

Wilfried Heller (Hrsg.)

Romania

Migration, Socio-economic Transformation
and Perspectives of Regional Development

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Transformation and Perspectives

of Regional Development

Edited by Wilfried Heller

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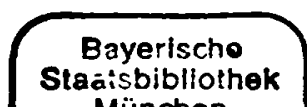
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WILFRIED HELLER

Editorial preface and acknowledgements

Migration and socio-economic transformation have been central topics for both scientists and members of the general public since the collapse of the former Eastern bloc. Romania is one of the countries affected in a special manner by these processes from which the country has to suffer particularly hard.

The contributions to these topics published here in this volume have been worked out within the frame of a workshop carried out at Potsdam University 21 - 23 November 1997.

It was the aim of this workshop to bring together researchers from different countries who study Romania. The workshop should be focussed on the following tasks:

1. to evaluate the existing research related to the subject of the workshop, and to exchange scientific experiences so that the participating researchers can apply what they learn from the workshop to their future studies;
2. to study explicitly the coherence of the three aspects included in the subject of the workshop. These subjects are migration, transformation, and perspectives of regional development.

By now, a number of studies have been published by Romanian scientists of different disciplines about migration, socio-economic transformation and regional development. These studies are an indispensable help to study this subject. The following contributions can be mentioned as examples: on the part of agricultural sciences DUMITRU (1994), FLORIAN (1993), GEORGESCU et al. (1995), LAZAR (1996), REY (1995) and SARBU/STAICU (1993); on the part of demography TREBICI (1995); on the part of geography DUMITRACHE/VINTILA (1995) and IANOS (1994 and 1996); on the part of political science PASCAL (1996); and on the part of sociology CARTANA/GANJU (1995), FULEA (1996 b, MARGINEAN (1995), ROTARIU/MEZEI (1996), SANDU (1995) and ZAMFIR et al. (1994).

But it seems that up to date the coherence of and interrelation between the three phenomena migration, socio-economic transformation, and regional development are picked out as themes more implicitly than explicitly. The motivation for carrying out the workshop was the expectation that the workshop participants focus explicitly on this coherence and interrelation in their contributions. The workshop should strive for more general explanations rather than for descriptive accounts. These general explanations should be based on the analysis of the relations between migration, socio-economic transformation, and regional development.

Thereby, a theoretical framework would be helpful. Apparently, such a coherent and generally accepted theoretical framework does not exist yet. But empirical evidence clearly shows that the political, economic, and social transformations, such

as exist in the example of post-socialist Romania, create conditions which lead to increased emigration and different spatial patterns of internal migration. Concerning the transformation research in general, there are some theoretical approaches on the parts of political science and sociology which could help to overcome purely descriptive stock-takings and arbitrary induction (compare, for example, the perspectives of a so-called “soft system theory“ or the approaches of “system change research“ of SANDSCHNEIDER 1996, BEYME 1996 and MERKEL 1996 or the comparative approach of MÜLLER 1996).

With regard to the workshop it was suggested to use the potential of the available theoretical approaches. Concerning the thematic aspects “migration“ and “regional development“, the idea of applying neoclassical and regional science approaches seemed to be obvious. These approaches could be able to complement one another. In general, neoclassical approaches pay attention to migration hindrances. Some such obstacles have disappeared by way of transformation, some persisted despite transformation, while new obstacles have arisen.

The regional science approaches tend to underline inherited, persistent regional structures. Traditional regional disparities affect the spatial patterns of emigrations and immigrations in quantitative and qualitative respects, e. g. the number of migrants, their demographic compositions, and the profile of their professional qualifications.

In connection with the call for papers, the initiator of the workshop has proposed that the workshop should deal in detail with the following topics:

- patterns, dimensions and directions of migrations;
- the demographic and social units participating in migration;
- the underlying motives for migration;
- political, legal, economic, and social changes as necessary conditions for the migrations;
- the influence of regional and local structures (of natural environment, history, economy, infrastructure) and of the spatial location on transformations and migrations;
- the importance of the state’s economic and regional policy for the spatially differentiated transformations and migrations;
- the effects of Romania’s integration into the international system of states (for example: the effects of foreign trade relations and of decisions of international organisations concerning credit facilities, investment aids, and of other measures) on the economic conditions and in this way, on migrations, too;
- the impact of transformations and migrations on the regional development in different regional contexts;
- the discussion of measures which could or ought to be taken for the promotion of regional development on different regional scales.

These topics should be observed during the workshop on the following regional scales:

- on the national scale, differentiated between rural and urban areas, which are to be seen in view of the different regional structures;

- on the regional scale, with selected examples, so that it will be possible to identify more precisely the importance of regional characteristics;
- on a local scale, with case studies, so that it will be possible to show the consequences of the state policy and of the national economic frame conditions.

The papers presented during the workshop took into consideration these proposals. But nevertheless for the publication in this book the separate contributions have not been ordered according to the different spatial scales mentioned above, because the contributions present partially their contents according to other aspects than to spatial ones. Therefore the contributions are arranged in the following manner:

- I. The first contribution is dedicated to theoretical perspectives: WILFRIED HELLER reflects on the term of transformation.
- II. Political dimensions of transformation in Romania are the subject of the second contribution which is worked out by DOROTHÉE DE NÈVE.
- III. SEBASTIAN LAZAROIU and IOAN IANOS deal with post-communist transformations and policies in Romania and their effects on migrations.
- IV. Two contributions focus on regional development in the contexts of transformation and migration: First, VIOLETTE REY, OCTAVIAN GROZA and IONEL MUNTELE stress the role of the regional level with regard to the country in general; second, DAVID TURNOCK asks what human resources could be used for regional development in the Romanian Carpathians.
- V. Problems of rural areas are treated by the following contributors: WILFRIED HELLER, TRAIAN ROTARIU, ELEMÉR MEZEI, MARIA DAN, RUDOLF POLEDNA and AUGUSTIN PERVAIN report on a German-Romanian research project with four separate papers. The title of the common project is "Migration, socio-economic transformation, and perspectives of regional development in the rural areas of Romania".
ELISABETH TOMASI describes the development of Romanian agriculture since the land reform in 1991.
- VI. Problems of urban areas are taken up by two contributors: JOACHIM VOSSEN studies the recent urban development and migration inside, into and out of Bucharest, FRANK-DIETER GRIMM reports on his observations concerning the changes within the urban hierarchy of Romania since the political change.
- VII. The city-countryside relations, which have changed since the collapse of the socialism, have been explicitly investigated by BÉATRICE VON HIRSCHHAUSEN with the regional example of Arad county.
- VIII. With regard to the processes of European integration and the growing importance of regions PETER JORDAN asks in his contribution what opportunities and obstacles of regionalization and decentralization do exist in Romania.
- IX. JOSEF RAABL deals with questions concerning the EU integration of Romania and foreign trade relations.
- X. At last WILFRIED HELLER summarizes all contributions separately and points to some central subjects of the contributions and discussions as well as to aspects and fields of future research.

The running of the workshop was made possible by the financial aid of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Association), the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft (South-East Europe Association), and the Potsdam University, to which thanks are due. In addition, the workshop was successful because a lot of staff members of the Department of Geography and Geoecology and of the administration of Potsdam University gave assistance concerning the organization and the care of guests from abroad. Special thanks are due to Dr Waltraud Lindner of the section of human geography of Potsdam University who not only worked for the organization of the workshop but also for the editing of this book. The editor is also most grateful to Dr Heidrun Klemm of the Sprachenzentrum (Center of foreign languages) of Potsdam University who went over the English language of this book assisted by some of her students who were native speakers. Since responsibility for the contributors is held by their authors, the editing of the texts was mainly confined to polishing the English and formal editing. At last, once more a thank-you to the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft which included this book into the series "Südosteuropa-Studien". Thank you all.

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I. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

WILFRIED HELLER

Transformation: Current importance of the subject, open questions and research deficits

1. Current importance of the subject

Problems of migration and socio-economic transformation of the former socialist countries of Central, East and South-East Europe belong to the most important socio-political subjects discussed by scientists and the general public. Within these discussions Romania deserves special attention.

Romania deserves special attention for the following reasons:

1. The transformation from a socialist country to a country with a market economy is for Romania a particularly dramatic process. This is because the country was ruled by a rigorous authoritarian regime up to 1989.
2. After the collapse of socialism, Romania was more affected by emigrations than any other country in East and South-East Europe apart from Yugoslavia. The main reason for this was the exodus of Romanian citizens of German ethnicity. In 1990 alone more than 60,000 ethnic Germans emigrated. The emigrations have meant an enormous loss of human capital in a short period.
3. Many emigrants from Romania live illegally in other countries, as do emigrants from other former socialist countries. People of the immigration countries often mention the illegal migrants in the context of crimes.
4. Since the immigration to Central and West Europe has become more difficult as a result of new laws and the more efficient controls along the exterior borders of the European Union the countries at the eastern and southeastern borders of the European Union are now concerned with immigrations. Many migrants from the Community of Independent States and from the so-called Third World who are refused at the borders of the European Union often do not return to their home countries, but remain for a longer period or permanently in the neighbour countries of the European Union. Romania belongs to those countries that play buffer roles for such international migration.
5. As a result of the transformation in Romania's largest cities many small shops and restaurants have been founded by foreigners, especially those from Turkey and Arabic states. These immigrants reacted to the fact that local employers did not exist in these branches of economy.
6. Romania belongs to those countries whose strive for membership in NATO and EU is not generally accepted by the present members at the moment.

2. Open questions and research deficits

For some years the problems of migration and socio-economic transformation in Romania have been clearly perceived by the public and by scientists inside and outside of Romania. Despite the many well-respected scientific studies of Romania, open questions remain. Here are some of these questions:

2.1 The first open question

The first open question concerns the interdependence of the phenomena of migration and transformation as well as perspectives of regional development. It is true that Romanian scientists have conducted highly instructive and stimulating studies in different disciplines about migration, transformation and regional development. However, it seems to me as if up to date the interdependence and the relations between these phenomena are studied more implicitly than explicitly. A stronger focus on this interdependence could be helpful, not only to do the necessary inventories, but also to enlarge the explanatory potential of the studies. It seems that a theoretical framework that could make the whole coherence comprehensible does not exist yet. There is no doubt that a political, economic, and social transformation, as it takes place in the former socialist Romania, creates conditions that lead to more emigration and to another spatial pattern of domestic migration.

2.2 The second open question

The second open question refers to the meaning of the terms “transformation“ and “transition“. Like the first open question this question is answered not only with regard to our subject, but also in general terms.

The following remarks may be of use for the response:

The word “transformation“ means a certain kind of change of form, shape, structure, or system. Consequently a socio-economic transformation means the change of the socio-economic situations, relations, terms, conditions, or circumstances within a certain region or area. With regard to this kind of change in the former socialist countries, people understand the change from socialism towards democracy and a market economy.

Beside the term “transformation“ often the term “transition“ is used to indicate the change of socio-economic relations (or structures, situations etc.). The latin word “transition“ means the move from one point or situation to another. Therefore, with regard to the former socialist countries, transition means the move from socialist relations in a socialist system to relations in a system of democracy and market economy.

Often, in the literature, the terms “transformation“ and “transition“ are used without being first defined. Sometimes they are even used interchangeably.

Here I use the terms in different ways, drawing from their uses in the studies of STARK (1995), SCHULZ-NIESWANDT (1994), VERDERY (1991), and others.

STARK (1995) studies the term "transition" with regard to the former socialist countries. He writes that in this context transition means the move from a socialist system of society and economy with a strong steering mechanism to a democratic state with a market economy. The democratic state is the kind of socio-economic system found in the so-called West.

When the term "transition" is used with this meaning, two problems must be taken into account:

The first problem concerns the initial stage of the former socialist countries. STARK argues the following: Given the fact that these countries have not been pure planning systems, the implicitly given idea about the initial stage is not accurate. In socialist times there was a great variety of social relations that have not been in full accord with official politics. These relations were similar to relations in a market economy system. Such relations existed in a more or less formal manner within the socialist sector of economy, and in an informal manner in the shadow economy, because it was impossible to plan a whole national economy in a scientific manner. The shortage of materials and the narrow supply passes necessitated the informal relations.

The second problem refers to the target stage of transition in the former socialist countries. STARK doubts that a democratic country with a market economy will stand on the target at the end of the transition because the informal relations of the initial stage will not have disappeared as a result of the breakdown of socialism. As a result of the political change in 1989/90 an institutional vacuum has not been created. Many relations of the old system have survived. STARK argues that this is true for all former socialist countries even if there are great differences between them. It should be clarified in which manner these informal relation networks coincide with democratization and the introduction of market structures within the different countries, in term of how these informal networks help to promote the processes of democratization and market economy.

It is my opinion that it is unnecessary to avoid the term "transition" with regard to the former socialist countries simply because they have not been purely planned economies. This is because the basic political and economic structures, as well as the structures of law and other structures have surely changed in these countries. But more importantly, the term "transition" ought to be avoided because of the second problem, the target stage of transition. This problem causes us to reflect critically on the use of the term "transition", to think about the movement from a certain starting point to a supposed target. In our case this movement is the movement from a socialist regime to a regime of free enterprise. Nobody knows whether the transition in the former socialist countries is from socialism to a social and economic order such as exists in western industrial countries. It is not yet quite clear which kind of market economy the former socialist countries will have, whether it will be a social or a neoclassical market economy. Besides, present events can produce new structures that differ from country to country.

If the transition concept is applied the question arises as to whether an error of the modernization theory might be repeated. An error of the modernization theory that is as follows: The modernization theory says that a less developed country can become a more developed country if it uses the same instruments that the more developed country has used on its way to development. Such thinking does not take into consideration that the starting conditions for development in former socialist countries differ from starting conditions for development in western industrial countries. The results achieved in the former socialist countries from socio-economic changes will clearly differ from the results of socio-economic relations in modern industrial countries. In my opinion the term "transition" is more applicable to processes that have taken place in the past, processes that you know and can assess (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: THE USE OF THE TERMS OF TRANSFORMATION AND TRANSITION

1. Variant a: Starting stage and final stage are known			
	1	2	3
Phase	Starting stage	Transition from 1 to 3 = transformation of 1 into 3	Final stage
Historic examples	Feudal society	Transition or transformation society	Bourgeois or capitalistic society
	Agrarian society	Transition or transformation society	Industrial society
	Industrial society	Transition or transformation society	Post-industrial or service industry society
2. Variant b: Starting stage is known and final stage is unknown			
	1	2	3
Phase	Starting stage	Transformation of 1 into ?	Final stage?
Example	Socialist society	Transformation society	?
Résumé concerning the use of the terms of transition and of transformation:			
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The term of transition should only be used if the final stage is known, because only in this case can you speak about a transition from one stage to another. Transition contains transformation. 2. Transformation is a change. This term can be used even if you cannot speak about a transition. 			

The term “transition“ includes the term “transformation“. The following definition of the term “transformations“ is proposed: Transformations are changes connected firstly with the introduction of new elements and structures in the social and economic orders, and secondly with the adjustment of the existing elements and structures to the new ones. Thus, these are innovations and adaptations that concern the shapes of the social and economic orders, inclusive of the spatial organization. Transformations include the changes not only of separate facts but also of very complex rearrangements and restructurings of the society and its economy. Since the political changes in 1989 and 1990, the term “transformation“ has often been reduced in the scientific literature and in the mass media to this complex character. The terms “transformation countries“ and “transformation societies“ denote exclusively the former socialist countries and societies (Fig. 2). I would like to define the term “transformation“ or “transformations“ in a more open manner, however, in a manner that pre-dates the political change. In this way the term is more suitable for comparative study of the processes in former socialist countries with the processes in countries with different social and economic orders.

Fig. 2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN FORMER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: SCHEMATIZED SYNOPSIS

FIELDS OF TRANSFORMATION	STARTING STAGE	DESIRED AIM
System as a whole	Socialism	Democracy and market economy
Separate fields:		
Politics	One-party rule	Pluralism
Economy	State and collective ownership of enterprises	Private ownership of enterprises
Social structure	Collectivism	Individualism
Mobility and migration	State regulation (dominant, but not exclusively)	Private economy regulation (dominant, but not exclusively)
Regional development	State regulation	Private economy and state measures of regional planning and development

Transformations take place on political, social, and economic scales, as well as on local, regional, national, and international scales. If you study the facts on the national scale you may assume that each country goes its own way. On a regional and local scale the spatial patterns of the different transformation situations and processes inside of a country are interesting. Perhaps the complexities and problems of transformations can be better understood from differentiating perspectives.

2.3 The third open question

The third open question is following: Which theoretical approaches can be used for a better understanding of transformations?

A theoretical framework would facilitate a better understanding of the causes, processes and consequences of transformations. Such a framework does not yet exist. Approaches of marxist and modernization theories don't seem suitable for our theoretical framework, because it is quite clear that marxist approaches cannot help to understand the collapse of socialist regimes and their developments towards a market economy. Modernization theories start from the assumption that if the same instruments of political, economic, and social modernization used in the existing modern industrial countries were used in developing countries then such developing countries would soon reach the level of development of modern industrial countries. Such a thinking, however, does not take into consideration the difference in initial conditions of development from undeveloping countries that existed in the western industrial countries at the beginning of their development conditions. In addition, such thinking ignores that transformations don't usually run symmetrically on different thematic and regional levels (BEYME 1994, p. 103).

Concerning the interrelation of transformations and migration, it is clear that a political, economic, and social reorganization, such as exists in Romania, creates conditions that lead to different spatial patterns of domestic migration. For example many industrial jobs were lost due to the collapse of industry. Therefore the traditional migration from rural areas to urban settlements decreased. Inversely, the urban-rural migrations increased due to the return of private land property and the privatization of agriculture. Nevertheless after the political change restrictions to migrate into the big cities were dropped. This liberalization however caused greater population movements only for a short period of time, namely from 1990 to 1991.

Concerning the transformation research in general, theoretical approaches to transformation research elaborated in the political sciences and sociology help to overcome purely descriptive stock-takings and arbitrary inductions. Compare, for example, the perspectives of a so-called soft system theory or the approaches of systems change research as formulated by SANDSCHNEIDER (1994) and MERKEL (1996), or the comparative approach of MÜLLER (1996). As all authors who reflect theoretically about transformation processes do, these authors begin with the assumption that up to date there does not exist any theory that alone adequately explains the complexity of these processes. After careful assessment of the available theoretical approaches the authors state that some of the available approaches should be combined to create new ones. New approaches might be created by applying structural elements of system theory approaches to institutions theory approaches and to other approaches.

In dealing with the former socialist countries the approach of MERKEL (1996), "system substitution approach", is particularly suitable. To understand this approach it is helpful to clarify the difference between the term "system change" and the term "system substitution". Here system change means a process connected with the

gradual functional differentiating and modernizing of a society. System substitution means the replacement of one system with another, completely different or new method (compare Weltbank 1996). System substitution is a process that arises if a gradual functional differentiation and modernization of society has been prevented. The potentials of functionalistic, structuralistic, and action theories concepts could be connected by applying the system substitution approach. That would mean that the (strategic) actions of individual and institutional political and economic decision-makers could be studied. By doing so the framework conditions, risks, and chances would be taken into consideration. These framework conditions would consist of two facts:

- firstly the functional logics of systems and the systemic legitimation necessities you could describe by help of functionalistic concepts;
- secondly the framework conditions would consist of social and power structures, of institutions and of the international relations you could analyze by help of structuralistic concepts.

2.4 The fourth question

How will the ideas mentioned above be applied to the workshop?

With regard to the first open question you may see that in the programme the interdependence of and the interrelation between the three phenomena of migration, socio-economic transformation and regional development are explicitly picked out as central themes. Therefore, instead of descriptive accounts you may expect more general explanations based on the analysis of the relations between migration, socio-economic transformation and regional development.

Referring to the second open question it will be interesting to see in which manner the different presentations to the workshops will take into explicit consideration the different meanings of the terms "transition" and "transformation". It can be expected that the papers will show the different aspects of transitions or transformations by reflecting about these terms in the context of empirical studies. As such they will show more clearly the general and the specific characters of the different processes, the processes of migration, socio-economic transformation and regional development that have existed in Romania since 1990.

Concerning the third open question it could be useful to apply some ideas of system theory approaches, possibly connected with institutions theory, action theory and behaviour theory concepts. Systemic aspects of the processes which will be studied in the different presentations of the workshop can be treated on several scales: on an international (by RAABL), on a national (by ROTARIU/MEZEI, LAZAROIU, IANOS, DE NEVE, REY/GROZA, JORDAN, TURNOCK, TOMASI, VON HIRSCHHAUSEN, GRIMM), on a regional (by DAN/POLEDNA/PERVAIN, REY/GROZA, JORDAN, TURNOCK, VON HIRSCHHAUSEN), and on a local scale (by HELLER, DAN/POLEDNA/PERVAIN, TURNOCK, VON HIRSCHHAUSEN, VOSSSEN). It will be interesting to see what significance the different

kinds of the framework conditions mentioned above (for example social and economic power structures, institutions, international relations) will have for the investigated situations and processes.

It has been suggested that we use theoretical approaches specifically suited to studies of subjects with spatial dimensions, for example the neoclassical and regional sciences approaches. The benefits of applying these approaches to the studies of "migration" and "regional development" are obvious as such approaches complement one another. In general, neoclassical approaches emphasize migration hindrances. Some such obstacles have disappeared during transformation, while some have persisted and new ones have arisen. The regional science approaches tend to underline inherited, persisted regional structures. Traditional regional disparities affect the spatial patterns of emigrations and immigrations in quantitative and qualitative respects, e. g. in the number of migrants, their demographic compositions and the profiles of their professional qualifications.

2.5 A practical question

After we have posed some theoretical questions, we must still ask a very practical one:

What kind of institutional measures should be taken in order that transformations positively affect regional development and migrations on different regional scales?

Scientists must decide which problems should be solved first and make proposals without being influenced by political parties.

To date there exists no formula to facilitate the understanding of complex transformations; however, it is possible to transfer findings from different spheres of study to the study of transformations in Romania (cf. SCHULZ-NIESWANDT 1994):

- Researches about the economy and social politics of the industrial countries that show that good economic politics does not necessarily equal good social politics. Economic and social policies must work toward agreement.
- The researches about the integration of the peripheral countries of western and southern Europe into the European Community show that the costs of adjustment to the European and world markets are very high, particularly for underdeveloped countries. Financial and structural assistances are necessary for countries with weaker economic developments.
- The development research also shows that economic growth cannot alone guarantee the welfare of large sections of the population. It is also necessary to make reforms in political institutions, so that as many people as possible are able to participate in economic growth and welfare.

3. Summary

It was the intention of these introductory remarks to achieve the following:

1. to give reasons for the current importance of this book;
2. to pose questions which arise when this subject is studied, and - in connection with this - to highlight gaps which exist in general in the scientific literature about the subject of transformations not only in Romania, but also in other post-socialist lands;
3. to mention institutional measures which ought to be taken in order to influence in a positive manner the transformation and migration processes as well as the processes of regional development.

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II. POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF TRANSFORMATION IN ROMANIA

DOROTHÉE DE NÈVE

The political transformation in Romania since 1989

„Das Volk hat gesiegt! Es hat seine Freiheit errungen!“¹ Ion Iliescu named the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu's dictatorship a historic victory for the Romanian people.² Seven years later the stolen revolution³ has been regained, thousands celebrated the liberation from the communists and the Iliescu-Regime⁴ in the streets.

The overthrow of Ceausescu's dictatorship and the electoral victory of the Conventia Democrata Romana⁵ created high expectations among the Romanian population. But the results of the political and economic transformation remained far behind the people's hopes. Meanwhile, it appears that the newly elected government of Victor Ciorbea cannot even translate its plans for reform into a desirable timeline, let alone into action.

In the following pages, I will present the problematic circumstances surrounding the first years of the transformation process in Romania. In the centre of the analyses are the political parties, which are considered to be the dominant actors in the transformation in Romania.

1. Political developments since 1989

The process of transformation that began in Eastern Europe in the middle eighties (reaching a high point in 1989/90) differs by the simultaneousness of the political,

¹ Neuer Weg, 23.12.1989. ("The people were victorious! They have gained their freedom!")

² ILIESCU, I. (1994): *Revolutie si Reforma*. Bukarest, p. 12 f.

³ Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19.11.1996. ("Die gestohlene Revolution").

⁴ Die Tageszeitung, 19.11.1996. ("Die Befreiung von den Kommunisten und dem Iliescu-Regime").

⁵ Conventia Democratia din Romania (Democratic Convention of Romania) was founded in 1992 and in 1996 has changed its name to Conventia Democrata Romana (Democratic Romanian Convention).

economic, social and cultural transformations in other examples of democratization processes as seen in West and South Europe, South America and Africa. These political developments in postcommunist Romania went through three different phases. The first was the time period covering the loss of power of the dictator (Nicolae Ceausescu in 1989), which led to a change in the elite. This process was violent and was enthusiastically supported by the Romanian population. The early stage of Perestroika (1986 - 1988), which in other countries had made the founding of numerous clubs halflegal but tolerated organisations, had no reasonable influence on Romania.⁶ Systematic terror and surveillance hindered the formation of a relevant dissident or opposition-movement. Therefore, the transformation in Romania began relatively late and was one reason why the old regime was overthrown rapidly with violence. As a result of the radical politics of austerity in the eighties the living standard in Romania declined so far⁷ that the people hoped that a change of political power would also further a change in their economic situation. The economic impotence finally brought forward the weakness of the system - the lack of legitimacy of the political power (GIDDENS 1997, p.152) - which eventually smoothed the way for the process of reshuffling.

The second period of change began when the Frontul Salvării Nationale (FSN) first made its appearance with an appeal during the 14th Party rally in the Fall of 1989⁸. During the troubles of the Romanian "revolution" the FSN took over the political power and with the first elections held in May 1990 they could legitimate their claim on power. Although the former leading group was radically eliminated⁹, the former elite did not automatically lose its power. In Romania no roundtable talks took place, as they did in other East European countries. On the contrary, the FSN defined itself as an alliance that could lead all political forces in constructive co-operation. Iliescu declared himself to be against a multiparty system. The political success of Ion Iliescu, a former high functionary of the Romanian Communist Party,

⁶ When M. Gorbachev visited Romania in May 1987 he compared Ceausescu with Brezhnev to point out the deficiency of the regime in an indirect way: "Die Liste der Versäumnisse und Verfehlungen, die der sowjetische Parteichef in dieser Ansprache seinem Vorgänger anlastete, dabei jedoch offenbar auf die politische Strategie und den Führungsstil seines Gastgebers abzielte, war lang. Sie reichte von dem Vorwurf einer vorwiegend extensiv orientierten Wirtschaftspolitik, der Beibehaltung streng zentralistischer Lenkungsmechanismen, der Verschleppung strukturelle Anpassungsmaßnahmen an veränderte wirtschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen, der Vernachlässigung sozialer Bedürfnisse und Konsumerwartungen der Bevölkerung bis hin zu Familienpatronage, Vetternwirtschaft, Korruption, Inkompetenz, mangelnder Offenheit und Demokratie sowie der wachsenden Entfremdung zwischen der Parteiführung und der Masse der Bevölkerung." (GABANYI, A. U. 1989, p. 746)

⁷ SCHÖNFELD, R. (1987): Rumänien: Hoher Preis für Autonomiepolitik. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*. 5. September 1987, p. 28 f.

⁸ Die Tageszeitung, 29.9.1989. Frankfurter Rundschau, 14.10.1989.

⁹ After the apprehension of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu on the 25th December 1989 a special court sentenced them to death and they were executed immediately.

during the first elections in 1990¹⁰ and his reelection in 1992¹¹ is unique in postcommunist Eastern Europe. The FSN¹² stayed in changing coalitions and alliances with other left and nationalist parties¹³ in power for seven years. Because of the specific historical, economic and socio-political situation, the so called *Nachfolgeparteien*¹⁴ were the dominant actors of the transformation process, while other political institutions (for example regional political elites, the trade unions, the Romanian orthodox church, the administration and the security services) had no impact on the transformation process or were instrumentalized. Along with numerous criminal proceedings (1997/98) after the electoral defeat of 1996 it became obvious, that the ties with the old power structures and the dominance of the political elite went even further than expected. WAGNER (1992, p. 230) calls the survival of the old official "Seilschaften" an integral element of the Romanian way of postcommunism.

The third period of transformation concerns the rise of opposition. Romania is the only country where the victory of the opposition has been so long in coming. In November 1996 an Alliance of conservative and liberal parties and other political and cultural organisations, called the *Conventia Democrata Romana* (CDR), won the parliamentary elections. Its candidate, Emil Constantinescu, won in the second ballot against Ion Iliescu. For the first time since 1937 a government in office was replaced by democratic elections.¹⁵ On the 6th of December 1996 the *Conventia Democrata Romana*, the *Uniunea Social Democrata* of the former Prime Minister Petre Roman and the *Uniunea Democrata Maghiara din Romania* signed a govern-

¹⁰ I. Iliescu won the presidential election on the 20th May 1990 with 85.07 % of the votes. (DATCULESCU, P./LIEPERT, K. 1991, p. 112 f.).

¹¹ In the first ballot of the presidential elections of the 27th September 1992 Iliescu won 47 % of the votes. In the second ballot he easily defeated his rival Emil Constantinescu with 61 % of the vote (RFE Research Report. Vol. 1. No. 43, 30.10.1992).

¹² The *Frontul Salvării Nationale* resolved itself as a legal party on the 6th February 1990. Before the second parliamentary elections in 1992 the party split; both parties theoretically claimed the succession of the FSN, practically it was Ion Iliescu and his *Frontul Democrat al Salvării Nationale* which took over the power. This party changed its name in 1993 to *Partidul Democratiei Sociale din Romania* (Party of the Social Democracy of Romania).

¹³ At the parliamentary elections held on the 27th of September 1992 the party lost the absolute majority in parliament. Therefore a coalition with *Partidul Unității Nationale Române*, *Partidul Romania Mare* and *Partidul Socialist al Muncii* was created. This governmental coalition was additionally supported by other small parties and representatives of ethnic parties and existed until 1996.

¹⁴ Parties in postcommunist Romania can be divided in three categories:

1. *Neugründungen*, parties which are newly founded mainly on the model of some West European parties;
2. *historische Parteien*, which were refounded after 1989 and try to link up with their own historic tradition, and
3. *Nachfolgeparteien*, which are the ideological, material and/or personnel heritages of the former communist state party.

¹⁵ The *Conventia Democrata Română* won 30 % of the votes. Emil Constantinescu (28 %) defeated Ion Iliescu (32 %) in the first ballot but won 54 % in the second ballot. (*Romania libera*, 8.11.1996 and 20.11.1996).

mental agreement. The result of this election was due to the population's frustration concerning the economic decline of the country. With this new context the voters now expect rapid and painless economical success.

2. Aspects of the specific problems of the political transformation in Romania

In the past years it has been comprehensively discussed whether Romania is an exceptional case in postcommunist Eastern Europe.¹⁶ Beyond this point of controversy it can be stated, that since 1989 a remarkable reshuffling-process has taken place and that the efforts of the governments of the past seven years have shown some relevant and irreversible results. But the successes of the transformation are relatively small and Romania is presently undergoing a period of economic decline unmatched in its history.

The following section comments on five main reasons for the lagging action of the political and economic transformation in Romania. These comments are illustrated with selected examples.

2.1 The sultanistic regime of Nicolae Ceausescu

Different analyses have described Nicolae Ceausescu's regime as national-communist (RONNEBERGER 1971, p. 57 f.). TISMANEANU argues against this conception as he believes it does not fully describe the crisis of legitimacy and the disaster of Romanian socialism on one hand, and the sublimated nationalism as a political red herring on the other hand. He uses instead the term dynastic socialism, which combines the structures of feudal hierarchy, Byzantine political rituals, Stalinistic methods of deception and manipulation, as well as resentful "Third World Fantasy" (TISMANEANU 1987, p. 126).

The category of sultanistic regimes created by LINZ and STEPAN works without (pseudo) political orientation. They not only include Romania under Ceausescu in this category but Haiti under Duvalier, the Dominican Republic under Trujillo, the Central African Republic under Bokassa, the Philippines under Marcos and Persia under the Shah in this category as well (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 51). The problems

¹⁶ WAGNER, R. sees the countries of South Eastern Europe and especially Romania going a different way, because the end of the communist regimes had thrown these people back on their nationalism (WAGNER, R. 1992, p. 128). Where as DATCULESCU, P. calls the "rumänischer Sonderfall" a "westlichen politischen Mythos", which continued the practice of international isolation for years and had a negative influence on the democratic developments of the country (DATCULESCU, P. 1993, p 33). PLESU, A. argues that even though Romania has become a symbol of failure the country in fact is confronted with the same tensions and doubts that face other East European countries too: "The similarities are more consistent than the differences." (PLESU, A. 1996, p. 560)

which have appeared during the transformation process in Romania after 1989 are seen as consequences of this sultanism. During the Ceausescu's regime an extreme form of paternalism was developed and nurtured: "In sultanism, the private and the public are fused, there is a strong tendency toward familial power and dynastic succession, there is no distinction between a state career and personal service to the ruler, there is a lack of rationalized impersonal ideology, economic success depends on a personal relationship to the ruler, and, most of all, the ruler acts only according to his own unchecked discretion, with no larger, impersonal goals" (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 52). Underdeveloped autonomy in civil, political, bureaucratic and economic concerns and the lack of constitutional and civil rule of law are characteristic for sultanism (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 56). All actors and state institutions lose their structural autonomy and are manipulated at the sultan's will (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 357). Most often domestic political reasons, revolutionary uprisings or armed groups provoke the downfall of the sultanistic regime (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 60). Theoretically the chances are high, that an intermittent government will then claim to act in the name of the people, however, such governments usually delay elections on the pretext of necessary reforms. "Given previous lack of autonomy of civil or political society, there is a high chance that groups associated with the sultan but claiming legitimacy for having supported the uprising will achieve nondemocratic power." (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 58).

LINZ/STEPAN (1996) explain the relevant characteristics of the assumption of power by the FSN, which took over the power as intermittent government, and won the first elections on 20th May 1990, with the legacy of the sultanistic past: The violent overthrow of Ceausescu's regime and the fact that Romania was the last country of the Warsaw Pact to start the transformation can be explained by sultanism (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 357). Since no nationally known democratic groups could develop in Ceausescu's sultanistic regime it no longer seems surprising, that the first elections were won by high communist functionaries. In this context it does not seem very important that former members of the communist party won the elections, but it is relevant that until 1996 nobody could reach political power who had not made a career in the apparatus of the communist party. The Romanian balance of power was primarily and unusually intensively concentrated in the person of Nicolae Ceausescu. The extent and the general image of the centralisation of power structures toward the party leader was unique in Eastern Europe (TONTSCH 1985, p. 100).

The intense commitment towards the sultanistic leading figure has structurally survived Nicolae Ceausescu's regime: "The rural population, characterized by a deep paternalism and fearful of market liberalization, received the messages emitted by the NSF very well: the image of a strong fatherly leader, Ilescu, who will defend the country against a takeover by foreign capitalists and unreliable urban intellectuals advocating an economic reform that is likely to bring misery (unemployment and inflation). Moreover, the NSF thrived on the xenophobic predispositions of Romanians against their own minorities, particularly the Hungarians. The electoral victory of the party was further facilitated because almost without any rupture the

NSF took over the old system of clientelistic ties between local notables and party higher-ups that the Communist party had established in the countryside.“ (KITSCHOLT 1992, p. 39).

The celebrated and contested Romanian “revolution“ has, according to Linz and Stepan, also a negative effect on the democratisation process: “If a tradition is carried out in the name of revolution rather than democracy, the new power holders, even if they later augment their legitimacy via elections, will tend to govern in a way in which nondemocratic discourse and practice are frequently present.“ (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 361).

As a matter of fact, several undemocratic and even some very violent events took place in Romania. The violent attacks of miners against peaceful demonstrators in Bucharest,¹⁷ several violent attacks and programs against Gypsies¹⁸ and the ethnically motivated tumults in Targu-Mures and Cluj¹⁹ are only the tip of the iceberg.

The legacy of sultanism decisively delayed the democratization process and the economical reform in Romania. “By 1995 (...) Romania was the farthest from consolidated democracy (...). Civil society was still very weak. Political society had not created a robust governing alternative. Rule of law was intermittent, especially in areas concerning local government and the human rights of minorities such as gypsies and Hungarians. The reform of state administration had not been undertaken. Economic society had yet to be crafted. Many of these problems could be directly traced to the legacies of sultanism.“ (LINZ/STEPAN 1996, p. 364).

2.2 Authoritarian egalitarianism

The political culture of authoritarian egalitarianism, which can be seen as a remnant of the old regime, has hindered the development of democratization and a free market economy.²⁰

The egalitarian criticism of capitalism is mainly oriented against the socio-economic division of the society into rich and poor, which is caused by this system.²¹

¹⁷ See Der Tagesspiegel, 16.6.1990; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.6.1990; Neue Züricher Zeitung, 21.6.1990.

¹⁸ See FIENBORKY, G./MIHÓK, B./MÜLLER, S. 1992, p. 21, Amnesty International 1994, p. 466, and 1995, p. 459 f. and European Roma Rights Center 1996.

¹⁹ See GALLANGER, T. 1993.

²⁰ „Der Kommunismus erhebt den radikalen Egalitarismus zur Tugend. Er möchte, um es in neuerer Terminologie auszudrücken, eine ‘Nivellierung nach unten’ vornehmen und läßt sich dabei von asketischen Gedanken leiten: das Private dürfe nicht die Oberhand über das Gemeinschaftliche gewinnen, und der Egoismus solle beinahe vollständig ausgerottet werden. Der Kommunismus beruht nicht auf der Steuerung der Produktion, sondern auf der Regelung der Konsumtion. Er ist im wesentlichen eine ethische Ordnung, die im Egalitarismus nicht so sehr einen Selbstzweck erblickt, sondern eher eine Instanz der notwendigen sittlichen Kontrolle, die die Schwachen von den Starken schützt.“ (GIDDENS, A. p. 87).

But the market economy now in Romania causes new inequalities due to the decline of the egalitarian tradition and its values.²²

Therefore the actual developments concerning the changed conditions of income experience rejection. A survey in September 1997 showed that more than half of the Romanian population was against the differentiation of incomes.²³ General provisos on the capitalist system, which understand capitalism as a "Ellenbogengesellschaft" and any capitalistic profit orientation as antisocial and oriented against the solidarity of the community, can be seen in this context. (SUNDHAUSSEN 1993, p. 226). Large parts of the society learned with their first experiences with the capitalist system that a functioning social care system does not exist in Romania and that the gap between a small group of winners and the daily increasing layer of loser is rapidly increasing.

2.3 Nationalism

While the socialist regime theoretically pretended to overcome the national question as a capitalist-bourgeois legacy, nationalism was accepted beside Marxism-Leninism as the Romanian official state ideology.²⁴ Nationalism was the heart of Romanian self-confidence²⁵, the suppressed patriotic longings of the Romanian intellectuals were used in the interest of the state-party^{26, 27}.

In the glory of the "revolutionaries", who were celebrated as heroes of the fatherland, this nationalism survived. After 1989, the debate over Great Romanian territorial-claims revived. Besides the existing nationalistic and anti-Semitic parties in Romania, the governing coalition (1992 - 1996) also adopted this nationalistic

²¹ "Egalitarianism is thus unremittingly militant: it demands fight, revolution, leading to the final victory which is a complete eradication of these evil divisions and the unification of mankind into one community." (BERKI, R. N. 1975, p. 26).

²² "The market economy produces, along with the growing output of goods, a growing inequality - a tendency which is resisted by the egalitarian resentment." (OFFE, C. 1996, p.40 f.).

²³ "Do you think it is good that the people's income levels should be very different? 15 % to a very large extent. 31 % to a large extent. 24 % to a very little extent. 30 % to a little extent." Public Opinion Barometer. University Social Research Laboratory (L.U.A.S.), 18-27 September 1997, Bucharest.

²⁴ See SUNDHAUSSEN, H. 1993, p. 228.

²⁵ See WAGNER, R. 1992, p.10 ff.

²⁶ See TISMANEANU, V. 1987, p. 103.

²⁷ "Dazu wurden Geschichtsmymthen ausgebaut und instrumentalisiert, so der 'dako-rumänische' Mythos, in Bulgarien die Sage der Thraker-Kultur. Es lag auf der Hand, daß der staatlich verordnete Nationalismus in den beiden Balkanländern bewußt dazu funktionalisiert wurde, die auch hier brüchig werdende Legitimationsgrundlage zu festigen." (MOMMSEN, M. 1992. p 11 f).

thinking to take attention off increasing penury and to create a dubious identification with the new system.²⁸

During the campaign for the presidential elections in 1992 Ion Iliescu and the PDSR blamed Emil Constantinescu for wanting to sell Transylvania to Hungary (GALLAGHER 1995, p.161). But nationalistic and anti-ethnic statements are not only found in the extremist parties and the former governmental party, PDSR. When the independent Republic of Moldova was founded in 1991, the Partidul National Taranesc Crestin si Democrat expressed its opinion by saying that the existence of two sovereign and independent Romanian states was absurd, therefore Bessarabia's annexation should be the aim of every Romanian and every party (GALLAGHER 1995). An opinion poll of 357 members of parliament in several different parties (1993) showed, that 73.9 % of those interviewed were convinced, that the demands of the national minorities were (partly) going too far (MUNTEAN 1993).

Even though some juridical basis now guarantee the protection and special rights of ethnic minorities in Romania, ethnically conditioned conflicts had an important impact on the political debate in Romania and even caused some violent conflicts. Especially politically relevant was the debate on the new constitution, which under the influence of the government at the time, it was laid down that Romania is a uniform and indivisible nation-state (Constitutia Romaniei, Art.1). With this argumentation any federalistic intentions from the Hungarian minority were stopped. The demand of the Uniunea Democrata Maghiara din Romania (UDMR) for local autonomy finally led to its exclusion from the Conventia Democrata din Romania in 1995 (SHAFIR 1995).

An intense debate concerning a new educational law has gone on for several years in Romania. The new law seeks to regulate the use of native languages in schools and the installation of Hungarian universities or faculty (SHAFIR 1996). Even though the Uniunea Democrata Maghiara din Romania achieved binding agreements within the governing coalition, the law has not been passed. It cannot be assumed, however, that this emotional and polarised nationalistic debate will be the last "Stolperstein" of Victor Ciorbeas's cabinet.²⁹

Nationalism, the ethnic cleavage and the low economic level has favoured political forces that can be characterised as authoritarian and which are not oriented towards a free market economy.^{30 31}

²⁸ See BRAN, M. 1995, p. 280 ff. "Der Nationalismus ist dasjenige Terrain, auf dem nicht nur die Rivalitäten zwischen alten und neuen Eliten ausgetragen werden, sondern auch der Machtkampf innerhalb der nach 1989 gebildeten Strukturen." (GABANYI, A. U. 1992, p. 161).

²⁹ See Die Tageszeitung, 30.7.1997 and 17.12.1997.

³⁰ KITSCHOLT, H. finds the cleavage lines between Libertarian-Cosmopolitan Politics versus Authoritarian Particularist Politics and Political Redistribution versus Spontaneous Market Allocation as the most important for the structuring of the party systems in post-communist Eastern Europe. In the Romanian case KITSCHOLT, H. identifies an extreme preponderance in the authoritarian and not market oriented sector: authoritarian in this

2.4 Economic problems

Together with Albania, Romania is on the lowest level of economic development in all the postcommunist East European countries. Romania's economic problems are not only aggravated by the country's socialistic economy-politics, but also by its traditionally agrarian economic structure.

Under socialistic dominion "(...)forcierte Industrialisierung unter den Bedingungen der Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft führte nicht nur zur definitiven Entwicklungsblockade in der Landwirtschaft, sondern auch zu einer beispiellosen Verschwendung von Kapital".³² Romania was beaten so severely by the economic crisis after 1989, because the centrally planned economy was less productive, needed more staff, the material needed for production was often worn out, the aims of production were even less flexible than in other East European countries, and so, since the end of the eighties Romanian has had to handle negative economic growth (WAGNER 1996, p. 217).

Shock-therapy, as Prime Minister Petre Roman proposed in 1990/91, didn't get any support. The reorganisation and the restructuring of the agrarian and industrial production was put into practise very slowly and under a lot of difficulties. Enterprises of the state were privatised with a coupon system and foreign investment stayed away. Romania was so under the East European average that instead of development, it got corruption and economic crime. In 1992 nearly half of the Romanian population were living at the edge of poverty and 3.45 million people were living in absolute poverty³³. In comparison with the previous year, Romania's industrial production dropped 6.5 % in the second quarter of 1997.³⁴ The costs for consumers rose 177.6 % between June 1996 and 1997.³⁵

Prime Minister Victor Ciobea disassembled the palliated balances of the history. The so-called economic growth of 6.9 % in 1995 and of 3.5 % in 1996 was the result of tax collection, because a lot of firms had been allowed to defer their tax debts and their social insurance contribution rates³⁶. The Government acting since 1996 started the closure of state enterprises, and is trying to find more inviting conditions for foreign investors. But this hasn't stopped the economic decline of Romania, and the living conditions were never as bad as they are now. In a representative opinion poll 55.5 % of the people responded that their standard of

context means limited democratic rights, hierarchically organised political decision making processes and broad collective control mechanisms. See KITSCHOLT, H. 1992, p.13 and p. 40.

³¹ "Die Quadratur des südosteuropäischen Kreises ist die gleichzeitige Überwindung von Unterentwicklung und Nationalismus." (WAGNER, R. 1992, p. 131).

³² SUNDHAUSSEN, H. 1993, p. 225).

³³ See *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 28.7.1992.

³⁴ See *The Economist Intelligence Unit* 1997, p. 20.

³⁵ See *The Economist Intelligence Unit* 1997, p. 21.

³⁶ See *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*, 5.2.1997.

living had dropped during the past year³⁷. The pauperisation of the Romanian population and their fight for pure survival creates increasingly uncontrolled, even violent, protests.³⁸ This situation also creates great risks for political, social and ethnic balance.

2.5 Parties as actors in the transformation process.

Theoretically, political and economic processes in democratic systems are developed by complementary and competing actors. The Romanian party system impressively reflects the social conditions as well as the political and economic power relations in the country. In the first few years after the dictatorship there existed no structural nor personnel boundary between state, government/governmental parties and the economic-lobby. In the power-vacuum, which appeared after the overthrow of the dictatorship in Romania, a large number of institutions were established, but until December 1996 the *Frontul Salvării Naționale* through the *Partidul Democratiei Sociale din România* was the dominant political force. With a network of allies, the instrumentalization of the trade unions and a direct impact on the mass media and the state owned companies it succeeded to stabilise its powerful position. It could legitimise its leadership claim in several local and national elections. The reforms that were initiated between 1989 and 1996 were arranged by this elite.

Because of the simultaneous economic and political transformation a "funktionsgerechte Trägerschaft" of the political institution stayed engaged and the capacity of adjustment was overly challenged (SUNDHAUSSEN 1992, p. 273). Considering the difficult tasks that were required in the transformation process the general question arises of how well parties are qualified for being the moving power within the transformation process independent from their political past and ideology. Because in the reshuffle process the parties are theoretically both the actors and the objects of the transformation at the same time.

Beside this there exists a conflict of interest for the ruling parties. In Romania the government still had strong political, economic and cultural power after the overthrow of the dictatorship. A successful transformation would have had included a loss in power from these parties and within this process new independent actors would have been established. This contradiction of interests between political and economic power on the one hand, and on the other hand transformation and democratization is typical for the politically active parties in Romania after 1989.

³⁷ See *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*, 13.12.1997.

³⁸ See *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*, 6.3.1997; *RFE/RL*, 21.3.1997, 15.5.1997, 9.6.1997, 12.6.1997, 16.6.1997, 17.6.1997, 18.6.1997, 20.6.1997 and 28.8.1997; *Der Tagesspiegel*, 21.6.1997; *Deutsche Welle*, 14. July 1997.

3. Conclusion

The fact that the transformation process in Romania after 1989 is not as far along as expected and hoped for has been explained by the mismanagement that took place during the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu. Since the election in November 1996, the policy of the shifting governments under President Ion Iliescu is responsible. During the election campaign (autumn 1996) the former opposition parties compared Ceausescu's dictatorship with the government of Ion Iliescu. This is not only a disregard of the dictatorship's victims, but it also undervalues the political success of the past years.

In spite of the necessary critique of undemocratic political and economically dubious developments, since 1989 new visible political, cultural and economic structures have been established, for example since 1989 a new constitution has been implemented, a complex system of political parties has developed, several elections have taken place, which eventually have led to a regular change in power, land reform has been made,³⁹ the legal basis for the development of the private sector has been established, endeavours have been made to break through the international isolation (European Council, Partnership for Peace, NATO, EU) and attempts have been made to normalise relations with neighbouring countries. The privatisation of state owned enterprises has begun.

The public, following the parties' critiques and the black-and-white presentations made during the election campaigns, has finally led to the widespread assumption within the country and abroad that the successful transformation process, i.e. democratization and radical economic reforms, can only be guaranteed by the present ruling coalition (since 1996).

With its promises and endeavours to make up opportunities, which have been missed in the past years, the present government under Victor Ciorbea and Emil Constantinescu has built itself a considerable record of performance.

The enormous efforts put into foreign affairs in order to petition to join NATO and required for inclusion in the European Union have undoubtedly improved the public image of Romania, however, the aspired to integration into NATO and the EU have been postponed. Therefore the success of the economic reform has increased in importance and has developed into a question of survival. Considering the instability of the coalition and the heterogeneous interests within this alliance, the fulfilment of expectations seems exaggerated. Romania's social and economic crisis is too weighty to be solved with only a change of government and some new political ideas.

³⁹ See LEONHARDT, P. 1990, p. 1092 ff and COSEA, M. 1992, p. 77 ff.

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III. POST-COMMUNIST TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLICIES IN ROMANIA AND THEIR EFFECTS ON MIGRATION

SEBASTIAN LAZAROIU

Post-communist transformations in Romania and their effects on migration behavior and ideology

Abstract

It is a waste of effort to study mobility processes without taking into account the context within they are going on. This is the case of Romania, which now is striving to reach full democratization and a market-economy. All transformations that took place between 1990 and 1997 had a strong impact on migration in Romania. Collective land redistribution to private owners, high unemployment in urban area, the rise of poverty in industrial regions, all contributed to new patterns of migration. Certainly, this process is not without consequences in regard to social and economic disparities between historical or cultural regions. However, whereas the individual is trying to cope with transition problems by constructing different strategies, communities will become worse off if nothing can stop migration flows from poor to affluent areas. An ideal social typology of movers will crystallizing in this study, showing that attachment to community values and an unfavorable ideology of migration will stimulate resourceful individual to invest at the local level. The concentration of resources at the local level will be crucial in the next years, all the more so as the pace of reform has become more rapid lately. Otherwise, regional disparities will deepen and boundaries will be harder and harder to cross.

1. Introductory considerations

People's intention to move from the place they live to other places implies probably one of the most dramatic decisions in a person's life. But this decision is not merely an individual decision. In most cases it is a collective decision if we consider that often not the individual moves away, but the family. On the other hand, the causes that drive people to move are not only personal or psychological, but are deeply rooted in the social conditions. Therefore, scholars who study mobility processes agree that the context is extremely important for exploring migration and especially decision-making processes related to migration. „While international migration in Central and Eastern Europe has been a topic of much research, few studies have explicitly considered the impact of rapid economic and

political transitions on migration decision-making.“¹

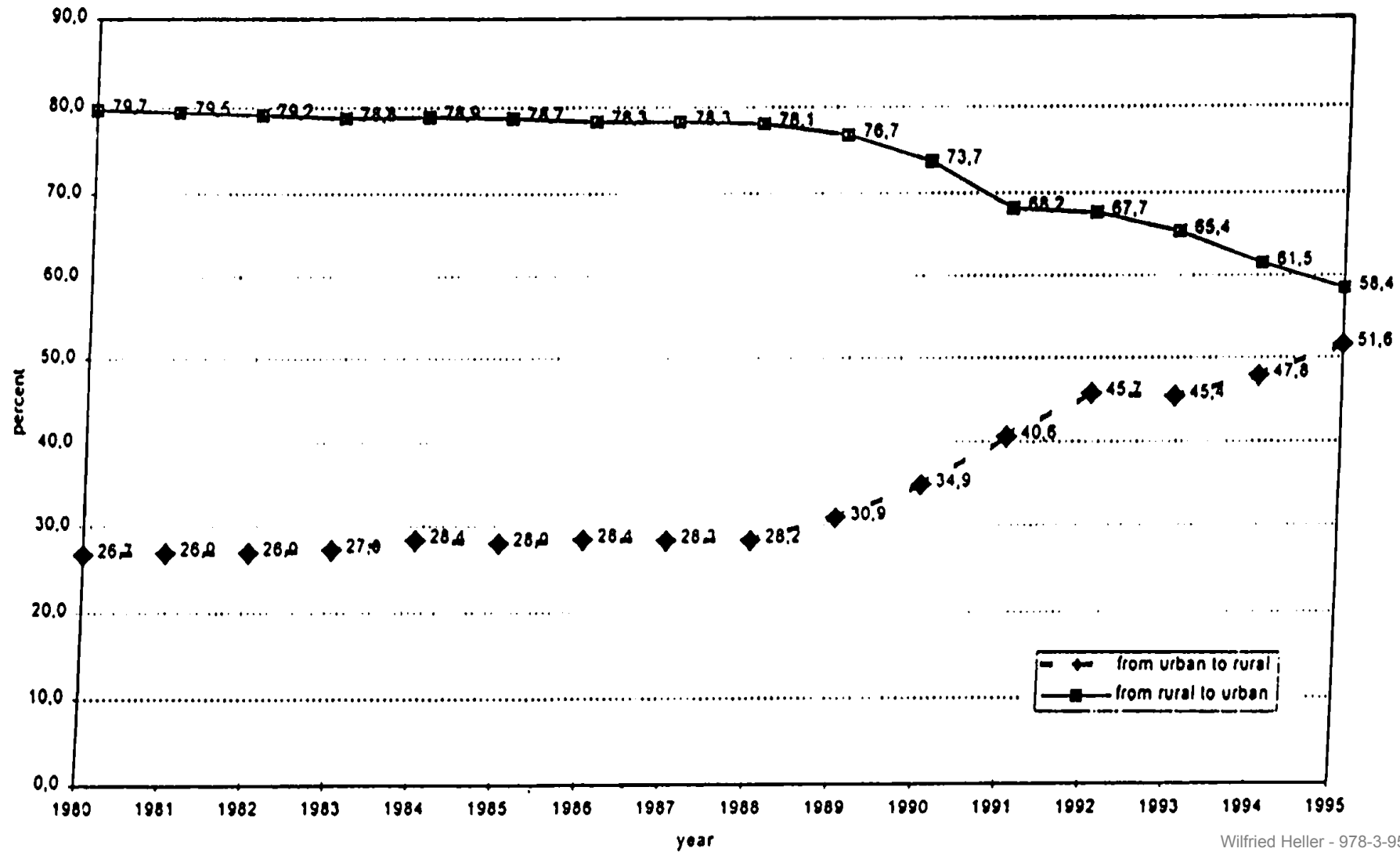
Since December 1989 Romania has experienced profound economic and social transformations. The post-communist transition to democracy and a market economy has proved to be an important challenge for all Central and Eastern Europe countries. Yet, Romania was a special case among these countries. In particular, the starting conditions were unequal: Romania was probably, after Albania, the toughest fortress of Stalinism in the sense that, whereas Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary slowly experienced some reforms, in the last years of the 8th decade the Romanian communist regime became more and more isolated from the outside world, and the sacrifices imposed on people were more and more unbearable, so one could hardly see any visible sign of change. Despite this setback between Romania and other former communist countries, the leaders who came after the revolution opted for a slow rhythm of reform implementation. It is true that the majority of the population seemed to approve such a slow pace, because, as the paradox still persists, everybody wants changes, but not in his/her own life. This is especially true when people think of their jobs or those of their relatives, when they think of refraining from too much consumption and sacrifices they have to make.

After November 1996, new political forces came into power and the rhythm of change suddenly shifted from low to high speed. “Shock therapy“ was the solution recommended by the new government and by the international organizations that were willing to help Romania. From the enthusiasm of November 1996 to the panic of August 1997 (when government decided to close some inefficient industrial giants owned by the state) there are only few months. There is still some optimistic belief on the part of the majority that things will be better after one or two years, and this is what constitutes the capital of trust for the current government. Still, there are no certainties.

These social and economic transformations obviously had an influence on mobility processes in Romania. Only when we recognize that the communist regime discouraged any uncontrolled moving from one region to another, having imposed strict restrictions on mobility, can we see how important the dissolution of the old regime was. After some open moving streams from rural to urban areas at the beginning of the Ceausescu rule during the last few years before the collapse, there were interdictions to move into some of the major urban centers, including (especially) Bucharest. Moving to rural areas was strongly encouraged and sometimes compelled by the authorities, since the general policy was to have more highly qualified people in villages. This was part of a national policy of human capital redistribution all over the country. It is worth noting that there was no free market labor force, because young graduates from universities or high-school leavers were directed by authorities toward one place or another as the “necessities“ of national economy required.

¹ SANDU D. and G. F. DE JONG (1996): Social Change, Ideology, and Migration Intentions. Paper presented at the Ninth World Congress of Rural Sociology. Bucharest, July 22-26.

Figure 1: Curves of migration from rural to urban area and from urban to rural area
 - percent from the total migrants in urban and rural -
 in Romania 1980 - 1995



People who graduated in Bucharest were free to get a job in Bucharest only if they were residents. Otherwise, human capital was forced to move to the regions it formerly came from, or to rural areas. Another criterion used to redistribute human capital was GPA, but it was far from being functional.

Also, there were some long-term investments and public works in some regions, such as Dobrogea, Bucharest, Oltenia etc., which required people to be engaged there. People from poor areas of the country have been attracted by new perspectives, and they have moved to where the housing facilities provided them and their families with accommodations. This created important moving streams that unintentionally produced more consequences after the revolution.

As it was expected after 1989, there was a decline of rural to urban migration after a compensating increase in 1990 (against the communist interdiction to establish permanent residence in Bucharest for outsiders). The urban-to-rural stream became stronger and this happened because of „the reforms in agriculture involving the dissolution of the former agricultural co-operatives and the re-privatization of the land by giving it back to the former owners. Combined with the increase in urban unemployment, the land privatization stimulated return migration from cities to villages.“²

In 1990 more and more people moved to Bucharest and other big cities where controlled access was maintained by communist authorities. In fact it is interesting that legal regulations were not immediately suspended, but the new authorities' control over residence in big cities was relaxed. Getting a job in Bucharest or other cities is no longer dependent on a permanent residence visa. Despite this fact residence or the place you have been born remains an important factor in changing living opportunities in a big city. However, after 1990 people from Bucharest or other big cities from Western regions have started to articulate their discomfort with “being invaded by Moldavians“, for example. Even though, the mocking at “poor, uncivilized“ Moldavians created a wide range of jokes before 1989, now it turned into a diffuse aversion.

Migration is somehow related to local autonomy problems, especially in economically developed regions. It was said that more local autonomy will deepen the disparities between different areas of the country and this will consequently create a high rate of long-distance migration from East to West. To prevent this migration flow local authorities have to provide strict regulations concerning residency in big affluent cities. All this points to a “federalization“ of Romania, a very sensitive concept for many politicians and even ordinary people. Moreover, the option seemed to be between hard centralism or federalization, which means choosing the best alternative from among the worst ones.

As a consequence of the closing of huge state-owned factories in the last few months, it is expected that a massive migration will occur from one region to

² SANDU D. and G. F. DE JONG (1996): Social Change, Ideology, and Migration Intentions. Paper presented at the Ninth World Congress of Rural Sociology. Bucharest, July 22-26. (See also Fig. 1)

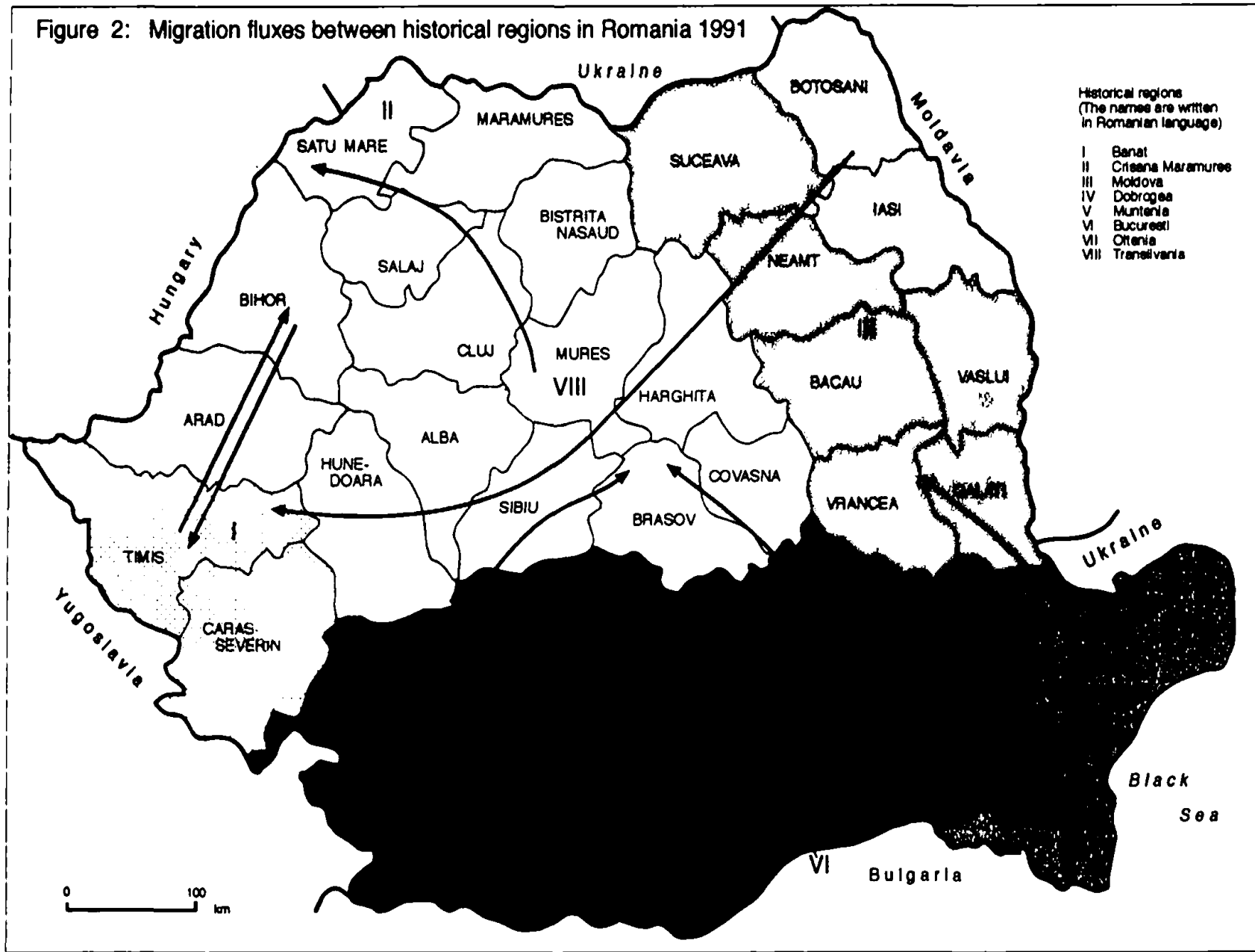
another and probably from urban to rural areas. The best example (and the most astonishing) is Valea Jiului region, which is known as the most important coal exploitation zone of the country. A lot of miners deliberately chose to leave their jobs and to return to their counties of origin (especially in Moldova), taking into consideration the decision of the Romanian government to pay a compensation to those who opt to quit their jobs. It was supposed that these people would return where they were born and invest the money either in tools for working in agriculture or even in land if they or their relatives did not benefit of the redistribution. Now, the only certain fact is that they come back to their regions, which will mean a salient change in the mobility processes.

The conclusion is that social and economic changes after 1989 generated or emphasized the differences between historical regions. These disparities make some areas more attractive than others, and rejection/attraction factors have started to structure new patterns of migration. Legal interdictions to the new streams of moving could hardly be imposed if we take into account all the democratic changes that happened after 1989. Only some incentive-based mechanisms could be put into place in order to stop any harmful effects of migration. The solution to migrate is probably the best for individuals in certain circumstances, but it might be worst for the community whenever migration from poor to affluent regions becomes a social phenomenon.

2. Borders and migration in Romania

The study of mobility processes in Romania should take into consideration different types of borders. It is not meaningless to assume that some borders are more difficult to cross than others, and that gives a momentous intention to different streams of migrations. First, we will consider historical borders circumscribing historical regions. As the label shows, these borders have been created by long historical influences and events. Some regions of the country have been historically affected by spatial and event vicinities.

Romania is usually considered to be made up of eight historical regions (Fig. 2): Moldova, Muntenia, Dobrogea, Oltenia, Crisana Maramures, Transylvania, Banat and Bucharest. Bucharest, the capital of the country, gained importance rather in the last century. Although it is a big city, Bucharest covers just a small area compared with other historical regions, but urbanization and industrialization processes have produced specific cultural behavior patterns. Transylvania also has its peculiarities because of the centuries of Austro-Hungarian rule and also because of the significant number of Hungarian ethnics who still live in certain concentrated areas. Ethnicity confers specific features to Banat, a sort of melting-pot where Serbians, Hungarians and Germans live together with the Romanian population. The same is true for Dobrogea, where different populations have shared the same living space for centuries: Tartars, Turks, Ukrainians etc.



Tab. 1: MIGRATION BY COUNTY AND TYPE OF BORDER ³ in 1991
 computed from migration matrix for counties; ⁴

County	Socio-cultural b.	Historical borders	County borders	In-county
Alba	55,2 %	23,8 %	56,2 %	43,8 %
Arad	19,9 %	23,4 %	29,0 %	71,0 %
Arges	24,9 %	24,8 %	29,7 %	70,3 %
Bacau	44,1 %	43,2 %	55,3 %	44,7 %
Bihor	26,4 5	18,7 %	28,3 %	71,7 %
Bistrita-Nasaud	55,6 %	34,0 %	58,4 %	41,6 %
Botosani	58,0 %	52,1 %	65,9 %	34,1 %
Braila	48,3 %	42,7 %	54,7 %	45,3 %
Brasov	45,4 %	32,6 %	49,9 %	50,1 %
Bucuresti	53,6 %	50,7 %	53,6 %	46,4 %
Buzau	56,2 %	37,5 %	59,1 %	40,9 %
Calarasi	59,7 %	54,7 %	66,6 %	33,4 %
Caras-Severin	29,0 %	36,1 %	32,4 %	67,6 %
Cluj	33,6 %	17,1 %	33,6 %	66,4 %
Constanta	41,0 %	31,0 %	48,7 %	51,3 %
Covasna	41,7 %	19,8 %	51,5 %	48,5 %
Dimbovita	32,2 %	38,4 %	42,5 %	57,5 %
Dolj	40,8 %	25,6 %	51,1 %	48,9 %
Galati	73,8 %	40,1 %	79,6 %	20,4 %
Giurgiu	45,1 %	67,6 %	45,1 %	54,9 %
Gorj	39,9 %	27,6 %	57,2 %	42,8 %
Harghita	59,6 %	29,8 %	60,6 %	39,4 %
Hunedoara	59,9 %	47,3 %	67,0 %	33,0 %
Ialomita	45,2 %	52,4 %	55,7 %	44,3 %
Iasi	53,4 %	43,5 %	56,5 %	43,5 %
Maramures	42,6 %	40,8 %	49,8 %	50,2 %
Mehedinti	50,7 %	33,9 %	50,7 %	49,3 %
Mures	34,5 %	12,4 %	39,4 %	60,6 %
Neamt	44,1 %	42,0 %	57,5 %	42,5 %
Olt	41,1 %	38,2 %	51,4 %	48,6 %
Prahova	31,6 %	26,3 %	34,7 %	65,3 %
Salaj	59,1 %	39,9 %	60,2 %	39,8 %
Satu Mare	36,9 %	21,8 %	36,9 %	63,1 %
Sibiu	35,0 %	20,1 %	39,0 %	61,0 %
Suceava	53,7 %	42,2 %	53,7 %	46,3 %
Teleorman	50,3 %	48,8 %	57,0 %	43,0 %
Timis	27,8 %	28,2 %	32,6 %	67,4 %
Tulcea	51,4 %	31,7 %	57,6 %	42,4 %
Vaslui	49,2 %	48,3 %	63,9 %	36,1 %
Vilcea	45,6 %	38,9 %	50,6 %	49,4 %
Vrancea	47,8 %	47,0 %	62,5 %	37,5 %
Average	45,0 %	36,0 %	50,9 %	49,1 %

Source: National Commission for Statistics (1995): Romanian Demographic Yearbook-1994.

³ Table 11 shows the socio-cultural and the historical region to which the county belongs.

⁴ Percents of all migrants in each county who crossed the different kinds of borders (social-cultural borders or historical borders or county borders).

All regions, except Bucharest, have borders with neighbor countries, and they certainly underwent influences from historical empires within Euro-Asia confluence.

Even those historical regions contain different cultural areas, more homogeneous units constructed through similarity analysis of socio-economic indexes. „Cultural regions have been delineated by starting from the assumption that cultural values can be read by their structural causes and phenomenological consequences; they are general strategies for people’s behavior whenever they face social problems and needs and they are passed on from generation to generation by socialization processes and cultural spread; they have a strong identity not only within social frame, but also within space units“⁵.

Now let us see how borders affect migration. We consider county borders (which are administrative borders), historical borders and socio-cultural borders, and we will have a look at the migrations across these borders

Tab. 1 displays the calculated index of the permeability of the different types of borders. There are three kinds of borders considered in the analysis: socio-cultural borders (SCB), historical borders (HB), county borders (CB). The in-county (IC) index is also presented. The indices have been computed as percents of migrants of the total number of migrants in each county who crossed these borders (SCB, HB, CB). An average index is shown in the bottom line of Tab. 1. It might be assumed that the calculated average mostly reflects the permeability of a border. It is also true that because socio-cultural regions are larger than counties and historical regions are larger than socio-cultural regions, the indices incorporate the effect of the long-distance/short-distance migration. For instance, this means that the historical border is likely to be the least crossed because it separates the relatively largest areas. Yet, we should mention that 34 counties out of 41 (82 %) are next to a historical border which points that the distance effect is not so much incorporated within the index. The same conclusion is maintained for socio-cultural borders.

On the average, it seems to be true that administrative borders are more permeable than historical borders, and historical borders are hardly crossed over.

Tab. 2: CORRELATION BETWEEN TYPES OF BORDERS (1991)

	SCB	HB	CB	IC
SCB	1	0,5327	0,9252	-0,9252
HB			0,5724	-0,5724
CB			1	-1
IC				1
SCB = socio-cultural border		HB = historical border		
CB = county border		IC = in-county index		

⁵ SANDU, D. (1995): *Arii culturale si probleme sociale (Cultural Areas and Social Problems)*. In: *Revista de Cercetari Sociale*, 1.

It is also worth mentioning the relationship between these four types of migration. Tab. 2 contains the correlation coefficients between border variables. It is seen that the more "over HB migrants" a county has, the more is the migration from this county to other counties. Similarly, more "over SCB migrants" in a county means more migration from this county. In-county migration is different from out-county migration because it is assumed that the reasons behind the decision to move are different. As some students have shown „short-distance migration is more influenced by random factors compared with long-distance migration. For instance, marriage is a frequent motive for short-distance moving. On the contrary, searching for a job rather belongs to long-distance motivation of migrants. By and large, it might be said that long distance migration is more an effect of socio-economic circumstances of a county"⁶. That is why we considered out-county migration as the "real" migration (from a county to another). Historical borders often cover natural borders: for instance, Carpathians Mountains between Moldova, Muntenia and Transylvania, Danube between Dobrogea, Moldova and Muntenia a.s.o.

Tab. 3: MIGRATION MATRIX FOR HISTORICAL REGIONS IN 1991
computed from migration matrix for counties;

	Origin								
Desti- nation	Mol- dova	Munte- nia	Dobro- gea	Oltenia	Crisana MM	Tran- sylvania	Banat	Bucu- resti	Total
Mol- dova	38531	1999	1095	616	414	2877	753	878	8632
Munte- nia	3682	27696	929	1788	205	986	173	1362	9125
Dobro- gea	4634	1980	8457	590	158	617	113	456	8548
Oltenia	1163	1569	303	21417	233	1741	797	510	6316
Crisana MM	1899	441	122	424	15775	4172	861	227	8146
Tran- sylvania	8980	2133	467	2445	2074	38319	816	765	17680
Banat	4645	552	152	2389	2472	3130	8029	252	13592
Bucu- resti	6242	1967	863	4421	640	613	226	4425	14972
Total	31245	1064	3931	12673	6196	14136	3739	4450	

Source: National Commission for Statistics (1995): Romanian Demographic Yearbook-1994.

⁶ RAMBOLL CONSULTANTS GROUP (1996): Regional Disparities in Romania. 1990-1994. Bucuresti. July 1996, p.19.

Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that this is the main reason for the low percentage of migration we have seen, since transporting infrastructure (roads, bridges etc.) or advanced transportation technology makes surpassing natural obstacles easy. That does not mean that natural borders are not important for historical borders, but in another sense. Some kind of isolation followed by the development of specificities could be assumed in the past. Also, different external influences cannot be ignored and natural borders certainly limited their spread all over the country.

In Tab. 3 the figures in bold type represent maximum migration from an origin region to a destination region. Migration drift within the region and moving to Bucharest from any region was excluded, because Bucharest is obviously the most attractive point in Romania. It is interesting to observe (see also Fig. 2) that there are some privileged destinations. Let us consider two axis: north-south and east-west. It is not surprising that the privileged direction is westward-northward. It must be specified that the direction south-north is rather central than peripheral oriented. Still, there are some specific causes that differentiate some streams of migration from one region to another in 1991. People moving from Moldova to Banat are probably strongly rejected by socio-economic conditions in Moldova. This is a clear case of long-distance migration implying both strong attraction (destination) and strong rejection (origin). The same pattern might be conceived for migration from Muntenia and Oltenia to Transylvania. Not the same is true for the migration from Banat, Crisana Maramures, Transylvania. This is probably a case of "exchange" migration between close distance and similar pair of regions. The migration from Dobrogea to Moldova represents another different pattern: It is rather "coming-back" if we consider the period before 1989 when communist leadership offered powerful incentives for those who wanted to commit themselves to building the channel between Danube and Black Sea. This opportunity seemed to be attractive to poor people from Moldova, always ready to escape from their jobless and homeless conditions. After December 1989 many of them came back to their localities of origin especially because land properties had been redistributed, and job perspectives had become weak in Dobrogea. A similar case is illustrated by those who migrate from Bucharest to Muntenia.

Dobrogea apparently was an attractive region until 1994, after the "getting-back" of people from Moldova had stopped. That is not surprising when we consider the touristic and commercial position of Dobrogea. Moldova, Muntenia and Oltenia remained the main reservoirs of long-distance migrants in 1994 because of the dramatic decline of industry and the lack of important natural resources. If we are not taking into account Bucharest southward migration gets higher because Dobrogea (especially Constanta) becomes more and more promising concerning opportunities. Otherwise, northward and westward migration keep their privileged place for destination.

Tab. 4: ATTRACTION INDICES CONCERNING MIGRATION IN ROMANIA (1994)

	Attraction	Position
Bucuresti	2,7	S
Banat	2,5	W
Dobrogea	0,6	S-E
Crisana Maramures	0,3	N-W
Transylvania	-0,2	Central-W
Oltenia	-0,3	S
Muntenia	-0,8	S
Moldova	-1,9	N-E

Source: Ramboll Consultants Group (1996): Regional Disparities in Romania. 1990-1994. Bucuresti.

3. *Intention to migrate and reform processes*

The data we are going to use from now on come from a survey carried out by the Department of Sociology, of the University of Bucharest in December 1996. The sample size was 1163 subjects. Sample design and selection procedure assures representativity on a national level with a maximum sample error of $\pm 3\%$.

The questionnaire used in this survey contains questions about intentions to migration in the next 5 years, intensity of decision and migration ideology (what people really think about moving from one place to another). It must be said that general figures are supposed to have significantly changed by now, since rapid transformations took place after December 1996 (as mentioned above).

Simple frequencies show a small percentage of people who intend to migrate within the next five years: 11 %. About 8 % are decided or very decided to migrate, and 3 % percent are still undecided. 86 % of the investigated subjects declared that they are decided or very decided not to move in the next 5 years. Figures about the direction of moving would be interesting. 2.5 % of the people stated that they intend to move into rural areas and 5.4 % into urban areas. 3.5 % of the sample favor the same county destination, whereas 4.4 % declared that they prefer to migrate to another county. The percentage of people who want to cross the country borders is only 1.1 %.

In Tab. 5 we try to assess the links between people's attitude toward migration and the intention to migrate (on 3 points scale: decided, yes / undecided / decided, no). Adjusted residual value ("Adj Res" in the table) takes into account the distribution of a variable in a sub-sample compared with the distribution in the total sample. It indicates the strength of the relationship between categories as well as the

nature of this relationship (+/-). Values greater or less than 1.96 or -1.96 show significant relations.

Tab. 5: ATTITUDE TOWARD MIGRATION AND INTENTION TO MIGRATE WITHIN THE NEXT 5 YEARS (IN 1966)

	Attitude toward migration*			
	Row Pct Col Pct Adj Res	same locality	other locality	Row Total
Intention to migrate	decided, yes	44.3 % 5.8 % -7.9	55.7 % 23.7 % 7.9	10,0 %
	undecided	40.0 % 3.2 % -6.9	60.0 % 15.8 % 6.9	6.2 %
	decided, no	83.1 % 91.0 % 10.9	16.9 60.5 -10.9	83.9 %
	Column Total	76.6 %	23.4 %	99,9 %
n= 1.163; Source: Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest.				

* If you could start a new life and you had all the opprtunities to choose from, would you choose to live in the same locality you do now or in another locality?

Decided and even undecided persons' attitude toward migration is rather favorable, whereas people who are decided not to move strongly believe that the best people stay where they are born. Certainly, some of them are influenced by tradition, but it is not risky to suspect that some try to make their opinion consistent with an objective lack of resources necessary to move.

As SANDU showed there could be four relevant types of persons according to reform orientation and migration attitude (SANDU 1996, p. 215) (Tab. 6):

Tab. 6: TYPOLOGY OF REFORM ORIENTATION
AND MIGRATION ATTITUDE

	Reform orientation	
Migration attitude	positive	negative
Positive	mobile* innovator	mobile conservative
Negative	stable innovator	stable conservative

*While speaking about *mobile* and *stable* we are not referring to behavior or intentions, but only to the ideology of migration. Approving strategies like moving away or not moving away while facing lack of opportunities or affluence of opportunities define people as mobile or stable. That is why the analysis includes all subjects of the sample.

Further analysis showed that there are three discriminating factors for these four types: lack of resources (money, information), extra-family orientation and status traditionalism. The mobile innovator has sufficient resources and is more extra-family orientated than other types. The score on a modernity scale is very high for this type. Stable innovator is defined by a lower score on the modernity axis (relatively old, low education). The most important lack of resources is noticed for mobile conservatives. Stable conservatives have as the main characteristics their family orientation.

Migration attitude was considered as the alternative answer to the question: If you could start a new life, would you choose to live in the same place (city, town, village) as you do now or would you choose another place (city, town, village)?

Tab. 7: PATTERNS OF REFORM ORIENTATION
AND MIGRATION ATTITUDE IN 1991 AND 1996

		Reform orientation						
Migration Attitude	Positive	year	Positive		Negative		Total	
			1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996
	Positive	1991	20 %		17 %		37 %	
		1996		10 %		13 %		23 %
	Negative	1991	30 %		33 %		63 %	
		1996		28 %		50 %		78 %
	Total	1991	50 %		50 %			
1996			38 %		63 %			

Apparently all figures are somehow changed in 1996 compared with 1991 (Tab. 7). Mobile reformists are only half of those in 1991 (10 %). A similar significant difference could be noticed for stable conservative people between 1996 and 1991. The non-extreme combinations are slightly modified. We meet almost the same number of stable reformists and mobile conservatives in both years. As it was put by other scholars, stable reformists are more prone to believe that changes can be implemented at a local/ community level and this will make everybody better off. This is obviously not true for the mobile conservatives. They would rather plead for searching for an economically stable area, as far distant from the initial point of reform as possible. They would probably think of an affluent zone where sacrifices are not needed anymore. But why did extreme cases diminished their weight? We will try to find some intuitive explanations. Mobile reformists are better than other people in searching for new ecological niches. However, it seems that the enthusiasm of 1991 has rapidly declined so that people hardly perceive significant differences between regions of the country as opportunity reservoirs. On the other hand, mobility is becoming a satisfactory solution for those scared by social effects of the reform policies. Then it is likely that not many people will merely stick in the same place complaining about bad consequences in 1996.

In the following, some types of persons concerning their migration behavior shall be worked out by applying a cluster analyses (Tab. 8).

Tab. 8: LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS WITH MOBILITY INTENTION (ZMIGR6P) AS DEPENDENT VARIABLE (1996)

	Multiple R	0,45575			
	R Square	0,20771			
	Adjusted R Square	0,20424			
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ZIDEOLOG	0.280047	0.027921	0.27976	10.03	0
ZGRIST91	0.015122	0.026567	0.15099	5.569	0.01
ZREFORMA	-0.025958	0.026942	-0.025924	-0.963	0.3355
ZVRT	-0.211573	0.02723	-0.210728	-7.77	0
COMUNI	-0.171205	0.027867	-0.170084	-6.144	0
(Constant)	0.00134	0.026373		0.051	0.9595
$\text{ZMIGR6P} = -0.28 * \text{ZIDEOLOG} + 0,015 * \text{ZGRIST91} - 0.02 * \text{ZREFORMA} - 0.21 * \text{ZVRT} - 0.17 * \text{COMUNI} + 0.0013$					

Technical explanations:

The formula $(2 \cdot 4 + 1.5 \cdot 3 - 1.5 \cdot 2 - 2 \cdot 1) \cdot (k - 1 \cdot 0) \cdot 100 / k^2$ is for IOPD (index of personal dominant opinion). On a 4 point scale different weights were allotted: 2 for extreme points, 1,5 for next to the middle points and 1 to the middle point. In the formula above k is the number of items (variables) considered for computation. The index takes values from -100 to +100.

1. *ZIDEOLOG* = z score computed for IDEOLOG: variable IOPD with: disagreement with the statement "the best people stay where they are born", support of the view "In the next few years the key to success will be to move to another locality (vs. stay where you live)", having the possibility to start life again and having all the conditions to choose from would he/she opt for another locality vs. present one.
2. *ZGRIST91* = z score computed for variable GRIST91: percent of persons who transgressed historical borders in 1991. The variable is used by multilevel file procedure: each subject in the sample is allotted the value of the county he or she belongs to.
3. *ZREFORMA* = z score for "reformism" computed as IOPD of indicators for attitude toward market economy and attitude toward democracy.
4. *ZVRT* = z score computed for age variable.
5. *COMUNI* = factor score (mean 0, standard deviation 1) computed by factor analysis for variables: how close do you feel to the locality you live/to the region of the country you live? (4 points scale). It expresses the extent to which persons feel close to the community.
6. *ZMIGR6P*: z score for variable MIGR6P: measured on 6 points scale, built by combining the mobility intention (yes, no) with intensity of decision (very decided, decided, undecided): 2×3 .

Linear regression equation shows that ideology, belonging to regions with short-distance migration, age, attitude toward reform and community attachment explains 20 % of variation of the variable "intention to migrate". Ideology, age and community attachment are most important in the model. We will try to check how these predictors split the population if we consider four homogeneous groups (Tab. 9).

Tab. 9: VARIABLES APPLIED IN ORDER TO WORK OUT SOME TYPES OF PERSONS (=CLUSTERS) AND FINAL CLUSTER CENTERS (1996)

Cluster	ZIDEOLOG	ZGRIST91	ZREFORMA	ZVRT	ZMIGR6P	COMUNI
1	1,1542	0,5183	0,6158	-0,154	-0,2447	-0,9393
2	-0,4302	0,1074	-0,5593	0,7282	-0,3751	0,2765
3	1,0092	0,1354	0,11	-0,7314	2,5591	-0,805
4	-0,2517	-0,3657	0,4054	-0,5919	-0,2866	0,2899

Cluster analysis reveals four types of persons according to the six variables taken into consideration (Tab. 9). Now let see how can we describe each type if considering the centers of the clusters.

Type 1: Innovator non-mover (undecided):

He shares the favorable part of ideology about migration and he belongs to regions with long-distance migration. However, he is rather undecided to migrate, probably because he believes there is something to be done at the local level. This fact is confirmed by his age (young) and his positive attitude toward reform. Innovator non-mover is slightly attached to the local community and probably intends to do something for himself, not for the sake of the community.

Type 2: Conservative non-mover:

He is convinced that there is no chance to move to the next five years. He is relatively old and belongs to regions with short-distance migration. Moreover, he is not ideologically favorable to migration and is very attached to the local community. It might be worth to mention his conservatism.

Type 3: Conservative mover:

This type has the highest probability to move in another region. People belonging to this category are young and less attached to the local community. The region where they live is probably a poor region with long-distance migration in which a favorable attitude toward migration has developed. These young people reject any reform policy, because this possibly affect their own region.

Type 4: Sentimental non-mover:

He is quite similar to innovator non-mover because he is young and reformist. However, he lives in probably more prosperous regions that did not experience long-distance migration. The fact that he feels strongly attached to the local community is relevant for his unfavorable attitude toward migration. All these are arguments for "staying".

**Tab. 10: THE NUMBER OF CASES OF THE TYPES OF PERSONS
(= CLUSTERS) (1996)**

Cluster	Number of cases	Percent
1	149	13 %
2	473	41 %
3	129	11 %
4	397	35 %
Total	1148	100 %

As we can observe, there are few cases of migrants (cluster 3), some of them undecided. Most of the people do not intend to move either because they are strongly attached to local community or because they have not enough resources to move now.

Tab. 11: SOCIO-CULTURAL REGIONS AND HISTORICAL REGIONS BY COUNTIES

County	Socio-cultural region ⁷	Historical region
Alba	IX	Transylvania
Arad	VI	Crisana Maramures
Arges	IV	Muntenia
Bacau	I	Moldova
Bihor	VII	Crisana Maramures
Bistrita-Nasaud	IX	Transylvania
Botosani	I	Moldova
Braila	II	Muntenia
Brasov	X	Transylvania
Bucuresti	XVI	Bucuresti
Buzau	XIII	Muntenia
Calarasi	II	Muntenia
Caras-Severin	V	Banat
Cluj	VII	Transylvania
Constanta	XIV	Dobrogea
Covasna	VIII	Transylvania
Dimbovita	IV	Muntenia
Dolj	III	Oltenia
Galati	I	Moldova
Giurgiu	III	Muntenia
Gorj	XII	Oltenia
Harghita	VIII	Transylvania
Hunedoara	V	Transylvania
Ialomita	II	Muntenia
Iasi	I	Moldova
Maramures	IX	Crisana Maramures
Mehedinti	III	Oltenia
Mures	VIII	Transylvania
Neamt	I	Moldova
Olt	III	Oltenia
Prahova	IV	Muntenia
Salaj	VIII	Transylvania
Satu Mare	XI	Crisana Maramures
Sibiu	X	Transylvania
Suceava	XV	Moldova
Teleorman	III	Muntenia
Timis	VI	Banat
Tulcea	II	Dobrogea
Vaslui	I	Moldova
Vilcea	IV	Oltenia
Vrancea	I	Moldova

⁷ SANDU, D. (1992): Statistica in stiintele sociale, Universitatea din Bucuresti

4. Final discussion

We have already seen the importance of considering migration in a specific context. That will obviously contribute to general theories on mobility processes. Migration in Romania after 1989 is to be studied along with social and economic transformations that have taken place up to now. The transition to democracy and a market economy proved to be a painful and difficult process for Central and Eastern Europe countries. Specialists confront three kinds of migration streams in Romania after 1989: a “come back” stream, determined by legal changes: redistribution of collective land to private owners; a “run away” stream, which is mainly influenced by tough urban living conditions or difficult economic conditions in the region (high rate of unemployment, low salaries, high prices, closing state-owned factories etc.); an „exchange migration“, which is characterized by short-distance migration within historical regions, within counties or between neighbour areas.

Boundaries are certain obstacles not so easy to be surpassed especially when they limit historical spaces or cultural areas. The rate of historical region transgression incorporates both long-distance mobility and high rejection motives to move away from origin. Westward-northward itinerary remains the most important flow of migration in Romania. This fact can be explained by thinking of some traditional disparities between east-west, north-south regions, tenuously emphasized after the last seven years.

Intention to move is an important component of individual decision-making about migration. That is why it is not useless to consider data from sample surveys based on questionnaires. Here, as some authors have pointed out, we should discover an ideology of migration, an intention to move and a general attitude toward migration. Those and other factors will explain a good deal of migration decision-making as an individual and social phenomenon. Analysis shows that people construct different strategies in order to manage their own life when facing difficult social and economic obstacles. Moving away or changing the place of residence is not the most favored solution, but there are circumstances like unemployment, poverty, low income, high prices etc. when people make such an extreme decision. But it seems that the decision to move depends on available resources (demographic structure, material and information). Some people are obviously free to choose in the future, but probably only one opportunity will be given to most people, that is to stay. Then rationalization processes follow, and the need to be consistent makes those people stable innovators. Some people are still undecided. They have the opportunities, the resources, probably the motives, but they feel a strong band with local communities (city, village, region), and find it hard and disrupting to move on.

How changes will affect mobility processes is to be considered in the future, especially because reform has changed the rhythm in the last few months. Even though moving seems to be a satisfactory solution for individuals and families, it could be harmful for a community as long as disparities between regions grow and and deepen more. Special policies should be taken in order to avoid such catastrophic consequences.

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IOAN IANOS

The influence of economic and regional policies on migration in Romania

1. Abstract

There is multi-sided connection between the economic and the regional policies, on the one hand, and the migration phenomenon, on the other, in what determines the scope and direction of definitive mass migrations. The relationship between these two major elements depends on the diversity of natural resources and their complementary distribution, the evolution of economic activities along the ages, and the distinctively different demographic behavior of the population. Before the collapse of the totalitarian regime, despite the restrictions imposed on people's moves, particularly in the large cities, and the extensive development of the poor counties, the migration of the young labour force could not be stopped. The starting point was usually Moldavia and northern Transylvania (inclusive of Maramures region), with the destination Banat, the cities of Bucharest and Brasov, and the central and southern Black Sea coastal zone.

The main economic policy goals after 1989 were restructuring by means of privatisation and arrest of further economic decline. But no regional development policy has been devised. Looking at the direct and indirect effects on migration, at the intensity of the phenomenon, and its changes of direction, four distinct stages became apparent: stage one, characteristic of the year 1990, was marked by an influx of people to the large cities and a significant increase of employment in the big industrial units; stage two (1991 - 1993) witnessed a reverse trend, namely from town to village, as the process of privatisation in agriculture gained momentum and the number of jobs in the industry (especially in the counties forcibly industrialised during the last two decades of totalitarian regime) got reduced; stage three spans the years 1994 - 1996, when the economic policy focused on stopping the industrial decline and slowing down the rate of restructuring and privatisation; unemployment dropped and migration registered a two-side direction (in contrast to the general urban-to-rural trend), the opposite increasingly became a favourite option; the fourth stage began in 1997 with an economic policy aimed at liquidating unprofitable enterprises, withdrawing state subventions of the extractive sector, and proceeding the rapid restructuring and privatisation of state-owned enterprises. With the goal of avoiding social convulsions, the state offered important sums of money to the miners willing to return to their places of origin. This enhanced migration from the mining zones, from the coal-mining sector in particular, and its two large areas: 1.) Petrosani Basin, where people partially returned to Moldavia and the north of Transylvania; and 2.) Sub-Carpathian Oltenia, which has a distinct migration pattern, that is to say, intra-county migration stopped and remote migration, principally to Moldavia, was reduced.

Once the Romanian Government agreed to the Green Paper, it committed itself to elaborating a clear-cut regional policy, expected to have a direct impact on the inter- and intra-regional migration. However, despite non slow-down and change of direction of the migration phenomenon, future developments are hardly predictable. Transition to economy market will widen inter-regional economic gaps, and the increasing poverty of rural zones may trigger an exodus of people to the better developed areas, in search at jobs. Therefore, the material incentives used to tempt the labour force of the industrialized zone to return to the countryside may in the long run prove unproductive, if the returnees remain jobless.

2. Introduction

The relationships between central, regional and local policies, and the volume, structure and intensity of migration phenomena are influenced to various degrees, in a direct or indirect manner, by the general political context. After many years of central-based development, with obvious elements of hyper-centralisation, the collapse of the totalitarian regime still has not solved the problem of migration. On the contrary, the trend is continuing due in part to the abrogation of some restrictive regulations limiting certain types of migration, and also to the processes of privatisation and economic restructuring. A sine qua non of transition to a market economy, these processes are succeeding each other, sometimes taking on a faster pace.

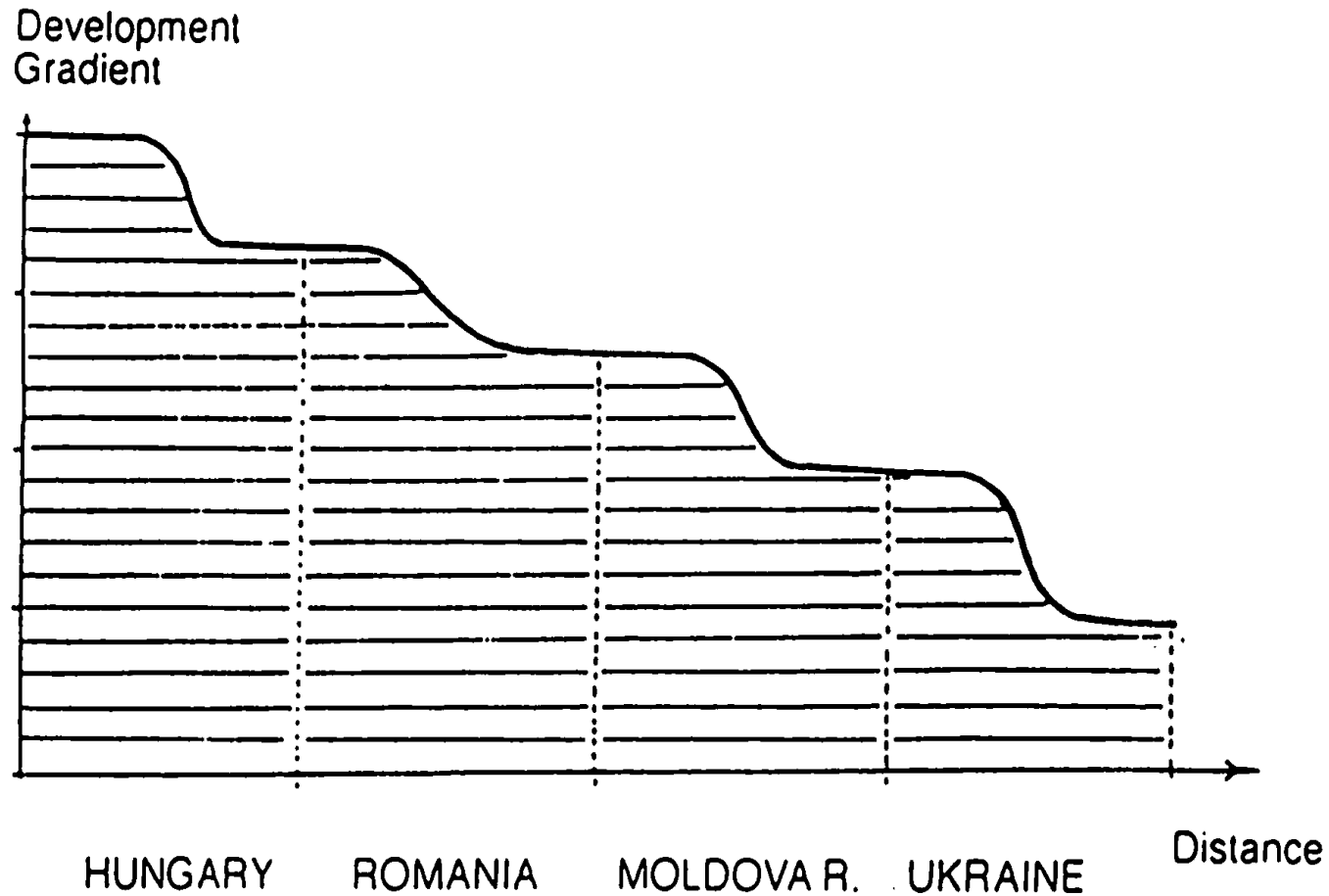
3. Theoretical - methodological aspects

An essential condition for massive population shifts to occur is the presence of less and better developed areas. Labour shortages in the former case are solved by influxes of people from neighbouring or remoter zones. The source of supply are the backward zones, which have a workforce in excess that is attracted more rapidly or more slowly to the dynamic regions. It is characteristic of a free economy in which state intervention, or the impact of other factors, say religious, is negligible.

The intensity of migration rates at a national level mirrors the degree of territorial disparities among the main regions of the country. One of the most relevant indicators, remote migration, gives a measure of each country's imbalances.

Development in Europe propagates from one place to the next towards the eastern part of the continent. The propagation is directly related to geographical distance, that is, to accessibility. If we were to draw a general outline of development of Central and East European countries going from west to east, passing through Romania's territory, we would see that the development gradient is higher in the western part of each country, subsiding as one looks eastwards (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Central-Eastern European profile of the development gradient (discrepancies between western and eastern parts of each country)



This is true of foreign investments in the territory of the former socialist states as well, following closely the development gradient. But this preferential placement of investments in the western parts of a country may, in time, widen the gap between its regions. As one moves eastwards, the infrastructure becomes increasingly more dilapidated or primitive. So, the farther east a state is situated, the greater its option for small geographical distances. A deviation from this general model is represented by capital cities like Budapest, Bucharest or Kishinou, but the general spatial picture is not changed, namely that western sides are better developed than their eastern counterparts.

In line with this general development distribution pattern, it follows that the population of the poorer eastern regions tends to migrate westwards, to the wealthier zones. At the same time, from each of the western parts of these countries, people would migrate directly into the west European countries, skipping over the neighbouring land and countries that lie geographically inbetween. In Romania, for example, better developed western regions are more attractive than eastern ones. At the same time, some categories of population from those better developed western parts prefer migrating to Germany or Austria, and not to Hungary.

As a rule, on a national scale, the population would move from a poorer into a richer region; on a local or regional scale, the villagers from an underdeveloped or under-equipped area keep emigrating to better developed ones, usually preferring small towns or large cities (Fig. 2). Under certain circumstances of economic instability, certain economic administrative measures may induce people to return to the poor regions. But, if the rewards offered are not sustained by relocation and economic reintegration of the returnees, then there is the risk for conflicts and undercurrents of discontent to therefore create economic and social turmoil.

The dominant policies in the period of transition from a centralised economy to a market-based one have in view thorough processes of restructuring - the very transformation of economy itself. These policies can be implemented, provided regional policies create the necessary institutional framework and the corresponding mechanisms for action.

The economic restructuring has a direct impact on both more and less developed regions. While developed regions have the capacity to cope with restructuring effects, adapting to the new conditions rapidly, the poorer ones suffer a catastrophic impact through soaring unemployment and a resumption of primary activities, of subsistence as a rule. What has made them put up tolerably well with that impact was a change in the type of ownership, particularly in agriculture. However, this positive influence is short-lived.

The consequences for migration phenomena have been very significant, indeed, cutting sharply migration volumes. A first consequence was the decreasing number of commuters (by one-seventh in the case of Romania) when developed regions ceased to be a focus of attraction. A second consequence was the listing of employees for retirement, hence rising unemployment. With the prospect of unemployment looming ahead, many people who had been living in town for the past 10 - 15 years decided to return to their native countryside. These were the two

modalities in which developed regions tried to adapt themselves to the new conditions. An additional cause of migration was the implementation of a new Land Law. This trend covers inter-county migration, but there are consistent signs that long-distance migrants wish to return home.

Regional policies are intended to attenuate territorial disparities by promoting real regional development. The goals set for developed and backward regions are significantly distinct. In the former case regional development is meant to solve some special local problems that represent a brake on the speed of progress. In the latter case, it is used to solve some fundamental, usually poverty - related issues. One of the targets of regional development is to reduce long-distance migration in particular, possibly by shifting it into the intra-regional level in a first stage and subsequently on the local level.

A theoretical analysis of the relationships between economic and regional policies and migration phenomena should not overlook the fact that, in time, these policies have distinctively different effects. Bearing in mind that the effects occur in a real time, and the restructuring is the main object of these policies, one may detect three types of effects on migration, mainly indirect ones (Fig. 3). In the short run, economic restructuring appears to have disastrous effects upon the social and economic development, causing a dramatic decline of production, the manifestation of some social phenomena difficult to control, and the decrease of family living standards. Under these circumstances, internal migration tends to decrease in favour of external migration to the developed world. Over a medium-long interval, the economic decline is stopped in almost every field, and expectations for a better life become brighter in the developed regions, in particular. So, after a period of sustained back-to-the-countryside migration, traditional fluxes from poorer-to-richer regions are resumed. In the long run, as economic restructuring proves its economic benefits, migration to the large urban centres and the developed regions, where higher revenues can be obtained, will once more gain momentum. It is only in a later, extra-long phase that migration will drop to acceptable levels, becoming limited to the peri-urban zones of big cities, or to certain intra-regional areas.

4. The main stages of economic restructuring and their effects on migration

In Romania, the economic measures taken by successive governments lacked coherence, their main aim having been to resolve some political and social crisis situations. So far now, the entire transition period in this country covers four short stages, fairly distinct in light of the economic restructuring/migration relationship.

a) *The year 1990* was marked largely by populist economic measures, increasing the number of employees in the economy in general, particularly in industry. This increase was also a consequence of the dismantling of large units of business and corporations and the emergence of several smaller ones. Their workforce augmented the ranks of non-productive sectors, mostly of the administrative ones. Hence, the large cities kept their powerful attraction for neighbouring or remoter areas. At the

same time, the abrogation of the law restricting immigration into the big cities also contributed to the fastgoing increase (overall close to 5 %) of their population. The most spectacular case is Constanta (14 %), a town rising to the second seat in the national urban hierarchy.

b) Beginning with 1991 and for the next three years the country passed through a very difficult period that had many influences on migration. It was the first time after World-War-II that the unemployed were officially registered in Romania. Drastic down-sizing left some one million people jobless in 1993 alone. By and large, this was about the figure that held for the following three years, dropping slightly as the rate of reform was slowed down.

The first to lose their jobs were the commuters, next came the people working in the small town sections of large manufactures located as a rule in the big cities. Our survey, conducted in a few small towns from Banat and Oltenia regions, is quite relevant in this respect. The findings show that the number of employees dropped by over 40 %, and 60 % even in some cases between 1990 and 1994 (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: DECREASING NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES IN A FEW SMALL TOWNS FROM BANAT AND OLTENIA REGIONS (1990-1994)

Town	County	Industrial employees		Decrease
		1990	1994	%
Chisineu Cris	Arad	1,260	422	66.5
Ineu	Arad	2,163	1,282	40.7
Lipova	Arad	2,502	731	70.8
Sebis	Arad	1,980	442	77.3
Deta	Timis	1,738	700	59.7
Jimbolia	Timis	3,967	2,266	42.9
Faget	Timis	1,072	555	48.2
Sannicolau Mare	Timis	3,552	2,025	43.0
Anina	Caras-Severin	4,513	2,392	47.0
Bocsa	Caras-Severin	5,870	2,811	52.1
Bailesti	Dolj	5,769	2,528	56.2
Calafat	Dolj	6,705	2,251	66.5
Baia de Arama	Mehedinti	613	125	79.7
Caracal	Olt	10,915	4,845	65.6
Scornicesti	Olt	4,171	2,509	40.0
Brezoi	Varacea	1,511	704	53.4
Horezu	Varacea	2,203	982	55.5

Source: National Commission for Statistics. Computed data.

In opposition to the industrial recession of small towns, the mining sector could maintain, increase, or slightly reduce its workforce, due to particularly supportive state policies. Illustrative in this respect are some cities in Gorj and Hunedoara counties, e.g. Rovinari, where high values of increase are recorded (Tab. 2). However, there are some differences between the mining centres of these two counties. For example, while in Hunedoara with its well-known mining sites of the Jiu Valley Sector, the overall number of employees is slowly decreasing, Gorj registers a significant increase. The fact is, that in the early post-communist years there was massive retirement in the Jiu Valley.

Tab. 2: DYNAMICS OF EMPLOYEE NUMBER IN THE MINING TOWNS OF GORJ AND HUNEDOARA COUNTIES (1990 - 1994) (%)

Town	County	Industrial employees 1990	Industrial employees 1994	Industrial employ. Ratio 1994/1990
Motru	Gorj	11,612	12,617	108.7
Tg. Carbonești	Gorj	1,724	1,440	83.5
Ticleni	Gorj	1,610	1,927	119.7
Rovinari	Gorj	3,980	7,869	197.7
Petrosani	Hunedoara	11,869	11,729	98.8
Petrila	Hunedoara	9,180	9,098	99.1
Vulcan	Hunedoara	9,763	10,610	108.7
Uricani	Hunedoara	5,706	5,031	88.1
Aninoasa	Hunedoara	3,108	2,613	84.1

Source: National Commission for Statistics. Computed data.

Most of the potentially negative social impact was mitigated by the positive effects of the Land Law, which came into effect in 1991. That law represented a strong stimulus for return migration to rural areas. It was for the first time in Romanian history that people chose to go back to their native countryside from near-by or remoter places. The general inter-county migration picture in 1992 shows returnees to Moldavia and NE Transylvania from Banat, Dobrogea, Brasov and even Bucharest (Fig. 4). Although relocated plots were very small, they nevertheless revived a sense of property in townspeople, especially in the elderly. This category decided to give village life a try. Others opted for the same solution, faced with the bleak prospect of losing their jobs as industrial units came under restructuring, sometimes even before that happened. Return migration becomes potentially significant given that 32 % of the small holders live in town and may return to their native villages anytime when urban industries are drastically down-sizing their workforce.

Figure 2: General relationships between economic restructuring, regional development and migration

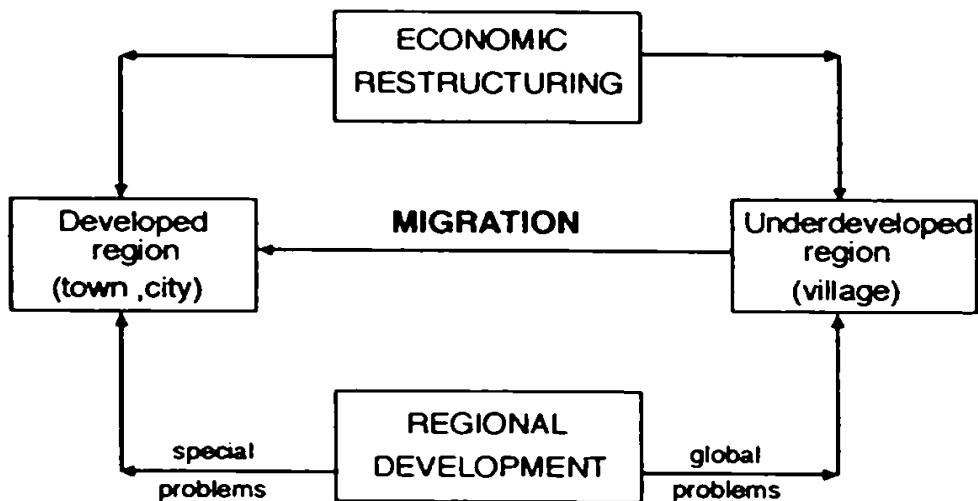


Figure 3: Migration impact consequences of the economic restructuring

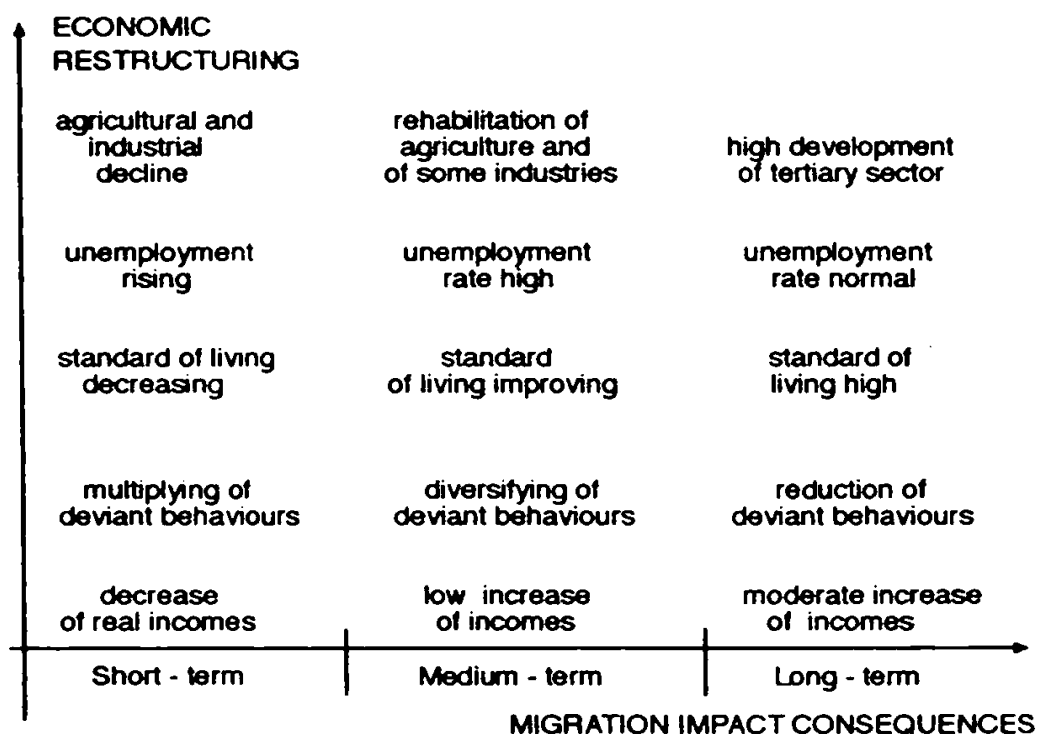
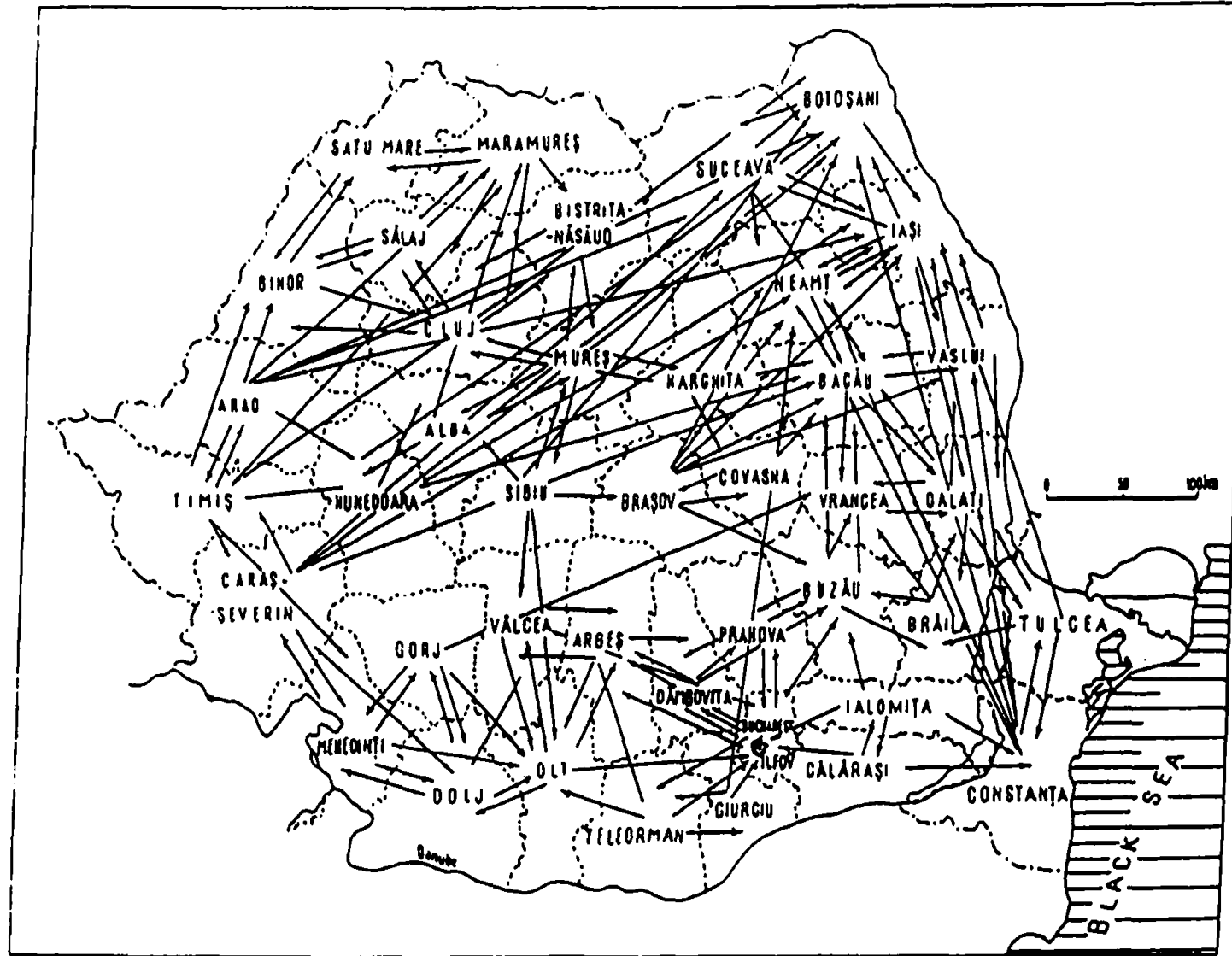


Figure 4: Internal migration flows between counties 1996



c) *In the third stage (1994 - 1996)*, the economic policy focus was to stop the dramatic decline of industry. Thus, the rate of restructuring and privatising the large manufacturing units was slowed down. Unemployment dropped from about 11 % (1994) to 6.5 % (1996). Migration continued both ways: rural-urban simultaneously with an obvious urban-rural trend. The total number of migrants at a national level was fairly constant, compared to the explosive growth of 1990 that had recorded thrice the average value of the next years. The ratio of in-migrants/out-migrants in the rural and the urban is very close, even equal, but total migration values in 1995 are increased (Tab. 3).

Tab. 3: INTERNAL MIGRATION DUE TO PERMANENT RESIDENCE CHANGE BY URBAN/RURAL AREA

Year	In-migrants			Out-migrants		
	Total	In urban	In Rural	Total	From urban	From rural
1990	786,471	691,803	94,668	786,471	170,381	616,090
1991	262,903	185,459	197,010	262,903	79,670	183,233
1992	293,182	186,172	107,010	293,182	111,471	181,711
1993	240,231	144,994	95,237	240,231	96,084	144,147
1994	266,745	149,712	117,033	266,745	117,368	149,377
1995	289,491	148,333	141,158	289,491	135,833	153,658

Source: National Commission for Statistics (1996): Statistical Yearbook, p.129.

Total volumes of internal migrants in 1996 were slightly higher than in the previous year (292,879), and if this trend continues throughout 1997 then the maximum internal migration value can be put at some 300,000 persons.

Looking at the absolute net migration figures of the years 1994, 1995, and 1996, some interesting characteristics are noticeable, most importantly a decrease in long-distance migration (Tab. 4), at a constant pace in the south of Romania, in the counties surrounding Bucharest city. From marked negative values in 1994, they all came to have a positive record (Calarasi and Giurgiu; Ialomita with a net positive migration rate throughout the interval) associated with a sharp decline in the attraction force of Bucharest (with only 1,061 in-migrants, the city ranks fourth in the national hierarchy, after Timis, Arad and Constanta counties). Although return migration still high, traditional labour supply counties continue to lose inhabitants through change of residence. For the year 1996, at the top of the table stand Vaslui, Maramures, Neamt and Galati, whereas Botosani, Iasi and Suceava, the former occupants, register moderate values (Tab.4). Besides the developed counties (with net positive migration records - Timis, Arad, Constanta, Brasov, Sibiu etc.), mining sites, especially coal mining areas like Hunedoara and Gorj, continued to be a focus of attraction, just as they had been before 1996, because of large budget allocations from the state.

**Tab. 4: ABSOLUT VALUES OF NET MIGRATION BY COUNTIES
(1994 - 1996)**

County	1994	1995	1996
Alba	-1,008	-754	-710
Arad	1,830	2252	2,048
Arges	-134	-466	-410
Bacau	-1,150	-524	-826
Bihor	463	275	214
Bistrita-Nasaud	-703	-661	-800
Botosani	-1,476	-955	-742
Brasov	1,304	-92	605
Braila	532	851	687
Buzau	-871	-252	-525
Caras-Severin	-181	-518	-150
Calarasi	712	-177	316
Cluj	148	721	596
Constanta	1,892	1,150	1,664
Covasna	-214	-297	-173
Dambovita	-270	-297	-173
Dolj	-6	273	78
Galati	-396	-670	-882
Giurgiu	-836	-556	121
Gorj	395	402	552
Harghita	-471	-206	-326
Hunedoara	282	109	431
Ialomita	155	658	96
Iasi	-803	-47	-438
Ilfov			915
Maramures	-1,522	-1,983	-1,445
Mehedinti	42	104	140
Mures	567	665	752
Neamt	-618	-1,059	-1,102
Olt	-806	-1,604	-607
Prahova	-224	-514	-293
Satu Mare	-160	-137	52
Salaj	-558	-385	-456
Sibu	1,196	531	525
Suceava	-958	-530	-680
Teleorman	-1,075	-152	-698
Timis	3,789	3,506	3,033
Tulcea	-393	-138	-246
Vaslui	-1,830	-642	-1,749
Valcea	-331	-318	-114
Vrancea	-1,054	-541	-545
Mun. Bucuresti	6,205	13,228	1,061

Source: National Commission for Statistics.

The proportion of out-migrants of total migrants (by county) reveals a decline in about three quarters of all the counties (1994 - 1996) in favour of intra-county migration. In general, the fall registered during the studied interval is quite moderate, somewhere between 4 - 6 %. However, there are counties with over 10 % decreases (Giurgiu, Calarasi, Alba; Tab. 5). Taking a comparative look at the past three years, one can distinguish variable proportions of out-migrants in the total migrants of the respective county: in 1994, six counties registered over 55 %, the same value as in 1996 with only four counties (excluding Ilfov which increased in 1997). Values of over 60 % were no longer observed in 1996.

The counties situated at the high and low end of the out- and in-migrants spectrum are Vaslui and Timis, which are located in traditional supply and reception areas. Vasluians used to migrate (4,360 pers.) to the neighbour counties of Iasi (508 pers.) and Galati (357 pers.), but also to remoter zones like Constanta (456 pers.), Brasov (427 pers.), Bucharest (350 pers.), and Hunedoara (297 pers.; Fig. 5). Natives from Vaslui, and Southern Moldavia, generally, find Banat a less attractive destination, because of the very long travel distance (passing through Bucharest or Iasi).

Timis receives a lot of migrants from north Transylvanian counties (Maramures - 500 pers., and Bistrita-Nasaud - 299 pers.), from the north Moldavian ones (Suceava - 438 pers., Iasi 323 pers., Botosani - 303 pers.) and from Oltenia (Mehedinti - 327 pers.), adding to a total of 10,017 in-migrants (Fig. 6). An important contribution to the overall figure makes exchange of population with neighbouring counties, with Caras-Severin in particular (640 pers.). As a matter of fact, Timis is a focal point for the whole of Romania, and has priority in direct competition with Bucharest city (the ratio of arrivals/departures: 117/87 in 1994; 160/93 in 1995 and 105/69 in 1996).

d) The fourth stage began in 1997. After the elections held in 1996, a new government took power in the country. The economic measures adopted had a direct impact on migration. In August 1997, some industries located in large cities (Ploiesti and Braila), and which had a long tradition in their branch firms, were listed for liquidation. Because the largest part of their workforce had been living in town for several generations, its roots with the native countryside were lost. So, return migration is limited.

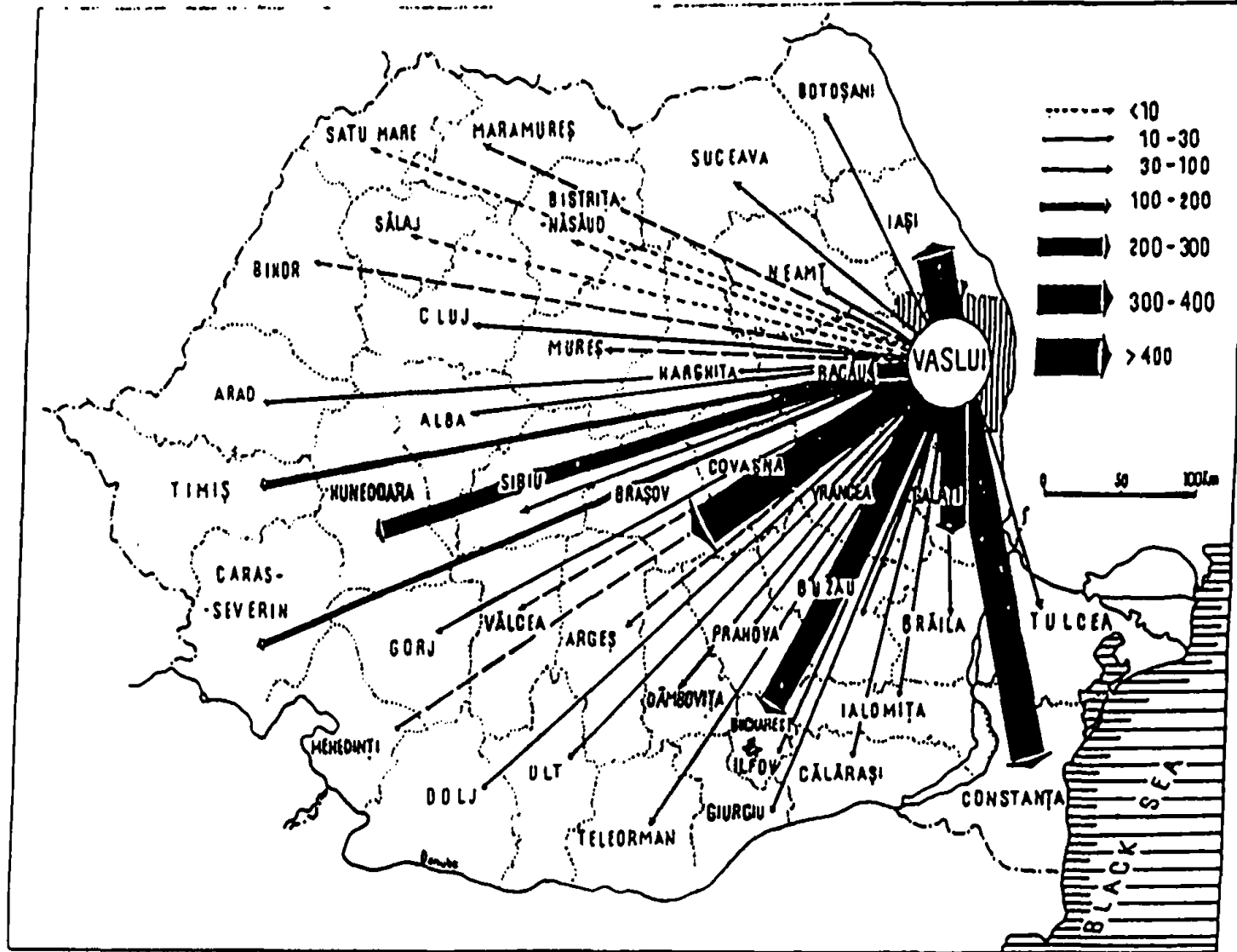
An absolutely special situation was created when the state decided on massive cuts in subsidies to the mining industry. In order to avoid violent social conflicts, all miners who wished to leave and start a new activity, or a business even, received 15 - 20 times an average salary in the branch. A very tempting sum of money indeed, which made about 70,000 miners willing to quit.

Tab. 5: SHARE OF OUT-MIGRANTS IN THE TOTAL MIGRANTS BY COUNTIES (1994-1996)

County				Tendency		
	1994	1995	1996	Positive	Stagnant	Negative
Alba	54.1	47.7	44.0			X
Arad	34.2	31.9	30.3			X
Arges	28.4	34.1	33.9		X	
Bacau	48.2	44.6	44.4			X
Bihor	26.3	26.9	26.6		X	
Bistrita-Nasaud	40.8	36.5	36.1			X
Botosani	56.3	51.2	50.3			X
Brasov	58.7	64.1	55.5			X
Braila	47.3	43.3	42.9			X
Buzau	42.3	40.5	43.2	X		
Caras-Severin	59.5	63.0	56.2			X
Calarasi	54.0	46.3	43.0			X
Cluj	37.7	37.8	36.1			X
Constanta	45.8	44.3	37.4			X
Covasna	44.9	46.3	42.3			X
Dambovita	39.2	41.9	37.7			X
Dolj	28.3	39.2	35.9		X	
Galati	47.4	48.3	50.9	X		
Giurgiu	68.2	65.6	55.8			X
Gorj	34.1	37.1	33.9			X
Harghita	45.7	43.0	42.5			X
Hunedoara	56.3	57.1	51.6			X
Ialomita	46.9	41.4	50.1	X		
Iasi	47.5	43.6	44.4			X
Ilfov			79.8			
Maramures	50.0	53.5	49.3			X
Mehedinti	40.6	37.9	34.9			X
Mures	30.8	31.0	29.5		X	
Neamt	48.2	51.2	52.7	X		
Olt	41.3	45.8	40.1			X
Prahova	35.6	39.9	37.2		X	
Satu Mare	36.1	37.6	34.4			X
Salaj	45.3	39.4	40.2			X
Sibu	44.0	53.2	46.7		X	
Suceava	42.5	39.6	39.6			X
Teleorman	46.7	39.2	44.4			X
Timis	43.0	45.5	42.5			X
Tulcea	54.0	44.8	47.0			X
Vaslui	60.5	47.2	56.6			X
Valcea	40.1	42.5	36.6			X
Vrancea	50.4	46.8	48.0		X	
Mun. Bucuresti	25.4	28.1	33.6	X		

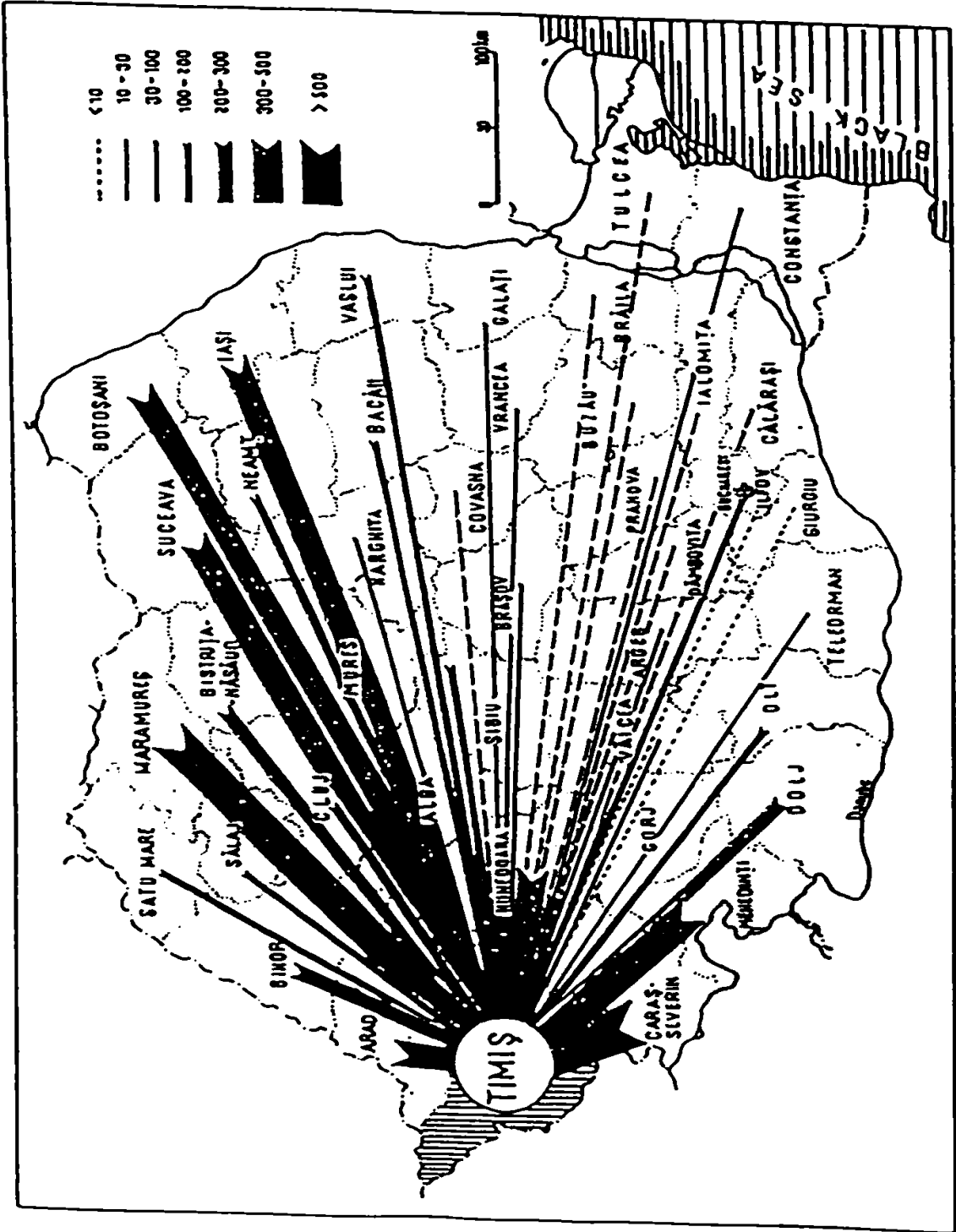
Source: National Commission for Statistics. Computed data.

Figure 5: The main directions of out-migrants from Vaslui county (persons) 1996



Ioan Ianos

Figure 6: The main directions of in-migrants to Timiș country (persons) 1996



The major sites, concentrating nearly half the mining population of Romania, are the Jiu Valley - Petrosani Basin and the Jiu - Motru Basin, in the counties of Hunedoara and Gorj, respectively, with some extensions into Mehedinti and Valcea. These two coal basins are distinctively different, and lay-offs reflect it very well. The Jiu Valley Basin lies in a relatively isolated intra-mountainous depression. Its excavations and population are concentrated within a very small perimeter. Industry as a whole is connected with, or complementary to, mining activities. So, the downscaling of the latter inherently affects the other sectors in a similar way. Re-employing the lay-offs at a local level is almost impossible, because the only sector that could prove efficient is tourism. But given the population's very limited income, the likelihood for tourism to inject some strength into the basin's economy is very small indeed.

Sixty per cent of the Jiu Valley workforce is represented by locals and only about 40 % originate from other regions of the country. Neighbour areas have a very low manpower supply capacity, because Hunedoara is a highly industrialised county that has already employed human resources, mostly in siderurgy or the local exploitations of ferrous or non-ferrous ores, or non-metals. Therefore, traditionally labour surplus areas (Moldova and Maramures) became the main supply source for the basin's economy. At present, the vast majority of miners have been living in the Valley for 10 - 20 years now, practically losing touch with their birthplaces. What attracted newcomers after 1989 were the high wages offered compared to the average salary in the economy.

Given the very high density of population in this mining basin and the fairly limited possibilities for other economic activities, the only chance of diminishing social pressure was to convince the miners to go back to their original zones.

This was the very reason behind the government's decision to offer money incentives to people born outside the basin to leave it. The lay-offs in a mass reduced the Jiu Valley workforce by some 24,000 persons. However, according to statistical evidence, no more than 3,000 people have actually left, a figure well within the annual range of labour fluctuation in the mining sector. This means that the great majority have remained, spending the money they had received to leave.

True enough, many people are willing to leave, but they have no opportunities to return to. Most of them originate from Moldavia, a region with a very high population density and large families. Under the Land Law, the relocated plots are extremely fragmented and scarcely sufficient. When the Land Law started being implemented, part of the miners who arrived in the Jiu Valley before of 1989, being certain of the permanence of their jobs, renounced their land rights in favour of their brothers or sisters who had remained home. Now, they find themselves unwelcomed in their original villages, as well as in the towns they had been working in. So, they would rather stay on in town and hope that new jobs will be created. Unless steps are taken to engage them in productive activities, they might become a grave social problem when their money runs out.

The situation of the Jiu-Motru coal Basin is altogether different. Coal mines extend beyond 2,000 km², with highest concentrations in Gorj county. In contrast to

the Jiu Valley Basin, here there are many job opportunities for the lay-offs (in agriculture, tourism, and the rail-and-road infrastructure). Moreover, the population is no longer concentrated in a small area, but lives dispersed in hundreds of settlements. In many cases, mining has been taken up as a supplementary activity to increase the revenues obtained from agriculture.

Another feature that distinguishes this basin from the maxim concentrations of the Jiu Valley is the dispersion of labour over a vast area (more than 4,000 km²) enhances solidarity and reduces the risk for manipulation. Besides that, about 90 % of the Lignite Autonomous Administration's employees are locals or have come from adjacent zones, and only 10 % originate from remote areas. Down-sizing affected 14,882 persons, of which 54.3 % lived in Gorj county, 24.1 % in the neighbouring counties (Mehedinti, Dolj, Valcea, and Hunedoara) and 9.2 % had come from five Moldavian counties (Iasi - 331 pers., Vaslui - 288 pers., Botosani - 284 pers., Neamt - 251 pers., and Galati - 213 pers.). The birthplaces of the others are mainly Romania's eastern and southern zones (Fig. 7). The majority of those left jobless live in the towns of Rovinari, Motru and Targu Jiu, and according to estimates, some 50 - 60 % already returned to their original places.

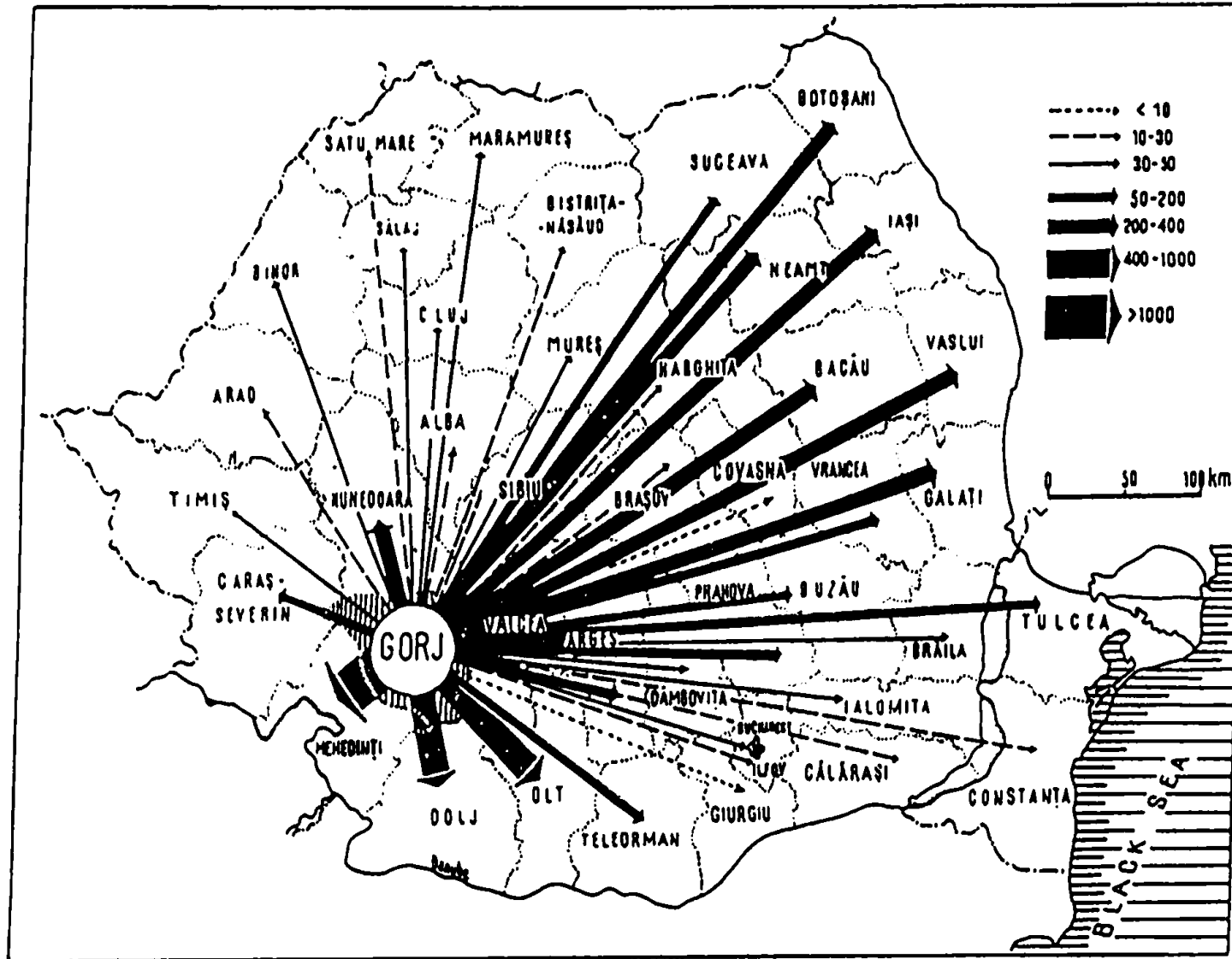
5. The regional development policy and the migration phenomena

The post-communist period has not really put in place a regional development policy, so one cannot define a relationship between these two elements. Under the totalitarian regime, a kind of regional policy had indeed been devised to the effect of achieving a balanced economic development of all of Romania's counties. In order to have a measure of development standards, beginning with the 1970's a basic indicator came into use, that is the industrial production of each county, set at above 10 billion Leu. This would have justified the accelerated policy of the extensive industrial development of many counties that lagged behind. In the early 1980's a new indicator was chosen to replace the existing one, namely the economic output per capita, and because of inter-county disparities, it also looked at the population per county.

But for all that extensive development policy, migration did not subside, on the contrary it was accelerated when, in the 1980's, huge construction projects came underway, eg. the Danube - Black Sea Canal, the development of Constanta port and of the coastal area, the building of the Cernavoda nuclear power station, the reconstruction of the central zone of Bucharest city, and more intensive coal-mining in the Jiu Valley and the Jiu - Motru basins.

A pro-natality policy led to demographic increases in the less developed regions (Moldavia, Maramures and N-E Transylvania), the future labour pools for Ceausescu's megalomaniac constructions and a source of migration towards the country's traditionally better developed regions.

Figure 7: The origin of the laid-off people in mining industry from Gorj country (persons) 1996



A recent analysis of territorial disparities in Romania has pointed out that such regions do indeed exist, and that it is imperative for a real regional development policy to be adopted. The ongoing economic restructuring has regional effects and, provided a corresponding regional development policy is put in place, they could be integrated into a comprehensive set of coherent development measures.

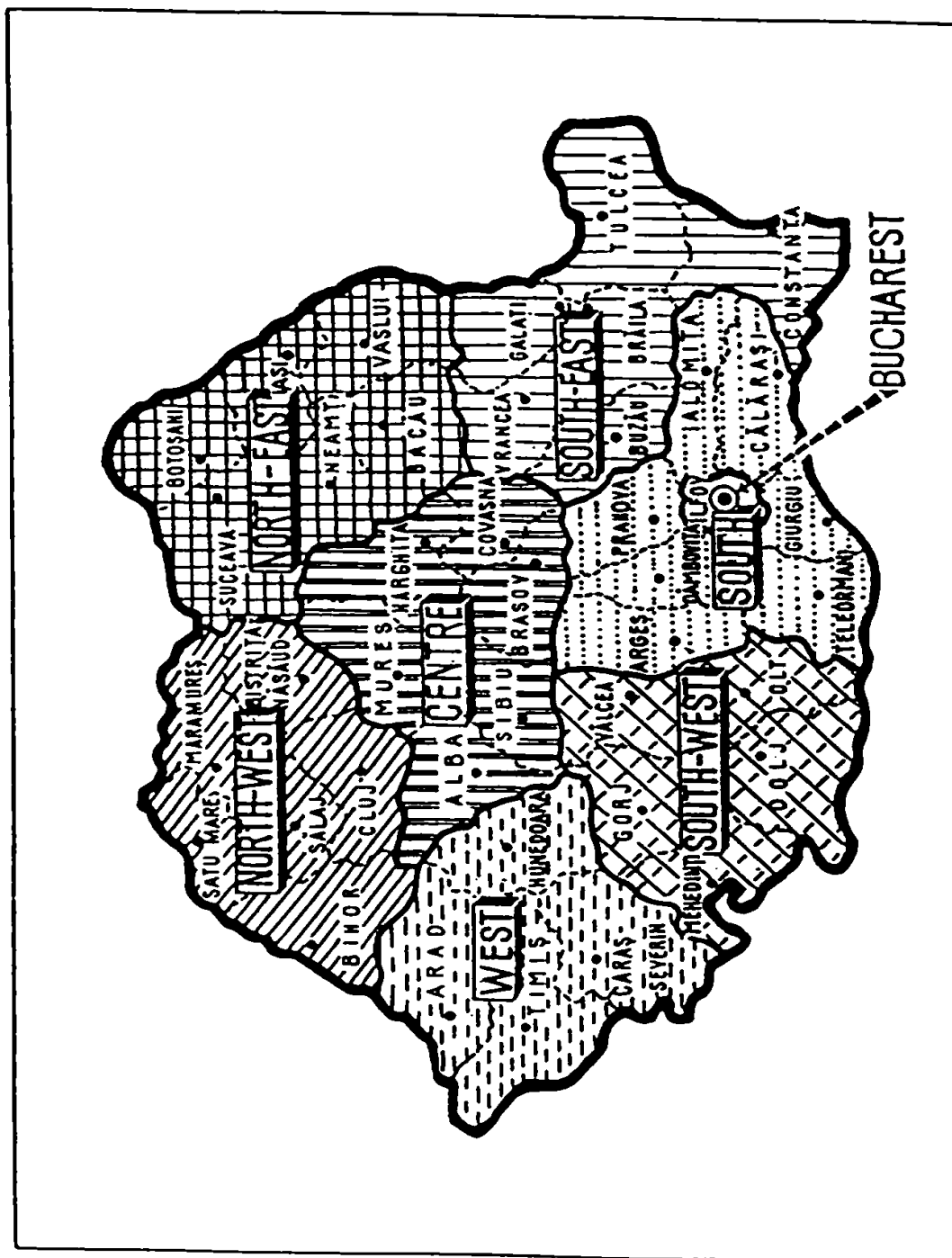
During the 1996 - 1997 period, the PHARE programme assisted in the elaboration of a regional policy for Romania. The Government has already accepted it, and implementation is expected in the next stage. The aim of that policy is to reduce existing disparities which, supposedly, will become increasingly more acute as economic restructuring continues.

The major problem facing PHARE was the creation of the corresponding framework for its implementation. This involved both intercounty cooperation and the establishment of specialist institutions capable of implementing a policy of regional development. The experience of Romania, and of other countries from Western and Central Europe, suggests that the existing number of counties (42) is by far too large for an adequate regional development policy to be put in place. It is because the majority of problem areas are trans-county, and each county's financial and material resources are insufficient to solve the main issues facing it.

As a result, the documents (especially the Green Paper) laying down the guidelines for a regional development policy in Romania provide for the establishment of eight macro-regions, formed of 4 - 7 counties each (Fig. 8). The principles underlying this kind of regionalisation are, among others, complementary development and operational levels liable to stimulate each macro-region to define and resolve its main problems. The macro-regions are not defined as administrative regions, but as development regions created by the free option of each county to adhere to the respective proposed grouping (initially under the form of county associations). Each macro-region shall have its own Regional Development Council assigned by the coordination of a forthcoming Regional Development Agency. All the counties have realised that cooperation is the only way to sort out major problem areas and then establish which of them has priority for regional interest.

The expected impact of this regional policy on migration is to induce a shift from the present, predominantly inter-regional moves, to intra-regional ones. In the light of Romania's current development level, what is required as a first stage is to have the theory of growth poles and centres applied to poorly developed regions, in particular. This could stimulate development of intra-regional areas, and deplete inter-regional migration. Placing inter-regional cooperation on the principles of additionality and subsidiarity could warrant a solution for the real problems of each of the eight macro-regions, more especially for those affected by generalised poverty over vast areas.

Figure 8: The configuration of the development regions proposed in the Green Paper, adopted by Romanian Government (1997)



6. Conclusions

The short-term effects of the Land Law and of the industrial decline have been a decline in migration rates, and sustained return migration. Over medium- and long-term, if the economy of underdeveloped regions is not stimulated, migration to developed regions may gain momentum. The poorest regions (Moldavia, Oltenia, Maramures and north Transylvania) feature a dominantly subsistence agriculture, an industry earmarked for liquidation and only occasionally restructuring because large manufacturing units were set up in areas lacking a tradition in the branch, raw materials had to be imported and the main market was the former COMECON. In time, this situation may augment poverty, triggering fluxes of migrants to the better developed regions, and the large urban centres.

The current distribution of migration fluxes could be perturbed by a new administrative territorial organisation, with 20 more counties appearing on the map. At first, this measure might seem beneficial for some medium-sized towns (prospective county-seats), even more so as most of them are located in low-developed regions. In reality, however, such a move would hamper the implementation of a proper regional development policy and the regional utilisation of financial, material and labour resources, the first two being extremely wide spread. Another disturbance would be the preferential placement of big foreign investments in Bucharest, the counties from Banat and Transylvania coming second in line. This might widen territorial gaps and bring about fresh inter-regional migration waves.

The analyses undertaken so far have shown a diminution of migration rates and a marked urban - to - rural return trend. Romania's future economic and social evolution will decide the width and breadth of migration phenomena.

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IV. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSFORMATION AND MIGRATION

VIOLETTE REY / OCTAVIAN GROZA / IONEL MUNTELE

Migrations and the main protagonists of transition: A stake in the development of Romania

If the phrase “socio-economic transformations and migrations“ is at the heart of any question of growth or development, it is much more urgent and uncertain in the case of the former Eastern-bloc countries, especially Romania. This study will begin with the following argument: since 1990, work in the regions of Romania has been organised on two different levels, the local and national level. The regional level remains much less clearly defined. The local level is that of the environment people live in, as well as the organisation of work in their everyday lives. Due to recent political changes, individuals and families are faced with dramatic changes in working and employment conditions and subsequently in their living and pay conditions. Therefore, mobility and migratory movements can result from this change.

The national level is a matter for the state. It is necessary to study the way territory is constructed under state control, in so far as all national territory must at all times guarantee the survival and duration of the state through a blend of internal and external cohesion and loyalty. Here the question arises as to whether regional development is part of the territorial cohesion, or construction of the entire nation. So, spatial differences are important and it becomes difficult but essential to know the conditions in which post-socialist growth emerges. The key questions are: How can intermediary region levels take shape and under what impulses can this occur? What role should be assigned to migrations?

This presentation will focus successively on the following subjects:

1. general reflections on the context of transition,
2. the new complex nature of migratory phenomena,
3. how the question of development is set out.

1. The context of transition, preliminary remarks

First, we are being presented with an intermediary level of territorial, somewhere between local and national levels - of a country which has abandoned communism but where the legacy of the previous system is ever present.

1. Before 1990, under the pressure of totalitarianism, the need for an identity among the Romanian people took refuge in local elements, withdrawing to the most elementary level, the individual or family unit, rather as a mechanism of atomisation. With democratic liberalisation, this need for identity has expressed itself in more complex ways. Furthermore, it is striking to see how much Romanian citizens like to place themselves according to their regional origins and a historical sense of belonging to their region.

The regained freedom to change residence along with mistrust of the state and its administrative structures inherited from centralised planning have been expressed by a desire to return to the territorial order of things, in terms of administrative organisation, that existed before the socialist period.

The desire is for the networks of towns and judete (departments) to return as much as possible to the old networks, built over a long period of time and which are felt to be potentially practical and easy to identify with. Thus, they would be able to mobilise local energy and help boost development (IORDAN/REY 1993). The main regional stake is the cohesiveness of the state, which partly goes through administrative divisions with specific powers. This stake already existed when a big Romania was created in 1918, when it was necessary to join together three types of territories, each with its own very particular political past and form of internal development. The current process of dividing the country into eight management regions is part of this reasoning and would do well to take particular notice of the potential these expressions of regional belonging have in terms of development.

2. Freedom of movement can allow change of location and greatly strengthens the principles of comparative advantages, the mechanisms of externalities and economies of agglomeration, all of which create specialisation, complementarity and, thus, greater efficiency. They favour growth, but we know to what extent they cause spatial disparities, to the benefit of growth zones and at the expense of zones on the fringe. However these comparative advantages are not easy to locate. They cover very complex phenomena, which extends from natural resources to the level of training of workers and through to relative geographic locations. It is necessary to make them go from a potential state to an effective development, which is by no means automatic. Their development is filtered by the way the protagonists interpret the so-called advantages. The protagonists now present include all new farmers, all small businessmen in the tertiary sector who do not have access to the same sorts of comparative advantages as those enjoyed by foreign investors or industrial firms, which are being privatised, urban and rural territorial bodies that enjoy financial autonomy, albeit with small budgets, like the political parties and the unions. Thus the place of the single state-party has now been taken over by a vast group of protagonists whose interests, reasoning and ways of interpreting things are varied, contradictory and poorly known, thereby making any forecast of development very unsure. The unequal strength of some and their ability or inability to mobilise it - from simple inertia "the strength of the weak" to the rapid but sometimes short lived action of certain small businessmen - will lead to combinations which sometimes

have a transforming effect and sometimes a paralysing one. It remains quite difficult to be certain when making localised forecasts about them.

3. These remarks about the context of transition call for clarification of the way what phenomenon is studied. Without wishing to remark here on the ambiguity of the term, let us regard the present phase of post-communism as a global fact never seen before in world history.

This period of post-communism which MINK referred to as "strange" in 1993 is variously called a transition, a bifurcation, a transformation and a change. The ambiguity of these terms reflects the complex nature of the phenomenon, any efforts to interpret vary from the idea of a change whose outcome is more or less clear, to that of an outcome that remains unknown. The fact that the process is new to us - with the implosion of a whole system in terms of its political, institutional, economic, social and symbolic structures - and that it has occurred in a very short space of time with hardly any violence requires the greatest caution when passing judgment. The paradigm of « system analysis » gives some formal descriptive keys, if one considers that by the late 1980s the communist system was far from stable and that in such circumstances, relatively minor incidents can lead to major disturbances and bring about a bifurcation and a change of system. Currently, certain disruptive elements are becoming intertwined with elements of continuity. There is a lack of stability while strong fluctuations give the impression of chaotic behaviour in term of system analysis (which is exceptional where societies are concerned). Nonintuitive phenomena appear in most spheres, which mix the prolonging of previous trends and the turnaround of others. Even though the unpredictability and instability created by this situation remain, they are not as strong as they were in the early 1990s, but it is still difficult to imagine what other form of stable system (i.e., one able to reproduce itself) we are heading for. Perhaps it will be comparable to the neighbouring West European system towards which all eyes turn as an example. Or perhaps it will be sufficiently different, for it to become a new system and determine what geographic area it will cover. The process is still too short-lived for signs of self reproduction to have taken shape in a global way. Systemic methodology only provides a direction of analysis and the temptation is to use its terms because they seem so well adapted.

All the geographic facts show this ambiguity, particularly in the temporal discrepancies they present in relation to political and judicial events. The central question in this period of break up revolves around either the idea of irreversibility brought in by the communist phase or, on the contrary, that of reversibility, in the sense of a return to a logic of European evolution - i.e. comparable with but behind Western Europe. In order to find a way out of this dichotomy, which is possibly partly sterile, careful attention must be paid to two different processes, those that can be classed belonging to multi-temporalities and those that come under interactions between micro and macro levels. In geographical terms, Romania is part of a "third Europe" (SZUCS 1985), described by REY as « un espace d'entre-deux » (« in between ») in 1996. Its complexity stems from the competition between inside and outside influences, without lasting local winners; its instability prevents this sort of temporal

inertia through which a structure capable of accumulation maintains itself and reproduces itself. Cross questioning on migrations and regional development at this moment in time allow one to seize upon outward signs of these two processes of, multi temporality and the interaction of levels, while providing also a partial answer to the question of irreversibility.

2. The effects of transition on migrations

Since 1990, forms of migration have combined at least three types of movement. People are no longer told where to live and are free to travel with complete freedom of movement without being monitored or checked up on by the state. People are moving back out of areas affected by industrial and agricultural unemployment. Movement is possible towards new economically attractive zones. In order to understand what significance should be given to these movements, whether they are caused by economic or structural conditions, and how many territorial stakes they convey, it is necessary to place them back into the longer-term trend of mobility, that of national urbanisation. In 1930 there were 3.1 million people living in towns, around 20 % of the total population, while in 1956 there were 5.4 million, around 31 % and in 1992 there were 12.3 million, around 54 %. This urbanisation caused a split with traditional internal rural movements from the mountains to the plains and from transhumant phenomena.

2.1 Returns: The return to one's native town and the return to the village

What do the figures reveal, bearing in mind that in this field it is well-known that they are far from being conclusive. After the readjustment of the regulation of residence registers (there were nearly 800,000 moves in 1990), there were 240,000 in 1993 and 295,000 in 1995. In fact the balance remains positive in favour of towns but is stabilizing (145,000 in 1993 and 148,000 in 1995) while movement back to villages is increasing (95,000 in 1993 and 141,000 in 1995). Movement back to villages therefore seems to be taking shape. Is this a case of reversibility or a quick way out of urban life (« ex-urbanization »)? This movement is not comparable to that people moving from urban areas to sprawling suburban areas which post-industrial countries are beginning to experience. Nor is it a return to the ruralism of the 1930s. In fact, it is a phenomenon which appears as the repercussion of the previous period, during which the whole of Romanian society had withdrawn to an hidden system based on village life in order to resist all forms of difficulty and hardship (HIRSCHHAUSEN, VON 1997). At the same time, it reveals the powerlessness of towns to ensure their own survival and development during the period of break up. Will it be temporary or lasting? Contrary to generalised conurbation it appears that Romanian society is heading toward a diffuse population, where small towns and villages are appreciated. One must examine the ability to

implement what is called “sustainable development“, that is development that ensures the population a good enough standard of living so that it does not find itself in a position where people choose to leave for distant places gleaming with the promise of wealth.

In the short term what can be expected of these returns by people to their places of origin or to the countryside? They affect regions in different ways: they bring a little money; they certainly install different mentalities. Further studies are necessary on this point.

2.2 The departure of the German minority

Whereas there were still 385,000 Germans in Romania 1956 (compared with 635,000 in 1930), there are now no more than 119,000, according to the 1992 census, as the growing number of Germans leaving the country in the 1980s exploded between 1990 and 1991. We seem to be witnessing the final phase of the plurisecular cycle of the populating and depopulating of the Germanic population in Eastern Europe. In Romania there has been a “Romaniansation“ of the areas whose landscapes and mentalities were for centuries impregnated with Germanic culture. Here again one cannot talk of a return to the previous situation, even if at the same time irreversible geographic change has taken place on a wide time-scale. The inter-governmental agreement signed by Berlin and Bucharest for the return of Germans to Romania seems to have had no effect. These departures are accompanied by an indisputable regional weakening, especially in the towns of southern Transylvania (Fig. 1), which may cause an urban slow down as well as disruptions to urban structures (the «urbigenous properties» discussed by MIHAILESCU 1967), in accordance with comparable events in Moldavian villages with the flight of Jews during the inter-war years. It is important to know whether this German imprint will leave favourable social links, between current southern-Transylvanians and Germany, where the “Aussiedler“ went. Will a certain stake opening up links develop regionally, a sort of comparative advantage peculiar to these areas? This question needs to be followed up and a careful attention paid to it. Concerning the behaviour patterns of the Romanian populations in place, some highly interesting works (MIHAILESCU 1997) reveal that German mentalities and social habits have been reappropriated in a logic of the constructing and individualisation of local identities.

2.3 Emigration abroad

Even if the figures are particularly unreliable as far as this point is concerned, the question is central to our own view, for it allows us to view the complexity of the phenomenon of transition from a different angle. Indeed what do the figures saying 44,000 people left the country in 1991, 18,000 in 1993 and 26,000 in 1995 mean when there are thought to be hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants in various

major western cities? Here we come up against the problem of high global international changes and what is now being called new circular mobility (MOROKVASIC 1996). Thus the much feared wave of migrations resulting from the opening of the iron curtain has not come about (FASSMANN 1997). This new "circular migration" is characterised by the slowing down of irreversible migrations (in relative and non-absolute terms) as well as long stays abroad but where a return home is expected and which quite often happens. This change corresponds to a set of mechanisms through which post-communist migration is taking place on worldwide scale. Several factors come together in this. They include a desire by rich countries to protect themselves through the setting up of frontier barriers. High-employment jobs are moved to low-wage areas as technological progress in transport systems makes it easier to move goods around than it is to move people, because the problem remains of how to settle the latter in new areas. Finally, people are becoming noticeably much more aware of their own cultural identity and origins than any new sense of identity created by migration, which was the case before. These phenomena can be seen in Romania and make any analysis of the effects of emigration on the country that much more sensitive. There are two types of migrant: city dwelling elites and unskilled workers. The departure of city dwellers, generally young executives, probably does weaken towns and cities, although close links are maintained, from which the whole country benefits indirectly. Also, unlike its neighbours, Romania has never had an ancient or numerous "Diaspora", able to form immaterial networks, nor has it had lobbies which are so important in international relations. Moreover there are other forms of temporary medium-length migration undertaken for the purpose of acquiring work-training, which already gives some benefit to the country. As for the often illegal departures of a unqualified work force, they have taken over from the earlier movements of the "floating population", which was employed in great industrial centres and major building projects. To a certain extent these migrants are of rural origins and certain regions provide more of them than others according not only to the surplus of local workers but also to regional traditions of working mobility (for example the Oas, Fagaras and Vrancea areas). Current observations show that this is a case of "circular mobility", as people leave home to earn some money and bring it "back home", without any intention of settling down elsewhere. For the moment, the money brought back home has had no net effect on the local economy. People set up a « chiosc » (small business shop) or invest in building something ostentatious of their own. So things remain the same in the apparent model of traditional society (DIMINESCU 1997). As far as we know there is no move toward collective reinvestment and an already innovative effect at the place of origin as can be observed with the similar type of Sahelian migrants in Senegal and Mauritania countries (GONIN 1994).

2.4 What importance should be accorded to the appearance of immigrants?

Here again we come up against the question of how the number of immigrants should be estimated. It was calculated that the number of immigrants repatriated between 1990 and 1994 was 3,000 per year and reached 5,500 in 1995. There are no statistics available for populations originating from the East and Africa, even though their presence is noticeable in trade activity, especially in Bucharest. To a certain extent they are blocked here by the rules of the Schengen Treaty, while their intention is to reach the E.U.

In conclusion, it is possible to say that the social and spatial effects of current mobility in Romania are very different from one another. There has been no real re-adjustment nor unbalance without compensation. Peripheral integration into the system of international mobility has been started. Medium-term prospects appear more fragile in Transylvania than in Banat. The rural demographic burden is re-appearing in Moldavia. Where internal urbanisation movements are engaged again it is unsure whether those in towns wanting to reach necessarily wish to move to towns far away from their region of origin, following the experience of returning in the early 1990s. The geography of migratory flows, such as can be gauged from 1992 data, reveals very clearly distinct pools of immigration. These pools reflect not only economic situations but also regionalised identities to be taken into account from the point of view of regional development. For example the Brasov migratory pool that does not enter central and northern Transylvania, an area which the Cluj department has reserved for itself, must be a drain on the rest of the country. With the exception of Bucharest, Timisoara and Constanta, the concept of a polarising town acting as the dynamo of regional development lacks, in some ways, a solid basis in this transitory phase.

3. From migration to regional development in a stage of transition

The notion of development in the late 20th century is being generally reconsidered. Gone are the days when it was believed that development could be created through centres of predefined growth. The mobility and instability of locations and the precarious game of the comparative advantages of areas undergoing generalised globalisation lead one to reconsider areas realistically based on geographical complexities. In this way, the current of research into localised spatial systems which postulates the existence of protagonists belonging to the same zone whose energies can be mobilised through local demonstrations of solidarity has taken form (RALLET/TORRE 1995). This change of perspective is defined as territorial development and no longer as spatial development.

In Romania, as in other former socialist countries, the question of regional development is one of a complete change in the paradigm caused by transition. The previous system was organized along the lines of an equilibrium operating with orders coming from the top, ruling the country as one uniform entity, producing

atony rather than growth (REY 1975, 1994). Multiple horizontal relations are currently being put in place. As capital is virtually non-existent, it is all the more necessary to attempt to mobilise other energy sources, which implies the active and interested participation of local populations. Such reasoning takes into account motivations, including the sense of identity and the dynamic associated with a feeling of belonging (which takes us back to the observations made in point 1). Superimposed onto this change of internal paradigm is the opening up to international exchanges and the way in which national territory can be confronted and attached to them.

3.1 Taking "initial conditions" into account, three examples

In the period of the break up of the old political and economic system, the country finds itself once again at a starting point. It is a key period where other dynamics, heavily dependent on initial conditions, can influence the outcome (in terms of systemic methodology).

1. The ephemeral geography of transition indicates certain trends. An examination of a representative set of new phenomena accompanying capitalism, as private companies, unemployment, private car-ownership, and international telecommunications, gives a picture of a "geographical order" of the disorder caused by break up. This picture partially substantiates the idea of return (of reversibility) to a logic of spatial differentiation carrying on from that observed at the start of pre-war industrial and urban development. The progress made by the central and western parts of the country in the process of change, characteristic of a sense of historical belonging, is clear for all to see, especially in the western border regions. This phenomena is not peculiar to Romania as it has been recorded throughout the former Eastern block countries of Europe. In 1993 GORZELAK wondered how long the double standard of equipment receipt in Poland and those regions closest to the West would last. The advantages that mountainous and hilly regions have over the plains, a characteristic of the ecological effect, are also clear (Fig. 1). However, besides these geographical differences, what does not reappear is a line of development in a WNW-SE direction (Timisoara, Sibiu, Oradea, Cluj, Brasov to Bucharest). It is nevertheless this former line of communications which the big Romania of the 1930s tried to consolidate in an attempt to counterbalance its radioconcentric structure. This line was still present in the late 1960s (REY 1975). In some ways the fact that it has not reappeared reveals the impact of the "multilateral" development under Ceausescu stopping or breaking medium term spatial dynamics, which are always so difficult to establish in this "in between" part of Europe.

2. Medium-term community demographic dynamics (1956 - 1992) (Fig. 2) which are the inevitable foundations on which trends in the near future are based, give indications of local strengths and weaknesses, as well as showing the way in which the different forms of reasoning behind regional development will be formulated.

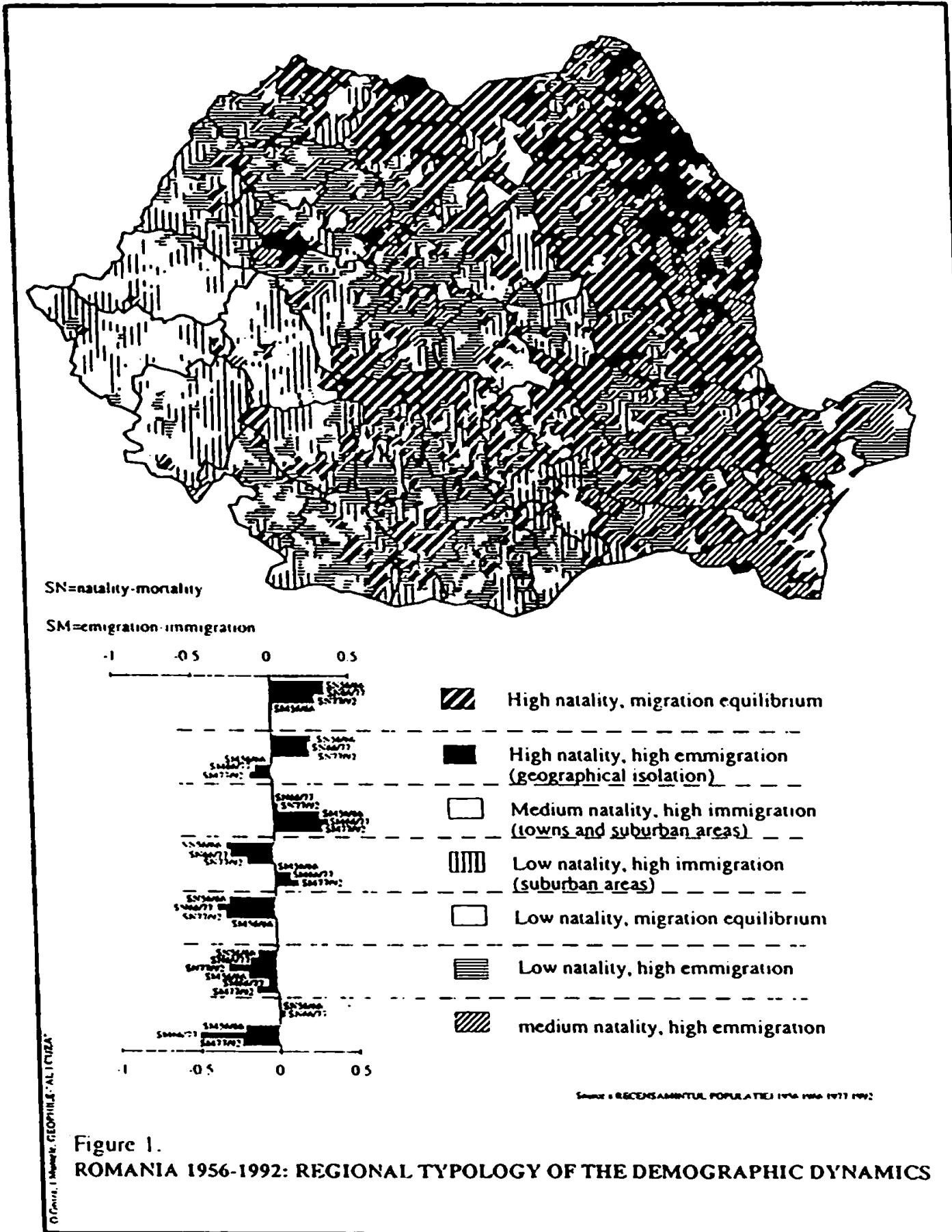
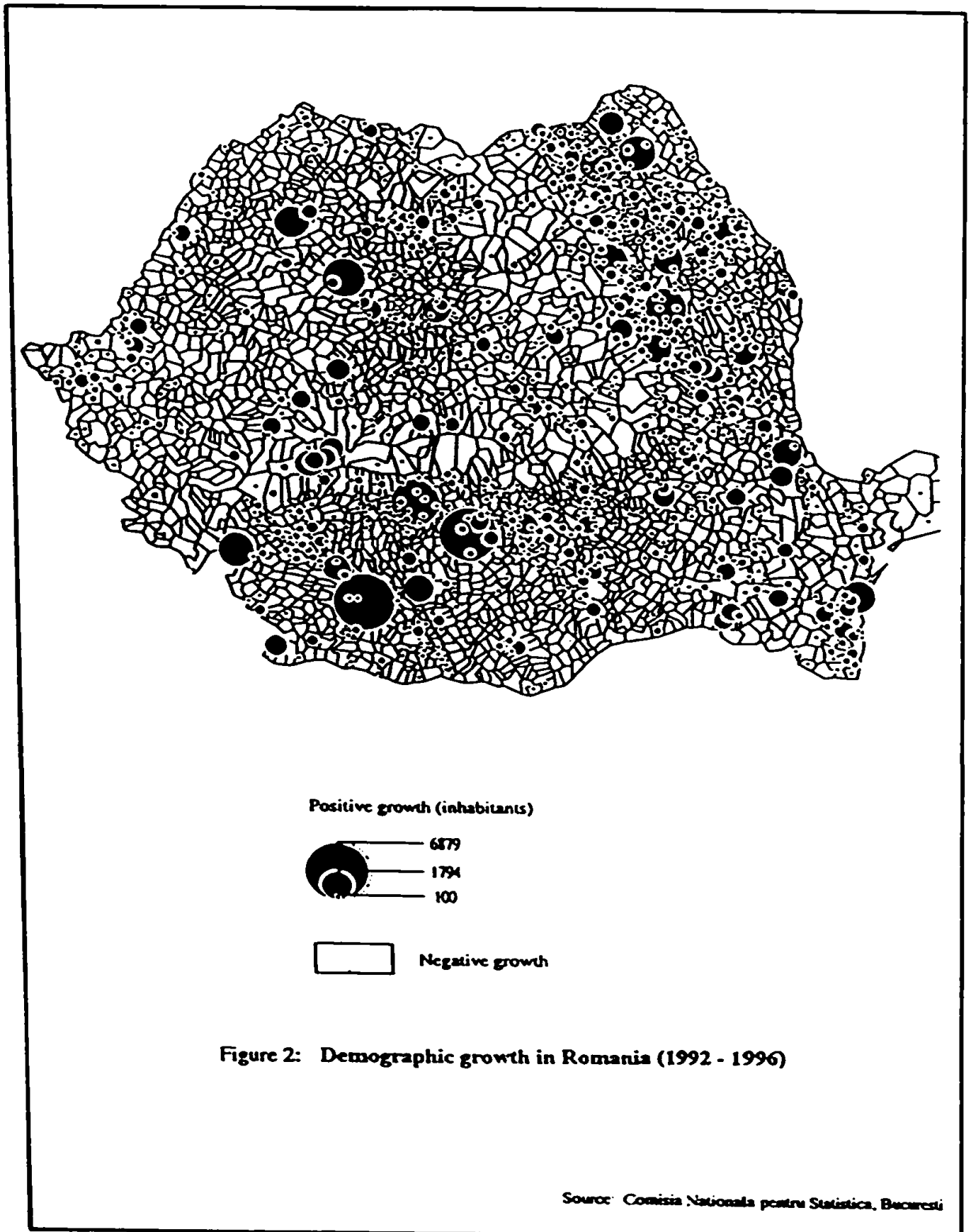


Figure 1. ROMANIA 1956-1992: REGIONAL TYPOLOGY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS



Community trajectories, defined by a combination of natural and migratory balances over a period of nearly 40 years also reflect the fundamental structures of the spatial organisation, with differences in patterns of behaviour in historical regions, ecological areas and with the effects of the introduction of a network of industrial and urban areas. Demographic transition is over in the centre and west, with gain or migratory balance in Banat but a migratory deficit in the hills of central Transylvania and most particularly in the hills of Oltenia. On the other hand, the natural growth is noticeable in the mountainous and eastern part of the country, but: with a migratory balance in the mountains and sub-Carpathian Piedmont hills; with a deficit in the isolated areas of the central Moldavian hills, in Baragan and Dobrogea. Thus with the exception of Mounts Apuseni and Retezat, the mountainous areas in the north and the hills have kept stable demographic systems which have suffered less damage as a result of rural exodus than the lower hills and plains, especially in isolated areas. If the return to the village becomes a consolidated feature, the latter areas may experience the most decisive injection of a population with an urban mentality able to modify traditional territorial mechanisms.

3. Other studies focusing on socio-economic structures and village infrastructures in Moldavia from a developmental viewpoint have also revealed the superficial character of the attempts by the communist regime to make a uniform social system, while the local behaviour patterns of the people involved are still in keeping with two factors. In the long-term, time has instilled conservative attitudes, while at present, time has centred on continuous self determination practised by individuals in a changing environment (GROZA/MUNTELE 1997).

These empirical and systematic analysis give shape to the deep structures of the territory, and based on them it is possible to try to forecast the speed and type of change likely to occur in the near future.

3.2 Giving priority to local development a possible basis of regional development

Having noted that the socialist system failed in its attempt to short-circuit regional construction by directly establishing all sorts of interdependencies on a national scale, let us consider that it is on a local community level that the first step towards regional development will be taken. That is where endogenous forces exist and should be set in motion in order to build a complex socio-economic fabric around which a dynamic regional differentiation will be organised.

The micro-scale combines two types of temporality, long lasting due to inhabited areas and short-lived in terms of present actions, and was the scale of resistance and survival during the communist period. It has persisted since 1990, but with definite potential qualitative changes; partial proof of which has already been provided by farmers who have had to face up to the invention of post-socialist agricultural methods (HIRSCHHAUSEN, VON 1997). The return to villages by populations accustomed to more rigorous and organised work is also likely to reduce the

resistance and ancestral conservatism of rural populations, which form 45 % of the total population. Small towns, which, for a long time, were reduced to the role of relay stations in the transfer of orders from the central administration, are now rediscovering their real dimension as local tertiary centres. Until now this function was placed in regional administrative centres, and the small towns are now being called upon to play an active part in the building of sub-regional centres. The liberalisation of tertiary professions—doctors, lawyers and legislation offering financial incentives to teachers to settle in villages and small towns are other vectors favouring the emergence of local elites potentially able to reinvigorate projects peculiar to the local communities they are a part of (the “transactional projects” defined by RAFFESTIN 1986, in GROZA 1994). In this perspective we can take up again the theory advanced by HAGERSTRANDT in 1952 on the relation between innovations and space, in order to explore the possible areas of innovation and those resisting spreading.

Despite the close attention paid to the range of local protagonists one should not ignore those national, or even transnational protagonists, who work in tune with the rest of the world. However for the time being they are only active in a few major towns and cities, and it is still not certain whether these will stay the same in the future.

Work on connecting the regional level to the national and local levels will be long and exacting. In these conditions it is essential to think of regional development as construction in synchrony with a fabric of horizontal relations on individual and community levels against a background of socio economic and politically institutionalised relations upwardly moving. This institutionalisation can be expressed

first in the pragmatic definition of regional divisions conceived of to think out the direction development will take. Such a strategy which will probably be unable to avoid strong regional discrepancies to begin with, is possibly the only one to forge multiple horizontal links, which would act as the basis of complex national territorial construction. The other, national, dimension of the stake rests on the ability of the regions affected by international migratory flows to contribute to a redistribution of their richness and skills on a nationwide scale. The regional stake to be built is at the junction between the endogenous and the local as well as the exogenous and the international protagonists.

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DAVID TURNOCK

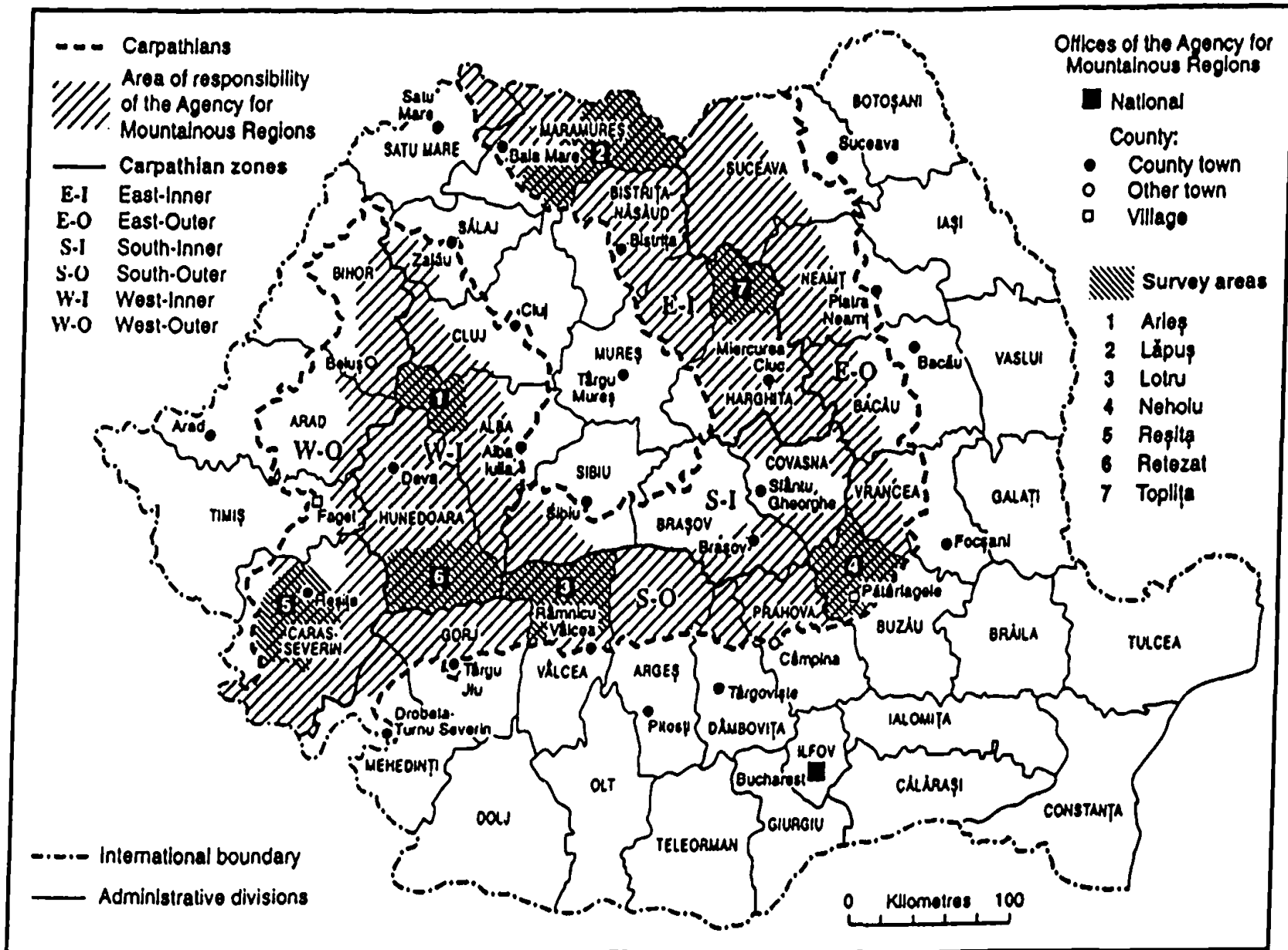
Human resources for regional development in the Romanian Carpathians

Since the revolution Romania's population has effectively ceased to grow. The abandonment of coercive measures to stimulate reproduction has revealed the full significance of the demographic transition process and the positive rates of natural increase that persisted for a few years after 1989 have been cancelled out by emigration (PRISACARU, C./PRISACARU, C. 1993). The rural population registered natural decrease from 1991 and the urban population from 1995. Total population in 1995 was almost back to the level of 1984. The transfer from rural to urban areas continues but at a much slower rate than before. Whereas the estimated annual rate of inferred migration into the towns for 1984 to 1988 was 8.4 ‰, it was only 1.8 ‰ from 1993 to 1995. It should be noted that the years from 1989 - 1992 show highly variable trends due to the legalising of transfers made earlier - which left many people officially domiciled in the countryside - and the adjustment of annual estimates to fall into line with the 1992 census results (BOLOHAN-ZAMFIRESCU, A./TEODORESCU, V. 1996 b). The converse of this picture was a reduction of net migration from the villages, averaging 9.5 ‰ per annum for 1984 - 8 to 3.9 ‰ for 1993 -1995. However, it seems that there is substantial movement in both directions between town and country. On average 115,000 people per year left the towns each year between 1990 and 1994 while 255,000 left the villages; a balance of 140,000 in favour of the towns but with net out-migration declining steadily from 521.4 thousands in 1990 to 32.4 in 1994, in response to downsizing in many urban-based industrial enterprises. Thus the demographic situation is now relatively stable, with a rural share of 45.1 % in 1995 compared with 45.7 % in 1990. But this does not mean that the rural economy is strong. In spite of land restitution and a return to peasant proprietorship, production has declined and stability is based on coping strategies which emphasise the subsistence value of small farms.

1. The Carpathians

When considered along with the marginal areas straddling the contact, the Carpathian zone comprises 40.1 % of the country by area (95,590 km²) and 31.8 % of the population (7.25 million at the 1992 census) (Fig. 1). It comprises a distinct economic and cultural zone, in view of continuity of occupation and a strong pastoral tradition allied with mining and processing industries (food and timber) and more diversified manufacturing profiles in large cities like Brasov and Cluj-Napoca. Other distinctive cultural characteristics have been profiled by Romanian geographers (GIURCA-NEANU, C. 1988; SURD, V. 1988) and today they constitute a valuable, though fragile, resource for tourism that was largely undervalued during the communist era.

Figure 1: The Carpathian Region, shown in the context of the administrative counties (Source: D. Turnock 1993 p.4)



This review is based on work carried out by the author during the early 1990s in connection with a research grant from the Economic & Social Research Council and extended over recent years by further studies dealing with rural tourism and food processing (TURNOCK, D. 1997). The present aim is to consider the prospects for development in some specific rural settings in the light of the human and physical resources. Context will be provided by discussion of rural diversification by a number of Romanian and foreign specialists and recognition of this issue as one meriting financial support from EU 'Phare' programmes and the Romanian government.

Tab. 1: ROMANIAN CARPATHIANS: URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION
1966 - 1992

Re- gion	Urban					Rural				
	1966	1977	1992	%		1966	1977	1992	%	
East Inner	353652	48289	638860	6.09	8.81	584171	598122	579440	10.06	7.99
East Outer	282381	346794	462391	4.86	6.37	671497	697348	674042	11.56	9.29
South Inner	501567	716140	859784	8.63	11.85	324775	326796	285279	5.59	3.93
South Outer	374214	514987	689634	6.44	9.51	465588	476147	432667	8.01	5.96
West Inner	719614	925119	1155996	12.39	15.94	532143	500177	404956	9.16	5.58
West Outer	394179	504759	593746	6.79	8.18	605302	585237	477471	10.42	6.58
Total	2625607	3056088	4400411	45.20	60.66	3183476	3183827	2853855	54.80	39.34

Source: Anuarul Statistic. Note that figures for 1966 and 1977 have been adjusted to make allowance for rural areas subsequently declared to 1992.

The long term trend may be established with reference to the census returns of 1966, 1977 and 1992. Data is presented for the Carpathian counties grouped into three main sections: east, south and west; with each subdivided further into 'inner' (Transylvanian) side and the 'outer' side falling variously into the historic provinces of Banat / Crisana, Moldavia and Walachia. The shift in the rural-urban balance is striking with the rural population declining from 54.8 % in 1966 to 39.3 % in 1992 (Tab. 1). But the Eastern Carpathians are much less highly urbanised than the Southern and Western sections, and it is an indication of the more advanced demographic transition that rural population in the west declined by 22.42 % between 1966 and 1992 compared with 9.16 % in the south and only 0.17 % in the east (where the rural population of the Carpathian section of six counties shows an overall increase between 1966 and 1992:

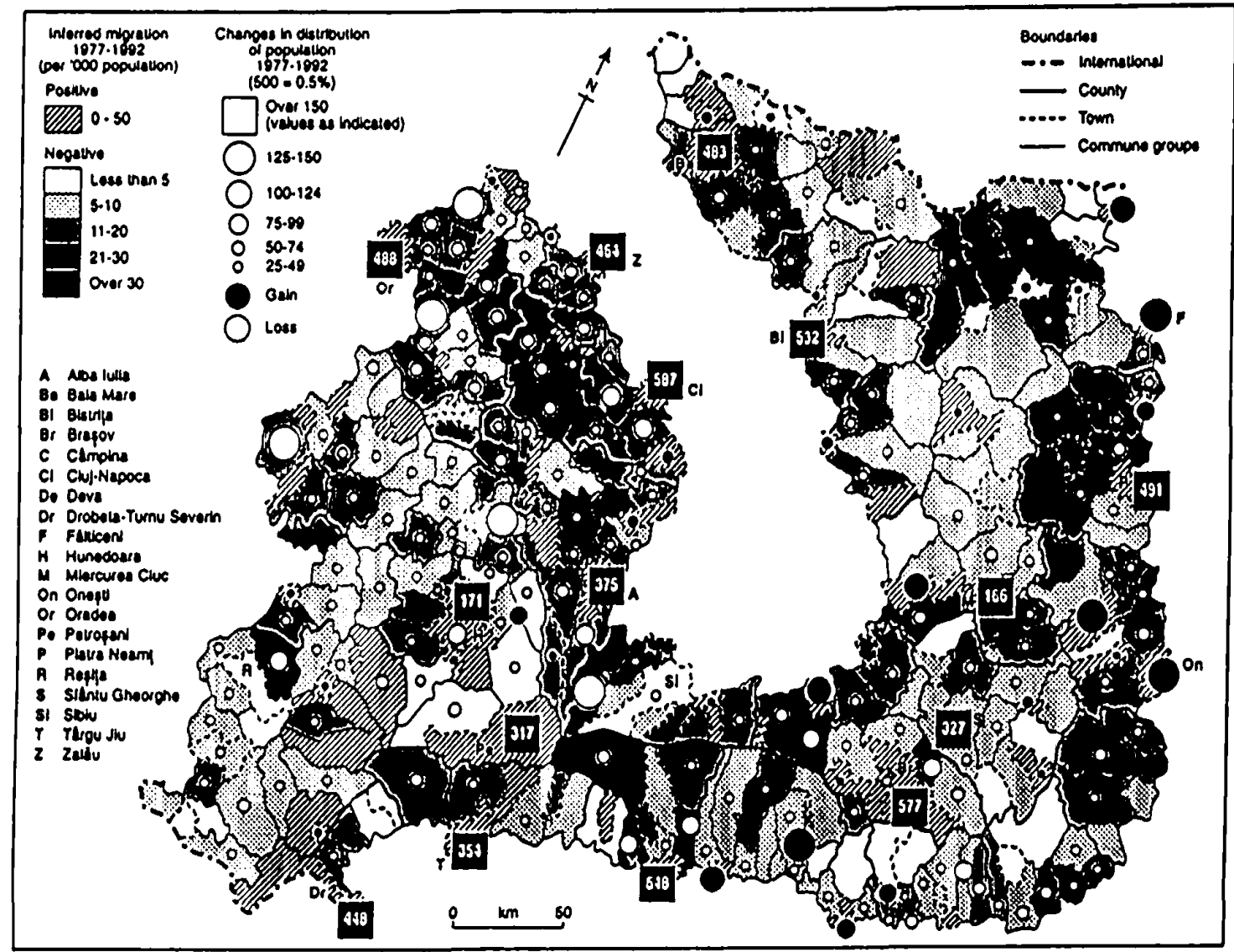
ranging from 6.71 % in Suceava and 4.51 % in Neamt to 2.95 % for Maramures, 2.78 % for Satu Mare, 1.91 % for Bacau and 0.63 % for Bistrita-Nasaud. Elsewhere, this situation arises only in Dambovita (0.98 %) and Prahova (2.87 %). These variations reflect the impact of out-migration in the context of natural increase rates which still remain positive in the east. Tab. 2 shows the changes with regard to the active population and the balance between agricultural employment. However, the changes in employment cannot be taken too literally because the 1966 figures are for principal activity whereas 1992 deals with salaried employments. The distinction is not very significant for industry and services (the latter category accounting for the difference between the sum of agricultural and industrial employment and the active population) but for agriculture the 1992 position is grossly understated since virtually all able-bodied people in the rural areas (apart from the youngest children) are active to some extent on the land in tending the family farm and salaried employment in agriculture accounts for a small part of the total effort.

**Tab. 2: ROMANIAN CARPATHIANS:
POPULATION, ACTIVE POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT 1966 - 1992**

Region	Total Population		Active Population		Employment			
	1966	1992	1966	1992	1966	1992	1966	1992
					Agric.	Industry	Agric.	Industry
East Inner	937823	1218300	501300	554806	282845	110464	125732	218687
East Outer	953878	1136433	499027	533534	267229	120699	144268	202540
South Inner	826342	1145063	440523	523921	139405	177996	40841	280265
South Outer	839802	1122301	429523	534839	177368	123569	73949	246339
West Inner	1251757	1560952	663056	720935	271881	208539	84026	325310
West Outer	999481	1071217	570049	434675	724614	137930	93651	197858
Total	5809083	7254266	3103478	3302710	1863342	879197	562467	1470999

A more detailed picture emerges from Fig. 2 which shows the changes in distribution between 1977 and 1992. Communes and towns have been grouped into (unofficial) districts to reduce the total number of statistical units. The map shows the main towns increasing their share of the total Carpathian population (a value of 500 equals 0.5 %) while the rural areas have lost ground by relatively small (but cumulatively substantial) changes.

Figure 2: Romanian Carpathians: Inferred Migration 1977-1992
(Source: D. Turnock 1997 p.35)



David Turnock

All the districts with an increased share are in the urban category where 15 have increased their share by more than 0.15 % of the Carpathian total. Such districts are distributed fairly evenly through the mountain region picking out the county centres which are the main centres of polarisation. The rural districts have all seen their share fall through low levels of natural increase compounded by net out-migration. But net migration levels cannot be accurately assessed because they are inferred from natural increase data available only at the county level. However, it is striking that the rates of inferred net out-migration are highest (over 20 ‰) in parts of the south and west; pointing again to the greater progress of the demographic transition in these areas. Coupled with the younger age structure noted above, this points to a far higher level of human resource for rural development in the east which is defined to include the northern counties of Maramures, Satu Mare and Suceava.

Migration is being directed to the county towns of Bistrita, Brasov, Cluj-Napoca and Ramnicu Valcea (which have each increased their percentage share of the total population of the Carpathians by more than one half of one percent between 1977 and 1992) and Baia Mare, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Oradea, Piatra Neamt and Zalau where the level of share increase is slightly lower. Most of the other towns show modest increases, although the departure of Germans from Resita and Sibiu has been very significant. On the domestic front migration involves not only a local movement to the nearest town or city, but longer distance transfers to the large provincial cities like Iasi and Timisoara, as well as the capital Bucharest. However, the rural areas closest to the towns tend to show relatively low rates of migration since daily commuting to work is possible and while some families have sought an apartment in town, others have valued a private plot in the village (secured through membership of the communist collective) and retain residence in the countryside to be close to restituted holdings. To be sure, such preferences will often have been influenced by long waiting lists for apartments in the communist period and today by rising unemployment and property prices. However, in the remoter areas where daily commuting to work in the larger towns is not feasible, the younger people especially have left in large numbers.

Against this background studies were made in seven sample areas across the Romanian Carpathians (TURNOCK, D. 1992) (Fig 1). It was anticipated that a range of regional situations would demonstrate, in varying degrees, the capacities for change and job creation. Fieldwork was inspired by the tradition of Romanian social survey established by the research of Dimitrie Gusti and his colleagues in the 1930s; an approach which has been commented on by several writers in recent years (KALETA, A. 1993; NIXON, P. J. 1994). In selecting areas, the primary aim was to contrast an area with a relatively high level of population nucleation - the Lapus area of the north, comprising some of the valleys and depressions of Maramures (IACOB, G. 1991 a) - with two other areas of highly fragmented settlement. These are the western region of Aries in the Apuseni Mountains, with many high-level hamlet settlements (SURD, V. 1992), and Nehoiu in the southeast (the Buzau-Vrancea Subcarpathians) with unstable hillslopes scarred by landslides (MUICA, N./TURNOCK, D. 1994). The selection also extended to the western county of Caras-Severin where there is a long-established heavy industrial tradition based on the city of Resita.

This means that there was well-established commuting patterns as well as serious pollution problems which also affect other regions to some extent (SERBAN, R. et al. 1993). Then, in the south there are distinctive elements in the economy through the potential for tourism in the Lotru area that has been opened up by road building (initially to support the logging enterprises) and by a chain of lakes created under a programme of hydro-electrification (PLOAIE, G. 1996). At the same time, the adjacent mountain region of Retezat has until very recently constituted Romania's only national park (situated incidentally on the edge of Romania's leading coalfield of Petrosani in the Upper Jiu Valley). Thus the significance of ecological policies may be considered in this area. The survey areas were also selected to fall on either side of the pre-World War One boundary between Hungary and Romania and thereby allow consideration of contrasting historical experiences. Ethnic issues also emerge through the intermixing of Romanians with Hungarians in Aries and Lapus; as well as Toplita where the study makes contact with the earlier work of the Le Play Society (FLEURE, H. J. / PELHAM, R. A. 1936). In Resita, both Germans and Hungarians have been prominent; hence the scope for consideration of contrasting enterprises and innovation strategies. Attention was also given to country-town relations at various scales from the level of the county town (Resita), through large industrial centres (Petrosani in Retezat), smaller industrial centres (Borsa in Lapus, Brezoi in Valcea and Nehoiu), tourist centres (Baile Olanesti and Calimanesti in Valcea) and small country markets (like Borsec in Toplita, Campeni in Aries and Targu Lapus in Lapus).

Tab. 3: ROMANIAN CARPATHIAN SURVEY AREAS:
POPULATION 1986 - 1992

Survey Area	Aries	Lapus	Lotru	Nehoiu	Resita	Retezat	Toplita	Total
1986 Population								
Urban	15372	64896	26922	11900	157209	165534	20506	462359
Rural	41867	108213	58338	80509	30159	39931	30984	390001
Total	57239	173109	85260	92409	187368	205465	51510	852360
1986 Population								
Urban	15628	60734	28694	12659	142412	179254	20201	459582
Rural	38434	104449	53922	78488	26820	36031	31012	369156
Total	54062	165183	82616	91147	169232	215285	51213	828738
Change*								
Urban	+1.7	-6.4	+6.6	+6.4	-9.4	+8.3	-1.5	-0.6
Rural	-8.2	-3.5	-7.6	-2.5	-10.2	-9.8	+0.1	-5.3
Agric. Workers								
Urban	579	2071	675	337	1363	703	182	5910
Rural	9883	26671	8837	9071	3912	4753	2660	65787
Total	10462	28742	9512	9408	5275	5456	2842	71697

*Percent 1986(estimate)-1992(census).

Sources: National Statistics Commission (1986); Census (1992).

Tab. 4: ROMANIAN CARPATHIAN SURVEY AREAS: MIGRATION 1986 - 1993

Survey area	1986				1990				1991-1993 Annual Averages				
	A	B	C	E	A	B	C	E	A	B	C	D	E
Aries	606	1241	-635	-11.1	537	2164	-1627	-30.1	345	1091	-746	28.5	-13.8
Urban	319	221	+98	+6.4	319	406	-87	-5.8	220	246	-26	28.5	-1.7
Rural	287	1020	-733	-17.5	218	1758	-1540	-40.1	125	845	-720	28.5	-18.7
Lapus	1098	2323	-1225	-7.1	927	4742	-3815	-23.1	708	2625	-1917	20.2	-11.8
Urban	566	869	-303	-4.7	456	1935	-1479	-24.4	333	877	-543	19.9	-8.0
Rural	532	1454	-922	-8.5	471	2807	-2336	-22.4	375	1748	-1373	20.3	-13.1
Lotru	679	1138	-459	-6.1	911	3481	-2570	-31.1	766	1245	-479	24.3	-5.8
Urban	347	272	+75	+2.8	504	674	-170	-5.9	396	314	+82	24.7	+2.9
Rural	332	866	-534	-9.2	407	2807	-2400	-44.5	370	931	-561	24.1	-10.4
Nehoiu	345	1076	-731	-7.9	1113	4782	-3669	-40.3	875	1661	-786	27.8	-8.6
Urban	35	90	-55	-4.6	504	674	-170	-5.9	181	131	+50	24.6	+3.9
Rural	310	986	-676	-8.4	609	4108	-3499	-44.6	694	1530	-836	28.3	-10.7
Resita	2608	3751	-1143	-6.1	3006	6461	-3455	-20.4	2519	3099	-580	33.2	-3.4
Urban	2533	3432	-899	-5.7	2202	5234	-3032	-21.3	2209	2551	-342	33.4	-2.4
Rural	75	319	-244	-8.1	804	1227	-423	-15.8	310	548	-238	32.0	-8.9
Retezat	3993	3249	+744	+3.6	7776	7254	+522	+2.4	4900	4013	+887	41.5	+4.1
Urban	3765	2981	+784	+4.7	7468	6471	+997	+5.6	4596	3496	+1100	45.2	+6.1
Rural	228	268	-40	-1.0	308	783	-475	-13.2	304	517	-213	22.8	-5.9
Toplita	469	612	-143	-2.8	452	1168	-716	-14.0	327	552	-225	16.9	-4.4
Urban	216	221	-5	-0.2	248	515	-267	-13.3	154	217	-63	17.6	-3.1
Rural	253	391	-138	-4.5	204	653	-449	-14.5	173	335	-162	16.4	-5.2

A Persons moving in;

B Persons moving out;

C Migration balance;

D Turnover per thousand of the total population; E Net migration per thousand.

Source: National Commission for Statistics, Commune Files.

Data for these seven areas was collected on a commune file basis ('fisa') with the help of the appropriate county offices of the National Commission for Statistics. The population of each area declined between 1986 and 1992, although the rural population was most seriously affected: falling by 5.3 % compared with 0.6 % for the urban component (also relatively small in absolute terms, affecting only the small market centres, except in the cases of Resita and Retezat). However, although the urban decline is restricted to just three areas, there were two areas (Lapus and Toplita) where the rural areas showed a stronger performance, including a small increase in Toplita (Tab. 3). But only Lapus was still showing natural increase in 1991 - 1993: Aries, Lotru, Nehoiu and Toplita showed natural increase in 1986 and 1990, switched to decrease in 1991 - 1993. Tab. 4 summarises migration levels for 1986, 1990 and 1991 - 1993. This underlines the exceptional nature of the 1990 situation but also

reveals that while the average levels of rural out-migration for 1991 - 1993 are much lower than for 1990, they are higher than in 1986 in all cases. Out-migration was particularly heavy in much of Aries, Lapus and Nehoiu (also part of Lotru), reflecting the demographic history which has seen high rates of natural increase and relatively low rates of out-migration in the past.

However, although the situation is relatively stable (as in the Carpathians as a whole), the substantial human resources in rural areas are not generating any great surge in economic activity in the countryside. Land restitution has been extremely popular, despite its complex nature (VERDERY, K. 1994) which has led to some stresses within the villages (KIDECKEL, D. A. 1993a; 1993b) and regional variations in the rate of progress (BORDANC, F. 1995; 1996), the economic climate has not been conducive to increased output. Prices for agricultural inputs and other manufactured goods (including machinery) have grown faster than prices for agricultural output. This widening gap reduces motivation to produce for the market and stimulates a search for non-agricultural income. Domestic consumption of production is often higher on the village householder's list of priorities than is cash production, especially important in areas remote from the main markets (MUICA, C./TURNOCK, D. 1993). Production has declined and there has been a particular neglect of industrial crops, though there tends to be a greater interest in the market by farm associations which are prominent in some areas of Hungarian settlement in east Transylvania (HIRSCHHAUSEN-LECLERC, B. VON 1994; MEURS, M. 1996). There is certainly a need for better infrastructure: roads, marketing and information especially in remote areas (SURD, V. 1994). But even so there will have to be a more powerful stimulus to invest (FULEA, M. 1993; GAVRILESCU, D. 1994). Only then will the more successful farmers be interested in acquiring more land and thereby stimulate the development of a land market. Land consolidation with crop and labour specialisation is inappropriate without government support for agriculture and economic growth to generate the non-agricultural employment required if small farmers are to agree to give up their subsistence holdings; and equally if the more successful farmers are to commit themselves full-time to farming: for currently there is no incentive to leave salaried and wage employment for which the return is, in reality, higher than income derived from agriculture.

For the moment, farmers apply a strategy of risk minimisation: investment, especially in technology, is low and the return is low (KNAPPE, E./BENEDEK, J. 1995). Thus, the study of household survival strategies shows that mountain regions tend to concentrate on livestock production with the potential limited by the amount of fodder than can be produced locally (IACOB, G. 1991). Buying in animal feed would be inconceivable. Hence, the peasantry is tied to structures inherited from communism and reinforced by the difficult conditions of the transition in the sense that the limited fodder supplies delivered under the old state system (in return for production contracts) have now disappeared. All family members work in agriculture but more men than women work in industry and commerce outside the farm. Pluriactivity will be essential for small farmers because until they can be confident of reaching the market and gaining an acceptable return, they will diversify both labour resources and outlets and

continue to operate on a relatively low level of productivity (INCE, 1994). This is especially the case in the Subcarpathians the fragmented terrain and the variety of land uses curtails the possibility of cultivation of land by an association (just as it frustration to development of cooperatives in the communist period).

At the same time, many families are hard-pressed to supplement the proceeds from farming with regular income from other occupations (FLORIAN, V./SARBU, A. 1993). The state sector (covering extractive industries and processing of locally generated primary produce along with repair and handicraft activities) has been privatised and restructured only slowly (TALANGA, C. 1995). Meanwhile, the expanding private sector remains small because central planning offered little scope for enterprise and now there is little spending power to support small businesses and bank loans are expensive. There is some agricultural contracting (noted above) and an increase in the provision of shops, bars and restaurants, supported by modest increases in farm incomes (IANOS, I. 1996). Water mills have been refurbished because they offer a base for the small-scale manufacturer and require only limited capital investment. But there has been only limited foreign investment in rural areas, and it has often arisen through emigre links with particular villages. Up to the middle of 1993, 10,740,000 US \$ were spread over some 200 projects in 191 separate locations, which works out at 1.03 US \$ per rural inhabitant. But the size distribution is highly uneven for the ten largest projects account for 8,020,000 US \$ (74.7 %). And the impact is also uneven geographically with 5,950,000 US \$ falling to the Bucharest area (Ilfov) and two adjacent counties (Dambovita and Prahova). It tends to be that section of the countryside that has undergone profound changes through local industrialisation and urbanisation that provides most scope for multiple activities; reinstated in areas of collectivisation (where people were forced into wage labour) by the restoration of private property, or reinforced in areas where individual farming persisted during socialism. But in the deep countryside relative isolation often works against economic diversification even where there has been continuity in individual farming (TURNOCK, D. 1991).

2. Towards a typology and rural plan

Here discussion moves from the overview to the contrasts between the seven data collection areas for which 27 indicators have been arranged into three groups headed population, economy and infrastructure. Tab. 5 provides the basic data (as abstracted from the commune files or census volumes) and Tab. 6 attempts a synthesis through the identification of clusters of low (-), average (.) and high (+) values. Sharply contrasting situations emerge. Retezat and Toplita have strong economies, relatively strong demographic profiles and good infrastructure. Aries and Nehoiu have weak economies with demographic distortions and poor infrastructure. Lotru emerges in an intermediate position. There are inconsistencies in the cases of Lapus and Resita. The former shows strength in demography, yet an indifferent economy (it has industrial salaries yet limited production) and very poor infrastructure (apart from the nucleated

settlement); Resita has a very good infrastructure but a weak economy and a poor demographic profile. The anomalies arise through the seasonal migrations of people from Lapus (especially the younger men) and the recent collapse of the Resita heavy industrial base after two centuries of growth.

Tab. 5: ROMANIAN CARPATHIAN SURVEY AREAS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES	ARS	LAP	LOT	NEH	RES	RET	TOP
POPULATION							
Natural Change p. t.t.p. (6)	-0.3	6.2	-0.6	-1.5	-8.8	-8.0	-0.2
Female p.t.p. (10)	50.6	50.1	49.3	51.2	51.3	49.7	49.3
Female percent of farm workers (10)	68.7	57.3	61.2	45.8	65.7	65.1	59.2
Average Family Size (persons) (10)	3.42	3.65	3.05	2.86	3.24	3.30	2.96
Students p.t.t.p. (3)	115	153	113	114	172	87	139
Nursery Places p.t.t.p (3)	32	44	37	32	114	29	46
Permanent Migration p.t.t.p (7)	-18.7	-13.1	-10.4	-12.8	-8.5	-5.4	-5.4
Temporary Migration(a) (8)	94	97	96	91	100	98	99
Pensioners p.t.p. (10)	14.1	10.8	14.7	19.4	22.3	21.6	18.2
ECONOMY							
Active Pop. in Agriculture p.t.p (10)	48.5	54.7	37.9	31.1	39.4	30.9	20.4
Percent Active Pop. w/o Occupation (10)	4.5	10.1	7.6	13.4	11.2	8.1	11.9
Industrial Production t.l.p.c. (5)	13	2	7	15	6	31	34
Salaries in Industry p.t.t.p (3)	66	26	59	55	36	77	111
Land Units p.t.t.p (2)	338	387	483	478	1510	870	527
Cereals h.t.a.u. (9)	252	291	305	193	298	487	150
Fruit Production t.t.a.u (9)	309	107	428	705	112	98	61
Animal Units per One Land Unit (4)	2.17	1.32	1.57	1.38	0.53	1.16	1.30
Animal Units Percent Change (1)	29.8	20.0	2.0	21.5	27.3	32.6	17.7
INFRASTRUCTURE							
Density p.s.k. (10)	36	51	26	40	23	20	32
Perimeter Density h.t.t.p. (3)	10.0	10.1	10.1	10.4	11.8	14.8	12.2
11.8	124	1487	504	390	766	357	969
Living Space c.m.p.c. (10)	10.0	9.7	11.0	11.9	14.4	11.9	12.2
Salaries p.t.t.p (3)	109	67	121	111	126	182	175
Active Population p.t.p. (10)	53.0	46.4	46.0	36.9	37.0	42.9	41.9
State Housing percent total stock	2.0	1.6	1.6	2.4	10.7	9.4	5.4
TV Licence p.t.t.p. (3)	28	36	96	93	103	122	106
Commercial Units p.t.t.p. (3)	4.1	2.4	5.2	4.2	4.4	4.6	3.9
h.t.a.u. hectares per thousand arable land units c.m.p.c. cubic meters per capita h.t.t.p hectares per thousand of the total population p.s.k. per square kilometer (a) Population present as a percentage of the official residents. Commune Data from County Offices of the National Statistics Commission : (1)1986-1992; (2)1990; (3)1990/1991; (4)1990-1992; (5)1991; (6)1991-1993; (7)1991-1994; (8)1992; (9)1993. (10)1992 Census (11)Administrative Handbook				p.t.p. percentage of the total population p.t.t.p per thousand of the total population t.l.p.c. thousand lei per capita t.t.a.u. tonnes per thousand arable land units			

**Tab. 6: ROMANIAN CARPATHIAN SURVEY AREAS: SYNTHESIS
ARIES, LAPUS, LOTRU, NEHOIU, RESITA, RETEZAT, TOPLITA**

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES	ARS	LAP	LOT	NEH	RES	RET	TOP
POPULATION							
Natural Increase	.	+	.	.	-	-	.
Female Population*	-	.	+	-	-	+	+
Female Farm Labour*	-	.	.	+	-	-	.
Average Family Size	+	+	-	-	.	.	-
Students	.	+	.	.	+	-	+
Nursery Places	-	.	-	-	+	-	.
Migration: Permanent *	-	+	+
Migration: Temporary*	-	.	.	-	+	+	+
Pensioners*	+	+	+	.	-	-	.
ECONOMY							
Non-Agricultural Employment	-	-	+
Unemployment*	+	.	.	-	-	.	-
Industrial Output Value	.	-	-	.	-	+	+
Industry: Salaried Workers	.	+	.	.	-	.	+
Population: Land Ratio	-	-	.	.	+	+	.
Cereal Area	.	.	.	-	.	+	-
Fruit Production	+	-	.	+	-	-	-
Livestock Density	+	.	+	.	-	.	.
Livestock Reduction*	-	.	+	.	-	-	.
INFRASTRUCTURE							
Population Density	.	+	-	.	-	-	.
Ditto: Built-Up Area	-	-	-	.	+	.	.
Settlement Nucleation	-	+	.	-	+	-	+
Living Space Per Capita	-	-	.	+	+	+	+
Active Population	+	.	.	-	-	.	.
Population with Salaries	.	-	.	.	.	+	+
State-Owned Housing Stock	-	-	-	-	+	+	.
Television Licence	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Commercial / Service Units	.	-	+	.	.	+	.

* For criteria thus marked higher values are rated as less desirable.

All areas need more employment in the villages, but especially Aries, Lapus, Nehoiu and Lotru. Toplita shows up relatively strongly while in Resita and Retezat there well-established commuting and migration patterns involving the large towns where much of the job creation might appropriately be concentrated. Lapus is a particular area of need in view of the favourable demographic situation and the current dependence on a range of seasonal employments outside the district. Recent studies have indicated the scale of the labour resources available in the area (POP, G. P./MAIER, A. 1990) and in such comparable northern areas as Oas (SURD, V./GARBOAN, I. 1990). High levels of out-migration might start to undermine the present healthy age structure in a way that

has recently been experienced in Aries. Infrastructure also needs improvement in all areas, but especially in Aries where there are so many small villages where communication is difficult. However, there are also problems in Nehoiu where outlying hill settlements are difficult to reach with motor vehicles, and in Lapus where the large nucleated villages are still deficient in terms of water and energy. Standards need to be laid down as yardsticks for improving housing conditions; also for providing power supplies and road access for outlying settlements. In the following discussion particular attention will be paid to Aries and Lapus which emerge with particularly weak economies and infrastructures yet considerable demographic strength (in Lapus especially).

Although there should be some official response to these inequalities, there is little money and no clear consensus over priorities. Rural issues ceased to be a paramount concern once the peasantry has been effectively neutralised as a political force by land restitution (KIDECKEL, D. A. 1992). The large urban-based state-owned enterprises have made the first call on the government's purse. And across Eastern Europe the stirrings of interest over intervention to deal with specific regional problems suggest an urban bias in terms of environmental problems, town planning policies and expansion of the tertiary sector. But a new centre-right coalition government, headed by Victor Ciorbea of the National Peasant (Christian Democrat) Party, emerged out of the November 1996 parliamentary election. Its macrostabilisation programme seeks local and regional development, with an emphasis on the improvement of infrastructure and non-agricultural employment in the villages. It wishes to accelerate the development of a middle class in rural localities by encouraging the emergence and development of small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs) for services and small-scale production in agriculture and the food industry. Tourism is to be treated more seriously as an indirect export activity and expansion will be encouraged through national, regional and local programmes.

There is certainly a need for investment to modernise mountain farms and overcome the imbalance arising from the tendency for governments to concentrate their attention on the former state farms, which are now being privatised. Better buildings and machines could lead to major savings in labour and achieve greater efficiency in the livestock sector in terms of both meat and dairy produce (TURNOCK, D. 1993). Any rural programme will also hinge on the quality of the infrastructure, including transport and communications, marketing and services. Certainly, a big improvement in distribution is needed, including better links with the food processors and an improved technical base for an ecologically sustainable agriculture; as discussed in the economic press (PARPALA, O. 1993). A stronger market might also strengthen the provision of agricultural services. There are some private tractor owners and some private suppliers of fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides have emerged, but the business is dominated by the Agromecs (the former state machine-tractor stations) and the old state enterprises dealing in fertilisers.

But it is argued that on economic grounds government intervention in agriculture should be resisted, despite the temptations arising from the recent history of central planning and the elaborate arrangements for agriculture in the EU (TURNOCK, D.

1995). For agriculture's problems are not unique and financial assistance should be arranged through banks, with governments remaining at arm's length. So rural sector recovery can only be led by urban demand, with food prices and farm incomes increasing to the point where investment in agriculture once again becomes possible. This would then increase farm incomes and support rural businesses. Regional variations might emerge more strongly, with greater market orientation in Transylvania; perhaps with variations in strategies between the ethnic groups. This must be linked with EU issues, for rural areas of Romania cannot be divorced from trends occurring in Europe as a whole. Food production has been complicated not only by domestic upheavals but by the collapse of the FSU and competition from imported food linked with tariff reforms that anticipate eventual EU membership. Romania and other East European countries may have to abandon expectations of producing more and more food. Although support through the EU 'Phare' programme is still linked with the classic production philosophy of the Common Agricultural Policy, thinking within the European Commission is veering towards a change of policy which will mean lower levels of support for agriculture in future. This could be beneficial to Eastern Europe in reducing the flow of food (at subsidised prices) into the region at the expense of domestic producers. Over the longer term it would reduce the cost of EU membership and improve Eastern Europe's chances of competing in food production through lower labour costs.

The EU dimension also emphasises the importance of continuing structural change to increase efficiency. Diversified peasant farms might, in theory, evolve into kinship or neighbourhood groups with joint investment programmes. Associations might develop into farm companies and large 'nomenklatura' farms may expand from a base in the present state farms through land purchase (once the distribution of definitive titles is completed) and access to loans at preferential rates. It is certainly difficult to see how investment in private agriculture can be undertaken in any context other than that of a rural land market to bring about, at the very least, the emergence of viable family farms in the 20 - 40 ha range, with capital intensive production technologies. When this happens, much of the present farming population will need to transfer to the secondary and tertiary sectors, as the younger members of peasant households are seeking to do at present (PASCARU, A. 1996). The potential unemployment arising from such consolidation has been estimated at 2,500,000 in five to ten years' time (ION-TUDOR, C. 1996). Hence the importance of new jobs in both services and manufacturing. There is not much foreign investment in industries in small towns (TALANGA, C. 1995), but there is scope for indigenous industry: food processing (with the possibility of quality production e.g. plum brandy); textiles, with export possibilities arising from new equipment to deliver quality at a competitive price; furniture, again if there is the advantage of new technology to improve finish; and other branches of wood processing given the export markets for aesthetic veneers and plywoods. In some parts of Romania, local industries of this kind are already well developed e.g. Margineni Sibiului where the key villages have units concerned with textiles and leather, or food and wood processing (IRIMIE et al. 1985). But in most

mountain areas such enterprise is not common beyond the workshop level and new enterprise will have to be encouraged.

3. The central place system, rural diversification and sustainability

In contrast to a transformation by industry under communism, the future will be more concerned with a 'tertiarizare' of urban profiles through the growth of local service networks. State/cooperative management of services "did much to discourage the local labour force who chose to commute to neighbouring towns" (IANOS, I. 1995, p.10): hence there was stagnation and population decrease. But there is a need for viable production and marketing structures (MEZEI, E. 1996) and it is significant that a reconstruction of distribution through specialised markets is being supported by EU 'Phare'. Developments like the Bucharest Wholesale Market could be linked with local collecting centres. Better services and information networks will be needed, including agricultural expertise which could be made available at the small town level and ensure better coordination of private and state farm activity, for the latter have an important role as agents of modernisation. Local government services are being extended, and SME advisers are being trained through the ROM-UN Centre for consultants. There is similar provision for banking personnel through a unit set up in 1992 to implement the EU 'Phare' SME programme. Several other projects deal with business training (some of them connected with the UK Know-How Fund and USAID) in addition to activities of Romanian Chambers of Commerce & Industry and the International Centre for Entrepreneurial Studies, which has connections with the US Chamber of Commerce. World Bank projects are also under way, through 'Private Farming & Enterprise Support' to encourage private sector development in rural areas, not only through increased agricultural output and efficiency but additional non-agricultural employment and improved living standards as well.

The central place system remains underdeveloped with the East European phenomenon of 'underurbanisation' only too apparent through the inadequate network of small towns which, in the present situation, are needed as centres of information for rural enterprise (TURNOCK, D. 1996). IANOS, I./TALANGA, C. (1994) propose not only some dispersal of Bucharest's functions through growth of major commercial centres, but an increase in small towns where there are gaps in the system. Some small towns are well integrated with large cities, but most are isolated within the rural network and their main role is to "transmit the urban characteristics from the big cities to the rural areas" (Ibid, p.342). Many villages are developing a mixed profile through the collection of local raw materials, the supply of agro-alimentary products to larger centres on the basis of reciprocity and providing local services: Carpathian examples include Ghimbav (Brasov) and Patarlagele (Buzau) (IANOS, I. 1994, p. 57). These settlements are often associated with historic 'lands' which currently lack an urban centre (SURD, V. 1991). County plans drawn up immediately after the revolution indicated the potential with proposed local centres (currently villages) for Bihor county at Popesti, Sambata, Tinca and Vadu Crisului to provide the base of the urban

hierarchy. In adjacent counties which include parts of the Western Carpathians there could be the potential for urban status at Albac and Baia de Aries (Alba) and Gilau and Poieni (Cluj). In the Lapus area a town is needed in the Iza valley, perhaps at Rozavlea, while elsewhere in Maramures county Ocna Sugatag has potential through its centrality and its significant tourist industry.

These places were highlighted under 'sistematzare' when planners envisaged the total demise of smaller settlements. But now there is no reason why a more modest degree of consolidation should not sustain both district urban centres and outlying villages, especially in the light of the demographic resources of Maramures. Such development will tie in with the provision of improved services, such as district health centres, and plans for spatially-dispersed employment generation. Meanwhile, there are proposals for an overhaul of transport to secure greater efficiency. Investments, based on economic criteria, will concentrate on priority axes and will complement the progress being made by Romtelecom in laying 1,800 km of optical fibre cable (by the end of 1995) to link the main cities, with small towns and rural areas integrated through digital systems developing around them. Thus, in spatial terms the modification of the settlement pattern, to create additional local markets, could be a significant element in a scenario for change, although the towns would be backed by the traditional rural settlement system rather than the greatly attenuated structure envisaged under communist planning.

Such an extended urban network would help to sustain the alternative approach of diversification in the rural areas in the Carpathians (IACOB, G. 1995). The small farm base is socially fundamental; so diversification may offer a way forward in Romania and in other mountain regions of post-communist Central Europe (VELCEA, I. 1996). Tourism is seen as offering significant potential in the mountains (CIANGA, N. 1991; TALABA, I. 1991). Of course, there is a need for a modern infrastructure for the successful promotion of areas like Bucovina as 'Mica Elvetie' (USCATU, 1992), but international mountain tourism could eventually make a significant impact in areas around Suceava like Dorna-Rarau and Campulung Moldovenesc. The economic press has made much of the potential for farm-based community tourism (RUSU-GRIGORE, M. 1993) based on the charm of Romanian villages (STOICA, G. 1990). Various localities have been described (ISTRATE, I./BUHU, I. 1990), with particular attention to the Eastern Carpathians and several constituent areas. Other key areas are the Bran-Rucar corridor (ATANASESCU, R. 1993; OLTEANU, I. et al. 1994), the Prahova valley (CURELEA, C. 1993) and Valcea (WALKER, S. et al. 1995). Although there was considerable emphasis on tourism in the socialist period, the rural component was rarely discussed because it involved individual peasant entrepreneurship on a scale unacceptable to the communist regime. There was however some academic debate of the value of scenic and cultural resources in areas like Margineni Sibiului (IRIMIE, C. et al. 1985), with implications for rural development throughout the mountain zone.

The ecological factor may also exert an influence on future policy, for mountain areas are experiencing some undesirable landscape changes (VELCEA, V. et al. 1993). In some other areas, like Baia Mare and Zlatna, a pollution clean-up is almost a

precondition (IACOB, G. 1991b) and national park management systems are needed to cope with heavy visitor pressure which could increase with an improved transport system, including the proposed Olt Valley motorway and rail link. Effective controls are also needed to regulate potentially harmful hydropower schemes like those proposed for the upper Dambovita. Moreover, sustainable development has implications in terms of a 'green' agriculture, so a future conservation programme to reduce erosion could be tilted in favour of forestry and tourism, with cropping and stocking at today's reduced levels of intensification (MUICA, C./ZAVOIANU, I. 1996). Quality products from organic farming could be handled by an enlarged processing sector that could itself create more jobs in rural areas (MUICA, C./TURNOCK, D. 1996; OTIMAN, P. I. 1994). Diversification has also been suggested through small woodcutting enterprises (MICU, R. R. 1992), appropriate in the context of both the large state-owned forests and the small woodland units returned to former owners under a modest programme of restitution (with one hectare as the maximum). There might also be more foreign investment in rural industry, perhaps through light engineering linked with the semi-derelict machine-tractor stations.

Thinking along these lines was evident in the early days of the transition when the Agriculture Ministry has set up a Commission for Mountainous Regions with a policy remit to disseminate the principles of 'mountainology' through education and publicity (TURNOCK, D. 1994). This followed the thinking of REY, R. and other professional people who were aware of trends in Alpine regions and outlined their views, even during the communist era, as an alternative to the more uncompromising consolidation envisaged under the prevailing 'sistemizare' policy (REY, R. 1979; 1985). However, western notions of 'mountainology' took a firm hold after 1989 and the efforts of the Commission (reorganised as the Agency in 1992) have been complemented by the planning profession in Bucharest which is looking at physical planning for rural areas with reference to tourism, agricultural development (e.g. irrigation), control of erosion (gullying) and expansion of the market system. But resources are lacking and REY's success in the creation of an official body for mountain regions has not yet been blessed by sufficient funding for comprehensive modernisation. Despite the impressive elaboration of the mountainology agenda in the newspaper "Viata Muntilor", funding remains limited (ANTONESCU, A. 1993). However, some progress towards sustainable development is being made in the mountain zone (POPESCU, C./BALTEANU, D. 1996) and the Commission (reconstituted as the Agency in 1992) has supported a number of important initiatives like the Training & Innovation Centre for Development in the Carpathians at Vatra Dornei, the Foundation for Agriculture & Food Economics at Reghin and a Mountain Farmers' Association in the Dorna Depression.

The Agency has also become involved in international projects (DEROUNIAN, J. 1995). After joining the 'Euromontana' organisation in 1991, Romania has contributed to the 'European Charter of Mountain Regions' (through the Council of Europe) incorporating principles of sustainability and in 1995 a 'Strategy for the Development of the Mountain Zone' was launched. It led on the following year to the first 'Phare' programme for mountain agriculture with total financial resources of 950,000 ECU.

Meanwhile, at a time of financial stringency, there is an important external dimension through the broader 'Phare' project for 'Development of the European Carpathian Regions', extending to Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine. This initiative supports local democracy and civil society through citizen participation, education and conflict prevention; increasing cross-border activity (with special projects for cross-border arrangements) and cooperation between NGOs, business communities and local government through progressive models of regional development. In Romania projects are being supported in the areas of Iasi, Miercurea Ciuc (Harghita), Oradea (Bihor), Piatra Neamt (Neamt), Satu Mare, Sfantu Gheorghe (Covasna) and Sighet (Maramures).

Under the umbrella of this wide-ranging initiative for the mountain zone, there are good prospects for rural tourism (ISTRATE, I./BRAN, F. 1995; MITRACHE, S. et al. 1996). In a review of the contrasts with communism's 'sistemizare' that may emerge under the transition, MISIAK, W. (1993) refers to the importance of recreation and the growth second homes now that it is legally possible for people to own more than one house. Houses falling empty through the migration of country people to the towns (or abroad in the case of Germans and Hungarians) have been purchased by affluent families from the cities: Bucharest in the case of the Prahova district and Timisoara for the Banat Mountains. And as regards short-stay holidaymakers, a dramatic decline in mountain tourism 1990-1992, with rising prices and falling standards, forced the Ministry of Tourism to contemplate rebuilding the industry with greater emphasis on rural tourism. A short-lived initiative taken by the Ministry in 1973 (when a number of 'tourist villages' were designated) was revived and criteria drawn up for a new initiative in 1992 (SIMON, T. 1994). Legislation followed in 1994-1995 to simplify procedures for starting tourist businesses, to offer tax concessions and provide a grading system for 'agrotourist farms'. Cooperation between the Agency and the Ministry was extended through the creation of an NGO: 'Asociatia Nationala pentru Turism Rural Ecologic si Cultural' (ANTREC) which provides support over promotion, marketing and reservations, explores practical problems with the Ministry and organises special cultural, gastronomic and sporting events. Foreign expertise is being introduced through the Bruxelles-based 'Operation Villages Roumains' (OVR) which was originally created to oppose 'sistemizare' but is now supporting a range of rural projects in Romania including pilot projects for the development of rural tourism in nine counties in northern Transylvania (MOLDOVAN, F./MOLDOVAN, V. 1995).

There is also an important contribution of finance and know-how from 'Phare' which is working with ANTREC over promotion and marketing (with reservations through regional folders and catalogues which are to be evaluated at the end of 1997) and also with OVR in respect of the pilot programme concerned with facilities in the villages. 'Phare' have also introduced a programme to develop human resources with a view to decentralisation and privatisation; also to activate local government and NGOs. A tourism promotion agency is to try and rekindle interest in several European countries (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia and UK) previously active in promoting holidays in Romania. Although the potential is not unlimited, even in areas with the best scenic and cultural resources, good infrastructure and a high level of commitment

to tourism on the part of rural communities, there is a basis for stronger pluriactivity strategies and the creation of some full-time jobs in rural tourism if travel agencies, local tour companies and handicraft workshops can expand. The indigenous development of local industries and handicrafts has been significant where there are few capital demands e.g. when small water-powered mills can be refurbished by local craftsmen (as already noted). And in these respects there is a degree of continuity arising through the flexibility shown by some local authorities prior to the revolution.

Meanwhile, several area programmes have emerged within the Romanian Carpathians and two of them are relevant to the districts investigated in this paper. Some of the 'Phare' money will be used in part to finance a special programme for integrated development in the Apuseni Mountains, including the Aries survey area. In this area the local inhabitants will be given back rights dating back to before World War II that were annulled by the communists. Using identity cards issued by the state silvicultural enterprise 'Romsilva', people deriving income from wood processing will receive 10 m³ of wood per person (minimum 15 m³ per family); also exemption from tax will be allowed when the wood products are sold and a 50 % reduction on rail fares will be available when the goods are transported. Newly-weds can buy 25 m³ of timber for construction at half the normal price. In the Apuseni efforts are being made to expand rural tourism in the Dragan Valley (Cluj county) and also in the upper Aries valley (Alba county) where 'Phare' is supporting the OVR pilot projects at Albac, Arieseni, Garda de Sus and Scarisoara. Meanwhile, in Maramures G. IACOB, (1994; 1995) has already made proposals for local development in the context of the market economy. He includes programmes initiated before the revolution: for example, further mineral prospecting east of Borsa and the extension of the railway to mining complexes in the Burcoia area. This seems problematic in view of the low quality of much of the ore and the likely pollution hazards. But, less controversially, he also mentions the need to improve pastures through the application of fertilisers; renew woodlands by mixing species to reduce windblow damage; and to extend nature reserves. Small hydro-electric schemes have been suggested for the secondary valleys of Baicu, Ieud, Novat, Runc, Ruscova and Sieu: in the case of the Mara there would be diversion of water southwards through a tunnel to augment supplies to Baia Mare (HAIDU, I. 1991).

Further elements in the plan are concerned with tourism which would expand on the basis of the scenery (transformed in some instances by reservoirs), historic buildings (notably the wooden churches), ethnography and local industries such as ceramics. An increase in the number of mountain resorts (Costiui, Izvorul Izei, Runc-Sapanta and Valea Vinului) is anticipated, along with more mountain chalets, backed up by extensions to the road network. Now, elements of this strategy are being included in a programme of integrated regional reconstruction, with particular emphasis on tourism and other SMEs. Activity is based on the Maramures prefecture (particularly the agriculture and settlement planning sections) in collaboration with a local 'Phare' programme and the SME Development Centre. Villages are to be developed through an infrastructure plan which includes the introduction of gas heating. And a programme to increase incomes from rural tourism is being extended from the OVR

pilots at Ieud and Vadu Izei to a wider network comprising Borsa, Botiza, Moisei, Sacel, Salistea de Sus and Sapanta; with selections still to be made in the Chioar and Lapus areas. Selection is based on infrastructure, scenery and human resources, including community attitudes and business skills. It is significant that there is a greater readiness to get involved in the settlements of the Iza and Viseu valleys where families are traditionally large, in contrast to other parts of the county where smaller families and greater agricultural potential result in a reduced stimulus to seek other occupations. It is also evident that the planners are cooperating with advisors in several fields (including ethnography) to ensure that the character of the region is not adversely affected by the development of tourism.

However, it is accepted that it will be difficult to hold human resources in villages in view of the sheer volume of job creation required; while additional urban centres, around which commuter movements might develop, will depend on the improvement of infrastructure as well as investment in large enterprises. Therefore, it is important that the development of institutions to regulate the restructuring process should be extended to the local level where committees are needed to work with the higher level organisations and maximise local benefits while ensuring firm local control and protection of the cultural resources on which the business depends. To avoid external control, there must be community interest in building a sustainable business. This is all the more important in view of new perspectives for regional development. Priority rural projects initiated by county councils may attract additional support under the 'green paper' for regional development (Romanian Government/EU 'Phare' 1997). Eight large regions have been established and in each case the constituent counties will be invited to establish commissions which will establish priorities for the investment of EU and Romanian government funds. So far, the mountain zones have been recognised as priority areas only where problems arise in connection with coalmining and declining industries, pollution problems and land degradation. Much will therefore depend on the way that the regional commissions draw up their proposals and the extent to which the other counties in the northern region (Bihor, Bistrita-Nasaud, Cluj, Maramures, Salaj and Satu Mare) will recognise the special problems of the weaker areas such as the two highlighted in this paper. In the case of the Apuseni however, the situation is not helped by the division of the area not only between six counties but two of the regions as well.

Another important trend concerns cross-border cooperation. This has some relevance to the Apuseni Mountains through the scope for growth along the Hungarian-Romanian border, but it is particularly relevant to Maramures.

Once the old attitudes associated with the closed frontier regime and the former Soviet threat have been overcome, there will be positive benefits from the literal rebuilding of bridges in the Tisa valley and the reintroduction of through rail services serving both the Ukrainian side of the valley and the Romanian districts of Satu Mare and Sighet. There remains considerable reserve over the concept of frontier regions and the emerging Carpathian 'Euroregion' in particular, given the strength of the link between Hungary and Ukraine (DANKO, L. et al. 1996; DEICA, P./ALEXANDRESCU, M. 1995). Yet without institutions of some kind to regulate change along a

frontier, it is all too easy for the benefits deriving from closer contacts between neighbouring countries to 'leapfrog' the border regions themselves.

4. Summary and conclusion

In Romania, as in Eastern Europe, the mountain regions have reached different stages in the demographic transition. In some areas the human resources are badly depleted, while in others they remain very substantial. At the moment the shift in the rural-urban balance is very slight but this situation does not reflect a stable equilibrium but rather a situation which is temporarily 'on hold'. For despite low incomes and underemployment, there are only limited opportunities in the towns. So far East European governments have been preoccupied with urban-industrial issues and rural policy has been dominated by restitution, which meets an immediate political need but does not address long-term issues. However, the process of EU enlargement and the implications of the CAP will direct increasing attention to rural areas in future. Developing agricultural skills in the countryside and presenting agriculture as a worthwhile career for young people would seem to be an economic necessity that is difficult to reconcile with the ambivalence of recent years. Yet in view of the social importance of small farms there may be relevance in the 'Bavarian approach' through family farms linked with rewarding ancillary employment. A large rural population is a resource which entrepreneurially-minded local authorities may exploit, in anticipation of spontaneous counterurbanising trends which may be reinforced in the years ahead. In this context, local culture could be a particular asset in the context of community tourism which might in the long term create a scale of business comparable with some alpine districts.

But it would be idle to suppose that any acceleration in national economic growth will not trigger a further phase of rural-urban migration based on a massive shake-out of labour from agriculture during the years ahead. The towns must surely be the main centres of wealth creation through investment in industry and growth of the tertiary sector. But policies to maximise rural employment are appropriate to protect communities and their services and so ensure that future migration flows will be sustainable in terms of their impact on both rural and urban areas. Rural diversification is necessary to boost incomes in all rural areas and, at the same time, to strengthen the leading rural centres to pave the way for urban status over the longer term. For there is a choice between the reinforcement of large cities and the stimulation of local centres provided by the existing small towns and a selection of the best-placed rural settlements where services and light industry could underpin viable local networks of rural settlements. This would seem to be as important a priority as the improvement of infrastructure in individual villages and, despite the transformation of the ideological context, is not altogether lacking continuity with the planning of the 1980s.

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V. PROBLEMS OF RURAL AREAS

WILFRIED HELLER / TRAIAN ROTARIU / ELEMER MEZEI /
MARIA DAN / RUDOLF POLEDNA / AUGUSTIN PERVAIN

Migration, socio-economic transformation and perspectives of regional development in the rural areas of Romania: Report on a German-Romanian research project

WILFRIED HELLER

Introduction

1. The procedure of treating the research subjects

We intend to deal with the subjects of the research project in the following way: First a statistical inventory of the internal migration of Romania will be carried out by help of published and unpublished materials. The economic and social changes will be shown by help of statistical materials and evaluation of relevant literature. These transformations shall be related to the processes of migration as far as possible. The subjects of migration and socio-economic transformations shall be studied on different spatial scales.

By doing so we want to try to take into consideration systemic aspects. That means that Romania shall be regarded as a national system, which is like a subsystem placed in an international system. The international system is not inflexible and fixed but experiences changes. Nowadays these changes are characterized by phenomena such as the globalisation of the economy and a new international labour division. Romania's most important relations, as a subsystem, to the international system are economic and political ones. For example the economic relations consist of foreign trade relations, credits of the World Bank and of some countries separately, cross border economic cooperations and foreign investments in Romania. These relations also have effects on the regional development in Romania.

The country's regions and their urban and rural settlements can be regarded as elements of the subsystem Romania. These elements can be understood not only as systems in themselves, but also as systems on another spatial level.

At this publication the study of the research materials under systemic aspects is not yet possible.

Our studies will be done on the following spatial levels:

1. the country as a whole;
2. the urban and rural areas of the country;
3. the 42 large administrative units of the country, these are 41 counties Rom.: "judete") and Bucharest municipality;

4. some selected counties differentiated by urban and rural areas as well as by communes;
5. some selected villages of these selected counties.

The counties which shall be studied have been selected in accordance with the villages selected for the research. By doing so, we are able to capture very different socio-economic situations. In this way you may attain answers varying on spatial scales to the questions concerning the forms and the quantities of migration, as well as socio-economic transformation and the perspectives of development in the rural areas of Romania.

It is easiest to come to the different situations by the selection of villages. The selected villages differ from one another by criteria that influence migrations and socio-economic transformations. It is supposed that the criteria are as follows:

1. the size of the village in terms of the number of inhabitants;
2. the distance to the next town or city;
3. the physical geographical equipment;
4. the forms of the agricultural enterprises in the socialist period (state, collective, private);
5. the affiliation to the so-called historic regions of the country (Oltenia, Muntenia, Dobruja, Moldavia and the regions which have belonged to the former Austrian-Hungarian monarchy); that means that the villages belong to regions of different kinds of socio-cultural and economic development.

We assume that the following criteria are favourable for the development of the settlements:

1. the proximity to a city (because of the urbanization effects which come from the city);
2. large villages (because large villages generally have a better developed and diverse socio-economic structure than small villages);
3. a favourable physical geographical equipment (because such an equipment promotes the agricultural yields);
4. the settlements' location in regions, which have belonged to the former Austrian-Hungarian monarchy (because these regions generally have been better equipped concerning economy and infrastructure than other regions; this fact has effects up to this day).

It seems impossible to assess the influences of the different forms of agricultural enterprises which have existed in the socialist period. It is possible that villages whose agriculture has not been collectivized or nationalized have fewer problems with the socio-economic transformation. This is perhaps because they do not experience the problems that arise in connection with the reprivatization of land and agriculture. However, at the same time, villages whose agriculture has not been collectivized or nationalized find that their land lies outside the primary land sources, i.e., those used by the nation or by different collectives. These villages are peripheral; as such they suffer disadvantages under the new economic conditions.

2. The selected research villages and counties

In view of the criteria mentioned above the following villages (see Tab. 1) have been selected for research. In this table the villages have been arranged according to the numbers of their inhabitants. The selected counties are those in which the villages are situated (see Tab. 2). The location of the counties and villages is demonstrated in Fig. 1.

Tab. 2: THE SELECTED COUNTIES AND VILLAGES

Counties ("judete")	Villages (communes)
Arges	Rociu (Rociu)
Brasov	Sirnea (Fundata)
Cluj	Gilau (Gilau) and Vultureni (Vultureni)
Constanta	Cobadin (Cobadin)
Harghita	Sandominic (Sandominic)
Ilfov (surrounding Bucharest)	Gradistea (Gradistea)
Maramures	Ieud (Ieud)
Timis	Recas (Recas)
Vaslui	Solesti (Solesti)

3. The structure of the report

Our report about the research project is an interim report. We have not yet finished the evaluations of the collected research materials. For this publication we want to confine ourselves to three subjects, which will be treated in three papers. We present subjects on different spatial scales. The scale of the first presentation by ROTARIU/MEZEI is national, the scale of the second presentation by DAN/POLEDNA/PERVAIN is both regional and local, and that of the third presentation by HELLER is local.

The subject of the first presentation is Romania's internal migration based on secondary statistics.

The second presentation will briefly analyse the changes of demographic, social and economic structures of the 10 selected villages and of the 9 counties to which the villages belong.

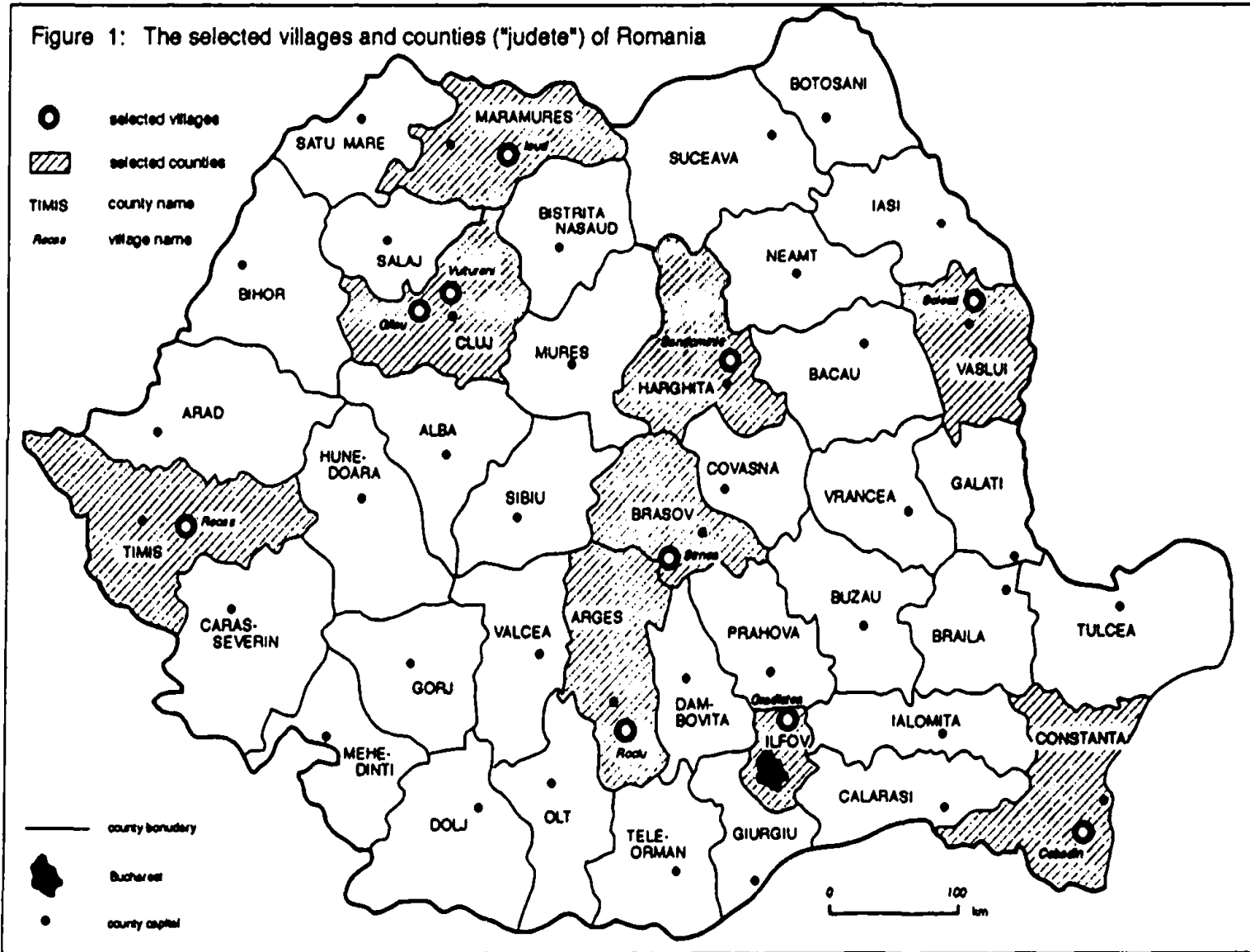
The subjects of the third presentation will be the experiences and assessments of socio-economic transformations of the populations of the 10 selected villages. The findings are based mainly on a primary statistics analysis, that is, on the evaluation of 1,000 questionnaires.

Tab. 1: THE SELECTED RESEARCH VILLAGES

here: numbers of inhabitants at the beginning of transformation (1990/92),
forms of agricultural enterprises at the end of the socialist period (1989), and other selection criteria

Village	Commune and county the village belongs to	Selection criteria					
		Number of inhabitants of the commune (1990 resp. 1992)	So-called historic region the village belongs to	Number of inhabitants of the village (1990 resp. 1992)	Distance to the county capital (km)	Forms of agricultural enterprises (1989)	Categories of relief and average altitude (m)
Sandominic	Sandominic / Harghita	6,895 (1990)	East Transylvania	6,895 (1990)	25	collectivized	plane high basin / 700
Cobadin	Cobadin / Constanta	8,762 (1992)	Dobrogea	6,234 (1992)	35	nationalized	plateau / 135
Gilau	Gilau / Cluj	7,526 (1990)	North Transylvania	ca. 5,400 (1990)	26	collectivized and nationalized	hilly country / 400
Recas (Rekasch)	Recas / Timis	8,665 (1992)	Banat	5,085 (1992)	24	collectivized	plain / 100
Ieud	Ieud / Maramures	4,847 (1990)	Maramures	4,847 (1990)	90	collectivized	hilly country / 550
Gradistea and neighbour villages	Gradistea / Ilfov	2,859 (1990)	Muntenia	2,859 (1990)	30	collectivized	plain/ 100
Solesti	Solesti / Vaslui	3,697 (1992)	Moldavia	1,067 (1992)	15	nationalized	hilly country / 250
Rociu	Rociu / Arges	3,511 (1990)	Muntenia	662 (1990)	25	collectivized	piedmont plateau / 230
Simea	Fundata / Brasov	1,387 (1990)	South Transylvania	620 (1990)	44	private	high mountain / 1,290
Vultureni	Vultureni (Cluj)	1,858 (1992)	North Transylvania	494 (1992)	30	collectivized	hilly country / 480

Sources: County offices of statistics.



TRAIAN ROTARIU / ELEMÉR MEZEI

Internal migration in Romania (1948-1995)

1. Preliminary specifications

This study attempts to capture, in a synthetic manner, the intensity and structure of the flows of migrants, and the changes in the structure and intensity of migration in Romania, during the post-World War-II period. We will attempt, as much as possible, to offer explanations for the phenomena and processes, and to provide a sequence of phases for the period of time under study, based on a number of social-political events that influenced migration. We will focus on the latest years, that is, the recent migration, in order to emphasize the impact of the change of regime in December 1989 on the territorial mobility of the population. In fact, the information available for these years is much richer than the data available from the time of communist regime. The main sources of information are the publications of the National Commission for Statistics; additionally we used published scientific studies, offering supplementary figures and/or analyses and interpretations of the phenomenon under study. The most recent year for which we possess complete information is 1995. A number of statistical data series include, however, the year 1996.

The study of the internal migration in Romania, as well as in other countries, is based on two main types of data: a) census data, comparing the place of residence with the birth place (resulting in the life-long migration); and b) data obtained by processing current information (offered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs) on the changes of residence or domicile. These changes should be mentioned in the identity card. Due to the fact that the change of domicile, certified in the identity card, indicates the real, and for most of the times, definitive leave of the former residence unit, in the following we use only this indicator to designate the migration event, leaving out the analysis of domicile changes. The statistics record only the de jure changes of domicile and of residence and not the de facto changes too; the difference between the two categories is very important in Romania.

The phenomenon of migration is characterized by a certain intensity - global and differential - and by a certain structure, represented especially by the flows of migrants. We do not possess rigorous data concerning the amplitude of the actual phenomenon of migration, so we restrict our discussion - like all other researchers - to the legal migration only.

In both mentioned types of migration, we note that in contrast with the life-long migration, the de jure changes of residence may show us the annual changes, enabling us to correlate the changes in the structure and intensity of migration with other social transformations. The census data are useful in capturing long term phenomena, and help us avoid drawing false conclusions based on annual data, that could be denied the following year. These records also offer the possibility

to relate life-long migration to many other characteristics of the individuals, in particular, to outline inclusively the intermediary migrations produced before the residence was settled in the place recorded by census. Unfortunately, despite the fact that the census-questionnaire is rather large, the published volumes contain few tables with multiple dimensions, which would permit detailed analyses.

In Romania, the change of residence is considered migration when an individual moves from one basic administrative unit to another. The basic administrative units are the communes (rural) and the towns (simple towns or cities). Usually they are composed of several habitat units, localities (villages or towns). Thus, in 1995, the 13,723 localities of Romania were grouped into 2,686 communes and 262 cities. We do not consider migration the change of residence within one locality or from one locality to another within the same commune or city. The city of Bucharest is excepted, where, since 1992, the move from one sector to another is recorded as migration. This fact should be taken into account, because the introduction of this practice changed the value of the migration rates. The same thing happened in 1968, the year in which the present day administrative division of Romania was established (with some corrections), when the number of communes reduced substantially and consequently a series of population moves did not count as migrations.

The second level of administrative organization is constituted by the counties (judet). Present day Romania is divided into 40 counties plus the city of Bucharest, which claims the status of a county. Formally, the country is not divided into larger units. Frequently in scientific papers the division by historical provinces is used, among which there exist the question of whether they are objective elements of the social existence, or of a subjective nature (e.g. mentalities, beliefs, and political options). The provinces are: Moldova, Dobrogea, Muntenia, Oltenia, Banat, Crisana, Maramures, Transylvania. In a reduced classification, Banat, Crisana, Maramures and Transylvania will be denominated simply as Transylvania, and Oltenia and Dobrogea will be included into Muntenia. Recently, due to governmental initiative and to needs related to the implementation of regional development policies and regional cooperation with the neighboring countries, a new division of the country into eight regions has been established: East, South-East, South, South-West, West, North-West, Center and Bucharest.

The distinctions and groupings presented above are used in the analysis of migration. The move of the population between urban and rural areas is a phenomenon that should be paid great attention. Romania is a country which underwent an intense process of urbanization after World War II, in which migration, and especially the rural to urban migration, played a major role. Also in Romania, even more than in other countries in the region, the difference between urban and rural areas is particularly striking, in multiple ways, a fact that increases the relevance of the distinction between the flows of migration between the two areas. On the other hand, this dichotomy urban-rural should not be fetishized. Even in Romania, where exist strong rural foundations, one can not talk about an opposition between the two areas: there exist a relatively urbanized rural area, as well as there exist small towns

that do not differ from bigger rural communes with respect to their characteristics. But, since we lack a more refined classification, this simple distinction between the two categories remains relevant.

The counties and the rest of the territorial groupings permit the classification of the migrations by length of travel or geographic distance. Thus, employing counties as administrative units, we may talk of short-range migration (intra-county), middle-range migration (between neighboring counties), and long-range migration (between counties that are not neighbors). Or, simpler, intra-county migration and inter-county migration. We may apply the same procedure for the larger regions: intra-regional migration and inter-regional migration.

We mention at this point that our theoretical attitude towards migration - and implicitly the methodological one - considers a number of theses, discussed in the literature, that we believe constitute a balanced conception of migration, avoiding unilateral, rigid attitudes. Thus, this paper attempts to mix an "individualist" explanatory view with a "holistic" one, in the sense of accepting the following ideas:

(i) The human individual - or the family micro-group - represents not only the basic unit of statistical analysis of data, but also a social actor, capable of rational decisions, based on the evaluation of the cost, benefit and risk implied by the change of residence. That is, except for certain cases, unforced migration will be conceived as the result of human actions based on rational calculation, and not as the result of non-rational acts of individuals, e.g. imitation.

(ii) The components of rational calculations (costs, versus benefits) evaluated during decision-making are not only of an economic nature, but concern aspects dealing with the satisfaction of needs like: access to higher forms of education, health-care institutions, and cultural offerings etc. In other words, the explanatory paradigm of rational choice should not be restricted, at least in the case of migration, to the exaggeration of the importance of economic aspects in the lives of individuals.

(iii) The aggregation of independent individual actions, which suppose that every actor has his/her own reasons to migrate, produces a collective phenomenon, which is socially significant. There are hundreds of thousands of individuals migrating every year, each of them having his/her own interests and goals, but the result of these actions constitutes a non-random structure that reproduces itself, or undergoes certain changes in time.

(iv) For the general description of the intensity, forms, and structures of the migration phenomena, the macro-social factors can explain the essential features. This explanation is made possible by a simple, but largely general principle: people under similar conditions react, statistically speaking, in similar ways. The macro-factors we are talking about include the assessment of consequences and the analysis of resources and capital - material, relational, cultural or informational - which permit the evaluation of the risks, costs and benefits of a possible act of migration.

(v) The set of macro-social factors that significantly influence migration are best captured by the concept of quality of life; migration is understood if one takes into account the differences in the quality of life among areas, categories of localities

etc., differences that account for the flows of migrants from unfavorable to favorable areas (macro level actualization of the advantages perceived at micro level).

(vi) Beside quality of life there are macro-social factors that significantly stimulate or constrain the change of population, like legal regulations, moving out costs, cultural differences, information on the destination area etc. (translating into general terms the costs and risks at the micro level). If we use a language of strong analogies with the field of physical phenomena, we may say that this idea suggests the fact that the space where individuals move may oppose these moves to a greater or a smaller degree. Naturally, many of the elements of this kind may be included in the calculation of costs and benefits. But sometimes there simply exist certain interdictions and quite rigid barriers in the way of certain types of migrants.

(vii) The refinement of the analysis to the level of individuals and their decision-making is useful as long as one attempts to capture particular aspects that can not be found in the general information on the social space, e.g. differences between different categories of individuals when assessing the advantages, costs and risks, depending on their personal characteristics or on the particular context in which they live. Also, this kind of analysis is necessary in order to explain the existence of some situations - frequent for the case of migration - when the general rule, that is the rule that represents the resultant of the action of the macro-social factors, is ignored, and when there are flows of migrants that seem to be the result of individual behaviors against their own interests. A comprehensive analysis will account for this behavior, showing that these individuals have as strong reasons for their actions, contrary to ones who follow the main flows of migrants.

Thus, without denying the need to appeal to the motivations of the actors who migrate - and of the ones who do not - we admit that the holistic approach is able to offer, as a first approximation, a correct explanation of the phenomenon, taking into account the fact that there exists a great uniformity of the preferences and assessments of human individuals. Based on a long experience in the research of individuals' motivation and attitude toward migration, we consider that the most important aspects in this respect concern the work-place (earnings, type of work, perspective of a pension etc.) and dwelling (access to a dwelling in the destination area, its cost etc.). Only if these issues are settled in the sense that the individuals perceive advantages or do not perceive losses, can we take into account other elements related to the quality of life, like better education for children, access to cultural goods, cultural similarities etc.

We wrote the present study within the framework of such a conception. We considered that for the general level to which our analysis must be restricted, the holistic approach will suffice, of course avoiding the conception of individual as a passive entity, drawn by "social forces" against, or in the absence of, a personal will to action. For this reason, the analysis focuses on the migration between rural and urban areas, and among regions of the country where the differences in the quality of life are easily expressed through objective indicators.

For a better understanding of the migration phenomenon, in the next section we present several elements of the social framework, which had a significant influence over the intensity and structure of the migration (as “forces” that determined the moves of population, if we adopt the language of mechanics), and a series of data concerning the population and the demographic phenomena, in order to analyze what segments of the population were effected, and in what degree the demographic state favored certain elements of migration.

2. The general social-demographic framework

We will not tarry with the social and political situation of post-war Romania, since it is generally known, even if only by means of analogy with the history of the other countries in the region.

The set up of the communist regime, through progressive actions between 1945 and 1948, took place on the background of an economic-social situation, characteristic for a country much retarded in the process of development and industrialization. For example, at the moment of the 1948 census, the rural population represented 76.6 %, and the population employed in agriculture was about the same. The 1930 census revealed that 43 % of the adult population was illiterate - a proportion that did not change significantly during the following years. Despite the important economic progress achieved between the world wars, Romania remained a poorly-developed country, possessing an industry based only on a small number of sectors (particularly mining and quarrying), and a poorly productive agriculture, with large discrepancies among regions and areas.

The communist regime set the goal of aligning Romania to the most developed countries, through yearly and, later, five-year plans. The central idea of the communist power was identical to the Leninist theses in the field, so that it started a period of forced industrialization, emphasizing heavy industry and, mainly, machinery constructions. Unfortunately, this policy produced mediocre results, mainly because of the inefficiency of the centralized system based on collective property, and because of especially during the last decades of the communist regime, isolation from the Western world, including the transfer of technology. There existed, until the 1970s, a certain progress in the social and economic fields (increase of living standard, improvement of health and education systems, home-building, infrastructure development especially in towns etc.), but the 1980s followed with a period of stagnation and even regress; after 1985 it seemed that the communist model of economy had reached its limits and could not follow the quantitative and qualitative growth of the Western economies.

One of the most obvious results of the old regime's policy was the process of urbanization, together with the industrialization of the country. During a first stage in the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, the industrialization advanced by developing the old urban centers and the traditional industrial regions (even if there were set up several new industrial centers), so that, according to some considerations, “in

1965 the situation of territorial distribution of forces of production did not changed significantly compared to 1938" (POPESCU 1994, 127). Further important efforts were made in the industrial development of the more regressed areas, especially from Moldova and Oltenia.

The industrialization and urbanization generated an intense process of social and territorial mobility, settling the direction lines for moves within the geographic and social spaces. The two types of moves are correlated, in the sense that a territorial mobility is usually accompanied also by a social and even professional one. Since the length of the study is limited, we will not deepen the argument concerning this aspect. We would like to emphasize though, that the industrial development was correlated with a social status mobility, not only towards plant worker status, but also to other social statuses, despite the fact that the change of the structure in the Romanian society went along closely with the development of industry, while the sector of services was less developed. Thus, in 1989, the working population of Romania had the following structure (Tab. 1):

Tab. 1: STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING POPULATION OF ROMANIA 1989

Agriculture and forestry	27.9 %
Industry and constructions	45.1 %
Other branches	27.0 %
Total	100 %

After the change of the political regime at the end of 1989, things took a completely different turn. The steps towards a market economy revealed all the hidden weaknesses of an economy that was planned and led in an authoritarian manner. The economic crisis, and its consequences concerning living conditions, combined with the exasperation of the population aggravated with the fall of the socialist system and the decrease of economic planning led to the violent reactions in December 1989. Thus began a process of de-industrialization, but a regressive one, at least until now, in the sense that the decrease of heavy industry activity was not doubled by an obvious development of the third sector or of some high-tech industrial branches. The work force released from industry was captured mostly by agriculture, a phenomenon also favored by the restitution of the land concentrated by the communist regime into cooperatives or state-owned units. Hence, in 1995, the structure of the working population was changed as follows (Tab. 2):

Tab. 2: STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING POPULATION OF ROMANIA 1995

Agriculture and forestry	34.4 %
Industry and constructions	33.6 %
Other branches	32.0 %
Total	100 %

At the same time, the number of the employed persons decreased from 8.0 million to 6.2 million, a loss of nearly one-quarter.

These changes are more intense at present, although not yet quantified, as a result of the measures taken by the government in power since autumn 1996, that intends to hasten the process of de-industrialization, especially the mining industry. It is only normal that these changes in the state of the economy produce changes in the intensity and structure of migration.

The demographic evolution of Romania, during the post-war period, was more or less similar to the situation of other countries in the region. The specific elements were due to a different demographic situation at the beginning of this period, and to a peculiar demographic policy practiced by the communist regime - especially during Ceausescu.

The total population of Romania recorded by the last five censuses were the following:

1948:	15,872,624	inhabitants
1956:	17,489,450	inhabitants
1966:	19,140,783	inhabitants
1977:	21,559,910	inhabitants
1992:	22,810,035	inhabitants

The crude rate of increase of the population differed for these intervals of time. If we measured it by the mean annual rate of increase, here are the figures:

1948 – 1956:	+ 1.2 %
1956 – 1966:	+ 0.9 %
1966 – 1977:	+ 1.1 %
1977 – 1992:	+ 0.4 %

This change is mainly accounted for by the crude rate of natural increase of population; after 1950 the external migration was relatively small and did not influence significantly the total growth of the population for long periods of time. During the communist regime, the information regarding the emigration was secret; after 1990 there were published data for the previous years. It seems that the average number of emigrations, until mid 1970s, was around 10,000 per year. Starting in 1977, it increased very suddenly; the number of emigrants varied between 20,000 and 30,000 during 1980 and 1987. In 1988 it increased to 37,000, and in 1989, to 41,000. The peak of this evolution is scored in 1990 (96,929 emigrations), followed by a decrease to an average of 20,000 – 25,000 for the last years. Of course, we are talking only about the legal emigration. The loss of population by emigration was more important during the dictatorship, and the years of 1990 - 1991, when the state administration worked extremely poorly (the records of migrations were not complete) and when the barriers against immigration into Western countries were not so powerful.

There exists statistical support for these assertions by the National Commission for Statistics. Thus, the current statistics showed that, in 1988, the population of Romania exceeded the total of 23 million inhabitants, and for the mid-year of 1991 was estimated a value of 23,192,065 inhabitants. The census of January 7, 1992, calculated a much smaller population, down by around 400,000 persons. Of course such a long interval of time between two censuses (15 years) leaves space for errors. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the two figures goes beyond expectations, and can only be accounted for by massive illegal emigrations that took place both before and after 1989.

We stress this point in order to suggest the difficulties encountered in the estimation of migration and for the methodological problems raised when calculating the values of some rates for the period before 1992, when the population was significantly overestimated.

The most important factor in the evolution of the population was natality. The birth-rate presented important variations due to the policy of forced natality exerted by the Ceausescu regime. Thus, as it can be noticed in Fig. 1, natality strongly decreased after 1956, when abortion was liberalized. The number of births in 1966 already suggested that there was incomplete generation replacement (the number of children for one woman decreased to less than 2). This led to a new interdiction of abortion in the autumn of 1966, as well as the interdiction of any modern means of contraception, since they were not for sale in the chemist's shops. The increase of birth-rate in 1967 and the following years is impressive (the number of births almost doubled); this is a completely unusual situation, and is the subject of numerous demography studies.

Despite these drastic measures, the natality rate began to decrease, so that around 1982-1983 it approximately reached the level of 1966 (14.3 new borns per 1,000 inhabitants) to stabilize at 16‰ until 1989. The new liberalization of abortion, as well as the liberalization of the regime after 1990, produced an extremely important decrease of the birth-rate, which places Romania, with a value of 10‰, among the countries with the lowest birth rates.

The evolution of mortality is somewhat milder. It strongly decreased until the beginning of the 1970s, as a result of the improvement of the health care system achieved during the first stage of the communist regime, but also due to the large scale application of antibiotic treatment right after 1950. During the 1970s and 1980s the change of mortality was minimal, and it was more substantially for very young age groups. On the other hand, the situation deteriorated for the older age groups, especially for males. Thus, the life expectancy at birth, after increasing from 42 (for both sexes) before the war, to 61.48 for males and 64.99 for females in 1956, and 66.27, and 70.85, respectively, in 1970-1972, maintained almost similar values for the period 1993-1995 (65.70 and 73.36 respectively). Male survival after birth decreased slightly while female survival increased.

The mortality rate (number of deceased per 1,000 inhabitants) is shaped also by the age-structure of the population, which is decisively influenced by natality. Consequently, after it decreased rapidly during the first part of the 1950s, the

mortality rate slowed down its decline to a minimum in the mid 1960s, and then again it started to increase slowly. Demographically, the population is older since 1990, so the mortality is increasing now more rapidly.

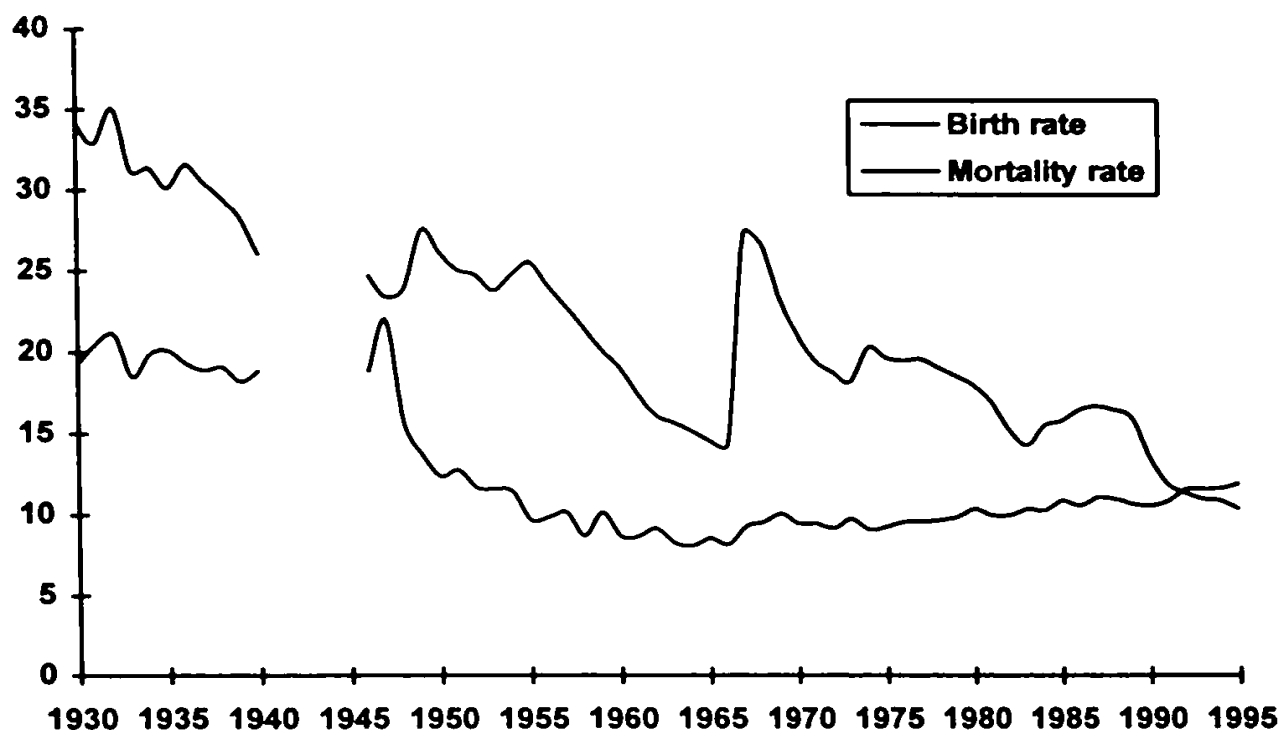


Fig. 1: Evolution of birth rates, mortality rates and natural growth rates in Romania 1930-1995

The two rates provide us with the natural increase of the population, which generates the dynamics of the population. We must stress that, as seen in Fig. 1, during the last years we witnessed not only a decline in the natural growth of the population, but a reversal of the figures: beginning with 1992, the natural increase of Romania's population became negative. As the net migration went in the same direction, we ascertain that the population of Romania has been decreasing since 1990. According to GHETAU's calculation (1977), during 1990-1996 the population diminished with 269,623 inhabitants, out of which 35,145 were due to the negative natural increase of the last years, and 234,478 to the external migration.

The demographic prognoses do not forecast a significant modification of the situation on a short run; an increase of the birth rate is hardly likely, even under the circumstances of the improvement of the living standard, or, more precisely, an increase of the birth rate that would provide a positive natural increase of the population. The reasons are clear: (i) other countries in Europe, that are much more developed from an economic point of view, share a similar demographic behavior, and (ii) even for a figure of 12-13‰ for the natality, which would represent the

value for a moderately optimistic scenario, the reproduction of generations would not be achieved and the process of aging would continue (therefore the mortality rate would increase, *ceteris paribus*).

3. Evolution of gross internal migration and the exchange of population between the rural and the urban areas

The available information regarding the first years of the period of time under focus is very poor. The general indicator of the internal migration (the *migration rate*, computed as number of migrants per 1,000 inhabitants) expresses a quite interesting evolution. Its value exceeded 20 ‰ during 1955-1956 (the first years for which there existed information), and decreased to 14-15 ‰ during the first years of the 1960s; in 1965-1966 it jumped to almost 18 ‰, and during 1968-1971 again it reached values of 14-15 ‰ (see Fig. 2).

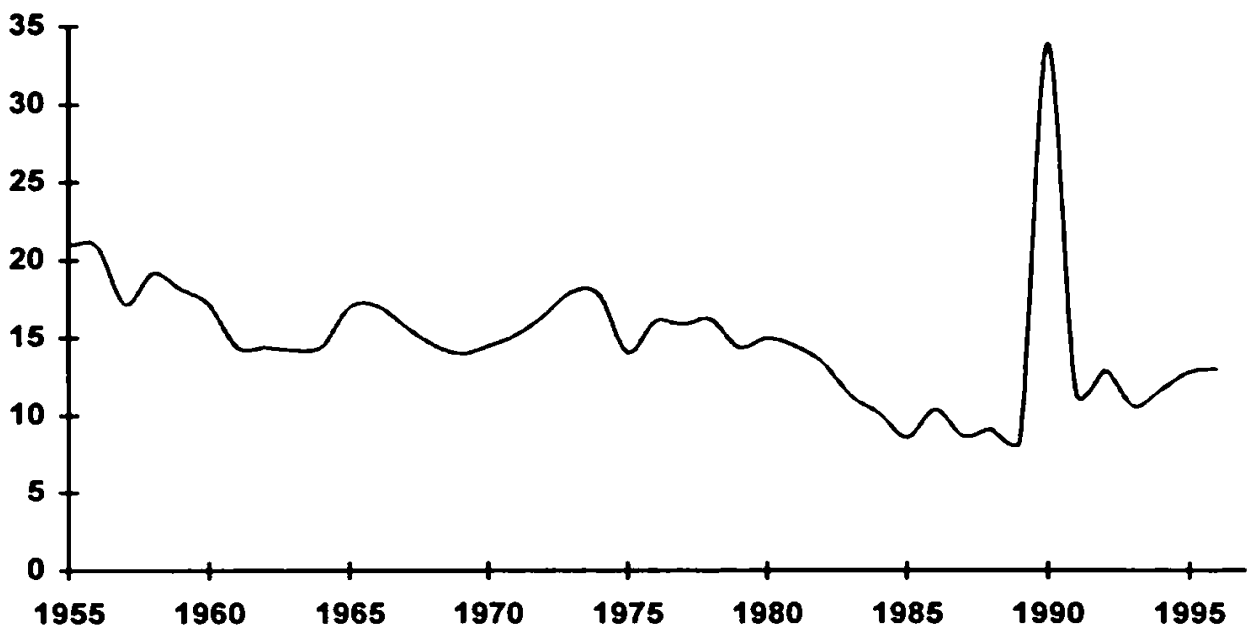


Fig. 2. Evolution of internal migration rate in Romania 1955-1996

The process of migration intensified afterwards to a maximum, reached in 1973 (18 ‰) and kept going until the end of the 1970s, with a rate of over 15 ‰. After 1980, the internal migration rate started to decline; in the second half of the decade it reached values under 10 ‰.

1990 represents an exceptional moment, when well over three-quarters of a million people legally changed their residence, increasing the rate up to 33.9 ‰. The migration fever cooled down suddenly in 1991 (11.3 ‰) and maintained low levels, even if for the last two years it recorded a slight increase.

1992:	12.9 ‰
1993:	10.6 ‰
1994:	11.7 ‰
1995:	12.8 ‰
1996:	13.0 ‰

It is somehow difficult to give an interpretation to the oscillation of the migration rate until the 1970s, because it resulted not only from the changes in the intensity of the migration, but also from all the transformations in the territorial-administrative organization of the country. Thus, as SANDU (1984, p. 92) also shows, the number of administrative units (communes and towns), among which there were recorded migration, decreased from 4,485 in 1956, to 2,942 in 1973. Moreover, their structure also changed, in the sense that the number of communes decreased with 37 % while the number of towns increased with 38 %. The decrease in the number of communes was the result of the administrative reform of 1968 that eliminated communes, a fact that wholly explains - we believe, in agreement with SANDU (1984) - the decrease after 1968, if we suppose that migration remained stable at the level of the years 1965-1966, or even increased.

There exist for sure other factors that influenced these rates. For example, one may mention the legal-administrative component, which had a different influence, at different periods of time, over the possibility of changing residence. The immigration to towns was tightly controlled by the communist regime. There even existed interdictions to settle residence in the big cities (which were declared closed). A second factor that appeared in migration was commutation. This phenomenon was extremely intense during the last half of the century in Romania, and had similar functions to migration, but unfortunately it was ignored both by scientists and by the official statistics. Likewise, no statistics captured the so-called temporary or seasonal migrations.

A first clue for the causality of this phenomenon may be obtained by decomposing the total migration into flows, by place of origin and destination (urban or rural areas). It may help us elucidate the attraction or repulsion factors of one area or another. As we can see in Fig. 3, which presents the evolution of the mean out-migration rate from the rural area (number of emigrants from the rural area of which were subtracted the immigrants to the rural area, per 1,000 rural area inhabitants), the values decreased since 1954 until the mid 1960s, and then increased and stayed high until very recently.

In these circumstances we agree with SANDU (1984, p. 93) who ponders that before 1950 the main flow of migration was the rural-rural one (since the rural area comprised over 75 % of the total population); between 1950 and 1953, the high value of the rural out-migration rate suggests that the rural-urban flow became dominant only for a short while, and the domination of the rural-rural migration continued afterwards. The available data do not show the exact moment when the rural-urban migration became dominant again. The higher net rate of emigration from the rural area, after 1965, would suggest that the respective event took place during this period of time, and lasted until 1996.

However, the balance between the exchange of population from one area to another is favorable to the urban area. Thus, for the interval between the censuses in 1948 and 1956, MEASNICOV (1969) calculates that out of the growth of 809,000 inhabitants in towns in 1956, around 675,000 people migrated from the rural area. The phenomenon may be observed not only analyzing the net emigration from rural rate, which is continuously positive, but also taking into account the evolution of the rural population. For a good period of time this population oscillated around the size of 12 million inhabitants, a fact that shows that the whole natural increase of the population was lost through migration. The following demographic decrease in the rural area after 1980 proves that, through out-migration to towns, the rural area lost more than the natural increase of the population. If we focus on the period between the two last censuses, that is 1978 - 1991, an easy computation shows that 2.29 million persons from the rural area migrated to the urban area, while the value of the natural increase of population for the rural area during these 14 years was only 650,000 individuals. The immediate demographic consequence was a strong aging of the rural population, both as the direct effect of youth migration, and of the indirect effect of the decrease in the number of births, due to the demographic loss of fertile age groups.

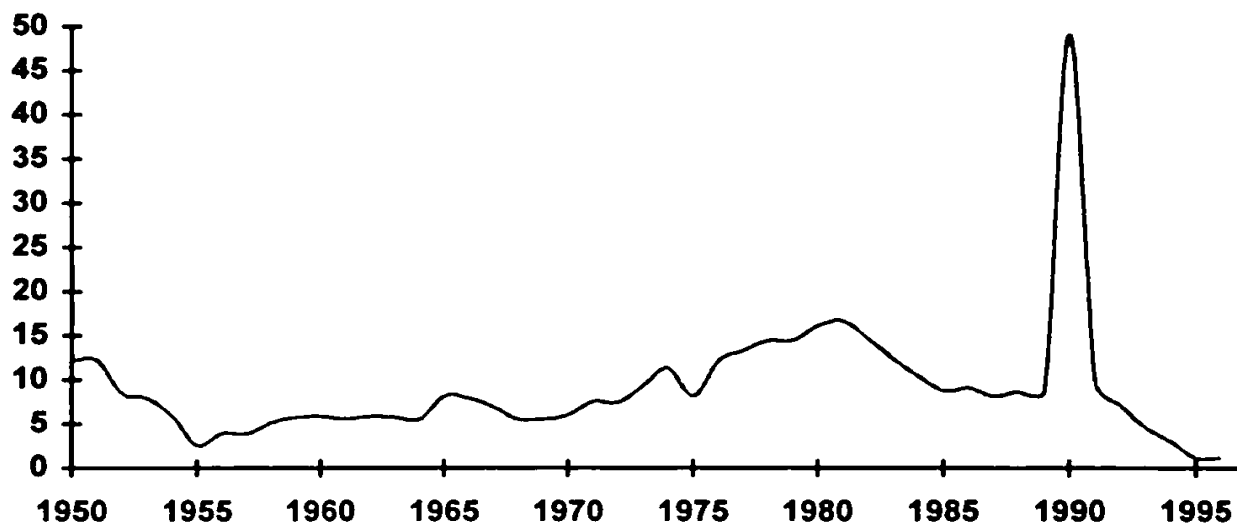


Fig. 3. Evolution of the out-migration rate from the rural area in Romania 1950-1966

Before we advance other considerations concerning the age of the migrants, we present information regarding the proportion of the four flows of migrants, between the urban and the rural areas. The data (Tab. 3) refer to 1973 and the recent period (1989 - 1996).

Tab. 3: FLOWS OF MIGRANTS BY AREA IN ROMANIA 1973 AND 1989-1996 (%)

Direction	1973	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
urban - urban	21.9	19.2	18.2	20.2	24.3	25.5	25.6	26.1	27.4
urban - rural	10.8	6.5	3.5	10.1	13.7	14.6	18.4	20.8	23.4
rural - urban	42.5	55.4	69.8	50.3	39.2	35.0	30.5	25.1	24.7
rural - rural	24.8	18.9	8.5	19.4	22.8	25.0	25.5	28.0	24.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Demographic Yearbook (Anuarul demografic), 1974, GHETAU (1997) and "Miscarea migratorie..." (1997).

Clearly in 1973, when the proportion of the rural population was only 38 % of the total population, the rural-urban migration became by far the most important one. This proportion increased until 1989 to 55 %, in spite of a number of interdictions to settle in most attractive cities. The year 1990 represents the peak of this trend, due exactly to the fact that these barriers were suddenly removed.

The trend of the last years is apparent: the four flows of migrants become balanced. In 1994, the maximum belonged to the direction rural-urban, in 1995 the dominant direction was rural-rural, and in 1996 respectively urban-urban. Beyond the obvious increase of the moves within the same type of localities (between communes or between towns), we emphasize a clear line of evolution: the migration from communes to towns declines, while the migration from towns to communes increases. It is likely that, maybe for the first time in the contemporary history of Romania, the urban-rural component became the primary direction of migration.

The opinions concerning the general causes of this process are largely convergent. The urban-rural migration becomes the main type of migration, since more and more people living in towns are affected by the economic re-structuring, particularly in industry, where the number of employees decreased significantly. Construction of the famous "blocks" of flats - cheap homes with less facilities - by the communist regime, ceased after 1989. Afterward, new homes were single-family dwellings built by the rich. The loss of the work-place or its uncertainty, the higher and higher cost of living, young couples' difficulties in finding a dwelling combined with the lack of professional opportunities led to a consideration of the rural area.

This process was favored by the situation of many town residents who, as a result of the ratification of the land law, became land owners, even if the plots were small, in most cases 1-3ha. Some of these new owners also possessed homes in the rural area (theirs, or their parents') or if not, the acquisition of a home in the rural area is inexpensive. There are places where one can buy a house in good condition with a nice garden around one-tenth of the price of a three room apartment sold in a big city. After 1989, apartments were sold to the previous occupants.

Movement to the countryside is comprehensible: a small rural property, even at the limit of modern technical means of land cultivation or animal breeding, insures survival. The strategy adopted by these people was to minimize risks, even if in some cases the benefits would be very modest.

The social effects of this process are quite complex. On one hand, it is obvious that orienting people towards the rural area, i.e. towards agriculture, is not an economic solution at macro-social level. The possession of small agricultural properties by city dwellers represents a positive premise for agricultural land concentration and formation of modern agricultural stations. This process has not started yet, due to a lack of legislation that would permit land circulation and to a lack of other incentives that would have led to the constitution of medium- or large-sized private agricultural stations. The return of city dwellers to the rural area has the effect of increasing the period of time when small property is dominant, and this form of production only insures subsistence for the rural families. We should remember that, despite a chronic aging of the rural population in general, and of the population working in agriculture in particular, the number of active people employed in the agricultural sector is excessive for a modern society, both in absolute figures, and proportionally. A simple fact: the number of people employed in agriculture in Romania is about the same as in the Unites States of America.

Some authors also try to emphasize the positive effects of this process for the rural area. Thus GHETAU (1997, p. 2) conceives two such advantages: "On one hand, we are talking about a population with a higher level of general education than the population from the rural area, which should favor the development of the village of the rural area. On the other hand, a fact that is little known, the age structure of the migrants from the urban to the rural area is much better than the age structure of the rural population." (GHETAU 1997, p. 4) The author supports this idea with statistical data for the year 1995 (percentages) (Tab. 4):

Tab. 4: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE RURAL POPULATION AND OF THE URBAN-RURAL MIGRANTS IN ROMANIA 1995 (%)

	Population from rural area	Migrants from urban to rural area
0 – 14 years	19.7	30.8
15 – 59 years	56.9	63.7
60 years and over	23.4	5.5

Source: GHETAU (1997, p. 4).

GHETAU's explanations seem very convincing. The idea of age structure advantages imported by migrants, in spite of the figures that speak for themselves,

must be refined, introducing in the analysis the variable age, as discussed previously. Lacking such data as those used by GHETAU i.e. the age structure of the migrants of one flow of migrants, we will utilize the values of the net emigration from rural area, by age groups. That is, the difference between the emigrants from the rural area and the immigrants to the rural area, of a certain age (age-group). The 1996 Demographic Yearbook of Romania offers a large series of such type of data. To illustrate our idea, here are the data for three years: 1989, 1990 and 1995, presented in Tab. 5.

Tab. 5: NET EMIGRATION FROM THE RURAL AREA, BY AGE GROUPS, IN ROMANIA 1989, 1990 AND 1995

Age group	1989	1990	1995
less than 15 years	+19,455	+125,589	-7,246
15 – 29 years	+55,809	+224,152	+25,265
30 – 44 years	+16,583	+137,949	-1,237
45 – 59 years	+1,781	+25,252	-3,850
60 years and over	+866,000	+8,480	-432,000
Total	+94,494	+521,442	+12,500

The data show as expected, a big loss of young population compared with the loss of older population from the rural area for 1989 and 1990. The situation for the year 1995 is extremely interesting and the outcome is hard to anticipate. The rural area received more children (under 15) than it lost, and a few more adult persons (over 30 years); on the other hand, for the age group 15-29, the out-migrations from the rural area are more numerous than the immigrations to the rural area. We can not tell for how long this pattern will last, but if it does, it appears that the “refreshment” of which GHETAU was talking is not as relevant as his figures might have suggested. Losing population of fertile age will not increase birth-rate, even if more young parents with children arrive than leave, and so the population will continue to grow older. If the first hypothesis of GHETAU is correct, a higher level of education of the immigrants will bring, *ceteris paribus*, the decline of natality by spreading urban behavior concerning birth.

However, the balance between the flows of migrants creates a more favorable situation for the rural area than before, when the rural-urban flow was dominant. Generally speaking, the analysis of age-structure of the migrants shows, for the last years, a tendency of decreasing inequalities between migration rates by age group. These inequalities may be illustrated by breaking down migration rate by age group (Tab. 6).

In 1970, for example, the intensity of the migration for the age group of less than 15 represents 54 % of the mean intensity of the respective year; for the age group

15-19, the intensity is 1.43 times higher than the mean; and the age group 20-24 is 3.04 times higher. If we analyze these figures, we notice the tendency of migration to concentrate at the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups, with a maximum reached before 1989. The migration boom of 1990 could be produced only by increased participation from all age groups, which means a decrease of the proportion of migration of the age 20 - 30 group. This process continues after 1990, a fact that reflects not a change in the intensity of the phenomenon, but a change of migration structure. Indeed, we may see an increase in the intensity of the relative migration of the children, as well as of the people over 30 years old (compared to 1985). This suggests that the decrease of the proportion of rural-urban migration within the gross migration is doubled by an increase of the migration of the family groups, at the expense of the individual migration of people over 20-24 years old, who, until 1989, had a 3 or 4 times higher migration rate than the average, and are mostly unmarried. In addition, the doubled intensity of the relative migration of the children means the migration of their families.

Tab. 6: MIGRATION RATES BY AGE, RELATED TO THE TOTAL MIGRATION RATE IN ROMANIA 1970 - 1995 (%).

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
less than 15 years	54	80	68	71	106	117
15 – 19 years	143	106	92	93	71	81
20 – 24 years	304	296	337	372	193	204
25 – 29 years	236	260	291	297	282	209
30 – 34 years	149	138	145	153	198	162
35 – 39 years	97	83	81	88	107	103
40 – 44 years	69	57	54	55	71	72
45 – 49 years	48	41	38	36	47	54
50 – 54 years	43	36	30	29	35	45
55 – 59 years	42	30	25	26	29	38
60 years and over	35	24	18	19	17	30

We will end this section with some words regarding the life-long migration, captured by censuses, even if this kind of data are harder to interpret. A first clue for the dimension of the phenomenon is given by the percentage of people who were born in another locality than the locality where they lived at the time of the census (Tab. 7).

Tab. 7: PROPORTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE CENSUS POPULATION OF ROMANIA IN 1966, 1977 AND 1992 (%)

	1966	1977	1992
Urban	56.3	57.7	51.2
Rural	17.5	17.2	19.0
Total	32.7	34.9	36.5

We can see that about one third of the population recorded in 1966, 1977 and 1992 were not born in the locality where they lived at the moment of the census. This proportion is obviously much higher for the urban area than the rural area, reflecting exactly the domination of the rural-urban flow of migrants compared to the urban-rural one. The intensity of the urbanization process, by affluence of rural population is impressive, if we mention that, since 1996 more than half of the urban population was not born there. Of course the percentages from Tab. 7 also include individuals who migrated within the same type of area (exchanges of population between towns or villages or communes). But the majority of the new-comers were of rural origin, as we can see in the structure of life-long flows of migrants, in 1977 and 1992 (Tab. 8).

Tab. 8: THE STRUCTURE OF LIFE-LONG FLOWS OF MIGRANTS OF ROMANIA IN 1977 AND 1992 (%)

flows	1977	1992
urban - urban	14.1	17.3
urban - rural	3.2	4.9
rural - urban	57.9	59.1
rural - rural	24.8	18.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Additionally, if we take into account the origin of the urban populations, a simple calculation will draw us to the conclusion that in 1977 about 45 % of the town population was made up of rural immigrants, while in 1992 this proportion decreases to 39 %. It is obvious that the proportion of urban natives increased in the last census as the result of the moderation of rural-urban migration after 1990. The urban population reproduces in a higher degree by natural growth.

4. Inter-regional migration

In this last section we try to refine the analysis starting from several large divisions of the territory of Romania: counties and historical regions. We will use the same type of data as mentioned previously. The demographic yearbooks from 1992 and 1996 contain data concerning the annual exchange of population among counties (by change of current residence), and the census books provide the life-long migration, by county of origin and destination (at the moment of the record).

The utility of such a kind of analysis is obvious. Just like migration between towns and villages represents a synthetic indicator for the differences in the quality of life between the two areas, the exchanges of population among territorial units gives a clue to the inequalities of life-conditions among the different parts, including the demographic pressure on employment availability, at a certain moment. Despite the policy of homogenization of the former regime and the so-called harmonious development of all regions of the country, it could not erase the inequalities among regions, and it even exacerbated them to a certain degree, at some points in time.

The census data offer us the first notion of the magnitude of the population exchange among counties. Tab. 9 presents the general situation concerning the birth-place of the individuals, in both rural and urban areas, at the moments of the three censuses.

Tab. 9. LIFE-LONG MIGRATION, FOR THE LAST CENSUSES OF ROMANIA IN 1966, 1977 AND 1992 (%).

Birth place	1966			1977			1992		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Commune (town) of residence	67,3	43,7	82,5	65,1	42,3	82,8	63,5	48,8	81,0
Other commune (town) in the same county	14,1	19,9	10,4	15,4	22,5	9,9	17,5	23,0	10,9
Other county	16,8	33,1	6,2	18,3	33,2	6,8	18,2	27,2	7,6
Other country	1,7	3,2	0,8	1,2	2,0	0,5	0,6	0,9	0,3
Not responded	0,1	0,1	0,1	–	–	–	0,2	0,1	0,2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

If we compare the life-long inter- and intra-county migration (the second and the third line of Tab. 9), we note that in general their intensities were close; the former was a bit higher, but it decreased significantly in 1992, when the two components were almost identical. This suggests the fact that as time went by, long-range migration decreased in proportion, in the favor of short-range migration. As a whole, the

proportions of the inter- and intra-county migrations are similar, the situation is different for the different areas: the immigrants in the towns come mainly from other counties, while the migration to villages takes place within the same county mainly. The second part of the previous conclusion is supported in the sense that the difference between the two components - inter- and intra-county migration - especially for the urban area, decreased in 1992.

The situation is even clearer if we analyze from this point of view the four flows of migrants, between the rural and urban areas, recorded for the last two censuses. We note the following proportions for the inter-county migration (Tab. 10).

Tab. 10: PROPORTIONS OF THE INTER-COUNTY MIGRATION OF ROMANIA IN 1977 AND 1992 (%)

	1977	1992
for the urban-urban migration	77.1	73.3
for the rural-urban migration	55.3	48.6
for the urban-rural migration	53.5	47.1
for the rural-rural migration	39.0	39.6

The remaining per cent represents the intra-county migration. We may see that the moves towards the urban area start from a much longer distance, and this holds best for the urban-urban migration. The proportions of the rural-urban and rural-urban flows of migrants are close, while the rural-rural migration takes place mainly intra-county.

For the last censuses, the most important inter-county flows of migrants, in absolute value, are those towards Bucharest, coming from the southern areas of the country: the ex-county Ilfov (for 1966 and 1977), Teleorman and Ialomita, Giurgiu and Calarasi (for 1992), Dambovita, Arges, Prahova, Buzau, Olt etc., and their order varies little from one census to another. In what concerns the other destinations, the most important flows of migrants, for the three censuses, are the following (Tab. 11).

At the right side of the arrow in Tab. 11 are the counties that experienced an industrial development during the years before the census, and at the left side of the arrow there are the less developed counties, but from the same geographic area, even neighboring the right side counties.

Tab. 11: THE MOST IMPORTANT INTER-COUNTY FLOWS OF MIGRANTS OF ROMANIA IN 1966, 1977 AND 1992 (EXCEPT OF BUCHAREST)

1966	1977	1992
Alba → Hunedoara	Tulcea → Constanta	Tulcea → Constanta
Arad → Timis	Vaslui → Iasi	Buzau → Prahova
Tulcea → Constanta	Buzau → Prahova	Vaslui → Galati
Buzau → Prahova	Alba → Sibiu	Salaj → Cluj
Vaslui → Iasi	Botosani → Iasi	Satu Mare → Maramures
Satu Mare → Maramures	Alba → Hunedoara	Alba → Hunedoara
Alba → Sibiu	Salaj → Cluj	Alba → Sibiu
Harghita → Mures	Arad → Timis	Vaslui → Iasi
Covasna → Brasov	Satu Mare → Maramures	Caras-S. → Timis
Alba → Cluj	Bihor → Timis	Botosani → Suceava

Generally speaking, the degree of attraction that characterize a county can be measured, in a first approximation, by the proportion of the population born in that county at the moment of the census. The smallest proportions, that is the most attractive counties, are as follows in Tab. 12:

Tab. 12: PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION BORN IN THE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT THE MOMENT OF THE CENSUSES 1977 AND 1992 (HERE: THE COUNTIES WITH THE SMALLEST PROPORTIONS OF ALL COUNTIES OF ROMANIA) (%)

	1977	1992
Bucuresti	40.9	56.5
Brasov	58.1	64.9
Hunedoara	63.7	66.8
Constanta	64.5	69.4
Timis	65.6	62.8
Sibiu	76.4	77.0
Caras-Severin	76.4	76.5
Arad	79.6	76.8
Cluj	81.0	83.8
Galati	81.9	83.4

All of these counties are heavily developed industrially, so it is easy to explain why they constituted attraction areas for the Romanian population. We may also see

that the number entries into these counties decreased; with the exception of the counties of Timis and Arad, the proportions were higher in 1992 than in 1977.

Starting from the absolute (gross) values of the migration recorded at the 1992 census, and from the values of the flows of migrants, we chose 14 counties as the most important in what concerned immigration. They were grouped into four categories:

- I. The capital of the country, strongly attracting the population of all the areas of the country: Bucharest.
- II. Counties with national influence: Timis, Constanta, Brasov, Hunedoara.
- III. Counties with strong regional influence: Cluj, Arad, Prahova, Galati, Sibiu.
- IV. Counties with moderate regional influence: Caras-Severin, Iasi, Bacau, Arges.

In Annex 1, we present the flows of migrants with a figure of more than 5,000 migrants towards the categories I - IV, a list that suggests the differences of area of recruitment between counties belonging to different categories.

This classification seems to us more significant than the one sometimes used in the Romanian sociological literature, that starts from the first (that is, biggest) flow of migrants from every county, and divides the map of the country into groups of counties determined by the link that designates these first order migrations. Indeed, the second and third order flows of migrants can include more people than the ones of first order for other counties, or may be very close to the value of the first order flow in the same county. Or, if we introduce in the analysis the second or third order flows of migrants, the initial configuration changes significantly. Such an analysis is even more risky, for the case of the annual migration, if we take into account the accidental fluctuations and the lower figures of recorded migrants.

A brief analysis of the relations between several variables shows us a correlation between the county level of immigration and its level of social-economic development. Indeed, if we use a hierarchy of the counties by their level of social-economic development, e.g. the one proposed by POPESCU (1994, p. 186; Annex 2), for the 1985 indicators we find the following rank correlation coefficients: $\rho = 0.87$ and $\rho = 0.88$ between the level of development and net immigration in 1977 and 1992.

It is clear that the flows of migrants depend on the attractiveness of some counties, particularly strongly developed ones, and on a certain repellent effect generated by a certain level of underdevelopment and by a favorable demographic situation. This conclusion is supported by the analysis of the annual data concerning changes of residence. But, before we move to that type of data, here is the balance of the life-long migration, that is the net migration between the three big historical provinces of Romania and the capital (leaving aside the population that was not born in Romania or that did not declare the birth-place) (Tab. 13).

Tab. 13: NET MIGRATION BETWEEN THE THREE BIG HISTORICAL REGIONS OF ROMANIA AND THE CAPITAL IN 1966, 1977 AND 1992

	1966	1977	1992
Moldova → Bucuresti	134,725	193,026	175,018
Muntenia → Bucuresti	512,448	731,295	633,707
Transylvania → Bucuresti	94,976	115,915	74,558
Moldova → Transylvania	92,232	198,554	236,125
Muntenia → Transylvania	159,312	160,475	145,765
Moldova → Muntenia	38,822	115,194	139,750
Total Bucuresti	+742,149	+1,040,236	+883,283
Total Muntenia	-632,938	-776,576	-639,722
Total Transylvania	+156,568	+243,114	+307,332
Total Moldova	-265,779	-506,774	-550,893

The conclusions are clear. Like we expected, the ranking of the regions by immigration flow is as follows: Bucharest, Transylvania, Muntenia and Moldova. The first two regions have positive values, the latter two have negative values. After 1977, all the flows of migrants decreased, although more moderately from Moldova to Transylvania and Muntenia.

The data concerning the annual migration reveal a weaker pattern than the data from the censuses. It is explained by the fact that the annual migration figures are much lower, and consequently more fluctuating, since they depend also on accidental factors. Additionally, information on the annual migration after 1989 reflect the state of transition of the Romanian society, hence a certain destruction of the phenomena - including migration - and many contradictory evolutions.

The following are counties which lost and gained, relatively, the most inhabitants in 1990, during the migration boom which followed the events of December 1989 (Tab. 14).

We mention that there are only a five other counties with positive net migration - Galati, Cluj, Arges, Dolj, Braila - and the figures are pretty low. Out of 41 counties, only 11 gained population, and the other 30 lost population.

In contrast with this polarization of the counties in 1990, in 1995, when the migration rates were much lower (12.8 at national level, compared to 33.9 in 1990), the net migration of almost all the counties was very close to zero. There still are 11 counties with positive net migration, but the highest value is 5.2 ‰, in Timis; the most important relative loss is experienced by Maramures: -3.6 ‰.

Tab. 14: COUNTIES WITH HIGH, POSITIVE NET MIGRATION AND WITH HIGH, NEGATIVE MIGRATION IN ROMANIA IN 1990

Counties with high, positive net migration		Counties with high, negative net migration	
(for 1,000 inhabitants)			
1. Bucuresti	60.4	1. Vaslui	-49.5
2. Timis	58.9	2. Giurgiu	-48.5
3. Brasov	39.3	3. Calarasi	-47.2
4. Constansa	37.7	4. Ialomita	-44.5
5. Arad	26.6	5. Botosani	-42.3
6. Sibiu	16.5	6. Teleorman	-39.5

If we ignore 1990, an exceptional year, and illustrate the inter-county migration with the data from 1991 and 1995, we see that the rank of the top ten counties by gross immigration from other counties is the following (Tab. 15):

Tab. 15: THE TOP TEN COUNTIES BY GROSS IMMIGRATION FROM OTHER COUNTIES OF ROMANIA IN 1991 AND 1995

1991		1995	
1. Bucuresti	23,234	1. Bucuresti	13,228
2. Timis	11,786	2. Timis	6,601
3. Constanta	8,538	3. Constanta	5,652
4. Brasov	7,409	4. Iasi	4,838
5. Hunedoara	5,517	5. Hunedoara	4,557
6. Arad	5,422	6. Arad	3,958
7. Sibiu	4,120	7. Bacau	3,883
8. Cluj	3,427	8. Brasov	3,872
9. Caras-Severin	3,271	9. Vaslui	3,775
10. Iasi	3,021	10. Cluj	3,202

We notice that the pattern of migration for the beginning of the post-communist period remained similar to the pattern of the previous regime. In 1991, among the first 10 counties of immigration there was only one county from Moldova, Iasi, in last place. After four years, in 1995, in the top ten there were three counties from Moldova, Iasi, Bacau, and Vaslui, and Iasi moved into fourth position, or third after Timis and Constanta, if we leave out the capital.

To determine what influences the moves to other counties, the logical best indicator for classification is the emigration rate (per 1,000 inhabitants), and not the number of emigrations (Tab. 16).

**Tab. 16: THE TOP TEN COUNTIES BY EMIGRATION RATE
(PER 1,000 INHABITANTS) OF ROMANIA IN 1991 AND 1995**

1991		1995	
1. Vaslui	13.0	1. Vaslui	9.5
2. Botosani	12.8	2. Botosani	8.3
3. Ialomita	10.5	3. Hunedoara	8.1
4. Giurgiu	9.9	4. Vrancea	8.0
5. Hunedoara	9.7	5. Ialomita	7.5
6. Calarasi	9.5	6. Caras-Severin	7.1
7. Vrancea	8.6	7. Calarasi	6.9
8. Teleorman	8.3	8. Tulcea	6.8
9. Neamt	8.0	9. Neamt	6.7
10. Tulcea	8.0	10. Giurgiu	6.4

This time, there are fewer changes in the hierarchy, with only one county being replaced in the top ten. What differentiates the two classifications, mainly, is the overall decrease in the rate in 1995, for all the counties in the top ten. In other words, the differences are diminished. Even the capital seemed to lose immigrants compared to other counties, not only numerically, but also in terms of relative attraction. In 1991, of the 20 most important flows of migration, 12 were directed towards Bucharest, in 1995 their number decreased to 8.

The migration data from the last years show that we can not speak very clearly of emigration and immigration counties. We saw that the net migration of many counties was close to zero. The analysis of the main inter-county flows of migration (more than 200 people, 180 flows) show that, contrary to what we found from the census data, the differences between counties diminished.

Bucharest holds by far the first place. There are 21 flows of migration with more than 200 individuals directed towards it, all from Muntenia and Moldova.

The second place is held by the county of Timis, with 11 flows of migration, the counties involved here, with one exception, belong to Transylvania and Moldova: Caras-Severin, Maramures, Suceava, Arad, Hunedoara, Botosani, Mehedinti, Iasi, Bistrita-Nasaud, Bihor, Satu-Mare.

In the third place we found the counties of Iasi and Constanta, with nine flows of migration, coming from neighboring counties, but also from far counties, of which some had been counties of attraction in the past. Counties of departure for Iasi are: Vaslui, Neamt, Suceava, Botosani, Bucharest, Constanta, Brasov, Hunedoara,

Bacau. Counties of departure for Constanta are: Tulcea, Iasi, Bucharest, Botosani, Vaslui, Bacau, Ialomita, Neamt, Galati.

There were seven flows directed towards Arad, Bacau, Hunedoara and Vaslui.

Finally, there were six flows directed towards Botosani. The other counties are less important from the point of view of the dispersion of the immigrants by their county of origin.

The conclusion is obvious. Botosani, Vaslui, Bacau, Iasi, four counties from Moldova that traditionally provided lots of migrants for the capital or other industrial areas, are at the top of the counties of immigration. At the same time, people leave these counties in droves. The situation is similar for Bucharest. Even as it remains the first center of immigration, the capital appears 19 times as place of origin (departure) for the flows of migration. People leave Bucharest for Vaslui, Suceava, and Iasi, not to mention the southern counties neighbouring it. They also leave for Arges, Buzau, Calarasi, Dambovita, Ialomita, Teleorman, Giurgiu, and Prahova.

In calculating the annual net migration for the years of 1991 and 1995 between the historical regions, we found the following figures (Tab. 17):

Tab. 17: ANNUAL NET MIGRATION BETWEEN THE HISTORICAL REGIONS OF ROMANIA IN 1991 AND 1995

	1991	1995
Moldova → Bucuresti	4,897	303
Muntenia → Bucuresti	13,533	2,800
Transylvania → Bucuresti	252	-553
Moldova → Transylvania	11,480	2,051
Muntenia → Transylvania	3,875	567
Moldova → Muntenia	6,284	2.614
Total Bucuresti	+18,682	+2,550
Total Muntenia	-11,124	-753
Total Transylvania	+15,103	+3,171
Total Moldova	-22,661	-4,968

Therefore, Bucharest and Transylvania had positive net migration, while Moldova and Muntenia had a negative value. The exchange of population among the regions changed between the two samples, in the sense that the values decrease in a significant manner - as expected - but the "balance of force" between Transylvania and Bucharest changes. Maybe for the first time during the last half of the century, if not the whole century, except for war times, the capital had a negative balance

compared to one of the provinces of the country. It is true that the figure is low in absolute value, but it is not a mistake, if we take into account that the gain of population Bucharest received from Transylvania was very small, almost none. Furthermore, the balance of migration between Bucharest and Moldova seemed to get close to an equilibrium value, that is zero.

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Annex 1

Flows of migrants, over 5,000 people, towards the main counties of immigration (number of life-long migrants at the 1992 census)

Capital

BUCURESTI, 1,004,052 internal immigrants, coming from:

Teleorman (88,092), Ialomita (80,673), Giurgiu (79,686), Calarasi (71,640), Dambovita (55,173), Buzau (46,669), Arges (45,112), Prahova (43,282), Olt (38,182), Vaslui (30,587), Valcea (26,449), Botosani (25,747), Iasi (25,449), Dolj (24,278), Vrancea (22,886), Braila (22,744), Bacau (22,460), Galati (22,373), Suceava (21,630), Constanta (18,938), Gorj (17, 242), Neamt (16,291), Mehedinti (14,157), Brasov (12,635), Cluj (12,297), Tulcea (9,866), Sibiu (9,023), Mures (8,795), Alba (8,316), Hunedoara (6,712), Bihor (6,278), Timis (6,052)

Counties with national influence

TIMIS, 251,511 internal immigrants, coming from:

Caras-Severin (20,626), Bihor (18,348), Arad (16,472), Suceava (14,271), Hunedoara (12,943), Maramures (12,325), Mehedinti (11,817), Botosani (11,123), Alba (10,658), Iasi (9,075), Cluj (8,954), Salaj (8,099), Dolj (7,942), Satu Mares (7,427); Bistrita-Nasaud (6,985), Vaslui (5,128)

CONSTANTA, 223,779 internal immigrants, coming from:

Tulcea (33,993), Botosani (16,102), Ialomita (15,486), Vaslui (14,489), Iasi (13,971), Bacau (8,496), Braila (8,053), Galati (7,021), Suceava (6,685), Buzau (6,572), Neamt (6,458), Olt (6,435), Calarasi (5,949), Bucuresti (5,450)

BRASOV, 220,882 internal immigrants, coming from:

Buzau (17,121), Covasna (16,929), Vaslui (15,776), Bacau (14,177), Botosani (11,740) Vrancea (10,349), Iasi (9,743), Sibiu (9,253), Mures (9,045), Harghita (8,352), Prahova (8,159), Neamt (7,238), Galati (6,488), Cluj (5,278)

HUNEDOARA, 180,676 internal immigrants, coming from:

Alba (21,532), Mures (11,299), Vaslui (10,856), Botosani (10,548), Cluj (9,273), Gorj (9,170), Iasi (9,005), Dolj (8,217), Bistrita-Nasaud (7,021), Bacau (5,520), Salaj (5,395)

Counties with strong regional influence

CLUJ, 117,071 internal immigrants, coming from:
Salaj (22,172), Mures (17,227), Alba (15,598), Bistrita-Nasaud (12,109)

ARAD, 112,295 internal immigrants, coming from:
Bihar (16,421), Timis (9,606), Alba (8,579), Hunedoara (7,380), Maramures (7,272), Salaj (6,057), Cluj (5,212)

PRAHOVA, 112,452 internal immigrants, coming from:
Buzau (24,205), Dambovita (11,432), Ialomita (8,300), Bucuresti (6,863)

GALATI, 106,605 internal immigrants, coming from:
Vaslui (23,321), Vrancea (13,504), Braila (9,864), Tulcea (8,652), Bacau (8,124)

SIBIU, 102,690 internal immigrants, coming from:
Alba (21,009), Mures (15,020), Valcea (14,049), Brasov (5,082)

Counties with moderate regional influence

CARAS-SEVERIN, 87,237 internal immigrants, coming from:
Mehedinti (13,215), Timis (10,728), Dolj (5,746)

IASI, 86,125 internal immigrants, coming from:
Vaslui (20,798), Botosani (17,432), Suceava (8,621), Neamt (8,613)

BACAU, 84,316 internal immigrants, coming from:
Neamt (17,613), Vrancea (9,283), Vaslui (8,603), Iasi (5,637)

ARGES, 82,003 internal immigrants, coming from:
Olt (18,714), Dambovita (8,597), Valcea (7,695), Teleorman (6,379)

Annex 2***Classification of the counties by level of economic-social development, in 1985***

1. Bucuresti	11. Iasi	21. Harghita	31. Buzau
2. Brasov	12. Covasna	22. Maramures	32. Suceava
3. Prahova	13. Mures	23. Satu-Mare	33. Olt
4. Hunedoara	14. Bihor	24. Valcea	34. Vaslui
5. Cluj	15. C. Severin	25. Dolj	35. Salaj
6. Timis	16. Arad	26. Dambovita	36. Bistrita-Nas.
7. Sibiu	17. Gorj	27. Neamt	37. Ialomita
8. Constanta	18. Braila	28. Salaj	38. Botosani
9. Arges	19. Bacau	29. Vrancea	39. Calarasi
10. Galati	20. Alba	30. Mehedinti	40. Teleorman
			41. Giurgiu

Source: POPESCU (1994, p.186).

MARIA DAN / RUDOLF POLEDNA / AUGUSTIN PERVAIN

Analyses of the selected research regions and local case studies

1. Development level of Romania in international context in 1966 and 1997

In the hierarchy of human development (calculated for 175 countries with the help of the Index of Human Development IHD), published in 1997 by the UNO, Romania occupies the 79th rank in the world and 11th in the group of Central and South-East European countries. In this context:

- a) Romania has a moderate level of development in international comparison.
- b) The development process shown by this synthetic indicator is extremely dynamic and has as frame of reference a complex and unstable social reality. This social reality has sought out for the stability of the social systems and subsystems, since the changes that affected the former communist states in Central and East Europe in 1989 and after. Tab. 1 illustrates the dynamic and the complexity of development. Important here is that all the former communist states in the region have lost ranking places according to IHD, a fact that speaks for the volatility of the structures and functions of the social systems in this region.

Tab. 1: RANKING OF THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO THE INDEX OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (IHD) 1996 AND 1997

Country	in 1996	in 1997
Slovenia	-	35
Czech Republic	37	39
Slovakia	41	42
Hungary	46	48
Poland	56	58
Russia	57	67
Bulgaria	62	69
Estonia	68	71
Lithuania	81	76
Croatia	-	77
Romania	74	79
Macedonia	-	80
Letonia	55	92
Ukraine	80	95
Albania	-	102
Gruzia	101	105
Moldavia	98	110

Source: Adevarul. Nr. 2299, 11 octombrie 1997, p. 5.

2. The IHD ranking of the Romanian counties selected for the research project in 1995

We designed our research project with the aim to capture the diversity of development situations in Romania, and especially in the rural areas. Concerning the IHD our sample includes administrative units that cover the entire scale of development levels from high to low, as shown in Tab. 2.

Tab. 2: THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STUDIED COUNTIES ACCORDING TO IHD IN 1995

High IHD	Arges, Brasov, Cluj, Timis,
Moderate IHD	Constanta, Harghita, Maramures,
Low IHD	Vaslui, Ilfov (SAI) ¹

Source: Raportul dezvoltarii umane in Romania 1996, p. 99.

Tab. 3 RANKING OF THE STUDIED COUNTIES ACCORDING TO IHD IN 1995

	IHD	Rank among all 41 counties of Romania
Romania	0,794	
<i>Counties with high IHD</i>	<i>0,852</i>	
Municipiul. Bucuresti (with SAI)	0,887	1
Cluj	0,861	2
Brasov	0,860	3
Timis	0,830	6
Arges	0,816	9
<i>Counties with moderate IHD</i>	<i>0,778</i>	
Constanta	0,803	12
Harghita	0,803	13
Maramures	0,764	25
<i>Counties with low IHD</i>	<i>0,726</i>	
Vaslui	0,731	36

Source: Raportul dezvoltarii umane in Romania 1996, p. 99.

¹ In summer 1996, during the period of the field research, the county of Ilfov was called "sector agricol Ilfov" (SAI) and was part of the municipality of Bucharest.

The differences between the counties are more complex than we suppose observing the values of IHD. First of all, the disparities between the rural and the urban areas of Romania are extremely high. The rural area of Romania is even now a world of its own with all its structural deficiencies. On the one hand the social, cultural, economical, political, informational structural weaknesses have repercussion on the quality of life; on the other hand, these deficiencies reduce the equality of chances for those who live in the Romanian countryside in all segments and all levels of social life. They have an impact both regarding the individual's life and the social history.

3. Development level and potential of the studied counties in 1985 and the dynamic of development 1965 - 1985

In the light of the economical and sociological analyses of Romanian society, in the frame of reference of the socialist social order in Romania, the situation of our sample in 1985 was following:

In 1985 the counties were ranked in the context of the 41 existing counties as follows in Tab. 4.

Tab. 4: RANKING OF THE STUDIED COUNTIES CONCERNING THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC POTENTIAL AND DEVELOPMENT IN 1985 AND THE DYNAMIC OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 1965 -1985

a) SOCIO-ECONOMIC POTENTIAL 1985

Ranking	County
1	Municipiul Bucuresti (inclusive SAI)
3	Cluj
4	Brasov
5	Constanta
6	Timis
9	Arges
16	Maramures
29	Vaslui
32	Harghita

Source: POPESCU (1994, p. 186).

b) SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 1985

Ranking	County
1	Municipiul Bucuresti (inclusive SAI)
2	Brasov
3	Timis
4	Cluj
8	Constanta
9	Arges
21	Harghita
22	Maramures
34	Vaslui

Source: POPESCU (1994, p. 186).

c) DYNAMIC OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 1965 - 1985

Ranking	County
1	Municipiul Bucuresti (inclusive SAI)
3	Vaslui
17	Arges
23	Constanta
26	Harghita
28	Timis
29	Cluj
34	Brasov
38	Maramures

Source: POPESCU (1994, p. 186).

The data from the Tab. 4 underline the lasting character of the disparities concerning the dynamic, but also the potential, of development of the counties. These differences originate in the historical particularities of the great historical regions and in different direction and speed of the modernization (urbanisation and industrialization) in these historical regions and in the local social systems. Last but not least we have to consider the efficiency of the management of the existing resources and existing potential at local level (POPESCU 1994, pp. 183-190).

In the middle of the 1980s the studied counties had a specific economic profile. Romania was considered to be for that time an industrial-agrarian country:

- strong industrial: Brasov,
- industrial-agrarian: Arges, Cluj, Harghita, Maramures, Timis,
- complex: Constanta, municipiul Bucuresti (inclusive SAI)
- agrarian-industrial: Vaslui (POPESCU 1994, p. 189).

4. Development level of the studied counties according IHD in 1995 compared with 1985

When we compare the ranking of the studied counties according to the level of development in 1985 and 1995 - even if the frame of reference for our comparison is not identical - we see that the changes during the last decade, in radical different socio-economical, political etc. conditions (socialist global system until 1989, a social system in transition after 1989) are not spectacular, except maybe Harghita. This speaks for the inertia of the development of global and/or local social systems and for the complexity of the transition process in Romania after 1989.

Tab. 5: RANKING OF THE STUDIED COUNTIES ACCORDING IHD IN 1995 COMPARED WITH 1985

	Ranking 1995	Ranking 1985	Difference
Municipiul Bucuresti (inclusive SAI)	1	1	0
Cluj	2	4	+ 2
Brasov	3	2	- 1
Timis	6	3	- 3
Arges	9	9	0
Constanta	12	8	- 4
Harghita	13	21	+ 8
Maramures	25	22	- 3
Vaslui	36	34	- 2

This hierarchy indicates that the regional (and local) development disparities are relative. They also are not determined exclusively by the starting position of the global social system or the local systems and subsystems. Local and regional disparities are produced and reproduced through the development strategies at global social level and due to the innovative initiatives at local level. The differences and disparities maintain themselves in the past and in present despite the obvious and programmatic efforts of the communist party according to the main aim of its

policy until 1989: harmonisation and homogenisation (= leveling) of the general development level of all administrative units of Romania.

5. Changes in the global economic and social system of Romania after 1989

The most important and evident changes that took place in Romanian society after 1989 occurred in the political and economical subsystem. Let us mention first the change from a totalitarian-dictatorial political regime, based on the monopolization and concentration of power in the hands of the Communist Party and its leaders; second, the process of passing from a centralized command economy, based on collective (socialist) property, to a market-orientated economy based on private property. The passing from one stage to the other stage of the subsystems mentioned, also generated changes in opinions, attitudes, and mentality of the Romanian population.

The most profound change in Romanian society is the change of the status and the form of property. That change has consequences on the legislative level (normative changes), on the social level (social roles and status), on the mentality level (collectivism versus individualism), on the attitudinal level (attitude towards property, work etc.), and on the motivational level or cultural level.

In the rural system of the Romanian global society the change of the status and form of landownership is obviously the most important. The changes have had been initiated by the now well known law Nr. 18 of the 18th of February 1991 (published in: Monitorul Oficial, 20 February 1991). The law established the right of private property ownership of land, being in the custody of agricultural production cooperatives, in two forms: reconstitution of property and constitution of property (Art. 1).

The "rural question", generally speaking the solutions for the problems of the rural areas, is in Romania one of the milestones of political, economical, cultural dispute. The solutions for the development of the rural areas are not the best. Even more: This issue illustrates eloquently the consequences of the so called "half way solutions". It seems that all the Romanian governments from 1864 up today, have seen property itself as the most important problem and only second as a normative-actional frame of reference for the modernization of the rural areas and the rural settlements.

The successive land reforms in the history of Romania have done nothing else but parcel the land. In that way the exploitation is diminished to the size which made impossible their management in terms of market economy or rational technical and technological solutions.

Tab. 6: DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND BY THE SIZE OF THE EXPLOITATION IN ROMANIA IN 1930

Category	Exploitation		Total surface		Cultivated surface.	
	Number	%	Hectare	%	Hectare	%
Total	3,280,000	100.0	19.750.000	100.0	12,850,000	100.0
Under 5 ha	2,460,000	74.9	5,535,000	28.0	4,600,000	35.8
From which under 1 ha	610,000	18.6	320,000	1.6	275,000	2.1
1 ≤ 3 ha	1,100,000	33.5	2,200,000	11.1	1,850,000	14.4
3 ≤ 5 ha	750,000	22.8	3,015,000	15.3	2,475,000	19.3
5 ≤ 10 ha	560,000	17.1	3,955,000	20.0	3,110,000	24.2
10 ≤ 20 ha	180,000	5.5	2,360,000	12.0	1,715,000	13.3
20 ≤ 50 ha	55,000	1.7	1,535,000	7.8	1,015,000	7.9
50 ≤ 100 ha	12,800	0.4	895,000	4.5	540,000	4.2
100 ≤ 500 ha	9,500	0.3	2,095,000	10.6	920,000	7.2
500 ha and more	2,700	0.1	3,375,000	17.7	950,000	7.4

Source: Enciclopedia Romaniei. (1939): Vol. III, p. 304.

Before the land-reform in 1921 the large exploitations over 100 ha represented 47,7 % of the arable land. This property belonged to 5,385 landowners. The small properties up to 10 ha represented 41,3 % of the arable soil, owned by 920,939 peasants.

The peasants have lived under hard and difficult economic and social conditions. Illiteracy in the rural area affected, at the beginning of the 20th century (census from 1912), 67.4 % of the residents (compared with 35.0 % in urban areas and 60.7 % for the whole country). They did not dispose of any capital or credit possibilities.²

The land-reform of 1921 improved the situation of the peasants. But the agriculture was not efficient because of the size structure of the exploitation (Tab. 6).

The communist regime tried to impose a new land reform in 1946, followed soon by the cooperativisation process. At the start of this process the situation of rural landproperty was the following (Tab. 7):

² Enciclopedia Romaniei. Vol. III. 1939. Economica Nationala. Cadresi Productie. Bucuresti, pp. 299-300.

Tab. 7: DISTRIBUTION OF LANDOWNERS BY THE SIZE OF THE PROPERTY IN 1948

Size of the property	Number of landowners	
	Absolute	%
under 0,5 ha	901,016	16.4
0,5 ≤ 1 ha	1,100,852	20.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>2,001,868</i>	<i>36.4</i>
1 ≤ 2 ha	1,472,785	26.8
2 ≤ 3 ha	838,296	15.2
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>2,311,071</i>	<i>42.0</i>
3 ≤ 5 ha	697,318	12.7
5 ≤ 10 ha	363,678	6.6
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1,060,996</i>	<i>19.3</i>
10 ≤ 20 ha	88,335	1.6
20 ≤ 50 ha	22,698	0.4
50 ha and more	15,170	0.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>5,501,138</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Recensamintul agricol din Republica Populara Romana, de A. Golopentia si P. Onica. Bucuresti, 1948, p. 11. In: Agricultura Romaniei 1944 - 1964, 1964, Editura Agro-Silvica, Bucuresti.

The majority of the agricultural exploitations during that time - Second World War and the first years of peace after that - were small: 36,4 % up to 1 ha, 78,4 % up to 3 ha.

After 1991 the law Nr. 18 applied, with unforeseeable results (Tab. 8):

Tab.8: THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXPLOITATIONS BY THE SIZE OF LANDPROPERTY IN ROMANIA IN 1992

Size	Number of exploitations	
	Absolute	%
under 0.5 ha	618,800	11.9
0.5 ≤ 1.0 ha	728,000	14.0
1.0 ≤ 5.0 ha	3,094,000	59.5
5.0 ≤ 10 ha	759,200	14.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>5,200,000</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: OTIMAN P. I. (1994): Agricultura Romaniei la cumpana dintre milenile II si III, p. 150.

In Romania today 85,4 % of all exploitations in agriculture have a surface under 5 ha; approximately 60 % of them 1-5 ha. The average size of one exploitation is 1,8 - 2 ha. This not enough, these areas are parceled. The lack of infrastructure in technology and mechanics in agriculture, the absence of specialized services situated before and after production is responsible for a subsistence type of economy with malign effects for the market economy.

An other major change refers to the structure of the economy, especially to the balance between the main branches of Romanian economy (see Tab. 9).

Tab. 9: ACTIVE EMPLOYED POPULATION BY ECONOMIC BRANCHES IN ROMANIA 1980, 1985 AND 1990-1993 (in thousand persons)

	1980	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993
<i>Total Romania</i>	10,350.0	10,586.0	10,840.0	10,786.0	10,458.0	10,062.0
Agriculture ¹	3,049.0	3,023.0	3,055.0	3,116.0	3,362.0	3,537.0
Agriculture ²	3,048.1	3,020.8	3,056.4	3,094.7	3,361.6	
Industry ¹	3,642.0	3,938.0	4,005.0	3,803.0	3,301.0	3,030.0
Industry ²	3,678.7	3,927.8	4,015.1	3,817.4	3,300.9	

¹ Figures after Anuarul statistic al Romaniei, 1994, p. 158.

² Figures after Anuarul statistic al Romaniei, 1997, p. 150.

As a general tendency since 1990 the employed population is decreasing constantly. That general tendency is contradictory: in the industrial branches the number of employed people is decreasing; in agriculture and connected branches the number of employed people is increasing. According to the statistical information in industry the employed population diminished in the period 1990-1993 with approximately one million persons. In agriculture the statistics have registered a growth of approximately 500,000 persons. With 35 % of the total active employed population working in agriculture Romania has typical characteristics of a third world country.

6. Case studies of the selected counties and communes

The case studies of the nine selected counties are arranged in alphabetic order. They are concentrated on demographic aspects and migration flows as well as on economical and labour force structures. Some information about the ten selected communes are integrated into them. These studies are intended to provide a concrete idea of some characteristic of the spaces in which the sample interviews of 1,000

private households have been carried out. The answers given during these interviews will be analyzed below in the next contribution in this book by W. HELLER.

6.1 The county of Arges

The county of Arges is situated in the north of the southern part of the country, that is in the north of the region of Muntenia, and it covers a total surface of 6,801 km². The county has three municipalities, three towns, 93 communes and 585 villages.

The total population of Arges at the census of 1992 amounted to 681.206 inhabitants; the density of the population was 100.16 inhabitants/km².

**Tab. 10: POPULATION OF ARGES BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS
1930 - 1992**

	1930	1948	1956	1966	1977	1992
Total	394,268	448,964	483,741	529,833	631,918	681,206
Urban	40,209	56,361	81,906	134,718	196,580	314,681
Rural	354,059	392,603	401,835	395,115	435,338	366,525

We can observe in Tab. 10 that the most accentuated growth of population, of about 119 %, was in the period between the censuses of 1966 and 1977, caused in the first place by the attraction of population flows from other counties from Romania in order to develop some huge industrial objectives; for example the petrochemic combine from Pitesti, the automobile enterprises "Dacia", the cross-country cars constructing enterprises ARO from Pitesti, etc. This we can explain with the great leap registered in the change of the "urban population" index between 1977 and 1992 (correlated with the decrease of the rural population index). These variations can be explained first of all with migration, but mostly by the transformation of some rural settlements (for example Colibasi) into urban ones. Colibasi registered in this period a growth of 319.2 %, caused by the developments of some major industrial objectives (sections of the "Dacia" automobile factory and the ARO cross-country cars plant).

The evolution of the population by residence is determined by demographic factors (the age-group and gender structure), but mostly by economic and social factors. This demonstrates that a considerable process of urbanization has taken place, and in 1992 the urban population came to 46.2 % of the county's population. With this distribution of places of residence, the county of Arges is situated under the national average (54.3 % urban and 45.7 % rural population).

With regard to the age-group structure of the county's population of 1977 and of 1992 you can underline that the proportion of the population between 0-14 years decreased from 26.6 % to 22.1 % while those over 60 years increased from 11.4 % to 15.5 %. These data indicate the presence of the phenomenon of demographic aging, present especially in the rural settlements of the south of the county (including Rociu). In the majority of these settlements the proportion of the population over 60 years of age exceeds even 30 %.

Tab. 11: CHANGES OF NATALITY, MORTALITY AND MIGRATION IN ARGES 1989-1995

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰
Births	14.5	12.7	12.0	11.8	11.2	10.8	10.4
Deaths	10.1	10.2	10.5	10.8	10.4	10.4	11.2
Natural Increase	4.4	2.5	1.5	1.0	0.8	0.4	-0.8
In-Migrants	7.4	38.6	11.5	13.0	12.1	11.5	10.2
Out-Migrants	7.5	37.4	11.4	12.8	11.9	11.7	10.8
Migratory Rate	-0.1	1.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	-0.2	-0.6
Total Increase	4.3	3.7	1.6	1.2	1.0	0.2	-1.4

One can observe in Tab. 11 the linear decrease of the natural growth. In 1995 this indicator reaches negative values (-0.8).

At the same time we can notice slight changes of the migratory rate. On the whole the rate became negative.

The main changes concern the migration flows from and to the neighboring counties Brasov, Valcea, Olt, Teleorman, and Dambovita, and the municipality of Bucharest. But you cannot tell about a process of reverse migration, because on one hand the industry of the county is a viable one, and there has not been massive reduction of labour forces, and on the other hand due to the fact that many of the rural communes of the county are at a level of lower development.

In the census of 1992, the active population (=labour force population) of the county of Arges represented 47.5 % from the total population, 93.4 % of this active population had a job.

In the different economic sectors the active population can be placed in the following way: primary sector 17.36 %, secondary sector 53.05 %, tertiary sector 25.16 %, other 4.43 %.

From an economic point of view the county has an industrial-agrarian character. The GDP realized in 1994 amounted to 1,574 billion lei (4,350 USD/inhab.), obtained mainly in the secondary sector (49 %), followed by the tertiary one (33 %) and primary (18 %).

Of the total agricultural surface area (345,029 hectares), 49.56 % represent arable land, a fact which permits the practice of a powerful agriculture, especially in the southern zones of the county. Animal-breeding represents 45 % of the agricultural activity.

In the census of 1992, 239,038 lodgings were noted in the county of Arges. The fittings were under the national level (a fact that explains the low attraction of the county for immigrants despite the fact that the industrial segment is highly developed and is capable of absorbing labor force).

Tab. 12: FITTINGS OF THE LODGINGS IN ARGES IN 1992

	Lodgings with						
	Kitchen	Bath	Water	Hot Water	Electricity	Central Heating	Metan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Arges	89	42	47	40	96	37	30
Romania	90	47	54	43	97	39	32

The village of Rociu, which is part of the commune Rociu, is situated in the southern part of the county of Arges, at a distance of 25 kms from the municipality of Pitesti. The total surface of the commune amounts to 7,345 hectares. The relief is a flat one. The commune consists of four villages. In 1994 the commune of Rociu had 3,319 inhabitants, out of which 662 in Rociu.

The commune has a preponderant agrarian function. 87.7 % of the total agricultural field are plough-land. Most of the labour force work in agriculture (53 %).

The flat relief permits the practicing of cultures on wide-spread surfaces. These types of cultures are usually cultivated in a associative manner.

In the village of Rociu there are two juridical agrarian associations (legally recorded) which cultivate 275, respectively 260 hectars. In three other villages of the commune there are four legally recorded associations which cultivate 530, 210, 585 and 435 hectars. So, of the total of 6,172 hectars of arable land 2,295 (37 %) hectars are cultivated by agrarian associations (legally recorded). Besides these associations in the commune ten family associations still exist, one agrarian commercial society and four AGROMECS (agrarian mechanical stations). The main crops are wheat, corn and sunflower. Beside of these plants the farmers breed animals.

We should mention that the appearance of these associations of agricultural producers started in 1991. After the breakdown of the communist regime in December of 1989, the agricultural collectives of the commune broke down. Everybody tried to cultivate by himself the agricultural land received by the reprivatisatio. The bad yields obtained due to the lack of a sufficient agricultural

mechanisation and of the financial resources which are necessary for the acquisition of seeds and chemical fertilizers led a part of the farmers of Rociu to associate. This kind of agrarian enterprise is economically more succesful.

The labour force in agriculture is relatively old and has a great share of women. The prices of the agricultural products are too low compared with those of the industrial ones and even with those of the agrarian services, mainly those from the Agromec. All these facts lead to a low economic efficiency (under the 1989 level) and in consequence to the pauperization of the population.

The low level of living conditions pushes a part of the inhabitants to migrate, especially to Pitesti, the countyseat. This migration combined with a negative birth rate leads to losses of the population of the commune (11.4 % in the period 1990-1994).

In 1992, 1,564 lodgings in the commune of Rociu and only 1,399 households were registered. The great discrepancies between the living conditions of Rociu and of an urban settlement let us suppose that these lodgings will remain unoccupied permanently.

6.2 *The county of Brasov*

The county of Brasov is situated in the center of Romania, in the south-east of Transylvania, and has a total surface of 5,400 km². The total population of the county at the census of 1992 amounted to 643,261 persons. This county ranks among those with a high density of the population from Romania (119.2 persons/km²).

Tab. 13: POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF BRASOV BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS 1930 - 1992

Brasov	1930	1948	1956	1966	1977	1992
Total	265,414	300,836	373,941	442,692	582,863	643,261
Urban	67,073	94,848	225,600	299,976	402,504	490,018
Rural	198,341	205,988	148,41	142,716	180,359	153,243

Analysing the changes of the numbers of population of the county 1930-1992, we can discover some relevant facts for the subject of our research. First of all we note that the population of Brasov in 1992 was 242 % higher than in 1930. This growth is due to the spectacular growth of the urban population (by 730 % higher than in 1930, while the rural population decreased from 1930 to 1992 by 77 %). The highest rates of growth have been marked after 1948, after the installation of the communist regime in Romania. From 1948 to 1977 the population of the county

grew by 140,171 persons (+102,528 in urban and 37,643 in rural). The cause which determined the positioning of the urban areas of Brasov a privileged place on top of attractivity for the migrants who came from the rural areas of the county and from outside, was the industrialization policy (concentrated specially in the municipality of Brasov and in the industrial towns in its surrounding Codlea, Sacele, Zarnesti, Rasnov) which has led to a great demand for labour force in those areas.

At 1 July 1995 the county of Brasov had a population of 640,943 inhabitants. 76 % of the population lived in the urban areas. Therefore the county of Brasov ranks first in the country with regard to the urbanization level.

After the political changes of December 1989, the phenomenon of migration underwent substantial changes (see Tab. 14).

Tab. 14: CHANGES OF NATALITY, MORTALITY AND MIGRATION IN THE COUNTY OF BRASOV 1989 - 1995

Index	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰
Births	14.0	12.0	10.2	9.9	9.3	8.8	8.6
Deaths	8.7	8.3	8.3	9.0	9.5	9.3	9.5
Natural Increase	5.3	3.7	1.9	0.9	-0.2	-0.5	-0.9
In-Migrants	7.5	59.8	14.8	14.5	9.7	10.8	9.7
Out-Migrants	5.4	20.5	7.5	8.6	6.9	8.8	9.8
Migratory Rate	2.1	39.3	7.3	5.9	2.8	2.0	-0.1
Total Increase	7.4	43.0	9.2	6.8	2.6	1.5	-1.0

The migration controlled in the 1980s by political-administrative decisions were cut after the events from 1989. So can we explain the rapid leap made by this phenomenon in 1990 from a medium annual migratory flow rate in the period 1985-1989 of 3.1 ‰ to 39.3 ‰ in 1990. In the years that have followed we can mark a linear decrease of the intensity of the phenomenon due to the new socio-economic conditions which have provoked unemployment, industrial restructuring and the decrease of the level of investments in house-building. These phenomena have led on the one hand to a decrease of the number of immigrants, because the chances of integration in the new socio-economic landscape of the urban areas have been very low. On the other hand an intensification of emigration occurred (the growth of people who leave), caused by the dismissal of labour forces of the big factories, the increase in product and service prices, the small offer of alternative jobs, the monoqualification of the labour forces and by the monoindustrialism practiced in some towns. So in 1995 the migratory rate reached negative values, for the first time in the last 50 years!

Life became harder. This fact and demographic aging (mostly in rural areas) were the reasons that in 1993 the natural increase of population reached negative values.

In 1995 out of 4,427 out-migrants from the urban areas of the county of Brasov 2,349 (these were 52 %) left to the rural areas of the county, and out of 1,882 immigrants to the rural areas of the county of Brasov 715 (38 %) came from the urban areas of the county. These data seem to show the beginning of a reverse migration (urban - rural) in the county of Brasov. It is certain that these percents are higher than those noted during the years before, but the phenomenon still has to be studied. In any case, the relatively expensive life in the urban areas, the demographic decrease of the younger generation, bad housing conditions, very few offers of jobs and even the opportunities for investments in the rural areas (for example, with the money you have to spend for a lodging in a big town you can initiate a profitable business in the rural area) influenced many inhabitants of the urban areas to migrate to the countryside.

From an economic point of view the county of Brasov has an economy with a strong industrial character. The GDP of Brasov in 1994 amounted to 1,631 billion lei (4,920 USD/inhab.) obtained preponderantly in the secondary sector (56 %), followed by the tertiary one (34 %) and the primary one (10 %). Brasov is number one of all counties concerning the production of trucks, bicycles and tractors. The level of foreign investment in the period between 1991 (June) and 1996 was 40,446,218 USD. The investors came mainly from U.K., USA, Germany and Austria.

In 1992 in the county of Brasov 211,591 lodgings were registered. The level of fitting is much above the average of Romania (Tab. 15).

Tab. 15: THE FITTING OF THE LODGINGS IN BRASOV IN 1992

	Lodgings with						
	Kitchen	Bath	Water	Hot Water	Electri-city	Central Heating	Metan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Brasov	96	74	86	65	99	55	62
Romania	90	47	54	43	97	39	32

The studied village of Sirnea, part of the rural commune of Fundata, is situated in the mountain region of the county of Brasov.

This village is about 44 km away from the municipality of Brasov and about 3 km away from the national highway which passes the Meridian Carpathians in one of the most picturesque hilly and mountainous landscapes of Romania. The commune of Fundata consists of three villages (Fundata, Fundatica, Sirnea). The population of the village of Sirnea in 1992 amounted to 512 persons (the total of the commune of

Fundata was of 1,324). The village of Sirnea, as well as the whole commune of Fundata, are in a demographic decrease, the birth rate as well as the migratory rate show negative values. For example, in 1994 alone the birth rate was -0.99 ‰, and the migratory -32.18 ‰. Excessive emigration combined with demographic aging leads to a demographically gloomy future of the commune, respectively of the village Sirnea. In the period between 1990-94 the commune of Fundata lost in the annual average 2 % of its population per year. The explanations for this situation are mostly economic.

The commune of Fundata covers a total surface of 3,681 hectares, out of which 1,543 hectares (42 %) are agricultural land. The arable land amounts only to 78 hectares (5.05 % of the agricultural land). The altitude of the village (1,290m-average) does not permit the cultivation of other crops than potatoes (production 1994: 960 tonnes, that means 788 kg/inhab.) and stockbreeding. But the agricultural products can be sold very hard in terms of the free-market because of the great distances to the centers and the low prices of agricultural products compared with the industrial ones and the services, and because the absence of subventions for producers. These were only some of the reasons for which the inhabitants of this commune try their luck elsewhere.

Lack of viability in the primary sector is reflected even in the structure of active population (=labour force). Only 45 % of the active population of 1994 worked in the primary sector. This fact, combined with the fact that in the commune of Fundata there are no industrial estates, means that a great part of the population of the village and the commune works outside of the locality, many in Brasov. It is well known that the great distance between the place of residence and the place of work is one of the favouring factors of definitive migration.

The hope of the inhabitants of Sirnea bears the name of agro-tourism, based on the indubitable beauty of the landscape. But concerning the development of a touristic economy there exists a lack of managerial competence, a lack of material resources, a lack of appropriate infrastructure and a lack of capacity which is necessary in order to develop marketing and promotional strategies.

6.3 The county of Cluj

Cluj county is situated in the central region of Romania, Transylvania. Its administrative territory is approximate 6,650 km², ranking from that point of view in 12th place under the 41 counties of Romania. At the census 1992 Cluj county had a total population of 736,301 (ranking place 6). 67.4 % of the population live in urban areas, 32.6 % in rural area (ranking place 5). The settlement network consists of 426 communes organized in 6 towns, and 74 rural communes composed of 420 villages.

63 % of the total area of the county is agricultural area, of which 47.6 % is arable land. Arable land is deficient and qualitatively poor, compared for example with Timis county but also with other counties. So, the natural conditions for agriculture are not quite favorable.

Comparing the census of 1966 with that of 1992 the population of the rural areas in Cluj county decreased in the last twenty years by over 90,000 persons, (about 28 %). The general tendency of negative growth of rural population at national level is visible also in the case of Cluj countryside (Tab. 16).

Tab. 16: NUMBER AND AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH OF RURAL POPULATION OF THE COUNTY CLUJ IN 1966, 1977 AND 1992

	1966	1977	1992
Population of rural area	333,499	316,624	239,738
Average annual growth	-0.5 ‰	- 1.8 ‰	- 1.1 ‰

Source: Catedra de sociologie. Universitatea Babes-Bolyai.

In this general context, the demographic development of Gilau, one of the communes selected for the research, is an exception.

As we have said, the rural population at county level of the census 1992 decreased to 75.7 % compared with the census of 1977, and to 71.9 % compared with 1966.

In Gilau the population decreased in 1992 to 97.7 % (188 persons) of the registered data in 1977, but the weight of the settlement's population in the total rural population of Cluj had increased. Compared with the census of 1966, the population rose up to 1992 by 128.5 % (1,768 persons). In other words: Contrary to the general decrease of the rural population in the county and of negative growing rates (1966-1992), the population of Gilau registered positive growth (Tab. 17 and 18).

Tab. 17: THE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNE OF GILAU IN 1966, 1977 AND 1992

	1966	1977	1992
The number of population of Gilau commune	6,198	8,154	7,966
The share of the population of Gilau of the rural population of Cluj-County	6.5 %	8.4 %	10.6 %

Source: Catedra de sociologie. Universitatea Babes-Bolyai.

**Tab. 18: THE POPULATION GROWTH OF THE COMMUNE OF GILAU
1966 -1992**

1966 - 1977	1977 - 1992	1966 - 1992
2.9 %	- 0.1 %	1.1 %

Source: Catedra de sociologie, Universitatea Babes-Bolyai.

That particularity is more evident when we compare the age group structure at a local, a regional and a national level (see Tab. 19).

**Tab. 19: AGE GROUP STRUCTURES OF THE COMMUNE OF GILAU, THE
RURAL AREA OF THE COUNTY OF CLUJ AND THE RURAL AREA
OF ROMANIA IN 1992**

Total population 1992	0 - 14 years	15 - 59 years	60 years and older	Dependency ratio
	%	%	%	%
Gilau 100%	25.2	60.5	14.2	65.2
Rural area of Cluj 100%	17.7	56.8	25.5	75.9
Rural area of Romania 100%	20.9	57.0	22.1	75.1

Source: Catedra de sociologie. Universitatea Babes-Bolyai.

The age-group 0 - 14 years is overrepresented in Gilau, compared with the figures at regional and national levels. The population is young and in good shape both for production and for biological reproduction.

That development was determined partially probably by the favorable geographical position of Gilau: Because of the proximity to the city of Cluj-Napoca (20 km) and its situation on an important communication road (EU-road), this locality offers a force of attraction which Vultureni lacks for example. Vultureni is our second research commune of the county of Cluj.

Gilau is not a commune of traditional agrarian fashion (see Tab. 20). From the perspective of the economic structure, Gilau is more similar to an urban settlement than to a rural one. Moreover, Gilau's privileged position is underlined by the structure of the inactive population. This structure is not dominated by the retired persons as is usually the case in rural settlements. Almost a third of the inactive population are school children and students. Therefore a good development potential for the future exists if the management of the resources is rational.

Tab. 20: THE STRUCTURE OF ACTIVE POPULATION (=LABOUR FORCES) OF THE COMMUNE OF GILAU AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF THE CLUJ COUNTY BY THE THREE MAIN SECTORS OF ECONOMY IN 1992

	Sector I	Sector II	Sector III	Others
	%	%	%	%
Gilau	20.8	44.9	25.8	8.5
Rural area of Cluj county	42.7	33.9	18.6	5.8

Source: Catedra de sociologie. Universitatea Babes-Bolyai.

Tab. 21: THE STRUCTURE OF INACTIVE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNE OF GILAU AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF THE COUNTY OF CLUJ IN 1992

	School children, Students	Retired persons	House-wives	Others
	%	%	%	%
Gilau	32.6	23.0	22.2	22.2
Rural area of Cluj county	22.0	43.9	15.4	18.6

Source: Catedra de sociologie. Universitatea Babes-Bolyai.

The commune Vultureni is situated in the north-west of Cluj-Napoca, on the county road 109 A, about 25 km away from the municipality. Despite this geographical proximity to the county-capital, the commune Vultureni is relatively isolated, in other words, the communication with the Somes-couloir is not very easy. The commune is composed of six villages.

The administrative territory of the commune covers 7,111 ha. The land-use is as follows: arable land 2,099 ha (29.5 %), pasture and meadows 2,863 ha (40.3 %), forests 1,467 ha (20.6 %), lakes and ponds 66 ha (0.9 %), other areas 616 ha (8.7 %). The lack of arable land can be explained by the soil configuration characterized by abrupt hills. More than half the labour force of the commune works in agriculture (see Tab. 23), especially stockbreeding.

From a demographical point of view, Vultureni registers an important decrease of the population.

Tab. 22: NUMBER OF POPULATION OF THE COMMUNE OF VULTURENI IN 1990, 1992 AND 1995

1990	1992	1995
2,443	1,858	1,673

Source: Directia judeteana de statistica. Cluj. Data registred at the beginning of each year.

The Census 1992 registered a loss of 23.94 % of the population compared with 1990. The dynamic of the population decreasing process was very high. At the end of 1990 the population of the commune Vultureni was diminished by 382 persons.³ Compared with 1990, in 1995 the population of Vultureni represents 68.48 % of the former population, that is a loss of 31.52 %. The main cause for that development is emigration: Only in 1990 382 persons emigrated. After 1994, there are signs of an slight immigration process. In 1995, 13 persons chose Vultureni as a residence. But the emigration-immigration balance is still oriented towards emigration. For example, 30 people left Vultureni and just 13 migrants arrived in the commune in 1995. The decreasing growth of the population is not caused only by the out-migration but also by the negative natural growth: - 20 in 1990, - 43 in 1995⁴. The population of the commune is overaged: Over 50 % of the population is 60 and older.

In 1992, from a total population of 1,858, 833 (44.8 %) were active and 1,025 inactive (55,2 %) (dependency ratio of 1.23).

The active population of Vultureni works mainly in sector I (agriculture) (see Tab. 23). The part of active population working in sector I in Vultureni is greater than the average in the country-side at county level. Compared with Gilau, in Vultureni the share of the people working in agriculture is twice as big. That speaks for a traditionally orientated activities structure of the local social system.

Tab. 23: THE STRUCTURE OF ACTIVE POPULATION (= LABOUR FORCES) OF THE COMMUNE OF VULTURENI AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF THE COUNTY OF CLUJ BY THE TREE MAIN SECTORS OF ECONOMY IN 1992

	Sector I	Sector II	Sector III	Others
	%	%	%	%
Vultureni	54.5	23.9	17.8	5.8
Rural area of Cluj county	42.7	33.9	18.6	5.8

Source: Census 1992.

³ Componentele evolutiei populatiei in 1990. Directia jud. de statistica. Cluj.

⁴ Componentele evolutiei populatiei in 1990. Directia jud. de statistica. Cluj.

Tab. 24: THE STRUCTURE OF INACTIVE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNE OF VULTURENI AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF THE COUNTY OF CLUJ IN 1992

	School children, Students	Retired persons	House-wives	Others
	%	%	%	%
Vultureni	17.8	57.9	10.4	13.9
Rural area of Cluj county	22.0	43.9	15.4	18.6

Source: Census 1992.

The overaged character of the population of Vultureni (both, the commune and the village) is shown by the figures of the retired persons. With a percentage of 57.9 % of retired persons Vultureni exceeds the average in the rural area of Cluj county. When we compare these figures with the commune of Gilau the difference is obvious.

Conclusion: Comparing two communes within the same administrative unit (Cluj county) we can see that the development potential (possibilities of landuse, human resources, capital, management abilities etc.) is distributed unequally. This potential of a settlement depends on the zonal (micro-system) horizon of possibilities from which the social actors can choose deliberately according to the aims which they themselves consider desirable.

6.4 The county of Constanta

Situated in the south-east of Romania (in the region of Dobrogea), the county of Constanta has an important geo-strategic position, first of all due to the sea-port Constanta, to the Danube stream and as well to the Danube-Black Sea channel which facilitates the amplification of the economic relations between Eastern and Western Europe, Europe and Asia, North and South.

In the period between 1966-1992, the population of the county registered a rapid growth, reaching 748,762 inhabitants, out of which 73.5 % live in the urban area (11 towns and cities) and 26.5 % in the rural area (52 villages).

Tab. 25: POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF CONSTANTA BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS 1930 - 1992

	1930	1948	1956	1966	1977	1992
Total	261,028	311,062	369,940	465,752	608,817	748,769
Urban	84,744	107,565	145,608	234,321	374,409	550,360
Rural	176,284	203,497	224,332	231,431	233,913	198,409

The numerous industrial estates which were built before 1989 have attracted an important quantity of labour force to the urban area of the county both from the rural area of the county and from other counties.

From the socio-demographical point of view in the rural area of Constanta we can distinguish three categories of settlements:

1. Rural localities that face a growth of the population: They are situated along the seaside where the tourist industry predominates, and those situated on the east-west axis Constanta-Cernavoda (a zone with an important industrial potential);
2. rural localities which have a stagnating population, situated along the banks of the Danube;
3. rural localities that have gone through an acute process of depopulation and demographic aging. Those are mostly situated in the north and south of the county. Some of the localities of this zone have recorded a decrease of the population under the minimal level admitted of 12.5 labour forces per 100 hectares of plough-land.

The processes of depopulation in some rural zones have been caused both by the increase of the rural-urban migration flux and by a birth rate lower than the migration ratio.

After 1989, the migratory fluxes grew even more, the maximal levels were reached in 1992 when the migration ratios amounted to 18.7 immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants and 11.8 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants.

Tab. 26: IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS OF THE COUNTY OF CONSTANTA 1992 - 1995

	1992		1993		1994		1995	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Numbers	13,692	8,678	10,420	7,288	10,531	8,639	11,305	10,155
Migratory rate (%)	18.7	11.8	14.1	9.9	14.2	11.7	15.2	13.7

The greatest numbers of immigrants came from the counties of Bacau, Botosani, Braila, Buzau, Calarasi, Galati, Ialomita and Iasi.

At the end of 1995 the county of Constanta recorded a positive migration rate of 1,150 inhabitants, and the migration ratio in rural (610 persons) was higher than the one recorded in the urban. Although the industrial establishments of the urban areas still attract a labour force both from the inside and the outside of the county, the releases from some of the non-viable plants, the appearance of unemployment (with a high rate in the urban areas) has determined a slight growth of the swell from urban to rural areas.

Among the communes of the county that have registered a slight growth of the population thanks to the positive migratory rate, we can encounter the commune of Cobadin, our research locality of the county of Constanta.

Cobadin is situated in the center of the county. The population amounted to 2,976. The commune possesses good conditions for agriculture. Its plough-land covers 10,570 hectares.

The authorities of the county of Constanta apply different strategies in order to attract a young labour force into the rural areas, for example in the communes of Cobadin, Viisoara, Negresti and Conacu, where the soil is very fertile, the authorities decided to sell parcels of different dimensions (between 0,5-10 hectares). People who would like to establish themselves in the settlement can buy the land.

Although in the period between 1992 - 1995 the birth rate was negative (except for 1995), the population of the commune registered a slight growth, reaching 8,676 persons.

Tab. 27: NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION IN COBADIN 1991 - 1995

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Natural increase (absolute numbers)	-	-6	-16	-33	13
Migration (absolute numbers)	-	15	22	64	138

In rural localities in which the process of depopulation is more advanced, the authorities plan to build public housing supported by state funds. The apartments will be placed on parcels of up to 1,000 m². The land will be given to young unemployed people.

The progressive decrease of the number of the employees in the county (from 313,000 in 1990 to 231,000 in 1995) has led to the appearance of unemployment which in 1995 had a ratio of 8.7 %, which is lower than the national average (9.5 %). The gender structure for unemployment at county level stresses the great number of women (67.2 % of the total) and concerning the socio-professional categories the high number of workers (89.7 % of all). 31.4 % of all jobless people

of the county live in the rural areas. In the commune of Cobadin 359 people who are unemployed are registered, most of them are young people.

Starting with 1991, the private sector of the county has continuously developed. In 1996 there were 25,466 firms in the county, out of which only 2,468 in the rural areas. In the commune of Cobadin the organization structure of economic enterprises was following (in 1996): 15 agricultural family associations, 13 agricultural juridical associations, two state enterprises for agricultural services ("agromecuri"), and 25 family enterprises in other domains than in agriculture.

The case-study conducted in the commune of Cobadin, as well as the research carried out in the other counties, emphasize the confrontation which takes place between the two modalities of cultivating the land: on the one hand the organization of the work and production of associative type and on the other the individual one. So, in the commune of Cobadin there exist beside the above mentioned cooperative enterprises nearly 3,000 individual farms.

The majority of agrarian specialists have stated (and in Cobadin the results attained in associations constitute a solid basis) that an efficient market-oriented agriculture can only be realized with the help of extensive agricultural exploitation which can use modern agrarian technologies.

It is true that for the small individual farms which possess a lower level of modern technology a larger labour force is needed, but under these conditions the Romanian agriculture remains on the level of subsistence. In terms of an efficient and mechanized tilling of the land, a part of the active population from the rural areas can be absorbed by branches of services and by the private nonagrarian sector whose expansion could really contribute to a real urbanization of the rural settlements.

The analysis of the accumulated data and the discussions with specialists from different domains have led to the conclusion that the county of Constanta possesses a real potential for growth that can be used:

1. The variety of the means of communication (sea, fluvial, land, air transport);
2. the existence of industrial estates of national interest (the nuclear center from Cernavoda, the petrochemical complex from Midia-Navodari, the combine for chemical fertilizer from Navodari, a.s.o.);
3. the shore zone of the Black Sea with an important touristic, though insufficiently exploited function;
4. a fertile land fund that should be efficiently cultivated. Thus, the realisation of a market-oriented agriculture would be possible.

6.5 The county of Harghita

Situated in the mountainous zone from the south-east of Transylvania, the county of Harghita has a surface of 663,890 hectares out of which approximately half is covered by woods and pastures.

Although in the period between 1966-1992 the urban population almost redoubled, at the census of 1992 only 54.3 % of the population of 348,335 inhabitants registered in the county lived in the rural area.

Tab. 28: POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF HARGHITA BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS 1930 - 1992

	1930	1948	1956	1966	1977	1992
Total	250,194	258,495	273,964	282,392	326,310	348,335
Urban	23,680	26,540	62,868	89,534	121,913	159,090
Rural	226,514	231,955	211,096	192,858	204,397	189,245

A growth of the population has been registered only in the following communes of the rural area (49 communes): Bilbor, Bradesti, Corund, Praid, Remetea and until 1990 even Sandominic. In these communes the agrarian sector and the other sectors are relatively well developed. In all other communes a decrease of the population has been registered, due to the natural decrease of the population and to the negative migratory ratio.

The rural zones with the greatest rate of demographic aging are Cristur and South-Odorhei, zones where problems of working the land and social protection for the elderly can appear.

Starting with 1990 the migratory fluxes have grown like in Romania in general. A negative migratory rate at county level is registered annually. So the county of Harghita fits in the category of emigration centers, without significant immigration fluxes. This situation characterizes the county even before 1989⁵.

Tab. 29: IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS OF THE COUNTY OF HARGHITA 1992 - 1995

	1992		1993		1994		1995	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Number	3,062	3,363	2,576	3,065	3,077	3,548	4,227	4,433
Migratory rate (%)	8.8	10.5	7.4	8.8	8.9	10.2	12.2	12.8

Most of the emigrants move to the neighbouring counties: Mures, Bacau, Neamt and Covasna.

⁵ See: DUMITRU, S. 1984): Migration fluxes. Bucuresti. Ed. Academia R.S.R. 05479-695-3
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In the years of 1991 and 1992 the migratory rate was positive in the urban area, but starting with 1993 it became negative even for the urban area. As regards the rural areas, the migratory rate was negative during the whole period.

Sandominic was chosen as our research commune of the county. The commune is situated in the north-eastern part of the county. Having a population of 6,676 inhabitants, the commune of Sandominic faced a slight decrease of the population, because after 1990 both the birth rate and the migratory rate were negative.

**Tab. 30: NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION IN SANDOMINIC
1991 - 1995**

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Natural increase (absolute numbers)	7	-8	-8	1	-3
Migration (absolute numbers)	-21	-7	-33	-26	-30

Even for this county the number of employees has decreased progressively, the highest rate of unemployment was in 1993 (13.1 %). Because of the partial absorption of the labour force by the private sector, in 1994 the rate of unemployment diminished to 10.5 %.

The percentage of the young population in Sandominic is still high because there are perspectives of demographic growth due to the opportunities of employment of the active population in more than one domain (the agrarian one). These are as follows:

- the mining and processing industries (the mine of Balan);
- the nonagrarian private sector (commerce, textile and handicraft industries);
- education, sanitation and public administration having almost 983 employees.

Because timber constitutes the most important resource of the county, the greatest number of enterprises are based on the primary and superior processing of the wood.

There are also remarkable resources of mineral water that have been exploited to date only by a percentage of 12 %. The large surfaces of pastures and hay-fields constitute special conditions for the development of livestock-breeding.

Although the arable land is small in dimension, there are very favourable conditions for potato (25-30 t/ha, while the national average is of only 14 t/ha).

Land-owners and experts consider the associative farming as more efficient than individual farming even under the conditions of hilly-mountainous areas. 51 agrarian associations exist in the county.

The county authorities take up the legally incorporated agrarian associations and the enterprises which process agricultural products. In the community of Sandominic there are no agrarian associations but there is an association processing timber

which was founded by individuals, and there exist 53 commercial associations in the private sector.

The strategies for development of the county council take into consideration the zone conditions, based on ten micro-regional decision-making centers. The ten microregions of the county have been delimited considering the local possibilities for self-support. It is intended to correlate the economic development with specific local resources and to launch the integrated informational system on the county level.

6.6 Ilfov (in 1996: sector agricol Ilfov)

Ilfov and our research commune Gradistea have a special status. In 1996 Ilfov was administrated by the municipality of Bucharest. Late in the year of 1996 Ilfov became a county in its own right. Gradistea belongs to Ilfov. More important than the former administrative inclusion is the fact that Bucharest is the capital of Romania and a primate city with all the effects that derive from that. Bucharest was and is Romania's window to the world. The characteristics of Bucharest are so unique that they hardly could be compared with the characteristics of other cities. The influence of the capital is so great that it suffocates all in his proximity, overshadows everything. The settlements of the Umland and Hinterland of Bucharest adapt themselves to the demands and commands of the capital. The communication with Bucharest is easy for many villages in the neighborhood because of the connection with the transportation and communication system of the capital.

In Tab. 31 can you see the following kinds of population movements in the municipality of Bucharest (including Ilfov): First, concerning the urban area the population grew very fast from 1980 up to 1990, especially from 1989 to 1990, because after the political change the immigration restrictions of the Ceausescu regime ceased, as mentioned above already. After 1990 urban population numbers continuously diminished as a consequence of the push factors of the cities and of the factors of the countryside as already mentioned above, too. Second, concerning the rural areas of the municipality of Bucharest, the population went down very significantly up to 1990, especially between 1989 and 1990 for the reasons mentioned above. After 1990 the population grew strongly, because of the same reasons as given above, but not up to the level which existed before 1990. Since 1994 you cannot see any greater changes in population numbers.

The development of the number of population of Gradistea does not fit perfectly with the general trend of the changes of the number of population in the rural areas, because in Gradistea the number of population has stagnated since 1990. The reason for that may be the following: In contrast to most other rural communes of Bucharest municipality, Gradistea is situated relatively far from the city. Up to 1996 the more closely situated rural communes were preferred by migrants as destination localities. But since 1994 a stagnation of the number of population has been

registered there, too. In this regard the figures of Gradistea reflect the population development in the rural areas of Bucharest municipality.

Tab. 31: POPULATION IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF BUCHAREST, IN ILFOV AND THE COMMUNE OF GRADISTEA 1980 AND 1989 - 1995 (BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS)

	1980	1989	1990	1993	1994	1995
Total	2,152,755	2,318,889	2,394,284	2,343,824	2,339,156	2,332,620
Urban	1,876,629	2,056,116	2,146,479	2,086,235	2,080,363	2,073,952
Bucharest	1,861,007	2,036,894	2,127,194	2,066,723	2,060,551	2,054,079
Buftea	15,622	19,222	19,285	19,512	19,812	19,873
Rural	276,126	262,773	247,805	257,589	258,793	258,668
Gradistea	3,135	2,974	2,859	2,850	2,853	2,837

Source: Directia Generala de Statistica a Municipiului Bucuresti (1996): Bucuresti - Anuarul statistic. Statistical Yearbook, pp. 29-30.

With regard to the structure of the active population in Ilfov we can see the impact of a large city (Tab. 32). In Ilfov just 2.7 % of the labour force works in the primary sector (mainly agriculture). The majority works in industry, and a considerable part in services. Gradistea is from that point of view closer to the image of a plurioccupational settlement. Agriculture is not the most important economic sector for the population. It is complementary to the other types of economic activities and, for some households, probably, a strategy of survival by subsistence economy.

Tab. 32: THE STRUCTURE OF ACTIVE POPULATION (= LABOUR FORCES) OF THE COMMUNE OF GRADISTEA AND THE RURAL AREAS OF BUCHAREST MUNICIPALITY (= ILFOV) BY THE MAIN SECTORS OF ECONOMY IN 1992

	Sector I	Sector II	Sector III	Others
	%	%	%	%
Gradistea	31.4	41.9	20.4	6.3
Rural area	2.7	50.4	44.2	2.7

Source: Directia Generala de Statistica a Municipiului Bucuresti (1996): Bucuresti - Anuarul statistic. Statistical Yearbook, pp. 29-30.

Gradistea is more a village for retired persons than a place for the young. The number of school children and students is below the average. The population is old and according to the data, the locality itself does not seem to be attractive for migrants.

Tab. 33: THE STRUCTURE OF INACTIVE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNE OF GRADISTEA AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF BUCHAREST MUNICIPALITY (= ILFOV) IN 1992

	School children, Students	Retired persons	House-wives	Others
	%	%	%	%
Gradistea	20.0	41.9	13.0	25.0
Rural area	28.0	34.3	15.8	21.9

Source: Directia Generala de Statistica a Municipiului Bucuresti (1996): Bucuresti - Anuarul statistic. Statistical Yearbook, pp. 29-30.

6.7 The county of Maramures

The county of Maramures is situated in the north of Romania. Its total surface amounts to 6,304 km², and it is composed by two cities (municipium), six towns and 226 villages.

The population of the county on 1 July 1995 was 537,477. The density of the population was 85 inhabitants/km².

Tab. 34: POPULATION OF MARAMURES BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS 1930 - 1992

	1930	1948	1956	1966	1977	1992
Total	317,304	321,287	317,114	427,645	492,860	540,099
Urban	45,301	43,256	115,886	182,986	218,543	285,339
Rural	272,003	278,031	251,228	244,659	274,313	254,760

The development of the main indicators (total population, urban and rural population between) the censuses is linear, there are no spectacular leaps.

In the period between 1977-1992 the urban population exceeded that of the rural. In 1992 the urban population represented 52.8 % of the total (the national average: 54.3 % urban population).

The growth of the population in Maramures was above all caused by the high birth rate (one of the highest in the country), which compensated for the negative migratory rate.

Tab. 35: CHANGES OF NATALITY, MORTALITY AND MIGRATION IN MARAMURES 1989-1995

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰
Births	17.9	15.8	14.5	14.1	13.0	12.4	12.1
Deaths	9.6	9.7	10.1	11.2	10.9	11.2	10.8
Natural increase	8.3	6.1	4.4	2.9	2.1	1.2	1.3
In-migrants	9.0	9.7	7.9	8.1	7.0	8.0	8.1
Out-migrants	9.3	17.9	11.8	12.4	9.8	10.8	11.7
Migratory rate	-0.3	-8.2	-3.9	-4.3	-2.8	-2.8	-3.6
Total increase	8.0	-2.1	0.5	-1.4	-0.7	-1.6	-2.3

The political change of December 1989 introduced a substantial mutation in the development of these phenomena (see Tab. 35). The birth rate was reduced year by year because of the decrease of birthrate, because of the abrogation of the socialist jurisdiction which had favored a high birthrate, and because of the worsening of life quality in a county which did not have a high living standard even before. So, although emigration did not grow spectacularly, the birth rate did not succeed in restoring the losses produced by this phenomenon.

Another observation is that even though in the case of the majority of counties of Romania the migratory rate shows an ascending curve (to the 0 quote) after 1990, the migratory rate of Maramures is more negative.

The reasons are of socio-economic nature: On the one hand, Maramures sends human resources to other counties (by permanent migration as well as and mostly by temporary migration - specific for this county), and on the other hand the agricultural potential (especially the vegetal one) does not cover sufficiently the necessities of food of the population. The majority of the emigrants come from the rural areas (54.3 % in 1995). Most emigrants go to rural areas in other counties. The counties chosen by the migrants are mostly regions which possess a great agrarian potential; of these above all is Timis. 19.5 % of all emigrants of Maramures moved to other counties in 1995 (Arad 13.6 %, Satu-Mare 12.4 %, etc.).

The active population (labour forces) represented in 1992 45.2 % of the total population. It is distributed to the three main sectors of economy in following manner: primary sector 26.3 % , secondary 42.3 % , tertiary 25.1 % , other 6.2 %.

From an economic point of view, the county has an industrial-agricultural character. In 1994 the GDP reached 1,087 billion lei (3,860 USD/person). 27 % of the value was produced in the primary, 40 % in the secondary and in 33 % in the tertiary sector. So, we can see a narrow correlation of these percentages with the percentages of the labour force with regard to their distribution across the main sectors of economy.

The main industry of Maramures is represented by the extractive and processing industry, especially the industry of ore (lead, zinc, copper, gold).

One of the main riches of the county of Maramures is represented by woods (about 46 % of the total surface of the county). The timber industry is well represented at county level, but the practicing conditions are outdated. Agriculture is determined by stockbreeding, the traditional occupation of the people living there. Unfortunately, the difficulties of the valorifying of the products in the post 1989 socio-economic context led to a decrease of the number of animals.

Another potential resource which we should mention is constituted by the abundant touristic opportunities (the famous wooden churches, the monuments, the traditions which are so well kept in their national dress and customs). There are efforts to make use of these resources, but because of the absence of a coherent program of investments and of a proper infrastructure for tourists, there does not yet exist a succesful development.

The fittings of the lodgings of the county of Maramures are beyond the national level (Tab. 36).

Tab. 36: THE FITTINGS OF THE LODGINGS OF MARAMURES IN 1992

	Lodgings with						
	Kitchen	Bath	Water	Hot Water	Electricity	Central Heating	Metan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Maramures	81	47	55	39	92	33	29
Romania	90	47	54	43	97	39	32

The commune of Ieud is situated in the north-east of the county, in the region called the "historical Maramures". The distance to the capital of the county, Baia Mare, is 90 km.

On the 1st of July 1994 4,549 inhabitants lived in the commune of Ieud, 6.2 % less than in 1990. Because the birthrate is very high in the commune (in 1992 the birth

rate was 14.8 ‰), the decrease mentioned must be explained by the excessive emigration (in 1992 the migratory rate was a negative one: -26,0 ‰).

The total surface of the commune covers 7,580 ha, out of which 4,891 ha are agricultural land.

The arable land (26,9 % of the agricultural land) cannot satisfy the food needs of the local population, especially because of the climatic conditions and the high altitude (560 m on the average) which do not favour the cultivation of cereals and sufficient yields. The only culture which is somehow viable is the potato (1,400 t in 1994, that means 307,8 kg/inhabitant).

Stockbreeding constitutes another important occupation of the local population, but the effectiveness decreased in comparison with the situation of 1989. For the individual producers it is now hard to reach the market to sell the products because the market is far from the village. Moreover, the agricultural prices are very low.

The majority of the male labour force migrate temporarily to other counties of the country, especially to those with a predominant agricultural profile, where they are rewarded for their work with agricultural products or money.

After 1989, many men went temporarily abroad where they do a so-called "Schwarzarbeit" (illicit work). Some of them go west and come back with enough money to build relatively luxurious houses for themselves. Often they live from the money until they leave their village again to work abroad.

The people of the commune want to develop the economic activities related to tourism and especially to agro-tourism because Ieud possesses some attractions: two historical wooden churches (one of them is the oldest, and the other one is the highest in the zone), and the hilly landscape. Unfortunately the infrastructure has deficits. So, in Ieud there is not even one touristic facility where you can stay over night.

6.8 The county of Timis

Timis county is situated in the western part of Romania, in the historical region of the Banat. Its administrative territory covers about 8,697 km², which from that point of view is the largest county of Romania. In the census 1992 Timis county had a total population of 700,033 (that is rank eight among the 41 counties of the country). More than 60 % of the population lives in urban areas. The settlement network consists of 426 communes organised in six towns and 76 rural communes (composed of 318 villages).

The county possesses good natural conditions for agriculture. More than 80 % of the county surface is used by agriculture. About 77 % of the agricultural area consists of arable land.

The balance between rural and urban population in Timis county is relatively constant in the period 1990 - 1995 (Tab. 36).

**Tab. 37: POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF TIMIS 1990 - 1995
(BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS)**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Total	714,681	708,732	700,333	689,674	690,043	694,394
Urban	424,138	431,271	425,129	417,350	418,971	430,698
Rural	290,543	277,461	274,904	272,324	271,522	263,696

Source: Comisia Nationala pentru Statistica. Directia Judeteana de Statistica Timis (1996): Breviarul Statistic al Judetului Timis pe anul 1995, p. 8.

Timis county is highly attractive for migrants. Every year more people immigrate than emigrate (Tab. 38).

Tab. 38: MIGRATION OF POPULATION IN TIMIS COUNTY 1989 -1994

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Resident population	667925	689901	693953	679026	680566	690043
In-migrants	5591	66445	16253	16520	10392	
Out-migrants	3072	25830	6629	7676	8144	
Balance of residential change	2519	40615	9624	8844	2248	

Source: Comisia Nationala pentru Statistica. Directia Judeteana de Statistica Timis (1996): Breviarul Statistic al Judetului Timis pe anul 1995, p. 24.

Recas, our research commune, experienced conspicuous changes in its number of inhabitants (see Tab. 39). The number decreased enormously from 1990 to 1991 because of the emigration of ethnic Germans to Germany. However, from 1991 to 1992 the population increased due to immigrants coming from urban areas - a phenomenon already mentioned above several times with regard to the general urban-rural migration in Romania in that period. The number of those immigrants was significantly higher than the number of ethnic Germans who left the commune in that period. But from 1992 to 1993 the total population decreased again because the mentioned immigration process slowed down and the emigration process of ethnic Germans continued. Since 1993 you notice a slight tendency of increase due to the continuation of urban-rural migration and to the fact that in the meantime most of the ethnic Germans had already left the country.

**Tab. 39: DYNAMIC OF THE NUMBER OF POPULATION OF RECAS
1990 - 1995**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Recas	8,918	8,461	8,665	8,201	8,265	8,366

Source: Comisia Nationala pentru Statistica. Directia Judeteana de Statistica Timis (1996): Breviarul Statistic al Judetului Timis pe anul 1995, p. 15.

The majority of the rural population of the Timis county works in agriculture. Nearly exactly the same structure is represented in Recas (see Tab. 40).

**Tab. 40: THE STRUCTURE OF ACTIVE POPULATION (= LABOUR FORCES)
OF THE COMMUNE OF RECAS AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF
TIMIS COUNTY BY THE THREE MAIN SECTORS OF ECONOMY
IN 1992**

	Sector I	Sector II	Sector III	Others
	%	%	%	%
Recas C	52.6	26.0	18.8	2.6
Rural area	52.7	25.8	18.7	2.8

Source: Comisia Nationala pentru Statistica. Directia Judeteana de Statistica Timis (1996): Breviarul Statistic al Judetului Timis pe anul 1995, p. 15.

Also concerning the inactive population Recas fits in the general pattern of the rural area of Timis county (Tab. 41).

**Tab. 41: THE STRUCTURE OF INACTIVE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNE
OF RECAS AND OF THE RURAL AREA OF TIMIS COUNTY IN 1992**

	School children, Students	Retired persons	House-wives	Others
	%	%	%	%
Recas C	24.8	38.9	9.5	26.8
Rural area	24.8	40.0	8.6	26.6

Source: Comisia Nationala pentru Statistica. Directia Judeteana de Statistica Timis (1996): Breviarul Statistic al Judetului Timis pe anul 1995, p. 8.

6.9 The county of Vaslui

The county of Vaslui is situated in the eastern part of Romania in the region of Moldavia and it covers a surface of 5,319 km².

The population of the county amounted to 463,832 inhabitants on the 1st of July 1994, and the density of the population was 87.2 inhabitants/km².

Tab. 42: POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF VASLUI BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS 1930 - 1992

	1930	1948	1956	1966	1977	1992
Total	321,936	344,917	401,626	431,555	437,251	461,374
Urban	58,644	59,502	64,945	79,735	124,773	200,549
Rural	263,292	285,415	366,681	351,820	312,478	260,825

One can see that the development of the total population is linear. There is no leap between the censuses (Tab. 42).

But remarkable is the fact that starting with 1966 the urban population had a great growth (1966-1992: 252 %) while the rural population decreased up to 1992 to 74 % of its value from 1966. This fact may be explained by the investments in the secondary sector and the creation of new enterprises, which has led to the transfer of the population from the rural towards the urban areas, and it is to be explained by the fact that some communes have been officially declared cities.

The county of Vaslui does not possess special resources, except for human capital because of its high birth rate which exceeds the national average. Vaslui was and it still is a reservoir of human resources for many counties of the country, such as Bucharest, Brasov, Constanta, Galati, Iasi, Timis. The motive for departures is clearly an economic one: The above mentioned counties are well-developed, whereas Vaslui ranks among the less-developed ones (rank 36 according to the human development indicator in 1995).

Tab. 43: CHANGES OF NATALITY, MORTALITY AND MIGRATION IN THE COUNTY OF VASLUI 1989 - 1995

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰	‰
Births	20.9	17.3	14.8	14.5	14.4	14.6	13.7
Deaths	9.2	9.6	10.0	10.4	10.9	11.9	11.5
Natural increase	11.7	7.7	4.8	4.1	3.5	2.7	2.2
In-migrants	9.6	11.8	11.1	12.2	9.7	11.5	18.4
Out-migrants	13.8	61.3	20.0	19.2	14.5	15.4	19.8
Migratory rate	-4.2	-49.5	-8.9	-7.0	-4.8	-3.9	1.4
Total increase	7.5	-418	-4.1	-2.9	-1.3	-1.2	0.4

One can see (Tab. 43) that after 1989 the birth rate decreased greatly until 1995. The migratory rate had a high negative leap in 1990 because the immigration restrictions for cities often mentioned above have been abolished. In addition to this, it must be mentioned that a lot of these persons who were registered as immigrants after the political change were actually not immigrants because they already lived in the cities before. But they had not been officially registered at that time. After the political change their status was legalised, and they received an identity card in which the city is noted as the locality where they live.

The negative migratory rate progressively declined and changed into a positive one (1.4 ‰). This phenomenon is not caused by the diminishing of the number of emigrants but by the growing number of immigrants. These immigrants are mostly former emigrants. Now they return home because they had lost their jobs in industry, mining and other economic branches of the cities in other counties. More than 60 % of the immigrants came from urban areas, and nearly half of these immigrants had chosen rural communes in Vaslui as destination localities.

The active population of the county of Vaslui represents 50,2 % of the total population. Their economic structure is as follows: 44,8 % work in the primary, 34,3 % in the secondary, 16,8 % in the tertiary sector and 4,1 % in other domains.

From an economic point of view Vaslui has an agricultural-industrial character. The GDP realized in 1994 amounted to 794 billion lei (3,280 USD/inhabitant) realized mainly in the primary sector (36 %), followed by the secondary and tertiary sector (32 % for each).

The agricultural surface represents 73 % of the county's surface, and the arable land 70,9 % of the agricultural land. Unfortunately a great part of the irrigation system was destroyed after the political change. Compared with the situation of 1989, in 1995 only about 20 % of the irrigation system were able to work. The situation is mainly due to the abolishing of the collective associations when "everybody's property" had become "nobody's property". Not only irrigation stations but also other facilities and buildings of the collective associations were destroyed by people who stole equipment and material. From their point of view this should compensate for the damages made by the process of collectivisation.

The standard of housing in the county of Vaslui is significantly lower than the national average (Tab. 44).

Tab. 44: THE FITTINGS OF THE LODGINGS IN THE COUNTY OF VASLUI IN 1992

	Lodgings with						
	Kitchen	Bath	Water	Hot Water	Electricity	Central Heating	Metan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vaslui	82	28	29	27	90	27	0
Romania	90	47	54	43	97	39	32

The village of Solesti, which is part of the commune of Solesti, is situated in the north of the county at a distance of 15 km from the county center Vaslui. The commune Solesti consists of seven villages.

The total commune population amounted to 3,758 inhabitants in 1994. That means a reduction of about 6 % compared with 1990. This decrease was caused mainly by the negative migratory rate.

About three quarters of the commune's labour force work in agriculture (74.4 %). More than 75 % of the agricultural surface is represented by arable land. In the commune of Solesti there are two family associations, two Agromecs and one state-owned agricultural station.

Many inhabitants of the commune hope that those people who had emigrated years ago will return due to the new economic context, bringing with them the capital obtained by the selling of their property they had in the urban areas where they had lived. Moreover, the inhabitants hope that the return migrants would invest their capital in the modernisation of the agriculture. It seems to us as if some inhabitants are waiting for somebody who will improve the economic situation of the commune.

These members of the local population are characterised by a shortage of activism. Many representations of the authorities in the whole of Romania mean that this mentality is characteristic for the rural population in general. But our research observations do not allow a confirmation of this opinion with regard to the majority of the rural population.

6.10 Conclusions

With regard to the data referring to the counties and localities we have studied, we can say that from 1930 up to 1992 in all of these counties there has been a progressive decrease in population in the rural localities caused by the low natality rate (in some years there was a negative natural growth) as well as by the high migrational flow from rural to urban areas. In these terms the demographic aging of the rural population has been accompanied by the numeric reduction of the active

population because "in a period of 15 years (1970-1984) a number of about 2,5 million persons have settled down legally in urban settlements, and 75 % of these were of an age between 20-29 years"⁶. In this period "the proportion of the elder persons from the rural areas has grown from 15 % to 22 %"⁷. Due to the modifications of the legislation regarding the change of domicile in 1990, the rural-urban migration has registered the greatest values of migration: about 559,000 persons have legalised their domicile in the urban areas.

But in contrast to the period up to the early 1990s, positive migratory rates were registered concerning the rural areas, that is in Timis, Constanta, rural Bucharest (= Ilfov), and Brasov (Tab. 45).

In these counties the value of the indicator of human development is much higher than the national average, and the unemployment rate is lower.

Tab. 45: INTERNAL MIGRATION FLOWS BY CHANGE OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE, BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF THE RESEARCH COUNTIES IN 1995

County	Total Migrants			Urban			Rural		
	Out-migr.	In-migr.	Net-migr.	Out-migr.	In-migr.	Net-migr.	Out-migr.	In-migr.	Net-migr.
Arges	7,390	6,924	-466	2,699	3,321	622	4,691	3,603	-1,088
Brasov	6,184	6,092	-92	4,427	4,210	-217	1,757	1,882	125
Cluj	6,557	7,278	721	2,696	4,679	1,983	3,861	2,599	-1,262
Constanța	10,155	11,305	1,150	6,723	7,263	540	3,432	4,042	610
Harghita	4,433	4,227	-206	1,996	1,792	-204	2,437	2,435	-2
Maramures	6,367	4,384	-1,983	2,908	2,442	-466	3,459	1,942	-1,517
Timis	6,807	10,313	3,506	3,471	5,582	2,111	3,336	4,731	1,395
Vaslui	9,362	8,720	-642	2,578	2,111	-467	6,784	6,609	-175
Bucuresti	37,950	40,500	2,550	35,346	37,421	2,075	2,604	3,079	475

Source: Romanian Demographic Yearbook, 1996. Bucuresti, pp. 492.

Moreover, the positive migratory rates of the rural areas of these counties have been explained by the push forces of the cities (loss of jobs, shortages and too high prices dwellings etc.) and by the pull forces of the country side (above all: reprivatization of land). In some counties the push forces of the cities grew so strongly that the migratory rates of the urban areas became negative.

⁶ FULEA, M. (coord.) (1996): *Satul romanesc contemporan*. Ed. Academiei Romane Bucuresti, pp. 142.

⁷ FULEA, M. (coord.) (1996): *Satul romanesc contemporan*. Ed. Academiei Romane Bucuresti, pp. 143.

With regard to the regional development of the rural areas, in our view a strategy of revitalization of the rural areas should be carried out. This strategy should be based on the reinforcement of agricultural and mixed occupations, on the encouragement of an efficient exploitation of the land, and on the application of the modern technologies.

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WILFRIED HELLER

Experiences and assessments of the transformation from private households' point of view

1. Research method

We studied the experiences and assessments of the transformation from private households' point of view with the help of standardized interviews. 1000 persons have been interviewed. 822 of them were the heads of the households, 142 the wives of the household heads, and 36 further members of the households. 655 of the interviewed persons were male. The average age of the interviewed persons was 53.2 years, and the median value was 54 years. 729 interviewed persons were married, 12 persons have lived in a partnership similar to marriage, 52 were single, 19 divorced, and 188 widowed.

Some remarks on the selection of the interviewed persons: It was impossible to carry out a random sample, because we didn't have lists or card files of the inhabitants. Therefore we tried to select the 100 experimentees in each village according to the spatial distribution of the residences. We intended in this way to represent the population situation of the villages as accurately as possible. On the assumption that a household contains 2.5 persons on average the following households have been selected in the different villages: in Sandominic every 27th, in Cobadin every 25th, in Gilau every 23rd, in Recas every 20th, in Ieud every 18th, in Gradistea every 12th, in Solesti every 4th, in Rociu every 3rd, and in Sirnea and Vultureni every 2nd household. If the household selected by this way was not available for an interview then the next available household beside the originally selected one has been selected.

The interviews have been carried out by groups of students of the Babes-Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca), namely in the villages of Cobadin, Gilau, Recas, Solesti, Rociu, Gradistea, Vultureni and Sirnea during June and July 1996 as well as in Sandominic and Ieud during October 1996.

2. Evaluation

The presentation of the experiences and assessments of the transformation from private households' point of view will be carried out by the answering of the two following questions:

1. What are the real changes for the interviewed persons since the collapse of socialism in December 1989?
2. How the changes caused by the socio-economic transformation are perceived by the interviewed persons?

2.1 The first question

What are the real changes for the interviewed persons since the collapse of socialism in December 1989?

For the presentation of the changes in this paper the employment situation as well as the social and regional mobility of the interviewed persons have been chosen.

2.1.1 Situation of employment and social mobility

507 of the 1000 interviewed persons were employed at the time of the interviewing campaign. The rest is split up as follows: 366 retired persons (among them 102 retired agricultural persons), 35 unemployed persons and 80 housewives. 12 interviewed persons did not respond to our question concerning employment and social mobility. The conspicuously high number of retired persons may be explained by the fact that the rural areas generally suffer from an increase of the percentage of old people as a result of the emigration of young people.

Tab. 1: THE INTERVIEWED EMPLOYED PERSONS OF THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1989 AND IN 1996 WITH REGARD TO THE ECONOMY BRANCHES THEY BELONG TO
- THIS: ALL EMPLOYED PERSONS

Economy branch	1989		1996		1996
	Numb.	%	Numb.	%	Number of those, who have been employed already in 1989
Agriculture	373	40.5	230	45.4	224
Forestry	13	1.4	3	0.6	3
Small industry	43	4.7	12	2.4	12
Industry	206	22.4	77	15.2	75
Commerce	41	4.5	31	6.1	29
Building and construction industry	68	7.4	37	7.3	36
Administration	24	2.6	14	2.8	14
Education, culture, health services	43	4.7	27	5.3	26
Other services	58	6.3	43	8.5	40
Tourism	4	0.4	2	0.4	2
Others	48	5.2	31	6.1	27
Total	921	100.1	507	100.1	488

The comparison of the employment situation of the time before the political change in 1989 with the employment situation in 1996 shows two changes with regard to the different economy branches to which the employed persons belong (Tab. 1):

1. increase of the shares of agricultural employees;
2. decrease of the shares of the industrial employees ¹.

488 interviewed persons who are employed at the time of the research in 1996 have been employed before the political change, too. 125 persons of them (26 %) have changed the economic branches after the political change. The most important economic branch before the change was the industrial one, the most important one during the time of the field research was the agricultural one² (Tab. 2).

Tab. 2: THE INTERVIEWED EMPLOYED PERSONS OF THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1989 AND IN 1996 WITH REGARD TO THE ECONOMY BRANCHES THEY BELONGS TO
- THIS: EMPLOYED PERSONS ALREADY EMPLOYED BEFORE DECEMBER 1989 WHO CHANGED THE ECONOMY BRANCH AFTER 1989

Economy branch	1989		1996	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture	25	20.0	56	44.8
Forestry	4	3.2	1	0.8
Small industry	8	6.4	5	4.0
Industry	40	32.0	9	7.2
Commerce	8	6.4	13	10.4
Building and construction industry	10	8.0	6	4.8
Administration	2	1.6	4	3.2
Education, culture, health services	6	4.8	4	3.2
Other services	10	8.0	11	8.8
Tourism	2	1.6	-	-
Others	10	8.0	16	12.8
Total	125	100.0	125	100.0

¹ In terms of the statistical significance of both moves: The statistical results lie just outside of an 80 % confidence interval (level of significance after Fisher & Yates with bilateral tests: $t = 1.282$).

² The calculated values of the sample analyses lie inside of a 95 % confidence interval ($t = 2.0$).

This observation is congruent with the trend of the official statistics of the development of agricultural employees in Romania; but this is no reason to speak about a successful reagrarisation. Rather, you may explain the increase of the number of agricultural employees with the fact that there is a lack of places of work in the urban economy. Therefore the increase of the employment in agriculture is not caused by the pull forces of the rural countryside, but by the push forces of the cities and towns.

If you compare the employment situation of the time before the political change with the employment situation of 1996 in terms of the professional status (Tab. 3), you will see an increase in share of farmers and a decrease in share of workers.³ The self-employed farmers and the small business employers are those social groups which have been created, or which have increased, in rural Romania since the political change. Privatization did not occur in the high mountain village Sirnea, where the agriculture has been private during the socialist period.

Tab. 3: THE INTERVIEWED EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1989 AND IN 1996 WITH REGARD TO THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS - THIS: ALL EMPLOYED PERSONS

Professional status	1989		1996	
	Number	%	Number	%
Farmers; agricultural labour forces	231	26.3	159	31.5
Workers, unqualified	102	11.6	36	7.1
Workers, qualified	374	42.6	186	36.9
<i>Workers, all together</i>	<i>476</i>	<i>54.2</i>	<i>222</i>	<i>43.0</i>
Small business employers	3	0.3	21	4.2
Salaried employers without lead. functions	44	5.0	17	3.4
Salaried employers with leading functions	27	3.1	22	4.4
Cadres with higher studies	19	2.2	16	3.2
Other status	77	8.8	47	9.3
Total	877	99.9	504	100.0

³ The value of the sample analysis calculated concerning the increase of the percentage of the farmers lies just outside of an 80 % confidence interval ($t = 1.282$). The value of the sample analysis calculated concerning the decrease of the percentage of the workers lies inside of a 99 % confidence interval ($t = 2.576$).

Among the 488 interviewed persons, who have been employed before December 1989 as well as at the time of the interviews, are 125 persons who have changed their professional status (Tab. 4). Most of them have moved from positions of workers into positions of farmers and small business employers.⁴

There is the question which social groups can be found as social winners, and which as social losers. The unemployed persons belong firstly to the losers. But their share among the interviewed persons capable of gainful employment is relatively small (6.5 %). There is no doubt about it that many farmers belong to the losers, too, because many have become farmers only for the reason that they have lost their other places of work. If you identify the unemployed persons with regard to the branches of economy to which they had belonged before December 1989 and with regard to the professional status they had before December 1989, then you will notice that the following branches of economy are not represented (Tab.5): "small industry", "education, culture, health services" and "tourism". Also not represented are professionals with higher educations.

Tab. 4: THE INTERVIEWED EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIAN IN 1989 AND IN 1996 WITH REGARD TO THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS
- THIS: EMPLOYED PERSONS ALREADY EMPLOYED BEFORE DECEMBER 1989 WHO CHANGED THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS AFTER 1989

Professional status	1989		1996	
	Number	%	Number	%
Farmers; agricultural labour forces	13	10.4	54	43.2
Workers, unqualified	25	20.0	14	11.2
Workers, qualified	58	46.4	20	16.0
<i>Workers, all together</i>	83	66.4	34	27.2
Small business employers	-	-	18	14.4
Salaried employers without lead. functions	12	9.6	3	2.4
Salaried employers with leading functions	3	2.4	7	5.6
Cadres with higher studies	2	1.6	1	0.8
Other status	12	9.6	8	6.4
Total	125	100.0	125	100.0

⁴ In terms of the statistical significance of these movings: The calculated values of the sample analyses lie inside of a 99 % confidence interval ($t = 2.6$).

Tab. 5: UNEMPLOYED PERSONS AMONG THE INTERVIEWED PERSONS IN THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1996

a) WITH REGARD TO THE ECONOMY BRANCHES IN WHICH THE INTERVIEWED PERSONS HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED IN 1989		
	Unemployed persons	
Economy branch	Number	%¹⁾
Agriculture	8	2.1
Forestry	2	15.4
Industry	13	6.3
Commerce	3	7.3
Building and construction industry	1	1.5
Administration	1	4.2
Other services	2	3.4
Others	4	8.3
Without giving	1	1.3
Total	35	

¹⁾ Share of all employed persons who have been employed in the different economy branches in 1989.

b) WITH REGARD TO THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS THEY HAD IN 1989		
	Unemployed persons	
Professional status	Number	%¹⁾
Farmers; agricultural labour forces	3	1.3
Workers, unqualified	5	4.9
Workers, qualified	18	4.8
Salaried employers without leading functions	2	4.5
Salaried employers with leading functions	2	7.4
Others	3	3.9
Without giving	2	10.0
Total	35	

¹⁾ Share of all employed persons who have been employed in the different economy branches in 1989.

It is well-known that women belong also to the losers of the political change in the former socialist countries. They are disproportionately represented among unemployed

people everywhere; but many women are not registered by the statistics of unemployment. They are registered as housewives. So we did in our survey. In this way it may be explained that the number of housewives among the interviewed peoples rose from 48 in 1989 to 80 in 1996. Inversely, only 5 housewives among the 48 ones of 1989 have succeeded to come into another professional position. On the other hand 40 women have left other professional positions and have become housewives. It is difficult to discern groups of the disadvantaged other than those of unemployed people, housewives, and farmers who lost their non-agricultural place of work after 1989. It is also difficult to make out groups of winners.

It would be possible to assume that employed persons who have changed the branch of the economy or who have changed their professional status would be more likely to belong to the winners. This is because such people show flexibility and mobility. But we have seen already that the change has been forced on people, not that they have chosen such change. Therefore, such change may mean decline as well as progress for such people. You may see this ambiguous character also in Tab. 6, where it becomes evident that very different groups are concerned with change of professional status, among these farmers, unqualified workers, and small business employers⁵. In regards to the small business employers, the change marks improvement of occupational conditions; but in reference to the two other groups, the change signals perhaps a worsening. It is interesting to note that the professional status groups of "qualified workers" and "cadres with higher studies" are significantly unconcerned with the change⁶. These groups already earned relatively high incomes during the socialist period. In this sense immobility may not signal a worsening in comparison with the situation of the mobile groups.

We have suggested already that changes in the branch of economy and in the professional status signal improvements for small business employers, while worsenings for farmers and unqualified workers. This supposition will be supported by the following observations:

The interviewed small business employers and persons employed in commerce are the only groups whose majorities think that their occupational conditions in 1996 were better than those of 1989.⁷ In contrast, people of the professional status "farmer" and

⁵ The farmers and unqualified workers change their professional status above average concerning their numbers ($t = 1.282$ on the basis of an 80 % confidence interval). The small business employers also change their professional status above average concerning their number ($t = 3.291$ on the basis of a 99 % confidence interval).

⁶ The qualified workers change their professional status below average concerning their number ($t = 3.291$ on the basis of a 99.9 % confidence interval). Also the cadres with higher studies change their professional status below average concerning their number ($t = 1.96$ on the basis of a 95 % confidence interval).

⁷ The calculated value of the sample analysis concerning the small business employers lies just outside of a 90 % confidence interval ($t = 1.725$). Because of the small figures no value was calculated concerning the persons employed in trade services.

other people belonging to the economy branch "agriculture" state that their occupational conditions have worsened.⁸

The groups mentioned above similarly evaluate the changes of the general living conditions in the villages: Farmers and other people who belong to the economy branch "agriculture" claim that conditions have gotten worse⁹; but small business employers and people who belong to the economy branch "commerce" claim that they have gotten better in comparison with the living conditions before December 1989.¹⁰ Groups in all other levels of professional status and branches of the economy think that the job conditions as well as the general living conditions in the villages have worsened.

Tab. 6: PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF THE INTERVIEWED PERSONS, WHO ARE EMPLOYED IN 1996, WITH REGARD TO THE CHANGE OF THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS IN THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1996
- THIS: EMPLOYED PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED ALREADY BEFORE DECEMBER 1989

Professional status 1996	Employed persons		
	Total number	Among them persons who changed their professional status	
		Number	%
Farmers; agricultural labour forces	159	54	34.0
Workers, unqualified	34	14	41.2
Workers, qualified	184	20	10.9
Small business employers	20	18	90.0
Salaried employers without leading functions	16	3	18.8
Salaried employers with leading functions	21	7	33.3
Cadres with higher studies	15	1	6.7
Other status	43	8	18.6
Total	492	125	25.4

⁸ The calculated values lie inside of a 99 % respectively a 95 % confidence interval ($t = 2.576$ respectively $t = 1.96$).

⁹ The calculated values lie inside of 99 % confidence intervals ($t = 3.291$).

¹⁰ Sample analysis values have not been calculated because of the small figures.

The comparison of the group of people who have changed their professional status between 1989 and 1996 with the group of people who have not changed their professional status is significant in terms of farmers and unqualified workers. Farmers are less represented within the group of persons who have changed their professional status than within the group of persons who have not changed. On the contrary unqualified workers are more represented within the group of persons who have changed their professional status between 1989 and 1996 (Tab. 7).¹¹ The other differences between the percentages you see in the Tab. 7 are either small or insignificant due to small absolute figures.

Tab. 7: PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF THE INTERVIEWED PERSONS EMPLOYED IN 1996 WITH REGARD TO THE PERSONS WHO HAVE CHANGED RESPECTIVELY TO THE PERSONS WHO HAVE NOT CHANGED THEIR PROFESSIONAL STATUS IN THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1989

Professional status 1996	Employed persons in 1996			
	who have changed their professional status between 1989 and 1996		who have not changed their professional status between 1989 and 1996	
	Number	%	Number	%
Farmers; agricultural labour forces	13	10.4	105	28.6
Workers, unqualified	25	20.0	20	5.4
Workers, qualified	58	46.4	164	44.7
Small business employers	-	-	2	0.5
Salaried employers without leading functions	12	9.6	13	3.5
Salaried employers with leading functions	3	2.4	14	3.8
Cadres with higher studies	2	1.6	14	3.8
Other status	12	9.6	35	9.5
Total	125	100.0	367	99.8

¹¹ The percentage of the farmers among the persons who have changed their professional status is smaller than among the persons who have not changed their professional status ($t = 2.576$ on the basis of a 99 % confidence interval). The calculated value of the sample analysis concerning the unqualified workers lies just outside of a 99 % confidence interval ($t = 1.68$).

2.1.2 Regional mobility

About one third of the interviewed employed persons who have been already employed before December 1989 have changed the locality of their place of work after the political change. The reasons for this high mobility are the decrease of industry and the reprivatization of agriculture. Therefore the number of persons who commute from the rural to urban areas in order to work has drastically reduced (Tab. 8)¹². But also in the rural areas the number of commuters has diminished. This means that rural societies today have less relations to urban societies and to other rural societies than in the socialist period. Of course, that does not signal a return to the relatively closed social systems of villages as they existed in the pre-industrial period since varied social and economic relations between the villages and the cities still exist.

Despite the general decrease of commuting there are still great differences between the research villages in terms of the percentages of persons who commute from the villages to other localities: The highest figures, about 40 to 60 %, have been noticed in the large villages and in those villages situated close to the county capitals, in Sandominic, Gilau, Gradistea and Recas. The lowest figures, about 10 to 20 %, have been detected in the small peripheral villages Sirnea, Vultureni and Ieud.

Tab. 8: LOCALITIES OF THE PLACES OF WORK OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN 1996 WHO HAVE BEEN ALREADY EMPLOYED IN 1989 IN THE RESEARCH VILLAGES OF ROMANIA IN 1989 AND IN 1996

	Employed persons			
	1989		1996	
Locality of the place of work	Number	%	Number	%
Place of residence	293	56.1	375	71.8
Other place of the commune of residence	11	2.1	6	1.1
Other commune of the same county	23	4.4	20	3.8
Commune of another county	14	2.7	4	0.8
Town / city of the same county	163	31.2	108	20.7
Town / city of another county	18	3.4	9	1.7
Total	522	99.9	522	99.9

¹² The calculated values of the sample analysis lie inside of a 99 % confidence interval ($t = 2.576$).

But only in a few cases the change of the place of work leads to migration. Since 1990, only 21 persons of all 1000 interviewed have migrated to the research villages. Therefore it is not possible to speak about a general urban-rural migration as a result of the fact that many persons took up or reinforced agricultural activities.

As a result of the reduction in levels of commuting, the number of motor vehicles used has diminished. Despite of this, traffic to work has increased. The private households that were interviewed have at their disposal many more motor vehicles than they did in 1989.

If you differentiate between the numbers of cars in different research villages you come to the following order (Tab. 9):

Tab. 9: CARS IN THE 1,000 INTERVIEWED PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE RESEARCH VILLAGES IN 1996

Village	Percentage of private households which possessed at least 1 car in 1996
Gilau	35
Cobadin	29
Recas	26
Sandominic	21
Gradistea	19
Vultureni	16
Sirnea	15
Rociu	14
Solesti	6
Ieud	6

Tab. 9 shows that the highest number of cars have been registered in the large villages and in the villages which are situated close to the county capitals. You may use the number of cars as an indicator for standard of living; however, you must do so very carefully due to the small figures¹³.

¹³ For comparison: about every fifth private household had its own car in Romania in 1994. (NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR STATISTICS (1995): Statistical Yearbook of Romania 1995. Bucharest.)

2.2 The second question

How are the changes caused by the socio-economic transformation perceived by the interviewed people?

2.2.1 Perceptions of the own living conditions

The perceptions and assessments of the interviewed people generally describe a failure of the socio-economic transformation in Romania. This is due to the following reasons:

Those interviewed people, who were employed before the political change as well as in 1996, have been asked by the interviewers in what manner their job has changed. 580 persons answered. Only about one quarter state that their job has improved since 1989, but about one third thinks that their job has worsened. The reasons for the worsening are, above all, the smaller income (44 % of the answers say so), then the instability of the place of work (13 %), the worse working conditions (9 %), the facts that they have to work harder (7 %), and the lower amount of leisure time they receive (4 %).

Those who think that their job has improved give the following reasons: a higher income (27 % of the answers), better working conditions and more freedom (each 17 % of the answers), more leisure time (10 %), and greater job opportunities (9 %). The rest of the answers (20 %) are distributed among many other reasons.

If you consider the assessments in terms of the different research villages then you don't see great differences. However, it is conspicuous that worsenings of the occupational situations have been more often mentioned in the four small, peripheral villages of Sirnea, Ieud, Vultureni and Solesti than in the other villages. The assessments depend on professional status and on the branches of economy to which the employed persons belong. These facts have already been mentioned above (see chapter 2.1.2).

The introduction of the market economy has led to a slight reduction of leisure time. 616 economically active persons have answered the question concerning leisure time. 34 % of them say that they have less leisure time now. Nearly exactly as many as these say that the quantity of leisure time has not changed since before December 1989. Nearly 29 % of the persons who answered say that they have more leisure time than before the political change, and 4 % of them don't know what to answer.

The reduction of leisure time could correspond to a weakening of the interpersonal relations. But most of the interviewed persons, 79 % of them, state that contacts to neighbours, acquaintances and friends have not been reduced. Only 11 % think that contacts have diminished, and 7 % say that they have even increased. Those who mean that contacts have been reduced believe that egoism is the main reason for reduction. This egoism goes along with the new social and economic orders.

But concerning the qualitative character of the social contacts a great share of the interviewed people, that is 65 % of them, think that interpersonal relations have

worsened. Only 19 % claim that relations have improved, while 13 % believe that contacts have partly worsened and partly improved, and 3 % don't know how to assess the changes.

2.2.2 Perception of the environment

The interviewees assess the general living conditions of the villages as worse than the conditions of their own occupational situations: 45 % assess that they are worse than before the political change (I would like to remind you that only 33 % state that their own occupational situations have worsened). Only 22 % state that they have not changed, and 11 % don't know what to say.

If you differentiate the answers according to which villages they come from, you see again that the small peripheral villages Sirnea, Ieud and Solesti have been judged as having the worst conditions. However, it is important to note statistical significance and subjectivity of opinions. Due to the fact that interviewees' opinions are subjective, they need not correlate exactly to socio-economic changes.

The assessment of the geographical situation as a factor in socio-economic development is strongly determined by the distance between villages and large cities. The interviewed persons believe that the geographical situation is specially favourable in Gradistea, Cobadin and Gilau, then in Recas, too, while very unfavourable in Ieud and in Sandominic. It is puzzling that most of the interviewed people of Sirnea believe that the geographical situation of their village, which is a peripheral, high mountain village is rather favourable.

In spite of claiming generally unfavourable living conditions in the villages, only a few experimentees intend to leave their villages within the next two or three years to look for more favourable residences.

It does not make sense to differentiate between the different villages due to the small figures; but, it is interesting to have a look at the motives for moving mentioned by the interviewed people in the different villages. It is important to note that people in the small, peripheral villages Sirnea and Vultureni often mention the wish for an easier life, while the people in larger villages and in villages situated close to cities wish to find better apartments or places of work.

The reason for weak intentions to move is partly the fact that the interviewed persons have been the heads of the private households; therefore, they are older and mostly less mobile than other population groups.

But the all in all pessimistic opinions about the transformation do not lead to a lethargy of the village population, as is often claimed by so-called experts in the cities. 90 % of the interviewed persons feel themselves strongly attached to and identify with their villages and their counties. It should be noted that the interviewed persons have actively participated in proposing measures to improve their villages. Such measures are directed first and foremost to the improvement of physical infrastructure and of medical assistance in the villages, then to the economic and social situations as well as to the supplies of consumer goods.

3. Summary

The experiences and the assessments from the village populations' point of views can be summarized as follows:

3.1 Concerning the first question:

What are the real changes for interviewed persons since the collapse of socialism in December 1989?

1. The occupational situations and social mobility in the countryside are strongly influenced by the collapse of industries in the towns and cities. Many industrial workers who once commuted between village and city have now lost their places of work. Therefore, it is primarily industrial workers that have lost economically during the socio-economic transformation. This holds true even if in the villages they have been absorbed in a way by agriculture, due to the reprivatization of agriculture.

It became possible to return land up to 10 ha. But the average size of the individual agricultural enterprises amounts only to about 2 ha. This expanse of land is then divided into several lots, giving modest economic results. The results are made even more modest due to the shortcomings of the agricultural services system. Such shortcomings involve the supply of machines, implements, seeds, credits and other services as well as the marketing of products.

In addition to individual farmers, a new social group exists in the countryside. This is the group of business employers (small industry, workshops, shops). It seems that more research is necessary to judge the economic success of this last group.

Women have clearly lost during the transformation. It is not possible to define clearly groups of winners. It is only clear that those persons who belong to the economic branches of "small industry", "education, culture, health services" and "tourism" as well as to the professional status "cadres with higher studies" and the group of qualified workers are not represented among the unemployed people.

2. The economic and structural changes have caused many changes in places of work, those moves are not connected with migrations from town to village. Former urban workers who have become farmers already lived in the countryside before they changed places of work. That means that the transformation reduced regional mobility, because commuting has decreased. Regional mobility has increased in one respect. City dwellers who received land during the process of reprivatization now commute to the villages to work. This does not mean, however, that they have changed their places of residence. If the commuters do spend the night in the villages, they usually stay with relatives.
3. As a result of the reduction of the commuting from rural to urban settlements traffic as a whole has diminished, though not individual traffic, which has increased due to the growth in the number of cars (which was about 50 % between 1989 and 1996).

3.2 Concerning the second question:

How have the changes caused by the socio-economic transformation been perceived by the interviewed persons?

1. The interviewed persons have more negative than positive views about the effects of the socio-economic transformation on their own living conditions. Mainly the decrease of income, the instability of places of work, and the worsening of interpersonal relations have created negative opinions. It seems that they regard the achievements of democratisation as less important. It is conspicuous that the increased possibilities of consumption are not mentioned by the interviewed people of the villages.
2. The interviewed people evaluate the changes of their environment even more critically than they do the changes in their own living conditions.
If you differentiate the answers according to which villages they come from you will see that the worst assessments are made in the small and peripheral villages.
3. Although the problems of the political change and the socio-economic transformation mean that many men are uncertain and resigned there is yet no reason to claim that village populations are lethargic and uninterested in public matters. On the contrary, most interviewed persons are working toward developing and improving their villages.

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ELISABETH TOMASI

The development of Romanian agriculture since the land reform in 1991

To depict the development of agriculture since the land reform in 1991 four aspects should be examined:

1. the position of Romanian agriculture corresponding to the other post-communist Central European and East Central European states;
2. the recent development of Romanian agriculture, based on official statistical data;
3. structure and economic process of private units based on statistic analysis;
4. aspects of the interrelation between agricultural management and questions of environment.

1. Comparison of countries

In comparison to other East Central European countries agriculture plays a more important role in Romania (Tab. 1)¹ - even compared to Russia, the Ukraine and the Baltic states. To facilitate comparison on an European level, the table shows some corresponding data for Austria.

At 45 %, Romania has the second largest rural population in Europe, exceeded only by Albania with more than 50 %. With an agrarian quota - a figure that compares the employees by agriculture to the total number of employees of a country - of 33.6 % in 1995 Romania's dependence on agriculture is even more pronounced. Additionally, the agrarian quota has increased distinctly from 27.5 % in 1989, with the highest figure of 35.5 % in 1994. The other countries however, register much lower, and decreasing agrarian quotas. With quotas between 5 % and 8 %, only the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary come close to the standards of the West European countries.

¹ Sources: Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (ed.) (1996): Countries in Transition 1996. (WIIW Handbook of Statistics). Wien. / SEGRÈ, A./BRANDANI, A. (eds.) (1997): La dinamica dei sistemi agro-alimentari nelle economie in transizione. Trieste. / SCHNEIDER, M. (comp.) (1995): Lage und Perspektiven der Landwirtschaft in den mittel- und osteuropäischen Ländern. In: Agrarische Rundschau, H. 4.

Tab. 1: Central and East Central European Countries according agricultural parameters, comparison 1989/90 : 1994/95

Country	Rural population, %		Agrarian quota, %		Agriculture in GDP, %		Arable land in % of agricultural area, 1994	Plant production, %		Kinds of cultivation in % of arable land									
	1990	1995	1989	1995	1989	1995		1989	1995	Cereals (incl. grain maize)		Oil seeds		Potatoes		Sugar beet		Leguminous crops	
	1990	1995	1989	1995	1989	1995		1989	1995	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994
Romania	45.7	45.1	27.5	33.6	13.7	20.0	63	54.4	59.6	63.2	67.8	10.2	6.6	3.7	2.3	2.7	1.4	3.3	0.7
Czechia	22.9	-	9.4	5.1	6.3	3.1	74	41.1	42.0	51.4	55.4	3.8	7.9	3.6	2.6	3.9	2.9	1.8	2.2
Slovakia	-	-	12.2	7.1	9.4	5.1	61	44.1	53.5	54.2	58.0	4.3	5.9	3.6	2.7	3.6	2.2	2.8	4.6
Hungary	37.8	37.4	17.9	8.5	15.6	6.2	78	49.1	'56.0	59.5	62.4	9.9	10.0	1.5	1.2	2.5	2.2	3.5	1.3
Poland	38.2	38.2	26.4	25.0	11.8	6.1	77	37.3	37.0	58.1	59.3	4.0	2.6	12.9	11.9	2.9	2.8	19.4	20.7
Slovenia	-	-	11.8	10.4	4.4	4.4	30	37.8	53.1	49.8	44.9	0.8	1.2	12.1	9.3	1.6	2.0	3.2	1.2
Bulgaria	32.9	32.2	18.1	23.8	11.0	12.5	67	50.0	'54.3	55.9	55.7	6.8	12.3	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.2	2.3	1.3
Austria	'4.5	-	'6.4	4.6	3.3	1.6	40	32.9	35.0	'67.5	58.7	'5.7	11.8	'2.3	2.1	'3.5	3.7	'3.8	3.5

' 1 year before / after

Country	Average yields (in t / ha)								Livestock, development up to 1994 (1989 = 100)				Milk kg/cow		Consumption / per capita					
	Cereals		Wheat		Oil seeds		Sugar beet		Cattle Cows		Pigs	Sheep			Beef		Pork		Poultry	
	1989	1994	1990	1995	1989	1994	1989	1994					1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994
Romania	3.1	2.9	3.2	3.1	1.0	1.2	30	27	56	88	65	71	1950	2790	10.9	12.0	33.0	28.9	14.3	13.3
Czechia	4.7	4.1	5.6	4.6	2.8	2.1	45	41	62	67	87	49	4064	4057	24.5	16.0	52.4	46.4	13.0	11.5
Slovakia	5.2	4.3	5.0	4.4	2.3	1.8	34	38	62	68	81	63	3647	2253	14.9	12.0	44.0	33.0	14.0	11.4
Hungary	5.5	3.9	5.1	4.2	2.0	1.6	45	43	59	74	60	57	5043	4762	8.8	9.2	85.0	58.2	24.9	25.4
Poland	3.2	2.6	4.0	3.6	2.8	2.0	41	33	70	79	92	20	3358	3083	18.2	12.0	49.1	44.2	9.0	9.9
Slovenia	4.2	5.1	4.6	4.3	2.0	1.7	60	46	88	86	103	83	2473	2676	20.0	21.4	5.0	37.6	27.0	16.6
Bulgaria	4.4	3.0	4.5	2.9	1.8	1.2	18	16	46	65	50	49	3523	2709	15.4	12.5	45.6	25.7	17.1	9.4
Austria	5.6	5.4	5.1	5.2	2.5	2.7	50	49	90	94	101	110	3778	4076	19.5	18.4	52.4	51.8	12.9	14.5
EU-15	4.6	4.9	-	-	2.4	2.0	72	76	92	93	109	96	4562	5156	22.2	20.8	40.1	40.5	17.0	18.5

Sources: Countries in Transition '96, ed. Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (WIIW Handbook of Statistics), Wien 1996,
 La dinamica dei sistemi agro-alimentari nelle economie in transizione, ed. A. Segrè, A. Brandani, Trieste (1997),
 Zahlen aus Österreichs Land- und Forstwirtschaft '96, ed. Präsidentenkonferenz der Landwirtschaftskammern Österreichs, Wien 1997,
 Lage und Perspektiven der Landwirtschaft in den mittel- und osteuropäischen Ländern, compiled by M. Schneider, in: Agrarische Rundschau, 4/95.

Austria's low quota of 4.6 % is still higher than Germany's quota of less than 3 %. After the change of power in 1989, all East Central European countries have shown a severe reduction in their agricultural production. But in its share on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Romania's agricultural production comprises 1995 about 20 %, the highest proportion within the countries compared. In comparison to 1989, the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA, i.e. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia) shows about a 50 % decrease of this quota, from 6 % to 3 %. In Slovenia, the quota has remained stable at the low level of 4.4 %. In Austria agriculture is only 1.6 % of its GDP.

A comparison of the agricultural contribution to the GDP with the agrarian quota (Fig. 1) shows the productivity of each country. From 1990 to 1995, productivity has substantially decreased in Bulgaria, slightly decreased in Romania, increased in Slovakia and Hungary, and has remained almost unchanged in Poland. In almost all countries examined, the fraction of the plant sector in the agricultural production has increased since 1989. With 60 %, Romania shows the highest proportion of plant agriculture followed by Hungary with 56 % (Tab. 1). Due to environmental factors, in Romania nearly 68 % of the plant sector are cereal crops, including grain and maize.

Since 1989, intensity of agricultural production has decreased significantly in all countries examined, with the exception of Slovenia (Tab. 1 continued). The highest yields per hectare of wheat and oil seeds shows the Czech Republic. The comparatively small amount of wheat production in Romania and Poland reflects the small-sized structure of agriculture within these countries. The drastic decrease in the population of domestic animals since 1989 is common to all countries compared, except for a slight increase in 1995-96. Cattle numbers, not including cows, decreased the most in Romania and Bulgaria respectively, while decreasing only slightly in the European Union and Austria. But at 12 %, Romania had the smallest decrease in the number of cows, compared to the Czech Republic with 33 %. Only the number of pigs up to 1994 increased in the West (European Union, Austria, Slovenia). The low productivity in the animal sector of agricultural production is illustrated especially with the yields of milk: In comparison to an average value >5.000 l in the European Union, in most of the East Central European countries this value is less than 3.000 l. Only Hungary's milk production, followed by the Czech Republic, comes closest to the rate of Western cows, thus nearing Austria's. In East Central Europe, the home-consumption of meat per capita, with some exceptions, has decreased since 1989. The per capita consumption of beef, with the exception of Slovenia, is lower than the average of the countries of the European Union including Austria. Hungary is by far leading in the per capita consumption of pork and poultry, followed by Austria, the Czech Republic and Poland.

Comparing the yield per cow of milk and the yields per hectare of crops, the Czech Republic shows relatively good results in both these parameters, while in Hungary, not as expected, the sector of milk is better developed, in Slovenia and Slovakia the sector of crops are more productive. Romania had shown a severe

decrease in both sectors after 1989, but already had recovered in 1995.² The Annual Report of the European Commission concerning agriculture³ shows in comparison to the other East Central European countries a positive trend, relative to 1989, in Romanian agricultural production (Fig. 2), apart from the boom in agricultural production in Slovenia.

2. The recent development of Romanian agriculture

Similar to Austria, in Romania agriculture is determined by three very different natural landscape units: the mountain region, the plains, and the hilly and plateau regions. In Austria this situation has led to a high specialization, which resulted in a strict separation of dairy-farming and grain-growing, while in Romania, the structure of property additionally affects agriculture: in the mountain area, the tradition of individual farming with mixed animal and plant production has not been interrupted by the collectivization of the socialist era to the extent that it has been in the low-lands.

The highest concentrations of rural population are found in the regions situated in the periphery of the North East (Botosani, Suceava, Bistrita-Nasaud) and also regions closer to the capital, where more than 60 % of the population is rural (Fig. 3a). The fraction of rural population has gradually decreased in the whole country till 1995, with a brief increase following the political change of power between 1989 and 1990. The arable area along the outer bend of the Carpathian range sustains high rural population density, especially in its most southern part (Fig. 3b), with the highest figure of 3.1 persons per hectare in the district of Valcea.

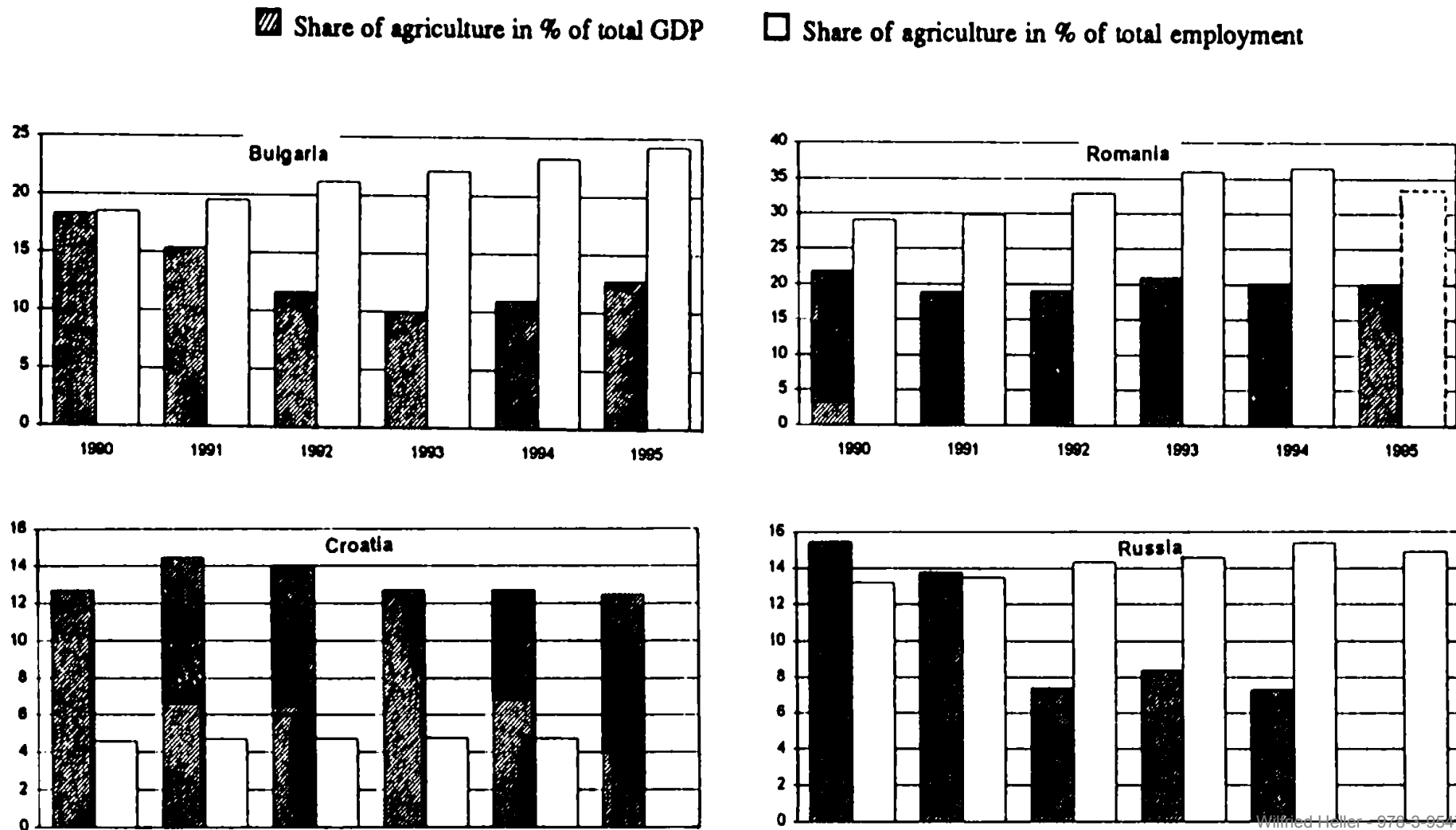
The proportion of grassland (meadows and pastures) dominates the agricultural area within the bend of the Carpathian range (Fig. 4). But even in the districts of Harghita, Hunedoara, Maramures, and Caras-Severin, with the highest proportion of grassland (>60 %), arable land use is still of certain importance.

The relative development of the agricultural production in Romania in 1980 and 1990, as given in the Statistical Yearbooks, makes evident the summit of 1985, when the state moved to maximize agriculture, especially plant production, as much as possible, to reduce foreign debts. A slight decrease in agriculture till 1989, even before the political change, was followed by a severe decrease from 1989 to 1992. Since that time agricultural production increased, so that in 1995 the figures of 1990 were achieved once again, and even exceeded in the plant sector.

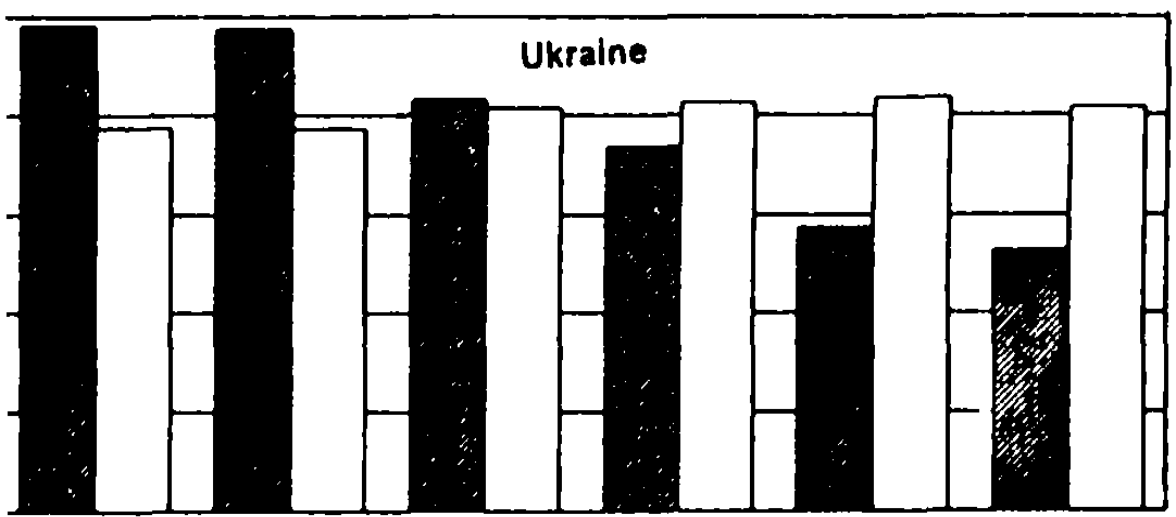
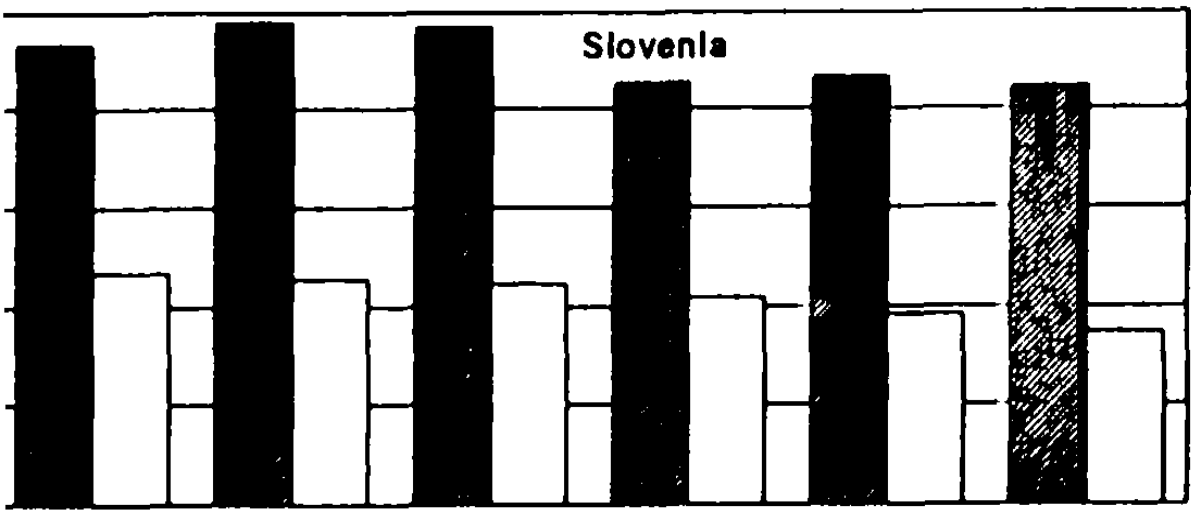
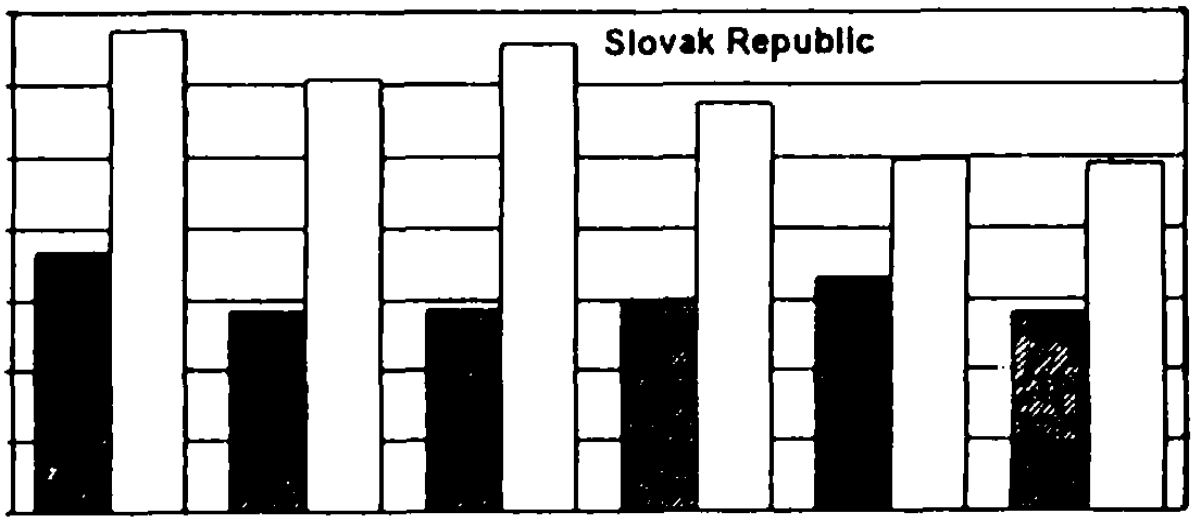
² Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (ed.) (1996): *Countries in Transition 1996*. (WIIW Handbook of Statistics). Wien, p. 144 and p. 149.

³ Europäische Kommission. Brüssel (ed.) (1996): *Die Lage der Landwirtschaft in der Europäischen Union*. Bericht 1995, p. 18.

Fig. 1: Share of agriculture in total GDP and employment in East Central and East European Countries 1990 - 1995



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1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995

Source: WIW Handbook of Statistics, '96

Fig. 1: Continued

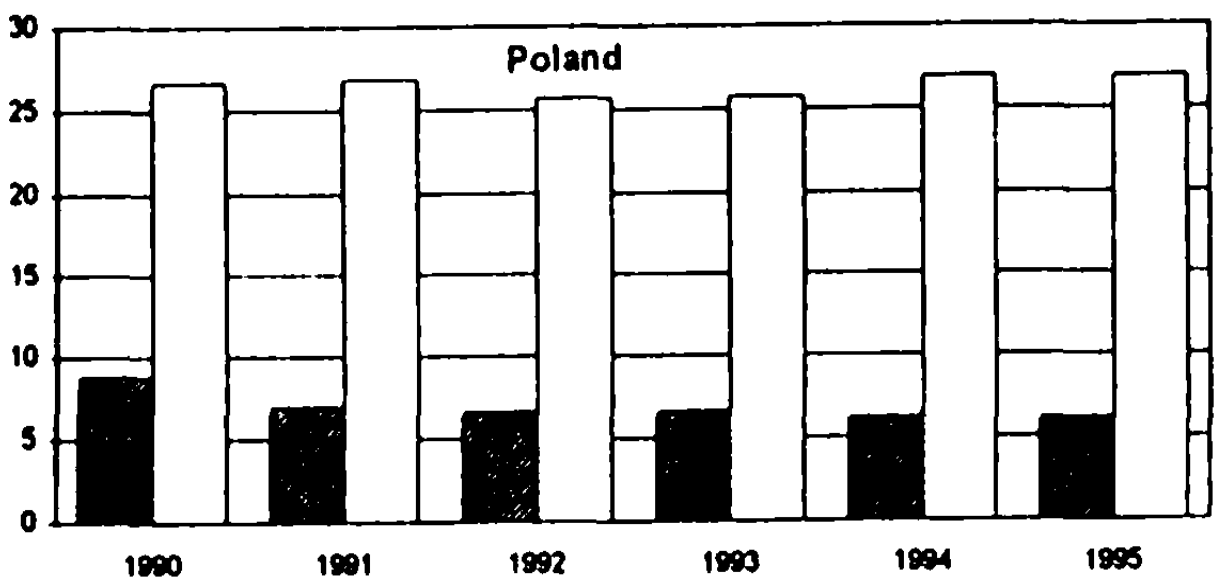
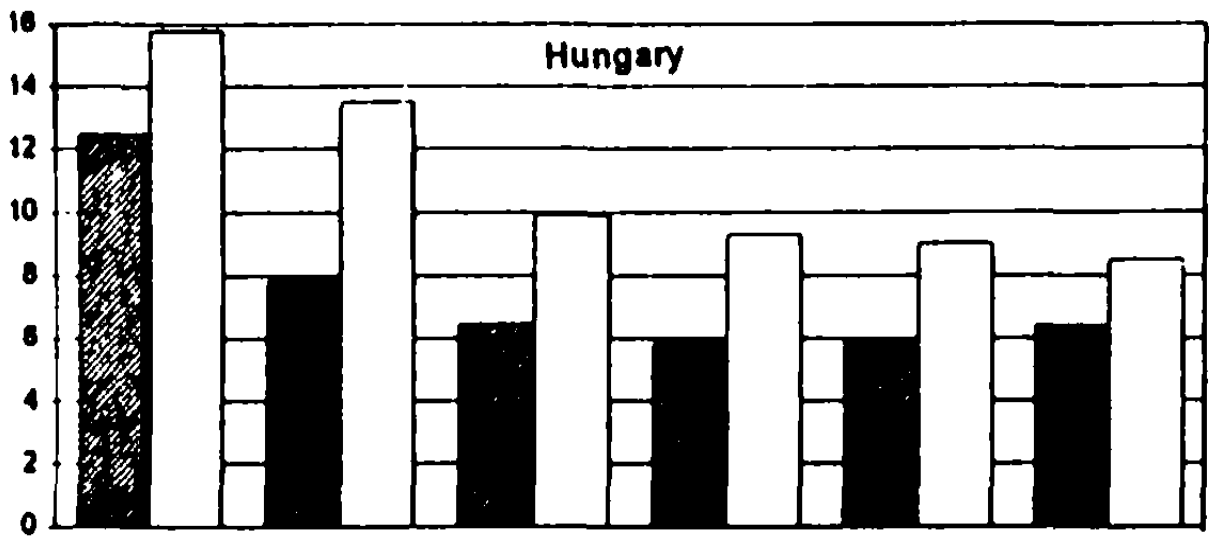
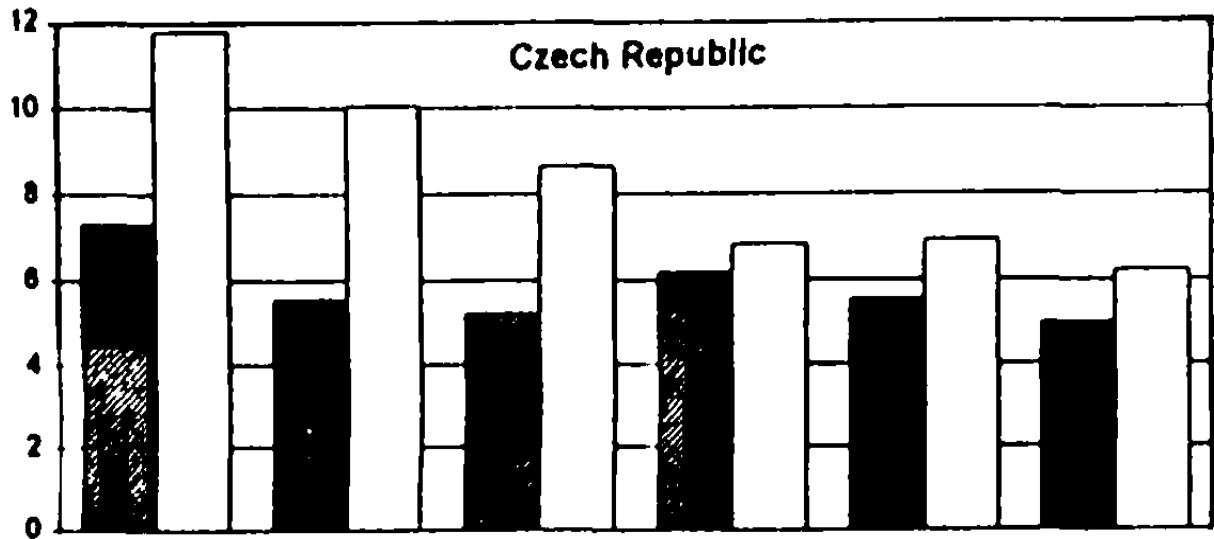
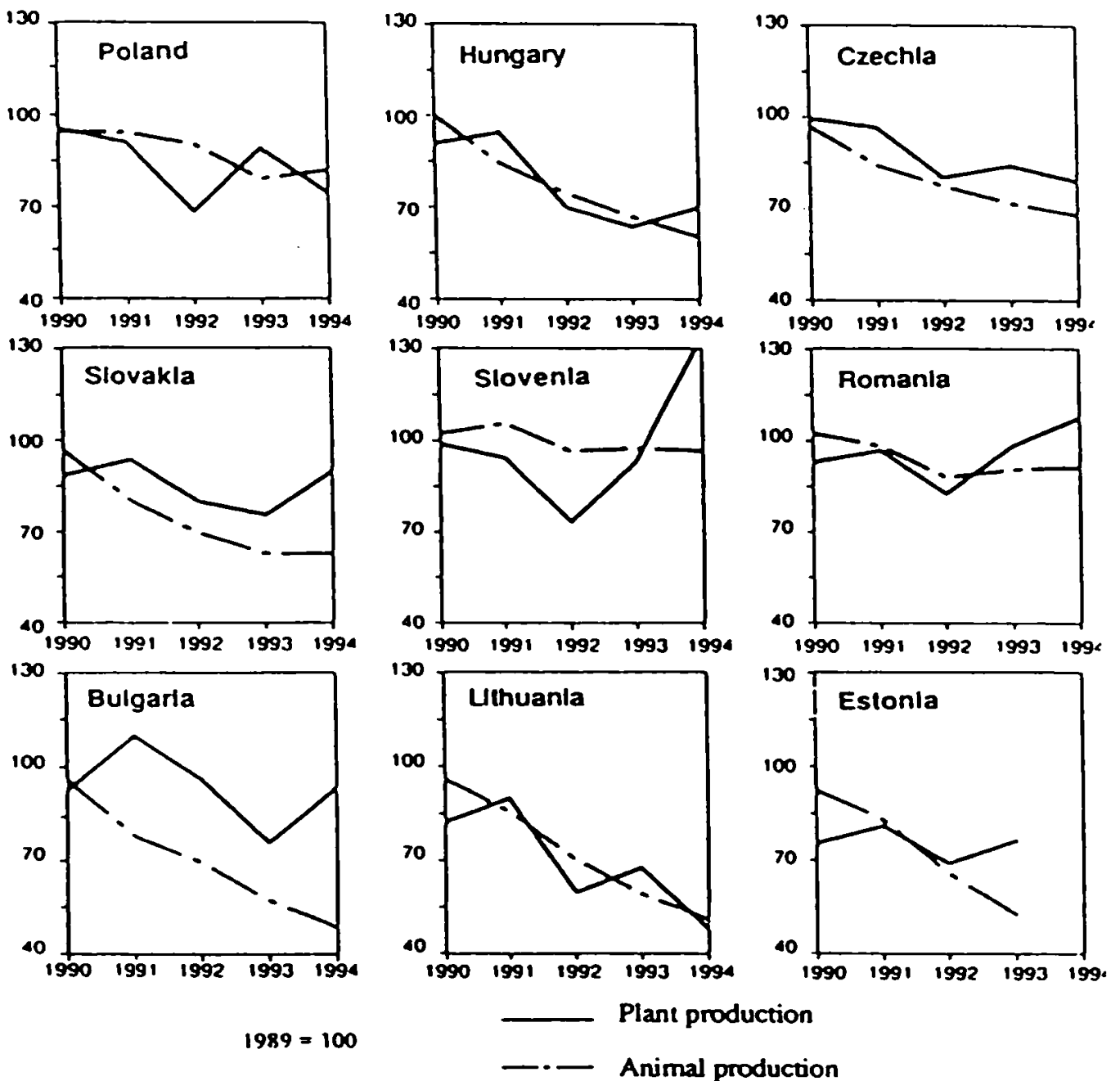


Fig. 2: Agricultural production of Central and East European Countries (CEEC)

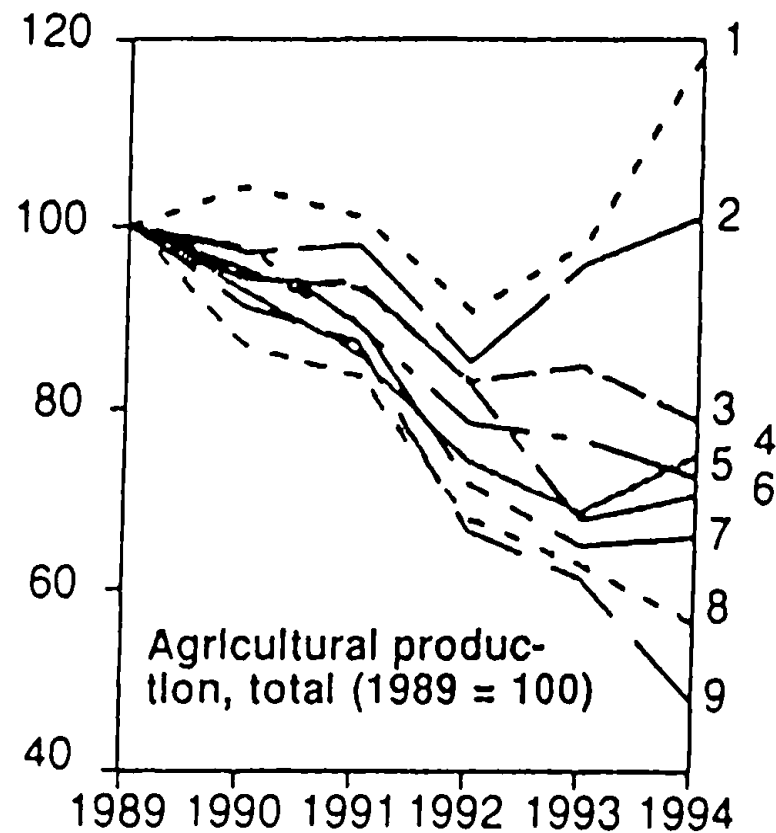
2a: Plant and animal production



Source: see Fig. 2b

Fig. 2: Agricultural production of Central and East European Countries (CEEC)

2b: Total agricultural production



Poland 3	Slovakia 4	Bulgaria 6
Hungary 7	Slovenia 1	Lithuania 9
Czechia 5	Romania 2	Estonia 8

Source:

Die Lage der Landwirtschaft in der Europäischen Union. Bericht 1995, ed. by European Commission, Bruxelles-Luxembourg 1996, p. 18.

Fig. 3a: Rural population in Romania, in % (1994)

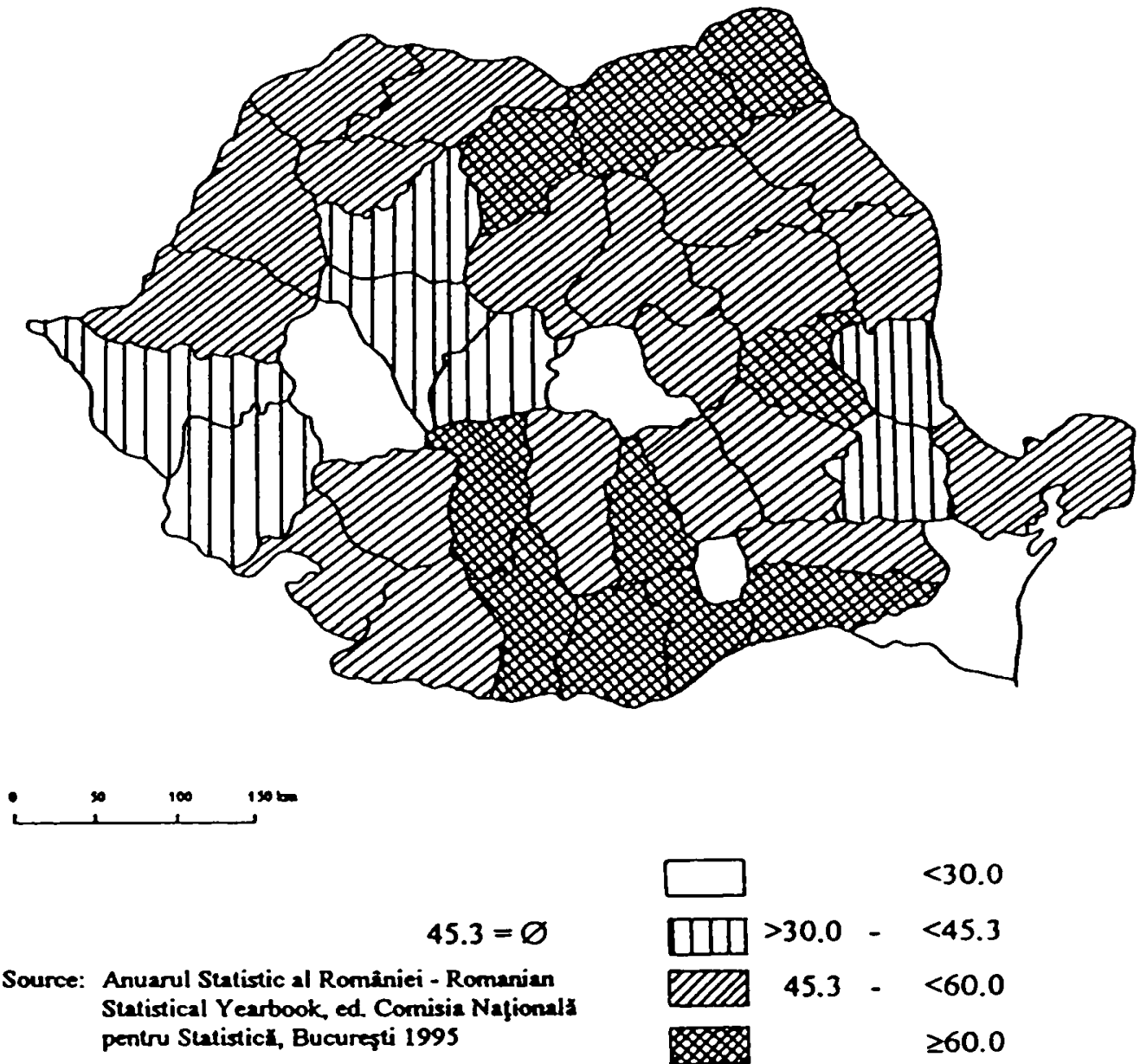


Fig. 3b: Rural population in Romania, persons per ha arable land (1994)

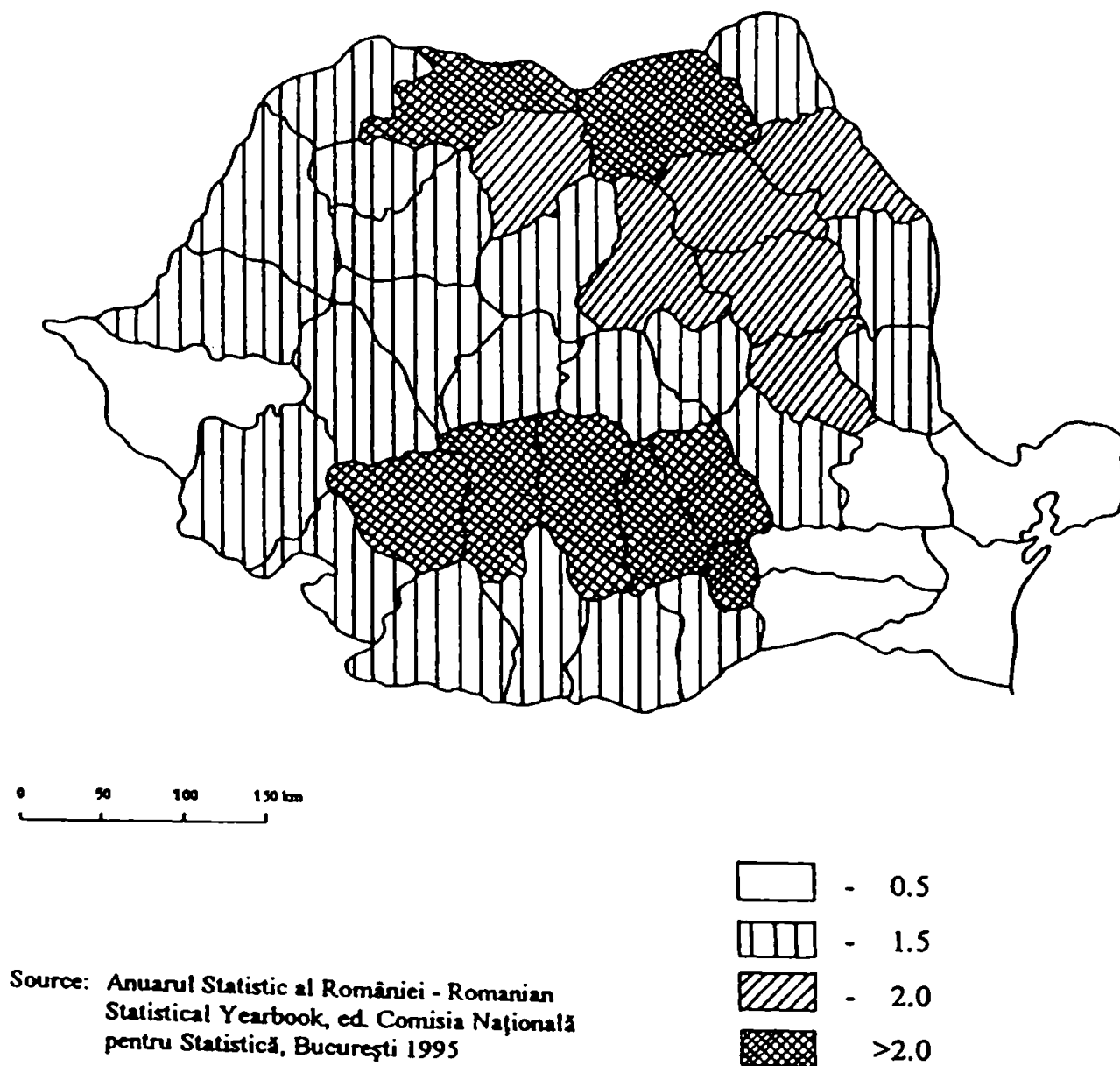


Fig. 4: Grassland (meadows + pastures) in Romania, in % of agricultural area (1995)

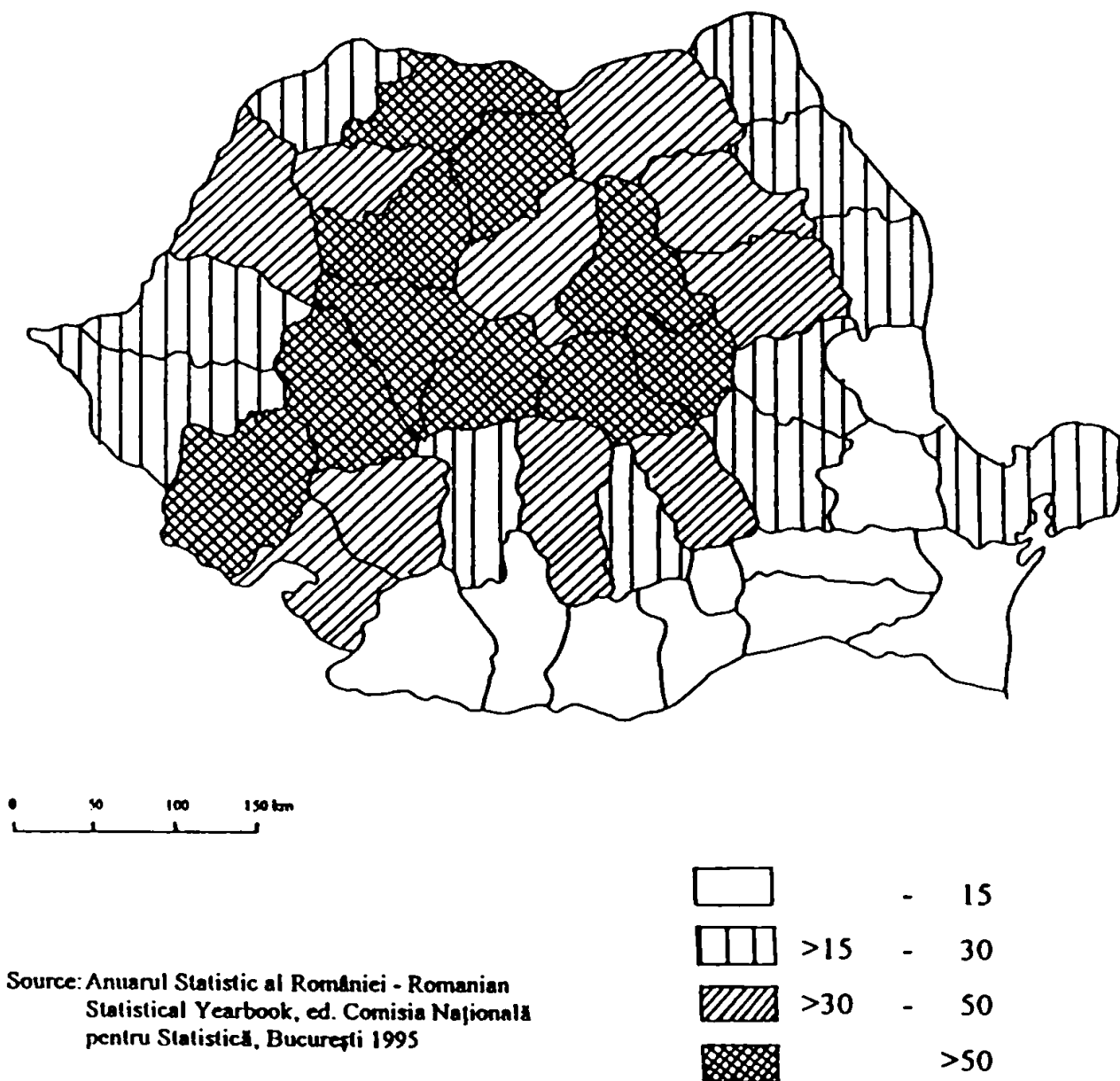
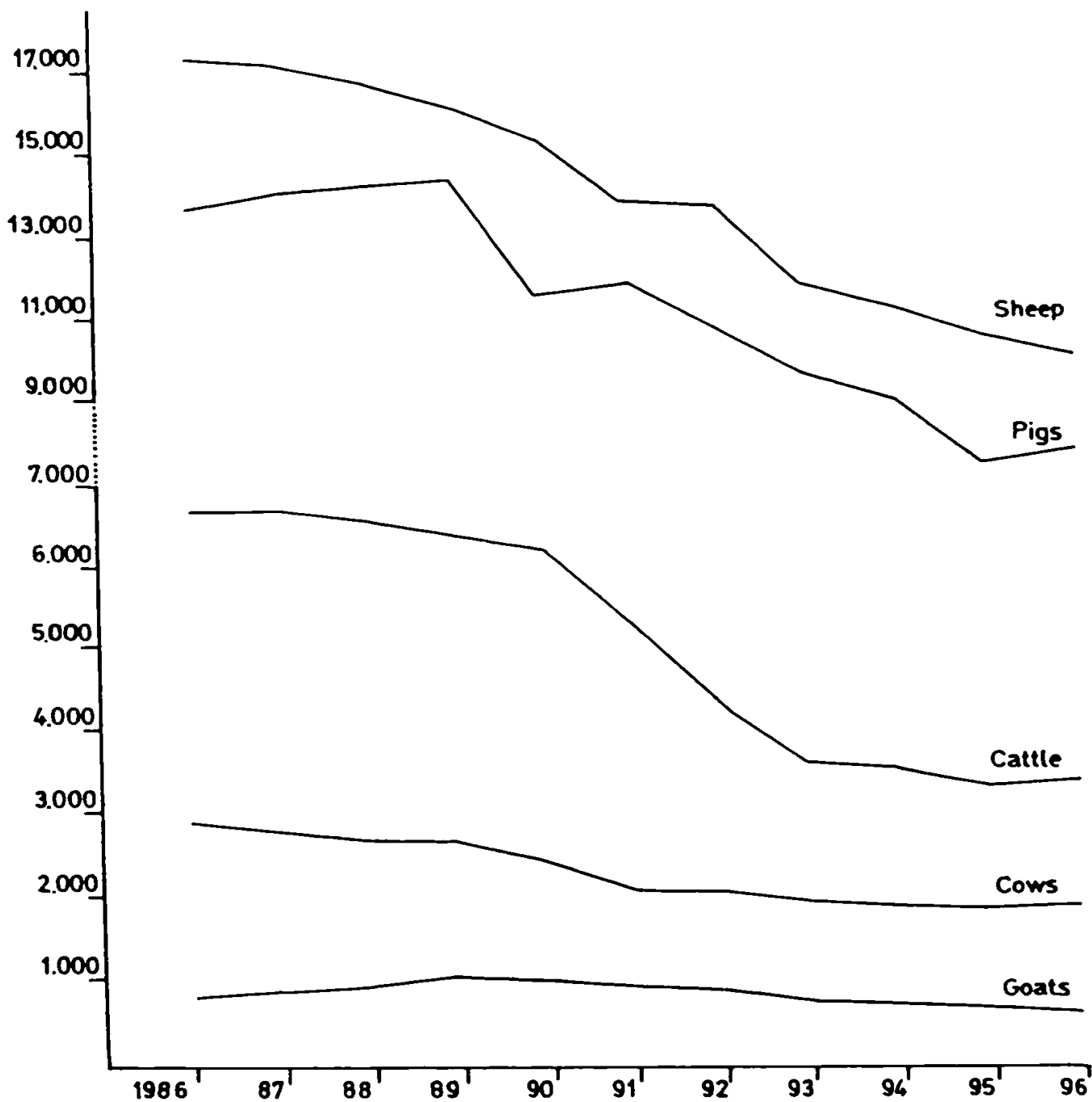


Fig. 5: Development of livestock in Romania 1986 - 1996, in 1.000 heads



Source: Anuarul Statistic al României - Romanian Statistical Yearbook, ed. Comisia Națională pentru Statistică, 1995, 1996, București

In contrast to the plant sector, the population of domestic animals remained at the reduced level of 1992 until 1996 (Fig. 5). Regarding the slightly increasing animal production at the same time this relation can be seen as a certain process of intensification in agricultural management.

Regional changes in Romania from 1996 to 1997 show a slight shift in the arable area used to grow the most important cereal crops of Romania (Fig. 6a,b): Of the districts in the southeast to the regions west of the Carpathian range, Timis, Cluj, and Bistrita-Nasaud, increased grain maize while Giurgiu and Calarasi decreased it. Compared to the situation in 1989, this crop shows a heavy increase in almost all Moldova districts. Wheat, which in Romanian statistics is given together with rye, shows a distinct expansion in the plains of the southeast - Galati, Tulcea, Braila, Ialomita, and Calarasi - and also in the south western part of the plains, as in the districts Dolj, Olt, and Teleorman, where this approached the level of 1989.

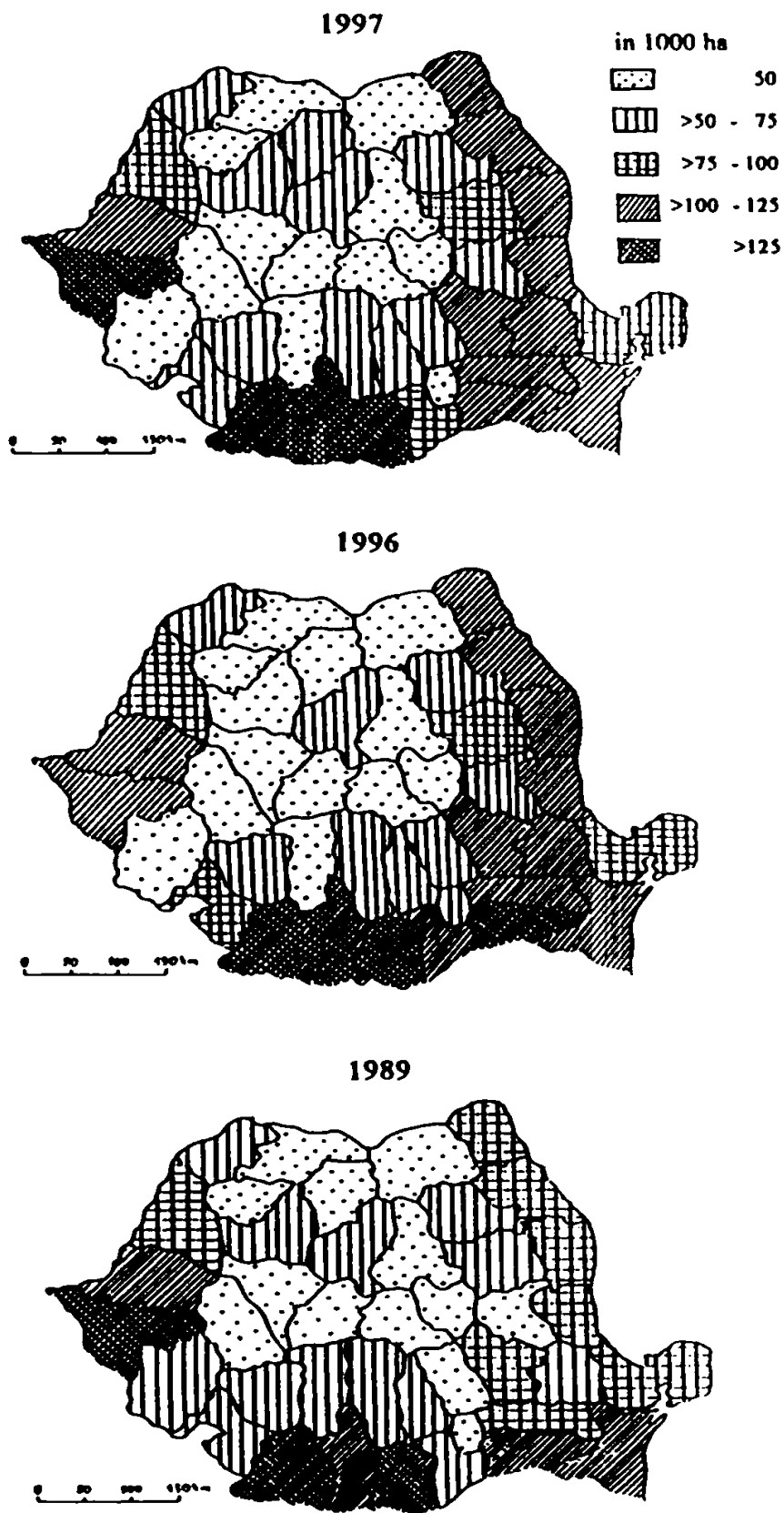
3. The private sector of Romanian agriculture

The development of the private sector from 1990 to 1996 (Tab. 2) as a whole is now at a high level, but it must be differentiated at several levels of agricultural management. The private sector not only includes individual farms, but also family associations and formal associations. Within the agricultural area, 93.7 % of the meadows are privately owned, however, only 31.8 % of the pastures. There is also a difference in livestock ownership: 90 % of the cattle are privately owned, but only 58 % of the pigs. For plant production, barley has the lowest private fraction at 58.7 %. Machinery is privately owned on a low level of little more than 50 % because the small- and smallest sized farms that have no capital stock. However, these 50 % represent a dramatic increase from 1990, when only 4.8 % of tractors were privately owned and less than 10 % of mechanical seeders in 1992.

In December 1996, interviews of farming enterprises were organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, with the support of the European Commission and the World Bank, in order to document the current socio-economic structure and the management of the newly created, mostly small-sized individual farms. These interviews have been published under the title *Private Agriculture in Romania*.⁴ To determine regional characteristics, for each district, regions of agriculture with similar patterns of agricultural use were combined (Fig. 7). Assignments to the physiogeographical units 'mountain land', 'hilly land' and 'low land' were worked out based on the proportion of arable area, up to 50 %, 50-80 %, and more than 80 %, respectively. In 120 communities, spot checks (samples) of the private agricultural sector sorted out three categories of farm organizations: 'individual farms' (without a legal title), 'family associations' and 'formal associations' (with a legal title and at least 10 members).

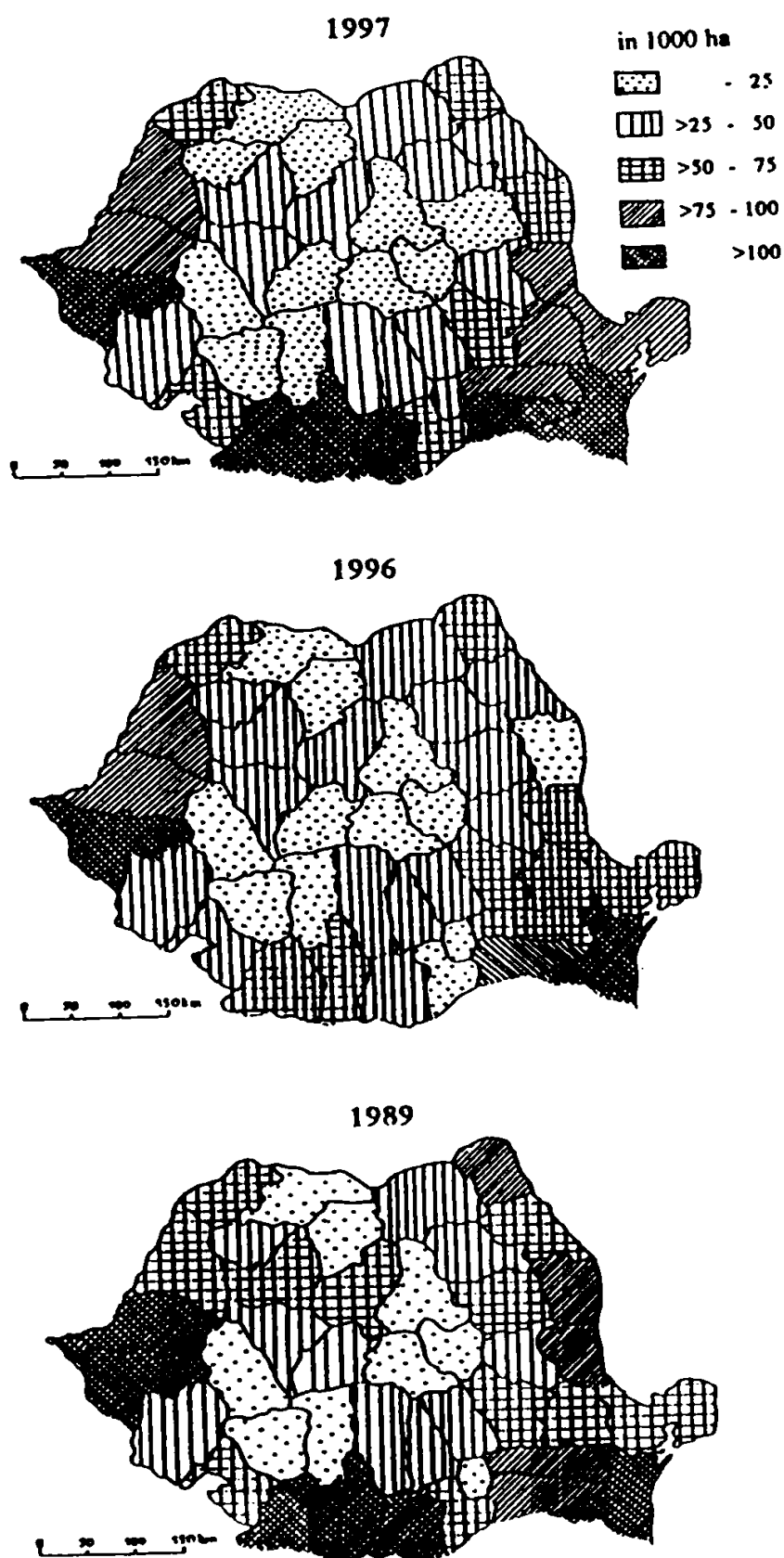
⁴ Ministry for Agriculture and Food. European Commission. World Bank (eds.) (1997): *Private Agriculture in Romania. Farm Study. Bucharest, 1997.*

Fig. 6a: Grain maize in Romania in 1989, 1996, and 1997

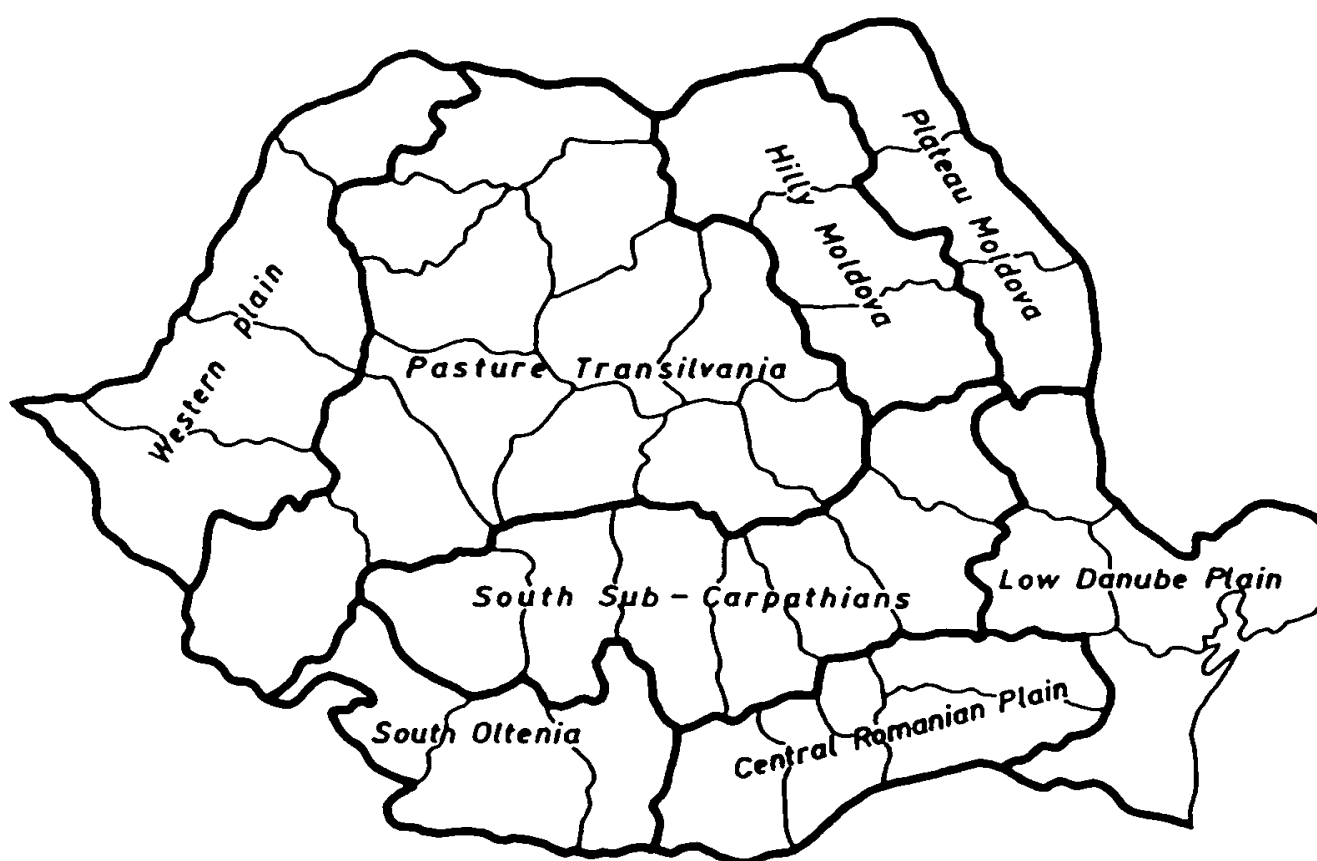


Source: Comisia Națională pentru Statistică:
 Informații statistice operative, no. 3, iulie 1996, 1997

Fig. 6b: Wheat and rye in Romania in 1989, 1996, and 1997



Source: **Comisia Națională pentru Statistică:**
Informații statistice operative, no. 3, iulie 1996, 1997

Fig. 7: Agroregions in Romania

Source: *Private Agriculture in Romania. Farm Survey*,
ed. Ministry of Agriculture and Food, European Commission,
World Bank, Bucureşti 1997

After the political change, the land reform at first caused an increase in the number of people employed by agriculture. Private farm owners are differentiated into three divergent groups: 1) farmers (*parani*), 2) farmers with second, non-agricultural jobs (*pluriactivi*), and 3) from their former profession retired land-owners (*pensionari*). Most full-time farmers own farms of an average of 2-3 ha, while bigger farms are owned by pensionists.⁵ These three categories of owners show distinct regional groups: 'full-time' farmers are found in the south (South-Oltenia 71 %, Central Romanian Plain 66 % and Low Danube Plain 75 %). 'Full-time' farms are not family farms in the western sense of the word. Mostly they are small-sized farms of aged households with only few family members. For both parts of Moldova - Hilly Moldova and Plateau Moldova - the figure of up to 40 % part-time farmers without a second job (pensionists) is significant. The agroregions west of the Carpathian range (Pasture Transilvania and Western Plains), including the South Sub-Carpathian Region show in respect of 'full-time' and 'retired' farms an intermediate position. There are only 9 % part-time farms - those with a second non-agricultural income - in Plateau Moldova, 17 % in the Central Romanian Plain and 12 % in the Low Danube Plain, whereas the average value of the sample is little over 20 %: The young, active population of Plateau Moldova has traditionally shown a tendency for migration in other parts of the country; in the central and southeastern plains the towns withdraw this kind of rural population.

The management of the property of the private farms is carried out in varying ways: about two thirds (66 %) of the enterprises (especially in the mountain region) manage their property individually, about 30 % manage parts of their estate by formal or family associations (especially in the plains), only 6 % manage their entire estate by formal or family associations. The contrast in the pattern of land tenure (Tab. 3) between communities in the mountain regions and in the plains is clear: In the mountainous region, 81 % of the agricultural area of the private farm owners are individually managed, but only 50 % in the plains. The preference of formal associations over looser family associations is also obvious, which differs from the first phase after the land reform. Family associations, as well as leases, only play a role in the southern and southeastern plains. It appears that the decision to join a formal association is more likely the result of a negative or passive motivation, due to the lack of labour and capital stock, than the positive motivation of higher income expectation. We can recognize the following features of agroregions (Tab. 4): The average size of holding, including the areas of associations, is lowest in Hilly Moldova with 2.35 ha, and highest in the Central Romanian Plain with 3.87 ha; the highest amount of individually managed agricultural areas (88 %) is also in the Hilly Moldova region; leases of a considerable amount of the agricultural area (19 %) are common in the region Low Danube Plain; a considerable amount of farms, in which areas are managed by family associations occurs only in the south and southeast (20 %) - this category of farm management does not exist at all in Transilvania.

⁵ RUSU, M. (1997): *Dimensiunea economica*. In: VOINEA, C. (red.): *Economii rurale locale. Dimensiuni si perspective*, p. 92.

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Tab. 2: Development of the private sector in Romania 1990 - 1996, in %

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Agricultural area	12.6	69.8	70.3	69.9	70.1	72.3	72.3
Arable land	8.2	79.0	79.8	79.9	80.4	83.6	83.6
Cultivated area	28.4	78.9	80.0	78.5	79.4	81.4	80.9
Pastures	8.3	33.6	33.9	31.7	31.5	31.7	31.8
Meadows	48.6	92.8	92.9	93.0	93.0	93.7	93.7
Vineyards	12.7	68.9	71.9	73.7	73.7	75.3	75.6
Orchards	22.3	66.0	66.9	66.4	66.8	68.0	68.1
Cattle	44.4	80.4	81.7	84.8	87.8	89.6	90.3
Pigs	28.9	49.8	54.6	53.0	56.9	57.9	57.9
Sheeps	62.0	86.1	87.1	89.2	90.1	91.2	92.5
Plant production	56.0	81.6	80.9	86.8	87.4	88.1	87.6
Wheat and rye	.	84.8	81.7	79.8	80.2	80.1	77.3
Barley	.	65.4	55.1	55.6	59.4	58.9	58.7
Maize	.	91.9	93.2	91.7	92.2	92.9	91.2
Sunflower	.	77.4	78.3	73.4	70.7	74.8	73.2
Sugar beet	.	87.7	88.2	82.4	77.1	84.1	84.2
Potatoes	.	92.6	93.2	92.6	94.3	96.1	96.1
Leguminous crops	.	66.9	65.2	57.6	55.9	51.8	≈
Animal Production	56.3	74.8	80.5	80.6	84.9	83.2	84.4
Meat	43.3	62.5	70.5	70.4	72.5	70.1	73.4
Milk	58.6	86.5	88.2	90.9	92.5	93.3	94.2
Wool	51.5	79.1	80.5	82.9	86.5	87.8	89.4
Eggs	49.3	62.8	68.6	71.1	74.5	74.2	75.4
Tractors	4.8	16.5	26.5	35.2	47.1	55.2	59.0
Tractor-drawn ploughs	1.9	6.8	19.1	35.3	50.5	59.1	62.8
Mechanical seeders	0.5	2.6	9.8	26.4	41.2	50.9	53.6
Chemical fertilizer spreaders	-	0.6	2.1	5.8	16.0	26.0	29.5
Chemical fertilizer (active subst.)	9.2	49.5	49.8	56.4	60.6	65.1	65.0
Nitrogen	11.0	52.0	53.5	59.0	63.9	68.0	67.4
Phosphorus	7.7	48.3	44.4	52.1	55.0	59.7	61.7
Potash	3.7	38.6	41.9	48.1	52.9	60.0	55.0
Natural fertilizer	53.0	81.5	80.1	84.7	86.4	89.9	91.4

Source: Evoluția sectorului privat în economia Românească - în perioada 1990 - 1996, ed. Comisia națională pentru statistică, București, iulie 1997; Anuarul Statistic al României 1996, ed. loc. cit., București 1996; Informații Statistice Operative, Seria Agricultură-Silvicultură, ed. loc. cit., nr. 3, iulie 1996.

Tab. 3: Pattern of land tenure by types of land use at the commune level in Romania (1996)

Commune type function of land use	Percentage of land				
	worked in own individual farm	leased out by individual farm	family association	formal association	
Mountain communes	81	3	3	13	100
Hilly communes	71	9	5	15	100
Plain communes	50	10	12	28	100

Source: Private Agriculture in Romania
Farm Study. Bucharest 1997.

Tab. 4: Pattern of land tenure by agroregions in Romania (1996)

Agroregion	Individual farm	Leased out by indi- vidual farm	Family asso- ciation	Formal asso- ciation	Total %	Average size of the private holding, ha
Low Danube Plain	40	19	20	21	100	3.49
Central Romanian Plain	43	11	20	26	100	3.87
Southern Sub- Carpathians	66	2	6	26	100	2.38
Southern Oltenia	68	8	4	20	100	3.60
Plateau Moldova	71	9	6	14	100	2.77
Pasture Transilvania	75	6	1	18	100	3.85
Western Plain	77	4	4	15	100	3.62
Hilly Moldova	88	6	1	4	100	2.35

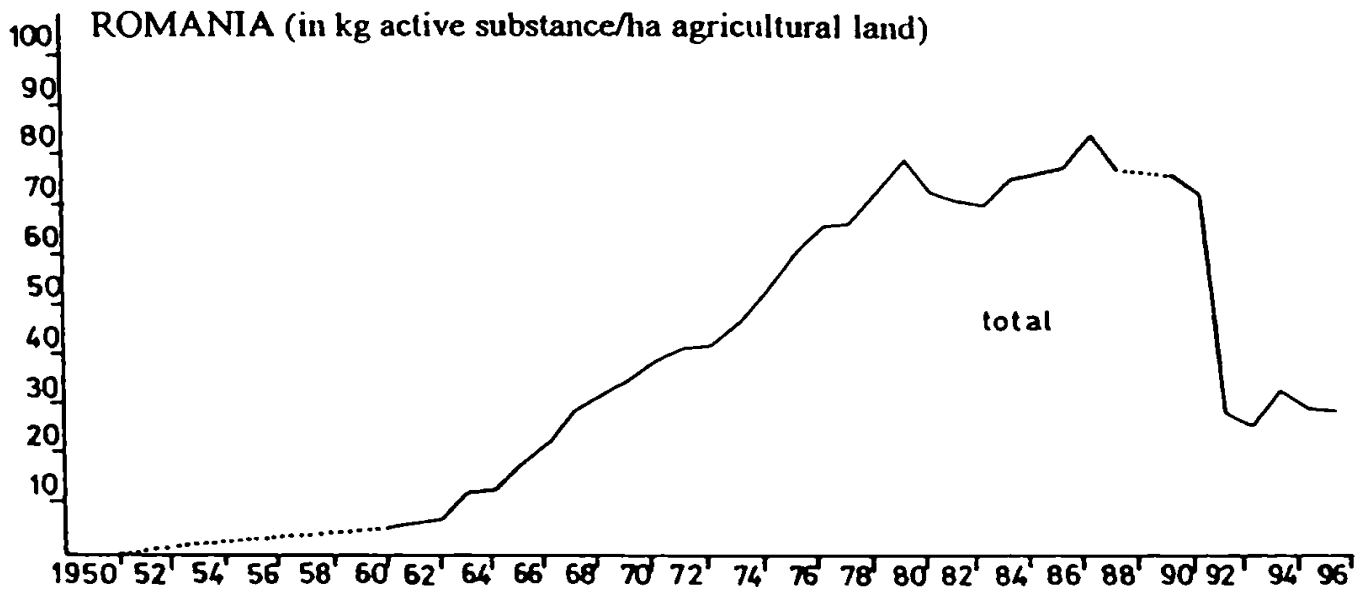
Source: Private Agriculture in Romania
Farm Study. Bucharest 1997

Tab. 5: Average yields of main crops by agroregions in Romania, in tons/ha (1996)

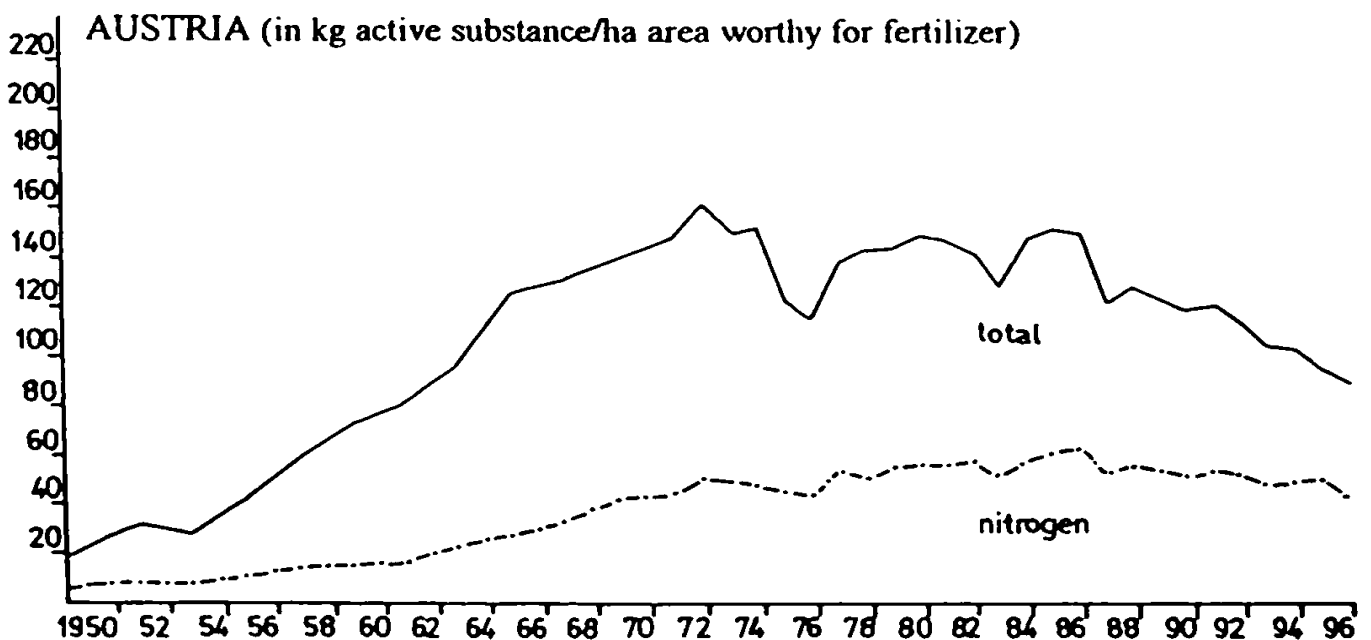
Crops	Transil- vania	Western Plain	Moldova Plain	Hilly Moldova	Southern Sub-Car- pathians	Danube Plain	Southern Oltenia	Central Romanian Plain
Maize	4.4	4.1	2.1	5.1	2.9	2.6	1.3	2.3
Wheat	2.5	2.1	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.5	0.7
Barley	2.5	1.1	0.3	1.2	3.1	0.8	0.6	1.5
Oat	1.8	1.5	1.1	2.3	1.9	9.4	0.9	1.6
Sunflower	1.9	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.3	1.0	0.6	1.2
Sugar beet	15.9	17.1	19.5	19.0	6.0	11.4	18.0	14.5
Potatoes	8.1	5.5	7.5	14.1	3.3	1.6	1.0	1.3
Grapes	6.1	2.9	5.7	5.7	6.2	4.4	3.3	6.1

Source: Private Agriculture in Romania
Farm Study. Bucharest 1997.

Fig. 8: Development of mineral fertilizer consumption in Romania and Austria 1950 - 1996

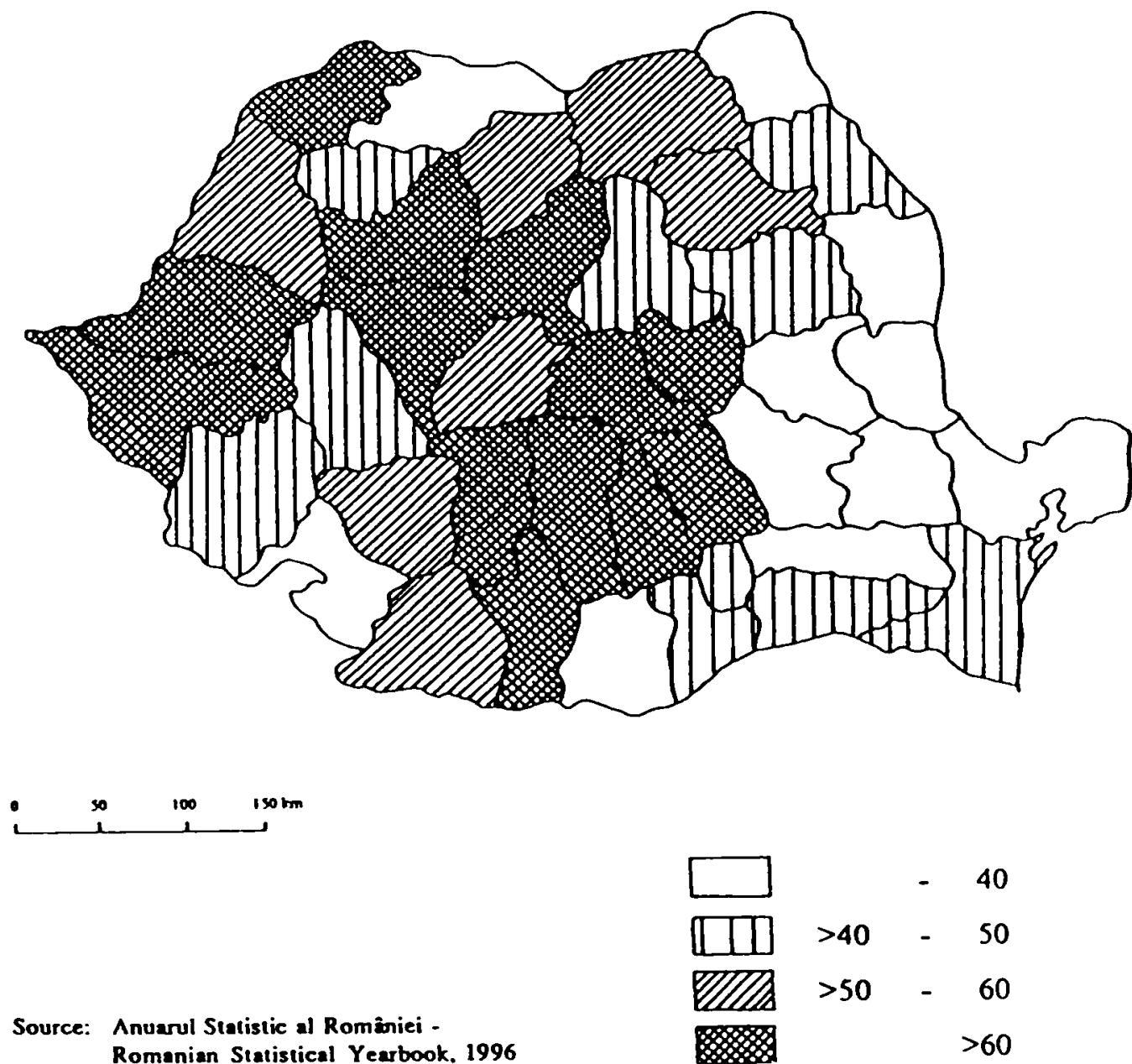


Sources: Anuarul Statistic al României, several issues



Source: ALFIS (Allgemeines Land- und Forstwirtschaftliches Informationssystem des Bundesministeriums für Land- und Forstwirtschaft), Wien 1997

Fig. 9: Mineral fertilizers (total) per ha cultivated arable land in Romania (1995).
in kg active substance



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Plant crops on individual farms show a dominance of maize (39 % of the cultivated arable area), followed by wheat (22 %) and the rest are fodder plants. Formal association farms show a converse relation to this: 38 % wheat and 27 % maize, then sunflowers, which are hardly grown by individual farms, and barley. The yields per hectare (Tab. 5) show the high yield of maize (5.1 t/ha) in the Hilly Moldova region; Transilvania leads in the yield of wheat (2.5 t/ha), far exceeding the classic arable area required for wheat of the southern and southeastern plains. The lowest output is found in the agroregion of South-Oltenia for maize (1.3 t/ha), as well as for wheat (0.5 t/ha).

There is no formal information on the commercialization or total amount of agricultural products sold by individual farms. According to the interviews from December 1996, 51 % of all individual farmers did not bring any products to the markets, which means that production is used for personal needs - a subsistence economy.

Inputs, for example seeds, fertilizers, herbicides, feed grain, and machinery, show a constant decline especially on individual farms. Inputs may play a role in the animal sector (e.g. veterinary services).

As a summary of regional characteristics we can say:

- On a whole, the economic situation west of the Carpathian range (Transilvania and the Western Plain) seems slightly better than other regions of Romania. The farms exceed average size, the younger farmers seem more active in investing and gaining higher yields per hectare, and the legal situation shows less formal associations.
- Although farms are biggest in the southern plains from South-Oltenia to the Central Romanian Plain and the Low Danube Plain productivity (yield per hectare) is essentially less than average, even for wheat. The capital Bucharest has actually drawn farm laborers away more than it has created a marketplace for agriculture. While in the central and eastern plains, the family structure of elderly owners with only few family members plays a dominant role, resulting in the relatively high formation of formal associations and of leases (especially in the Low Danube Plain), in South-Oltenia an adjustment in the plant production toward market demand does not take place and there are the lowest yields per hectare of wheat, maize and sunflowers.
- A better adjustment to the market concerning animal production is made in the South Sub-Carpathian Region, which is in the vicinity of the capital, despite having the second smallest size of holding (after Hilly Moldova).
- Moldova is influenced (as is South-Oltenia to some extent) by its situation in the periphery, showing a figure of 40 % elderly, retired farm managers. However it demonstrates a distinct adherence to agriculture, contrasting the southern and southeastern plains. Notably, this historical region is divided into two parts: Plateau Moldova where very poor households are dominant, and Hilly Moldova, with the smallest holdings of the country. In Hilly Moldova, as in the South Sub-Carpathian Region, only few leases exist, combined with the lowest participation in formal associations of the whole country. In spite of this, the highest yields per

hectar of maize and potatoes, and the second highest yield per hectar of sugar beets are found in this agroregion.

4. Ecology and agricultural management in Romania

The new small-sized structures of property and the low adjustment towards the market, combined with a low degree of intensity of agricultural production in most parts of the country form an ideal basis for an ecological agricultural management - provided that the small-sized farms are able to develop into solid family farms. This is necessary to guarantee prolonged continuity of agricultural management corresponding to nature. Another essential feature mentioned in studies is a positive attitude towards the rural land, not only towards the property, but also towards the agricultural management - at a time, towards which in the old as well now newly market-orientated Europe agriculture is being managed on an agro-industrial scale on the one hand, and on the other hand, economic and ecological restrictions are placed on the remaining enterprises.

The relationship of agriculture and soil is a very complex one, as illustrated in the following example of fertilizer use:

The comparison of the development in mineral fertilizer consumption (Fig. 8)⁶ shows that Romania 1972 was beginning a heavy increase in fertilizer use, just as Austria's use was at its highest level. Heavy use of fertilizers continued in both countries until 1986, when both countries reduced the use of fertilizers. In Romania, this reduction was caused by the deterioration of the economy as a whole; in Austria it was initiated by the introduction of a 'soil protection tax'. This tax caused the continued decrease in the use of fertilizers, supported by the promotion of extensive agricultural management. But in Austria, only the use of phosphorus and potash were greatly reduced, while the amount of nitrogen not before 1986 had been slightly decreased. In Romania, however, from 1990 to 1991 the political changes caused a reduction in the use of fertilizers of more than 50 %, as the new structures of property (many small-sized farms) and the lack of capital stock impeded the purchase of expensive fertilizers. Compared to 1986, the use of fertilizers in 1991 decreased by two thirds and has only slightly increased since then.

The intensity of fertilizer use is an important ecological parameter. But figures may be compared only to some extent, as various standards of agricultural areas are applied. Austria cites the area worthy of fertilizing, which means extensive grassland is disregarded. Roughly compared, the amount of fertilizer used per unit of land in Romania, even in 1986 at the time of the highest level, was only half of that used in Austria. Today, Romania uses about one third of Austria's figure. Even if the arable area is referred to for Romania, the relationship Romania vs. Austria is

⁶ Sources for Romania (1997): Anuarul Statistic Romaniei. Several issues; for Austria: ALFIS (Allgemeines Land- und Forstwirtschaftliches Informationssystem des Bundesministeriums für Land- und Forstwirtschaft).

120.2 : 152.6 (1985), and 50.3 : 97.1 (1995). Supposing that, unlike in Austria, in Romania fertilizers are scarcely applied on intensive grassland, we can refer figures to arable land to show the intensity of fertilizer use (Fig. 9): The figures show an accentuated regional distribution, with relatively high fertilizer use in the South Sub-Carpathian Region, parts of Transilvania and the Banat, while the southern and southeastern plains, and also most of Moldova, use considerably less.

The comparison of fertilizer use and farm productivity from the above mentioned study *Privat Agriculture in Romania* is remarkable. This study shows that the highest yields per hectare are in Hilly Moldova and the lowest in South-Oltenia, in converse of fertilizer use. This indicates that the use of fertilizers does not necessarily bolster productivity.

Summary and outlook

Despite the radical decrease of agricultural production after the change of power, especially in the years 1990-1992, that can be recognized from the statistical survey, Romania shows promise. After the 1980s, when government tried to get out of agriculture to the utmost possible, to reduce foreign debts, followed the radical changes of 1990-1991 that put rural communities into almost chaotic situations. Now signs of a stabilization can be seen, we may even say that developing socio-economic impetus is directed from the rural to the urban areas - a remarkable situation, considering that within the European Union even medium-sized farms may have to fight for their existence.

In Romania, more so than in most other Central European and East Central European states, and even the rest of Europe, the value of agriculture is relatively significant in relation to the whole economy of the country, and therefore is a main political issue. Together with the agro-economic potential of the different landscape types Romania's agriculture is facing great challenges and opportunities, including the optimistic prospects of ecologically responsible agricultural practices which will allow the sustained production that is essential for Romania's economy.

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VI. PROBLEMS OF URBAN AREAS

JOACHIM VOSSEN

Recent urban development and migration inside, into and out of Bucharest

While introducing the following more recent spatial urban development and population shift of Bucharest, I would like to do this in the context of the developing process of the transformation. Therefore, I would like to broaden, at a phenomenological level, the term "transformation" or "transition", which until now is almost exclusively defined as socio-economic, and interrelate this to the spatial morpho-genetic development of the city structure.

With this background, and regarding the substantial persistence of city structures, it is necessary to take the time period of the last twenty years (1977-1997) into consideration. Within this time period, the city underwent such drastic restructuring, or perhaps in this case even better "transformation", that other cities took centuries to experience. Earthquakes, political despotism, and lastly the most recent political system changes left behind their marks in the city structure during this time.

Later on, the phenomenon of migration will be discussed that in part correlates to the transformation process of the city structure, but whose causes lie mainly in the socio-economic situation.

1. The radical transformation of the urban center from 1977 until 1990

Bucharest boasts a large variety of totally different urban and physiognomical elements. Caravansaries with an oriental character can be found next to European-influenced hotels of the 19th Century. Basar-like alleys exist in the immediate neighborhood of West-European inspired boulevards or shopping streets and the constructions of the socialist city. Belonging to the most recent developments of the city are the representatives of the Western lifestyle, the crystalline high-rise buildings, the curtain walls of the modern age in the urban center, and the newly developed single-family housing area that stretches along the Bucharest lake region.

Here, only the few structural representatives of suggested city structures, refer to the constant large-scale changes which Bucharest both rapidly and constantly experienced. With this, various attitudes of mind, respectively, structural central ideas caused again and again striking interventions in the city structure that because of their persistence in the image of the city, are clearly visible today.

If one does not limit the term "transformation" to the more recent socio-economic process that rewrites the transition of a society from socialism to capitalism, but instead broadens the term to include the structural remodeling of the city, one can already see transformational phases in Bucharest's past. This includes among others, the "Hausamannisation" of the 19th Century or the socialist remodeling after World-War-II.

At this point, in context with the urban structure, I would like to clearly differentiate between the terms transformation and continuous urban development. Transformation signifies not only a change in individual structural elements such as the restoration or addition of single buildings, but is also founded on a predominant central idea, the well-aimed and extensive transformation of urban fabric on a large scale, within a limited time period. Decisive factors are the visible changes of the morpho-genetic structure as well as the changes of the "Genius Loci". On these grounds, transformation of the city structure in contrast to socio-economic transformation, must take place in another time frame. Owing to persistent structures, it appears late, and also needs much more time.

In the course of Bucharest's history, several violent catastrophic incidents created new possibilities, respectively starting points, for radical transformation. One of these incidents was the Earthquake of 1977 that detrimentally affected many of Romania's cities, especially Bucharest. Before the earthquake, Ceausescu still showed a certain amount of respect toward the existing structures of the city. But afterwards, his main goal was to replace almost completely the traditional urban and rural architecture, and to erect in the urban center a new colossal political administrative center.

Faced with the clearing operations, the possibility arose to tear down those buildings that were badly damaged or those that were declared as being so. Under the guise of these damages, traditional architecture was soon replaced by new apartment buildings, of which again, and this was a further argument, most of those existing had survived the earthquake. "Houses and streets are in a state of imminent collapse", they stated and this was the motive to demolish thousands of buildings. Unfortunately, no information exists as to in which way or by whom these decisions were made or realized. Only the change itself was quickly visible.

A latent structural principle of architectural history, the creation of an unsurpassable architecture, was carried to the extremes. As was customary by totalitarian regimes in the past, the existing "constructional political statements", such as churches, representation buildings, and even the surface area forms had to be neutralized through counter buildings or were even dismantled. Seldom did one go so far, in the pursuit of one's goals, as to so totally and extensively destroy traditional architecture. Yes, even surface forms themselves were totally changed. Transformation does not always have to have a positive connotation!

In 1984, the radical demolition and reconstruction of the central residential areas in Bucharest began. Everything was leveled. Residential buildings, villas and two-storey houses which for the most part included fenced-in yards, small building constructions with 3 - 4 apartments, public buildings, churches, monuments, statues, as well as a whole region which was considered very typical for the architectonic heritage of Romania and for centuries was a city symbol, the Uranus hill, were all torn down or dismantled. The church Mihai Voda and its bell tower were the only monuments from the region that were preserved and in 1986 transported to another location. Today, surrounded by closed-off terraced houses, they are very difficult to find.

A new, totally untypical building generation replaced the old structures. The dominating element was and still is today the "House of the People" (Casa Poporului). The construction consists of a ground plan which is 240 m x 280 m, is 83 m

high and covers an area of 63,000 m². It accommodates 700 offices, a large reception hall, and a conference room with a diameter of 64 m. A large underground car park can be found below the building.

Starting from this building, a long boulevard, or rather parade street, stretching eastwards is furnished with a wide row of trees, water fountains, wide footpaths, and colored street areas. First class shops with high quality wares for the "nomenklatura" were planned for the ground level areas of this construction row. In this completely newly created region, buildings for ministries, public offices, and for other public uses arose. Instead of the previous city structure that traditionally developed north-southwards, an east-west alignment of the city was created, totally ignoring the traditional structure.

At the time of Ceausescu's removal (1989) large areas of the city section Uranus and Vacaresti were destroyed, among them the historic Jewish Quarter. All in all, the demolition region stretched 5 km long and was approximately 1 km wide. This represented approximately 20 - 25 % of the urban center. Supported by the Securitate and the army, ca. 40,000 people were resettled practically overnight to outer districts where they often had to move into unfinished apartments. Unfortunately, even today no details exist about the manner of this forced migration.

2. The development since 1990

After the fall of Ceausescu, Bucharest, especially the urban center, developed dynamically. New banks, offices and businesses of all kinds established themselves near the center and sometimes even used the buildings designated as living space for stores or offices. In the beginning phase, even hotel rooms were often converted into offices because of lack of space. The inertia of the up to then created construction and the economical crisis prevented a quick westward transformation. Additionally, many of the unfinished buildings and the destroyed quarters now belong to the heritage of the city.

In this dynamic period after the revolution, a new orientation needed to take place within Bucharest's urban planning. Because of the great expenditures of energy and labor that were needed for Ceausescu's urban center, many other necessary urban developments had been blocked. The economic initiative that quickly unfolded after the fall of Ceausescu overran the planning measures.

After 1990 and the many years of chaos and frequent ad hoc decisions, the systematic recording and analysis of the actual conditions of the city stands in the foreground of urban planning. With this as the goal, according to a bill in 1991, the "Zoning Plan", the "General Urban Plan" and the "Zonal Urban Plans" began, which served as a basis for the further development of the city. The creation of these basic plans began in 1993. According to statements made by the urban planning office, they are far from being able to draw up a complete General Urban Plan, respectively, a Zoning Plan because of insufficient funding. At present, only a preliminary and very schematic land utilization plan that is not yet released for

publication, a few zonal plans as well as a few detail plans exist. The completion of the first draft of the general plan is first expected in 1998 and the final completion scheduled for 2000.

Due to the continuous lack of funds, urban planning is concentrated on the most necessary measures that are in part based on earlier planning basics. This includes, among other things, the intensive utilization and improvement of built-up urban areas as well as the improvement of the so-called "technical" (e.g. streets, means of transport, water and energy supply) and "social" infrastructure (e.g. schools, social facilities and hospitals).

In addition to the city projects, much pressure to build is exerted through private investors. Many project decisions have to be based on fragmentary detail plans because a General Plan for the city does not yet exist. The respective developer in this case has to present a plan of the building project that integrates the surrounding area of the construction. With this outline, the city will decide from case to case either, to order changes or grant a building permit. The disadvantage of this current permit practice is naturally the danger that because of these constant decisions on a micro-level, a haphazardly arranged, illogical city structure may arise. Under these circumstances, buildings for the service sector may not be found in the urban center as originally planned, but, for example, in a transitional area, where at that time a vacant lot happened to open up for development.

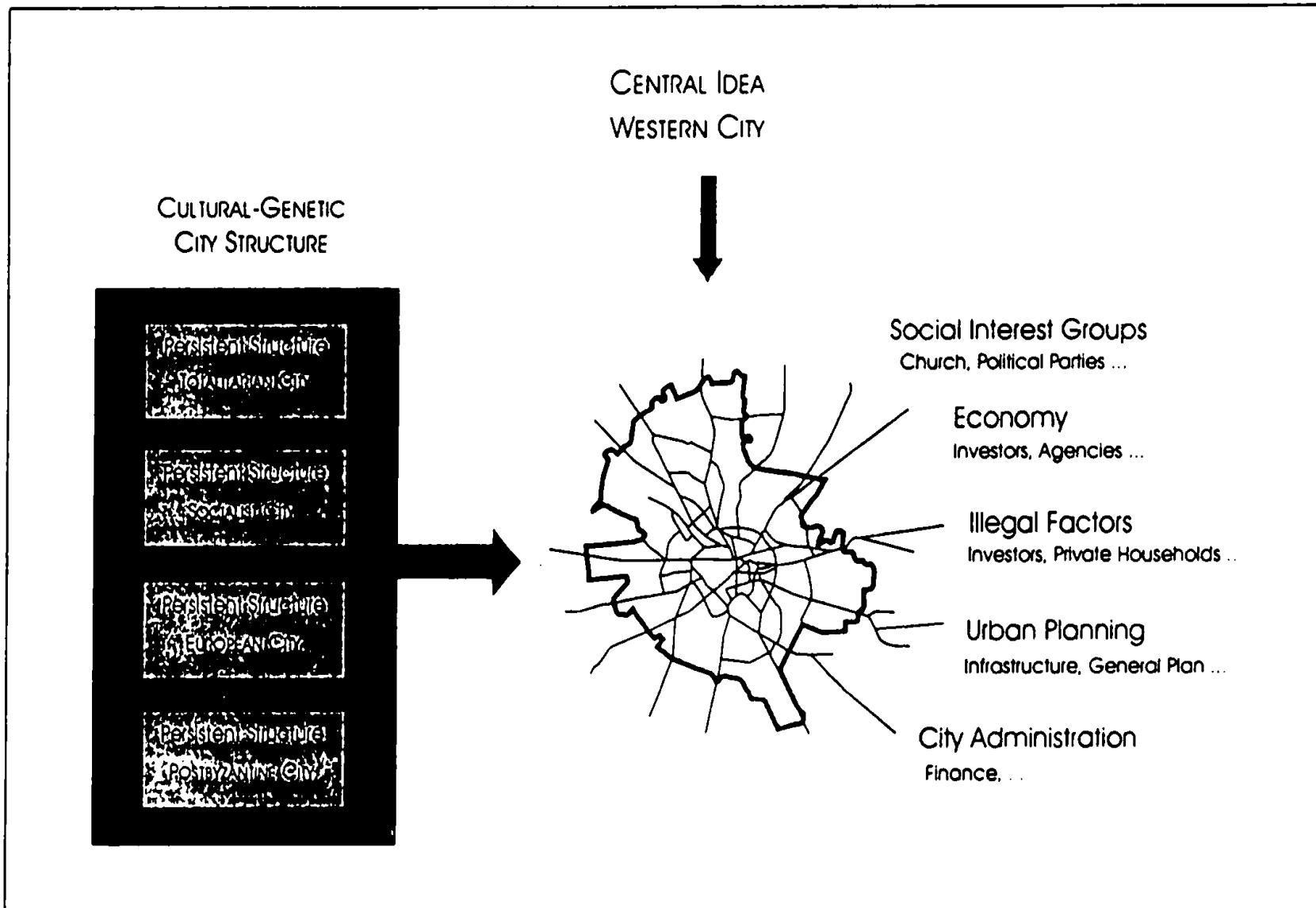
Moreover, construction measures were frequently permitted without considering planning laws because of political pressure to attract investors. The city architects having a vision of a city structure often fight a losing battle against this influence.

An additional variation in the present phase of Bucharest city development can be seen in the illegal construction projects which often take on unbelievable dimensions. The most recent example is the wholesaler Puzdrea who, without a building permit, managed to erect a site for around 800 companies and approximately 7500 employees. Lengthy legal debates will certainly follow, but in the end, no doubt, it all comes down to the confirmation of the status quo.

In a similar case, although of a much more sensitive problem area in the city development, debates are arising among the various social interest groups that try to push their own plans through without taking into consideration the already existing structures. A recent example is the project to construct the gigantic orthodox cathedral originally planned to accommodate 15,000 worshipers and with its annex and grounds was intended to occupy an area of approximately 80 ha in the inner city area in a park classified as a historical national monument. If one looks back to the most recent construction history of Bucharest and on the total lack of churches in the outskirts of Bucharest, this appears to be an incomprehensible plan. Urban planning is confronted with this as well.

All in all, the present situation in the renewed transformation of the city results in the strongly generalized picture of the elements of city development (Fig. 1).

FIG. 1: ELEMENTS OF CITY DEVELOPMENT DURING THE TRANSFORMATION



Design: Vossen, 1997

3. The most recent developments in the urban center area

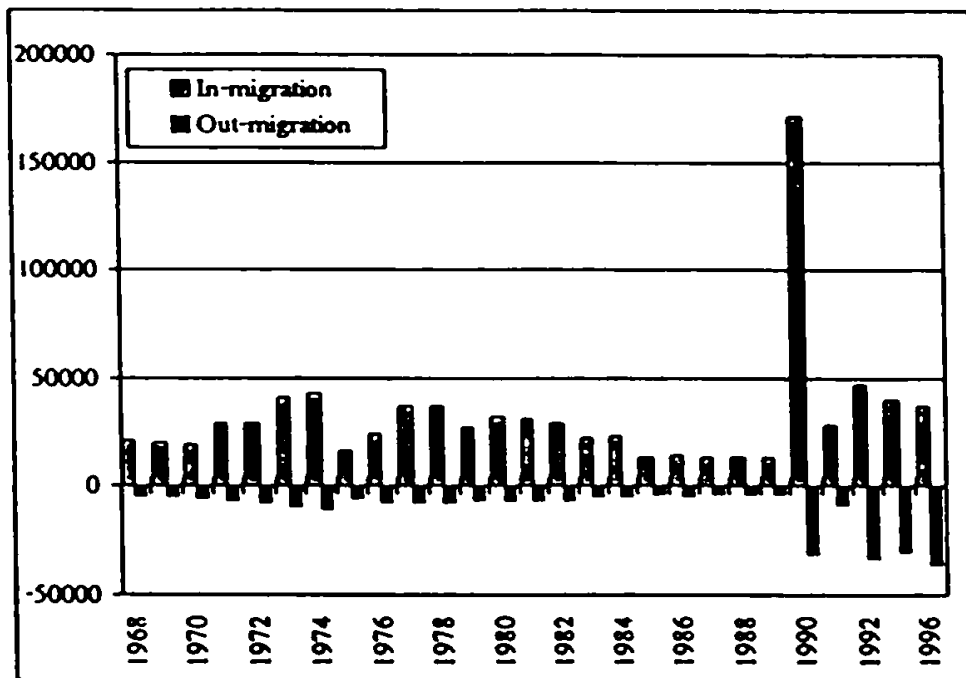
The urban center area belongs as always, to one of the most dynamic regions of the city, which, in close spatial association, has at its disposal an agglomeration of various supply, service, and cultural establishments. It receives special consideration because in its condensed form, it represents the complex symbols as well as the statements of the city population, respectively the society. The layout of the urban center is of utmost importance for the identity of a city and within the bounds of the transformation process, receives exceptional consideration.

For the part of the urban center area that remained untouched by Ceausescu, much importance lies on the measures that are being taken for the representative remodeling of the city through private as well as public investments. These investments should demonstrate that Bucharest can keep up with the developmental status of an international metropolis. This is most clearly visible in the tertiary sector, which during the transformation of social and economical structures takes on a leading role in the transformation process within eastern and south-eastern countries. In addition to the hotel and restaurant industry, retail trade is especially making itself visible in the street scene of Bucharest. The multitude of newly-founded high quality stores with attractive window displays, store furnishings, and a wide range of goods as well as the appearance of West-European suppliers, clearly help to enhance the status of the city. Illuminated advertisement signs are characterizing the inner city, traditional architectonic exceptional constructions are being attractively renovated and pedestrian zones are protected from stationary traffic with modern designs using structural measures. The most recent model project in the urban center is the pedestrian subway at the University square. Here you can find high quality stores set up according to modern models.

Besides the already prestigious shopping boulevards of the urban center (e.g., Calea Victoriei and Bul. Balcescu), the often mentioned Ceausescu-axis is developing into a new urban city center as the administrative and service center. At the moment, the largest planning demand and the greatest call for action is needed in this region. Through the construction activities of the dictator, the historic city center was completely divided and in vast areas transformed and even destroyed. The transformation of this region has been the goal of the most important and also the newest urban planning event - the international Architecture and Urban Planning Competition - "Bucharest 2000" with which I would like to end the first part of this lecture.

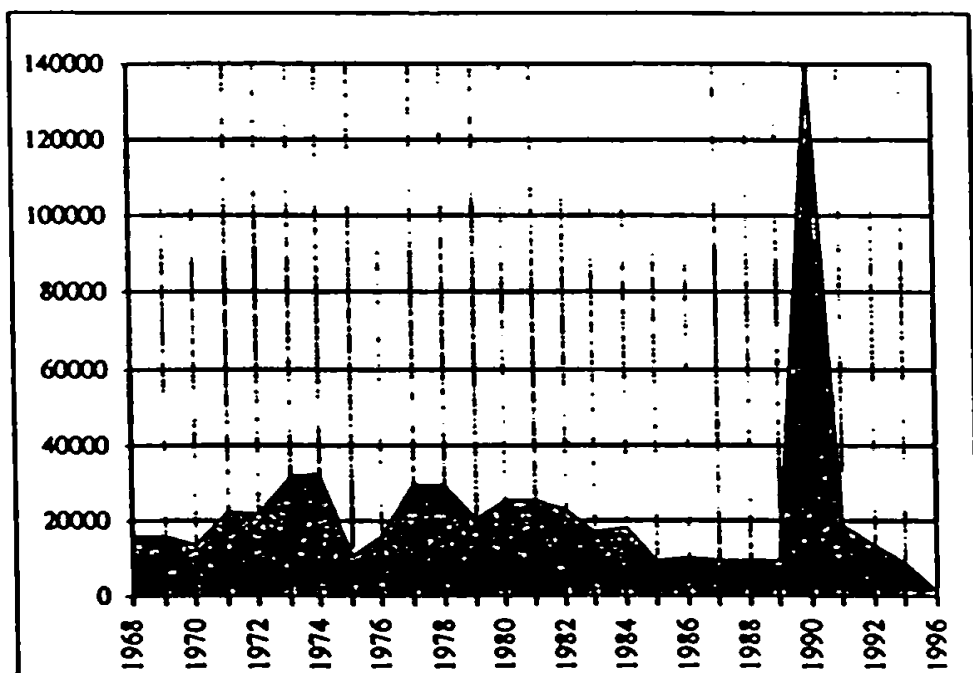
The open strip in the linear positioned Boulevard Unirii that destroyed the homogenous structure of the original old city quarters with its ornamental architecture, that turned once busy through-roads into dead ends, and that disabled the connection from north to south should be closed once again, and subsequently, be adapted into the neighboring district. The immense dimensions shifting and the isolated urban figure which was created should be adapted to the evolved texture of the city. At the same time, the city should receive a modern and functional character that could be compared to western cities.

Fig. 2: Bucharest: In- and out-migration 1968 - 1996



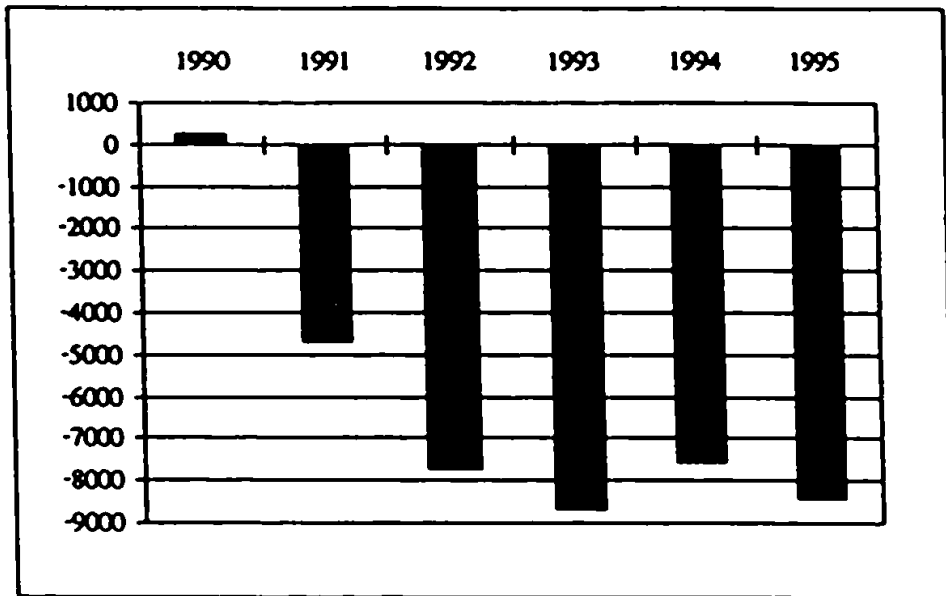
Source: Direcția Generală de Statistică a Municipiului București 1995 and Comisia Națională pentru Statistică 1997

Fig. 3: Migration Balance 1968 - 1996



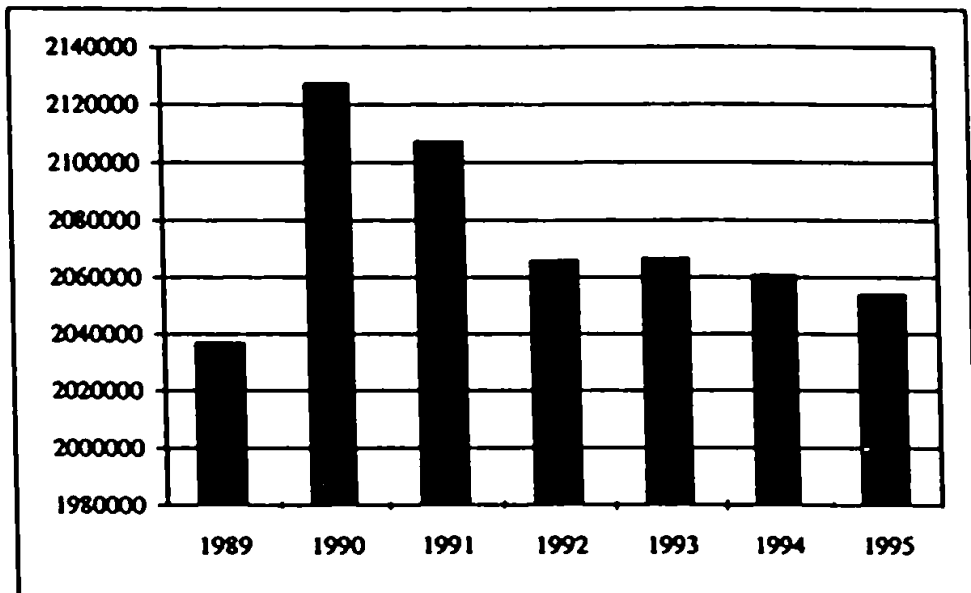
Source: Direcția Generală de Statistică a Municipiului București 1995 and Comisia Națională pentru Statistică 1997

Fig. 4: Bucharest: Natural Population Increase 1990 - 1995



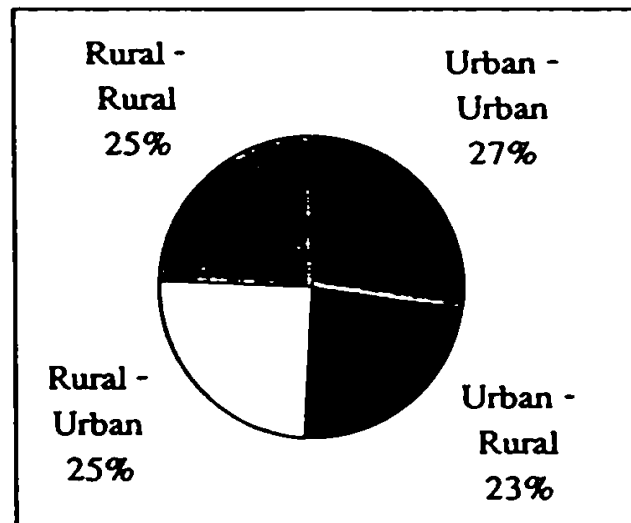
Source: Direcția Generală de Statistică, București Anuar Statistic 1996

Fig. 5: Bucharest: Urban Population 1989 - 1995



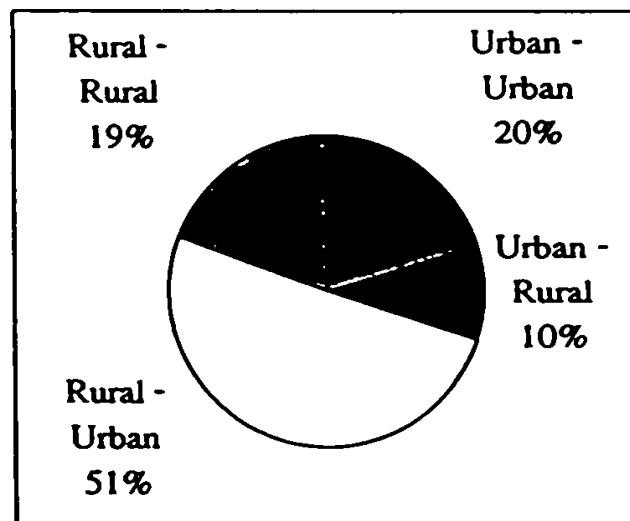
Source: Direcția Generală de Statistică, București Anuar Statistic 1996

Fig. 6a: Romania: Direction of Migration 1996



Source: Comisia Națională pentru Statistică 1997 (personal Information)

Fig. 6b: Romania: Direction of Migration 1990



Source: Comisia Națională pentru Statistică 1997 (personal Information)

The winner of the competition was a German architecture office whose designs serve as a basis for the further developments of the region. According to their proposals, the palace and the axis Boulevard Unirii should remain as a historical heritage. The re-establishment of urban quality should not be reached through additional demolishing, but rather through the addition of new urban construction elements. The distinctive, in German *Herrschaftsarchitektur* or totalitarian or imperial architecture should be toned down. With this as their goal, the spatially-dominating axis would be dissolved into single segments; however, the lineal formation would remain. The intended planting of large open spaces with oak trees such as in the Boulevard Unirii or the Boulevard Libertatii should act as a "healing element" to close the wounds of urban development and as a transitional zone between the axis development and the traditional city. At the same time, this planting should act as a "place holder" for any further future city developments.

The skyline of new commercial multi-storey buildings will tower above the palace. With this, the palace's monumental effect will be toned down and this new skyline should symbolize the economic emergence of Romania. Through the large vertical outstretch on the north side as well as through the buildings lying off to the front side in the East, its "totalitarian monumentality" would be repressed. According to GERKAN, MARG UND PARTNER the representative buildings of the new democracy, being hopeful and institutions without historical encumbrances, will occupy the prominent location in front of the Palace of the People. The building itself will be utilized in three ways. A congressional center, a museum, and the administrative institutions for parliament guarantee public entrance for the Romanian citizens to witness their past and presence.

Altogether, this design acts as a mediator between the structures of the traditional city and the new city center. Which of these elements and details from the above possibility will actually be realized remains to be seen. But one thing is certain today, the new city center that will be created will become the new commercial and tertiary center of Bucharest. Already today the region is characterized with a multitude of offices and government institutions. It holds the offices of airline companies, representatives of telecommunications and the electronic industry etc. Most often they provide high quality service and their position here corresponds well with this central location. Bucharest is setting its course in the direction of a West-European-influenced metropolis.

4. Migration

How did migration develop during this phase of radical change? In 1995 the city had a population of 2.05 million, the highest in Romania. Other important cities in Romania, which include Constanta, Iasi, and Timisoara, are all well under the population of 500,000 that generally sets the standard for being a metropolis. Therefore, the extent of the metropolitan character of the country, or "Metropolization", meaning the percentage of the metropolitan population as compared with total

population, is determined only by the population of Bucharest. Because of these conditions, the percentage of metropolitan population is very low (11 %) as compared to Western Europe (36 %). Therefore, within Romania the demographic predominance of the capital city Bucharest is very striking. This predominance can also be observed through the "Index of Primacy". With a high quotient of 5.89, Bucharest is considered to be a primary city.

Essential for the dominance of Bucharest as the Romanian metropolis is internal migration that at times generated an annual positive migration of almost 40,000 people. The cause of this dynamic spatial distribution process had predominantly economic reasons. Push and pull factors such as the lack of work in the rural regions on the one side and the industrialized city on the other side were the reasons behind the redistribution.

As Fig. 2 clearly shows, the in-migrations in the last decade were very high. Because of strictly handled migration regulations, in-migration was slightly reduced only in the second half of the 80s. As a result of the steady migration into Bucharest, the typical immense satellite towns arose with their block constructions made of prefabricated elements such as Balta Alba - Titan with approximately 400,000 inhabitants or Drumul Taberei / Militari with approximately 350,000 inhabitants. Up to 30,000 apartments were erected annually, which, however, was not enough to cover the ever increasing demand.

As a result of the withdrawal of the migration limitations in Bucharest, the year 1990 was marked as the absolute peak of the in-migration influx of 171,000. This figure though, sank very quickly again to a normal level for Bucharest. From 1990-1991, the number of inhabitants grew from 2.06 million to its highest peak of 2.15 million. This exceptional migration growth in 1990 was not followed by a larger out-migration, so that this population growth was completely upheld. It is interesting to note that in-migration after 1990 reaches again a stage which gradually goes back to the levels from preceding years. From this, one might deduce certain regularities which require further research to clarify.

Whereas the in-migration since 1991 moves within certain normal boundaries, the out-migration shows significant changes. Figures of over 30,000 people are way above those of Bucharest's standard figures and show a tendency towards growth. Although the migration balance (Fig. 3) for the year 1996 was still slightly positive, this development leads to a clear population decrease in Bucharest. Together the large rate of negative natural increase (Fig. 4), and high out-migration are causing a population decrease. The population figures of the city Bucharest mirrors these two processes (Fig. 5).

At this point, I would like to make a brief remark concerning the data. The data from the National Commission of Statistics and the data from the city of Bucharest differ. According to these data, there are so far no population declines in the city when one considers the migration as well as the natural increase rate. Why this development of the city in the statistical yearbook is so clearly negative, still remains a mystery to me despite intensive investigations. However, I would not like to withhold this table. Despite these difficulties, evidence of the tendency however

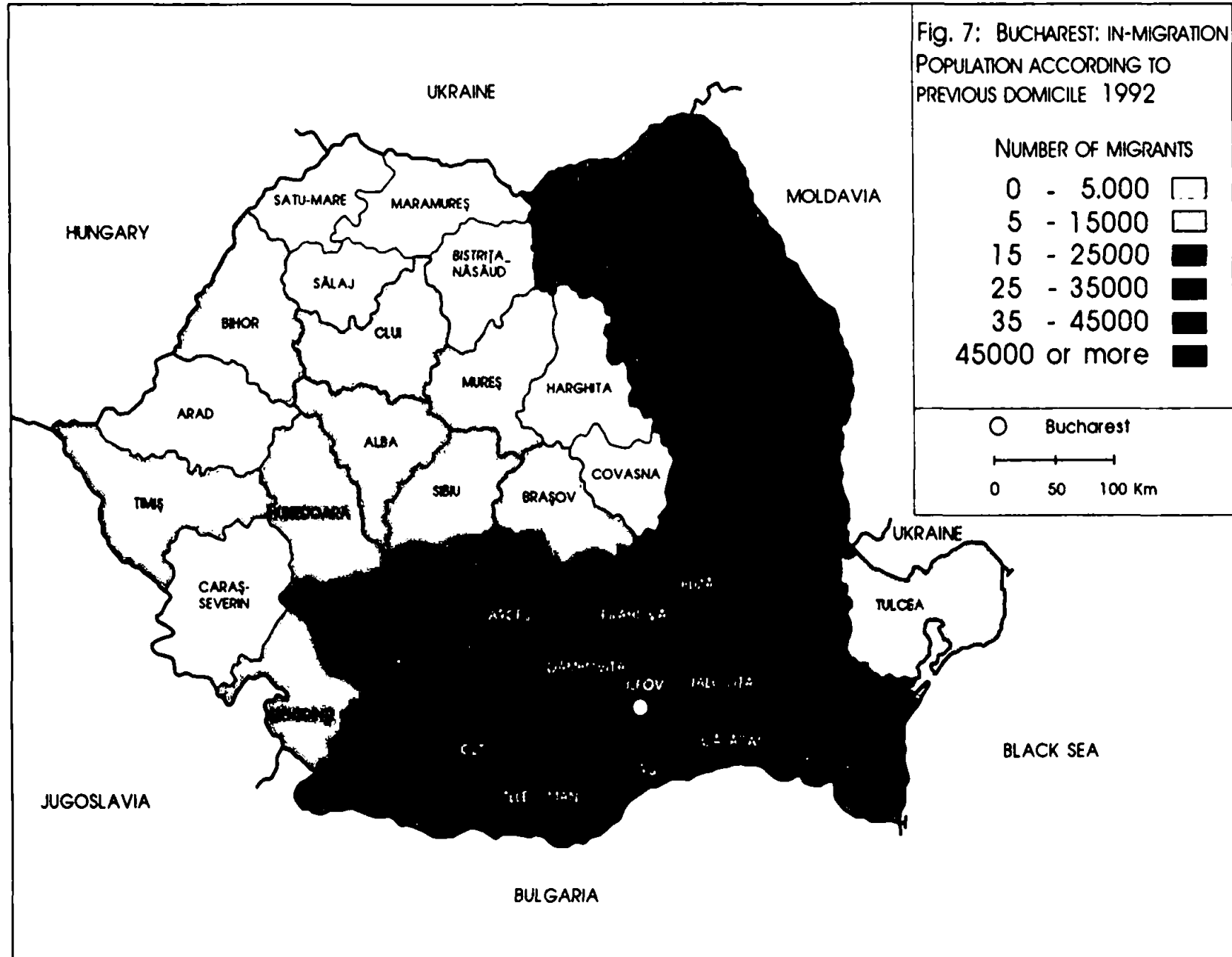
remains as before, namely the perfectly clear emigration out of the city, as a striking phenomenon.

The shifting of the migration influx away from the metropolis coincides with the overall situation in Romania. A clear increasing re-emigration from the city into the country can be ascertained throughout Romania. The migration in 1996 between the various spatial categories were all in all very balanced and the rural-urban migration, as compared to the first year after the revolution, has dropped substantially (Fig. 6a and b).

As for the direction of the migrations, I will need to refer to the census of 1992 that supplies information on the population of Bucharest based on their previous place of residence. From this, it is possible, disregarding the time factor, to recognize what portion each of the different judete is in the in- and out-migration of Bucharest. As can only be expected there is a strong relation between distance and migration (Fig. 7). The strongest force of attraction of Bucharest is found in the spatially nearby judete, whereas the attracting power in more distant areas is clearly diminishing. Alone 24.7 % of the Bucharest population originally derives from the judete Arges, Dambovita, Prahova, Buzau, Ialomita, Calarasi, Girgiu, Teleorman and Olt. Within the judete, this alone amounts to a percentage of 56 %. The same situation appears in the reversed direction, meaning in the direction from Bucharest to the judete. Again in this case, spatial closeness seems to be the most important migration criterion (Fig. 8).

As the last form of migration, I would like to mention briefly the intra-urban migration of Bucharest. Here, the data are unsatisfactory. Within Bucharest, migrations are only recorded when they go beyond the respective sector boundaries. A migration from the urban center to the outskirts or vice versa within the same sector is not recorded. In 1996, a total of 23,921 people changed their place of residence between the six sectors (Fig. 9). How large the total intra-urban migration was and which direction it took, is unfortunately impossible to ascertain using the available data resources.

Finally, to what conclusions does one come from the results presented here? Since 1990, the large out-migration of Bucharest is becoming an established phenomenon. The migration pattern, valid for years, between peripheral regions and the metropolis has weakened, if not even reversed. In close association with the present transformation process, a counter urbanization appears to be emerging; that is, a centrifugal force is gaining strength. Only one aspect is still unusual. In context with the counter urbanization, generally the forces of in-migration also decrease. In the case of Bucharest, if one believes the data, this is not observed. The reason behind this difference might possibly lie in the shortness of the time period regarded. On the other side, it is probable - and this can be speculated by the still high immigration figures - that the traditional basic model of the work force migration still exists and is only covered by non-working people for example, older people. The fact, that the process of demographic aging in 1996 is still more evident in rural areas can be a supporting argument for this presumption. In this year, elderly, that is, people older than 60 years, represented almost one quarter of Romania's rural population.



Source: Designed according to Comisia Națională pentru Statistică. Recensământul Populației și Locuințelor 1992. Wilfried Heller - 978-3-95479-695-3

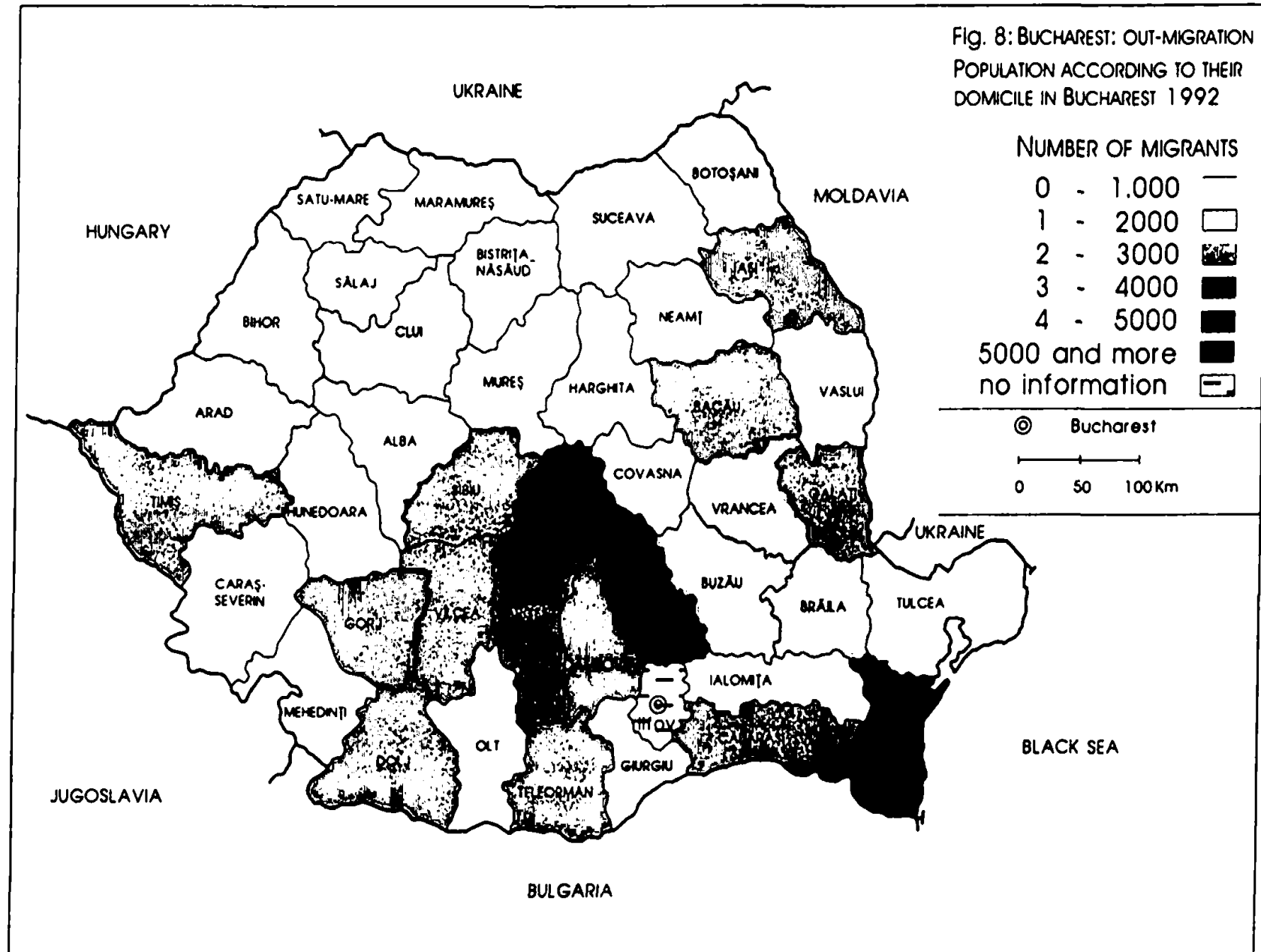
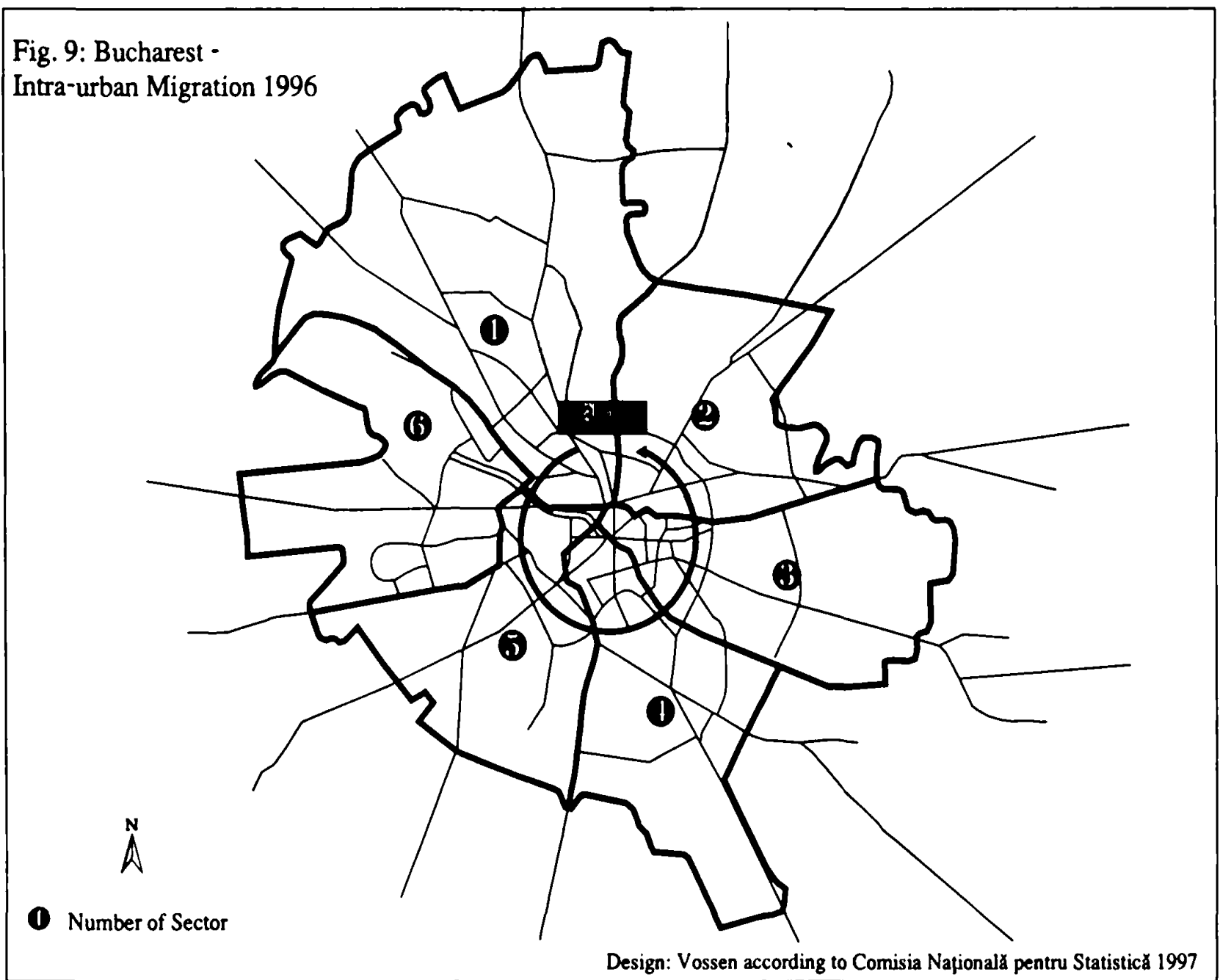


Fig. 9: Bucharest -
Intra-urban Migration 1996



Design: Vossen according to Comisia Națională pentru Statistică 1997

Due to the limited data presented here, this complex problem however cannot be solved. For this reason, I would not like to commit myself at this time to one definite statement, although in Bucharest, enough reasons are given to assume that a "rural renaissance" is developing.

Naturally one also has to mention the loss of jobs among the desolate, suffering industries in Bucharest. In contrast, after the reprivatization, the rural regions often provide even better economic conditions and are slowly attracting the population. On the other hand, the housing shortage in Bucharest remains, as before, a decisive push-factor. Whereas before, in Bucharest alone approximately 30,000 apartments were erected, this figure applies now for the whole country. Between 1994 and 1995 the number of apartments in Bucharest increased by only about 5,000. In addition, rent and extra costs have since then risen so drastically that they surpass the wage standards of many of the citizens. Also the infrastructure of the city still leaves much to be desired. For example toward the end of 1997, the old ground water pumps in Bucharest will be overhauled. For this reason, parts of the city will alternately and repeatedly have problems with the water supply for long periods of time (weeks). The list could go on and on. These examples should show however that, regarding the living standard as a whole in Bucharest for the average resident, enough reasons can be found for migrating outside. It would be the task of an extensive research program to investigate these motives.

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FRANK-DIETER GRIMM

Changes in the hierarchy of Romanian towns

The developments and changes of the urban systems, and their reflection in the urban hierarchy, are a secular process. Important changes require a time span of decades, sometimes even one or two centuries. Although the upheavals in Eastern Europe over the last eight years show that we have undoubtedly passed through an historical epoch with dramatic political, economical and social changes, one should not forget that faced with the general size and inertia of urban systems, fundamental transformations are not to be expected there, moreover, that new political and economical activities move mostly within the framework of existing towns and regions, urban structures and urban hierarchies, which have grown through history.

This assessment applies to all reformed states in Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe, and also applies to Romania (Tab. 1). The time span over the last few years has been too short to create new, fundamental changes within the urban systems and thereby the urban hierarchies. It has even been far too short to probe and comprehend the nevertheless, suggested developments as regularities. Therefore, the necessary basic information is a sufficient number of empirical findings. On the other hand, the demand for knowledge and assessment of the current and possibly visible developments within such a phase is especially great. Hence, experts who concern themselves with the matter, are forced into making assertions which for the time being can only quantitatively be covered in part and of which the preponderant, qualitative assessments prevail. Such assessments on Eastern Europe, within German speaking countries, exist first and foremost in Austria (FASSMANN, LICHTENBERGER 1995, FASSMANN 1997), in some geographical professorships (FÖRSTER, HELLER, STADELBAUER) and in the Institute of Regional Geography (Institut für Länderkunde) in Leipzig - there, those assessments are the result of extensive international cooperations (GRIMM, et al. 1994, MAYR, GRIMM 1996, BRADE, GRIMM 1998).

Until the years of 1989/90 the formation of urban systems in Central and Eastern Europa took place mainly within the borders of the national states. They were thoroughly investigated by the Commission on National / Settlement Systems of the IGU during the chairmanship of K. DZIEWONSKI (Warsaw, 1976-1984) and published in a series of volumes as well as finally in a concise version edited by L. S. BOURNE, R. SINCLAIR AND K. DZIEWONSKI (1984). As far as Central and Eastern Europa are concerned, the presentations showed an ever increasing national integration of the urban systems of the ex-socialist countries, e. g. for Poland (DZIEWONSKI, JERCZYNSKI, KORCELLI 1984) and for the former GDR (GRIMM 1984). Although Romania did not participate in this very commission, V. CUCU (1975) had published for Romania about quite similar trends and structures of the national urban system.

Tab. 1: THE RANKING OF ROMANIAN TOWNS
(NUMBER OF INHABITANTS)

	1900	1930	1966	1981	1995
1.	Bucuresti	Bucuresti	Bucuresti	Bucuresti	Bucuresti
2.	Iasi	Cluj	Cluj	Brasov	Constanta
3.	Galati	Timisoara	Timisoara	Constanta	Iasi
4.	Braila	Oradea	Brasov	Cluj	Timisoara
5.	Arad	Iasi	Iasi	Timisoara	Galati
6.	Timisoara	Galati	Craiova	Iasi	Cluj
7.	Oradea	Arad	Galati	Galati	Brasov
8.	Cluj	Braila	Constanta	Craiova	Craiova
9.	Craiova	Brasov	Ploiesti	Ploiesti	Ploiesti
10.	Ploiesti	Craiova	Braila	Braila	Braila
11.	Brasov	Ploiesti	Arad	Oradea	Oradea
12.	Sibiu	Satu Mare	Oradea	Arad	Bacau
13.	Satu Mare	Constanta	Sibiu	Sibiu	Arad
14.	Buzau	Sibiu	Tirgu Mures	Bacau	Pitesti
15.	Tirgu Mures	Tirgu Mures	Bacau	Pitesti	Sibiu
16.	Bacau	Buzau	Satu Mare	Tirgu Mures	Tirgu Mures

The breakdown of the Soviet empire, the sudden permeability of the state borders and the changes towards a market economy weakened the former integration of the national urban systems in Eastern Europe. The transformations and changes result in an increasing polarization of the cities of Central and Eastern Europe in favour of the capitals, the multifunctional regional centres and of the cities and regions near the Western borders e.g. in Poland in favour of Warsaw and Poznan (KORCELLI 1998, GRIMM 1998), in Hungary in favour of Budapest and Győr (BERENYI, DÖVENYI 1996), in Slovakia in favour of Bratislava (OCOVSKY, BEZAK, PODOLAK 1996). All the papers about the current changes published up to now are short of reliable data information, which is not surprising because the changes in Central and Eastern Europe are still going on and the statistics are lagging behind. Most reliable are the data about population. Although there is a close correlation between the number of inhabitants and the importance of a town, an evaluation carried out by experts remains necessary. This applies to Romania as well as to the other national urban hierarchies in Central and Eastern Europe.

In Romania the opening of the national urban system and the changes described for Poland, Hungary and Slovakia obviously are lagging behind. Nevertheless there are trends which seem to be similar to those of other countries. The perceptible Romanian development tendencies of the urban systems and hierarchies were exhaustively worked out by IANOS (1987, 1990) and they are easily accessible in French (REY 1975) and in German (IANOS, UNGUREANU, GRIMM 1996).

Some decades ago the Romanian towns were described by SANDRU (1960) and CUCU (1975). The Romanian urban system with its current hierarchical structure is portrayed by IANOS (IANOS et al. 1996) in the following way: Bucharest, its outstanding capital, precedes the first level of provincial centres (Cluj, Iasi, Timisoara, Craiova, Constanta) which are distributed in a relatively regular way across the territory and with which the towns Brasov and Galati are closely connected. Currently, their population amounts to between 300,000 - 350,000 inhabitants. A second level, which constitutes a supplement to the network of these eight centres (including Bucharest), encompasses some ten towns with more than 150,000 inhabitants respectively, for example Sibiu, Tirgu Mures and Suceava. The remaining, regional towns, as well as some of those of an equivalent value (such as Hunedoara and Medias) constitute the third level. German classifications would grade these centres, including those of higher rank, as regional centres (Oberzentren). According to IANOS, the next level is constituted by the towns of the 5th and 6th level, where locally central and economical (production) functions are combined. In essence, both of these groups are differentiated between according to their size, their functions with respect to the surrounding area and their position in relation to the larger centres. The population of these towns amounts to 20,000 - 30,000 and 10,000 - 20,000, respectively. Finally, IANOS suggests a 7th group, which would fall under the German categorisation of small country towns, rural centres, basic centres and sub-centres and whose surrounding countryside only goes little beyond their own administrative concern.

The previous and the current changes are meticulously detailed in the above-mentioned publication, in which the following tendencies are suggested:

- The leading role of the capital remained intact, it has even increased in importance after the concentration of foreign investment in the capital.
- The provincial centres, e. g. Cluj-Napoca and Iasi, have been able to maintain and even to expand their position since their historically grown central position has gained in importance thanks to the increased appreciation of their offers in service and culture.
- Other historically grown centres of different levels, which have been disadvantaged by the political-administrative system in conjunction with the then leaned-upon, industrial investments, have also been able, for these very same reasons, to increase their importance again and raise their claim for further improvements.
- All towns which have gained in population and importance - mainly due to massive industrial promotion - have had to accept a loss in importance within the urban system and hierarchy, which is especially threatening for the mining centres and heavy industry centres, for instance Pietrosani, Hunedoara.
- The rural areas have started to draw upon the traditional and regional relationship between the local centres; the 'artificial centres' which have been established by state-governed planning, as well as small towns which are supported by just one industrial or big agricultural plant have to pass a trial period.
- Resorting back to former traditional, centralized local structures will and can only partially take place, since the extensive industrialisation and urbanisation

over the previous decades have created new circumstances, which to a great extent are to be considered as irreversible.

These tendencies, which I. IANOS presents and which I, from my own experience and observations, view as being accurate, remain however only partially verified by statistics and empirical investigations. To compensate for the insufficient, empirical investigations, I now would like to compare the above-cited tendencies with the urban developments in other Central and Eastern European reformed states and - with those in Romania lasting already for a longer period (see GRIMM et al. 1994, MAYR, GRIMM 1996, BRADE, GRIMM 1998):

Tab. 2: THE PERMANENCE OF THE CAPITALS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995
Berlin	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bratislava					XX						XX
Budapest	X	X	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Bucuresti	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Chisinau											XX
Kyiv/Kiew											XX
Minsk											XX
Prague			XX	XX		XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Riga			XX	XX							XX
Sofia	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Tallinn			XX	XX							XX
Vienna	XX	XX	XX	XX		XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Vilnius											XX
Warsaw			XX	XX		XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX

x = restricted capital

xx = capital of an independent state

Source: GRIMM et al. 1994.

1. The Romanian capital, Bucharest, has been in this century one of the most resistant capitals in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe (Tab. 2), that means its capital function has been more continuous even than in Berlin, Warsaw and Vienna. Bucharest has been Romania's capital for more than 100 years without interruption, which means it was the capital of the "old realm", situated beyond the Carpathian Mountains (Valachia, Moldova), from the middle of the 19th century until World War I, after which point, Bucharest remained the capital of

the state of Romania which had grown after World War I. by Transylvania and the east of the Pannonian basin. As a result of this continuity, Bucharest disposes of the entire spectrum of the capital functions; that is something which we will only find in few of the new capitals in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe (GRIMM et al. 1994). It follows from this, that Bucharest holds an unrestricted and dominating position in Romania. More than that, it holds a solid position in comparison and in competition with the other capitals and cities with over a million inhabitants within Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. In fact the city of Bucharest is one of 'the' cornerstones of the South-eastern urban system. With the expected increase in permeability of the state borders, an expansion of the sphere of influence on North Bulgaria from Bucharest is to be reckoned, with at least in the region around Russe.

2. On the first urban level after the capital, Romania has a significantly regular network of versatile centres, which has proven to be stable over a number of historical stages and this will probably continue to be the case in the future. In this respect, Romania is far more favourably disposed than some other Eastern European states, such as Belorussia or Slovakia, for example (GRIMM et al. 1994, OCOVSKY, BEZAK, PODOLAK 1996), and it is nearly as well balanced as the Polish national urban system (DZIEWONSKI, JERCZYNSKI, KORCELLI 1984, GRIMM 1998). The following Romanian towns appear to be especially stable and secure (IANOS, UNGUREANU, GRIMM 1996):
 - Cluj-Napoca (short: Cluj), as the historical centre of Transylvania, with its renowned university; the presence of Romanians as well as Hungarians in Cluj has indeed created some friction in the past, but within a communally developing Europe this should prove in the future as being a fundamental asset. Cluj is predestined to build the bridge between Central Romania (Transylvania) and Hungary. Its favourite position may be compared with Poznan and Wroclaw (Poland) and Pecs (Hungary).
 - Iasi, the historical centre of the whole of Moldova (UNGUREANU 1980, GRIMM, UNGUREANU 1995), which includes the now, independent Moldavia, has obtained new momentum due to the opening of the border at the Prut river, of which it has started to take advantage. The apparent, exposed position of the town in the 21st century on the east border of the EU (de facto or de jure) can lead to an important and new interesting stimulus for Romania's relationship towards Moldavia and the Ukraine.
 - With the increase in open borders, Timisoara has been given the chance to win back, in part, its leading role as the centre of the whole of Banat (RIESER 1992). From this perspective, the developments over the last years have proven to be a meaning encouragement. On the other hand, the imminent, external EU border could turn out to be a hindrance to development (compare the present situation at the EU Eastern border). Already, Timisoara is functioning as an increasingly active centre for the region where the three countries meet, namely Romania - Serbia - Hungary.

- Arad, Oradea, Satu Mare and Timisoara are looking towards the future in the hope that the local relationship, that were divided by the drawing up of the border after the First World War (BERENYI, DÖVENYI 1996) can be restored again. Their specific chances are the exploitation of the already existing, and possibly still aggravating price and performance gradient between Hungaria - the EU member, and Romania - the EU candidate (compare the present situation at the EU Eastern border). In the future, the towns in western Romania will presumably orientate themselves towards Bucharest as well as towards Budapest and Vienna. Obviously there are some similarities with the Polish towns of Poznan, Wroclaw and Szczecin as far as their future relations to Berlin are concerned.
 - Constanta (RICHTER 1971) is not evenly matched with the other provincial centres; its role is based on traffic and harbour functions (compare the role of St. Petersburg in Russia). Constanta has undergone a steady upturn since the beginning of our century and because of its function as Romania's seaport, it may expect a further increase in importance. The comparison with other harbour towns in Eastern Europe, as well as the valuation of its previous development, means that favourable prospects are to be expected especially for the harbour town of Constanta. Constanta's role as a provincial centre, namely as the centre of Dobrudja is therefore second class.
 - Brasov has fallen from the second to the sixth position on the Romanian town-ranking system based on the population count. The relative fall in importance revealed by the weak growth in population, in comparison to other towns, should however not be overrated. The central, topographical position of Brasov in Romania will undoubtedly lead to diverse impulses in the future since the town lies advantageously near the actual Romanian centre, Bucharest. As far as Poland is concerned the town of Lodz may be in a similar position.
 - In Romania as well as in the other countries of ex-socialist Central and Eastern Europe one should consider as especially critical the future position of those towns which owe their current ranking only to one main industry - an industry which is oversized, has a disproportionate number of old people, is not internationally competitive and for which a radical collapse or breakdown seems only to be a matter of time (GRIMM et al. 1994, MAYR, GRIMM 1996, BRADE, GRIMM ed. 1998). Romanian examples are Pietrosani, Hunedoara, Baia Mare (compare the situation of Upper Silesia in Poland, Miskolc in Hungary). In spite of first drastic reductions, which have already taken place, economical and social crises must presumably be expected there and they will then exercise an effect on the entire position and productivity of these industrial towns. The importance of these towns will, similar to other ex-socialist countries, decline.
3. A far-reaching transformation as can currently be seen in Poland would have to be expected in the case of an administrative reform, which would be in many respects desirable in Romania. That reform should lead to greater, more efficient

units. The current administrative structure of the country with 40 districts (judet) means a weakening and dissipation of the regional administration, which would not be acceptable to the strived for an "Europe of Regions" (the Polish reform aims at only 15 or 16 administrative units). From this point of view, the current attempt to expand the number of districts is the wrong direction to take. It would be desirable to form a state structure containing a far less number of large territorial units whose capitals would benefit from a considerable upturn, and in the same way, the following centres should fall into their respective place and gain in importance within the administrative framework.

4. In rural regions, mainly in the eastern and southern regions of the Carpathian Mountains, under socialism successful attempts were made to complete or rebuild a network of small, local centres which was insufficiently developed there (in contrast to Transylvania); it was partly based on industrial firms or large, agricultural companies and was partly also without such an economical foundation. This development was abruptly broken off after the collapse of the Ceausescu regime. Since this point, we are observing the flourishing of historically grown towns and trading places (for instance Gilau near Cluj) in the rural regions, whilst the above-mentioned 'artificial' rural areas give off a partly abandoned, functionless impression, for example Podul Iloaiei not far away from Iasi.

In summary, it can be established that the transition to democracy and open market in Romania and other Central and Eastern European reformed states occurs in general within the framework of continuing urban systems and their existing hierarchies. In comparison to most of the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe the Romanian urban system is relatively well-balanced (similar to Poland). The dominating position of the capital, Bucharest, the established position of the historically grown provincial centres and the increase in importance of the harbour town of Constanta are noticeable. It may be expected that their dominance will even increase as can be observed in some other countries of central and eastern Europe. Since in Romania as well as in the other ex-socialist states of Eastern Europe the main industry and mining industry find themselves, at the moment, in a critical predicament, it is to be expected that the affected towns will experience yet another decline in importance. As a result of EU expansion, the Hungarian-Romanian border will be the Eastern border of the EU. This will result in new chances and new problems. On the other hand, new momentum and an orientation towards the West are expected within large cities in Western Romania, whilst it seems likely that in the area of the lower Danube, Bucharest's sphere of influence will expand out towards North Bulgaria.

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VII. CITY - COUNTRYSIDE RELATIONS

BÉATRICE VON HIRSCHHAUSEN

The collapse of “navetismul“ and the redefinition of town-country relations in Romania - the example of the Arad county

The term “navetismul“ was used in Romania during the socialist era to describe daily or weekly commuting, which drew hundreds of thousands of village workers towards the workshops and factories in nearby towns. Because it described movement to and from work, this shuttling to and from was a phenomenon very similar to daily commuting between home and the work place in industrialized countries. But in Romania this activity was very different as people's movements were centrally planned on a collective basis and the motivation for them was quite distinct. In socialist Romania, it was not a question of city dwellers setting out in search of a life-style that matched their aspirations further and further away in rural locations; rather the industrial combines went into the villages to find their labour force; the process did not stem from individual motivation on the contrary, companies had to organize collective transportation for their workers. And above all the state made the whole mission a political and ideological campaign.

Since 1990 a fundamental reverse of this migratory pattern has occurred. There are no official statistics to assess the magnitude of this turnaround, but experience in the field has stimulated interest in a study of this particular issue. Where there used to be scores of daily commuters (“navetisti“), there are only a few today. Villagers who used to be able to count on a salary from their work-place in the factories, now have to live off what they earn from the soil. No doubt this diminution in the number of people in double employment largely explains why more than 500,000 workers (that is to say, 5.8 % of the labour force¹) suddenly shifted from the industrial to the agricultural sector between 1990 and 1994.

What are the effects of such a far-reaching phenomenon on the future of village society and village economies? Taking the district of Arad as an example, this paper analyzes the geographical effects of this redistribution of the work-force from towns to villages and from the industrial to the agricultural sector.

¹ Source: Comisia Nationala de Statistica: Anuarul statistic. 1996.

1. Commuting and socialist territorial organization in Romania

1.1 The socialist project of territorial administration seen in the light of Eastern Europe as a whole

The socialist plan reserved a very special place for relations between town and country. In order to develop the towns, it engaged in a policy of developing industrial employment on a voluntary but centrally controlled basis. In the countryside it leaned heavily on the collectivisation of farms to free up labour that was needed in the new industries and to ensure there was enough food to feed the growing urban population; the modernisation of production methods was designed to break the peasant's traditional link with the soil and transform village way of life. The new arrangement of the land was aimed at linking the land to a network of towns which would provide the surrounding areas with employment in industry, the services and sales. In Romania, where the urban network was still undeveloped, this involved the creation of a whole system of new urban centres created out of important villages or smaller ones (REY 1975; TURNOCK 1976; TUFESCU 1980; LANOS 1987).

So socialist politicians tended to organize national territory in joint cells placed under the control of urban centres that were very strictly ordered on a hierarchical system following Christaller's model to the letter. The urban hierarchy, which was defined by laws, made a distinction in order of importance between chief regional centres, towns, communities and villages and determined by decree what levels of service and what degree of specialisation they were to have. By introducing one reform after another, politicians tried to match the administrative framework with the framework based on units of production and trade. The absence of overlap between the areas of urban influence and the lack of specialisation in local areas meant a degree of homogenisation in areas crept in and placed them under the control of an administrative authority. This territorial organization acted as a lever for placing local societies under totalitarian rulership. (MAUREL 1984; RADVANY/REY (dir.) 1989).

1.2 Commuting in Romania

Commuting ("navetismul") formed an integral part of this plan. In the extremely rural and agricultural context in Romania, it allowed a growing proportion of the village population, freed from agricultural work by the progressive mechanisation of farming, to be transferred to the industrial, urban centres. Economically, this was designed to provide labour to the industries that were given pride of place in national development; socially, it was designed to wipe out the peasant class and allow the development of a new category of villager: the worker-peasant. (MASSON 1985); and finally in territorial terms, it was designed to unify life in the country and the towns to enable the creation of a "multi-laterally developed

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society". While agricultural co-operatives increasingly failed to pay their workers, work done in a town by a family member enabled many families to benefit from wages and have access to cash money. Normally it fell to the women to revert to fulfilling the "norms" required by the co-operative in the village to enable her family to have rights to the private use of a plot of land, while the men brought back their wages and helped on the family patch of land in the evenings. From the nineteen seventies onwards, it was possible to identify the villages that were joined to the transport networks established around towns and linked to modern socialism (TUFESCU 1980). Bricks and cement or metal replaced wood and clay in the construction of housing; standard types of furniture with their kitsch style made their way into homes together with domestic appliances.

As far as this plan was concerned, these changes in labour and material benefits between towns and villages were designed to be strictly controlled by socialist companies and behind them, the state. Industrial combines often laid on transport for workers by chartering buses to draw in their labour force. And it was the combines that brought benefits and essential services to ordinary village workers. But it must be stated that the results of this plan were often paradoxical. The day-to-day inefficiency of state intervention in relations between towns and the country in effect led to a multiplication of direct, informal links that were supposed to replace the deficiencies of the official system and were organized on the basis of business networks in families that were half urban and half rural. Playing on the weaknesses of the system and its advantages (especially the huge subsidies available for energy and transport), the intense flow of exchange between villagers and town dwellers managed to double, informally, the commuting that the state desired and controlled. It functioned over huge distances, without intermediaries, and the distances covered made nonsense of the systematic chequer-work territorial pattern drawn up by the socialist planners (MASSON 1984; HIRSCHHAUSEN, VON 1997).

1.3 The end of the model

This method of joining towns and the country was brought to a radical halt by the political upheaval of 1989. The regular linking of centres of production and services, that had been established by the state apparatus, was profoundly affected by the end of the system of central planning and the new rules of competition. On the industrial front, industrial companies were suddenly confronted with additional labour expenses and they generally employed too many people anyway. The workers that came from the villages were the first victims of the rationalisation organized by management. Bus routes that were too expensive were shut down and lay-offs initially affected workers that were not well integrated (LHOMEL 1992).

The decollectivisation of agriculture was directly affected by this change. On the basis that ownership of land constituted an economic haven, the owners of land were often the first to be laid off by industry. When the source of factory wages dried up, the few hectares that each family was able to retrieve often suddenly

became the sole source of income: this return to the land normally led to a very self-centred economy with little cash in circulation (HIRSCHHAUSEN, VON 1997). When this process occurs on a massive scale, it thwarts the fragile integration of village economies in the surrounding economy.

2. The example of the community of Semlac

2.1 A community on the national border, subjected to socialist rule

Semlac is situated on the Mures plain, north west of Banat, in the county of Arad. It is one of the villages colonised in the 18th century as part of the geometrical plan drawn up by the Austrian Empire to repopulate the border plains where the earlier Turkish occupation had created a vacuum. At the end of the nineteen eighties the community numbered some 4,000 inhabitants, most of whom were engaged in agricultural work; nearly 80 % of the workers were employed in this sector, at the large co-operative (3,650 ha) or the state agricultural company (2,600 ha). But their numbers had been diminishing since the start of the sixties. Above all the people involved in the co-operative were getting old, were mainly women and the number of employees was dropping: 1,000 in 1965, but by 1975 there were no more than 700, and by 1989 there were just 274. The increasing mechanisation of production reduced the need for workers and the co-operative's tendency not to actually pay its workers dissuaded young people from pursuing a career here.

Linked to the city of Arad (with its 188,000 inhabitants) fifty minutes away by rail, the community sent growing numbers of daily commuters to work places in the city; in 1989 nearly 350 village people were registered in the community as "navetisti". State politicians turned the village into just another statistic reflecting the exploitation of the land and a reservoir of labour for the combines in the industrial basin of Arad². Semlac turned its back on the border and became part of the outskirts of the county capital that was far away. And its population continued to decline: from 4,426 inhabitants in the 1977 census to 3,819 in 1992.

The village progressively became more and more isolated from the almost impenetrable Hungarian border nearby. The road leading to the village was once tarmacked but was littered with potholes through lack of repair. At the end of the eighties hardly any of the villagers owned a private car; the only traffic consisted of the trucks and tractors from the agricultural companies. The minimal contact with the outside world turned it into a kind of cul-de-sac. Even today the lack of contact and commercial infrastructure in the community, despite its size, shocks foreign visitors. Until 1991 the community consisted of a small post office handling about twenty telephone lines and half a dozen small retail shops that were very poorly

² Even in 1989 the county statistics authorities numbered more than 100,000 paid workers in Arad; nearly 60,000 of these were employed in industry (Caietele statistice, Directia judetiana de statistica Arad).

twenty telephone lines and half a dozen small retail shops that were very poorly stocked. And, as is common in many other rural communities in the country, even bread rarely made it here from the huge state factories far away in Arad. A small peasant market, that seemed to have less and less to sell with the passing of time, managed to continue every week; but there was little more on offer than some garden products and a few animals brought by families living in the village.

2.2 The city and the state in the new local economy

The political change of 1989 profoundly altered the situation. The re-opening of the border and the explosion in the volume of cross-border business brought new life to the communities in the border country. Relations with Arad became more complex. The massive lay-offs in the industrial combines in the district capital drastically reduced the number of daily commuters who formed the main contact between village and town. There were more than 350 commuters in 1989; in 1992 that number had dropped to 284, and by 1993 it was just 50; in 1995 there were no more than about ten. But commercial contacts multiplied due to individual initiative: two villagers opened bread stores to meet the demand the socialist system could no longer satisfy. Other small food shops were set up, but not that many in comparison with the community's population of almost four thousand. It is impossible to assess the volume of this new business that often takes place on informal lines; no data are officially available; but it dramatically improved supplies in the village. From 1992 onwards, people were able to buy sugar, oil and other agricultural food products - something that had been almost impossible for several years.

The number of workers was reduced but there was a renaissance of individual initiative. This process was part of the general tendency towards eliminating the welfare state through the marked reduction in people in paid jobs in local employment. Since the sixties the proportion of the population in active paid work had not stopped growing, both in the village agricultural companies and the combines in Arad's industrial basin. In 1989 the village had 1,425 paid workers³. In the 1992 census that number had already fallen to 692; there are no later statistics available, but what is known about the continuing restructuring of state companies that are being privatised would suggest that the number of paid workers in Semlac has continued to diminish. The 670 retired people registered in the same census have seen the value of their pensions plunge dangerously through the effects of inflation.

The state is withdrawing from its role as compulsory mediator in evaluating local resources and linking them to surrounding areas. Local society has to rebuild its links with its territory. In the agricultural context of village life, the question of land rights is therefore central.

³ Caietele statistice Semlac, Directia judetiana de statistica Arad.

2.3 The new property stakes

In this context the 1991 *law regarding land ownership* affected things extremely slowly. Many villagers said in effect that they did not wish to have their land back because they were unable to work it. According to villagers, the move to reclaim property was initiated by young people who were rarely farmers but who wanted to enforce their right to inherit land from their parents. In this community the redistribution was carried out on the basis of seven "agricultural companies"⁴. They started to be formed in the summer of 1991 and divided up nearly 3,200 hectares, while 450 hectares were distributed to those owners that preferred to work their land themselves.

From the outset it was clear owners would favour the option of receiving property documents that would ensure them the payment of rent, leaving the responsibility for farming the land to agricultural engineers and paid workers. But within 5 years the situation changed appreciably. The lay-offs in industries and the fall in the amount of retirement benefits progressively made farming more worth while financially and many of the agricultural companies are in the process of collapsing: more and more owners are preferring to directly work their little plot of land and rely on a subsistent farming existence. Nearly 1,000 hectares have been returned to private ownership in this manner. Young people are usually the first to opt for this solution, because their source of wages in Arad is threatened by the mass closures in the large industrial combines. The future of farming in Semeac will to a large extent depend on how people who are not employed in agriculture in the region fare. If Arad and its small neighbouring towns are able to offer new employment in industry and services, the agricultural companies will no doubt survive; grain farming that is efficient and mechanised will then develop, permitting farm rent to go to small land-owners who enjoy other sources of income. But if non-agricultural employment remains depressed, people could be forced to return to their peasant way of life in an attempt to enable families to survive.

3. Non-farming employment and its connection with land in the Arad judet

Going beyond the simple example of a community, it is possible to try to understand more generally the link between the future of local farming and regional factors by analyzing the whole county (*judet*). Because of the variety of its topography and the contrasts in its population distribution, the county of Arad presents some interesting examples of situations. Statistical sources remain silent about the change in daily commuting patterns. So an attempt must be made to put forward theories by relying on the analysis of the last census (1992) and the data on decollectivisation. This analysis is drawn up on the three maps (Fig. 1, 2, 3) which

⁴ Associate companies of land owners set up on the basis of a statute determining a new cooperative manner of communally administering the land.

represent different aspects of the new economic and social situation at the start of the 1990s.

3.1 The orderly agrarian arrangement on the map of the Arad judet

The territory in this county can be divided between two large types of area: the fertile Banat plain stretches out in the west. The collective era established a mechanised, efficient form of farming here. A dense network of public transport brought a significant number of daily commuters to the factories in the city of Arad. But in the east of the county on the slopes of the Carpathian mountains, the factors are totally different; small towns, spread far apart, were created out of nothing in the valleys by the socialist authorities. It was hard to impose collectivisation, but in the end all the land was taken over but never achieved the same levels of efficiency.

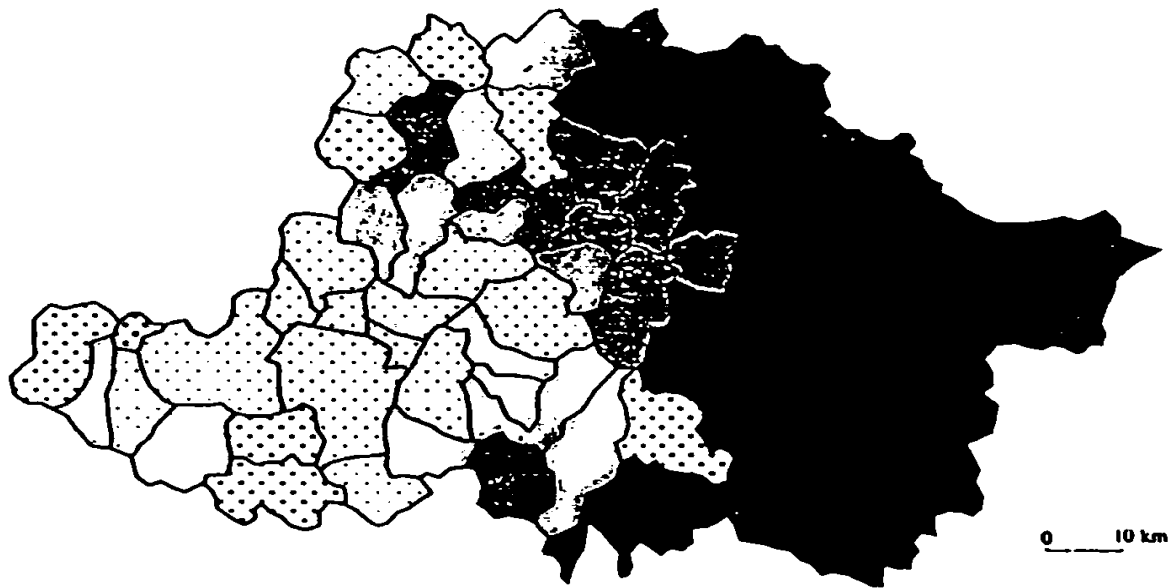
Faced with decollectivisation, the Carpathian foothills and the Banat plain have responded in different ways. This means this *judet* provides a broad, varied picture of new farming practices. Their diversity can be described in terms of the role played by the three types of farming foreseen in the law governing decollectivisation: agricultural companies, family associations⁵ or individual exploitation. An ascending hierarchical cluster⁶ permits a map to be drawn up showing agrarian types (Fig. 1). The overwhelming simplicity of this geography of the new types of farming is striking. The statistical division enabled by the tree diagrams can be translated very directly into geographical terms, and the different classes of farming are distributed in a very orderly manner across the district. Six types alone cover 92.6 % of the area that is mapped out.

The map can be viewed in terms of the clash between two opposing models. In the west, the neo-collectivist communities appear to form a powerful bastion in the heart of the Arad plain; 70 % of its land is worked by agricultural companies. Around this core is the first ring of "dualist" communities where the majority of the land is also worked collectively within the framework of agricultural companies, but to a lesser degree (50 % of the land). So the "neo-collectivist" and "dualist" communities occupy almost all the heart of the basin and only allow "mixed" communities to occupy land on the periphery. This pattern is more confusing in the north of the plain around the small town of Chisinau-Cris; in this area decisions were less clear-cut. A second ring of communities belonging to the so-called "mixed" group can be observed; the collective type of farming is largely dominant here, but the land is normally worked less restrictively by family associations.

⁵ A form of company between land owners that is more informal and less restrictive than the agricultural companies.

⁶ An ascending hierarchical cluster using Euclid's mathematical system. The values are restored to the agricultural area of the dissolved cooperatives and are divided up by the 1991 land law.

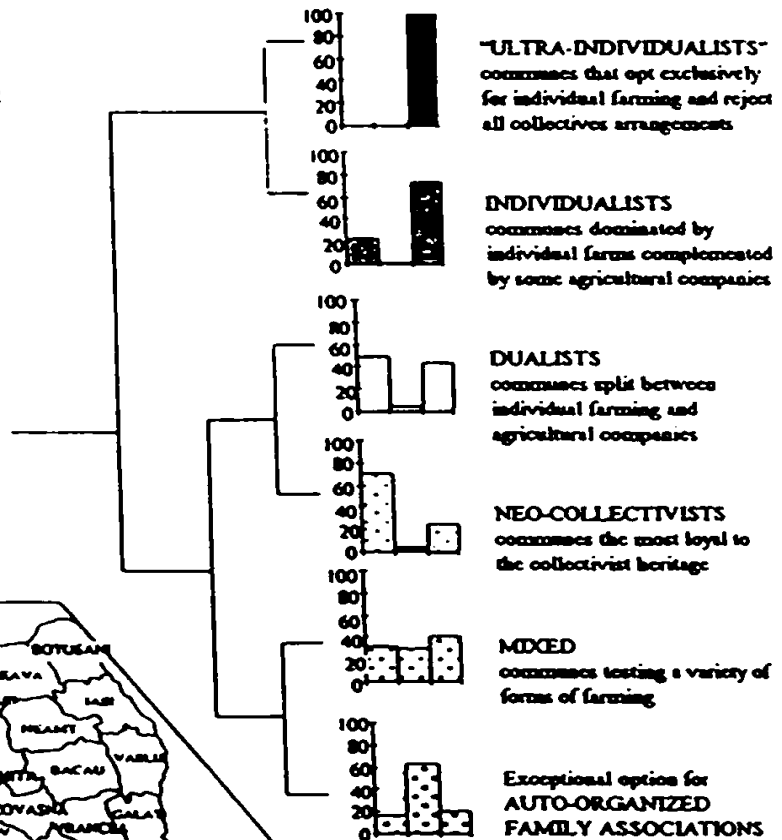
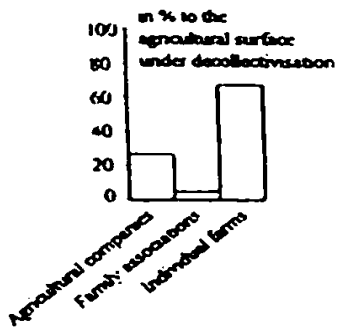
Figure 1: Agrarian types in the communes of Arad county 1994



Ascending hierarchical cluster

Class profiles

Average profile



source : Statistical office of Arad (1995)
ENS Géophile / B. v. Hirschhausen

In the east the spread of this neo-collectivist order has encountered massive resistance from individualist communities. The "ultra-individualist" group is remarkable because it totally shuns every kind of agricultural company or family association (100 % of the land here is worked by individuals) and because it is extremely compact: it comprises more than two fifths of the communities. It primarily stretches out over the mountainous areas (the Zarand de Codru-Moma massif), the hills (communities on the Lipova plateau) or the valleys (the Zarand depression, the Mures valley). Where it meets the two dominant methods of farming, the communities grouped round the small town of Ineu are largely "individualist" but on average allow 20 % of their land to be farmed by the agricultural companies.

It is harder to interpret this thriving geography of decollectivisation than would seem at first sight. It is true that the effects of the lie of the land seem to play a dominant role. The structural difference between the plains and the mountains has long been recognised in the geography of Romania and plays an important role here. But the more ambiguous dynamics evident round the small towns of Ineu, Sebis and Chisinau-Cris provide evidence of a more complex pattern.

3.2 A diverse geography of employment

It can be initially postulated that the reorganization of these new types of farming depends on the relationship that local societies maintain towards agricultural work and that this relationship principally determines the availability of labour and access to employment. The question of the control of the land is naturally tackled in very different ways according to how young the population is and according to what kind of employment is available. One series of indicators is available: the 1992 general census of the population captured the demography of the communities at the time of the change-over.

The maps showing structures on the basis of age (Fig. 2) and the range of employment (Fig. 3) are set out like the preceding map, starting with ascending hierarchical clusters and demonstrate rural situations that are very different from one another. By contrasting these two maps, it is clear that the young age of the local population depends very heavily on the level of urban facilities and industrial development. The areas where farming is very dominant are populated by the elderly and are deprived of significant numbers of people in the working age groups. Only the towns and their surrounding areas, that sometimes extend a short distance or further afield, enable the average age of the population of the surrounding villages to be lowered. The urban system therefore describes a geography that differs on the basis of agricultural factors.

Figure 2: Demographic contrasts in the Arad county 1992

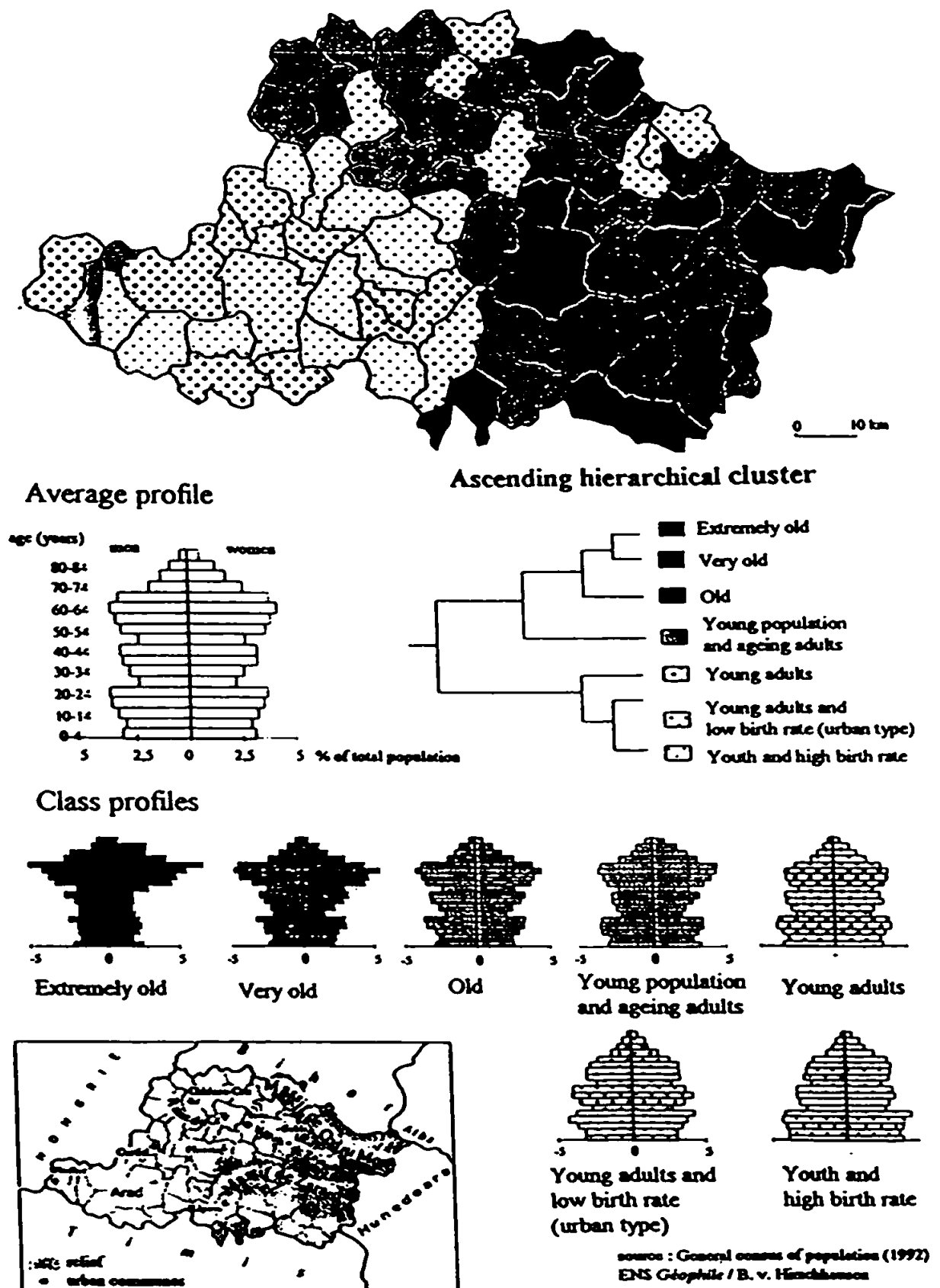
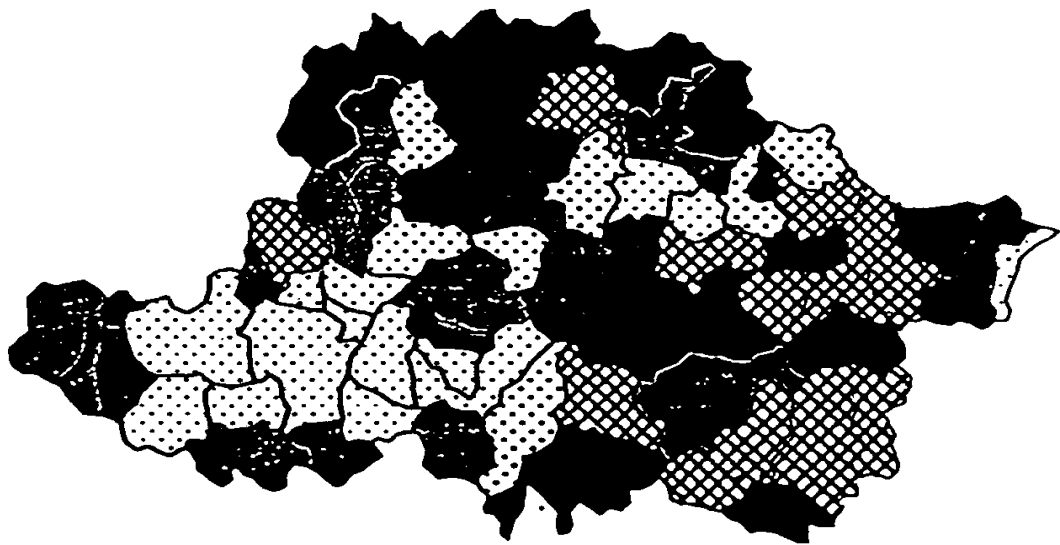
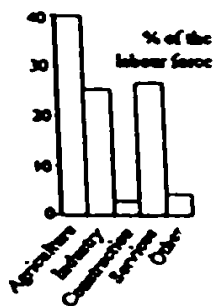


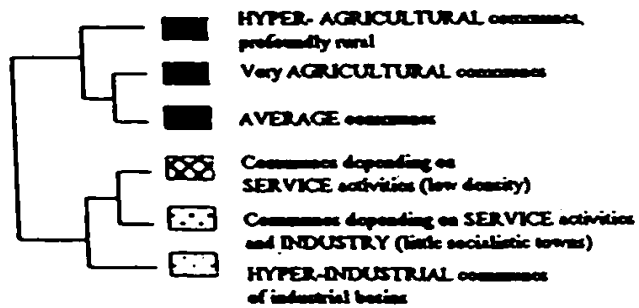
Figure 3: Profiles of activities in the communes of the Arad county 1992



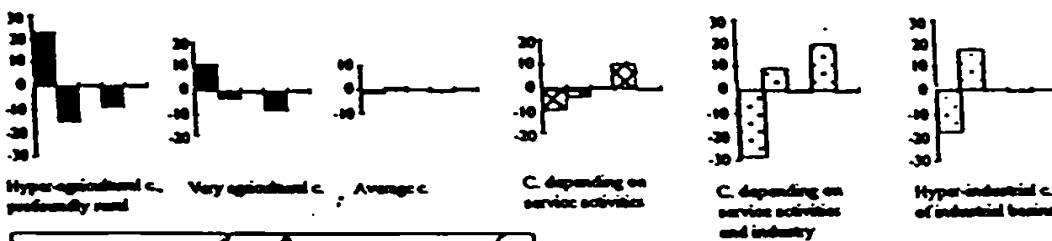
Average profile



Ascending hierarchical cluster



Deviation from average profile



source : General census of population (1992)
ENS Clujville / B. v. Hirschmann

The *Arad industrial basin* is clearly unique on both maps. It extends into the plain for a radius of about thirty kilometres around the county capital. Arad's influence is increased by its surrounding network of railway lines. In this area the importance of industrial employment, and the high number of young working people, who have often come from communities far away, marginalise the agricultural land factor. If farming is the main source of income for market-gardeners on the outskirts of the city, it is only one of a number of family business activities for the other land owners on the Arad plain.

In the north, on the *Cris low plains*, this same pattern is not repeated around the small town of Chisinau (9,000 inhabitants). It has the young profile of the towns in the county but it has hardly managed to rejuvenate the surrounding villages. Service industries and to a lesser extent industrial jobs that were created in this community, that the 1968 administrative reform raised to the rank of a town, have had little effect on the surrounding areas. Further away, several kilometres from the centre, the working population demonstrate the "hyper-agricultural" characteristics of totally rural areas. In these country areas, the agrarian reform has not just affected the ownership of land or even the certainty of having an income and food supplies, it has also affected the control of farming work.

In the *Zarand depression* the country areas depend on a string of small industrial centres and services. The small towns of Ineu (10,500 inhabitants) and Sebis (7,000 inhabitants) and the small centre of Moneasa have attracted young people of the "urban" type, but their dynamics have not been enough to preserve the surrounding communities from demographic decline as they suffer from the effects of slow, difficult communications, even more than on the Cris plain. The valley on the whole is losing its population. Even more so than around Chisinau, the dominance of farming work is a factor. Whether you are in the rich alluvial plain around Ineu or further up the valley, where arable land becomes rarer, farming still remains the central source of employment.

Agricultural employment however plays less of a central role further up the valley on the *high hills of Codru-Mona* or on the *Zarand massif*. In the areas where old people are in the majority, services industries are the main source of work. The paradoxical effect of strong marginalisation is clearly seen. The distance from towns makes daily commuting impracticable and in these areas where pensioners make up between 35 % and 40 % of the population and less farming land is available because of gradients and altitude, even agricultural work becomes a rarity. State communal services then often become the main source of local employment. Farming in these country areas is then a matter of survival for the isolated, very old population. It is little suited to the modernist ideas of agricultural companies.

In the current context of political and economic upheaval, the most prominent geographical contrasts differentiate, on the one hand, between the employment basin of the Arad plain, consolidated by its variety of jobs and industrial sectors, its greater volume of trade and the importance of its links with the rest of the district, and, on the other hand, the marginal areas. The overwhelming choice in the Arad plain in favour of associative solutions appears to be based on the fact that the

The collapse of "navetismul" and the redefinition of town-country relations 269

communities are situated in a basin with wide-spread employment, where personnel and goods are freely available, all of which monetises business, links local economies to the more global system and promotes initiative. Since 1994 (when the agrarian types map was drawn up) unemployment has shaken the balance in families accustomed to double employment. As in Semeac, the lay-offs in Arad could lead families to withdraw from the agricultural companies and return to subsistence farming as they retreat to their land to directly exploit it.

In the north, on the Cris low plains, the weakness of the industrial, urban sector has made the control over agriculture strategic. The employment base is more fragmented and more restricted by a less efficient transport system. From the outset individual or self-organized solutions have appeared very attractive.

In the Zarand massif and its valleys, the speed and extent of the break-up of the co-operatives is explained by the context of the intense ageing of the population, which breaks up small pieces of land and causes local enclaves to retreat into self-centred activities. These marginal territories have been safeguarded up to now by small centres that have been recently promoted to the status of towns and by the accompanying administrative employment that has accompanied it. But the lack of means of transport diminishes the extent of urban influence, compartmentalises the area and diminishes prospects for local people who wish to do something positive for the area.

4. Conclusion

The question of how to link rural and urban areas since 1989 now seems crucial. The opportunity for country areas to take up the challenge of adapting to modern life largely rests on the capacity of towns to spread their areas of influence. The question also raises the issue of the transformation of "life styles" and local customs. All these changes taken together affect families deeply and alter the way people live in villages and towns; they also present challenges as to how to link up places of residence, work and food production; they also raise the question of how people can get involved in economic and business cycles. The integration or marginalisation of whole areas largely depends on the way how urban and rural sociability are redefined. More attention needs to be given to these changes in territorial customs.

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VIII. QUESTIONS OF REGIONALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

PETER JORDAN

Regionalization and decentralization in Romania - opportunities and obstacles

1. Introductory remarks

Disintegration and regionalization are as important factors in contemporary Europe as integration. On the one hand Europe makes many efforts to become for the first time in history a kind of a political union, may it finally be a confederation or a federation. On the other hand former federations (the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia) have been dissolved into their constituent parts; countries like Spain, France, Italy or the United Kingdom, which were rather centralized in the past, have undergone or are just undergoing considerable decentralization; and, last but not least, the theme of a Europe of regions is on the agenda (FOUCHER et al. 1993, p. 34) prompting even countries without regional traditions to look for territorial decentralization.

The regionalization scenario appears to be attractive as it responds to the needs for the activation of regional powers and resources and for more local and less centralized democracy. It can, however, also have adverse effects, when the prosperous regions refuse to share their wealth with those lagging behind, or when centralism is just transferred to a lower level, perhaps even a level with less control and a weaker balance of powers. Regionalization can thus also result in steeper economic gradients and in a Europe of new feudalities (FOUCHER et al. 1993, p. 34). It also has to be noted that roughly half of Europe lacks a tradition of regions in the sense of subsidiary self-governing territorial units of medium size and therefore that it will not be an easy task to implement a homogeneous system of regions all over the continent (FOUCHER et al. 1993, p. 34).

This paper does not necessarily advocate regionalization and decentralization¹, but noting a European trend in this direction it asks, whether Romania, as a candidate for European integration, would be able to respond to this trend.

¹ Although the author is of the opinion that a well-balanced cooperation between federal and regional administration will better succeed in valorizing and developing the resources of a country than centralized governance can.

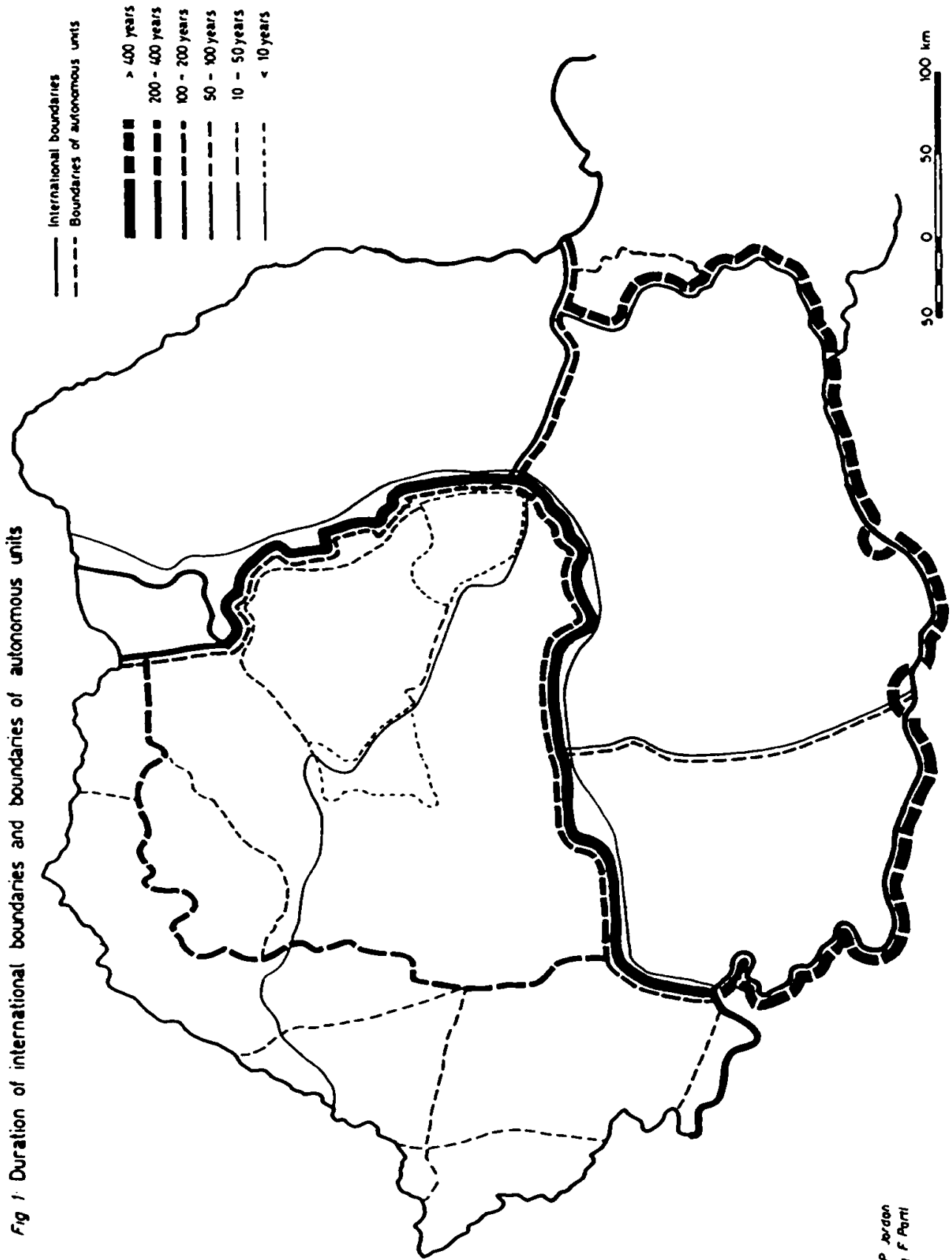
2. Romania's natural and historical diversity versus its tradition of administrative centralism

2.1 Natural and historical diversity

While it is not at all a surprise that Hungary, weakly structured by nature and historically homogeneous, is a centralized country, centralism appears to be “unnatural” for Romania (at least from an Austrian perspective). By nature, Romania is neatly divided by the Carpathian arc and disposes over a great variety of natural landscapes on both of its sides. I must not enlarge on this aspect, all of you know the map of Romania very well.

These physical preconditions, but even more Romania's historical position at the fringes of large empires, have favoured political overlapping and diversity on the territory of modern Romania throughout history. If we investigate the temporal duration of international borders as well as of boundaries of autonomous political units on the territory of modern Romania (Fig. 1), the Carpathian arc indeed reveals to be the main watershed not only in hydrographic, but also in political terms. For more than 400 years, its largest section was the eastern frontier of the Hungarian Kingdom and of the Habsburg Empire, and thus during long periods the dividing range between strong influences from the West (Western Christianity, enlightenment) and domination by the Byzantine Empire and by the Sublime Porte. Only around southern Bukovina [Bucovina] this bold line bifurcates into two thinner ones indicating shorter durations, the eastern variant of which was established in 1775 and lasted until 1918. Additionally, for at least 100 years (in some sections up to 400 years) the Carpathian arc also formed the boundary between autonomous units under Hungarian (in the Middle Ages) or Ottoman (1541-1699) suzerainty, i.e. among the principalities of Transylvania [Transilvania]², Walachia [Tara Romaneasca] and Moldavia [Moldova]. A variant of this mountain boundary, farther to the south and east and below the main mountain passes, was ephemeral, lasting only from May to December 1918. Altogether, the Carpathian arc forms a historical dividing line not paralleled in duration by any section of Romania's modern borders. The oldest modern section is the border between the Romanian Banat and Serbia proper [Srbija] along the Danube, an international border for more than 200 years, since 1739. Also rather old is the present Danube border from the Iron Gate [Portile de Fier] downstream to Tutrakan. It was established as an international border in 1878, but, with the exception of two bridgeheads at Turnu Magurele and Giurgiu, has functioned since 1393 as the boundary of Walachia, when it was an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire.

² In this text Transylvania in the wider sense (including all territories of modern Romania inside the Carpathian arc) is referred to as “Transylvania.” When the historical principality of Transylvania is meant, it is explicitly named “principality of Transylvania” or “historical Transylvania”. Names in the local language are given in angular brackets.



Drafi P. Jordan
Drawing F. Parti

Major historical dividing lines also exist among Moldavia, Walachia and Dobruja [Dobrogea], respectively, which functioned as international borders for more than 100 years, from the 14th century until Moldavia's subordination under Ottoman suzerainty in 1511. For another 350 and 367 years, respectively, they were the boundary between the autonomous Danubian principalities under Ottoman domination up to their unification in 1859 and the Ottoman Dobruja's incorporation into Romania in 1878.

Almost as impressive is the demarcation line between Dobruja and Walachia. It was an international border for more than 100 years, before Walachia became dependent of the Ottoman Empire in 1393. For another 485 (1393 - 1878) years (north of Hirhova the boundary was shifted in 1829) it functioned as a boundary of autonomous territories under Ottoman domination.

In contrast to that, the eastern boundary of Oltenia was rather short-lived. It was a boundary between Hungarian oligarchies in the 14th century (Oltenia was at that time titled Severin) and established as an international border in 1718, when Austria occupied Oltenia for 21 years.

The lands inside the Carpathian arc also have their long-lasting historical divisions. There is first of all the western and northern boundary of the principality of Transylvania, which - with the exception of temporary shifts in the 17th century and a shift regarding the county of Salaj in the 19th century - remained stable over more than 300 years until 1867. The Banat, under the title "Serbische Woiwodschaft und Temeser Banat" remained autonomous for only 11 years (1849 - 1860). Other boundaries, like that of the Autonomous Hungarian Region [Regiunea Mureh-Autonomia Maghiara / Maros Magyar Autonom Tartomány] (1952 - 1968, with shifts in two sections in 1960) and that of Hungarian northern Transylvania (1940 - 1944) lasted not much longer or even shorter.

One may question the importance and relevance of old boundaries in the context of a discussion on current regionalization. But at least the boundaries of the 19th and 20th centuries are without any doubt relevant, since they structured the country in a very formative period.

2.2 Administrative centralism

Ever since the unification of the Danubian principalities in 1859, historical regions did not figure as constituents of a Romanian administrative-territorial system. Already in 1859³, the unification of Moldavia and Walachia was radical and did not leave any traces of administrative differences or self-governance. The two principalities had, indeed, despite centuries of individual statehood mainly for dynastic reasons, very much in common (MAYER 1977, p. 44). They further approached each other during the first half of the 19th century. The development of a

³ The unification was acknowledged by the Ottoman Empire and the European powers in 1861.

Romanian national identity, of a common literary language and script were steps of this approachment. It continued with the implementation of two almost identical constitutions [regulament organic] in 1831 (Walachia) and 1832 (Moldavia), respectively, and by Alexander Cuza's accessing the throne of both principalities in 1858 (MAYER 1977, p. 47). Oltenia, although periodically (14th century, 1718 - 1739) separated from the principality of Walachia, was by that time fully integrated into Walachia in administrative terms. This centralism corresponded to contemporary European trends and can be interpreted as a concentration of all national forces to overcome Ottoman domination.

The first constitution of the united Danubian principalities in 1866 created a territorial-administrative system of counties [judete]. It was expanded to Dobruja, when this region was awarded to Romania in 1878, but remained otherwise relatively stable till 1918. This system divided Romania into 32 counties and respected, i.e. did not cross, the boundaries between the historical constituents of the young Romanian state, i.e. Moldavia, Muntenia, Oltenia and Dobruja. By size, number and competences, these counties were not more than a kind of deconcentration of state administration, not at all a means of decentralization or regionalization.

When Romania was enlarged in 1918, the Hungarian county [megye] system of Transylvania was taken over with only slight changes. This was easily possible, since the Hungarian system resembled the Romanian in size and competences. To the Bukovina, the Romanian system was extended. In 1930, the territory of modern Romania was thus divided into 58 counties [judete]. No attempt was made to accumulate groups of counties to regions. Centralistic attitudes prevailed, promoted mainly by the National-Liberal Party [Partidul National-Liberal] under Bratianu, in power from 1922 to 1928 and from 1934 to 1937. This party advocated the interests of the Old Kingdom, opposite the "new provinces". Only during a short period, from 1928 to 1930, a coalition between the National Liberal Party [Partidul National-Liberal] in Transylvania and the National Peasant Party [Partidul National Taranesc] in the Old Kingdom, led by Iuliu Maniu, attempted to promote decentralization. But he was too short in power to be effective. In October 1930, he resigned in protest against the return of King Carol II from exile (RONNAS 1984, p. 37).

After the first communist constitution of 1948, the administrative reform of 1950 fundamentally changed the territorial-administrative system of Romania. Following the Soviet example, it created for the first time in Romania a three-layer system, composed of 16 regions [regiuni] plus Bucharest as the first layer, 150 (later 152) rayons [raioane] as the second and more than 4000 communes [comuna] and cities/towns [orah] as the third. The regions would have been large enough and sufficiently adapted to historical units⁴ to develop regional identities and promote decentralization in political and economic terms, but they were not intended to do so. Their competences were again confined to the transmission of central decisions to the regional level. Besides, the monolithic communist party system with a strict

⁴ Some of them were named after historical units: Banat, Crisana, Maramures, Oltenia, Dobrogea.

top-down command structure affecting all spheres of social and economic life prevented decentralization anyway. The only concession to regional self-government was the establishment of an autonomous Hungarian region in the eastern part of Transylvania under Soviet pressure and the pretext of international solidarity in 1952. But even this region was not really autonomous, did not satisfy the Hungarian minority, changed its shape in 1960, and was dissolved in 1968.

Based on the constitution of 1965, which stressed national individuality and historical references, the administrative reform of 1968 brought a return to the traditional Romanian two-layer system by establishing 39 counties [judete] and 2706 communes [comuna]. Apart from the intention to return to traditional, originally Romanian administrative structures, the main goal of this reform was to promote a more homogeneous socio-economic development of the country. This was to be achieved by distributing central functions over a larger variety of cities and towns and by shaping the counties according to socio-economic and central place criteria. Compliance with regional identities and the former county system was simply professed, but ranked second compared to this major goal. Thus, the reform resulted in an administrative pattern quite different from the one before 1950, not only because of a reduction in the number of counties from 52 to 39⁵, but also because of many additional boundary deviations. Regarding administrative functions and powers, the 1968 system was not more decentralized than the old county system or the regions system between 1950 and 1968. All local bodies remained responsible to the central powers in Bucharest and had merely to apply and effectuate central decisions (MAYER 1977, p. 83). In 1981, a reorganization in the surroundings of Bucharest let the number of counties rise to 40 (plus Bucharest), but otherwise the system has remained unchanged up to the present day.

A synopsis of administrative reforms since 1919, taking into account the first layer of administrative units (counties and regions, respectively), results in a rather confusing picture (Fig. 2). Only a few boundary sections remained stable throughout this period, mostly "natural" boundaries on mountain ranges and along rivers. Only some patches mark areas which have always been administered from the same regional centre.

3. Current regional diversity

Three basic and several minor changes of the administrative pattern, as well as a tradition of administrative centralism could, however, not eradicate a regional consciousness bound to historical entities (RONNAS 1984, p. 22). REY (1994, p. 362) even notices a significant revival of identification in reference to historical regions after the break-down of Communism, irrespective of ethnic affiliations, and explains that as a reaction to levelling-mania in the past period.

⁵ The primary plan was to establish 36 counties. Braila, Mehedinti and Salaj were added in compliance to local demands (RONNAS 1984, p. 62).

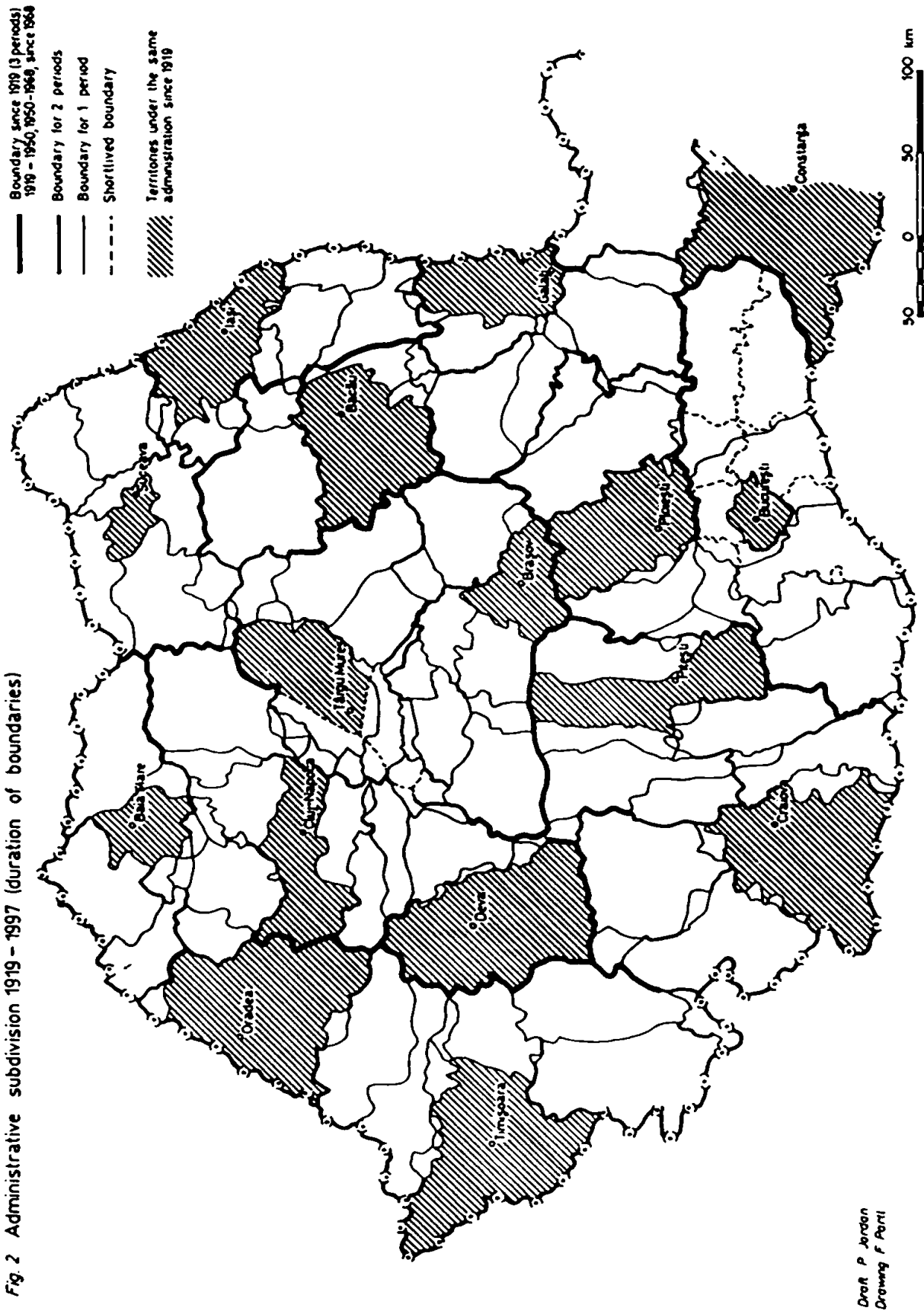
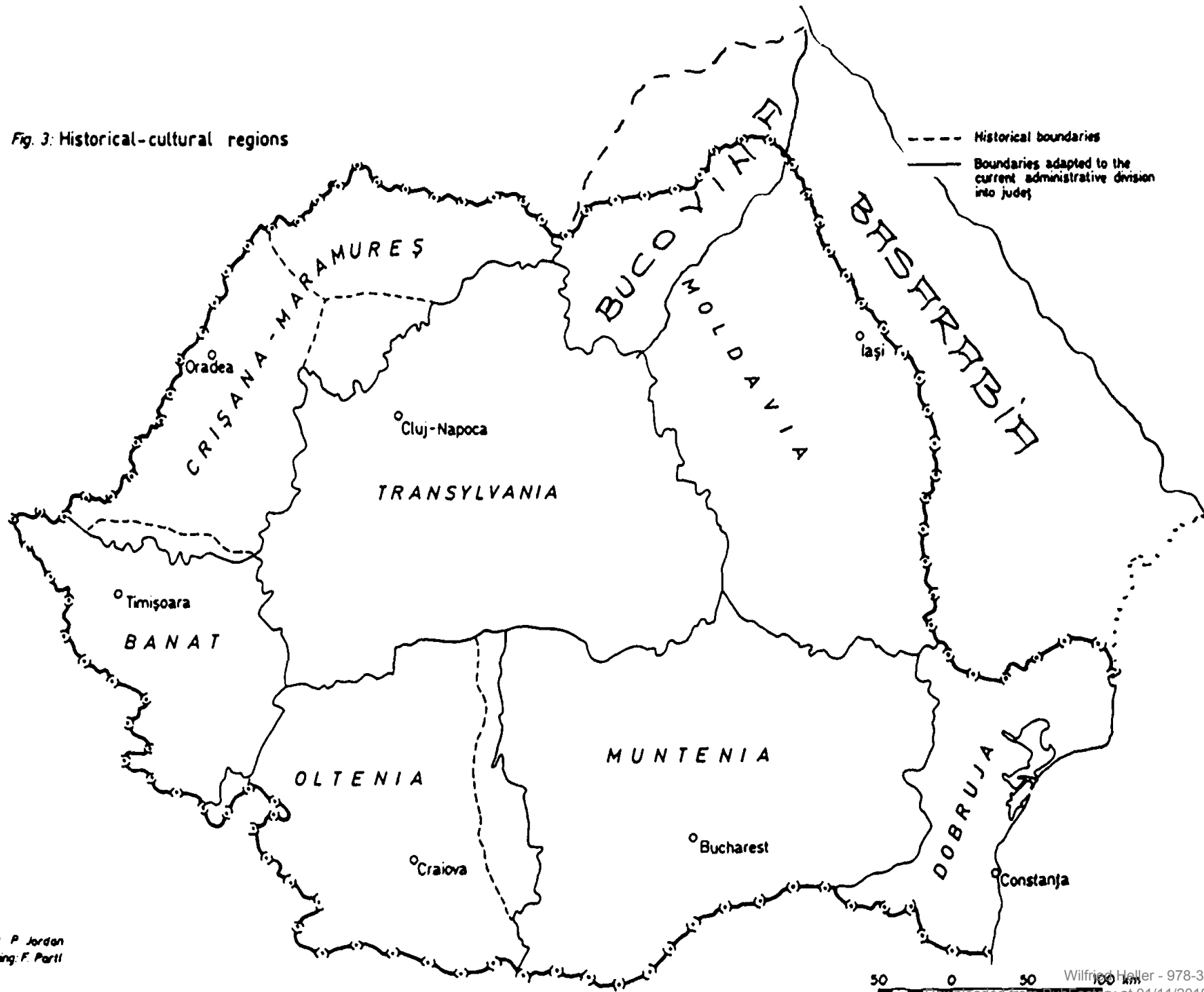


Fig. 2 Administrative subdivision 1919 - 1997 (duration of boundaries)

Draft P. Jordan
Drawing F. Partl

Fig. 3: Historical-cultural regions



Draft P. Jordan
Drawing: F. Partl

Historical-cultural regions which have preserved a distinct identity up to the present day are shown in Fig. 3. Where they deviate from an aggregation of current counties, their limits are drawn by broken lines. Some of them are suited for further subdivision.

The *Banat* is still an essentially multi-ethnic region with a proper multicultural identity, due to its simultaneous colonization mainly in the 18th century by a great variety of ethnic groups. This identity is emphasized by its extension over, and its borderland function between, three countries belonging to three different ethnic and linguistic families. In and after 1989, the Banat, and especially its centre, Timisoara, played an important role in the Romanian revolution and as a bridgehead of Western influence and investment. Its western-orientation and its comparatively advanced economic status are also factors of its regional identity.

The *Crisana-Maramures* region is historically based on the Partium, but less homogeneous than the Banat. It is at least composed of Crisana and Maramures, two subregions with a different ethnic composition. While the Hungarians are the dominating minority in Crisana, Maramures' identity is also founded on a considerable Ruthenian minority. Also the Salaj county is a less integrated part of the region, due to its oscillating historical affiliations. The Szatmar [Satu Mare] county has the strongest German traditions within this region. Western-orientation is a common characteristic of the region, but varies according to distance from the Hungarian border (least-developed in Maramures).

Historical *Transylvania's* identity is based foremost on long-lasting self-government executed by the three historical nations, the Szeklers, the Saxons and the Hungarians. An early urban system and culture, initiated by the Saxons, as well as a multi-ethnic composition are further components. Last but not least, the regional consciousness of ethnic Romanians also contributes a lot to its regional identity. Still in the interwar period (1930: 30 % of the Transylvanian population), they adhered in large numbers to the western-oriented Greek-Catholic, Uniate Church. From the late 18th century onward, they played a Piedmont role for the Romanian national movement and political unification. Still today they feel culturally advanced in relation to Romanians outside the Carpathian arc.

Moldavia's regional identity is that of the Romanian nation's historical, political and cultural heartland. While it experienced early oscillations between autonomy and independence it grew, much larger in size and remains a treasury of historical monuments, mainly monasteries. It continues to be a cultural stronghold (Romania's second-largest university, in Iasi), but its former strategic position at the intersection of Ottoman, Habsburg, Polish and Russian spheres of interest has vanished. In addition, after unification Moldavia suffered from the shift of political and economic centrality to Walachia. Thus, this region, which was economically superior to Walachia until the end of the last century and more densely populated (REY/BRUNET 1996, p. 174), has economically declined.

Muntenia is clearly the modern heartland of Romania. It has profited the most from the unification of the Danubian principalities, as well as from Romania's territorial expansions in 1878 (Dobruja) and after World War I. Under Ottoman

domination, it recovered earlier and in same ways more intensively than Moldavia. Furthermore, it recovered after unification and was in the position to modernize its economic structures better than the rest of the Old Kingdom. Its main assets are the capital Bucharest, Romania's gateway to the world and a centre of innovation, as well as its favourable position in the international transportation network. Muntenia's regional identity is that of the Romanian backbone.

Oltenia is Muntenia's little brother, economically less developed and in an unfavourable traffic position. It lacks the glory of long-lasting political autonomies and of a proud cultural heritage. Neither a political heartland, nor its borderland functions are significant, its image is therefore rather provincial.

The *Dobruja* is characterized by its long, direct subordination under Ottoman rule (until 1878), its past intensive ethnic mixture, which has left some traces, and by its somewhat remote position "on the other bank of the Danube." Because it is Romania's gateway to the sea, the country's touristic frontland and hosts one of Europe's most precious nature reserves (Danube Delta), the Dobruja disposes over a variety of developmental perspectives and has a positive image favorable landscape appearance.

4. What prevents Romania from becoming regionalized and decentralized?

Taking into account the natural and historical preconditions, the strong and growing identification of the people with their region, the decline of regional separatist attitudes, growing friendship among regions, and the current European trend to strengthen regional structures, the question arises, what prevents Romania from becoming regionalized and decentralized?

4.1 Romania's unitarian traditions from the beginning

As shown before, the unification of the Danubian principalities was accompanied by radical centralism, which has been perpetuated uninterrupted to the present day. The now valid Romanian Constitution of December 8, 1991 confirms this attitude by calling Romania a "unitary, indissoluble nation state, the sovereignty over which is the right of the Romanian nation."

4.2 The "Transylvanian dilemma"

When Romania was awarded the former Austro-Hungarian territories in 1918, Romania was confronted with the task of taking over a very large, significantly higher developed and western-oriented territory. Even if this territory had a purely ethnic Romanian population, this task would have been difficult. No other country in Europe was able to integrate such a territorial gain.

If only those territorial gains are taken into account which are also today parts of Romania, in 1918, Romania gained 74 % in additional area and about 70 % of its hitherto 1914 population (PÁNDI 1995, p. 402). Taking into account also northern Bukovina, Bessarabia and Southern Dobruja, which were lost later, the gains amounted to 213 % of the former area as well as the former population (PÁNDI 1995, p. 402).

If we confine ourselves to the permanent gains, they are only second to the gains of Serbia, if the formation of a State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1919 is regarded as an expansion of Serbia (plus 171 % in area and about 200 % in population). They equal the gains of Czechia after World War I, when it was united with Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine, in area (plus 79 %), but exceed them by far in population (plus 32 %). They also exceed the gains of Poland after World War II in relation to its final territory (plus 60 % in area). Serbia and Czechia have lost their gains in the meantime. Poland colonized an area which had been abandoned by its local population, and was thus in a position essentially different from Romania.

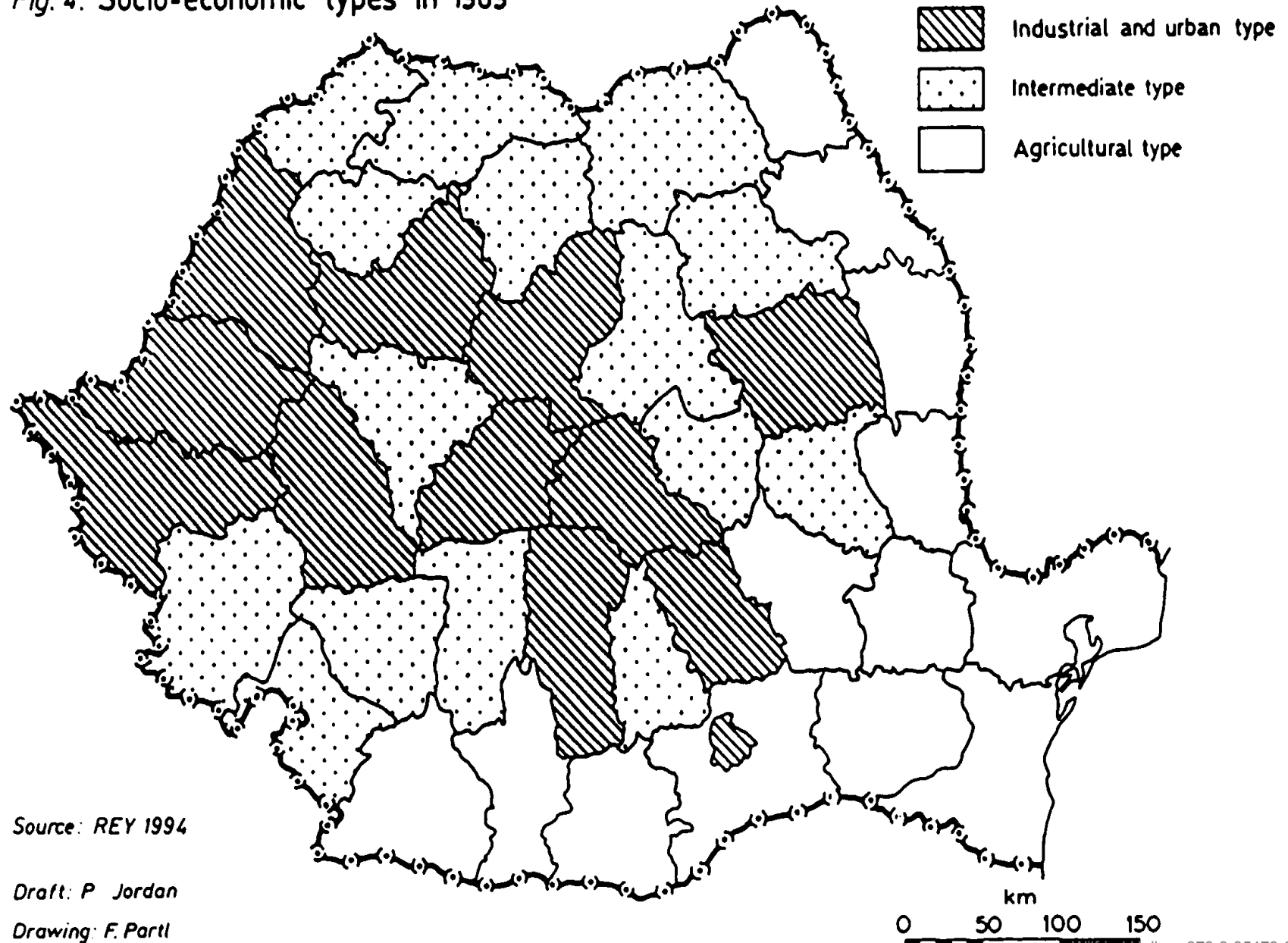
Other more recent, but hitherto successful acquisitions and territorial integrations in Europe had much more favourable proportions: the integration of Vojvodina into Serbia meant for Serbia plus 33 % in area as well as in population; the re-integration of the former GDR into West Germany meant for West Germany plus 43 % in area and 23 % in population - and we know how difficult this integration was and is.

Apart from the sheer proportions in area and population size, this integration task involved territories with a considerably higher level of economic and social development. When the Austro-Hungarian territories were taken over by Romania in 1918, they disposed over a much denser railroad network, an elaborated urban system, a relatively balanced social stratification⁶ and an industry comparatively advanced to that in the Old Kingdom, although they had been among the less advanced in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

These differences were reduced over time, but did not completely vanish. REY shows in her paper "La question régionale dans l'espace roumain" (REY 1994), how significant socio-economic differences between the Old Kingdom and the territories acquired in 1918 still were in 1969 (Fig. 4). The Ceausescu era, with its strong effort to homogenize the country, had relatively the best success in reducing these historical differences, but some of them remained. A map of ZANIEWSKI (1992) portraying data as of the mid-1980s illustrates that (Fig.5). He uses an index of "social well-being", which is based on variables measuring health care standards (infant mortality and per capita hospital bed availability), housing space per capita, and social infrastructure (telephone and television access per capita). The map also shows differences inside the historical regions, but the general impression of a major contrast between the regions inside and outside the Carpathian arc should be convincing.

⁶ In the unified Danubian principalities in 1859/60 only 17.6 % of the population resided in cities and towns (CIORICEANU, G. 1928). An ethnic Romanian middle class was almost absent (BERINDEI, D. 1989, p. 104).

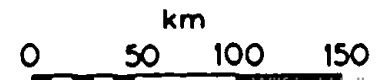
Fig. 4: Socio-economic types in 1969



Source: REY 1994

Draft: P. Jordan

Drawing: F. Partl



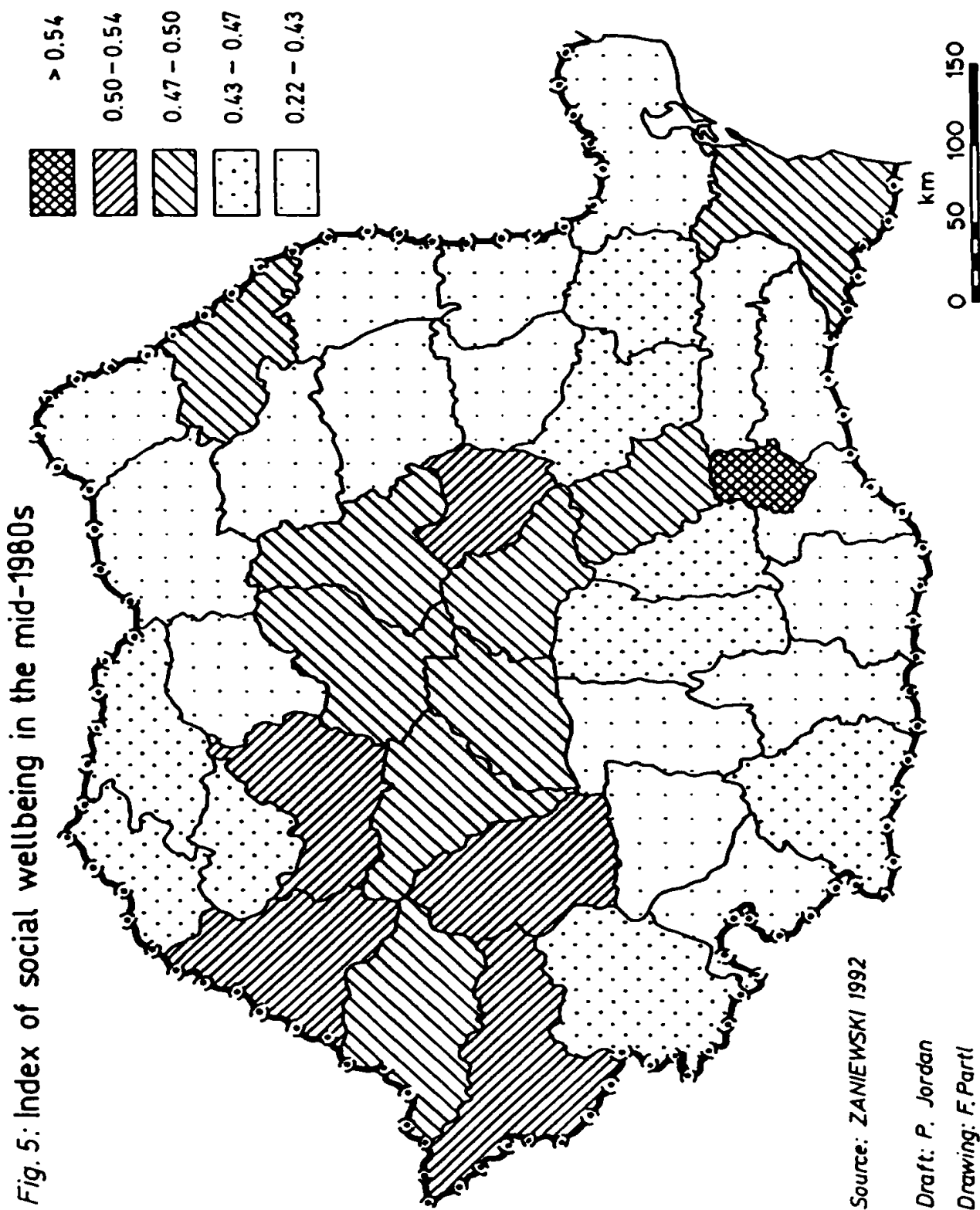
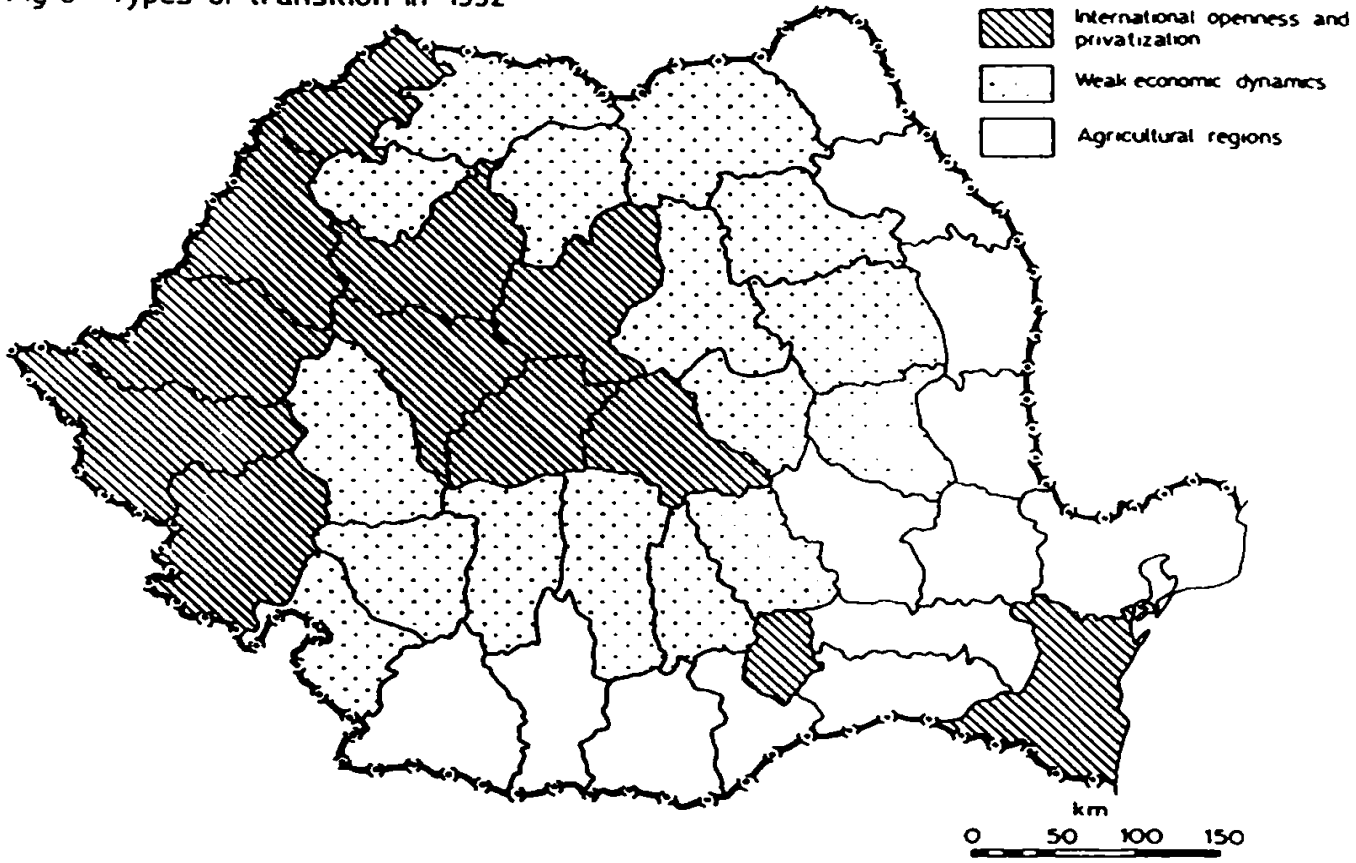
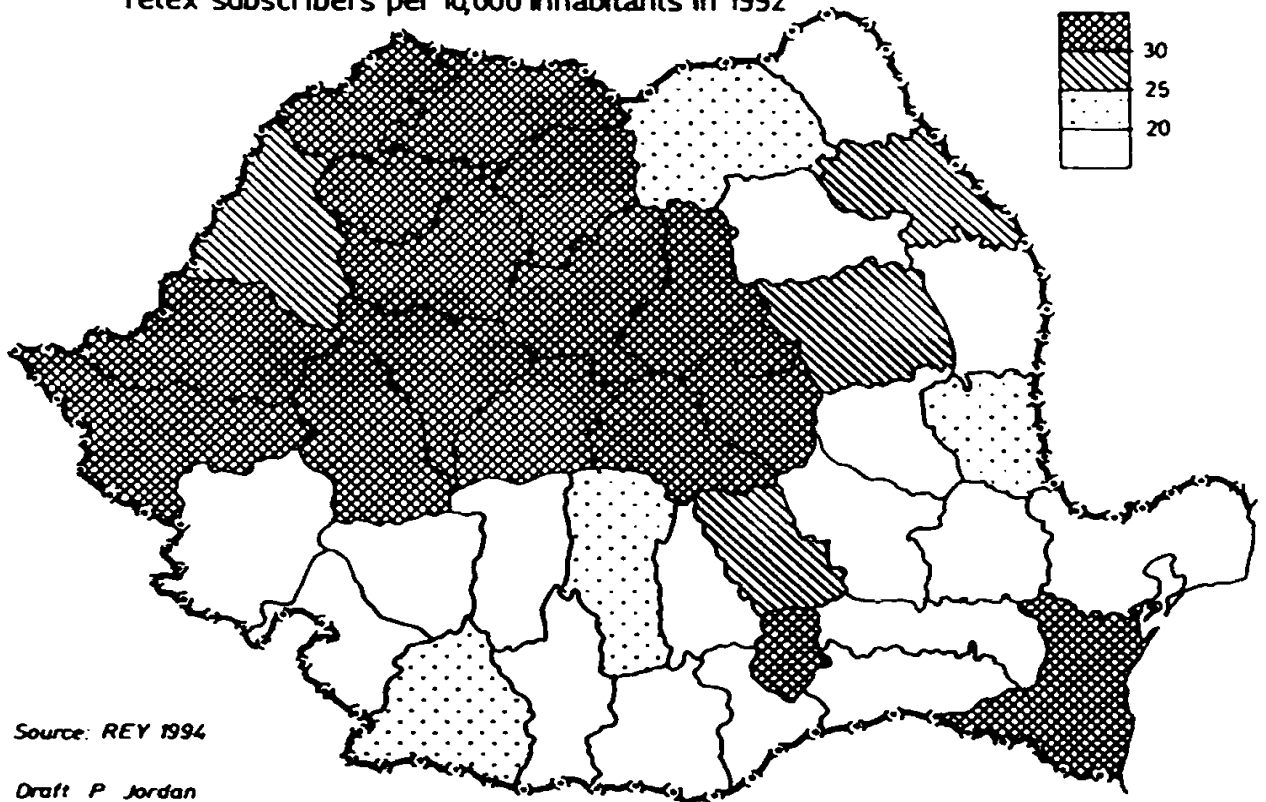


Fig 6 Types of transition in 1992



Telex subscribers per 10,000 inhabitants in 1992



Source: REY 1994

Draft P Jordan

Drawing: F. Partl

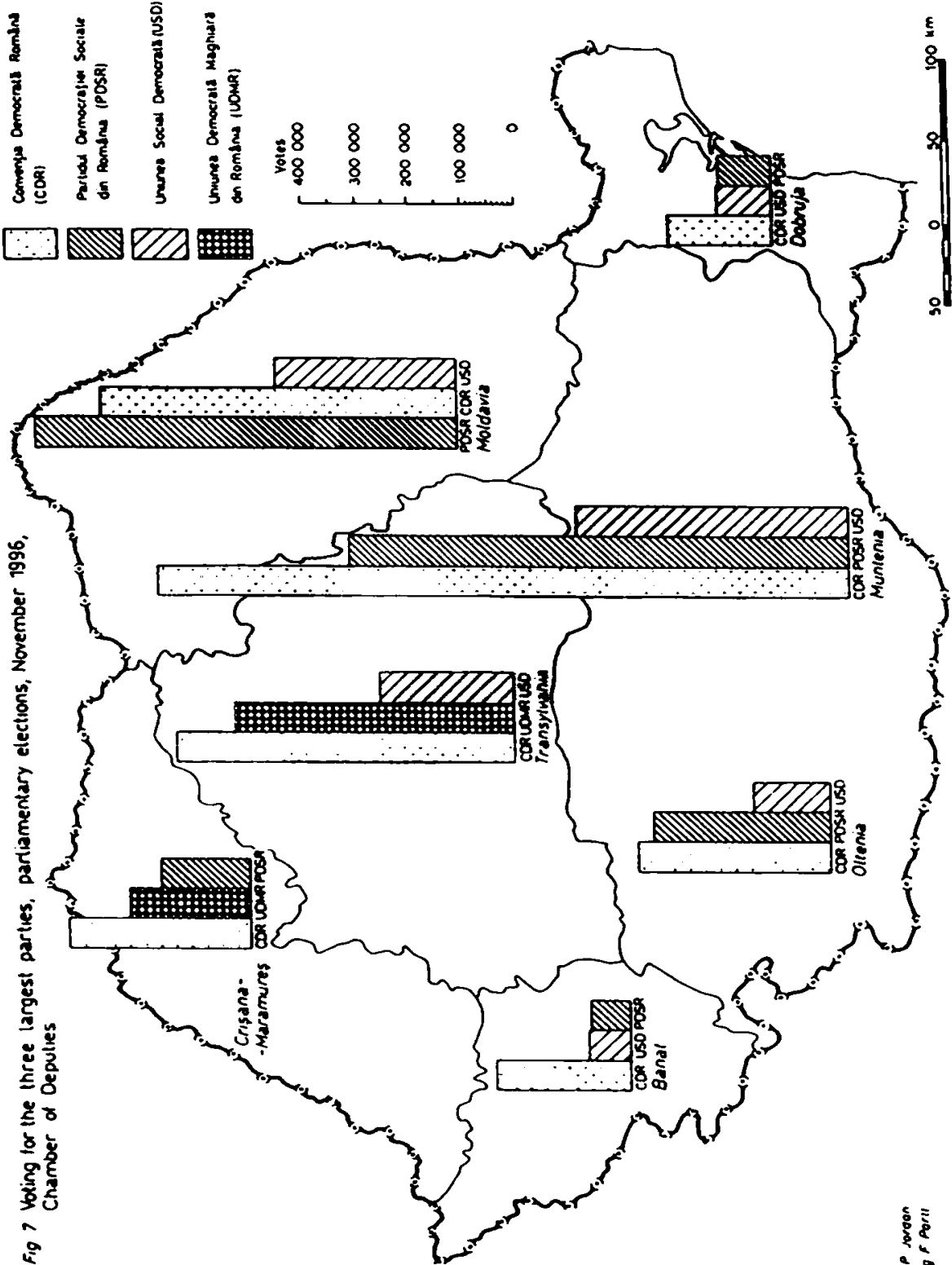


Fig 7 Voting for the three largest parties, parliamentary elections, November 1996, Chamber of Deputies

Dren P. Jansen
Drawing F. Perli

After the opening of the borders in 1990 and the turn of Romania from an isolated state to a country aiming at economic and political integration into Europe, the old regional differences have at least partly been reaffirmed. This is a consequence of external contacts and trade relations, which, at least so far, favour regions nearer to the Hungarian border. This is also the effect of re-implemented market forces, which again valorize locational advantages. Some indicators affirming these statements can be seen on two maps (Fig. 6) drafted by REY (1994, p. 371). The upper one displays types of transitions based on: population development 1989-1992, development of natality 1989 - 1992, proportion of the cultivated land which was privately used in 1992, portion of all trade enterprises that were private in 1992, unemployment in percent of the active population, telex subscribers per 1000 inhabitants, and share of international calls in the total number of telephone calls. The lower map shows the number of telex subscribers per 10,000 inhabitants in 1992.

It is understandable that a central government, facing the task of integrating this large regions having prior a very different histories to 1918, a superior socio-economic level and a different lifestyle, will hesitate to grant them regional self-governance and will move toward centralized administration. The situation for the central government was especially precarious after 1918, and since 1989 it is once again complicated because the regions inside the Carpathian arc have economic advantages due to their western-orientation.

4.3 The Hungarian ethnic group

The relatively large Hungarian minority (1930: 1,426,000, 7.9 % of the Romanian total; 1992: 1,620,199, 7.1 % of the Romanian total, 20.7 % of the population inside the Carpathian arc) continues to stress the "Transylvanian dilemma." The sheer number would not matter so much, except for a few key strengths of the Hungarian ethnic group inside the Carpathian arc. These are the following ones:

- They were the leading social and economic strata of this region until 1918. The annexation of Transylvania to the "Old Kingdom" in 1918 meant for the Hungarians a perfect inversion of the social stratification. They were all of a sudden degraded to a political and (by a land reform) also an economic minority. Such an inversion could practically only be executed by a centralized administration. In the collective memory of the Romanians, as well as of the Hungarians, the former stratification is still present and functions as a psychological barrier between the two. Many Romanians believe the Hungarians are capable of regaining their former socio-economic position under decentralized conditions.
- The Hungarians have a strong cultural identity. The Hungarians in Romania have been able to maintain their language, perform an active community life with a developed organizational framework, have their own educational system, and maintain close personal and cultural contacts with neighbouring Hungary (including reception of Hungarian television and broadcasting). Furthermore,

Hungarians have a high level of cultural prestige, prompting even members of other minority groups (e.g. Roma, at times also Germans) to declare themselves to be Hungarian with official censuses or to use the Hungarian language for public communication.

- The Hungarians are also politically well-organized and well-represented by the Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR, Uniunea Democrata Maghiara din Romania/A Romaniai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség], which receives usually more votes than there are Hungarians, as counted by official censuses. The UDMR now forms a coalition with the Conservatives in the Romanian government. A regionalization of Romania would very likely lead to a majority of this party in a self-governing historical Transylvania (Fig. 7). The mainstream of Hungarian minority politics in Romania, however, is moderate, and it means going far to underly separatistic or irredentistic political goals.
- Hungarians in the Carpathian arc have been supported by Hungary since 1990 at least in the field of culture - a fact nurturing Romanian fears of Hungarian irredenta.
- This group profits economically more than many others from the open border to Hungary, one of the reform-leaders in East-Central Europe, because of their personal contacts in Hungary, their ability to communicate in Hungarian or Romanian, and by investments from Hungary (FIDRMUC 1995).

In Romanian minds these facts far outweigh, that today the Hungarian minority is endowed with only a compact ethnic territory in the east of Transylvania, far from the Hungarian border, and resides otherwise rather dispersed, and that it is a population in numerical decline (-5.5 % from 1977 to 1992).

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IX. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JOSEF RAABL

Questions concerning the EU integration of Romania with special regard to the association treaty and to the development of Romanian foreign trade relations

1. Introduction

Romania experienced an improvement of macroeconomic indicators towards the mid-1990s. Real positive growth started in 1993, quickened in 1994 and reached a high level in 1995. Simultaneously, inflation was reduced substantially, and the budget deficit remained relatively low. The current account deficit exhibited a decreasing trend in 1993/94, which reversed in 1995. The country's foreign indebtedness expanded, but remained within acceptable limits. In 1993, Romania signed an European Union (EU) Association Agreement that came into act in February, 1995, and in mid-1995, the country handed in its application for membership in the EU. In 1996, Romania suffered a considerable turn for the worse. The deterioration of the situation was substantially accelerated by a relaxation of macroeconomic policies and increased administrative interference with the economy - in particular with monetary and exchange rate policy - during the approach of the parliamentary and presidential elections that took place in November, 1996. Foreign indebtedness continued to burgeon, and its term structure worsened.

Therefore, Romania's new cabinet has begun to undertake a fresh effort towards stabilisation and reform. Romania's new stabilisation and reform program is courageous, and based on a multipronged concept, tackling practically all major financial and economic problem areas that have emerged and that require corrective action. The country has formulated comprehensive policy packages accorded with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the European Union. The standby arrangement for Romania was endorsed by the IMF Board on April 23, 1997.

2. The Europe Agreement

2.1 EU Agreements and state and problems of EU association

Romania is the first of the Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) with which the European Community (EC) established relations. It has been a general support (GSP) beneficiary since 1974, and in 1980 an initial agreement on trade in industrial products was signed. In 1991 this agreement was replaced by a trade and

economic cooperation agreement. On February 1, 1993, a Europe Agreement was signed and it took force on February 1, 1995 (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: ROMANIA:
ASSOCIATION AND EUROPE AGREEMENTS 1990-1995

	Signing	Coming into force	Application for membership
1. Trade and Cooperation-Agreement	22.10.1990	01.05.1991	
2. Europe-Agreement	01.02.1993	01.02.1995	June 1995
3. Interim-Agreement	01.02.1993	01.05.1993	

Sources: Österreich / Bundeskanzleramt / Staatssekretariat für Europäische Angelegenheiten (1995): Europa 1996. S. 46. and Weidenfeld, W. (ed.) (1997): Neue Ostpolitik. S. 159.

Although the Europe Agreements differ slightly from country to country, they all follow the same structure and their main rules are identical.

1. A first issue addressed in the Europe Agreement is the *free movement of goods*. The Europe Agreement aims at creating a free-trade zone between EU and Romania within a transitional period of 10 years. With the exception of certain categories of products (to which a transitional period applies), import duties in the EC on products originating in Romania are immediately abolished. The same applies to quantitative restrictions and measures of equivalent effect. This does not hold true in the same way for import duties of Romania of products originating in the EU. There, the exemptions are broader and the transitional period is longer.
2. Concerning the *free movement of workers*, the Europe Agreement provides, in essence, for the application of the principle of non-discrimination of workers which are legally employed in the host country. Thus, the Europe Agreement does not contain, other than the EU-Treaty, a right to work in the other country. The equal treatment principle extends to working conditions, salary, and protection in the case of layoff. Also spouses and children of persons legally employed have access to the labour market.
3. Similarly, the *right of establishment*, which also applies to joint ventures, is essentially confined to the application of the principle of non-discrimination. Establishment, in the context of the Europe Agreement, means the right to take up and pursue economic activities as a self-employed person and to set up and manage undertakings. With respect to companies, it accords to them the right to pursue economic activities by means of setting up and managing subsidiaries, branches and agencies. Important sectors of the economy are exempted from the immediate application of the right of establishment. These are: financial services,

insurances, banking, steel production, and the sale and lease of real estate. All these activities are subject to a transition period. Others are even completely exempted, such as the purchase and sale of natural resources. Moreover, in the context of right of establishment, very detailed safeguard clauses are contained. For example, safeguard measures are allowed with respect to the restructuring of industries, the drastic decrease of the market share of undertakings of one of the parties in a specific industry. However, the application of such safeguard measures is limited to the transition period and subject to consultation of the so-called Association Council.

4. Concerning the *freedom to provide services*, a gradual liberalisation shall be achieved.
5. The *freedom of payment* and the *movement of capital* shall accompany the above mentioned positions 1.-4. The parties undertook to authorise, in freely convertible currency, any payments on the current account of balances of payments, to the extent that the transactions underlying the payments concern movement of goods, services or persons between parties which have been liberalised pursuant to the Europe Agreement. The piles also cover the liquidation or repatriation of investments made in Romania and of any profit stemming therefrom. However, they only apply with respect to investments made in Romania after a transition period of five years.
6. The Europe Agreement further contains provisions on *competition and state aid*. These provisions are very closely modelled on the respective provisions in the EU-Treaty (Art. 85, 86 and 92).
7. An important chapter of the Europe Agreement concerns the *approximation of laws*. The parties recognise that an important condition for the economic integration of Romania into the EU is the approximation of the existing and future legislation in Romania to that of the European Union. In particular, the approximation of laws shall extend to customs law, company law, intellectual property, etc. In this respect, the EU shall provide Romania with technical assistance, *inter alia* through the exchange of experts and organisation of seminars.
8. Last but not least, the Europe Agreement contains a chapter on *economic cooperation*. The economic cooperation is aimed at contributing to the Romanian development and growth potential. It shall strengthen the existing economic links to the benefit of both parties. It includes, investment promotion and protection which aims at maintaining and, if necessary, improving a legal framework and favourable climate for private investment and its protection, both domestic and foreign. This is considered essential to economic industrial reconstruction and development in Romania. Importantly, the aim of cooperation in this field, is, *inter alia*, the conclusion of agreements between individual Member States and Romania on the promotion and protection of investments, as well as the conclusion of agreements concerning double taxation. Further, suitable arrangements for the transfer of capital are implemented.

9. A White Paper has been developed in an effort to better explain the expectations of the EU in terms of market reform, which formally sets out an implementation and enforcement program for the associated countries to follow in order to properly align their economies with EU standards and facilitate future integration into the EU's internal market.

2.2 Implementation of the Europe Agreement

Romania was the third associated country to present a formal application for admission (June 22, 1995). It was accompanied by two documents: a presentation of the most important elements of its national strategy for integration (goals and timing, mechanisms and resources), and a political declaration signed by all parliamentary parties. The domestic "institutional infrastructure" dealing with preparation for accession, including:

- The Inter-Ministerial Committee for European Integration, led by the prime minister;
- the Department for European Integration, a special governmental agency directly sub-ordinated to the prime minister;
- special divisions in all the ministries and agencies concerned;
- the Parliamentary Commission for European Integration (set up in July 1995), comprising 21 members and headed by a member of the formerly oppositional Democratic Party.

The first annual meeting of the Association Council (April 10, 1995, Luxembourg) has established the Association Committee's attributes and the rules of procedure, as well as the provisional agenda of its first meeting (October 12-13, 1995, Bucharest). The Committee created eight sub-committees, examined Romania's economic situation, her pre-accession strategy, and the state of implementation of the Europe Agreement. An exchange of views on the implementation of the Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Reconstruction of the Economy (PHARE) program is also envisaged. The Romania-EU Joint Parliamentary Committee held its constitutive meeting in April, 1995; the second meeting took place on October 18-19, 1995, in Brussels. The agenda of the next session of the Inter-Ministerial Committee (end of October, 1995) included debates on the conclusions reached at within the framework of the bilateral structural dialogue.

The supplementary record to the Europe Agreement concerning the opening of EU-programs for Romania came into force on August 1, 1996 (signed June 30, 1995).

The second meeting of the Association Council Romania-EU took place in February, 1996, and the third meeting of the Romania-EU Joint Parliamentary Committee was in May 1996. The second meeting of the Association Committee took place on October 10, 1996.

A new step in the Romania-EU development is the establishment of some Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), dealing with different aspects of the relations

between Romania and the EU. Experts from central and local administration, students, businessmen and NGOs may be better informed about the EU and its activities, since some information- and documentation-centres were opened up in Bucharest and other large Romanian towns.

2.3 Economic and technical cooperation: PHARE

Two important documents in regard to the PHARE-assistance for Romania were signed on September 9, 1996: the directional program 1996-1999 (ECU 440 million) and the operative country-program 1996. The Romanian authorities are satisfied that the financial resources for infrastructural projects and investment-funds for small and medium-sized enterprises were enlarged.

2.4 Development of the "structural dialogue"

The "structural dialogue" is perceived as a genuine process of learning and adaptation. Given both the existing need for sectorial expertise in the associated countries and the specific role of experts in the concrete implementation of the Europe Agreements, Romania welcomes the Spanish proposal to convene meetings of experts, prior to the ministerial ones. Romania also favours a gradual transformation from the current, half-hearted exchange of ideas, to a consistent approach, both horizontally and vertically, in each and every sector of the multilateral "structural dialogue". It is believed that in this way, a rather selective cooperation would turn into an incremental one, allowing for a certain involvement of the associates in the process of decision making.

2.5 Adjustment of national law to EU law

The process of legislative approximation entered a new stage after the Essen Summit, and especially since Romania's Europe Agreement has become operational (February 1, 1995). The "Program of Legislative Harmonisation for Integration into the Internal Market", funded by a special PHARE program (ECU 2.4 million) and prepared by the Department of Integration, is to be approved by the government. Structured on the 23 sectors stipulated by the White Book, it envisages the achievement of the most important measures for the first stage within 2-3 years, starting in 1995, with the adoption of new regulations in such fields as competition, state aid, monopolies, public enterprises, banking, and financial services. Particular attention is also paid to the improvement of the mechanisms to monitor implementation of the laws, as well as to the human resources necessary to perform this task.

3. Romanian trade within the European Community (EC)

3.1 The political framework: persistent instability

Since 1989, a geographical reorientation of Romania's trade has taken place, as was to be expected. Before 1990, Romania's trade was oriented towards socialist countries, but by the end of 1993, the countries of the EU made 45.3 % of imports to and 41.4 % of exports from Romania. This trend continued in 1994. Romania's export to the EU had risen another 31.8 % from the year before, accounting for 48.2 % of the country's export (Tab. 2). During 1995, the weight of the EU in Romanian foreign trade rose to 54.1 % of the country's exports, and 50.4 % of its imports. On the other hand, trade with the former Council for Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA) or Comecon countries, already lower in 1989 (35.1 %) than its share in the foreign trade of the other member countries, continued to decrease during transition. Energy imports from Russia still play an important role. Moreover, Romania entered into free trade agreements with the Czech Republic and Slovakia and is negotiating such agreements with other EU associates. At the same time, Romania seeks improved regional trade exchange with the Balkan and Black Sea states, and with other republics of the former Soviet Union.

Romania also boosted exports to the transition economies in the CEEC, with a 9.5 % gain in 1995. Export growth was held down by declines in exports to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) other than Russia. Romania continues to hold onto important markets in developing countries.

The export increases were also facilitated by the economic expansion in the EU, Romania's largest market, which was able to absorb more Romanian exports. In 1996, the weight of the EU in Romanian foreign trade rose to 56.5 % of the country's exports, and 52.3 % of her imports. Imports from economies in transition were more or less stagnant (Fig. 1).

3.2 Foreign trade

3.2.1 Foreign trade policy

Since January 1, 1996, all industrial products of Romania - except textiles - have free access to the EU-market. Accordingly, Romania granted preferential tariffs to all industrial products imported from the EU. All the Romanian exports are expected to be gradually liberalised. To increase the local agricultural production and to make agriculture more attractive for foreign investors, the tariffs on imports of 25 agricultural products such as wheat, sugar, butter, flour, meat and cheese were stepped up on July 1, 1995. At the beginning of 1996, live animals, feed, pesticides and diverse agricultural machines and equipment were exempted from import-tariffs.

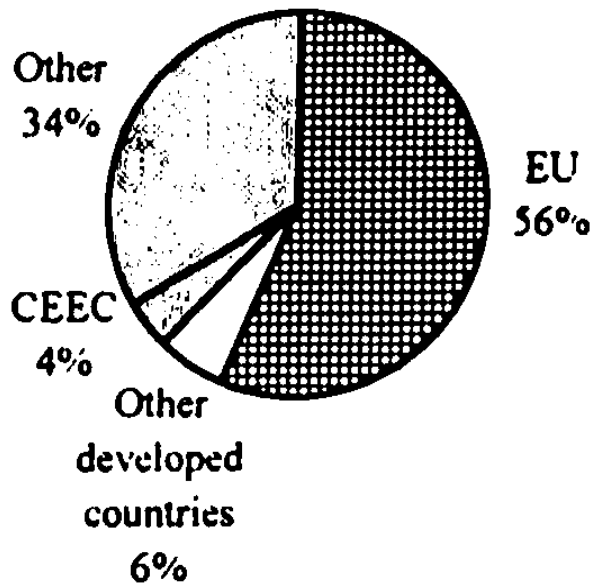
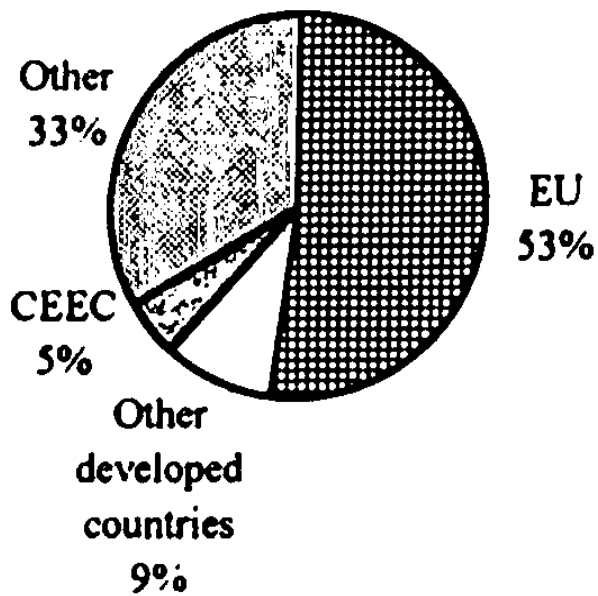
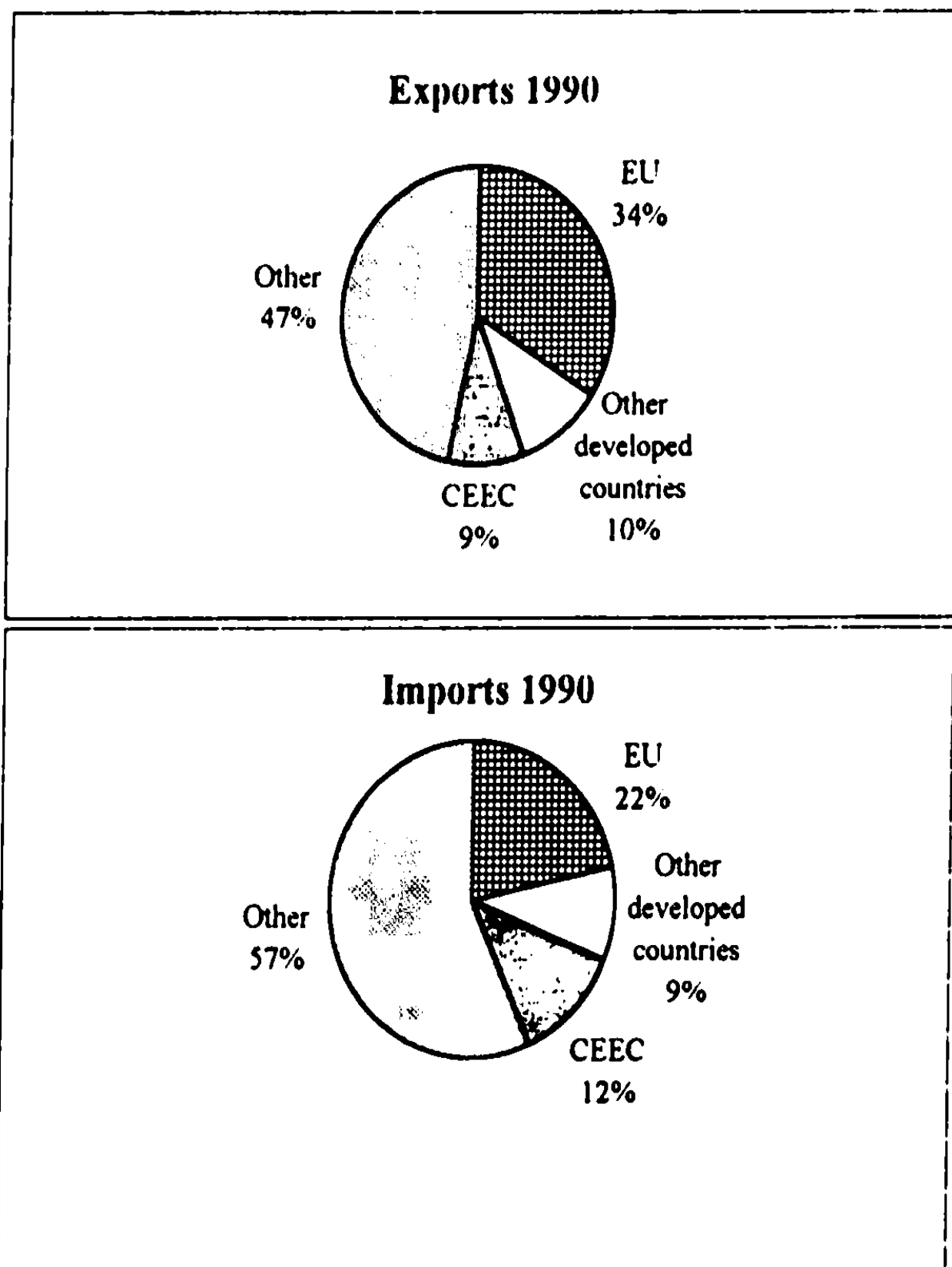
Exports 1996**Imports 1996**

Figure 1: Romania: Foreign trade by regions (in % of total)



Source: WIIW Handbook of Statistics (1997)

There are several factors which contributed to the decline in Romania's trade turnover in 1996:

- The blockage in the financial sector, caused by electoral manipulation, made it more difficult to impact raw materials such as energy.
- Because of the rapid depreciation of the leu and fall in purchasing power of Romanians, imports should fall while exports should rise in 1997. The main exception will be in the area of agriculture (poor harvest in 1996).

In the first 5 months of 1997, export rose 0.3 % to US-\$ 3,358 million. Imports fell 10.5 % in the same period, to US-\$ 4,007 million, leaving the country with a US-\$ 649 million trade deficit.

In the first 5 months of 1997, exports of animal and vegetable fats showed the fast export growth of 117 % and 15.6 %, respectively. Imports of fuels, which account for almost one-third of Romania's import, are down 14.7 % in the first five months of 1997.

In particular, the government took the following measures: On February 18, the authorities (re)liberalised the foreign exchange market, and the exchange rate policy was adjusted to program requirements. The closure of a first tranche of heavily deficit large agricultural farms and industrial enterprises was effected at the end of April. The privatisation of state-owned agricultural trading companies has started. In April 1997, the Romanian Parliament passed a revised Bank Privatisation Law, and in May, the government endorsed a Law on Bank Insolvency and an Amendment on the Law on Banking Activity and submitted these bills to Parliament. In addition, joint ventures and fully foreign-owned companies have been allowed to buy and own land necessary for developing their business activities while operating in Romania.

3.2.2 Balance of trade

After two years (1988 and 1989) with a positive balance of trade and payments, Romanian exports plummeted by more than 40 % in 1990; in the same time imports, led by imports of food and consumer goods from the developed Western states, grew by more than 40 %. After another slight decrease in 1991, Romanian exports have been increasing again since 1992, with imports staying on approximately the same level, which has led to slow decrease in the balance of trade deficit (Tab. 2).

The European Union has had a trade surplus with Romania since 1992. In 1993, the surplus had reached its maximum at ECU 0.6 billion and the cover rate was 135 %. In 1994, imports rose more than exports, so that the surplus fell to ECU 0.1 billion. This trend was reinforced with the implementation of the Europe Agreement and the adaptation measures taken following enlargement, and the implementation of the Uruguay Round results.

**Tab. 2: ROMANIA:
FOREIGN TRADE IN US-\$, BY REGIONS 1990-1996
(EXPORTS, IMPORTS AND TRADE BALANCES, CURRENT PRICES)**

	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
Exports, fob, US-\$ mn	5776	4892	6151	7910	8085
Total exports					
Annual growth rate (%)	-44.9	12.1	25.7	28.6	2.2
Developed countries	2546	2382	3446	4877	5031
annual growth rate (%)	-42.1	27.1	44.6	41.5	3.2
EU (15)	1956	2023	2965	4283	4569
Annual growth rate (%)	-43.3	31.8	46.5	44.5	6.7
CEEC	523	255	362	322	343
Annual growth rate in %	-52.5	-7.6	41.5	-11.0	6.6
Imports, cif, US-\$ mn	9203	6522	7109	10278	11435
Total imports					
Annual growth rate (%)	9.1	4.2	9.0	44.6	11.3
Developed countries	2873	3757	4296	6173	7045
EU (15)	2005	2955	3427	5185	5986
Annual growth rate (%)	71.5	14.4	16.0	51.3	15.4
CEEC	1104	332	344	559	589
Annual growth rate (%)	-9.0	-18.5	3.6	62.7	5.3
Trade balance, US-\$ mn	-3427	-1630	-958	-2368	-3351
Total					
Developed countries	-327	-1375	-851	-1296	-2013
EU (15)	-48	-932	-462	-902	-1417
CEEC	-580	-76	18	-237	-246

Source: WIIW Handbook of Statistics (1997).

3.3 Direction of trade development and commodity trade development

3.3.1 Direction of trade development

Turning to the developments in the direction of trade, extremely rapid growth in exports were registered 1993-1994 particularly to the USA (173 %), Singapore (115 %), Italy (88 %), Israel (83 %), Nigeria (66 %), Greece (65 %), Egypt (56 %), France (40 %), Germany (36 %), and Hungary (34 %) (Tab. 3).

**Tab. 3: ROMANIA:
EXPORTS TO THE TOP TEN PARTNERS 1990-1996
(CURRENT PRICES, PER CENT OF TOTAL)**

	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
Total exports, fob, US-\$ million	5776	4892	6151	7910	8085
Ranking in 1995	% of total				
1. Germany	11.18	14.30	16.06	18.14	18.38
2. Italy	8.99	8.31	12.92	15.72	17.13
3. France	3.49	4.48	5.13	5.79	5.69
4. Turkey	2.80	5.67	4.09	4.40	4.82
5. Netherlands	2.70	4.34	3.51	3.02	4.24
6. United Kingdom	2.19	3.78	3.26	2.99	3.06
7. Greece	1.48	1.72	2.30	2.59	2.19
8. USA	5.92	1.41	3.14	2.54	2.38
9. Egypt	1.38	2.06	2.57	2.52	2.88
10. China	2.62	8.56	4.48	2.27	1.15

Source: WIIW Handbook of Statistics (1997)

In 1994, Germany was the most important destination for Romanian exports, 15.9 % of the total, followed by Italy with 12.7 %, France (5.1 %), China (4.6 %), Turkey (4.1 %), the Netherlands (3.5 %), and Russia (3.4 %). In imports, notable increases took place from the following countries: Brazil (48 %), Italy (31 %), the UK (25 %), Greece (22 %), Germany (17 %), Austria (11 %), and Ukraine (also 11 %). The most important suppliers of Romania's imports in descending order were: Germany (19.2 %), Russia (13.0 %), Italy (12.8 %), the USA (5.5 %), France (5.5 %), Iran (3.7 %), and the UK (3.4 %) (Tab. 4).

In 1995, the EU accounted for 54 % of Romania's exports and 50.4 % of Romania's imports. Exports to the United States stabilised; importers of Romanian goods could operate in a more secure trading environment since the signing of a treaty making Most favoured nation (MFN) status permanent, but Germany, Italy and France remained the main purchasers of Romanian exports. Compared to 1994, exports increased significantly to the EU and the following countries: EU (44.5 %); Austria (59.6 %), Italy (56.4 %), Germany (45.3 %), France (45.2 %), Greece (45.2 %). Romania's exports to Russia fell more than 30 % in 1995, while imports rose more than 20 %: Russia was the third largest exporter to Romania, mainly because of Romania's rising fuel consumption in 1995.

Tab. 4: ROMANIA:
IMPORTS FROM THE TOP TEN PARTNERS 1990-1996
(CURRENT PRICES, PER CENT OF TOTAL)

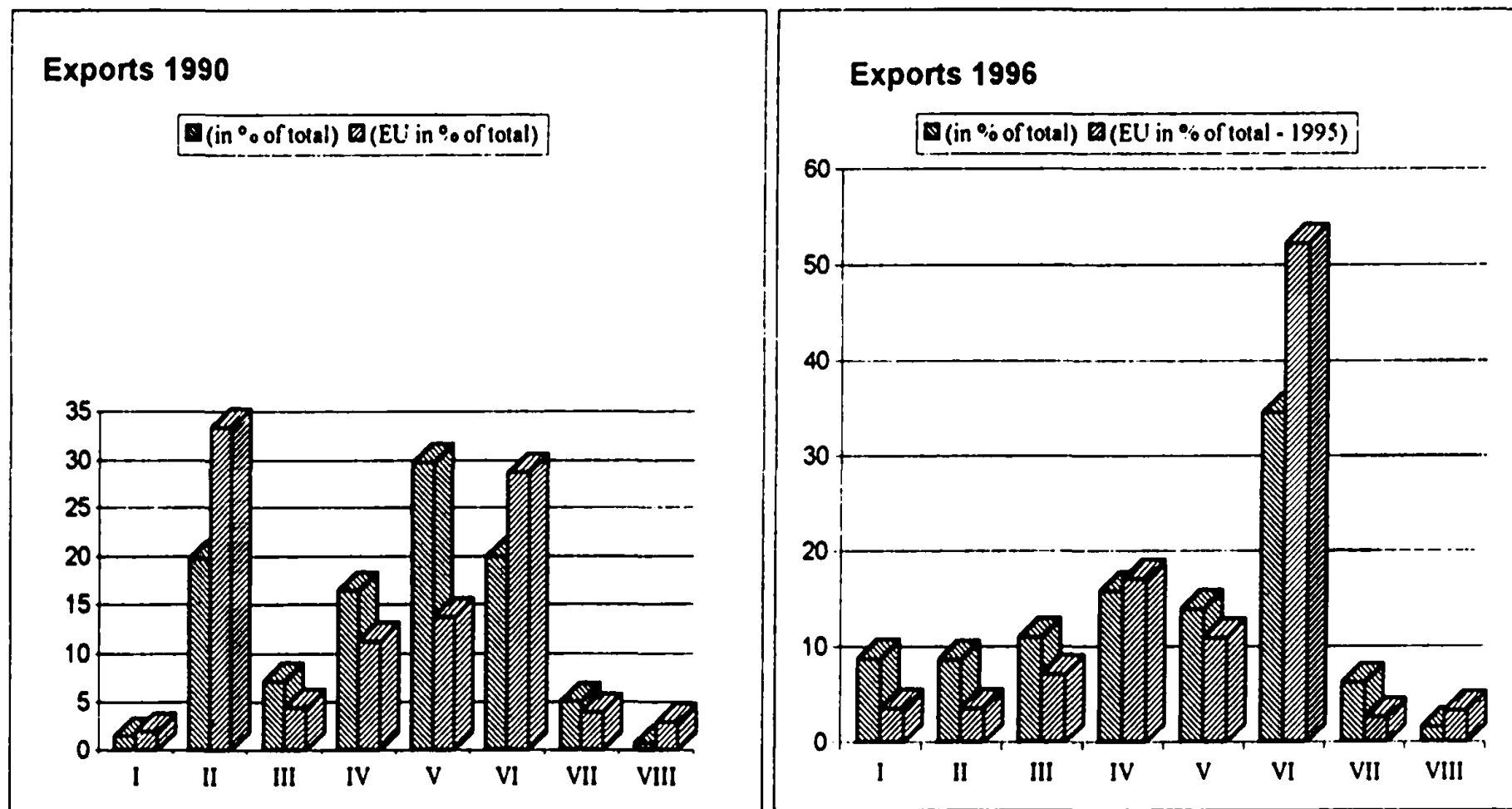
	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
Total imports, cif, US-\$ million	9203	6522	7109	10278	11435
Ranking in 1995	% of total				
1. Germany	11.73	15.81	17.98	17.54	17.56
2. Italy	1.18	9.41	11.83	13.26	15.31
3. Russian Federation	.	11.72	13.84	11.96	12.52
4. France	1.92	7.77	5.09	5.22	4.91
5. USA	5.06	5.72	6.54	4.08	4.03
6. Egypt	3.60	1.33	1.73	3.90	2.10
7. Hungary	2.42	2.57	2.35	3.06	2.53
8. Austria	1.64	2.54	2.74	3.06	3.06
9. United Kingdom	1.82	2.61	3.14	2.95	2.89
10. Netherlands	1.44	2.41	2.50	2.69	2.33

Source: WIIW Handbook of Statistics (1997)

In 1996, the EU accounted for 56.5 % of Romania's exports. In comparison to the previous year, the volume of exports to the EU grew about 2 %. However, because Romania's overall export has increased slowly, the EU's share of Romanian trade has developed at the same level. Within the EU, Germany, Italy and France remained the main purchasers of Romanian exports, even though they purchased 10-20 % less in nominal dollar terms in the first five months of 1996 compared with the same period in 1995. Exports increased significantly to the EU and following countries between 1995 and 1996: EU (6.7 %); Netherlands (43.6 %), Italy (11.4 %), Austria (9.2 %). In 1996, Germany accounted for the largest part of Romania's imports, followed by Italy and Russia.

In the first five months of 1997, Romania improved its trade position vis-à-vis the EU: exports rose 4.3 % to US-\$ 1.906 billion while imports declined 11.7 % to US-\$ 2.042 billion. Romania has also narrowed the trade gap with the United States significantly (exports +117 %, imports -22.8 %). Romania still maintains a large trade deficit with Russia because of energy imports. Imports from South Korea rose 43.6 % in the first five months of 1997.

Figure 2a: Romania: Foreign trade by Harmonised System (HS) commodity groups



I = Animal and vegetable products, foodstuffs, liquor and tobacco products

II = Mineral products and fuels

III = Chemical products plastics and rubber

IV = Base metals and products

V = Machinery, transport equipment etc.

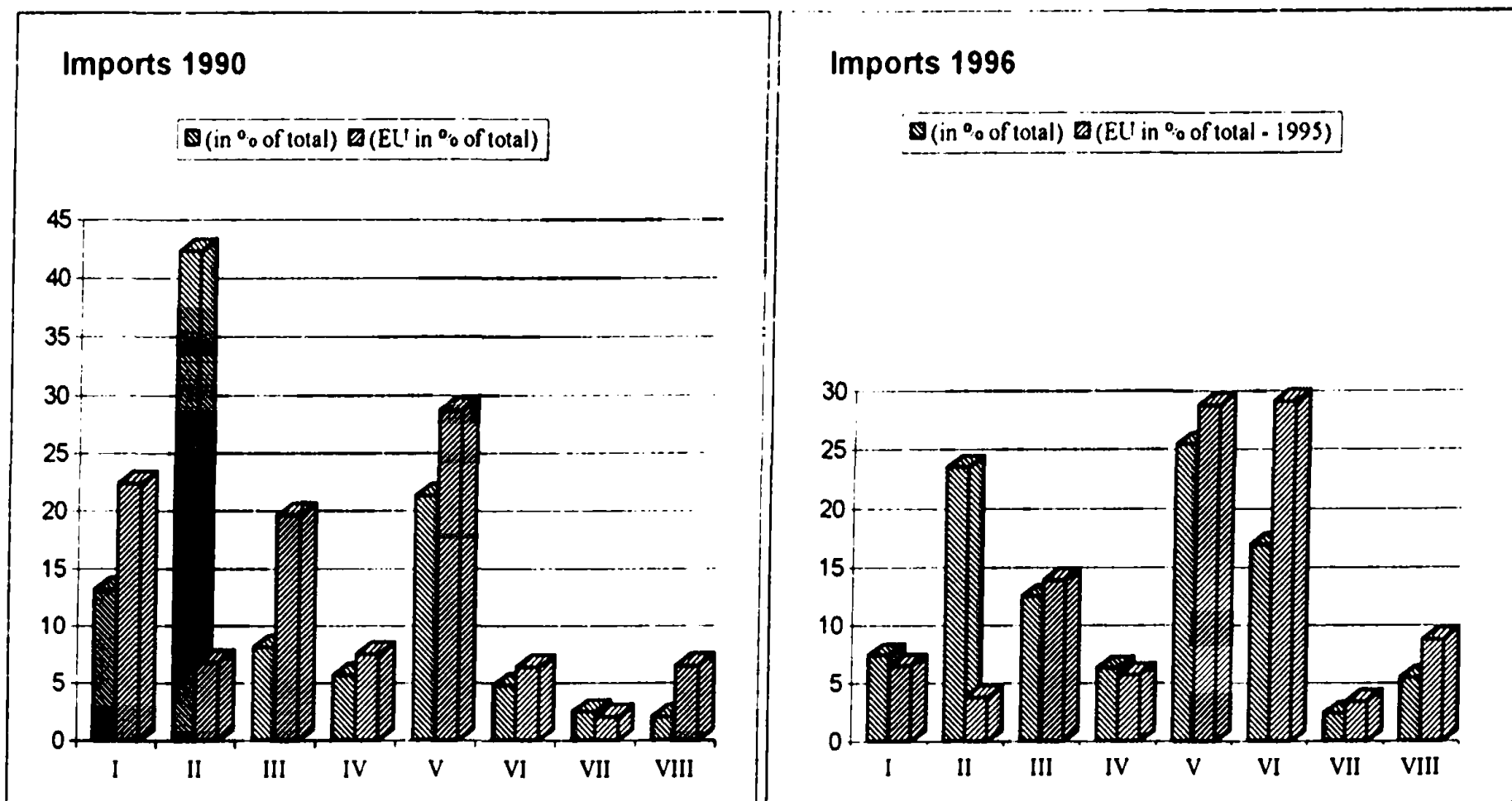
VI = Textile, leather, clothing, furniture and other industrial consumer goods

VII = Wood, paper and glass products

VIII = Other non-mentioned groups

Sources: WITW Handbook of Statistics (1997); Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1996

Figure 2b: Romania: Foreign trade by Harmonised System (HS) commodity groups



I = Animal and vegetable products, foodstuffs, liquor and tobacco products

II = Mineral products and fuels

III = Chemical products plastics and rubber

IV = Base metals and products

V = Machinery, transport equipment etc

VI = Textile, leather, clothing, furniture and other industrial consumer goods

VII = Wood, paper and glass products

VIII = Other non-mentioned groups

Sources: WIW Handbook of Statistics (1997); Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1996

3.3.2 Commodity trade development

The 22.6 % increase in Romanian exports in 1993 was quite broad-based involving most key commodity categories. Notable increases were reported for the following commodity categories (based on the Harmonised System (HS) classification): footwear and related articles (85 %), pulp and paper products (73 %), plastic and rubber products (73 %), crude hide, skins, leather, and fur products (51 %), foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco (42 %), textiles and textile articles (41 %), chemical and related products (39 %), live animals and animal products (28 %), and mineral products including fuels (24 %) (Fig. 2a).

On the import side, strong demand for imports was experienced particularly in the following product categories: e.g. miscellaneous goods and products (38 %), live animals and animal products (37 %), footwear and related articles (36 %), edible oils and fats (35 %), pulp and paper products (34 %), crude hides, skins, leather, and fur products (29 %), transport and machinery (29 %), basic metals and metal articles (22 %), textiles and textile articles (20 %), and mechanical and electrical machinery (18 %). Imports of vegetable products fell (-72 %) (Fig. 2b).

Increasing export sales were recorded for consumer goods, like garments, furniture and cars, as well as for metal products. The Romanian export structure shifted towards "sensitive products", where protectionist measures may appear on the importers' side if the trend continues.

In 1994, increased agricultural production reduced Romania's need to import farm products while the rationalisation of Romania's energy prices discouraged imports of Middle Eastern crude.

Romania's export-led growth has primarily benefited light industry. In 1995, textile and footwear exports increased, in comparison to 1994. Other important sectors in which exports have expanded in 1995 are chemicals and plastics. For the first time since the beginning of the transition, exports of textiles and clothing surpassed those of metallurgical products, becoming the single largest Romanian export commodity group.

In 1995, Romanian producers continued to capitalise on their comparative advantages in light industry, metallurgy and agriculture. Textile exports increased by 28.2 % in 1995. Other important sectors in which exports expanded in 1995 are chemicals (45.2 %) and plastics (34.8 %). In January 1996, the EU lifted duties on Romanian iron and steel exports. In the first five months of 1997, exports of animal and vegetable fats showed the fastest export growth of 117 % and 15.6 %, respectively. Imports of fuels, which account for almost one-third of Romania's import, were down 14.7 % in the first five months of 1997 (compared to the same period in 1996).

Regarding the breakdown by sector in 1994 compared to 1993, electrical equipment and machinery were the most important items in the EU's exports to Romania with a 29 % share in total exports, followed by textiles (22 % of total exports) and chemicals (7 % of total exports); agricultural products fell by 43 % compared to 1993 and transport equipment by 15 % of the exports of the EU to

Romania. Textiles were the most important item in the EU's imports from Romania in 1994 with a 33 % share in total imports, followed by base metals (16 % of EU's imports) and miscellaneous goods (11 % of imports) (Fig. 2a-b).

3.3.3 Free Trade Zones

At the beginning of the second quarter of 1993, Free Trade Zones were expected to be created in Romania at Sulina, Constanta-Agigea (both on the Black-Sea), Curtici-Arad (Hungarian border), Suceava-Radauti (Ukrainian border), Giurgiu (Bulgarian border on the Danube River) and Basarabi-Constanta (Danube-Black Sea canal). - Sulina and Constanta-Agigea were opened first. The free trade area planned at the Iron Gate in Turnu Severin is mainly aimed at interested Japanese and Korean suppliers, under the conditions that: the land remains state property, licence contracts last up to 50 years, and there are customs and tax exemptions, corresponding to Greece, Turkey or Italy.

Studies have been conducted for Danube ports, inland water, airport, road and train border free trade zones. Detailed studies have been carried out for setting up zones at Tulcea Calarasi, Calafat, Galati and Braila (all on the Danube River), Timisoara and Cluj-Napoca.

4. European Community rules concerning investment

4.1 The policy of the European Community towards the CEEC

There are two forms of assistance from the EU:

- a) direct or indirect financial assistance, and
- b) assistance through integration.

Ad a) In May, 1990, the London-based European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) was founded by the EC (12 member states at that time), the European Investment Bank (EIB), other European and non-European countries, and the recipient countries. The objective of the EBRD is to accelerate the CEEC's transition towards open-market economies. The EC developed various programs for direct financial assistance to the CEECs. The most important is certainly the PHARE-program which will be dealt with in detail below. Shortly after the establishment of the EBRD, the European Community started negotiations with several CEECs concerning the conclusion of Interim Agreements covering trade and trade related matters. The Agreement with Romania came into action in May, 1993.

Ad b) Most of the Interim Agreements have now been replaced by the Europe Agreements. Their scope goes beyond that of the Interim Agreements and they provide for a closer association of the EC with the CEECs. Europe Agreements exist today with ten CEECs (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia). There have been several

discussions of possible new members. For example, the heads of state or government of the CEECs were invited to the EC Summits in Essen (December 1994), Cannes (June 1995) and Madrid (December 1995). In January 1996, a Technical Assistance Information Exchange Office was set up in Brussels with the key purpose to assist the CEECs in bringing their national rules in line with the EC internal market. Finally, the enlargement of the EC is one of the main issues of the Intergovernmental Conference which started in 1996.

4.2 Financial assistance under the PHARE-program

The PHARE program originally only included Hungary and Poland, but now is composed of twelve CEECs. In its first phase, which lasted from 1989 to the Essen Summit in December 1994, PHARE was designed to consolidate democracy in the CEECs. In its second phase since 1995, it is intended to back economic transformation and to prepare for accession those countries already linked to the EC through Europe Agreements.

a) The various programs under PHARE:

PHARE includes a broad range and a number of different programs. Broadly speaking, the various programs can be distinguished in two ways, one of which is according to their geographical scope. For example, programs and initiatives concern all beneficiary countries (so-called horizontal programs) and others only concern a specific beneficiary country (national programs). Of those two, the latter are the most important (in 1993, 78 % of the total budget was allocated to national programs). In addition, some cross-border programs exist (e.g. between Hungary and Romania). A second distinction can be made with respect to the different instruments of aid to the reform process. The most important are investment support, know-how and investment in infrastructure.

b) Investment support for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SME):

One of the important multicountry programs in this field is PHARE's joint venture program, which is known as JOP. This program is designed to help setting up joint ventures in the CEECs between a local SME and a SME from the EU. It is designed to encourage foreign investment in the CEECs and the development of a competitive private sector. Eligible for assistance under JOP are SMEs in the EC with a maximum of 1,000 employees and net fixed asset of ECU 150 million. In addition, the Program for the Development of SMEs was launched in 1994. A special program for Romania is the "Program for SMEs and Regional Development", also launched in 1994.

c) Organisation, management and application:

In the course of the decentralisation process, national coordinators (usually a minister) were appointed in the CEECs. Their task was to supervise PHARE Program Management Units.

4.3 Foreign direct investment (FDI)

The pace of foreign direct investment into the East European countries has risen dramatically over the years 1990-1992. There are two ways of measuring this investment: either on a narrow balance-of-payment basis as net influx of cash from through the banking sector, or on a gross basis as a stock, including the stock of non-cash investments (Tab. 5a-b).

Tab. 5a: ROMANIA: TOTAL FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT 1990-1996
(STOCK, END OF PRIOD) (US-\$ mn)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Bulgaria	.	14	65	195	429	530	831
Croatia	.	.	408	696	964	1284	1600
Czech Republic	72	595	1555	2153	3191	5923	7061
Hungary	1450	3150	4850	7400	8700	13270	15300
Poland	353	600	1500	2979	4321	6832	12028
Romania	87	217	492	621	1272	1595	2209
Russia	1554	1854	2232	2900	2000	4545	6500
Slovak Republic	.	.	231	366	552	733	887
Slovenia	501	827	1044	954	1275	1643	2000
Ukraine	.	.	150	250	292	566	1400

Source: WIIW Handbook of Statistics (1997)

Tab. 5b: ROMANIA: TOTAL FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT 1990-1996
(ANNUAL INFLOW) (US-\$ mn)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Bulgaria	.	14	51	130	234	101	300
Croatia	.	.	408	288	268	320	450
Czech Republic	112	494	1004	654	869	2562	1428
Hungary	900	1700	1641	2550	1300	4570	2100
Poland	77	247	900	1479	1342	2511	4000
Romania	108	129	275	130	650	323	614
Russia	.	300	378	668	1200	2000	2000
Slovak Republic	.	.	151	135	185	181	154
Slovenia	309	340	165	139	321	367	350
Ukraine	.	.	170	1000	700	280	486

Source: WIIW Handbook of Statistics (1997)

Such investments have been quite common. The single largest recipient, Hungary, accounted for almost US-\$ 5.0 billion or 48 % of the total, with the Czech Republic running second at US-\$ 1.6 billion or 15 %. The remaining US-\$ 3.7 billion or 37 % was split among five other countries: Poland (US-\$ 1.5 billion or 15 %), Slovenia (US-\$ 1.0 billion or 10 %), Romania (US-\$ 0.5 billion or 5 %), the Slovak Republic (US-\$ 0.23 billion or 2.3 %), and Bulgaria (US-\$ 0.1 billion or 0.6 %).

The foreign investments in Romania in 1992 doubled compared with 1991. The number of foreign companies that invested over US-\$ 1 million rose significantly, and many of them put their capital into production. Thirteen invested over US-\$ 10 million each. Investors that topped the list were Shell (US-\$ 44 million), Calmag Spa (US-\$ 22 million) and Stima Engineering (US-\$ 21 million) (Tab. 6 shows the top investors as of March 15, 1997).

Foreign direct investment remained at a low level in 1993; the inflow of registered capital was US-\$ 130 million, of which only US-\$ 45 million affected the balance of payments. Both figures were below the 1992 level. The cumulative amount of US-\$ 621 million registered foreign capital between 1990-1993 was invested into almost 30,000 companies. A multitude of small ventures operated in trade and services, many of them of Near-Eastern origin. The largest investors were multinational companies which have included Romania in their world-wide operations.

The situation improved dramatically in 1994, when the inflow amounted to US-\$ 650 million. In the 4th quarter of 1994 alone, the inflow amounted to US-\$ 317 million, clearly indicating a more optimistic assessment of Romanian economic potential by Western investors. The key factor in 1994 was the entry of South Korean investors, specifically the Daewoo Company, which made an investment in the troubled Romanian automaker Oltcit (formerly a joint venture with French Citroen). With an investment of US-\$ 156 million for a 51 % stake in Oltcit (Rodae), South Korea assumed the leading place among foreign investors, outranking the United States (with total investment amounting to US-\$ 135 million), Germany (US-\$ 139 million), Italy (US-\$ 129 million) and France (US-\$ 108 million). The EU as a whole accounted for more than half of Romania's total foreign investment at US-\$ 771 million (cumulative foreign investment 1990-1994 = US-\$ 1.27 billion). The volume of capital invested in 1994, compared to 1993, increased four fold, while the number of new joint ventures in Romania increased only 25 %, from 8,432 in 1993 to 10,703 in 1994, confirming the trend towards far larger scale investments in the country. Investments over US-\$ 1 million accounted for 75 % of overall foreign investment in Romania, and these were mostly made in the industrial sector, predominantly mining.

State of foreign direct investment (1994):

There were 38,356 investors with a total capital of US-\$ 1.272 billion. Italy invested the most capital, followed by the USA, France, Germany, and Canada. Germany hosted the greatest number of investors, followed by Italy, Syria, Turkey, and the USA (for further data - Tab. 5a).

Figure 3: Distribution of FDI by industry (end - 1995)

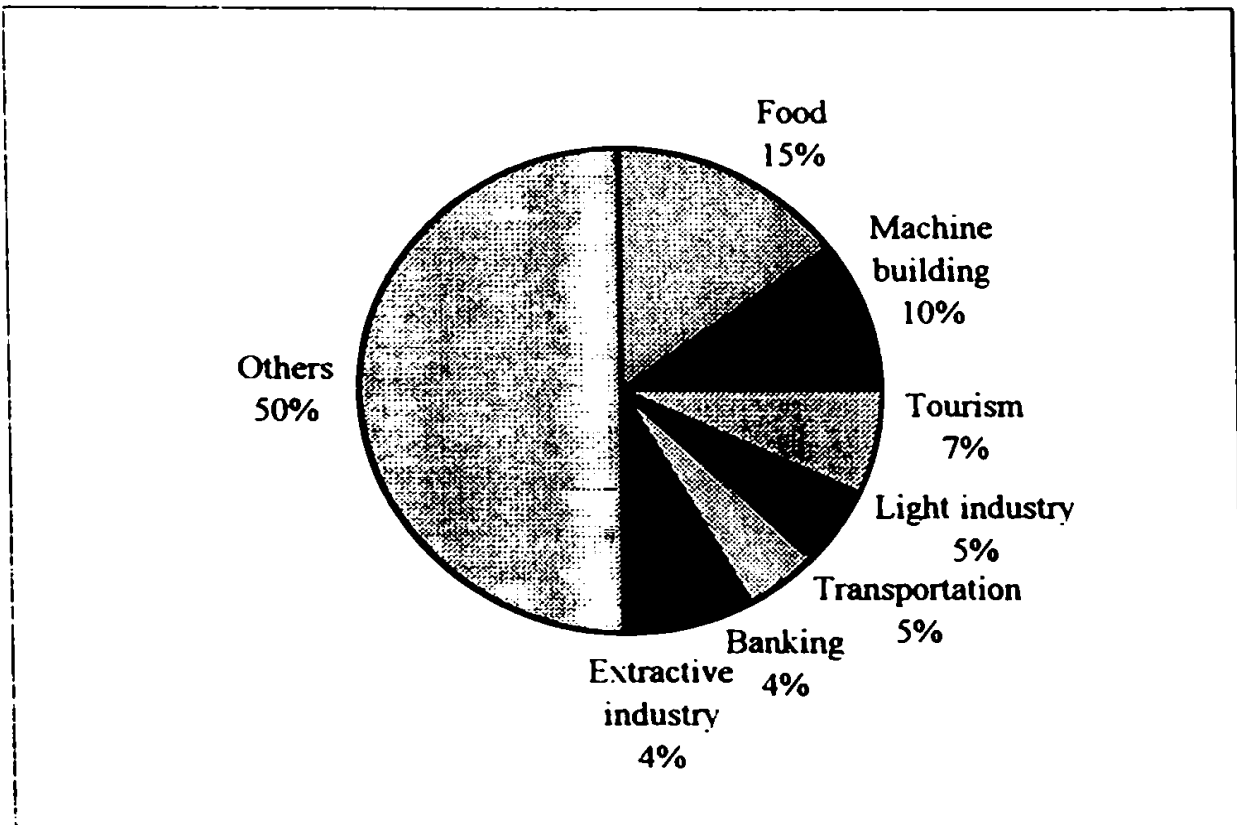
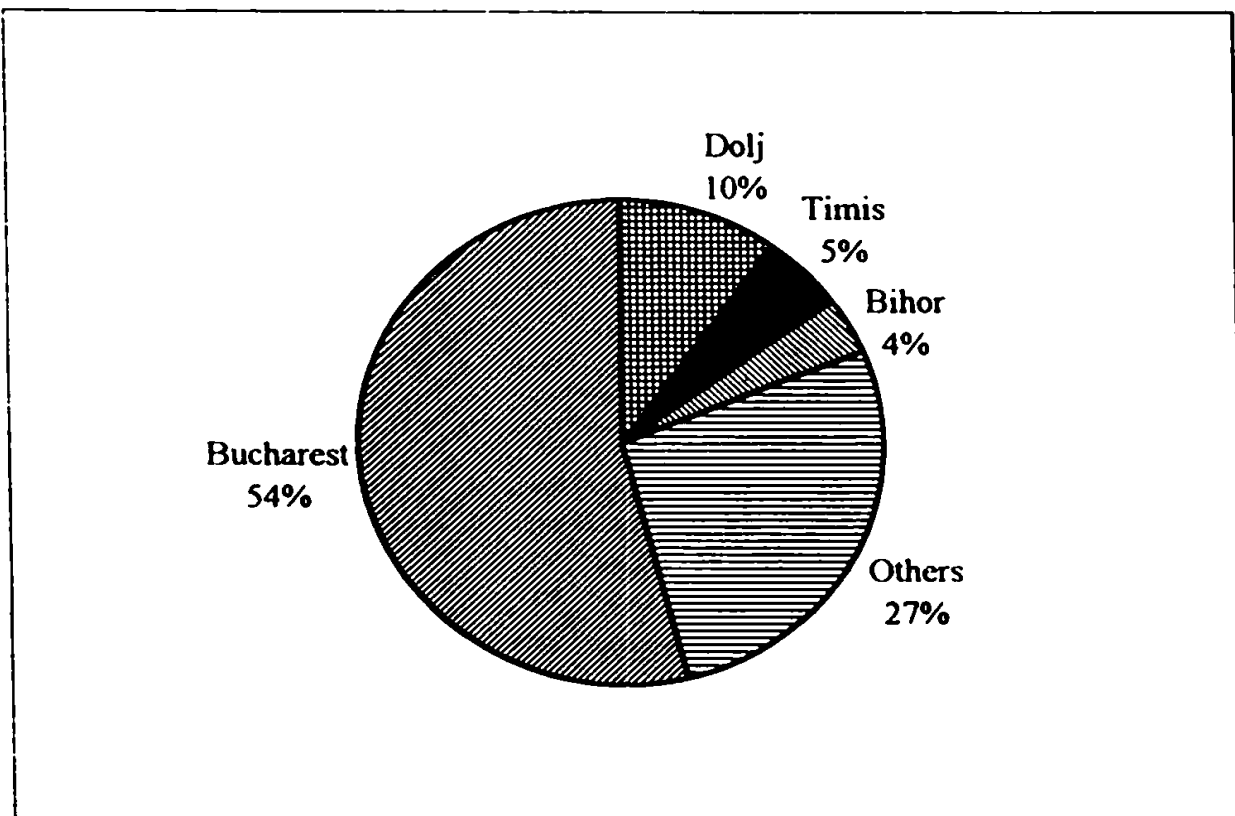


Figure 4: Regional distribution of FDI (end - 1995)



Source: Romanian Development Agency (1996), Institute for Advanced Studies

The capital investment effected in Romania was still dominated by small-size investments in 1995, but big Western companies have begun to show strong interest in the country. By the end of 1995, foreign capital investment amounted to a total of US-\$ 1.595 billion. The EU member states held first place, followed by South Korea.

4.3.1 New financial levers for foreign investors

Since July 1, 1994, export-oriented foreign investments of at least US-\$ 50 million have been enjoying a five-year tax holiday, and imports are duty-free for seven years. In the first five months of 1994, the minimum amount of foreign contribution to a joint venture was raised from US-\$ 1,000 to US-\$ 10,000, which put an end to the steep increase in the number of undercapitalised firms.

Romania's foreign investment performance in 1995 was disappointing compared with 1994, when the annual flow of foreign investment surpassed US-\$ 600 million. In 1995, the EU held a share of 51 % of the foreign capital investments and 37 % of the investing companies. The largest investor was Italy, with US-\$ 204.5 million, followed by Germany with US-\$ 183.2 million and South Korea with US-\$ 159.1 million. The most attractive sector for foreign investors became the food industry, which attracted 15.5 % of total foreign investments. The other promising sectors were machine building, tourism and light industry which attracted 9.8 %, 6.7 % and 5.4 % of foreign capital invested in Romania (Fig. 3-4). In the fourth quarter of 1995, four major joint ventures were launched, each with capital exceeding US-\$ 10 million. The largest agreement was the US-\$ 18.5 million contract signed by Shell, in which the British company pledged to build 12 gas stations in Romania. The others were concluded by the Dutch Company CME Media Enterprise, America's Kraft General Foods and Luxembourg's Interbrew International. South Korean automobile producer Daewoo remained the largest single investor. There were 42,464 joint ventures.

In 1996, foreign investment in Romania was flowing in at a pace like that of 1994. Cumulative foreign investment reached US-\$ 2.209 billion, up US-\$ 614 million since 1995. Italy, with the New Holland investment, and Germany have both edged out South Korea's US-\$ 159 million to become the two largest investors in Romania, with US-\$ 203 million and US-\$ 171 million invested respectively. The EU as a whole accounted for more than half of Romania's total foreign investment at US-\$ 984 million. There were 53,581 joint ventures in Romania in 1996.

At the beginning of 1997, the new Romanian government began to chart a course of radical economic reform. The plan of (the former) Prime minister Ciorbea liberalises the foreign exchange market, liberalises prices and accelerates privatisation and restructuring. The Romanian parliament passed legislation in mid-February allowing foreigners to own land. Privatising industry is one of the priorities, bank privatisation will also be pushed. The new government has also made progress on telecommunications privatisation. In June 1997, the government

passed a landmark law which allows foreign portfolio investment, and the free repatriation of principal, capital gains, and interest. The Bucharest stock exchange, which opened in November 1995 with 13 companies, said it would launch a long-awaited official share index in September 1997, to reflect trading trends and help investors with their market decisions. The reorganised agency State Ownership Fund (SOF, in Romanian FPS), set up in 1991 to exercise control over state-owned shares, holds a majority stake in some 6,500 state companies selected for privatisation. Examples of this privatisation: Otelinox, Romania's only stainless steel maker which has three international bidders. Five firms are bidding for Romcim, Romania's largest cement maker, three foreign companies are bidding for a 51 % stake in the Petromidia refinery, which was first put on sale in April. Foreign investments in local capital markets were expected to exceed US-\$ 1 billion in 1997.

Tab. 6: ROMANIA: TOP INVESTORS (MARCH 15, 1997)

Country	invested capital (US-\$ mn)	No. of projects
South Korea	234.9	58
Germany	218.9	5,661
Italy	191.7	5,737
USA	185.7	2,310
Netherlands	177.5	748
France	154.1	1,729
Great Britain	127.9	127.9
Turkey	108.7	4,638
Luxembourg	93.7	101
Switzerland	73.6	690

Sources: Romanian Development Agency (1997) and Investment Opportunities in Romania (1997).

4.4 Structural change and privatisation

In February, 1990, Romania started "small privatisation" in the agriculture, trade and services sectors, where small private enterprises were allowed (Decree no. 54/1990). At the end of July 1990 the Act of Parliament no. 15/1990 started the process of dissolving the big state-owned companies and their restructuring as public corporations and joint stock companies. The central industrial offices were dissolved, and the companies put in a legal position to carry out their export trade independently.

In 1991, support and protection of foreign investment were regulated by law. Amended two years later, the law provides for a sliding scale of facilities for foreign

investors corresponding to the amount of capital invested, as well as simplified customs formalities for importing equipment.

In 1992, preferential conditions were created for investment in free trade areas. In addition, statutes were passed to introduce profit tax, to fight unfair competition, to protect inventions and to protect consumers. The liberalisation of prices and exchange rates was carried out in several steps. The government has announced a new attempt to mass-privatise 2,368 trading companies from July 1, 1994, to guarantee a fairer distribution of share certificates among the citizens. Tab. 7 shows the share of the private sector in economic activity.

State of the privatisation process in foreign trade (1994):

- Share of private export companies in total exports 40.3 %
- Share of private export companies in total imports 39.8 %.

This corresponds to an increase of private exports by 153.5 % and private imports of 147.2 % compared with 1991.

Tab. 7: ROMANIA:

PRIVATE SECTOR SHARE IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY 1991-1996 (%)

	1991	1994	1995	1996
GDP	21.5	38.9	45.0	52.0
Industrial production	1.3	12.9	16.0	24.0
Agricultural production	79.3	86.4	86.1	87.0
Investment	8.1	36.8	39.3	41.6
Exports	15.9	40.3	41.2	50.7
Imports	16.1	39.8	45.4	47.7
Retail sales of goods	21.7	59.6	76.4	78.5
Commercial services for the population	29.8	44.8	73.3	74.5

Source: National Commission for Statistics (1995, 1996)

5. Regional cooperation

Regional cooperation is seen as a complement and not as an alternative to integration with the Western institutions. As a co-founder of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone, Romania insists that its main focus has to be economic cooperation. According to the decision made by the Summit of the Central European Initiative (CEI) in October 1995, Romania was included among its full members in the spring of 1996. Interested in becoming a party to the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA), Romania has already signed free trade agreements with the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Negotiations with the other EU associates from Central Europe (Hungary, Poland and Slovenia) were scheduled for

1995/1996. The association with CEFTA on July 1, 1996, benefited the Hungarian-Romanian bilateral trade relations. Other regional initiatives are: The Balkan Initiative, the Royaumont Process, and last but not least, the South-East European Cooperations Initiative (SECI), which today is working on "Border Processing". SECI, founded in December 1996, and represented by 11 Balkan countries (Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia and Turkey), is promoting the bi- and multilateral political and economic cooperation in South-Eastern Europe. Supporting members of this initiative are: the USA, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, the EU and Russia. In the frame of the second meeting of "Business Advisory Council to SECI", a symposium under the title "Development Strategies of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SME) in South-Eastern Europe" was held in Bucharest on September 10, 1997, opened up by the (former) Romanian Prime minister Victor Ciorbea.

6. Concluding remarks

The Europe Agreements are designed to be an important step in the process of a possible future membership of some of the Central and East European countries (CEEC) to the European Union. In many respects, they very closely resemble the free-trade agreements which existed earlier with some countries that are now Member States of the EU. Economic development in the CEECs is the basis for stability - and ultimately peace. Therefore, the EU will most likely continue to support the CEECs in various ways and try to achieve that a positive climate for investments of companies of the European Union in the Central and East European countries exists.

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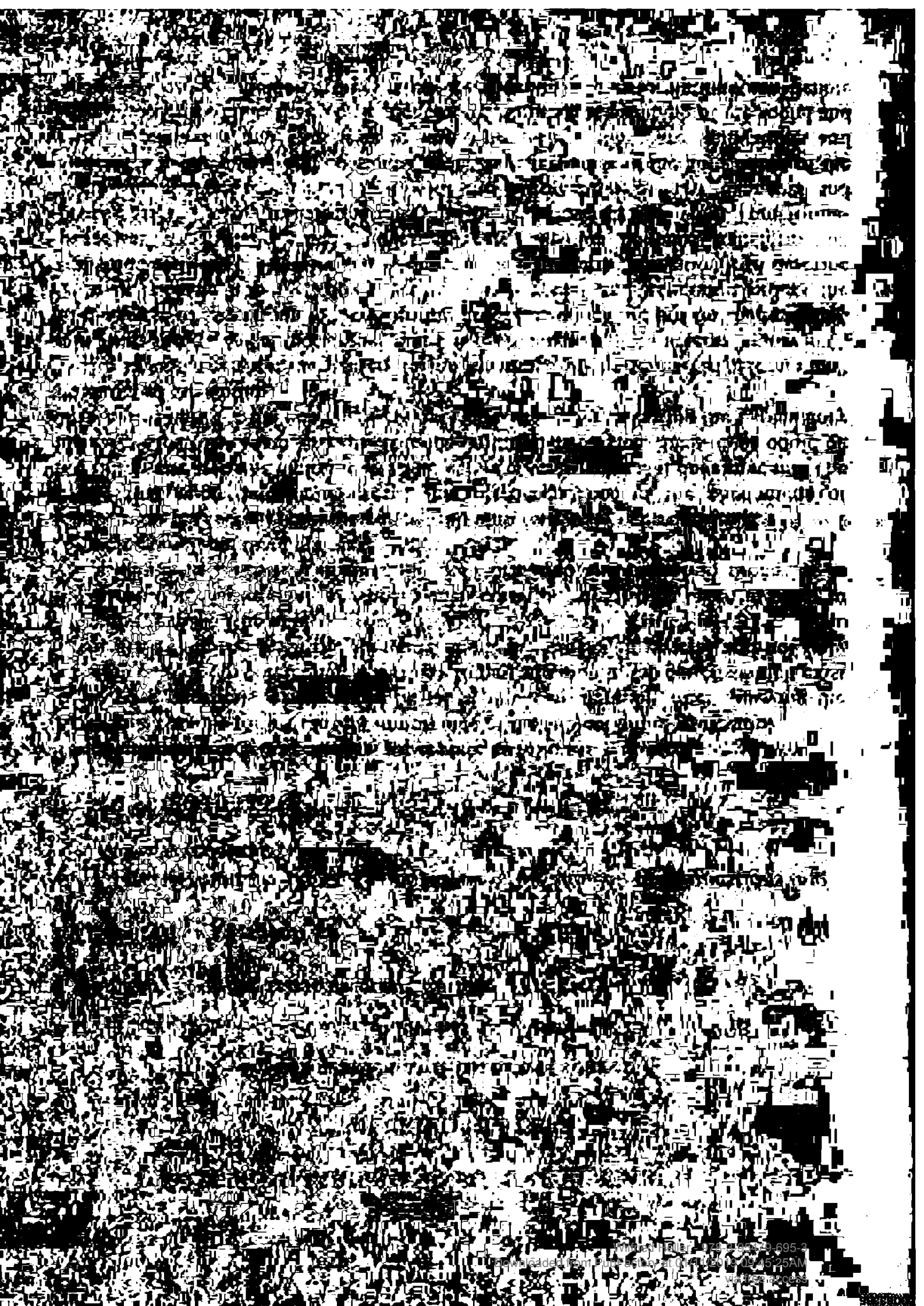
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X. SUMMARIES AND FUTURE RESEARCH

WILFRIED HELLER

Summaries and future research

1. Summaries of the separate contributions

1.1 Theoretical perspectives

1.1.1 Transformation: Current importance of the subject, open questions and research deficits

(by WILFRIED HELLER)

The intentions of this introductory paper were as follows:

1. to give reasons for the current importance of the subject of the workshop;
2. to pose questions which could be taken into consideration when studying the subject, and - in connection with this - to pay attention to the deficits which exist in general in the scientific literature about the subject in general and not only with regard to Romania;
3. to mention institutional measures which could or ought to be taken in order to influence in a positive manner the transformation and migration processes as well as regional development.

Concerning the second point the paper dealt with four main open questions:

The first open question concerns the interdependence of the phenomena of migration and transformation as well as perspectives of regional development. The author pleads for a stronger explicit focus on interdependence. Such focus could be helpful not only for the necessary inventories but also for enlarging the explanatory potential of the studies.

The second open question refers to the meanings of the terms "transformation" and "transition". The author argues that it is problematic to use the term "transition", in the sense of "transition to", concerning processes which are not finished already. This is because nobody knows yet to which social and economic orders the transition will lead. Therefore, it is better to use the term "transition", to describe processes which have already taken place. Transition contains transformation processes. The term "transformations" has been defined as following: Transformations are changes connected first with the introduction of new elements and structures in the social and economic order, and second with the adjustment of the existing elements and structures to new ones. Thus, these are innovations and adaptations, as well as their consequences, that concern the shaping of the social and economic orders, inclusive the spatial organizations. Transformations can denote

only changes of separate facts but also of very complex rearrangements and restructurings in society and in the economy. The transformations take place on different scales.

The third open question dealt with theoretical approaches to better understand transformations. It seemed to the author to be particularly useful to apply an approach which could be called "system substitution approach". This approach would be able to connect the potentials of functionalistic, structuralistic, and action theory concepts.

The fourth question was the following one: How the ideas mentioned with regard to the three questions above shall be applied to the workshop? In response to this question the author made some preliminary proposals.

1.2 Political dimensions of transformation

1.2.1 The political transformation in Romania since 1989

(by DOROTHÉE DE NÈVE)

The author picks out as a central theme the role of the political parties which are regarded as the dominant protagonists of the transformation in Romania.

The contribution of DE NÈVE consists of two main parts:

1. Political developments since 1989.
2. Aspects of the special problems of the political transformation in Romania.

In the first part the author points to the fact that the transformation in the former communist Eastern Europe differs from the transformations in other regions of the world such as those in Western and Southern Europe, Latin America and Africa, whose processes of political, economic, social and cultural transformation run concurrent to those in Eastern Europe.

The author divides the political developments in Romania in three phases:

1. The year 1989: The Ceausescu regime lost its power. That led to change in the political elite of the country, accompanied by acts of violence and euphoric support from the people. In contrast to that in other Eastern European countries, the political transformation of Romania started late. This late start was due to the fact that the Ceausescu regime had prevented the formation of relevant movements of dissident and opposition groups in the 1970s and 1980s.
2. The period from the political change in autumn 1989 up to December 1996: During this time the country was governed by the political party "Front of the national salvation" which was and is led by prominent members of the former Romanian communist party. During this period many political parties developed. The author divides these political parties into three groups: a) newly founded parties; which take their lead from Western European parties; b) historical parties; re-established parties that take up traditions from the pre-communist time; c) successor parties; heirs of the communist party.

3. The period since December 1996: Since that time the country has been governed by an alliance of conservative and liberal parties. The people elected these parties because they expected that a new government would ensure fast and painless economic successes.

In the second part of her contribution the author deals problems special to the political transformation of Romania. In the author's view the successes of transformation in Romania are small compared with successes in other Eastern Europe post-communist countries. She claims that Romania would suffer from an unprecedented economic decline. The author gives the following five reasons for the slow pace of the process of political and economic transformation in Romania. The author explains her reasons with selected examples:

1. The sultanistic regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, which exhibited an extreme kind of patrimonialism that hindered the development of autonomy in civil, political, administrative, and economic matters and a legal system of constitutional and civil rights.
2. The authoritarian egalitarianism, a kind of political culture which is a product of the Ceausescu regime and which refuses the market economy. It refuses the market economy's creation of social and economic differentiations.
3. Nationalism.
4. Economic problems that exist mainly because of the very slow processes of reorganisation and restructuring of agriculture and industry. Problems also exist because of the low level of foreign investment which is below Eastern European average, and because of corruption, white collar crimes, and poverty.
5. Political parties are the only independent protagonists of transformation. Therefore, the political parties would come under fire from the interests of political and economic power on the one side and of transformation and democratization on the other side.

In conclusion, the author emphasizes the new political, cultural, and economic structures that have been created in Romania since 1989. Especially she points to the new constitution, to the complex system of political parties, to the fact that several political elections took place, to the land reform, to the laws of development of the private sector of economy, and to the efforts to break through the international isolation and normalize the relationship with neighbouring countries.

1.3 Post-communist transformations and policies in Romania and their effects on migration

1.3.1 Post-communist transformations in Romania and their effects on migration behaviour and ideology

(by SEBASTIAN LAZAROIU)

The author takes into account the context within which the migration processes are taking place. In Romania this context was that of the transformations that took place between 1990 and 1997. Therefore LAZAROIU studies political, legal, economic, and social aspects of the change in Romania and their effects on migration in Romania.

By doing so he stresses the importance of the impact of rapid economic and political transformations on migration decision-making.

In light of this fact he compares the migration flow of the former socialist era with that in the period after the collapse of the Ceausescu regime. He highlights the following differences:

Before 1990 the country was characterized by migrations from the rural areas to economic centers. The state took measures to brake these processes, firstly by restricting the migrations into the major urban centers, especially Bucharest, and secondly by encouraging, sometimes even compelling, young people to move from urban to rural areas.

After 1989 there was first a short period (1990) when the absence sudden of immigration restrictions caused a strong migration into the large cities; but, then the pull forces of the rural area caused an inverse migration through the re-privatization of land. This re-privatization was caused by the forces pushing people out of the cities, such forces as growing unemployment. Such unemployment was a consequence of the breakdown of inefficient industry (as mentioned in other contributions of this book, too).

But the spatial pattern of the migration flows were not uniform. They are influenced by historical circumstances. That is, the better equipped regions such as Banat in the west and Transylvania in the center of the country attract more migrants. Due to this fact the author studies the migrations which took place among and inside the historical regions of Banat, Crisana Maramures, Moldovia, Dobruja, Muntenia, Bucharest, Oltenia and Transylvania. In this context he examines the influences of internal borders on migration. By doing so he differentiates between three kinds of borders: the borders of 8 historical regions, of 16 socio-cultural regions (in the sense of SANDU 1992), and of the 41 administrative counties.

It is clear that there were more short distance then long distance migrations, due to the fact that short distance migrations afforded fewer obstacles. The number of migrants who crossed county borders was greater than the number of migrants who crossed the borders of socio-cultural regions, and the latter number exceeded the number of migrants who moved between historical regions. There were also

preferred regions, mainly those in the western and central parts of the country (as already mentioned above). There were also regions more concerned with emigration, especially those regions in the eastern and southern parts of the country. Such migrations deepened the traditional regional disparities of Romania.

After giving this spatial view the author tries to find out the influences of reform processes on migration. For this purpose he uses a survey carried out by the Dep. of Sociology of Bucharest University in December 1996. The representative sample amounted to 1,163 persons. Simple frequencies show only a small percentage of people (11 %) that intended to migrate within the next five years, most into urban areas. If you examine attitudes toward migration then you notice that people who could not decide whether to migrate had favourable attitudes toward migration. That is, they would migrate if they could start a new life and had all the opportunities to choose where to live. The author guesses that some people who could not decide whether to move tried to attribute their unfavourable attitudes toward migration to a lack of resources necessary to move.

In order to receive further information about this subject the author studied the research results of SANDU (1996) concerning migration attitudes and reform orientation in 1991 and 1996. SANDU identified four relevant types of migration attitudes: mobile and stable innovator as well as mobile and stable conservative people. He found out that the percentage of people with positive migration attitudes and reform orientation decreased significantly between 1991 and 1996: from 37 to 23 % respectively from 50 to 38 %. These changes have been explained by economic development, which is perceived as unfavourable.

In the next step the author applies a cluster analysis to determine the following four types of migration behaviours: innovator non-mover (undecided to move) (13 %), conservative non-mover (41 %), conservative mover (11 %) and sentimental non-mover (35 %). The high percentage of non-movers are explained by their close ties with the local communities and by the lack of resources necessary to move.

1.3.2 The influence of economic and regional policies on migration in Romania

(by IOAN IANOS)

IANOS picks out as a central theme the multi-faceted connection between economic and regional policies and the migration phenomenon.

IANOS starts his analysis with the reflections on theoretical-methodical aspects grumbling about general principles of motives and directions of migratory flows in Central and Eastern Europe. In general you could see in the countries of this region more migrations from east to west than from west to east because the level of development of each country was generally higher in its western parts. Romania fits into this model. Bucharest, Romania's capital, is considered an exception, because it is a center for migrants, even though it is situated in the southeast of the country.

The author then deals with the question, what is the impact of the economic restructuring on both the developed and less developed regions. The latter ones would be affected in a more negative manner due to an increase in unemployment and a resumption of primary activities of subsistence. The reprivatization of land, however, would make the social and economic situations tolerable.

The consequences of the restructuring on migration phenomena have been a decrease in the numbers of commuters and in migration effectivity all over the country. A new kind of migration has been created, which is the return migration to rural areas due to re-privatization.

IANOS closes his theoretical remarks with reflections about the roles of economic and regional policies on the processes of restructuring and the migration phenomena related to them. The economic and regional policies ought to take into consideration three types of effects of restructuring: First, short term effects, such as a decrease of internal migration and an increase of external migration due to a dramatic decline of production. Second, medium-long term effects, such as resumptions of the traditional migration fluxes from poorer to wealthier regions. Third, long term effects, such as migration flows to large urban centers and to developed regions once economic restructuring has proven its economic benefits. The main motivation of the migrants of the third type was to gain higher revenues, which is different from the motivation to achieve a sufficient standard of living.

The theoretical-methodical reflections are followed by an analysis of the main stages of economic restructuring and their effects on migration. In the view of IANOS there are four short stages. The first stage is the year 1990 which was marked largely by populist economic measures. The effects have been great influxes to the large cities and a significant increase of employment in the big industrial units.

The second stage contains the years from 1991 to 1993. In this period the country had to suffer from great economic problems. The unemployment increased because the industry went down. The migration flows of that period were characterized by the reverse trend, that is an urban-rural migration which was intensified by the re-privatization of land.

The third stage covered the years from 1994 up to 1996. In this period the economic policy was to stop the decline of industry. As a result of that the unemployment rate dropped from about 11 % in 1994 to 6.5 % in 1996. Migration continued both from urban to rural areas and from rural to urban areas. With regard to the spatial pattern IANOS points to the following facts: First, the long-distance migration inside of the country declined in that period. Second, at the county level positive migration balances continued to be registered in the regions traditionally concerned with positive migratory rates. Such regions are concerned in the following order: Bucharest and Ilfov, the Banatian counties Timis and Arad, then Constanta at the Black Sea, Sibiu in Transylvania, and nine other counties of smaller positive migration balances. The highest negative migration balances continued to be registered in the peripheral regions in the following order: Maramures in the extreme north of the country, the Moldavian counties Vaslui, Botosani, Neamt and

Bacau in the east, Alba in the western mountain region, Bistrita-Nasaud in the north of Transylvania, the Moldavian counties Suceava and Vrancea and 17 other counties of smaller negative migration balances.

The period since 1997 is regarded as a fourth stage of economic policy. The new government liquidated unprofitable enterprises, cut state subventions to the mining industry, gave money to the miners if they voluntarily left their jobs and started new ones, and also pushed ahead the privatization of state-owned enterprises.

The consequences of this new policy on migration processes are not yet quite clear. It seems that the great majority of miners who received money from the state if they gave up their jobs voluntarily did not leave their residences. They did not leave even if it meant returning to the regions where they were born and investing their money there.

During the discussion about the effects of the policies on migration it was pointed out that the migration effectivity figures continuously declined since 1991 regardless of the different stages of policy. That means that economic and regional policies did not have significant impacts on migration processes. It also means that the general lack of economic opportunities rather than the policies and the different levels of regional development of the country had more influence on the decision to migrate.

At present, the government's hope is in the realization of the so-called PHARE programme (= Pologne-Hongrie Aide de Reconstruction Economique; that is a programme which initially was made only in order to support Poland and Hungary, but now it supports other Eastern European countries as Romania, too). This programme assisted in the elaboration of a regional policy for Romania. IANOS worked on this programme. The aim of the proposals is to reduce existing regional disparities. This aim could be achieved establishing eight planning regions in Romania, in order to generate and improve intercounty cooperation and to found specialist institutions capable of implementing policies of regional development. One of the most important messages of this programme is to promote growth poles and centres within less developed regions. This measure could lead to a shift from predominantly inter-regional migrations to intra-regional ones.

The participants in the discussion agreed with the fundamental ideas of this programme while discussing at length the regional dimensions and boundaries of the eight planning regions.

1.4 Regional development in the context of transformation and migration

1.4.1 Migrations and the main protagonists of transition: A stake in the development of Romania

(by VIOLETTE REY/OCTAVIAN GROZA/IONEL MUNTELE)

In the authors' view the role of the regional level concerning transformation, migration and regional development is not so clearly defined as the role of the local or the national level, even though it seems obvious that regional differences are important factors in the post-socialist development. Therefore the authors investigate the role on the regional level of following subjects: the context of transition, the new complex nature of migratory phenomena, and the development of the country.

In the context of transition it is important to look at events from the regional level. This is because, in terms of democratic liberalisation, the identity of the Romanian people expressed itself no longer only in local terms, as in the period of totalitarianism, but also in more complex ways. The Romanian people expressed a desire to return to the territorial order of things, in terms of administrative organisation, which existed before the socialist period in order to mobilise local energy and help boost development.

The authors point to the fact that freedom of movement, which existed after the collapse of the totalitarian regime, allowed for change of locality. Freedom of movement also greatly strengthens the principles of comparative advantages, the mechanisms of externalities, and economies of conglomeration. The way in which these processes continue depends on the way they are interpreted by the new protagonists of local and regional development. These new protagonists are the new farmers, the small businessmen in the tertiary sector, industrial firms, and urban and rural territorial bodies. Their interests, reasoning and ways of interpretations would be varied, contradictory and poorly known. Therefore, it would be quite difficult to make forecasts about the development.

Then the authors reflect about the term of transition in the context with the terms of transformation, change and junction. From the point of view of the authors the ambiguity of these terms reflects the complex nature of the phenomenon or process described by them. If one would pass judgement on this process which exists in the post-communist countries one should do so with greatest caution. This is because the process is new and has occurred only in a very short period of time and in a time with hardly any violence.

After these theoretical reflections the authors study four types of migration which can be observed in Romania since 1990: first, the return to one's native town and the return to the village; second, the departure of the German minority; third, the emigration abroad; fourth, the immigration to Romania.

The remarks and the information about the first type are suitable to confirm and supplement the other contributions of this book that deal with this subject.

With regard to the second type the authors draw attention to two questions. The first one concerns the social links between current southern Transylvanians (and Banatians, etc.; ed.) and the German emigrants from southern Transylvania (and Banat, etc.; ed.) who now live in Germany: This question is: Do these connections positively effect the development of these regions? Second, how do German mentalities and social habits play a role in the construction and individualisation of local identities in the regions from which the ethnic Germans emigrated?

Referring to the third type of migration the authors discuss emigration abroad in the context of global international changes of economic development and migrations as well as of the so-called "new migration of Europe", which is characterized by circular mobility. The emigrants of Romania consist primarily of two types, types that exist in other less developed countries, too: city dwelling elites and unskilled labour forces. The authors report some observations about the economic effects of these migrants on the regions of their origin. For the moment, these effects don't seem to be of great importance to the local economy.

The fourth type of migration, that is the immigration, is not very important in terms of absolute figures of migrants, even though their presence affects trade, especially in Bucharest.

It seems necessary to mobilize local and regional protagonists in order to induce and promote regional development. At present time endogenous development measures seem more successful than exogenous ones. In Romania, as in the other former socialist countries, regional development "from inside" is a completely new occurrence. The other new condition by which Romania's regional development is confronted is its opening up to international exchanges. The authors show in their reports three examples of how these new conditions have been taken into account. By doing so the authors emphasize the significance of the pre-socialist spatial structure to present structures and to the future regional development of Romania.

In the authors' view giving priority to local development could be a starting point for regional development. They demonstrate from concrete examples how regional development could be stimulated and supported. But despite the close attention they pay to local protagonists such as new farmers, small business men, doctors, lawyers, and teachers, they don't ignore the national and transnational protagonists of, for example, state authorities, large enterprises, and foreign investors. Between these two categories there should be strong regional protagonists such as institutions that make economic and regional policies. The term "regional" refers to an area which is situated, concerning its size, between a county and its localities on the one side, and the country on the other side. To date institutionalised regions do not exist in Romania. In the authors' conclusion, they state that the regional stake should be built at the junction between the endogenous and the local, as well as between the exogenous and the international protagonists.

1.4.2 Human resources for regional development in the Romanian Carpathians

(by DAVID TURNOCK)

As introduction to his contribution TURNOCK depicts the natural population movement and the internal migrations of Romania from the late 1980s to the middle of the 1990s. Both kinds of movements have been characterized by decreases, such as those we see in other parts of this book as well. The agriculture became more attractive because of land restitution and a return to peasant proprietorship. So, the number and share of agricultural population increased; nevertheless, the rural economy is weak. The author emphasizes the fact that agricultural production has declined and that agriculture is often based on subsistence economy and small farms.

The aim of this contribution is to study "the prospects of development in some specific rural settings in the light of the human and physical resources" (TURNOCK) using the example of the Romanian Carpathians. The Carpathians comprise 40.1 % of the country by area and 31.8 % of the population (1992), if you add the adjacent mountain regions to their total area. They consist of distinct economic and cultural zones in view of a strong pastoral tradition of mining and processing industries (food and timber) and of more diversified manufacturing profiles in large cities such as Brasov and Cluj-Napoca.

The data presented relate to the census returns of 1966, 1977 and 1992. The Carpathian counties studied are grouped into three sections: east, south and west. Each of these sections is subdivided further into the "inner" (Transylvanian) side and the "outer" side. The counties of the eastern outer side belong to the historic region of Moldavia, those of the southern outer side to Walachia, and those of the western outer side to Banat and Crisana.

With regard to these regions the author analyzes changes of urban and rural population, active population and employment. He points to great regional differences. In addition to analysing the whole Carpathian region, the author studied the following seven sample areas across the Romanian Carpathians: Lapus area in the north (Maramures), Toplita in the east (Transylvania), Nehoiu area in the southeast (Buzau-Urancea Subcarpathians), Lotru area in the south (Oltenia), Retezat area in the south (Transylvania), Resita area in the west (Banat), and Aries area in the west (Apuseni mountains). These studies are based on data collected on a commune file basis during the years of 1986 and 1992. With regard to these survey areas the author analyzed, using 27 statistical indicators, changes of demographic features and of migrations, of economic characteristics and of the quality of infrastructure.

By doing so the author found out sharply contrasting situations, although all areas suffered from unemployment and poor infrastructure. Using the results of the statistical analysis and studies already published (mainly studies of Romanian geographers) TURNOCK offers many ideas and proposals which show what could be done to promote rural development.

One of the most important measures to take is to improve the central place system, which is underdeveloped within the East European phenomenon of underurbanisation. The network of small towns seems to be inadequate. Better equipped small towns are needed as centres of information for rural enterprise, and they ought to be better integrated into large cities. The development of a mixed economic profile for the villages ought to be intensified. As a whole, the proposals focus on a better use of endogenous potential. In this context tourism is seen as offering significant potential in the mountains. Moreover, there would be a great potential for farm-based community tourism. It seems that ecological concerns become more and more important with regard to rural economic development and to sustainable development. All in all, the author reports on many regional development plans and programmes as well as on the trend of cross-border cooperation between Romania, Hungary, and the Ukraine.

With regard to the development of human resources of the mountain area in Romania, as in Eastern Europe, the author refers to different stages, which reflect different stages in the demographic transition. In some areas the human resources would be weakened, in others they would have remained strong. The latter ones could offer a hopeful basis for development measures. It seems necessary that the local centres and the small towns within the mountain area be supported by state and other institutions. This is because a strong rural-urban migration could start again once the urban conditions improve. An advantage for large cities would be a disadvantage for mountain areas, which would lose human resources.

1.5 Problems of rural areas

1.5.1 Migration, socio-economic transformation and perspectives of regional development in the rural areas of Romania:

Report on a German-Romanian research project

(by WILFRIED HELLER/TRAIAN ROTARIU/ELEMER MEZEI/MARIA DAN/
RUDOLF POLEDNA/AUGUSTIN PERVAIN)

1.5.1.1 Introduction

(by WILFRIED HELLER)

HELLER introduces his research project, explaining the procedure of treating the subjects, the selection of the research villages and counties, and the structure of the report. The project is not yet finished. At this publication preliminary results are presented, with the three following contributions.

1.5.1.2 Internal Migration in Romania (1948 - 1995)**(by TRAIAN ROTARIU/ELEMER MEZEI)**

ROTARIU/MEZEI attempt to capture the intensity and structure of the flows of migrants, and the changes of these flows during the post World War II period. The main emphasis is put on migration in order to demonstrate the impact of the political change in December 1989 on the territorial mobility of the population. For doing so the authors use two main types of data: first, census data, which compares the place of residence with the birth place, and second, data obtained by processing current information on the changes of permanent residence or domicile.

This study is divided into four chapters:

1. The first chapter contains detailed conceptual and methodological information concerning the use of the data. Moreover the authors show fully in which manner they will arrive at explanations of the migration processes. They attempt to mix an "individualist" explanatory view with a "holistic" one. But within the empirical parts of the study they concentrate on applying the holistic (or structural) approach. For this reason they focus on the migration between areas where the differences of quality of life are evident, as shown by structural indicators.
2. In the second chapter the authors present some elements of the social framework, that influence migration processes. In addition, they analyze a series of data concerning the population and the demographic phenomena in order to assert connections to migration.
3. In the third chapter they describe the evolution of gross internal migration and the exchange of population between the rural and the urban areas. Here it is especially worthwhile to note that four flows of migrants during the period 1989 - 1996 are studied. First, the flows from urban areas to other urban areas are studied. Second, the flows from urban to rural areas are studied, third, the flows from rural areas to urban areas, and fourth, from rural areas to other rural areas. The trends of evolution are the following: the increase of migrations between urban areas, from urban to rural areas, and between rural areas, and the decrease of migrations from rural to urban areas. The main reasons for these trends are the following: First, more and more of the urban labour force lost their jobs, particularly in industry, as a result of the economic restructuring. Second, the cost of living in the cities increased. Third, more and more young couples could not find housing. Fourth, the reprivatization of land and agriculture attracted inhabitants of the cities to return to the villages where they were born or where their parents or relatives came from. Due to the reprivatization people were able to become land owners and therefore survive for the short and medium terms. Starting from this point the authors discuss the negative and positive effects of the urban-rural migration on migrants, on the national economy, and on the rural areas. Here only the fact that this kind of migration leads to a rejuvenation of the rural population will be mentioned.

4. In the fourth chapter ROTARIU/MEZEI analyze the inter-regional migration on the scale of counties and historical regions. In doing so, they give a clue to the inequalities of conditions in the different parts of the country. The most important intercounty flows of migrants exist between the southern and eastern areas of the country, which belong to the historical regions Muntenia and Moldavia, and Bucharest and other big economic centers of the country. Migration flowed particularly toward western and central parts of the country, parts which belong to the historical regions Banat and Transylvania. From this flow it can be concluded that inter-regional migration processes deepen traditional regional disparities.

1.5.1.3 Analyses of the selected research regions and local case studies

(by MARIA DAN/RUDOLF POLEDNA/AUGUSTIN PERVAIN)

To introduce their analyses of the selected research regions and local case studies, the authors point out, by using the UNO Index of Human Development (IHD) that Romania has a moderate level of development in comparison with that in other countries. Among 175 countries Romania occupies the 79th rank in 1997. However, social circumstances in the country are unstable. An indicator of such instability is the fact that Romania's ranking in the IHD continuously worsened over the last few years, as the rankings of all former communist countries in East and South-East Europe did. In this sense the frame conditions for regional development in Romania are unfavourable.

But Romania's regional development shows great variety, which the research team took into consideration in the selection of regions and villages to study. In order to give an idea of such variety the authors present a short statistical analysis concerning the different development levels of the chosen counties in the years 1965, 1985 and 1995.

To understand Romania's regional development it is also necessary to take into account the deep changes in the economic and social systems which affected Romania after 1989. For this reason the authors give a short description of the main lines of restructurings. Such a description includes the presentation of statistical data on the development and structure of labour forces in different economic branches. Because agriculture plays an important role in the restructuring period, the authors present information not only on labour forces but also on the numbers and sizes of agricultural enterprises. It seems obvious that the shattering of agricultural land caused by reprivatization cannot be an economic solution for the future.

The case studies concentrate on demographic aspects and migration flows as well as on economical and labour force structures. Some information about the ten selected research villages is integrated into them. These studies give a concrete idea about characteristics of the spaces in which the interviews of 1,000 private households have been carried out in the frame of this research project. The answers

given during these interviews will be analysed by HELLER in the contribution which followed after the paper of DAN/POLEDNA/PERVAIN. It is the task of these case studies to give some information which could facilitate an understanding of the experiences and assessments of the transformation from private households' point of views as analyzed by HELLER.

In general the case studies show that the different counties and villages experience different changes in demographic structures and migration flows. The counties of positive net migration rates are the counties in which there are situated large and dynamic cities like Bucharest, Timisoara, Constanta and Cluj. The villages situated near these centers are affected in a positive way in terms of their demographic development and migration processes, whereas all small and peripheral villages are handicapped - even those which are situated in the favoured counties.

1.5.1.4 Experiences and assessments of the transformation from private households' point of view

(by WILFRIED HELLER)

The experiences and assessments of the transformation from private households' point of view have been assessed with the help of 1,000 standardized interviews in the ten villages mentioned above. The presentation of the results have been carried out by the answering of the two following questions:

1. What are the real changes for the interviewed persons since the collapse of socialism in December 1989?
2. How the changes by the socio-economic transformation are perceived by the interviewed persons?

Concerning the first question:

1. The occupational situation and the social mobility in the countryside have been strongly influenced by the collapse of industry in the towns and cities. Primarily industrial workers who used to commute between village and city have lost their places of work. A relatively high percentage of women has lost due to the transformation. Many of people who've lost have been absorbed in a way by agriculture, due to the reprivatization of land. But up to date the economic results of individual farms are modest. Beside individual farmers a new social group in the countryside is composed of small business employers. More research is necessary to judge exactly their economic successes. It is not possible to define clearly group of winners.
2. The economic structural changes caused many changes of the place of work. But these moves are not connected with a strong urban-rural migration.
3. As a result of the reduction in rural-urban commuting public traffic as a whole has diminished; but, individual traffic has increased due to the growth in the number of private cars.

Concerning the second question:

1. The interviewed persons have more negative than positive views about the effects of the socio-economic transformation on their own living conditions.
2. The interviewed persons perceive the changes of their environment even more critically than the changes of their own living conditions. The worst assessments are regularly made in the small and peripheral villages.
3. Although of the rural population a high percentage has become uncertain and resigned there is yet no reason to say that this population is lethargic and is not interested in public matters and questions.

1.5.2 The development of Romanian agriculture since the land reform in 1991

(by ELISABETH TOMASI)

The author proceeds in four steps:

1. She compares Romania's agriculture with the agriculture of other post-communist Central European and East Central European countries in order to understand the position of Romania's agriculture. For this purpose the author uses much statistical data. In comparison to its role in other countries, agriculture plays a more important role in Romania. Especially the plant sector of agricultural production has increased since 1990.
2. She describes the development of Romanian agriculture since 1990 in a detailed manner, based on official statistical data. By doing so she takes into consideration the different natural conditions for agriculture in the different regions of the country. The differences in the natural conditions are caused by plains and hilly and mountainous regions.
3. She focuses on the structure and economy of the private sector of agriculture. The private sector includes individual farms, family associations, and formal (juridical) associations. The analysis is based primarily on a sample survey carried out all over the country by the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture and Food in December 1996. This survey gives information about the social structure among farmers and the pattern of land tenure according to types of land use (that is in mountainous, hilly and plain regions) and agroregions. The survey also gives information about the management of the property of the private farms (that is individually, formal and family associations), the average sizes of the private units, and the average yields of main crops within agroregions. It is interesting to note that, according to the survey, 51 % of all individual farmers did not bring products to the market. This means that in this case production is used for personal needs; therefore, this agriculture is, to a great extent, a subsistence economy. This information is congruent with the observations made by the other authors of this book, who also took into consideration the rural economy, though not in such quantitative detail.

4. The author examines some aspects of the interrelation between agricultural management and questions of environment, consequences of reduced farm sizes, and consequences for the ecological environment of the decrease in input of chemical fertilizers. As a whole, the ecological consequences are positive. The economic consequences are worth discussing, due to the fact that there was no significant correlation between more input of fertilizer and higher agricultural yields; therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration other factors concerning the efficiency or non-efficiency of fertilizers.

All in all it seems that agriculture will remain a main economic and political issue in Romania, due to the fact that the value and share of the number of labour forces of agriculture are at present and will be for the near future relatively significant in relation to the whole economy of the country. Concerning the general subject of the book, it is important to note that the agricultural population represents a high potential of migrants to the urban economy who will move if the urban economy improves and offers more job opportunities.

1.6 Problems of urban areas

1.6.1 Recent urban development and migration inside, into and out of Bucharest

(by JOACHIM VOSSEN)

It is the explicit aim of this contribution to study the spatial urban development and population shift in Bucharest from 1977 until 1997. The study is conducted in the context of transformations. That means that the author applies the term of transformation not only to the period that takes place since the break down of the communist system, but also to the structural remodeling of the city that took place before. For the purpose of his study the author defines transformation as a complex process, more than just a change in individual structural elements. In his view it is a process founded on a predominant central idea.

In the first part of his contribution the author focuses on spatial urban development. He starts with the depiction of a large variety of totally different urban and physiognomical elements. Such elements include caravanseries with an oriental character, basar-like alleys, West-European influenced boulevards and hotels of the 19th century, parade streets, representation constructions, typical satellite towns of the socialist period, modern age buildings, and single-family housing typical of the period after the collapse of the Ceausescu regime. Each different socio-economic period left traces of their typical features. The author emphasizes the importance of the earthquake of 1977, because on this occasion Ceausescu ordered the reconstruction of the inner city of Bucharest without consideration for the existing structures of the city. About 40,000 people were forcibly located from the old inner city to outer districts. The old quarters were demolished and replaced by a parade

boulevard and buildings for the Ceausescu administration and the nomenklatura. The years after the political change were characterized by a chaotic urban development; but, in 1991, the first attempts toward new, organized city planning were made. The author describes the most important measures and steps of planning as well as the main problems of recent urban development. In doing so, he pays special attention to the most recent developments in the urban center area, due to the fact that this area is one of the most dynamic ones in the city and is highly important for the city's identity. The author points to the remodeling of the parts of the city that remained untouched by the Ceausescu regime and refers to the development of the tertiary sector. This sector was earlier and more concerned than other sectors by the transformation of socialist structures toward those in a market economy.

In the second part of his contribution the author deals with the question of how the migration developed during this period. The author stresses the fact that the migration should be understood in context, that Bucharest represents a primary city. As a consequence of its prominent status, migration in Bucharest is dominated by in-migrations. The highest peak of in-migration was registered in 1990, because in-migration restrictions in Bucharest were abolished after the collapse of the Ceausescu regime. But after 1990 in-migration decreased and out-migration intensified due to the crisis of urban economy, housing shortage in the city, increases in prices of nearly all amenities of daily life in the city, reprivatization of land in the countryside. This process that coincides with the overall situation in Romania went hand in hand with a natural rate of increase of population that was highly negative and that caused a decrease in the total number of population.

Concerning the origin of the migration fluxes the census data of 1992 show the following picture:

1. The closer a county lies to Bucharest the more migrants come from there.
2. The less economically developed a county the more migrants come from there.
3. The factor of distance is more important than the factor of development.

In terms of the direction of the out-migrants of Bucharest, the factors of distance and development are most significant. In contrast, the factor of distance is not as important a factor as the factor of development. This is because the more economically developed a county is the more migrants go there, as long as the distance between origin and destination locality is not too great.

Unfortunately the available data resources don't give information about the intra-urban migration of Bucharest, except about the total number of migrants between the six sectors of the city.

1.6.2 Changes in the hierarchy of Romanian towns

(by FRANK-DIETER GRIMM)

The author points to the fact that since the collapse of the communist regime fundamental transformations affecting the hierarchy of Romanian towns cannot yet be calculated because they need more time to develop. Therefore, to this date there have occurred only small changes in the urban hierarchy. It is difficult to describe these changes in exact terms. The author refers to a study of IANOS (1996) concerning the urban hierarchy; he reports on the tendencies which are suggested with regard to the changes of this hierarchy, he confirms the findings of IANOS with some comments, and he compares the suggested tendencies for Romania with recent developments in other post-socialist countries in central and eastern Europe.

1.7 City-countryside relations

1.7.1 The collapse of "navetismul" and the redefinition of town-country relations in Romania - the example of the Arad county

(by BÉATRICE VON HIRSCHHAUSEN)

"Navetism" is the Romanian word for the description of daily or weekly commuting during the socialist era. VON HIRSCHHAUSEN uses the Romanian word, because "navetism" was a centrally planned movement on a collective basis, and not a kind of voluntary regional mobility. Since the political change the migratory pattern has completely changed. The system of "navetism" collapsed due to the decline in the urban economy, especially in industry. Mainly the commuters from the rural area have had to leave their places of work in the towns and cities, and have been forced to live off of what they can earn from the small farms in the villages, as was already mentioned above. In contrast to these studies VON HIRSCHHAUSEN studied "the effects of such a far-reaching phenomenon on the future of village societies and village economies" (VON HIRSCHHAUSEN). The county of Arad (Banat) is selected as regional example.

For the purpose of a better understanding of these effects the author gives an overview of territorial organisation and commuting in socialist Romania. One of the main intentions of the socialist system was to change the peasant population of the villages into a worker-peasant population and equalize life in the countryside, towns, and cities. But these intentions have not been realized, above all because of the inefficiency of the socialist system.

After giving an overview, the author changes his spatial scale and describes briefly the development of one of the communities of the Arad county from the 18th century up to present. The community of Semlac at the Hungarian border is also studied as a local example.

The author then analyses the different agrarian types of farming (agricultural companies, family associations and individual farms), demographic features such as age structure and birth rates, and the employment of the labour forces in different sectors of the economy (agriculture, industry, construction, services, other). She makes her analysis in each commune of Arad county based on data of the statistical office of Arad (1994) and of the national census of population (1992). In doing so the author intends "to understand more generally the link between the future of local farming and regional factors". She found great regional differentiation, which she explained with the variety of the county's topography and the contrasts in its population distribution.

In order to demonstrate regional differentiation the author applied cluster analyses. In general, the result was as follows:

The more unfavourable the physical conditions for agriculture and the opportunities of non-farming employment the more individualistic the agrarian types of farming. Also the more unfavourable the conditions the older the population, the lower its birth rate, and the bigger the share of labour forces occupied in agriculture.

If you look at the maps made by the author you see a division of the county area into two parts: the east, where physical conditions are determined by the Carpathian foothills and the west, where physical conditions are characterized by the Banat plain. In the east, you find more individualistic agrarian types and other correlated features mentioned above. In the west, there are more "neo-collectivist types" (agricultural companies and family associations). Concerning regional variety it is important to mention that the main city of the county, Arad, which offers a wide range of jobs in the second and tertiary sector of economy, is situated in the western part of the county.

The author concludes that regional disparities have increased significantly since the political change. This is because the number of rural-urban commuters has decreased. This phenomenon is the reason for lower income in those rural communes that are disadvantaged by the physical conditions for agriculture. In order to solve this problem it is necessary to make new links between rural and urban areas. The countryside must get new chances to use the economic opportunities of the cities and "to take up the challenge of adapting to modern life" (VON HIRSCHHAUSEN).

1.8 Questions of regionalization and decentralization in Romania

1.8.1 Regionalization and decentralization in Romania - opportunities and obstacles

(by PETER JORDAN)

Contemporary Europe is characterized by two concurrent economic and political processes. One is a process of economic and political integration of the countries. The other are trends of regionalization and decentralization. It seems that as countries give up their self-sufficiency in favour of European integration, regions gain importance. JORDAN asks whether Romania, as a candidate for European integration, would be able to respond to this trend.

In arriving at an answer the author asserts as a central theme two contradictory facts that characterize Romania: on the one hand great natural and historical diversity, on the other hand the country's tradition of administrative centralism. JORDAN describes the periods of duration of the internal and international borders of the different parts of the country during its history and points to the importance of natural diversity in this context. The Carpathian arcs, which act as a natural border, are an example of the importance of such natural diversity. Natural and historical diversity, however, did not prevent the development of administrative centralism in Romania. Already in 1859, the unification of the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia generated centralism in the country.

The country had by the 19th century already been divided into many counties. But decentralization is not present in the great number of counties, for example in 32 counties in 1878, 58 counties in 1938, and nowadays 41 counties. In the contrary, the counties were and are not more than instruments of the central state administration. Never in history has an attempt been made to accumulate groups of counties to regions which would have had more influence than counties. Also, the creation of 16 regions in 1950, carried out according to the Soviet example, did not mean a kind of decentralization, rather a different kind of transmission of central decisions to the regional and local levels. Only the so-called autonomous Hungarian region, which existed in the eastern part of Transylvania from 1952 up to 1968, possessed more power.

But the administrative centralism was not able to eradicate a regional consciousness bound to historical entities. In the author's view the following historical-cultural regions could be understood as regions with distinct identities: Banat, Crisana-Maramures, Transylvania, Moldavia, Muntenia, Oltenia and Dobruja. Describing some characteristics of these regions the author gives reasons for their distinct identities.

In the course of the discussion of JORDAN's presentation, the opinion was expressed that there existed a research gap concerning regional consciousness and identity in Romania.

In conclusion the author asks “What prevents Romania from becoming regionalized and decentralized?” By dealing with this question he comes back to the question he put at the beginning of his contribution, that is the question, whether Romania, as a candidate for European integration, would be able to respond to the regionalization trend in Europe. The author did not give an explicit answer, but discusses the following facts as unfavourable factors for regionalization and decentralization: First, Romania has had unitarian traditions from the beginning. Second, there is the so-called Transylvanian dilemma and third, there is the Hungarian ethnic group. It seems that the second and third factors cause a great part of the Romanian people to view decentralization sceptically. Many people argue that decentralization could lead to separatism.

1.9 Questions of foreign relations

1.9.1 Questions concerning the EU integration of Romania, with special regard to the association treaty and to the development of Romanian foreign trade relations

(by JOSEF RAABL)

The author starts his contribution with a short description of Romania’s economic development since 1990, which is characterized by an improvement until 1995 and a worsening since 1995/96. Therefore, Romania has formulated comprehensive policy packages accorded with the International Monetary Funds, the World Bank and the European Union.

The subject of the paper is first of all concentrated to Romania’s relation to the EU. As such, the author deals with the country’s EU Agreement, which was signed on 1 February 1993 and took effect on 1 February 1995. The following issues are addressed in this agreement: the free movements of goods, the free movement of workers, the right of establishment, the freedom to provide services, the freedom of payment and the movement of capital, the provisions on competition and state aid, the approximation of laws, and the economic cooperation.

In short descriptions of the main issues mentioned above, the author reports on the administrative and organizational implementations steps of the Europe Agreement, followed by information about the economic and technical cooperation programme PHARE, meetings of EU with Romanian experts, the adjustment of the Romanian law to EU law, and the adaptation of Romania’s statistical system to EU and international standards.

The author then asserts as a central theme Romanian trade within the European Community. He reports on the following subjects: the measures to build the political framework, the Romanian competitiveness of the export trade, Romania’s foreign trade policy, foreign trade and finances, the balance of trade, the direction of trade development, the commodity trade developments and the free trade zones.

Under the title “European Community rules concerning investment“ the author describes the direct and indirect financial assistance of the EC to the central and eastern European countries as well as assistance through integration. Secondly, he describes foreign direct investment of the EC countries in the central and eastern European countries. Thirdly he gives more detailed information especially with regard to Romania, and he shows how Romania’s economic development and policy influenced the foreign investments in the country. Moreover, the author dedicates special chapters to the structural change and the privatization of Romania’s economy, to a statutory framework for foreign investors to settle in Romania, and to the country’s balance of payments and external debts.

Finally, the author refers to regional cooperation which is seen by Romania as a complement and not an alternative to integration within Western institutions. He stresses the fact that Romania, as a co-founder of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone, would insist on economic cooperation as its main focus.

2. Summarized central subjects of the contributions and discussions

Central subjects of the separate contributions shall be summarized with the following points:

2.1 General features of transformation in former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and special characteristics of Romania:

General features of transformation in former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and special characteristics of Romania have been described by De NÈVE. General features are the simultaneity of political, economic, social, and cultural processes of transformations and the high speed of the processes and changes. Special characteristics of the transformation in Romania have been actions of violence, the fact that the communists remained in power for seven years after the political change and a comparatively slow process of political and economic transformation with relatively small successes.

2.2 The following problems of transformation in Romania have been mentioned as crucial ones:

- the authoritarian egalitarianism (DE NÈVE) which hindered the way to democracy and to free market economy;
- the extremely narrow connections between political parties and the economy;
- institutional problems;
- the low level of economic development;
- problems of reprivatization of agriculture;

- ethnic problems and nationalistic tendencies.

2.3 Theoretical aspects of the study of transformation and transition:

Most of the authors do not deal explicitly with theoretical aspects. REY/GROZA/MUNTELE regard the terms of transformation and transition as ambiguous. VOSSSEN points to the complex character of transformation.

2.4 Thematic aspects of the transformation process in analytic terms:

Such aspects are demographic, economic, socio-political, and spatial ones. As we have seen above, these aspects have been studied from a great variety of perspectives.

2.5 Interrelation of migration, transformation and regional development:

This subject is included in an implicit manner in nearly all contributions. In an explicit manner it has been analyzed with structuralistic approaches and from individuals' points of views. Structuralistic approaches have been applied in studies on a national scale (by ROTARIU/MEZEI, LAZAROIU, IANOS and REY/GROZA/MUNTELE) as well as on regional and local scales (by DAN/POLEDNA/PERVAIN, TURNOCK and VON HIRSCHHAUSEN). The interrelations of migration and transformation have been studied from the perspectives of individuals on a national scale (by LAZAROIU who applied a structuralistic approach, too, as mentioned above) and on a more local scale (by HELLER).

2.6 Frame conditions of migration, transformation and regional development:

Frame conditions of migration, transformation and regional development as historical conditions, the demographic behaviour of the population and natural conditions and resources have been taken into consideration by all authors, most significantly by the above mentioned authors who applied structuralistic approaches. Frame conditions as political structures and international relations have been taken into account primarily by DE NÈVE and RAABL. The role of regional policy was especially emphasized by IANOS, REY/GROZA and TURNOCK.

2.7 Reflections on spatial patterns of socio-economic transformation, migration and regional development:

Such reflections (for example those of IANOS, REY/GROZA/MUNTELE, TURNOCK, VON HIRSCHHAUSEN, TOMASI) focus mainly on the regional disparities of the country, which increase during transformation.

2.8 Regional and local development:

Nearly all contributions emphasize that it would be necessary to use and to stimulate the endogenous potential of development. In this context the great regional variety of the country could be an asset. Even during the period of increasing European integration trends the regions' role is becoming more important (compare JORDAN). Therefore, the self-administration of communities and the competences of regions ought to be strengthened. The rural settlements must receive support to improve infrastructure and to introduce non-agricultural jobs. If that would not be carried out, a new mass migration from countryside to urban areas could soon start again, and many rural settlements could suffer severely.

2.9 Mentality and inertia as hindrances of transformation:

During the workshop mentality was discussed as a problem of development. Such a mentality was described on the part of many Romanian people, of political leaders and of representatives of authorities. This mentality was unfavourable toward pushing development in the direction of market economy.

2.10 Cross border relations and cooperations:

Especially JORDAN, TURNOCK and GRIMM pointed to this subject. It becomes more and more important, as European integration grows. Cross border relations and cooperations could support regional development in peripheral and disadvantaged areas.

3. Aspects and fields of future research

In the future there it is necessary to continue studies on the subjects mentioned above. Critical assessments as well as interpretations and evaluations must be done in the future, too. However, there will be more aspects and fields of research to take into consideration. The following ones are important:

3.1 Romania in the process of globalization:

Since the political change Romania has been more embedded in international political and economic relations than before. Future research could deal with the impacts the international relations on the socio-economic development in Romania on different regional scales: Such scales are the national scale, the scale of different regions of the country, and the scale of different categories of localities (for example: central places versus peripheral localities, large cities versus small rural settlements, settlements with relative good infrastructure because of historical traditions or other reasons versus infrastructurally bad equipped settlements, etc.).

3.2 Employment and labour market research:

Aspects of such research could be: ancillary employment in rural areas, the role of the new social group of small business employers in rural and in urban settlements, and the so-called informal sector in rural and urban areas (as shadow and hidden economy).

3.3 Development of agriculture:

Aspects of interest are the results of the different kinds of agricultural enterprises, especially of the new ones as family associations and juridical associations. What are their risks and their chances?

3.4 Opportunities and hindrances for the development of tourism:

Questions with this respect are for example the following ones: What kinds of tourism should be developed in the different parts of the country? What kinds of ancillary employment should be supported? What criteria would have to be taken into account in order to achieve a sustainable development?

3.5 Central places in the rural areas as motors for regional development:

This subject could be studied in the context of the discussions and efforts with regard to new structures of regional planning and new administrative units of Romania. Questions to be asked are for example the following ones: Which localities should be chosen as central places at the different ranks of central places hierarchy? Which criteria would have to be taken into consideration? How to make these localities to attractive central places?

3.6 City-countryside relations under the new conditions:

It seems to be important to continue the studies of VON HIRSCHHAUSEN on this subject.

3.7 Regional identity: Effects on regional development?

A strong regional identity could perhaps be an asset for regional development, because strengthening regional identity could mean strengthening the engagement of the population in their region and creating a distinctive regional image. The creation of a distinct regional image which could give the impression that this region would offer favourable conditions for economic investments.

3.8 Social segregation and its spatial patterns in the cities as results of the socio-economic transformation and migration processes.

The transformation processes change the man-made environment in the cities. City planning and development must regard new facts. Research on these facts is necessary in order to offer a solid basis for planning decisions.

3.9 Cross border relations and cooperations

Concerning this subject the phenomena mentioned above (2.10) could be studied more intensely in future.

3.10 Theoretical approaches:

Continuous reflections on theoretical positions and approaches could help to overcome simple inventory studies and to contribute to a better understanding of migration and socio-economic and regional development as well as the interrelations between these processes. To date there is a lack of clear results concerning these interrelations. Such results could provide useful information for planning institutions and decision makers.

LIST OF THE AUTHORS

Maria Dan

Chair of Sociology, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Prof Dr Frank-Dieter Grimm

Institute of Regional Geography, Leipzig, Germany

Octavian Groza

Department of Geography, Iasi University, Iasi, Romania

Prof Dr Wilfried Heller

Department of Geography and Geoecology, Potsdam University, Potsdam, Germany

Dr Béatrice von Hirschhausen

French-German Research Centre of Social Sciences, Berlin, Germany

Prof Dr Ioan Ianos

Institute of Geography, Romanian Academy and Bucharest University, Bucharest, Romania

Dr Peter Jordan

Austrian Institute of East and South-East European Studies, Vienna, Austria

Sebastian Lazaroiu

Center for Urban and Regional Sociology, Bucharest, Romania

Elemer Mezei

Chair of Sociology, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Ionel Muntele

Department of Geography, Iasi University, Iasi, Romania

Dorothee de Nève

Department of Political Sciences, Free University, Berlin

Augustin Pervain

Chair of Sociology, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Rudolf Poledna

Chair of Sociology, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Josef Raabl

Austrian Institute of East and South-East European Studies, Vienna, Austria

Prof Dr Violette Rey

Geophile Research Centre, ENS, Fontenay / Saint-Cloud, France

Prof Dr Traian Rotariu

Chair of Sociology, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Dr Elisabeth Tomasi

Austrian Institute of East and South-East European Studies, Vienna, Austria

Dr David Turnock

Department of Geography, Leicester University, Leicester, England

Dr Joachim Vossen

Department of Geography, Regensburg University, Regensburg, Germany

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