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THEORETICAL DEBATES ON THE CONCEPT OF "GENDER EQUALITY" ¹

Cristina RĂDOI*

Abstract: This paper analyses the three types of gender equality and the political strategies adopted by the European Union. The paper presents the theoretical debates on the concept of gender equality and the efficiency of the strategies designed for each individual type of equality. The European Union preferred to substitute the use of the initially adopted strategies (equal opportunities and positive action), with the strategy of gender mainstreaming. However, this article brings arguments that all three types of strategies must be adopted simultaneously, as prerequisite for reaching a proper level of gender equality in all fields (economic, social, political).

Keywords: gender, gender equality, equal opportunities, affirmative action, gender mainstreaming.

1. Introduction

This paper describes the approaches of the concept of gender equality and the EU policies for each individual type. As support for explaining this concept the article uses the perspective of the approach identified by Teresa Rees (1998) and Mike Verloo (2005), as well as the political perspective identified by the European Union, trying thus to show the way in which the theoretical and practical approaches interacted and their effects on this concept.

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2. Definition of the concept of "gender equality"

Gender equality is a concept which explains and evaluates the patriarchal domination and oppression of the society. The concept of gender equality was defined historically both from the perspective of the feminist theories, and from the political perspective. The contested character of this concept relies on it harmonious. vet conflicting form (Verloo M., Lombardo E., 2007, p. 22). Mieke Verloo shows that the duality of this concept consist, on the one side, in the trend to incorporate the diversity within a dominant form or, on the other side, to include it within a paradigm so that this single form will determine its acceptation as a common purpose and will enter it into the agenda (Verloo M., 2005).

As Meike Verloo, Emanuela Lombardo and Petra Meier notice, gender equality is a concept debated a lot from the perspectives of the different political actors and exponents of the broad range of the feminism, at the institutional and non-institutional level, within the framework of different national and international organisations. Briefly, the concept has been approached from different angles which showed the specificity of the national policies of implementation. The authors claim that the discursive dynamics determined, by its definition, a specific form for a particular period, by decreasing or expanding its area of action and by adopting various political and theoretical approaches (Lombardo E., Meier P. and Verloo M., 2010, pp. 107 - 111).

Regarding the development of this concept, there are three theoretical approaches identified by Teresa Rees in Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union Education, Training and Labour Market Policies (1998). Each of these feminist approaches is correlated with specific political strategies. The first identified approach is that of the "adjustment"¹, relying on the assumption that the fight against gender discrimination requires a legal framework which to allow the access of women to the fields from which they have been previously excluded, while not contesting the existing masculine norm (Walby S. 2005a, Verloo M., 2007). The second identified approach is that of the "difference from the masculine norm" (Verloo M., Lombardo E., 2007, p. 23) which presumes the proper evaluation of the "differentiated contribution of the men and women in a segregated society" (Walby S., 2005b, p. 455). The last theoretical approach of the gender equality is that of the "transformation of all norms and standards of what should be feminine or masculine" (Verloo M., 2007, p. 23), implicitly, as Walby defines this type of approach, "transformation of the gender relations" (Walby S., 2005b, p. 455).

¹The translation of this term is taken from the *Manual for the integrated approach of the* gender equality in the employment, social inclusion and social protection policies, developed by the European Commission in 2008, Luxemburg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities,

Discrimination is a difficult concept to expose in all its possibilities of manifestation (Tufă L., 2011, p. 22). According with other authors, there are theoretical perspectives regarding gender discrimination - the biological perspective and the cultural perspective which could be treated along with the occupational segregation (Banu O., Casapu A., IONESCU I., PANAIT A., 2011, p. 26). In terms of financial allocation funds allocated in fighting discrimination, it highlights the importance of assessing social purpose and sustainable development in socially isolated communities - as priority targets in support of social inclusion policies (Neamtu G, 2009, p. 125). Another example is the social economy that offers solutions to reduce social exclusion by increasing employment for vulnerable and creating mechanisms to help these people (Arpinte D., Cace S., Cojocaru ed., 2010, p 66).

In 2002, Romania was enacted Law 202/2002 on equal opportunities and treatment between women and men. Also, the National Agency for Equal Opportunities between women and men who work in April 2005, when in the second half of 2004, was adopted Ordinance nr.84/2004 for amending Law 202/2002 on equal opportunities between women and men (thus was fully implemented Directive 2002/73 / EC, amending Directive 76/207/EEC on the equal treatment between men and women as regards access to employment, training and working conditions) (Gheonea A., Ilie S, Lambru M., Mihailescu A., Negut A., Stanciu M., Tomescu C., 2010, p.125; Câmpeanu C, 2011). Also, the Labour Code stipulates the principle of employment and flexiblework contracts creates a general framework for equal opportunities and equaltreatment for women and men in the work place and the premises for implementing flexicurity and flexible working time (Elena Zamfir (2010, pg. 52).

3. Approach of the gender equality as similarity / adjustment - Equal opportunity

The first type of gender equality mentioned above, that of the "adjustment" originates in the ideas promoted by the liberal feminism. According to Miroiu M. (2004), Rees considers that the first feminist activist who promoted this type of gender equality was Mary Wollstonecraft (1792) bringing to attention the problem of granting the same educational and legislative rights to women. The liberal feminism, on the other hand, starts from the assumption that by education women may reach the same performance as men do, refusing thus the fructification of the feminine values on the ground that such association is not in favour of the credibility of women's capacity to perform similar activities with the men (Miroiu M., 2004, pp. 120-121).

The approach of the equal treatment promoted the development of a legal framework which allows the women to accede to various areas of activity, while not assuming a change of the patriarchal norms existing in all the public institutions and organisations. At the same time, by the lack of a consistent proposal of changing the gender relations, the liberalism (except for the current feminist liberalism, see Okin S.M., 1989), avoided to analyse the gender relations existing within a family. Thus, one of the criticisms of this approach expressed by Teresa Rees as cause of the lack of unequal opportunity within the society is the unequal distribution of the assignments within a family, implicitly the differential value given to the work performed by each partner. The inefficiency of this type of approach is the lack of an analysis on the correlation between the private and political spheres. Under these circumstances, even if this type of approach focuses on the concept of distributive iustice, in a "narrow" meaning, in the opinion of the author, there is no distinction made between the women having a material situation comparable with that of the men, and the women who have no access to such resources and therefore, the administrative and household assignments are additional tasks which they will have to perform (Rees T., 1998, pp. 21-23).

The purpose of using the policies of distributive justice was to correct the inequalities existing in the society in terms of positions, by the development of a legal framework favouring the equal opportunity. The theory of the distributive justice was largely debated in time, with the valuable contribution of John Rawls, in A theory of Justice (2003). He considers that the construction of an equitable society demands the adoption of specific principles of justice which will have to be mutually accepted by all the members of the society. To accomplish this, it is important that these principles are adopted starting from the original position, being under the veil of ignorance. Because of the two concepts used by Rawls: "original position" and "veil of ignorance", the citizens have restricted access to basic information that might influence their status and decisions in terms of the principles of justice. Under these circumstances. Rawls proposed two principles. The first principle presumes that "each person has equal rights to the broadest range of basic liberties, compatible with similar liberties for all" (Rawls J., 2003, p. 53). The statement of the second principle refers to the conditions which the social and economic inequalities must meet. Thus, they have to lead to the highest benefit expected by the least advantaged, and it has to be assigned to the functions and positions open to all under conditions of equal opportunity" (Rawls J., 2003, p. 53).

Susan Moller Okin (1996) makes a criticism of Rawls's theory of justice based on the feminist - liberal assumptions. Although she considers that Rawls's theory is a "source of inspiration for much of the contemporary moral and political theory" (Okin S.M., 1996, p. 1), it is blind to the gender structure and to the implications of the gender roles. Even though Rawls values the family, considering it the first school for socialisation for the development of a just citizen, the principles of justice cannot be fully transposed if the sphere of their action includes only he private sphere (Miroiu, M., 2004) Thus, even if Rawls starts from the premises that under the veil of ignorance the gender structure fails to exist and that the family is the right place to develop a moral structure favouring the equal opportunity, it omits that men are the "head of family" and that chores distribution within the household is unequal. Therefore, family is the first institutions in which the principles of justice are not applied; the inequalities and discriminations are perpetuated within the family and the child develops its notions of justice and morality learning from the patterns existing in his/her family. Okin proposed to "expand the principles of justice both to the private sphere of the family by ensuring the individual rights both at this level (protection to abuses), and in the public sphere, by ensuring the equal opportunity" (see Miroiu M., 2004, p. 44).

This type of gender equality even if it tries to determine a change of positions, actually "reproduces the existing inequalities in a wider context", because it doesn't take into consideration the underlying inequalities of the "system which perpetuates the inequal power relations between men and women" (Rees T., 1998, p. 21). Rees considers that this type of approach targets only "those women who have a specific cultural capital, experiences, family circumstances and who have the possibility to share the domestic responsibilities like men do" (Rees T., 1998, p. 21). Such approach doesn't remove all the obstacles hindering the admission and promotion of women in specific types of professions; furthermore, it was noticed that the mere provision of a legal framework promoting the equal opportunity for women is not enough for women to get to decision-making positions from where they might change the agenda according to their values and interests, as well as the conditions that might favour their enhanced promotion.

Rees considers that such approach is necessary and useful, but its transposition into actual policies for equal opportunity concerns the mere elaboration of procedures and doesn't target the real benefits that such policy should yield. Briefly, she criticises the policy for equal opportunity promoted by the European Union considering that it focuses just on improving the situation of the citizens in their quality of workers, leaving aside the structural inequalities which underlie the gender relations within the society. The inefficiency of this policy is that it "focuses in the symptoms, not on the causes of inequalities" (Rees T., 1998, p. 23). Therefore, the horizontal and vertical segregation in terms of access to education and opportunities on the labour market remains constant (Dragolea A., 2007, p. 35).

Verloo approves the view of Teresa Rees on the inefficiency of the equal opportunity policy promoted by the European Union, considering that it fails to take into consideration the "actual material conditions" determined by the patriarchal social context in which men and women coexist". The author enumerates the obstacles: the role of women as care-takers, sexist education, gender-related criteria of selection (Verloo M., 2007, p. 53).

The equal opportunity policy didn't accomplish its purpose to remove the structural inequalities existing within the society or to correct the different payment of men and women for the same work. Even if the European Union adopted in time directives which adopted measures aimed to enforce the principle of equal payment of men and women for equal work (also see Dragolea A., 2007, p. 33), no mechanism has been created which to monitor their implementation (Rees T., 1998, p. 24). The objectives of EU documents on the equal opportunity on the labour market concerned mainly the "increaser participation of women on the labour market and the improvement of the working conditions for women"; however, the "labour market still is largely compartmented" because a trend was noticed for employment of women in fields of activity which are preponderantly feminised (Dragolea A., 2007, pp. 34-35).

The equal opportunity strategy favours the access of women to the feminised domains such as health care, education, voluntary organisations rather than supporting their access to fields which are preponderantly masculinized. The omission of a component of the affirmative policies within this strategy doesn't allow the transformation of the traditional gender roles, which makes the access of women to areas such as policy or military institutions much more difficult than to professions which are generally accepted as feminine. (Inghlehart R. and Noris P., 2003, pp. 31). Briefly, the lack of analysis of the roots of these inequalities cannot yield the expected effect. As long as a detailed analysis of the causes of gender, race and class segregation, the patriarchal structures or the domination or oppression structures will find a proper environment for self-perpetuation. If every person, irrespective of its gender, should have access to the same range of rights, liberties and opportunities, that particular society should be neutral in terms of gender. Under the conditions in which the society, in every aspect, is not gender-neutral and it prescribes gender roles adequate to each specific situation, the equal opportunity approach doesn't contest its patriarchal values (Verloo M., 2007, p. 23).

4. Gender equality approach in terms of difference – Positive discrimination or affirmative action

The second approach of the gender equality, "tackling the difference" was proposed just with the purpose to solve the problems with the application of the equal opportunity principle. This type of approach raises the issue of the generally accepted male norm. Verloo considers that this type of approach is associated to the theory developed by the radical feminist and by Catherine Mackinnon (1987), who reject the imperative by which the women are compelled to follow the male norm. The radical feminists refuse

¹ Although the European Commission (2008) uses the term of personalization, we decided for the term of "difference" because it explains better the correlation between the theorisation of the type of approach and the adopted policies of action.

to operate with the paradigms of the other feminist currents which focused on "strategies of equality and conciliation with the men". Thus, the radical feminism considers the "patriarchate as an endemic form of power", while the only efficient strategy to eradicate the patriarchate is to change the gender subordination relations without requiring the acceptation and contributions of the men (Miroiu M., 2004, pp. 151-152). Mackinnon rejects femininity as it is built because it signifies the acceptance of the male dominance. The male dominance is maybe the most persuasive and tenacious system of power in history, system whose force is perceived as agreement, and the authority as participation (Mackinnon C., 1989, pp. 116-117). Therefore, taking into consideration the gender dimension in terms of the criteria of employment, promotion and participation in institutions with decision power, this approach undertakes to "reconstruct the politic by acknowledging the non-hegemonic gender identities (of the women) who have been treated differently in comparison with the normative identities and the male cultures" (Verloo M., 2007, p. 23).

For Rees, this type of approach is a transposition of the affirmative policies regarding the gender dimension, and the implemented strategy of action consists in the affirmative policies. This type of approach aims to obtain equality of the benefits regarding the start position. Thus, the affirmative policies aim to create conditions facilitating the efficient competition of women within the given meritocratic system (Rees T., 1998, p. 25). Therefore, we may consider that one of the weaknesses of this type of approach is the fact that it relates to the same meritocratic reference framework which also exist in the "policy of similarity".

Rees considers that the strength of this approach is that, using the affiliation to a group, it allows obtaining real benefits. This makes the difference between affirmative policies and policies of positive discrimination: the first term gives the theoretical definition of this type of approach, while the second is the actual action taken to correct the problems identified by the theoretical analysis. Therefore, the affirmative policies identify the obstacles which the women come across on the way of the professional acknowledgement and try to propose mechanisms which may generate competition from a position of equality.

Consolidating the criticism assigned to this type of approach, she claims that the identification of the existing relations of domination and oppression between groups is not enough to correct the gender inequalities affecting the society. The optimal solution to accomplish this objective should imply restructuring the status-quo (Rees

¹ This meritocratic framework of reference is a transposition of the male norms and values.

² The meritocratic criterion specific to the "policy of similarity" originates in the tradition of the liberal principles.

T., 1998, p. 25). Where Rees notices a weakness of the "policy of difference" 1, Verloo sees consistency and capacity of transformation because this type of approach "builds, however, solutions by which the existing male norm is deconstructed by the incorporation of the women's perspective in the definition of policies" (Verloo M., 2007, p. 33).

The affirmative policies propose mechanisms which to facilitate the increased participation of the underrepresented group. Thus, examples of good practices are the creation of special jobs for women or for the members of groups which are disfavoured in terms of access to education, health services or profession. In countries such as Sweden, Norway or Spain, models of representation by quotas have been proposed, which presumes that none of the two genders is represented in a proportion of less than 40% in decision-making structures².

Another criticism of Rees to this type of approach is that the activities performed by the women and men are difficult to valorise because the patriarchal system assigns different values depending on the activities considered as being specific to each gender. First, for example, even if the women have formal access to all areas of activity, the present gender roles lead them toward feminised professions which are less valorised and less paid (for instance education and health care). On the other hand, although this type of approach raises the issue of the obstacles to the proper representation of women, such as the reconciliation of the professional life with the family life, it is less successful regarding the situation of the house wives whose work also is to the benefit of the society, but who are not paid. It is imperative to have governmental policies in support of such conciliation policies; otherwise, the effect is "leaving the labour market or having high costs" (Bălută O., 2007, p. 90).

Mieke Verloo criticises the way in which the European Union solves the gender inequalities because of the lack of concrete and consistent regulations addressing this issue, considering that the legal instruments of implementation and the efficient mechanisms for their monitoring are yet to be developed. Furthermore, she notices that the European Union continued this policy of adopting soft measures even regarding the policy of gender mainstreaming which, according to its definition,

² One of the objectives stipulated by the Law for the actual equality of the men and women, adopted in Spain in 2007. Lev Orgánica 3/2007. de 22 de marzo, para la igualdad efectiva de mujeres y hombres, was the mmandatory representation of either gender by at least 40% in decision-making bodies. According to the study of Verge Mestre Tania in 2008, the effects of this law at the political level were indeed felt, but the measure which potentiated

parties.

this effect was the introduction of this provision in the directives of the Spanish political

¹ Verloo uses the term of "perspective of inversion" to approach the gender equality by

should have had a much higher transforming potential than the two previous policies of equal opportunity (Verloo M., 2007, p. 54).

5. Gender equality approach as transformation – ■ the integrating approach

The third type of approach of the gender equality, also called the "approach of transformation or replacement", resembles rather with the theorisations of the postmodern feminists (Verloo M., 2007, p. 23). According to Mihaela Miroiu "the postmodern feminism criticises the excessive rationalism, the ignoration and inferiorisation of all that is corporal and sensitive experience and treating the reason as debodied and independent of the context" (Miroiu, 2004, 54)¹. Thus, this type of approach of the gender equality promotes the genderization of the entire society "proposing to deconstruct the political discourse which genderizes the subjects and the adoption of different policies" (Verloo M., 2007, p. 24).

The political strategy of implementation of this type of approach is that one which integrates the gender equality, gender mainstreaming, which means that the gender perspective is introduced in all public policies. The European commission considers that gender mainstreaming is a complement to the two previous political strategies which tries to introduce a gender perspective in all decisions affecting the life of men and women. According to the Council of Europe, gender mainstreaming can be described as "(re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of the political processes, so that the gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies, at all levels and in all the stages by the actors normally involved in making political decisions" (European Commission, 2008, p. 10-11).

Walby considers that between the definitions of gender equality proposed by Rees and those proposed by the European Union and the Council of Europe there is a consistent difference because the political definition of this concept doesn't consider that the differences between men and women are an essential obstacle (Walby S., 2005a, p. 327).

Verloo considers that in order to make feasible this strategy of gender equality, it is necessary to create a connexion between this transforming potential, the diversity and the different aspects of the capacitation (Verloo M., 2007, p. 24). Walby

The postmodern feminism accepts thus the differences between men and women, rejecting the essentialisations specific to the radical feminism. At the same time, it takes into consideration the differences between women, rejecting a given type of feminity. Therefore, in order to accomplish the objective of gender equality it is important to value the diversity and to acknowledge the intersectionality of the types of discrimination that may occur in the life of women.

considers, on the other hand, that the optimal solution to implement this strategy requires taking into consideration the complex interaction existing between the type of gender regimen existing in the society and the adopted gender policies, in order to see how they can mutually influence one another (Walby S., 2005a, p. 328).

The gender mainstreaming, in the view of Verloo, is the integration of the gender perspective in all the policies and programs, taking the gender into consideration at all stages of adopting a policy, starting with the analysis of its effects on the women and men, implementation, evaluation and reviewing. However, the criticism which she has towards the strategies of curing the gender inequalities is that only soft measures are taken and that no efficient institutions and adequate mechanisms of implementation and monitoring are established (Verloo S., 2007, p. 54). Another problem identified by her is the trend of the European Union to transform the gender mainstreaming approach into the only policy aiming to gender equality although, according to EU documents, this type of approach is correlated with the equal treatment and with the affirmative policies. According to Maria Stratigaki (2005) "gender mainstreaming was used in the patriarchal environment of the EU policies to control the affirmative policies and to undermine the overall goal regarding gender equality" (apud Verloo, 2007, p. 55).

The significance of the political concept of "mainstreaming" was not always accepted, Schirch and Sewak criticising this definition and arguing that it is not enough just to add a gender perspective over the existing male perspective; rather, for a real correction of these inequalities, the full system of gender relations, which are essentially power relations, has to be reorganised, and norms and institutions have to be constructed, in which both the feminine and masculine values are prevalent (Schirch and Sewak, 2005, pp. 100 - 105).

Teresa Rees assigned special traits to the three approaches of the gender equality mentioned by her. Thus, the liberal approach of the equal treatment is called "tinkering", because it presumes the adaptation of the legislation and procedures as means to accomplish this goal. The second approach of this concept is called "tailoring" because it presumes the "integration of women in the organisations and cultures structured according to men necessities". The last type of approach, "transforming", "acknowledges the differences between men and women, as well as the differences within the groups of women" and tries to provide an adequate definition which to represent the intersectionality between gender discrimination and other types of discrimination" (Rees T., 1998, pp. 20).

Even if, according to Teresa Rees, the gender mainstreaming policy corresponds to the perspective of gender equality in terms of transformation, Sylvia Walby considers

¹Conception also supported by the EU documents on the definition of this concept.

that this is a new process developed by the feminist practice with the purpose to normalize the policies of gender equality. She considers that this is both a political instrument and a feminist strategy which stimulates the future feminist directions. Therefore, according to her, there is an obvious interaction, a mutual influence between these two, theoretical and practical approaches (Walby S., 2005b, p. 466). At the same time, she is not optimistic regarding the extent to which the lives of women have been fundamentally changed for the better by the existence of this technical instrument of approaching the gender inequalities.

Walby considers that this type of policy developed rather at the transnational level, the feminists using instruments promoted by the transnational bodies, using human rights concepts promoted by the United Nations to tackle the rights of women. In her opinion, the European Union had a significant role "in promoting the policy at the abstract level, but with poor results in terms of implementation" (Walby S., 2005b, p. 461).

Another criticism to this type of policy was that assuming that the gender represents only the feminine gender, not the male gender too, and that such assumption determines implicitly an essentialist conception regarding the women. Therefore, the women are considered more pacifist and more vulnerable than men. In time, this assumption caused disadvantages to the capacity of women and implicitly to the accomplishment of real gender equality (Valenius 2007, Charlesworth 2008).

The proper transposition of the gender equality concept presumes the corroborated application of the three types of European political strategies. Actually, the gender mainstreaming approach is the only policy aiming to accomplish gender equality although, according to its documents, this type of approach should be correlated with the equal treatment and with the affirmative policies.

6. Conclusions ■

Under the conditions in which the European Union replaced the equal opportunity policy and the discrimination policy by the gender mainstreaming policy, the structural inequalities have been perpetuated. It is not enough to develop a set of procedures determining the real benefits of women in terms of a broader access of the women to opportunities on the labour market, as long as the same given meritocratic framework is preserved. At the same time, the use of any single political strategy, of the three mentioned, doesn't remove the causes for the disparities in opportunity accessing by women; inequitable distribution of the household chores and implicitly the reconciliation of the professional life with the family life. As far as the opportunity of women for personal development is concerned, their chances are limited, as long as their work takes most of their time and it is not even valued. In conclusion, it is not enough to implement mere measures fitting the gender mainstreaming policy, without eliminating the structural causes which yield these

inequalities in our society, just like it is not enough to add a so-called "gender" perspective to the existing one, the end purpose being just to deconstruct the patriarchal concepts of power and to reorganise the gender relations so that they transform into a new perspective with both masculine and feminine dimensions.

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WOMEN'S WORK PARTICIPATION IN LABOUR MARKET IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

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Abstract: In recent years, women are playing an important role in economic development. They contribute significant proportion in Gross Domestic Product through actively participating in industries, services and in agricultural activities. What is worse with women workers is that they still lag behind in achieving job opportunities in comparison to men. The present paper tries to look at the extent of disparity in women work and labour force participation in urban-rural sectors and across the states of India. The study uses data from different rounds of National Sample Survey. The analysis depicts that women workforce and labour force participation has declined in recent years and the gap between female and male work participation ratio has increased in India. It has been observed in developed southern states of India, because of highly educated society and sincere freedom of women in decision making, the women work participation in regular jobs is high in comparison to the northern states of India. The study also reveals the controversy in the context of urban-rural India, where women work participation is high in urban area and low in rural area. The study also reveals the fact that the gap between men and women is high in urban India, while it has increased in rural and urban India both.

Keywords: Women, Disparity, Employment, Urban-rural, Labour force participation

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1. Introduction

In recent years, it has been observed that development goals cannot be achieved without reducing regional inequalities and improving the status of women. Efforts have been made to overcome the disparity between male and female workers since the liberal economic policies, as adopted by Government of India, came into force. These efforts were meant for ensuring economic stability in country and equal opportunity for all. However, no such improvement has been felt in so far as the gender disparity in India is concerned. Now it is a widely accepted opinion that the fruits of development have not been distributed evenly between male (men) and female (women) in India.

The analysis of the female work participation on the basis of census data clearly suggests that it has declined significantly since 1921, both as a percentage of workers to total female population and as a percentage, to total labour force. The percentage of female to total labour force decreased from 34.44 in 1911 and it was 19 in 2001. It has been widely accepted that gross gender inequalities persist due to prevailing discriminatory practices, inequality in opportunities, inequality in ownership of property, and inequality in access to education and training. However there is also a large gender wages gap and only a small proportion can be explained by gender differences in education, work experience or job characteristics. There exist significant disparities among men and women work participation and similarly the ratio of women labour force has been declining¹.

The recent National Sample Survey (NSS) report on employment and unemployment shows that the disturbing trend of a steep fall in the female work participation rate (FWPR) that began in 2007-08 has continued. With an increase of 22.3 million in the male workforce between 2004-05 and 2009-10 were virtually cancelled out by a fall of more than 21 million in the female workforce.

The macro overview of occupational structure of female work participation shows that a larger share of women workers is still engaged in primary sector in India. Indian women workers are heavily concentrated in this low productivity activity. Ever since India formally switched over to the new economic policies of globalization and structural adjustment (Special Assistant Programme), the academic communities as well as activists in the women's movement have been particularly concerned about its likely impact on Indian women workers. But globalization has and continues to have different impacts on men and women (Basu, 1995). And it has been argued that privatization of public sector enterprises, reduction in public sector investment and

¹ One important fact has also been seen that during the period of economic reform and social transformation it has widened very significantly.

lower government expenditure on poverty eradication programs have not served the interests of women.

Different explanations are offered for the existence of gender disparity in India. But a significant explanation can be given in terms of cultural practices that vary from region to region. Though it is a broad generalization, North India tends to be more patriarchal and feudal than South India. Women in northern India have more restrictions placed on their behavior, thereby restricting their access to work. Southern India tends to be more unrestricted, women have relatively more freedom, and they have a more prominent presence in society (Rahman and Rao, 2004). Cultural restrictions still are changing, and women are free to participate in the formal economy, though the shortage of jobs throughout the country contributes to low female employment.

Although most women in India work and contribute to the economy in one form or another, much of their work is not documented or accounted for in official statistics. Women plough fields and harvest crops while working on farms, they weave and make handicrafts while working in household industries, sell food and gather wood while working in the informal sector. Additionally, women are traditionally responsible for the daily household chores (e.g., cooking, fetching water, and looking after children). Since Indian culture hinders women's access to jobs in stores, factories and the public sector, the informal sector is particularly important for women. There are estimates that over 90 percent of working women are involved in the informal sector. The informal sector includes jobs such as domestic servant, small trader, artisan, or field labourers on a family farm. Most of these jobs are unskilled and low paying and do not provide benefits to the worker.

It has been analysed that women have now not only found their place in work places but are also playing a role of good governance. In recent years there have been explicit move to increase women's political participation. Women have been given representation in the Panchayati Raj system as a sign of political empowerment as well as social development. There are many elected women representatives at the village council level who also represent impressive role in policy making. At the central and state levels too women are progressively making a difference. Apart from role in politics they are a significant entrepreneurial force whose contributions to local, national and global economies are far reaching. In addition, they produce and consume, manage businesses and households, earn income, hire labour, borrow and save, and provide a range of services for businesses and workers. They represent an increasing proportion of the world's waged labour force and their activity rates are rising. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, they are over one third of the officially enumerated workforce (WISTAT, 2000). Although there are variations across countries, social norms strongly influence men's and women's work and working environments. Some tasks and jobs are considered more appropriate for men or women and overt or covert screening filters out applicants who defy these norms. These gender norms frequently underpin sex-segmented labour markets and activities. Highly sex-segmented labour markets typically confine women workers to low-wage low-productivity employment and can limit the responsiveness of labour markets to new demands for higher skilled workers. Sluggish or unresponsive labour markets can impede adjustment, distort human capital investment and inhibit a firm's ability to switch into new activities and compete in a dynamic and globalizing market.

In the context of the above discussion, present paper tries to look at the comparative changes and trend of women work participation particular in India. The second objective of this study is to identify the sectoral changes in total work participation; third objective of this present work is to examine the inter-state and inter-regional (rural-urban) differentials of female work participation in India. Finally, fourth objective is to identify reasons for the above pattern. The paper has been divided in three sections; first section gives brief introduction of the issue, section second emphasizes on inter-state and inter-regional disparity in women work participation in different sectors in India on the basis of National Sample Survey (NSS) data. The final section of the paper discusses the conclusion, explanation and policy implication.

2. Brief Review of Literature

The literature on regional disparity and women's work participation are vast and mixed. The available literature concentrated on different aspect of participation: the extent of disparity in women's labour work participation and how they are different from male workers in labour market, the factors behind the differentiation among male and female workers and their rewards. In the literature on labour-force participation, standard sources begin with the supply of labour (Ellis, 1993; Mathur, 1994). In this view, 34 percent of adult Indians participated in the labour market in 1991, and this figure comprised 16 percent among women and 51 percent of among men (Mathur, 1994). A number of studies shows a small decline in both women's and men's labour force participation from 1993-94 and 1999 (Jacob, 2001, Srivastava, 2003) using National Sample Survey data. Deshpande and Deshpande (1993) analysis shows that urban female working in service industries earn as much or more than men of the same educational level if that level is secondary school, and that the gender pay gap falls as education rises. Da Corta and Venkateswarlu (1999) argue that the feminisation of the rural agricultural labour force is not necessarily good for women but it is a strong trend. Agarwal (1997) has theorised a bargaining approach to the evolution of the gender pay gap.

A number of studies have been conducted to find out the reason behind disparity in the women works participation in India using econometric analysis. Using employment data from guinguennial rounds of the National Sample Survey (NSS), a number of papers/reports have examined the employment situation in India in the post-reform period in comparison with that in the pre-reform period (see, for instance Chadha and Sahu, 2002; Sundaram and Tendulkar, 2002; Dev, 2002; Chadha, 2003; and Bhattacharya and Sakthivel, 2005). A major conclusion that one may draw from these studies is that there has been a marked slowdown in employment growth in India in the post-reform period compared to the pre-reform period, and that this slowdown has been relatively more marked in the case of female employment in rural areas.

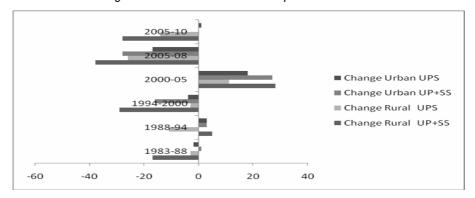
However, the literature discussed above, only explore labour participation ratio and their empirical result. What is necessary for any developing economy like India, the problem of women work participation and disparities in women work participation has not been analysed by researchers. Women have always been excluded in society and labour market in terms of employment, low wage, less participation in work force and other way. The present study tries to see the trend of women work participation in different sector and disparity between urban-rural as well as across the states of India. The paper also provides some suggestion on how to reduce the gender gap in work participation in India.

3. Differences in Female Participation Rates

The problem of disparity between the women and men in socio economic behavior of the society and participation in employment are crucial issue in a developing country like India. In addition, one of the most conspicuous phenomena of recent times has been the increasing participation of women in paid work and casual work with decreasing participation in self employment work (Mazumdar & N., 2011) and it has been driving employment trends and the gender gaps in paid work employment have been shrinking. This section gives a detail of gap between men and women on the basis of work force participation ratio and labour force participation ratio.

Chart 1 shows change in the female workforce participation in India. The chart clearly shows that except 2000-05 and 1988-94 (except there was fall in rural female workforce on principal status) female workforce participation rate (WPR) has decreased in India. It has decreased very sharply between 2005-08 and 2005-10. The chart indicates the burning fact that employment opportunities for the female has decreased in India. Rural female have been affected more than urban females in India. The gap between male and female workforce has decreased till 2004-05 but it has increased in 2005-2010 in rural and urban India. The differences between the daily status and usual status WPR were larger for females than for males. The trends in urban areas are also similar, but the gap between the male and female WPR is higher than that in rural areas. Labour Force Participation rate trend also suggest the same explanation (trend line given in appendix chart 1).

Chart 1 Change in Female work Force Participation Rate in India¹



Source: Mazumdar &N. (2011)

Table 1 gives a detail of labour force participation rate for different age-wise. Table 1 and chat 2 shows that except urban male at the age group of 55-59 labour force participation rate at all the age group in both sexes has reduced between 2004-2005 and 2009-2010. But when we see the sex wise decline in LPWR, it is very high in female comparison to male. The decline in LPWR is very high in the age group 20-45 (which is significant part of the working age). Definitely present concerns suggest that economic growth has failed to generate sufficient employment and decline in job opportunities seems to be very high for female in India. 2

Table1 Age-Specific Labour Participation Rate in India according to usual status (principal and subsidiary status) (in % age 15-59)

			2004-0	2009-2010					
Age	Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban	Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
15-19	52.9	33.1	38.1	14.4	39.0	19.5	26.3	8.5	
20-24	89.1	43.5	76.9	25.0	81.3	31.4	68.2	19.7	
25-29	98.2	53.0	95.7	26.1	97.5	40.5	94.7	22.2	
30-34	98.8	59.3	98.7	30.8	99.0	43.4	98.5	23.9	
35-39	99.1	64.2.	98.4	34.0	99.2	49.7	99.1	27.8	
40-44	98.5	62.7	98.3	31.7	99.4	49.8	98.7	25.6	

¹ Data is given in appendix table 1.

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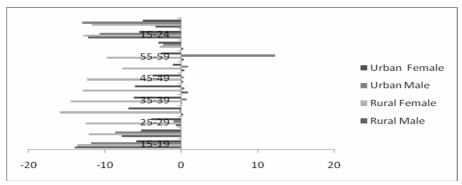
² The decline in the LFPR for women, irrespective of age, might be because of a decline in overall employment opportunities (Chowdhury, 2011).

			2004-0	5			2009-2010	2009-2010		
Age	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female		
45-49	98.2	61.6	97.6	26.9	98.4	49.2	97.9	23.1		
50-54	96.3	56.2	93.9	25.9	96.7	48.5	94.8	24.8		
55-59	93.1	50.9	83.2	21.8	93.4	41.1	95.5	19.1		
60- above	64.5	25.4	36.6	10.0	64.7	22.6	34.2	7.0		
15-24	68.9	38.2	57.0	19.7	56.7	25.4	46.3	14.2		
15- above	85.9	49.5	79.2	24.4	82.5	37.8	66.2	19.4		

Source: NSSO Report No 515 on Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, 2004-05 and Key Indicators of Employment and Unemployment in India, 2009-10.

In fact, the Labour Force Participation Rate is the lowest for women since 1993-94 both in the rural and urban areas. The reasons for such a huge decline in Labour Force Participation Rate for women need to be explored. There are two possible explanations that can be given at the outset. Women have simply withdrawn from the labour market in India due to social conservatism. This does not seem to be a plausible explanation because the Labour Force Participation Rate in 2009-10 is the lowest since 1993-94. If, indeed, social conservatism is responsible then there must be some explanation for such a change in the impact of social factors during this period, given that the Labour Force Participation Rate for women in both urban and rural areas was the highest (after 1993-94) in 2004-05. It is not plausible that the conservatism has increased dramatically in the course of only five years. The second explanation reveals the significant fact that employment opportunities for female has reduced significantly in these years.

<u>Chart 2</u>
Decline in Age-Wise labour Force Participation Rate in India



Source: same as table 1.

<u>Table 2</u>
Percentage of Population in the Labour-Force (in percentage for age 15-59)

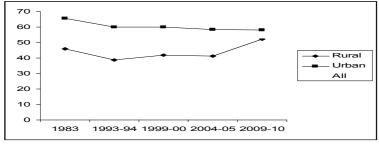
Year	Rura	al India	Urba	n India	All India		
I eai	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1983	91.1	45.1	88.6	23	90.5	40	
1993-94	92	53.1	82.4	22.5	90.2	46.5	
1999-00	87	45.2	82.4	22.5	85.6	38.9	
2004-05	86	44.7	82.7	24.3	85.5	38.6	
2009-10*	77.8	25.6	76	17.8	77.3	23.4	

Source: Bhalla & Kaur, * Data have been taken from NSS 66th round report

Note: 1) Labour force refers to the 15-59 age group that reports that they are working, or looking for work according to the 'weekly status' definition of employment.

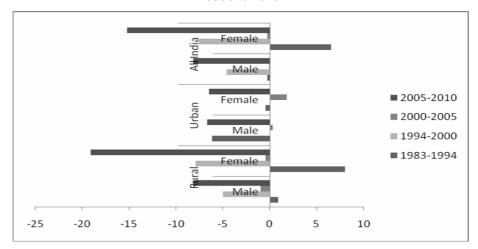
Table 2 shows percentage of population (age 15-59) engaged in labour force in all India as well as urban and rural area from 1983 to 2009-2010. The chart 3 revels little different fact the gender gap in labour force participation has decreased in urban female since 1983 but the gap has increased in rural and at all India level in India since 1993-94. This depicts that men contribute more work in comparison to women and the Chart 4 shows that the percentage of women population in labour force tend to decline in rural area in all the period except between 1983-94. This is interesting, that during the period of liberalization and regularization of economy it has been assumed that the women will come more freely and in huge number to labour market. On the other hand, in urban area, the percentage of female labour force has declined in all period except 2000-05. This picture clear that in urban area where female are more literate, skilled/trained the share of female labour force in total population is high while it has reduced significantly in 2005-10. The analysis clearly indicate that definitely urban female are more educated and well trained, so their position in job market has improved but on the other it has not resulted in terms of huge employment for the female in India.

Chart 3
Gap between Men and Women Labour Force Participation in India
(in percentage for age 15-59)



Source: calculated from table 2.

Chart 4 Change in Percentage of Population in the Labour-Force (in % age 15-59) between 1983 and 2010



Source: same as table 2

Over the years, the share of women workers in agriculture has come down in both rural and urban India, though the rate of decline varies between regions. For instance, the decline is rather marginal in rural India from 83.4 percent in 1993-94 to 85.3 percent in 1999-00 and further down to 80.9 percent in 2004-05 and 80.2 percent in 2007-08. In urban India, though the proportion has declined substantially from 17.5 percent in 1993-94 to 14.6 percent in 1999-00, it has increased marginally to 15.2 percent in 2004-05 but again declined to 11.5 percent.

Percentage of Labour Force Participation¹ in Different Sectors

Year	Ru	ral Female	es	Urban Females				
Teal	Α	M	CS	Α	M	CS		
1983	85.5	7.6	6.9	21.2	29.6	49.2		
1993-94	83.4	8.5	8.2	17.5	24.2	58.3		
1999-00	85.3	9.0	5.7	14.6	28.0	57.4		
2004-05	80.9	11.5	7.6	15.2	31.6	53.4		
2007-08	80.2	10.9	8.9	11.5	30.3	58.2		

Source: same as Table 2 Note: A- Agriculture, M- Manufacture, CS- Construction/services'

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^{1 1)} Labour-Force refers to the 15-59 age group that reports that they are working, or looking for work, according to the 'weekly status' definition of employment.

If we see the data of percentage of labour force participation in different sectors given in Table 3, it clearly shows that, more than 80 percent of women workers in rural India are found to be in agriculture and related activities, either as cultivators or as labourers since 1983. But the percentage of women workers in the same period in urban India is 21.2. Thus, a substantially large proportion of the rural women workers are engaged in agricultural activities, which, understandably, is contrary to the urban phenomenon.

Over the years, the share of women workers in manufacturing and services/ construction has increased in both rural and urban India. The Table 3 shows that women labour force participation in rural area is very large in agriculture and it is low in manufacturing and services sectors. On the other hand, in urban area, women participate more in construction/services and manufacturing but less in agricultural sector. The analysis reveals the fact that women literacy and their skilled personality, full knowledge about market and other a lot of factors responsible for this economic and sectoral transformation.1

The table 4 shows that the labour force participation ratio is low in others caste comparative to other caste while literacy is high among the others caste household. It may be due to high incidence of poverty in schedule tribe (ST), so female actively participate in labour market. Male female gap is very high in labour force participation ratio and work participation ratio is very high in others castes. This shows that poverty is high so female belongs to lower caste category (Schedule Tribes, Schedule Caste, Other Backward Caste) are more employed. On the other hand social restrictions are very unbreakable for the others castes and employment availability in formal or well paid job is very low in India, so participation of other category female worker as a worker is very low in comparison to other female belongs to Schedule Tribes, Schedule Caste, Other Backward Caste.

Table 4 Women's Labour Force Participation (in 1000), by Caste Group in India, 2004-052

0		Male		Female			
Social Category	LFPR ¹	WPR ²	PU^3	LFPR	WPR	PU	
Schedule Tribe (ST)	566	559	7	446	444	3	
Scheduled Caste (SC)	557	543	14	314	308	6	
Other Backward Caste (OBC)	551	541	11	307	299	8	

¹ It has been assumed that urban female are comparatively higher literate and skilled and have full knowledge about market in India.

² 1 Labour force participation rate, 2 Worker population ratio (WPR), 3 proportion unemployed (PU) according to usual status (ps+ss) for each state.u.t.

Carial Catanana		Male		Female			
Social Category	LFPR ¹	WPR ²	PU^3	LFPR	WPR	PU	
Others	569	554	15	223	214	10	
All	559	547	12	294	287	8	

Source: National Sample Survey 61th Round, 2004-05.

Table 5 represents gender wise employment status in rural-urban sectors from 1972-73 to 2009-10. Table shows that causalistion has increased for male and female in both rural and urban areas of India and gender gap has reduced in this category. In self employment category gender gap has reduced in both rural and urban India but the gap has been reduced very sharply in urban India. In regular employment category employment opportunities has decreed for male wile due the increase in regular employment opportunities for female the gap between male and female has reduced very shapely in rural and urban India but the gap is still high in rural area in comparison to male. The table also show that male have greater access to regular employment comparative to female in India.

Table 5 Percentage Distribution of Employment (Self-employed/Regular Employed/Casual Labour) by Sex and Sector in India

Employment Status	5	Self-En	nploye	d	Regular-Employed				Casual Labour			
Employment Status and Year	R	Rural		ban	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
allu i cai	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1972-73	65.9	64.5	39.2	48.4	12.1	4.1	50.7	27.9	22.0	31.4	10.1	23.7
1977-78	62.8	62.1	40.4	49.5	10.6	2.8	46.4	24.9	26.6	35.1	13.2	25.6
1983-84	60.5	61.9	40.9	45.8	10.3	2.8	43.7	25.8	29.2	35.3	15.4	28.4
1987-88	58.6	60.8	41.7	47.1	10.0	3.7	43.7	27.5	31.4	35.5	14.6	26.4
1993-94	57.9	58.5	41.7	45.4	8.3	2.8	42.1	28.6	33.8	38.7	16.2	26.2
1999-00	55.0	57.3	41.5	45.3	8.8	3.1	41.7	33.3	36.2	39.6	16.8	21.4
2004-05	58.1	63.7	44.8	47.7	9.0	3.7	40.6	35.6	32.9	32.6	14.6	16.7
2009-10	53.5	55.7	41.1	41.1	8.5	4.4	41.9	39.3	38	39.9	17	19.6

Source: NSS Employment and Unemployment Survey, Various Issue, 66th Round Report

Table 6 clearly show that in rural areas of developed state like Maharastra, Delhi, Goa, Kerla, Punjab, Hariyana, Andhra Pradesh women employment in regular wage /salaried sector is high. While only in rural Delhi due to high demand in casual sector of women labour in rural market the participation of women in casual sector is high. Women evolvement as self employed worker is expected to be high in agriculture based states or underdeveloped states. But the table shows that state like Bihar, Orissa have an agriculture based economies, the work participation as self employed is low while their participation is high in casual sector. This shows that incidence of rural poverty is very high in these states and opportunities in agriculture sector are also not sufficient and literacy level is very low, so women are employed as a casual labour in these states. Women participation as regular wage/ salaried worker is low and participation is high as casual labour or self-employed in developed states like Gujarat, Maharastra. This suggests that in these sate economic growth has not provided sufficient benefit to their rural women population.

The table 7 clearly shows that in developed states the participation of women in urban area as regular wage/salaried worker is high. While causalistion of urban women workforce is high in underdeveloped states except developed state like Gujarat, Karnataka, Andra Pradesh, Kerla the causalistion of urban female workers is high. This shows that in these states not only regular job is high among the urban women but also the extent of causal employment is also high. The evolvement of urban women in self employed sector is high in lee developed states.

Table 6 Distribution (per 1000) of Rural Female Workers According to Usual Status (ps+ss) Approach by Broad Employment Status for Each States of India.1

Sector	Category	State
Self-	High	Jammu & Kashmir , Uttrakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Haryana
employed	Medium	Rajasthan, Manipur, Maghalya, Assam, Sikkim, Gujarat, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharastra
	Low	Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Kerala, Chattisgarh, Andra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Goa, Delhi
Regular	High	Goa, Kerla, Sikkim, Delhi, Assam, West Bengal, Arunanchal Pradesh, Tripura, Punjab, Hariyana,
wage /salaried	Medium	Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, Karnatka, Meghalya, Nagaland, Orissa, Jammu& Kashmir, Manipur, Andhra Pradesh
employed	Low	Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Mizoram, Uttrakhand, Rajasthan, Maharastra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh
	High	Delhi, Tripura, Tamil Nadu, Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnatka, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharastra, Orissa
Casual Labour	Medium	West Bengal, Gujarat, Kerala, Meghalaya, Rajasthan, Manipur, Assam, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh,
	Low	Haryana, Goa, Sikkim, Punjab, Mizoram, Uttrakhand, Nagaland, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh Jammu & Kashmir

Sources: Computed by Author, by NSS 66th Round Report on Employment, Unemployment Situation in India for the year 2009-10.

¹ Data is given in appendix table 2.

Table 7
Distribution (per 1000) of Urban Female Workers According to Usual Status (ps+ss)
Approach by Broad Employment Status for Each States of India.¹

Sector	Category	State
	High	Nagaland , Manipur, Mizoram, Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Jammu & Kashmir, Assam
Self employed	Medium	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Uttrakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Andra Pradesh, Haryana, Tamil Nadu
	Low	Maharastra, Sikkim, Gujarat, Karnatka, Kerala, Meghalaya, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Delhi, Tripura, Goa
Regular	High	Goa, Delhi, Tripura, Sikkim, Maghalaya, Haryana, Kerla, Punjab, Jammu& Kashmir
wage /salaried	Medium	Uttrakhand, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh
employed	Low	Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland
	High	Chattisgarh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala
Casual Labour	Medium	Himachal Pradesh, Uttrakhand, Meghyalaya, Assam, Tripura, Maharastra, Haryana, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh
	Low	Rajasthan, Jammu & Kashmir, Goa, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Delhi, Sikkim

Source: same as table 6.

Overall in both rural and urban area the share of women in self employment is high in Mizoram, Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh and it is low in Karnatka, Delhi, Tamil Nadu and Andra Pradesh (developed states). The share of women worker in Wage/salaried employment is high in Goa, Delhi Tripura, Haryana, Punjab (developed states) and the share of women worker as Casual labour is high in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh (underdeveloped states) Karnataka, Tamil Nadu (developed states).

4. Conclusion and Policy Implication

Thus the present study finds some interesting facts and suggests that women participation in labour force has decreased after 1994 and disparity between male and female has been widened after an improvement in 2004-05. The number of actual women workers is high in rural India, in comparison to urban India. The reason behind the above contradictory findings is low evolvement of rural women in attending

¹ Data is given in appendix table 2.

schooling¹, high demand of female labour in agriculture sector. The study suggests that high woman participation has been seen in low caste category especially in Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe. The women belonging to advanced family and associated with upper classes involve themselves in domestic work and un-paid work. On the other hand, it has been observed that upper class women engaged in high professional works, business and other services sector. One of the interesting facts is that the women from rural India, mostly work in informal sector, dominated by male workers and they also get fewer wages in comparison to male labour. Available statistics do not capture the entire problem that female workers face in rural area.

In addition, one can see the extent of disparity in women work participation in various states of India. Studies support that there exist wide regional variations across the states in provisions of wage of labourers, workers security, and female work participation, employment rate, working time-period and other economic and social problems so a state wise variation is there in women labour participation ratio. A significant variation in women work participation has been seen in northern and southern India. A comparative study reveals that in northern India and underdeveloped states women are casually employed. It has been observed that regular employment is high in developed states (basically southern region of India) and it has been noticed that the women of southern region of India are more educated and skilled rather than those in northern regions of India. This shows that skill is an important determinant of regular employment in India.

The study on women needs an improvement in the data base for women workers, through more detailed questions which would help to identify and quantify women's work in terms of productive and domestic work. There is a requirement of replacing the traditional value system, which is based on an inequality of sexes where the females play a subordinate role, with a more egalitarian system. Even if there is no absolute equality between the sexes, there is a need to bring about betterment in the quality of life of women. The second point that requires consideration is based on the finding that female participation rates are highly correlated with poverty and landlessness in rural India. Given that man is the primary bread earner, women go out to work when their household incomes do not suffice for their basic needs; more often than not, the poorest households are also the landless.

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¹ As far as women work force participation (rural and urban) is concerned, it has been seen that education and training are significant determinants of low labor force participation of Kerala women in the labor market (Mitra & Singh, 2006).

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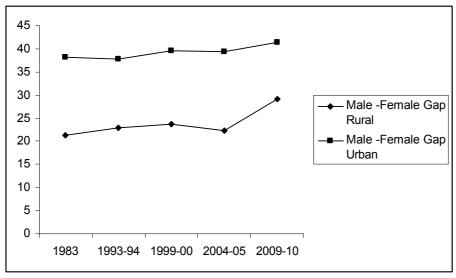
Appendix

Table 1 Trends in Female Work Participation Rates (UPS and UPSS)

			A	ctual		Change				
Year	Rural UP+SS	Rural UPS	Urban UP+SS	Urban UPS	Time Period	Rural UP+SS	Rural UPS	Urban UP+SS	Urb an UPS	
1983	340	248	151	120						
1987-88	323	245	152	118	1983-88	-17	-3	1	-2	
1993-94	328	234	155	121	1988-94	5	-11	3	3	
1999-2000	299	231	139	117	1994-2000	-29	-3	-16	-4	
2004-05	327	242	166	135	2000-05	28	11	27	18	
2007-08	289	216	138	118	2005-08	-38	-26	-28	-17	
2009-10	261	202	138	119	2005-10	-28	-14	0	1	

Source: Mazumdar &N. (2011), Note: Changes has been calculated using data. Note: UP+SS- Usual principal and subsidiary status, UPS- Usual Principal Status

Chart 1 Gap In Workforce Participation Ratio in Male and Female on principal status + subsidiary status basis In India



Source: Himansu (2011)

<u>Table 2</u>
Distribution (per 1000) of Female Workers According to Usual Status [principal and subsidiary (ps+ss)] Approach by Broad Employment Status for Each States of India.

Ctataa		Rural			Urbar	1
States	SE	RW	CL	SE	RW	CL
Andhra Pradesh	395	37	569	422	345	233
Arunachal Pradesh	891	82	28	587	367	40
Assam	653	108	239	488	367	146
Bihar	479	26	495	474	237	289
Chhattisgarh	402	11	587	289	341	371
Delhi	0	131	879	212	788	0
Goa	18	839	144	48	894	58
Gujrat	598	25	377	346	393	261
Haryana	754	71	175	395	484	121
Himachal Pradesh	894	61	44	428	395	180
Jammu & Kashmir	947	43	11	494	447	59
Jharkhand	775	33	192	289	428	283
Karnataka	428	56	516	341	399	260
Kerala	421	238	342	329	482	190
Madhya Pradesh	496	17	487	447	348	205
Maharashtra	499	18	483	357	514	128
Manipur	707	38	255	776	210	13
Maghalaya	674	55	271	316	536	148
Mizoram	880	25	96	765	198	37
Nagaland	888	55	56	789	193	12
Orissa	554	43	404	439	223	338
Punjab	811	77	112	439	463	98
Rajasthan	713	19	268	567	318	115
Sikkim	647	223	129	357	643	0
Tamil Nadu	333	66	601	372	326	302
Tripura	220	81	700	112	757	131
Uttarakhand	898	21	81	433	411	156
Uttar Pradesh	782	26	192	613	266	121
West Bengal	509	89	403	516	362	121

Sources: Computed by Author, by NSS 66th Round Report on Employment, Unemployment Situation in India for the year 2010-11. Notes: SE- Self-Employed, RW- Regular Wage / Salaried Employed, CL- Casual Labour

PARENTING AND SOCIAL ROLES IN TURKISH TRADITIONAL FAMILIES: ISSUES AND CHOICES IN PARENTING FOR TURKISH EXPATRIATE FAMILIES LIVING IN BUCHAREST

Ahmet ECIRLI1

Abstract: This article looks into the issues and challenges of parenting in Turkish families upholding traditional values that live in Bucharest, the capital of Romania. Based on theoretical mainstreams on parenting and the structure of Turkish families, a qualitative research was designed with two aims. The first was to describe the issues and choices in parenting for Turkish expatriate families living in a foreign country. The second was to find out to which of the three ideal-types of families according to Baumrind (permissive, authoritarian, authoritative) do they fit closest. According to the main findings, these Turkish expatriate families show traits somewhere between Baumrind's authoritative and authoritarian types of family. The parents' own values are taken as reference. However, the child's obedience is not an end in itself, using realistic restrictions and giving importance to reasoning for the policies they apply concerning the child's development. Within the family, the father has a dominant position, in charge with securing the economic resources, while the wife main roles are household management and child rearing.

Keywords: Parenting, family, child rearing, Turkish traditional family, roles in the family, motherhood

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1. Introduction

In the past 20 years, increasing economic and political ties between Romania and Turkey meant not just a steady expansion in the flow of goods, services and capital, but also in the formation of a community of Turkish citizens living in Romania for business, work or study. This article looks into the issues and challenges of parenting in expatriate Turkish families upholding traditional values. Based on theoretical mainstreams on parenting and the structure of Turkish families, a qualitative research was designed to describe the issues facing Turkish families living in Bucharest.

2. Parenting as a social process

Parents are considered as the first educators of children. Akkok (1999) underlines the importance of family for socialization as primary agents, which influence the child both indirectly and directly. Thus, a partnership between teachers and parents is seen as a necessity for an effective process of learning.

Baumrind (1971) introduced a classification of parents into three groups according to their choices of control mechanisms over the children:

- 1. Parents in the "Permissive" category allocate a resource to children and give them responsibility to modify, regulate or shape their behaviour as much as possible.
- 2. Parents in "Authoritarian" category take their own values as reference, give importance to obedience as most important, and exert extended precautions if their children behave in conflict to such values.
- 3. Parents in "Authoritative" category try to control the activities of their children without considering the obedience as a priority. They use realistic restrictions and give importance to reasoning for the policies they apply for the sake of child's own development.

According to Davies (2000, p. 245), parenting "is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood. Parenting refers to the activity of raising a child rather than the biological relationship." The choices made during this process by the parents, especially on autonomy and warmth have long-lasting effects in enhancing the confidence and identity development during puberty and adolescence (Kamptner, 1988).

Involving parents into educational programs significantly increases their parenting skills and leads to eliminate problems in many areas such as unusual expectations from the child, lack of understanding of the child's requirements, parent-child relationship, methodology of family education for the child, meeting child's emotional,

social and physical needs. Croake & Glover (1977) view parenting education as the learning activity in which parents intend to change their methodology of interaction with the child for gaining more affirmative behaviour. They regarded the mother's education as a very important factor and almost equivalent term to parent education. Bogenschneider et al. (1997) studied the relationship between parents' educational methods and the development of their offspring. The findings revealed that parents qualified in child education promote security and success while unqualified parents cause problematic behaviour. A Mother-Child education program (Bekman 1998) could reduce social and economic related problems of the children at school age. Overall, parent education helps families to improve their own importance, talents and skills (Aral et al. 2011).

Working outside limits women in terms of child caring and as a result reduces the time allocated for child's home education (Isvan & Nīlüfer, 1991). A correct and useful expectation for child's behaviour is the main dynamic contributing child's home education (Stevens (1984). According to Carter and Welch (1981) the child's behaviour, age and experience of parents are important factors affecting home education of the child. He views parenting experience as a reason for adults to develop a more authoritarian style concerning the child's education. They become more sensible to the social needs of the child as well.

Family environment, where the parents are the first teachers, offers richer possibilities than any other learning medium. While the school fulfils the educational task, family life provides a setting where the child spends the majority of the time and shares experiences of basic interaction with the social world. Gursimsek et al. (2007)

Choices over discipline and responsibility

According to a study carried out by Krishnakumar & Buehler (2000) parental acceptance and harsh discipline are the main causes to impact inter-parental conflict. The way children cooperate with their parents depends on the parents' attitudes such as being supportive, motivating, being open to discussion rather than severe discipline. Morris et al. (2002) suggest that methods of discipline have different effects on different children. While one method appears to be useful on certain child, the same method may not be effective on another child. In the views of Amato, P. R. & Fowler F., (2002) avoidance of severe punishment will result in positive outcomes for the child such as higher educational success, less discipline problems, better personality development and self-confidence. Other than unsuccessful anger management, problems with disciplinary methods stem from the fact that parents have lack of knowledge of other than physical punishment. They just imitate their parents using the same methods as they experienced through their childhood. Parents' usage of appropriate disciplinary techniques depends on the compliance level of child's behaviour. They tend to show inappropriate parenting attitudes towards child contradictory behaviours.

The responsibility between parents in family education of the child should be carefully shared each knowing clearly the basic roles. Bolak (1997) attributed responsibility of husband in the evaluation of woman in terms of his role in the household. He states that conflict arises if the man is dominant both on domestic and economic grounds (Bolak, 1997, p.409).

Parenting and social roles in Turkish traditional families: theory background

Ute (2001) views Turkish patriarchal traditionalistic families as parent dominant where the father is dominant over the mother and the children especially in the areas where financial issues are concerned. In such families, the mother's role covers household management and child rearing. Children in the family have no authority, but they can gain authority with increasing age and contribution to the family's budget.

Turkish family traditions are formed mainly by religious values where children are seen as sources of joy happiness and as a gift of God for both parents and elders members. Family values are based on close ties of members, faithfulness, responsibility and authenticity while individuality, self-interest and egoism are marginalized.

A study by Filiz & Yaprak (2009) reveals how parenting style affects children's view towards their parents. Their research was conducted in an Anatolian city of Eskisehir. The parents involved were categorized as authoritarian, democratic, protective and neglectful. The findings suggest that the democratic style was the most frequent parenting style while the least was the authoritarian one.

Kircaali-Iftar G. (2005) researched a group of 50 mothers with 4 to 6-year-old preschool children in Eskisehir (Turkey), looking into terms of disciplinary methods practiced to overcome behaviour problems with their children. Mothers prefer mostly (N=37) using verbal explanations while using (N=3) negative reinforcement least as disciplinary means to cope with behavioural problems of their children. Punishment (N=18), physical punishment (N=10), shouting (N=5), redirecting attention (N=5), threatening (N=4), ignoring (N=4) were used by the mothers as well.

The result of a study by Cakir S. G. & Aydin G. (2005) investigating the differences of middle adolescents in terms the relationship of their identity formation with familial variables, showed that authoritative parents' children are more reliable those of

neglectful parents in terms of identity foreclosure. Additionally female students value identity status while male students regard identity foreclosure as more important.

Providing for the youngsters' psychological and social necessities for a long time by parents and is viewed as normal in Turkish culture (Gulerce, 1996). In many regions of Anatolia, the children's obedience to parents is regarded as a basic trait. Usually girls are considered more obedient than boys. Acceptance of early adolescent marriage among girls could be attributed to their culture of "obedience" to the parents. Grown up children may stay with the nuclear family until they get married. Married adult children may stay until they find opportunities of having a regular income to maintain the needs of their own family. This leads an extended family in the form in which the parents are the supporters of the newly formed nuclear family. Usually their presence ends within the first ten years. The bride serves for the requirements of the household. The married adult offspring helps the parents either by assisting his father's work or in the family business as a participant supporter.

Sabanci (2009) studied the ways of partnerships between parents and schools for better education of children. His findings suggest that parental involvement in educational programs significantly increased with the support of Ministry of National Education. An innovative approach is required to include mainly female parents in parent education as they play a vital role in child's education.

According to a study by Tay & Yildirim (2009), the list of values having priority for Turkish parents for their children to be taught at early ages include: "success, socialization, democratization, self-improvement of the children", "peace". Parents regard the school as responsible for teaching the values of "patriotism," "honesty," "attaching importance to family unity", "responsibility," and "hardworking". The actual values given priority by Turkish Ministry of Education (Tay & Yildirim, 2009, p.1535, citing [MEB], 2005) are as follows:

"Fairness, family unity, freedom, peace, being scientific, hardworking, solidarity, consciousness, honesty, aesthetics, tolerance, hospitality, freedom, health, love, respect, responsibility, cleanliness, patriotism, helpfulness".

The willingness of parents for "patriotism" to be taught is attributed to "heroic deeds" in Turkish history (Tay & Yildirim, 2009).

Expatriate families have similarities and differences in terms traditional values with the ones in home country as they are in interaction with a host society where there is interchange of values of a different culture. Post-communist Romanian society has made some significant changes in the family: increasing age at first marriage, high divorce rate, lower average duration of marriages etc. (Nicolăescu V., 2010). However, moral traditionalism by preserving the family unit continue currently in Romanian society (Udvuleanu M.C., 2011, p. 43) and the family demonstrates a

strong influence on the lives of Romanians (Croitoru A., 2011, p 4). In this context, it could be important to underline that parenting education is one of the strategies that contribute to the strengthening of the support provided to families (Cojocaru D., 2011, p. 152.). Despite the recognition of the problem, the lack of a nation-wide or a local system for funding such programmes, especially considering the lack of a coherent system of parent education services, results in a vulnerability and volatility of such social services (Cojocaru D., Cojocaru Ş., Ciuchi O.M., 2011, p. 155).

Objective of the study

The objectives of this study are as follows.

- a) To find out the issues and choices in parenting for Turkish expatriate families living in Bucharest, the capital of Romania:
- b) To find out to which of the three ideal-types of families according to Baumrind do they fit closest.

Methodology

A qualitative research was designed featuring semi structured interviews with 30 traditional families of Turkish expatriates living in Bucharest, the capital of Romania. The selection of the families for the interviews followed the well-informed informant method from anthropology. Turkish community organizations were contacted with the request to provide contact details for families living in Bucharest. Relatives were avoided to eliminate narrowing the variety within the group.

An overview of the interviewed families is shown in the following table.

Table 1
Types of families and the members for the interview in Bucharest

Type of family	Total number	Total number of family members interviewed (male / female)
Extended families	9	27 (14/13)
Nuclear families	16	32 (16/16)
Single parent families	5	5 (1/4)
Total	30	64 (31/33)

The study was limited only to Turkish families living in Bucharest. According to officials from community organisations, this is the place of residence for most of the Turkish citizens that are in Romania for business, work or study. Further research in different regions in Romania would be desirable.

64 interviews were conducted during the spring of 2011, all of them being recorded and then transcribed. The interview guide was semi-structured and designed to cover the following topics: (1) the basic methods for child education, (2) personal experiences about the growing up a child within the family, (3) perceptions regarding the relationship with the child, (4) expectations and concerns regarding the children in the future.

Findings and Interpretations

Socialization was viewed as one of the main problem among the interviewed families. They complain about lack of interaction with other Turkish families so that they and especially their children could socialize better. Families usually take part in the common public traditional activities organised by Turkish community organisations. The events, festivals, public dinners, pudding day, kermes and "bayram" are main annual activities that all Turkish families can participate with all their family members.

The "one-child" family was perceived as having peculiar issues among some parents. It is difficult for the "only child" to complete a natural process of socialization due to the absence of siblings. Although such a child may find opportunities to socialize with other children in nursery and kindergarten at a certain age, such socialization could not be compared to that of with his/her brothers/sisters in the same environment. Because the latter is not just a pure socialization, it is rather a sensational one. Having more than one child offers advantage for Turkish parents providing a medium to raise normally socialized children. "I wish I had another one at least to be a playing partner for my only child" says a mother (29) of 3 year old girl.

Another finding as a results of the interview is the fact that upcoming new sibling may give rise to the child's fear of having to share the mother. Being restless, expressing extreme anger, aggressive behaviours, thumb sucking are some of the signs that the child may show just to attract more attention. The guest's behaviours play an important role in this case. They should avoid statements like "you are a grown up now, your baby brother/sister is lovely". Children should not be compared with each other. A child's belongings should not be used for the smaller one without permission, and his/her decision should be respected. Attitudes involving extreme worries about the baby should be avoided.

A major concern of the interviewed families was the protection of their children from possible abuse either home or out-home environment. Allowing the child to interact with teens addicted to harmful habits such as drinking alcohol, using drugs, small scale gambling etc. The boundaries to other people, even relatives, should be carefully defined and taught to the child. All forms of abuse lead to severe damage not only physical but also long-term psychosocial development in various ways. Sexual abuse is perceived as the most severe one. It is worrisome that child victims are subject to sexual abuse at an early age by the known persons in the family, the street or school environment. Parents are conscious of the situation and have the knowledge and the skills acquired from their parents. They transfer the ways and skills of protection from abuse to the next generation on a step-by-step basis. Most of the interviewed families expressed their worries about protecting their children from possible out-of-home abuse. Children under age of 15 are not allowed alone to go with public transport. Groups of teens could enjoy the playgrounds in neighbourhood city parks.

The wife-husband interaction becomes more important especially in the presence of their children. The child's attitude towards the parents' behaviour could be considered as observation in which father and mother are examples to be taken. Their reactions to certain events do not have only situational meanings; their behaviours are messages to the child, to do the same in his/her life. A mother (38) of 2 children says: "We should set first examples to the children in terms of behaviour. The reaction to an event is not just a simple reaction. It is also the same as telling the child -you should behave the same way I did if you confront a situation like this".

The shared activities such as having a reading time, watching a movie or a cartoon, playing a game with at least one the parents contribute a better child-parent relationship. A mother (45) of three school-aged children says:

"We have some reading time with their favourite cookies which I cook for them before they go to school. We have another reading session after they come from the school. We have another time session of watching cartoons together. Before they go to bed, I tell the stories about great person's lives. We analyse those persons' behaviours together talking about where they did mistakes or good deeds. This way they learned how to analyse and express their own ideas".

One of the principles that parents expressed most is the fact that parents should practice the things they want their child do. A couple expresses their ways of educating their two children:

"We applied the things that we wanted them to do. We practiced the in a way that they see us, such as reading, having good dialogs, smiling at each other, asking how the other one is doing etc. Children observed us and imitated us.

We believe that they already got reading habits, being example to them is more effective than just telling or insisting them to read". The couple prohibits nothing to their children. Instead, they do observe them. They pay special attention to the friends of their children by inviting them home from time to time to know them better. They say they know how to overcome problems that may appear.

It is worth stating here the four pieces of advice a father (53) gave his children.

1) Feel alone in life and do the struggle as if no one is helping, and overcome all the difficulties in life. 2) Be devoted and patient in life, always give to others but do not ask from them anything 3) If you want luxury, know that you find it in struggle 4) Eat for living, do not live for eating.

A 62-year-old retired teacher, father of 3 children, views the importance of *family values as a guarantee of national unity and solidarity*. According to him, a strong family is necessary for a stable society and educated parents are necessary for stable families. In his own words:

"Throughout history our society continued its growth and has managed to protect cultural identity by emphasising the family values. The family is one of the most important institutions for transferring national values to next generations."

Many families considered *obstinate behaviour of the child* as one of their major problems in their home-education. Obstinate behaviour may occur at any age and in every human being. Children between 2-4 years are particularly obstinate. At this age, children become aware of their existence and their independence is now put forward, they want to do their own things. They may enter a period obstinacy in which they refuse things or activities even if they like them. This situation could be attributed to the child's intention to self-prove which may lead to a confrontation with the parents if they do not pay attention to the child's situation. While being a natural step in child's development, due to misinterpretation, it leads to a conflict between parent and child. Obstinate behaviours become more severe if parents at this period make a habit of saying "no" to child as the child imitates the parents, he/she may develop of having the same habit.

A mother (52 year old) states that avoiding quarrels between the adults in the family, especially towards the observation of children, is very essential for child rearing. The period in which child is more obstinate does not mean that everything offered by the child will be accepted. A mother (28) of a 4-year-old boy says that "During an obstinate behaviour by my 4 year old son, I think of the solution for the severity, duration and an appropriate method of solving the problem causing the crisis. The best method is to deal out the child's attention. This may be a cartoon, a bird, a cat, a

favourite food or play, etc. can be anything. For example, if the child wants to do things forbidden, I gently remind him then I suggest an alternative. Some parents say 'no' to something, then they say 'yes', to the same event. In this case child becomes obstinate until his request is done."

When necessary, the punishment is given by only one of the parents. In such a case while the child becomes temporarily away from the one giving the punishment he/she could find chance to the other parent to have a little support and advice. The difference between the wrong behaviour from the person of the child must be made clear. The mistakes are to be punished, not the personalities. "Our punishment is the deprivation from positive sanctions," says a father (48) of 3 children at school age.

Many young mothers perceive *transition to motherhood as a path to a new status*, as she contributes to the next generation by bringing up a new life. In this sense, motherhood affects women's self-esteem and self-confidence. Her ties with her husband, with the neighbourhood and the community are strengthened. Thus, motherhood may result in a great enthusiasm as the time dedicated to the children in the expense of mother's work and the pleasure is not seen as a waste. Motherhood needs physiological, psychosocial and mental maturity. It is the beginning of mature womanhood and it adds a new dimension to the female identity. According to a 28–year-old mother of an 11 month baby, "I enjoy a lot the breastfeeding. Between the baby and me, it is like an emotional contact rather than physical one. I believe she feels that too".

The role of the father in the family was expressed by most of the mothers. They saw father's existence and role in the family as extremely important. Maternal and paternal roles for the child's education are seen as complementing and supporting each other, while being necessary for the child's upbringing. Children need father as well as mother for their healthy personality development.

The father is a very important prominent figure for both girls and boys in the family. His absence is perceived as possibly leading to a lack of gender development as boys take the mother as role model leading him to feminine behaviour. Absence of father for girls who get acquaintance of masculine characters may cause insufficiencies in their further relationship during marriage. Sharing daily life elements, being involved in the routines, expressing responsibilities, caring about the education and the time spent together strengthen the relationship between father and child.

Some parents underlined the importance of *avoiding inconsistent rules* in child's discipline. A negative attitude towards the child may result in the same kind of reaction. The rules should be valid, necessary and consistent. A mother (37) of a 5-year-old girl says:

"I put rules short and rationale, always avoid bringing up unnecessary prohibitions, otherwise I begin to say "no" which can cause my child having the feeling that whatever she does is wrong." "We try to avoid using negative expressions. There is always a way of explaining things in a positive way."

Most of the parents expressed their need of support in child education. Married couples make a big change in their lives having a child. Values, priorities, roles, relationship with the environment change. During this period, parents need support in many ways. The interaction between child and parents determines the position of child in the family. The first social experience of the child comes from the family environment. In this regard, a conscious approach of the parents plays a vital role in child's social development. Education of mother is very important in educating the child. Because in traditional Turkish families mother is the one who allocates more time for educating the child. According to the results of the interview most of the parents express the importance of the period of 0 to 3 years of age where child's physical and psychological needs of the most intense and dependent to the mother. Another important period is expressed as 0 to 6 years in childhood. The mother child relationship is of primary importance at this stage. The child's ability of basic behaviour of public life such as eating, sleeping, hygienic habits is determined by attitudes of adults. The child finds more examples in extended traditional families.

Role of mother-in-law for newly married couples is considered as supportive. Among traditional Turkish families mother-in-law plays a vital role. She is viewed as a source that can transmit all accumulated experience of traditional values to a new married couple. Especially the young and "inexperienced" bride is seen to be in need of well preparation for the life with many difficulties.

In extended traditional Turkish families, especially in rural areas, newly married couples stay several years (sometimes up to ten years or more) within the same households. The traditional values are transmitted during this period with a main contribution of mother-in-law. She takes the role of a trainer or a teacher for the new bride expressing her responsibilities to take care of the newly formed marriage. Some possible conflicts may arise because of such a relationship. Yet it has some advantages especially when the marriage takes place at early age, which is still widely the case in many Anatolian villages. The guidance, especially by the parents is needed as a support for the newly formed *attached family*.

While the bride is protected by the father against the possible violent behaviour of an inexperienced young husband, the mother teaches her how to take care of household daily routines and how to raise children. Mothers need psychological support especially during the pregnancy when they have the feelings of fear, insecurities or instabilities. At this time, an experienced mother such as mother-in-law can be helpful.

The interviewed parents have expressed that they learn parenting along with rising up their children. It is commonly thought that it is the child who needs to learn from the parents. Yet the role of children leading their parents to learn most of the necessary knowledge about parenting is undeniable.

More than half of the interviewee expressed that adult's behaviours are subjected to change towards their environment after having children. They suggest that after having children adults become more compassionate, understand the value of their own parents, develop a better social responsibility and become emotionally more sensitive. "After having my first child I started being more compassionate to children of others," says a father (33) with a 2 ½-year old baby boy.

Conclusions

The family ranks high in the value system of Turkish expatriate families living in Romania in a similar manner to most of the Turkish population back home. Thus, the family is seen to guarantee national unity and solidarity.

Where would Turkish families fit into Baumrind's classification of families into three ideal-types: permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative? First, let us review how parents regard the parenting role. The interviewed parents have expressed that they learn parenting along with rising up their children. Parents tend to see themselves as first teachers and home as first school for their children. They acknowledge that the child is always a very good observer, and therefore should practice in their own life what they offer to children as good behaviours. In practice, this is more difficult of course, and the parents admit to needing support as well. Overall, the roles within the family point to a more traditional type of family. Motherhood is valued, perceived as a major step in maturity is and, perhaps most significant, conferring a new social status for the mother. The family environment could assume the setting of a childcare centre with the mother not seeking a job and assuming a homemaker role. To this end, the extended family remains a model, with the presence of mother-in-law in the household is viewed as especially supportive for newly married couples.

The practices and views on discipline and punishment regarding the child's behaviour are perhaps the most significant. Punishment is viewed as desirable be in the form of deprivation from positive sanctions, but both parents should not be involved in the punishment of the child at the same time. With the child being at a critical moment in personality development, the accusations should not be done in public; it should be done in private for their personalities should not be hurt. The mistakes or improper are to be punished or criticized, not the person of the child. Moreover, parents point to Explanation of correct and wrong behaviours in an appropriate way, avoiding inconsistent rules and negative statements. Obstinate children are perceived as a special case, requiring more attention. Nevertheless, one counter-intuitive fact should be noted: arguing with the child affects the parents most.

Ute's contention of Turkish traditionalistic families, whether residing in Turkey or in Germany, with the father is dominant as the *dominant figure* seems to hold in Romania as well. However, this should be qualified as needing further empirical research for the whole of Romania, not just Bucharest, and would only be the case for Turkish men that have brought their entire families with them. While in addition to being the breadwinner, the father assumes a role of strengthening the family environment. This entails a range of activities, including eating together, at least once a day, trying to spend a cheerful meal, retelling each other how each spent the day to the allotting quality time spend with the children. The quality time could, for instance, involve having reading times with the children, which is very useful for parent-child interaction as well as child home-education. Overall, children should have right to announce their ideas on these activities. The father's status in the family is enhanced when the love and the attention towards children are expressed explicitly.

There are some parenting issue specific with rearing the children in a different culture. The Turkish community in Romania is not as large as in Germany relative to the overall population. Therefore, socialization is considered as one of the main problems among the interviewed families because of lack of contact with a critical number of other Turkish families. A one child family is viewed as increasing this problem.

Overall, Turkish families residing in Bucharest, Romania, show traits somewhere between Baumrind's authoritative and authoritarian types of family. The parents' own values are taken as reference. Precautions are taken for the children to behave according to such values. However, the child's obedience is not an end in itself, using realistic restrictions and giving importance to reasoning for the policies they apply concerning the child's development.

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APPLIED SOCIOLOGY AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES A PROJECT IN APUSENI MOUNTAINS (ROMANIA)

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Abstract: This paper presents some findings of a sociological research of the connections between applied sociology and potential development programs. The aim is to provide better guidance to the socio-economic program implementation strategy design process. The project's scope included human resource development objectives, encompassing 51 rural communities from the Apuseni Mountains Area of western Romania. An ample research study has been undertaken in order to supply a SWOT analysis of the employment problem and of the main priorities, objectives and actions that will make up the content of a strategy. The authors consider it appropriate to signal through their study, the possibility of transition from the classical simple sociological recommendations aims, to more applied (and possibly more courageous) strategic implementation goals, ends that are more consistent with the aspirations of modern sociology.

Keywords: applied sociology, human resources, transversal competencies, strategy.

1. Introduction

It is in general agreement that modern economies of today rely a lot more on knowledge and expertise than on raw materials and physical labour. To stay

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competitive in this new environment Europe should strive at creating those types of jobs needed by a dynamic, knowledge-based society. Hence, a prime spot should take investment in education and science, and in intelligent workforce occupation policies. As commendable as this holistic "One Europe" ideal may be, one must take into account the disparities between European states on one hand, and European regions on the other. In addition, one must not lose sight of the transversal dimension of disparity, the ever-present urban-rural divide, albeit at the national or regional levels. Let alone the problem of disparities, simply understanding a knowledge society, raises big intellectual challenges and demands complex diagnosis and a profound and multi-disciplinary scientific analyse; and we refer in particular to the challenges faced by the fields of applied sociology, economics, environment and territorial management.

Romania's economic transition has led to profound transformation of the labour markets and has generated powerful forces affecting the human resources (Osoian, 2005; Turtoi, 2005; Voicu, 2006; Otiman, 2008). Many changes have been negatively felt by the population in rural areas (Sandu, 1999; Schrieder, Munz and Jehle, 2000; Davidovici and Davidovici, 2008). In addition, the accession to the European Union implies a switch for these rural communities, from subsistence farming, to a modern, more efficient agriculture (McQuaid, 2006, Kerekes, 2007, Otiman, 2008).

The changing social conditions led to a reduction in the birth rate and to the amplification of permanent emigration. All of these led to a constant decline in the population and implicitly, in the economically active population (Vincze, 2000; Naghiu, Vázquez and Georgiev, 2005; Istudor, 2006). An analysis of the remaining economically active population shows evidence of local demographic ageing.

In the labour market of a knowledge-based economy, the quality of training and the acquired skills become extremely important competitive factors. Market entry and reinsertion of certain categories of workers such as young people, housewives and middle-aged workers becomes a problem when many economic sectors undergo deep restructuring and their level of education is not responding to the changing demands (Hodge, Dunn, Monk and Fitzgerald, 2002; Chitea, 2007; Dumbravă, 2007; Florian, 2008; Otiman, 2008). Under such conditions, the achievement of a flexible labour market which includes disadvantaged groups requires the creation of instruments for improving these groups' odds of success and of social services that simultaneously respond to their needs.

Ana Bleahu stated that in 2002 almost half of the total population of Romania (44.5%) lives in the rural area and a large proportion of it is employed in agriculture. The massive occupation in farming can be explained by two major causes: 1) the abrupt decline of manufacturing, industry and mining and 2) the low level of specialisation and the poor market orientation of the non-agricultural activities (Bleahu, 2004).

The regional disparities mentioned above are even more pronounced in the mountainous areas of Romania. The Apuseni Mountains region is of particular concern, especially the section belonging to Alba County. In a 1997 diagnosis, this region has been legally recognised as being economically vulnerable due to restrictive economic factors (Guvernul României, Banca Mondială, 1998).

The area has a predominantly lowly-mountainous geography, with many human settlements crossing 1000 m altitude. Due to a wide distribution of settlements over mountain slopes and rolling peaks, rather than just being concentrated on the valleys, the area displays the highest population density of all mountainous areas in Romania. The typical household economic system relies on a plurality of occupations in agriculture, small crafts, mining and more recently, agro-tourism. Depopulation, the lack of road infrastructure (which makes for the difficult access and thus for the partial isolation), the decline of mono-industrial employment actors, the lack of social services, the limited educational facilities and a general lack of investment are the main challenges faces by these communities. The demographic decline is more acute in the most isolated villages and is the result partially of demographic ageing, but mostly of the youths' emigration towards larger employment centres. As in the past some of these communities relied heavily on mono-industrial employment agents like mining centres, they have been profoundly affected by the industrial restructuring process and the resulting closures of these significant facilities (Butiu, 2011a).

Several of our previous research studies in the area have been more descriptive in nature (Buţiu, 2005; Pascaru and Buţiu, 2005; Buţiu, 2006; Pascaru and Buţiu, 2007; Butiu, 2009; Pascaru and Butiu, 2009; Pascaru and Butiu, 2010; Butiu, 2011a; Butiu, 2011b; Pascaru, Vedinas, 2011; Pascaru, 2012) and paid most attention to historical and theoretical aspects of the problems. Knowledge restitution efforts however, spent for the benefit of the source communities (Bergier, 2000; Pascaru, 2006) elicited the demand for more applied undertakings, and gave us better guidance in the design of more practical methodologies.

We will start the following section, with a brief review of some fundamental aspects of applied sociology.

2. Applied sociology and territorial human resources development

Steele and Price stated that all sciences have at least two components: basic science and applied science. In their view, the purpose of basic science is to produce theory, while that of applied science is to solve real-life problems. Sociologists thus need to know both the theory and how to apply it to practical purposes. They consider that applied sociology consists of any (often client-centred) utilization of sociological perspective, or of its' instruments, towards the understanding, intervention and/or improvement of human social life (Steele and Price, 2008, pp. 3-4).

The understanding, intervention into and/or improvement of human social life, according to the authors, refers to the fact that applied sociologists work at improving our collective understanding of social phenomena, at problem solving through intervention, or at the general improvement of social interaction. It is not uncommon for sociologists to work at all three dimensions simultaneously, as Steele and Price notice.

Starting from the same distinction between base science and applied one, Thomas J. Sullivan describes three distinct domains of operation for the two parts: 1) the theoretical domain, where the interest lies in developing the theory explaining the phenomena, 2) the observational domain where data is collected and 3) the political or action domain, where action is being taken for real-life problem solving purposes. For Sullivan, basic sociology refers to sociological research, whose purpose is to increase our knowledge of human social behaviour, with little interest in any practical benefit that could follow, while applied sociology consists of research and other activities aimed at focusing our sociological knowledge and research instruments on a particular problem, as identified by a client who expects a practical result (Sullivan, 1992, p. 16).

Aside from the existing research design employed in both base and applied research, Sullivan mentions that applied research has developed a special set of techniques. These require the application of research methodology for both observation and recommendations useful to project managers and analysts alike. These techniques are the centre of applied sociological research. Sullivan concentrates on five of them: 1) program evaluation, 2) necessities identification, 3) social impact assessment, 4) social indicators and 5) cost-benefit analysis. Program evaluation for Sullivan represents the systematic observation undertaken in order to evaluate if a program or a social practice succeeds in its' goals. Such evaluations are ways of assessing if the society's investment in such programs is justified and wise (Sullivan, 1992, pp. 140-141).

Steele and Price state that people create social systems like the Social Services or Defence Departments in order to satisfy the possible discrepancies between what it is and what it is necessary, or would be necessary in the future. Needs assessment can be accomplished with qualitative, quantitative instruments or both, consider Steele and Price. Although one normally contemplates objective results, the determination of necessities (priorities) always entails a degree of value judgement (Steele and Price, 2007, p. 22).

For Sullivan, who sanctions the view points of some of the specialists, the *necessities determination* research concentrates on a data collection aimed at determining how many people in a community need a certain service or a specific product, in a particular period of time (Sullivan, 1992, p. 147).

In the view of the same author, the *social impact assessment* refers to the building of an estimate of the probable consequences of the programs, or of the projects

undertaken by individuals, groups, neighbourhoods, communities, regions, institutions, or by other social units. In these situations, sociologists typically work with economists, anthropologists and other specialists within the realm of the social domain (Sullivan, 1992, p. 150).

He also views social indicators as quantitative measurements of significant social phenomena. The term 'social' implies that the onus is on the groups', on the institutions' or on the whole system's social behavioural changes. An important observation of Sullivan is that, by themselves, the social indicators are of descriptive nature: their intent is to describe social phenomena without making any evaluation and without attempting an explanation. They are however very useful when comparing different time periods (Sullivan, 1992, pp. 157-158).

The cost-benefit analysis for Sullivan represents the weighting of a program's benefits against its' costs. It sometimes is part of an evaluation program or of a social impact assessment study, and it allows program managers and decision makers alike to judge if the benefits warrant the costs involved.

In the following section, the general findings of a recent project will be presented, a project in which applied sociology is engaged in building a human resource development strategy. We'll start with the presentation of a few elements of social policy which presume to generate specific strategies.

3. The sociological underpinning of a human resource development strategy for the communities of the Apuseni Mountains

3.1. Programmatic context

Starting from the premise that modern economies are increasingly being built on a foundation of knowledge rather than processing of raw materials and physical labour, the European leaders acting within the scope of the March 2000 Lisbon European Council have decided to embark in the creation of the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion (European Council, Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000, Presidency Conclusions). The poor practical results of this ambitious objective led to a 2005 Lisbon Strategy restart and refocus (European Commission, 2005, Communication to the Spring European Council) and, more recently, under the imperative of the current financial crisis, to the launch of the new Strategy for Europe 2020 (European Commission, Communication from the Commission, 2010). All documents issued recommend investment in science, education, and workforce employment programmes that would keep up with the changes in EU and with the evolution of the economic crisis. Romania responded to these challenges with several strategic documents from which we can mention: Cadrul Strategic Național de Referință 2007-2013, Strategia Națională de Dezvoltare Durabilă a României 2013-2020-2030, Programul National de Dezvoltare Rurală 2007-2013, Cadrul strategic de dezvoltare Regiunea Centru 2007-2013, Cadrul Regional Strategic de Dezvoltare 2007-2013 al Regiunii de dezvoltare Nord-Vest. Planul de dezvoltare regională 2007-2013, Regiunea Vest, Planul Regional de Acțiune pentru Ocupare Regiunea Centru 2009-2011, Planul Regional de Actiune pentru Ocuparea forței de muncă Regiunea Nord-Vest 2006-2008, Planul Regional de Acțiune pentru Învățământul Profesional și Tehnic Regiunea Vest 2007-2013, Planul Regional de Acțiune pentru Ocupare Regiunea Centru 2009-2011¹.

The setting in action of the human resource development component has been financed through the 2007-2013 European Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resource Development.

3.2. The methodology and the main results of the sociological research

The methodology rested on the use of questionnaires which were distributed in October 2010. The scope of the research included 51 communes (shires) from Apuseni Mountains belonging to the counties of Alba, Bihor, Hunedoara, Cluj and Arad (Figure 1).



Figure 1 Geographic position of the area under study

¹ We only considered those documents with direct relevance to the area of investigation, from a much larger list of documents.

The sociologic survey which was an integral part of the research, involved 600 employable subjects from 27 settlements (out of a total of 501) which were deemed representative for the area of research¹. Details of the sampling distribution can be found in Table 1.

Table 1 Sampling point and subject distribution

		Very Poor Villages	Poor Villages	Medium – developed villages		Maximum – level developed villages	TOTAL
	otal no. Villages	263	100	62	44	32	501
ple	Villages	7 (25.9%)	6 (22.2%)	4 (14.9%)	3 (11.1%)	7 (25.9%)	27 (100%)
Sample	Subjects	124 (20.7%)	106 (17.7%)	107 (17.8%)	120 (20%)	143 (23.8%)	600 (100%)

The sample was randomly stratified on three criteria: the development level of the village, age and gender of the respondent. To achieve the classification of settlements in relation to the level of development, the social development index database (IDSL) of Dumitru Sandu has been used.

The age and gender ratios have been calculated from the 2002 National Statistical Survey, which was the most recent source at the time. Based on the age groups, the data indicate highest weight of the middle-aged adult group of 25 to 44 years old and lowest for the young between 15 to 24 years of age. Males made up 52% and females 48% respectively of the total population (Table 2).

Table 2 Age and gender-based structure in the 51 communes

Years old	Male	Female	Difference
0-6	3.24%	3.04%	0.20%
7-10	1.84%	1.70%	0.14%
11-14	1.90%	3.50%	-1.60%

¹ The research has been undertaken within the scope of the Apuseni Mountains Occupational Opportunity Caravan project, financed from the Social European Fund through the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-1013, the priority axis 5 «The promotion of active occupational measures», Beneficiary: The Ecology and Mountain Tourism Club ALBAMONT. Project team: Călina Ana Butiu - Project Manager, Mihai Pascaru - Scientific Coordinator, Lucian Marina – Methodology Expert, Vlad Milea - Formation and Education Expert, Petronela Talpaş - Occupation and Unemployment Expert, Claudiu Ştefani and Angela Bara -Field Operator Coordinators, Lavinia Holunga and Liliana Ionaş - Database Coordinators.

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Years old	Male	Female	Difference
15-24	5.79%	5.39%	0.40%
25-44	13.39%	11.66%	1.73%
45-64	12.06%	11.20%	0.85%
Over 64	11.37%	13.91%	-2.54%
TOTAL	49.59%	50.41%	-0.83%

^{*} Based on 2002 Population and Dwelling Statistical National Survey, 2002, DJS Alba, Arad, Bihor, Cluj, and Hunedoara Counties

Occupational status at the time of the survey

When looking at the occupational status (Table 3), one notices the large proportion of economically inactive population (students, pensioners, housewives) of 42% and the low proportion of entrepreneurs (privately self-employed and incorporated alike) operating in the formal economy, of 12%. Wage earners make up 28% of the population. The villages with highest development indices have the highest number of salaried workers and the lowest number of family associations. Respondents from the poor villages tend to make extensive use of the "other" category.

Variations between men and women are less than 5%. However, a larger proportion of males are engaged in formal economic activities than females, who were captured mostly in the "other situation" category. The majority of the official entrepreneurs and wage earners are of middle-age (25-44 years old). The large proportion of youth that do not belong to either of the two categories is due to its' enrolment in different forms of education.

More than a third of the population never had a salaried or entrepreneurial activity. Close to half of the working age population that had any job was employed by the state (44%), which is more than double of those that ever held a job in the private sector (at 19%). A much smaller proportion ever had a business (5%). For the 70% that held a formal job and stopped working, the main (declared) reasons are lay-offs due to personnel reduction and bankruptcy, followed by retirement and resignation.

<u>Table 3</u> Current occupational status

Occupational Status	N	%
Salaried	165	28
Housekeeper	106	18
Pensioner	82	14
Student	61	10
Unemployed	34	6

Occupational Status	N	%
Self-Employed (PFA)	27	5
Family Self-Employed (AF)	30	5
Agricultural Worker	26	4
Day Labourer	19	3
Business Owner	12	2
Other	27	4
No Answer	11	2
Total	600	100

Source: Buțiu, 2011a, p. 27.

In the medium-developed villages most respondents state an ex-salaried or formally recorded self-employed status. The proportion of those who were employed by the state is the same for both the maximum-level developed villages and for the poor ones. In poor villages however, there seem to be more respondents who were employed by a private firm.

Women lack formal employment status more so than men, but they also (more so than men) seem to have been employed by private companies.

Working abroad and future intentions

In 14.4% of the households, at least one person laboured or is labouring in other countries, - men and women equally - some as skilled construction, transportation and commerce workers, but mostly as unqualified labourers in agriculture and housekeeping activities. The middle-age group displays most experience in overseas employment.

The largest proportion of household experience in relation to working abroad is being found in the poorest villages, at 21.3%, followed by the developed villages at 15%. The difference comes from the fact that in developed villages more qualified workers have been working abroad.

Less than a third of the population (29.5%) is actively seeking employment and 10.17% declared entrepreneurial intentions. Equal number of people wish to work at home with those wishing to enrol in a qualifying or professional re-conversion course.

Most of those who declare to be in search of a job reside in poor villages. Poor villages are also the source of most of those who declare interest in following professional re-training (Table 4).

Out of those who declared some intent in career advancement, men show more inclination towards entrepreneurship and women towards continuing education through qualifying courses. The drive to both entrepreneurship and education decreases with age. Younger people are more interested in economic opportunities than the 46 to 64 year old segment who desire to work within their own homestead and small farms.

Table 4 Career intentions

In regard to the work place, in which of the following situations are you NOW?	N	%
I am searching for a job	177	29.50
I wish to start a business (PF, AF, SRL)	61	10.17
I ONLY wish to work in my homestead	137	22.83
I wish to enrol in a training course (qualification / re-	136	22.67
qualification)		
No Answer	89	14.83
Total	600	100

Source: Buţiu, 2011a, p. 27

As far as the competencies of those expressing their intentions, one can say that High School is the highest level attained by the majority of the respondents, followed closely by trades. A significant proportion (approx. a quarter) graduated only the gymnasium cycle. Higher education has only been achieved by 12.66%.

Poorest villages have the highest number of high-school and professional school graduates. Poor villages have the highest number of people with no school, with primary school only, or with graduates of basic apprenticeship training. In mediumlevel developed villages most are high-school graduates. The villages with highest level of development show most of the higher level graduates (university and postuniversity). They also don't show any persons with no school at all.

More women than men lack education. The levels of formal education in which women predominate are Gymnasium, High-School and University. Men make up the majority in the medium-level qualification segment (skilled labour and trades), but also in the post-University category. Young people 15 to 24 years old make up the majority of High-School and University graduates. Approximately one guarter of respondents take or have taken a qualification course and 15.8% declare that they intend to follow some form of education in the near future.

In very poor villages there are the fewest persons with formal training, but also the most people wishing to enrol in some form of training. In both the poor and highly developed villages there is an equal proportion of persons which are either taking or have been taking training courses. The medium-level developed villages have the highest number of those who never took nor do they intend to take any training.

Although variations are not significant, women more so than men are enrolled in, or have graduated from professional courses, while men display a higher proportion of intent to enrol in such courses.

Transversal competencies

As far as qualifying and re-conversion options, computer studies seem to elicit most interest. The most prevalent intended fields of activities of Gymnasium and High-School graduates are constructions, services and agriculture. Of the higher education graduates, most of those who continued their education followed project management, finance and taxation paths.

Looking through the gender lens, advanced skills are held by men and women equally (23.7% and 24.0% respectively). There are more women with no computer skills than men however (54.5% as opposed to 45.8%). We find out that 54.9% of the young can utilize a computer without difficulty. This proportion decreases with age. More than half of the respondents (51.3%) lack computer skills, 23.8% have advanced computer skills and 24.8% declared limited skills.

Overall, 64.4% do not have any foreign language competencies, while 21.9% have limited knowledge. Only 13.7% declare the ability to hold a conversation in other language than the native one. More women seem to hold advanced language skills and less of them declare no skills at all, although the gender variation doesn't seem substantial.

Foreign language skills are more frequent in developed villages (29.2%) than in the medium-level developed villages (at 13.2%). Poor villages display poor foreign language skills.

At no surprise comes the fact that among the young, the proportion of those who claim advanced knowledge is highest, only 16.8% declaring that they cannot sustain a foreign language conversation.

As seen in Table 5, most of respondents (74.4%) do not know how to put together a business plan; only 8% declare good knowledge and 17.6% limited skills. Developed villages also display the highest number of subjects with basic business plan development skills at 20.8% these competencies being lower for all other villages.

More men have advanced and limited business plan writing competencies than women (11.6% v. 4.2% for advanced and 21.2% v. 13.6% for limited respectively).

The largest age segment of those with good skills is the middle one. The older segments have poor business planning skills.

Table 5 Transversal competencies

Are you able	to use a computer ?		to carry a conversation in a foreign language?		to write a business plan ?	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, with difficulty	149	24.8	131	21.8	105	17.5
Yes, without difficulty	143	23.8	82	13.7	48	8.0
No	308	51.3	385	64.2	444	74.0
Total	600	100	598*	99.7*	597*	99.5*

^{*} the difference represents no answers, Source: Buţiu, 2011a, p. 30

3.3. Human resources development strategy in the Apuseni Mountains

Based on the above mentioned findings and in correlation with other contextual data a SWOT analysis has been performed. This allowed us to identify strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats1.

Some of the strengths that deserve mentioning are: 1) The existence of a qualified rural elite; 2) The propensity of women for education and professional formation; 3) The build-up of the tourism potential awareness; 4) The predominance of enlarged, multi-nuclear families which create the support environment for some of the members' professional training; 5) The existence of expense management capability for roughly half of the households, which can also contribute to freeing some of the members for training and education; 6) The existence of fairly good computer skills among the young and of fair foreign language abilities; 7) The existence in many households of computers and mobile phones.

¹ The strategy, as a project, has been extended over a number of 51 communes in the Apuseni Mountains Alba County (Albac, Almasu Mare, Arieseni, Avram Iancu, Bistra, Blandiana, Bucium, Ceru Băcăinti, Ciuruleasa, Cricău, Galda de Jos, Horia, Ighiu, Intregalde, Livezile, Lupsa, Metes, Miraslău, Mogos, Ocolis, Poiana Vadului, Ponor, Posaga, Râmet, Rimetea, Rosia Montană, Sălciua, Scărișoara, Sibot, Stremt, Sohodol, Unirea, Vadu Moților, Vidra, Vințu de Jos), Bihor County (Cărpinet, Câmpani, Cristioru de Jos, Lunca, Pietroasa), Hunedoara County (Balsa, Buces, Bulzestii de Sus, Tomesti, Vata de Jos), Cluj County (Iara, Valea Ierii, Băișoara, Moldovenești) and Arad County (Hălmăgel, Vârfurile). All communes received the document, remaining to adapt it to local conditions.

As far as weaknesses go, one can mention: 1) Children's and youths' vulnerability to exclusion from education, due to fairly large distances from school; 2) Adults' vulnerability to socio-occupational exclusion, also due to distance from urban centres; 3) Elders' vulnerability to health and social service exclusion for the same reasons: 4) A process of demographic ageing affecting the human resource pool; 5) De-population due to drop in birth rates and to emigration towards larger employment centres; 6) A lack of local training and re-qualifying education offers; 7) Cultural resistance to entrepreneurial activity and to professional re-conversion; 8) The migration of young persons towards urban and overseas opportunities, especially of those highly qualified.

Some of the opportunities worth mentioning are: 1) The transition towards the postindustrial, knowledge based society, which shifts the onus from economic growth to knowledge; 2) The existence of European, national and regional level specialists with objectives, priorities and measures focused on rural human resource development; 3) Increasing interest in rural tourism development which stimulates the need for local specialists; 4) The existence of a large number of human resource development programs; 5) The poor absorption rates of European funds lowers the competition and raises the chances of new applicants; 6) The existence of examples of success in the attraction of funds for human development projects.

Some of the threats identified are: 1) The current economic crisis which can result in a drop of government funding levels; 2) The increase of black market employment with effects on statistical and fiscal distortions; 3) The drop in interest for rural development due to the recent multi-centric regional development concept (2008) Strategic Territorial Development Concept in Romania).

Our analysis led to the following objectives and priorities being identified: 1st PRIORITY: Vulnerable Groups, with following objectives: 1) The de-marginalisation and increase in social inclusion through the improvement and extension of social services; 2) The identification of measures to facilitate labour markets integration of vulnerable groups; 3) The creation and promotion of professional development and occupational instruments for young people and other vulnerable groups. 2nd PRIORITY: Education and Professional Training, with the following objectives: 1) The enhancement and diversification of the educational and professional training offer; 2) The development of life-long learning; 3) The formation of local specialists in management, marketing and human resource management. 3rd PRIORITY: Workforce Occupation, having a more complex set of objectives: 1) The adaptation of the workforce to the changing market conditions; 2) The support of private initiative for job creation and entrepreneurial promotion; 3) The development of services to match the labour market requirements with the available pool of professional skills; 4) The encouragement of positive attitudes towards job search and entrepreneurship; 5) The reduction in black-market employment; 6) The reduction in the number of people without qualifications or whose qualifications are inadequate for the labour market demands; 7) The development of job competencies for productivity, competitiveness and labour flexibility, to enhance professional stability; 8) The development of local social services for professional orientation, tutoring, counselling, social assistance, psychological support and job matching; 9) The reduction in ability and skill deficit which would help the medium and long-term employment.

To each objective, a series of both financial resources and activities have been associated, activities that can easily be related to local actors (local public authorities, regional development departments and institutions, educational institutions, entrepreneurs, labour unions, non-governmental organizations and informal local leaders). In order to facilitate the development of local community and regional partnerships between social actors, a tentative list of interested stakeholders (Table 6) has been drafted. It remains open to additional suggestions.

<u>Table 6</u> Indicative stakeholders

Stakeholder	Presumed / declared interest
Public Local Authorities	 To retain young workforce in the community To preserve a healthy demographic growth rate To have people with superior qualifications that can be valuable to the community To develop local expertise in development programs
County Authorities	 To ensure a balanced development in their administrative realm To decrease the excessive migration and demographic pressure on urban centres To engage the local human resources through the encouragement of rural tourism and agro-tourism
Regional Development Institutions	To reduce the regional and micro-regional disparities To increase the European funds absorption capacity through human capital development programs
Educational Institutions	 To diversify and adapt their curricula to local needs To ensure a sustainable student flux in all years of schooling
Local Firms	 To benefit from locally available human resources To create partnerships with government and educational institutions for local human resource development purposes
NGOs and Labour Unions	To benefit from a well developed civil society with well informed citizens and well trained professionals

Stakeholder	Presumed / declared interest
	To ensure a democratic governance
	 To promote and enhance dialog between partnerships, firms and state institutions
	To sustain the community development efforts
Informal Leaders	 To have self-driven initiatives, adapted to the real needs of community members
	 To enhance public participation in the decision–making process
Ministers and Government Agencies	 To ease the state budgets of the financial burden demanded by the many vulnerabilities of the rural environment
Government Agencies	 To ensure rural development according to national-level planned strategies
	To re-focus the financing efforts on high priority objectives
International institutions and	 To supply know-how to the persons, groups and commu- nities which are on their current programs' target list
Organisations	 To achieve a sustainable development of the area
	To benefit from the tourism potential of the Apuseni region

4. Conclusions

The human resource development problem is more complex at the territorial level than at the organizational one. One reason is the socio-occupational heterogeneity, which grows proportionally to the diversity of the territory, another one being the conditionality created by the educational offer and by the labour market demands, and the final one being the need to synchronise the human resource development strategy with the public policies of the local and regional authorities. The design of a territorial human resource development strategy requires thus a series of methods out of which the sociologic survey takes a central position.

Our Apuseni Mountains area sociological survey reveals a low number of salaried employees and a 2:1 ration of respondents willing to work on their own homestead, rather than involving themselves into a formal entrepreneurial undertaking. As a matter of fact, business plan devising skills seem to be one of the least developed competencies in the territory.

The analysis of the data resulted from our survey and from several other regional sources of information (territorial statistics, research studies, and local and regional program strategy foundation documents) provided the foundation for articulating a project strategy. The project was then submitted to community debate.

While the strategy traditionally suggested in such cases is one that is centred on the institutions needed to drive the change, the human development strategy we propose moves the beneficiary at the very centre of attention. Our argument rests on the specific representations, behaviours and competencies revealed by our analysis.

Just because a strategy usually follows a set of policies is no reason why one should not use the strategy as a policy correction and re-definition opportunity. This is applied social research can emancipate itself from the boundaries of political theory and deliver practical (and hopefully effective) solutions.

According to Sullivan, applied social research is employed by both public policy and private business domains with a more intensive use in public policy making (Sullivan, 1992, pp.168-169). A public policy for Sullivan represents a course of action defined legally, through administrative procedures and through other formal and informal governance practices, in relation to a particular social problem.

The role of applied social research within this process of public policy making Sullivan remarks is that of supplying systematic data aimed at facilitating the assessment of political alternatives. The process can be thought of having three phases: 1) problem statement, 2) policy design and 3) policy implementation. In the problem statement phase, the sociological data can be used for passing judgements on the public importance of a social problem. During the policy design phase, the applied research is being used for solution measurability and feasibility assessment purpose. Effective results from previous research can be passed over to newly designed policies in order to take advantage of the existing knowledge base. In the policy implementation stage Sullivan appreciates, the applied research becomes a key instrument in assessing the degree to which the policy has attained the intended objectives and in capturing any side effects being negative or positive, intentional or unintentional. During this stage, the applied research takes the form of program evaluations or of cost-benefit analyses explicitly designed for the assessment of the effectiveness of a particular policy (Sullivan, 1992, pp. 69-170).

The final purpose of our human resource development strategy for the Apuseni Mountains communities is to provide support for the inclusion of a fuzzy, lightly defined and thus (bureaucratically) typically neglected problem on the public agenda.

Finally tying up all of the above, we express our hope that the new development policies for the rural space, in which agriculture will (and should) continue to be an important component of village life (Pascaru, 2012), should also include a coherent approach to the development of an available, willing and vibrant human resource. This strategic coherence, we think, *can* emerge, if supported by a rigorously founded sociological scrutiny.

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TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND LOCAL ECONOMIC GROWTH IN CHINA - A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF NINGBO AND WENZHOU -

Zhu RUOLEI1

Abstract: This article uses a comparative case study to investigate the effects of Transnational Corporations on China's local economy. It is found that different historical and geographical conditions, industrial structures and policy regimes have contributed to distinct patterns of economic growth and FDI location in Ningbo and Wenzhou. Concerning the economic effects of Transnational Corporations, the empirical evidences have shown that despite the positive relationship between Transnational Corporations and local GDP growth, Transnational Corporations do not possess substantial advantages for the increment of local government revenues and the incomes of local urban residents. Comparing with local private enterprises, Transnational Corporations might have limited contributions to the real economic benefits of localities and local residents.

Keywords: Transnational Corporations, FDI location, local private enterprises, Chinese economy

1. Introduction

Since the economic reform in the early 1980s, the Chinese leadership has issued a series of policies to open up the national market and to attract foreign direct

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investment (FDI). Thereafter, FDI by transnational corporations (TNCs) has grown unprecedentedly in China. This trend has intrigued a debate of the economic impact of FDI on host countries which are less developed in technology, capital, and knowhow. This article selects two cities in China-Ningbo and Wenzhou-to investigate whether and how the TNCs in host developing countries contribute to the growth of local economy.

In previous studies, there are primarily two opposite groups of ideas about the effects of FDI by TNCs on local economic growth in host less developed countries (LDCs). One group argues that international inflows of capital can help accelerate local economic development through direct economic effects, which provides "an increase in the real income of the host country" through taxes, higher incomes, and cheaper goods (Fieldhouse, 2000, p. 170). This often results from the inflow of advanced technology, equipment, and new management servings from the TNCs. As a result, domestic economies in host countries gain significant spillover benefits (Blomström & Kokko, 1996, p. 2; Dees, 1998, p. 189; Wen, 2007, p. 130). Second, FDI plays an important role in the balance of payments through increasing export of manufactured products (Dees, 1998, p. 186). Third, the diffusion of imported skills and ideas by TNCs creates indirect or side effects that lead to a fast convergence of less developed countries toward the developed countries' standards (Romer, 1993, p 547; Fieldhouse, 2000, p. 172).

The second group contends that international capital inflows might be detrimental to host developing countries. These researches try to identify the conditions that would result in different economic impacts of FDI, such as the type of investment (Narula & Dunning, 2000, p. 144), the degree of substitutability between FDI and domestic investment (De-mello, 1999, p. 146), and country-specific characteristics (Zhang, 2001, p. 680). Second, aiming at "monopoly rent", the TNCs might distort the economic process and make domestic competitidon imperfect (Fieldhouse, 2000, p. 176). Third, FDI tends to exacerbate developing countries' balance-of-payments deficits, as a result of rising debt repayment obligations (Chen, Chang & Zhang, 1995, p. 691). In addition, the potential impact of FDI on growth might be confined to the short run, only affecting the level of income but leaving the long-time growth rate unchanged (De-Mello, 1997, p. 30).

To contribute to this general debate, the article provides an empirical comparative case study in China. Wenzhou and Ningbo are municipalities in the same province — Zhejiang. Short distance ensures frequent communications and mobility of people in these two places. However, there is a dramatic regional distinction between Ningbo and Wenzhou in patterns of economic development and the inflow of FDI. Ningbo has attracted considerable amounts of FDI, while the economic structure of Wenzhou is known for the predominance of local private enterprises. Based on the comparative-case study of Ningbo and Wenzhou, the article argues that there is a

positive relationship between the growth of local gross domestic product (GDP) and investment by TNCs; however, TNCs do not possess substantial advantages with regarding to the increase of local government revenues and the incomes of local urban residents. Therefore, comparing with local private enterprises, TNCs might contribute leess to the real economic benefits of localities and local residents.

The article uses empirical evidences of Ningbo and Wenzhou in the time period from 2005 to 2009, and aims to provide a detailed investigation of the complexity of the effects of TNCs. In addition to the empirical contributions, China's top position as a recipient of FDI also enhances the significance of the study. Since 2002, China has become the largest recipient of incoming FDI in the world. In the past 15 years, its international trade has risen from US\$ 49.451 billion during 1995-2004 to US\$ 173.735 billion in 2010 (UNCTAD, 2011).

The article is organized as follows. The next section examines three principal determinants that contribute to the distinct patterns in Wenzhou and Ningbo: geographical and historical conditions, industrial structures and policy regimes. Based on this, Section 3 investigates the differentiated economic effects of TNCs and local private enterprises in terms of three main aspects; local GDP growth, local government revenues, and incomes of local urban residents.

2. Ningbo and Wenzhou: different patterns of FDI location

Ningbo and Wenzhou represent two different modes of economic development in Zhejiang province. Ningbo has been spearheading the growth of global investment, since it was authorized by the State Council of China as one of the 14 economic and technological development zones (ETDZs) in 1984. Among the 12 cities in Zhejiang, Ningbo ranks the top in the number of foreign invested enterprises, the amount of the total imports and exports, and the output value of foreign investment in 2010 (ZPBS, 2010).

Although Wenzhou is also an ETDZ, it has attracted much less foreign investment and TNCs. However, Wenzhou is a heartland for the growth of township and village enterprises (TVEs). As early as 1985, local private industry, service, transport and construction have taken the lead over the local collective-economy sector in both net production value and transaction proceeds (Liu, 1992, p. 295). In 2010, the output value of domestic-funded enterprises constitutes more than 90 percent of the gross output value of industry in Wenzhou (ZPBS, 2011). Comparing indicators of international trade in Wenzhou and Ningbo, one can imply that economic development in Ningbo is more outward-oriented, while Wenzhou much more depends on domestic capitals and local private enterprises to increase its economic growth (See Table 1).

Table 1 Indicators of FIEs and Foreign Investment in Wenzhou and Ningbo (2010)1

City	Output Value of FIE / Gross Output Value of Industry (%)	Number of FIEs/ Total Number of Enterprises (%)	Total Imports of Foreign Capital (100 million USD)	Total Exports of Foreign Capital (100 million USD)
Ningbo	41.8%	29.6%	309.37	519.67
Wenzhou	8.2%	9.4%	25.51	145.43

Source: Zhejiang Province Bureau of Statistics, "2011 Zhejiang Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2011).

Previous literatures have come up with various approaches to explain this regional variation of foreign investment within a host country. Dunning's eclectic paradigm (1993) explains the regional distribution of FDI inflows in terms of natural resource, market, rationalization of the structures of established investment, strategic asset, legislations and macro-organizational policies, and support services. Grub, Lin and Xia (1990, p. 90) consider that determinants of US investment in China include potential market, labor cost, infrastructure facilities, economic policies and bureaucracy efficiency. Wei and Liu reviewed that traditional industrial location theory focuses on the effects of transport costs, wages and infrastructure; while new location theory emphasizes "pecuniary' externalities or agglomeration associated with demand and supply linkages" (2001, p. 65).

Based on the existing literatures, to explain, this article examines three principal determinants that might explain different patterns of economic growth and FDI location between Ningbo and Wenzhou: historical and geographical conditions, industrial agglomeration, and government FDI policies.

2.1. Historical and Geographical Conditions

Historical and Geographical Conditions in Ningbo

Ningbo Municipality is a harbor city in Northeastern Zhejiang. It is a sub-provincial administrative unit, including six municipal districts, three county-level cities, and two counties. As a load centre in Hangzhou Bay, the Ningbo port has the comparative advantage of having most of the region's gantry crane capacity (Comtois & Dong, 2007, p. 299). It started to handle containers in 1991; during the past 20 years, the total throughput is increasing in an average annual growth rate of more than 40

¹ These data of FIEs and foreign capital include investments from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.

percent, and has reached to 6.22 million twenty-foot equivalent units (TEUs) in 2010 (Zhu, 2011, p. 2).

This provides industries in Ningbo a crucial geographical opportunity in lowering transportation costs, expanding market size, increasing mobility, and improving infrastructure facilities. With the ongoing investment in port infrastructure, such as the building of the Hangzhou Bay Bridge, Ningbo will inevitably "reap the greatest marginal benefit from the economies of scale and efficiency improvements that will result" (Cullinane, Teng & Wang, 2005, p. 343). Endowed with these advantages, Ningbo tends to attract more TNCs and FDI inflows than its neighbor cities.

Historical and Geographical Conditions in Wenzhou

Located in the downstream of the Ou River, Wenzhou municipality covers 11,784 square kilometres, including three municipal districts, two county-level cities, and six counties. The mountainous geographical conditions create hurdles in developing transportation and other infrastructures, which might be harassment for the outwardoriented economic development in Wenzhou.

The capital accumulation in Wenzhou initiated with the production of low-quality, hand-made consumer goods by poor farmers. In the early 1980s, a large number of small scale household enterprises emerged, triggered labor mobility and capital flow, and finally achieved the dramatic growth of private factory industry. Characterized as privatization, marketization and local deviation from state policies, this process of "capitalization" shows a transition from self-employed petty bourgeois commodity producer to capitalist entrepreneur that is willing to take risks for reinvestment (Liu, 1992, p. 296). Since capital and investment are endogenously abundant, there would be less need for Wenzhou to attract the inflow of international capitals.

2.2. Industrial Agglomeration

The 1998 world investment report (UNCTAD, 1998) indicates agglomeration economies with clustering of industrial activities, infrastructure facilities, and access to regional markets as important determinants of the location of FDI. Combined with scale economies and better access to domestic and international markets, industrial agglomeration is likely to significantly mitigate the disadvantages faced by foreign investors, such as operational hazards, business uncertainties and information asymmetry (He, 2003, p. 352). Therefore, industrial agglomeration is to be positively correlated with inward FDI.

In Ningbo and Wenzhou, industrial agglomeration mainly occurs in the secondary industry, which consists of mining, manufacturing, electricity and energy consumption, and construction sectors. Contributing to more than half of the GDP in year 2010 (ZPBS, 2011), the secondary industry is a substantial composition of the industrial structure in both cities. Also, it has obtained most of the foreign investment. Between 2007 and 2009, the amount of "Foreign Capital Signed Agreements", "Foreign Investment Actually Used" and "Newly Projects" in the secondary industry constitutes more than 80 percent of the total amount in all sectors (NBS, 2010, p. 187; WBS, 2010, p. 48).

Industrial Agglomeration in Ningbo

There are three principal industrial agglomerations in Ningbo. First, the port industry in Ningbo has developed into an industrial cluster which includes petrochemical, steel-and-iron, electronic, machinery and auto sectors; among these heavy chemical industries, the petrochemical and electronic sectors have achieved considerable scale economies (Qiao, 2003, p. 40). Industry agglomeration is also revealed in other traditional manufacturing firms, such as enterprises of clothing, plastics, home appliances, stationery, and auto parts. A third industry agglomeration is the high-tech industry. Since the late 1990s, this agglomeration of high-tech industry in Ningbo has developed into three principal sectors: optoelectronic integration, electronics and information, and new materials (Chen & Zhang, 2008, p. 11).

Recently, these three industry agglomerations have been through a transition toward more outward-oriented structures. Traditional manufacturing industries, such as the clothing firms, internationalize through exporting products, linking private enterprises with foreign capital, and attracting FDI by establishing TNCs (Lin, Xiang & Lu, 2006, p. 41). However, most of the foreign capital flows into the port and high-tech industries; these capital-intensive and technology-intensive industries are more likely to attract international investment (Tian, 2008, p. 52). Locating at the islands just offshore from the port, the factories in Ningbo can take a huge advantage of the transportation resources to import raw materials and export their products. This complements the shortage of resource, and therefore enables the development of heavy chemical industries in Ningbo. The development of the high-tech industry mainly derives from innovation within traditional industries and the promotion of government policy—the "No. 1 project" ("Yihao Gongcheng") (Jiang & Lin, 2011, p. 37). These two industrial agglomerations attract substantial international capitals and contribute to the outward-oriented economic development in Ningbo.

Industrial Agglomeration in Wenzhou

Derived from endogenous capital accumulation, the industrial structure in Wenzhou is a "territorial agglomeration" of small household firms capitalizing on external economies of scale (Wei, Li & Wang, 2007, p. 426). This kind of industrial agglomeration mainly includes traditional manufacturing enterprises that prefer fewer investment risks, shorter periods of return on investment, market-oriented flexible production, and endogenous development. Most of these firms belong to light manufacturing, producing low value-added "petty commodities", such as leather products, garments, plastic products and lighters. On the other hand, heavy-chemical and other resource-intensive industries are poorly developed in Wenzhou (Wang, 2009, p. 77). The scarce resources and the inefficient infrastructure and transportation facilities imply that Wenzhou does not possess comparative advantages in developing heavy chemical industries.

Combined with thick institutions and strong local networks, this characteristic of industrial structure prevents the inflow of external capital and technology, making Wenzhou less attractive to FDI and high-quality labor. Recently, faced with intensive competition from FIEs and other domestic enterprises with high-quality products, enterprises in Wenzhou are paying more attention to enhance their competitiveness. through upgrading technology, improving quality of products, building brands, and increasing economic scales. As a result, products "made in Wenzhou" are more competitive in the global market; more enterprises have established sales branches in foreign countries and obtained considerable profits from exports. However, the industrial agglomeration in Wenzhou is still less demanding for the inflow of foreign capitals. The Wenzhou model is essentially viewed as a bottom-up process of the regional industrialization paradigm based on internal markets, internal resources, and traditional manufacturing (Shi, Jin, Zhao & Luo, 2002, p. 62).

2.3. Government Policies

Government policies serve a crucial role in shaping industrial structures and the inflow of foreign capital in Ningbo and Wenzhou. With regard to national policies, there are no fundamental differences between both cities, as both Wenzhou and Ningbo are listed as economic and technology development zones (ETDZs) by the State council in 1984. This policy encouraged the inflow of foreign investment in these two coastal cities, and offered a significant opportunity for them to develop outoriented economy. Therefore, comparing with national policies, local government policies are more related to the substantial gap between Ningbo and Wenzhou in terms of FDI inflows by TNCs.

Government Policies in Ningbo

The local government in Ningbo has set up various platforms and channels to enhance cooperation between local private enterprises and foreign investment. Since 2004, local governments in Ningbo have adopted a policy called "Yimin Yinwai"

("Absorbing Foreign Investment by Private Enterprise") to support both the degree and scale of international capital investment in local private enterprises (Tian, 2008, p. 53). Forms of cooperation between local enterprises and TNCs include equity joint venture, contractual joint venture, merger and acquisition (M&A), transferring and so forth.

The local government in Ningbo has also fully utilized policy incentives from its upper-level governments. For example, Ningbo local government has adopted a system of "corporate management" in operating its ETDZ, offering it relatively independent authorities in the introduction of international investment and administrative approval (Qiao, 2003, p. 41). These arrangements institutionally ensure the efficiency of the inflow of foreign capital. Besides the ETDZ, Ningbo also established a Free Trade Zone (NFTZ) in 1992. As the only bounded area in Zhejiang Province, the NFTZ¹ mainly aims at developing "advanced manufacturing industry and modern service industry"; there are more than 6600 companies from about 60 countries within the NFTZ, covering 3 major functional industries: international trade, advanced manufacturing, and warehousing and logistics.

Government policies in Wenzhou

The takeoff in Wenzhou also primarily resulted from the supports from local governments. In the late 1970s, when private enterprises were still forbidden for political reasons, the financially weak local government in Wenzhou allowed the development of family enterprises with "fake red hats", listing them as collective enterprises in official statistics (Liu, 1992, p. 295). Rather than simply giving passive permission, the local government in Wenzhou also facilitated free economic activities by constructing several local marketplaces. The establishment of the marketplace greatly reduced the difficulties for local private enterprises in procuring raw materials, finding buyers, and obtaining information from other traders (Sonobe, Hu & Otsuka, 2004, p. 546). These spillovers of valuable market information significantly enhanced the development of local private enterprises.

However, since the early 1990s, economic development in Wenzhou faced a problem of "lock-in": some scholar argued that Wenzhou is locked in a family-based. labor intensive, low-value added, and light-manufacturing-centered industrial structure (Shi, 2004, p. 18; Wei, Li & Wang, 2007, p. 429). One crucial reason for this lock-in problem is the thick local networks between officials and enterprises. Local business people in Wenzhou not only influence public policy, but are often governmental officers themselves (Sonobe, Hu & Otsuka, 2004, p. 551). This leads

¹ The NFTZ is also called Ningbo Export Processing Zone, or Ningbo Bonded Logistics Zone; relevant data are retrieved from http://en.nftz.gov.cn/

to slow changes within enterprises and other related institutions, and prevents people outside Wenzhou from "melting in" (Wei, Li & Wang, 2007, p. 429).

It was local enterprises themselves that took the initiative to solve the problem of industrial lock-in. They have adopted four major types of strategies: institutional change (the shift to shareholding enterprises), technological upgrading, industrial diversification, and spatial restructuring. Once again, the local government in Wenzhou undertakes the role to support these local enterprises. Still, both the local private enterprises and the local government attempt to upgrade the industrial technology and structures in an endogenous way; there are limited spaces and incentives for the inflow of foreign capital and TNCs.

3. Economic Effects: TNCs versus Local Private Enterprises

Based on the determinants of historical and geographical conditions, industrial structures, and government policy regimes, it is salient that Ningbo and Wenzhou has different patterns of economic growth: Ningbo has substantially benefited from the port industry and takes the inflow of FDI as one crucial driving force for its economic growth, while Wenzhou relies on an endogenous pattern of investment and economic growth under the impetus of local private enterprises. The next section compares these two different patterns based on three major indicators: local GDP growth, local government revenues, and incomes of local urban residents. Particularly, four groups of enterprises are examined: the TNCs in Ningbo, the local private enterprises in Ningbo, the TNCs in Wenzhou, and the local private enterprises in Wenzhou.

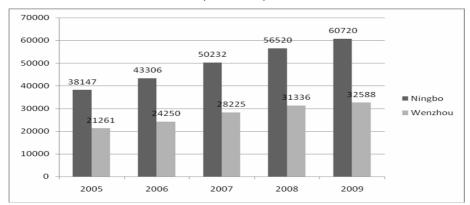
Through this comparative study, the article tries to reveal the potential advantages or limitations that TNCs might have when comparing with local private enterprises. The article also wants to reveal that other factors might also affect the contribution of TNCs, such as the amount of foreign investment and the influences of local private enterprises. Therefore, it is extremely possible that the effects of TNCs would vary in terms of different regions and conditions. In the following section, I try to present this variation and complexity of the effects of TNCs on local economy, with empirical evidences and data of the two cities mainly during 2005 and 2009.

3.1. Local GDP Growth

Comparing with Wenzhou, Ningbo has a larger basis and a higher growth rate of GDP. From 2005 to 2010, the gap of GDP per capita between Ningbo and Wenzhou has increased from 16886 yuan to 28132 yuan. Also, Ningbo enjoys a smoother change of GDP growth than Wenzhou: in Ningbo, the average deviation of the growth rate of GDP increase is 1.62, while in Wenzhou the deviation reaches to 2.08. The 2008 economic crisis has a substantial impact on both Ningbo and Wenzhou. Despite

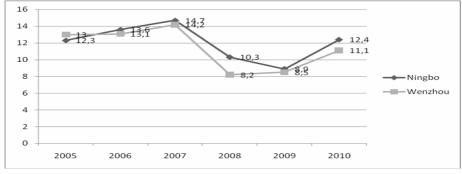
recovering earlier than Ningbo with a slight increase of 0.3% in 2009, Wenzhou suffered a more dramatic drop of GDP growth rate in 2008. These facts imply that in general Ningbo has a better performance in GDP growth during the past 5 years.

Figure 1 Growth Domestic Product (GDP) per capital in Ningbo and Wenzhou (yuan) (2005-2009)



Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010)

Figure 2 Growth Rate of GDP Increase Preceding Year in Ningbo and Wenzhou (%) (2005-2010)1



Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2011 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2011); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2011 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2011)

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¹ Data in this table are retrieved from NBS (2011) and WBS (2011).

To explain how TNCs and local enterprises impact the differentiated outcomes of GDP growth, the article also examines the changing proportion of these two types of enterprises in the industrial structures in Ningbo and Wenzhou. Specifically, I use the percentage of output value of different types of enterprises as the indicator of the proportion of local private enterprises and TNCs in the overall industrial structure.

As the data in Table 2 shows, during 2005 and 2009, in terms of proportion of the output value, the impact of local private enterprises in Ningbo is declining, while the TNCs see a slight increase trend. The TNCs in Ningbo seem to have a greater impact than local private enterprises on the gross output value of the industry and local GDP growth. One the contrary, the changes of local private enterprises and TNCs were in an opposite direction in Wenzhou. Basically account for more than half of the gross output value, the proportion of local private enterprises is drastically increasing in Wenzhou, particularly in Year 2008 and 2009. However, there is a slight decrease of the influence of TNCs, with the proportion declining from 6.59 percent to 5.42 percent. This implies that the industrial structure with a greater proportion of TNCs, such as Ningbo, is more likely to result in higher and smoother GDP growth. It also implies that the increase of the proportion of TNCs in local industrial structure tends to contribute to a better situation of GDP growth in the local economy.

The data also shows that the changes of the TNCs in Ningbo and Wenzhou are consistent with their local GDP growth rates. For the two cities, both the proportion of TNCs and the growth rate of GDP increased from 2005 to 2007, and decreased from 2007 to 2009. This also shows a positive correlation between TNCs and local GDP growth.

Table 2
Proportion of Output value of different enterprise types in Gross Output Value of Industrial Enterprises in Ningbo and Wenzhou (%) (2005-2009)¹

	Ning	bo	Wenzhou		
Year	Local Private Enterprises	TNCs	Local Private Enterprises	TNCs	
2005	29.86	36.52	50.83	6.59	
2006	29.83	37.99	51.12	6.72	
2007	29.16	42.76	47.75	6.16	
2008	25.34	42.26	72.09	6.17	
2009	27.90	42.04	70.45	5.42	

Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010)

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Local enterprises include "Private Enterprises" and "Self-employed individuals"; TNCs include enterprises invested by foreigners and investors from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. Data in this table are retrieved from NBS (2010) and WBS (2010).

As a key indicator of economic development, the GDP growth and its correlation with the TNCs have indicated the positive effects of foreign investment on local economy. However, GDP only counts goods and services that pass through markets. Hence, local GDP growth might exaggerate the effects of TNCs on local economy, as this indicator tends to include economic profits that flow out of the domestic economy. It is important to complement the above inference by examining local government revenues and income growth of local urban residents. Reflecting wealth accumulation of local governments and residents, these two indicators are more essential than the GDP growth rate in reflecting the TNCs' real effects on local economic growth.

3.2. Local Government Revenues

As local GDP growth often correlates with local revenues, Ningbo is financially more powerful than the local government in Wenzhou. From 2005 to 2009, the gap of budgetary revenues between Ningbo and Wenzhou increased from 26.3 billion yuan to 60.6 billion yuan. Comparing with Wenzhou, Ningbo enjoys a higher growth rate almost every year.

However, to compare different impacts of TNCs and local private enterprises, it is invalid to examine the performance of local government revenue alone. In the comparative case study of Wenzhou and Dongguan, Lin and Yang (2001) measures the effects of TNCs and local private enterprises on local government revenues with the indicator of the ratio of total profits and taxes to total assets. This measurement can help to examine the impact of local private enterprises or TNCs as a single factor, and therefore exclude other confounding variables, such as the effects of cooperative enterprises, infrastructure conditions, and different sizes of investment.

Table 3 Total amount and growth rate of Fiscal Budgetary Revenues in Ningbo and Wenzhou (2005-2009)

	Ningbo		Wenzhou		
Year	Total Fiscal General Budgetary Revenue (10000 yuan)	Growth rate (%)	Total Fiscal General Budgetary Revenue (10000 yuan)	Growth rate (%)	
2005	4664968	16.35%	2049213	12.33%	
2006	5611702	20.29%	2410894	17.65%	
2007	7239222	29.00%	2932606	21.64%	
2008	8109020	12.02%	3397842	15.86%	
2009	9662496	19.16%	3607243	6.16%	

Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010)

In this article, I use three indicators to examine how local enterprises and TNCs influence the revenues of local government: the ratio of Total Profits to Total Assets, the ratio of Value Added Taxes (VAT) Payable to Total Assets, and the ratio of Sales Taxes and Extra Charges to Total Assets. From Table 3, one can see that in both Ningbo and Wenzhou, TNCs earn more profits than local private enterprises with the same value of assets. It also shows that both TNCs and local private enterprises gain from agglomeration: the TNCs in Ningbo gain more profits than the minority of TNCs in Wenzhou, while local enterprises in Wenzhou earn more than their fellows in Ningbo.

Among the four groups of enterprises, TNCs have obtained both the lowest and highest values of taxes with regard to different types of taxes. Specifically, the TNCs in Ningbo pay the lowest amount of VAT, and TNCs in Wenzhou contribute to the lowest amount of Sales Taxes and Extra Charges. It seems that TNCs do not possess substantial advantages in contributing to the growth of local government revenue. In addition, in terms of the higher profits earned by TNCs in both cities, it is likely that local private enterprises offer a greater proportion of their profits for the taxes and revenues of local governments.

Table 4
Investment Effects of TNCs and Local Private Enterprises per 100 yuan of Fixed Assets

	Wenzhou			Ningbo		
Item	Total Profits	Value Added Taxes Payable	Sales Taxes and Extra Charges	Total Profits	Value Added Taxes Payable	Sales Taxes and Extra Charges
TNCs (Foreign Funded Enterprises and Enterprises with Funds from Hong Kong, Macao & Taiwan)	5.52	3.49	0.30	5.57	2.28	0.78
Private Enterprises	4.85	3.21	0.53	4.23	2.61	0.43

Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010)

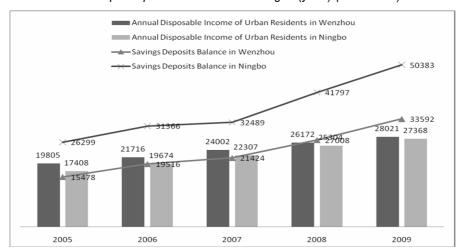
3.3. Income Growth of Local Urban Residents

To access local income growth, particularly among urban residents, the article adopts two major indicators: annual disposable income of urban residents per capita and balance of savings and deposits per capita. Personal disposable income often refers to total personal income minus personal taxes, while savings deposits balance reveals the resident's purchasing power after consumption.

Figure 3 shows that urban residents in Ningbo have a higher level of savings deposits balance, consisting with its larger amounts of GDP and local government revenues. However, this distinction of savings deposits balance between the two cities might also relate to the fact that the Wenzhouness are more likely to use their deposits for reinvestment, rather than for savings. Plus, from 2006 to 2009 (except for Year 2008), Wenzhou has a larger growth rate of savings and deposits balance. This is consistent with the fact that Wenzhou is slightly higher than Ningbo in terms of personal annual disposable income of urban residents.

Figure 3

Annual Disposable Income of Urban Residents Per capita and Savings Deposits
Balance per capita in Wenzhou and Ningbo (yuan) (2005-2009)



Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010)

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¹ From 2006 to 2009, the growth rates of savings and deposits balance in Wenzhou is 26.1%, 9.8%, 26.1% and 24.4%, while the growth rate in Ningbo is 19.3%, 3.5%, 28.6% and 20.5%.

To examine how TNCs and local private enterprises affect incomes of local residents, the article uses three principal indicators: Wages Payable, the ratio of Wages Payable to Total Assets, and the ratio of Wages Payable per capita. "Wages Payable per 100 yuan Assets" examines the contribution of average amount of investment to local income growth, while "Wages Payable per capita" refers to the average income of employment.

As indicated in Table 5, in both cities, TNCs offer slightly higher wages to their workers. This shows that residents employed by TNCs can get more incomes than those working in private enterprises. In Wenzhou, the TNCs also provide greater income benefits in average assets. This shows that in Wenzhou, with the same amount of investment, TNCs have more advantages than local private enterprises in enhancing the growth of the incomes of urban residents. However, basically, it is local private enterprises that primarily contribute to the growth of incomes of urban residents in Wenzhou, as total payable wages of the TNCs in Wenzhou are much lower than the amount of the local private enterprises. Different amounts of employment between TNCs and local enterprises may explain such contradiction. In 2009 in Wenzhou, the annual average amount of employment is 95319 for TNCs, and 667666 for local private enterprises (WBS, 2010).

In Ningbo, the income benefit of TNCs seems to be less obvious. Opposite to the situation in Wenzhou, local enterprises in Ningbo created more wages payable within average assets. Therefore, in Ningbo, with the same amount of investment, local private enterprises tend to contribute to more income benefits for local residents. However, in Ningbo, the TNCs provide more total payable wages, and therefore have a greater effect on the income growth of local urban residents.

It is also interesting to notice that in terms of wages payable per capita, the gap between the TNCs and the local enterprises in Ningbo is bigger than the gap in Wenzhou. While there is merely a slight difference within the local enterprises, the TNCs in Ningbo offer much higher salaries than the TNCs in Wenzhou. This might attribute to different types of industries these TNCs are involved in, as well as different levels of competition among the TNCs in two cities.

To sum up, as the amount of investment by TNCs increases, the income benefits in average assets invested by TNCs tends to decrease, but personal wages provided by TNCs might increase because of fiercer competition within them. On the other hand, the income benefits provided by local private enterprises are relatively constant. Despite the variation of the amount of employment and investment, these private enterprises in Wenzhou and Ningbo had relatively similar performances.

Table 5
Investment effects of TNCs and local private enterprises on wages (10000 yuan) (2009)

	Wenzhou			Ningbo		
Item	Wages Payable	Wages Payable per 100 yuan Assets	Wages Payable per capita	Wages Payable	Wages Payable per 100 yuan Assets	Wages Payable per capita
TNCs (Foreign						
Funded Enterprises						
and Enterprises						
with Funds from						
Hong Kong, Macao						
& Taiwan)	234989	8.3	2.47	1967329	5.71	2.80
Private						
Enterprises	1545782	7.4	2.32	1733672	7.96	2.30

Source: Ningbo Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Ningbo Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010); Wenzhou Bureau of Statistics, "2010 Wenzhou Statistical Yearbook" (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2010)

4. Conclusions

Based on the comparative case study of Ningbo and Wenzhou, this article has examined the determinants of FDI location and its effects on local economic development. The geographical and historical conditions, types of industrial agglomeration, and policy regimes contribute to different patterns of local economic growth: Ningbo has more advantages in attracting FDI by TNCs to develop its local economy, while Wenzhou is a typical example that relies on the predominance of local private enterprises in its economic structure. In examining the economic impact of the TNCs on local economic growth in China, the study introduces another actor -* local private enterprises - to assess the effects of the TNCs in comparison with the primary indigenous economic composition in China. Data in Wenzhou and Ningbo from 2005 to 2009 have shown that:

- 1. There is a positive relationship between the TNCs and local GDP growth: a bigger proportion or the increase of TNCs in the local industrial structure tends to contribute to greater local GDP growth.
- While TNCs tend to gain more profits from a fixed value of assets, they do not possess substantial advantages in contributing to the growth of local government taxes and revenues.

3. As TNCs increase the amount of investment, their contributions to local income growth in average investment tend to decrease; however, personal wages provided by TNCs might increase because of fiercer competition within them.

These empirical findings indicate that, despite the positive relation between TNCs and local GDP growth, TNCs do not have substantial spillover effects on the wealth increment of the local government and residents, which, comparing with local GDP growth, are more essential indicators of local economic development. Moreover, the economic merits of the TNCs tend to rely on the scale of investment and the competency of their local competitors such as local private. As the investment by TNCs increases, there is a decline of the "marginal benefits" for local economic growth. On the other hand, local private enterprises tend to avoid this dilemma, since their increase in scale of investment contributes to greater local government taxes and revenues. Despite the high salaries provided by the TNCs, their disadvantages in increasing local government revenues and taxes tend to limit the local government's capacity in providing public goods and improving the living standards of local residents. This also proves De-mello's argument that the potential impact of FDI on growth might leave the long-time growth rate unchanged and not benefit the real income growth of local economy (1997, p. 30). In light of these findings, local governments in China might reflect on their decisions in introducing FDI by TNCs, and adjust the balance of development between TNCs and local private enterprises.

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FINANCING OF THE REGIONAL POLICY AND OF THE COHESION POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION THROUGH STRUCTURAL INSTRUMENTS

Adela DOROBANTU1

Abstract: The European Union established a long-term process for the development and implementation of comprehensive measures in its regional and cohesion policies. The involved structural instruments became drives for sustainable socio-economic development. The structural funds allocated to Romania for 2007-2013 are part of the convergence policy of the European Union. However, the experience showed that the new member states have difficulties in absorbing these funds. Within this context it is important to predict the impact of these funds on the Romanian society. The lag of expertise in using the structural funds compared to the countries which accessed the European Union in 2004, should prompt increased efforts in Romania to make more efficient the measures that are applied.

Keywords: European Union, regional policies, cohesion policies, structural instruments, absorption

1. Introduction

The European Union acts to promote the "harmonious development" and targets particularly to "reduce the gaps between regions". The European regional policies increased in parallel with the European integration. Even from the mid 1980 years, the

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importance of the European development policies didn't cease to increase, both in legal and budget terms. In an initial phase, the establishment of the Single Market was preceded by the 1989 Reform of the Structural Funds, reform which presumed not just the coordination of the three Structural Funds of that time (the European Social Fund -EFS: the European Agricultural Guidance& Guarantee Fund – FEOGA and the European Regional Development Fund - ERDF), as well as a through reorganisation of the principles governing these funds; the funds allocated for regional development also increased two-fold, from 15.1% of the European budget in 1988, to 30.2% in 19921. Second, the decision taken through the Maastricht Treaty, to establish a single European currency was in close connection with the establishment of the Cohesion Fund.

The change of the economic and social context at the level of the member states determined the European Commission to adopt general guiding rules in order to ensure the added value of the community investments. Their purpose was to determine a general policy and the framework of priorities to which the changes to Goal 1 (1994-1999) can be integrated.

During the period 2000-2006, the structural funds operated according to four principles: 1. Focusing (on a set of priorities); 2. Programming (development of strategic plans and less the implementation of separate projects): 3. Partnership (with the member state, with the subnational governmental structures and with other stakeholders, such as the social partners); 4. Complementarity (spending the funds should be a complement, rather than a substitute to the expenditure of the member state) (Hontelez J., 2003, p. 10).

The next programming period, 2007-2013, showed the place which the European Union granted to the policy of economic and social cohesion by the budget of 308 308 billion Euro (almost 35% of the total community budget), along 3 major goals (Zaman, Gh., Georgescu, G., 2009):

- 1. **convergence** (251 billion Euro 81.5% of the structural funds), directed towards the regions of the EU member states with a GDP per capita 75% lower than the European average and towards the regions below the average of the European changes due to the accession of the new member states;
- 2. Competitiveness and regional commitment (49 billion Euro 16%), directed to the regions which are not eligible for the objective of convergence);
- 3. **European territorial cooperation** (8 billion Euro 2.5%), directed towards transnational cooperation, trans-boundary cooperation and inter-regional cooperation.

¹ The Brussels European Council reformulated in February 1988 the way in which the Solidarity Funds, also called "Structural Funds" work, and decided to allocate 68 billion ECU (at 1997 prices).

The following specific community regulations govern currently the financing of the various European financial instruments:

Regulation no. 1080/2006 regarding the European Regional Development Fund

Regulation no. 1081/2006 regarding the European Social Fund

Regulation no. 1082/2006 regarding the European territorial cooperation

Regulation no. 1083/2006 setting the general principles regarding the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund

Regulation no. 1084/2006 regarding the European Cohesion Fund

Regulation no 1828/2006 regarding the rules of implementation of Commission Regulation (CE) no. 1083/2006 containing general provisions regarding the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and of the Commission Regulation (CE)1080/2006 regarding the European Regional Development Fund.

Romania, as member state of the European Union, participates as full rights member in the Cohesion Policy, in the Common Agricultural Policy and in the Common Fishery Policy of the EU and benefits of about 30 billion Euro for the programming period 2007-2013, from the budget of the European Union.

2. Regional development policy

Although the European Union is one of the richest areas worldwide, there are considerable differences between its composing regions in terms of incomes and opportunities. By its regional policy, the EU transfers resources from the prosperous regions to the poorer one. The purpose is to modernise the less developed regions allowing them to catch-up with the other EU regions.

The regional policy is an instrument of financial solidarity and a strong drive of the economic cohesion and integration. The purpose of the solidarity is to aid the most disfavoured citizens and the least developed regions. Cohesion relies on the principle that we all win if the gaps between regions decrease in terms of income and wealth.

There are large differences in terms of the existing level of prosperity in the EU member states and within them. In terms of the GDP per capita (the standard measure unit of the welfare), the most prosperous regions are in the urban area -London, Brussels and Hamburg. Luxembourg, the most prosperous EU country is over seven times wealthier than Romania and Bulgaria, the poorest member states and the last ones to access the European Union.

The dynamic effects of the affiliation to the EU, plus a solid and properly oriented regional policy may generate positive effects. The case of Ireland is encouraging. While in 1973, the year of accession to the EU, Ireland's GDP was 64% of the average EU value, currently it is one of the highest in the EU. The estimation of the impact of enlargement on the current EU is, generally, limited, given its much larger economic dimension. Such estimation shows that the 15 EU member states have a probability to earn a total of 10 billion euro, a 0.2% long-term increase of the GDP in these countries and the creation of some 300,000 jobs (in the hypothesis of a constant volume of work – volume of production (Grabbe, H. 2001).

One of the priorities of the regional policy is to make the standards of living from the countries which accessed the EU starting with 2004, to reach as quickly as possible the average EU level.

The gaps between the regions can have various cases. There may be persisting disadvantages such as the geographical location, there may be the recent socioeconomic changes or there may be a combination of the two. The impact of these disadvantages is often felt by social exclusion, poor quality education, high unemployment rates and improper infrastructures.

The regional policy is an objective stipulated in the Preamble of the 1957 Roma Treaty, but the practical implementation of a regional policy has been decided only in 1972. The European Rural Development Fund, ERDF, was established in 1974. The Single European Act in traduced the regional policy in the Treaty.

Art. 158 TEC. The Community aims to reduce the difference between the development level of the different regions including the rural areas too.

Art. 160 TEC. ERDF is intended to correct the regional misbalances within the Community by the participation in the development and structural assistance of the regions with delayed development and in the reconversion of the declining industrial regions.

The concept of regional policy defines at the EU level an assembly of structural policies aimed to promote the reduction and elimination of disparities between the member states, with the purpose of the harmonious development of the entire community area Ciocan V, Nuna, E. (2004, p. 259).

The preamble of the TEC the community states stated their decision to ensure their economic and social progress through common actions of removing the barriers dividing Europe. The Community Mission, as stated in article 2 of the Treaty, is to establish a common market (art. 3 and 3A) with ... "a social policy including a European social fund" (art. 3, letter i) and to promote "a high rate of employment and a high level of social protection, improving the quality of life, enhancing the economic and social cohesion" (Manolache O., 1999, p. 167).

In the case of some member states, part of the lags is caused by their former centralised economic systems. After their accession, the EU reorganised and restructured the expenditure for regional development. In the period 2007-2013, this expenditure amounted to 36% of the EU budget, meaning about 350 billion euro. The targeted objectives are convergence, competitiveness and cooperation, grouped under the denomination of "cohesion policy".

The attention focuses particularly on the EU member states from the Central and Eastern Europe and on the regions with special needs from the other EU member states. The 12 countries which accessed the EU starting with 2004 will receive from 2007 to 2013, 51% of the budget allocated for the policy of regional development, although they account for less than a guarter of the total EU population.

The Regional Policy of the European Union is currently confronted by three major challenges:

- Competition increasingly fierce as the trade was liberalized. The companies locate where they find proper conditions for a better competitiveness.
- The information society and the technological revolution which contribute to a
 higher flexibility of the people, companies and territories. The existence of the
 telecommunications networks presumes that the people, irrespective of their
 location, may have access to know-how, innovation and higher quality education.
- Enlargement which is both an opportunity and a challenge for the European Union.

The reform of the regional policy highlighted the need to focus the community assistance on those regions whose level of development lags very much and the need to simplify the structural policies. In matter of structural policies, the community action proposes and grants financial stimulates, while it also coordinates the policies of the member states.

European Regional Development Fund

The European Regional Development Fund was established in 1975 with the purpose to finance the disfavoured areas and to decrease the gaps between the different regions of the EU (so as to enable them catch-up with their level of

development. The analyses show that ERDF, supporting financially the disfavoured areas, "contributes to the reduction of gaps", under the conditions in which the "advanced regions keep on distancing, by their level of industrial development, from the disfavoured areas") (Mazilu D., 2008, p. 143).

The goal of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) is to consolidate the economic and social cohesion within the European Union by decreasing the regional misbalances. Briefly, ERDF finances:

- Direct aids for investments in enterprises (SMEs particularly) to create sustainable jobs;
- Infrastructures for research and innovation, telecommunications, environment, energy and transportation;
- Financial instruments (fund for risk capital, fund for regional development etc.);
- Measures of technical assistance

The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) may assist the three new objectives of regional policy: convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, European territorial cooperation.

For the "convergence" objective, ERDF focuses its intervention on the support for the sustainable economic development at the regional and local level and on employment, mobilising and consolidating the endogenous capacity through operational programs who aim to modernize and diversify the economic structures, to create jobs and to safeguard sustainable jobs. This is done mainly through the following priorities; the exact combination of measures to be applied depends on the particularities of each member state:

- 1. Technological research and development (TRD), innovation and entrepreneurial spirit, including the consolidation of the capacities for technological research and development and integration within the European Research Area, infrastructures included; assistance for TRD, particularly in the SMEs and for the transfer of technologies, improvement of the relations between the SMEs, on the one hand, and the higher education, technological research institutes and centres, on the other hand; development of the networks of enterprises; public-private partnerships and groups of enterprises; assistance in commercial and technological services for the SMEs; stimulation of the entrepreneurial spirit and of innovation financing for SMEs through the instruments of financial engineering;
- 2. Information society, including the elaboration of infrastructure for electronic communications, for local communication, services and applications, improvement of the safe access to the public on-line services and their development; assistance and services for the SMEs to adopt and use efficiently the information and communication technology (ICT), exploration of new ideas;

- 3. Local initiatives in matter of development and assistance for the structures which supply services of proximity to create jobs, when these initiatives are not covered by Regulation (CE) no. 1081/2006;
- 4. The environment, including the supply of water, waste and waste water management; air quality; prevention and control of desertification; prevention and integrated control of pollution; aids to alleviate the effects of the climate change; rehabilitation of the natural environment, including contaminated places and areas, brownfield areas; promotion of biodiversity and nature protection, including investments for Nature 2000 sites; assistance for the SMEs promoting sustainable production plans using profitable environmental management systems and pollution prevention technologies;
- 5. Risk prevention, including the development and implementation of the plans to control and manage the natural and technological risks;
- Tourism, including the promotion of the natural resources as potential for the development of sustainable tourism; protection and valorization of the natural patrimony in support of the socio-economic development; assistance to improve the offer of tourist services by services with a higher added value, facilitating the shift to more sustainable patterns of tourism;
- 7. Cultural investments, including the protection, promotion and preservation of the cultural heritage; development of cultural infrastructures in support of the socioeconomic development, of the sustainable tourism and of consolidating the regional attractiveness; aids to improve the offer of cultural services by services with a higher added value:
- 8. Investments in transportation, including the improvement of the trans-European networks and of the links with RTE-T network; integrated strategies for the promotion of own transportation, which contributes to a better access to passenger and merchandise services, improve their quality; a more balanced modal distribution; encouragement of the intermodal systems and alleviation of the environmental impact;
- 9. Investments related to energy, including the improvement of the trans-European networks, which contribute to a more secure supply; integration of the environmental concerns, improve the energy efficiency and development of renewable energies.
 - 10. Investments in favour of education, particularly of the professional formation, which contributes to a higher attractiveness and to a better quality of life;
 - 11. Investments in sanitary and social infrastructures, which contribute to the regional and local development and to a higher quality of life.

ERDF focuses financing on objectives and regions, by partnership with the European Commission, the member states and the local authorities. This partnership aims to maximise the effects and focuses on: a) planning the modalities of structural intervention; b) programming the community contribution, supplementary to the national financial contribution) (Mazilu D., 2008, p. 144).

3. Social policy within the European Union

EU is, indisputably, one of the major actors of the contemporary world. The social policy of EU became, particularly after the AUE from 1986, a driving factor which influenced directly the economy of the community, its competitiveness and the use of the labour force.

Stated in articles 117-122 of TEC signed at Rome in 1957, the community social policy aimed to improve the living and working conditions, to ensure the security and safety of the workers, equal payment of men and women. The Commission was assigned to promote collaboration between the member states in the fields of labour force, right to work, working conditions, professional formation and improvement, social security, protection against work accidents and professional diseases, work hygiene, labour union rights and collective negotiations (Tinca O., 2002, p. 22). According to the initial dispositions of the Treaty, the Community didn't have own competencies in the field of social policy, the member states being invited to a general action of rapprochement of the national legislations (Tinca O., 2002, p. 22). Subsequently, after AUE was adopted in 1986, the Council, by the procedure of cooperation and after counselling with CES, received the competency to adopt directives which set minimal measures for the improvement of the working conditions; the Commission was empowered to promote the dialogue between the social partners at the community level, with the purpose to adopt collective conventions. The community chart of the basic social rights of the workers, adopted on December 9, 1989, although didn't have binding legal force for the member states, highlighted their political will to take into consideration the social dimension of the Community. The rights stipulated in the Chart – freedom of association, collective negotiation, freedom of movement, counselling with the workers and workers' participation – were meant to guide the actions of the community institutions and of the member states in the field of the social policy. With this purpose, the Commission adopted a program of action aimed to materialize the basic rights stipulated in the Chart, while the Council, within the same program, adopted several important directives, among which:

- Directive 91/383 /EEC of 25 June 1991 supplementing the measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of workers with a fixed-duration employment relationship;
- Directive 91/533 /EEC of 14 October 1991 on an employer's obligation to inform employees of the conditions applicable to the contract or employment relationship;
- Directive 91/104 of 23 November 1993 regarding some aspects of organising the working time;

 Directive 94/33 EC of 22 June 1994 on the protection of young people at work (Manolache O., 1999, p. 170).

By the Maastricht Treaty (7 February 1992), the European Community proposed to "promote the harmonious and balanced development of the economic activities, a high employment rate and a high level of social protection..." (art. 3 TEC). To this purpose, the action of the Community involved:

- A domestic market with free circulation of the people, goods, services and capitals;
- Measures regarding the movement of people within the community space;
- A social policy which to include a European Social Fund;
- Strengthening the economic and social cohesion;
- Contribution to a quality education and professional formation.

At the same time with TEU was concluded Protocol no. 14 on the Social Policy (which the United Kingdom didn't sign), which allowed the member states to apply community regulations in the social area. The agreement on the social policy, appendix to Protocol no. 14, defined the fields of community action: improvement of the working environment, information and conferring with the workers, equal treatment of men and women, integration of the people excluded from the labour market, social security, protection of the sacked workers. The main merit of the Agreement was the acknowledgement of the role played by the European social partners as factors of negotiation and consultation at the European level (Tinca O., 2002, p. 25).

The Amsterdam Treaty (signed on 2 October 1997) abrogated Protocol no. 14 and integrated its content in articles 136-145 of TEC, which form Chapter I ("Social Provisions") from title XI of the third part of TEC (the consolidated version). Thus, the social dialogue was included in the community common right, being applicable in all member states of the Community, including in the United Kingdom, which ratified the Amsterdam Treaty.

Article 136, paragraph 1 of TEC, modified by the Amsterdam Treaty states that the "The Community and the Member States, having in mind fundamental social rights such as those set out in the European Social Charter signed at Turin on 18 October 1961 and in the 1989 Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, shall have as their objectives the promotion of employment, improved living and working conditions, so as to make possible their harmonisation while the improvement is being maintained, proper social protection, dialogue between management and labour, the development of human resources with a view to lasting high employment and the combating of exclusion".

The Nice Treaty, signed on 26 February 2001, modified some provisions from Title XI ("Social policy, education, professional formation and youth"), part three, of TEC. Article 137, reformulated, includes five paragraphs which set the Community competencies in matter of social policy. Thus, according to paragraph 1, with a view to achieving the objectives of Article 136, the Community shall support and complement the activities of the Member States in the following fields:

- a. improvement in particular of the working environment to protect workers' health and safety;
- b. working conditions;
- c. social security and social protection of workers;
- d. protection of workers where their employment contract is terminated;
- e. the information and consultation of workers:
- f. representation and collective defence of the interests of workers and employers, including co-determination, subject to paragraph 5;
- g. conditions of employment for third-country nationals legally residing in Community territory;
- h. the integration of persons excluded from the labour market, without prejudice to Article 150:
- equality between men and women with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work
- j. the combating of social exclusion;
- k. the modernisation of social protection systems without prejudice to point (c).

To this end, the Council:

- a. May adopt measures designed to encourage cooperation between Member States through initiatives aimed at improving knowledge, developing exchanges of information and best practices, promoting innovative approaches and evaluating experiences, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States;
- b. May adopt, in the fields referred to in paragraph 1(a) to (i), by means of directives, minimum requirements for gradual implementation, having regard to the conditions and technical rules obtaining in each of the Member States. Such directives shall avoid imposing administrative, financial and legal constraints in a way which would hold back the creation and development of small and medium-sized undertakings.

The Agenda for social development played an important role in the evolution of the EU social policy. It was adopted by the 2000 Lisbon European Council and it launched for clear social goals, the most important one being to reach an average employment rate of 70% by 2010, which includes an objective of 60% jobs taken by women, an abundant and competitive offer of jobs and the accomplishment of a high level of social cohesion. The Lisbon Social Policy Agenda affirmed once more the indissoluble link that must be established between the economic progress of the EU and the social progress. The following are set as social objectives of the EU: increase the number of jobs, adopt active and efficient measures to control unemployment, improve the system of education and formation, ensure workforce mobility, speed up the process of mutual recognition of the professional licences, certificates and qualifications, control all forms of poverty, promote the social equality and integration, modernise the European system of social protection, consolidate the social policy.

In time, the role of the EU social policy channelled on the following fields:

- To promote the convergence of the social policies in the fields that still are of the exclusive competency of the national authorities;
- To develop and implement community programs supporting the development of the most adequate patterns for the requalification of the workforce;
- To provide financial support through the ESF and the European Investment Bank (EIB);
- To develop and modernise a legislative and institutional framework promoting the harmony between the social partners;
- To develop a package of regulations regarding the protection of workers at their place of work.

The world context compels the EU to react swiftly and with determination in order to cope with the competition on the world market and this can only be done by stat-of-the-art scientific research and by improving the capacity for fast adaptation of the enterprises and workers to these new exigencies. Furthermore, the progressive decline of the active population (workforce ageing) and the decrease of the number of young people entering the labour market compels the EU to promote as efficient as possible solutions to train as well as possible the young graduates of education and to support, as long as possible, the old workers in productive activity.

Thus, the Council of Europe launched three essential terms – full use of the work force, equality and flexicurity. The first two terms raise no theoretical problems, but the third one, flexicurity, produced by the combination of two words "flexibility" and

"security" on the labour market, appears more difficult to understand. The concept appeared in the Netherlands and it was subsequently assumed by Denmark and Austria and then recommended to the Council of Europe of March 23-24, 2006. The term represents a strategy joining a flexible labour market characterised by rather low social protection of the unemployed, with a solid social protection, with generous unemployment benefits, in order to alleviate as much as possible the adverse impact of passing from one job to another, next to a proactive policy of formation filling in this period between two jobs.

The Lisbon Treaty (which entered in force on December 1, 2009) allows the EU to maintain and develop further the social accomplishments, while fully observing the national prerogatives. A very competitive market economy, workforce employment and the social progress are among EU objectives. The EU coordinates the economic and employment policies of the member states, which allows the coordination of the social policies of the member states. The Lisbon Treaty has a "social clause" on the grounds of which the social aspects such as the promotion of a high rate of employment, the adequate social policy, the fight against social exclusion etc., must be taken into consideration in the definition and application of all policies. The fundamental rights are acknowledged by the Lisbon Treaty by a legally-binding reference made to the Chart of the Fundamental Rights. It has a section dedicated to solidarity which states several rights and principles with direct relevance for the social area, such as the right to information and consultation in the enterprises, the right to negotiate collective agreements and to act collectively, the right to access to employment services and to protection against unjustified sacking, the right to social security and assistance, etc. (http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/fag/index_ro.htm#16).

Europe 2020 Strategy, approved by the Council of Europe in March 2010, is a new strategy for jobs and growth, based on the consolidation and of a better coordination of the economic and social policies, with the following priorities (COM, 2010):

- Smart growth: developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation
- Sustainable growth: promoting a more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy
- Inclusive growth (used for the first time in official European documents):
 fostering a high-employment economy delivering social and territorial
 cohesion; empowering people by a high employment rate; investment in
 increasing the competencies, fighting poverty and modernizing the labor
 market, formation and social protection, supporting the citizens in the
 administration and anticipation of changes and in the construction of an
 inclusive society".

Objectives of Europe 2020 strategy:

- An economic objective: employment rate: 75 % of the population aged 20-64 should be employed;
- A technological objective: trinomial "20x20x20": 20% of the greenhouse gas emissions (compared to 1990), 20% higher energy efficiency, or 20% decrease of the energy consumption; 20% increase of the proportion of renewable energy sources in the final gross energy consumption;
- A social objective: 20 million less people should be at risk of poverty (25% reduction of the number of people at risk of poverty);
- An educational objective: the share of early school leavers should be under 10% and at least 40% of the younger generation (aged 30-34) should have a tertiary degree or equivalent;
- An objective, general support for development: proportion of the total public and private funds allocated to research-development: 3% of EU GDP.

Source: (COM, 2010)

In June 2010, the Council of Europe agreed "five European targets which form common objectives and which guide the member states and the Union" (Council of Europe, June 2010) in building a smart, sustainable, inclusive society. Europe 2020 strategy is dedicated to the economic growth and employment.

4. Cohesion policy of the European Union

In the preamble of the Treaty of Rome, signed in 1957, the member states made reference to the necessity to "consolidate the unity of their economies with the view to ensure a harmonious development by decreasing the gaps between the different regions and the lag of disfavoured regions" (http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/2007/osc/l 29120061021en00110032.pdf).

The cohesion policy is defined by its purpose, i.e. supporting the process of reducing the gaps between the developed and less developed regions and member states of the European Union. The cohesion policy has its legal roots in the EU Treaty (Title XVII "Economic and social cohesion" and in article 148 regarding the European Social Fund). The goal of strengthening the economic and social cohesion is stated explicitly in Article 2 of the Amsterdam Treaty, being a top priority goal of the European Union.

The paradigm of the cohesion policy is the transfer of resources, through the structural and cohesion funds, from the wealthier states to the less wealthy ones. According to AUE decisions, the "Community aims to reduce the differences between regions and the lag of the most disfavoured states with the purpose to reach a

harmonious development of all the Community, by strengthening the economic and social cohesion". (EU A.U.E., JOCE/DOCE, L. 169/29.VI.1987). The purpose of the cohesion is not to homogenize the regions, because this would be not just impossible, but also harmful in a free market economy, such as the European market is; rather, the aim is to accomplish convergence in development and to eliminate the disparities between the member states at the opposite ends.

Furthermore, the cohesion responds to the principle of solidarity, the European market economy actually being defined as "social market economy" (Bărbulescu I. Gh, 2006, p. 267). Cohesion means increasing the economic and social opportunities for the disfavoured regions, more so as within the context of EU enlargement towards the former communist states, as mentioned in the 2000 Agenda (Commission Europeene, Agenda 2000, Pour une Union plus forte et plus large, COM (97)2000) or in the conclusions of the European Council, Berlin 1999 (European Council, Presidency Conclusions, Berlin, 24 and 25 March 1999, SN 100/99).

The EU regional policy on solidarity is thus designed as to ensure, at the community level, assistance so that the most disadvantaged regions go past their incapacities.

The member states, applying their own strategies, and the European Union will further their efforts to reduce the gaps of development, to support the declining industrial areas, to diversify the activities in the rural areas and to improve the declining urban areas.

The regional policy is tangible: its results can be observed by the European citizens who benefit directly of the assistance. It contributes to the improvement of the people living in these regions by increasing the size of the funds available to the public authorities for new infrastructures and to assist the private companies in their efforts to become more competitive.

Objectives of the cohesion policy

The cohesion policy is financed from the budget of the European Union through three structural instruments: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF). The three financial instruments finance the following objectives:

Objective 1 - Convergence objective

This objective targets NUTS II regions with a GDP/capita lower than 75% of the community average. The financial allocation for this objective increased to about 81.54%, 251,163 billion Euros from the allocation for the cohesion policy. The member states with a GDP/capita lower than 90% of the community average also are eligible for financing under this objective from the Cohesion Fund. The aim of the objective is to accelerate the

economic development of the less developed regions by investments in infrastructure, human capital, innovation and development of the knowledge-based community, environmental protection.

Objective 2 - Regional competitiveness and employment

The regions which can receive financing under this objective are those not eligible to receive funds under the convergence objective. This objective is financed only from the structural funds, from ERDF and ESF. The allocation is of 5.95% from the budget of the cohesion policy and it amounts to 49,127 billion Euros for the financial period 2007-2013. The actions which can be financed under this objective regard the development of the competitive regions; workforce employment by anticipating the economic and social changes, by increasing the quality of the investments in human capital; innovation and promotion of the information society.

Objective 3 - European territorial cooperation

This objective aims a better cooperation between the regions at three levels: interregional cooperation – promote the exchange of experience between EU areas; trans-boundary cooperation – common programs run by regions next to borders; transnational cooperation. The financial allocation for this objective is 7.75 billion Euros, representing 2.52% of the funds for the cohesion policy and is financed integrally from ERDF.

Source: www.adr5vest.ro/attach_files/Politica%20de%20coeziune%20a%20UE%201.1.doc

The programming period 2007-2013 shows the important role which the European Union put into the policy of economic and social cohesion, by the allocation of a budget of 308 Billion Euro (almost 35% of the total community budget), with three major goals (Zaman, Gh., Georgescu, G., 2009): convergence (251 Billion Euro – 81.5% of the structural funds); competitiveness and regional employment (49 Billion Euro – 16%); European territorial cooperation (8 Billion Euro – 2.5%). The financing comes from three different sources, function of the type of assistance and beneficiary.

The European Social Fund (ESF) finances the following actions: increasing workforce and enterprise adaptability; supporting social inclusion; expanding and strengthening the investments in human capital (education and professional formation); strengthening the institutional capacity and the efficiency of the national, regional and local public administrations and services;

The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) finances: investments in research and technological development, environmental protection, risk prevention, tourism, transportation, energy, health (infrastructure); projects of local development, innovation and entrepreneurship; support for SMEs investments;

The Cohesion Fund (CF) finances: trans-European transportation networks; major projects of environmental infrastructure and areas that give sustainable benefits for environmental protection. The Cohesion Fund was also meant to aid the poorest member states such as Greece, Portugal and Spain, as well as Ireland, until the end of 2003. The initial criterion is that the gross domestic product (GDP) of the particular country is less than 90% of the average Union value. The Cohesion Fund intervenes on all the national territory to co-finance not programs, but large environmental projects, large trans-European transportation networks, thus allowing that these costs of the works don't disturb the national budget efforts to meet the exigencies of the economic and monetary union. Furthermore, the Fund aids these countries to get in agreement with the European norms in these fields. A third of the Cohesion Fund was allocated in 2004-2006 to the new member states (http://ec.europa.eu/regional policy/intro/working4 ro.htm).

Most of the expenditure is meant for the regions whose GDP is less than 75% of the community average, aiding them to improve the infrastructures and to develop their economic and human potential. This category includes 17 of the 27 EU member states. On the other hand, all the 27 EU member states can benefit of financing in support of research and innovation, of the sustainable development and of the professional formation in the less developed regions. A fragment of the funds is allocated to projects of trans-boundary and inter-regional cooperation.

For the programming interval 2007-2013, a third of the EU budget (about 840 billion Euros) is allocated to the cohesion policy financed through these three financial instruments.

The accession of Romania to the EU, as of January 1st, 2007, is a reference point both in terms of assuming the full rights as member state, and in terms of the European financial support for the modernization of the Romanian society and for the decrease of the gaps from the European average. Thus, Romania will receive 19.667 billion Euros (2007 to 2013) from the Structural and Cohesion Funds of the European Union.

<u>Table 1</u>
Operational programs, budget allocations and responsible authorities (Romania, 2007-2013)

Convergence objective	Operational Program (OP)	Allocation from the total budget	Operational Program Management Authority
	1. OP Transport	23%	Ministry of Transportation
	2. OP Environment	23%	Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development
	3. OP Regional	19%	Ministry of Development, Public Works and Housing

	4. OP Human Resources	18%	Ministry of Labour, Family and Equal Opportunity
	Development		
	5. OP Increasing	13%	Ministry of Economy and
	the Economic		Finances
	Competitiveness		
	6. OP Development	1%	Ministry of the Interior and
	of the Administrative		Administrative Reform
	Capacity		
	7. OP Technical	1%	Ministry of Economy and
	Assistance		Finances
Territorial	8-13. OP Territorial	2%	Ministry of Development,
Cooperation	Cooperation		Public Works and Housing
Objective			•

Source: National Reference Strategic Framework, 2007 - 2013

The structural funds allocated to Romania for 2007-2013 are in agreement with the convergence policy of the European Union. It was noticed, however, that the new member states experience difficulties in the absorption of these funds. Several discrepancies have been noticed in the allocation of the funds for the new member states, which should generate a much more proactive effort of coordination by the European bodies. The procedures for the administration of these funds should be accompanied by sufficiently energetic measures in order to accomplish the objectives set by the national reference strategic framework of each member state, so as to decrease with priority the social and economic gaps (Cace C., Cace S., Nicolăescu V., 2011)

For Romania, financial support of EU funds represents a great opportunity for central and local administration in order to develop the communities from social and economic point of view (Brăgaru C., 2011, p. 200). The situation of Romania among the new member states, aiming towards to objective of convergence, brings permanently in the fore front the prospective impact of the absorption on the Romanian society. The lag of expertise compared to the states which accessed the EU in 2004, in terms of absorption of the allocated funds, should determine enhanced efforts of the decision-makers to make good use of the results obtained by the new member states during the period between May 2004 – September 2006, by increasing the absorption rate to about one third of the allocated funds (Constantin D. L., 2008, pp. 6). It is also important to avoid the possible "point of saturation" in the absorption of funds used by the European convergence policy (Cace C., Cace S., lova C., Nicolăescu V., 2009).

Conclusions

The directing lines at European level set several thematic priorities which support the main goal of the interventions through the Structural Funds: help the identification of the conditions which favour the sustainable economic development, the growth and the competitiveness, and by these, indirectly, the employment. This general goal has been set through the following specific priorities: primary infrastructure, productive environment (all types of measures to improve the growth and complexity of the business environment and of the industry); development of the research and technology; environment and sustainable development; human resources development and equal opportunity.

The European regional and cohesion policies have been developed progressively and have diversified their instruments of financing, but most of the EU member states experienced difficulties in the absorption of the European funds during the early years of accession, particularly because there was not long-term vision of the authorities, insufficient resources to co-finance the projects, because of the low central and local administrative capacity, because there was no inter-institutional cooperation, because of the failure of the public-private partnership and because of the limited human resources abilities (Zaman, Gh., Georgescu, G., 2009, p.144).

The new EU member states benefited of an important financial aid during the preaccession period, as well of generous allocations after accession, thus ensuring the conditions for the fast development necessary to close the gaps from the European average. The descending trend of the European economy during the crisis should allow slowing the decline of the new member states by the use of the funds made available through the current European mechanisms of financing. The principle of solidarity involves proactive reactions from the "older" member states by using their experience to overpass successfully the difficulties of the crisis and by the generation of new formulas of absorption of the structural funds by the new member states (Cace C., Cace S., Nicolăescu V., 2010).

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CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

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Abstract: At the United Nations Millennium Summit, 191 member states gathered to set eight millennium development goals for the world's poor countries. The eight goals were used as a yardstick to measure development progress. However, many developing countries, particularly the African countries have insufficient resources to provide the necessary infrastructure and services to achieve these Millennium Development Goals². The paper aims to critically assess the Millennium Development Project by analysing the key documents. It is critically important to devote attention to the potential impacts of development on vulnerable segments of the human population. The field of research is Development Studies (Sociology). The paper concludes that the Millennium Development Goals are unlikely to bring positive development in poor countries particularly in Africa. Therefore the whole project needs to be reviewed.

Keywords: development; social; economic; poverty eradication; poor.

1. Introduction

Millions of people around the globe live in absolute poverty. Whether there is political will to solve it is another matter. Some of the people have been neglected to an extent that nobody is giving them a chance to improve their lives. In view of this the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) was designed to eradicate poverty in poor states. However there is overwhelming evidence that developing countries including

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² Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

South Africa are not on track in achieving the Millennium Developing Goals (MDGs) of halving poverty by 2015. Although good in paper but they are not good in practice. However the issue of lack of resource have been the main obstacle for poor nations to achieve these MDG's. I argue that the MDG's are complementary to the Structural Adjustment policies which were introduced in the 1980's and "these policies and the IMF's role in implementing them have been criticized by developing country governments and development organizations as having worsened the situation of poor and lower-income people, as well as contributing to the degradation of the natural environment" (Naiman and Watkins, 1999, p. 2). An attempt will be made below to show why I believe that the MDG's are complementary to the Structural Adjustment Policies. In the answering the question the paper will also briefly explain what the Millennium Development Goals are and Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP's)¹ as they will be the basis of this paper. The paper will only focus on the African continent in general, specifically use Zambia case study to show if these goals are achievable or not. These are the main topics that will be covered are: Structural adjustments, Millennium development goals, Zambia case study, are developing countries failing to meet the MDG targets, the real agenda behind MDG's and conclusion. The present paper relies primarily upon data from international bodies, academics etc. In-depth document analysis was used to reach the goal of my investigation.

2. Structural Adjustment Program

A structural adjustment program (SAP's) is a plan employed by the Bretton Woods Institutions: the International Monetary fund (IMF)² and the World Bank (WB)³ in poor countries to try to get their economies to be more productive. The main aim of the structural adjustment program is to assist the borrowing countries to pay off their debts and have a "growing economy that will sustain them into the future". Structural adjustment programs were also designed by the IMF World Bank as a condition for further loans. Today the IMF and the World Bank dictate terms on economic policies in numerous countries. The failure of poor nations to repay their debt has forced them to rely heavily on new loans. The IMF has the power to verify whether countries are credit worthy or not. In order for a country to receive loan it needs to accept the stipulated conditions of the structural adjustment (Jauch, 1999, p.1-2).

SAP's have 4 aims according to which they are designed. The first aim is liberalisation which promotes the free movement of capital and opening of national markets to international competition. The second objective is privatisation of public

¹ Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP's)

² International Monetary fund (IMF)

³ World Bank (WB)

services and companies. The third objective is the de-regulation of labour relations and cutting social safety nets. The fourth and the last aim is to Improve competitiveness (Toissant and Comanne, 1995, p.14)

Based on these aims, SAPs recommend nearly always the same measures as a condition for new loans. These measures differ from country to country. The essay will focus on six of these measures. The first measure is the reduction of government deficit through cuts in public spending (cost recovery programmes). The second measure is higher interest rates. The other condition is liberalisation of foreign exchange rules and trade (deregulation). The fourth condition is rationalisation and privatisation of public and parastatal companies. The firth condition is the deregulation of the economy. For example liberalisation of foreign investment regulations, deregulation of the labour market, e.g. wage 'flexibility', abolishing price controls and food subsidies etc. The last one is the shift from import substitution to export production (Isaacs, 1997, p. 135). Contrary to the SAP's which were designed by the Bretton Woods Institutions, the MDG's were formulated by the United Nations. The next section will focus on the MDG's.

3. Millennium Development Goals

In the beginning of the new millennium, at the United Nations Millennium Summit, 191 member states gathered to set eight millennium development goals for the world's poor countries. These member states committed themselves to achieve these goals by 2015. The eight goals were used as a yardstick to measure development progress (Todaro, 2000, p. 23). The achievement of each goal is based on measurable indicators. However the accomplishment of these targets is assumed without question that it is perfectly compatible with liberalism (Amin, 2006, p. 2).

Goal 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Under this goal it was agreed that the number of people whose income is less than one dollar a day should be reduced into half between 1990 and 2015. It was also agreed that the number of people suffer from hunger should be reduced to half between 1990 to 2015 (Todaro, 2003, p. 24; James, 2006, 445; UN MDG Report, 2010, p. 6). However policies that causes poverty are never analysed, for example reduce in social expenditure. For Amin (2006) "without this how can there be policies to effectually eliminate poverty proposed". The policies of poverty reduction through economic growth promoted by the World Bank are driven by neoliberal reforms. In a report that was released by the IMF and World Bank, the World Bank clearly states that achievement of the Millennium Development Goals would mean "accelerating reforms to achieve stronger economic" (Tujan, 2004, p. 3; Gold, 2005, 23-24). It can be then

argued that if development is measured in terms of economic growth then that is not actually development. This is because development should be holistic it must combine four things economic, environmental, political and social factors. According to such a report it means that Africa in general needs to double its economic growth rate. The same report further states that the sub Saharan countries are "seriously off track, with just eight countries representing about 15 percent of the regional population likely to achieve the goal" (Tujan, 2004, p. 3). Although they realise that poorer countries cannot achieve these goals but they still impose such initiative.

Goal 2. Achieve universal primary education

Girls and boys alike from around the globe will be able to finish a complete primary schooling by 2015 (Todaro, 2000, p. 24; Gold, 2005, p. 31). Though enrolment in sub-Saharan Africa remains the lowest of all regions, it still increased by 18 percentage points—from 58 per cent to 76 per cent—between 1999 and 2008. Progress was also made in Southern Asia and Northern Africa, where enrolment increased by 11 and 8 percentage points, respectively, over the last decade (UNDP, 2010, p. 6). A majority of people are very poor they cannot afford to pay school. This is because countries are forced to reduce their public expenditure and privatise education. Therefore this needs to be investigated both in "theory and in fact" (Amin, 2006, p. 3). This goal was set using the global trends observed in the 1970's and 1980's. Universal primary education implies that each and every country must achieve "education for all" at the primary level by 2015. Most of this progress is expected to come from with low enrolment. It is unrealistic to expect such countries to achieve this target based on past experience observed in middle class countries and countries not affected by internal conflicts. Based on these facts it can be argued that this target is unrealistic (Vandemoortele, 2009, p. 362).

Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women

This goal is aimed to ensure gender equality in primary and secondary education by 2005 and all levels of education by 2015 (Todaro, 2003, p. 24; Khoo, 2005, p. 47; UN MDG Report, 2010, p. 20). In secondary education, the gender gap in enrolment is most evident in the three regions where overall enrolment is lowest which is sub-Saharan Africa, Western Asia and Southern Asia. In comparison, more girls than boys have signed up for secondary school in Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern Asia and South-Eastern Asia (UNDP, 2010, 1). Amin (2006) asserts that real discussion is required in the area of gender equality considering the "powerful role of religious fundamentalism is playing globally". He believes that "without discussion, declarations on this question are only empty talk".

Goal 4. Reduce child mortality

Reduce child mortality rate by two thirds to all children under five years, between 1990 and 2015 (Todaro, 2000, p. 24; Khoo, 2005, p. 47). According the MDG 2010 report the highest rates of child mortality continue to be found in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2008, one in seven children there died before their fifth birthday; the highest levels were in Western and Central Africa, where one in six children died before age five (169 deaths per 1,000 live births) (UNDP, 2010, 1).

Goal 5. Improve maternal health

The aim of this goal is to reduce by three quarters the number of women dying in childbirth by 2015 (Todaro, 2000, p. 24; Khoo, 2005, p. 47). The number of women in poor nations who received professional assistance during delivery raised from 53 percent in 1990 to 63 per cent in 2008. Improvement was made in all regions, but was especially dramatic in Northern Africa and South-Eastern Asia, with increases of 74 per cent and 63 per cent, respectively. Southern Asia also progressed, although coverage there, as well as in sub-Saharan Africa, remains insufficient (UNDP, 2010, p. 1).

Goal 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

The aim of this goal is to fight the spread of HIV/AIDS and the incidence of malaria and other major diseases (Todaro, 2000, p. 24; Khoo, 2005, p. 47). The epidemic appears to have calm down in most regions, while incidence continues to increase in Eastern Europe, Central Asia and other parts of Asia due to a high rate of new HIV infections. Sub-Saharan Africa remains the most heavily affected region, accounting for 72 per cent of all new HIV infections in 2008 (UNDP, 2012, p. 1). For Amin (2006) this is because "the means implemented in these areas are assumed to be completely compatible with extreme privatization and total respect for the "intellectual property rights" of the transnational corporations and, curiously enough, are recommended in Goal 8 concerning the supposed partnership between North and South".

Goal 7. Ensure environmental sustainability

To include the principles into the countries polices and programs and reduce the loss of environmental resources. The other aim of the goal was to half the number of people without access to safe drinking water, by 2015. It was also aimed to improve the lives of the people living in shacks by 2020 (Todaro, 2000, p. 24; Khoo, 2005, p. 47; UN MDG Report, 2010, p. 52). It is interesting that the largest polluters in the

world the United States refuses to sign the Kyoto Protocol and no one mention its refusal to promote environmental conservation. Moreover there is no mention of Multinational Corporation contributing in environmental degradation and the power of states to control is greatly restricted (Amin, 2006, p. 3; Khoo, 2005, p. 47).

Goal 8. Develop a global partnership for development

This goal commits rich countries to work with poor countries to create an environment for rapid sustainable and broad based development. Each have a different task in accelerating progress towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals (Todaro, 2000, p. 24; Khoo, 2005, p. 47; UN MDG Report, 2010, p. 66). However the very same goal is loaded with post - Washington consensus prescriptions that promote the neoliberal framework driven by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Both International Financial Institutions requires an "open, non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system. In short this means the imposition of free market rules on developing countries (Tujan, 2004, p. 3; Morton and Weston, p. 88-89). The program for the heavily indebted countries generally imposes colonial rule to them. The governments of these countries are ripped their sovereign power to run their institutions (Amin, 2006, p. 4). The unsustainable debt problem has led to calls for debt relief from across the political arena. As the Economist has noted: "It has long been obvious that several countries, especially in Africa, cannot repay their debts. Their (occasional) efforts to do so impoverish already destitute people, and blight their hopes of economic take-off " (Naiman and Watkins, 1999, p. 5). Although the UN General Secretary Ban Ki Moon has reported that there are "encouraging results regarding decline of extreme poverty, a better access to water, progress in combating tuberculosis and malaria, as well as a better gender parity in primary school enrolment. For example, only 61 per cent of people in sub-Saharan Africa have access to improved sources of water, while the level in most other regions is 90 per cent or higher," but "many people who have escaped extreme poverty are still vulnerable to shocks, such as the impending food crisis in West Africa's Sahel region. Hunger remains a global challenge with hundreds of millions of children undernourished" (UN News, 2012, p. 1). Another problem with these goals is that they have no clear guidelines to achieve these goals. The time frame of the MDG's is also too short as most of these poor nations have been looted, disadvantaged for many years. Therefore twenty five years to achieve these goals is unfair for these developing countries. Using Zambian case study the next section of the paper will show whether Zambia will meet the MDG's by 2015.

4. Zambian Case Study: Millennium Development Goals

Zambia is a landlocked country found in the southern Africa with a population of approximately 12 million. Zambia is one of the poorest countries in Africa. The overall

poverty rate declined from 70 percent in 1996 to 64 percent in 2006. Regardless of the progress, 50 percent of the population is still considered to be living in absolute poverty, with 14 percent classified as moderately poor (Gaynor, 2005, p. 1). The IMF rates Zambia as more likely to fall into economic crisis because of several interconnected factors: a sharp decline in price of primary export commodity, copper: devaluation of Zambia's currency, the Kwacha; a reduction in foreign direct investment; continued high food inflation and decline in tourism (FAO, 2009, p. 3)

Considering the majority of the people living in absolute poverty in Zambia the MDG's would be the right tools to eradicate poverty. However based on the current trends it is unlikely that the MDG's would be achieved by 2015. Zambia actually needs a constant 7 percent economic growth if it is to accomplish the MDG's by 2015. However as a result of global economic crisis economic growth rate has declined from 6 percent to 4 percent for 2009. The main reason that makes Zambia vulnerable to economic crisis is because it relies heavily on mining, specifically copper. The anticipated economic decline combined with political instability and the decline in international copper prices, caused the Kwacha to lose one-third of its value against the US dollar between March 2008 and March 2009. Food inflation increased from 10.1 percent in April 2008 to 15.9 percent in April 2009. This price inflation caused increase in the price of the maize which is the source of calories of the poor population (FAO, 2009, p. 3). Although "extreme poverty declined from 58% in 1991 to 51% in 2006 (LCMS), improving towards the target of 29%". However, abject poverty is still prevalent in rural areas at 67% compared to 20% in urban areas (LCMS), "On the target to halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger, the prevalence of underweight children declined from 22% in 1991 to 14.6% in 2007 (MDGR), while the target is 11%" Although, economic growth is vital but not enough for the achievement of this goal (UN, 2010, p. 1). While development is important in reducing poverty, development is meaningless if it does not improve the income and well-being for all. Economic growth that fails to increase the standards of living for all cannot be described as development (Hall and Midgley, 2004: 45).

It is at this point that "social policy interfaces with development". The best strategy of increasing the standards of living and eradicating poverty is found in an approach that combines economic development with introduction of social policies that explicitly and honestly tackle the poverty problem (Hall and Midgley, 2004: 45). This is because social policy is the integral part of social development and it is the tool that works in collaboration with economic policy "to ensure equitable and socially sustainable development" (Mkandawire, 2001: 1). Based on the above trends Zambia is unlikely to accomplish the MDG's targets. To achieve the first goal of reducing extreme poverty, Zambia needs to reduce poverty from 58.2 percent in 1991 to 29.1 per cent in 2015. Since the introduction of the MDG's the number of underweight under five infants has increased to 28 percent and there no realistic hope that the targeted level of 13 percent will be reached by 2015. The primary enrolment ratio declined by 4% between 1990 and 2003 to stand at 76 percent. There is still a gap between female and male literacy, female literacy rates are still lower than those of male. To accomplish the maternal health goal, the maternal mortality ratio of 729 per 100 000 live births in 2002 will have to decrease to 182 by 2015. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS has been accelerating since 1996 and it remains unknown if the incidence of 16 percent will be stopped by 2015 (Gaynor, 2005, p. 2). "As customary law allows for early marriage, young girls are often confronted with teenage pregnancy, HIV and domestic abuse hindering progress towards this MDG" (UN, 2010, p. 1).

Malaria is the common cause of deaths among pregnant women and children under five and the prevalence rate of the diseases was 377 per 1000 in 2000. Stopping and decreasing its spread is a serious challenge. Environmental sustainability is a major challenge in Zambia with 85 percent of the population fire wood or rather solid fuels as an energy source. Drastic and urgent measures are needed to conserve natural resources in order to achieve the environment target for 2015 (Gaynor, 2005, p. 2). From the Zambia case study it can be noted that there are many hurdles that will prevent Zambia to accomplish the MDG targets some of these challenges are lack of resources, political instability, economic crisis etc. Unfortunately it is the IMF, World Bank and bilateral donors which have control over Zambia's development and "accompanying progress towards meeting the MDGs over the coming years" (Gaynor, 2005, p. 8). However this is does not only apply to Zambia but to all poor nations. This confirms what was noted by Tujan (2004) that "many developing countries have insufficient resources to provide the necessary infrastructure and services to achieve these Millennium Development Goals". Although Zambia has shown some improvements in some sectors but it is unlikely to meet the 2015 MDG's targets. This is because Zambia's progress is measured in relative terms not in absolute terms. The next section of the paper will examine whether the developing countries especially Africa is failing to meet the MDG's.

5. Are Developing Countries Failing To Meet The Targets?

On the other hand one would argue that developing nations specifically Africa is seen as not achieving the MDG's because progress is measured in comparative terms, this disfavour the poorer nations. This is because by expressing the targets "in terms of halving the proportion of those in income poverty by 2015 and halving or reducing by an even larger proportion those failing to achieve other goals, the poorest and the most deprived countries face the biggest challenge" (Jolly, 2003, p. 4). It also shows that there was no proper consultation with these poor countries in order to formulate MDG's suitable for each poor country. The MDG's is like buying someone clothes you do not know, the danger might be that you buy wrong size, and the taste of your clothes is different from his. This example shows that consultation is important in order for development to be a success.

It is a pity that even though progress can be made by developing countries but it is reported as failure by international organizations. This is because their performance does not meet the global benchmark that is mostly expressed in comparative form. For example Africa has achieved remarkable progress since 1990 in areas such as primary education, especially for girls. Africa has also achieved some progress in measles vaccination and malaria prevention. About 2 million HIV patients are receiving anti-retroviral therapy (Vandermoortele, 2009, p. 362). The reality is that Africa need not to meet the global targets to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The report that "Africa will miss all the MDG's" actually "paints an unfairly bleak portrait of Africa" (Easterly, 2007, p. 56). These targets were not set using past experiences in Africa. Furthermore as comparative benchmarks they are quite impossible for most African countries (Vandermoortele, 2009, p. 363). It can be argued that Africa in general is achieving the MDG's in an African context. In any case development must not be imposed but be for the people by the people to whom is aimed at.

The MDG targets and indicators are themselves problematic. They are viewed as an international consent on global development goals; yet they overlook issues at the heart of development, such as conflict, human security, and reproductive and sexual rights. They are criticised as unreliable measures of progress due to unreliable methodologies and definitions. The measurement of poverty under Goal 1 exemplifies these problems. Monitoring of the MDGs has serious problems in data, national participation and ownership, together with other reporting processes, and capacity. There are unsatisfactory analyses of progress, "no mechanisms to explore factors which fall beyond the scope of the MDGs, and no guidelines to monitor the extent and quality of civil society participation" (Painter, 2004: 6). All these problems clearly shows that these MDG's are not really meant to eradicate extreme poverty. The next section will attempt to show what the "real goals" behind the MDG's are.

6. The Real Agenda Behind The MDGs

Although the MDG's was designed by the United Nations for poor nations but these poor nations need to lend money from the rich countries through the IMF. To get money from the IMF the countries need to accept the neoliberal policies. Amin (2006) argues that the "real goals" behind the MDG's can be outlined into five points. I tend to agree with Amin (2006) on his argument on "real goals". When critically analysing MDG's they are a continuation of the neoliberal projects specifically the Structural Adjustment Policies, but looking MDG's and SAP's at face value one might conclude that they are contradictory. An attempt will be made below to show how using Amin's

"real goals". The five Amin real goals are as follows however I will only focus on three of these "real goals". The first real goal is extreme privatization, aimed at opening new field for expansion of capital. The second real goal is the generalization of the private appropriation of agricultural land. The third Amin's real goal is commercial "opening" within a context of maximum deregulation. The fourth Amin's real goal is the equally uncontrolled opening up of capital. The last Amin's real goal is the states are forbidden in principle from interfering in economic affairs.

6.1. Extreme privatization, aimed at opening new fields for expansion of capital

Privatization is aimed on reducing public spending especially in education and health. The view of the MDG's to achieve universal education and improving health services lose credibility. I concur with Amin (2006) when he argues that "privatization of property and access to important natural resources, in particular petroleum and water, facilitates the pillage of these resources for the wastefulness of the triad (Japan, US ...?) reducing the discourse of sustainable development to pure, empty rhetoric". Goal 8 which aims to "Develop a global partnership for development" specifically the target "dealing with comprehensively with developing countries debt problems" is a strategy to ensure that the developed countries control the natural resources of the developing countries. Since they are providing solutions for their debts they come with strings attached to them. For example "good governance". We have seen this in the past whereby SAP's have been used to ensure debt repayment and economic restructuring. The poor countries have been forced to cut their expenditure in things like education and health. Actually the IMF and World Bank have compelled these poor countries to "lower their standard of living of their people" (Shah, 2010, p. 1). For example for Zambia in order to receive debt relief from IMF and other international creditors they are obliged to implement privatisation programmes and cuts in public spending (Gaynor, 2005, p. 6).

6.2. Commercial "opening" within a context of maximum deregulation.

This is a strategy of opening a space for trade without any obstacles. This kind of trade is unequal because it only gives power to the transnationals that control the trade in raw materials and agricultural products. For example coffee shows the "disastrous social effects of this systematic choice". Two decades ago coffee producers were paid 9 billion dollars and consumers paid out 20 billion for this same coffee. Currently these two figures are six and thirty billion respectively. It is obvious that such conditions are in favour of what is called fair trade (Amin, 2006, p. 6-7). This is found in the last MDG goal 8, under the target "develop further an open trading and financial system...". The rich countries through IMF, World Bank etc

recommend that the poor countries should open up to allow more imports in and export more of their commodities. This contributes to poverty and dependency to developing countries (Shah, 2010, p. 3). The strategy of "opening up" advantage the developed countries to be more affluent by "selling capital intensive 'thus cheap' products for a high price and buying labor intensive (thus expensive) products for a low price" (Smith, 1994, p. 127). One of the prescriptions of structural adjustment is that poor countries must increase their exports. Exporting commodities and resources is viewed as commendable to assist earn exchange with which to pay off debts and keep stable (Shah, 2010, p. 4). From above it can be concluded that MDG's and Structural Adjustment Policies are complementary and both their aim is not to bring development but to colonise thereby plundering resources of the poor and making them even more dependant. It is a new form of colonization.

6.3. States are forbidden in principle from interfering in economic affairs

States have been made watchdogs. Globally, the state is reduced to guarantee debt service, as the first and foremost in public spending. Under globalisation the state can only provide those social and public services deemed essential by international capital and at lowest possible overhead cost. The MDG's produce "apartheid on a world scale, reproducing and deepening global polarization" (Amin, 2006, p. 7). It is worth noting that the state's capacities for governance have changed over the vears and in many respects have weakened considerable, the state especially the developing countries have been turned to shopkeepers to generate profit for affluent countries through International Financial Institutions. Attached to both Structural Adjustment Programs and MDG's is the process of liberalization, privatization, deregulation, neo-liberalism therefore the two are complementary they serve the same purpose to advantage 'certain entities'. Embedded in both MDG's and SAP's is not actually development but to exploit the poor nations by making them markets. Therefore achieving the MDG's is not actually the primary aim. The World Bank and the IMF have repeatedly come under sharp criticism over the failure of their SAP's that is why MDG's have been now designed to support an old idea.

Many scholars approve that the Millennium Development Goals will not be achieved by the target year of 2015. Regardless of "possibly falling short, the Goals have done something positive in giving the world benchmarks to measure progress. Even though the goals may be unrealistic, they still gave many something to strive for" (Poverty News, 2010, p. 1). Some of the success stories about MDG's are that "sub-Saharan Africa chalked up the best record for improvement in primary school enrolment, but the world is far from achieving universal primary education, MDG 2. Burundi, Madagascar, Rwanda, Samoa, São Tomé and Principe, Togo and Tanzania are among the countries that have achieved, or are nearing the goal of universal

primary education. The abolition of school fees has contributed to progress in many of these countries" (Poverty News, 2011, p. 1).

7. Conclusion ■

From the Zambia case study above it can be noted that there are many hurdles that will prevent not only Zambia, but also developing countries particularly Africa to accomplish the MDG targets some of these challenges are lack of resources, political instability, economic crisis etc. Unfortunately it is the IMF, World Bank and bilateral donors which have control over poor countries and "accompanying progress towards meeting the MDGs over the coming years" (Gaynor, 2005, p. 8). Furthermore, many developing countries have insufficient resources to provide the necessary infrastructure and services to achieve these Millennium Development Goals. Although some poor countries including Zambia has shown some improvements in some sectors but it is unlikely to meet the 2015 MDG's targets, this is supported by the data from the UNDP, UN News, FAO, academics etc. There is also some difficulty or lack of measurements for some of the goals. They are criticised as unreliable measures of progress due to unreliable methodologies and definitions. The measurement of poverty under Goal 1 exemplifies these problems. Monitoring of the MDGs has serious problems in data, national participation and ownership, together with other reporting processes, and capacity. There are unsatisfactory analyses of progress, "no mechanisms to explore factors which fall beyond the scope of the MDGs, and no guidelines to monitor the extent and quality of civil society participation" (Painter, 2004: 6). Another problem with these goals is that they have no clear guidelines to achieve these goals. The time frame of the MDG's is also too short as most of these poor nations have been looted, disadvantaged for many years. Therefore twenty five years to achieve these goals is unfair for these developing countries.

When critically analysing MDG's they are a continuation of the neoliberal projects specifically the Structural Adjustment Policies, but looking MDG's and SAP's at face value one might conclude that they are contradictory. Embedded in both MDG's and SAP's is not actually development but to exploit the poor nations by making them markets. Both the MDG and the SAP projects are loaded with post – Washington consensus prescriptions that promote the neoliberal framework driven by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Therefore achieving the MDG's is not actually the primary aim. The World Bank and the IMF have repeatedly come under sharp criticism over the failure of their SAP's that is why MDG's have been now designed to support an old idea. If the MDG's would have an African benchmark then the goals could be realistic but because they are in global benchmark they are unrealistic for Africa. The main driver of the MDG's is goal 8 obviously all these poor countries they would need funds so if no funds they will not be achieved. All

countries want to eradicate poverty so they will fall in the debt trap which is the "best strategy" to exploit the powerless which is the poor nations. The first seven goals are harmless they have no cruel ulterior motive but the eighth goal shows very well the SAP's continuation. The first seven MDG's are designed in a manner that they look appealing to poor nations so that they can fall into "trap 8" which is goal 8.

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THE SOCIAL ECONOMY IN ROMANIA, BETWEEN PRAXIS AND THE NEED OF CONCEPTUALIZING PRACTICE

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Abstract: The article contains some reflections about social economy in Romania. These reflections are based on the participatory observations of the author as an expert and they were realized during the initiation and unfolding of some social economy projects in different phases. They are also the outcome of the author's participation at international conferences in Brussels about social economy and conceptualization of the theory in practice. The scope of the article is to draw attention to the necessity of a analysis on the impact of structured projects in the social economy domain, the need of developing some theoretical concepts after the projects have ended, in other words adapting the theory to reality, and the fact that the universities must promote these projects. In the rural environment the perspective for the most communities is that of further developing associativity between vulnerable groups and the persons with entrepreneurial experience. This involves the further developing of trust and participatory spirit. The Universities have the responsibility of promoting new and social innovative learning patterns in the social economy domain for the future social workers and social teachers.

Keywords: social economy, structural projects, participatory spirit, rural communities, vulnerable groups.

Introduction ■

Following the discussions I've had with the participant at different stages within structural projects of social economy (project leaders, facilitators, trainers and

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beneficiaries) and the direct observations, report analysis and other project related documents I felt the need of a analysis and reflection related to the observed. These are the questions that I have searched the answer for:

- 1. Is there something specific to the social economy in Romania?
- 2. How does a pattern work that was redirected from the EU Countries where first of all the associative bases of the social economy where institutionalized and later where oriented towards the vulnerable groups?
- 3. Why does this concept seem foreign?
- 4. What is the future of the structural projects addressed to the rural communities that are mostly Rroma?
- 5. What kind of impact do all the social economy projects have? What will happen in the future with these projects?

The article also contains the following themes: 1. Social economy within a European context; 2. The forms of social economy in Romania - Past and Present; 3. What is the situation in the rural communities?; 4. What are the prospects? Social enterprise versus encouraging associability; 5. What possible solutions are there for the existing problems?; 6. Some observations regarding trainings in social economy; 7. Conclusions.

1. Social Economy in the European context

In the current context, one of the main concerns of the member states, in Europe's 2020 strategy is the growth of the degree of occupation in the active work force area. From this perspective, social economy contributes to the achieving of four major objectives in UE's strategy to occupy the workforce: the improvement of employment for the active population; encouraging the entrepreneurial spirit, especially by creating job opportunities at a local level; improving the adaptability of companies and their employees by modernizing the way work is organized; consolidating the equal chances policy, especially by developing public policies that allow the coexistence of family life and professional life. The objectives to reach by 2020 are: increasing the number of employed persons (75% of the individuals between the ages of 20 and 64 should have a job), innovation (3% of Europe's income should be invested in research and development), education (the school abandon rate during the first years should be under 10% and minimum 40% of the youth should reach the third level of schooling), social inclusion (the number of people under the limit of poverty should be smaller with about 20 million people) and energy (dioxide carbon emissions should drop 30%). For the better understanding of our topic, the term social economy refers to those organizations situated between the public sector

(public authorities, etc.) and the private sector (companies, etc.) which are active within the non-profit range.

As new Member State, Romania felt the impact of the expansion of social and economic innovation represented by the single market Europe (Stănescu S. M., Cace S. - coord., 2011, p. 267). The understanding of the functioning way of the work market from Romania is relevant for appreciating the situation and the perspective of the social economical sector (Stănescu I., 2011, p. 73).

The organizations that are active in the social economy area are more influenced by the economic and social development rather than the company's own success. Nowdays, it becomes acute need to monitor and evaluate initiatives undertaken in this sector and to reveal the mechanisms which create a healthy ecosystem and vibrant economy that support this innovative and social entrepreneurs (Cace S., D. Arpinte, Cace C., Cojocaru Ş., 2011, p.65; Koutmalasou E., 2011; Katsikaris L., Parcharidis J., 2010, p. 90). Social economy organisations continue to hold a significant potential, particularly by providing open jobs for the people belonging to vulnerable groups "goods and services that had to be provided at affordable cost to mainly vulnerable social groups were covered, at varying levels, by the social economy sector" (Arpinte S., Cace S., Cojocaru Ş, 2010, p. 65). Thus, the social economy can contribute effectively to social cohesion and is one of the main players fighting against social exclusion (Cace S., V. Nicolaescu, Scoican A.N., 2010, pp. 192-193).

2. The forms of social economy in Romania

Social economy, in its original form, where workers helped each other, started in 1850 during the industrialization period, in England. As an activity, the social economy is bound in historical perspective to corporations and popular associations which form its backbone. The concept of social economy is based on this system of values and principles. (CIRIEC, 2007, pp 2-3). Since then and until three decades ago, four major essential actors have defined the field of social economy: associations, foundations, mutual help societies and cooperatives.

3. Forms of social economy in Romania – Past and Present

Associative forms have a certain history in Romania, but the communist past has seriously affected these incipient forms of social economy. Centralized economy, the political control that existed before 1989 and forced collectivism are the main causes for discouraging the growth of social economy after more than two decades after the fall of communism. As a member of the EU, Romania must engage in serious efforts in regard of implementing the concepts of social economy, in the current context where development strategies are being established for each member state.

Some forms of social economy have developed also in Romania during the industrialization period. One example would be the forms of mutual help associations such as "MICA Brad" formed by the Romanian miners before the First World War. The "Mărul" cooperative founded in 1921 in Geoagiu de Sus after a Dutch example or the cooperative "Stremteana" from Teius (major supplier during the war), are relevant examples of cooperatives set up before the communist era. You could also find charity associations and foundations.

During the communist regime, social economy was dominated by the cooperatives' activities and by the houses of mutual help. The foundations and associations with economic activities where practically erased from the economic field. Mutual help houses, called originally "house unions", functioned during the communist period by their own rules, but during that time there were cooperatives, but they did not respect the basic principles of social economy. The Romanian Institute of Evaluation and Strategy studied this issue, its conclusion being that "the associative forms have a certain history in Romania, but the communism has strongly affected these incipient forms of social economy" (IRES, 2010, p. 32).

A qualitative study performed by IRES shows us that in the Romanian rural space the concept of social economy is almost unknown to the local leaders and the disadvantaged groups and this is confirmed also by the interviews which showed: limited knowledge, low predisposition towards associating, volunteering, initiatives and high paternal expectations towards the role of local and central authorities in creating employment opportunities and social protection. The general conclusion of this study is that there is no knowledge of social economy in the rural environment. neither from the part of the authorities, nor from the part of the disadvantaged groups but through information, replicating good practices and implementing projects to stimulate initiative, solidarity, the need of training and developing, correlated with a very clear offer of job opportunities may create in the rural environment, on midterm, the premises of a social economy at an European level.

4. What is the situation in the rural communities?

There are many similarities, but also differences between the studied communities. Beyond the similarities due to the landscape, positioning towards the city and the existence of traditional production facilities, the difference in performance and identity between the communes in the reference area is represented by the activism of the local authorities in attracting European funds, implementing governmental programs, the openness towards investors and the interest in solving the problems that the disadvantaged groups are facing. In other words, activism, performance, experience, openness and solidarity are the key components that can guarantee the favorable premises for a successful implementation of future projects within the social economy domain.

The support programs for the disadvantaged groups on a local level are limited to giving the minimum social aid depicted by law and within the existing budget limit. This assistance is often blamed by the local leaders because, in their view, it does not encourage work and it creates a feeling of sufficiency and dependence towards the authorities. The programs for professional training, professional reconversion or stimulation of employment initiatives for persons belonging to disadvantaged groups are relatively rare and they are usually run by nongovernmental organizations. Their magnitude is reduced because they are not attractive for the beneficiaries and a culture of learning and continuous training generally miss. The overall reaction of the authorities towards any initiative involving creating work opportunities and social integration is positive (Popescu R., p. 46).

The personal initiative is extremely reduced in the rural environment. Most respondents prefer a more individualist and consumerist attitude on a short term rather than associability and investment on a long term. Business success is associated with thievery thus the businessman is still regarded in a slightly undesirable manner within the rural area, although there is a general expectation in attracting investments and creating work spaces. There are also people that appreciate the entrepreneurs for their courage in assuming risks and creating job opportunities. It can be said, with small exceptions, that there is no significant entrepreneurial culture in the rural environment. The general note within the disadvantaged groups is the dependence on state aid and not assuming risks (IRES, 2010, p. 23).

Rroma people represent the most disadvantaged group in the rural area. They mostly live at the outskirts of the commune, in hard to reach areas and far away from schools. Most Rroma homes have no electricity and their access to a clean water source is difficult. The general health conditions in the Rroma communities are more precarious than in the general populations'. A very low level of education and acquiring skills narrows the horizon in getting a legal income. Most Rroma people live out of social aid, VMG and children allowance. With no qualification to speak of, they mostly have season jobs in farms or in agriculture. The perception of the general public on Rroma population is tolerant and compassionate, but also reproachful towards their traditional life style and their resistance to change and be socially integrated. There are successful projects in the gypsy communities and best practices that can be multiplied. An example of good practice is the "PATER PAULUS" farm in Bacova, Timis County and The Caritas Association in Campulung Muscel.

5. What are the prospects? Social enterprise versus encouraging associability

The question raised in this moment is: what is more difficult? To create forms of social economy on empty spaces, in the absence of any premises, as the process of creating Non-profit organizations and foundations proves to be, in the rural environment? Or to fight against the perception and the feeling of rejection that people have towards cooperation, the pillar of social economy, because they associate it with forced collectivization?

At the same time, the solution may come from a relative modern form, developed in the last 30 years in Western Europe, called social enterprise or company of professional insertion (in Great Britain, community interest company). These forms have recently appeared within the social economy domain to fill the need of creating work spaces and income sources for those affected by unemployment and social exclusion. It is very useful to guide the social economy towards solving the acute social problems of the society and to facilitate, through different forms of social economy, the third pillar of the active inclusion principle: creating work places.

This change of course however comes after the institutionalization of the associative and citizen bases of social economy, as an appendix focused on disadvantaged groups in the last thirty years. (It is also the attribute of countries with a faster development. Cooperatives and union houses are predominant in southern Europe: Italy, Spain, and France). (Cace C., Arpinte D. (coord.), Stoican A.N., Theotokatos H., Koutmalasou E., 2010, pp. 103-107).

This is not the case for Romania which initially considered the concept of social economy as a major intervention domain within the structural funds and only afterward through conceptual analysis and development. It was assimilated as a major intervention domain for accomplishing the "hiring" objective for the population, hence the preponderant and possibly risky concentration on vulnerable groups in a process seen as extracting the marginalized person from inactivity through continuous training and subsequently placing them in a job.

Without a doubt, for the projects that accept the double challenge, that of creating a social company and that of creating it in a rural environment, this approach is insufficient.

6. What possible solutions are there for the existing problems?

We consider the following things as a must:

- The media campaigns for increasing the awareness of the general public on how the social economy works.
- 2. A proper legislative frame for the social economy, because during our project we found that:

- a. Social economy is perceived as a new phenomenon: nobody seeme to make a connection between the traditional form of credit unions developed in Romania Casa de Ajutor Reciproc (CAR) and local cooperatives, although there are cases where local credit cooperatives work fine. (Such as Cooperative Tisa from Albesti, affiliated to Cooperative Rascoala from Botosani)
- b. The need of defining the social economy sector through a law frame would make a better connection between European financing (that generates centralized forms of social economy) on one hand and the existing/traditional forms of social economy and collective mentality on the other hand. (It could also generate the necessary correction in forming the associative principles).
- c. There is no way of measuring the impact of social economy, thus valuing the contribution, in absence of the sectors coagulation, so that our results are not measurable in regard of contributing to the country's internal revenue.
- 3. The creation of a governmental sector for aiding the social economy that would:
 - a. Grant recognition through a social system to the continuously growing number of projects in which social economy units were created in order to support them in their fight with the competition on the internal market and other than through fiscal facilities that are being distanced further apart as a possibility.
 - b. Encourage the use of the social brand under the form of social clause in the process of public acquisition.
 - c. Offer and collect information on a quantity and quality basis in regard with the evolution of the sector and with the development opportunities.
- 4. The development of programs that would help acknowledge the importance of continuous training, initiative and association because we noticed that we need:
 - Programs, not just projects.
 - b. Continuous training, not just punctual training courses.
- 5. The involvement of local authorities in creating social enterprises, a fact that was partially validate in this year of implementing because:
 - a. The local authority members must support the initiatives for creating social enterprises by the co villagers.
 - b. The local authority members must avoid establishing their own enterprises through which they create new work places for the villager, but whose stability is directly dependant on contracts with the state and subsequently with the next political election campaign.

- 6. The development of entrepreneurial counseling programs in the same time simplifying the procedures for starting a social business because:
 - a. It is not possible to establish a professional insertion enterprise or a company per se until the frame law is approved, thus associations must be established that in their turn must establish a SRL where they are soul shareholders. This raises a double administrative problem.
 - b. The administration procedures of the cooperatives makes them unattractive for obtaining credits and other sources of financing in order to achieve sustainability.

7. Some observations regarding trainings in social economy

During our training sessions, the participant groups where formed out of people that where very interested in practicing social behavior and, although some admitted to not knowing the social economy domain, they see it as an opportunity of development and involvement in their community. From the campaigns that have preceded the training, the participants had the knowledge and proved to be very open in learning more about the subject.

The general objective of this training was to familiarize the participants with the concept of social economy and with its basic forms as a way of community development. The expectances expressed by the participants fit within three categories:

- 1. The desire to know what social economy is, what its mechanisms are and, being a fairly new domain, what are the steps for establishing a social enterprise.
- 2. Detailed and solid information about how to establish and run a social enterprise.
- 3. Personal development and cooperation with the members of the group to get the courage to start the best social enterprise for their community.

The fears the participants expressed where not directed to the training itself or to the possibility that the notions will remain only in theory, but towards the project logistics, lack of implication by the co-villagers, difficulties in finding proper funding for the social enterprise, as well as the fear of being left with no support if they meet obstacles in their project. Other fears where: the bureaucracy that can suffocate any new project and also the risks that might appear during such a project.

The course focused on the social economy in the context of community development and valorizing the potential of the communities included in this project. The training had an interactive character by combining tasks that were assigned to work teams for better simulating real life situations in the learning process. The experience

earned during the practical activities became a learning and development opportunity through the analysis of every single event.

The themes that the participants would like to further study where centralized on regions:

Region 1: economic development, project managing and coordination or managing and coordinating a social enterprise, marketing and product promotion, food industry and social economy. Most requested informations were about how they can help within the project and how they can develop their knowledge.

Region 2: the involvement of the work group with an accent on how to communicate within it, team work, development, entrepreneurism and legal aspects, implementation of European projects and starting social enterprise. "All themes" are of interest if they can help in "the actual implementation of theory in the communities' projects".

Region 3: social economy, social enterprise, the implementation of social businesses, the organizing and functioning of a business, planning of activities, community development, the need of information in regard of European funded projects, more knowledge about teamwork and communication.

Region 4: social economy, the founding of social enterprises, the founding of traditional work enterprises, project writing, possibilities and ideas for developing businesses and last but not least, inter-human collaboration.

The way the participants would use this knowledge in real life was also centralized:

The participants from Region 1 said they will use the acquired information in the various situations they might meet, both in their community and at home, in the family, so that in the future "it will be better for developing a business".

For the participants in Region 2, the value of the acquired information resides in the possibility of implementation within the local business plan and the active involvement of the group in local/communitarian activities "for setting up projects with a higher rate of success".

The third region's participants appreciated what they've learned a lot and they have acquired new knowledge that will help them in a social enterprise and also to establish a social business.

The participants from Region 4 mentioned the use of the acquired knowledge in the field applications, fact that will help them start a business in an attempt to apply everything they have learned.

At the end of the course, the main recommendations made by the trainers where:

1. Orienting the participants towards what is possible and adequate.

- To try and set the acquired knowledge especially in intercultural communities to the thematic of intercultural education.
- 3. Considering the communication issues discussed, the boarding of conflicts, personal development, emotional and social intelligence.

8. Conclusion

The field of the social economy in Romania initially developed as a major field of intervention through the structural projects, and subsequently as a conceptual model. This is why its first orientation was towards the vulnerable groups, which were initially trained in a specific field and then placed in a job.

The structural projects aimed at setting up social enterprises in the rural area, but this approach did not prove to be enough.

The setting up of social enterprises subjected to the rules of economic profitability as any other enterprise did not prove to be a sustainable solution. Thus, the consolidation of the associativity and the development of responsibility, involvement, trust and participation offers a future in this field for the rural communities. This process proves to be difficult mainly due to our recent past, when those attitudes were devalued and misinterpreted.

On the other hand, the lack of a legal frame and the perception that the social economy is a new field of activity, having no connection with traditional unions set up in Romania make this process even more difficult. How shall we measure the impact and how will be valued the contribution of the social economy remain questions to be answered yet.

On the other hand, the collective thinking in rural areas on the subject of certain forms of traditional associativity is very powerful, and the worst thing is that mainly this forms of associativity beneficiate of massive funds.

We've made above some considerations on how we can approach the development of social economy units within our projects and how the development of these social economic units can be planned by the institutions and organizations with whom we collaborate in this field and on which we depend in considerable measure. The interaction we have with our 24 contacts within the communities shows us that we cannot work only with the vulnerable persons and the social personnel that works with them. There is a need of mobilizing some actors from the community that are not necessarily within the helper-helped dynamic. These actors are generally ignored when the process of planning the activities takes place, but the successful implementation of these activities is impossible in their absence. On the other hand, we have noticed that, if we do not make connections between these units of social economy, we will not be able to have a serious impact on the most isolated regions

of Romania. In the context of current crisis, we should increasingly pay more attention to a sustainable social economy close to social values, where Higher Education has responsibility for these new challenges. The traditional economic model is questioned and goes through urgent changes requiring everyone to find alternatives to the severe economic crisis and the current capitalist economic model. Social Knowledge Transference and Mobilization is targeted as a new responsibility of the university. The knowledge transference of science and technology it has hard support in our country, not so with the knowledge transference from the Social Sciences. The new profiles of social professions need to be creative in social innovation and entrepreneurship. (Social action in Europe Sustainable Social Development and economic challenges – Conference Brussels 10-13 April 2011, Conference Book, pp 203)

Our main aims are:

- 1. Analyze and develop a theoretical and conceptual framework on social innovation and social entrepreneurship.
- To identify best practices in Europe and other regions of the World in order to improve social economy growth, competitiveness and quality of life of individuals and communities.
- 3. To create a Guide for Succeed Social Entrepreneurship and Innovation Learnings.
- 4. To identify the teaching-learning skills, methodologies, competencies and contents that social entrepreneurs and innovators need.
- 5. To create a Social Entrepreneurship Learning Guide (SEL Guide) for Higher Education
- 6. Looking for gender, multicultural and environmental issues.

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PERCEPTIONS OF MAGISTRATES AND PUBLIC OPINION RELATED TO COMMUNITY SANCTIONS

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Abstract: The paper is intended to make an analysis of the way in which the public opinion and the magistrates from the penal law system relate to the community sanctions and measures, within the context in which several international regulations highlight the necessity to implement these community sanctions and measures extensively in the domestic legislation of the member states. The paper also shows the importance of the political factor in the practical implementation of the regulations and the way in which the governmental decision factors influence the perception at the level of the public opinion and of the magistrates.

Keywords: Community sanctions, community measures, public opinion, magistrates

Introduction

The recent decades witnessed several essential changes in the correctional systems, which included a rethinking of their mission, of the methods of intervention and of their role within the broader process of rehabilitation of the offenders (lancu M.A., 2010, Oancea G., Faur A.S., 2009, Abraham P., Nicolăescu D., 2006).

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These transformations aimed to increase the visibility of the community sanctions, as well as to allow a reflection of the academic environment and of the practicians within the systems of penal law regarding the efficiency of this type of sanctions. These concerns were directed towards several aspects such as the adequacy of these sanctions or the identification of the particular way of sanctioning which ensure both the requirement of public protection and of the social reintegration of the people in conflict with the penal law (Nicolăescu V., Sandu O., 2009).

Community sanctions - challenging approaches

Since we will constantly refer to the notion of community sanctions, as well because of reasons of terminological rigorousness, we will define this concept.

As far as we are concerned, we consider that the definition given by the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee in Regulation (92)16 regarding the European rules in matter of community sanctions and measures (still) meets the requirements of a proper definition given to this notion.

Thus, the term of community sanctions and measures refers to those sanctions or measures applied by legally appointed institutions, which presume maintaining the offender within the community and involve restrictions on his/her liberty by imposing conditions and/or obligations.

The appearance of this type of sanctions within the sphere of penal punishment relies, among other, on several observations done in time on the inadequacy of the punishment which deprives the people of liberty, the imprisonment.

The imprisonment, which appeared within the sphere of the correctional institutions some two centuries ago, was to become, rather shortly, the main penal punishment for the offenders.

It is important to highlight the fact that the programmatic purpose of this punishment was not the mere isolation of the offenders from the rest of the community, but their inclusion in an environment which allowed interventions with the purpose to change the offending behaviour. In other words, as Foucault (2005) mentioned, the punishment of imprisonment was not directed towards the body of the convict, rather to his/her soul.

During the two centuries of existence, the way in which the punishment of imprisonment was applied underwent several essential changes, circumscribed to a process designed as punishment polishing (Pratt, 2002).

These transformations aimed the increasingly visible involvement of practicians in the field of socio-human sciences (psychologists, social workers etc.) within the process of rehabilitation of the offenders which take place within the penitentiary. granting elementary rights to the convicts and monitoring their observance by the administration of the penitentiaries, or the establishment of a framework within which the dignity of the inmate is respected.

Despite these progresses, the liberty-depriving punishments continue to have an adverse impact on the self of the inmates, being under constant criticism, criticism which accompanied these punishments from the very moment of their application (Brown, 2009; Foucault, 2005).

The research, observations and statements of the former inmates showed that the purpose of imprisonment, the behavioural rehabilitation of the convict, still is an ideal.

Concretely, the liberty-depriving sanctions are more liable to yield adverse effects on the convicts, such as their alienation, loss of responsibility, assimilation of new techniques for committing crime actions, or the loss of contact with the supporting environment (family). If we add the cost of building or maintaining the detention areas, not at all to be neglected1, we get an image which makes us consider that the punishment of imprisonment should be a sanction enforced only is particular situations, when the level of social danger of the crime, or the level of personal danger represented by the offender, justifies this.

These adverse aspects of the imprisonment determined the appearance (since the 19th century) of the community sanctions and measures within the different systems of penal law, which involve punishments which don't deprive the convict of his/her liberty.

Several sanctions were developed in time which, while not depriving the convict of his/her liberty, may still fulfil the inherent functions of a punishment: coercion, social reintegration of the convict and example-providing (Bulai, 2007).

Sanctions appeared such as the conditioned suspension or under surveillance of the imprisonment, probation, work to the use of community, conditioned release from the penitentiary accompanied by surveillance, mediation between the victim and offender etc.

Furthermore, the application of these sanctions is encouraged by the adoption at the regional² or even global¹ level of regulations meant to urge and support the countries

¹ For instance, the budget allocated for the US penitentiaries amounted to 6.8 billion USD in

² Also see the European Regulation on the community sanctions and measures -Recommendation nr. R (92) 16, Recommendation R(2000) 22 concerning the improvement of implementing the European rules regarding the community sanctions and measures,

in the process of rethinking the system of sanctions by the inclusion and wider application of the community sanctions.

However, the promotion of this alternative approach is not an easy undertaking. Several evolutions noticed these recent decades in some countries² prove that, many times, the enforcement of these sanctions is conditioned by subjective aspects which are not necessarily correlated with their efficiency.

Under these circumstances, as shown (Junger-Tas, 1993), the broad promotion and application of the community sanctions and measures is conditioned by the trust which the public opinion, the judges and the governmental factors of decision have in these community sanctions and measures.

Of these three factors, we will analyse briefly in this paper the way in which the public opinion and the courts of law relate to this type of sanctions. The exclusion of the third factor is rather apparent because, as it will be noticed, the activity of the political and governmental factors has a determinative role in relation with the other two factors.

1. Specific attitudes of the public opinion perception of the community sanctions and measures

When the decision factors outline the penal policy of a state and decide the strategies designed to control the crime acts, they (also) do it to improve the safety of their citizens. The reason for this is the increasing feeling of insecurity among the citizens, as reported by many opinion and sociological surveys conducted both in Romania and abroad³.

It is paradoxically that this feeling of insecurity appears on the background of a general phenomenon of decreasing delinquency⁴, phenomenon noticed both in Romania and in western countries (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006; Zimring, 2007).

Recommendation R(2010) 1 on the rules for probation adopted under the aegis of the EU Council of Ministers.

- ¹ Minimal UN standards in the matter of the measures not depriving of liberty (the Tokyo rules).
- ² See, three strikes law from the USA, which established the possibility that the offenders (previously convicted at least two times) may be punished by a much longer sentence (sometimes lifetime imprisonment) than the normal sentence for the new crime.
- Thus, an INSOMAR survey conducted in 2009 on a sample of 1216 people, representative for the population of Romania, showed that three quarters of the interviewed persons expected the crime rate to increase over the subsequent 6 months and considered that delinquency was to increase. More than half of the respondents claimed that they don't feel safe in the street at night.
- 4 The decrease of the crime rate in the western countries during the past three decades was a subject debated in the literature with the view to detect the causes of this phenomenon.

Speaking strictly of the situation of Romania, we notice that the "peak" year of delinquency was 1997 (according to the Statistical Yearbook of the National Institute of Statistics, 2009), the subsequent trend being a constant decrease of the number of people convicted for criminal activities.

Despite this evidence, we may notice that the discourse of the politicians and the penal policies assumed this feeling of insecurity displayed by the public and transposed it into penal policies oriented rather to repression.

Actually, we may notice a convergence of the opinion expressed by the decision factors and by the public, that the penal law is much too soft and that it has to be hardened.

Under these circumstances, at the first sight, the public opinion tends to be rather in disagreement with the possible initiatives of expanding community-type sanctions, since the predominant feeling is that of unsafety. We may also notice that, up to now, no in-depth research has been conducted in Romania on the public perception regarding the penal sanctions, except the surveys mentioned earlier which often depict general aspects.

However, systematic research in this direction has been conducted worldwide, which yielded surprising results which we will present subsequently.

Thus, Hutton (2005) showed that most times the public perception is shaped under the influence of the messages transmitted by the mass media or by other factors shaping the public opinion.

Consequently, 75% of the people included in a study considered that the crime rate increased dramatically, while actually it remained constant or even decreased over the past 10 years. Likewise, the perception of the trend of the proportion of violent crimes was that of a significant increase, while the statistics actually proved the contrary; the perception of the public regarding the sentences was that they were too soft and that the penal procedures were indulgent.

In other words, the premises of a discourse for a more severe treatment of the delinquency were in full agreement with the desire of the public opinion.

The approach of a more specific level yielded surprising results. Thus, when the actual case of a crime was presented, as new details were revealed, the opinion of the interviewed people started to get closer to a solution similar to the one ruled by the court. Being a crime with low social danger, the general opinion was in favour of applying a treatment in the community.

The roots have being identified in the changes in the culture and life style of the youth, in the fewer opportunities to commit a crime because of the improved and mode diversified security systems, in the rethinking of the programs intended to prevent delinquency etc.

Furthermore, it was also revealed the fact that the level of information of the public regarding the real life in the penitentiary and the organisation of the penal system were scarce; when the costs of the custodial treatment were revealed, the opinion of the participants in the study was favourable to the frequent use of sanctions not depriving the convicts of their liberty (Hutton, 2005) . These conclusions are not singular. There is a lot of literature on the public perception of the sanctioning system, much so as the public security is the central idea of the discourses supporting the introduction of tougher measures.

These researches (Mattheus, 2005) revealed that as long as the approach is at the general level (feelings), no useful results are expected regarding the change of the public perception, in which the opinions for a tougher treatment of the delinquents coexist with those favourable to the rehabilitation of the people in conflict with the penal law.

As Morgan (2002, p. 220) was noticing, when the public is asked "Which should be the purpose of a sentence" the answers will not be in terms of penalty, deterring or rehabilitation... Most often, the answers will mention curbing criminality, establishing a safer community or reducing the crime rate, with no reference to the way in which the process of sanctioning can facilitate the accomplishment of these results. The people, in general, are not favourable to any philosophy of the penalty; all they want is that something is done to change the behaviour of the offenders.

Under these circumstances, it is only legitimate to ask what can be done to increase the public awareness on the problem of the penal sanctions under the conditions in which, as shown, the discourses on the penalty are rather general, with an approach with affective connotations, rather than an approach which to make reference to the different variants available to the legal system.

Some authors (S. Maruna, & King, A, 2004) showed that the education of the public is very useful but that it must not be seen as a panacea. Thus, in order to increase the trust of the public in the community sanctions, it needs to have more information (for instance, the results of studies) on the phenomena of crime and on the process of enforcing the penal law.

There are evidences that such approaches can yield results, particularly under the circumstances in which the people are asked to make a decision regarding a specific case on the basis of all the information they need. On the other hand, we must not overlook that the impact of the education on the attitudes is a short-term one.

However, the same authors suggested that the public is indeed drawn by the affective side of the penal issues and particularly of the penal actions, but it is also true that it is concerned by the efficacy of the legal system and attentive to the aspects regarding the cost-benefit ratio of the different types of penal sanctions.

Thus, regarding the problem of the efficacy of the punishments, some researches (S. Maruna, 2008) revealed that the hesitations of the public regarding the sanctions which not deprive the convict of his/her liberty can be surmounted, for instance, if they are presented as having an intensive, not formal character, because the public is concerned by the efficacy of the community sanctions.

The conclusion that can easily be inferred from the above statements is that, generally, the public is not that punitive in attitudes as the politicians want to show and that there is a gap between the discourse and the social reality.

As long as the discourse will continue to be at the general level, focusing on an approach which puts forward the emotional side, it is little probable that discernible progress can be made towards modifying the perceptions of the public opinion.

Furthermore, the approach focusing on repression has several adverse effects on the modalities of serving the punishment within the community, undermining their credibility or diverging them from the purpose for which they have been enforced.

2. Specificity of judges' perception of the community sanctions

As far as the judges are concerned, it seems (Roberts, 2004) that skepticism is definitory for their attitude regarding the community sanctions. This attitude was established mainly due to the lack of trust in the activity of agencies legally entrusted with the iomplementation of these sanctions, which prompted the need to identify punishments, not depriving the person of his/her liberty, but which have a much more pregnant activity of surveillance of the offenders.

Thus, the electronic monitoring or the house arrest appeared as sanctions not depriving the person of his/her liberty, innovations facilitated by the technological developments specific to the recent decades.

On the other hand, the fact that the judges make increasing use of community sanctions is also justified by several legal measures which limit drastically their freedom of choice.

In other words, although is some circumstances the judges consider that a punishment not depriving the person of his/her liberty may be an adequate response to the delinquent behaviour, the normative framework only stipulates sanctions depriving the person of his/her liberty.

Thus, regulations have been adopted in the 1990s in countries such as the United States, Canada or the United Kingdom, which stipulated the compulsory sentence to imprisonment in the case of some criminal acts (Roberts, 2003).

Another factor which narrows the freedom of decision of the judges is the establishment of the sentencing guidelines in some countries from the Anglo-Saxon legal system (United States and United Kingdom). They were introduced from reasons of uniformization of the sentences made by the courts of law and aimed to establish a correlation between the prejudice, punishment and the previous criminal behaviour of the defendant. Despite this desiderate, another consequence of this policy was the limited freedom of decision of the judges when they considered that no such sanction was needed.

Although in many legal systems there are explicit stipulations which promote and guarantee the independence of judges, we must not overlook that sometimes in their ruling they are submitted to external pressures from politicians, mass media of public opinion (Slotnick & American Judicature Society., 2005; Streb, 2007). Under these conditions, in order not to give the impression of being too soft on crime, the judges are tempted to use more (and sometimes without grounds) sanctions depriving the people of liberty.

On the other hand, although attempts have been done to rationalise the system of punishments, it still has aspects which yield an inadequate application of the community sanctions and on the sanctions depriving the people of liberty. As the authors said, too many offenders are in prison and too little are kept free (...) Many times, we are too soft on people who are on probation and which should have actually been in the penitentiary, and too hard on the inmates which should have actually been on probation because they are no danger for the community (Morris & Tonrv. 1990).

The consequences of these factors are represented by the intensive application of the imprisonment, with all the adverse consequences both for the inmates and in terms of the social and economic costs of this sanction.

Under these circumstances, the concern for the factors that may determine a change of the judges' perception on the efficiency of the community sanctions is only legitimate.

First, given the existence of the sceptical attitude mentioned earlier, we need to identify the factors that might increase the trust of the judges in the efficacy of these sanctions.

Several studies may provide relevant information for our endeavour.

Thus, a premises of building this trust is the existence of an efficient professional relation between the institutions implementing the community sanctions and the courts of law (Kangaspunta, Joutsen, Ollus, & European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control affiliated with the United Nations., 1998). This professional relation is translated into practice in their preoccupation to cover the professional

needs of the judges (for instance, support to individualise the sanctions). Furthermore, the courts of law must necessarily be consulted when the institutional strategies and policies are developed. The courts of law are considered to be the main partners of the institutions assigned to apply the community sanctions (Morgan, 2003).

Another factor that may increase the trust of the judges regards the professionalism and professional integrity of the staff working within the institutions assigned to apply the community sanctions.

Analysing the international legal stipulations mentioned earlier, we may notice that they stress the importance of the proper professional formation, which must be continuous. All these regulations highlight the need for a proper payment of the staff in order to avoid the possible corruption by the people with which they interact during the process of applying the community sanctions imposed by the court of law.

Another factor is the efficient organisation of the institution. We think first of the human resources and of the materials required for the proper run of the activity. Although many times the overcrowded penitentiaries were the subject of discussion, it is not less true that overcrowding also affected institutions such as probation (Chute & Bell, 1956; Ferdico, 2012). The immediate consequence of this situation is the possible functional incapacity of the particular organisations, incapacity reflected in a low trust of the judges in their viability.

Local surveys conducted in Romania (Oancea, 2010) on the perception of the judges regarding the services of probation only support the previous observations. Thus, the preponderantly positive perception of the judges regarding the activity of these services and the trust in them relied on the fact that the professional training of the probation advisers is high; they are perceived as honest, professionally fair people. Another factor important for this perception is the certitude of the judges that the sanctions they ruled will actually be put into application under the conditions that they ruled. Moreover, they were concerned by the evolution of the probation system and even supported the idea that the mere employment of the staff doesn't have a positive effect on the activity of the probation services, if its professional training or personal integrity are not given proper attention.

All these make us consider that the wide use of the community sanctions by the judges is not conditioned nu trust or mistrust per se in these sanctions, rather in the institutions assigned with their enforcement.

Under these circumstances, the problem is that the organisation and financing of these institutions is the prerogative of the political factors, which creates the premises for the establishment of a vicious circle.

If the political factors make use of populist images, trying to establish a perception of intransigency towards the criminal activities, sometimes even openly declaring war to the criminal activities, the actual endeavour to establish an efficient system of sanctions which don't deprive the offenders of their liberty goes in the background.

Lacking the resources required for its activity, unable to cope efficiently with its legal assignments, this system ends being considered inefficient by the judges who will, implicitly, rule preponderantly punishments depriving the offenders of their liberty.

3. Conclusions ■

Given the above arguments, a first conclusion is that the intensive application of the community sanctions and measures is conditioned mainly by the involvement of the political factor.

If the political discourse regarding the crime rate and the penal treatment of the offenders remains at a general level, avoiding a specific approach which to reveal the complexity of the phenomenon, it is little probable that the attitude of the public opinion and of the practicians from the system of penal justice will change significantly, in favour of a penal treatment which doesn't deprive the offenders of their liberty.

Most times, these attitudes are transposed into practice by the adoption of a normative framework which narrows the possibility of the efficient application of such sanctions; however, these legislative changes are not grounded in the results of indepth studies or research.

The reticence of the political factor to display its trust in the community measures and sanctions contributes directly to the establishment of an attitude of mistrust of the public opinion and judges in these sanctions. Under these circumstances, as long as the decision factors at the non-governmental level don't adopt and implement strategies for the support and large scale application of the punishments which don't deprive the offender of his/her liberty, the imprisonment remains the only choice, with all the associated consequences.

Thus, the first thing to be done at the decision-making level is to give up the general, subjective/affective approach, and to focus on objective elements related to these sanctions, such as efficiency, impact and costs.

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BOOK REVIEW

HIDDEN COMMUNITIES FERENTARI*

Sorin CACE¹

The book Hidden Communities Ferentari, published by Express (Bucharest, 2011) in Romanian and English, is an innovative and present-time approach of the sensitive aspects of the marginalised urban communities, pauper and lacking resources – the **slums**. The book describes, within a multidisciplinary framework, several essential dimensions of the social and economic life in an urban area living at the societal periphery of the Romanian Capital, using the methodologies specific to the field research. Such a diagnosis is close to the analytical style in which the Anglo-Saxon literature describes the "classical" slums.

The book analyses the relationship between the social exclusion and space, within the context of the slum located in Bucharest, Ferentari district, area of the Livezilor Lane. As the coordinator motivates this study, "the respective area has many of the characteristics found in specialized literature as defining ghettos, because, in the public conscience, this territory is a ghetto" (p. 18). The authors show from the very beginning that "But the main issue we currently have in Romania is not the issue of solutions, but the fact that there is a lack of knowledge and public recognition of these areas. Neither the public authorities, nor the researchers show any special interest in this type of community, which is very difficult to enter. Authoritative data on these areas are scarce, since many of the residents have no identification papers and no ownership or rental documents for the houses they live in." (p. 18).

The coordinator of the book – Florin Botonogu, expert of the foundation Policy Center for Roma and Minorities (PCRM), participated in the first initiatives, beginning with 2010, to implement the project targeting the children from this community, having

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thus the opportunity to observe and work with the people living in the slum. Consequently, the book argues the complex approach needed by such goal and integrates the efforts of specialists in the different dimensions of the analysis: urbanism and dwelling (architect Cătălin Berescu), good governance (Florina Presada), justice administration and prevention of the illicit drug consumption (Victor Nicolăescu, Adrian Marcel Iancu, Gabriel Oancea, Andreea Faur, Diana Șerban, Daniela Nicolăescu), educational policies (Florin Botonogu), occupation (Simona Maria Stănescu), criminality (Valeriu Nicolae). Starting from this organisation of the area of knowledge one can notice that the longitudinal discourse correlated with the different sequences leads to an integrating approach of the identified problems next to various solutions which have priority for decreasing the risks of social exclusion in Ferentari-type the urban slum. The work represents a concrete analysis which has been previous revealed theoretically and sectorial by diverse authors (Precupețu I., 2001; Cace, S. & Vladescu, C., 2004; Neamțu G., 2009).

The first chapter highlights the importance of the space in the debate on poverty and social exclusion within the economic, politic, social or cultural globalization. It also shows the fast changes which took place in the social policy of Romania, with obvious consequences for the local community development on the background of the economic crisis. The authors draw attention that the pauper population will be confronted with serious problems of social inclusion by localisation in these "urban pocket of poverty". Another observation refers to the high poverty rates of the Roma population, which proves a close relation of the Romanian slum with the ethnic affiliation.

The urbanistic and architectural description, completed with the history and situation of dwelling in the slum from Livezilor Lane are the subjects of Chapter 2. Within this context, additional data are given regarding other disfavoured living areas from Romania and from other (Roma) slums across Europe. The conclusion of the chapter shows the difficulty of intervention and particularly the limits of the sectoral intervention: "Any immediate program which, for example, only proposes improving the thermal insulation or waterproofing restoration but does not take into consideration an intervention for the entire area and is not supported by a coherent social and urban integration policy cannot produce lasting improvements. Such intervention would only prolong a visible agony of the unsafe and insecure buildings." (p. 54).

The importance of the good governance for the establishment and administration of the slum is analysed in Chapter 3. It shows the social organisation, the community and its relation with the politic and social formal bodies, the social actors from the community and the type of relations of the public administration from District 5 with the citizens. The specificity of the chapter is given by the lack of official analyses, as the author stated: "The public administration of District 5 has not investigated

Ferentari area and does not have an official situation which can show the status of the neighborhood. Therefore, our only source of information was the community." (p. 58). From this perspective, the actual situation from the slum is conclusive: "The local public authorities continue with a standard approach without responding to certain specific needs identified within the community, with sporadic, superficial interventions, inefficient on average and long term. The community perceives the authorities negatively, as discriminatory, and showing a total lack of interest." (pp. 83).

The next two chapters approached two correlated problems, the administration of justice and the traffic and consumption of drugs in Ferentari district. An important aspect is that the penalties ruled on the people from the poor areas are disproportionally higher in relation with the penal crimes ascertained by the police. The authors show that "we can state that the social reaction to the category of individuals coming from the poor areas of Ferentari is nourished, just as in the case of American ghettos, by repressive conceptions, which are completely disproportionate to the actual social danger. Public opinion has often pronounced in favor of harsh punishments, of isolation of these individuals, but this attitude probably represents only the reflex of the false beliefs that these individuals can no longer be socially recovered in any way and there are no chances of reintegration." (p. 130). Otherwise, the formulated for justice administration within the community (Abraham P., Nicolăescu V., Iașnic B., 2002) are restate, by the fact that "By its social and criminal complexity, we estimate that the Ferentari area— as an area of high community risk—deserves special attention and needs special programs and interventions, customized both for the purpose of reducing criminality and increasing safety, as well as at the level of attitudes and mentalities—within that community, as well as outside it." (p. 163). The chapter gives statistics regarding the traffic and illicit drug consumption and shows case studies worth of particular attention and requiring special programs and interventions as shown in the literature (lancu, M.A; Nicolăescu, V., 2010; Abraham P, Nicolăescu D., 2006).

Chapter 4 approaches the school education in the slum. The improvement of school attendance and of the quality of the educational services should become a priority; it is important, in the case of the slums "... is that of knowing how to "sell" education, against the background of poverty and ghetto culture." (p. 180). The chapter dealing with employment gives a sketch of the socio-economic conditions from the community, showing that living in the slum influences the process of insertion of the labour market. The chapter fills in the diagnosis of the slum and shows that "The interconnected social problems of the ghetto residents (unhealthy living conditions, poor access to health, and low levels of education) reduce their chances to find jobs and negatively influence maintaining jobs that are often found with great difficulty." (p. 200).

The second part of the book shows briefly other aspects from the life of this slum such as drugs, the prostitution, the attitude of the teachers or situation of the aids received from the state. The final part of the book focuses not necessarily on the solutions, as much as on the directions of analysis and intervention required in order to produce a coherent policy of development of these disfavoured communities within the context of promoting the social inclusion of the slum's inhabitants.

The book gives a glimpse of the communities at risk of social exclusion, offers an applied framework for the operationalization of the slum concept and establishes opportunities for debates by other specialists in the fields of social sciences. Thus, even though there is no understanding agreed both by the specialists and by the authorities, there are several common characteristics which distinguish it from the other types of communities, leading us to the recommendation of a comparative analysis of the problems and of the identified solutions.

In this light, the capture of the main socio-economic features of the slum from Ferentari District invites the public at large and the specialists to look for the differences existing between it and other dwelling areas of this type.

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