particular. Although the unemployment rate in Romania was constantly below the European average level (7.4%) even during the period of the economic crisis, the analysis of unemployment structure reveals a concerning reality among the young people (over 23.7% in 2011), of the old people (40% employment rate of the old people in 2011), of the people with little education (8.1%, and employment rate 40.5%) and of the disabled people (9.1%, and employment rate of 23.9%); all these categories would find employment on the labour market of the social enterprises.
To the unemployment rate we associate the employment rate in Romania, which is one of the lowest in EU, 56.8% in 2011, while the Europe 2020 strategy set a goal of 75% (INS, 2011).
2. Present in the beginning in the social protection, health, sport and education, the social economy became desirable in many other domains of activity: sustainable waste management, local cultural development, animation and development of the rural areas, proximity services, financial solidarity, non-monetary exchanges or other uncovered exchanges because the lack of profit makes them not attractive: cleaning, reparations, traditional trades, handicrafts (Rapport d'etude..., 2006)

3. Another economic reason may be the need for an alternative to the wild capitalism, alternative which can be supplied by the social economy: "one can notice the interest of the scientists to seek alternatives to the pursuit of unceasing growth through mergers and acquisitions and the unscrupulous increase of the shareholder value" (Münkner, 2010, p. 54).
4. Finally, one must not neglect the pressure of the disfavoured groups on the state budget, concomitantly with the low level of the incomes and of the standard of living of these categories. The expenditure for social protection accounted in 2010 for 19.6% of the GDP (INS, 2011). If part of the people from these groups would be taken out of the social support by involving them in social economy, this would ease the budget and allow redirecting the aids towards people not able to work.

b) Social considerations

- Drawing an important segment of the disfavoured population on the labour market
- Increasing the incomes/standard of living of the people drawn into social economy activities
- Increased self esteem of the people having difficulties to get a job
- Alleviating the state burden with social protection in Romania

These considerations have been monitored during an exploratory survey by public and NGO specialists working in Bihor County, mainly in the social field.

The main objectives targeted by the analysis were:

1. Determining the perceptions of the staff from the protection institutions run by the state and from those run by NGOs on the necessity for, and perspectives of the social economy organisations at the local and national level.
2. Determining the availability of the staff from the protection institutions run by the state and from those run by NGOs to get involved in social entrepreneurship
3. Identifying the economic grounds that might justify the development of social economy in Romania.

The study involved the application of an interview guide on subjects of social economy (definition, actions needed to develop this sector, organisation, areas of activity, involvement in such actions, etc.). The study involved 14 specialists working in social institutions run by the state and by NGOs active in Bihor County. They are working in the following institutions: Directorate-General for Social Work and Child

Protection Bihor; Community Social Administration Oradea; Nojorid town hall; Romanian Foundation for Children; Community and Family (Operational office Oradea); People to People Foundation; Ruhama Foundation; Community Centre "Friendship" Popesti; Romanian Society of Multiple Sclerosis.

Given the specificity of the work performed by the participants in the study, the synthesis of their answers on the definition of the concept of social economy shows that they consider social economy as a form of active integration of the disfavoured people, a structure that may ensure social sustainability.

All respondents consider it necessary to develop this sector both at the local and at the national level and that the following are necessary in order to support the development of this sector:

- Adequate legislation;
- Establishment of a network of support services for the disadvantaged groups;
- Fitting the concept to the local and national specificity;
- Study the requirements and the existing resources for the development of the sector;
- Provide the resources needed to support such initiatives less from external origin, by using mainly local sources through involvement at the micro-social level of both the people working in this field, and of those who are beneficiaries of these services;
- Ensure active incomes for the beneficiaries (the passive incomes are, within this context, the minimal guaranteed income and/or the unemployment benefit);
- Acquiring values and rules common at the national level helping to identify new opportunities for the disadvantaged people and implicitly, to improve their standard of living.

In the opinion of the specialists, the social economy enterprises would contribute to the integration of the disadvantaged people on the labour market, on the following grounds:

- Creation of jobs for this category of people, as main mechanism by which the disadvantaged people can be employed; the social character of these initiatives;
- Creation of jobs adapted to the needs of this category of people (for instance handwork activities);
- Utilize the individual potential of this category of people, with benefit both for them and for the community to which they belong; this would implicitly increase

the self esteem because the people make use of their individual potential, and would also improve their personal and social level of utility;

- Meet the needs of this category of people by insertion on the labour market;
- Stress on solidarity and active support of the people in difficulty, preventing their social marginalization and improving their standard of life.

Regarding the aspects concerning the administration of the social economy enterprises, the specialists involved in the survey considered the following as being important: to observe the rules of the conventional economy, to reinvest the profit, to have legislative and financial support; flexibility of the field of activity (follow the demands of the market); organisation as cooperatives; stress on human resources (good managers); involve the beneficiaries in the organisations and administration of the social economy organisations; organise campaigns of public awareness raising as to this field of activity.

The main forms of activity which the specialists consider as proper for the development of a social economy enterprise are: supply of services, cooperatives, associations to support peasant agriculture, social services.

The social economy organisations should be administrated by people with managerial capabilities, members of the local communities, people knowing the needs of the communities, the specificity of the target groups, NGO representatives in collaboration with representatives of the public and private institutions.

Most of the participants in the interview responded affirmatively (10 people) to the item on the interest to start such activity. They would be interested in handicrafts, garments, supply services (care for children, old people, people with disabilities), selective collection of wastes. The main groups providing employees would be the Roman people, the disabled people and the people belonging to other marginalised groups.

In conclusion, in the opinion of the participants to the interview, social economy is an instrument that can create jobs, which can facilitate the access to social goods, supporting the development of the local communities. The specialists who participated in the study displayed positive attitudes towards the development of the social economy and even their intention to support such initiatives, while highlighting the difficulties challenging the acting (prospective) social economy organisations: legislative and information requirements, support from the local actors, insufficient financial and time resources.

4. Conclusions

This paper aimed to give an overall image of the social economy, both as concept and as social reality. The structure of the analysis joins aspects related to the

definition of the social economy presented in the literature and in the mass-media with data on the social economy in Romania. Additional information comes from the analysis of the interviews with the specialists working in social institutions from Bihor County on subjects regarding the social economy organisation active at the county level.

Thus, the analysis of the press articles published by the two newspapers reveals some interest about social economy. The articles referred to different aspects of the social economy, the resulting idea (arising particularly from the journal) being that social economy has potential to create jobs and to support the employment of the disfavoured categories of people.

The analysis of the interviews shows that the specialists see social economy as an opportunity for the integration of the disadvantaged groups of the labour market, to decrease their social marginalisation and to improve the quality of the life of the local community members. The study revealed that the interviewed specialists have information of the social economy, particularly on the social economy organisations. They consider that the development of this sector is opportune and beneficial because it can provide real support to the people running social risks. Another aspect resulting from the study, beyond the economic aspect, is the psycho-social side, if we refer to the beneficiaries. We are speaking here of a higher self-esteem, of the personal usefulness, making use of one's capacities, decreasing the social marginalisation etc. All this comes to the support of the local communities by increasing the welfare of the community. The measures taken within such programs allow the "empowerment" of the people running risk situations, which decrease their level of social dependency. However, these are just theoretical considerations and intentional attitudes because they cannot be found in any entrepreneurial behaviour in the field of social economy.

Social economy is also conceived as an opportunity to restart a work ethics existing at the junction of the moral, religious duty with the requirements of the contemporaneous society. This aims to make the beneficiaries responsible and to achieve their social inclusion in order to improve the social cohesion and to accomplish a sustainable development.

In Romania, social economy, both as reality and as image, is a viable alternative to the liberal economy, as an opportunity for the integration in work, and for a better valorisation of the vulnerable groups.

We consider that there are solid grounds to support the development of the social economy in Romania, to stimulate the private initiatives or the public-private partnership initiatives in social entrepreneurship; the mass-media must also be sensitized on the importance of this field of activity so as to develop in Romania too

the premises to accomplish the key strategic goal of Europe 2020 strategy: “smart, inclusive and sustainable growth” and 75% rate of workforce employment.

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POSITIVE PRACTICES IN REORGANISING THE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

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Abstract: The current rhetoric together with the ecologist practices from the developed societies might give the impression that mankind reached a rather high level of awareness about the risks which the preservation of the consummatory behaviour generates on the rural environment, implicitly on the quality of the global life, reaching both the present generations and the future ones. Can any act of consumption be truly free and unlimited, just in the name of the liberty of manifestation of the person who, at a particular moment, may buy access with the money he/she can afford to pay? Which are, actually, the consequences of consumption acts that may seem insignificant or benign and which the consumer is often unaware of? What are some countries doing to increase the awareness and to decrease the unwanted consequences of some categories of consumption? Such questions and other ones are answered by this article.

Key-words: Consumption patterns, responsibility, prevention policies, positive practices

1. Introduction

For over two decades, our planet keeps launching increasingly clear and alarming signals on the fact that the consumerist orientation of the contemporaneous people can no longer be tolerated without assuming devastating consequences, on unlimited term, for the quality of life as a whole.

And yet, this is not a simple article with ecologic touch, as many others have been written so far (with not much effect); rather, this article proposes the idea that within the current space of ecology and economy there is much rhetoric unsupported by

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real convictions at the level of the political-economic practices of the people which are directly or indirectly responsible for some disasters.

The hypotheses of this article start from the lack of legitimacy and credibility of those pretending that they can pay for some liberties or for the access to different forms of consumption at the expense of the irreversible disruption of the environmental conditions and of the Earth's strategic reserves of natural resources. Economic agents of various sizes are in this position, starting with the large producers of goods and services and ending with the ordinary consumers who have enough money to satisfy, with no limits, their consumerist inclinations.

All this happens under the conditions in which, in some decision-making circles with global impact, it was already known, for a long time, that not everything can be bought with money, when it may affect (by creating a precedent) the general conditions and opportunities for life, present and future.

Starting from the evidences on the current situation of worldwide biodiversity degradation, this article investigates some documents revealing the true costs (sometimes, actually immeasurable) of some acts of consumption that seem common, but which, multiplied at the planet scale create unsustainable long-term premises for the perpetuation of some consumption patterns. Within the context, one must discuss the emergency of initiating measures of consumer education and awareness-raising on the potential consequences of the different consumption decisions beyond the banking and monetary rhetoric of the consumerist age. No matter how much would the politicians like to deny, given the possibility of some countries to print money (under various expressions) unlimitedly, the monetary economy is in open conflict with the real economy, as also shown by the recent financial crisis. The need of the current governments to feed the banks with tons of money speaks for itself of the tendency of the policy decision-makers to flatten the real economy while ignoring its laws which, ultimately, are merciless.

The article shows some initiatives which – although seem feeble and maybe, for the time being, bearing little significance – may counteract by establishing positive consumption practices, the current trends to maintain, in different ways, the legitimacy within the public opinion of the consumerist life style, particularly in the developed countries.

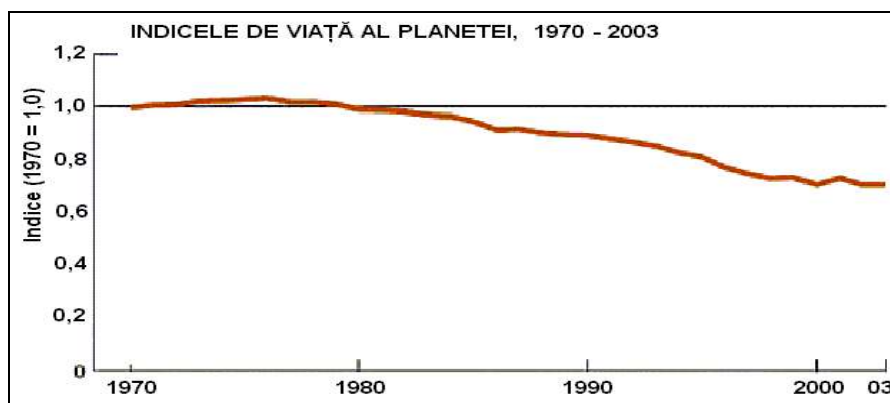
2. Can any consumption of goods and services be free and unlimited?

The assumption of *responsible consumption patterns* at the society level presumes considering that many acquisitions of goods and services are unacceptable from the perspective of their environmental impact and implicitly on the quality of life. Most

European economies have consistent experience in the matter of *regulating the limits of acceptability for consumption* of some products. In the countries where this is not yet up to the level of the social expectations, the population itself by its consumption decisions aims to block some initiatives of the producers, particularly when their interest to increase the profit is in clear contradiction with the public interest. Such initiatives should have led in time to a *new ethics of the production of goods and services*. However, given the current data on the rate of deterioration of the geo-climatic state, on the rate of exhaustion of some strategic resources of raw materials or on the rate of the global consumerist phenomenon, it seems that beyond the ecologist rhetoric and some practices, the new ethics of the production and consumption of goods and services, still has to wait for a while.

Starting from the evidences on the *speeding global degradation of biodiversity* and from the current parameters of the *ecological prints of the European states*, the economic analysts and the ecologists are rather sceptical on the probability and sufficiency of the *higher sustainability of the consumption of goods and services*, just by the natural evolution of population's purchasing decisions. Consequently, most specialists point to the *need for clear economic policies*, strongly committed to actually redirect and reduce the size of the global consumption. Even as early as in 1980, the impact of the human activities outmatched systematically the capacity of natural regeneration of the biosphere (Chart 1). Therefore, the *life index of the planet* which evaluates the *mean dynamics of the biodiversity* is a downward slope descending even below the critical level of the unit (showing the limits of the natural regeneration of the biodiversity) (** WWF, 2006).

Chart 1
Life index of the Earth, 1970 - 2003



Source: WWF, The Global Conservation Organization, *Living Planet Report 2006*

Even from 2001, the *demand for biocapacity* of the world population amounted to 13.7 billion gha, meaning 2.2 *gha/person*, exceeding by 0.4 *gha/person* (23%) the limits of the natural renewable resources (11.2 billion global hectares – gha). Within this context, the *average ecological footprint of Europe* was more than double compared to the continental biocapacity and almost 8 times higher than that of some developing countries.

Under such circumstances, the sustained activism within the civil society for the wider assimilation of *positive consumption practices* – meaning a clear ecologic and economic consumption – is expected to go beyond the mere state of desiderate or of optional ideal. Only the large, global social scale assimilation of positive consumption practices may determine, at the same time, a stronger social cohesion in the industrialized countries while supporting the integration of the poorer countries within the existing areas of welfare.

The main purpose of any act of consumption aims the general field of welfare, conditioning the prosperity, good disposition, cleanness, elegance, emotion or pleasure, by meting the different needs of the consumers. However, almost every act of consumption may be accompanied by several undesirable consequences, by the fact that it generates, one way or another, wastes, pollution, tasks of recovery or reconditioning of some economic or environmental resources. Similar consequences also appear along the cycle of production, storage, transportation, distribution or sale of the consumption goods and services. This is why *discussing the legitimacy of the different consumption practices* aims not just the economic, ecologic, medical-sanitary or soil-climactic fields, but also that of the rights, liberties and responsibilities of the different economic agents or of the nations.

The *legitimation of consumption* may take several forms. Although not in all cases one may reach social consensus, there is a trend to determine *limits for some categories of unacceptable goods and services*. The consumption of many of them is restricted or regulated to some extent by the public authorities in order to guarantee that they are manufactured under strict control, just by particular companies. The main underlying justifications of the governments for the restricted production of some goods and services regard the protection of the public health and safety and from other reasons pertaining to the public interest too.

For instance, 15 grams of aluminium are used to produce a bottling can for soft drinks. Multiplied millions of times, the daily consumption on the planet, this means 15 tons of aluminium which has to be extracted from 60 tons of bauxite which, in turn, is obtained from a mass of ore 27 times larger (***Wuppertal Institute, 2003*, in *Gesualdi, 2008, p.58*). The storage of this ore requires large areas – maybe forests are cleared or properties are expropriated for this. Aluminium processing releases a range of toxic pollutants into the atmosphere, among which sulphur dioxide, dust,

greenhouse gases, polyfluorocarbonates, etc. Therefore, the consequences of a mere and minor act of consumption on the environment and on the life of people are extremely tough, even dramatic. There are many such examples. The most insignificant good or service, used by the current consumption of the population worldwide, determines incredible and sometimes immeasurable expenditures of raw materials, work and time, often causing irreversible deterioration of the environmental conditions. For instance, in order to produce 1 kg of plastics used to make PET bottles for soft drinks, there is need of 5 kg crude oil, 300 litres of water and 3,700 litres of air necessary as auxiliary agent within the chemical process and for combustion. The plastic persist hundreds of years in nature before degrading. Currently, the global production of plastics consumes 8% of the world production of crude oil. The recycling of one ton of plastic may save 1.8 tons crude oil and 6 cubic meters storage space in the wastes dump. A recycled PET bottle saves the energy used by a light bulb for six hours, and the plastic can be recycled several times. Presently, the PET wastes account for about 3% of the total package wastes worldwide. According to the European Association of the Plastic Producers, 1,296,000 PET bottles are recycled each hour in Europe. In Romania, the plastic wastes remaining over one year weight about 331,000 tons. Of this amount, by 2013, Romania must be able to recycle 22.5%, according to HG. 621/2005 (<http://www.infocuratenie.ro/colectare-si-reciclare-deseuri-si-ambalaje-pet.html>).

Due to such causes, the industrial sector is currently accountable for about 23% of the amount of greenhouse gases released into the atmosphere (***World Resource Institute, 2007*). Such long, very noxious cycles of consequences determine not just the processes of production of goods and services, but also the thousands of billions of consumption acts taking place worldwide on a daily basis. For instance, the consumption of population generates in average about 537 kg household wastes per person in the European Union (Eurostat 2005 processed by the Italian Agency for Environmental Protection and Technical Services), the peak production of wastes being in Ireland, 869 kg per person (*Gesualdi, 2008, p.59*). The widest used methods of managing the household wastes are the garbage dumps (it's cheaper) or the incineration; each method also has several disadvantages for the environment (release of noxious matter into the environment – CH₄, CO₂, etc. degradation of the water table due to toxic infiltrations; if the contaminated water is not purified before use, some dangerous bacteria may contaminate large areas of soil) and implicitly for the quality of life.

It is therefore necessary that besides the establishment of comprehensive processes of recovery and recycling of the materials resulting from the household or productive consumption, measures must be taken to re-educate the consumers to the spirit of adopting as rational as possible consumption patterns, of *establishing a responsible consumption* and of reducing the waste of goods. Such examples may be the self-

introduction by each consumer of *a day with no purchases* (already used in Canada since 1994), with the purpose to make the people aware of the need to reduce the consumption of goods and services. The consumers may want to prefer bulk goods instead of packed goods, glass bottles for their drinks, instead of bottles made of PET or aluminium, etc.

Overabundance is noxious not just for the body but also for the mind of people. This presumes more working time to earn more money needed to buy more expensive and more sophisticated goods, in larger amounts. A 1997 study of the *Wuppertal Institute* (published in 1993) showed that a west-European household owns 10,000 objects in average, while an Indian Navajo household used just 236 objects (*Gesualdi, 2008, p.61*). For each of the 10,000 minus 236 objects, the households members worked more in order to spend more, they spent more hours to maintain those objects or to clean them, thus generating additional wastes which are usually more difficult to reintroduce in the normal natural circuit than the wastes of an Indian household. Therefore, besides exacerbating the inclination of the people towards consumption and focusing of the social life on the material values, the promotion of consumption in the western societies aims to persuade the people to work more, with more profit for the employers. The spiritual life goes in the background or is cancelled all together. Those who promote the *excessive consumption* create thus the *illusion that people happiness depends strictly on the material abundance, for which no sacrifice is big enough.* Hence, *eight hours of work a day is not enough for many people.* Most of the employees, particularly in countries such as Romania, where the appetite for large incomes is a widespread characteristic particularly during the past two-three decades of continuous economic crisis, spend their entire active life at the office, with too few hours of leisure or of reflection on the true meaning, purpose and values of life. On the other hand, when they get to have a holiday, they usually spend it outside their own home, in luxurious locations, expensive and atypical, night clubs, exotic voyages etc. Thus, the adults have less and less time for them, to consolidate truly constructive relations with the other people, with their children, or to spend time with their parents, old people. And this is because, usually, all the economic activities must be done against the clock, even if often superficial and simplistic. Such life leads most time to insomnia, family troubles, loneliness and alienation, excessive alcohol consumption, over-feeding, drug addiction or excess of medicines. On such background of life, about 56% of the Europeans stated that they return to work after vacation and leisure time with a feeling of unfulfillment, disappointed and depressed (*Capper, 2003*). This certainly leads to *higher aggressiveness and crime rate* among the young people and even among the minors, *higher rate of abandoned children, of the children left home alone, of the TV-addicted children.* According to a study conducted in Italy, in 2007, the minors spend in average 1 hour and 36 minutes in front of the TV every day, one hour and five minutes in front of the computer and 55 minutes playing video games (*Gesualdi, 2008, p.61*). This is because raising a child

presumes giving up the career, wage, free time, independence. Presently, in Romania, very many parents go abroad for better paid work.

These are just few reasons why the currently widespread concepts on the excessive consumption of goods and services must be reviewed fundamentally. Consumption must ease man's life, must free him/her of servitudes, must not complicate, make it more difficult and even make a caricature of his/her true life.

3. The excessive consumption is a problem

The developed countries of the world are very far from the time when the material welfare of the population was a problem. Most of the British population, for instance, owned since 1954 enough material resources (food, clothing and dwelling) allowing a decent standard of living; the amount of goods from the British households increased two times from 1954 to 1994. In such countries, the overwhelming majority of the population consumes constantly over 3,200 calories per person and day and has unlimited access to drinking water. Each family consumes around 300 kg paper and the equivalent of 10-20 barrels of crude oil per year. In almost each household there is at least one car, a TV set, a refrigerator, a laundry washing machine. Presently, about 800 million people (about 14% of the planet's population) consumes about 70% of the world paper resources, 60% of the crude oil production, 60% of the mineral production and 40% of the world meat production (*Gesualdi, 2008*).

On the other hand, however, World Bank experts estimated, in 2011, that of the total population of 7 billion people, about 1.3 billion people live in poverty on just 1.25 US Dollars a day. Poverty caused the death of at least 5 million children worldwide each year.

However, the people living in abundance for many decades are not yet ready to acknowledge that *sometimes enough can be too much* and continue trying to increase and diversify their consumption of goods and services. There are plenty of causes and explanations associated to this phenomenon starting with the key-factor – the advertising industry – and ending with the so-called necessity to integrate the population living on rather high incomes within the cultural and economic-social patterns of the most prosperous world with sophisticated and extremely costly life styles. In such a world, the adults don't feel well if they don't travel in a particular brand of car, if they don't live in the most privileged residential areas of the towns (usually, they provide a higher level of comfort, leisure, cultural and touristic objectives, etc.). The young people feel excluded if they don't change their clothes at increasingly shorter intervals, or if they don't buy *en vogue* clothes, if they don't buy the latest *Apple* products, if they don't go to particular clubs etc.

Starting even from the pre-modern age, the ethnologists and sociologists showed that many of the material possessions operate as symbols of the cultural affiliation and identity in the life of people. What may symbolise a particular good or service is often even more important than its useful characteristics, having the role to convey particular messages in the social environment about the specific buyer. Nevertheless, even such values can undergo radical mutations, provided the young people receive an intelligent education (the example of the more mature generations speaks for itself), rather than discretionary, moralizing limitations as those used presently by the educational system; the same result can also be achieved through the intended or implicit pauperization of the young labour force, as it currently happens – the unemployment rate being the highest for the young people, in almost all European countries and not only.

The *excessive consumption* is sometimes a way of *psychological refuge* for the people needing more self-assurance, or for the people experiencing various states of dissatisfaction. Such consumers (*frantic consumers*) may want at some moment to devour the entire world (*Fromm, 1955*) in order to alleviate their *atavistic fears* (fear of death, fear of poverty, fear of failure, fear of old age, fear of solitude, fear of competition etc.), which marked the human psychic since the ancient times, of lack of safety and of goods, when the struggle to survive was a perpetual concern for most people. In those times, the more goods owned a person, the more defended, safely that person felt. Can such a principle still be active these days in the case of some highly socially elevated communities, or for the populations living in the economic opulence of the western countries, for instance? Of course, whatever the answer, it will take pro or against comments, which make today's world a deeply split and rather unpredictable world.

The 2006 international forum in Istanbul, which gathered politicians and scientists worldwide to discuss the problems of the excessive consumption and of the abundance/waste of products, revealed that the number of obese people triples compared to 1980.

Half of the adult population of the world weighs more than it should, and different proportions of the population of individual countries suffer of obesity (8% of the adult male Russian population, 24% of the adult male Finish population, 36% of the adult female Polish population). One child of five weighs more than normally and 4-13% of the children already are obese.

The *excess of body weight* and *obesity* cause serious problems (diabetes and other nutrition diseases, cardiovascular diseases, blood hypertension etc.) reduce the quality of life and the life expectancy. In Europe, each year over one million people die because of diseases correlated to overweight.

Each year, in Europe, *obesity consumes 2-8% of the resources allocated to the health-care services* (**WHO, 2006).

The excess of weight appears when the number of ingested calories (due to the consumption of foods with a high content of fats and of drinks with a high level of sugar) exceeds the number of calories consumed during the run of the normal daily activities. From 1970 to 2001, the daily intake of high-sugar drinks increased two times in the USA (reaching 185 litres per person), while the intake of milk decreased by 30%. This also decreased the supply of calcium among the teenagers, this decrease being three times higher for the obese people (**World Watch Institute, 2004).

The nutritionists recommend several radical changes of the modern feeding behaviour, aiming to eliminate from consumption those goods produced rather for the profit of the traders than for the benefit of the consumers – such as the soft drinks – which are deeply harmful due to their high content of synthetic sweeteners and colorants. Another problem is the bottled water which is many times taken from the same source as the public supply network, with the difference that it is much more expensive due to the bottling costs (it also presumes a huge consumption of crude oil to make the PET bottles) and transportation costs. Another product to be removed in any type of civilise trade are the snacks. They also are deeply unhealthy for consumption because they have a lot of sugar and oversaturated fats, and they are very costly in relation with their supply of nutrients. Additionally, the feed additives used for these products generate addiction, particularly among the children. Such products are still strongly promoted in mass-media, manipulating thus a wide range of consumers, particularly those with little information and rigour, not to speak of the children. Of course, the place of such products could be taken with little additional effort by a multitude of drinks and even snack for adults and children, prepared according to recipes closer to those used in households.

Of course, the doctors recommend the general increase of the physical activities in the daily life, but can't it be done something more by giving up to the so-called means of faster travel of short distances? In the modern civilisation, even the children are travelling less and less on short distances by their feet. Most prefer, even during the time of playing, to use bikes, rollers, small cars etc. Thus, from very little age the children are educated to give up walking and use, when mature, a car.

The car is usually associated to the fast and comfortable travel on rather long distance. Nevertheless, increasing number of adult people would not leave the car, even to travel very short distances. They also contribute to an already huge consumption of fuel, to more pollution and to worsening health problems due to sedentary life lacking physical activity.

In 2002, there were 216 million vehicles in the European Union and the figure increased by 3 million cars each year (Eurostat, 2006). Therefore, in 2006, in the EU there were in average 472 cars for 1,000 inhabitants (187, in Romania). Although their average speed is 100 km per hour, in London, for instance, the average travelling speed of the cars decreased to 11.8 km/hour (lower than the average speed of the horse carts) because of the excessive number of cars on the roads. The average speed was slightly higher in other European capitals – 15 km per hour in Berlin, 18.7 km per hour in Rome and 19.8 km per hour in Paris. This velocity took 60% of the urban area and 9% of the available time of the people travelling under these conditions. (***)*WHO Regional Office for Europe, 2006*).

The overall image becomes really dramatic if we also consider the huge yearly number of casualties due to road accidents – 43,000 people died on European roads in 2004 (***)*Eurostat, 2006*).

It is no accident that in the western countries *some companies started to sell fresh air* (enriched in oxygen) in spay containers which are much appreciated by the people having breathing difficulties, particularly by those living in the strongly polluted urban areas. The car transportation generates 10% of the worldwide toxic CO₂ emissions, 20% of it coming from the motorcyclists (***)*World Resources Institute, 2007*).

4. Public policies limiting some consumption decisions

The general increase of the educational level and the higher range of available goods and services, the consumers of the modern world are increasingly aware of the consequences of the consumption decisions of the quality of their life. Within the increasingly wider access of the population to an immeasurable number of goods and services, following the increase of their incomes, limits have to be set, however, based on various criteria, to the universal access to some products.

Presently, the governments of the industrialised countries have quite an experience in the field of *regulating the limit of acceptability for consumption of some goods*. In some situations, however, when the governmental initiatives do not meet the social expectations, the population itself, through its consumption choices, manages to put a hold to some tendencies of the produces, if their main purpose is to increase their profit and if they are interested only residually or maybe at all of the consumer welfare or of the regulations for ecological production. Such initiatives – of the governmental authorities, or from the sovereignty of the consumers to decide what to buy – lead to the *development of a new ethics of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services*, particularly in western countries, where the positive practices of consumption had a longer period of time to manifest and consolidate in the public consciousness.

Legitimation, like the restriction imposed on some consumption practices, may take different forms. Although not in all cases a social consensus is reached (regarding the legitimacy or limitations), there are trends to delimit the different categories of goods and services that are considered unacceptable for mass consumption. The consumption of different goods and services can be restricted or regulated at different intensities by the national regulating bodies, starting with the guarantee that the products are manufactured under close control, only by some companies, and ending with the specification of the principles of consumer eligibility. The main justifications of the governments to restrict the production or consumption of some goods and services may rely on health care and public safety, as well as on other reasons of public interest.

Most specialists are sceptic, nevertheless, about the chances to improve the sustainability of the consumption of goods and services, just due to the effect of the normal manifestation of the feeling of responsibility of the producers of goods and services, or due to the selection made by the consumers. The true solutions aim rather the tighter, better targeted regulation of the access of particular categories of population to specific products, and the change of the technical and economic characteristics of the goods and services by reducing the material costs and by increasing their value as value of utilization.

Under such circumstances, the sustained activism of the civil society, by the assimilation of *positive consumption practices* – meaning a clear ecologic and economic consumption – is expected to go beyond the mere state of desiderate or of optional ideal. Only the large, global social scale assimilation of positive consumption practices may determine, at the same time, a stronger social cohesion in the industrialized countries while supporting the integration of the poorer countries within the existing areas of welfare.

Outstanding initiatives to influence consumer choices are the policies adopted by the producers or traders which, due to various reasons, decided to stop producing or distributing anything else but the *fair products* in terms of *quality-price-conditions (ecologic) of production*. Such commitments existed, for instance, in several supermarkets from the United Kingdom, after 2000, which sold only some sorts – the fairest ones – of bananas, tea, coffee, sugar etc. (Cooper, 2008, p.81). Such shops announced that *their entire commercial activity will turn fair trade* after 2009.

The activism of the consumers was also noticed due to the adoption of *responsible consumption patterns*. For instance, Lang and Gabriel (2005, in Cooper, 2008, p.81) revealed several such initiatives. The establishment of some cooperatives in the United Kingdom (starting in 1844) was motivated initially by the production at much lower prices and at higher quality standards, of products (of lower quality – or even falsified foods) which other shops sold at higher prices. The *Union of US Consumers*

has been established in the 1930 years, a similar institution being established in Europe too, after the World War Two. It played and still plays several roles of education and protection of the consumers and to correct the possible abuses of the producers or traders in their relations with the consumers. Such evolutions have been followed by *Naderism* (from its initiator, Ralph Nader who started a public debate on the odds which the isolated consumers have, in case of litigation, against the influential commercial companies). A rather recent trend is that of the *green consumers* who are trying to alleviate the environmental impact of the production of non-ecological goods and services, by making as responsible as possible consumption choices, well informed and with a strong ecologic orientation.

Despite the numerous examples of governmental intervention in the regulation or restriction of specific categories of consumption, at the global level, a specific reticence of the governments to get involved in the hypersensitive areas (eccentric preferences of the consumers on extremely high incomes) of consumption can be noticed. The intervention of the regulating authorities becomes, however, indispensable when the access to goods and services can generate risks to the public health and security. Usually, the governments or their specialised agencies are empowered to regulate the organisation of the production, storage or distribution of all the goods and services that raise problems related to the public health and security (*Cooper, 2008, p.79*). Although a broad social consensus cannot be reached in all cases, some psychological outlines have already been established for some categories of goods and services, meaning that the consumers from many societies regard them as unacceptable (illegal drugs, the licence to carry a gun in the private life, some categories of medicines etc.).

Very diverse acts of consumption are restricted by the public authorities by clear regulations in order to guarantee the production and distribution of those products under tight control, only by specific companies and only for specific consumers. For instance, the production, distribution and utilization of military equipment, instruments or warfare are strictly regulated and surveyed in order to ensure public security. Very rigorous standards (licences) are used for car manufacture and for the production of electric equipment, inflammable materials, chemicals, insecticides or dyes, with the view to reduce the risks of accidents that may arise when using them. Special requirements are also enforced for the manufacture, storage and sales of foods, beverages, medicines, toys, cosmetics or of other goods and services for the current consumption of the population.

Specialised public authorities issue ethic decisions by imposing restrictions on the consumption of specific goods and services, if these can bring prejudices or if they affect adversely the quality of life of other people (if they may generate health problems, if they involve social risks, if they affect the normality of the life and activity in some public spaces, if they prejudice the education of children, if they offend the

general norms of the social life etc.). Included in this category are: restricting and limiting the consumption of alcohol; severe limitation of smoking in public areas; regulated consumption of goods and services which are at the border of legality or morality and of gambling; regulated location of shops for the adult people, of pubs, of drive-in cinemas, of zoological gardens, of night clubs etc. Usually, the location of such objectives must meet the minimum consensus and the minimal tolerance of the public opinion, because their mere presence may bring serious prejudices to the liberties and rights of most citizens, or of the citizens dwelling or travelling in the close vicinity of such objectives. Usually, the strict limitation, up to the full prohibition of specific acts of consumption in some cases, is used by levying very high taxes on the purchase of specific products or services, or by imposing fines for breaching the acting regulations

A special category of public policies regulates the production of goods and services on ecological criteria. For instance, a specific category of EU legislation regulates the performance standards regarding the *highest consumption of electric power* allowed for specific categories of electrical equipment or machinery (refrigerators, air conditioners, light bulbs etc.). For instance, in January 2008, the European Parliament proposed to remove from the market those equipment which consume more than 1 Watt when in stand by (***European Parliament, 2008*).

5. Conclusions

The developed world of our days has reshaped in time several consumption patterns that might support the idea that the natural resources of the Earth are unlimited and eternal. The natural resources are definitely not inexhaustible or eternal, which is why a time comes when priorities and criteria (as exigent as possible) have to be set in order to legitimate the exploitation and use of specific natural resources whose availability is extremely limited. Some of the acting regulations on the matters and materials used in various production cycles, or in different stages of consumption, should be reviewed.

This is so because the economic principles accredited from the very dawn of the economic thinking, seem to be accrediting the idea that an economy in which everything can be bought and sell for money, is all right and may lead the world to unthinkable peaks of progress. However, the recent economic and financial crisis has shown rather clear that an open conflict simmers for some time between the real economy and the nominal one; the fact that the politicians ignored it can't lead to anything good for mankind.

On the other hand, the ecologist theories, policies and practices are trying, however, with disproportionately low power, to accredit the idea that the world is aware of the risky and even illegitimate character of many consumption choices of the consumers.

Nevertheless, a lot of demagoguery exists among the people apparently interested by ecology; they are trying to legitimate rhetorically basically illegitimate acts of consumption (for instance, exoneration of some economic agents producing goods or services of any obligations, while ignoring the ecological principles, against a fee). The promotional industries too are using similar practices, not to speak of their action to promote consumption at any prices in societies which already have problems due to the excessive consumption.

The populations using intensely consumeristic patterns too, are not aware of the real dimensions of the inequitable and/or un-ecological character of these patterns, given the extreme difficulties confronting much of the mankind living in poverty, or the emergency to adopt radical measures for wastes management or to educate the people towards reasonable consumption choices.

The literature gives evidences on the imbalanced and excessive consumption of a large proportion of population worldwide, which creates serious and deep medium-term and long-term prejudices which affect directly (psychologically and even axiologically) the people directly involved, not to speak of the very many who have a rather low consumption (living in poverty), or of the high general interest of the present generations or of tomorrow's generations.

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ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS: THE ENVIRONMENTAL GUARD FROM ROMANIA – GETTING READY FOR CHANGE

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***Abstract:** Researchers in the sociology of organizations are increasingly attracted in recent years, the subfield of organizational change, the speed with which new types of organizations appear and the speed with which the change or even disappear, justifying the increased interest. The present study includes a theoretical approach on the organizational change issues and an analysis on some semi structured interviews with Environmental Guard (Garda de Mediu) managers. «Interrogation» and the interpretation of the interviewees' speeches will be made in terms of their attitude towards the changes made in their organization, alongside with Romania joining the European Union. In this analysis a part of the data collected through research undertaken in the CNCSIS 707 Grant "The public construction of Europeanization. Institutional practices and adjustment to European norms". The research and scientific diagnoses dedicated to the organizational development processes reveals special emphasis to be placed on issues like: change agents, internal and external factors of change, new change models – Learning Organization.*

The analysis of the interviewees' speeches (two deputy chief commissioners and three managers) show the importance of creativity in the adaptation process of Romanian institutions to the European regulations as well as acquisition of some procedures which led to obtaining good results in managing environmental issues by other member states in the European Union. Also worth mentioning are the concerns towards the local aspects of the environmental field but also to the necessity of connecting change objectives with financial and human resources.

***Key-words:** Organizational change; Internal and external factors; European Union; Learning Organization; Resistance to change*

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1. Introduction

The process of integration of a country into organisations/regional, continental or even global unions inevitably calls waves of adaptation at the institutional/ organisational level. Regarding the adaptation to the European and world policies of environmental governance (see McCarthy, 2007 and Wysocki, 2012), aspects such as convergence and collaboration are increasingly involved, because in this field it is not enough to act at the local or regional level in order to have the expected results in the “relations with nature”. The ways of adaptation are sometimes more adequate, sometimes less adequate, depending on the type of knowledge about the changes which are to take effect or which have already been implemented, and also depending on the preparedness for change of the agents of change (managers/ directors) from the particular organisations. The adaptation of the public institutions from Romania to the European regulations is described by some authors in terms of *Europeanization*, which presumes the development of a logic of adapting the community mechanisms to the national systems (Beciu & Perpelea, p. 16). The effort of adaptation to European practices can be related to the implementation of reforms about which some authors consider that they need careful planning without which the functioning of the public organisations would be even less efficient than before (Hintea, 2011). One of the solutions at hand of the people confronted with some type of change is the development of *good practices*, but they too are not fail proof as some researchers have shown: no problem is good for anyone or for any type of situation (Koumalatsou E., 2011, p.126). The review of the different views on the answers formulated by the people or groups affected by reformative or adaptative changes made us wonder how much prepared are the leaders of an institution (particularly those from the Environmental Guard) to find efficient solutions to the problem of organisational change.

The environmental Guard from Romania has been established in 2003. The general commissariat (headquarters in Bucharest) is lead by the following team: a general commissar, a director of cabinet, three deputy general commissars and seven directors; there are three regional commissariats and fifteen county commissariats (according to <http://www.gnm.ro/sitenou/>, accessed on August 29, 2012). Immediately before the interviewing of the five members of the general commissariat, the Romanian Ministry of Environment and Water Management made the following comments on the activity of the National Environmental Guard: the National Environmental Guard (GNM) succeeded to transpose and implement in practice the procedure of environmental inspection recommended by the European Commission. The activity of the institution, including the inspection and check activity in the field of environmental protection is conducted in agreement with the standards of the quality management system ISO 9001, TUV certificate (see the Report of the activity of the Romanian Ministry of Environment and Water Management – MMGA – in 2006 http://www.mmediu.ro/vechi/rapoarte/raport_MM_2006.pdf, accessed on August 29, 2012).

Taking into consideration the perspective of the positive expectations (Cummings & Worley, p. 166) we consider that the following hypotheses can be formulated: a) the managers from the Environmental Guard will find good solutions for the change because they are convinced that the integration within the European Union is a good choice for Romania (point of view supported by most of the population, according to the opinion polls from 2006-2009); b) The construction of a set of positive expectations will set off important efforts to develop local adaptive solutions while minimising the resistance to change. The case study on the efforts of *Europeanization* of the Environmental Guard has been done by semi-structured interviews. The interview is described by J. Watson and A. Hill as a “basic way of psycho-social interaction through the mediation of social symbols and significations” (apud Marinescu, p. 79). In the case of the interviews conducted with representatives of the Environmental Guard, the characteristics of this qualitative method of research have really been interactions which revealed interesting social significations for the subject of research – attitude towards change manifested particularly due to the influence exerted by an external factor – the European Union. The interviewed people were open for communication and exposed their viewpoints in a nuanced manner, with particular concern for intelligibility, proving a comprehensive attitude towards research and implicitly towards the research team. The answers to the guide for the semi-structured interview will be presented and analysed using the hermeneutical interpretive phenomenological methodology, which is used by many studied using interviews and observation, according to J. D. Crist and C. A. Tanner (2003). From the perspective of discourse analysis, it seemed interesting to investigate the manner in which the social actors describe and interpret the reality of the change due to EU influence. By citing fragments from the “discourses” of the decision-making factors from the Environmental Guard we want to reveal their autonomous character, while not reducing the subjectivity of an interviewed person to the qualitative inventory of the words and expresses he/she used. Thus, the five respondents will be seen nuanced, each of them revealing a particular type of individuality. We may therefore speak of disclosing the interviews rather than analysing them, but we will nevertheless have to take into consideration the hermeneutical interpretive phenomenological methodology as described by L. Chouliaraki, (2008): the language (discourse) is beyond the actual social contexts, serving simply to mediate the world.

The qualitative research conducted in 2007 on the National Environmental Guard pictured a particular stage (advanced in our opinion) of closeness to the European environmental standards. Currently, five years after accession, Romania continues to comply with the European environmental requirements (as member state) following the steps set by the National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2013-2020-2030. The National Environmental Guard has a properly defined role within this strategy, i.e. to monitor the way in which the legal provisions on environmental protection are

observed in the process of the economic and social activities; the National Environmental Guard checks whether the money due to the Fund for the environment were paid (information supplied by the document „Environmental rules – Romania” at http://europa.eu/youreurope/business/doing-business-responsibly/keeping-to-environmental-rules/romania/index_en.htm, accessed on August 29, 2012.

2. Theoretical aspects regarding the roles of _____ the different factors during the preparation for the organisational change

The creative and innovative organisational trends may be considered as true internal forces of the change/development. Mihaela Vlăsceanu considers that the organisational change can be the result of the proactive strategies: “the organisational change can be also imagined as a process which *creates* change, a proactive process rather than a reactive one” (Vlăsceanu, 2003, p.210). In Romania, as well as in other countries which took during the post-communist period the steps necessary to pass from the status of candidate country to the status of EU member state, the adaptation to the new structure presumed both knowing the norms and desirable behaviours for the organisational actors and a comprehensive process of negotiating the adaptation. Just knowing the stage to which the Romanian institutions were supposed to get after the implementation of the community acquis was not enough guarantee for the success of the process of organisational change. In order to have a sound basis for this success, a managerial vision favourable to change was necessary, aiming towards adaptation to the new environmental rules, adaptation accomplished both before and after the accession to the EU. The members of the organisations which display pro-change behaviour have much higher odds than the other ones to cope with the internal and external constraints which appear during the various stages of transition to the new reality. Part of the pro-change behaviour is acquired by constructing an efficient strategy for organisational/professional learning. Some authors, such as Darmon & Waldeck, 2006, referring to the efforts which the members of a professional organisation have to deploy for their professional formation and to learn new behaviours, are trying to distinguish the advantages and disadvantages of the individual and social learning, showing both terms of each type of learning.

The external factors that may start the organisational change can be classified in several categories: political, economic, technological and socio-cultural factors (Analoui, 2007, p. 264). Other authors consider that the external sources of the change might be: the higher competition, the technological development, the new legislation and the pressure of the social demands (Bogathy, 2004, p. 291). The external factors which influence the change of the organisational structure or of the

production/activity processes can be grouped into contextual factors and intrinsic factors.

The contextual factors are outside the actual organisational sphere: the financial crisis, the economic recession, globalization, the emergence or dissolution of political-economic unions/associations (for instance the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty or the EU enlargement and the more profound processes of EU member states integration through increasingly unitary fiscal and even economic policies) and by the scientific progress with all its consequences on the capacity of replacing the technologies consuming many energy resources and on the configuration of a new solution to recover and use raw materials. The impact of these regional or global factors raises fears materialised in questions regarding the cultural convergence or divergence. R. Kluver (in Jandt (coord.), 2004, p. 437) gives an answer to these fears showing that the people must be increasingly informed getting thus ready to live in a cross-cultural, cross-national, wired world.

Among the intrinsic factors we mention the increasing consumption of alternative energy resources, the use of new technologies, the mergers, the need for poly-qualified labour force, etc. The financial crisis has various effects on the organisational design and on the composition of the staff. The size of the enterprises/institutions shrinks and compresses when their owners or managers do not use work and task flexibilization. The chosen solutions express manners of coping with the financial difficulties which cover a wide range of situations, from the organisational depression to the euphoria given by the emergence of an unexpected opportunity some time ago.

3. Role of the internal factors in the implementation of change ██████████

The adaptation of the Romanian Environmental Guard to the European norms was not a risk-proof process, more so as the whole society and the political decision-makers in particular, didn't pay too much attention to the environmental issues, before or after the accession to the EU (we may argue this, for instance, with the fact that in the post-communist period in Romania, the ecologist parties didn't have noticeable success in elections).

There is a lot of literature on the contribution of the managers to the change. One of the reputed authors of studies on the management of organisations in terms of human resources (Analoui, 2007), considers that the managers play an important role in setting the directions for organisational development and in implementing the change. Therefore, the manager must understand and must make the others understand how the change must be administered because, once the process of change starts, the people need to learn how to cope individually with this process. During transition from one stage of organizational development to another the pattern «performance – self

esteem» is useful because it helps the manager provide practical support to the people experiencing a process of organizational change or development. Using this pattern, the manager can show more clearly to the employees how to cope with the constraints/problems that emerged in the run, explaining them how to hold on to the stress they caused, since the plan of change may not exclude some unexpected evolutions.

The ability to effectively manage these seven steps for a given period of time shows the managerial capacity to travel in good conditions along the «transitional curve». If the agent of change cannot be one of the top managers, with rather neutral, impartial status, maybe someone from the HR department, a foreign consultant has to be brought in (Cole, 2000, p. 132). The foreign consultant whose role is to facilitate the process of change has very many similarities with a coach. The role of the coach is to train individually the employee. Peter Makin and Charles Cox (2006, p. 68) consider that this practice is usually limited to the top managers and to the executive directors because of the high costs. The coaching regards more the practical aspects, such as drawing plans for the future or developing special aptitudes. According to Thomas G. Cummings and Christopher G. Worley (2009, p.166), the organisations should become more sensitive to the pressures from the external and internal environments. One of the ways to enlarge the opening towards change may originate in the very managers of the organisations. These aspects and many others, directly related to human resources require the development of a strategy for human resources development. Bernard Gazier (2003, p. 9) considers that the strategies concerning the human resources have three basic characteristics: a) durability; b) multi-dimensionality; c) interactivity.

The initial stage of a program of organisational development implies to make the people aware of the necessity for strategic change. Analoui (2007) considers that the preparation for change is extremely important. It must be thought in such way as to be rather short (in order to get the benefits of the program of change during its optimal period), but also long enough as not to catch unexpectedly the people from organisation, thus producing anxiety, non-cooperation or even sabotage. The plan of action must be set clearly and completely for each stage of the change. Although the detailed planning is absolutely necessary, it is also compulsory that the people responsible with the implementation of a segment of the process are persuaded that the change is in agreement with their values.

4. The „learning organisation” - useful approach for the organisations adapting to the external constraints

Can we notice the application of the knowledge on the «learning organisation» in the Romanian organisations? The field research do not provide an answer to this question, but we can think of a possible nearing between the organisations active in Romania and the current techniques of organisational learning if we consider the IT

support provided by the European Union to the candidate or member countries. The Romanian Environmental Guard received such counselling in 2006, as mentioned in a report of the Ministry of the Environment and Water Management: "With the view to cover the training necessities for the staff of the central, regional, areal and local authorities, of the Environmental Guard and of the operators from various fields of activity, in 2006 we organised 15 TAIEX seminars and 4 TAIEX expert missions. We also contracted or are in the process of contracting 9 twinning projects for training in various areas. In parallel, we also trained the newly employed staff." (Report of the activity of the Romanian Ministry of Environment and Water Management – MMGA – in 2006 http://www.mmediu.ro/vechi/rapoarte/raport_MM_2006.pdf, accessed on August 29, 2012).

TAIEX experts are experts of the European Commission who supply technical assistance to implement the community acquis in the beneficiary countries, according to „TAIEX - Guide for Experts/Speakers” (http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/taix/pdf/experts/guide_for_experts.pdf., accessed on August 29, 2012).

The twinning program aims to gather the administrations from the beneficiary countries with those from the member states, with the purpose to develop their institutional capacities. The institutional construction presumes the development of structures and systems, of the human resources and of the managerial abilities required in order to become EU member state (according to *TWINNING: A TESTED EXPERIENCE IN A BROADER EUROPEAN CONTEXT* available at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/press_corner/publications/twinning_en.pdf, accessed on August 29, 2012).

According to the authors concerned by the «learning organisation», the organisations must become more active in tracking the problems and opportunities in a specific field of activity and, at the same time, they must become increasingly fitted to solve the emerging dysfunctions. Thus, Milton Mayfield and Jacqueline Mayfield (2012) highlighted the importance of the feedback and of exploiting the opportunities. This organisational philosophy presumes that each member of the organisation reflects in the practical issues and proposes alternative (better) ways to do one thing or another, and will contribute, together with the other members of the organisation, to the improvement of the organisational efficiency. Adrian Small and Paul Irvine (2006), consider that the dialogue is a fundamental instrument for the activity of organisational learning.

The continuous education, the notification of the new information in the field and the creation of the «new knowledge», are the essence of this vision of the «knowledge productivity». The adaptation to the new situations from the market cannot be accomplished without staying in touch with the realities from different parts of the world and even with more or less related fields of activity. The knowledge workers

(Cummings & Haas, 2012) are those who benefited of higher education and interdisciplinary specialization; they are able to apply the knowledge in order to identify and solve the problems. These features of the employees specialised in knowledge, specified by the authors concerned with the «learning organisation», brings to attention a point of view which other authors reject. Unlike the supporters of the generalized attitudes of knowledge/learning, the supporters of the vision which focuses on a limited (precise) specialisation consider that there is just one place in a company where knowledge is the priority, the research-development department.

Prediction and creativity are essential attributes of the managerial design and implementation of changes in the organisation. It is utterly important that all the stages of change are monitored by the actors (executives) who have designed the organisational transformation. The non-fortuitous character of the process is manifested in consonance with the creative character. Thus, as undesired as are the hasty decisions (instant inspiration), as desirable as are the adjustments of the initial planning when unpredictable elements appeared before implementation; if properly managed, these adjustments may yield even better results than previously planned. An important moment of the display of creativity when making organisational changes follows after the members of the organisations consented to the need for change. The managers have to weight very well the moment when they withdraw from the management of the process of transformation. If the efforts are not properly assigned between teams and within the team between the team members, the relations within the organisation may be disturbed, thus affecting the entire process of change (Rashford & Coghlan, 1996). Another danger is the attempt to change too many things – additionally to what has been initially planned. Therefore, the managerial creativity may be displayed by setting and selecting the new elements (which emerged during the implementation of the change) which must be included in the process of change. The use of a rigid design of enterprise and the exertion of hierarchic authority makes the employees to use only some communication channels and focus strictly on their own tasks and responsibilities (Slocum & Hellriegel, p. 142). The way in which the image of the organisation is described for the subsequent years might rely both on the description of the objectives and standards that are to be applied, and on the general vision about the desirable future state.

Knowledge of the ways in which the resistance to change manifests is very useful for the agents of change, but the use of strategies to curb the resistance to change is as useful. Thomas G. Cummings and Christopher G. Worley (2009) consider that the display of the discrepancies between the current state of the organisation and the desirable (ideal) state might be useful to lessen the resistance of the employees to change. Another angle of approach to the decrease of the opposition to change focuses on the creation of positive expectations (Cummings & Worley, 2009, p. 166). The construction of set of positive expectations following the change may rely on the

procedure of the «accomplishment of own prophecies». The way in which the management must explain the involvement of the employees in the design and implementation of the new procedures and standards must not be overlooked either. If the involvement of the staff in planning/debating the future change and in the stage of implementation will bring in large groups of the organisation, there are very high odds that all the effort put in for the accomplishment of the process are successful.

5. Analysis of the preparation for change of the Environmental Guard

The approach of *Europeanization* in cognitive terms presumes the utilization of *social and institutional logics* of the European construction. The social actors and the interpretation frameworks which they use are essential aspects of a large part of the research on *Europeanization*. The studies of this kind are generally concerned with the interlocking of the official norms, of the practices and attitudes and of the behaviours of negotiation or resistance. Therefore, *Europeanization* cannot be reduced to the impact of the institutions on the social actors. We will thus notice that the social actors reconstruct the institutional norms and the local conventions; the new resulting conceptions and ideas lead in time to the establishment or improvement of some institutions: “In applying the community policies the significances which the social actors give to these policies interpose with the public culture in which the actor has formed and in which it exerted its competencies” (Beciu C., Perpelea, N., p.17).

The semi-structured interviews conducted at the National Environmental Guard with five members of the management (two deputy general commissars, one director from the legal department, one economic director and one director specialised in biodiversity) aimed to reveal the adaptation of the Romanian public officers to the European norms. The research conducted in 2007, was part of CNCSIS Grant 707 “Public construction of Europeanization. Institutional practices and adaptation of the European norms”. Director of the grant was Dr Camelia Beciu, scientific researcher with the Sociology Institute of the Romanian Academy. The problems discussed by the five interviewed persons corresponded largely to their hierarchic level, the subjects being approached more abstractly by the two deputy general commissars and more concrete by the directors. When they referred to the priorities of the Environmental Guard, the top managers mentioned aspects such as “observing the conditions assumed by Romania by the treaty of accession regarding the industrial pollution, water management and waste management” or “sizing the institution in order to be able to implement the European environmental directives, on the one hand, and to absorb the European environmental funds for the development of the infrastructure”. The specialisation of each director became obvious from the focus on the improvement of the activity in the legal area, or in economic matters or on

biodiversity. Regarding the legal priorities, the constraints are pressing and they derive both from the need to establish organisations specialised in environmental protection (establishment of a body of judges specialised in environmental legislation) and the need to organise better the environmental legislation and the programs for population information/education. The organisational change due to the influence of external factors (European Union) is seen through an even more realistic prism by the economic director who considered the more material resources are needed for a sustainable organisational development (a larger budget for investment in measurement and control equipment for the pollutants and for vehicles needed by the territorial commissars).

We will now analyse the qualitative material collected during this research, in order to see how much capacity of managing the institutional change after the accession to the European Union the interviewed managers have. The analysis of the social documents is, according to Iluț (1997, p. 139), interesting and useful if they are seen as social texts, ad discourses. The five analysed interviews can be seen as discourses. From the perspective of discourse analysis, it seemed interesting to investigate the ways by which the particular social actors describe and interpret the reality of the change which appeared due to EU influence. The analysis of the answers we received during the semi-structured interviews produced several hypostases/elements of the institutional change, as they were described by the Environmental Guard managers, hypostases that will be illustrated with one or more excerpts from the interviews. The answers of the interviewed managers/directors are encoded as follows: M1, M2, M3, M4, and M5. We did not review all the discourses of the interviewed people on the necessity of change in the field of the environment, on the evaluation of the advantages from the accession to the EU, on the management of the change which appeared due to the influence of external factors – the European regulations, etc. From all the answers we only selected the ones which are most relevant for the subject of this study.

I. What should be changed in the field of the environment?

M1: Presently, most pressing is waste management and unfortunately [...] the local community doesn't get involved too much. The second problem and the most delicate one is ensuring the health, the water supply and waste water treatment. At this chapter there is a lot to be done and actually, the chapter of wastes and the chapter of water have the most pressing terms for conformation.

M2: There are many important aspects: historical pollutions (communist pollutions), the closed communist plants... I am disturbed by the low wages of the commissars and by the fact that they have no bonuses. The number of environmental commissars is too low.

M3: Blockage in collecting and sorting the wastes [I am disturbed by] the fact that the local councils either don't have a public official responsible for environmental protection, or they have but he/she is not efficient. The fact that there are just a few legal counsellors for the territorial environmental authorities should also be remedied.

M4: Assignment of the budget credits according to the necessities of the structures subordinated to GNM [There should be] records of the recyclable materials starting with the purchase of the products and ending with their recycling of return to the producer or supplier. [There should be] within the local communities more initiatives for waste storage facilities (including the household appliances).

M5: Problems are given by the lack of staff (we need to hire about 400-500 people), the lack of cars and of other equipment, they payment of decent per diem for the environmental commissars going on field trips. If it were to pick a priority, this should be investment in training (perfecting) the staff. Regarding the action in a particular geographical area, rapid investments should be made in the natural parks which should be brought to western standards. The Danube Delta also needs urgent investments. Investments in the green urban areas are also needed.

[...] We should also need magistrates specialised in environmental issues because there are often situations in which the Environmental Guard commissars apply a sanction which is contested by the owner and the sanction goes to the court and it changes in mere warning. The magistrates don't consider now that the environmental infringements are as serious as the social or economic crimes. We feel the need to establish a department which to evaluate the prejudice so that the judges become more active in applying the sanctions, at least when the prejudice is large or very large.

II. Evaluation of the advantages of the change (accession to the EU):

M1: The advantages of joining the European Union, I think first it is the structural funds that Romania may use. Romania ended the transition period and is currently undergoing a period of reconstruction in which it should invest, with the help of these structural funds too, in everything related to the environment, water supply, waste water treatment plants.

M4: The advantages might be the exchange of experience with the counterparts from EU member states. The inspection procedures are now performed in agreement with the transposed norms. In the future, there might be a transparent circuit of the products made of recyclable materials, starting with the production and finishing with waste processing. The European funds might also contribute to the construction of several plants for waste recycling.

M5: The main advantages are the exchange of information, the duty of the economic agents to align to the European norms in terms of the maximal admitted limits of

noxious matters, of gas emissions, of the concentration of substances in the water and regarding biodiversity, the genetically modified organisms. These duties also presume great efforts from us in order to avoid the possible sanctions from EU.

III. Administering the management of the change occurring due to external factors – European regulations:

M1: In general [the regulations] are restrictive. In the European Union, they put a lot of accent on quality, work safety and environmental risks. The demands are rather drastic, such as for instance, the environmental costs must be introduced in the price of the products and this causes dissatisfaction because, normally, the costs increase, and the sales prices also increase and the population thinks that it is the state which levies increased taxes.

M3: The European regulations are beneficial. In the rural environment they were more difficultly accepted by the economic operators and by the physical persons because they were followed by fines. In the rural environment, the population was less prepared (informed) to cope with the European regulations.

M5: The regulations must be observed in full; for instance, the EU doesn't allow growing and, particularly, using in the food industry, genetically modified soya, although the scientific reports show that it doesn't have any adverse effect on consumer health.

IV. Effect of change (implementing the European regulations) on the target-public consisting of institutions, companies and small and medium enterprises:

M4: The European regulations may be unintelligible for the «simple countryside people». The European regulations are welcomed but they should also be enforced. The European regulations are hard to apply in the rural communities predominated by aged, poor population.

M5: Despite the publicity made to the European regulations that have been transposed into the Romanian legislation, many of them never actually reached the population because they were not properly explained. On the other hand, when these regulations have been put into practice in the older EU member states, they were accompanied by facilities, compensations. We should also develop a system of compensations in Romania; for instance, an owner may be convinced not to cut the forest against a financial compensation received from the state.

V. Influence of the external factor (European Union) on the implementation of the change:

M2: *The European pressure was felt as a help.*

M3: *The European pressure, we didn't feel it as being strong, because the EU doesn't have a unified environmental legislation. The environmental legislation is according to the specificity of each country, of the particular domestic problems.*

M5: *The European Union pressure during the past two years was towards environmental pollution and environmental equipment, gas emissions, historical pollution, accidental pollution. With the change of climate from the recent period, the researchers and politicians became aware that the concept of biodiversity must get to the population, to the people making decisions, to the people at the top of a structure. The population must sometimes be compelled to observe some regulations – thus, if a particular species is endangered (sturgeons), fishing sturgeons will be banned for several years. On the other hand, we can see trees being fell down in Bucharest; according to the law, for one tree that was cut, four new trees should be planted, but this doesn't happen. The pressure cannot be so strong as long as the population and authorities are aware of the negative environmental implications of the different activities.*

VI. Ways of information from the perspective of the learning organisation theory:

M1: *Regarding the information, there are over 900 laws, governmental decisions and orders on environmental protection. The European Commission transmits the new procedures to the Ministry of the Environment, debates them, we are also asked to participate; we participate in the working groups writing some norms, laws. We also document on the evaluation of the environmental impact, on the environmental balance, where the newest discoveries are put into value. I must admit that we also receive information from our collaborators, from similar institutions throughout the European Union. We participate in training courses organised by our colleagues from the environmental agencies, from the national agency, from the Environmental Commission of the Ministry of the Environment. We are using the Internet a lot, the websites of the various institutions, mainly those involved in environmental protection.*

M2: *Some information comes from the Ministry of the Environment, other come directly from similar institutions throughout the European Union.*

M4: *We retrieve information from the legislation website SINTACT, from the official bulletins and through training courses conducted by the Ministry of Finances.*

VII. Causes of the resistance to change:

M1: *I think that an impediment is the delay in starting to work. I think we need to go past this stage and get to the situation in which the political changes will no longer affect the long-term strategies. A hindrance might be the fact that there is no definition for the large economic units and this incoherence endangers reconstruction.*

In terms of the environmental procedures we are doing well; our inspection procedure has been appreciated by the foreign experts who visited us. Our institution needs support in terms of human resources to increase its institutional capacity (more positions of territorial commissars).

A shortcoming might be the fact that not all the institutions empowered to make environmental inspections are joined under the same umbrella. This dispersion of activities is not beneficial.

Another flaw is that we don't have bonuses, we also don't have a database.

We should first reform the Ministry of Finances and the Ministry of Labour. They have some departments which, no matter how much you would like to make them understand, we got stuck there with our projects; they don't understand the necessities, they keep thinking in the same centralised manner from before 1990.

M2: *The inadequate mentality of the Romanians may hinder the adaptation to the European norms.*

M3: *Lack of staff. Insufficient transportation means and specialised laboratories analysing samples showing infringement of the environmental legislation.*

M4: *The frequent reorganisations of the state institutions are not beneficial. A hindrance for the citizens to adapt to the European norms might be the lack of proper knowledge on the European norms and lack of awareness on the benefits from applying those norms. There are two types of «papers» coexisting in the Romanian institutions: on the one hand forms and other standardized documents in agreement with the Romanian legislation, and on the other hand the European standardized forms.*

M5: *The older people have troubles in adapting to the European norms. Hence, the National Environmental Guard addresses more the young people, who are more receptive to the new things, who can learn easier the environmentally-friendly behaviours. Regarding the internal context from the National Environmental Guard, we noticed some reticence when we proposed to establish the Directorate of Biodiversity; the very concept of biodiversity was somehow difficult to understand by some of our colleagues. There are no longer problems within the National Environmental Guard in terms of understanding the need to respect biodiversity.*

The analysis of these interviews revealed the following ideas: a) the managers/directors are aware of the necessity to ensure the human resources and the material resources needed within the process of enforcing the European environmental norms, and of the necessity to supplement the number of territorial environmental commissars; b) the interviewed people communicate permanently with the state institutions in order to obtain the financial resources needed for the infrastructure of change; c) the directors and deputy chief-commissars have exact records of the requirement of equipment measuring the environmental damage done by the economic agents and they know precisely how many transportation means are needed in order to implement the European norms; d) they are aware that the proposed objectives can be fulfilled only if they have a good collaboration with the other governmental agencies and institutions. When speaking of the collaboration with the representatives of the local administration, the interviewed managers are not very optimistic, because at that level the regulations stating the involvement of the members of the town halls and local councils in environmental protection lack proper accomplishment.

The deputy chief commissars and the directors from the Environmental Guard understand exactly their role in the process of institutional change (agents of change) and are aware of the importance of creativity for the success of development in their field. Although the matter of planning the organisational development was not distinctly formulated in the interview guide, it appeared implicitly and repeatedly in the discourses of the interviewed people; they gave the impression that they use the conversation during the interview as an instrument to recapitulate, review the resources needed to enforce the *Europeanization of the environment*, mentioning the importance of the human factor for the success of the change: the need to supply services for the information and betterment of the human resources involved in environmental protection. We consider that the idea that some behaviours which proved to be fruitful in other EU member states can be «copied» here too, is very useful, such as decreasing tree cutting. *On the other hand, when these regulations have been implemented in the older EU member states, they were accompanied by some facilities, compensations. We may also have to develop such a system of compensation, such as, for instance, instead of felling down a forest, the owner might receive compensation from the state.* (M5).

We also reviewed all the sections of the Environmental Guard website (www.gnm.ro) with the purpose to complete the analysis of the interviews with additional information; unfortunately, the website has no information on the problem analysed in this study, there are no statements of principles, values or organisational missions.

6. Conclusions

The evaluation of the policies used by the central and/or local administration on the impact of *Europeanization* was accomplished largely in Romania, both through scientific research, and through monitoring activities. The novelty of this study resides in the attempt to unify the scientific objective perspective detached from the investigated subject, with an *organisational* vision. This way, the actors of change, the managers or other decision-making factors may receive strategies to adapt to the new states in terms which already are familiar to them because they come from a discipline closer to their practical activity – sociology of organisations.

One of the conclusions of the analysis on the preparedness for change of the managers from the Romanian Environmental Guard is that the interviewed managers (the two deputy general commissars and the three directors) are ready to cope with the change brought by the *Europeanization* of Romania, showing that they are able to adapt rapidly to the change and implement efficient strategies for individual and social learning. The first of the hypotheses formulated in the “Introduction” part of the study started from the perspective of the positive expectations (Cummings & Worley, 2009, p. 166) and presumed that the managers from the General Commissariat of the Environmental Guard will find the proper solutions to get ready for the change, because they are convinced that the accession to the European Union is a very good choice for Romania.

Another conclusion formulated regarding the second hypothesis, consisting of two aspects (finding local adaptative solutions for the environmental problems and the resistance to change) shows that both aspects have been validated. However, the interviewed people revealed the difficulties they have in enforcing the environmental rules when they are confronted with rural people or with old people who are not willing, for instance, to sort out the wastes in different categories. Even though the managers are open towards the issue of environmental *Europeanization*, one cannot ignore the discourse elements which denote a moderate scepticism towards this process due to the unclear perspectives (at least in 2007, when the research was done) of finding the material resources needed for a successful adaptation to the European environmental norms.

Although the qualitative analysis of the semi-structured interviews supplied interesting and useful *social documents*, a quantitative survey is desirable in order to see how much would be these conclusions revalidated and to provide support for the readjustment of the current Romanian environmental policies. This new approach will not lessen whatsoever the value of this study which is a guide for the different agents of organisational change both within the process of *Europeanization* and within other smaller (adaptation to technological development) or broader processes (globalization). This study may also be a starting point for future analyses of the managerial or staff

attitudes towards events or processes with no positive expectations: lower energy resources, economic crisis, globalization, etc.

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Book Review

RADICAL REFORM: INTERRACIAL POLITICS IN POST-EMANCIPATION NORTH CAROLINA DEBORAH BECKEL

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Abstract: As Edwin Alderson, a prominent North Carolina educator stated biracial organizations attracted “plain people ...demanding their share in the government, and their right to be trained for its responsibilities”¹ and created more self-reliant and resourceful people who were wiser when it came to local government.

I found Beckel's book reads like an interesting historical story about how North Carolina was affected by civil equality. Beckel starts out her book with an Introduction about biracial relationships. This led to interracial cooperation, and eventually influenced North Carolina organizations. The State's organizations were massive, and the North Carolina Knights and the Alliancemen had plans to pass some labor laws and get involved politically. At this time, around 1890, the Knights of Labor has 250 locals in 50 counties with the members half and half, Black and White. The Alliance had 55,000 Blacks and 90,000 Whites. In the last chapter “Race and Home Rule,” (p. 178) Beckel shares with us that the voting rights were expanded for both the Blacks and the Whites. In conclusion, Beckel tells us: “Many of the state's most energetic citizens simply left for what they hoped would be greater rights and opportunities outside North Carolina.”(p.211).

In 2010, North Carolina statistics showed 21.6% of the registered voters are Black, where there are 73.2% registered voters who are White.²

Key-words: social exclusion; improving the situation of minorities; racial, creed, and class equality; disenfranchisement; racial discrimination

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¹ Edwin A. Alderson, *A Brief History of North Carolina* (1898).

² Voter Registration Statistics by District: N.C. Senate-Civitas Institute, Data from NC State Board of Elections-BERT Database Current as of Sep. 7, 2010, at <http://www.nccivitas.org/election-analysis/voter-registration-statistics-district-n-c-senate/>.

On November 6, 2012, the United States will have their 2012 presidential election (between an African American seeking a second term and a Mormon), a process regulated by a combination of federal and state laws to decide by ballot the question, “Who will be the next U.S. President?”

The United States apparently has made great social strides, especially in the area of discrimination based on race, creed, or position in society. Many would agree, the United States has accomplished much toward preventing social exclusion and has improved the social situation for those considered “undesirables” in U.S. society’s recent past. What would be considered the best practices or guidelines used to implement this in other countries?

During its pro-democracy period, the U.S. Constitution declared all men equal in 1776. Although, the first step was to declare equality for all men, Blacks and Whites still did not have equal rights-this was further confounded, during the post-revolutionary war era, when the U.S. convention delegates voted (66 to 61) that suffrage rights were the privilege of White men only adding a constitutional provision defining the qualifications of “freemen.” This table which is posted on Wikipedia, under Disfranchisement After Reconstruction Era shows many states still had disenfranchisement based on race in 1900.¹

*Laws Or Constitutions Permitting “White Primaries”
In Former Confederacy In 1900*

	No. of African Americans	% of Population	Year of law or constitution
Alabama	827,545	45.26	1901
Arkansas	366,984	27.98	1891
Florida	231,209	43.74	1885–1889
Georgia	1,035,037	46.70	1908
Louisiana	652,013	47.19	1898
Mississippi	910,060	58.66	1890
North Carolina	630,207	33.28	1900
South Carolina	782,509	58.38	1895

³ Table is posted on Wikipedia, under Disfranchisement After Reconstruction Era. It was created by getting information from the Historical Census Browser, 1900 Federal Census, University of Virginia (last accessed Aug. 14, 2012); Julien C. Monnet, *The Latest Phase of Negro Disenfranchisement*, 26 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 42 (1912). Data obtained from existing data in table. Number of African Americans total obtained by 827,545 + 366,984 + 231,209 + ... + 661,329=7,199,364. Percentage data: 827,545/45.26%=1,828,425(rounded to nearest whole) for total population of Alabama, 366,984/27.98%=1,311,594(nearest whole) for Arkansas, etc. Total of all state populations=18,975,448. 7,199,364/18,975,448=37.94%.

	No. of African Americans	% of Population	Year of law or constitution
Tennessee	480,430	23.77	1889 laws
Texas	622,041	20.40	1901 / 1923 laws
Virginia	661,329	35.69	1902
Total	7,199,364	37.94	—

To complicate things more, “Southern [B]lacks and [W]hites forged a variety of associations: personal, economic, and political.”(Beckel, 2011, p. 2) Creating these affiliations opened up doors of opportunity in the New South’s social order allowing racial diversity. Along with this diversity also came conflict (“violence, brutality, and exploitation” (2011, p. 2)), however, these biracial organizations were committed to freedom, civil equality, and worker’s rights regardless of race, creed, or position in society which attracted many of the working-class, agricultural workers, and small farmers. As Edwin Alderson, a prominent North Carolina educator stated these biracial organizations attracted “plain people ...demanding their share in the government, and their right to be trained for its responsibilities” (Alderson,1898) and created more self-reliant and resourceful people who were wiser when it came to local government. But the combination of diversity and the old and new ideas made the organizations fragile. What exactly can an organization (mostly consisting of poor Black workers and 30% or less of Whites) achieve when it has a lack of trust within its membership because of racial issues? How did the elite White leaders support society’s current ideals of “equality for all” when their concerns were torn between this and their own interests of maintaining their privileged position in society? And what does it say to other nations that are going through a pro-democracy period and how they should achieve equality for all and the prevention of social exclusion?

People who are interested in the answers to these questions should read Deborah Beckel’s *Radical Reform: Interracial Politics in Post-Emancipation North Carolina* (Deborah Beckel, 2011) Because of the book title’s political slant, it sounds like something that would be boring and dry, only about politics, and I almost didn’t get to review it for this journal. I found instead that Beckel’s book reads like an interesting historical story about how North Carolina was affected by civil equality. Beckel, who is descended from many of the families she writes about, has authored a book which is vivid in its literary style and shows the many sides of prejudice and mistrust and why we need to protect against social exclusion and its violence and fraud. Although this book certainly delivers the details about the politics that went on in post-emancipated North Carolina (in an unvarnished story-like manner), the reader soon forgets that he is reading a book about society’s social problems and politics and begins to get caught up in the hopes and dreams of those the book is about such as

William Holden and G.W. Logan who used the Heroes of America network for the state's peace effort; the state Union League's top officers which included, Holden, James Harris, and James Jones; John Nichols, the Masonic leader who cast the deciding vote to create the first permanent orphanage in North Carolina; and numerous other North Carolinian figures of history. Beckel even takes the time to give an excellent conclusion to the book to discuss its highlights.

Beckel starts out her book with an Introduction about biracial relationships. She argues that many of the problems that existed back then and still today are because of ideologies or "ingrained conceptions" (or personal belief systems that people hold regarding "race, class, and gender"). She states that the Republicans were made up of mostly Black politicians and the Virginia "Readjuster" Coalition at first composed mostly of Whites, later gained the Black vote by expanding rights for non-elite Virginians, such as a ban on public whipping, removing the poll tax and lowering taxes on farmers, and chartering labor unions. William Mahone who was a Senator in Virginia would reward those who were loyal to the Readjuster Coalition with positions in the organization. This led to interracial cooperation, and eventually influenced North Carolina organizations. Although, the Readjusters saw this as a victory and "the rejection by White men of race as a political issue," (Dailey, J., Gilmore, G.E., Simon, B., eds., 2000) Beckel states firmly that "her research indicates that race was always a political issue in the post-emancipation South" (p. 9) and continues to be integral in American culture.

Her book consists of nine chapters, but I have basically broken it into four sections: The first two chapters talk about the two groups involved who were the "Rebellious Southerners" (p.17) who had a strong conviction that Blacks had no rights as citizens and those who were "Becoming Republicans" (p.36) who were mostly free Black men who fought against the indignation of being considered unworthy.

Beckel's next three chapters deal with the evolution of society and North Carolina's struggle: "Reconstruction and Home Rule" (p.54) where home rule refers to state home rule and local county home rule, "Battling over the Public Good" (p.75) which discusses the beginnings of the Ku Klux Klan (The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow, 2002), a social club started by six confederate veterans and their desires to maintain White rule in order to "bring honest, fiscally responsible government that did not overburden citizens with racial strife, taxes, and Northern schemes" (p.75) and Republicans who promoted ideas about African American advancement (but then argued about how to deal with the White supremacists inside and outside of their organization), and "The Quest for Common Ground" (p.94) speaks of the deterioration of the communities and the many problems in the Republican party from mudslinging to rampart fraud throughout.

By the time we reach the sixth chapter “Workers and Farmers Organize,” (p.113) Blacks are emigrating out of North Carolina leaving for better work to support their families. This is because although they had fought hard to get their rights, they were being denied them and still being treated as second-class citizens. Plantation owners were concerned about their dwindling workforce and were unable to recruit the needed White agricultural laborers. A non-political organization, the Knights of Labor sprung up (prior to this it was a secret organization, but now has become an educational vehicle to counter the anti-labor bias of government) (Knights of Labor: An Early Labor Organization). Through educational self-promotion in publications such as the *Journal of United Labor* (American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives) using statements like: “We are dependent upon an employer, a boss, a master... We obtain in exchange for the most severe labor a salary which hardly prevents us from dying of hunger... What have we, as workingmen, done in order to change it?” (p.117) Locals of the Knights of Labor were springing up everywhere, all the way up to the State capital, and the leaders of these biracial organizations were active in religious and community organizations and their influence on public policy led to economic development, civil rights, and of course, political reform.

The last section of the book includes “Southern Democracy” (Beckel, p.135) sharing the Southern Farmers’ Alliance¹ joining with the national Knights of Labor leading to the U.S. reform of organizations representing millions of people. The State’s organizations were massive also, and the North Carolina Knights and the Alliancemen had plans to pass some labor laws and get involved politically. At this time, around 1890, the Knights of Labor has 250 locals in 50 counties with the members half and half, Black and White. The Alliance had 55,000 Blacks, and 90,000 Whites. But, because the Knights and Alliance organizations endorsed a 25% increase in public school tax, many Knights members were unable to pay their dues so they did not have enough money to try to change farm and labor problems. In the eighth chapter “The Rise of Populism,” (p.155) Beckel explains that there is so much fraud in the Democratic Party that a new People’s Party is formed and promoted by J.C.L. Harris called the Populists (Populists of St. Louis, Review of Reviews (1896)). By the end of 1894, North Carolina was able to oust their Democratic party and five African Americans were elected to the state legislature. In the last chapter “Race and Home Rule,” (p. 178) Beckel shares with us that now the voting rights were expanded for both the Blacks and the Whites. But by 1904, we see that the Black registered voters went from 120,000 to 6,000.

¹ The Farmers’ Alliance did not allow Blacks in their membership, but created a separate organization known as the Colored Farmers’ Alliance. The New Georgia Encyclopedia, Farmer’s Alliance, Origins and Growth, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2505>.

In conclusion, Beckel tells us:

In North Carolina racially segregated and unequal education, not decent jobs or popular rights, become the foundation for “progress.” Without changes to the economic structure, there was little hope for improvement in most North Carolinians’ lives. Many of the state’s most energetic citizens simply left for what they hoped would be greater rights and opportunities outside North Carolina.(p.211).

Pointing out the reason behind racial prejudice or social exclusion W.E.B. Du Bois wrote “[The] greater problem which both obscures and implements [social exclusion]: and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellowmen.” (p.211) (quoting Du Bois, “50 Years After,” xiv).

In 2010, in North Carolina only 21.6% of the registered voters are Black, where there are 73.2% registered voters who are White (Voter Registration Statistics by District). We no longer have U.S. disenfranchisement laws based on race, although some may argue the U.S. felon disenfranchisement laws are a form of racial discrimination, because it covers 38.2% of the Black population in the United States (Are Felon Disenfranchisement Laws a Form of Racial Discrimination?, Felon Voting).

Beckel's history lesson is honest and at times shocking to read how desperate human beings can be toward fellow humans because of ignorance and fear. She portrays these visual images writing respectfully about both sides of the issue, the people involved, and their cultures. Those who are debating disenfranchisement laws should consider reading Beckel’s book and ponder the significance of the issues.

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