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STRUCTURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SIMILARITIES IN THE INSTITUTIONAL TROIKA: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ROMANIA, THE COMINTERN AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK)

Sebastian FITZEK¹ Cătălina-Daniela FITZEK²

Abstract: In this article we analysed both the similarities and the differences between the structures and departments of three political organizations that were at the heart of the communist movement in Romania. The well-known affiliation through control and subordination of the Communist Party of Romania towards the Comintern and implicitly to the Communist (Bolshevik) Party in Moscow was considered dangerous by the Romanian authorities at that time. The mirror image of the three political entities requires a careful investigation of the relations of control and domination which have arisen between them. Whoever leads, who is the master and who are the performers — these are some questions which could shed more light on the emergence of this phenomenon coming from outside the Romanian space. The Organizational Chart, analysis of the structures and departments of the three organizations are relevant to a radiography of a troubled period during which the most controversial "party" of our national history was born. The edification of these aspects helps us understand and clarify the role and legal status of C.P.o.R. in the equation of the interwar political system.

Keywords: departmental organization chart, communist movement, political structures, organizations, illegality

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Introduction to the research topic and methodology

In this study we aimed to address the relations, the structural and organizational similarities of the Communist Party of Romania with the two "mother and father" organizations: the Comintern and the Communist Party (Bolshevik) from 1921 – 1923. The mirror image of the three political entities requires a careful investigation of the control and domination relations that arisen among them. Who is the leader, where is the master and how do we explain the ties of control and domination of the communist movement from Romania by accepting the 21 conditions? In this respect, the purpose of the research was set on the pursuit of three key factors:

- a) creation and establishment of an organizational chart on relations and departments at the level of the three organizations: the Comintern, the Communist Party of Romania and the Communist Party (Bolshevik);
- b) the status and image of C.P.o.R. by accepting the 21 conditions;
- c) a comparative analysis based upon similarities and differences of the structures and relations between the three organizations.

The communism phenomenon in Romania officially started with the appearance on the political scene of C.P.o R., an atypical political formation, anti-system and revolutionary ambitions.

The phenomenon of communism in Romania officially started with the appearance on the political scene of C.P.o R., an atypical political formation, anti-system and revolutionary ambitious. The conflict created between the first communist leaders and the Romanian State Authorities started from their position against the Great Union on 1st of December 1918. Two other illegal issues were determined by the affiliation of the C.P.o R. to the Third International and its subordination to the Comintern respectively to the Communist Party (Bolshevik). In this situation, the important decisions of the party were taken by Comintern and above them by Moscow, country leaders only having the role of executors of representatives of foreign interests. The subordination relationship of the party to the two foreign authorities involves an assessment of both the concept and status of a political party.

Is the C.P.o R. a party, an annex of a foreign organization, a political party, a terrorist political group or a group of interests of an international conspiracy? Why is it not clear in Romanian historiography a distinction between the sociological and political terminology of the concept of political party and any other form of political movement or organization? In addition to this conceptual debate, in this study, we have tried to answer to a fundamental point: what are the organizational structures and similarities between C.P.o R., Comintern, and the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik)? In order to answer the question, we used a qualitative research of the official documents present in the National Archives of the State, where we found evidence and data relevant to the proposed analysis. In the first phase, we conducted a content analysis on several of the files from 1919 to 1945, and in the second phase we collected some secondary studies, which helped us deepen some concepts and subjects in relation to other researchers. In the analysis of the files, we also approached other funds with documents. The most

important findings of the fund came from the police and National Security Service where we had access to data sheets, letters, documents, reports and photos reviewing the activities, cells and structures of the communist movement in Romania. The second relevant fund was the presence of the Comintern via filed copies within the National Archives of the State.

The Organizational Chart, the analysis of the structures and departments of the three organizations are required to radiograph the organizational beginnings of the communist movement in Romania. A limitation of this research has been generated by the rarity of references to C.P.o R.'s structures, which is why we have reconstituted its organizational image by selecting multiple data from several sources to reach our proposed goal.

The Comintern: Shepherd of all communist parties

ounded in March 1919 through the order of Lenin, the Comintern (Russian: Коммунистический) was an internationally communist organization, controlled by the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) as a command center for international political action outside the Soviet Union. Comintern saw seven World Congresses, between 1919 and 1935, his life being interrupted by Stalin in May 15, 1943. Execution of agents was performed by external collaborators of the Comintern under the name of professional revolutionaries, who secretly acted to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas. The Third International was represented by Molotov who, in his struggle for power, trying to get out of the shadow of Trotzki, remained famous by the following statement: "the theory of the third period in the imperialist development phase of capitalism." In support of this statement, Molotov believed that capitalist regimes were entering the final phase of decay in which the Soviet Communist model was to be naturally adopted. Acquiring this principle as a historical truth gave reason and courage to the Comintern to forbid all affiliated communist parties to interrupt any activity with the social-democratic parties. The divorce between the two ideologies, which until recently were considered wings of a joint movement against the bourgeoisie, did not appear to be so productive in Germany and France. The original goals of the Comintern were to overthrow capitalist regimes through the violent theory of military-type insurrections that first began in Germany. The Spartakist movement fuelled and led by Comintern failed lamentably by executing the heads of the movement: Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Later, before Hitler's rise, the struggle between the Social Democrats and the German Communists pushed Hindenburg's camp towards the Nazis. Hitler's coming to power was also facilitated by the Comintern, which focused only on the fight against the Social Democrats. In 1933, under Manulisky, the Comintern did not change the policy initiated by Molotov, the orders given to the German Communist Party being categorical in not collaborating with any other party. The protests of the German Communists demanding a tactical change in relations with the Social Democrats were in vain. The failures were only acknowledged in the Seventh Congress of 1935, when a new strategy for the conquest of Germany was demanded. As it is known, 1935 was late for any other attempt, most of the Communists in Germany were already being executed massively. Another change announced by Congress was the final break-up

between the Communist Party and Trotzki and the need to consider Stalin as the only theoretician and infallible leader of communism in the Soviet Union.

The Comintern's relationship with the Bolshevik Party was direct and subordinate, and the top of the Soviet political system was the leader. The organization of the Soviet Communist Party is pyramidal, based on the following two principles: Democratic Centralism and Internal Party Democracy. In fact, the base made up of most party members has never had a decision-making role, with no right to oppose or challenge the decisions of the governing bodies. "Party Democracy" was just a slogan present in leaders' speeches that ensured a mimicked democracy and absolute control of power. In the following scheme we can understand the place of the Comintern in the Soviet totalitarian system:

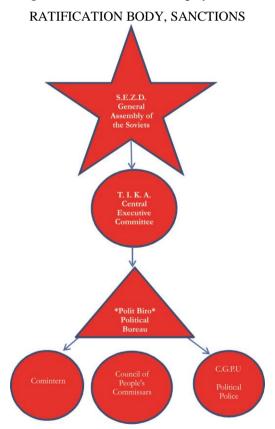


Fig.1. Communist Dictatorship of S.S.S.R.

Source: The scheme was made according to the graphical drawing from CMP Fund SSI 2379, 4/1931 (II) from NHCA (National Historical Central Archives)

Returning to the structural elements of connection between the Comintern and the Romanian Communist Party, in this analysis we started from the assumption that the Soviet model is the organizational pattern of Comintern affiliated communist parties. "In order for the efforts not to be dispersed, the Comintern has created a supreme body to lead and coordinate the work of the COMMUNITY PARTIES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, parties which - according to the Statute of the Communist Party - are regarded as sections of the Communist International" (PCM SSI 2379, 56/1938). The central place of the decisions was represented by the Executive Committee, which was divided into the following sections:

- Organization;
- Propaganda and Agitation; b.
- c. Information;
- d. Connections:
- General Secretariat:

All parties from non-communicated countries were organized on the same sections. The five sections were adopted by C.P.o R., starting with the day of its establishment. The only notable distinction was that in the care of the Comintern General Secretariat there were representations of groups of countries chosen on different criteria and similarities. Thus, in Comintern, Romania was represented by the Secretariat no.10 together with the Baltic States. The Relations Department maintained relations and consultations with Communist Parties in non-communist countries. The Information gathers data and statistics on the lives of people in non-Communist countries, information which was then sent to Gugobez (General State Security Directorate) and to the Intelligence Section of the General Staff of the Red Army.

The direct submission of C.P.o R. to Comintern, and then Comintern to the Bolshevik Party, explains why the party was indirectly subjected to Moscow. Other adjacent and collaborative structures of the Comintern were also the different "internationals" thought of in some key independent domains in form but controlled as structures by the Executive Committee. The logic of the existence of these "international" was to work undercover on the principle of secret cells initiated by Lenin. The following auxiliary organs were known in the official list of these international organizations, some of which were also found on the territory of Romania:

- The International Professional Trade Unions;
- 2.. Cooperative International;
- 3. International Sports;
- International Red Fighting International;
- 5. Women Communist International;
- The Communist Youth International; 6.
- 7. International Red Aid;

- 8. International Red Teachers and Teachers;
- 9. The League against Imperialism and the Battle of the Colonies;
- 10. The International Transport Workers;
- 11. International Socialist Jurists;
- 12. International freethinkers;
- 13. International Mariners and Workers in Ports;
- 14. The URSS (brought to Romania by Petre Constantinescu-Iasi in 1934);
- 15. The Red International Revolutionary Writers.

The Executing Committee collaborates directly with the Red Army's Intelligence Service and the Gugobez Foreign Office. In the hierarchical order of power, the Comintern was led by its first secretary, who during the 3rd International was Bulgarian activist Georgi Dimitrov. The propaganda of the Comintern was focused on peace policy based on the following principles:

- The Red Army, as the army of the only socialist state in the world, must be increased, organized, and armed continuously.
- The Red Army will not take part in the wars between the capitalist states but will continuously seek to increase its potential in order to help the proletarian class and the defence of the communist homeland.
- The Comintern has the mission to demoralize through propaganda the cadres of the armies of the capitalist countries.
- 4. In the event of a war, it has to be turned into a class war, and the regional sections of the Comintern must help the Party in order to be able to get hold of it. (PCM SSI 2379, 56/1938, tabs 6 and 7).

Under Point 3, the core mission of the Comintern is to demoralize the armed cadres of the capitalist countries by propaganda. This also happened in Romania on November 19, 1942, when the Dobrogea Agency sent the following statement: "On November 11, 1942 in the personal train 9003 Bucharest - Constanta, police control organs and gendarmes C.F.R. they surprised the non-commissioned officer Andronic Elijah from the base of the regiment 2, having the service order No. 26427 of November 9, 1942, signed by Colonel Dumitrescu Constantin, while reading the persons in the wagon two communist manifestations, one representing the Romanian soldiers at rest and the other on the Bolshevik soldiers in front of whom were the Romanian prisoners. Both manifestos demanded that the Romanian army surrender to Bolshevik armies as they don't battle for a definite ideal, but for Hitler." (SSI PCM 2379, 42/1943). The discrediting of the national armed forces was intended to create confusion and ultimately mass desertion through which the Comintern hoped to weaken the capitalist countries. For this reason, among other similar reasons, state authorities considered any illegal activity as a criminal act and treason. If necessary, pacifist propaganda was also accompanied by the front or the army, by organizing insurrection, terror and crimes, a mechanism that thrived in the establishment of terror during the Bolshevik Revolution. The crimes in the name of international bolshevism were considered martyrdom and were used as examples to follow for any professional revolutionary. Let us recall here the acts of terrorism of Max Goldstein, that led to the Dealu Spirii trial and finally to the removal of the C.P.o R. outside the law. Synthesizing the general organizational description of the Comintern we have the following scheme:

Propaganda and Agitation organized by country PARTY Internationals as CENTRAL COMMITTEE bodies of the ORGANIZATI SECRETARIAT ON SECTION REGIONAL SECRETARIATS Source: ANIC, PCM SSI 2379, 31/1935. Legend: Line of direct subordination with the supreme governing body Line of direct subordination of different sections Line of direct subordination of independent organs in appearance Line of direct subordination of the Comintern sections Line of collaboration

Fig.2. Comintern organization chart

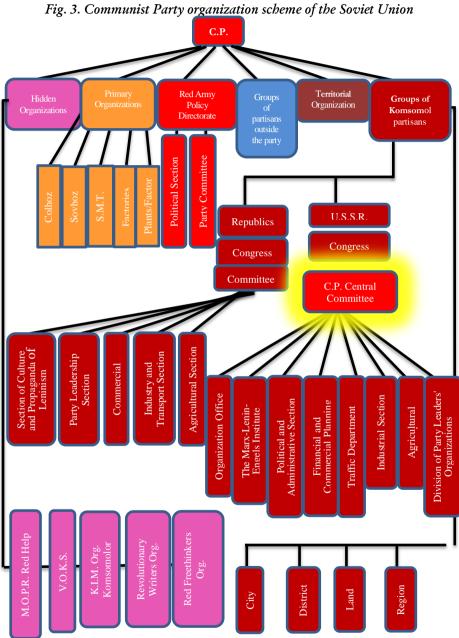
Another key activity of the Comintern was to duplicate the political activity if the party was unlawfully removed. In the French example, the method of duplication worked when party leaders were arrested, a secondary team took their place. This rotation ensures a permanent presence and activity of the Comintern. Outside these organizations, special ages were prepared, people who were not known to the state authorities and were not visible to the public. Their mission was to maintain contact between these organizations and the Comintern, occupying different social positions in society without attracting the attention of others. Their quality of secret agents provided information and double control through which everything was known. Finally, there was another ultra-secret Communist organization called "Party Protection," which was strangely unknown to political parties, being directly connected with the Gugabez Foreign Affairs Section. Their mission was to contact the authorities of the countries and to facilitate certain information of economic, political and social interest that facilitated certain activities of the Communist leaders. Another mission was to spy on public authorities, especially the Police that was tasked with monitoring and spying on the activities of the members of the Communist Party.

The collaboration of the Comintern with the Red Army in order to spread the Bolshevik Revolution globally created an intimate and lasting connection between a propaganda machine and a proletarian war. Some of the Comintern's international organizations, including the Propaganda, have become assimilated structures of the Red Army Staff. The preparation of the combat and propaganda missions were designed according to the following six principles: 1. technical military training; 2. preparations for railway transport; 3. supply and evacuation preparations; 4. the completion and organization of military personnel; 5. the tactical training of the ground in which the following military campaigns will be scheduled; 6. the political training of military cadres. (ANIC, PCM SSI 2379, 31/1935, fila 18)

Points 1 and 4 were strictly in charge of the Red Army's Military Operations Section, while points 5 and 6 were in the Comintern's concern. In turn, the two bodies were directly subjected to the Bolshevik Communist Party of Russia.

1. The Communist Party (Bolshevik): The Commander of the Comintern and the Light of the East

The relationship between the Comintern and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has always been subordination and control (according to Fig. 2). The secret information of the Comintern was centralized and sent directly to the party's General Secretary. There is nothing in the hierarchical order above this function. Its power of decision was unlimited. Democratic centralism and internal party democracy have stopped definitively at this last floor. The paradox of the total power of the leader annihilates any right to opposition. Created in 1922, the party's General Secretary function was purely administrative, having a bureaucratic control character. Stalin is the first occupier to succeed in controlling the Political bureau (Political Bureau), which has secured his party's supreme leader status. The following figure outlines the organizational structure of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Russia, as it was around the 1940s.



Source: ANIC, PCM SSI 2379, 16/1942.

In Figure 3, we observe some important organizational similarities: a. The camouflaged organizations of the Comintern are in the direct subordination of the Communist Party (Bolshevik); b. The party is subordinate to the political direction of the Red Army, a function which assures the total control of the army by the party; c. Future activists and leaders of the Central Committee were recruited from the Komsomol partisan groups. The scheme itself does not reflect hierarchical and control relations, but only a projection of the organizational structures through which we understand how the party apparatus looked. The Soviet party model was the inspiration for all the other communist parties, including the case of the Communist Party of Romania. The presence and role of the Central Committee is to be the command centre of all decisions, which once were taken quickly and efficiently by all the other departments. The principle of democratic centralism was in fact only a mimic of domestic party democracy, as the Central Committee's executive function was to make decisions, and there was no other opposition or departmental body capable of opposing.

The camouflaged organizations were considered the most effective mechanisms of control, propaganda and struggle of the party for the control of society. The term "camouflaged" compensated for the party's official presence in the state that the nonsleeping enemy should never know who watches him over or who is behind this Big Brother. The lyrics of George Lesnea best capture the role of social control that the model of the Soviet totalitarian party has imposed on a general principle: "The party is all | In what are | And what tomorrow will laugh at the sun | It's in the cradle | And in the grey man, / It's in life that never dies".

The sections under the Central Committee had the role of state ministries, which, as noted in the organizational structure of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) departments, were under the full control of the C.C. and the Political Bureau, respectively. It is noteworthy that the executive nature of these sections was not decision-making but executive. Finally, Congress had a rather ritualistic role, the prologue, the plot, the action, the climax, the outcome and epilogue of the scene were always predetermined. Writing the script was still the work of the Political Bureau, and most of the time, the leader was responsible for directing of all stages. The whole structure was organized upon the pyramid model of power, the leader embodying the total will of the party, the state and the people he was leading as a general secretary, and afterwards as head of state.

2. Zinoviev's 21 Conditions and the New Status of the C.P.o R. as Annex to the Comintern

Accepting the 21 points of the new C.P.o R. he created a dilemma regarding the concept of political party beyond the illegal nature of the act, beyond the anti-national character and beyond its ideological justification. In order to clarify this, in the following, we analysed each criterion partly to answer the following question: what was it and who did it represent the C.P.o R.? The 21 conditions were taken from the work written by Sinowjew, G, "Die 21 Bedingung en der Leninischen Komintern" (The 21 Conditions of the Leninist Comintern):

- a) Since the first criterion was established a type of total obedience of all parties affiliated to the concern and decisions of the Comintern. Comintern was the only apparatus that had the right to interfere with the internal and organizational issues of affiliated parties. "All propaganda and agitation must have a communist character and correspond to the Communist International's program and decisions. All parties' press organs must be run by trusted communists who have shown their loyalty to the cause of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be treated simplistically as a formula taught outside. The props for the dictatorship of the proletariat must be organized in such a way that its necessity is to be understood by every simple worker, every working woman, any soldier and peasant, in the light of their simple lives that must be systematically observed by our press and used day by day." From this directive emerges clearly the importance and role of the press in the propaganda expansion of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The press departments are the first weapon of communist parties through which they have a duty to convince and convert the working class by becoming aware of the necessity of a world revolution. Here lies the whole objective of the Comintern, which was to be accomplished through the rallying of the socialist movements in a struggle against the dominant classes in the name of an ideal considered beyond any interest of the national state. The CPC thus becomes a project designed to ignore the reality of a dream fulfilled by the Great Union on 1 December 1918, cancelling any chance of being supported by the majority of Romanian ethnicity.
- b) "The Communist International is the international party of insurrection and proletarian dictatorship." The insurrection implied a revolution against the existing social-political order for decapitating the exploitative class of the bourgeoisie. This message respects the principle stated by Marx and Engels: "Proletarians from all countries, unite!";
- c) At the 3rd point is declared the urgent need for a total war on all fronts: "In almost all countries of Europe and America, the class struggle enters the civil war period. Communists cannot, in these circumstances, boast the bourgeois legality. It is their duty to create everywhere, alongside legal organizations, a clandestine body capable of fulfilling its duty to the revolution at the decisive moment". The three conditions set out so far are sufficient to demonstrate why no country could have tolerated such a movement and why these movements cannot enter the political party for at least three reasons: 1. They have no respect to any principle of national sovereignty; 2. They act according to terrorist political groups that incite disobedience, violence and crime against existing order; 3. the orders are not given by Comintern, and the leaders only have the role of executing them. The fourth point explicitly calls for a struggle for the



destabilization of the national armies in order to be dismantled or co-opted to the communist interest. "The task of the communist propaganda ideas includes the special obligation to conduct systematic and powerful propaganda among the army. When this

agitation is interrupted by emergency laws, it must be continued into illegality. The refusal to carry out this work means betraying the revolutionary duty and is incompatible with a membership to the Communist International". Point 8 refers to the decolonization of Western powers, but for the Romanian case, the separation of Great Romania from Transylvania was demanded on the grounds that this land does not belong to the Romanians and must be removed from the exploited land status. The use of this criterion made the C.P.o R. become the first enemy of the Romanian project on the first day of December 1, 1918. Here is what was said in the text: "A clear attitude on the issue of oppressed colonies and nations is required by the communist parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppresses other nations. Any party wishing to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to expose all the "imperialists" in the colonies; to support any evasion movements in the colonies, not only verbally, but also in deeds; to demand that those imperialist compatriots be expelled from the colonies; to cultivate in the hearts of the workers of their own country true brotherly feelings towards the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations; to conduct a systematic propaganda among the soldiers of their own country against any oppression of the colonial peoples".

- d) Point 12 states: "Parties belonging to the Communist International must be built on the principle of democratic centralism. In this age of civil war, the Communist Party will only be able to do its duty if it is organized in a centralist manner, if the iron discipline dominates the party and if the centre of the party, supported by the trust of party members, is charged with the highest authority and the highest rights". The intent of this citation was to subordinate any human resource, organization and any form of power to a single leader, the leader of Moscow. This directive ensures control of the Comintern towards the Communist Party (Bolshevik).
- e) In the 13th criterion, any kind of crime, including domestic, if any, was legitimized: "The Communist parties must periodically purge their organizations in order to remove the concerned items and the small bourgeois". Stalin's goal was to use this directive in its struggle to seize power.
- f) The 14th criterion stated the need for international solidarity of the Communist parties on behalf of the soviet interests or, more simply, on behalf of the USSR. "Any party wishing to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to give unconditional support to any socialist republic in the fight against counter-revolutionary forces. Communist parties must carry out clear propaganda to prevent the transport of war material to the enemies of the Soviet republics. They also have to carry out either legal or illegal propaganda with all available means among the soldiers sent to stifle workers' republics."
- g) Point 16 strengthens the control of the Comintern on all Communist movements affiliated to the Third International through the following statement: "All decisions of the Communist International Congresses and the decisions of the Executive Committee are binding on all parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, acting under the conditions of civil war, must be organized in a much more centralized manner than International II. In this process, the Communist International and its Executive Committee obviously have to consider in its entirety the particular conditions in which each party must fight and work and make binding general decisions only if such decisions are possible".

- h) Paragraph 17 requires the obligation of any affiliated party to bear the name of a Communist Party and declares war not only to the bourgeoisie but also to the socialdemocratic parties: "All parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their name. All parties wishing to belong to the Communist International should be called "the Communist Party of the X-Country (Communist International Section)". The name issue is not a formal one, it is a political issue of the greatest importance. The Communist International declared war on the entire bourgeois world and on all the socialdemocratic parties. The difference between the communist parties and the old "socialdemocratic" or "socialist" parties that have betrayed the flag of the working class must be clear to every single worker."
- i) Paragraphs 20 and 21 require several conditions for the accession of future parties to the communist movement, thus putting in place a totalitarian control vision. Practically, these parties must declare their adherence to the Comintern without being entitled to any autonomy and obviously without any other restrictions of national interest. "Those parties who now want to enter the Communist International but have not radically changed their old tactics must, before joining the Communist International, verify that no less than two-thirds of the Central Committee and the most important central institutions to be composed of comrades who, even before the Second Congress of the Communist International, pronounced themselves publicly and clearly in favour of the party's affiliation to the Communist International". Exceptions may be permitted with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions to the representatives of the centrist tendencies mentioned in paragraph 7. "Those who do not respect the strictness of these conditions at the level of members or leaders - will be excluded from the party's life. In other words, the Comintern did not want the party's complete exclusion, but the exclusion of the members or leaders who were changed". Through these measures, leaders were deprived of the very essential character of leadership that requires a certain degree of freedom and autonomy. Leaders were at the top of the party with names, while decisions, dismissals, changes, and other important decisions were taken by Comintern. This quickly led to the fabrication of the leadership mechanism explaining why C.P.o R. was the target of intrigues that produced successive changes in leadership and internal struggles between different factions and representation groups. The last condition required a general guarantee of respecting the 20 initial conditions: "those party members who fundamentally reject the conditions and the theses decided by the Communist International will be expelled from the party". By this final decision, the C.P.o R. has definitively signed the status of Comintern's representative or obedient branch, thus becoming a mere annex of a single-eyed octopus, one brain, and several tentacles at the international level.

It should also be mentioned in connection with the schism between the socialists and the Communists, as a crucial moment in which the so-called "political party" was born. Before being named P.C.R., communist rebels were part of the Socialist Party of Romania. The May 8, 1921 Congress consisted of 540 mandates that accounted for 45,086 members. "All delegates pronounced for the transformation of the Socialist Party into Communist Party (the right-wing social-democrats left the party after the General Council of the Socialist Party in January-February 1921). On May 11, 428 (from other sources, 432) of mandates pronounced for unqualified affiliation to Communist III International (...) and 111 - for affiliation

with reserves" (Communist Encyclopaedia, 2012, p.401). There is an unproven presumption in certain historical sources that it was taken advantage on the absence of important socialist leaders who could not participate for certain personal reasons. This argument led to the conclusion that it was rather a split, not a transformation, as proof that the Socialist Party continued to exist without any problems.

In the absence of prefigured schemes in the archives we collected relevant data which we compiled within the following figure regarding the organization of the C.P.o R. on structures and departments:

Fig. 4. A scheme of the C.P.o R based on the reported mentions found in the archives and the specialized studies. Own Source

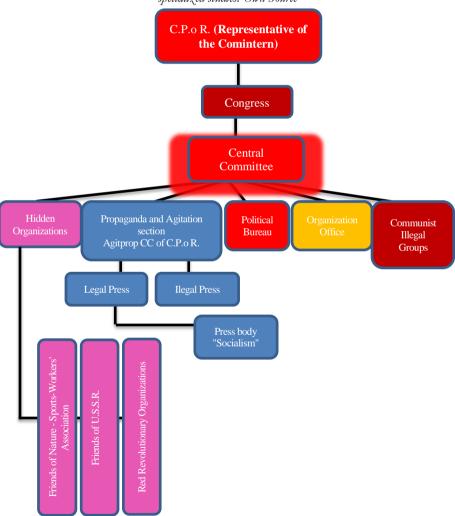


Figure 4 shows some important resemblances that the C.P.o R. has with the Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Comintern. The C.P.o R. Executive Committee was made up of nine people elected throughout the country, respecting the model of the Bolshevik C.P. From the first Congress to the Second Congress in 1922, the new party was named the Socialist-Communist Party. At the level of territorial and electoral sections there were no organizations in Transylvania and Bucovina, as well as in Dobrogea, where the Communists were represented by the Ukrainian Communist Party, and in Dobrogea by the Bulgarian Communist Party. "Subsequently, a clandestine party conference held on 9-12 April 1922 recognized the provisional leadership and gave its mandate to continue the reorganization of the party and to take the necessary steps to legalize it as the Socialist-Communist Party of Romania. On the same occasion, a secretariat for Transylvania, led by Elek Köblös, was appointed to reorganize the sections of this region on Communist basis". (Communist Encyclopaedia, 2012, p. 403). It was only at the Congress in Ploiesti, on 2-3 October 1922 that the name of the Communist Party of Romania was called.

Of all the C.P.o R. sections, the most important department was Propaganda and Agitation, also known as "Agitprop CC". This was represented by two types of press: the legal one in which the party sustained propaganda through the "Socialism" organ and the illegal press, through which the party was supported by press bodies camouflaged under names which were apparently unrelated to the communist movement. Most of those who worked both in the legal and illegal media of the C.P.o R. reappeared in the communist press after August 23, 1944. "Some of them chose to change their names after turning weapons with their Romanian pseudonyms they used in the left-wing legal press or the conspirational names adopted at the party's indication: Mircea Bălănescu (born Eugen Bendel), Stefan Voicu (born Aurel Rottenberg), Ilie Zaharia (born Iosif Grünberg - Iuju), Ion Călugăru (born Leibi Croitoru), Sorin Toma (born Solomon Moscovici), Leonte Răutu (born Lev Oighenstein), Petre Năvodaru (born Fischer)". (Burcea M. 2016, p.17).

In the secret department of organizations camouflaged by the Comintern, "Friends of Nature" was initially a socialist association dedicated to young athletes. The Communists took it, keeping its name and used it for recruiting young cadres. The Red Revolutionary organizations were party secret cells present on the national territory where propaganda and training campaigns for future revolutionaries such as the DRO (Dobrogenska Revolutiona Organizatia - Dobrogean Revolutionary Organization) were being prepared. Another role of the DRO was to prepare teams to replace those who were arrested, exiled or imprisoned, a strategy copied to the Communist model of the ultra-secret communist organization "Party Protection."

Conclusions

The direct similarities between the structures and departments of C.P. (Bolshevik), Comintern and C.P.o R. are obvious in this analysis and seem to be no secret to many historians. The lack of documents in an organization chart at departmental level of C.P.o R. was a necessity to re-establish it in this study to highlight the presence of more than similar relationships. C.P.o R. has any Romanian roots; the formation is a copy or representation without a personality of the Comintern. The lack of an assumed identity, the absurd and obsessive control that the C.P.o R. accepts in its relationship with the

Comintern transforms it into a sick child, with no personality. To the same extent, the socialist detachment was more of a violent rupture encouraged by the hatred of the Third International than any movement associated with the socialist parties. The paranoia of the Cominternist Theses created the communist parties an autistic image in which no one could politically ally with anyone. Finally, the organizational analysis of the three entities explains what C.P.o R. was and why this movement from the legal period 1921-1923, respectively the illegal 1923-1944 cannot be considered a political party. The C.P.o R. faced a serious crisis present at several levels:

- C.P.o R. is an arm of the Comintern, and for this reason almost all-important decisions are taken outside the country
- The instability of the leaders is generated by the rapid changes dictated by Comintern;
- C.P.o R. leaders were no actual leaders, but merely executors of foreign decisions.
- internal conflicts have multiplied due to the struggles of several factions wishing leadership of the "party"; thus a possible reconciliation has become impossible;
- The lack of a clear organizational chart created an imprecise map of the territorial representation;
- For back-then Communists there was no Romania the Great, the communication and the political program having no connection to the national interest:
- propaganda structures were controlled and directed by Comintern, eliminating any possibility of adapting communist ideas to a native context.

The organizational chart of the departments of C.P.o R. is the model that will inspire the post-1945 C.P.o R. and deeply resembles the Organizational Chart of the departments of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Everything starts, organizes and develops around the Command Centre organized around the leader. The leader, as Secretary General, is at the top of the hierarchy and holds the ultimate power. His primary role within the party is to watch over the discipline and loyalty of his members on the principle: "the inner enemy never sleeps." The leader is the personified definition of totalitarianism by which he holds the absolute control of the state. At the department level, the Central Committee is the executive power forum, and at its centre is PoliticBuro (the Political Bureau), the key subdivision where major decisions are made. At the functional level, members of the Political Bureau executed the decisions of the Secretary General. The advisory role of the members of the Political Bureau was only formal, in fact nobody contradicted their party chief. The two principles: "democratic centralism" and "party internal democracy" appear as archetypes of ideological discourse and appear fictitious at the organizational level without ever materializing through consultations or decisions. The Leninist prototype was thinking of a perfect Pharaonic pyramid structure. The peak, represented by the leader, is the only decision maker, and the whole structure of the party approves, follows and

strengthens it. The party democracy mimetic corresponds to the mimetic of democratic centralism, both principles being the axis of unconditional support of the leader. Members who did not obey this rule were directly excluded by the system (see the Pârvulescu case of the 12th Congress of the C.P.o R.). Another organizational issue of C.P.o R. appeared in the period of illegality, after Gheorghe Cristescu's dismissal, which generated an instability in the relationship between the Central Committee and all the other departments. Leaders' frequent changes, the struggles of various interest groups for leadership, and the confusing directives from the Comintern have created an inability to represent and unite the Communist party. After 1924, all party congresses took place outside the country in cities such as Vienna, Ciuguevo (near Kharkov) and Moscow, and the Political Bureau was moved to Berlin and then to Moscow.

In conclusion, C.P.o R. was an arm of the Comintern, a representation that wanted to be a party after the prototype of the Bolshevik party. The structure of its departments was built on the terrorist model of Leninist P.D.S.M.R. Born without any personal vision, the formation personified an octopus with world utopian ambitions. Its political failure in the interwar period was guaranteed by its position against Romania the Great, an anomaly observed by Gheorghe Cristescu, which led to the anger between two conflicting wills.

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GOVERNANCE, COMPETITIVENESS AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IN ATTRACTING FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT INFLOW IN SAARC AND ASEAN COUNTRIES

Mohoshin ALI¹

Abstract: The underlying purposes of the study are to examine global competitiveness and human development indicators as factor affecting foreign direct investment inflow using cross sectional data of 70 FDI receiving countries and implication for SAARC and ASEAN Countries. To examine the governance and economic performance affecting the growth of foreign direct investment inflow and implication for SAARC and ASEAN Countries and to suggests policy measures to improve foreign direct investment inflow in SAARC and ASEAN countries. FDI can play a vital role for the economic development of developing countries. The empirical study employing multiple regression analysis would suggest that the determinants of FDI especially the human development, global competitiveness and better business environment affects the growth of FDI. The study also would suggest that the countries do have high per capita income, domestic savings and other better domestic economic performances tend to receive more FDI. The non-economic performances of both the regions would suggest that the countries do have better governance in terms of government effectiveness, property rights and better control of corruption and political stability can attract more FDI. The countries in SAARC region needs to improve institutional effectiveness, human development and competitiveness more than the ASEAN countries to attract more FDI.

Keywords: Foreign Direct Investment in SAARC and ASEAN; Governance and Foreign Direct Investment; Global Competitiveness and FDI; Economic Performance and FDI; Determinants of FDI; Institutional Effectiveness and FDI; Human Development and FDI; Ease of doing business and FDI.

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Background

Foreign direct investment has become one of the most important determinants of economic growth of developing countries. The area of this study is very important for SAARC and ASEAN as FDI shows an important factor for development as it transfers technology, generate employment, improve trade balance, improve technical knowhow of the labor, use domestic resources, filling savings investment gap, and improve managerial skills and many more that ultimately can bring economic growth and development of SAARC and ASEAN countries. The global inflows of FDI declined by 16 % to \$ 1.23 trillion in 2014 mostly because of the fragility of the global economy, policy uncertainty for investors and elevated geopolitical risks. Inward FDI flows to developing economies reached at the highest level at \$681 billion with a 2 per cent rise. Developing Asia are leading in taking global inflows and receives \$465 billion in 2014. China has become the world's largest recipient of FDI but in manufacturing sector the share declined and increases in the services sector as they open their retail market. The low level of inflows to developed countries and declined by 28 per cent to \$499 billion in 2014. Developing Asia are now investing abroad, and their investment reached a record level. Global FDI inflows are projected to grow by 11 per cent to \$1.4 trillion in 2015, \$1.5 trillion in 2016 and to \$1.7 trillion in 2017. The APEC region, being one of the most dynamic areas of the present world economy, obviously attracted bulk world share of FDI inflow of 53% totaling \$552 billion (UNCTAD ,2015). The share of FDI of ASEAN countries is 11% of the total world amounting \$ 133 billion. Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore are the main recipients of FDI in ASEAN region. Among the ASEAN Indonesia has shown a very good performance in attracting FDI in 2014 and receives US\$ 22580 million. Vietnam is also performing very well in attracting FDI. The share of SAARC region is about 5% totaling \$39.08 billion of the total FDI. India is the top one country among the SAARC region that has received a sizable amount of FDI in 2014 amounting US\$ 34.417 billion. Recently India's performance in attracting FDI is mentionable among the SAARC countries and the position of Bangladesh is almost even for every year but for the case of Pakistan the trend tends to decrease over the period of 2009 to 2014 (UNCTAD, 2015).

Governance, competitiveness and economic performance in attracting FDI inflow in SAARC and ASEAN countries will be the main focusing point of this paper. The underlying objectives of the study are to examine global competitiveness and human development indicators as factor affecting foreign direct investment inflow using cross sectional data of 70 FDI receiving countries and implication for SAARC and ASEAN Countries and to examine the governance and economic performance affecting the growth of foreign direct investment inflow and implication for SAARC and ASEAN Countries and to suggests policy measures to improve foreign direct investment inflow in SAARC and ASEAN countries. The research questions of the study are how has global competitiveness and human development factors affected foreign direct investment inflow of 70 FDI receiving countries? To what extent has governance and economic performances affecting foreign direct investment inflow of 70 FDI receiving countries? What are the implications of the findings for SAARC and ASEAN

countries? The study will concentrate on assessment of the global competitiveness and human development indicators with governance and economic performance as determinants of foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow in 70 FDI receiving countries and implication for SAARC and ASEAN countries especially in the context of governance and institutional effectiveness.

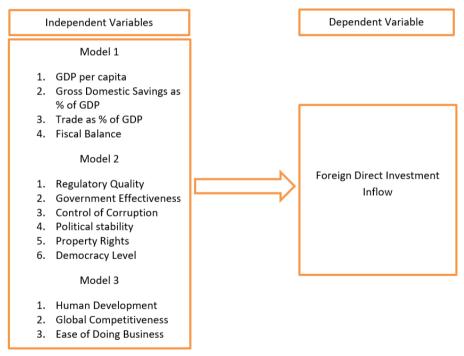
Literature Review and Theoretical Aspects and Conceptual framework

Ohno, K. (2005) defined FDI as an international financial flow with the intention of controlling or participating in the management of an enterprise in a foreign country. Urata (1994) found that neither product differentiation nor technological superiority were the important determinants of Japanese FDI in East Asian economies but that trade in terms of export dependence and import penetration were positively associated with FDI. Cassidy, J. F. (1994) noted that with regard to locational determinants of FDI in China based on the literature, one can say that market size, cost of capital, political stability, levels of illiteracy, exports from foreign invested enterprises in China, township and village enterprise growth rates, wages, exchange rates, economic integration, and cultural differences have been found to be determinants of FDI in China. John H. Dunning (1994) mentioned that there are four main types of FDI as follows 1) natural resource-seeking, 2) market seeking, 3) Efficiency seeking and 4) Strategic (created) asset seeking. Demirhan, E., & Masca, M. (2008) in their paper found that political risk has not been an important factor in attracting FDI in the mentioned period. When the host countries present high returns, firms may ignore political risk. As long as the foreign company is confident of being able to operate profitably without excessive risk to its capital and personnel, it may continue to invest.

Institutions make up the constraints and incentive systems of a society that structure human interactions, and thus they provide rules and enforcement mechanisms that constrain actors and limit their best-choice options to generally predictable outcomes (North, D. C. 1990). Blonigen, B. A. (2005) mentioned that the quality of institutions is likely an important determinant of FDI activity, particularly for less-developed countries for a variety of reasons. First, poor legal protection of assets increases the chance of expropriation of a firm's assets making investment less likely. Poor quality of institutions necessary for well-functioning markets (and/or corruption) increases the cost of doing business and, thus, should also diminish FDI activity. And finally, to the extent that poor institutions lead to poor infrastructure (i.e., public goods), expected profitability falls, as does FDI into a market. Singh, H., & Jun, K. W. (1995) found political stability, business conditions, and manufacturing exports are more important for host countries with higher FDI than those with lower FDI. Chakrabarti, A. (2001) was found that market size holds the largest and most significant place in such studies. Asiedu, E. (2005) and Morisset, J. (2000) both found significance in the role of the country's market size and natural resource endowment. Harms, P., & Ursprung, H. W. (2002) examine whether multinational corporations seek civil and politically repressed countries in which to invest, thus boosting FDI to such countries and found a negative and significant relationship between the dependent variable and political repression.

Böckem, S., & Tuschke, A. (2010) studied on the economic and the institutional perspectives highlight important aspects of a firm's FDI decision. Under the economic perspective, firms that optimize independently are attracted by the economic rents a country's market offers, and several firms may follow the same allures. From the institutional perspective, the same mimetic FDI decisions might be caused by the firm's striving for legitimacy within its organizational field. The economically oriented FDI research addresses the economic rationale of foreign investments, and the institutional perspective helps to explain the extent to which these FDI decisions are influenced by the firm's striving for legitimacy and its quest for mitigating the uncertainty associated with investments in foreign markets. Buracom, P. (2014) in his recent study found that FDI is more likely to flow to countries with appropriate institutional environment. Effective government and better rule of law and property rights protection can reduce investment risk and cost of doing business. These institutional factors, therefore, tend to promote the inflows of FDI.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of the determinants of FDI



To sum up, it is realistic to mention that beyond the domestic economic performances some scholar studied on non-economic performances especially the effect of institutions and governances on the inflows of FDI and found them as determinants of growth of FDI. This study is an attempt to use the concept of economic growth theory to conceptualization and building framework for the determinants of FDI. The theory behind the empirical study is the classical and new classical growth theory, endogenous growth theory, Sen's Development as Freedom theory and more importantly the new institutionalism theory of growth. The conceptual framework has been developed based on literature review and theory.

Methodology and Data Collection

The study is based on empirical findings using secondary cross-sectional data of 70 FDI receiving countries. Multiple regression analysis has been used for global competiveness, human development indicators, governance and economic performance of 70 FDI receiving countries as the explaining factors for growth of foreign direct investment inflow and implications for SAARC and ASEAN countries. The crosssectional data have been collected from World Bank, World Investment Report UNCTAD, World Economic Forum, IMF, Economist Intelligence Unit, Property Rights Alliance, World Fact book Central Intelligence Agency and UNDP.

Empirical Test of the Relationship of FDI and the Global Competitiveness, Human Development, Governance and Domestic Economic Performance

In this section, there are three empirical testable models have been developed for the determinants of growth of FDI in 70 FDI receiving countries. The empirical model of growth of FDI has been developed based on theory and conceptual framework. The first model is conceptualized as FDI as a function of domestic economic performance based on classical and new classical theory and the second model of explaining the factors of growth of FDI as a function of governance based on new institutionalism theory of growth. The final model of the factors affecting the growth of FDI is a function of global competiveness, ease of doing business and human development indices based on endogenous growth theory, Sen.'s development as freedom, new Institutionalism theory and Classical growth theory (Comparative advantage). The dependent and independent variables of the three models have been developed and defined as explained in the table 1.

The Model Specification

Three empirical models have been developed for the study as follows:

Model 1

 $LogFDI_{it}=b_0+b_1GDPPC_{it}+b_2Savings_{it}+b_3FBalance_{it}+b_4Trade_{it}+\varepsilon_{it}$

Where LogFDI is the average foreign direct investment inflow in country i at the end of time t (during 2009-2014 in logged million dollars), GDPPC is the per capita GDP, Savings is the gross domestic savings, FBalance is the fiscal balance, Trade is the trade (export plus import) as % of GDP and ε_{it} is the error terms.

Model 2

 $LogFDI_{it}=b_0+b_1RQ_{it}+b_2GE_{it}+b_3COC_{it}+b_4PolStab_{it}+b_5IPRI_{it}+b_6DI_{it}+\epsilon_{it}$

Where RQ is the regulatory quality, GE is the government effectiveness, COC is the control of corruption, PolStab is the political stability and absence of violence, IPIR is the property rights, DL is the democracy level and ε_{it} is the error terms.

Model 3

 $LogFDI_{it}=b_0+b_1HDI_{it}+b_2GCP_{it}+b_3EODB_{it}+\varepsilon_{it}$

Where HDI is the human development indices, GCP is the global competitiveness, EODB is the ease of doing business and ε_{it} is the error terms.

In the econometric regression analysis, the log of average value of FDI have been used as dependent variable and other indicators as determinants of FDI have been selected specially the non-economic variables of the 70 FDI receiving countries based on the availability of all the required data from different sources.

Econometric Regression Results

Results of Model 1

It is found from the empirical multiple regression analysis and indicated in table-2 the first model has found two independent variables have a significant positive relationship as the determinants of FDI inflows in the selected 70 FDI receiving countries. The R square of the regression shows that it has 44% explanatory influence of the variance of dependent variable can be accounted for by the predictor variables. GDP per capita have significant positive impact on FDI inflows statistically significant at 0.01 level and the beta coefficient is 0.524. It is believed that per capita GDP as a proxy for market size of a country and the result implies that the foreign investor positively reacts to decide investment in a country of big market size. Gross domestic savings have significant positive effect on FDI inflows and statistically significant at 0.01 level and the beta coefficient is 0.372. It is assumed that savings is the country's capacity to invest and generate income and higher consumption and investors positively consider the gross domestic savings during investment in country. Other two variables fiscal balance and trade as % of GDP from the model was found no statistically significant effect on FDI inflows.

Results of Model 2

The second model was found four independent variables have significant impact on FDI. The R square of the regression shows that it has 54% explanatory influence of the variance of dependent variable can be accounted for by the explanatory variables. Government Effectiveness has very positive impact on FDI inflows as determinant and statistically significant at 0.01 level and the beta coefficient is 0.992. It shows that foreign investors are highly aware of investment decision as the government effectiveness confirms the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation. Multinational responses positively as the government effectiveness increase (index value moves from -2.5 to 2.5) that favors the investment climate to invest more. Control of Corruption have a significant negative correlation with FDI and statistically significant at 0.01 level and the beta coefficient is -0.621. The investors are concern of ability to stop corruption of the country as a decision factor for investment in country and investors responses negatively when the index value moves towards 2.5 to -2.5. Political stability and absence of violence was found negative statistically significant association with FDI and significant at 0.05 level and the beta coefficient is -0.340. It confirms that political instability is a major concern as a determining factor of the growth of FDI. Higher the negative value of political stability index lowers the chance of alluring FDI in a country. As political stability decrease (index value will increase towards 2.5 to -2.5, higher the negative value less the political stability) the investment climate becomes less favorable to the investors. Property rights indicators was found statistically positive significant effect on FDI and significant at 0.05 level and the beta coefficient is 0.602. The foreign investors response positively with well improved physical and intellectual property rights and their protection for economic well-being. No statistically significant association was found among the level of democracy, regulatory quality and the growth of FDI. The model two remarkably supportive to the new institutionalism theory for explaining as determinants of foreign direct investment inflows.

Results of Model 3

In the third model three independent variables including global competitiveness, human development and ease of doing business have found statistically positive significant association as determinant of FDI inflows. The R square of the regression shows that it has 58% explanatory influence of the variance of dependent variable can be accounted for by the independent variables. The beta coefficient of human development index, global competitiveness index and ease of doing business are 0.481, 0.654 and 0.408 respectively. This means all of the three variables have a remarkable influence on the growth of dependent variable FDI inflows and statistically significant at 0.01 levels. The Human Development Index (HDI) coefficients tells the country who have good indicators of human development like long and healthy life, knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living and capabilities of the people tends to have positive effect in alluring foreign direct investment. The regression result also gives us the message if a country tends to have a good set of institutions, policies, and factors that determine the high level of productivity of a country and ultimately economic growth can attract more foreign investment. The regression coefficient of ease of doing business implies that the country tends to have good regulatory environment that is conducive to business operation does have significant effect for explaining the growth of FDI inflows. The regression result of model three fully supportive to the endogenous growth theory, Sen's development as freedom theory, new institutionalism theory and classical growth theory.

Table 1. Dependent and Independent Variables for the determinants of FDI

Variable and			Supporting		
expected sign			Theory		
Dependent Variable					
FDI (LogFDI)	Foreign Direct Investment	World Investment			
n.a	in logged million US\$	Report, UNCTAD			
In	Mode dependent Variable-Domest	= =	nce		
GDP per capita	Annual growth rate of	The World Bank,	Classical growth		
(GDPPC) +	gross domestic product	World Development	theory		
,	3	Indicators 2015	(Comparative		
Gross Domestic	Gross domestic savings as	The World Bank,	advantage)		
Savings (Savings)	% of GDP	World Development	New Classical		
+		Indicators 2015 and	Growth theory		
		IMF	(Solow)		
Fiscal balance	Average fiscal balance as	The World Bank,			
(FBalance) +	% of GDP	World Development			
		Indicators 2015 and			
		IMF			
Trade	Export plus import as %	The World Bank,			
(Export+Import)	of GDP	World Development			
(Trade) +		Indicators 2015 and			
		IMF			
	Model Independent Variables- C	· -			
Regulatory	Regulatory Quality captures	The World Bank,	New		
Quality (RG) +	perceptions of the ability of	Worldwide	Institutionalism		
Quanty (RO)	the government to	Governance	msutuuonansiii		
	formulate and implement	Indicators 2015			
	sound policies and	malcators 2015			
	regulations that permit and				
	promote private sector				
	development. Index				
	ranging from approximately				
	-2.5 to 2.5.				
Government	Government Effectiveness	The World Bank,	New		
Effectiveness	captures perceptions of the	Worldwide	Institutionalism		
(GE) +	quality of public services,	Governance			
	the quality of the civil	Indicators 2015			
	service and the degree of its				
		•			

Variable and expected sign	Measurement	Data Source	Supporting Theory
	independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. Index ranging from approximately -2.5 to 2.5.		
Control of Corruption (COC) -	Control of Corruption captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests. Index ranging from -2.5 to 2.5.	The World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators 2015	New Institutionalism
Political stability (PolStab) -	Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism measures perceptions of the likelihood of political instability and/or politically- motivated violence, including terrorism. Index ranging from -2.5 to 2.5.	The World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators 2015	New Institutionalism
International Property Rights (IRPI) +	The Index scores based on three factors: the state of their legal and political environment, physical property rights, and intellectual property rights. It measures the significance of both physical and intellectual property rights and their protection for economic well-being.	The International Property Rights Index 2015, Property Rights Alliance	New Institutionalism
Democracy Level (DL) +	The Democracy Index is based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. (on a scale of 0 to 10).	Economist Intelligence Unit- Democracy Index- 2015	New Institutionalism

Variable and	Measurement	Data Source	Supporting
expected sign			Theory
	Model	L-3	
Independ	ent Variables-Human Capab	ility and Productivity of	Economy
Human Development (HDI) +	The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living and emphasizes people and their capabilities.	Human Development Index-2015, UNDP	Endogenous growth theory Sen's Development as Freedom New Institutionalism theory Classical growth theory (Comparative
Global Competitiveness (GCP) +	Global Competitiveness score of World Economic Forum that is defined as the set of institutions, policies, and factors that determine the level of productivity of a country and ultimately economic growth.	World Economic Forum-The Global Competiveness Report 2015	advantage)
Ease of Doing Business (EODB) +	Ease of doing business ranks economies from 1 to 189, with first place being the best. A high ranking (a low numerical rank) means that the regulatory environment is conducive to business operation.	World Bank Ease of Doing Business Project	

Table 2. Empirical regression results of the three models

Ladamandant Wariahlaa	Dependent	Variable: FDI Infl	ow		
Independent Variables	Coefficients (b)	t	p		
	Model 1				
Independent Varia	ble-Domestic Econom	ic Performance			
GDP per capita	0.524**	4.879	.000		
Gross Domestic Savings	0.372**	3.722	.000		
Fiscal balance	-0.186	-1.768	.082		
Trade (Export+Import)	-0.031	-0.321	.750		
R square= .448; adjusted R square	e= 414; F= 13.167; p=.0	000; DW=1.938; n=	70		
*Statistically significant at 0.05 lev	vel and **Statistically si	ignificant at 0.01 le	vel		
	Model 2				
Independent	Variables- Governance	indicators			
Regulatory Quality	-0.191	-0.743	.460		
Government Effectiveness	0.992**	3.134	.003		
Control of Corruption	-0.621**	-2.672	.010		
Political stability	-0.340*	-2.437	.018		
International Property Rights	0.602*	2.450	.017		
Democracy	0.108	0.840	.404		

Independent Variables	Dependent	Variable: FDI In	flow		
mucpendent variables	Coefficients (b)	t	р		
R square= .547; adjusted R square	re= .504; F=12.692; p=.0	00; DW=1.924; n=	=70		
*Statistically significant at 0.05 le	evel and **Statistically si	ignificant at 0.01	level		
	Model 3				
Independent Variables-H	uman Capability and Pr	oductivity of Eco	onomy		
Human Development	0.481**	3.284	.002		
Global Competitiveness	0.654**	4.155	.000		
Ease of Doing Business 0.408** 2.709 .009					
R square= .586; adjusted R square= .567; F=31.151; P=.000; DW=2.191; n=70					

R square= .586; adjusted R square= .567; F=31.151; P=.000; DW=2.191; n=70 *Statistically significant at 0.05 level and **Statistically significant at 0.01 level See appendix-1 for the list of countries included in the multiple regression.

Discussion and Implications for SAARC and ASEAN Countries to attract FDI

Domestic Economic Performance and FDI in SAARC and ASEAN countries

In this part of the study, overall economic performances of SAARC and ASEAN countries are analyzed with the empirical findings of regression result. Most of ASEAN countries domestic savings as % of GDP are remarkably high but huge variation of per capita GDP and the economy heavily relied on international trade specially Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam does have high volume of trade as % of GDP that implies the product of ASEAN countries have high demand in the world market. There is little variation of fiscal balance among the ASEAN countries and all of the them have deficit financing. From the empirical findings it was found that higher the growth of per capita GDP higher the volume of FDI as GDP per capita is a proxy measurement of the size of the domestic market. Domestic savings as % of GDP also found as an important determinant of FDI. These two variables empirically confirms as the explaining factors of attracting FDI inflows. Fiscal balance and export plus import as % of GDP has found no significant relation as determinants of FDI. Most of the ASEAN countries are performing well to attract FDI especially Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam. The table (4) shows that both Malaysia and Thailand are in declining trend of receiving FDI in 2014. The macro economic variables have shown strong responsive for growth and development and attraction of FDI in ASEAN region. Most of the ASEAN countries per capita income is more than US\$ 2000 and reached in middle income position. The per capita income of Malaysia has reached to US\$ 11307.10 and about to enter in the list of developed country and the Thailand is in the middle-income trap with per capita income of US\$ 5,977.40 and reached in upper middle-income group and Thailand needs to increase economic growth rate more than 3% to get rid of middle income trap.

Despite the socio-cultural and political similarities, the economic performances of SAARC countries are not remarkable at all. The per capita income of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are US \$1581, \$1316, \$3839 and \$1086 respectively.

Domestic savings of India is 29.3 % which is as high as of some ASEAN countries. The empirical findings confirm that there is positive impact of domestic savings as % of GDP on FDI. The market size of India is also big as compared to other south Asian countries as a proxy by the size of GDP. The openness of international trade as measured by the trade as % of GDP is large in India than other FDI receiving countries in SAARC region. Most of the SAARC countries are lower middle-income developing economy and GDP per capita fits below US \$ 2000. Among the SAARC countries India, Bangladesh and Maldives are growing more than 6% annually. In case of fiscal balance, India and Bangladesh are in better position, though the figure is negative of -4.1% and -3.0% of GDP respectively.

Table 3. Economic Performance of SAARC and ASEAN+ countries for the year 2014

Country	GDP at market prices (current) (US \$)	Per Capita GDP (US\$)	GDP growth rate	Domestic Savings as % of GDP	Fiscal Balance as % of GDP	Trade as % of GDP
		SAARO	2			
Afghanistan	20,038,215,159	633.6	1.3	-21.4	-23.7	53.0
Bangladesh	172,886,567,164	1,086.80	6.1	22	-3.0	45.0
Bhutan	1,958,803,867	2,560.50	5.5	36.7	-3.2	94.0
India	2,048,517,438,874	1,581.50	7.3	29.3	-4.1	49.0
Maldives	3,061,829,145	7,635.50	6.5	ı	-10.2	198.0
Nepal	19,769,642,123	701.7	5.4	7.2	0.2	53.0
Pakistan	243,631,917,866	1,316.60	4.7	8.5	-5.8	31.0
Sri Lanka	78,823,610,057	3,819.20	4.5	23.87	-7.0	39.0
		ASEAN	+			
Brunei	17,104,656,669	40,979.60	-2.3	62.6	-12.1	107.0
Cambodia	16,777,820,333	1,094.60	7.1	17.6	-2.3	129.0
Indonesia	888,538,201,025	3,491.90	5.0	33.9	-2.2	48.0
Lao PDR	11,997,062,177	1,793.50	7.5	20.9	-5.0	90.0
Malaysia	338,103,822,298	11,307.10	6.0	34.3	-3.6	138.0
Myanmar	64,330,038,665	1,203.80	8.5	18.55	-2.7	51.0
Philippines	284,777,093,019	2,872.50	6.1	17.2	-1.9	61.0
Singapore	307,859,758,504	56,284.60	2.9	52.1	-0.5	351.0
Thailand	404,823,952,118	5,977.40	0.9	30.7	-2.4	132.0
Vietnam	186,204,652,922	2,052.30	6.0	30.1	-3.9	170.0
S. Korea	1,410,382,988,616	27,970.50	3.3	34.5	-0.2	96.0
China	10,354,831,729,340	7,590.00	7.3	49.9	-2.6	42.0
Hong Kong	290,895,784,166	40,169.50	2.5	24	0.3	439.0

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators- 2015, and World Fact book, Central Intelligence Agency 2015

Table 4. Foreign Direct Investment Inflow in SAARC and ASEAN+ countries) during 2009-2014 (million dollars)

Country	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	
	SAARC						
Afghanistan	76	211	83	94	69	54	
Bangladesh	700	913	1136	1293	1599	1527	
Bhutan	72	31	26	51	9	6	
India	35634	27417	36190	24196	28199	34417	
Maldives	158	216	426	228	361	363	
Nepal	39	87	95	92	71	30	
Pakistan	2338	2022	1326	859	1333	1747	
Sri Lanka	404	478	981	941	933	944	
			ASEAN+			-	
Brunei	370	481	691	865	776	568	
Cambodia	928	1342	1372	1835	1872	1730	
Indonesia	4877	13771	19241	19138	18817	22580	
Lao PDR	190	279	301	294	427	721	
Malaysia	1453	9060	12198	9239	12115	10799	
Myanmar	27	6669	1118	497	584	946	
Philippines	1963	1298	1852	2033	3737	6201	
Singapore	23821	55076	48002	56569	64793	67523	
Thailand	4854	9147	1195	9168	14016	12566	
Vietnam	7600	8000	7519	8368	8900	9200	
S. Korea	9 022	9 497	9 773	9 496	12 767	9 899	
China	95000	114734	123985	121080	123911	128500	
Hong Kong	55535	70541	96581	70180	74294	103254	

Source: World Investment Report 2015, UNCTAD

Governance and institutional effectiveness in SAARC and **ASEAN Countries and FDI**

The empirical findings of the study indicate that governance indicators specially control of corruption, government effectiveness, political stability property rights are statistically sensitive to attractiveness of FDI. Political stability and control of corruption are statistically significant and negatively correlated with FDI and government effectiveness and property rights does have positive significant statistical relation as determinants of FDI. The World Bank world governance indicators reveal the facts about the world-wide governance in the country that is also important intuitional effectiveness determinants of attracting foreign direct investment. The countries those have better value of governance indices are receiving more foreign direct investment in ASEAN+ and SAARC countries. Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand and China have better index. It tends to have positive relation between higher the governance index and more the attraction of foreign direct investment. The index shows the value -2.5 to 2.5 and 0 is the average with higher positive value indicates better governance (World Bank, 2015). In SAARC region control of corruption, and political stability of Bangladesh and Pakistan is shown negatively sensible to attract FDI as they belong to poor governances and one of the lowest value of indices. The governance indicators of India and Sri Lanka are better, and India receives highest in SAARC region. The government effectiveness indicator has found high positive impact on FDI both in SAARC and ASEAN countries as it provides the perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies (World Bank, 2015). Only Bhutan and Sri Lanka have positive government effectiveness index in SAARC region and India is also in a better position. In ASEAN region Cambodia, Lao, Myanmar, Indonesia and Vietnam have negative value of the index. But Indonesia and Vietnam have marginal negative value and close to average and the countries are doing well in attracting FDI. Comparing with the two regions SAARC countries are characterized by weak institutional effectiveness and are getting low inflow of FDI. The institutional effectiveness of Singapore and Malaysia in ASEAN region are better and tend to have more attractions of FDI.

Table 5. The World Governance Indicators Indices for SAARC and ASEAN+ Countries for the year 2014

Country	Control	Government	Political	Regulatory	Rule of			
_	of corruption	Effectiveness	Stability	Quality	Law			
	SAARC							
Afghanistan	-1.33	-1.34	-2.46	-1.13	-1.53			
Bangladesh	-0.91	-0.77	-0.88	-0.94	-0.72			
Bhutan	1.27	0.27	1.00	-1.01	0.35			
India	-0.46	-0.20	-0.96	-0.45	-0.09			
Maldives	-0.11	-0.37	0.88	-0.36	-0.49			
Nepal	-0.54	-0.83	-0.70	-0.85	-0.68			
Pakistan	-0.81	-0.75	-2.44	-0.69	-0.78			
Sri Lanka	-0.34	0.09	-0.25	-0.08	-0.15			
		ASEAN	+					
Brunei	0.63	1.08	1.27	0.97	0.50			
Cambodia	-1.08	-0.68	-0.04	-0.40	-0.93			
Indonesia	-0.58	-0.01	-0.37	-0.10	-0.35			
Lao PDR	-0.76	-0.39	0.46	-0.85	-0.71			
Malaysia	0.48	1.14	0.34	0.84	0.64			
Myanmar	-0.92	-1.28	-1.06	-1.39	-1.17			
Philippines	-0.44	0.19	-0.70	-0.01	-0.33			
Singapore	2.12	2.19	1.23	2.23	1.89			
Thailand	-0.41	0.34	-0.91	0.27	-0.15			
Vietnam	-0.50	-0.06	0.00	-0.59	-0.31			
S. Korea	0.49	1.18	0.19	1.11	0.98			
China	-0.33	0.34	-0.46	-0.27	-0.33			
Hong Kong	1.64	1.84	1.13	2.05	1.85			
Taiwan	0.84	1.37	0.80	1.30	1.20			

Source: World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators- 2015

Table 6. Democracy and International Property Rights Index 2015 of SAARC and ASEAN+ countries

Country	Democracy Index-2015 (Economist Intelligence Unit) (0-10)	International Property Rights Index Score (Property Rights
		Alliance) (0-10)
	SAARC	
Afghanistan	2.77	-
Bangladesh	5.73	2.6
Bhutan	4.93	-
India	7.74	5.2
Maldives	-	-
Nepal	4.77	4.2
Pakistan	4.40	3.6
Sri Lanka	6.42	4.8
·	ASEAN+	•
Brunei	-	-
Cambodia	4.27	3.5
Indonesia	7.03	4.9
Lao PDR	2.21	3.6
Malaysia	6.43	6.6
Myanmar	4.14	2.5
Philippines	6.84	5.1
Singapore	6.14	8.1
Thailand	5.09	4.9
Vietnam	3.53	4.5
S. Korea	7.97	5.9
China	3.14	5.4
Hong Kong, China	6.50	7.6

Source: UNDP, Human Development Reports-2015 and Economist Intelligence Unit-Democracy Index-2015 and Property Rights Alliance-The International Property Rights Index 2015 (Ranking among the 129 countries)

The regression result of the study has found no statistically significant relationship between the growth of FDI and the level democracy as determinant. The Democracy Index is based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. (on a scale of 0 to 10). It has been noticed that among the SAARC region India belongs the highest score of democracy index and receives maximum amount of FDI inflows. The position of Bangladesh is 3rd in this region and Sri Lank belongs the second position of democracy index. Democracy index tends to have positive relation for attracting higher FDI inflow in SAARC region but statistically not significant. On the other hand, in ASEAN+ countries excluding China, Vietnam, Lao PDR and Myanmar the democracy index is reasonably high, but China receives the highest FDI and the democracy index of Indonesia is high and receives higher FDI, but the empirical result shows any statistically significant relationship.

The International Property Rights Index serves as a barometer for the status of property rights across the world. The index scores based on three factors: the state of the legal and political environment, physical property rights, and intellectual property rights. It measures the significance of both physical and intellectual property rights and the protection for economic well-being. The overall grading scale ranges from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest and 0 being the lowest value (i.e. most negative) for a property rights system within a country (Property Rights Alliance 2015). The empirical result has found positive statistically significant relationship in attractive FDI. In SAARC region again, India has got the highest value of International Property Rights Index (5.2) and Bangladesh belongs the lowest value of International Property Rights Index (2.6) which is the second lowest in the world economies that confirms the new institutional theory of growth and it has positive relation to the attraction of FDI. The new institutional theory is supportive in case of ASEAN+ countries that confirms by the high score of property rights index of Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, China, Korea and Thailand for attraction of FDI. In ASEAN region Lao PDR, Cambodia and Myanmar holds the lowest score of property rights and receives lower FDI. The investors are very much aware of legal and property rights of a country for investment decision.

Competiveness, Ease of Doing Business and Human Development in SAARC and ASEAN Countries and FDI

The competiveness and cost of doing business and human development are the important and indispensable factors in attracting FDI. Most of the SAARC countries and half of the ASEAN countries position in ease of doing business is not business friendly as poorly ranked. A high ranking (a low numerical rank) means that the regulatory environment is conducive to business operation. The regression result reveals that all the three components are statistically positively significant for the growth of FDI.

India and Sri Lanka are in a better position in ease of doing business ranking of World Bank (2015). The ranking of SAARC countries is India 130, Sri Lank 107, Pakistan 138 and Bangladesh 174. Bangladesh is the worst position of world ranking of ease of doing business in SAARC region. The poor business environment of Bangladesh and Pakistan can reduce the eagerness of investors to invest. The better the business environment the more the attractiveness of SAARC countries to FDI as confirmed by the business environment of India in attracting FDI. Comparing with the ASEAN+ countries Singapore holds the top position and Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand are in better position for business operation. China is the middle of the ranking but receiving the highest amount of foreign direct investment. It has been empirically proved that better business environment can attract more FDI. ASEAN countries are more business friendly than SAARC countries and receiving more FDI.

Table 7. The Global Competitiveness Index, Human development Index and Global Rankings of Ease of Doing Business for SAARC and ASEAN Countries for the year 2014

Country	Human Development Index (UNDP)(0-1	Global Competitiveness Score (1-7)	Ease of Doing Business Ranking	
SAARC				
Afghanistan	0.465	-	177	
Bangladesh	0.570	3.72 (109)	174	
Bhutan	0.605	3.80 (103)	71	
India	0.609	4.21 (71)	130	
Maldives	0.706	-	128	
Nepal	0.548	3.81 (102)	99	
Pakistan	0.538	3.42 (129)	138	
Sri Lanka	0.757	4.19 (73)	107	
ASEAN+				
Brunei	0.856	-	84	
Cambodia	0.555	3.89 (95)	127	
Indonesia	0.684	4.57 (34)	109	
Lao PDR	0.575	3.91 (93)	134	
Malaysia	0.779	5.16 (20)	18	
Myanmar	0.536	3.24 (134)	167	
Philippines	0.668	4.40 (52)	103	
Singapore	0.912	5.65 (2)	1	
Thailand	0.726	4.66 (31)	49	
Vietnam	0.666	4.23 (68)	90	
S. Korea	0.898	4.96 (26)	4	
China	0.727	4.89 (28)	84	
Hong Kong, China	0.910	5.46 (7)	5	
Taiwan		5.25 (14)	-	

Source: World Economic Forum-The Global Competiveness Report 2014-2015 (Ranking among the 144 countries) and World Bank: Ease of doing business index (1=most businessfriendly regulations).

The global Competitiveness score of World Economic Forum that is defined as the set of institutions, policies, and factors that determine the level of productivity of a country. The productivity of a country determines its ability to sustain a high level of income; it is also one of the central determinants of its return on investment, which is one of the key factors explaining an economy's growth potential. The score is 0-7 (7= most competitive and productive countries). The empirical findings of the study confirm that the productivity of country or competiveness tend to attract more FDI. It is seen in the table (7) that the high scorer of global competitiveness index of ASEAN+ countries like Singapore, China, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Taiwan, Hong Kong are the major recipient of foreign direct investment that means these ASEAN+ courtiers except Myanmar and Cambodia has high productivity to sustain high level of income and return on investment and thereby economic growth. The ASEAN+ countries are performing well in attracting foreign direct investment. Among the SAARC countries India (4.21) and Sri Lanka's (4.19) score are high that confirms the productivity of India is high and receiving a sizable amount of foreign direct investment. The position of Bangladesh and Pakistan is far behind only (3.72) and (3.42) score respectively that implies the lower competiveness of Bangladesh and Pakistan and return on investment is low among the SAARC countries and receiving meager amount of FDI.

Considering the human development index that emphasizes people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development; a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living. The empirical findings reveal that higher the ranking score of HDI tend to promote more FDI in the FDI receiving countries. The human development index supports the endogenous growth theory for explaining the determinants of annual average growth rate and applicable to explaining as an important factor of growth of foreign direct investment. It is having been seen that the country which has high HDI that receives high foreign direct investment in ASEAN+ and SAARC countries. In SAARC region India and Sri Lanka has high HDI and India receives the highest FDI among the region. Bangladesh is holding the fifth position among the SAARC region. In ASEAN+ countries Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia has high HDI value and receives the most FDI. In the year 2014 China receives 128500 million US\$, Singapore 67523 million US\$, Indonesia 22580 million US\$ followed by Thailand 12566 million US\$ and Vietnam is in right track that attracts 9200 million US\$. Human development is one most important determinant of FDI and to attract more FDI the poor scorer countries of SAARC and ASEAN needs to improve the capabilities, knowledge and quality of the life of people.

Policy Recommendations and Conclusion

The above empirical findings, analysis, discussion and implications would suggest that the prospect of SAARC and ASEAN countries in attracting FDI is very bright in many aspects of world economic situation and trade relations among the nations. The countries do have high per capita income and domestic savings and other better domestic economic performances tend to receive more FDI. The non-economic performances of both the regions would suggest that the countries do have better governance in terms of government effectiveness, property rights, better control of corruption and political stability can attract more FDI. Global competitiveness, business friendly environment, capability and better quality of life of people would play remarkable role as determinants of FDI in both the regions. It is seen that the ASEAN countries domestic economic performances, governance indicators, competiveness, business friendly environment and human capabilities are better than that of SAARC countries. The study reveals that countries in both the regions have intuitional weakness except Singapore and Malaysia. The countries in SAARC region needs to improve intuitional effectiveness more than the ASEAN countries in order to receive more FDI. Beyond economic performance, the MNCs are now more concern about the political stability, control of corruption, government effectiveness, business friendly environment, property rights, human capabilities and productivity of the economy to make investment decision in a country.

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Dominican Republic

Mexico

Appendix 1.

List of countries for empirical studies

Algeria Egypt Moldova, Republic of Singapore Argentina El Salvador Morocco Spain Georgia Australia Sri Lanka Myanmar Azerbaijan Ghana Nepal Swaziland Bangladesh Greece Netherlands Sweden Bhutan Switzerland Guatemala Nicaragua Brazil Guvana Nigeria Thailand Bolivia Honduras Norway Uganda Hong Kong, China Ukraine Cambodia Pakistan Cameroon Hungary Panama United Kingdom Canada India Paraguay United States Uruguay Chile Indonesia Peru China Italy Philippines Venezuela, Colombia Kazakhstan Poland Vietnam Costa Rica Portugal Zambia Kenya Côte d'Ivoire Lao PDR Romania Zimbabwe Czech Republic Malaysia Russian Federation

S. Korea



ISSUES REGARDING THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE ROMANIAN PENITENCIARIES – A BRIEF RESEARCH REPORT

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Abstract: The article presents several findings of a study conducted in 2015 by a small team of researchers of The Research Institute for Quality of Life, at the proposal of the National Penitentiary Administration (NPA), regarding the main aspects of the prisoners' quality of life in penitentiaries. Covered topics include: housing, nutrition, health and education services provided in the penitentiary, systemic aspects that influence prisoners' quality of life. The study has a consistent qualitative component, based on data obtained by authors, from visiting several penitentiaries. The methodology includes the observation of the visited detention areas, interviews with the prisons' staff and the prisoners, also, the application of a questionnaire to a number of 78 inmates. Intersystemic aspects regarding functioning of the penitentiary system, poorly addressed in other studies in the field, are also present in the study.

Keywords: penitentiary, quality of life, detainees, qualitative methodology.

Introduction; the purpose of the study and the methodology

The study aimed at observing the quality of life aspects of persons deprived of liberty in the Romanian penitentiary system, considering the international standards on detention conditions. Identifying possible vulnerabilities and directions for intervention were also considered. The research was conducted at the request of the National Penitentiary Administration (NPA), between February and June 2015 and it had a consistent

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exploratory component. The information for the study came from desk research and data collection in three Romanian penitentiaries (Jilava, Rahova, Târgsor) and one Juvenile Detention Center (Tichilesti). The chosen penitentiaries were selected on the proposal of the NPA, following the joint intention to visit penitentiaries of men, women and a detention center for juveniles, therefore various detention regimes. The study profile was modeled by limited time and limited financial resources.

Desk research concerned detention regimes and international standards on detention conditions, regulations and administrative procedural issues. Fieldwork aimed at visiting the detention areas, interviewing personnel and detainees. Discussions were held with various institutional actors: the general manager of the unit and/or deputy directors, supervisors, educators and counselors, medical staff, priest and administrative staff, as they were available during our visit. The discussion guide aimed at identifying issues of their specific activity and conditions that could affect the quality of life of the prisoners or the risk of their rights being violated.

For the dialogue with persons deprived of their liberty, there were chosen group discussions. These were focused on the conditions of dwelling, the relations among the detainees and between them and the staff. The questionnaire has followed point-bypoint elements of detention conditions. The detainees' participation in the discussion and questionnaire was voluntary, of the detainees who were in the penitentiary at the time of our visit and whose level of literacy and behaviour made such communication possible. The questionnaire was completed by 78 persons: 40 prisoners in Târgşor Penitentiary (a women prison), 24 prisoners in Rahova Penitentiary and 14 prisoners in Tichileşti Center for Juvenile Detention. The information obtained through the questionnaire was rather exploratory, for identifying system vulnerabilities in relation to the research topic. Aware of the probable self-censorship of the persons deprived of their liberty in their dialogue with the research team on certain subjects and the impossibility of ensuring the random nature of the content, the study was focussed on identifying and describing general state of facts.

Among the dimensions of the quality of life, the study pursued only the ones that are applicable to the carceral universe: basic needs, living conditions, social reinsertion, interpersonal relationships. We analized the data in relation to other studies or available qualitative data, mostly to ADHRR-HC reports. Only part of the report's conclusions and only part of the report's themes are presented in this article.

Background

At the middle of the last century, there were adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN) and later, the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (The Council of Europe). These documents were signed by Romania in 1955, respectively 1994 (AP_MNP, 2015). These have been complemented by new international conventions, principles, rules or standards regarding the persons deprived of their liberty in order to avoid exposing detainees to inhuman or degrading treatment.

The concept of quality of life is holistic and ambitious by nature, referring to all aspects of the personal, professional and social life (income levels, access to quality goods and services, education, health, work, family life, personal development, civic rights) and reporting to needs, aspirations, values of the people, subjective states of satisfaction/dissatisfaction. (Mărginean & Precupețu, 2008). In the penitentiary environment, the areas of quality of life suffer major changes in signification (work, leisure, aspirations). Therefore, the multi-dimensionality of the concept of quality of life tends to restrict itself to basic elements that meet the indispensable needs of the existence, in a perspective of the rehabilitative purpose of detention and preserving the social and economic potential that the individual represents for society (nutrition, housing, rest, education/training, health services, social relations, relaxation activities).

All the elements that can define the quality of life of the detainees are established, more or less in details, in penitentiary regulations or national laws. In the European area, the referentials are the standards or norms of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (further mentioned as CPT), established under the mentioned Convention, on the treatment of persons deprived of their liberty. These standards relate to a wide range of areas, elaborated from the perspective of human rights, providing a decent life in the prison (CPT, 2015). They become the benchmark in the analysis of the quality of life, in the absence of other indicators based on systematic, lasting records on all dimensions of the quality of life, on comparable national and international bases (NRC-6, 2014; NOMS, 2015).

Minimum standards pay more attention to living conditions (minimum dimensions of detention spaces: area/per detained, height, width); avoiding crowding in cells is, in the opinion of the CPT, in direct relation to respect for human dignity, as agglomeration is frequently associated with other negative aspects of living that may affect health: insufficient ventilation, natural light or heat, insufficient number of beds, poor hygiene, lack of sanitary facilities (CPT, 2015). It also outlines the relationship between custodial staff and convicted persons and the care for health, but also brings into discussion the nutrition, the education and recreational activities.

In contrast, studies regarding more general theme of quality of life focus on two directions - health and interpersonal relationships; housing is a sub-theme serving in understanding or arguing both main directions (NRC-6, 2014, NOMS, 2015).

This study addresses aspects of the quality of life that the interviewed detainees considered to be deficient (especially housing and health services), as well as aspects regarding the support for social reinsertion, considering the systemic and inter-systemic aspects of the life in penitentiary.

The population in penitentiaries

The penitenciary environment brings together a large variety of people. They are not only distinguished by the type of crime that brought them to the penitentiary, but also by the way of life before detention.

A first category is of those with low living standards, that gravitate at the edge of society. This status may push them into criminal activities (small thefts/robbery or to be part of criminal networks); for some of them, prison conditions offering more than they have in freedom.

"Are there people who live better here than at home? Yes. And they say that, when they get out, they're coming back. ... Sometimes they have no one, have anything to eat (...)". (educational staff, Târgşor)

Returning to the family post-detention can be equivalent to returning to the same environment that has generated the crime and, in this case, criminal behaviour is likely to continue, because it is the only known way of life. Women can often accompany their partners in illicit activities, although they do not plan the criminal actions by themselves.

Sometimes, young people are encouraged to assume the offense of an adult, to the shelter of a more lenient criminal regime for teenegers (easier punishment or even probation):

"You are young, you are going there (note: in penitentiary system) to school, the time will fly quickly, you have your life in front of you, you will receive packages from me, you will be considered a sneaky person, the world will be afraid of you." (management, Tichilesti)

"What can you do when your whole life you have seen a certain kind of hehaviour? You grow up thinking that this is how it works. How should be the school important to you, when it wasn't for anyone in your family? Why should prison scare you, when "the prison is also for people. That one and that one was locked and look, they came out." (probation officer, Ilie & al., 2014)

More recently, drug use was another route that led young people to the penitentiary. They may come from subcultural environments, where offenses are the rule, or they can come from balanced families, as young people in high school or in the university environment were attracted to consumption, then to drug trafficking.

There are also people with psychiatric problems, who have committed crimes, who are believed to be able to cope with the penitentiary regime under medication; they are a constant challenge for co-detainees, guarding and medical staff.

All of these include also people who have committed isolated/accidental crimes, irrespective of their type or gravity, but also people who have committed crimes with extreme violence or were part of organized crime.

Conditions of detention and quality of life

The state of detention is a destructive one, even in good conditions, by limiting and conditioning the activity and social interaction, and thus by increasing the stress and health related problems (Zimbardo et al., 1973; Cox et al., 1984; Kupers, 2008). During detention, social relations and social abilities are deteriorating, overlapping with the fact that the longer the detention period is, the more different is the family and socioeconomic environment at the time of liberation. Aspects of such effects, as well as of the adaptation process to the penitenciary sub-culture have also been identified with the occasion of this research.

"The penitentiary is also an environment that erodes, corrodes. Few leave the prison fatter, more beautiful, with more hair in their heads, livelier" (management, Rahova).

"The transformation of detainees is into bad, no matter what they were before. The individual once entered the gate of the penitentiary changes. [...] Adaptation does not mean that he educates others, but he adapts to the environment. [...] I was speechless when, at no more than one month after entering, suspected of having done something, former physician was saying: «'t wasn't us, on my mother» (note: using a suburban language)." (management, Târgşor)

"Staying 10 hours in the same room, with others, day by day, it is hard to bear [...] Personally, I found a person, released after 20 years, completely bruised. He was about 50 years old, I guided him to the minibuses, he did not know where he was going to go" (management, Tichilesti).

"That's how stress was discovered. Haven' t you known? There were put more people in the same room, even in good living conditions, but the state of living together (...)" (detainee, Rahova).

Aspects of quality of life, as they were assessed by the inmates who completed the questionnaire are presented in Table 1. (general indicators), and Graph 1. (particularised aspects).

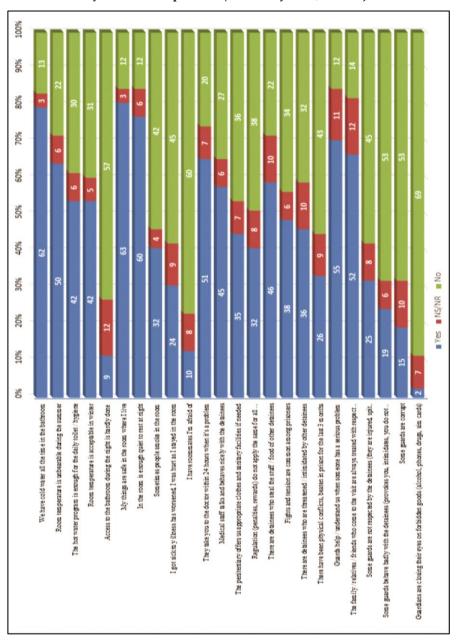
Table no. 1. Which of the following issues are, in your opinion, a problem in your penitentiary? (number of prisoners pointing it as a problem, N = 78)

Living conditions / personal space	
The quality and quantity of food you receive	
The medical care that is provided to you, if needed	
Equipment and quality of the bathroom / WC	
Walking area, "outdoors"	38
Information / documentation possibilities (newspapers, magazines, TV, internet, books)	36
Possibilities / recreational activities, among which you can choose to spend time	20
Time available for personal hygiene	
The reward system	18
How family visits are organized	
Possibility to defend / make a complaint to the commander or outside the unit	
The attitude and the way in which the surveillance staff behaves with detainees (in general)	

From the perspective of the general indicators, the participants in the study grouped primary items of the quality of life in the sphere of dissatisfaction: dwelling, food and medical services. Asked to point out the most problematic of these, detainees reported housing/personal space in the first place. It is worth also noticing the presence of elements of insecurity, stress or fear that were pointed by the detainees (Ghraph 1). Among these, more intense tend to be the risks of being stolen or threanted by other inmants, tensions between inmates, penalties and rewards not applied the same for all.

Fewer dissatisfactions arise in relation to the posibility to complain, inside or outside the prison, against a measure/situation and in relation to family visits. The least discontent occurs in relation to the behaviour of the prison staff (in general); both inappropriate attitudes and risks to which the penitentiary personnel are exposed are signaled.

Graph no. 1. Perceptions of individuals deprived of their liberty on some aspects of the detain experience (number of cases, N=78)



Dwelling

The dwelling standards for penitentiaries refer to the minimum insured person's area (four sqm, European provision assumed also by Romania), the infrastructure and sanitation of the living space. The alternative of "six cubic meters of air / per detained person" rule proposed by Romania, given the great height of some buildings or the motivation of the semi-open regime (and hence of the higher time outside the room) is not accepted in defense in case of a complaint at the ECHR (European Court of Human Rights), because this is not de facto the same measure.

According to the ADHRR-HC (Associaton for the Defence of Human Right in Romania-Helsinky Comitee) visit reports, to a very small extent the minimum area norm is respected, the management of the institutions visited by the research team of this study confirming this: an average of less than 2 sqm per person, as living space. The situations do not vary due to the detention regime but in connection to the age of the buildings occupied as detention facilities. Much of these buildings are over 100 years old, and their original purpose was not necessarily the detention. The detention rooms often have 8-12 beds, but there also situations where they reach from 25 up to 60 beds (Baia Mare, Craiova, Iasi, Botosani) or the beds are divided into 3 levels (Iasi, Botoşani) (ADHRR-HC). In newer buildings, the capacity of the rooms may drop to 4 people/room, increasing the number of square meters per capita. Officials admit that another 10,000 prison places are more needed in order to ensure a decent housing.

Living conditions refer also to the sanitation of living space, ventilation and access to natural light, unconditionally, day and night access to the toilet, sanitation of the bathroom, access to permanent cold / warm water, adequate temperature in the rooms and the elimination of other risks to the health of the prisoners. Violation of these parameters affects the health and mental state of the detainees, and the situations are also identified in minors or adults, men or women prisons/ detention centers. These violations refer to wall damping, rotted or infested mattresses, the presence of beetles or rats in the rooms, inadequate sewage and therefore pestilential odor in bedrooms, especially in the summer or at the time of the morning call, underlighted rooms as a result of small net meshes attached to the windows and, the risk of electric shock when using plugs.

The condition of having permanent cold water, an essential requirement for hygiene and health, is largely met. However, approx. 17% of respondents to the questionnaire reported a different situation (see graph 1.), as well as ADHRR-HC visit reports (in Brăila, Botoșani), indicating interruptions or over-night stops. Access to the toilet is made from the room, however, 10% of respondents identifies a night-time access problem in this regard. The showers are usually in the room, but they can be located either on the corridor or outside the living quarters, sometimes with little privacy.

Relatively frequent is the provision of TV in the rooms and very rarely access to the refrigerator (the latter rather specific to the open and semi-open regime or to the therapeutic communities). The ADHRR-HC reports indicate situations where endowment with a TV or room painting were done through prisoners' funding. At Rahova, this practice is not welcomed, as "when they come back, they will necessarily want that room" (medical staff, Rahova); for some of them, the penitentiary is "like a subway station: they pass by, from time to time" (staff, Rahova).

During the field research, different situations were reported regarding destructions of goods in the penitentiaries: the frequent such acts at Tichilesti Juvenile Detention Center (at the time of the previous administration, which did not impose the damages to be paid by those who produced them), the resignation in front of the youth strategy to clear their bank accounts (for they could no longer be required to pay for the destruction), the recovery of the damages by those who produced them in the case of Rahova penitentiary (hence the detachment of the personnel in connection with this problem) and the almost exasperation of the administrative staff at Târgsor women penitentiary against the repeated common destructions (shower pens, sinks), which were constantly demanding resources to be repaired/replaced. Most of these problems seems to be more related to the maximum-security regime, with very limited liberties, where such acts are meant to "attract attention". At Rahova, anti-vandalism (aluminum) toilet bowls, sinks and mirrors were partly introduced and this seemed to be effective but discouraging in term of costs.

"Those showers, I do not know what they do with those showers ... And windows, and sinks. We replace them and after 2-3 days they are damaged or they disappear again ... and if you postpone repair or replacement, they claim that you violate their human rights" (administrative service, Târgsor).

Discontents arise in connection with the hot water program, usually 2 times a week, 1-2 hours a day, this weekly time being considered too short, especially where there is a high density of living in a room. A better situation is held by women penitentiary, with daily hot water program and twice a week clothing washing program (Târgsor) and for those who participate in the meal preparation, who usually have access to showers and unlimited hot water (ADHRR-HC Reports). More than half of the detainees claimed problems regarding access to hot water (see Graph 1) for reasons as: "Hot water is for 2 hours in a room of 10 prisoners. We're going in, two by two, so we can all make a bath in the time of 2 hours. Sometimes hot water is hardly pouring or not at all within allocated hours." (detainee, Rahova) or the tap is outside the bathroom (Botosani, ADHRR-HC Report).

If the room ventilation is appropriate (to the outer space, with non-blocked windows or small net mesh), air quality is a problem only in the summer. Thermal discomfort during the summer is confirmed by Târgor and Rahova staffs ("the last floor is a problem in the summer"), medical staff from Jilava ("the rooms on the other side of the aisle are those appreciated in the summer ", being in shadow) and some visit reports of ADHRR-HC. At Tâgsor and Rahova, approx. 40% of the respondents indicated a problem with the heating during winter. While in Tichilesti, it seems not to be the case, a prisoner summarizing that "in winter is warm and summer is warm".

Nutrition

The food provided by the penitentiary is prepared by cooks, (sometimes skilled at the workplace), helped for food preparation by inmates who want and can participate in this activity. They are checked twice a year for their health status, in line with Romanian

standards in public nutrition. The same standards validate the conditions for keeping and preparing food, so that kitchens are usually properly sanitized. In cases where the equipment is old and the renovation of the areas that have begun to deteriorate is needed, still the cleaning is to be noticed. Food preparation is in accordance with national norms regarding calories consumption and taking into consideration the possible health problems of the detainees (HIV, diabetes) or religious specificity.

But, the very small amount of money allocated per day and per prisoner, that is about 4 lei (almost 1 euro), highly restricts the content of the food. The food is dominant cabbage, potatoes, beans or pasta. Meat consumption is normalized per day, but it is purchased at equivalent carcass weight (including fat and bones). Crude vegetables or fruits are almost lacking, given the higher price; the fruits are almost exclusively apples. the least sensitive to the storage and easy to find all year round.

The quality and quantity of food received in the penitentiary is reported as a problem especially by young people; 8 of the 14 young people from Tichileşti who participated in the questionnaire complained about food as the main problem, arguing that "the food is not tasty," "it's not good and it's too little," or "the taste of the food is deplorable". We would be tempted to believe that better general level of living in Tichileşti caused the advancement of food discontent to come first. However, the UNICEF Report (2014) also captures a high share (55%) of food dissatisfaction among teens deprived of their liberty (14-17 years) and, also the situation of the Tichileşti Detention Center as among the most favourable housing.

It may be that the age is one of the determinants of dissatisfaction, young people being more assertive about this aspect. Also, the explanation may reside in the limits of the barracks kitchen, the cook's ability to cope with limited budget or even unforeseen situations due to the supply difficulties that young people are less tolerant to. The word of order for the cooks is however to ensure the caloric minimum, not the diversity of nutrients.

"I was in Bacău and there I ate better [...] Here, I found soil in the salad and, believe me lady, I really wanted to eat it, but I could not. Another time, I found a worm in spinach. [...] there are some good dishes, as soup or beans, or, for example, potatoes" (detainee, Tichilesti).

"You find bits of bone through food and you can break your teeth. Potatoes have bangs on them, poorly cleaned sometimes. Beans are not well boiled. There is not much meat in the food, but more bones. The dumplings are strong and sticky, sometimes they have a bitter taste. The pasta has nothing, and they are not cooked enough. Soup does not have taste sometimes. In the morning we get biscuits, marmalade, tea, salami. Evening, cereals with powdered milk, rice, very gluey pasta. Salami is only for those with liver diseases. Anyway, it's the cheapest salami they find. At one time, they gave us an apple a day. [...] There are times when the food is good, but rare.... I would say if they have no conditions, but if food is sometimes good, it means they can. Generally, they give us potatoes, carrots, beans, cabbage" (detainee, Rahova).

Some of surveyed adult inmates do not complain about food, others complain rather about lack of diversity. The latter is also found in ADHRR-HC reports "from May to September, they have served almost daily zucchini food" (Jilava), but also, they accused the poor quality and "lack of taste" of the food.

"About the prison food, what can you say?"

Good ... Yes, food is not a problem. Overcrowding in rooms is a problem (....)

Yes, ma'am. It has even improved [...] About a year ago, it started improving" (detainees, group discussion, Jilava).

"It's good. I'm surprised that they succeed it for so little money... There is a cook who does miracles, they should also add fruit and vegetables. Fresh food, But there are prisoners who say that you don't give them food, if you don't give them bread and salami" (detainee, Rahova).

"No, that it's not good, the same thing all the time. Cabbage, potatoes, cabbage, potatoes, beans.

We need a fruit, a yogurt ..." (detainees, group discussion, Târgsor).

Stress relief of adult prisoners in relation to food can be explained not only by access to home packagess, (those who receive packs try to avoid food offered by the prison), but also by the presence of the kiosk in the penitentiary yard. The kiosk is supplied according to the demand with diverse food (sausages, chips, pretzels, canned food, vegetables, fruits, coffee, refreshments), and prices vary. From day to day, detainees can order pizza, roast pork, cakes to the kiosk (Botosani, ADHRR-HC). The detainees reported to the research team two/three times higher prices at these kiosks than those in the neighbourhood shops (soft drinks, for instance, but not only), as the kiosk has monopol in the prison's yard. Reports of the ADHRR-HC showed frequent dissatisfaction of the detainees on this aspect.

Home food is obviously preferred, but a significant number of detainees are not able to benefit from this advantage, either their families are poor and cannot afford this monthly cost, either they "gave up" on bringing food, either they are far away from penitentiary and cannot easily reach. Statements of the detainees indicate the pressure they experience in relation to the safety of personal goods and food; 59% of the detainees participating in the study reported that some collegues are stealing stuff / food from the others. In Tichilesti, the educational staff appreciated that approx. 40% of young people are not visited, a level that we also find in the People's Advocate Report: "over 33% of children are not visited by family members, and 35% have never received a package from home" (UNICEF, 2014, p. 7).

The meals are usually served in rooms, except for hospital penitentiaries, or some minors centers (eg Tichileşti) or lunch (in Târgşor). The vulnerability lies in the fact that they are deprived of the opportunity to leave the room during the meal and thus interrupt the monotony of the same environment, especially since most of the detention rooms have no furniture other than the bed and an improvised support for TV. In these cases, the meal is served in the lap, on the edge of the bed.

Medical services

Detention period begins with a quarantine phase when the prisoner is assessed for the physical and mental health state and he is advised about hygiene and communicable diseases. The assessment of the state of health is carried out at beginning of custody, in maximum 24 hours after aggression or at the request of the detainee, for the

monitoring of the state of health and the avoidance of unnecessary suffering According to the law, health assessment is carried out by specialists, respecting patients' rights, including keeping confidentiality requirements on the results of the assessment and carrying out those medical investigations that the person agrees to. These tests are also of social interest from an epidemiological perspective; the interviewed doctors stated the need for radiographic screening in order to detect TB or blood tests to detect hepatitis / HIV at imprisonment. A lot of the prisoners come from social strata that are vulnerable to poverty, drug adictions, diseases as tuberculosis, hepatitis, HIV. The crowding in prisones, the abuses, even sexual ones can lead to disease spreading.

"Radiological screening for TB was dropped for a while in order to reduce irradiation. And then it was just the clinical investigation. But it was hard to detect TB if the man did not cough when he got into the penitentiary ... so the radiography obligation has now been reintroduced" (medical staff, NPA).

"99% of them (note: those infected with HIV) are in Jilava, in a hospital section. There's 300 and something. I think they do not even have 2 square meters assured in this section. They are very crowded. They are also continue bringing from the police arrest" (medical staff, NPA).

In the years 2014-2015, the TB rate among prisoners has significantly decreased compared to 1998-2002 period, following the national trend. One positive thing is that in prison, you can better control DOTS, TB treatment under strict supervision. In contrast, the number of HIV-infected prisoners has increased. Although it is difficult to control, staff try to limit the sexual abuse of detainees over others and thus the potential for the transmission of diseases. National programs to control infectious diseases in the community (TB, HIV, B and C hepatitis) sustain health education, by medical counselling the prisoners and it is expected to have a role in controlling these situations. The health / hygiene education is needed, as a part of the prisoners has low level of education:

"I tell him to wash himself and he is telling me that he gets sores out of the hot water" (medical staff, Tichilesti).

"The vast majority, over 90% of them are tested. We just say to them: «Look, you do not have HIV or hepatitis C virus now, here's how it's transmitted, take care and stay out of it». They have their own cutlery, their own shaving machine, their own toothbrush. Many years ago, they were tattooing in the penitentiary. Now they are more reserved regarding tattoing and more careful with their personal objects" (medical staff, Rahova).

"We admit that there may be incidents that can spread diseases and therefore we give them condoms to prevent HIV / hepatitis epidemics" (medical staff, Rahova).

Attention is paid to those who are in detention for the first time, blocked in the shock of the status change. Also, the pronouncement of the judgment and sentence of conviction, the shock of separation from their minor children, certain evolutions of the family situation at home may occasion suicide attempts.

"Those who come for the first time, have a state of anxiety, agitation. [...] After a while, they reassure: «I thought it was worse». Many go into depression, we send them to the psychologist. You must take care of those who firstly come. They are more mentally vulnerable, suicides may appear" (medical staff, Rahova).

Those with suicidal attempts or suicidal ideation, those violent or with behavioural disorders are monitored for a longer period. The medical staff work with more difficulty with these ones, either because they are recalcitrant to treatment: "We cannot force them to take the treatment, and we have some reluctant patients who refuse it" (staff), which does not exclude the possibility of the prisoners claiming later a worsening of the health condition in the penitentiary, either because they self-infect or self-mutilate. These latter behaviours do not only arise in relation to mental illness, but are also ways of drawing attention, creating the circumstances of a possible complaint regarding penitentiary conditions.

"We had cases of self-infection with urine or with feces. One made a necrosis and they had to cut off his forearm" (medical staff).

"We had a case that he said he had scab, he scratched himself and made herself injured all over his body. I took it to all the dermatologists, they were anointing him from head to the toes, but the condition did not pass, as he continued to scratch to the blood. Then, he complained to the ECHR for bad treatment in the penitentiary. The Court gave him a positive verdict: yes, he was given medical assistance, but the treatment was not effective in the penitentiary system. Now he's cured, at home. In fact, he did not want to heal, he was infecting himself" (medical staff).

Medical staff claims the abuses of medical service from prisoners without real medical reasons (to enjoy someone's attention, to get out of the room) or because it is a type of service which they do not afford outside the penitentiary (because of the lack of medical insurance or a valid domicile some of them do not afford the treatments or the medical advice in liberty). This increases the burden on medical staff, to the detriment of real demand of medical services. Even more, this kind of speculated benefits leads to the tendency of the medical staff not to consult/receive a detainee in the cabinet without a witness or to over-document any procedure, precisely to have the necessary cover against complaints / abuses.

"Some, outside (note: in liberty), do not make regular checks as we do them here, or do not get treatment. We had HIV cases that came back because they had food here, they had the provided medicines here, they had sickness allowance" (medical staff).

"There are people who lived in the duct, before coming to the penitentiary, but once they come here, they scream that they need teeth implants, payed by the state. In freedom, they did not afford such dental work" (medical staff).

"The prisoner calls you for anything. Because they have time. Because he knows he needs to get an answer. He enjoys receiving letters, he is gaining an aura, «I have a letter from NPA», he gains a status. And something may come out of this. He is named WRITER, by the others. I mean, it's

advertising. It's a way to survive in the environment. Especially the recidivists come to know the gates. They write the same things to NPA, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Health, the Parliamentary Committee on Abuse, the People's Advocate etc. A percentage of 90% of their letters are also coming back to us, to NPA, to solve them." (NPA representative).

Unlike the free market of medical services, the penitentiary doctor cannot block access to any medical request by price, program or budget because the detainees have no alternative for medical services, but also, he cannot control the penitentiary subculture. On the background of the staff shortage, the cumulation of these issues leads to overloading and higher stress for medical personell in the penitentiary, compared to the civilian doctors: "I can say that the work in penitentiary is similar with the work in a mine" (medical staff).

"The civil system can say STOP, we have exceeded the budget, we do not make any admissions. But, in penitenciary, I have no way to refuse admission for treatment. We have cases of admission with terminal cancer. They swallow a lot of money. It's the intensive care department. We assure them a decent death. The patient is treated as a patient until the last minute, and medication is very expensive" (NPA representative).

"The medical assistance here is different from the individual medical office. The number of consultations is high, despite staff shortages. We have 100 consultations in a day / per doctor. It's a non-stop program" (medical staff).

Until recently, another medical niche of "escaping" the prison was the request to interrupt the execution for serious health problems. After an avalanche of herniated discs, under the suspection that there were agreements with civil doctors and the operations were performed only in scripture, the possibility of interrupting the punishment tightened. Only medical interventions that are not possible to be done in hospital penitentiaries, are done in the civil system and the post-intervention recovery is carried out in penitentiary hospitals.

"Herniated disc had become a general illness. When it was decided that these operations should be done only under guard, and you stay only 48 hours in the civil hospital, the hernia epidemy has disappeared" (NPA representative).

"It is very difficult to interrupt the punishment, even for terminal cancers or dialysis. Since 2011, I do not think anyone else could interrupt. (...) For dialysis, it is difficult, he has to be transported to the hospital three times a week, he stays there for 5-6 hours, while he must be guarded" (medical staff).

Medical staff also reported several systemic problems that made medical activity difficult: troublesome collaboration with the civilian medical system, poor endowment of penitentiary medical units (deficiency of sanitary materials, appliances, any endowment for dental treatment in most of the prisons), lack of medical staff. The difficult collaboration with civil part comes from the reluctance of the civil medical staff to treat detainees, the lack of collegiality and even the discrimination against the

detainees, which makes the penitentiary doctor often resort to their own relational capital to solve cases.

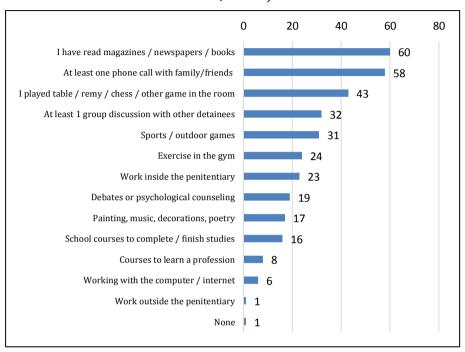
"One of the very difficult things we are dealing with, is solving medical problems for detainees in the public health system. There is a major reticence of some colleagues in the public system to treat inmates. Send a thief, the doctor in the polyclinic diagnoses with appendicitis, and the hospital doctor tells you he's not an acute appendix and sent him back to the prison. I'm sending him elsewhere. Another diagnosis ..." (medical staff).

Among prisoners, there are patients with real health problems or chronic illnesses that may worsen in the penitentiary because the access to the medical cabinet is more difficult in the context of medical abuses; this also leads to entitled complaints from some detainees. Other times, the medication to be received from outside delays or the unavailability of the ambulance transport may impose on the medical service.

Support to social reinsertion

Between morning and evening calls time must be "filled". The day schedule in the penitentiary is relatively homogeneous; waking up (5:30-6), hygiene, coffee, call (7-7:30), educational/creative activities / work / TV, lunch (11-13), educational / creative / cultural activities /work, TV, evening call and meal (19 o'clock), also medical consultations on request or on appointment and visits from relatives and friends, with some limits of freedom depending on the regime detention. Monotony can be interrupted as the detainee is moved to another room / prison, the co-detainees sharing the room are changing, or some new issues appear regarding home family, or whether the behaviour during detention causes the sentence regime to be changed progressively / regressively, in accordance to the legal provisions. Countering depreciation of social and labour abilities and depersonalization specific to the life in detention as well as dismantling criminal offenses require a series of activities, generically called educative, to develop or at least to preserve the individual's ability to be part of society (see also Szabo, 2010).

The quarantine period also includes the assessment of the educational need, based on which, depending on the psychological and medical assessment, an individualized intervention plan for social reinsertion is made. It includes, in addition to monitoring the vulnerable aspects of the person, the orientation for different types of activities designed to meet personal development needs, to discover and develop social and professional skills. In the case of the teens, the recent legislative amendment puts an emphasis on educational / schooling activity, which has become compulsory. For adults, the involvement of the detainees in any of the proposed activities is voluntary. Breaking prison monotony motivates the participatory attitude towards the penitentiary program, but most of the detainees see it as an additional argument for the Liberation Commission in order to approve shortening the duration of the punishment.



Graph no. 2. What activities did you attend during the last week (number of cases, N = 78)

Only one participant who completed the questionnaire reported that he was not involved in any activity. We have to mention that the sample was not representative but contains persons that were available at our day time visits, therefore not involved in work and with a decent level of literacy in order to be able to complete the questionnaire. The activities the detainees are involved in are predominantly of primary socialization. Usually, every room has a TV and the detainees watch together the programmes/movies and some of the women also read entertainment magazines.

At the same time, one can observe the predominance of activities that do not require a prolonged effort from the perspective of learning and planning in the medium-long term (hobbies, sports, games, recreational activities in the room) to the detriment of those who require effort and skills (lucrative, technological, languages etc.).

Unanimously, educational staff acknowledges that mobilization for credits is the one that drives participation in activities. Once engaged in activities, the chance to continue, to become participatory and interested, grows, but remains sensitivellly related to the reward of credit, that gives the opportunity of earlier liberation. At the same time, the educational staff remarked the positive change of the persons deprived of liberty in relation to this purpose:

"If they go through school, something it catches them and their behavioor changes" (educational staff, Tichilesti).

"The activities they carry out help to their psycho-emotional state. Some come for credits, rewards, not for a special interest. [...] Maybe they do not realize that they are helped, and this contributes to personal development. For them it is like an oasis, it detaches from the atmosphere of the penitentiary" (educational staff, Târgşor).

"Simply by choosing between course options that they choose to do, it's a good sign. Most of them just want credits. Sometimes, however, one can see progress, it becomes an acquired behaviour, "I want to get out of the room, to have an occupation" [...] he learns in time to work in a group. We're talking in the groups. Maybe he gets an advice" (educational staff, Rahova).

Educational-creative activities

These include basic education for minors and adults, courses in different areas of knowledge, as well as activities aimed at harnessing or discovering certain creative and social skills. Basic education is achieved through participation in primary education and less freequent in secondary and higher education. This is related to low demand and also to the limited possibilities of attracting teachers of all the specializations required for the standard curriculum at different school levels. Over the last 5 years, school attendance has been increasing, as the NAP Report shows (NAP, 2014). Exit of the penitentiary for the purposes of schooling is possible (except for the maximum safety regime), but that would require additional surveillance staff, except for the open regime. For university and even post-secondary studies, there is the possibility of distance learning or collaborations with teachers / high scools from neighbouring localities.

For basic education, one of the primary motivations is to be able to communicate in writing, with family or Justice Court or to obtain the driving license. For teenagers in primary/secondary classes the educative-cultural activities cover also gaps in their school development, steps they missed while being kept in (near) infractional behaviours (drawing, colouring, hand-made classes). Enrollment in a class is based on the matriculation sheet and must be obtained before the start of the school year. If adult education cannot be certified, enrollment in a class is based on the assessment of the prisoner's knowledge. The number of pupils per class is generally small and can vary sensibly between the beginning and end of the year, mainly due to the releases occurred meanwhile.

Among courses of interest one can find classes for basic computer usage, physical education, history, geography, general culture, creative workshops, education for health / nutrition, religion, personal development sessions and free discussions. In creativity workshops, there are produced for exhibitions decorative products, fabrics made of paper or textile, of surprisingly good variety and quality. Among them, one can notice: congratulation cards and paintings using quilling technique, paintings and bookmarks made of textile materials, decorative items using origami technique, office supplies, wallets. These workshops have an enhanced therapeutic role for the detainees who

decide to take part, a way to relieve nervousness and anxiety accumulated as a result of detention, therapy by colours.

The size of the modules can vary between 8-10 people in the group discussions with the psychologist, and 30 inmates for the educational modules. Counseling programs aim at controlling aggressiveness, impulsiveness, addiction, irresponsible behavior, forming parental and social responsibilities, decision-making abilities in risk situations etc.

"Informatics, physical education. They ask for them. It's a pedagogical compromise, to do things of interest. I asked, for example, to get out for celebrating Easter. They wanted to. A percent of 90% has requested the religion course." (educational staff, Tichilesti).

"Every day, they have another program. On Wednesday and Thursday, two volunteers come ... [...] The contests of general culture are successful, they learn also poems ... I am amazed that they are upset if they have received a small grade. They are getting diplomas. [...] they call for continuing the education. They said to me: "You have not done any courses with us lately" so I changed my schedule to be after 3 p.m. with them (note: when they return from work)" (educational staff, Rahova).

The cultural activities can consist of reading books received from home or taken from the library, contests or evenings of poetry and literary creation (with the help of the Union of Romanian writers – at Rahova, for instance), theater, painting / drawing (Rahova, Jilava), watching movies (at the Central Club - Rahova), the performance of a music band (Târgsor). These include visits to the community (old people's homes, museums / exhibitions in groups of 10-12 inmates).

The cultural and educational activities comply with the requirements imposed by NAP but can also occur at the initiative of the penitentiary units, depending on the identified needs. For instance, a fishing course in CD Tichilesti, the painting of the chapel room in the therapeutic community in Rahova, as well as painting a wall inside the Jilava Penitentiary or the outer mosaic of the trot at the Târgşor Penitentiary were inititatives inside the penitentiaries.

A distinct type of activity is that of vocational courses: tailoring, vegetable growing, landscaping, florist, hairdresser, chef, carpenter (wood and PVC), locksmith, lathe, sweater, electrician, tailor-shoe, mason, web designer, milling courses can be among them. This is done to train detainees in lucrative activities during detention and to provide them with a minimum of training in their work, and a minimum basis for inclusion on the labour market after their release.

The range of the voacational courses is, however, limited, not by the skills and interests of detainees, but by the actual possibilities for supervising and providing a practical basis appropriate to certain professions. Due to easier supervision and lower costs, qualification is preferred inside penitentiary and not ouside. In the last 6-7 years, NGOs (in Tichileşti, for instance) or OSPHRD projects (large-scale projects in which the NAP was a partner) have contributed to the development of workshops/courses in penitentiaries, some of them linking to post-detention occupation.

Towards the end of the detention period, the course offer is intensified, as well as the cooperation with AIOFMs (County Agencies for Employment), with the family or community (priests / in Bacau or NGOs / in Rahova, mediating social integration, economic agents / in Rahova or Tichileşti) for trying to integrate the detainees on labour market post-detention. Also, there are information and counseling activities for reintegration into society and the labour market. The prospect of a job once leaving the penitentiary is a positive point in the evaluation of the Liberation Commission, which motivates both the detainees and their families in finding a work place.

Work

Until recently, working in the penitentiary was considered the main form of rehabilitation; in addition, it provides prisoners with a qualification at work place.

"There were 4-5 factories in the communist era: Factory of Textile (Târgşor), Metallic Garments (Aiud), Furniture (Gherla, Mărgineni), Wicker Wreaths (Poarta Albă); they were administered by penitentiaries, and therefore there were no commissions to accept / conclude work commitments involving detained persons. They also had animals and vegetable farms, for which there was specialized personnel. It provided jobs / lucrative activities for detainees and food for penitentiaries. After '89, the economic directions began to produce profits, turned into autonomous units, then into subordinate units, and followed the ministry's total separation. In communist time, when leaving the penitentiary, they had a job. They were created in order to do an activity for prisoners and to produce for the penitentiary the necessary ones: food, agro-zootechnical households, uniforms etc." (management, Târgsor).

Even today, the benefits of working and the role of penitentiary activities are mentioned in the interviews of the penitentiary staff:

"There is a difference between those who work and those who do not. Those who have worked inside, when they are released, it is easier for them to integrate. [...] Work gives them the sense of usefulness, keeps you in touch with society, consumes your energy" (educational staff, Rahova).

"I would agree to be able to assure them more work possibilities, because it blocks the criminal relationship. I'd rather want them to go as a group. I could close the entire room. Keep it locked, we would not use any water and electricity in that room while they are outside working" (management, Târgşor).

"Work, more than anything else do this (note: prevents conflicts). When they are tired, they wash, eat and sleep so that they return to work again next day. They do not have time to think about evil and they behave correctly, in order not to lose their jobs. The work motivates them because, besides money, they receive a reduction in the punishment days (supervision staff, Târgșor).

Current international and national regulations condition work by a weekly free day, by having enough time for educational activities or by having a minimum time for exercise / outdoor activities, also respecting safety of work according to the regulations in force on the general labour market. To "maintain and increase the prisoner's ability to earn his living after release" (penitentiary staff) is one of the aims of the work in penitenciary. Prohibition of work is a punitive issue in penitentiary regulation.

Some of the prisoners, although may have had an income experience in their predetention life, that was not necessarily on legal market (begging, theft, pimping, prostitution, drug trafficking), as either the formal labour market was not accessible to them, or the conditions on the formal labour market were not attractive from the perspective of reward vs. effort (as the minimum wage is considered too small), or they have never seen another earning strategy. In these circumstances, the voluntary offer for lucrative activities is unlikely.

"Others have never worked, they do not like work, they just did little tricks for living [...] In general, those who want to work here also have worked outside the penitentiary" (educational staff, Rahova).

"Some have worked, and they will still find work, if they want to find it" (educational staff, Tichilesti).

The productive activities offered by the penitentiaries may be unpaid ones administrative, indoor (cleaning in the courtyard and premises, serving or preparing the meal) or paid - outside or inside the penitentiary (if production can be redeemed; hives, carpentry, footwear and any activity which an external economic agent can move it into the penitentiary). Penitentiaries own land which they use for economic purpose, but the volume of these activities is declining due to lack of specific skills in agriculture / animal breeding. Their "resilience" is due to using these resources to supply food to the penitentiary's kitchen. Some of these lands are sub-leased, productive activity continuing with the participation of detainees or not, in which case it becomes only a source of income.

"It is hard to cultivate them, because everything needs to be negotiated / auctioned and it's tough with the staff shortage. All departures from the penitentiary involve supervision, and more places to work in require more staff" (management, Târgșor).

"We have a livestock applehouse. We have cows. We do not have pigs anymore. Here, there are working detainees who have trained for work in animal breeding. Or for vegetables " (administrative, Târgsor)

"We had (animals), but it was difficult without specialist staff and all animal treatments... we leased to Bragadiru farm (note: external)." (administrative staff, Rahova).

The impact of the last economic crisis (2008) has been felt, as regard to productive activities through economic agents. The partnerships with economic agents are motivated by the interest of the agents (lower labour costs, regularity of productive flow) and conditioned by the existence of economic agents within a reasonable distance from the place of detention, their knowledge about this possibility, possible qualifications acquired by detainees at the workplace and the possibility of labour division, so that the detainees can be supervised. Economic agents are usually contacted by the penitentiary administration, but they also can recommend each other. The offer is surprisingly diverse, signing that theoretically it is possible and of interest to both parties: textiles, cleaning (the aerodromes, the City Hall, Remat, for instance), paintshops, brewery, animal breeding, weaving, construction or volunteering at the homes for the elderly.

Conclusions and possible directions

The prison environment is extremely complex and difficult. In addition, the Romanian penitentiary system has undergone a major ideological and legislative change in the last twenty years. During this short time horizon, not all side effects and breakthroughs of steering changes could have been effectively identified and countered. These have been made step by step, as they have emerged and have risked degenerating or attracting a penalty. In the context of poor state resourses for investing, support for penitentiary system was made at the limit of resistance.

As the interlocutors of the discussions mentioned, the penitentiary environment reflects the outside environment. Moreover, the penitentiary environment is a system in which other systems interfere (civic, housing, family, education, health, labour market, legal); over the structural problems of the management of deprivation of liberty overlap the systemic problems of the other domains.

Taking someone in custody implies a responsibility in assuring minimal decent living conditions. As CPT states, the lack of financial resources cannot be accepted as a motivation for violation of human rights in relation to elementary rights in a democratic and civilized society - physical and psychological integrity, fair and decent treatment of the person deprived of liberty. Rights derived from citizenship must, however, be supported and promoted in relation to the obligations that this quality entails. The overcrowding is one of the most deficient aspect of the quality of life in the Romanian penitenciaries, as in many other countries (Stern, 1996; Marietti, 2013; AP MNP, 2015; http://www.prisonstudies.org). Insufficient living space may lead to increased stress and aggression in the penitentiary and reduces the chances of effective educational intervention.

Improving the issue is a financial and logistical challenge; that is why the intervention of the past two decades probably has been punctually done. Investments have been made more frequently in enclosures or security infrastructure designed to respond to increasing inflows into the system, to the technical wear of detention buildings because of their old age, to the change of ideology on which interaction among persons deprived of the liberty is based, or to technological evolution. The current problems for repairs, disinfestations remain in this context to a large extent as task for the administration of penitentiary and depend on its economic skills, and on the possibilities of the local economy. Investments in dwelling infrastructure and related equipment are still heavily needed.

The penal system has a role in controlling the number of detainees (Tonry, 1996; Lappi-Seppälä, 2009; Allen, 2012; CPT, 2015) The revision of the length of sanctions as the possibility of alternative type of punishment for less sever crimes are to be considered as well; the community work, house arrest or limited area of movement (with adequate equipment in this case), paying the damages produced to the victim or to the community, giving back what was illegally obtained conjoint with a

supplementary payment or to use mediation agreements should be more intensively considered. This is also meant to better focus on those which represent an imminent risk for the others or for the society.

Equally important is the resolution on the prison staff, for which thousands of unpaid supplementary hours have accumulated. These have arisen from the shortage of personnel in relation to the high number of the detainees.

With much effort from the supply service and the kitchen staff, the inmates' diet is in line with the caloric consumption standards. Several limitations of the menu which reflect in the quality of the food, because of the budget constraints, are brought to light by a part of the detainees. Greater emphasis could be placed on the use of owned plots of land for agricultural and animal breeding activities as sources of own food.

The prisoner's health status is based on a complex of factors, not just medical assistance, and some of them are still not insured: sanitary facilities are insufficient or damaged, lack of non-stop hot water (with direct impact on hygiene), agglomeration, lack of a minimum consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables / per day. Overcrowding of detainees' communities has negative impact on health, increases the probability of getting an infectious disease, influences mental health and impedes the maintenance of proper hygiene. Also, one should consider the psychological impact of the penitentiary on the prisoner, the possibility of decreasing immunity and developing latent illnesses.

The penitentiary medical services are, in theory, an autonomous system and with total freedom of intervention system, but practically limited by insufficient endowments and resources, lack of specialized skills in certain specializations and insufficient staff. The relationship with sanitary units outside the penitentiary system is difficult, amid the attitude of the civilian medical staff, and costly, by the effort involved in the provision of the medical intervention under escort.

The abuse of medical services from a part of the detainees, claimed by medical staff, is only a rational behaviour to appeal to an otherwise difficultly accesible service, because of the status at the edge of society of most of the detainees and a rational impulse to break the monotony of the daily penitentiary atmosphere. For a small segment of the detainees, the penitentiary takes over the tasks of the public health service inaccessible to them in liberty.

Controlling the abuse of medical services is necessary. A first step would be to define a minimum and maximum package of services that a detainee can access during his closure, which would lead to more efficient use of resources. In addition, a maximum number of free annual consultations per detainee may be set depending on the range of health problems that can occur naturally, in addition to ensuring medical intervention for free, post aggression and conflict situations, regular consultation/monitoring in the case of chronic diseases and the general examination in the quarantine period. The call for medical services out of these situations could be paid by the detainee out of their available income. An argument in this respect is the medical services usage outside the penitentiary system, which gives citizens the right to compensated or free medical medication and analysis within the limits of the available monthly funds.

Educational activity has a major role, albeit in small steps and difficult to monitor, in relation to the purpose of the social rehabilitation of the detainees. The investment in this respect is mainly in staff, and to a lesser extent in the material basis, to allow diversification of the curriculum; the main directions that have raised detainees' interest are those echoing in everyday's life. Also, it is necessary to occupy the vacancies for these positions, not to say to supplement the number of staffs on counselling and psychological monitoring and social assistance. Distance learning should be encouraged as the main form of access to medium and high education.

Reconsidering the reward system should be done through a stronger relationship with educational progress and participation in productive activities of the detainees. The magnitude of the penitentiary needs (consumption, use of available labour, the educational role of the productive process) motivates attention to the capitalization of land owned by the penitentiary. The development of social enterprises is a possible solution, which can also involve other vulnerable groups.

Consolidate a reward system which supports heavily the participation to (paid) productive activities would help in resetting the non-compliant behaviour of a part of the detainees, which refused in the pre-detention life to accept the productive rigours of the labour market: rhythm, norms, conditions, rewards within legal limits. It is known that for some types of crime or contexts, the pre-detention behaviour is likely to be resistant, because it offered better rewards (even risky and illegal) compared to what they could get on the regular labour market corresponding to their education. In the same time this resistence could be a matter of' tradition", the only way one knew or the only way accessible:"my dad was a thief, I was a thief and you want my son to be a carpenter?" (detainee).

However, working in penitentiary is likely to create/develop a sense of responsibility, and it is therefore a gain from the perspective of educational efforts and integration. From this perspective, even the emphasis on training and education for minors is welcome, it is advisable to intensify the educational activity in the sense of education for work.

Finally, it is necessary to increase the awareness on the problems of the penitentiary environment, to limit the negative attitudes and stereotypes of the society towards detainees and to reach the community's support to transform the prison environment according to the profile which is currently assigned to it.

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APPROACHES REGARDING A CONSTRUCTION OF A METHODOLOGY FOR POVERTY / IN WORK POVERTY RESEARCH IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: The current article describes the development of a methodology to collect field data in order to measure poverty and in work poverty at local level and it is part of a set of methodologies developed in order to map existing / necessary social services and infrastructure, poverty and in work poverty in Romania, for The Romanian Ministry of Labour and Social Justice. The article highlights the sources of data for this demarche and it also explains step by step the design, the used indicators and the research tools for field data collection. The proposed model will use locally collected data for all localities in Romania and therefore provides the premises for in-depth analyses at regional, county, but also local level, with various analysis objectives.

Keywords: poverty, in work poverty, research, methodology, indicators, data collect

Context

The study is being developed in the framework of the project "Implementation of a policy-making system for social inclusion at the level of MMJS (The Ministry of Labour and Social Justice)", SIPOCA 4 code, co-financed by the European Union (EU), the European Social Fund (ESF), in the Operational Capacity Administrative Program

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(POCA) 2014-2020. Final aim in the mentioned project is to create a set of strategic planning tools (maps on existing social services / infrastructure, on needs regarding social infrastructure / social services and regarding poverty and in work poverty), in order to support citizens and decision-making in public policies. In order to create these maps, a set of indicators were chosen, and a set of data would be collected at local level. The steps in elaborating mentioned methodologies included their presentation in order to be validated in several workshops attended by representatives of the involved institutions, as part of the project.

The construction of the research methodology comprised several stages: 1. documentation on poverty in Romania and other European countries; used methodologies of poverty analysis; 2. listing relevant statistical indicators for research and preliminary secondary data analysis; 3. translating the concepts of poverty, vulnerable groups in measurable indicators; 4. strengthening the methodological approach including study visits abroad and workshops; 5. testing / piloting the methodological approach and data collection tools; 6. designing a consolidated methodology and proposing final data collection tools.

The methodological approach was grounded on a preliminary analysis of the situation of poverty research in Romania and on translating the concepts into indicators. Firstly, a full screening of all available data sources was needed to avoid redundancy in data collection and to identify missing or fragmented information, but also to identify the level of aggregation at which data are available (at national, regional, county or local level). The preliminary steps that were needed to substantiate the methodological approach concerned the documentation and secondary data analysis. A first step was the analysis of ESSPROS, INS-TEMPO data (data from National Institute of Statistics) and those provided by the MMJS (The Ministry of Labour and Social Justice) and its subordinated institutions: ANPDCA (The National Authority for the Protection of Children's Rights and Adoption), ANPD (The National Authority for People with Disabilities), ANPIS (National Authority for Payments and Social Inspection). The legislative analysis was also supplemented by that of the reports of public institutions with a role in the social protection. Such sources of data were The Strategy on Social Inclusion and Poverty Eradication 2015-2020 or The County and Local Development Strategies of Social Services.

The study of poverty in Romania

The concept of poverty is multi-paradigmatic and multi-dimensional. Poverty can be approached from several perspectives: absolute poverty - a normative / minimum threshold approach that ensures subsistence living; relative poverty - measured by reference to a poverty line that represents 60% of the median income per adult equivalent; subjective poverty - that represents "a way of conceptualization and

¹ The elaboration of research methodologies on poverty and in work poverty was the subject of numerous debates during the project meetings. Flavius Mihalache, Simona Stanescu, Ionut Anghel, Alina Dinu and Daniela Dandara have also contributed with ideas to the construction of methodologies.

operationalization starting from the representations upon the poverty and welfare of the individuals that are part of a society" (Mărginean, Vasile, 2015, p. 208).

Townsend refers to the social definition of poverty as "individuals, families and groups in a population can be categorized as being in poverty when they lack the resources needed to get types of diet, participate in activities and have living conditions that are commonplace, or at least videspread or encouraged in the societies to which they belong" (Townsend, 1979, p. 281). Regarding the static - dynamic perspective of poverty, the following can be noticed: the static perspective, which defines the current state of poverty is complemented by the dynamic perspective, on vulnerability to poverty risk. The poverty gap measures the distance to the poverty threshold; in Romania this indicator has the highest value recorded in EU countries (35%).

According to the Quality of Life Dictionary, the precarious prosperity defines "a socioeconomic situation of a population that is between poverty and sure prosperity that is characterized by a low standard of living, close to the poverty, material deprivation, insecurity of living conditions, vulnerability" (Mărginean, Vasile, 2015, p. 92). Those in such a situation find themselves in the first 3 quintiles of income above the poverty threshold and have revenues ranging between 60-80% of the median equivalent income.

The study of poverty in Romania has a staging, depending on the type of used measurement indicators. In the period 2001-2006, the method of absolute poverty promoted by the World Bank was predominantly used, a method that went through a series of methodological adjustments agreed by several institutions involved in the process: The Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Commission (CASPIS), The Research Institute for Quality of Life (ICCV) and the National Institute of Statistics (INS).

The absolute poverty rate remains the main instrument to monitor the phenomenon over the period 2001-2006. The advantage of the method is that it better captures the difficulties of a society that is heavily affected by structural problems, with a large proportion of the population unable to meet the basic needs.

The main deficit of the indicator that measures relative poverty is that it measures inequality rather than poverty. An important advantage of the absolute poverty method is the use of consumption as a welfare indicator instead of incomes. Consumption spending is considered to be an appropriate choice to build a welfare indicator in a country with a broad informal sector and a high share of self-consumption in total population resources. In this perspective, the National Plan elaborated in 2002 by CASPIS has marginally used the relative poverty rate.

One of the most important studies conducted during this period is the absolute poverty map at the local level, carried out by The World Bank in 2003, using distinct poverty thresholds for urban and rural areas. (Pop, 2003). Another important study of this period (Stănculescu, Berevoescu, 2004) has a different approach, analyzing the phenomenon of multidimensional poverty and concentrated in poverty pockets.

Between 2006 and 2014, official alignment with the relative poverty method is taking place, a social development-oriented approach with the study of extreme poverty and poverty at the territorial and community level. In this period, the EUROSTAT relative

poverty rate, measured against a poverty threshold corresponding to 60% of the median income per equivalent adult, is used in country reports, as the main monitoring tool.

Relatively recently, a more complex indicator has been developed at European level. This is the risk of poverty or social exclusion. It is a multi-dimensional indicator that measures the proportion of the population at risk of relative poverty or with a very low work intensity or severe material deprivation. Its name is AROPE (at risk of poverty or social exclusion) and it is used to monitor the Europe 2020 headline target for poverty and social exclusion. The risk of poverty and social exclusion (AROPE) identifies people at risk of poverty or social exclusion, these are people in at least one of the following three situations: 1. poverty risk (AROP indicator); 2. belong to households where the intensity of work is very low; 3. are exposed to severe material shortages.

In Romania, 37.3% of the population (EUROSTAT, 2016) are at risk of poverty or social exclusion. Almost one third of the population suffers from severe material deprivation and cannot afford the goods and services they deem necessary to have a proper lifestyle. Approximately 7% live in households with very low work intensity. People at risk of relative poverty are those with an annual disposable income (including social transfers) less than 60% of the median income per equivalent adult. Available revenue is the sum of all earned incomes (including those related to social protection: social security or social assistance benefits), less taxes (income or property) and paid social contributions.

The methodology used to identify severe material deprivation measures the percentage of the population that meets at least four of the following nine criteria: (1) do not afford to pay their rent, mortgage or utility bills; (2) do not allow themselves to properly heat their home; (3) cannot cope with their own expenditures with unforeseen expenditure (1/12 of the annual national poverty threshold) (4) do not allow themselves to consume periodically meat or other sources of protein, (at least every 2 days); (5) do not allow themselves to go on vacation; (6) do not allow a television; (7) do not allow a washing machine; (8) do not allow a car and (9) do not have a phone. The indicator used in these studies makes a difference between people who do not allow a particular good or service and those who do not have that good or service for various other reasons, for example because they do not want it.

Low-intensity work households are those in which adults aged between 18 and 59 have worked less than 20 percent of their maximum work potential in the year before the survey. Households made up of children, students aged less than 25 years old and / or persons over 60 years old are excluded from the calculation of this indicator.

In Romania, as a result of the large informal market and massive emigration, the relative poverty indicator was preferred, given that the indicator on low labour intensity inside AROPE is of limited relevance in Romania. The Ministry of Labour and Social Justice annually reports since 2006 the most recent indicators of social inclusion and poverty indicators. However, these annual reports are used to a lesser extent to substantiate policies.

Two relevant studies of the last period are Tesliuc et al. (2016) The Marginalized Rural Areas Atlas and Local Human Development in Romania and respectively, The Marginalized Urban Areas Atlas (2014). Within the Atlases of marginalized areas are presented: (1) the methodology for defining the different types of marginalized rural areas, based on a set of key criteria and indicators; (2) detailed maps showing the spatial distribution of marginalized rural communities by counties; (3) the methodology for defining local human development levels, from a reduced development to a comprehensive one, for small rural and urban localities; (4) maps on local human development detailed at county level. The geographical distribution tool for marginalized rural areas in 2016 is based on a methodology, similar to that used in the Atlas of Marginalized Urban Areas since 2014. The Local Human Development Index (LHDI) was originally developed at the administrative unit level in one study of the World Bank in 2013. In the 2016 Atlas, the LHDI index was extended and developed to a greater degree of granularity.

The mentioned methodology measures marginalization and local human development at community level, and marginalization is not defined only in terms of income poverty, but also in terms of human capital (education and health) and living conditions. Marginalized areas (whether rural or urban, Roma or non-Roma communities) are concentrations of low-income households and people with low level of education and skills relevant to the labour market, living in areas exposed to different dangers and where public services are of poor quality or are not at all. Therefore, the atlases can be used to inform or evaluate programs related to education, health, infrastructure and social housing, such as early school leaving, primary health care services, family planning, parenting, domestic violence and other risks/vulnerabilities that are spread in marginalized communities.

The results presented in the two atlases are important milestones in selecting localities for piloting this project's methodology and pretesting of data collection tools. Marginalization on certain dimensions, such as employment, is one of the selection criteria that will be crossed with other criteria, used to cover a comprehensive typology of localities to be selected in the first phase for field data collection in proposed methodology.

As shown in the World Bank study (2014) that substantiate Strategy on Social Inclusion and Poverty Control 2015-2020, decision-makers are interested in areas with high poverty, but also in areas with most of the people being poor. These two do not necessarily coincide, very poor areas can have a low population density, while large cities tend to have low poverty rates but a large number of poor people. At regional level, there are differences in the distribution of poverty in Romania; while some regions, such as the North East region, are rather homogeneous in terms of high poverty rates, others such as the South region are heterogeneous, including counties with very high poverty rates such as Călărasi and Teleorman, as well as counties with relatively low rates, such as Prahova. Also, although Cluj County records the second lowest poverty rate after Bucharest, the counties neighbouring Clui in the north-west (Bistrita-Năsăud, Maramures, Sălaj and Satu Mare) have a higher poverty level than the national average.

At regional and county level, there are already several maps of poverty, made from different methodological and theoretical perspectives, maps that will be a good starting point in our research. The European Commission and the World Bank, in collaboration with a number of EU Member States, have developed a set of poverty maps combining information from the 2011 population censuses with EU-SILC data. The result is the estimation of the county monetary poverty rates.

A starting point based on an updated situation may be the county distribution of the share of VMG (guaranteed minimum income) beneficiaries. A pragmatic approach to the spatialisation of poverty starts from the premise that where there are more beneficiaries of social aid, the proportion of poverty, both relative and absolute, is higher. Data show that distribution of VMG beneficiaries is consistent with that of poverty, at the county level; the poorest counties, such as Vaslui, Teleorman, Mehedinti, have the largest share of VMG beneficiaries, while the low-poverty counties, such as Cluj, Ilfov, Timiş, register more than 5 times lower rates than those mentioned above, while for Bucharest the share is 20 times lower (MMJS, 2017). Therefore, we stand that the number of VMG beneficiaries can be a component of the methodology for estimating poverty.

Table no. 1. VMG (guaranteed minimum income) thresholds and relative poverty threshold

VMG thresholds	Relative poverty threshold*	
1 person 142 lei	560 lei	
2 persons 255 lei	840 lei	
3 persons 357 lei	1092 lei	
4 persons 442 lei	1420 lei	
5 persons 527 lei	1846 lei	

^{*} Calculated per equivalent adult (upgraded OECD scale) and assuming that people from the third person in the household up are children under the age of 14 - the threshold level thus calculated is the minimum) – INS (The National Institute of Statistics) thresholds, 2015

Source: MMIS

However, the low level of the eligibility threshold for obtaining VMG related to the poverty rate necessitates a refinement of the approach by including another indicator in the analysis, i.e. the number of beneficiaries of heating aids. A specification regarding the design of the local poverty map in qualitative terms is also needed. It is important to understand the causes of poverty. Reasons may vary from one area to another and even from one location to another, and interventions should be targeted not only to the magnitude of poverty but also to the causes that generate and reproduce it. In addition to structural causes, inefficiency of public intervention can also be a cause, and social infrastructure and social services maps will provide relevant information from this perspective.

Methodology design

The stages of research include analysis of social documents, administrative data, statistical data analysis, primary data collection. The methodological approach is a mixed one, a quantitative-qualitative approach and it is based on the collection of data at county and local level. The data at the county level serve to configuring the context and cross validation between the local and the county level.

Data will be collected from a multidimensional approach: 1. socio-demographic dimension; the share of the active age population; the share of pensioners, the structure of households; 2. economic dimension: employers in the locality / in the area, offer and structure of the job offer; 3. social inclusion: access to health services, education, employment; beneficiaries of social benefits - indicators at county level: number / share of families receiving VMG - absolute poverty indicator; number / share of families receiving heat aid - absolute / relative poverty indicator.

In addition to factual data, statistical indicators and administrative data, the qualitative approach aims to complement the county picture of poverty and social exclusion in terms of the dynamics of socio-economic processes and the mechanisms which shape this picture. Starting from the hypothesis that employment is one of the key variables of social inclusion, the qualitative approach at the county level will focus on interviewing representatives of AJOFMs from all counties of the country. The collection of qualitative data will be complementary to the collection of data through the datasheets applied to all these AJOFMs.

At the local level, the quantitative-qualitative approach will be translated into indicators using two main data collection tools: a questionnaire applied to the institutional representatives of the city halls, the SPASs (Public Social Assistance Services), respectively the DGASPCs (General Directorate for Social Assistance and Child Protection) for the 6 sectors of Bucharest; a semi-structured interview guide that will be applied to institutional representatives from the aforementioned institutions.

The questionnaire, which integrates the themes of all 4 methodologies corresponding to the four maps, comprises two parts: a) a part devoted to factual data and estimates made by institutional representatives according to their area of competence (the effort to complete the data is collective); b) a part devoted to opinions and assessments on the relevant issues that define the local picture from the perspective of local opportunities and constraints, income sources, vulnerable groups, poverty, in work poverty, and social benefits and services addressed to vulnerable people. Opinions will be expressed individually; this part of the questionnaire being addressed to the institutional representatives identified as being most relevant to the issues mentioned.

Attachment to this questionnaire will be a centralized data sheet for VMG beneficiaries, respectively, heat aids beneficiaries (referred below as Annex1). This instrument will allow the positioning of these beneficiaries related to the relative poverty and, by crossing with the occupation criterion, the position in the category of in work poverty. The instrument is a difficult to apply one and it is subject to certain methodological precautions, in particular from the practical point of view of how to apply it. The main problem is related to the need to translate the members of the family members with equal shares into family income, in the equivalent adult position by applying the modified OECD equivalence scale. The need for this transformation is related to the reporting of an official poverty threshold, calculated on an equivalent adult and not on a family member.

Taking these aspects into account, the relevance of these has been strengthened by confronting the results of pre-testing of data collection tools, an alternative approach has been developed for the practical impossibility of centralizing all data on details such as the number of children under 14, respectively, over 14 years of each family receiving heat aid. Problems of this type can occur in families with more than 2 children, where the data density increases exponentially, and the solution is a statistical calibration of the income tranche intervals, the margins of which will be translated accordingly to the scale 1: 1, to the amended OECD one.

The transformation formula can only be drawn from the average structure of the families receiving heat aids, on each type of family with at least 2 children, depending on the age of the children. For example, for a family of 2 adults and two children, both under the age of 14, those placed in the heat aid in the synoptic table used by each SPAS / social welfare department, the income range of 310-355 lei will become, translated per adult equivalent, income range 615-700 lei. Intuitively, we can assume that a reasonable solution would be to centralize the benefits of heating aid only up to the middle range corresponding to the income instalments eligible for this aid. Calibration will, however, be done on a case-by-case basis, starting from the distribution of children in these families with children around the age of 14 (in modelling the equivalence scale).

The quantitative data obtained through the data sheet will be completed and validated with qualitative data, obtained through interviews with institutional representatives of APL (Public Local Authority) / SPAS (Public Social Assistance Services) / DGASPC (General Directorate for Social Assistance and Child Protection).

The qualitative approach, complementary to the quantitative approach has a multiple role: 1. in-depth description of the socio-economic situation of the county / locality: historic background, specificity of the county/locality, favourable / unfavourable premises for development; description of several mechanisms for social exclusion and vulnerability of some social categories; 2. validation of the quantitative approach: a) validation of data obtained through data sheets; b) estimating the level of exclusion / exclusion errors of VMG and heat aids beneficiaries.

These objectives will be achieved through interviews with institutional representatives of AJOFMs (County Agencies for Employment), respectively, of SPASs (Public Social Assistance Services), of the social assistance department within the City Hall or DGASPC (General Directorate for Social Assistance and Child Protection) in the case of the Bucharest.

Interviews will perceive the institutional representatives' perception of issues at local level in relation to: the most vulnerable groups from a socio-economic point of view in the locality; the main sources of income in the locality; subsistence agriculture: share in the income sources; coverage of food consumption needs; share of VMG beneficiaries

and heat aids beneficiaries practicing subsistence agriculture; low-income earners in precarious situations; the vulnerability of families where income earners are underemployed, precarious / under-employed in seasonal activities, daily work, work on black market; perceptions of the degree of coverage of those who should or should not benefit from social benefits: inclusion errors, exclusion errors, sub-addressed / overaddressed categories, ways to control errors; perceptions about the need for social services and the degree of coverage of these needs in the locality. Another source of qualitative data will be represented by vulnerable persons - beneficiaries / potential beneficiaries of social services. The data collection tool is common to the theme of social services, namely poverty and in work poverty, the share and focus on certain factual, perceptual and evaluative aspects, being differentiated in relation to the topic addressed.

The way of collecting data at the local level is designed in three stages: 1. direct data collection with field operator in at least 10% of the localities of each county, selected to cover a structured typology based on 3 criteria: a. type of locality-city, small town, rural localities, at least one locality in each category; b. coverage of social services (from the Social Services Register); c. the economic criterion, operationalized by the employment marginalization indicator (from the Rural Marginalization Atlas, respectively, Urban one); 2. collecting data by applying local questionnaires, respectively, those addressed to providers of social services. Of interest will be the completion of heat aid centralizers; 3. data collection with field operator in the localities where the answers received through the data tools applied by self-completion will be considered unsatisfactory from the perspective of the completeness and correctness of the data.

Qualitative data collection will be made to all county AJOFMs and all DGASPCs (data sheets will be applied to both institutions) and, at local level, with a scenario following the criterion of informational saturation of qualitative data obtained. A minimum limit is to be achieved: at least an interview with social service providers, rural and urban ones from each county; an interview with representatives of SPAS / Social Assistance Department in rural and urban localities, from each county, one interview at each DGASPC in the sectors of Bucharest; interviews with social services beneficiaries; a focus group with specialists from the social protection system of each county.

Data collection tools includes: 1. Data sheets at county level: Territorial statistics -DJSs (Country Directorate of Statistics), AJOFMs, AJPISs, DGASPCs (focusing on social services) and local level: SPASs / APLs / DGASPCs for the 6 sectors in Bucharest); 2. Semi-structured interview guides for institutional representatives -AJOFM,s SPASs / APLs / DGASPCs for the 6 sectors in Bucharest); 3. Interview guide for vulnerable people: beneficiaries and non beneficiaries of social services

Testing the methodology and data collection tools will allow an analysis of the risks and weaknesses of the methodological approach, analysis based on which possible alternatives and ways to minimize risks will be proposed. The data will be validated through a qualitative study that will cover a comprehensive typology of local contexts favouring a certain rate of work poverty, the share of subsistence agriculture, daily or seasonal activities, or related low-skilled jobs. This typology will be intersected with that of the disadvantaged areas from the employment perspective, resulting from the Atlas of Marginalized Urban Areas, respectively from the Atlas of Marginated Rural Areas.

The results of the first phase of the methodological approach are prerequisites that underlie the analysis of the risks and vulnerabilities of the methodological approach, the theoretical construction confronted with its application in practice. Starting from this analysis, we have identified ways to minimize the risks that have been integrated into this consolidated methodology. The quantitative data obtained through the data sheet will be completed and validated with qualitative data obtained through interviews with institutional representatives of APLs / SPASs / DGASPCs. They will record the perception of the institutional representatives interviewed on local issues: the most vulnerable groups from a socio-economic point of view in the locality; the main sources of income in the locality; subsistence agriculture: share in the income sources economy; coverage of food consumption needs; share of VMG beneficiaries and heat aids practicing in subsistence agriculture; low-income earners in precarious situations; the vulnerability of families where income earners are under-employed, precarious / underoccupied in seasonal activities, daily work, perceptions of the degree of coverage of those who should or should not benefit from social benefits: inclusion errors, exclusion errors; sub-addressed / over-addressed categories; ways to control errors; perceptions about the need for social services and the degree of coverage of these needs in the locality.

In work poverty in Romania

Eurostat defines in work poverty as the share of the employed population with income below the threshold of less than 60% of the median incomes available for equivalent adult. The population categories included in work poverty reports refer to employed persons, people employed on their own, as well as to unpaid family workers. An adequate concept for the analysis of in work poverty is also the poor prosperity. According to the Quality of Life Dictionary (Mărginean, Vasile, 2015), precarious prosperity defines "a socio-economic situation of a population that is between poverty and secured prosperity that is characterized by a low standard of living, close to poverty, material deprivation, insecurity of living conditions, vulnerability "(p. 92).

Those in such a situation find themselves in the first 3 quintiles of income above the poverty line and have incomes ranging between 60-80% of the median equivalent income. The proportion of the population at risk of poverty is influenced by the level of economic development of the states; the occupational structure of the population; economic inequality of the societies (Maitre et al., 2012).

States with strong redistributive social policies have significantly lower levels of lowincome earners compared to those with a dominant liberal economic policy (Hallerod, 2015). EU-SILC statistics show that the share of poorly remunerated people does not necessarily differ from the level of economic development of the states but shows a heterogenity that rather reflects the level of social inequality. Thus, countries with strong redistributive social policies (France, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Norway) have significantly lower values in terms of the share of the lowincome population compared to states with a more liberal economic policy (Table 2). At the same time, the analyses have highlighted the fact that the share of low-income employees is higher among women and people under the age of 30, regardless of the country we are reporting (Maitre et al., 2012).

Table no. 2. Share of employed population paid by less than two-thirds of the median of income per adult equivalent, in 2015. Data for one-person households, data marked with (*) indicate reported percentages for 2014)

	Percent		Percent
Austria	10,4%	Latvia	13,8%
Belgium	6,6%	Lithuania	10,2%
Bulgary	7,5%	Luxembourg	12,7%*
Cyprus	12,4%	Netherlands	6,8%
Czech Republic	6,9%	Malta	4,4%
Germany	16,4%	Poland	11,6%
Greece	11,9%	Portugal	10,00%
Denmark	9,9%	Romania	21,1%
Estonia	15,00%	Spain	14,2%
Finland	4,5%	Sweden	15,1%
France	11,4%	Slovakia	8,2%
Italy	14,00%*	Slovenia	15,5%
Ireland	9%*	Hungary	15,5%
UK	13,00%		

Source: Eurostat, EU-SILC, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/income-and-living-conditions/data/ database

With all the favourable developments in employment in recent years (especially by reducing employment in traditional farming and increasing the number of employees and the minimum wage level), in work poverty continues to be very high in Romania in the European context (more than 20% of the total occupied population is in this situation in Romania in 2015).

A category of employed people whose incomes are mainly found in the first decades of income are farmers, nearly three-quarters of them being placed in decile 1 and 2, while less than 7% of them found in 6-10 deciles (INS, 2014). On the other hand, the accelerated increase of the minimum wage in the last 2 years led to a flattening on the left side of the salary curve, due to the proximity of the median wage distribution, to the minimum wage threshold. Among the causes of the high labour poverty rate in Romania are structural problems, such as the very large share of self-employment,

especially in agriculture and construction (which is vulnerable by the low level of labour productivity and the seasonality of the activity done by large categories of population). Another reason is the low level of wages and the high share of labour contracts paid with the minimum wage or close values. Analysis of statistical data shows that the risk of poverty among the employed population is closely correlated with the type of labour contract and the level of education.

Table no 3. Poverty in the EU and in Romania (the indicator is calculated for one-person households)

	2007	2010	2013	2014
EU 27	10,3%	10,8%	13,1%	13,6%
EU 15	9,9%	10,4%	13,3%	14.00%
New member states	13,4%	13,9%	11,7%	10,7%
Romania	27,5%	27,3%	22,1%	20,5%

Source: Eurostat, EU-SILC http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/income-and-living-conditions/data/ database

The concept of in work poverty describes the population categories with a precarious level of incomes, whether from wages or self-employment, which place individuals in a situation of economic and social vulnerability. Poor employment is the common dimension in the characterization of these population categories, which are placed around the poverty line and which, although not the poorest segments of the population, experience poverty and material deprivation as constant threats (Preoteasa, 2014).

Poor work is associated with manual, temporary, poorly qualified, poorly paid activities. It is predominantly specific to employment of the vulnerable population. Kalleberg (2009) defines precarious work as being heavily affected by job insecurity and labour seasonality. Uncertainty is given both by the temporary nature of the activity performed (inconsistent work throughout the year with long periods of inactivity) and by the low level of remuneration received by the persons for the work. At the individual level, work poverty is understood as a consequence of the individual's placement on the labour market. On a wider scale, considering the socio-economic coordinates of the community / country in which the individual lives, work poverty can be conceptualized as a result of the level of economic development of society (Maitre et al., 2012).

The period of long-lasting economic transition in Romania has led, among other things, to the wide spread of the self-employment, especially in the area of agricultural activities, construction and small craft activities. Rural areas have experienced a real explosion in population employed in subsistence farming since the early 1990s, a situation that has persisted to these days, despite the gradual decline in employment in the agricultural sector.

For Romania, three categories of employed population are the most affected by work poverty (Table no. 4). The most consistent category of this type is the population employed in agriculture. INS data for 2015 show that 2 million people in rural areas are active in agriculture, while less than 200,000 of them are employed in agriculture or are owners of farms (INS, TEMPO database). The self-employed population in the secondary and tertiary sector, which includes especially seasonal workers and seasonal workers in non-agricultural activities, also contributes significantly to the portrayal of work poverty. The field of construction provides the largest number of population included in this category. A third category is low-wage earners. The risk of poverty increases according to the number of dependents of the employee.

Table no. 4. Employed population categories affected by poverty

Self-employed population in traditional farming		
Self-employed population in the secondary and tertiary sectors		
Low-income earners, close to the minimum wage threshold		

Source: own categorization

It is relevant that while the rate of poverty and material deprivation at people outside the labour market does not differ significantly in Romania compared to the EU average, the differences regarding the employed people are important. Very large differences are recorded in Romania, in the EU context, related to the material deprivation of part-time employees compared to full-time employees. (Graph no 1).

Table no 5. Poverty rate and material deprivation rate employed-outside labour force

	Estimated % of people below poverty line		Estimated % of people that experience material deprivation	
Category	Employed	Outside labour force	Employed	Outside labour force
Romania	19.7%	32.7%	35.5%	49%
EU (28)	9.6%	30.5%	12.8%	29%

Source: EUROUFUND, 2017-EU-SILC 2014

In work poverty represents a particular case of the poverty, people and families in this situation being the poor people who have the status of employed person (i.e. poor families where one or more people have this status). Addressing the themes of poverty and in-work poverty will therefore have a common trunk and particular development, and in work poverty is a particular case.

70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% まなななななななな

Graph no 1. Share of part-time and full-time employees experiencing deprivation

Source: EUROFOUND, 2017

Collecting data on the share of the employed population who earns income within ranges corresponding to the levels of the relative poverty line. From the intersection of the number of those identified to be in poverty with employed persons in each locality, results the category of those in work poverty (according to the classification in the same income instalments). Employed persons will be identified as employees, self-employed in non-agricultural activities, self-employed or unpaid family workers in subsistence agriculture. Therefore, detailing the number and structure of beneficiaries on income tranches will allow reporting flexibility: relative to different poverty thresholds; relative to poverty and in work poverty (by crossing with the employed person criterion).

The methodological approach is a mixed, quantitative-qualitative one and it is based on the collection of data at county and local level. The data at county level serve to configuring the context and cross validation between the local and the county level. The qualitative approach complementary to the quantitative approach has a multiple role: definition of the socio-economic situation of the county/ locality: history, specificity of the county/ localities, favourable/ unfavourable premises for development; description of mechanisms for social exclusion and vulnerability of social categories; validation of the quantitative approach.

Only those who produce in subsistence farming a significant proportion of the products consumed by their family (minimum 50%) or part of the production is intended for sale will be included in this category)

Table no 6. Available county / regional indicators

INDICATORS	UTILITY	
INDICATORS	County context	
Active population	Population structure - labour resources	
The average number of pensioners and the average	The structure of the population;	
monthly pension of state social insurance	poverty	
Average number of employees by activities of the	Employment	
national economy		
Local units active in industry, construction,	Offer of the employers	
commerce and other services, by activities of the		
national economy and total size classes, of which		
by number of employees: 0-9, 10-49, 50-249, 250		
and more		
The structure of the employed population by sex	Regional context	
and environment sectors (development regions)		
Registered unemployed and unemployment rate	Poverty	
Monthly gross nominal earnings per month by	In work poverty	
activities of the national economy		
Nominal average monthly earnings per month by	In work poverty	
activities of the national economy		
Social benefits to ensure minimum guaranteed	Absolute poverty	
income		
the average monthly number of families or single		
beneficiaries		
Execution of local budgets (revenues, expenditures,	Community poverty	
surplus / deficit)		

Source: Territorial statistics

The proposed outlook for defining in work poverty is more comprehensive than in the case of poverty, addressing not only those below the poverty line but also those close to it - this approach is underpinned by the theoretical perspective of so-called precarious prosperity. Therefore, the methodology for achieving the work poverty map will also target the spatial distribution of the vulnerability of people at risk of poverty.

The measurement model is therefore based, primarily on the data collected in the field research carried out under the project, through two main instruments: UATs addressed questionnaire and Annex 1, with data on income, demographic and occupational structure of families receiving heating aid at local level. As complementary data sources, we use the results of the qualitative research, as well as filled in data sheets to AJOFMs from all the counties of the country. Among external sources of completeness and validation and data we use INS data collected in ABF, EUSILC, Labour Force Balance, AMIGO, and data for the period 2016-2017. We also use ANPIS data, as well as data from the MMJS Official Reports and the INCSMPS Report 2017, for MMJS, on the impact of raising the minimum wage in terms of the situation of employees and their families as well as employers' perspective.

According to MMIS data, less than one third of the total number of the poor is addressed through the two types of aid based on testing the means considered in the poverty and work poverty model proposed in this project. To identify the others over two-thirds of the poor, we used complementary data sources that we used in an integrated analysis model, based on the data from the questionnaire, Annex 1, INS data, respectively official reports of MMIS.

Validation items for poverty and in work poverty rates at national level are: poverty rate, in work poverty rate EUSILC 2016, poverty rate ABF 2016 and for regional level, we used poverty rate by development zones, ABF, 2016 and poverty rate by development zones EUSILC 2016. National and regional differences between the measurement results according to the two methodologies are mainly due to the inclusion of non-inclusion of the self-consumption in the measurement model. Our methodology is hybrid from this point of view and the measurement result is expected to be somewhere between the two benchmarks at both national and regional levels.

Table no 7. Indicators used to estimate the poverty and in work-poverty rate at UAT level

Label for the indicator*	Indicator	Source of data	Formula	Explanations
C1	Population	INS	C1	
C2	Number of households	Questionnaire	C2	
C3	No. of total employees	Questionnaire +INS	C3	Lack of data from the questionnaire = INS data
C4	No. of persons occupied in agriculture	Questionnaire	C4	
C5	No. of VMG beneficiaries	Questionnaire validation with ANPIS data	C5	Lack of data from the questionnaire =ANPIS data
C6	No. of heat aid beneficiaries	Questionnaire validation with ANPIS data	C6	Lack of data from the questionnaire = ANPIS data
C7	Medium size of households	Questionnaire +INS	C7=C1/C2	
C8	No. of self employed in non-agriculture activities	INS	C8 = 30 % of rural population 35% of urban population	Category significantly underestimated in Annex 1. Missing questionnaire

¹ Relative poverty threshold is that with self-consumption (ABF), incomes in the Annex are calculated to some extent related to self-consumption, but the exclusion-inclusion criteria are some administrative-bureaucratic ones, and there is also the self-exclusion from accessing these benefits . On the other hand, estimates made at the UAT level used in our measurement model refer to occupational categories non-rigid defined in relation to the INS definitions. In calculating the percentage of poor employees we calibrated the percentages of EUSILC and ABF etc.

Label for the indicator*	Indicator	Source of data	Formula	Explanations
murcator			(% INS self- employed population/total employed population, weighted)	data for that category.
C9	No. of persons in subsistence agriculture that are poor	Questionnaire +Annex1	C9= % households in subsistence agriculture *C7	Category significantly underestimated in Annex 1. Use of questionnaire data. Weighted average household size for moving from the working poors to the poors in these families.
C9bis	No. of persons in subsistence agriculture that are work poor	Questionnaire +Anexa1+INS	C9 bis= % households in subsistence agriculture *C4	Weighting by estimated number in a questionnaire of family members working in agriculture, starting from % poor in self-employment agriculture activities, calibrated with the share of subsistence agriculture at local level-additional explanations below
C10	No. of poor's from families with employees	Questionnaire +INS+Anexa 1	C10= C10 bis.* calibrated medium size dimension of family of employees weighted with that identified in Annex 1	Category significantly underestimated in Annex 1. Differential calibration % poor employees INS Weighted with calibrated average size of the family of employees
C10 bis	No. of employees that are poor	Questionnaire +INS+Anexa 1	C10bis= 4 % */ total employees UAT	Category significantly underestimated in Annex 1. Calibration 4% poor employees out of all employees in questionnaire.
C11	No. of persons from households that are employed in non-agricultural	INS+Anexa 1	C11=C11bis*C7	Category significantly underestimated in Annex 1. Weighted with average size of the households at local level

Label for the indicator*	Indicator	Source of data	Formula	Explanations
	activities that are poor			
C11 bis	No. of employed persons in non- agricultural activities that are poor	INS+Anexa 1	C11bis=37 % *C8	Sub-evaluated in Annex 1
C12	No. of VMG beneficiaries (weighted)	Questionnaire +INS	C12=VMG-VMG beneficiaries of heat aid (questionnaire data)	The categories of VMG beneficiaries and heating aids beneficiaries are not clearly delineated and it was necessary to identify and delimit the intersection area.
C13	No. of poors	Questionnaire +INS+Anexa 1	C13=C6+C9+C1 0+C11+ C12=C13	
C14	Employed population	Questionnaire +INS+Anexa1	C14= C3+C4+C8=C14	
C15	No. of working poors	Questionnaire +INS+ Anexa1	C15=C9bis+C10bi s+C11 bis	
C16	Rate of relative poverty	Questionnaire +INS+ Anexa1	C16=C13*100/ C1	
C17	Rate of in work poverty	Questionnaire +INS+ Anexa1	C17=C15*100/ C14	

^{*} Labels are a convention and have a role to play only in the explanation of the model of measurement, with no reference to the number assigned to the columns corresponding to the indicators in the database.

Therefore, stages of estimating the poverty and in work poverty rates include the following steps:

Step 1 - Data analysis of Annex 1. The shift from income per person to income per adult equivalent. Report to the ABF adult poverty threshold of 725 lei: number of poors beneficiaries of heating aid; number of poors / working poors, families of employees, families employed in subsistence farming, families occupied in nonagricultural activities. In order to avoid overlapping with categories already identified as poor in Annex 1, it is about people employed and the shift from a poor employed person to number of poor people in those families, we estimated 30% of the beneficiaries of poor heating aids in families of employed persons and we decreased, for each UAT, the respective percentage related to the number of heating aid beneficiaries out of the total number of poor identified by the methodology described

The percentage is one identified at the theoretical level, the one identified in the data in Annex 1 regarding that employed persons receiving heating aid are greatly undervalued, especially in the category of poor families in agriculture, respectively, those poors from families in self-employed non-agricultural activities. Although they were identified as such only in a significantly underestimated proportion, we assumed that these are found in the above-mentioned proportion among the beneficiaries of heating aids. As an alternative to the difficulty in reasonably estimating the inclusion / exclusion / selfexclusion errors on each of the three categories of persons employed, we proposed a theoretical model for identifying the total share of persons in families that have employed persons among the beneficiaries of heating aids.

Step 2 - Validation with data from the questionnaire and ANPIS data: number of beneficiaries of heating aids and VMG beneficiaries, number of non-beneficiaries of VMG; delimitation of beneficiaries of VMG and non-beneficiaries of heating aid by weighting with data of the questionnaire. Based on the data from the questionnaire we weighted the number of VMG beneficiaries to avoid overlaps and to delimit the VMG beneficiaries who are not beneficiaries of heating aids. Where, according to the questionnaire, more than 80% of the VMG beneficiaries are beneficiaries of heating aid, there we delimited 10% beneficiaries of VMG and non-beneficiaries of heating aids.

Step 3 - Identify the variables in the questionnaire and missing cases and fill in data from complementary and alternative sources as explained above;

Step 4 - Run the measurement model explained above.

Step 5 - Validate data and locally correction¹.

Conclusions

Administrative data remain an alternative solution for measuring the poverty rate at county and local level, within the context of lack of statistically representativeness on local and county level of the data collected in EU-SILC and ABF Surveys. Such an alternative is developed within the project "Implementation of a system for the development of public policies on social inclusion at the Romanian Ministry of Labour and Social Justice, SIPOCA 4" (2016-2018). One of the goals of this undergoing project is developing a set of tools for measuring poverty and in work poverty in Romania at the level of each locality.

The measurement model used in this project is based on data collected in a field research through two main tools: questionnaire addressed to UATs; Annex 1, with data on income, demographic and occupational structure of families receiving heating aid at local level. As complementary data sources, we use the results of the qualitative

¹ Example of correction- an UATs where a large percentage of households involved in subsistence agriculture were identified in the questionnaire but at the same time the questionnaire identified the situation where a significant share of the production of these households is for sale. Another element taken into account in the refining of the measurement model is the existence of rural tourism, eg the Aries Valley, in Alba County, whre a recalibration of the level of income was necessary by adding a percentage of production revenues from own farm, for sale, either by sale or by rural tourism.

research, as well as filled in to AJOFMs data sheets for all the counties of the country. Among external sources of completeness and validation of data we use INS data collected in ABF, EUSILC, Labour Force Balance, AMIGO (data for 2016-2017). We also use ANPIS data, as well as data from the MMJS Official Reports and the INCSMPS Report 2017, (MMJS as beneficiary), an analysis of the impact of raising the minimum wage in terms of the situation of employees and their families as well as employers' perspective.

Such indirect method of measurement of the poverty rate is based on the data extracted from the heating aids beneficiaries list. The beneficiaries are grouped in nine income tranches, covering the accepted minimum and maximum for granting the respective benefit. Except for the last income tranche, all other beneficiaries are, even in the case that it is calculated the income per person and not per adult equivalent, under the relative poverty limit, officially established by the National Institute of Statistic. Based on the number of benefiting families on each income tranche and on the number of members of each family, one can estimate the poverty rate on adult equivalent in the respective locality. It is necessary, although, a transformation of the income per person, as it is in the administrative centralized lists, in incomes on adult equivalent, according to modified OECD scale.

The data referring to the occupation status of the family can be accessed for estimating the poverty rate on local level. The poverty rate will be calculated based on the number of persons. The in-work poverty will be measured by interesting the number of those in poverty with the number of employed persons. The lists with beneficiaries of minimum guaranteed income will be also considered in estimating poverty, respectively- in work poverty on local level. A large part of these are also heating aids beneficiaries (those who are not are excluded based on legal barriers, like the absence of papers for ownership or renting for the respective house). On the other side, the limit of maximum income for minimum guarantee income (VMG) is much lower than the limit for relative poverty (and even under the limit for absolute poverty), hence, it is necessary to have data on a higher number of families and persons susceptible to be on poverty risk.

According to the MMJS data, less than one third of the total number of the poor is addressed by the two types of aids based on testing the means taken into account the poverty and in work poverty model proposed in this project¹. To identify the others over two-thirds of the poor's, we used complementary data sources in an integrated analysis model, based on the data from the questionnaire, Annex 1, INS data, respectively data from the research reports and official reports of MMJS.

As an alternative to the difficulty of reasonably estimating inclusion / exclusion / selfexclusion errors on each of the three occupied categories, we developed and applied a theoretical model for identifying the total weight of persons in families comprising employed persons among the beneficiaries of heating aid.

¹ VMG, respectively heating aid

Despite the methodological difficulties mentioned above, the fact that the proposed measurement model in this project uses locally collected data for all localities in Romania provides the premises for in-depth analyses at a regional, county or cluster of localities from perspectives correlated with various analysis objectives. Also, the estimates obtained from the institutional representatives, through the questionnaires applied at the level of each locality, complement the picture set up by the statistical data with relevant local information, which adds value to the complex approach of mapping poverty and in work poverty in Romania.

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