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ROMANIA'S PERENNIAL 'OUTSIDERS'. FROM A FOREIGN NON-EUROPEAN MINORITY TO INTRA-EU DISPLACEMENTS. AN EXPLORATION OF ROMA'S PERPETUAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SYMBOLIC EXCLUSION

Ionuț-Marian ANGHEL¹

Abstract: *After the fall of the socialist regimes from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), various national and European programs were enabled in order to improve the socio-economic well-being of European Roma, but these policies are often anchored in an a present-centered and ahistorical framework, without taking into account the dynamic processes of stigmatization and marginalization that have plagued the Roma minority (Powell and Lever, 2015). The present paper seeks to contribute to the (historical) reconstruction of these processes of stigmatization and marginalization of Roma in different social-political periods (with an emphasis on the last and a half century). Using secondary data (censuses) and historical sources, I describe the state policies and state-led modernization programs that were aimed at improving Roma's socio-economic well-being and their ambiguous effects. I conclude that in order to achieve social inclusion of poor Romanian Roma, more efforts have to be made to tackle the stereotypical 'Gypsy image' that has guided most social inclusion/integration programs since the formation of the Romanian nation-state*

Keywords: *Romanian Roma; social history; outsiders; stigmatization; state-led programs.*

Introduction

The Roma are a particular minority in Europe/Romania and although their presence in CEE is dated back to fourteenth century when they arrived from the Byzantium

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empire, their history is marked by perpetual exclusion, socio-economic marginalization and segregation that continued (in various forms) until present day. Having no written language (until recently) and showing little interest to scholars and writers until the mid-nineteenth century, the Roma were considered to be a 'people without history' (Trumpener, 1992). Often stereotyped in the academic and literary works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Trumpener (1992) shows how these cultural narratives prevented the consolidation of a place in western historiographies (and perhaps even in CEE Europe).

In a recent paper discussing the marginal position of Roma in Europe, Powell and Lever identify some pitfalls in understanding the complex mechanisms of socio-economic and political exclusion and marginalization that have historically plagued Roma communities. In their opinion, many policy oriented researches are often anchored in a present-centered and ahistorical framework, without taking into consideration that *'their often marginal position cannot be explained without taking the historical repressive policies into account which heavily contributed to a construction of an ethnically defined minority'* (2015, p. 3). This concern regarding the lack of appropriate theoretical and conceptual tools in Romani studies to explain the dynamic processes of Roma's stigmatization and marginalization was also reiterated by Sam Beck in an article published in the late 1980s: *'The origins of such marginalization, power relations in particular, historical processes in general, active resistance, or even active participating in the forces that dominate them have not been part of the scholarly discourse concerning Gypsies'* (1989, p. 54).

Since Beck's article has a number of contributions, which have critically interrogate the dynamic processes of marginalization and stigmatization of Roma in different historical periods and the consequence of these processes on the current policies of the nation-states, have been published (e.g. Mayall, 2004, van Baar, 2011a, Willems, 1997). This paper is complementary to such contributions in discussing the socio-economic (and symbolic) exclusion and marginalization of Romanian Roma during Romania's last one and a half century. In each of the following sections I will discuss the socio-economic plight of the Roma in the historical periods discussed, state policies that were aimed to improve their well-being and their ambiguous effects.

Romanian Roma in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century

Roma's presence in Romania was first registered in 1385 when among the donations of the Wallachian Prince, Dan I, to Tismana monastery, there were also 40 Roma families (Achim, 2004a, p. 13). In the two Principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, the Roma held the status of slaves (*robi*) until the middle of the nineteenth century (1855 in Moldavia and 1856 in Wallachia) when the governing bodies of the two principalities decided to emancipate the Roma and abolish the slavery institution (Achim, 2004b)¹. Because of

¹ In fact, the (juridical) emancipation of Roma took place in several stages, through laws passed by the two Principalities during 1831-1856. Initially, the Roma who belonged to the prince (the State) and the monasteries were freed and then due to the laws from 1855/1856 the last Roma slaves which belonged to the boyars were also freed.

their skills as craftsmen and /or blacksmiths, they were used by the boyars or monasteries¹, but they also worked extensively in agriculture (especially Roma held by the monasteries). Roma detained by monasteries or boyars were exempt from tax duties, while state slaves were required to pay annual fees to the Prince, taxes regulated by the Organic Regulations issued by the two Principalities in 1831.

At the outset of the Europeanizing reforms in the two principalities, the Roma also came under close scrutiny of the Romanian authorities. According to Viorel Achim (2004b, p. 110), the forced settlement of Roma accelerated in the 1830s, when the boyars used Roma as labor force for large landed estates during the capitalization of agriculture after the Adrianople Treaty from 1829, which marked the beginning of a capitalist-like economy in Romania. In the same article, Achim contradicts itself and links the forced settlement of Roma to a `natural` process carried out in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, commenting for example, on a census carried out in Wallachia in 1839 which showed that most of the Roma were already settled in rural areas, living in houses and being assimilated from this point of view among peasants (2004b, p. 112).

In any case, Achim continues, the final goal for the abolition of slavery was not the economic and social well-being of the Roma, but rather their forced settlement and forced integration in agricultural production. The abolition of slavery has turned Roma into dependent peasants, forced to pay important taxes to the state, albeit agricultural activity was not attractive to many of the Roma which preferred craftsmanship. On the other hand, the Roma emancipation laws did not stipulate for the boyars or monasteries to give them parcels of land or tools to cultivate them, and consequently not many Roma benefited from the 1864 agrarian reform (2004b, pp. 112-120). In the absence of genuine socio-economic emancipation policies and with the abolition of slavery, some authors suggest the hypothesis of a massive migration of the Vlach/Vlax (Căldărari, Lovari) Roma to Western Europe at the end of the nineteenth century (Matras, 2000).

Instead, the Roma from Transylvania and Banat (which were part of the Habsburg, later Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918) have become the target of assimilation policies since the second half of the eighteenth century. The purpose of these measures was to turn a foreign, uncivilized and unlawful population into, obedient, productive and good Christians. A series of decrees emitted by Empress Maria Theresa aimed at the forced settlement, assimilation and modernization of Roma. The Roma were to pay taxes to the state and meet their obligations to the boyars. They were forbidden to use horses and wagons and leave the village without permission. A decree from 1767 abolished the jurisdiction of the voivodeships on the Roma and placed them under the jurisdiction of local authorities. Roma were forbidden to use Romani language, specific clothing and occupational practices, and their children were taken to be raised by non-Roma families. In the end, they would have the status of `new Hungarians` or `new peasants` (Barany, 1998, Fraser, 2010, Barany, 2001). Joseph II, Maria Theresa's son

¹ A third category was that of slaves to the royal courts, but with greater freedom of movement on the territory of the two Principalities as long as they paid their taxes to the royal court see Achim, V. (2004a) *The Roma in Romanian History*, Budapest, Central European University Press.

and successor to the throne continued with the assimilation (authoritarian) policies by giving an order in 1782 through which Roma children had to attend a form of schooling, participate at public meetings, and follow the habits of the area. Boyars were obliged to provide land for Roma to work on. The Roma were not allowed to own horses, nomadism was forbidden, just like the use of Romani language (Achim, 2004a).

The assimilation policies of the Habsburg Empire did not bring the expected outcomes because of their short implementation period, the resistance of the boyars and peasants to integrate the Roma and the latter's opposition to the loss of their identity. Although the decrees were monitored by the royal courts, the governing councils chose not to rigorously implement these policies at the local levels (Trehan and Kóczé, 2009). Even if they failed to implement visible socio-economic reforms to enhance their living standard, the above mentioned policies have succeeded in sedentarizing them. According to the Hungarian census in Transylvania carried out in 1893, the Roma numbered just over 150,000 and most of them were already sedentary or semi-sedentary and only a small part still practiced nomadism (Achim, 2004a, p. 135).

Thus, before 1918, the Roma from the Old Kingdom but also from Transylvania, Bukovina or Bessarabia were confined to the lowest position in the social structure. Although there were different groups having different linguistic and sociocultural characteristics, what united the Roma was their *'marginal social status and secondly, their isolation as Gypsies by the population among whom they lived'* (Achim, 2004a, p. 148).

During this time span the first scholarly interests in Roma populations manifested and some anthropological and linguistic works were published in Western as well in Eastern Europe. The interest in studying non-European populations (e.g. Roma) increased precisely because they had a lifestyle incompatible with the enlightened way of life imagined by the Enlightenment (represented by the West). For example, Huub van Baar (2010, p. 154) argues that during Enlightenment and nation-state formations, the Roma were represented in literary, artistic, and scholarly chronicles as *'a group of wandering clans who were at odds with [...] the paradigms of modernity more general. They were often seen as a people who stood outside modern life and the formations of nation-states in particular and who were consequently relegated to the domain of pre-modern, traditional, natural and <history-less> societies'*. This image of *'the Otherness'* has been constantly reiterated, as the lifestyle of the Roma contradicted that of the sedentary European societies: they did not have a common language, a common territory, or a common religion¹.

¹ Undoubtedly, the different socio-occupational structure of Roma has contributed to this *'Otherness'*. András Bíró has emphasized two distinctive factors that differentiated the Roma from the majority populations in Europe. First of all, their relationship to territoriality. The Hungarian activist remarks that *'with few exceptions [...] nowhere have significant numbers of Roma turned into peasants or farmers, so that their roots and livelihood have become based on the land. A corollary of the first characteristic, the Roma preferred to earn their livelihood in the service activities and commercial sector – animal trading, petty trade, iron and weapon making, brick production and working in wood – to the detriment of agriculture see Bíró, A. (2013) The price of Roma integration. IN Guy, W. (Ed.) From Victimhood to Citizenship. The Path of Roma Integration. Budapest, Kossuth Kiadó.*

In the late eighteenth century, several German authors teaching in universities considered the flagship of the German Enlightenment (Jena, Halle, or Gottingen) published studies using scientific methods to study the non-European (Indian) origin of Roma. Due to space constraints, I will discuss only what is considered to be the most authoritative text, Heinrich Grellmann's ([1783] 1803) dissertation on the Gypsies, considered to be responsible for providing the impetus of the 'Gypsy image'. Grellmann's dissertation is the first 'academic work' that actually links Romani and Hindustan language. Although he wanted to make an ethnographic contribution to Roma studies, he used as research documents, travel notes and articles from chronicles without conducting field research (Willems, 1997). This early 'academic' Gypsy study was marked by the conviction of Roma's 'oriental' ancestry and foreignness. Grellmann's study (and others published in that period) attributed some unchangeable characteristics to Roma – ethnic inferiority, antisocial/criminal behavior, laziness.

Thus, his study remained a landmark text about the 'Roma culture' for almost two centuries, being translated into several languages in this period. The influence of these representations, delineated during Enlightenment by these 'progressive' scholars, on the policies of different political regimes (Nazism, Communism or the Habsburg Empire) has been marked by numerous authors (Bancroft, 2005, Barany, 2002, Crowe, 1995, Fraser, 2010, Taylor, 2014, Willems, 1997).

With his Dissertation on the history, morals and language of the Gypsies ([1837] (1900)), Mihail Kogălniceanu is considered to have inaugurated the Romanian research tradition on Roma. Drawing from various historical works and his interactions with Roma from Moldavia, Kogălniceanu describes various customs of Roma groups and their language. Being written for a Western public¹ (published in Berlin), his dissertation is embellished with many exotizing descriptions of Roma behavior, which reiterated their foreignness. Nevertheless, his essay is a plea for the abolition of slavery² and in the end, he contributed to the legislative reforms that ended Roma slavery in Romania.

While Kogălniceanu's arguments for the abolition of slavery envisaged the human rights of Roma, he fails to discuss the role the Romanian Roma played in the processes of nation-state formation and national identity. According to Sam Beck, the 'ethnic' character of slavery in Romania paralleled the conceptions of 'natural' inferiority of certain races that dominated capitalist Western Europe. This allowed the Romanians to imagine themselves as more civilized and '*in contradistinction to their [Roma] low class status, a process that helped shape the Romanian national state and Romanian ethnic identity*' (1989, p. 57, p. 61).

¹ Original title of the essay is 'Esquisse sur l'histoire, les mœurs et la langue des cigains, connus en France sous le nom de Bohémiens, suivie d'un recueil de sept cents mots cigains', Berlin: Librairie de B. Behr

² In his speech held at the Romanian Academy in 1891, Kogălniceanu recalls that 'even in my hometown in Iași [capital of Moldavia], in my youths, I say human beings wearing chains around their hands and legs and even some iron horns on their forehead and tied around the throat and neck' see Kogălniceanu, M. (1891) *Dezrobirea țiganilor, ștergerea privilegiilor boeresci, emanciparea țăranilor*. Discursu rostitu în Academia Română. București, Lito Tipografia.

Roma in Greater Romania: their continuous struggle for emancipation

Interwar policies towards the Roma were ambivalent. On the one hand, the Roma have continued to be part of the poorest strata of the new nation, without any specific ethnic policy to improve their socio-economic well-being. On the other hand, the founding of Greater Romania was a turning point *vis-à-vis* the political recognition of Roma. The 1930 census recorded for the first time in the history of Romania the Roma as an ethnic minority (previously registered as a social and fiscal category) (Surdu and Kovats, 2015) and a civic and political movement of Roma activists, united under the umbrella of the General Union of Roma in Romania, emerged to improve the living conditions of Roma (Achim, 2010). In the above mentioned census, 262,501 people identified themselves as Roma, the equivalent of 1.5% of the total population of Romania, most of them (221,726 or 84.5%) living in rural areas (Achim, 2004a, p. 145). Less than half of the Roma (101,015) declared Romani as their mother tongue (Manuilă, 1940, p. 55). Most Roma were to be found in the new region of Transylvania (75,342), followed by Muntenia (71,784) and at a relatively large distance, Moldavia with 32,194. The smallest number of Roma was in another region annexed in 1918, Bukovina, where the census recorded only 2,164 Roma (Manuilă, 1940, p. 35). The territorial distribution of Roma was different in the provinces of Greater Romania. If in Transylvania the Roma were to be found in smaller shares but spread throughout the province, in the Old Kingdom, they were to be found in fewer localities, but in much larger compact groups (Achim, 2004a, p. 145).

The number of Roma registered at the 1930 census was disputed by researchers from social sciences and humanities interested in the 'Roma question'. For example, Ion Chelcea (1944, p. 84) provides a twofold figure compared to that from the census, about 525,000 Roma, which he divides into three categories: a) those who still retain their traditional behavior, and have an ethnic consciousness of the group, b) those who are on the point of being assimilated but still oscillated about their ethnicity, and c) Roma who consider themselves assimilated but can still be recognized as Roma. In his book, Chelcea advances a more specific classification of the Roma in three categories: a) the sedentarised Roma, who are in the process of assimilation, are wearing the peasant's clothes, renounced to their Romani language and are characterized by laziness, lack of character and an apparently evolved psychological type, b) Rudarii - their main occupation is the processing of wood, they dress in the peasant's clothes among whom they live, they know only the Romanian language and are characterized by gentleness, honesty, diligence, and having a natural psychological type, and c) nomadic Roma - are closest to the 'authentic Gypsies', preserving their physical and moral appearances, living in tents, preserving their language, and are inclined to theft, dishonest business, and having a speculative psychological type (1944 p. 45). This latter category became the target of repressive policies in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Iordache Făcăoaru (1938, p. 282), one of the exponents of the bio-political current in Romania, estimated the figure of the Roma from the interwar period to at least 400,000, while the official figure provided by the Central Institute of Statistics was estimating only the nomadic Roma.

With the modernization of the economy, the Roma have begun to lose their monopoly on the craft products they produce, and thus had to proletarianize. For Achim, those who abandoned traditional crafts did not become industrial workers but were engaged in marginal economic activities (2004a, p. 149). For the Romanian historian, the agrarian reform in the early 1920s also meant improving the living standard for a large share of the Roma population who received small plots of land, comparing it to the situation of the Romanian peasants (2004a, p. 149). However, the structural position of Roma in the agricultural production was marginal. The ethnographic research carried out by Ion Chelcea in the 1930s in the Olt Valley (South of Romania) showed that 57% of the Roma who had received land in Sercaia had already sold it and in Ucea de Jos, the share amounted to 73.3% (1944, p. 133).

Sociological research carried out by the Romanian Social Institute in the 1930s has showed that most of the Roma communities are in a process of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Under the pressure of an economy in full transformation and the disappearance of traditional crafts, it was assumed that the Roma had left their traditional lifestyle (Achim, 2004a, p. 151). However, such an assessment is difficult to be made.

Although most of the Roma on the territory of Greater Romania were already sedentarised due to the enslavement policy in the Old Kingdom, they were regarded with suspicious eyes by the state/local authorities because of their foreign, non-European nomadic way of life, which was simply incompatible with the Romanian nation (Solonari, 2015, Turda, 2007, Turda, 2014). Researchers from social and medical sciences, who also held positions in the state apparatus or research institutes, and were also sympathetic with the European eugenic movement, identified the Roma (especially the nomadic and semi nomadic ones) as a danger to the regeneration and homogenization of the Romanian national state. In this respect, the Roma became a `dysgenic` danger to the Romanian population that could not be / should not be avoided. Sabin Manuilă, head of the Central Institute of Statistics, remarked in the early 1940s that if the *`Jewish problem is the most important social problem, and the most serious political and economic problem of Romania [...], the Gypsy problem is the most serious and important racial problem of Romania`*, proposing even their sterilization to avoid racial interference (Turda, 2014, p. 126)¹.

In the end, the Roma who gained the public attention of the authorities were the (semi)nomadic Roma, for reasons of public health and security. Starting with 1934, nomadic Roma were forbidden to carry out their trade activities through the country without a prior authorization from the Inspectorate of Gendarmerie. This latter category, as well as those who had a criminal record or did not live from `honest work`, became the target of deportations from 1942 by the pro-Nazi right-wing government. According to some estimates, 25,000 Roma were deported to Transnistria during Ion

¹ Sabin Manuilă was not the only researcher to propose extreme measures targeting the Roma. Traian Herseni or Gheorghe Făcăoaru, brother of Iordache Făcăoaru, directly linked the national regeneration to the introduction of bio political measures - sterilization, segregation, deportation see Turda, M. (2014) *Eugenism și Modernitate. Națiune, Rasă și Biopolitică în Europa (1870-1950)*, Iași, Polirom.

Antonescu's government, of which only half are estimated to have returned to Romania (Achim, 2004a, p. 169, Wiesel, 2004, p. 227-241).

The ambivalent policies of the Romanian socialist state towards Roma

In three of the four censuses (1948, 1956, 1966) organized during socialism, the Romanian authorities did not record nationality but mother tongue. Thus, in the 1948 census there were 53,425 Romani speakers (0.3% of the population of Romania), a little over half of those who declared themselves as such in 1930 (Golopenția and Georgescu, 1948, p. 22). About 86% of Roma lived in rural areas. Although they have been a constant presence on the Romanian territories for six centuries, the Roma did not fulfill the Marxist-Leninist definition of a national minority and thus were considered a socio-economic category rather than an ethnic group. The conditions for fulfilling the status of a national minority were those of language, territory, common history and a uniform culture, conditions that the Roma did not meet.

We can distinguish two processes that affected the Roma during socialism: forced settlement and proletarianization. These policies were meant to 'turn this poor and marginalized minority into good socialist citizens' (Stewart, 1997, p. 6). Romania was one of the first states in the socialist bloc that had implemented a policy of forced settlement of nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma groups since the late 1940s. Despite the fact that these categories represented only 1/3 of the total Roma population (Marushiakova and Popov, 2008, p. 3), their mobility was a constant concern for Romania's administrative authorities¹ because of security and public order threats (Achim, 2010). Also, from a Marxist point of view, nomadism was associated with marginality and poverty. The industrial revolution had turned Roma artisans, basket makers, metallurgists into beggars forced to steal or to take advantage of others by developing commercial or trading skills, deemed as immoral by the socialist authorities. Not being integrated into the formal economy, Roma were perceived by the socialist authorities as part of the lumpenproletariat (Lucassen, 1998, Stewart, 1997). This forced settlement policy, although not fully enforced at the local level, has dispersed traditional communities at the margins of localities (urban or rural).

On the other hand, the second main objective for the authorities was that of proletarianizing their labor. Their 'commercial' activities were signs of independence from the socialist production system. By confiscating their trade and livelihood means, be it gold, horses or other means of production and engaging them into the socialist production system, they were proletarianized. Strict labor discipline, organization and

¹ Viorel Achim's article illustrates how the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party considered the semi-nomadic and nomadic Roma 'problem' as the most stringent, which is why the General Inspectorate of Gendarmerie strictly regulated the regime of the nomadic Roma and forbade them to beg, practice fortune telling or trade see Achim, V. (2010) *Încercarea romilor din România de a obține statutul de naționalitate conlocuitoare (1948-1949). Revista istorică, XXI, 5-6, 449-465.*

collective work was needed to combat 'social parasitism' and to change their lifestyle (Barany, 2002, Stewart, 1997).

During socialism, more regulations were initiated in attempt to fully integrate the Roma. Decree No. 153 from 1970 condemned 'social parasitism' and deviance from the socialist lifestyle with imprisonment and forced labor, but even so, the policy has not been rigorously implemented by local authorities (Barany, 2000).

There is no academic research to assess the socio-economic conditions of Roma during socialism. The only official policy document directly targeting the Roma population was a report commissioned by the Central Committee's (CC) Propaganda Department of the Romanian Communist Party in 1983 which was an assessment of the programs to integrate the Roma population implemented by the CC (Fosztó and Anăstăsoaie, 2001). The Roma regain the attention of the socialist authorities after the 1977 census (which registered nationality) when 227,398 persons self-identified as Roma (1,05% of the total population), although 11 years earlier, at the 1966 census (which registered the mother tongue) only 64,197 persons self-identified as Roma (thus a 354% increase) (Crowe, 1995). Two years before the 1977 census, the Ministry of Interior had conducted its own census and indicated a total of 541,000 Roma, of which 66,000 were considered semi nomads and 470 nomads (Stoenescu, 2015, p. 428). Despite the assimilation programs initiated in the 1970s, the conclusions of the report commissioned by the Central Committee blamed the Roma for maintaining non-socialist attitudes, such as social parasitism, nomadic lifestyle and non-registration with local institutions (Fosztó and Anăstăsoaie, 2001, p. 356). The report reveals the socialist approach towards Roma in terms of a deviant socio-economic category rather than in ethnic terms.

The problematization of the 'Roma question' in social rather than in ethnic or cultural terms allowed the state authorities to legitimize their intervention in the daily life of the Roma, depoliticizing the discriminatory practices associated with these interventions. As Liégeois and Gheorghe (1995, p. 12-13) rightly remarked *'Roma/Gypsies are thought to have no linguistic, cultural or ethnic roots. They are instead a <social problem> requiring <rehabilitation> and <reintegration>, who can – and must – be brought back into the fold of <society> [...] This is how cultural questions are reclassified as <social problems> and thus the right – of active intervention, [which] gives rise to measures of <assistance> opening up the way for full-scale drives aimed at <reintegration> and <rehabilitation>. These flawed analyses encourage a focus on the consequences of a given situation (such as health problems, poverty, illiteracy, etc., rather than on their root causes (rejection, inappropriate provision, etc.)'*.

Although the socialist policies enabled to improve the socio-economic well-being of Roma have helped to increase the living standard among many Roma, offering them access to stable employment, access to housing¹ and education for their children, they have also had some ambivalent results. According to a research conducted by the Research Institute for the Quality of Life (RIQL) in the early 1990s, nearly 80% of the

¹ Some scholars estimate that during socialism, 40.000 Roma families had received state-owned houses, with very low rents, due to migration of some ethnic minorities, mainly Germans and Jews see Crețan, R. & Turnock, D. (2008) Romania's Roma Population: From Marginality to Social Integration. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 124, 4, 274-299.

working Roma performed unskilled jobs and only 4% of Roma were still carrying traditional crafts (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993, p. 98). Simultaneously, the educational policy targeted at the Roma was a ‘silent disaster’¹. About 95% of Roma had not graduated high school (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993, p. 88) which inevitably led them towards embracing jobs requiring low, or no skills, which were the first to be restructured after 1989. By encouraging Roma to take low or unskilled jobs in the labor intensive industry or state farms, providing them substandard housing on the outskirts of villages or towns, coupled with a weak control by the central authorities on the local ones regarding Roma integration, shows the status of second-class citizens that the Roma experienced during socialism.

Neoliberal transition and its effect on the socio-economic exclusion of Roma

The last census in Romania (2011) registered 621,573 (3.1%) of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority, an increase of nearly 100,000 compared to the 2002 census and by over 200,000 compared to the 1992 census. Academic and policy research indicated a larger number. RIQL’s research carried out in 1998 on the socio-economic deprivation of Roma used a methodology based on both self-identification and hetero-identification and estimated their number at 1.5 million, of which 35% were hetero-identified (Zamfir and Preda, 2002, p. 13-14). In the following years, based on a community census, Dumitru Sandu estimates the number of Roma somewhere between 730,174 to 968,275 who are likely to self-identify themselves as Roma (World Bank, 2005). The rising interest in the number of Roma is relevant in the context of allocating sufficient public resources to improve their living conditions. Most of the Roma population face a situation of at risk of poverty and social exclusion. The risk of poverty rate is nearly three times higher (84%) for the Roma than among their non-Roma neighbors, and almost four times higher than the poverty risk rate calculated at national level (22%). The share of Roma households who experience severe material deprivation is 90%, nearly three times higher than the national percentage (World Bank, 2014, p. 4).

Using a different methodology to measure the poverty threshold (below \$ 4.30 / day in PPP), the latest UNDP / European Commission / World Bank regional comparative survey showed that the poverty rate among the Roma population is 54%, four times higher than that of the majority population (FRA and UNDP, 2012). However, this share was decreasing compared to 2000 when, according to the same methodology, the data showed a poverty rate of 69%, more than double the poverty rate for the majority population (Ringold et al., 2005, p. 29). As can be seen, although the share of Roma in poverty has decreased, the gap between them and the majority population has increased. This is also due to the fact that the efficiency of the social protection

¹ Although statistics regarding school participation of Roma during socialism are scarce, the research conducted by the Research Institute for Quality of Life in 1998 showed that the highest level of education was attained by the generation enrolled during 1960-1980 see ICCV (2002) Indicatori privind comunitățile de romi din România. București, Expert.

programs are rather poor. The World Bank's Report on Roma Inclusion in Romania reveals that social protection programs reduce by 9% the share of Roma households in the lower quintile (from 82 to 73%) (2014, p. 135), reiterating Cristina Raț's remarks that 'state transfers in Romania [...] did not change the relative income position of economically deprived Roma households in comparison with other segments of the population' (Raț, 2005, p. 96). This conclusion was enforced by a panel survey that was conducted in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which showed that social benefits reduced absolute poverty in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary but did not reduce relative poverty and inequalities (Emigh et al., 2017). It is not surprising that some scholars suggested that the new neoliberal policies and welfare reforms have transformed the poorest of the Roma into an underclass, trapped into a sort of 'culture of poverty', in which poverty is reproduced alongside an ethicized culture (Emigh and Szelenyi, 2001, Ladanyi and Szelenyi, 2006).

On the other hand, after 1989 we are witnessing a political recognition of Roma's plight and, implicitly, a lax governance network of government, intergovernmental and civil society organizations with the goal of improving the current situation of Roma. In parallel, a civil and political movement of Roma and pro-Roma organizations has developed since 1989 with the aim of influencing public policies regarding the Roma and combating discrimination and anti-gypsyism.

The first coherent policy to address the Roma was developed in 2001 for a period of 10 years (revised in 2006) and aimed to reduce the gaps between Roma and non-Roma in four areas: education, health, housing and employment. The most important public policies have been developed in the fields of education (subsidized places in high schools and universities, establishment of the position of school mediator), health (setting up the position of health mediator) and employment (employment caravans, job fairs for Roma). However, the lack of budgetary resources and of concrete positive results has led to the description of these policies and programs as most often inconsistent, unsustainable, piecemeal and especially unintegrated. The new inclusion strategy for Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority for the period 2012-2020 proposes clearer targets and more precise budget allocations, but is more oriented towards accessing European funds and leaves the task of attracting funds to local authorities and NGOs whose capacity to attract funds varies.

Thus, it is not surprising that after 15 years of public policy for the Roma minority, the gaps in the main areas continue. The average number of years of education for young Roma aged 16-24 is almost two times lower compared to the same age segment for the non-Roma (6.3 vs. 11.2) (World Bank, 2014). The employment rate for Roma is 35.5%, 30 percentage points lower than the general employment rate in Romania (Tarnovschi et al., 2012, p. 25). In the health sector, 45.7% of Roma children did not benefit from the mandatory vaccines included in the National Immunization Program and over 50% did not receive any vaccine (European Commission, 2014, p. 7).

Finally, Roma migration to Western Europe has raised the attention of both Western governments and intergovernmental organizations. The mobility of Roma from the former socialist countries has been permanently labeled as 'irregular' by Western political actors. The problematization of Roma migration in terms of 'profiteers' who

do not want to work and who prefer to live on illegal activities, nomads unable to integrate into European societies have prompted some Western governments to declare their migration a problem of 'national security' (van Baar, 2011b). Since 2007, cases of expulsions (called 'voluntary repatriation') of Bulgarian and Romanian Roma have been observed in numerous countries such as Italy, France, United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Northern Ireland. Nomadization (or the permanent labeling of Roma mobility as nomads, reiterating a stereotype of permanent mobility, contrary to the norms of European populations) and the criminalization of Roma mobility from Central and Eastern Europe, have legitimated some measures of dismantling of Roma camps (many of them having a long period of existence) and the expulsion of Roma (EU citizens) from the territories of the national states. Recent studies on the migration of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma to Western Europe show that their socio-economic plight in the countries of destination is far from improving, much of this blame being borne by local authorities who refuse to facilitate access to basic public services (Cherkezova and Tomova, 2013).

The current situation in Romania does not seem to be more optimistic. Although there is no particular attention from the media or political parties that could incite extremist movements or anti-gypsyism, this does not mean that hostile policies against the Roma in the last 25 years have not taken shape. The relocation of various Roma groups from the city center to peripheral neighborhoods, landfills, or substandard dwellings, abandoned or belonging to old industrial sites, subsequently transformed into social housing without access to adequate public services, is an example in this respect (Mionel, 2013, Vincze and Hossu, 2014, Vincze and Raț, 2013).

Conclusions

Although after 1989 various national and European programs were enabled in order to improve the socio-economic well-being of European Roma, I have shown in this paper that this attempts are not new. They have been part of the recurrent public policy responses of European states since the eighteenth century. The assimilation programs implemented by the Habsburg Empire and Socialist states targeting the Roma had as a starting point the paradigm of modernization, i.e. integration into economic, institutional, value systems and social relations, originating in Europe since the seventeenth century. Modernization, from the perspective of Roma assimilation, meant their transformation from a pagan, uncivilized, non-European population into obedient, productive and good Christians. The problematization of Roma in social terms, as a deviant, anti-social, uncivilized and especially non-European population, legitimized the policies of forced assimilation of authoritarian regimes. I have shown that the representations of a 'Gypsy image' crystallized during Enlightenment (anti-social behavior, lack of integration into the European lifestyle, persistent nomadism) perpetuated during state-formations, Nazism/Fascist regimes and in the last years during the 'irregular' migration of Eastern European Roma towards Western Europe.

In Romania, Roma were enslaved since their arrival until the mid-nineteenth century, when their plight is starting to be addressed by the newly formed modern nation-state. The abolition of Roma slavery did not bring significant improvements in their socio-

economic well-being, since nor were the boyars or the monasteries obliged to give them land to work on. Thus, the Roma would sell their labor or migrate towards West. With the formation of Greater Romania (1918), Roma from Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bukovina became Romanian citizens, and although having different occupational structures and sociocultural characteristics, their communality was that they occupied the lowest position in the socio-economic structure. But there were still no ethnic policies to tackle their plight. With the modernization of the economy, many traditional craft skills became redundant and thus, put more pressure on Roma to assimilate. During socialism, the living standard of many Roma improved, due to the systems' overall political objectives of full employment, reducing socio-economic disparities, inequality and social homogenization. The Roma were for the first time wage earners, access to school increased for their children, and Roma intellectuals were included in official state structures to help the implementation of assimilation policies. On the other hand, by encouraging Roma to take low or unskilled jobs in the labor intensive industry or state farms, providing them substandard housing on the outskirts of villages or towns, coupled with a weak control by the central authorities on the local ones regarding Roma integration shows the status of second-class citizens that the Roma experienced during socialism. The only policy-related document to assess the Roma's socio-economic conditions was published by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party at the end of the 1970s, showing the poor integration of Roma into the socialist structures, which was instead strongly dependent on the will of local authorities. The lack of political control towards Roma's socio-economic integration at the local level has ultimately led to different levels of integration, visible especially after 1989 when some researches revealed the socio-economic heterogeneity of Roma communities (e.g. Vincze, 2014).

The fall of socialism and the realigning of CEE states to Western (European) capitalism have had significant consequences for the Roma population in the region. Deindustrialization, the dismantling of collective and state farms has led to increased unemployment among Roma, being among the first to be laid off. Without a stable source of income and with the raising of (informal) costs for basic public services – such as education and health services –, their living standard declined, and some socio-economic indicators receded throughout the transition. Also, the state, through its public institutions, is not the sole responsible for Roma inclusion. The Roma became the target of the European Union's (EU) social inclusion programs, of the Decade Action Plans - an initiative of the World Bank and Open Society Foundation, of the National Inclusion Strategies implemented by the CEE governments, of United Nations' Human Development Initiatives and of national and European NGO's empowerment initiatives. By dispersing responsibilities to this multi-level 'web of governance' (Clarke, 2012), questions of democratic accountability and lack of political control for the social inclusion policies implemented can be raised (since neither NGOs nor the European Commission can be held accountable for their lack of efficiency) (see Anghel, 2015). More recently, EU's social inclusion programs or the new approach promoted by intergovernmental institutions, the World Bank / EU / UNDP's community-led local development (CLLD), does not contest the larger processes of unequal redistribution of resources and minority representation, limiting the debate only to its social inclusion agenda. The Roma are still represented as a 'problem'

minority, which needs special attention and must be mobilized through `integrated` projects to increase their welfare at local level. By imagining Roma as passive subjects of their welfare and not as active citizens, the risk of reiterating the `Gypsy image` stereotypes of `work-shy`, unchangeable `Roma culture`, `backward` way of living and `social-problem group` will persist and so will Roma's status of perennial `outsiders`.

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A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW ON UNDERSTANDING CUSTOMER- BASED BRAND EQUITY

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***Abstract:** This research takes the form of an essay with two-folded goals: to bring further clarifications on the concept of brand equity, as it was discussed in the branding literature, while at the same time presenting the frameworks that could help both practitioners and researchers to measure the power of a brand. For this purpose, the authors have reviewed the existing literature, and discussed the most important perspectives on the topic: the financial-based and consumer-based brand equity, while at the same time debating the limitations of each one. The findings have implications for future research into a holistic approach to brand equity, that should see an increase of the customer's perceived brand equity.*

***Keywords:** brand value; customer-based brand equity; branding; marketing*

Introduction

Creating brand value can lead to a higher marketing productivity (Kapferer, 1994). For many businesses, the brand is the most important asset of the organization (Keller, Lehmann, 2006; Kim, Kim, 2005). Brands are recognized for their powerful differential effect (Ind, 1997; Kapferer, 1997), shaping the output of a business and its competitiveness (Kim, Hyun, 2011; King, 1991). Therefore, over the last couple of decades, organizations have raised their investments in the creation of strong brands insofar that brands have become integral components of the corporate marketing strategies (Del Rio et al., 2001; Lim, O'Casey, 2001).

Like other assets of an organization, brands can be managed (deChernatony et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2008; Westberg et al., 2011). The process is commonly known as branding,

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and includes the strategies, tactics, and operations used to drive a brand forward. A powerful brand increases the visibility of an organization and helps it establish a good and unique position within the customer mindscape (Douglas, 2001). This further influences purchase options, as customer tend to choose those particular brands that they can recall better and faster.

The power that a brand has to influence customer behavior resides in its equity. Brand equity can be regarded from two major points of view: financial – how much money a brand is worth – and commercial or customer-based: what is the perceived, emotional value, which a customer receives from using the brand.

The purposes of this essay are, first, to present the conceptual differences between financial-based and customer-based brand values. Once making the distinction, the paper continues with presenting several conceptual models for measuring customer-based brand equity, the most important of which – Aaker's (1991) and Keller's (1993) – will be analyzed into more detail. Apart from clarifications, another aim of this inquiry is to raise awareness towards the importance of customer-based brand equity, which plays a role of utmost importance in current business.

Brand Equity

The power of a brand lies in its equity, a concept which has drawn increasingly more attention over the last couple of decades (Barwise, 1993; Krishnan, 1996; Van Osselaer, Alba, 2000). Although a central construct in the marketing management of brands (Aaker, 1996; del Rio et al., 2001), neither theoretical (Keller, 1993; Shocker et al., 1994), nor real case studies (Biel, 1992; Owen, 1993) have been able to agree on a definition of equity. Keller's (1993, p.1) attempt of defining brand equity as „the marketing effects uniquely attributable to the brand” seems to have had the most impact in literature. Despite the lack of consensus on how equity can be defined and measured (Yoo, Donthu, 2001), Keller's (1993) definition suggests that each brand is unique and, therefore, marketing operations of different brands will have different outcomes.

Equity is the added value a brand brings to a product (Farquhar, 1989). To facilitate the understanding of the concept, Keller (2008) suggests a comparison with non-branded products. Equity is an added benefit only available for products with a brand (del Rio et al., 2001). Products that lack a brand thus cannot gain any added value. Hence, equity is an intangible asset, which organizations strive to create, build and maintain (Lee, Griffith, 2012), with the aim of improving marketing activities. A fruitful (high) equity positions the brand in such a way that it will become more appealing to costumers (Ghosh, John, 1999), safeguarding the marketing success of the organization. Therefore, Pappu et al. (2006) consider equity to be a key indicator of the potential performance of a brand.

Measuring equity involves finding out the value that a brand yields to a product. There are divergent opinions on how brand equity can be calculated (Yoo, Donthu, 2001). Due to the high complexity associated with the brand equity concept, Keller (2003) and Aaker (1991) considered that in order to obtain a precise perception of what a brand

stands for, several measurements/ assessments are required. As a matter of fact, Keller (1993) finds out that two purposes have motivated researchers and practitioners to study brand equity. The financial purpose aims to identify the book value of the brand, with the aim of knowing how much money the brand is worth in the case of business mergers or acquisitions (Ratnatunga, Ewing, 2009). In most cases, this requires a financial evaluation of brand assets (Bambauer-Sachse, Mangold, 2011), like blueprints, product designs, or employment contracts. The results of the equity measurement are represented as the cash flows a product is able to attract thanks only to its brand (Simon, Sullivan, 1993). Financial valuation helps setting a price that can be used for selling the brand if interested buyers made a bid (Anghel et al., 2010).

The other purpose Keller (1993) discusses about is motivated by the desire to increase marketing productivity. Although financial estimates are useful for accounting purposes, they serve less to the fulfillment of marketing objectives, which are rather to be met by using customer-based measurement methods. For reducing marketing costs and tailoring the offer so that it fits the needs and desires of customers, Keller (1993) believes, managers should first understand what customers think about the brands they use or could use. Customer-based models therefore try to find out how customers relate to a brand (Kapferer, 1992), while searching into their own cognitive and sensorial processes (Ford, 2005), looking for their attitudes, beliefs, and purchase intentions towards the brand (Ailawadi et al., 2003).

A heated debate exists in literature as to which equity measurement method suits best. While financial-based, customer-based, or mixed financial-customer-based perspectives all depict the value of a brand (Biel, 1992; Cobb-Walgren, 1995), researchers couldn't decide whether one was more exact than another. Given that measurement contexts differ, various models have been developed, each of them fit for particular purposes. Some studies (Biedenbach, Marell, 2010; Gordon et al., 1993) have pursued exactly the same four-dimensional construct of Aaker (1991; 1996), based on brand awareness, brand loyalty, perceived quality, and brand associations, but, as Biedenbach et al. (2011) observe, have collided with the problem of the robustness of the model. In order to avoid the risk of inconsistent research results encountered later also by Kim and Hyun (2011), researchers have decided to create own models from the ground up (e.g.: Prasad, Dev, 2000; Kamakura, Russell, 1993; Srivastava, Shocker, 1991). These new models either dealt exclusively with customer-based equity or combined it with financial valuations. Amongst the authors who opted for combined models, Srivastava and Shocker (1991) tried to calculate brand strength by adding customer perceptions with brand fit, and, then, deducting the financial value of the brand. A similar model was used by Kamakura and Russell (1993), who computed both the tangible and the intangible values of a brand.

Nevertheless, the difficulty in using mixed methods lies in transforming the subjective, customer value, into an objective value, so as to obtain the total worth of a brand. This may explain why most of the studies have abandoned the combined method and have focused on using either the customer or the financial valuation. While acknowledged as important tools for branding purposes (Pappu et al., 2005), customer-based models were ignored by some authors who pointed out that there were no measurement strategies (Boo et al., 2009), neither any instruments for measuring customer-based

equity (DeChernatony, McDonald, 2003). However, there are also authors who lean towards the use of the latter method. Rego et al. (2009) observe that the financial-based evaluation can be a complicated process, as it requires internal information from businesses, which is difficult to obtain, or is unpublishable at all. The confidentiality of information makes researchers choose the customer-based equity analysis, which is easier to carry out thanks to the public availability of data. Adding to this, Rust et al. (2000) believe that, for marketing purposes, customer-based equity reaches further than financial-based equity. The marketing literature ordinarily agrees that the value given to a brand by its customers is more important than the monetary value (Bendixen et al., 2004). The rationale behind this approach is that, as brands belong to customers, the subjective assessment a buyer makes about a brand can provide more insights into the brand than the objective figures provided by a financial analysis. Hence, customer knowledge about the brand is perceived as one of the most valuable organizational assets in the development of marketing strategies. In this respect, Beristain and Zorilla (2011) have defined brand equity as the set of subjective associations customers make with a brand. The meanings that customers give to a brand confer individuality to that brand, while also shaping its identity and helping the customer differentiate it from rival brands (Pop, Ciurea, 2009). Therefore, both literature and business consultancies have started inquiring more about the associations made by customers with certain brands, and, based on the answers received, to design the personality of those brands.

The literature on branding reveals that several conceptual models with different constructs have been employed to measure customer-based equity (Kimpakorn, Tocquer, 2010). However, two models have dominated the marketing research over the last decades (Alexandris et al., 2008). Both try to portray brands from a customer's perspective (O'Cass, Grace, 2003), introducing variables that could be used in equity measurement. The first model was developed by Aaker (1991), who believes equity is the result of the interaction of four dimensions through which consumers respond to the marketing of the brand: awareness, loyalty, perceived quality, and brand associations. To Aaker (1991), the four dimensions are intangible assets that convey value to a brand. As such, Aaker (1991) defines equity as the value that consumers add to a brand, based on how aware they are of that brand, what concepts they associate with the brand, how they perceive the quality of the brand, and how loyal they are to the brand. Value results from higher awareness, positive associations, good perceived quality and high degree of loyalty.

Awareness: Aaker defines brand awareness as „the ability for a buyer to recognize or recall that a brand is a member of a certain product category” (1991, p. 61). According to Ross, brand awareness is „the strength of a brand's presence in the mind of the consumer” (2006, p. 30)

Loyalty: Loyalty is believed to be the most important constituent in the decision to buy and/or consume a branded product (Bubb, van Reast, 1973), representing how attached a customer is to a given brand (Aaker, 1991). Brand loyalty manifests through the repurchase of the same brand again and again, even when the customer has alternative choices. Repurchase decisions help the provider increase market share.

Perceived quality: The perceived quality is the result of costumers' judgement on the utility of a brand/product and on the satisfactions which they can earn through consuming the brand, in comparison with other offers on the market. As this dimension of Aaker's (1991) model is highly subjective, each costumer may differently perceive the same brand, depending on the personal values and preferences he or she associates with the brand (Zeithaml, 1988).

Associations: Associations are based on mental nodes. The connection of two or more nodes creates an association. In the case of brand equity, one of the nodes is represented by the brand. The other node belongs to the costumer and can take a variety of forms, from pieces of information, sensations, or feelings a costumer possesses, to experiences he lives. According to del Rio et al. (2001), an association occurs when a personal node is linked to a brand node. Aaker (1991) defines an association as „anything 'linked' in memory to a brand" (p. 109). Hence, associations are linkages of a brand in the mind of a costumer (Aaker, 1991; Keller, 1993). Therefore, the result of the association is a mental representation of the brand, which Keller (1999) also calls 'brand meaning', thus, the meaning that the consumer attributes to the brand. The map of associations shapes the aspect of a brand (Caldwell, Coshall, 2002).

Consciously or not, the costumer starts the process of evaluating the brand, by asking if the brand matches his own characteristics. The assessment will lead to the costumer spending more time on interacting with the brand. This will help the costumer gain more insights about the brand. Repeated use of the brand will let costumers even build a network of associations and gain additional insights, which will create a better brand knowledge. Building on Aaker's (1991) idea, Keller (1993) prefers to employ the concept of 'brand knowledge' instead of 'brand equity'. While brand equity is a more complex construct, consisting of several, interconnected variables, brand knowledge is simply defined by Keller as anything that someone can understand when assessing a brand. Keller's brand meaning strongly relies on the '*implied message*' (Vlăduțescu, 2018a), thus the idea that the customer understands from the message that the brand sends. The '*implied message*' ultimately helps customers to create a '*dominant image*' (Vlăduțescu, 2018b): a prevailing representation of the brand, a chief and foremost picture of how the customers perceive and understand the brand, which does not necessarily have to match the identity that the brand owner strives to convey.

While assessing a brand, consumers create mental representations which they associate with that brand (Peter, Olson, 2001). The associations will let the consumers assign a particular meaning to the brand (Lee, Back, 2008). The sum of meanings a brand receives from its costumers creates the brand personality and adds value to the brand equity. Hence, customer-based equity measurement deals with the knowledge costumers have about a brand and the meanings they associate to that brand (Lee, Back, 2008). Therefore, Keller (1993) believes that brand knowledge explains how well a costumer understands the identity of a brand and the value deriving from it. If the identity is correctly understood, the costumer will identify himself with the brand, as the costumer's perceived identity of the brand will match the real identity.

Conclusions

This essay has tried to show that brands are more than mere names of a product: they are a mosaic of values, beliefs, attitudes or feelings that consumers associate with that product (name). When planning their marketing strategies, organizations should be aware of the power of their brands, which belong to the non-material heritage of their owners. This manuscript has discussed, to a certain extent, the very concept of brand ‘owner’, showing that the owner is not only the organization that possesses the legal rights over the brand, but also the people who interact with the brand and ‘own’ it through the mental connections created with the brand. This mental ownership was the starting point for Aaker’s (1991) customer-based equity model: once aware of a brand, customers will associate it with certain values which will help them make an appraisal of the brand’s quality. The quality has to be understood subjectively as ‘that’ what a brand can do for a customer, or, in other words, the value that a customer identifies in a brand. If the value is high, then chances are also high that the customer will remain loyal to the brand, guaranteeing the success of the business.

The dispute between the ‘financial’ and the ‘emotional’ value of brands is nothing new to business, which is accustomed to contests between ‘tangibility’ and ‘intangibility’ (Iacob et al., 2012; Jora et al., 2018). In their quest to increase profits and shareholder value, businesses ought to ask themselves if there is not as well a humanistic, more customer-oriented approach to marketing and brand-building, an orientation which has been suggested by some authors as being a more sustainable approach for the global economy (Crisu et al., 2015). This research has claimed that brands belong to customers, not (only) to businesses. It is what a customer thinks about a brand that actually defines the value of that brand on the market, not how the business wants the brand to be perceived by its customers. This idea also relies on psychological research, which has indicated direct experimentation as a construct for building value and personality (Drămnescu, Enăchescu, 2018), a fact that is also true in the case of customers who interact with brands and derive mental representations of the latter ones from their experience.

Several limitations of this essay need to be acknowledged. The purpose of this paper was to bring further clarifications on the concepts of financial-based and customer-based brand equity, by further analyzing the existent literature on brand equity. Thus, one of the limitations of the current study is the rather restricted novelty on the topic. The authors have, however, considered the most important contributions to brand equity when drawing on their conclusions. Lastly, as the inquiry did not employ any case study to assist with a better understanding of the discussed concepts, the authors recommend further research that could use the example of existing brands, and existing digital big data, to better outline the ideas presented.

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POVERTY EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL SITUATION. 1990-2017¹

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Abstract: *The study shows the evolution of poverty in Romania in 1990-2017, within the European context, analysing statistics and local and international information. After the brief presentation of the basic concepts used to analyse the phenomenon, the two main stages of its dynamics in Romania are presented: 1990-2000 – when the scale of poverty increased continuously, and 2000-2017 – when the phenomenon gradually decreased, and became less intense, at least in terms of the severe and absolute poverty. Such performance is noteworthy, knowing that over the past century, much of the Romanian population could not afford a consumption of goods and services above the limits of the subsistence basket.*

Keywords: *incomes, minimal decent consumption, subsistence, inequalities, social protection*

Poverty in the '90s

As the Ceausescu era ended, the population of Romania hoped to return to a kind of normality with nothing in common with the frustrations experienced during the socialism. After 1990, however, as an effect of the mass crumbling of the national economy, the Romanian society was to experience a new period of economic and social drifting, on the social background highly traumatized, by the former regime, although in a different manner. Until 2000, in Romania, as in several other Central and East European societies in transition, there were two bursts of poverty at a high social scale. However, compared to other European countries in a similar situation, Romania had, in 1996-1999, the highest rate of poverty, second only to Albania.

Poverty rate. The first estimations performed by various social surveys of poverty dimensions in Romania, showed that the phenomenon already had acquired worrying

¹ This article is part of a series of articles regarding poverty in Romania. See also JCPP 2/2018, 3/2018

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proportions in 1993-1994, just three-four years after the process of economic dismantling started.

According to World Bank data, the population affected by poverty reached 22%, while according to the International Monetary Fund and The Research Institute for Quality of Life, it was 39.3% of the total population. UNDP's (1998) estimations indicated a poverty rate of 28% for 1996 and 44% for 2000 (Zamfir coord., 2001). Although the figures published by various, internal or external sources, are somehow different, the trend of the phenomenon was rather strong, showing for 1993-1994, and for 1997-1999, two stages of poverty worsening.

Table 1. Poverty rate in Romania. 1995-1999

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Poverty rate	25.27	19.85	30.81	33.82	41.2
Absolute poverty rate	7.96	5.97	9.53	11.7	16.6

Source: Testiuc et al., 2001, p.34

The World Bank showed that the evolution of poverty in Romania was inversely proportional to the general evolution of the economy. This situation occurred after several decades of economic egalitarianism in the former communist space. Romania started, in 1989, from a Gini coefficient of around 20, to reach 31 in 1999, which meant a substantial polarization of the incomes within a rather short interval. The crash of the economy has also diminished the standard of life, mainly by the erosion of the basic incomes and by the decrease of available places of work.

Wages and the minimal decent/subsistence consumption

The first category of population directly affected by poverty – the employees – appeared almost overnight, as the measures of national economic reorganisation started to be implemented.

The dramatic decrease of the number of employees was equivalent with a depressed standard of living for many households. In 2000, the number of employees (with working contract on determined or undetermined period) was 55% of the corresponding 1989 number.

Table 2. Number of employees. 1989-2000 (1989= 100)

Year	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Employees (thousands)	7997	8156	7547	6888	6672	6201	5707	5634	5125	5025	4616	4457
%	100	102.7	94.7	86.1	83.4	77.5	71.4	70.5	64.1	62.8	57.7	55.7

Source: CNS, Statistic Yearbook of Romania 1993- 1998, Statistic Bulletin CNS 1998- 2000

Table 3. Evolution of wages in some transition countries, compared to 1989 (1989=100%)

	1993	1996
Bulgaria ab)	77,6	49,8
Czech Republic ae)	78,8	100,4
Estonia ae)	46,3	55,2
Hungary f)	83,1	74,3
Latvia eg)	51,8	54,1
Lithuania ce)	28,4	34,8
Poland f)	71,2	77,9
Romania ce)	64,4	79,8
Slovakia cd)	69,2	81,9
Slovenia c)	70,4	83,1

Source: UNICEF 1998, *Regional monitoring report no. 5*

Note: a) based on gross wages; b) only the public sector; c) net wages; d) base, 1995 = 100; e) on the basis of the consumer price index BERD (1997); f) real net index calculated by the Bureau of Statistics; g) 1990-1993: gross wages, 1994-1996: net wages.

After a strong decrease until 1993-1994 (when the average wage decreased by 38% compared to 1989), there was a period of slight recovery until 1996, followed by a new crash, which set the average wage in 1997-2000 to 61.5% of 1989 value (Table 4).

Table 4. Evolution of real wages in Romania. 1990-2000 (1989= 100)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Net minimal wage	95.1	80.7	52.5	36.2	33.4	33.8	35.5	26.3	28.6	25.4	26.1
Net average wage	105.0	85.4	74.6	62.1	62.4	70.2	76.9	59.4	61.5	61.6	60.4

Source: *The Research Institute for Quality of Life database*

Table 5. Gross average wage (in US \$) for some East-European countries (1999)

Country	Slovenia	Poland	Czech Republic	Hungary	Romania
Gross average wage	953.1	450.9	365.8	325.7	127.7

Source: CESTAT no. 2/2000 and authors' calculation

Although the contribution of the wages had decreased considerably within the household budget, they formed a consistent part of the household income throughout the period of transition for much of the population.

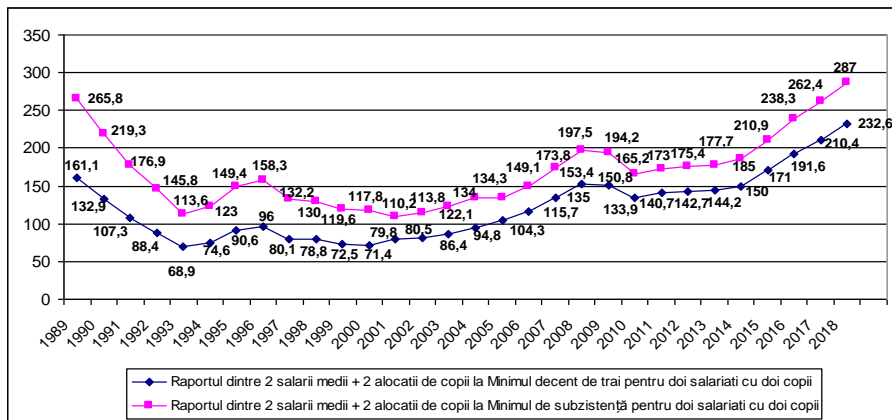
Table 6. Wage poverty in Central and Eastern Europe in 1996-1999 (PPP-purchasing power parity)

Country	Year	Rate of wage poverty		GDP 1998(\$ USA) /capita, ref. 1996 PPP
		2\$/PPP/day	4\$/PPP/day	
Romania	1998	6,8	44,5	5571
Bulgaria	1995	3,1	18,2	4683
Slovakia	1997	2,6	8,6	9624
Hungary	1997	1,3	15,4	9832
Poland	1998	1,2	18,4	7543
Czech Republic	1996	0,0	0,8	12197
Slovenia	1997/1998	0,0	0,7	14399
R. Moldova	1999	55,4	89,6	1995

Source: *** Transition Report 2000, European Bank for Reconstruction and development p. 107

In 1999, the average net wage was 101.4 US\$ compared to 150.7 US\$ in 1990. At the same time, the wages were much below the values from other East European countries in transition (Table 6).

Chart 1. Ratio of 2 average wages plus the allocations for 2 children, and the basket for minimal subsistence/decent consumption (MS/MD), in 1989-2018



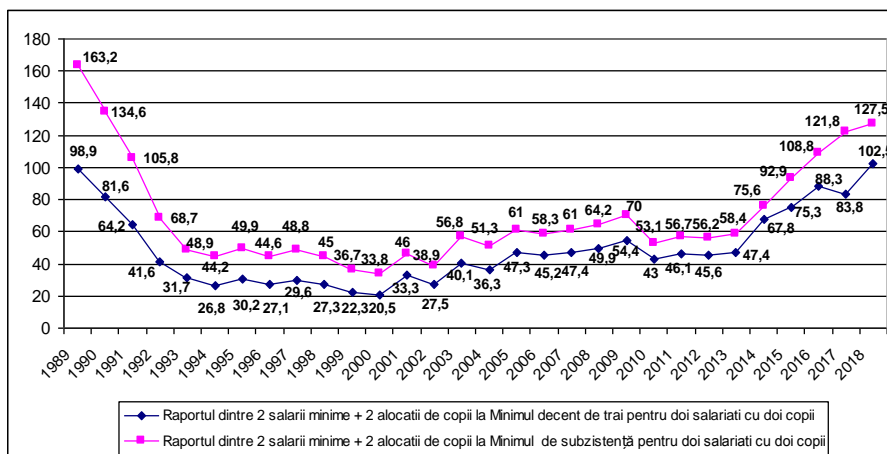
Sources: Statistic Yearbook of Romania 1990 - 2018, website Ministry of Labour and Social Justice.

Note: Value of the consumption basket calculated by Gh. Barbu in 1990-1999, then by A. Mibăilescu in 2000-2018. Index calculation and chart, Adina Mibăilescu.

A family of two persons, with two children, could not ensure the minimal basket for a decent consumption, composed according to The Research Institute for Quality of Life (RIQL) methodology, unless they had two average wages, starting with 1992, until 2005.

The economic situation was much more difficult for a family with two children who had two minimal wages. This type of family could not even provide for the subsistence basket, starting in 1992, up to 2015.

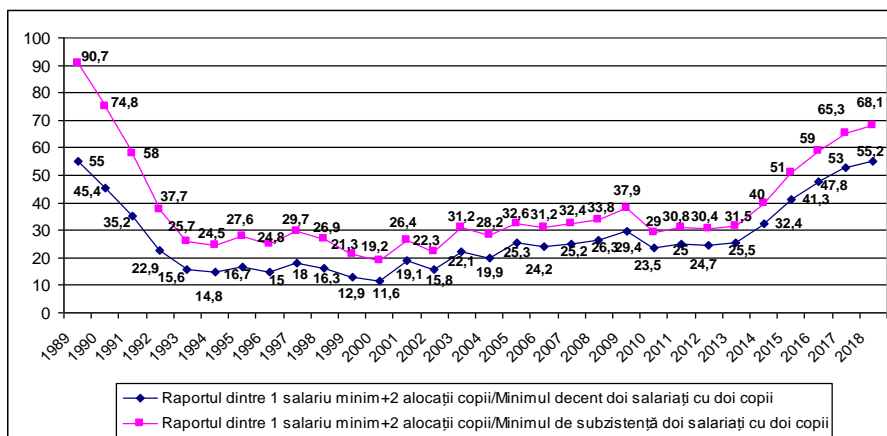
Chart 2. Ratio of 2 minimal wages plus the allocations for 2 children, and the basket for minimal subsistence/decent consumption, in 1989-2018



Sources: *Statistic Yearbook of Romania 1990 - 2018, website Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Protection and the Elder. Value of the consumption basket calculated by Gh. Barbu in 1990-1999, then by A. Mihăilescu in 2000-2018. Index calculation and chart, Adina Mihăilescu.*

A particularly difficult situation was that of a family of two persons, having two children, when they only had one minimal wage.

Chart 3. Ratio of 1 minimal wage plus the allocations for 2 children, and the basket for minimal subsistence/decent consumption, in 1989-2018



Sources: *Statistic Yearbook of Romania 1990 - 2018, website Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Protection and the Elder. Value of the consumption basket calculated by Gh. Barbu in 1990-1999, then by A. Mihăilescu in 2000-2018. Index calculation and chart, Adina Mihăilescu.*

Replacement incomes – social protection

The social protection institution was meant to replace partially the incomes from wage lost due to the economic reorganisation. The lost wages were replaced by various categories of incomes, substantially lower: pension, unemployment aid, support allocation, social aid. An effect of the fast contraction of the economic sector, in the 90s, was the shrinking taxation basis, which called for higher rates of social contributions for the financial support of social protection.

Table 7. Social contributions (%) in Romania - 2001 compared to 1989

Contribution	1989	2001
Budget of social insurances for pensions and other social rights	13 (A)	35-45 (A+S)
Unemployment fund	0	6 (A+S)
Fund for additional pension	2-3 (S)	0
Health insurances fund	0	14 (A+S)
Special fund for the people with disabilities	0	3 (A)
Special fund for education	0	2 (A)
Contributions for the chamber of labour	0	1 (A)
Total	15-16 13 (A); 2-3 (S)	61-71 41,3-51,3 (A); 19,6 (S)

Source: Văcărel, 2001; Note: A = employer contribution; S = employee contribution

Table 8. Social contributions (%) in some countries of the European Union, in 1998

Country	Employees	Employers	Total
Bulgaria - total, of which:	2.9	40.6-55.6	43.5- 58.5
pensions	2.0	37-52	39-54
Czech Republic-total, of which:	13.3	35.5	48.5
pensions	6.8	0.0	6.8
Hungary - total, of which:	11.5	48.2	59.7
pensions	6.0	24.5	30.5
France - total, of which:	24.3	37.8	62.1
pensions	6.6	8.2	14.8
Germany - total, of which:	19.7	19.7	39.3
pensions	9.3	9.3	18.6
Romania - total, of which:	19.6	40.3	59.9
pensions	11.6	23.3	34.9

Source: *** Financing social protection in Romania, 2017, Note: * Romania - 2001.

Also, during 1990-2000, in Romania, there was a clear preference for a higher taxation of the employee than of the employer. Paid work was higher taxed socially than in other

transition countries. The social taxation rate was 59.9%, close to some countries such as France (62.1%) or Hungary (59.7%), with the notification that in 1998, Hungary taxed its employees with just 11.5% (GDP - Hungary: 4510 USD/ capita), and Romania, with 19.6% (at a GDP of 1360 USD/capita). Furthermore, while the Romanian employee paid 11.6% of the wage for pension, the Hungarian employee paid just 6%. Hungary taxed its employees almost 6 times less than the Romanian employees.

Throughout the '90s, the social expenditure oscillated, as proportion of the GDP, between 15.2 % (in 1993) – of which 12.5% for social transfers and health - and 18.2 % (in 1999) (*Human Development Report, UNDP, 1999*).

Table 9. Evolution of the public social expenditure in Romania – 1990-2000

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Public social spending (1989 = 100)	104.2	80.4	65.4	62.0	67.9	80.5	86.0	76.8	76.4	74.6	72.6

Source: RIQL database; Note: The expenditure includes social transfers for social work, allocations, pensions, aids and indemnities, education, health care, other social spending, not including dwelling and lodging

The allocations for family and motherhood, as proportion of the overall budget spending, displayed a strongly decreasing trend, from 1990 to 1996, after which the proportion never reached the 1990 value. Therefore, in Romania it was a deliberate social policy to maintain the families with children in poverty.

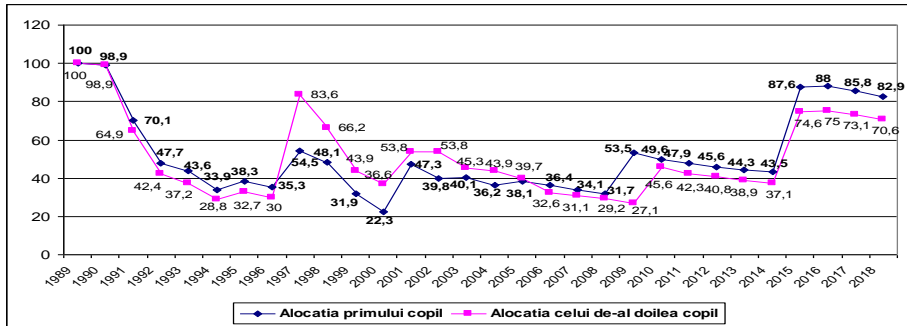
Table 10. Allocations for family and motherhood - % of total budget expenditure

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	9.8	4.7	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.3	2.1	3.6	4.0

Source: Zamfir Elena, Ilie Bădescu, Cătălin Zamfir (coord.), Social state of the Romanian society after 10 years ..., 2000, pg. 25

Also, in 1990-2016, the allocations for children had an extremely critical evolution.

Chart 4. Evolution of the real allocation for the first and second child, in 1989-2018



Source: Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Protection and the Elder. The allocation index, price index and real allocation index for the first and second child, compared to 1989 – calculated by A. Mihăilescu, RIQL

Not even after 29 years from the change of the political regime, this social benefit failed to reach its real value from 1989. This is one of the causes for the expanded poverty of the children in Romania.

The public spending for social assistance, as proportion of the GDP, maintained at a rather low level, although the burst of poverty in Romania would have called for much more balanced social policies.

Table 11. Public spending for social assistance, as % of the GDP

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
% of the GDP	0,03	0,4	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,3

Source: Zamfir Elena, Ilie Bădescu, Cătălin Zamfir (coord.), *Social state of the Romanian society after 10 years ..., 2000*, pg. 25

During the transition years, however, the politicians opted for an extremely residual intervention of the social work services. The use of minimal proportions of resources for social protection, from the GDP, singled out Romania among the group of transition countries, and within the EU. This did not change much after 2000, either, although the minimal guaranteed income was introduced.

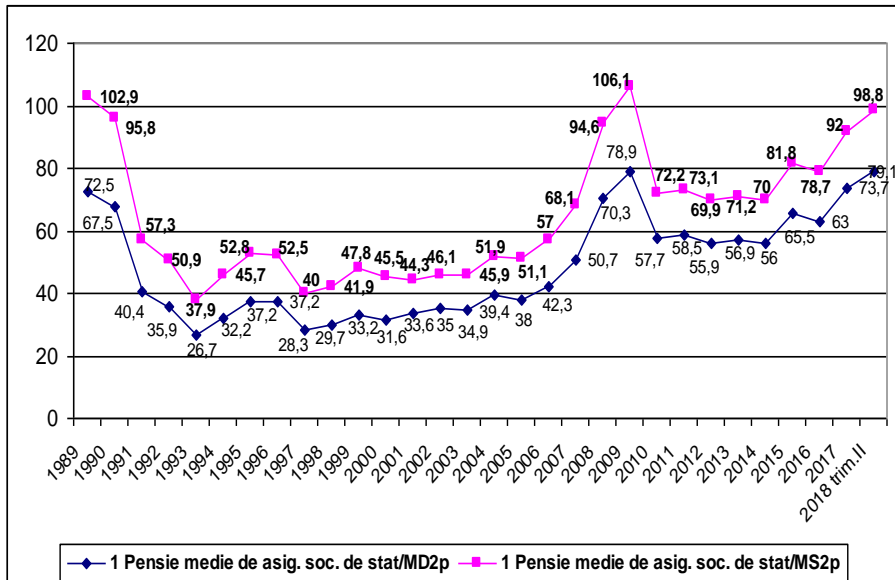
Table 12. Social aid amount, in 1994-1999 (ROL)

Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Amount	45000	45000	51000	96750	134750	166500

Sources: Law 28/1994 of the social insurances budget, Law 67/1995 for social aid, and Law 416/2001 – Minimal guaranteed income

The urban families of pensioners, having an average social insurance pension, had a particularly difficult situation throughout the entire 1989-2018 period (Chart 7). Only in 2009 they could cover the expenditure for the subsistence basket, and never had access to the minimal decent consumption basket.

Chart 5. Evolution of the real net social insurance pension, related to the minimal basket of decent consumption, and the subsistence basket, for the family of two people, in urban, October 1989 – 2018 (1989=100%)

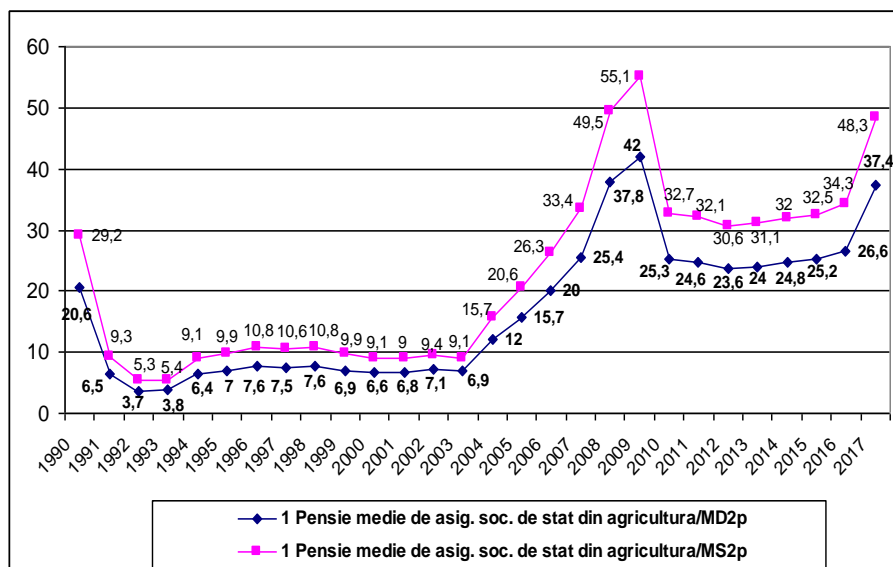


Source: Romania Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2018, INS. Value of the minimal consumption basket calculated by Gh. Barbu in 1990-1999, then, by A. Mihăilescu in 2000-2018. Index calculation and chart, Adina Mihăilescu

The rural families of pensioners having an average real pension from agriculture, were in an even worse situation. Such families were very far from the ideal of meeting the necessities included in the minimal basket for decent consumption, and even in the basket of subsistence (Chart 6).

The higher extreme poverty in the rural proved to be the most resistant component of the total poverty along the period of economic growth. This shows the need for interventions of the state with social policies transcending the invisible hand of the market economy, to alleviate the impact of the rural poverty.

Chart 6. Evolution of the real net pension from agriculture, related to minimal basket of decent consumption, and the subsistence basket, for the family of two people, in rural, October 1989 – 2018 (1989=100%)



Source: Romania Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2018, INS. Value of the minimal consumption basket calculated by Gb. Barbu in 1990-1999, then, by A. Mihăilescu in 2000-2018. Index calculation and chart Adina Mihăilescu.

Therefore, in the 90s, some categories of families, and even social groups, were systematically confronted with a severe poverty, having a high risk of becoming permanent.

Table 13. Poverty rate depending on the age and number of children – 1995 and 1998

	1995	1998
1. Poverty rate depending on the number of children		
- No children	16.4	23.5
- 1 child	24.6	35.0
- 2 children	30.1	43.6
- 3 children	52.8	64.6
- 4 children or more	71.1	83.6
2. Poverty rate depending on the age:		
- Under 7 years old	30.2	37.7
- 7- 15 years old	37.1	48.7
- 16- 25 years old	34.3	45.5
- 26- 35 years old	21.7	31.0

	1995	1998
- 36- 45 years old	26.0	36.1
- 46- 55 years old	23.7	32.3
- 56- 65 years old	14.5	21.0
- Above 65 years old	9.7	11.4

Source: Teșliuc, Pop, Peșliuc, 2001

The strongest predictor of poverty was the fact that people able to work remained, a long time, outside the labour market. The groups most affected by poverty were the children, young people and the families with many children, the families of pensioners, with just one pension and, particularly, the families having children, and with no other periodic incomes except the children allocations. Usually, a larger number of members increases the risk of poverty for that family. The birth of the first child in a household increases the risk of poverty by almost 50%, and the same is valid for the second, third or fourth child. The single parent families are highly vulnerable.

Main cause of poverty during the transition period

As shown in chapter 4.1 (particularly charts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6), the extremely low level of the basic incomes of most of the Romanian population was and still is an economic and social problem, even from the 90s; although it improved slightly in the recent 2-3 years, some social segments still persist. Romania ranked for decades, and still ranks on the (pen)ultimate position within EU in terms of employee income, amount of pensions and income polarization, and also in terms of the improper ratio between the proportion of the profit and the proportion of the cost of work within the net national income.

Table 14. Evolution of the number of poor persons. 2000-2011

Evolution of the no. of poor persons (thousands) in 2000-2011												
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Relative poverty	3836	3809	4053	3760	3880	3936	4015	3984	3914	3765	3683	3816
Absolute poverty	8054	6857	6471	5455	4078	3268	2980	2112	1226	943	1110	1078

Source: Pana, 2013, *Poverty – o radiography* (2)...

About 60% of the households whose head of family is unemployed, have a high level of economic vulnerability (Pop L, Voicu B, 2000). Also, in 1995, 51.9% of the households whose head of family is agricultural worker, were in poverty. In 1998, their proportion increased up to 57.4% (Teșliuc, Pop, Teșliuc, 2001).

Evolution of poverty after 2000

The economic growth of Romania decreased the number and proportion of the people living in poverty, from 35.9% to 28.9% of the total population (World Bank data) in 2000-2002.

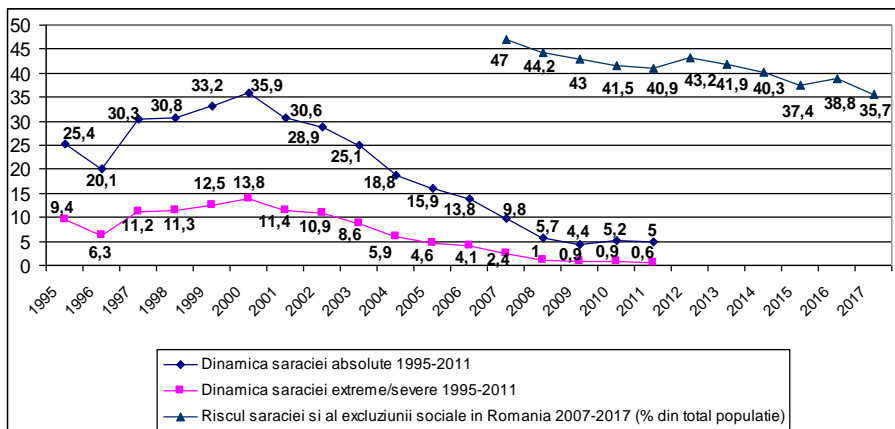
The data series that Eurostat provides as of 2007 (***) *People at risk of ...*, Eurostat, 2017), refer to the risk of poverty and social exclusion. The data show extremely high proportions of poverty and social exclusion (which include absolute poverty, extreme/severe poverty, or food poverty) particularly in 2007 (47%) and 2008 (44.3%) (Chart 7), decreasing to 35.7%, in 2017.

Table 15. Risk of poverty and social exclusion in Romania and EU28 average, in 2017, by categories of households and population, and for the total population (%)

	Total	Gender		Age		Households		Activity status	
		Female	Men	Under 15	65 +	No children	With children	Employed	Unemployed
Romania	35.7	36.5	34.9	41.7	33.2	33.4	37.5	26.8	67.0
EU 28	22.5	23.3	21.6	24.5	18.1	21.9	23.0	12.3	64.7

Source: *** *At risk of poverty or social exclusion in Romania, 2017*, Eurostat, 2018, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/news/themes-in-the-spotlight/poverty-day-2018>

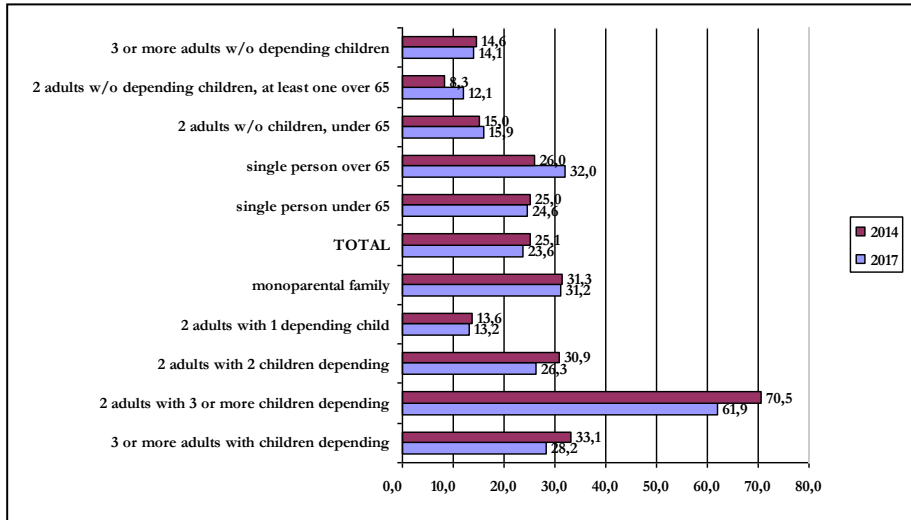
Chart 7. Evolution of absolute poverty and of extreme/severe poverty in Romania, in 1995-2011. Risk of poverty and social exclusion, in 2007-2017 (% of total population)



Sources: for 1995-2002: *** *Romania: Poverty evaluation*, World Bank, 2003; for 2002-2011, Pana Marin, 2013, *Poverty – o radiography (1)*: Official threshold, close to the minimal national wage; *Governing Course*, 20.11; for the risk of poverty and social exclusion 2007-2016: *** *People at risk of ...*, Eurostat, 2017; 2017 data: *** *At risk of poverty or social exclusion in Romania, 2017*, Eurostat, 2018

Unlike Eurostat data, which evaluated the risk of poverty and social exclusion to 35.7% of the total population, a study of INS Bucharest (Iagăr, coord., 2018) shows that in 2017, in Romania "poverty was very deep" and affected some 4.6 million people, which gives a poverty rate of 23.5%.

Chart 8. Poverty rate by type of household, 2014, 2017



Source: Iagăr, coordinator, INS, 2018

The highest incidence of poverty was among the children and young people up to the age of 18, one third of them living below the poverty threshold.

Poverty affected unequally the different regions of the country. In 2017, the highest rates of poverty were in North-East and South-West Oltenia regions of development (33.4%) and in South-East, while the lowest poverty rate was in Bucharest-Ilfov (6.1%).

In terms of gender, higher differences appear at the age group 65+, where in 2017, the poverty rate for women was 11.3% higher than the poverty rate for men. The men aged 50-64 were more affected by poverty than the women (by 2.1%). One unemployed person of two was poor, the unemployed having the worst situation (more than half of the men were poor, compared to almost two fifth of the women).

In 2015, after two and a half decades of capitalism, Romania still was on the top position in EU statistics in terms of the poverty risk after social transfers (25.4%), and second after Bulgaria, in terms of the persons with severe material deprivation (32.7%) (Eurostat, 2017).

In 2014, the Romanian population had a standard of living representing 52% of the average EU28 level, with a gap of 10% – 20% even to the former socialist countries

that joined the EU. Romania was on the top position in Europe in terms of poverty of the families with children (Pana, 2014).

Table 16. Thresholds of relative/absolute poverty between 2002-2011 (lei/month/equivalent adult)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Relative poverty threshold	138,7	174,0	226,0	263,2	299,7	358,5	459,3	512,5	503,5	530,4
Absolute poverty threshold	153,6	167,9	191,5	208,1	218,3	232,6	247,2	258,9	279,6	288,4
Severe poverty threshold	106,1	116,0	132,3	143,8	150,8	160,7	170,8	178,9	193,1	199,2
Nutrition poverty threshold	87,5	95,6	109,1	118,6	124,3	132,5	140,8	147,5	159,3	164,3

Source: Pana Marin, 2013, *Poverty – a radiography (1): Official threshold, in ...*

Note: All thresholds take in consideration prices in December of each year, apart of relative poverty, which are taking in consideration January prices

Table 17. Equivalent mean annual income (EURO) in the states that recently joined EU, 2007-2016

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
EU mean	13898	14607	14815	14958	15082	15577	15562	15921	16269	...
Bulgaria	1479	2180	2828	3017	2911	2859	2924	3320	3332	3147
Czech R.	5423	6068	7295	7058	7451	7791	7694	7622	7423	...
Estonia	4447	5541	6209	5727	5603	5985	6583	7219	7882	...
Latvia	3363	4727	5355	4488	4195	4459	4463	5210	5840	6374
Lithuania	3273	4110	4715	4026	3857	4337	4698	4821	5180	...
Hungary	3936	4400	4739	4241	4493	4696	4449	4512	4567	4772
Poland	3502	4154	5090	4402	5032	5057	5174	5339	5560	
Romania	1604	1954	2172	2036	2089	2049	2018	2158	2315	2448

Source: ****Mean and median income by household type ...**

In 2015, the equivalent net median income in Romania was more than seven times lower (in euro) than the EU28 mean.

Effect of the measures of austerity taken by the Government of Romania in 2010

By the 25% cut of the public wages and by the lower social protection of the categories of population with economic and social vulnerability, the purchasing power of the Romanians decreased by more than 9%, from March 2010 to March 2011. During this interval, increases of the real wage were only in the tobacco industry, in oil processing and in the video and TV production. The national average net wage decreased by 16 lei in March 2011, compared to March 2010, from 1,493 to 1,477 lei (INS, 2011). Despite the rather low level of the income for most of the Romanian population, when the incomes decrease in the EU member countries, these decreases are stronger in Romania. For instance, in 2012, when the mean European incomes decreased by 0.9%, compared to 2011, in Romania the decrease was 4.3% in 2011, compared to 2010, that is, even before the European trend. Such trends contributed to the long-term maintenance of 5% or higher gap between Romanian and European mean poverty rate.

The incomes of the population were quite different according to the residential profile

In 2015, the average income in the urban households were 31.5% higher than those of the rural households. These incomes came in a proportion of 65.6% from wages, 22.5% from social services and 6.5% incomes in kind. In the rural, the main source of incomes was the agricultural production – 27.5% (the bulk of it, 20.4% of the total incomes – being the value of self-consumption). The monetary incomes from agriculture represented just 7% of the rural households' income. The balance came from wages (38.5%) and social services (26.4%) (Pisica et al., 2016, p. 36-37)

Inequalities in population's income

Romania has one of the strongest polarizations of incomes within the EU. As known, where the polarization of incomes is strong, the national poverty rates remain high on the long term.

Table 18. Evolution of incomes inequality in Romania and in other EU 28 countries

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
EU 28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.9	5.0	5.0	5.0
EU 27	...	...	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.9	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0
Bulgaria	...	...	...	5.1	7.0	6.5	5.9	5.9	6.5	6.1	6.6
Czech R.	...	...	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4
Poland	...	...	6.6	5.6	5.3	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.9	4.9
Romania	4.6	4.8	4.9	5.3	7.8	7.0	6.7	6.0	6.2	6.3	6.6
Germany	...	...	...	4.1	4.9	4.8	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.6
Hungary	3.3	...	4.0	5.5	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.9	4.0	4.2

Source: *** 2015, *Inequality of income distribution, Eurostat*

In 2015, there was a gap of ¼.2 between the average incomes per decile (1/3.8 in 2014). The ratio between the average incomes of the people from the households from the first and last decile were 1/8 in 2015 (1/7.6 in 2014). The households from the first decile had, in 2015, 4.76% of the total incomes, while those from the last decile, 19.83%. The first three deciles had 17.45% of the total incomes. Therefore, the population from decile 10 (7.61% of the total population) had higher incomes than the population from the first three deciles (36.21% of the total population) (Pisică et al., 2016, p. 36-37).

Table 19. The Gini coefficient in Romania, compared with the European average

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
EU average	...	...	...	30.5	30.8	30.5	30.5	30.9	31.0	...
Romania	38.3	35.9	34.5	33.5	33.5	34.0	34.6	35.0	37.4	34.7 ^p

Source: *** Gini coefficient of equalised disposable income - EU-SILC survey, ... Note: ... data not available: *p* – provisional data

Compared to other European countries such as Hungary, Poland, Germany (except Bulgaria), in Romania, the incomes of the population were (particularly in 2006-2010), much more polarized. According to Eurostat, for years in a row, the inequality of incomes increased in Romania, from 33.5% to 37.4%, which puts Romania, next to Bulgaria and the Baltic states, among the poorest countries, and with the highest inequalities, in Europe.

Despite the occasional raise of wages or pensions, and of the social protection interventions, on the background of the regulations addressing the business environment, Romania supported some economic policies that were singular in Europe (for instance, maximization of enterprise profits above the statistical level, to the detriment of maintaining at low levels the incomes of the population, not to mention the irresponsible management of the natural resources of the country, massively sold over the past 29 years to foreign citizens or institutions). Therefore, in an economy which seems to have good results compared to the recent dynamics of the European countries, the phenomenon of poverty deepened, being persistent and expanding on the long term. The average standard of living of the population remained much lower, not just compared to the Western Europe, but also with the Central and East-European countries, even during the periods of highest economic growth.

Inefficiency of the social protection in Romania

The main instrument for the accomplishment of the social solidarity in Europe is the social protection. In 2006, the EU member countries were using about 27% of EU GDP for social protection. Social protection usually decreases the average poverty by 38%. In Romania, the proportion of social expenditure within the total public

expenditure was 37.3% in 2008, which put Romania on the penultimate position in the EU, before Latvia (32.5 %).

In 2008, the European average social expenditure was 56.2 % of the public expenditure.

Table 20. Poverty rate after social transfers according to the criterion of the most frequent occupational status, in 2015 (%)

	Total population	Employed population	Unemployed population	Unemployed people	Pensioners	Other inactive persons
EU 28 average	16.3	9.5	23.8	47.5	13.2	29.0
Bulgaria	21.5	7.7	35.0	53.3	30.0	29.1
Czech R.	8.6	4.0	14.3	48.7	7.4	14.0
Estonia	22.0	10.0	39.1	54.8	40.1	33.6
Latvia	22.2	9.2	37.9	55.0	36.7	31.9
Lithuania	20.7	9.9	33.6	62.3	27.6	30.1
Hungary	13.1	9.3	17.0	54.4	5.0	24.5
Poland	16.4	11.2	22.2	46.7	11.1	28.1
Romania	22.4	18.8	26.4	55.5	15.8	42.1

Source: ***At-risk-of-poverty rate after social transfers by ..., Eurostat, 2017

Of the old EU15 member states, the United Kingdom had the lowest proportion of social expenditure within the total public expenditure – 50%, while the highest proportion was in Germany – 63.4% (Zamfir (coord.), 2011).

Depending on the function ascribed to the social protection, the reduction of poverty varied from country to country, ranging from less than 10% (Romania) and 60 %.

The National Strategy for social inclusion and reduction of poverty for the period 2015-2020 (Government of Romania), acknowledges the following categories of people as exposed to the risk of poverty or social exclusions: the people at risk of poverty after social transfers, the people with severe material deprivation and the people from households with low intensity of work. Other former socialist states allocated much more to the social sector than Romania: Bulgaria – 41 %, Slovakia – 45.8 %, Hungary – 46.5 %. In Romania, the social protection expenditure gained, after 1990, negative connotation, being considered, in corpore, a kind of social assistance.

Severe material deprivation

In 2007, for some 42 European residents (17 % of EU population), the material conditions of living were severely affected by the lack of staples. The proportions of the affected population were different in different EU areas: less than 1 in 10 people in states such as the Northern states, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, a third of the population in countries such as Hungary and Poland, half of the population in Romania and

Latvia, and almost three quarters of the population in Bulgaria. In 2007, the level of deprivation was comparable in Romania with that from Bulgaria, although the latter had a better situation than Romania at some indicators.

Table 21. Poor population in EU countries, in 2007 (%)

Country	Lacking				Capacity		
	Phone	Colour TV	Washing machine	Car	Of paying the instalment (rent) for the dwelling	Of heating in winter	To cope with unexpected expenditures
EU-27	6	2	7	22	7	21	57
Romania	43	9	55	75	0	44	69
Bulgaria	39	20	55	67	5	17	96
Lithuania	10	5	19	47	4	42	89
Hungary	10	2	8	42	10	24	88
Czech R.	6	3	2	43	14	18	82
Poland	6	2	2	33	2	39	81
Slovakia	6	3	4	48	13	14	76
Spain	1	0	1	10	4	15	49

Source: *** *Combating poverty and social exclusion, A statistical portrait of the EU, Eurostat, 2010*

Note: Eurostat survey in Romania did not identify, among the poor population, families with housing loans (the proof of incomes above the average national wage, is a condition for housing bank loans). A similar explanation goes for the tenants.

Romania was on the penultimate position in EU in terms of the proportion of people suffering of severe material deprivation in 2015, with 28.7%, quite far from the EU average of 11.5%.

Table 22. Young and old poors' weight in Romania against EU average

	Group	EU average	Romania	Rank in UE
Poverty	0-17	28%	52,2%	27
Privations	0-17	13,5%	34,4%	26
Poverty	+65	21,7%	35,7%	25
Privations	+65	9,5%	27,6%	26

Source: Schraad-Tischler, Schiller, 2016

The worst situation was that of the young people at risk of poverty and social exclusion. More than half of the young people below the age of 18 were in this situation.

People living in households with very low work intensity. In EU 28, in 2015, about 10.5% of the population aged 0-59 was living in households with very low work intensity, the highest proportions being in Greece (16.8%) and Spain (14.9%), and the lowest, in Sweden (5.8%) and Luxemburg (5.7%)(*** *Proportion of population aged less..., Eurostat, 2017*).

Work intensity is evaluated by the ratio of the number of months in which the household members of active age (18-59, who are not students, 18-24), worked in the year of the reference incomes, to the total number of months in which, theoretically, the members of the particular household could have worked. The people living in households with very low work intensity, are those whose adults worked 20% or less than of the potential working time, in the preceding months.

Source: *** *Proportion of population aged less..., Eurostat, 2017*.

Table 23. Proportion of the population under 60 living in households with very low working intensity, by type of household, in some EU countries, in 2015 (%)

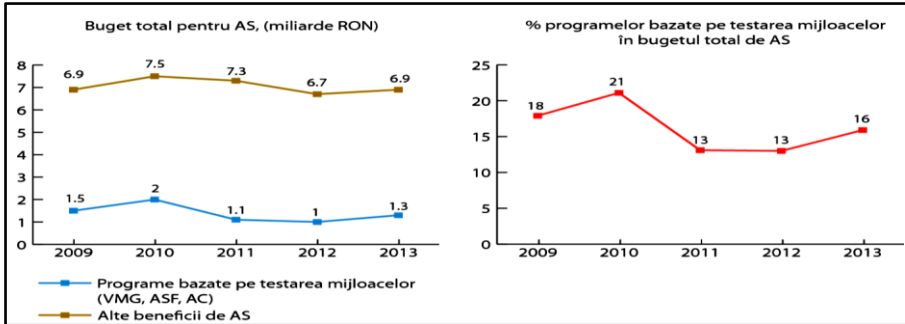
	Single people	Single people with depending children	Two adult people with one depending child	Two adult people with three or more depending children	Two or more adult people without depending children
EU 28*	23.5	27.1	5.4	8.3	12.0
Bulgaria	17.7	23.4	4.3	38.5	10.5
Czech R.	18.7	26.2	3.3	13.1	6.5
Germany	25.1	21.5	4.4	4.8	9.1
Estonia	17.2	13.6	2.9	8.1	7.8
Greece	27.9	27.3	9.8	10.8	24.3
Spain	24.1	24.8	9.5	13.2	20.0
Italy	15.4	19.5	7.3	9.7	17.8
Latvia	16.6	15.2	5.9	5.9	9.6
Lithuania	28.9	24.3	4.4	4.0	10.0
Hungary	22.4	28.3	3.5	10.3	8.7
Poland	24.1	24.3	2.7	6.7	11.0
Romania	21.3	16.5	3.2	13.8	9.6

Source: *** *Proportion of population aged less than 60 living in households..., Eurostat, 2017*

In 2015, within EU 28, the households most affected by low working intensity were those consisting of single people with depending children (27.1%), and those of single people (23.5%).

Social work always intervened extremely residually to alleviate the phenomenon of poverty in Romania. In 2011, the social work budget for programs based on the evaluation of the means of living, decreased very much compared to the budget for the general, categorical programs, and the situation did not improve in the following years either.

Chart 9. Total budget for social work and percentage allocated for the programs based on the evaluation of the means of living



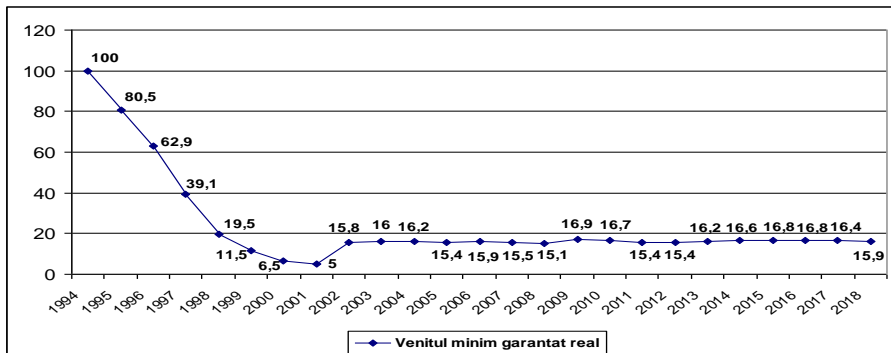
Source: National Strategy for Social Inclusion and Poverty Alleviation in 2015-2020, Government of Romania, calculations done by the World Bank, using administrative data for the minimal guaranteed income, allocation for family support, home heating aid, state allocation for the children, indemnity and stimulant for child rearing, school grants and indemnities for the people with disabilities.

Note: Budget expressed in nominal prices.

In 2014, it represented just 17% of the total budget allocated for social work. When the minimal guaranteed income program (VMG) was introduced in 1994, the budget allocated for the testing of the means of living increased from 1.2 billion lei in 1994 to 2.2 billion lei in 2016 and then to 2.5 billion lei in 2017, and it will be maintained at this level, in real terms.

After 1995, however, the real value of VMG became almost insignificant economically (decreasing, in real terms, to 16.9% of the 1994 value) (Chart 10).

Chart 10. Evolution of the real minimal guaranteed income, from establishment, in 1994, until 2018



Source: Absolute values of the minimal guaranteed income (VMG) according to Law 28/1994, Law 67/1995 and Law 416/2001 of the minimal guaranteed income. Calculation of indices and chart, Adina Mihăilescu.

The standard of living of the population from Romania still is, after 29 years of economic transformations, one of the most critical domains of the quality of life. The deliberate, long-term maintenance of a very low level of incomes for most of the population is the key factor of this situation. Therefore, the capacity of the population to pay in due time the current expenditures (home maintenance, dwelling utilities, instalments, etc.) was and still is rather low, speaking itself of the economic precariousness of many Romanian households.

Table 24. Situation of the households in Romania which could not pay in time the current payments, in 2015 (%)

Household size	Households that paid all current expenditures	Households that could not pay in due time some expenditures	of which:			
			Home maintenance (water, gas, heating, etc.)	Electric power, radio subscription	Phone subscription	Loan instalments (other than loan to buy a house)
TOTAL	67.8	67.8	32.2	53.2	54.6	34.1
1 person	67.3	67.3	32.7	55.5	59.7	29.8
2 persons	69.9	69.9	30.1	55.9	50.7	35.3
3 persons	70.5	70.5	29.5	51.9	49.9	32.8
4 persons	67.2	67.2	32.8	52.2	48.8	35.0
5 persons	63.4	63.4	36.6	35.2	56.5	38.6
6+ persons	57.3	57.3	42.7	62.1	71.2	44.6

Source: Iagăr Elena Mihaela (ed. coord.), 2015, *Conditions of living ...*, INS, Bucharest.

In 2015, about a third of the households (32.2%) repeatedly had outstanding bills because of the improper financial situation (Iagăr, 2015). The most frequent outstanding bills were those for electric power, radio subscription (54.6% of the households with outstanding bills), home utilities (53.2%) and phone subscription (34.1%). The households with unemployed members usually have the most difficult economic situation, with 49.3% of such households having outstanding bills. This phenomenon was more frequent in the families with children, particularly in the single parent families (48.8%), but also in the families with three or more children (46.0%) (Iagăr, 2015).

Because of the long-term precariousness of incomes of most of the population, in 2015 rather few households (just 9%) took bank loans to solve issues such buying a car or electronic appliances in instalments (43.6%) or house renovation (41.6%). The loans for other purposes are fewer: (4.9%) for healthcare, (4.2%) for some investments, (3.4%) for children education. The urban households took loans more frequently (11.9%) than the rural ones (5.4%), and the households led by men (10.4%) compared to those led by women (5.8%) (Iagăr, 2015).

Nevertheless, after 2000, the poverty trend started to decrease in Romania, irrespective of the employed methods of evaluation

Therefore, after 2010-2011, the general interest to evaluate the absolute poverty, the severe/extreme poverty and the food poverty decreased strongly in Europe, and in Romania, and another indicator, closer to the relative poverty, was monitored, the risk of poverty and social exclusion.

Conclusions

The strong depression of extreme and severe poverty. The European Union was, and is, a privileged space, from the global perspective on the phenomenon of poverty. However, under the expression of relative poverty, the phenomenon of poverty still exists in all EU 28 member states. The groups with the highest poverty risk in the EU member states were: farmers and other categories of rural people, the unemployed, the self-employed in non-agricultural sectors, the people with little education (particularly those who graduated the middle school, at most), the households with five or more members, the households with 2-3 or more children, much of the Roma population. Monetary poverty was and still is the most frequent form of poverty in the EU, being perceived especially as a problem of income distribution. The European poverty is not so much sensitive to the general improvement of the incomes, as it is to a more equitable distribution of the incomes, by decreasing the gap between the rich and the poor (Eurostat, 2014, Europe 2020 indicators). Income distribution inequality within the EU member states was rather stable throughout the past decade, particularly in 2008-2014. The average Gini coefficient stabilised at 30.5, the median incomes of the richest 20% Europeans, being 5 times higher than those of the poorest 20% Europeans, although there are countries where income polarization exceeds the value of 6 (7.1 in Romania).

The former socialist countries who accessed the EU in 1990-2017, also reported a strong depression of the poverty, although with great differences from one another. The main factors which cause poverty, in the former socialist countries, Romania included, materialised on the background of accumulation of development gaps in the previous periods and of the changes caused by the transition to market economy, essentially through the level of education (conditions occupation) and through occupation (conditions the level of incomes).

Rate of poverty decrease/increase. In 2007-2014, there was an increasing trend of the income median throughout European Union.

Table 25. Rate of poverty decrease function of the factor of median income multiplication in some European countries, in 2007 and 2014 (PPS)

	Factor of median income multiplication	Available incomes /person, 2007		Available incomes /person, 2014	
		Median	Poverty threshold	Median	Poverty threshold
Greece	0.8	11 455	6 873	8 610	5 166
Portugal	1.1	8 915	5 349	10 125	6 075
Czech R.	1.3	8 841	5 305	11 091	6 654
Estonia	1.4	6 492	3 895	9 241	5 545
Hungary	1.2	6 490	3 894	7 645	4 587
Lithuania	1.3	5 714	3 428	7 595	4 557
Poland	1.6	5 609	3 365	9 560	5 736
Slovakia	1.7	5 608	3 365	9 806	5 883
Latvia	1.3	5 587	3 352	7 320	4 392
Bulgaria	2.0	3 299	1 979	6 754	4 052
Romania	1.4	2 877	1 726	4 065	2 439

Source: Factor of median income multiplication calculated by Stanciu Mariana, using data from *din: *** Population and social conditions, Living conditions and welfare, Eurostat, 2016* Note: Median – median value of a VD/P (the median of an increasing or decreasing string of variables is that value which divides the number of terms in half); Poverty threshold (60% of the median VD/P)

The factor of median income multiplication shows rate of poverty decreasing (when it is higher than the unit)/increasing (when it is smaller than the unit). Table 30 shows that Bulgaria had the highest rate of poverty decrease (the income per person doubled), followed by Slovakia and Poland. Romania was somewhere in the middle, if we consider the lower performance of Portugal of Hungary.

The poverty rate evolution in Romania shows the decline of population welfare in 1990-2000, after which the economic situation started to improve. A basic cause of the persistent high risk of poverty and social exclusion in Romania was the long-term preservation of an extremely low level of population income due to the regulations monitoring most sources of income. Romania perpetuated, for more than three decades, a deficient system of work payment, to the advantage of the profit cashed by the entrepreneurs, foreign ones most times, who transfer the profits to their mother country.

The relative poverty is a problem in Romania too, even though our country remained the poorest in EU 28. The relative poverty can, and must be reduced, even though there will always be people with lower income than other people. However, the absolute poverty in Romania, being related to a fixed level which determines the cost of a minimal basket of goods and services meeting the necessities of a person or family in Romania, must be kept permanently under observation by the policy makers, in order to be eradicated. In 2013, in real terms, about 4.3% of the Romanian population still lived in absolute poverty.

From the complex of demographic factors, occupational factors, income factors, expenditure factors, dwelling factors, patrimony and property factors, educational factors, health factors, social networks factors and community factors, the occupational

factors and the educational factors are the strongest determinants of the poverty phenomenon.

The households of unemployed and those of agricultural workers, irrespectively whether urban or rural, have comparable consumptions of goods and services. Therefore, at least from the perspective of consumption, keeping half of the population occupied in agriculture is equivalent with keeping half of the population unemployed, without considering the urban unemployment rate. The poverty risk runs both from the rural-urban differences by categories of occupations, and from the fact that the occupations with higher poverty risk are overrepresented in the rural. (Paraschiv, 2008).

Social protection had very low performances throughout 1990-2018 interval. However, the benefits it provided were indispensable for the poor households and sustained the subsistence consumption. The social transfers, no matter how small the only income in some households were, becoming thus vital, particularly in the rural.

The employees and the pensioners had lower poverty risk than the other social categories. Some studies (CEROPE, 2004) show that, while unemployment (including the hidden and the long-term one) generate poverty particularly in the urban, under-occupation and the high proportion of people deterred to seek employment, are more frequent in the rural.

The index of social justice (3.99) in 2017 puts Romania on the penultimate position among the 28 EU member states, in terms of social inclusion.

Table 26. Index of social justice in EU 28 in 2017

Nr. crt.	Country	Index of social justice
1.	Denmark	7.39
...	EU 28 average	5.85
26.	Bulgaria	4.19
27.	Romania	3.99
28.	Greece	3.70

Source: Schraad-Tischer Daniel & Christof Schiller. Social Justice in the EU - Index Report 2017

Romania is before Greece only, where poverty expanded, being outranked by all the other European countries. The value of 3.99 for Romania resulted from the very low performance in poverty prevention, from the poor health state on the population and from the values, closer to the European average, for education, access to the labour market, social cohesion, non-discrimination and intergenerational equity (Schraad-Tischler. Schiller. 2017). The most affected categories were the children and the young people. At this chapter, Romania ranks 28, within the EU 28 member countries, with an index of 3.69.a

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INTERVENTION IN ROMA COMMUNITIES. ACTION ON LABOUR MARKET

Corina CACE¹

Abstract: *The study developed within an integrated program follows the actions carried out on the labour market for the employment of the Roma population. Are these measures effective and respond to the needs of the Roma population or the lack of adequacy to the specifics of the population leads to poor results? Data collection methodology included face-to-face questionnaire interviews with predefined questions, administrated by trained field operators. A total of 1064 questionnaires with Roma people were also collected. The marginalised Roma persons have been selected using the “snowball” method (we started from the town hall; if we had no success with the town hall, we approached the next institutions that might supply such information, for instance, the church, health care unit, police, school etc.). Of the respondents who would like to attend formation courses, 30% would like to qualify in constructions, 19.90% in agriculture and 18.30% in commercial activities. The top three areas of interest for the men are constructions (49.70%), commerce (13.60%) and agriculture, hunting, and fishery (12.10%). The women showed interest in attending training courses mainly in agriculture, hunting, and fishery (31.40%), commerce (24.70%) and hotels and restaurants (18.80%). In Bucharest-Ilfon, the top three areas of professional formation of interest for the respondents are constructions, commerce and hotels and restaurants. In the other surveyed regions of development, the respondents also showed interest in constructions, commerce, but also in agriculture.*

Keywords: *regional development, social development, employment, vocational training, Roma communities*

Introduction

This study has been conducted within project “OPTIMAL- Establishment and development of a network of Centres of Social Inclusion for the Roma”, project co-financed from the European Social Fund through the Sectoral Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013 “Invest in people”, implemented by the Association for Socio-Economic Development and Promotion Catalactica, Bucharest, in partnership

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with the Foundation for Social Recovery Integration and Development ECHOSOC Bucharest, and the Association for Integrated Development, Olt, Slatina.

General objective of the project was to facilitate the access to labour market for a number of 1,088 Roma people from the rural areas covered by a network of 4 Centres of Social Inclusion for the Roma (CSIR) from the 4 southern regions of development in Romania: South-East, South-Muntenia, South-West Oltenia and Bucharest-Ilfov, in order to prevent their social exclusion and marginalisation, and to avoid discrimination and the risk of poverty.

The effects generated by the project considered not just improving the participation of the vulnerable groups to the labour market, but also the establishment of conditions for their subsequent development.

By its design and objectives, the project pursued three main directions:

1. Development of the personal capacities of the people from the vulnerable groups regarding their access to labour market, by supplying integrated and specialised services (education, formation, information, counselling, market labour orientation, assistance in finding and getting a place of work);
2. Encouraging, by activation and mobilisation of the local communities and employers, to identify viable solutions to increase the level of professional insertion of the Roma people and to use their potential in a manner that ensures both the cohesion, and the social equity within the targeted communities.
3. Implementation of a set of measures adapted both to the specific needs of the target group, and to the opportunities circumscribed within the socio-economic context of the communities where the project is to be implemented, by scientific documentation, quantitative research and qualitative evaluation of the activities performed within the project, as well as of their impact on the target groups.

Any explanative action with actional finalities requires deepening the Roma problem detached from the existential context of the people belonging to the community. We focused our analysis on the segment of rural Roma population, whose structural conditionalities we will discuss for the 4 regions of development, where the planned interventions are to be conducted. We analysed the 4 regions in a unitary manner, given the existing similitudes between them. At the same time, an analysis at the county level was conducted, on the specificity of each region.

Methodology

The quantitative research within the project corresponded to activity 4. *Evaluation of the occupational needs of the Roma people, and of the impact of the support interventions provided within the marginalised communities of Roma in rural areas*, being in agreement with the specific objectives 1 and 2 of the project.

Specific objective 1. Facilitate the access to occupation for a number of 1,088 Roma people, from the rural areas, of which 450 women, from regions South-East, South-Muntenia, South-West Oltenia and Bucharest-Ilfov, by providing, complementary to

the support of the local volunteers, services of professional information and counselling, and services of social work and psychological assistance, to motivate them to integrate/reintegrate on the labour market, within 4 Centres of Social Inclusion of the Roma.

Specific objective 2. Increase the level of insertion on the labour market and labour force mobility by diversified and tailored professional formation, within the community, based on the evaluation, within the areas covered by the Centres, of 896 Roma people from South-East, South-Muntenia, South-West Oltenia and Bucharest-Ilfov, by certifying at least 716 trainees.

Specific activities have been performed within activity 4, to evaluate the employment requirements of the Roma people from 56 marginalised Roma communities, using a methodology relying on scientific research criteria. This activity was completed by the analysis of the impact of the support services provided within the marginalised Roma communities, validated by 4 focus-groups in which participated experts in the field of the social inclusion of Roma people. This evaluation supported directly project activities, i.e., determination of the covered areas (Activity 5), selection and particularization function of the communities, of the 8 programs of professional formation (Activity 6), and the supply of scientifically-validated information to promote the employment opportunities for the Roma within the covered areas (Activity 7). The main target group of this project consisted of Roma people. The research activities of the project were performed during months 1-6 of implementation, namely, April 16-October 16, 2014.

The research started with a desk-research, whose purpose was to make a regional analysis whose results were used both to produce the samples of the quantitative research (the list with the 56 marginalised Roma communities), and to select and justify the counties where the 4 CISR were to be established. The same analysis outlined a brief evaluation of the requirements for professional formation by regions and counties. Based on this evaluation we selected 2 type of professional formation adequate for the Roma from the 8 courses of professional training. The rest of 6 types of professional formation were identified based on the data collected during the field research and by in-depth analysis of secondary data. The research experts conducted this desk-research on data from ANOFM, INS, from previous research, unofficial data from NGOs and experts in this field.

Sampling: we selected 54 rural communities and 2 urban communities from Bucharest, running a higher risk of marginalisation/social exclusion. We selected 6 communities from each of the 4 counties where the CISR have been established, and 2 communities from each of the other 15 counties, plus 2 communities from Bucharest.

Research target: Roma population, aged 18-64, from the 56 selected communities.

Sample: n=1400 respondents. The error margin was 2.6% with 95% level of confidence. The marginalised Roma persons have been selected using the “snowball” method (we started from the town hall; if we had no success with the town hall, we approached the next institutions that might supply such information, for instance, the church, health care unit, police, school, etc.). This type of sampling allowed us to identify the people fitting

the selection criteria to be included in the study; they were subsequently asked to recommend other people they know, that meet these criteria. Each field operator interviewed at least 19 marginalised Roma people, and 2 representatives of the public institutions (school, town hall, police, public administration), health care units or church.

Data collection methodology: face-to-face questionnaire interviews with predefined questions, administrated by trained field operators. Data collection was conducted between June 16, 2014 August 16, 2014. A total of 1064 questionnaires with Roma people were collected, and 112 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities. The breakdown by region is as follows:

- Bucharest-Ilfov region: a total of 152 questionnaires with Roma people and 16 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities. Of the total: in Bucharest, 38 questionnaires with Roma people and 4 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities; in Ilfov County, 114 questionnaires with Roma people and 12 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities;
- South-East region: a total of 304 questionnaires with Roma people and 32 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities. Of the total: in Constanța, Tulcea, Brăila, Vrancea and Buzău counties, 38 questionnaires with Roma people and 4 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities; in Galați County, 114 questionnaires with Roma people and 12 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities;
- South-West Oltenia region: a total of 266 questionnaires with Roma people and 28 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities. Of the total: in Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt and Vâlcea counties, 38 questionnaires with Roma people and 4 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities; in Dolj County, 114 questionnaires with Roma people and 12 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities;
- South-Muntenia region: a total of 342 questionnaires with Roma people and 36 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities. Of the total: in Argeș, Dâmbovița, Teleorman, Giurgiu, Ialomița and Călărași counties, 38 questionnaires with Roma people and 4 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities; in Prahova County, 114 questionnaires with Roma people and 12 questionnaires with representatives of the public authorities.

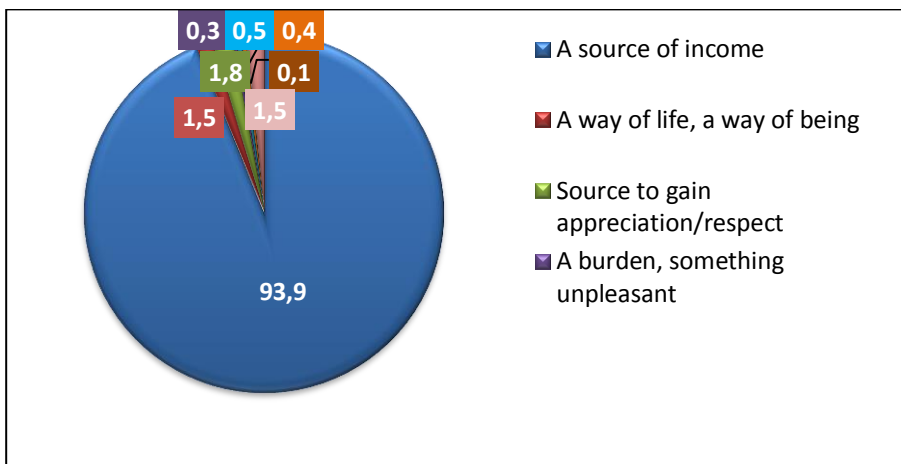
Results

Analysis of the educational and professional training of the Roma people from the target marginalized communities

The educational and professional training of the Roma people belonging to the marginalized communities, was determined by the studies graduated by the respondent and his/her family and by the professional qualification or craft skills he/she has. At the same time, we also determined how much did the respondents know about the programs in the field of occupation running in the county and how do the respondents value work.

Most respondents consider that work is a source of income (93.9%). For just 1.5% of them, work is a way of living (see Chart 1).

Chart 1 OPN1. What does work represent for you? (N= 1041) – One answer only



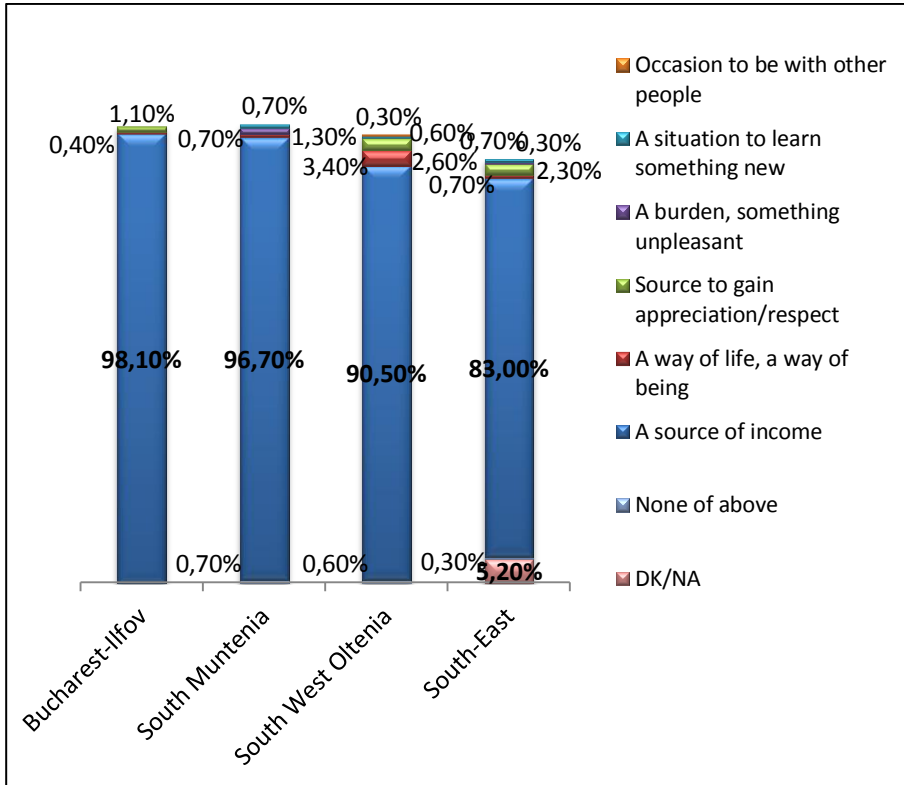
There is a 0.072 correlation, for $p < 0.05$, between the way in which the respondents consider the work, and the Roma family to which they belong. Of the respondents from whom work is a source of income, 54% are Romanised Roma, while 21.20% are bear trainers. Also, for them, work also is a burden, or an occasion to spend time with other people; these two significances of the work were not mentioned by the other Roma families (see Table 1).

Table 1. OPN1. What does the work mean to different families of Roma people (N=1021). One answer only

What does work mean	Brick maker	Rudar	Fireplace maker	Cauldron maker	Bear trainer	Romanized Roma
A source of income	8.40%	3.90%	2.60%	5.80%	21.20%	54.00%
A way of life, a way of being	6.20%			6.20%	6.20%	81.20%
Source to gain appreciation/respect	17.60%	5.90%			29.40%	47.10%
A burden, something unpleasant						100.00%
A situation to learn something new			20.00%		20.00%	60.00%
None of above					25.00%	75.00%
Occasion to be with other people						100.00%
DK/NA		68.80%			12.50%	6.20%

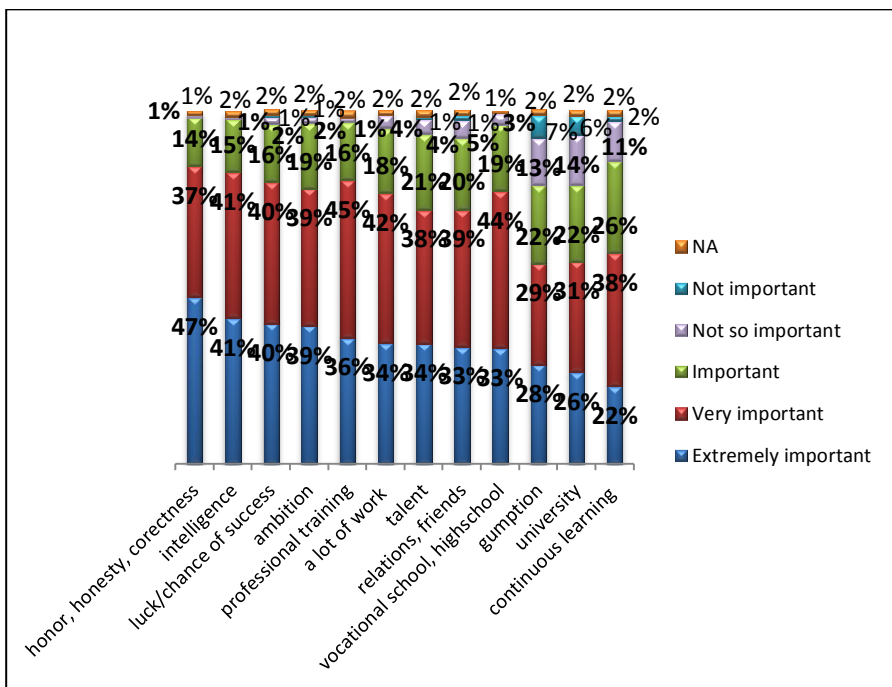
At the level of all surveyed regions of development, work is seen mostly as a source of income (see Chart 2).

Chart 2. OPN1. What does work represent, by region of development (N=1041) - One answer only



One can notice that for most of the respondents, it is extremely important to be honest in order to have success in life (47%), while for just 22% of them, life-long learning is extremely important. The faculty is important for 57% of the respondents, and the medium educational training is important for 77% of the respondents. The professional training is important for success for 81% of the respondents (see Chart 3).

Chart 3. OPN2. Criteria for success in life



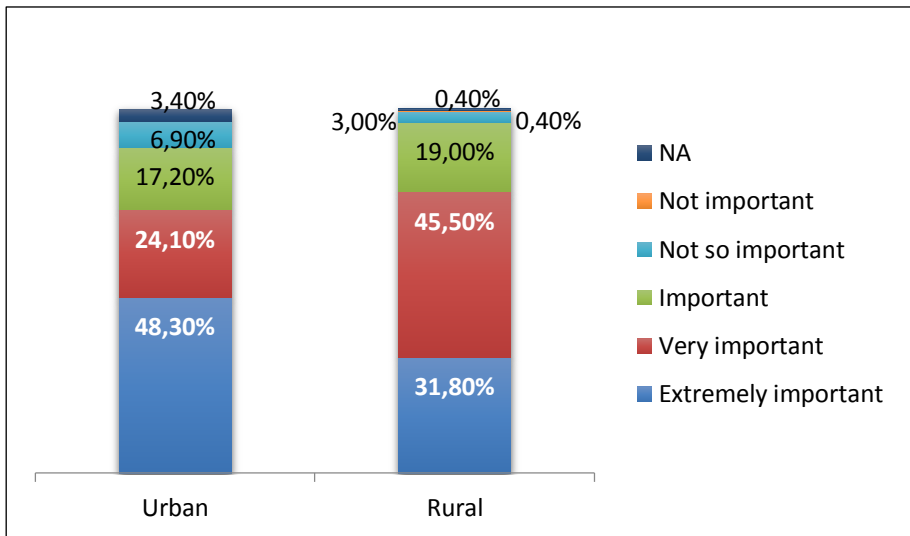
At the level of the four regions of development surveyed by our study, over 70% of the respondents consider that graduating the middle education is an extremely important and very important criterion for success in life. While in South-Muntenia and South-East, over 60% of the respondents consider that the faculty is extremely important and very important, in Bucharest-Ilfov and South-West Oltenia, less than half of the respondents consider that this criterion is important. Having a good professional training is important for 83.90% of the respondents from South-Muntenia and by 82% of the respondents from South-East. The life-long learning process is appreciated only by 43.80% of the respondents from Bucharest-Ilfov, while in South-East, is appreciated by 67% pf the respondents (see Table 2).

Table 2. OPN2. Criteria necessary to have success in life, by region of development (% extremely important and very important)

Criteria	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East
Professional school/highschool	74.50%	78.70%	72.10%	79.10%
Faculty	48.40%	68.40%	31.70%	69.60%
Good professional training	70.60%	83.90%	75.80%	82.00%
Life-long learning	43.80%	64.60%	51.70%	67.00%

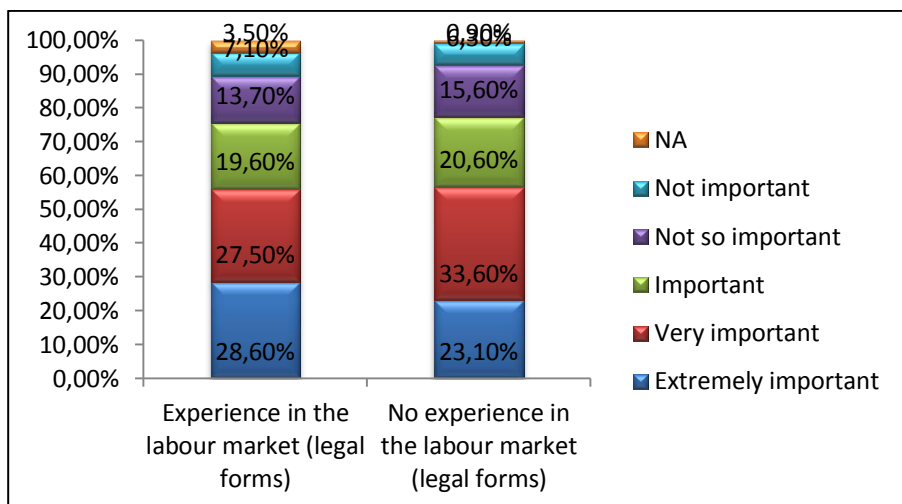
The values treasured by the respondents in terms of education (professional school/ highschool) are negatively correlated with the ethnic affiliation, at -0.108 , $p=0.00$, and with the residential area, at -0.069 for $p<0.05$. It can be noticed that in the urban, graduating a professional school or a highschool is extremely important for 48.30% of the respondents, while in the rural for just 31.80% of the respondents. A proportion of 96.30% of the rural respondents and 89.60% of the urban respondents, consider that it is important to have middle class education to have success in life (see chart 54). 95.90% of the Roma consider that middle class education is important. The same evaluation was given by 10 of the 12 interviewed Romanians and by only Serbian interviewed.

Chart 54. OPN2. Importance of the professional school / high school for success in life, by residential area



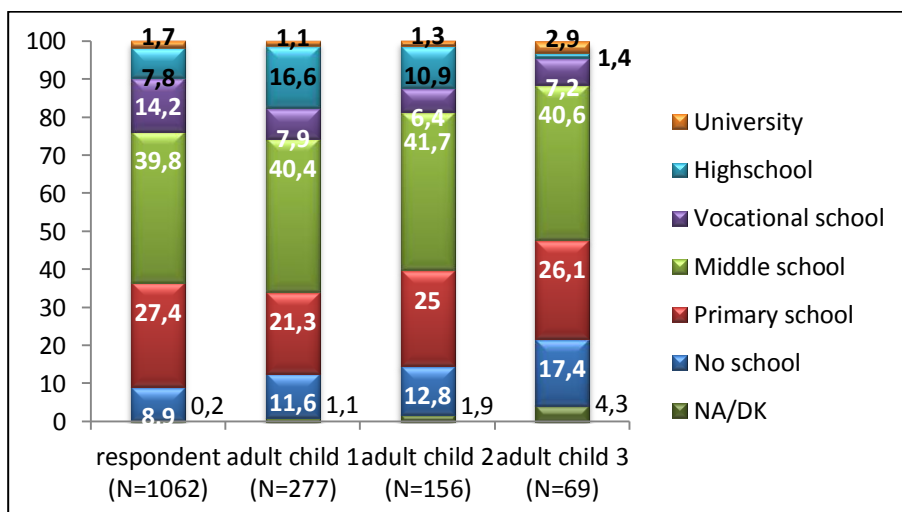
The values regarding the graduation of studies with licence correlate negatively, at -0.092 , $p<0.01$. The proportion of people working legally, who appreciate that the graduation of studies by licence is an important criterion for success, is similar with that of the respondents with no working experience, and with legal papers (75.70% and 77.30%, respectively) (see chart 4).

Chart 4. OPN2. Importance of the faculty education for success in life, depending on the working experience



Most of the respondents graduated at most the middle school (76.1%), 14.2% graduated apprentice school or professional school, 7.8% graduated the high school, and just 1,7% have higher education. The same distribution can be noticed for their life partners and for the adult children of the respondents (see chart 5).

Chart 5. Last graduated form of education, by the adults from the respondent families

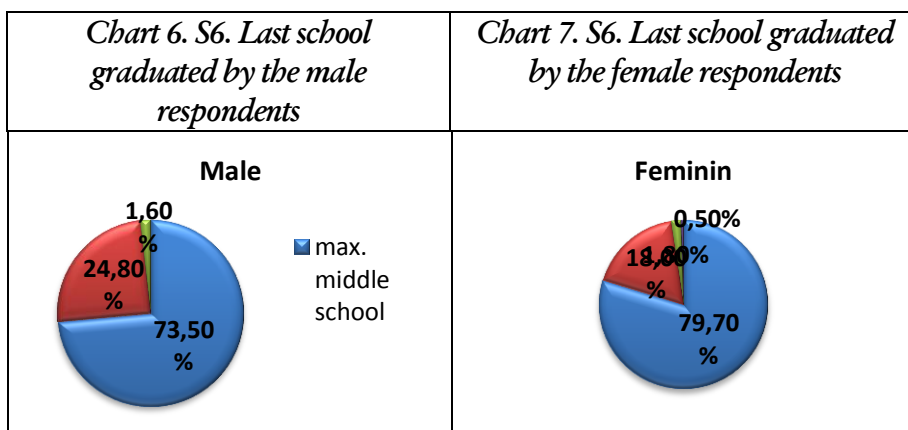


The educational level of the respondents is positively correlated with the Roma family to which they belong, at 0.125, $p=0$. 49.30% of the respondents who graduated at most the middle school education are Romanian Roma, 21.80% are bear tamers. 68% of the respondents with secondary education are Romanian Roma, and 16,40% are bear tamers. With higher education, there are 22.20% bear tamers and 11.10% brick makers (see Table 3).

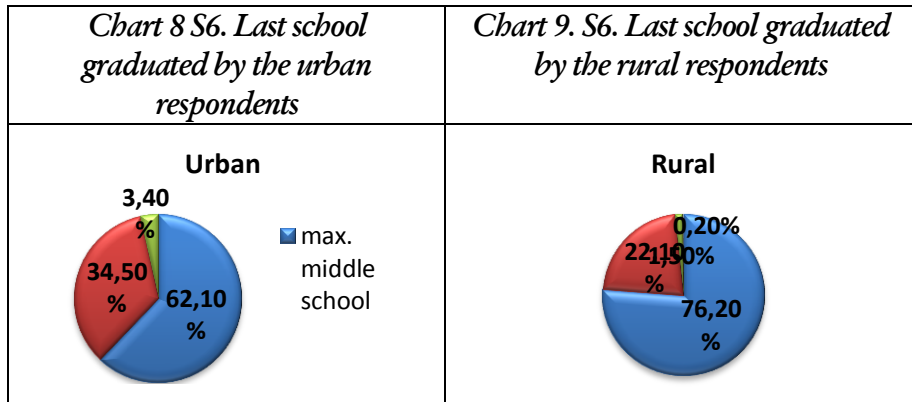
Table 3 . S6. Last school graduated by the respondents, depending on the Roma family to which they belong

Roma family	Studies of the respondent				
	At most middle school	Secondary education	Higher education	NS/NR	Total
Romanian Roma	49.30%	68.00%	61.10%	50.00%	53.60%
Bear tamer	21.80%	16.40%	22.20%		20.60%
Brick maker	8.90%	5.30%	11.10%		8.20%
Rudar	5.50%	6.20%	5.60%		5.70%
Cauldron maker	7.20%	0.40%			5.60%
Fireplace maker	2.80%	1.80%			2.50%
Laias	1.40%	0.40%			1.20%
Ciurar	0.30%				0.20%
Tinsmith	0.30%				0.20%
Silversmith	0.10%				0.10%
Ceaunar	0.10%				0.10%
Fiddler		0.40%			0.10%
Tinichigii	0.10%				0.10%
NS/ NR	2.30%	0.90%		50.00%	2.00%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

24.80% of the male respondents have secondary education, and 1.6% have higher education, while 18% of the female respondents have secondary education, and 1.80% have higher education. A higher proportion of women (79.70%), than men (73.50%), graduated at most the general school (see chart 6 and chart 7).

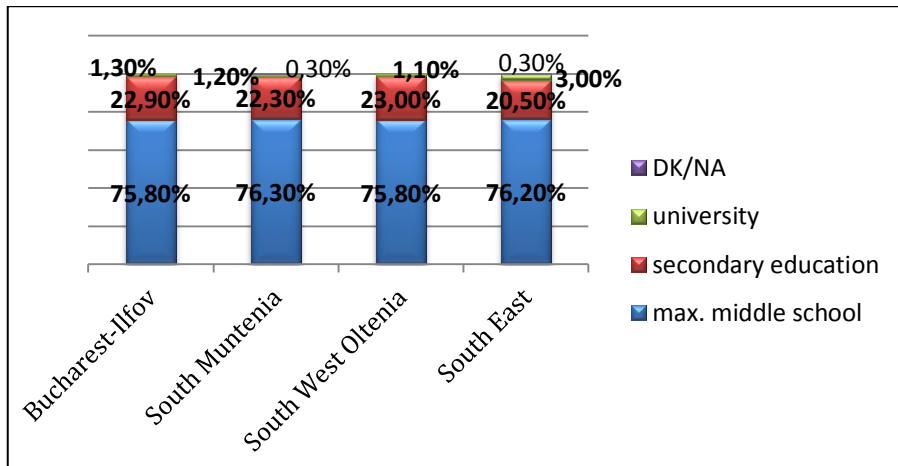


76.20% of the rural respondents declared that they graduated at most the middle school education, and 62.10% of the urban respondents have the same level of studies. In the rural, there are 1.50% respondents with higher education studies, while in the urban there are 3.40% respondents with higher education studies (see chart 8 and chart 9).



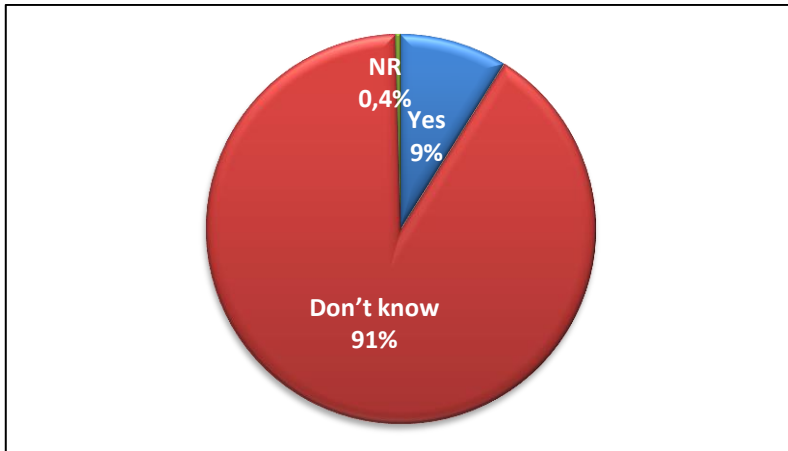
The structure of respondents, depending on their graduated studies, at the level of the regions of development, shows similar configuration. Most respondents in each of the surveyed regions, have at most the middle school graduated, and at most, 3% have higher education studies (see chart 10).

Chart 10. S6. Last school graduated by the respondents, by region of development



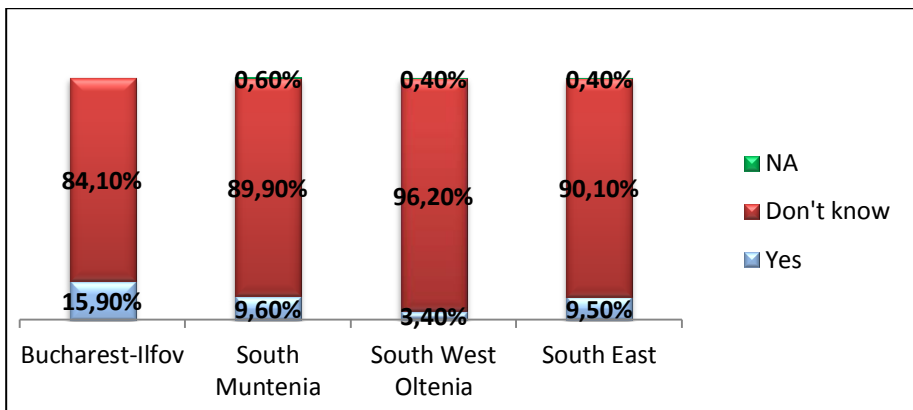
91% of the respondents stated that they have no knowledge of training programs in the field of occupation. Just 9% are aware of programs or actions running with the purpose of integration on the labour market (see chart 11).

Chart 11. MS1. Level of knowledge about programs / actions in the field of occupation



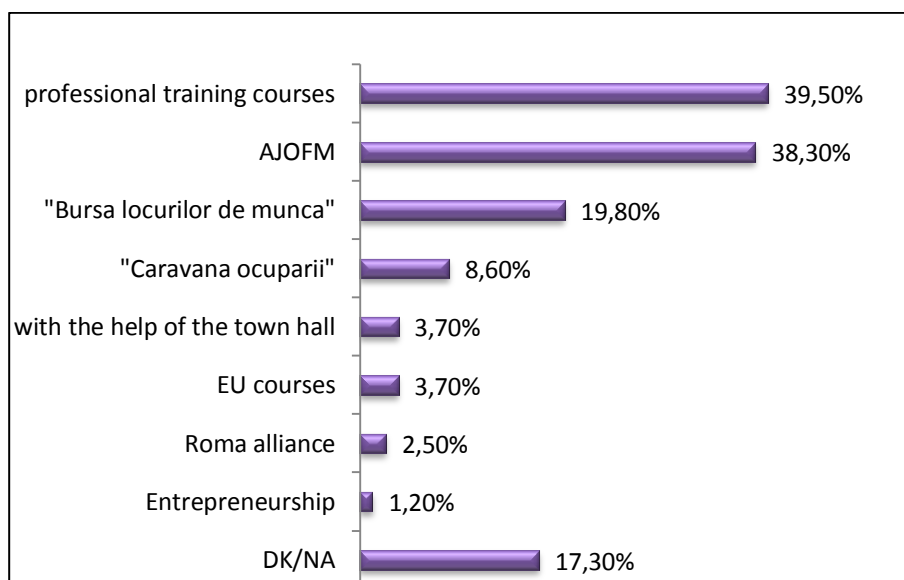
In Bucharest-Ilfov we noticed the highest proportion of respondents knowing of running programs or actions in the field of occupation (15.90%). In South-West Oltenia, we noticed the lowest proportion of respondents knowing of such programs (3.40%) (see chart 12).

Chart 12. MS1. Level of knowledge of the programs / actions running in the field of occupation, by region of development



39.50% of the respondents who stated they are aware of programs or actions running in the field of occupation, mentioned the professional training courses, as generic name. The other programs that were indicated are those organised by the employment agencies (38.30%), Job exchange (19.80%) and Occupation caravan (8.60%) (see chart 13). By region of development, 7 of 18 programs indicated by the respondents from Bucharest-Ilfov, 5 of 9 programs indicated by the respondents from South-West Oltenia and 15 of 22 programs indicated by the respondents from South-East, are organised by AJOFM. In South-Muntenia 14 of the 32 de respondents who stated that they know of programs running in the field of occupation, did not respond at this question. The respondents mentioned two programs running in Bucharest and seven programs running in Galați. The interviewed local people consider that the programs and actions running in the field of occupation are addressing the Roma people (9 cases), the young people (2 cases), or the unemployed (one case). In terms of the period when the actions took place within their communities, 9 local people mentioned years 2007, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014, as well as the programs running every year in Galați. The locations mentioned by the local people are Bucharest, Galați, Alexandria, Vălenii de Munte, Constanța, Medgidia, Târgoviște, Focșani, Tulcea, Buzău, Câmpulung Muscel. We also find out that in Galați, Alexandria and Focșani there were actions addressing the Roma people, while in Vălenii de Munte there were actions addressing the young people. The interviewed local people considered that the professional training courses are discriminatory and that no job result from them.

Chart 13. MS2. Programs/ actions running in the field of occupation, known by the respondents (N=109). Multiple answer



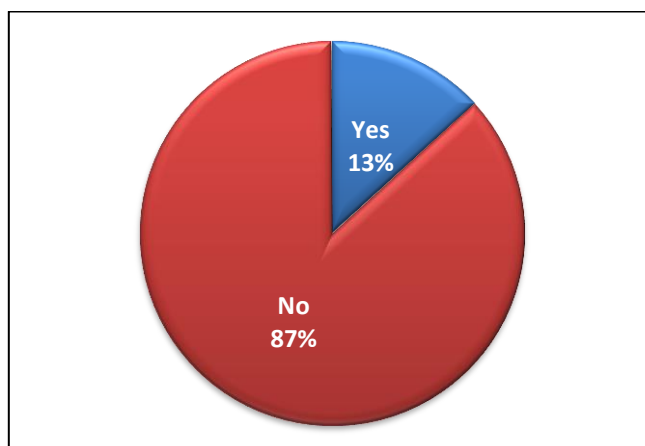
260 of the respondents declared to have no training. Some of the respondents stated to have two or more qualifications. The most frequent qualifications are those in the field of mechanics and construction installations, throughout all the surveyed development regions. In South-East, 16 of the respondents mentioned professional training in counselling and formation (*see Table 4*).

Table 4. R11. Qualifications of the respondents, by region of development, and total. Multiple answer

Qualification	Region of development				
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	Total
	Number of respondents				
Unskilled	85	171	212	146	614
Mechanics and plumbing	13	41	15	25	94
Constructions	13	27	6	15	61
Alimentation and services	7	12	1	7	27
Janitor	5				5
Agriculture	4	2	3	7	16
Cosmetics	3	2	1		6
Security agent	2	5		3	10
Tailor/cloth designer	1	7	3	6	17
Counselling and formation	1	2	2	16	21
Driver		5	6	9	20
Other	5	13	5	16	39

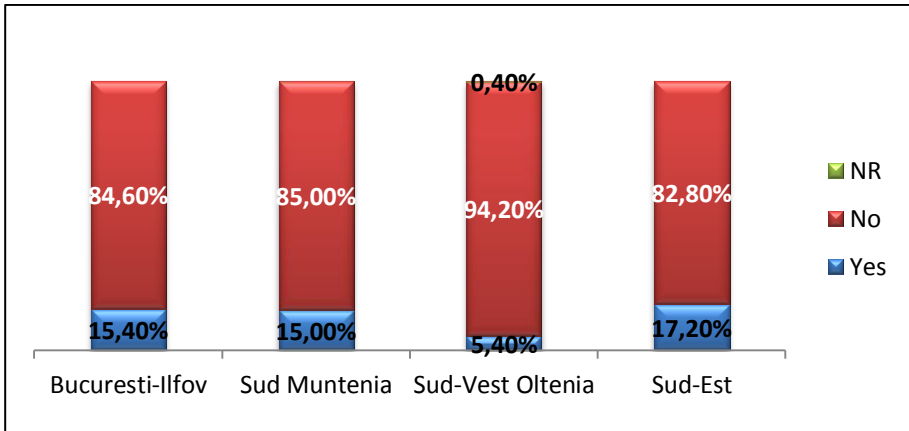
13% of the respondents declared that after graduating school they attended a course of professional training (*see chart 14*).

Chart 14. R12. After graduating school, did you attend any professional training course? (N= 1003)



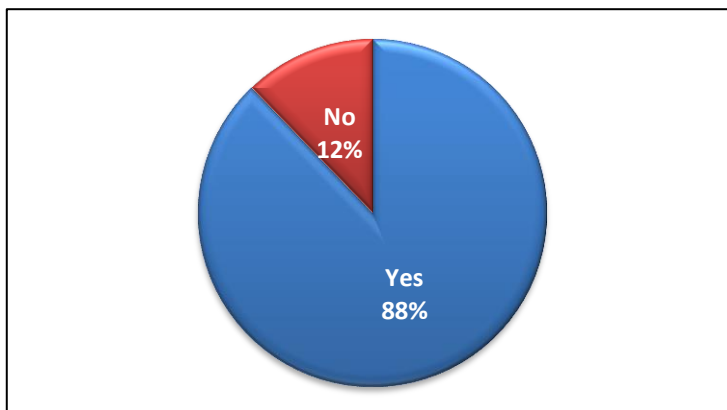
The proportion of respondents who attended training courses in the surveyed regions, varies between 17.2 and 15%, except for South-West Oltenia, where just 5.40% of the respondents declared that they graduated training courses (*see chart 15*).

Chart 15. R12. After graduating the school, did you attend any professional training course? (N= 1003), by region



88% of the people who stated to have graduated a training course after finishing the school, said that they received a graduation/qualification certificate (*see chart 16*).

Chart 16. R13. With, or without graduation or qualification certificate? (N= 123)

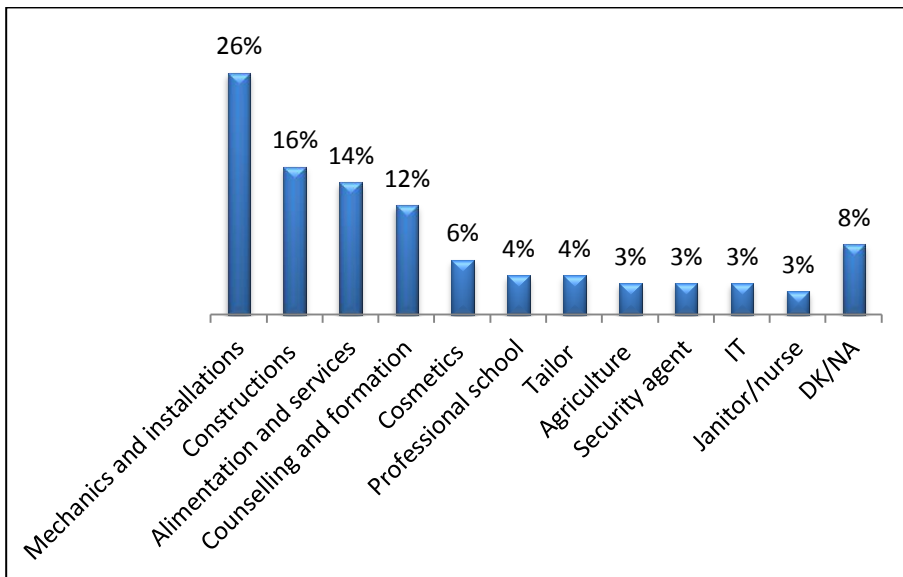


In the four surveyed regions of development, most of the respondents who attended training courses received a diploma or a certificate of graduation (*see Table 5*).

Table 5. R13. With, or without graduation or qualification certificate? total and by region (N=123)

Certificate of graduation	Region of development				
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	Total
	Number of respondents				
Yes	16	37	12	3	68
No	3	8	1		5
Total	19	45	13	6	23

The respondents who attended training professional courses after graduating the school, attended training courses in mechanics and installations (26%), in constructions (16%), alimentation and services (14%), counselling and formation (12%). Less than 10% of these respondents attended training courses in other areas, as show below (*see chart 17*). Most training courses mentioned by the respondents have a duration of 2, 3 and 6 months.

Chart 17. R14. Training courses attended by the respondents (N= 119) – Multiple answer

6 of 21 respondents from Bucharest-Ilfov who graduated qualification courses, are qualified in alimentation and services. In South-Muntenia, 17 of the 46 trained people, graduated courses in mechanics and installations, and 11 of 46 are qualified in constructions. In South-East, 11 of 45 qualified people were trained in counselling and formations (*see Table 6*).

Table 6. R14. Qualification courses attended by the respondents, total and by region (N=126). Multiple answer

Course	Region of development				Total
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
	Number of respondents				
Mechanics and installations	3	17	2	9	31
Constructions	2	11	3	3	19
Alimentation and services	6	4	1	6	17
Counselling and formation	0	0	3	11	14
Cosmetics	3	3	1	0	7
Professional school	2	3	0	0	5
Tailor	1	1	0	3	5
Agriculture	0	1	2	1	4
Security agent	0	1	0	3	4
IT	2	2	0	0	4
Janitor/nurse	0	0	0	3	3
Other	1	2	1	3	7
NS/NR	1	4	1	3	9
Total	21	46	14	45	126

Asked about when was the last time they attended a professional training course, most of the people said it was more than one year ago, both regarding the entire sample (86 respondents) and by surveyed region of development (*see Table 7*).

Table 7 R15. When did you last attend a course of continuous/professional formation? Total and by region (N=482)

Period when they attended the professional training course	Region of development				Total
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
	Number of respondents				
During the last year	3	4	1	7	15
More than one year ago	12	32	12	30	86
Do not know/do not remember	6	9	1	10	26
Never attended	64	162	42	87	355
Total	85	207	56	134	482

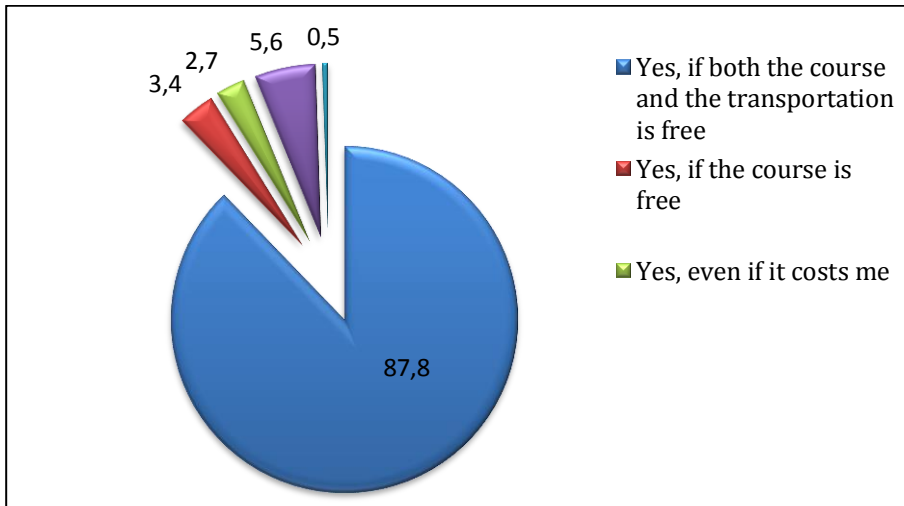
Most of the people who attended professional training courses evaluated them as being rather useful (96 of 111 respondents). The distribution of the positive evaluations are preserved at the level of the regions of development too (see Table 8).

Table 8. R16. How much useful was what you learned at this course? total and by region (N=111)

Usefulness of the training courses	Region of development				
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	Total
	Number of respondents				
It was rather useful	12	39	11	34	96
It was rather useless	3	2	3	6	14
NS/NR		1			1
Total	15	42	14	40	111

87.8% of the respondents would like to attend a course of professional training or an upgrading course, if they are free and provide transportation. However, 3.4% of them would participate in free courses, which do not provide transportation, while 5.6% of the respondents are not interested to attend a formation course in the future. (see chart 18)

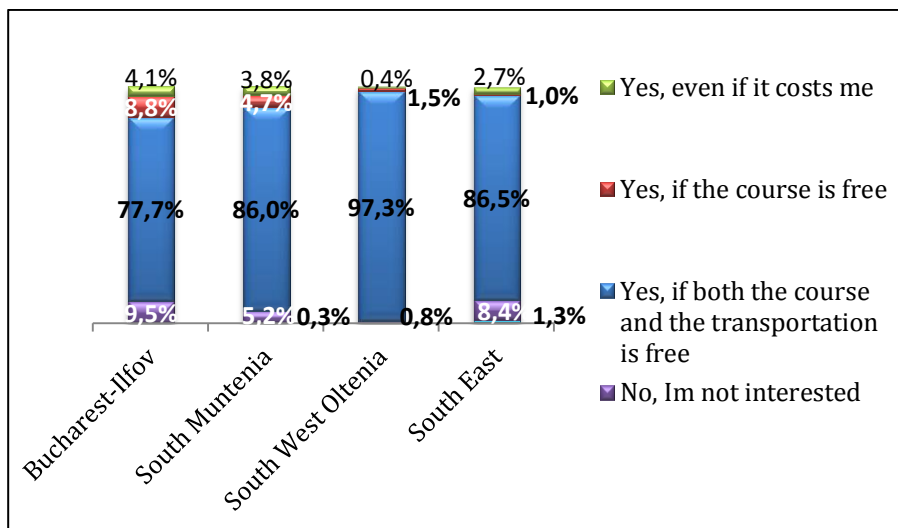
Chart 18. R17. Would you like to attend a formation/upgrading course in the future?



In South-West Oltenia, we find the highest proportion of respondents who would like to attend formation/upgrading courses if they are free (97.3%). The proportion of this category of respondents dominate in all the four regions or development that were surveyed. In Bucharest-Ilfov and in South Muntenia, we noticed the highest proportion

of people who would be attend formation courses that require a specific fee (12.90%, and 8.5%, respectively). (see chart 19)

Chart 19.R17. Would you like to attend a formation/upgrading course in the future? by region of development



Analysis of the situation regarding the integration/reintegration on the labour market of the Roma people from the targeted marginalized communities

The situation of occupation was studied on the basis of the occupational status of the respondents, of the strategies of integration or reintegration on the labour market of the inactive persons, of the situation of the employed people on the labour market, and on the values shared by the respondents regarding the criteria that can ensure success in life.

50.60% of the respondents are inactive on the labour market, of which 1.70% are inactive persons who retired, thus leaving the labour market and 0.60% of the respondents are going to integrate on the labour market, because they were school pupils or students during the period of the survey, or are freshly graduates. 12.70% of the respondents are active persons having a constant income (employees, company owners and self-employed). The sample also contained 36.70% people with occasional incomes (workers by the day and farmers).

The proportion of the people with no occupation is high at the level of all four surveyed regions of development. In Bucharest-Ilfov exists the highest proportion of

employees (20.30%), of all four regions of development. In South-Muntenia we observe the highest percentage of house-working people (22.30%), and just 9% employees, among the respondents. In South-West Oltenia, just 2.30% of the respondents are employees, the main income in this region coming from occasional work in non-agricultural activities (14.00%). In South-East is the highest proportion of people working by the day in non-agricultural activities (21.20%), which is the main source of income in this region too (*see Table 9*)

Table 9. SPM1. Occupational status of the respondents, by region of development, and total

Occupation	Region of development				Total
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
No occupation	42.50%	18.80%	29.50%	17.30%	24.40%
Worker by the day/ occasional work (not in agriculture)	15.00%	20.60%	14.00%	21.20%	18.40%
House-working	9.20%	22.30%	17.80%	16.70%	17.70%
Worker by the day/ occasional work in agriculture	2.00%	16.80%	32.20%	13.70%	17.60%
Employee	20.30%	9.00%	2.30%	10.50%	9.40%
Registered unemployed	2.60%	5.80%		7.80%	4.50%
Self-employed in non-agricultural activities, freelancer, liberal and artistic professions, PFA, individual enterprise	2.00%	3.50%	1.90%	2.60%	2.60%
Medical retirement	2.00%	2.00%	0.80%	1.60%	1.60%
Beneficiary of minimal guaranteed income				5.60%	1.60%
Company owner/administrator	2.00%	0.30%		1.30%	0.70%
Farmer	2.00%	0.30%	0.80%	0.70%	0.70%
Pupil/student or freshly graduate	0.70%	0.30%	0.40%	1.00%	0.60%
Social assistance			0.40%		0.10%
Successor pension		0.30%			0.10%

The occupational status is correlated positively for $p=0$ with the gender (at a level of 0.286). The results on the survey show a higher proportion of men on the labour market (8.30%) than of women (4.50%). At the same time, the proportion of male respondents working occasionally, including the farmers, is higher than that of women (26.90% compared to 9.90%). Of all respondents, 23.90% are inactive men, and 26.90% are inactive women (*see Table 10*).

Table 10. SPM1. Occupational status of the respondents, by gender, of total sample

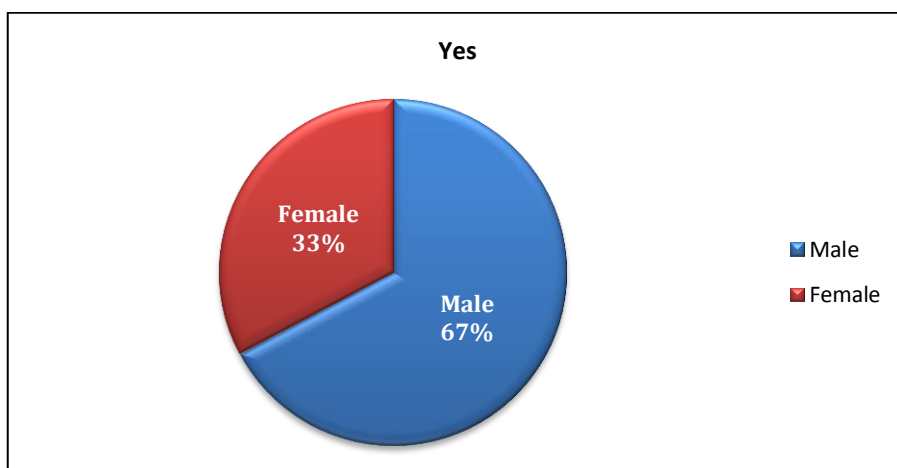
Gender	Inactive people (including retired people)	Pensioners	Active people	Occasional workers
Males	23.90%	1.10%	8.30%	26.90%
Females	26.60%	0.60%	4.50%	9.90%

Most of the respondents (69%) declared that they were employed officially (with legal employment papers). In all regions of development, most of the respondents were not employed (with legal employment papers). While in Bucharest-Ilfov, South-Muntenia and South-East, 30% to 41% of the respondents have been employed sometimes in the past, with legal employment papers, just 17% of the respondents from South-West Oltenia region of development were active on the labour market (with legal employment papers). (see Table 11). Being employed on the labour market is positively correlated with the gender, at a level of 0.151, for $p=0$. Of the total number of persons who declared that they have been employed with legal employment papers, 33% are women and 67% are men (see chart 20).

Table 11. SPM2. Have you ever been employed (with legal employment papers)?, by region of development

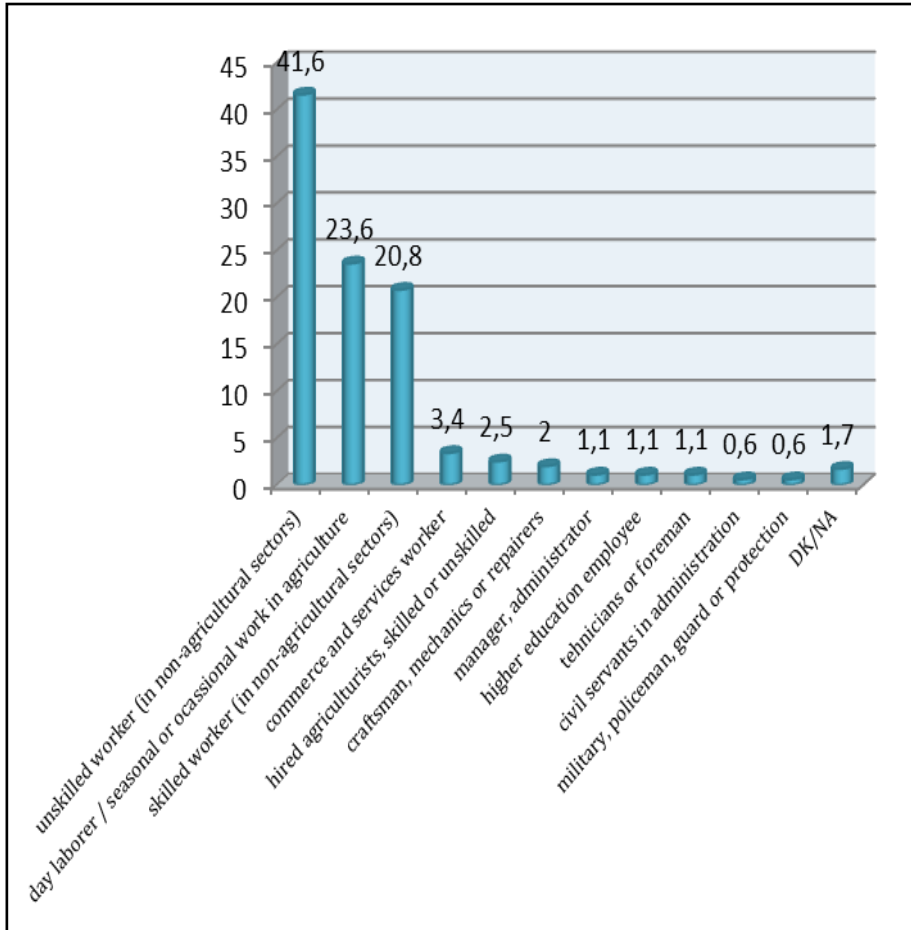
	Region of development				Total
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Yes	36.90%	40.40%	17.00%	30.20%	31.00%
No	63.10%	59.60%	83.00%	69.80%	69.00%

Chart 20. SPM2. Have you ever been employed (with legal employment papers?) - people who answered Yes (N= 829)



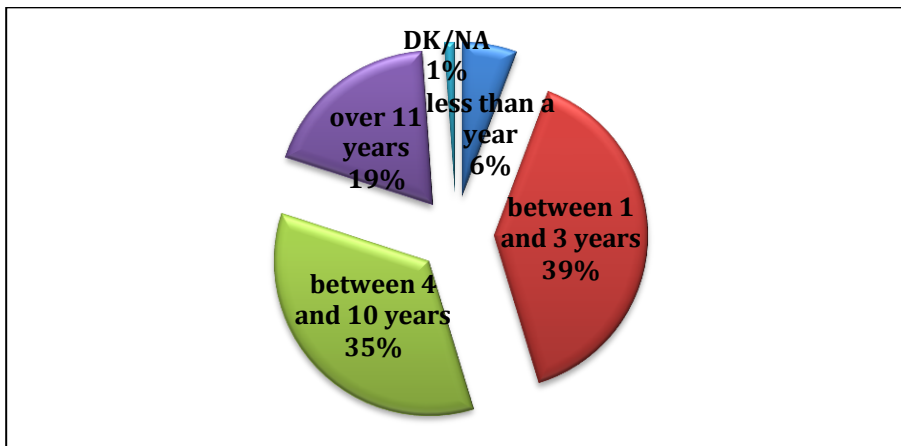
41.60% of the respondents who have been employed on the labour market, stated that at their last job, they worked as unskilled workers in non-agricultural sectors. 23.60% of these respondents worked in agriculture at their last job, as day workers or in seasonal works. 20.80% of the respondents with experience on the labour market declared that at their last job they were employed as skilled workers in non-agricultural sectors. (see chart 21).

Chart 21. R1. (%) position at the last job (N=356)



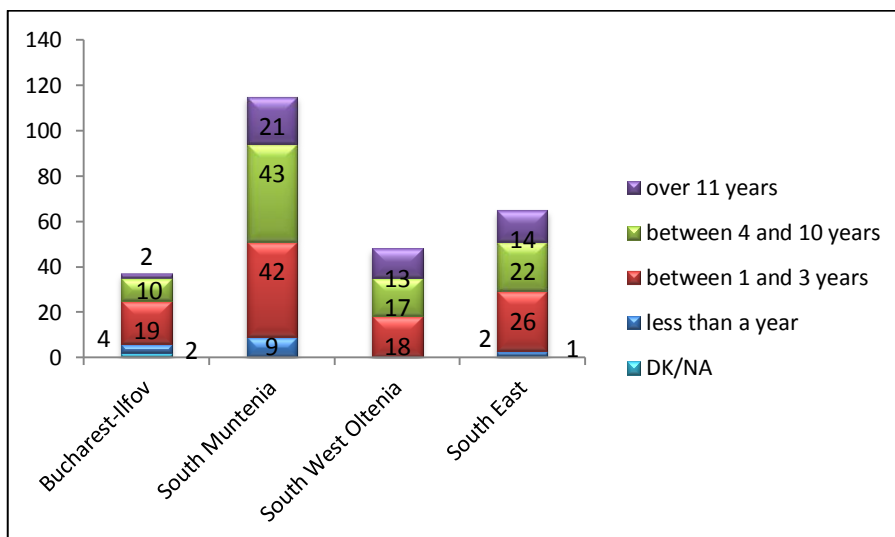
Of the respondents who worked once, but are not currently employed, 6% left the labour market less than a year ago, 39% left the labour market 1 to 3 years ago, 35% left the labour market 4 to 10 years ago, and 19% more than 11 years ago (see chart 22).

Chart 22. R2. How long is it since you do not have a job? (N=265)



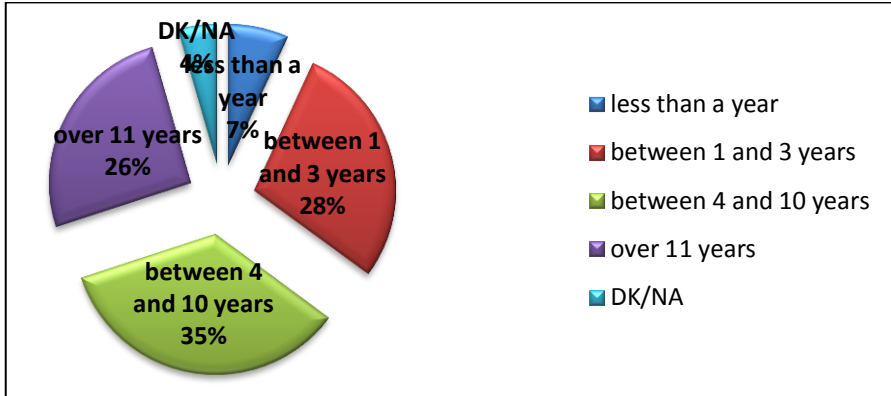
Of the respondents who have no job currently, but who worked in the past, in Bucharest-Ilfov region of development, 51.40% left the labour market 1 to 3 years ago. In South-Muntenia, 37.40% of the inactive respondents left the labour market 4 to 10 years ago. In South-West Oltenia and in South-East, most respondents left the labour market 1 to 4 years ago. (see chart 23).

Chart 23. R2. How long is it since you do not have a job? by region of development (N=265)



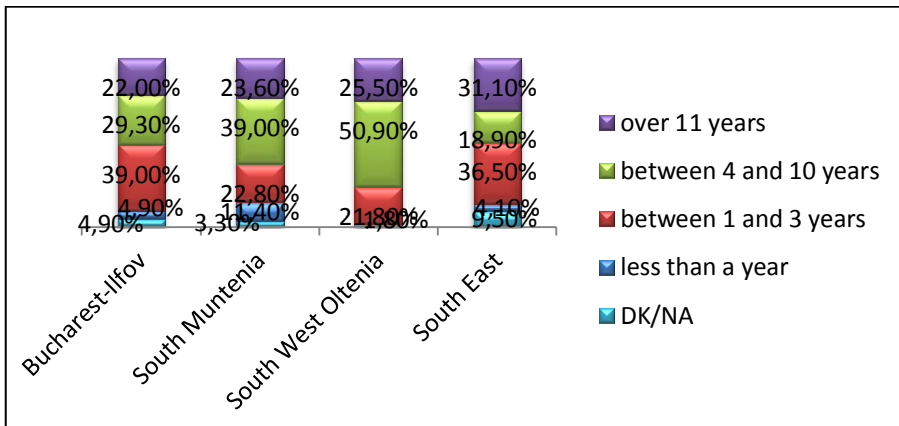
Most of the respondents (35%) have 4 to 10 years of experience on the labour market (see chart 24).

Chart 24. R3. Which is your total work experience? (N=293)



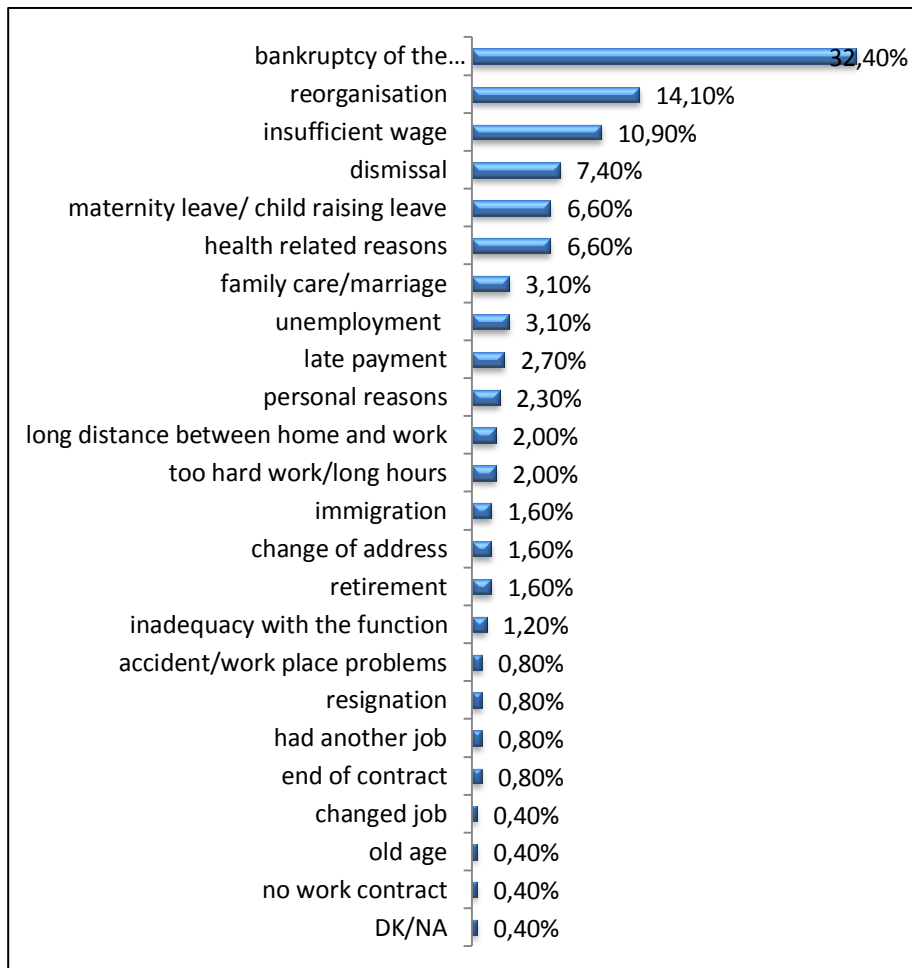
In South-West Oltenia region of development, 50.90% of the respondents have 4 to 10 years of experience on the labour market. In South-East, 36.50% of the respondents have 1 to 3 years of experience on the labour market. In South-Muntenia region, 11.40% of the respondents have less than a year of experience on the labour market. These proportions are comparable at the regional level, as the proportion of respondents by region, depending on age, is similar, and between work experience and age there is no significant correlation. (see chart 25)

Chart. 25.R3. Which is your total work experience? by region of development (N=293)



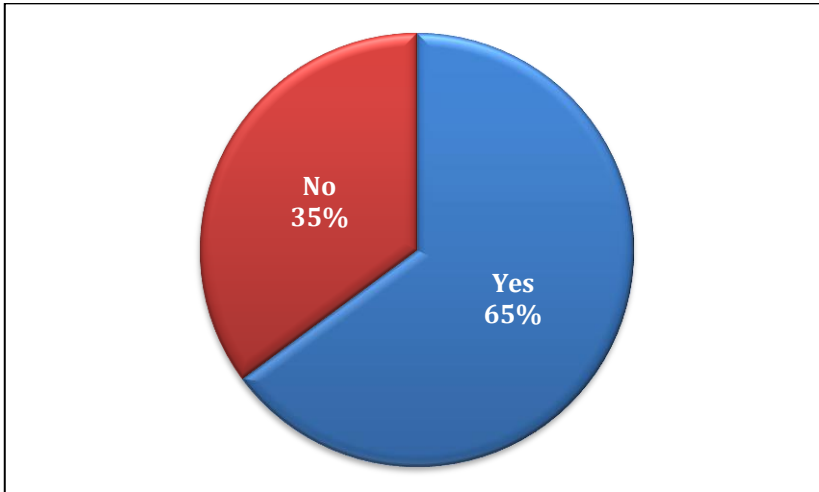
32.40% of the respondents who were employed on the labour market, lost their last job because of the bankruptcy or dissolution of that working unit; 14.10% of the respondents have been fired due to reorganisation; 10.90% of the respondents left their last job due to financial reasons (see chart 26). At the level of all regions of development, the reason mentioned by most respondents referred to the dissolution or bankruptcy of the institution.

**Chart 26. R4. Which are the reasons why you left your last job? (N=256) .
Multiple answer**



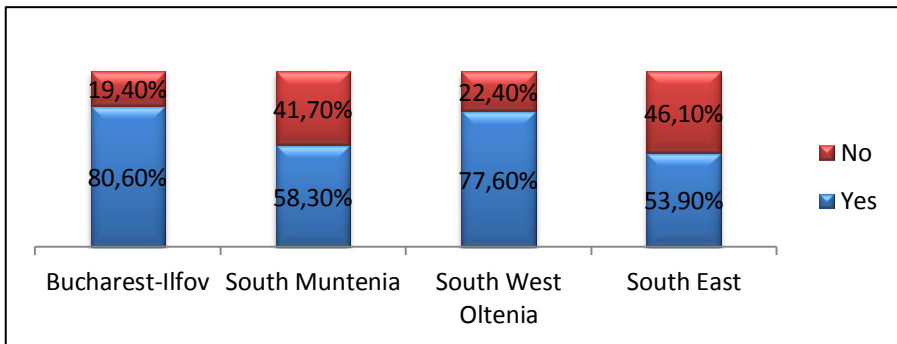
65% of the respondents not having a job, stated that they have been seeking work over the past year (see chart 27).

Chart 27. R5. Did you seek a job during the past year? (N= 830)



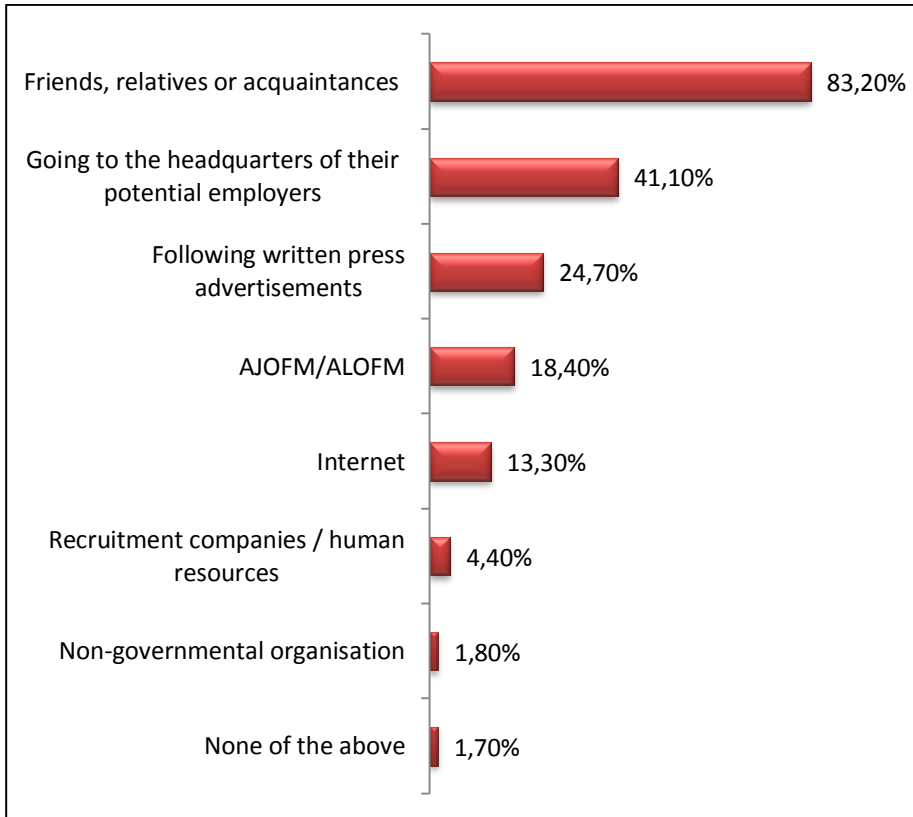
While in Sout-Muntenia and South-East regions of development, less than 60% of the respondents looked for a job over the past year, in South-West Oltenia and Bucharest-Ilfov more than 77% of the respondents looked for a job (see chart 28).

Chart 28.R5. Did you seek a job during the past year? by region of development (N= 830)



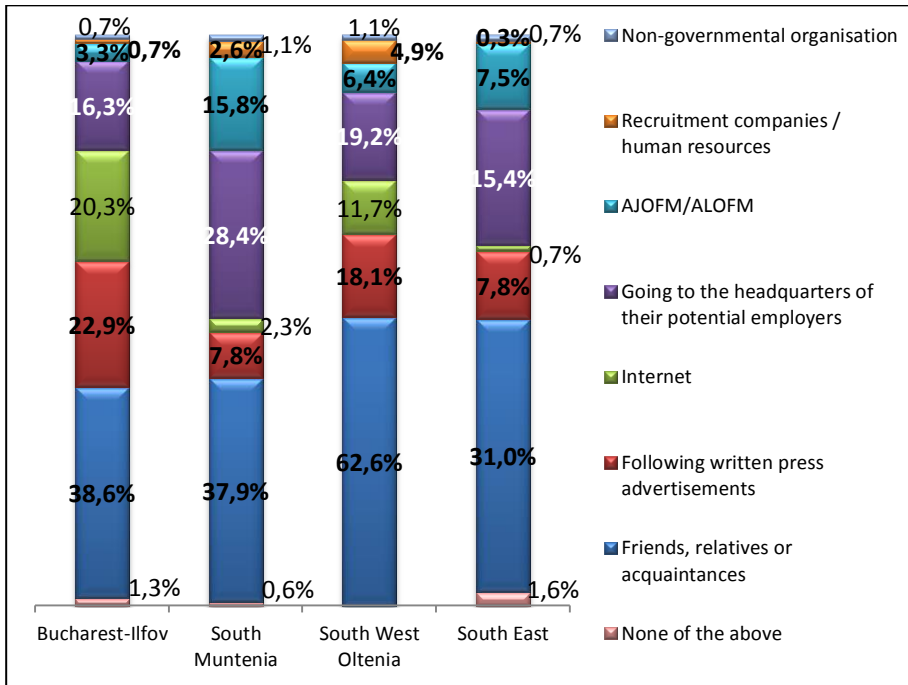
83.20% of the respondents who declared that they have been seeking a job during the past year, asked their friends, relatives or acquaintances in order to find a job; 41.10% of the respondents went to the headquarters of their potential employers to get a job, and just 4,40% of the respondents used recruiting companies. (see chart 29)

Chart 29. R6. How did you seek a job until now? (N= 543) – Multiple answer



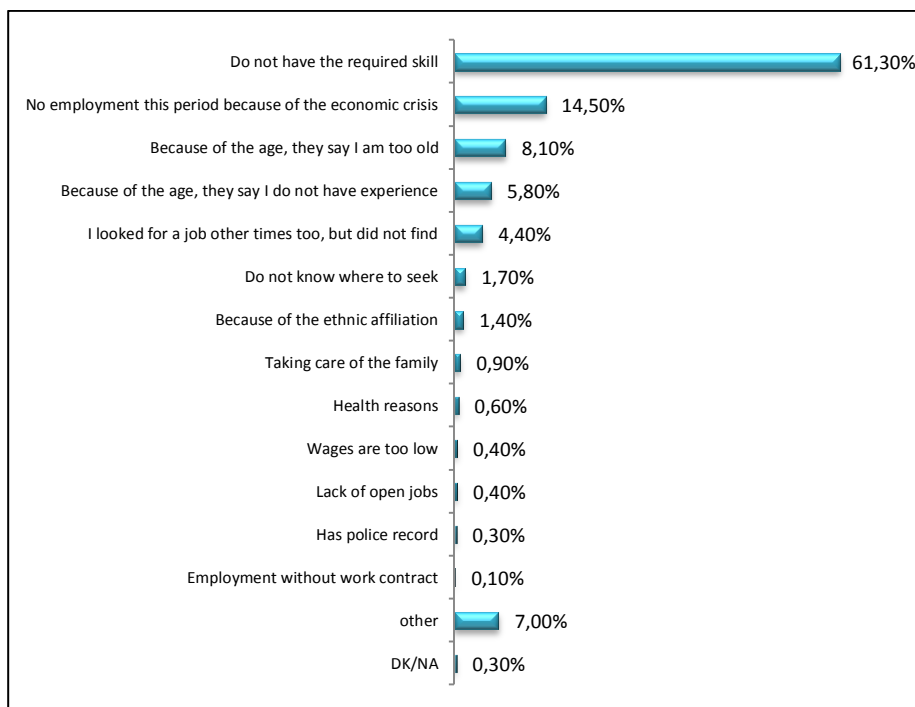
In South-West Oltenia, most of the respondents (62,6%) asked their friends, relatives or acquaintances in order to find a job. Relations are the source of getting a job for most respondents in each region of development. In South-Muntenia we notice the highest proportion of respondents who went to the headquarters of their potential employers to get a job (28.4%). (see chart 30)

Chart 30. R6. How did you seek a job until now? (N= 543) – Multiple answer



Of the respondents who did not seek a job over the past year, 50.3% consider that they have no chance, and 30.8% did not seek a job because of their family responsibilities that do not allow them getting employed (see chart 31). The distribution of the reasons claimed by the inactive respondents who did not seek a job over the past year, maintains at the level of each of the four surveyed regions of development.

Chart 31. R7. Which is the main reason why you did not seek a job? (N=328)



Of the inactive respondents, 61.30% consider that they failed to find a job because they do not have a skill demanded on the labour market, while 14.50% consider that the economic crisis affected the employment (*see chart 83*). Most respondents in the surveyed four regions of development claimed the lack of skill as reason for their failure to find a job, followed by the economic crisis (*see Table 12*).

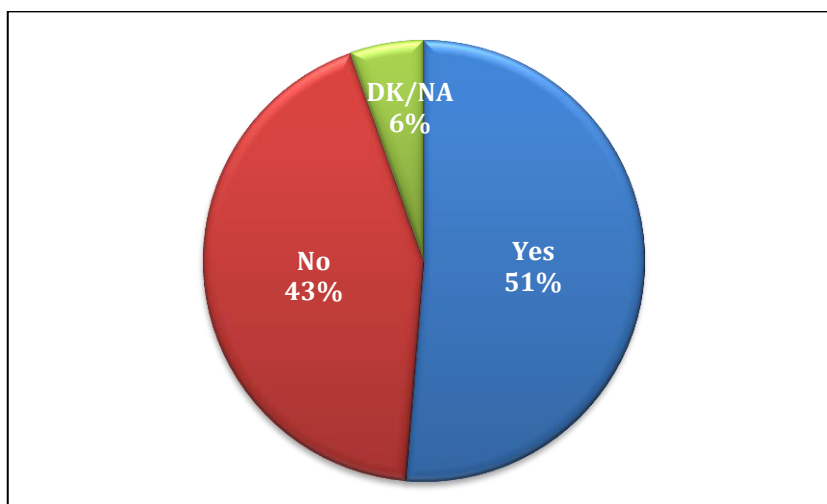
Table 12. R_SNS. Which is the main reason why you do not find a job? by region of development (N=702). Multiple answer

Reason for not finding a job	Region of development			
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East
Do not have the required skill	30,70%	38,80%	51,30%	36,60%
No employment this period because of the economic crisis	11,80%	6,60%	14,70%	7,20%
Because of the age, they say I am too old	5,90%	5,70%	4,90%	4,90%
Because of the age, they say I do not have experience	5,90%	2,90%	4,20%	3,60%

Reason for not finding a job	Region of development			
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East
I looked for a job other times too, but did not find	5,20%	3,40%	0,80%	2,90%
Do not know where to seek	1,30%	0,90%	0,40%	1,30%
Because of the ethnic affiliation	1,30%	0,60%	1,50%	1,30%
Taking care of the family	0,70%	1,10%		0,30%
Health reasons		1,10%		
Wages are too low		0,90%		
Lack of open jobs		0,90%		
Has police record		0,30%	0,40%	
Employment without work contract		0,30%		
NS / NR		0,60%		

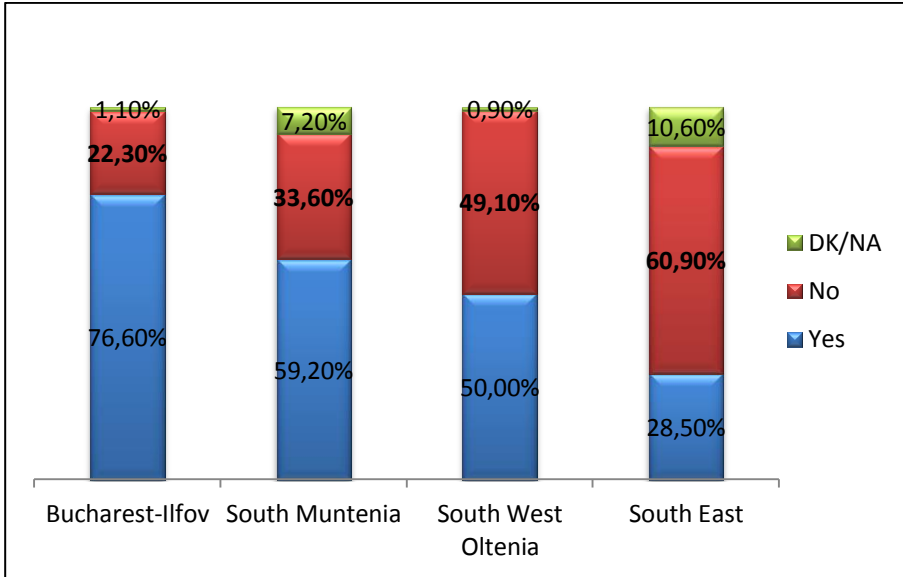
51% of the unemployed respondents consider that they will get a job in the near future, while 43% consider that they will remain inactive (*see chart 32*).

Chart 32. R8. Do you think you will find a job in the near future? (N= 737)



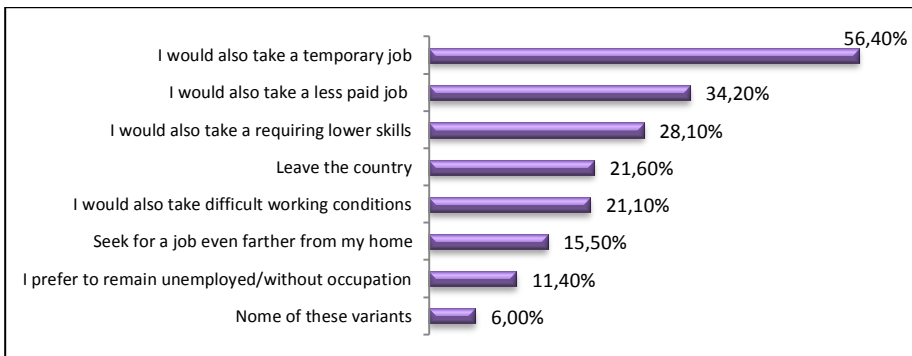
In all surveyed regions of development, most respondents consider that they will find a place of work in the near future, except the South-East respondents, where 60.90% consider that they will not enter the labour market in the near future. Bucharest-Ilfov region has the highest percentage of all regions (76.60%), of respondents optimistic for their prospective employment (*see chart 33*).

Chart 33. R8. Do you think you will find a job in the near future? by region of development (N= 737)



56.40% of the respondents without a place of work say they would also accept a temporary job, if they will not find a permanent work in the near future; 34.20% of the respondents are willing to take a job with poorer payment, just to be able to work; 11.40% of the respondents prefer to remain unemployed, and seek no other working alternative, if they will not find a job in the near future (see chart 34).

Chart 34. R9. If you will not find the desired place of work in the future, what will you do? (N= 805). Multiple answer



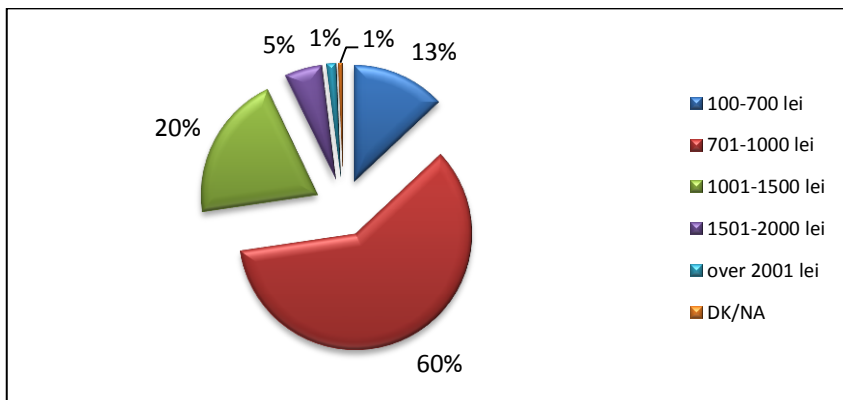
While in Bucharest-Ilfov and South-Muntenia regions of development, the first two solutions indicated by the respondents if they will not find a job in the near future are temporary employment and taking a job requiring lower skills, in South-West Oltenia and South-East regions, most respondents are willing to work for a determined time, or to be paid less (see Table 13).

Table 13. R9. If you will not find the desired place of work in the future, what will you do? by region of development (N=805). Multiple answer

Alternative	Region of development			
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East
I would also take a temporary job	37.30%	51.70%	52.50%	25.50%
I would also take a requiring lower skill	26.10%	29.90%	18.90%	10.50%
I would also take difficult working conditions	25.50%	19.80%	10.90%	10.80%
I would also take a less paid job	19.60%	31.60%	29.40%	18.60%
Seek for a job even farther from my home	17.00%	16.40%	9.80%	5.20%
Leave the country	11.80%	16.70%	21.90%	13.10%
I prefer to remain unemployed/without occupation	9.20%	7.20%	8.70%	9.80%
None of these variants	2.60%	5.20%	0.40%	8.20%

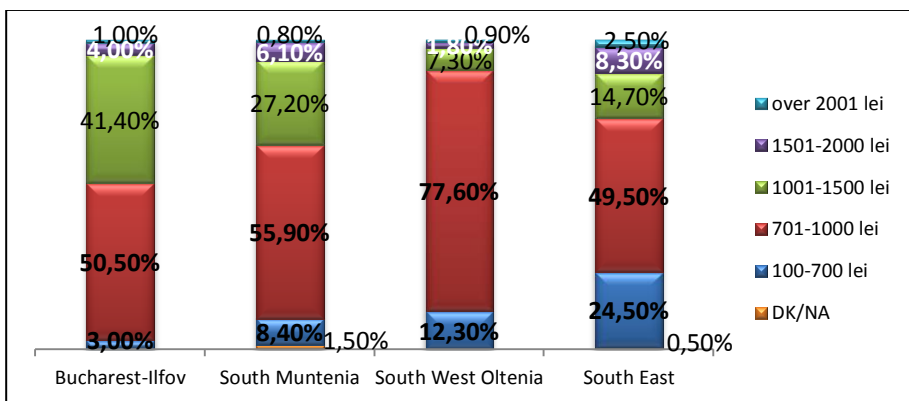
Most respondents (60%) said they are willing to work for a wage of 700 to 1000 lei per month; 20% of the respondents are willing to work for a monthly wage of 1001 to 1500 lei, while 13% of the respondents would also work for a wage under 700 lei per month (see chart 35).

Chart 35. R10. What would be the MINIMAL wage for which you would take a new job? (N= 783)



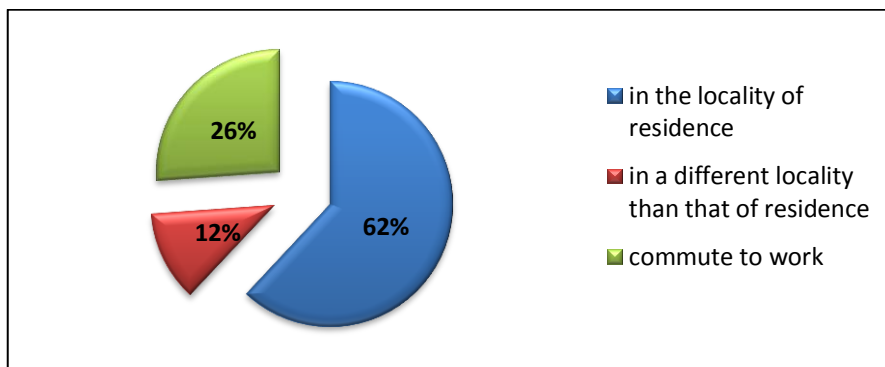
In South-East we notice the highest proportion (24.50%), of all surveyed regions, of respondents willing to work for a wage up to 700 lei. In South-West Oltenia, 77.60% of the respondents said they are willing to work for a monthly wage of 701 to 1000 lei, the highest percentage in all surveyed regions of development. The highest proportion of respondents willing to work for a monthly wage of 1001 to 1500 lei was in Bucharest-Ilfov Region. (see chart 36)

Chart 36. R10. What would be the MINIMAL wage for which you would take a new job? by region (N= 783)



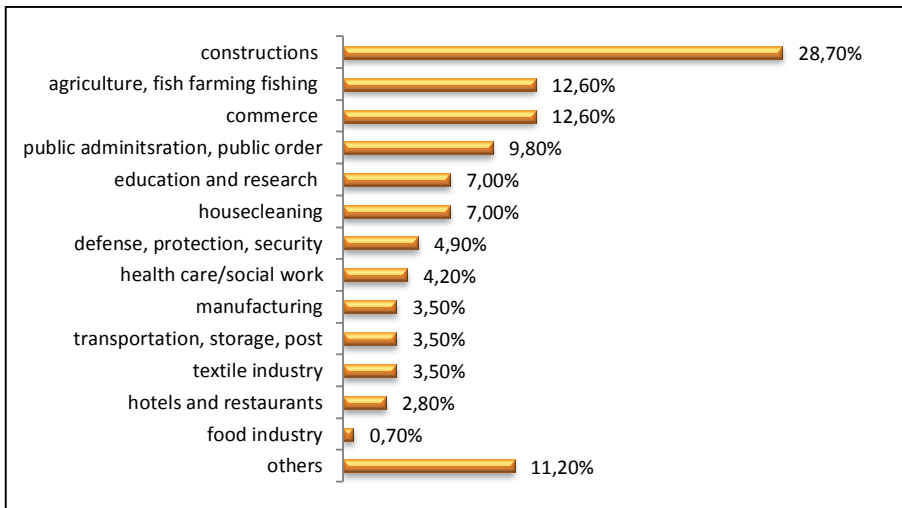
62% of the respondents active on the labour market work in the locality of residence; 12% work in a different locality than that of residence, and 26% commute to work (see chart 37). The structure of job location is similar with the general one, in each of the surveyed regions of development: most respondents work in the locality of residence, followed by a lower proportion of those who commute to work.

Chart 37. PPM0. Job location (N= 134)



The highest proportion of the employed respondents work in constructions (28.70%), while 12.60% work in agriculture, and another 12.60% work in commercial activities. (see chart 38)

Chart 38. PPM1. Domain of activity of the employer (private company/state company) (N= 143) .Multiple answer



Most employed respondents are skilled workers (30.2%) or unskilled workers (30.2%) in non-agricultural sectors; 1.9% of the respondents are trained agricultural workers, and 18.2% are working occasionally or as day worker in agriculture. Only 6.9% of the respondents are higher education graduates employed on the labour market (see chart 39).

Chart 39. PPM2. Which is your current occupation? (N= 159)

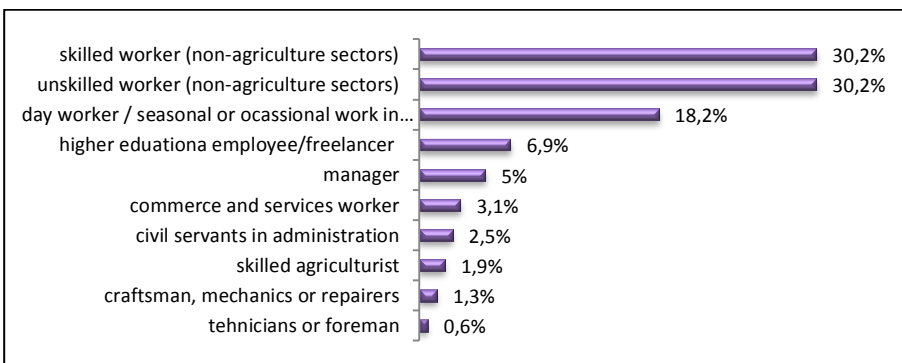
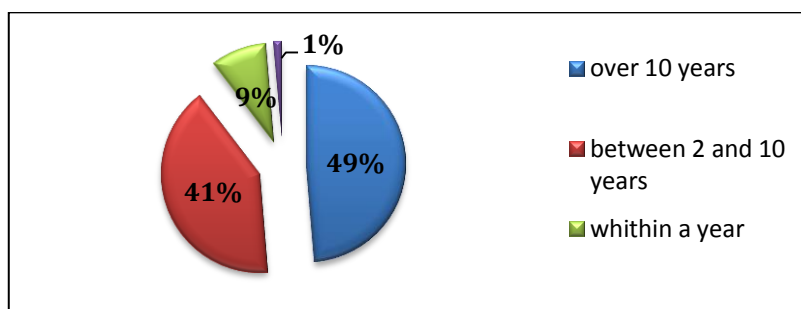


Table 14. PPM4. Type of working contract at the current job, by region of development (N=141)

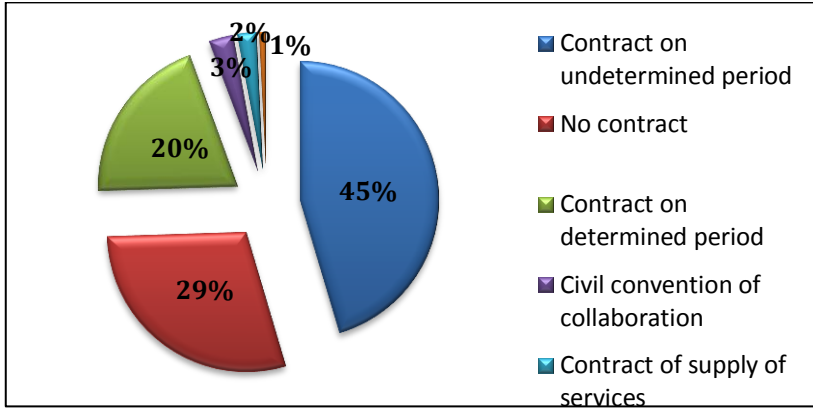
Type of working contract		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Contract on undetermined period	Number of respondents	20	19	2	23	64
	% of total region of development	54,10%	37,30%	18,20%	54,80%	45,40%
Contract on determined period	Number of respondents	9	8	4	7	28
	% of total region of development	24,30%	15,70%	36,40%	16,70%	19,90%
Civil convention of collaboration	Number of respondents	2	2	0	0	4
	% of total region of development	5,40%	3,90%			2,80%
Contract of supply of services	Number of respondents	0	0	1	2	3
	% of total region of development			9,10%	4,80%	2,10%
No contract	Number of respondents	6	21	4	10	41
	% of total region of development	16,20%	41,20%	36,40%	23,80%	29,10%
DK/NA	Number of respondents	0	1	0	0	1
	% of total region of development		2,00%			0,70%
Total	Number of respondents	37	51	11	42	141
	% of total region of development	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Of the occupied respondents, only 9% stated to have a work experience of one year or less (*see chart 40*).

Chart 40. PPM3. How many years of work do you have? (N=154)

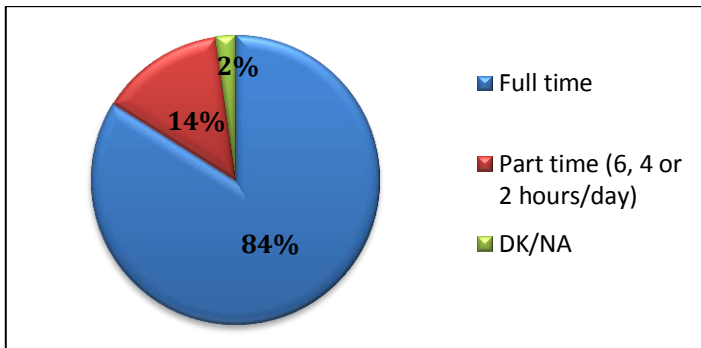
45% of the employed respondents stated to have working contract on undetermined period, while 29% are working without any type of working contract (*see chart 41*).

Chart 41. PPM4. Type of working contract at the current job (N= 141)



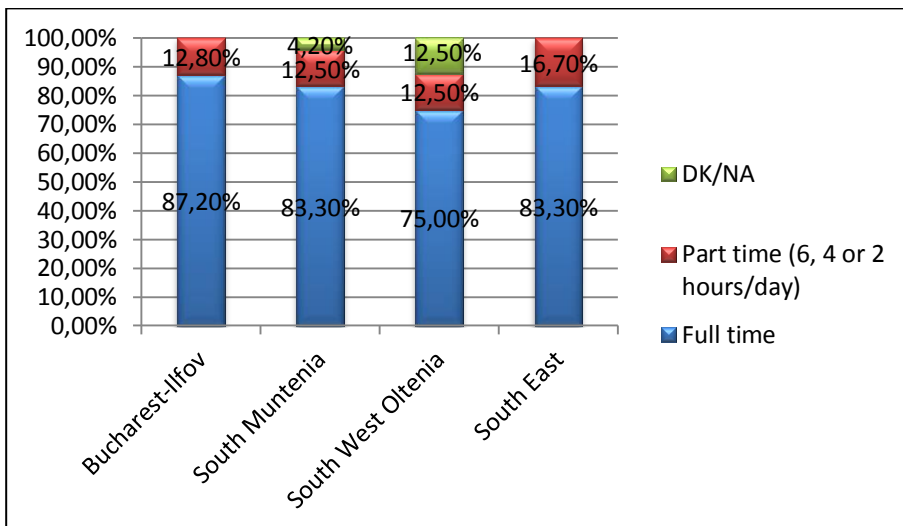
In Bucharest-Ilfov, most of the employed respondents have working contracts, and most (54.10%) are employed on undetermined period, while 16.20% work informally. In South-Muntenia, most (41.20%) of the employed respondents work informally, while 37.30% have working contracts on undetermined period. In South-West Oltenia region, a similar proportion (36.40%) of active respondents work informally or with working contracts on determined period. In South-East, most of the respondents (54.80%) have working contracts on undetermined period, while 23.80% are working informally. Of the respondents working informally, 51.70% work in constructions, and 27.60% in agriculture. 84% of the active respondents work full time, while 14% work part time (*see chart 42*).

Chart 42. PPM5. Working time (N= 137)



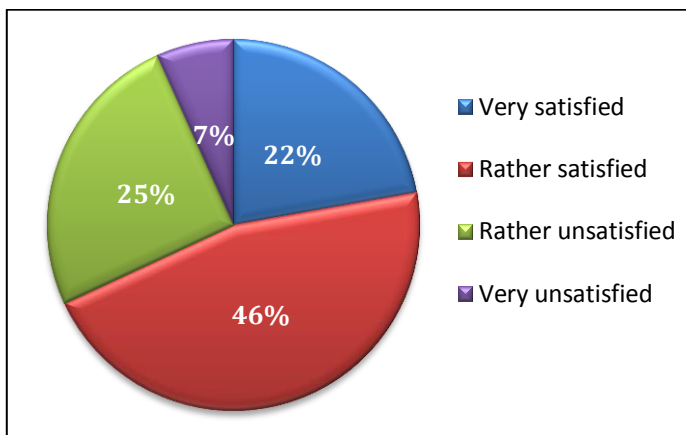
In the four surveyed regions of development, most of the active respondents are working full time (see chart 43).

Chart 43. PPM5. Working time, by region of development (N= 137)



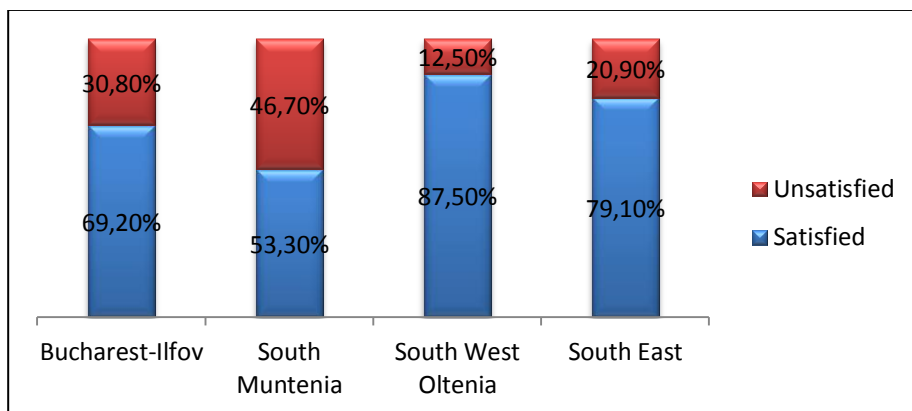
68.10% of the active respondents are very satisfied and rather satisfied with their current job (see chart 44).

Chart 44. PPM 6. Level of satisfaction towards the current job (N= 135)



In South-West Oltenia 87.50% of the active respondents are satisfied with their current job. In Bucharest-Ilfov and South-Muntenia there is a higher percentage of respondents dissatisfied with their job (see chart 45).

Chart 45. PPM6. Level of satisfaction towards the current job, by region of development (N=135)



Most respondents consider the work as a source of income (93.9%), while for just 1.5%, work is a way of life (see chart 46).

A correlation of 0.072, for $p < 0.05$, exist between the way the respondents relate to work, and the Roma family to which they belong. 54% of the respondents for which work is a source of income are Romanian Roma, and 21.20% are bear tamers. Also, for them, work also is a burden, or an occasion to spend time with other people, these significations of the work not being acknowledged by the other Roma families (see Table 15).

Chart 46. OPN1. What does work represent to you? (N=1041)

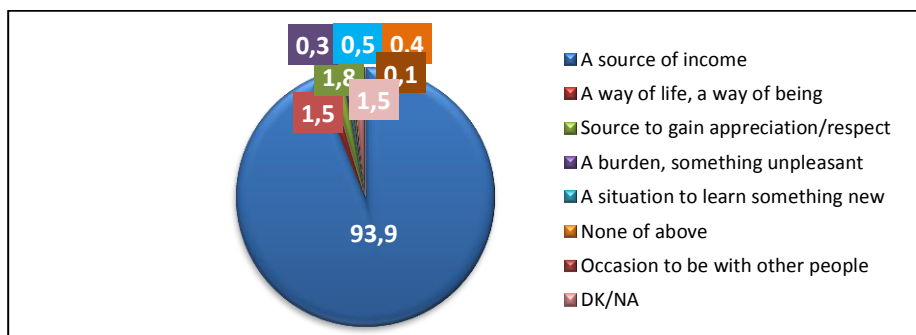


Table 15. OPN1. What does work represent to you, function of the Roma family of affiliation (N=1021)

What does work represent?	Brick maker	Rudar	Fireplace maker	Cauldron maker	Bear tamer	Romanian Roma
A source of income	8.40%	3.90%	2.60%	5.80%	21.20%	54.00%
A manner of life, a way of being	6.20%			6.20%	6.20%	81.20%
Opportunity to gain appreciation/respect	17.60%	5.90%			29.40%	47.10%
A burden something unpleasant						100.00%
A situation to learn something new			20.00%		20.00%	60.00%
None of them					25.00%	75.00%
Occasion to be with other people						100.00%
NS / NR		68.80%			12.50%	6.20%

The representatives of the local authorities who know of programs running in the field of occupation, most often mentioned, generically, the training courses (44.40%). The actions organised by the employment agencies were mentioned by 40.70% of the respondents, followed by the Job exchange (16.70%) and the Caravan of employment (14.80%).

Asked of the actions/programs running in the field of occupation, the local people from the targeted communities who know of such actions, mentioned the on the top four positions the programs already confirmed by the local authorities (*see Table 16*). Most of them mentioned the training courses (39.50%), followed by the actions organised by the employment agencies (38.30%), Job exchange (19.80%) and the Caravan of employment (8.60%).

Table 16: MS3. Programs/actions running in the field of occupation that you know– multiple answer

Running programs	Answers	
	Local authorities (N=54)	Local people (N=81)
Training courses	44.40%	39.50%
ANOFM/AJOEM	40.70%	38.30%
Job exchange	16.70%	19.80%
Caravan of employment	14.80%	8.60%
Adds	7.40%	
Social canteen/lunch tickets	5.60%	
Notices	3.70%	

Running programs	Answers	
	Local authorities (N=54)	Local people (N=81)
Building a factory	3.70%	
Advisory centre for parents and children /professional orientation	3.70%	
School after school	3.70%	
Training courses provided by the town hall	1.90%	3.70%
Training courses through the EU		3.70%
Alliance of the Roma		2.50%
Second chance	1.90%	
Sportive activities	1.90%	
Cultural activities	1.90%	
Sanitary activities	1.90%	
By phone	1.90%	
Entrepreneurship		1.20
DK/NA		17.30%
Total	155.60%	134.60%

Conclusions

For most of the local respondents, it is extremely important to be honest in order to have success in life (47%), while for just 22% of them it is highly important to learn continuously. The faculty is important for 57% of the respondents, while the middle-class education is important for 77% of the respondents. The professional training is important to acquire success, for 81% of the respondents. At the level of all surveyed regions of development, work is seen as source of income. A proportion of 49.30% of the respondents who graduated at most the middle school are romanized Roma, and 21.80% are bear tamers. A proportion of 68% of the respondents with secondary education are romanized Roma, and 16.40% are bear tamers. With faculty education, we noticed 22.20% bear tamers and 11.10% brick makers. A total of 614 respondents declared that they have no qualification, and the most frequent qualifications are in mechanics, plumbing and constructions, in all surveyed regions of development. A total of 355 interviewed local people said they never attended professional training courses, but 87.8% of the respondents would like to attend professional training courses, or to improve their skills, in the following period, if these courses are free and transportation is provided.

Of the respondents who would like to attend formation courses, 30% would like to qualify in constructions, 19.90% in agriculture and 18.30% in commercial activities. The top three areas of interest for the men are constructions (49.70%), commerce (13.60%) and agriculture, hunting, and fishery (12.10%). The women showed interest in attending training courses mainly in agriculture, hunting, and fishery (31.40%), commerce

(24.70%) and hotels and restaurants (18.80%). In Bucharest-Ilfov, the top three areas of professional formation of interest for the respondents are constructions, commerce and hotels and restaurants. In the other surveyed regions of development, the respondents also showed interest in constructions, commerce, but also in agriculture.

A proportion of 50.60% of the local people who attended the survey are inactive on the labour market, of which 1.70% are retired people, 0.60% were going to integrate on the labour market after the period of survey, being students or freshly graduates. A proportion of 12.70% of the respondents are active and have a constant income (employees, company owners and self-employed). The sample also includes 36.70% people with occasional incomes (hired hands and agricultural workers). In Bucharest-Ilfov there is the highest proportion of employees (20.30%), compared to the proportion of employees in other regions of development. In South-Muntenia, there is the highest proportion of people working in the household (22.30%), compared to the other three surveyed regions of development, and just 9% employed people among the respondents. In South West Oltenia, just 2.30% of the respondents are employed, the main income coming, in this region, from occasional non-agricultural activities (14.00%). In South East there is the highest proportion of people working by the day in non-agricultural activities (21.20%), which is the main source of income in this region.

A proportion of 56% of the unemployed respondents said that they have been looking for a job in the last year. While in South Muntenia and South East regions of development, less than 60% of the respondents looked for a job during the past year, in South West Oltenia and Bucharest-Ilfov, over 77% of the respondents looked for a job during the past year, and 83.20% of the respondents looking for a job during the past year, said that they looked for a job asking friends, relatives or people they know. Relations are the source of getting a job for most respondents in every surveyed region of development. Most inactive respondents in the four surveyed regions of development claimed the lack of qualification, followed by the economic crisis, as major reasons why they did not get a job. While in Bucharest-Ilfov and South Muntenia, the top two solutions given by the respondents as alternative if they do not get a job, is the temporary employment and working in a lower qualification than they have, in South West Oltenia and South East, most respondents are willing to work for a determined period of time, or be less paid. In South East we find the highest proportion (24.50%) of respondents willing to work for a wage up to 700 lei, compared to the situation in the other surveyed regions of development. In South West Oltenia, 77.60% of the respondents would for a wage of 701 to 1000 lei per month, the highest proportion with this option among all surveyed regions. Only in Bucharest-Ilfov, we find the highest proportion of respondents willing to work for a wage of 1001 to 1500 lei.

The highest proportion of the local respondents who are employed, work in constructions (28.70%), while 12.60% work in agriculture and 12.60% work in commercial activities. A proportion of 45% of the employed respondents said that they have a labour contract on undetermined period, while 29% work with no form of contract.

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Appendix: Profile of the Roma respondents from the target marginalized communities

The study of the situation of the marginalized Roma communities from the development regions Bucharest-Ilfov, South Muntenia, South West Oltenia and South East, proceeded in June-August 2014, with a margin of error of 2.6%, with a confidence level of 95%. We conducted a total of 1072 interviews with inhabitants of these communities according to the following structure (*see Table A*): 153 interviews in Bucharest-Ilfov, 348 in South Muntenia, 265 in South West Oltenia and 306 in South East. The sample included 98.80% of the local people who declared to be Roma, 1.10% Romanian locals and one Serbian.

Table A. Q2. Ethnic group, by region of development and total

Ethnic group		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Romanian	No. of respondents	6	2	1	3	12
	% of the Region of development	3.90%	0.60%	0.40%	1.00%	1.10%
Roma / Gypsy	No. of respondents	147	345	264	303	1059
	% of the Region of development	96.10%	99.10%	99.60%	99.00%	98.80%
Serbian	No. of respondents	0	1	0	0	1
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
Total	No. of respondents	153	348	265	306	1072

We can see that 44 respondents stated to be Romanians at the 2011 Census (*see Table B*), compared to the 12 who stated to be Romanians (*see Table A*).

Table B. Q3. Ethnic affiliation stated at the 2011 Census, by region of development, and total

Declared ethny		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Romanian	No. of respondents	3	26	1	14	44
	% of the Region of development	2.20%	7.90%	0.40%	4.90%	4.40%
Roma	No. of respondents	63	291	259	255	868
	% of the Region of development	46.70%	88.40%	99.60%	88.90%	85.90%
Serbian	No. of respondents	0	1	0	0	1
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
No, I did	No. of respondents	46	11	0	18	75

Declared ethny		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ifov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
not participate	% of the Region of development	34.10%	3.30%	0.00%	6.30%	7.40%
NS/NR	No. of respondents	23	0	0	0	23
	% of the Region of development	17.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.30%
Total	No. of respondents	135	329	260	287	1011

Most of the respondents stated by be Romanised Roma (54%). 20.0% of the respondents stated to be ursari Roma (*see Table C*).

Table C. Q4. Roma line stated by the respondents, by region of development and total

Roma line		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ifov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South- East	
Brick maker	No. of respondents	1	10	70	4	85
	% of the Region of development	0.70%	2.90%	26.40%	1.40%	8.10%
Rudar	No. of respondents	1	14	0	44	59
	% of the Region of development	0.70%	4.00%	0.00%	15.30%	5.60%
Chimney maker	No. of respondents	0	9	0	17	26
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	2.60%	0.00%	5.90%	2.50%
Bucket maker	No. of respondents	1	13	0	44	58
	% of the Region of development	0.70%	3.80%	0.00%	15.30%	5.50%
Ursar	No. of respondents	3	66	84	62	215
	% of the Region of development	2.00%	19.10%	31.70%	21.50%	20.40%
Romanised Roma	No. of respondents	144	224	104	96	568
	% of the Region of development	94.10%	64.70%	39.20%	33.30%	54.00%
Silversmith	No. of respondents	1	0	0	0	1
	% of the Region of development	0.70%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
Cauldron maker	No. of respondents	0	1	0	0	1
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
Sieve maker	No. of respondents	0	0	0	2	2
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.70%	0.20%
Laias	No. of respondents	0	3	7	2	12
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.90%	2.60%	0.70%	1.10%
Fiddler	No. of respondents	0	0	0	1	1
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.30%	0.10%
Tinker	No. of respondents	0	2	0	0	2

Roma line		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.60%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
Tinsmith	No. of respondents	0	1	0	0	1
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
NS / NR	No. of respondents	2	3	0	16	21
	% of the Region of development	1.30%	0.90%	0.00%	5.60%	2.00%
Total	No. of respondents	153	346	265	288	1052

50.60% of the respondents are inactive on the labour market, including the retired people. 1.70% of the respondents are retired persons. 12.70% of the surveyed people are active on the labour market, including the employees, self-employed people and owners of companies. 36.70% of the respondents stated to work occasionally, including the people working in agriculture, who obtain occasional incomes from their work (*see Table D*).

Table D. SPM1. Occupational status, by region of development, and total (N=1068)

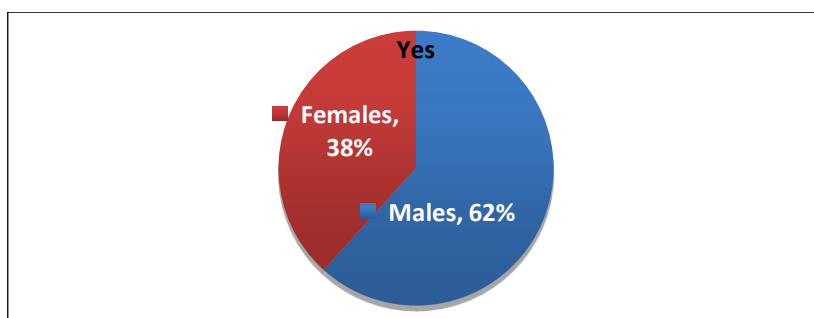
Occupational status	Region of development				Total
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
No occupation	42.50%	18.80%	29.50%	17.30%	24.40%
Worker by the day / occasional work (not in agriculture)	15.00%	20.60%	14.00%	21.20%	18.40%
Household worker	9.20%	22.30%	17.80%	16.70%	17.70%
Worker by the day / occasional work in agriculture	2.00%	16.80%	32.20%	13.70%	17.60%
Employee	20.30%	9.00%	2.30%	10.50%	9.40%
Registered unemployed	2.60%	5.80%	0.00%	7.80%	4.50%
Self-employed in non-agricultural activities, freelancer, liberal and artistic professions, PFA, individual enterprise	2.00%	3.50%	1.90%	2.60%	2.60%
Retired due to health problems	2.00%	2.00%	0.80%	1.60%	1.60%
Receiver of MGI	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.60%	1.60%
Company owner/administrator	2.00%	0.30%	0.00%	1.30%	0.70%
Farmer	2.00%	0.30%	0.80%	0.70%	0.70%
pupil/student or recently graduate	0.70%	0.30%	0.40%	1.00%	0.60%
Social aid	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.10%
Pension from deceased husband/wife	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%

Most of the respondents stated that they have never been employed legally (69%). In each surveyed region of development, most respondents stated that they never worked legally (*see Table E*).

Table E. SPM2. Legally employed, by region of development, and total (N=831)

Legally employed	Region of development				Total
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Yes	36.90%	40.40%	17.00%	30.20%	31.00%
No	63.10%	59.60%	83.00%	69.80%	69.00%

A higher proportion of men declared to have been employed legally (37.10%) than women (23%) (see *Figure A*).

Chart A. SPM2. Legally employed people, by gender (N=829)

Most respondents are young people aged 18 to 35 (50.50%). This distribution can be found at the level of the regions of development too, except South-East region, where 44.40% of the respondents are aged 36 to 50 (see *Table F*).

Table F. S1. Age of respondents, by region of development, and total

Age		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
18-35	No. of respondents	82	190	145	124	541
	% of the Region of development	53.60%	54.60%	54.70%	40.50%	50.50%
36-50	No. of respondents	48	132	90	136	406
	% of the Region of development	31.40%	37.90%	34.00%	44.40%	37.90%
51-65	No. of respondents	22	25	30	34	111
	% of the Region of development	14.40%	7.20%	11.30%	11.10%	10.40%
66+	No. of respondents	0	0	0	1	1
	% of the Region of development				0.30%	0.10%
NS/NR	No. of respondents	1	1	0	11	13
	% of the Region of development	0.70%	0.30%		3.60%	1.20%
Total		153	348	265	306	1072

58.90% of the respondents are males, and 41.10% are females. A similar gender distribution is in all surveyed regions of development (*see Table G*).

Table G. S2. Gender of the respondents, by region of development, and total (N=1068)

Gender of the respondents		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Males	No. of respondents	83	204	153	189	629
	% of the Region of development	54.60%	58.80%	57.70%	62.20%	58.90%
Females	No. of respondents	69	143	112	115	439
	% of the Region of development	45.40%	41.20%	42.30%	37.80%	41.10%
Total	No. of respondents	152	347	265	304	1068

97.10% of the respondents live in the rural. In Bucharest-Ilfov region, 18.40% of the respondents live in the urban. In South West Oltenia all questionnaires were applied in the rural (*see Table H*).

Table H. S3. Residential area, by region of development, and total (N=1001)

Residential area		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Urban	No. of respondents	25	2	0	2	29
	% of the Region of development	18.40%	0.60%		0.70%	2.90%
Rural	No. of respondents	111	325	263	273	972
	% of the Region of development	81.60%	99.40%	100%	99.30%	97.10%
Total	No. of respondents	136	327	263	275	1001

Most of the respondents are married (52.80%). Most respondents in the surveyed regions of development are married people, except in Bucharest-Ilfov region, where 49.20% of the respondents live in concubinage, and 41.30% are married people (*see Table I*).

Table I. S4. Marital status of the respondents, by region of development, and total (N=961)

Marital status		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Married	No. of respondents	52	141	124	190	507
	% of the Region of development	41.30%	47.20%	50.00%	66.00%	52.80%
Concubinage	No. of respondents	62	122	107	82	373
	% of the Region of development	49.20%	40.80%	43.10%	28.50%	38.80%
Single parent (divorce, separation, widow/widower)	No. of respondents	12	36	17	16	81
	% of the Region of development	9.50%	12.00%	6.90%	5.60%	8.40%
Total	No. of respondents	126	299	248	288	961

Most respondents belong to families with 2-5 members, of which 2-3 children (302). 210 respondents belong to families with 2-5 members, of which one child, and 187 respondents belong to families with 2-5 adult people (see Table J).

Table J. S5. Family structure, by region of development, and total

Family structure			Region of development				Total
			Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Number of people	Number of adults	Number of children	Number of respondents				
One person	one adult	No children	2	10	8	5	25
2 to 5 persons	one adult	One child	0	6	3	1	10
		2 to 4 children	0	6	5	5	16
	2 to 5 adults	No children	41	66	39	41	187
		One child	23	72	45	70	210
6 to 10 persons	2 to 5 adults	2 to 3 children	34	100	77	91	302
		6 to 9 children	0	1	0	0	1
		One child	1	7	1	3	12
	6 to 10 adults	2 to 5 children	29	48	60	61	198
		6 to 8 children	2	11	7	15	35
		No children	4	1	2	4	11
2 to 4 children	One child	1	8	1	0	10	
	2 to 4 children	7	7	3	7	24	

Family structure			Region of development				Total
			Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
11 to 19 persons	2 to 5 adults	6 to 10 children	0	1	2	1	4
		11 to 12 children	0	0	1	0	1
	6 to 10 adults	2 to 5 children	0	0	3	1	4
		6 to 10 children	1	2	7	0	10
	11 to 13 adults	2 to 5 children	1	0	0	0	1
Total			146	346	264	305	1061

75.50% of the respondents declared that the incomes are not enough even for the bare necessities. Most respondents in each surveyed region of development declared that the incomes are not enough even for the bare necessities (*see Table K*).

Table K. VEN 1. Incomes of the respondent families, by region of development, and total

Family incomes		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Not enough even for the bare necessities	No. of respondents	109	249	215	190	763
	% of the Region of development	72.70%	75.20%	86.30%	67.60%	75.50%
Enough for the bare necessities	No. of respondents	29	65	18	75	187
	% of the Region of development	19.30%	19.60%	7.20%	26.70%	18.50%
Enough for a decent living, but cannot afford buying more expensive goods	No. of respondents	11	13	16	13	53
	% of the Region of development	7.30%	3.90%	6.40%	4.60%	5.20%
We can buy more expensive goods, but with efforts	No. of respondents	0	2	0	3	5
	% of the Region of development		0.60%		1.10%	0.50%
We have all we need, with no great effort	No. of respondents	1	2	0	0	3
	% of the Region of development	0.70%	0.60%			0.30%
Total	No. of respondents	150	331	249	281	1011

Children allocations are the source of household income for 80.80% of the respondents, 53.60% live from social assistance, 68.40% work by the day, and just

33.60% are employed. In Bucharest-Ilfov, most respondents are employees (50.80%), compared to the other regions of development (*see Table L*).

Table L. VEN2. Sources of income of the respondent families, by region of development, and total. Multiple answer

Sources of income		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South West Oltenia	South East	
Wages	No. of respondents	62	67	15	51	195
	% of the Region of development	50.80%	30.60%	17.20%	33.30%	33.60%
Craftsmen activities	No. of respondents	7	12	1	11	31
	% of the Region of development	7.40%	6.10%	1.20%	8.90%	6.20%
Collecting/recycling products	No. of respondents	9	2	1	4	16
	% of the Region of development	9.30%	1.10%	1.20%	3.30%	3.30%
Work by the day	No. of respondents	74	162	130	166	532
	% of the Region of development	54.00%	64.80%	69.90%	81.00%	68.40%
Social support (MGI, unemployment)	No. of respondents	25	136	127	82	370
	% of the Region of development	24.00%	53.30%	74.70%	50.90%	53.60%
Children allocations	No. of respondents	71	207	184	191	653
	% of the Region of development	63.40%	73.90%	90.60%	89.70%	80.80%
Pensions (including alimonies)	No. of respondents	17	30	14	14	75
	% of the Region of development	17.50%	14.40%	16.10%	10.90%	14.40%
Properties (profit, interests, royalties, rents)	No. of respondents	0	0	0	3	3
	% of the Region of development				2.50%	0.60%
Selling agricultural products	No. of respondents	2	2	4	4	12
	% of the Region of development	2.20%	1.00%	4.60%	3.30%	2.40%

82.20% of the respondents own their dwelling together with their family. In the surveyed regions of development, more than 70% of the respondents own their dwellings. The highest proportion of respondents owning their dwellings is in South-West Oltenia region (96.60%), while in Bucharest-Ilfov is the lowest proportion of respondents owning their dwellings (74%) (*see Table M*).

Table M. PROP1. Properties and goods owned by the families of the respondents, by region of development, and total. Multiple answer

Properties and goods		Region of development				Total
		Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East	
Dwelling (house, apartment)	No. of respondents	97	210	254	209	770
	% of the Region of development	74.00%	75.80%	96.60%	78.60%	82.20%
Other real estate properties: holiday house, leased homes	No. of respondents	2	0	2	1	5
	% of the Region of development	2.10%	0.00%	0.80%	0.60%	0.70%
Agricultural land (more than half hectare)	No. of respondents	4	17	20	10	51
	% of the Region of development	4.20%	7.20%	7.60%	5.60%	6.60%
Agricultural farm: crops, animal production, apiculture	No. of respondents	1	1	2	0	4
	% of the Region of development	1.10%	0.40%	0.80%	0.00%	0.50%
Work animals (horses, donkeys), carriage	No. of respondents	7	25	32	7	71
	% of the Region of development	7.40%	10.80%	12.20%	4.00%	9.30%
Herds/flocks (sheep, cows, pigs etc.)	No. of respondents	1	4	37	2	44
	% of the Region of development	1.10%	1.80%	14.10%	1.20%	5.80%
Shops, booths	No. of respondents	2	0	0	3	5
	% of the Region of development	2.20%	0.00%	0.00%	1.80%	0.70%
Shareholder in commercial companies	No. of respondents	1	0	0	1	2
	% of the Region of development	1.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	0.30%
Production units: workshops, factories	No. of respondents	0	0	0	2	2
	% of the Region of development	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.20%	0.30%
Peasant household: grows a garden, raises few animals	No. of respondents	6	84	150	52	292
	% of the Region of development	6.50%	36.20%	57.00%	28.90%	38.00%

In the four surveyed regions of development, most respondents are connected to then power supply. A lower proportion are connected to the gas supply or use liquefied gas. More than half of the respondents have mobile of fixed phone. South-Muntenia region has the lowest proportion of respondents connected to the water supply (33%). (see Table N).

Table N. PROP2. Facilities of the respondent households, by region of development, and total. Multiple answer

Facilities	Region of development			
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East
Electricity	92.20%	87.60%	96.20%	90.50%
Gas/liquefied gas	84.30%	72.10%	82.30%	85.00%
Mobile/fixed phone	62.10%	74.70%	72.10%	69.60%
Water supply	55.60%	33.00%	43.40%	71.60%
Cable, internet, satellite TV	47.10%	65.80%	63.80%	68.30%

In the four surveyed regions of development, most respondents stated they had outstanding bills for more than a month for electricity and radio-TV (see Table O).

Table O. DAT. Outstanding bills for more than a month, over the past year, for utilities, in the four regions of development, and total. Multiple answer

Debts	Region of development			
	Bucharest-Ilfov	South Muntenia	South-West Oltenia	South-East
Electricity and radio-TV	30.10%	49.40%	49.10%	51.60%
Other loans	15.70%	2.60%		3.90%
Gas	13.70%	8.90%	4.20%	8.20%
Cable, internet	9.80%	15.20%	25.30%	32.00%
Taxes and dues	7.80%	8.60%		13.40%
Bank instalments / CAR	6.50%	5.70%	0.80%	2.60%
Phone	3.90%	8.30%	14.30%	7.50%
Water	2.60%	10.60%	4.90%	30.70%
None of the above	27.50%	26.10%	36.60%	25.50%
NS / NR	9.20%	2.00%	0.40%	1.30%

BOOK REVIEW

STĂNCULESCU, M. (ED.), MARIN, M., BULIGESCU, B., BLAJ (NECULAU), G. (2017). SERVICIILE SOCIALE ÎN ROMÂNIA - STARE DE FAPT ȘI PROVOCĂRI: SERVICIILE DE LOCUIRE SOCIALĂ, BUCUREȘTI: EDITURA PRO UNIVERSITARIA

Florina DIACONESCU¹

The book *Serviciile sociale in Romania – stare de fapt si provocari: Serviciile de locuire sociala (Social Services in Romania – current status and challenges: Social housing services)* deals with an important social problem that is directly related to the current debate on monitoring the European Pillar of Social Rights and the Charter of Fundamental Rights (right to housing assistance, art. 34.3). The European programming documents state that “*access to social housing or housing assistance of good quality shall be provided for those in need*” (European Pillar of Social Rights. Right to housing and assistance for the homeless, principle 19). One of the latest study on social housing, “The Third Overview of Housing Exclusion in Europe”² (2018) confirms “*the existence of another Europe: a Europe not merely ignored but also misunderstood, not just despised but also forgotten - a Europe of the homeless*”, with children in the frontline of homelessness in Europe. In this respect, the study contributes to an in-depth monitoring on the right to social housing in Romania. Yet, the book does not exclusively focus on the national status/ situation, but provides a framework for a comparative perspective with other EU Member States. The European context is described by analyzing the social housing policies in Europe, social housing policies/

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² Available here: <https://www.feantsa.org/en/report/2018/03/21/the-second-overview-of-housing-exclusion-in-europe-2017>

schemes, beneficiaries of social housing as well as schemes for allocating social housing in Europe and Romania.

The book is organized in four chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic by discussing the right to adequate housing as a fundamental human right. The second section presents the social housing policies in a comparative perspective in Europe and Romania. The third chapter is about the local government perspective on social housing policies, with a focus on available strategies and funds. The fourth section presents several concluding remarks.

One of the most interesting sections in the book is the empirical work on the criteria and associated scoring for allocating social housing in seven large cities in Romania. Romania is part of the countries with a residual/ targeted approach concerning social housing, although, by law, the income is not an eliminatory threshold for accessing a social housing. The income threshold is so high, that eligibility to social housing is not in fact conditioned by the income level, conclude the authors. The empirical study conducted in seven large cities in Romania also show that the income criterion is significantly differentiated from one locality to another. Therefore, different local councils operationalize in significant different ways the criterion on income.

Furthermore, the authors make use of a secondary analysis of data on the *Status of Social Housing Survey*, conducted in all urban localities (2014) with the support of the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration and the World Bank. The survey shows that the needs for social housing identified by local authorities are not matched by the corresponding strategic and budgetary planning at local level. In addition, in the few cases in which it exists, the strategic planning process is disconnected from the budgetary planning process. Size of locality and development/ poverty level significantly differentiate local housing policies in various urban municipalities, in the sense that the situation is considerably better in large municipalities (over 50 thousands inhabitants) with a high fiscal capacity. The local authorities included in the survey identify financial issues as the main problems in the maintenance of social houses stock. The financial problems either relate to considerable debts of the tenants, or to insufficient funds at the local budget. Only 5% of the surveyed urban municipalities state they have no problem in maintaining the existing stock.

One of the most important concluding remark of this report relates to the policy integration and coordination mechanisms at national level: in Romania, the social housing policies are neither integrated, nor coherent/ coordinated with other social policies, especially with the ones for poverty reduction and social inclusion promotion. This finding applies to various other important social problems in Romania. It is also related to the sectorial disaggregation between the ministries/agencies/ departments with a responsibility in this field – the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration, the Ministry of Labour and Social Justice. The situation is no better at the local level – the social housing stock is managed by structures of the municipality with no communication or coordination mechanisms with the Social Assistance Public Services (SPAS). The lack of policy coordination mechanisms has been repeatedly outlined in various reports/ studies/ strategies in Romania and yet, no efficient policy response has been put in place.

In a nutshell, the book places Romania in a European perspective, showing on the one hand, common challenges and on the other hand, potential solutions to ensure effective national social housing policies. It is a useful starting point to understand the status of social housing policies in Romania and of basic characteristics of Romanian public administration, especially in terms of policy making, coordination and implementation. Nevertheless, the book fails to integrate the voice of beneficiaries of social housing. Their perspective, most likely in the form of a qualitative study, could bring new insights to this topic and would significantly refine the policy solutions for local and central relevant decision-makers.



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