Journal of Community Positive Practices

Year XV
No. 2/2015

EDITURA Expert

JOURNAL OF COMMUNITY POSITIVE PRACTICES

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT REVIEW

Acknowledgement for editing contribution to ***Anna CALLAHAN*** *and* ***Ben STRAUSS****, Carleton College, Northfield, MN, USA*

Editted by:

EDITURA Expert
Bucharest, Romania
CNCSIS: cod 045/2006
Editor-in-Chief: Valeriu IOAN-FRANC
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Cover design: Nicolae LOGIN
Design and layout: Luminița LOGIN
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ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
AND PROMOTION CATALACTICA
Colentina Road, no. 26, block 64, B2 ladder, apartment 97, sector 2, postal code 021181, Bucharest;
Phone: 0040-21-240 73 03;
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ISSN 1582-8344 (printed version); ISSN 2247-6571 (electronic version), *indexed in* **DOAJ, EBSCO, PROQUEST, CEEOL, REPEC, SCIPIO**

CONTENT

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *3-17*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES[1]

Cosmina-Elena POP[2]

Abstract: *Quality of life is a top issue in European social policy agenda. Quality of life is an important source of comparative information on living conditions and opportunities for Europeans, as well as how they assess their own life. Quality of life can provide data to elaborate social policies at European level, in order to reduce social inequalities and increase social cohesion. Subjective indicators of quality of life are increasingly used in social policy proposals.*

The paper aims to describe the changes in the subjective well-being of European citizen during the period of 2003-2012 and to highlight economic crisis effect on quality of life. The analysis is based on three waves of the European Quality of Life Survey (2003, 2007, 2011/2012) conducted by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. The work is done in terms of quality of life and focuses on subjective well-being indicators, such as life satisfaction, satisfactory to the areas of life, happiness and perception of social exclusion.

Keywords: *quality of life, life satisfaction, happiness, economic crisis.*

Introduction

Quality of life is a top issue in European social policy agenda. Quality of life is an important source of comparative information on living conditions and opportunities for Europeans, as well as how they assess their own life. Quality of life can provide data to elaborate social policies at European level, in order to reduce social inequalities and increase social cohesion. Subjective indicators of quality of life are increasingly used in social policy proposals.

Promoting quality of life in terms of individual well-being and social cohesion is a long term objective, but also a priority in terms of European policies (Eurofound, 2013a).

[1] This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of programme co-funded by the European Union within the Operational Sectorial Programme for Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programmes Project Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/141086.

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Financial and economic crisis that affected Europe, but also many other countries around the world since 2008, has led "led to deterioration in living and working conditions, with significant negative impacts on the everyday lives of some citizens" (Eurofound 2012:7). In this context, European institutions have developed new policies and strategies to maintain and improve quality of life. Some of the documents made for this purpose are as follows: "*GDP and Beyond*" (European Commission, 2009), Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress (2009) and the strategy "*Europe 2020 strategy for smart, Sustainable and inclusive growth*" (European Commission, 2010).

The 2020 European strategy promotes an intelligent growth (developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation); sustainable growth (promoting a more efficient economy considering resources, a more environmental-friendly and competitive one); inclusive growth (an economy with high levels of labor market participation, which is transmitting social and territorial cohesion) (European Commission, 2010).

This strategy set five ambitious and measurable targets on: employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate change, and energy. These targets need to be achieved by 2020:

1. 75% of the working age population (20-64 years) to be employed;
2. 3% of EU's GDP is invested in R&D (research and development);
3. increase of 30% greenhouse gas reduction;
4. dropout rate should be below 10% and at least 40% of the younger generations have tertiary education;
5. reduction of 20 million people in the poverty rate (idem).

At European level, a wide number of programs and policies have as main scope to improve quality of life and reduce inequalities between countries and within countries (Eurofound, 2013a). The focus on economic indicators is not enough to understand or evaluate differences in the welfare of different social groups in Europe. So, policymakers should take into account people's perceptions of their quality of life or quality of their society where they leave (idem).

Conceptual background

Quality of life refers to the overall well-being of people in a wide and multidimensional sense (Böhnke, 2005). Quality of life can be considered an umbrella concept covering all spheres of human life, referring to conditions, resources and opportunities available to people, and the results obtained by them. Quality of life is an evaluative concept, consisting of outcome "(...) reporting on living conditions and activities that make-up human life, needs, values, human aspirations" (Zamfir, 1993/1998: 79).

Quality of life represents the assembly of the elements making reference to the physical, economic, social, cultural, and political situations in which people live; their health status; the content and nature of their activities; the characteristics of social relations and processes to which they participate and the services they have access to; the patterns of consumption they adapt to; their way and style of life; the evaluation by the population of the circumstances and results of the activities; the expectations of the populations; and the subjective states of satisfaction/dissatisfaction, happiness, and frustration (Mărginean, 2002, Mărginean, 2014).

Research activities regarding quality of life are rooted in the concern to define national objectives and to measure the fulfillment of these objective through social indicators in North American society in the '60s (Mărginean, 2002). Completion of economic indicators with social indicators in order to measure social welfare was the beginning of the research activities on the quality of life (idem).

At European level, the activity of The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) plays an important role in research and promoting the quality of life. Since the establishment of this foundation in 1975 to 2001, the research activities were focused on living and working conditions, but the 2001 outlook research has expanded through a new program for research and monitoring of quality of life (Mărginean, 2003).

In addressing quality of life developed under Eurofound, "quality of life in a society can be defined as the overall well-being of those living there. Well-being then reflects not only living conditions and control over resources across the full spectrum of life domains, but also the ways in which people respond and feel about their lives in those domains" (Fahey, Nolan and Whelan, 2003:14). The concept of quality of life is multidimensional and it is measured both by objective and subjective indicators, referring to living conditions, resources and opportunities available and the results achieved by the people. T. Fahey, B. Nolan and Ch. Whelan (2003) believe that, from the conceptual point of view, the objective and subjective aspects are intrinsic to the notion of quality of life, and using both types of indicators can give a complete view of people's lives.

The role of Eurofound is to provide information for social policy and employment domains. Recognizing the need for comparable data on quality of life, Eurofound proposed to establish a European comparative research at European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS), which was implemented (in an increasing way) in 2003 for 28 countries, in 2007/2008 for 31 countries, and in 2011/2012 for 34 countries.

"The concern for a decent quality of life has become increasingly important in recent years both in the scientific world, governments and public policy makers but also for ordinary humans" (I. Precupețu, 2011: 39). The author has highlighted several sources of this interest for quality of life: the attractiveness of the concept of quality of life that comes from the fact that it involves "a positive purpose and generous, that of a good life" (ibid), wide recognition as social well-being is just a component of human life, the need for sustainable development of society and economy development with syncope.

In the 2009 the paper *Report by the Commission* work appears *on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress* appears, developed by Joseph E. Stiglitz, Amartya Sen and Jean Paul Fitoussi. The appearance of this report at a time when the economic crisis already manifested, is an important moment for the development paradigm because "places quality of life in a central place to assesses social progress, and it contributes to wider legitimizing this paradigm focusing on that being the purpose of developing people's lives, departs economic approach and highlights the importance of the social" (Precupețu, 2011: 44).

Starting from the Stiglitz report, the concern for quality of life was also included in the work of Eurostat and the OECD[1]. Eurostat research included in EU-SILC (EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions), from 2013, the quality of life indicators, considering a module on subjective well-being. Eurostat aims to present different aspects of well-being, thus combining objective indicators with the subjective evaluation, covering various aspects of quality of life (Eurostat, 2014). Subjective indicators have been introduced, in a natural way, in the Eurostat database.

The OECD report, "*How's Life?: Measuring well-being*" (2011), continues the approach suggested by the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi report. To measure people's well-being both objective and subjective aspects are taken into consideration, because they beyond of the importance of living and working conditions, we must to consider how people perceive them.

"Subjective well-being is the contemporary translation of the happiness term" (Bălțătescu, 2009: 28).

Subjective well-being represents how people evaluate their lives. It is believed that subjective well-being includes three distinct dimensions (Diener, Suh and Oishi, 1997, Delhey, 2004, Böhnke, 2005):

- a cognitive dimension (life satisfaction, satisfaction with different areas of life),
- a positively affective dimension (happiness and other positive feelings), and
- a negative affective dimension (unpleasant feelings, stress, anxiety, alienation).

Sirgy treats the subjective well-being as an umbrella concept and defines it as a "long-term condition" resulting in three parts:

1. happiness and positive emotions experienced cumulative key areas of life;
2. cumulative depression and negative emotions experienced in key areas of life;
3. overall evaluation of life and essential areas of life assessments (satisfaction)". (Sirgy, 2002: 10 cited Precupețu, 2011: 145).

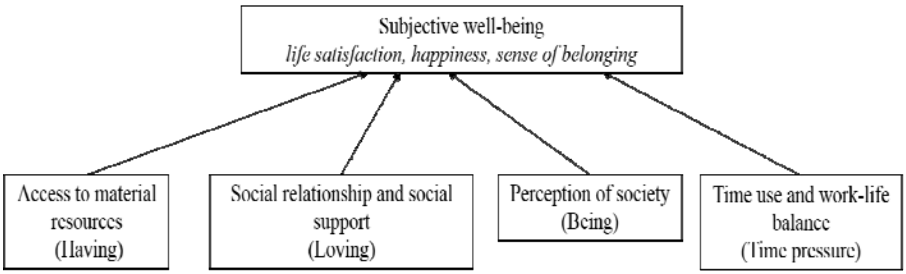
In this context, the subjective well-being can be considered as "an overall assessment of how ordinary people affects socioeconomic changes, filtered through attitudes and experiences" (Bălțătescu, 2007: 24).

If the use of subjective indicators is now widely accepted to describe the quality of life concept, their use in social policies represent a new direction. R. Veenhoven (2002), P. Böhnke (2005), J. Delhey (2004) and others advocate the use of subjective indicators in the social policies. R. Veenhoven (2002) argues the need to use subjective indicators in

[1]OECD = The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

the social policies, considering them indispensable both for selection of social policy goals and for evaluating the success of these policies. The author shows that the use of subjective indicators in social policies contribute to the selection of targets, the goals of these policies according to the needs identified by the people, and according to their wishes, their aspirations, their preferences, their level of satisfaction and their worries people have.

***Figure 1**. Subjective well-being and its determinants.*



Source: Böhnke, 2005: 4.

D. Watson and C. Wallace F. Pichler (2010) show where subjective well-being research can help:

- the indicators such as life satisfaction or happiness capture people's assessments of their own lives through their own values and preferences;
- the levels of subjective well-being can provide external verification of the economic indicators and can act as a correction thereof;
- the results of subjective well-being research can be used as input data for assessing the costs and benefits of policies;
- the changes in levels of subjective well-being can be used to guide progress and measure the success of policies aimed at increasing social cohesion and social inclusion.

Data

Secondary data analysis is based on three waves of the European Quality of Life Survey[1] (EQLS) carried out in 2003, 2007 and 2011/2012. The research was designed as a tool that can provide information for social policies in Europe (Anderson, Mikuliç, Vermeylen, Lyly-Yrjanainen and Zigante, 2009). EQLS provides information on the

[1]Access to the EQLS (2003, 2007, 2011/2012) database through UK Data Services (http://ukdataservice.ac.uk/).

objective circumstances of Europeans' life, but also on how they evaluate their lives and the circumstances in general.

The strength of the research is to bring together information from a wide range of areas of life relevant to quality of life, such as economic resources, employment, health, family status, social support, perceived quality of society and subjective well-being (Watson et al., 2010).

In 2003, the research was conducted in 28 countries (EU Member States, the Member States that joined in 2004 and 2007 and Turkey). The next wave of research from 2007 involves 31 countries (the 27 EU member states, Macedonia, Croatia, Turkey and Norway). The research in 2011/2012 included 34 countries (the 27 EU member states, Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey and Kosovo). The indicators included in EQLS for the measurement of subjective well-being underwent changes and additions in these three rounds of research.

In the first round of EQLS research (2003), subjective well-being comprised indicators of satisfaction (satisfaction with life, satisfaction with areas of life), positive feelings (happiness) and indicators on belonging and integration feelings (pessimism, detachment from social order, social exclusion and anxiety).

In research from 2007, indicators of satisfaction (satisfaction with life in general satisfaction with the areas of education, employment, standard of living, housing, family life, health, social) and the indicator on the state of happiness remained the same as in the previous research. The research also included indicators on emotional wellbeing (mental health) and indicators about perception of social exclusion.

The third round of research has added a set of subjective indicators, and other indicators have changed. Among the indicators are the ones included that relate to the feeling that life is worth living, sense of control over their lives, the feeling of closeness to people in the community, and indicators on the state of depression or loneliness.

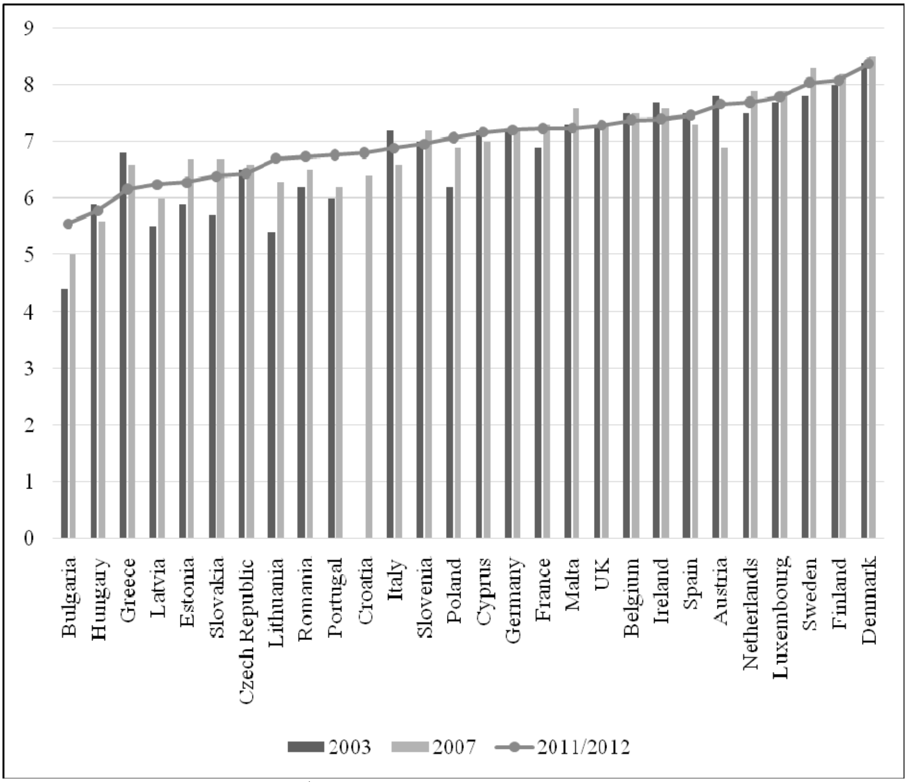
In this article, I will focus on indicators of satisfaction with life, happiness, satisfaction with the important areas of life and the social exclusion.

Overall life satisfaction

Life satisfaction is an evaluative indicator, widely used in the research on subjective well-being, being considered a holistic measure of quality of life. "It represents the final synthesized output of all conditions that people experience in their lives, while also capturing the values, expectations and desires that individuals have in relation to their lives" (Mărginean et al., 2006: 59).

In the EQLS, life satisfaction is measured on a scale between 1 to 10 through the question "All things considered, how satisfied would you say you are with your life these days?". The value 1 represents "very dissatisfied" and 10 "very satisfied".

***Figure 2**. Life satisfaction in the European countries during 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 (mean)*



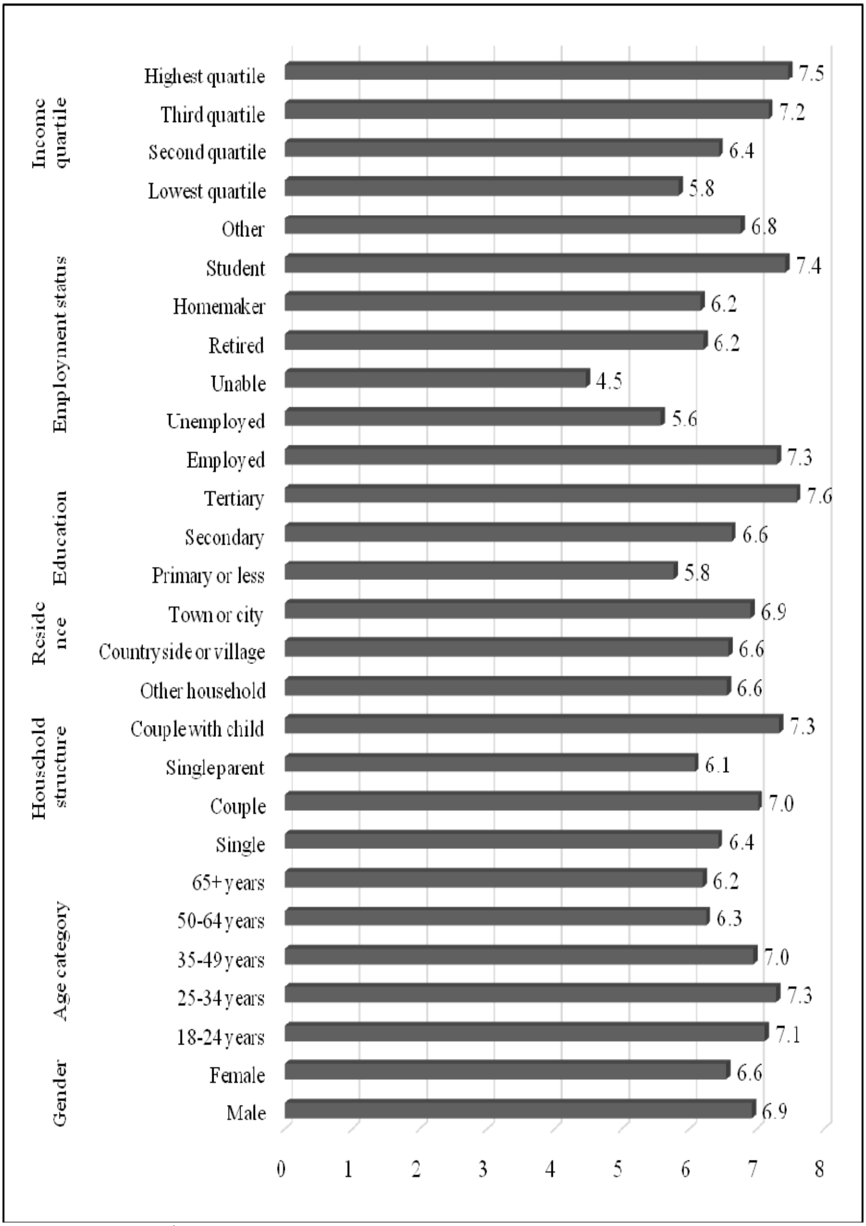
Source: EQLS 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 (own calculation).

Q30. All things considered, how satisfied would you say you are with your life these days? Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means very dissatisfied and 10 means very satisfied.

Figure 2 shows satisfaction with life during the three rounds of the EQLS research in the Member States of the European Union. The figure highlights maintenance of a pattern known as the level of satisfaction with life in Europe. Life satisfaction grows from east to west and also from south to north. The Nordic countries have populations with the highest level of satisfaction with life through the entire period presented. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe have the lowest level of satisfaction.

In some countries, such as Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Portugal, life satisfaction experienced a significant increase over the presented period. However, Bulgaria remains at the lowest level of satisfaction in Europe. In some countries, life satisfaction increased during 2003-2007 and then declined in the next period (2007-2011/2012). Greece and Ireland have recorded a significant decline from 2003 to 2011/2012.

***Figure 3**. Life satisfaction in Romania in 2011/2012 by socioeconomic variables (mean)*



Source: EQLS 2011/2012 (own calculation). Note: Differences significantly tested using Anova. Q30. All things considered, how satisfied would you say you are with your life these days? Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means very dissatisfied and 10 means very satisfied.

Precupețu I. and Precupețu M. (2013) emphasized that satisfaction with life depends on the structural circumstances and opportunities provided to people by the society they live in and contribute to how people can fulfill their goals and live life as they want. "Generally, wealthy countries, characterized by political stability, important system of social protection, high quality education and health systems provide their citizens with good conditions and opportunities for living a good life and are usually rich in subjective well-being, while poor countries are deprived in satisfaction." (Precupețu and Precupețu, 2013: 98).

Since the income and living conditions affect subjective well-being, it is likely that the economic crisis has had a greater effect in countries affected by it. The decrease in GDP and rising unemployment have affected several countries in Southern Europe, particularly Cyprus, Greece, Portugal and Spain (Eurofound, 2012). In Northern European countries (Sweden, Finland, and Denmark) level of satisfaction with life has remained fairly stable.

In Romania, the level of satisfaction with life increased slightly from one wave to another wave of research: 2003 (6.2), 2007 (6.5), and 2011/2012 (6.7), but it remained at a modest level compared the countries of Northern and Western Europe.

At the individual level, the position occupied by individuals in society greatly influences their quality of life. Social characteristics that places the individual in the social structure, both "vertical" (education, income, status, occupational) and the "horizontal" (sex, age, household type) influence the way in which people define and evaluate their life (Mărginean et al., 2006).

Figure 3 shows life satisfaction, based on socioeconomic variables only for Romania. The differences are statistically significant. Thus, people with higher incomes have a life satisfaction level higher than of people with low incomes. Also, people with higher education have higher level of satisfaction with life. Employed people recorded a higher level of satisfaction with the retirees or housewives, especially to the unemployed or those unable to work. Those living in urban areas are generally more satisfied with life than those living in rural areas. Couples with children have the highest life satisfaction compared with those living alone, couple without children or other form of household. Men are more satisfied with their lives than women, and the group with age between 24-35 years presents the highest level of satisfaction with life.

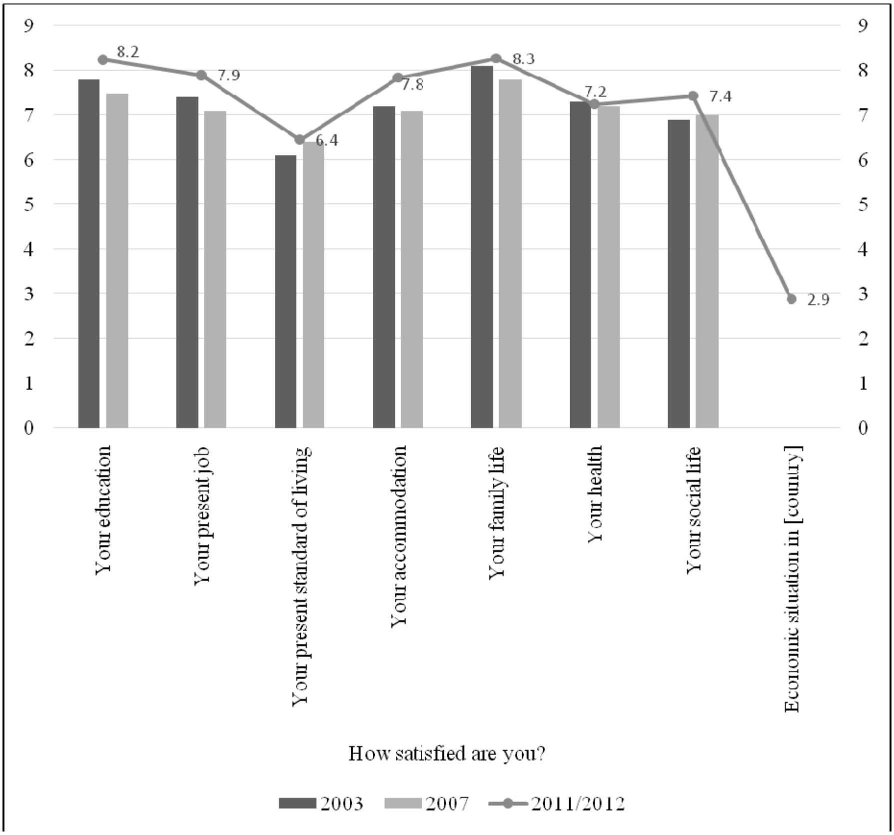
Satisfaction with life domains

In all waves of EQLS were included as evaluative indicators, in addition to satisfaction with life in general, new indicators of satisfaction with different spheres of human life: education, employment, standard of living, housing, family life, health state, social life. Satisfaction with economic situation is a new indicator included in 2011. All indicators are measured, as well as satisfaction with life, the scale of 1 to 10. The question formulated to measure these indicators is: "Could you please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10 how satisfied you are with each of the following items, where 1 means you are very dissatisfied and 10 means you are very satisfied?"

Figure 4 shows the level of satisfaction in each area for Romania in the three points of the research. From all domains of life, satisfaction with standard of living is lowest. The domains with the highest satisfaction is family. The family was in the transition period to the present, the main point of support in the lives of individuals to face the difficulties of all sorts, even in the non-interventionist policy of the state to support the families (Popescu, 2014).

Table 1 of Annex presents the results in terms of satisfaction with aspects of life in European countries in 2011. In addition, satisfaction with family life is highest for most countries, while satisfaction with standard of living and satisfaction to the economic situation in the country had the lowest level.

***Figure 4**. Satisfaction with life domains in Romania (mean)*



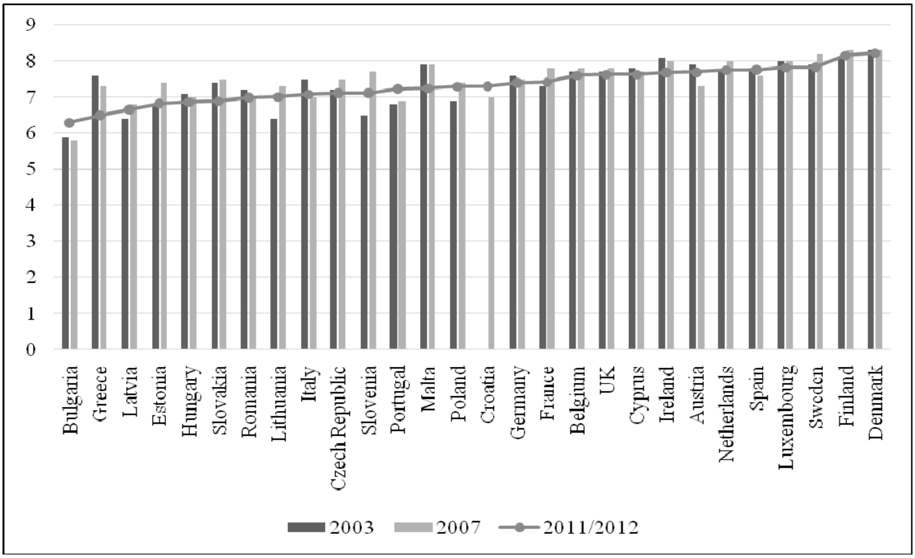
Source: EQLS 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 (own calculation).

Q40. Could you please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10 how satisfied you are with each of the following items, where 1 means you are very dissatisfied and 10 means you are very satisfied?

Happiness

Happiness is another indicator of subjective well-being, representing the emotional concept. "Happiness is a state of mind, incorporating both the existence of positive emotions and the absence of negative emotions,1 which means that someone can be happy without evaluating their life as good" (Watson et al., 2010: 16). In the EQLS, happiness is measured as the satisfaction with life on a scale from 1 to 10, where the subjects were asked: "Taking all things together on a scale of 1 to 10, how happy would you say you are? Here 1 means you are very unhappy and 10 means you are very happy".

***Figure 5**. Happiness in European countries during 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 (mean)*



Source: EQLS 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 (own calculation).

Q41. Taking all things together on a scale of 1 to 10, how happy would you say you are? Here 1 means you are very unhappy and 10 means you are very happy.

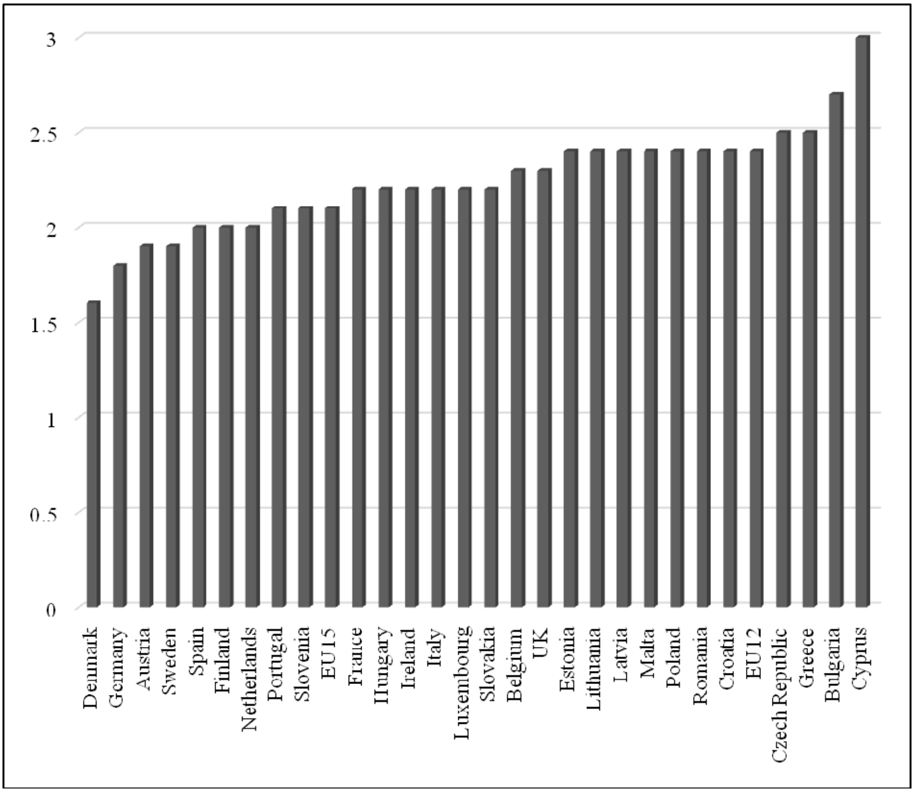
The happiness indicator has a similar distribution to that of satisfaction with life in the EU countries in the three waves of research. Overall, the average for happiness is slightly higher than for life satisfaction. The highest levels of happiness we encounter in all countries of northern Europe. The level of happiness decreases in the countries of central and eastern Europe, but also in southern Europe.

In most European countries, between 2003 and 2007, the level of happiness slightly increased, then between 2007 and 2011 we would see a slight decrease. In five countries, Cyprus, Hungary, Germany, Romania and especially Greece, the happiness indicator recorded a decrease between 2003 and 2011/2012.

Perceived social exclusion

Perceived social exclusion is measured based on agreement or disagreement with five items capturing the extent to which the individual feels excluded from society (Böhnke, 2005): feeling left out of society, feeling that life has become so complicated that one cannot find one's way, feeling that the value of what one does is not recognized, feeling that others look down on one and the feeling to be close to the people in the area where one lives (last item was introduced in 2011/2012). The items are scored from 1 (strong disagreement) to 5 (strong agreement) and the scale is the average score across the five items.

Figure 6. *Social exclusion index in European countries in 2011/2012 (mean)*



Source: EQLS 2011/2012 (own calculation).

Social exclusion index is computed by 5 indicators: Q29. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement. e. I feel left out of society; f. Life has become so complicated today that I almost can't find my way; g. I feel that the value of what I do is not recognized by others; h. Some people look down on me because of my job situation or income; i. I feel close to people in the area where I live It takes values between 0 and 5.

Perceived social exclusion is a component of subjective well-being referring to negative affects and it is also strong correlated with life satisfaction.

Figure 6 presents the distribution of perceived social exclusion in the European countries. Countries with high level of life satisfaction tend to have low level on perceived social exclusion. In the Nordic and Western countries, the social exclusion index takes the lowest values, but also in Spain and Portugal. The high-test values on social exclusion are recorded for Greece, Bulgaria and Cyprus in 2011/2012.

Because items referring to perceived social exclusion included in the survey in 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 suffered changes, comparison isn't possible.

Conclusions

The main measures of subjective well-being (life satisfaction and happiness) remained fairly constant in 2003, 2007, 2011/2012 interval. Some countries with a low level of life satisfaction in 2003 were recovered, and in some countries with high level of life satisfaction in 2007, this level was diminished (Eurofound, 2014).

The life satisfaction has remained relatively constant in the richer countries and has been increased in the poorer countries.

The indicator related to happiness slightly decreased in most European countries. For example, Greece is the country that has a relevant fallen in terms of life satisfaction and happiness.

During 2003-2011/2012 the proportion of households with financial difficulties has been increased, the most vulnerable groups being long term unemployed people, people with low incomes, a single parent in household and people over 65 years.

Family life is an important determinant of subjective well-being. Satisfaction to family life has remained relatively constant during the period 2003-2011/2012 (Eurofound, 2014).

The relative stability of subjective well-being during the economic crisis highlights that this is not determined only by economic component.

The most vulnerable groups defined by subjective well-being, but also by objective conditions of life, requires special measures regarding social policy, both at national and at European level.

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Annex

Table 1. Domain satisfactions in the European Union member states (mean).

	How satisfied are you?							
	Q40a Your education	Q40b Your present job	Q40c Your present standard of living	Q40d Your accommo-dation	Q40e Your family life	Q40f Your health	Q40g Your social life	Q40h Eco-nomic situation in [country]
Austria	8,0	8,0	8,0	8,3	8,4	7,9	8,1	5,7
Belgium	7,5	7,7	7,4	7,6	7,8	7,4	7,5	4,8
Bulgaria	6,7	6,8	4,7	6,9	6,7	6,8	5,9	3,0
Cyprus	7,5	7,8	7,5	8,6	8,9	8,4	8,1	3,4
Czech Republic	7,3	7,5	6,3	7,5	7,2	7,1	6,8	3,8
Germany	7,5	7,6	7,2	7,7	7,7	7,2	7,5	5,7
Denmark	8,1	8,4	8,3	8,4	8,4	8,0	8,3	5,6
Estonia	7,0	7,3	6,2	7,2	7,3	6,6	6,9	3,9
Greece	6,4	6,6	5,9	7,1	7,7	7,8	7,1	2,2
Spain	7,5	7,3	6,9	7,9	8,2	7,5	7,6	3,4
Finland	7,6	8,1	7,6	8,3	8,4	7,7	7,8	6,2
France	7,0	7,3	6,9	7,6	7,8	7,4	7,4	3,9
Hungary	7,0	7,1	5,8	7,0	7,5	6,7	6,8	2,8
Ireland	7,1	7,6	7,3	8,2	8,4	8,0	7,1	3,1
Italy	6,8	7,2	6,8	7,6	7,6	7,5	7,3	3,7
Lithuania	7,2	7,4	6,1	7,0	7,5	6,9	6,7	3,2
Luxembourg	7,3	7,7	7,8	8,2	8,2	7,7	7,8	6,7
Latvia	7,1	7,2	5,9	6,6	7,3	6,5	6,5	2,9
Malta	6,9	7,6	7,0	8,1	8,4	7,9	7,4	4,7
Netherlands	7,0	7,9	7,7	7,9	7,8	7,4	7,5	5,6
Poland	6,4	7,0	6,2	6,9	7,5	6,8	6,6	3,8
Portugal	7,6	7,3	6,5	7,4	7,9	7,1	7,2	2,8
Romania	8,2	7,9	6,4	7,8	8,3	7,2	7,4	2,9
Sweden	7,4	7,7	7,9	8,2	8,1	7,7	7,7	6,1
Slovenia	6,8	7,3	6,3	7,7	7,8	7,3	7,2	3,2
Slovakia	7,0	7,3	6,3	7,7	7,6	7,3	6,8	3,7
UK	7,2	7,5	7,3	7,9	8,2	7,3	7,0	3,8
Croatia	7,0	7,2	5,9	7,8	7,9	7,3	6,9	2,8
EU12	7,0	7,3	6,1	7,3	7,6	6,9	6,8	3,4
EU15	7,2	7,5	7,1	7,8	7,9	7,4	7,4	4,3
EU28	7,2	7,4	6,9	7,7	7,8	7,3	7,3	4,1

Source: EQLS 2011/2012 (own calculation).

Q40. Could you please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10 how satisfied you are with each of the following items, where 1 means you are very dissatisfied and 10 means you are very satisfied?

Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *18-27*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE ELDERLY IN ROMANIA[1]

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***Abstract**: Ageing brings a number of transformations in individuals' life and they are reflected in the quality of their life. While during the working years an individual carries out an income-generating activity for the daily living, retirement causes both physiological and psychological changes. Physiological transformations consist in a gradual reduction of mobility, increased incidence of age-specific medical conditions (diseases of the circulatory system, bones, and internal organs) that limit the physical effort that an elderly person is able to make. From the psychological viewpoint, an individual loses its reference points, the feeling of loneliness or worthlessness occurs, interactions with others are limited. One effect of the transition from working life to retirement is the reduction in revenue, which causes an imbalance in the daily living of the elderly.*

The issue of old age has become an important issue on the public agenda in recent years. The data provided by the Romanian National Institute of Statistics (NIS) supports this view, being based on life expectancy in Romania, in conjunction with the age structure of the population. A phenomenon of population ageing has emerged; for the first time in recent history the number of retired people is higher than the number of young people (The National Council of the Elderly, 2014). The ageing of the population, combined with increasing life expectancy can also be seen as a positive outcome of the modernisation of a society or of the integration of scientific discoveries in medicine; however, we must also analyse the living standards of these people.

The purpose of this article is to address the issue of old age based on the transformations affecting the life of the elderly, the aspects relating to the quality of life and access to social and healthcare services, and leisure.

***Keywords**: quality of life, ageing, elderly's quality of life, mutual aid association for pensioners*

[1] This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of programme co-funded by the European Union within the Operational Sectorial Programme for Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programmes Project Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/141086

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Quality of life can be defined by all the elements relating to the physical, economic, social, cultural, political, health, etc. situation in which people live, the content and nature of the activities they carry out, the characteristics of the relationships and social processes in which they participate, the goods and services to which they have access, the adopted consumption patterns, way of life and lifestyle, assessment of circumstances and outcomes of activities that meet a population's expectations, and subjective states of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, happiness or frustration etc. (Mărginean and Bălaşa, 2002)

The practical purpose of determining the quality of life consists in indicating the actions that can be taken by an individual or a community to change for the better, to improve the existing living conditions. The evaluative nature of this endeavour includes, for each analysed area/aspect, a number of assessment indicators whose role is to transform the individuals' opinions and perceptions into quantifiable research data.

The elderly's quality of life adds to this definition the social gerontology component which is focused on identifying the transformations occurring in an individual's life once the working years passed. In this context, the presentation of the changes occurring in the life of an older person, the analysis of an older person's needs and the identification of the risks that a person runs as he/she gets older are a source of information for policy makers in the development of the public policy framework.

Ageing brings a number of transformations in individuals' life and they are reflected in the quality of their life. While during the working years an individual carries out an income-generating activity for the daily living, retirement causes both physiological and psychological changes. Physiological transformations consist in a gradual reduction of mobility, increased incidence of age-specific medical conditions (diseases of the circulatory system, bones, and internal organs) that limit the physical effort that an elderly person is able to make. From the psychological viewpoint, an individual loses its reference points, the feeling of loneliness or worthlessness occurs, interactions with others are limited. One effect of the transition from working life to retirement is the reduction in revenue, which causes an imbalance in the daily living of the elderly.

The issue of old age has become an important issue on the public agenda in recent years. The data provided by the Romanian National Institute of Statistics (NIS) supports this view, being based on life expectancy in Romania, in conjunction with the age structure of the population. A phenomenon of population ageing has emerged; for the first time in recent history the number of retired people is higher than the number of young people (The National Council of the Elderly, 2014). The ageing of the population, combined with increasing life expectancy can also be seen as a positive outcome of the modernisation of a society or of the integration of scientific discoveries in medicine; however, we must also analyse the living standards of these people.

The purpose of this article is to address the issue of old age based on the transformations affecting the life of the elderly, the aspects relating to the quality of life and access to social and healthcare services, and leisure. The analysed data come from both NIS's Online TEMPO database and the databases made under projects financed by structural funds. We also used data from interviews with representatives of retirement mutual aid associations affiliated to the 'Omenia' National Federation.

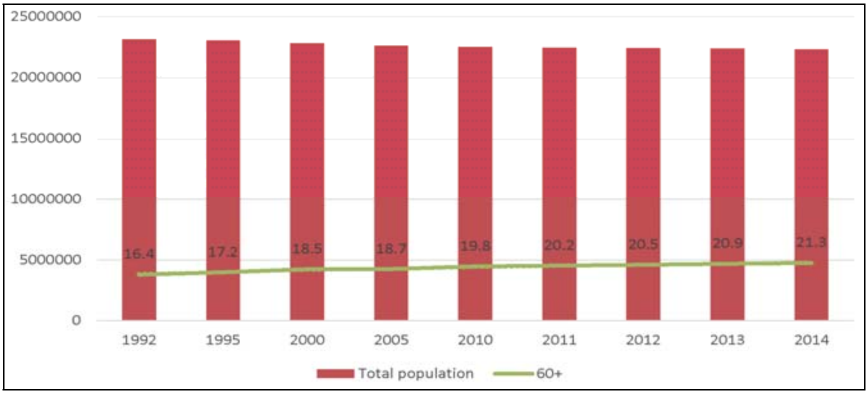
The research conducted in this paper is based on data from Eurostat, the TEMPO Online database of the National Institute of Statistics and research conducted under research projects funded by the European Social Fund through the Operational Programme for Human Resource Development 2007-2013. We chose the relevant indicators from each database to highlight aspects relating to the quality of life of the elderly in Romania. We selected and analysed indicators regarding the population (total population by age and sex, number of retired persons by sex and area of residence), income (data on the average pension in Romania), perception of quality of life and public participation.

Ageing population

According to the study conducted by The National Council of the Elderly (NCE), the elderly outnumbered the young population for the first time in decades on 1 January 2000, and on 1 January 2012 the share of older persons (aged 65 or over) was higher than that of the young population (0 to 15 years old): 16.1% and 15.8% respectively (The National Council of the Elderly, 2014).

The number of older people (aged over 60) is steadily increasing since 1992 (Figure 1). This upward trend causes the pressure on the social security system to rise, while the living standards and, implicitly, the quality of life worsen.

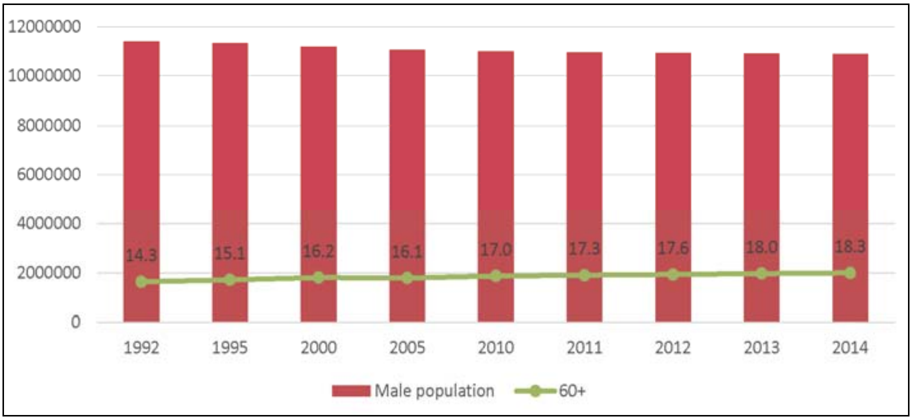
Figure 1*. Evolution of the number of persons aged over 60 years in Romania*



Source: NIS's TEMPO database.

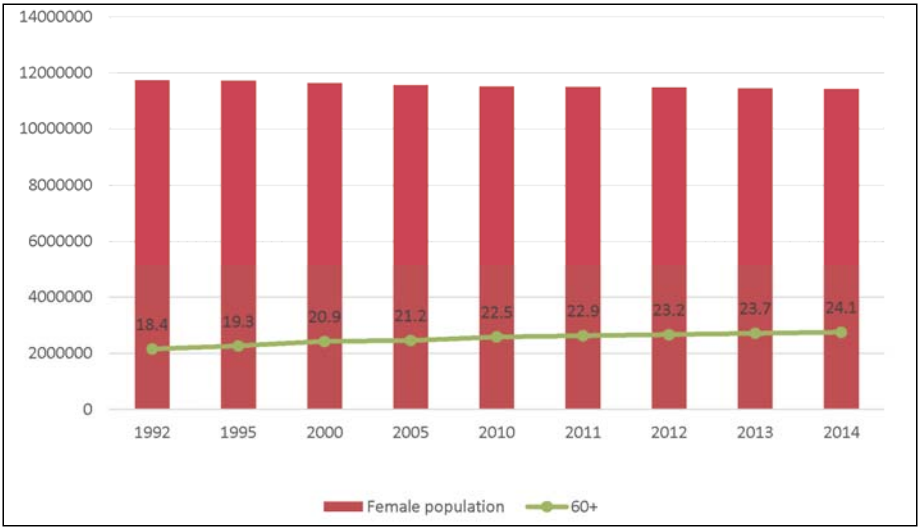
According to official statistics, in 2014 older persons accounted for 21.3% of the total population, a higher percentage compared to 2013. As regards gender distribution, Figure 2 and Figure 3 show that the number of women is higher than that of men. Life expectancy is 71.5 years for men and 78.5 years for women, which means a higher percentage of older women in the total population. Life expectancy is calculated based on the number of years lived by a man or a woman of a *generation*. This number can be determined only after the natural disappearance of a generation, about 100 years after it was born, and is the *average lifespan* in that generation (real value). Whereas from a scientific perspective this indicator defines and measures the entire economic, social, cultural and medical progress of the human society, from a historical perspective the indicator reflects only secondarily the impact of the economic, social, cultural and medical context of a given calendar year on the mortality of a generation at the age reached by that generation in that calendar year. In other words, knowing the average lifespan of a generation does not provide guidance for programmes and measures to improve health and reduce mortality by age in the era in which we live. The mathematical model for measuring mortality by age in a generation and for synthesising it into a single indicator - the average lifespan - is the *mortality table*. These tables use data on mortality by age of three calendar years: all deaths in a calendar year and half of them in the two adjacent calendar years. The same model, using appropriate indicators of mortality intensity by age in a calendar year and applied to a *hypothetical generation*, enables the development of an indicator similar to the average lifespan: *life expectancy at birth*. This is the average number of years that would be lived by a person born in a hypothetical generation that would have throughout its existence (100 years) the mortality by age (as probability of death) in a calendar year. The indicator is the synthetic expression of all the already mentioned living standard components in the reference year of the mortality table. For example, according to the mortality by age in 2013, a girl would live on average 78 years and a boy would live 71 years.

Figure 2*. Evolution of the male population aged over 60 years in Romania*



Source: Processed TEMPO data - NIS.

***Figure 3**. Evolution of the female population aged over 60 years in Romania*



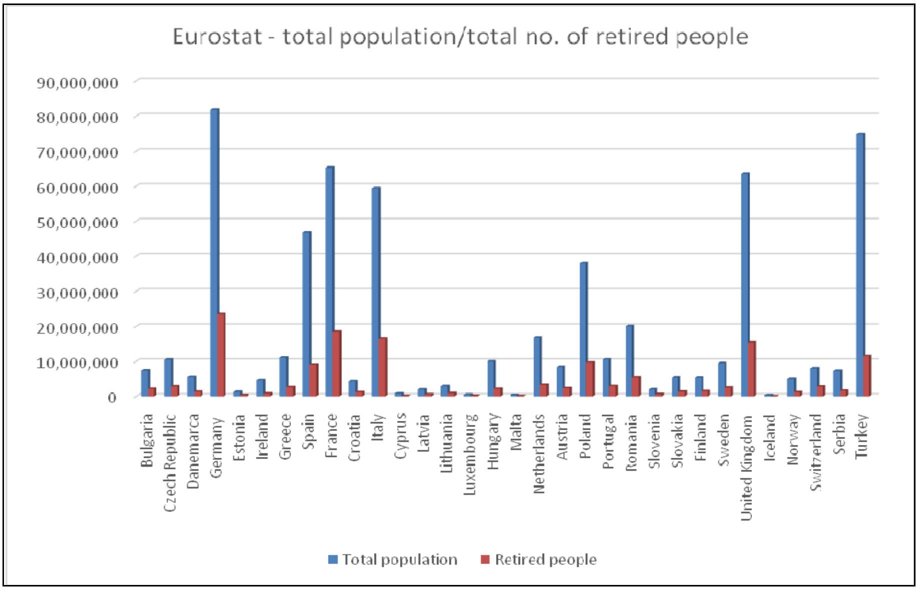
Source: Processed TEMPO data - NIS.

According to the study 'Long life, active and in shape' conducted by the World Bank in 2014, the causes for the ageing of the population in Romania are increased life expectancy, decreasing fertility rates and emigration.

In Romania, the average lifespan has increased significantly in the last 60 years, and life expectancy at birth has increased by about 14 years for women and 10 years for men. Meanwhile, the total fertility rate decreased from 2.9 children per woman in the late 1960s to 1.3 by the end of 2000s. In addition to longer lifespan and lower number of births, the age composition of the Romanian population has been changed also by the high level of emigration, particularly in the last decade. A worrying situation is thus expected, namely a decrease in the workforce available for the economy and an increase in social welfare spending. A possible solution is the retention in employment of the elderly with good health, and the finding of cheap labour to cover personnel shortages in the economy. This possible solution, although theoretically viable, does not respond to the challenges of a Romanian labour market in constant transformation (especially in terms of salaries/benefits offered to employees) and to health problems that come with old age.

At the same time, there is a trend of population ageing in Europe, the percentages of the elderly range from 14.8% (Cyprus) to 36.4% (Sweden) (Figure 4). Another important aspect is that Romania spends less than 5% of its GDP on health, a low figure compared with the European average of 6.5% and the EU average of 8.7% (WB, 2013).

***Figure 4**. Evolution of the number of retired people in the total population of the European countries (2012)*



Source: EUROSTAT

Theories on the quality of life of the elderly

Quality of life is defined as "individuals' perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns" (WHO, 1998). Thus, quality of life means physical, mental and social wellbeing, and the individuals' ability to perform their regular tasks in their daily existence.

Existing research at EU level analyses ageing (LASA - Longitudinal Ageing Study Amsterdam) and is focused on examining all the factors likely to have a negative impact on the elderly. Ageing is thus investigated from the perspective of the elderly's dependency on others. The elderly's physical, economic and psychological dependence causes underestimation of the quality of their life; the factors influencing this underestimation are age-specific health problems, reduced income, and inactivity due to changes in the daily schedule, etc. In the last decade, the percentage of older people has increased in EU countries (Eurostat, 2012), giving rise to the concept of 'active ageing'. Active ageing means an active role in society for the elderly, their stay in the labour market in so far as it is possible, as well as autonomy in everyday life and more involvement of the elderly in civic activities. The active ageing concept was adopted by the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2002) in the late 90s to describe the process of ageing in optimal health, taking an active role in society, using the knowledge and professional skills acquired during the working years, by gradually increasing the retirement age, while emphasising that 'ageing' does not mean 'being dependent on others', but that the elderly are a resource for families and communities.

The concept of active ageing has two dimensions: an objective one, which includes variables that are external to the individual (level of income and expenditure, family support, access to services, quality of housing, etc.), and a subjective dimension given by the elderly's perceptions of the elements of the environment in which they live. Ageing is analysed from four different perspectives (Hooyman, Kiyak, 2008): chronological, biological, psychological and social. Each perspective includes the so-called 'stress factors' (reduction in income, widowhood, illness, etc.) which, along with the resources offered by the environment in which a person lives (economic resources, family support, social relationships in the community, friends etc.), determine the quality of life of the elderly (Hooyman, Kiyak, 2008; Xavier *et al.*, 2003).

Given that the percentage of older people is increasing quite a lot in EU countries, in recent years the concept of 'active ageing' is under discussion and it involves an active role for the elderly in society and even in the labour market, as well as autonomy in daily life and involvement in civic activities. The concept of active ageing was adopted in the late 90s by the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2002) to describe the process of optimising the elderly's opportunities for health, participation and security, while emphasising that not only health affects the quality of their life and that there should be social engagement opportunities for these people.

The definition provided by the World Health Organisation for quality of life refers to individuals' living conditions considered decent in the society in which they live. We must also specify that there cannot be a standard quality of life at continental or global level because decent standard of living varies from one country to another and from one continent to another.

Population ageing is a social problem because it affects society as a whole through the transformations that it involves. The transition from working life to person inactive in the labour market, health problems that come with old age and the changes in income, leisure opportunities, difficult access to different services are all difficulties that older people face.

In 2012, the World Health Organisation decided to change the paradigm from 'add years to life' into 'add life to years' as a consequence of ageing. Therefore States must, through social policies, give greater importance to the services provided to the elderly.

The quality of life of the elderly in Romania

The elderly are present in the labour market, their percentage is 10.6% for women and 13.5% for men (NIS, 2012). In this context, their situation should be approached both in terms of income and in terms of access to services, in particular financial, social and medical services.

The presence of the elderly in the labour market is due not only to the availability for income-generating activities, but also to the need to ensure the daily living, given that the monthly average pension was the following (2013, data of the National Pension and Social Security Fund): RON 847 - social security pension and RON 344 - pension for farmers. It can be noted that the amount of the pension for farmers accounted for 40.4% of the social security pension, while the ratio between the average old-age social security pension paid by the State (RON 931) and the average net salary (RON 1,622) was 57.4%. This highlights the fact that, once the retirement age is reached, the main challenge that older persons must face is to ensure the means of subsistence, the income needed to pay for various services necessary in every household and in addition to ensure healthcare services for age-specific conditions.

Over time, were issued three social theories on aging and quality of life of the elderly, namely disengagement theory, activity theory and the theory of continuity (Bowling, 2005). The development of these theories has been driven by several factors, among which the health of the population by the end of the Second World War, the demographic situation in post conflict (the huge number of male victims) and the need to address public policy in social assistance, employment insurance necessary for the reconstruction of countries affected by war and, not least, to adapt to the challenges of demographic change.

Disengagement theory place the individual on the verge of withdrawing from active life in a position to withdraw gradually from social interactions and professional activities in order to safeguard the future retiree psychological trauma represented by death, while minimizing disruption for society when death occurs . Gradual withdrawal involves engaging in other actions that the skills and knowledge of the newly retired will be used, and providing opportunities to spend time in the company of people with the same age that share the same concerns and needs. These goals can be found in the statutes of associations of pensioners entities, mostly in mutual aid organizations of pensioners.

Theory work / role theory emphasizes the role of the individual that have reached retirement age and his role in society. Thus, maintaining the social role of future retiree and keeping some of the activities they carry it before retirement creates a feeling of well-being for the elderly. For this reason, beyond keeping interactions with the environment in which elder has worked, ensuring a decent level of income (considered for the society in which he lives), the elder is a fundamental factor of success or failure of this theory.

In addition to those two theories it comes the third one, continuity theory, which analyses ageing through the changes made by elder in order to adapt to the present, and this is the link between active life (the past) and retired life (the present). Transformation is therefore psychological premises to ensure the welfare of the elderly. Elder / retired situation thus depends on the simultaneous satisfaction of needs: ensuring revenue (about the past), maintaining social relationships (past and present) and involvement in activities that would ensure spending time (today). In these circumstances, after reaching retirement age, the individual is encouraged to find opportunities for funding and leisure, successfully meeting the requirements of membership of unions of pensioners. Combining the statutes, the financial inclusion (by providing members access to financial instruments, loans, grants) with services provided to members (repair, clubs, barber, hairdresser, medical offices), structures such as mutual aid organizations of pensioners are transposed into practice at the organizational level by this theory.

The theoretical frame work represented by these three theories provides an overview and the mechanisms underlying the relationship between the elderly and the associations for the elderly. The mechanism that determines these relationships is above all the need. This need is represented, as we stated in this paper, the individual's inability to meet certain needs: access to finance, access to services, access to facilities for leisure in the company of people who have close age, concerns and common interests. The relationship between the individual and the associations for the elderly becomes a mutually beneficial, given that for success requires the participation of both stakeholders and consensus in each of their shares.

The main needs identified in the qualitative research are related to income and access to quality healthcare. The problem of inadequate income is a central factor explaining the quality of life of the elderly as all services were behind this vulnerable group in monetary unit costs. For example, a medical consultation to a specialist costs 2 to 3 times more than the same advice from a general practitioner. Prices of medicines are calculated based on leu-euro exchange rate, which means their regular adjustments, most often in the plus and retiree cannot afford to pay by forgoing treatment than other expenses. Expenses renounced most frequently are those relating to food (ie consumption of meat and meat products), heating in winter or purchase of durable goods. Health damage determine elder to turn to other sources to get the necessary funds for medicines and if the family is unable to help, the only options are mutual aid organizations of pensioners or NFIs type Provident (Provident annual interest rate exceeding 80%!). In these circumstances, it is not surprising that there were applications for loans amounting to 80-100 lei addressed to mutual aid organizations of pensioners.

These are the reasons which require pensioners to benefit from all existing social inclusion measures in order to increase healthy life and to be a resource for the family and society. The process of social inclusion comprise measures and multidimensional actions in the areas of social protection, employment, housing, education, health, information communication, mobility, security, justice and culture, to combat social exclusion and ensuring the active participation of people in all economic, social, cultural and political society. (according to Art. 6 letter cc) of Law no. 292/2011 - Law on social assistance). In this context, all activities to facilitate the participation of individuals in society, social protection and education to healthcare and the labor market (training, guidance, counselling for employment and accompanying labor market) represents active social inclusion measures.

Conclusions

In the case of elderly, social inclusion takes place by facilitating access to goods and services, leisure facilities, and quality housing. Providing financial resources is a goal of the concept of social inclusion of the elderly, given that the main problem facing an elderly (retired) are those related to deteriorating health and incomes insufficient to ensure daily living. The problem of inadequate income is the central theme for the elderly because it affects all aspects of life everyday: without funds they cannot have access to care and treatment (medications, procedures and expert analysis), improvement of housing conditions (renewal of housing, expansion of these spaces) or improve comfort (heating, providing wood for heating or means to pay for heating).

The economic crisis has shown that, despite some point attempts (minimum wage increase and hence the pension point value), the redistributive role of the state-run pension system is in danger. The danger comes from diminishing resources and in the organization of the pension system on a "pay as you go", in conjunction with the increasing number of pensioners. In the next two decades, the crisis will worsen the pension system, it will undergo two simultaneous shocks: reaching the retirement age of the generations born after the advent Decree 770/1966 (decrees banning abortions) and continue lowering the birth rate since 1989 to present. This is the framework in which features a lounge active aging in Romania, can only be worrying conclusions: 1. The decrease in revenues elderly due to a lack of young people to contribute to the pension scheme, 2. Reduction of the pension point in Romania 3. Increasing the retirement age due to lack of manpower, 4. Increasing taxes for employers and employees to support the pension system. Each of these findings reflect a disturbing reality for both the elderly and for persons who are in the age group 55-65 years, that they could face the risk of subsistence after retirement.

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *28-42*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

ASSOCIATION AND COOPERATION IN ROMANIAN RURAL AREAS – THE LEADER EXPERIENCE[1]

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Abstract: *In the last quarter century, rural areas and agriculture in Romania have entered a new development stage characterised by numerous structural and functional changes. The rural development process should be a holistic one and focus on integrated and multi-sectorial interventions. As the community led local approach strengthens the micro-regional perspective, the partnership between local actors and local participation are key features of a successful local development. In order to analyse the problems of association and cooperation in rural areas, the article aims is to present the LEADER experience in Romania. LEADER is the development program who emphasize the need for cooperation between local actors in order to find innovative ways for dealing with different problems. Building on the empirical research, the article identifies and highlights some problems in the implementation of LEADER's principles.*

Keywords: *rural development, LEADER, partnership, cooperation*

The development of the Romanian rural areas is one of the priorities of the post-revolutionary government, but progress is far from this goal due to the fewer opportunities existing in Romanian villages and the low capacities of the administration and the population. The development disparities among rural communities are high, both in terms of material capital (financial resources, goods and consumption of goods) and in terms of existing human capital (education and health) and social capital (association, trust) (Sandu et al., 2009).

In the last decade, the public discourse on local development has shifted from specific interventions in single, isolated or poor communities to interventions in regions or micro-regions (e.g. RSDF - Romanian Social Development Fund, LEADER axis - local action groups, intercommunity associations etc.) due to the awareness of the importance of cooperation and association between local actors that favour integrated and multi-

[1] This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of programme co-funded by the European Union within the Operational Sectorial Programme for Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programmes Project Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/141086

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sectoral intervention. The vast majority of the EU funding programmes, and not only, declare a focus on building partnerships between communities, between local institutions, between local actors for an integrated intervention in a certain micro-region that makes also use of human resources, material resources etc. existing at community level. Why is partnership promoted so intensely? Because it is a solution to certain problems as the available resources are higher, the financial and social costs are divided, there is additional expertise, but also because local needs do not require the intervention of a single actor, neighbouring communities have similar problems, we can no longer talk of an isolated development, everything is included in the broader area of a region/micro-region.

In a country where over 46% of the population lives in rural areas, about 28% of this population works in agriculture, and the value of agriculture in GDP is three times higher than the average of EU-28 (MARD, 2014), the need to develop rural areas is very high both for agriculture and for other non-agricultural activities or various aspects related to the inhabitants' quality of life. The agricultural sector needs to be developed in order to improve its performance which, in terms of its share in GDP, fell from 14% to 6% between 2004 and 2012. The poor performance of the agricultural sector is due on the one hand to the lack of investment and poor agricultural policy, and on the other hand to the low capacity existing in rural areas at the level of both the population and public institutions.

We need sustainable development that focuses also on preserving the characteristics of the Romanian village, not only on practicing intensive agriculture. Besides the large agricultural areas and natural conditions favourable for practicing agriculture, the natural environment of Romanian villages, the preserved customs, and the traditional way of practicing agriculture or manufacturing certain products can also foster rural development. The cultural heritage present in Romanian villages needs conservation and recovery, as it can be an important development resource, especially for increasing tourism in rural areas. The natural environment and the organic farming are other resources that can be exploited more in the rural development process, as a solution for increasing the quality of life of small farmers.

Given the high fragmentation of agricultural land and the existence of a large number of small holdings (73% of all Romanian agricultural holdings have less than 2 hectares according to EUROSTAT data for 2013), a solution for rural development is the association of small producers. At the same time, the association and cooperation of small producers, enabling the provision of integrated services, is also a solution for the rural development focused on tourism or on providing services and non-agricultural products. The reluctance to association in rural areas is a result of the forced agricultural collectivisation during the communist period (Petrescu, 2013a; Lambru and Petrescu, 2014), which led to an inadequate land restitution policy. At European level, association and cooperation in rural areas is a priority measure that can be found especially in the LEADER programme.

The purpose of this article is to analyse the existing problems in the association and cooperation of agricultural and non-agricultural producers in Romanian rural areas by presenting one of the models promoted by the National Rural Development

Programme (NRDP) through the LEADER axis. Local action groups (LAGs)have been set up under the LEADER programme which aims to stimulate partnerships between local actors in a micro-region to find new ways to solve existing problems and develop their communities using the resources available locally. LEADER is a bottom-up process that stimulates endogenous local development by harnessing existing potentials in the community and focuses on the involvement of local actors in this process. The main elements of the LEADER programme are: participation of community actors, their partnership and cooperation, and micro-regional development.

The theoretical bases of the LEADER programme can be found in the comprehensive development framework approach of the World Bank which believed that the involvement of local actors was essential in achieving sustainable local development and was based on four fundamental principles: the existence of a holistic and long-term development framework materialised in a strategy, orientation towards results, involvement of local actors leading to the assumption of the strategy, and management of development by the local community through partnership between local actors. (Eriksson and Kullenberg, 2003)

At EU level, the LEADER experience underpins the 'community-led local development' approach (CLLD) whose main features are: focus on a territory whose development needs should be determined by local actors; foster cooperation between local actors to achieve development objectives; build capacity at local level to actively participate in the development process; solve problems by stimulating the strengths of communities; flexibility; integrated approach to development aimed at long-term changes. Between 2014 and 2020, the integrated projects funded by the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESI Funds) will be based on the CLLD approach.

The CLLD approach derives from the endogenous local development theory which is based on the use of local resources (human, material, economic etc.) and involvement of local actors to ensure the sustainability of this approach. (Garofoli, 2002; Stănilă, 2013) This type of development focuses on capacity-building at local level so that the process is under the control of local actors, as well as on multi-sectoral intervention to ensure complementarity of initiatives. Thus, in the development process we talk about community empowerment, capacity building or association and cooperation.

Community empowerment involves development of local actors' capacity to support them selves and control their living environment. The strengthening of the local actors' capacity to solve their problems on their own is achieved through increasing opportunities and psychological orientation towards greater control over the living environment. Capacity strengthening involves: access to information, participation in local decision making, accountability of public institutions and development of local self-organisation. The actions that can be taken in this regard are: strengthen the capacity of local initiative groups to become a voice in the community (attend Local Council meetings, talk to people and then present their problems to the local public administration), invest in training for leaders (social actors that have social and human capital) and organise public meetings in different areas of the communities to get them accustomed to participate in decision making.

Capacity building covers actions to enhance the stock of human capital at the level of social actors to increase their chances of contributing effectively to community development projects. The main actions that need to be taken are: provide training on project management for local actors, present models of good practice from other communities, present existing opportunities of external funding, develop micro-regional partnerships and create mechanisms for local participation at the local public administration level (better communication between public institutions and the community).

Association is a key element of local development and together with confidence and tolerance constitute the core values of social capital. The concept covers both social relations that enable action or facilitate exchange, and the ability of a group to act together due to its solidarity (Pfaff and Valdez, 2010). The advantages of association in rural areas are increased production capacity, enhanced marketing of production, complementarity in the provision of goods and services etc.

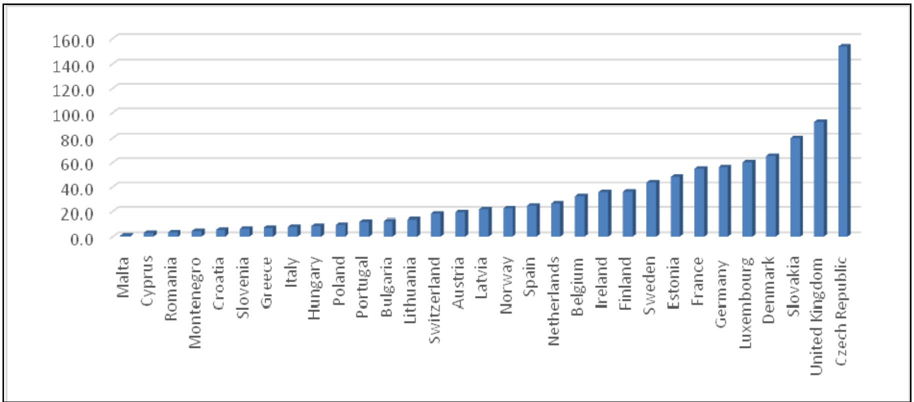
The analysis of association and cooperation in Romanian villages starts with a presentation of the rural environment and the challenges that it had to face and must face after the fall of the communist regime, and then it continues with a description of the LEADER programme and its main problems. The methodology consisted in a secondary analysis of data, an analysis of social documents and an interview-based sociological survey. In the secondary analysis of data, we used data from the National Institute of Statistics, Tempo database and the 2010 General Agricultural Census; we also used various agricultural indicators from EUROSTAT - agricultural area, agricultural holdings, employment in rural areas. The analysis of social documents included NRDP monitoring reports, the LEADER axis of 2009-2014, as well as presentations of LEADER experiences from publications of the National Network for Rural Development (NNRD). The sociological survey was conducted based on interviews with representatives of local action groups' management teams and beneficiaries of their work. There were 12 interviews – 4 with representatives of LAGs and 8 with beneficiaries of their work. The 4 LAGs are from the following regions: Centre, South-East, South-West Oltenia, and North-West.

Romanian rural environment

Romanian rural areas are characterised by a high degree of heterogeneity in terms of development, with significant differences in both material and human capital (Sandu et all, 2009), and by a significant dependence on traditional agriculture, low level of association among small farmers, excessive fragmentation of agricultural holdings, underdeveloped non-agricultural activities, low standard of living and poor access to services, poor infrastructure (Mihalache and Petrescu, 2013; Mihalache, 2013).

Romania has an agricultural area of 14.6 million hectares (the seventh largest in the European Union), of which 89% is used (13.3 million hectares), and a total of 3,724,330 agricultural holdings, the highest at EU level. This large number of agricultural holdings is one of the biggest problems for the development of the Romanian agriculture as it indicates an extremely high fragmentation of land, the average area of a holding being 3.6 ha (EUROSTAT, 2015). This average area places Romania on the third last place in the EU, with countries like Malta or Cyprus which have a very small agricultural area. (Figure 1) Of the total agricultural holdings in our country, 72.7% have less than 2 hectares, 0.2% have between 50 and 100 ha and only 0.4% have more than 100 ha (EUROSTAT, 2015). The major constraints on the competitiveness of Romanian agricultural products in a single market like the one of the European Union are triggered by poor technological equipment to farmers and small areas of agricultural land as a result of property fragmentation (Ilie and Zaharia, 2007). Excessive land fragmentation is a consequence of political decisions regarding the restitution of land and the enhancement of performance in the Romanian agricultural sector is closely linked to the solving of this problem. Land reparcelling by stimulating the association of small agricultural producers is one of the main directions to follow in order to make this sector profitable, not only in terms of increased production but also enhanced marketing of products.

Figure 1*. Average area per agricultural holding in the EU – 2010*



Source: EUROSTAT, 2015

Asymmetric development of rural areas is a major problem throughout the European Union, and Romania has significant regional disparities that require a better adaptation of the proposed intervention measures. The regions with the highest number of agricultural holdings are North East and South Muntenia; these are some of the poorest regions in Romania and about 95% of these agricultural holdings have less than 5 ha. The highest number of medium-sized agricultural holdings is in the North-Western, Central and Western regions, while the largest agricultural holdings are found in the South East and South Muntenia regions. (Table 1)

Table 1. Regional distribution of holdings in Romania

	Total holdings (number)	Less than 2 ha	2-4.9 ha	5-9.9 ha	10-19.9 ha	20-29.9 ha	30-49.9 ha	50-99.9 ha	More than 100 ha
Romania	3,563,770	2,589,920	691,260	193,870	49,650	10,260	8,470	7,260	13,080
North-West	497,710	302,940	134,010	44,780	10,590	1,670	1,270	1,090	1,380
Centre	350,860	217,260	80,830	34,810	10,970	2,210	1,810	1,380	1,600
North-East	742,130	568,240	137,660	25,200	5,920	1,530	1,190	810	1,590
South-East	424,480	331,200	65,950	15,510	4,900	1,380	1,330	1,300	2,900
South - Muntenia	732,890	625,820	81,940	15,370	4,180	1,100	910	910	2,660
Bucharest - Ilfov	23,760	21,810	1,490	200	70	20	20	40	100
South-West Oltenia	548,220	377,980	133,470	28,480	4,830	870	730	630	1,240
West	243,720	144,690	55,910	29,520	8,190	1,480	1,200	1,110	1,620

Source: EUROSTAT, 2015

Romania is an agricultural country of extremes, where over 46% of the population lives in rural areas and about 92% of agricultural holdings have between 0.5 and 5 ha, while the vast majority of payments by the Romanian State for agriculture go to large farms, which represent about 1% of all agricultural holdings and exploit almost 44% of the total agricultural areas. The data of the 2010 General Agricultural Census shows that over 99% of the agricultural holdings are unincorporated and less than 1% of them are incorporated. (Table 2)

Table 2. Agricultural holdings, utilised agricultural area and average utilised agricultural area for an agricultural holding, according to the legal status of agricultural holdings

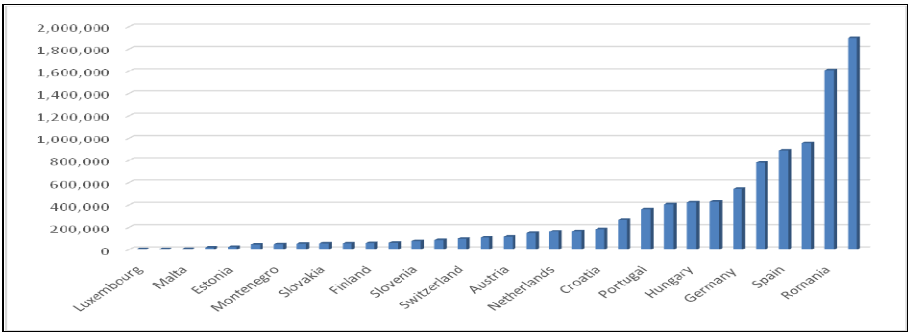
Legal status of agricultural holdings	TOTAL number of agricultural holdings	Number of agricultural holdings that utilise the agricultural area	Utilised agricultural area (hectares)	Average utilised agricultural area (hectares)	
				for an agricultural holding	for an agricultural holding that utilises the agricultural area
Unincorporated agricultural holdings	3,825,576	3,691,669	7,445,336.63	1.95	2.02
Individual agricultural holdings	3,820,393	3,686,698	7,154,136.94	1.87	1.94
Sole traders, sole proprietorships, family-owned companies	5,183	4,971	291,199.69	56.18	58.58
Incorporated agricultural holdings	30,669	30,216	5,852,854.26	190.84	193.70

Legal status of agricultural holdings	TOTAL number of agricultural holdings	Number of agricultural holdings that utilise the agricultural area	Utilised agricultural area (hectares)	Average utilised agricultural area (hectares)	
				for an agricultural holding	for an agricultural holding that utilises the agricultural area
Public companies	50	50	16,170.65	323.41	323.41
Agricultural companies/associations	1,390	1,379	556,785.69	400.57	403.76
Majority private-owned companies	16,410	16,015	3,169,418.39	193.14	197.90
Majority State-owned companies	72	72	3,553.99	49.36	49.36
Institutes, research stations, agricultural schools (high schools)	177	175	50,976.71	288.00	291.30
Local Councils or City/Town Halls	2,722	2,721	1,566,747.77	575.59	575.80
Other public institutions	353	349	32,062.61	90.83	91.87
Cooperatives	68	67	8,176.22	120.24	122.03
Other types (foundations, religious establishments, schools, etc.)	9,427	9,388	448,962.23	47.63	47.82
TOTAL	3,856,245	3,721,885	13,298,190.89	3.45	3.57

Source: 2010 General Agricultural Census

The population employed in agriculture accounts for approximately 28% of the total population, in decline over the last 15 years. Compared to other European countries, Romania is the second country with the largest labour force in agriculture after Poland, but before France and Spain which have a much larger agricultural area. (Figure 2)

Figure 2*. Labour force directly employed by the agricultural holding*



Source: EUROSTAT, 2015

The 2010 General Agricultural Census shows a decline in the number of persons who worked in agriculture, from over 9 million in 2002 to 7,159,000. Of these, over 98% are in individual agricultural holdings and 1.6% in incorporated agricultural holdings. Only 4.5% of the persons working in agriculture are employed in 2013. The analysis of the data on the number of employees in agriculture reveals a decrease in the last quarter century in Romania, from 16% in 1992 to 4.5% in 2013. The largest percentage (over 50%) of the employed population is made up of unpaid family workers, followed by self-employed persons - 45%. (Table 3) The unpaid family workers and the self-employed persons are involved in particular in subsistence and semi-subsistence agriculture which provides a large part of a household's consumption needs. Employment of rural population in subsistence and semi-subsistence agriculture is a result of the transition that led to a decline in the number of paid jobs to which the rural population had access (Otiman, 2012).Entrepreneurship is present in a very small degree in Romanian rural areas, its evolution has been constant in the last 7 years, despite the actions taken to stimulate it (Mihalache and Croitoru, 2011; Pricina, 2012)

Table3. Professional status of employed population in agriculture

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Employees	4.3%	4.4%	3.9%	4.0%	4.2%	4.5%
Owners	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%
Self-employed persons	50.0%	47.4%	46.0%	43.1%	44.4%	45.1%
Unpaid family workers	45.5%	48.1%	48.3%	52.8%	51.3%	50.2%

Source: NIS, Tempo, 2015

In rural areas, development also involves interventions in other areas of social life - industry and services, infrastructure, education, welfare, health, culture, leisure, governance etc. Concerted action is needed in these areas to increase the quality of life of rural residents. At the same time, attention must also be paid to the preservation of the Romanian village values, such as local customs, organic farming, natural environment, traditional products and crafts, which may constitute key elements in the development process. New trends in rural development aim at unlocking this non-agricultural potential and conserving the traditional village to rediscover its resources and use them to increase its wealth. All these development directions must be adapted to local needs and resources so as to produce the desired effects.

The LEADER approach intends to meet these needs and development directions through a micro-regional intervention focused on using the local resources from various fields.

Local action groups between the project and reality

LEADER is one of the EU innovative programmes in rural development, launched in 1991 to offer communities a way to actively involve local actors in the process of social change and improvement of the quality of life at micro-regional level. As the title says –

'Liaison entre actions de développement rural' - the programme aims to provide an integrated intervention by mobilising local resources and creating links between local actors to foster cooperation in the rural development process. Unlike interventions set by national policies or programmes which are not tailored to the needs of each community, LEADER provides the opportunity for local actors to propose and implement innovative solutions to the problems existing in their communities. These interventions are based on a participatory local development strategy involving all local stakeholders and should reflect the development needs expressed by the community. It is a bottom-up programme in which the local community with its needs and development potential is the main actor in the process of improving the quality of life and allowed the testing of innovative problem solving.

The aging population, the migration of young people, the lack of employment opportunities, the poor development of services and local crafts, the loss of local traditions, the low capacity of marketing agricultural and non-agricultural products, the poor technological equipment of small farmers, the decreased production of organic agriculture, and the poor infrastructure are only some of the challenges to which LEADER provided solutions based on local specificities and by mobilising community actors. Ensuring sustainability was a priority, the interventions focused on developing local skills and building community capacity to solve future problems, and not only on solutions targeted at creating and improving social infrastructure, utilities, production, etc. It is a holistic approach to rural development aimed at all aspects of quality of life due to the inter-correlation and mutual influence between them.

Assuming that the development process is effective if decided and implemented by local actors, the LEADER approach has seven principles: existence of a strategy for the local development of a micro-region; design and implementation of that strategy by the community (bottom-up); building a public-private partnership at local level within local action groups; existence of integrated and multi-sectoral actions; innovation; cooperation in implementing actions; and networking between communities within a certain micro-region. (European Commission, 2006)

A micro-region is the territory covered by the LEADER intervention, which can have between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, and must have the following characteristics: homogeneity and social cohesion; common customs and local identity; share the same problems/needs and expectations; sufficient human, financial and economic resources to support the implementation of a viable strategy; and no predefined administrative boundaries. (European Commission, 2006) The micro-regional approach is considered to be more effective than the individual community approach because resources and potential for development can be complementary between communities and thus integrated and multi-sectoral interventions can be developed.

Local actors, both public and private, of a micro-region must work in partnership within a local action group; this is the institutional structure funded by the programme. The role of a local action group is to coordinate the development and implementation of the strategy, and the private sector partners in a local action group – businesses and civil society – must account for at least 50% of its components. The main benefits of partnership within a local action group are: represent the interests of all communities and stakeholders, increase implementation efficiency, and ensure transparency of actions. (Petrescu and Constantin, 2010; Petrescu, 2013 (b))

Community participation, of both the general population and the institutional stakeholders from the public and private sectors, in designing and implementing a strategy is essential for stimulating the involvement of local actors in finding innovative solutions adapted to specific existing local problems, and in implementing actions. (Petrescu, 2009) This community participation process is also one of capacity building at local level by involving local actors in identifying and analysing local needs/problems, finding solutions to those needs/problems, selecting the most effective actions to be included in the strategy. Last but not least, participation in devising a micro-regional development strategy stimulates social capital building at community level by strengthening social relationships between community actors and enhancing mutual trust. (Voicu, 2010; Voicu, 2006; Putnam et al., 2001)

Facilitate innovation in finding solutions to community problems is another principle of the LEADER programme. Innovation is broadly understood as representing new ways of doing things – at the level of products, services, processes, or as new and more effective solutions to existing problems (Phillis, Deiglmeier and Miller, 2008).

Networking in the LEADER approach involves experience and know-how exchanges between local action groups or members and the beneficiaries of their work. These experience exchanges enable the transfer of best practices, the dissemination of innovations and lessons learned from devising and implementing local development strategies, as well as building relationships between the different participating actors to foster future partnerships.

Cooperation between local action groups at regional, national or European level involves a partnership between these groups in order to develop bridging social capital. This cooperation is not limited to the exchange of experience, it is based on a joint project that facilitates the implementation of a strategy and brings value to the actions included in that strategy.

LEADER in Romania

The LEADER programme is implemented in Romania since 2007, but the funding of local action groups (LAGs) began in 2012. There are 163local action groups selected by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development for funding, of which 81 were recognised in 2011 and 82 in 2012. The territory covered by the local action groups selected for funding represents approximately 78.34% of the eligible territory (142,267 km^2) and includes 1805 communes and 79 cities/towns with less than 20,000 inhabitants, and approximately 72.34% (6,770,589 inhabitants) of the LEADER eligible population. (MARD, 2014; MARD, 2015) 6191 projects (65.15%) of the target of 9502for the implementation of Local Development Strategies were contracted under the LEADER axis of NRDP. (MARD, 2015)

In order to get funding, LAGs needed to comply with certain establishment conditions characteristic of LEADER: the covered territory had to be mainly rural and have a population from 10,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, and the population density had to be of maximum 150 inhabitants/km²; the non-public partners (social and economic partners and the civil society - farmers, women, young people from rural areas and their associative structures) had to account for at least 51% of the partnership included in the decision-making LAG structure; the territory had to be geographically and economically homogeneous and not be limited to the administrative boundaries of a county; the LAG territory could include 1 city/town with less than 20,000 inhabitants provided that 25% of the LAG population should be urban; the territory covered by the local development strategy of a LAG had to have sufficient human, financial and economic resources to support the implementation of a viable strategy (MARD, 2012).

The implementation of the LEADER programme in Romania encountered several problems related to various bureaucratic issues and non-compliance with the principles underlying the programme - cooperation, innovation, networking, and integrated and multi-sectoral actions. The analysis of the data from interviews with representatives of Romanian LAGs shows that, in order to implement the local development strategy, LAGs funded only projects which were compliant with the measures included in the National Rural Development Programme, thus becoming managing authorities at micro-regional level. LAGs did not finance innovative or multi-sectoral and integrated activities or projects in partnership because they were not clearly defined in NRDP, hence the amounts could not be reimbursed. Under these circumstances, LAGs were regranting bodies for NRDP, but had limited powers and limited control over beneficiaries. They were the ones that launched financing lines at micro-regional level, conducted the first evaluation of files and monitored implementation. The final evaluation of projects, the contracting and the reimbursement of expenses were done by the County Offices of the Paying Agency for Rural Development and Fisheries (PARDF), currently the Agency for Rural Investment Funding (ARDF). The decentralisation tested through LEADER did not work because there were many public institutions that approved the activity of LAGs – county and regional offices of PARDF, PARDF at national level, the NRDP managing authority.

Preparations for the implementation of LEADER in Romania started before 2007 by selecting the potential territories for LAGs (120 territories) and training their representatives to build partnerships, devise and implement strategies according to the programme approach. The implementation of LEADER in Romania was much delayed, the first selection for funding of the LAGs that met the eligibility criteria and whose local development strategies were compliant with the requirements took place in 2011, when 81 LAGs were authorised. The second selection took place in 2012, when 82 LAGs were selected for funding. The actual funding of the first LAGs started in 2012, 5 years after the start of the programme in Romania, and thus the implementation of actions with long-term effects was no longer possible.

In the selection of LAGs, priority was given to those whose territory comprised two or more counties with a population between 30,000 and 70,000 inhabitants and a density below 75 inhabitants/km², and which included poor or disadvantaged areas, areas in Natura 2000 sites, areas with high natural value (HNV), areas affected by industrial restructuring (MARD, 2012).These criteria favouring certain territories led in many cases to a 'forced' partnership within LAGs in order to meet those requirements and get a higher score.

The territory of a LAG could also include a city/town with less than 20,000 inhabitants only if it interposed in the geographical homogeneity and helped ensure consistency of the territory or of the resources necessary to support the development strategy. If a city/town of more than 20,000 inhabitants interposed in a LAG's territory, that city/town could be included only if it did not exceed 25% of urban population and the need to be included was justified. For the 2007-2013 funding period, the cities/towns under LAGs partnership did not receive funding as the funding was intended exclusively for rural areas.

Due to several bureaucratic problems, in the first funding period of LAG funding no amount was provided for the financing of institutional activity – operating costs and staff-related costs, leading in many cases to a delay in the implementation of the local development strategy. The funding of LAG operation depends on the amount of project payment reimbursements, even if this is done by the County Offices of PARDF/ARDF and is not directly related to LAG activity. The funding of a local development strategy amounted to about EUR 2,500,000 plus management cost of EUR 300,000. Under these circumstances, the value of projects could not be high and was centred by local actors on small interventions.

The cooperation activities between LAGs carried out under LEADER both at national and international level were extremely low, almost non-existent in the period from 2012 to 2015 due to the hesitations of the managing authorities' staff who considered that there were no clearly defined criteria for those cooperation projects and did not accept them for funding. There were cases where some LAGs developed such cooperation projects even internationally, falling under measure 421 and whose expenditure was not approved by the staff of the NRDP managing authorities. Under measure 421 'Implementing cooperation projects', a total of 30 projects were contracted, representing 9.93% of the target of 302, of which 27 for inter-territorial cooperation and 3 for transnational cooperation. (MARD, 2015)

Innovation, one of the LEADER principles, was hardly present in local development strategies and projects funded under this programme in Romania. The broad definition of the innovation concept caused confusion among the personnel of the managing authorities and thus they avoided financing such projects. Only 35 projects of those approved for funding targeted innovative actions – development of new products or improvement of existing ones, development or use of new technologies to increase production etc. (MARD, 2015)

Networking in a LAG micro-region could not be achieved at the desired level, where there would be even projects developed in partnership by actors from different communities. The projects aiming at intervention in two or more LAG communities could not be implemented due to problems related to bureaucracy and interpretation of funding guidelines.

The same is true for integrated and multi-sectoral actions which could not be implemented because of bureaucracy in programme management units. It was much easier to finance only actions that were provided for also in the NRDP measures because they seemed clear to officials than to pursue projects that were aimed at intervention in several sectors of community development.

Conclusions

The LEADER approach, through its principles, promotes community as the main actor of its own development in order to ensure its sustainability. It should be complementary to top-down public policies and interventions and not just implement them. Even if the project evaluation procedure is easier at LAG level and the information activities carried out by LAGs allow stakeholders to know better the bureaucratic procedures for developing and implementing projects, LAGs should facilitate projects developed under partnership between the communities making up a LAG and which aim at innovative and multi-sectoral actions for solving local problems. There is no need to transform them into mini managing authorities at micro-regional level; their original purpose should be preserved: innovative and integrated local development by community actors in partnership, using community resources. It is necessary to ease bureaucracy in the implementation of NRDP and provide better training to those in charge of the LEADER axis in order for them to understand the type of projects that can be implemented.

Intervention at micro-regional level is one of the features of the LEADER programme since projects should be carried out in partnership by communities for an integrated intervention, but this happened to a very small extent in Romania. Micro-regions are characterised not only by geographical homogeneity but also by economic homogeneity, precisely to allow this intervention in several communities. Every community has resources and specificities which can be complementary in a local development process. Project activities should target interventions tailored to the specificities of each community and help however the overall development of the micro-region – e.g. tourism can be enhanced by unlocking the natural potential of LAG communities, by preserving and restoring tourist attractions, as well as by promoting organic farming and local produce. Without these projects developed by LAG communities in partnership, the LEADER programme loses its essence.

Inter-territorial and transnational cooperation was very low in the period from 2012 to 2015 when funding was provided for the implementation of LAGs' local development strategies. Cooperation facilitates innovative actions promoted by the LEADER programme. In addition, it is a good learning opportunity for local actors involved in this process both in terms of positive aspects and problematic aspects relating to the implementation of local development strategies. The indicators of projects developed in cooperation and innovative actions are very low due to the lack of understanding of the programme by the public authorities involved.

Partnership within local action groups is not functional in all cases, especially where this structure was not based on a previous experience of cooperation between the local actors involved. It is a formal association of actors to access these public funds and does not enable implementation of projects in partnership as each actor is interested in the funding of a certain project in his community. The most active partners are public institutions, particularly local administrations, which identified an opportunity for the funding of different needs existing in their communities. Activities are needed to stimulate partnership between actors in LAGs and its composition should be changeable during the funding period, if necessary.

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *43-55*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

URBAN SPRAWL AND DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS IN SUCEAVA METROPOLITAN AREA[1]

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Abstract: *The quantification of the extension process of settlements boundaries is relatively new in the field of urban and territorial planning, taking scale once with the use of Geographic Informational System, in terms of remote sensing and photo interpretation of the satellite imagery from different periods of time. The contiguous build-up areas present high densities of population fact that is one of the premises of sustainable development. Using aerial and satellite imagery a highly-detailed map of the urban foot print of the studied area for the years 2004, 2010 and 2014which showed that the last 10 years the settlements expanded with almost 15%, mostly around Suceava and fragmenting the landscape. The demographic data showed that the population has grown on average, but some of the administrative units have lost population, the city of Suceava suffering the biggest population drop. In Romania urban sprawl is a phenomenon that also occurs for medium sized cities and the challenges for them are bigger due to the incapacity of the planning documents.*

Keywords*: urban expansion, GIS, urban sprawl, Suceava metropolitan area.*

1. Introduction

At this moment, cities are the main places for growth, both economically and demographically and this growth has major spatial implications almost all the policies that govern a country, a region or a city has a territorial effect. This case study of Suceava Metropolitan Area show that incoherent spatial planning in the last two decades lead to major urban sprawling in an area considered one of the poorest in the

[1] This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of programme co-funded by the European Union within the Operational Sectorial Programme for Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programmes Project Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/141086
A less extensive version of this paper was presented at the International Conference Quality of Life: a Challenge for Social Policy, *organized by the* Quality of Life Research Institute – Romanian Academy*, 23-25th of April 2015.*

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EU, with considerable landscape changing and deficiencies in what concerns a good quality of life for the people who live in the sprawled areas. Using remote sensing methods and statistical data I will show that the city of Suceava suffered a demographical process of shrinking in the same time with a territorial expansion while the rural and urban settlements in its metropolitan area had shown a growth both in built-up area and in demographics.

It is considered that urban sprawl is a characteristic for big cities, this type of low density landscape surrounds all the major metropolitan areas (Gilli, 2009) and many of the largest cities in the world have to deal with the problems of what the sprawl implies because it is seen as a factor for un sustainability both ecological and economical for the nowadays cities (Goetz, 2013). Many of the West European cities have elaborated strategies and plans in order to stop this phenomenon because the build-up areas of the settlements have increased with 20% while the population has increased only with 6% in the last 20 years (EEA, 2006).

The terminology difference between urban sprawl and urban expansion is quite thin. A clear distinction was made by Jan K. Brueckner who said that the urban sprawl is the extreme version of urban expansion, it is the form where the city is increasing in dimension but the growth isn't produced by the growth of the number of inhabitants, while urban expansion is a normal process where "cities must grow spatially to accommodate an expanding population" (Brueckner, 2000).

In Romania, besides Bucharest with a population of 2.1 million people in 2014 according to the National Statistics Institute, other large size cities deal with this issue and while in North America and in Western Europe this is an issue from the mid-20th century, in Romania it is quite new and it's a characteristic for the post-communist Romanian cities (Grigorescu et al. a.2012, b.2012,).The factors that gave birth to this phenomenon were set in three periods of time: a) 1990-1992, when the law that regulated the settlements' systematization is abrogated and the previous state-owned properties return to their owners or to the inheritors; b) 1992-2000, when the construction activities were under an permissive law and people built along the main roads together with some enterprises and commercial activities who extended the built-up area of the cities; c) 2001- present. Starting 2001, all the administrative territorial units were obliged by law to make urban planning and land use plans, but under the pressure of a high demand for residential buildings and the lack of space inside the cities, the natural and agricultural landscape surrounding the cities was transformed into low-density housing often with poor road connectivity and poor utilities distribution (Suditu, 2009).

As the mentioned author said, in the last 10 years it was a high demand for dwellings, people wanted to live at the periphery because of the poor quality of the flats and the desire to escape from this type of collective housing that was considered a reminiscence of the communist regime and they had the financial possibility to do that, as most of the new buildings were financed by mortgages and loans. Another source of finance for the residential developments were the money sent by the Romanians who worked abroad, mostly in the EU countries and who contributed massively to this sector of the economy (Sandu, 2010).

After the economic crisis hit Romania the number of residential developments has decreased, but the issue of urban sprawl was put on the public agenda in the Romanian Territorial Development Strategy, where in one of this document's reports it is shown that between 1993 and 2010 the cities built-up area has increased with 87% while the ratio of urban population has increased with only 0.8% (SDTR, IHS Romania, 2013). One of the objectives for territorial development that this document states is referring to assure a balance between the settlements' need for expansion and the sustainable use of the land resources but without a coherent vision for each city and its metropolitan area translated into their General Urban Plans (PUG), this objective will be hard to be attained.

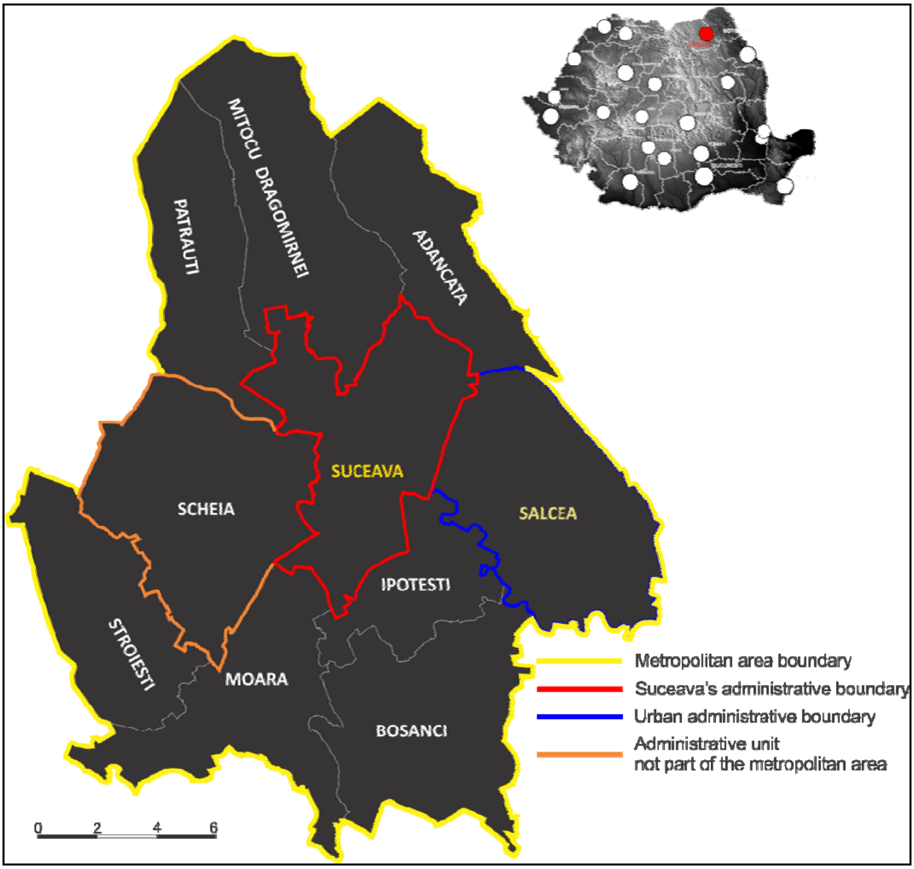
The data revealed by this document and the research of other authors showed that urban sprawl is a phenomenon that is present in small and medium-size cities in Romania (Suditu et al. 2010) and Suceava and its metropolitan area is a revealing example as it will be shown in the next chapters. This paper is structured as follows: the data requirements and the methodology will be presented, the results of the applied methodology and discussions on the findings will come after and at the final some conclusions will be presented.

2. Materials and methods

This research has two major components: the urban foot-print component and the demographic component. The area of the study is the city of Suceava and its metropolitan area. In Romania only the 1st degree cities can form a metropolitan area according to the 351/2001 Law but other cities that are the seat of the county can form a voluntary based association with the urban and rural administrative units that surround them and this association can work as a metropolitan area.

In present the Suceava's Metropolitan Area Association is an assembly of two urban administrative units: Suceava and Salcea, and six rural administrative units: Adâncata, Bosanci, Ipoteşti, Mitocu Dragomirnei, Moara, Pătrăuţi and Stroieşti (fig.1). From this association the Şcheia administrative unit refused to take part despite the fact that is closely connected to Suceava and the built-up area of these two localities, in time, created a unitary urban footprint. Considering this fact the study area included this village, in order to create a better image for the studied proccesses, people and economies being slightly indifferent to the local political frictions.The city of Suceava has a population of 116,311 inhabitants in 2014, the entire metropolitan area a population of 174,580 which means that on a surface of 443.77 square kilometers the density is 393 inhabitants per square kilometer in 2012.

Figure 1. *Study area: Suceava Metropolitan Area*



There is a lot of literature that analyses the dynamics of the urban sprawl using remote sensing and GIS because temporal satellite imagery is a powerful resource in quantifying the land use changes around the globe. In order to make a recent and a detailed assessment of the built-up area in the studied zone I used high resolution aerial and satellite imagery from three different years: 2004, 2010, and 2014 (table 1).

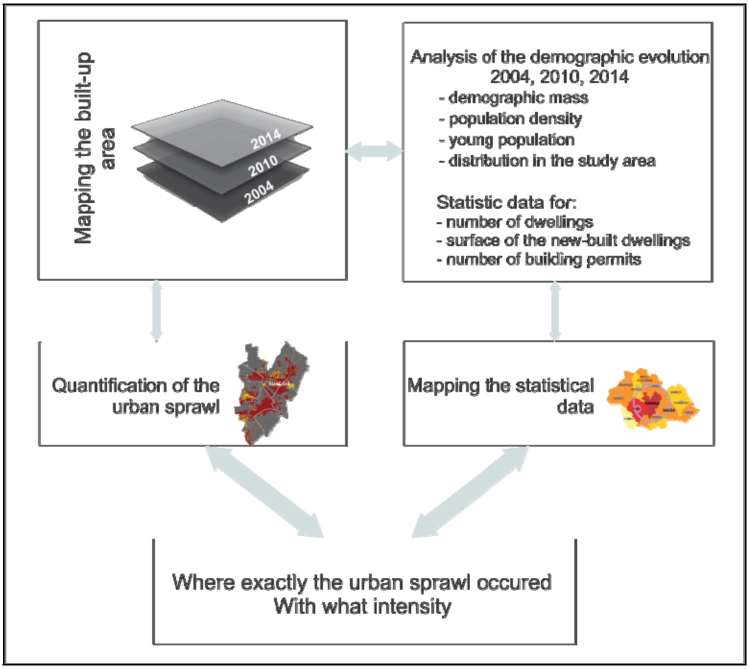
Table 1. Imagery sources and mode of mapping

Year	Source of the imagery	Software of digitization
2004	ANCPI (aerial imagery; 0.5 m/pixel)	Arc GIS 10.1
2010	Google Earth Pro (satellite imagery, 0.5m/pixel)	Google Earth Pro 7.1
2014	Google Earth Pro (satellite imagery, 0.5m/pixel)	Google Earth Pro 7.1

The mapping of the built-up area was made by manually digitizing the areas with clusters of buildings indifferent of their use. This method allowed me to make a highly detailed map for the studied years. The mapping had as a base unit the parcel and not the buildings. The GIS layer that contained the administrative boundaries were obtained also from ANCPI (National Agency of Cadaster and Land Regitration). Other authors used an automatically method to map the temporal situation of the built-up areas (Ramachandra, 2014, Siedentop & Fina, 2010) but the results' accuracy isn't the one needed for an assessment at this scale.

Statistical data was used to confirm the analysis based on the aerial and satellite imagery. These data-sets contains information regarding the number of dwellings built in the three years of study, the living area of the homes and the number of building permits emitted in 2004, 2010 and 2014 (fig.2).

Figure 2. *Methodological scheme*



The source of the above mentioned statistical data is the National Statistics Institute, form its TEMPO-Online (http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/?page=info) platform. The same data source was used to obtain data for the demographic component of this paper. All this data was compiled in a spatial database in a GIS environment and it was mapped using the Arc GIS software. The methodology applied was set to give an exact image of where are the areas where the sprawl occurred and the intensity of this phenomenon.

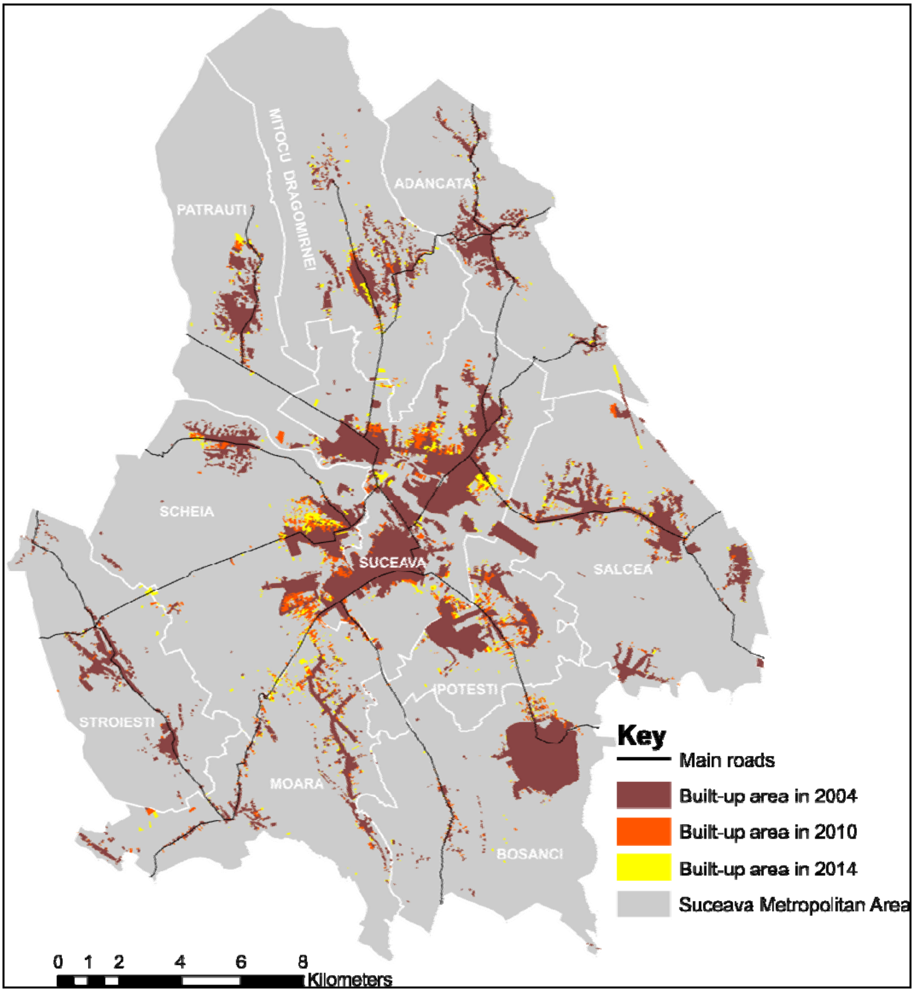
3. Results and Discussion

Urban sprawl. Based on the aerial and satellite imagery, mapping the urban footprint lead to a highly-detailed map of the built-up area for 2004, 2010 and 2014 (fig. 3). At the scale of the entire metropolitan area, the settlements' morphology is very fragmented, it was fragmented in the baseline year 2004, and the fragmentation continued at a high rate, the new-built areas being localized at the localities periphery. The expansion was intense at the periphery of Suceava city, especially in the northern part of its administrative boundary where many residential buildings were placed between2004-2010 and also between 2010-2014. The functions of these buildings are mainly individual homes, retail and some with logistic activities. This area attracted many of the city's residents because it was an escape from the high-density blocks of flats, the traffic that became more and more intense, the need for more living space and this area was close to the city-center, had a good connectivity with it and has a good natural environment, being close to a forest. Other areas that faced a major expansion of the built-up area are located at the western part of Suceava but administratively belong to the Şcheia and Moara communes, therefore in rural areas. Here, the built-up areas of the villages are combined with the one of Suceava, forming a slightly heterogeneous but single urban foot-print. The un built spaces in 2010 were filled in four years by buildings, the majority of them weren't developed by real-estate developers but by individuals that bought a parcel of land and built a home on it without a zoning plan, often without a building permit, the construction law in Romania gives the possibility for an owner to obtain the permit in some conditions after he built the establishment.

The new-built areas are located mostly in the proximity of the main roads that in time are transformed in streets, as a consequence of the lack or poor quality of the existing streets, often unable to take the morning and evening traffic.

In ten years (from 2004 to 2014) the built-up area has expanded with an overall figure of 14.95% (table 2), gaining 8.93 square kilometers. The growth rates differ between the administrative units in the metropolitan area, the most intensive increment happened in Moara and Scheia, these two communes have now with more than a quarter more built-up surface than in 2004.The lowest growth rates have been registered in Bosanci and Stroieşti communes, the distance between them and Suceava and the poor quality of infrastructure determined the people form the city to choose localities that were closer to the jobs and the services provided by the city.

Figure 3. *The built-up area in 2004, 2010 and 2014*



The temporal analysis of the two periods of time shows that in some communes was smaller in 2010-2014 than in 2004-2010, not surprising because this period of time is smaller than the previous one. What is surprising is that the later period is the one when the economic crisis hit Romania and the real-estate developments were one of the principal activities that were affected. Mitocu Dragomirnei, Adancata and Stroiesti had a bigger rate of territorial expansion in 2010-2014 than the previous interval, Moara and Scheia suffering a major drop between the two intervals.

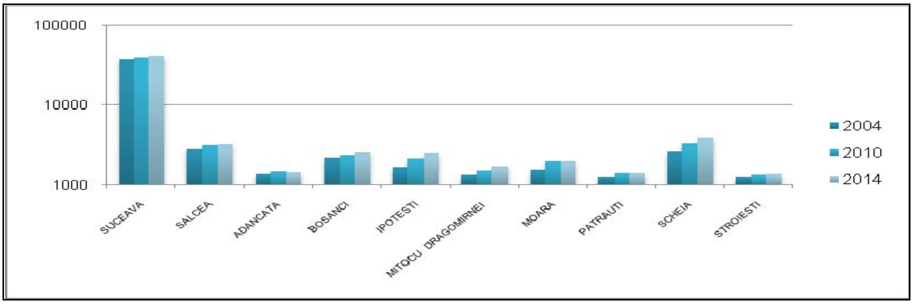
Table 2. Urban expansion between 2004-2010 and 2010-2014 in Suceava Metropolitan Area

Territorial administrative unit	2004 (sq km)	2010 (sq km)	2014 (sq km)	Evolution 2004-2010 (%)	Evolution 2010-2014 (%)	Evolution 2004-2014 (%)
SUCEAVA	14.56	15.91	16.879	8.54	5.69	13.74
SALCEA	5.81	6.182	6.459	6.02	4.29	10.05
ADANCATA	3.039	3.124	3.279	2.72	4.73	7.32
BOSANCI	5.434	5.696	5.808	4.60	1.93	6.44
IPOTESTI	3.681	4.061	4.337	9.36	6.36	15.13
MITOCU DRAGOMIRNEI	3.059	3.376	3.834	9.39	11.95	20.21
MOARA	3.2	4.006	4.434	20.12	9.65	27.83
PATRAUTI	2.361	2.592	2.803	8.91	7.53	15.77
SCHEIA	5.816	7.291	7.881	20.23	7.49	26.20
STROIESTI	2.506	2.596	2.69	3.47	3.49	6.84
Total	**49.466**	**54.843**	**58.404**	**9.34**	**6.31**	**14.95**

The results of the photo interpretation of the aerial and satellite imagery are confirmed by the official records for the number of existing homes and the surface of the living surface (fig. 4 & 5). The number of homes has grown in most of the administrative units in Suceava's metropolitan area but the rate of the growth isn't as spectacular as the built-up area analysis showed. The reason for this is that in some of the communes and in Suceava and Salcea cities were built other types of non-residential constructions such as retail buildings, storehouses, industry, and infrastructure (the airport is a good example). By far, the most numerous residential spaces are located in Suceava but the city of Salcea and Scheia village are becoming satellite settlements, becoming the place where people live and not the place where they have economic activities. In Adancata and Patrauti the statistics show that the number of dwellings in 2014 is lower than 2010, which is a bit strange giving the fact that the sprawl has increased and it is not likely that some dwellings were demolished, at first site there may be a statistical error in data collection.

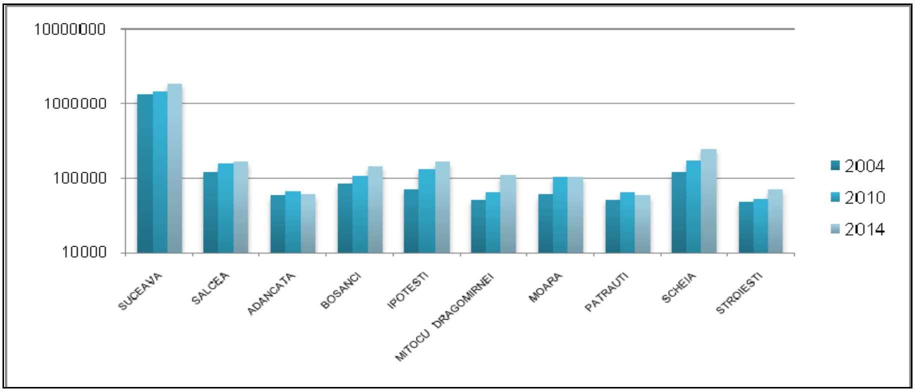
The total surface of the dwellings has increased significantly between 2004 and 2014, which means that besides the fact that more homes were built, the average area of the residential buildings has also increased, most of them being individual homes, often with more than one level.

Figure 4. *Number of existing dwellings in 2004, 2010 and 2014*



Source: National Statistics Institute

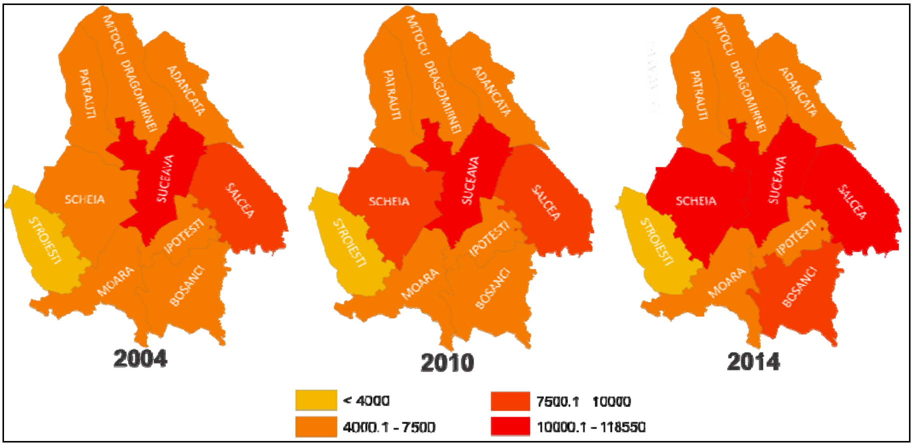
Figure 5. *Surface of the homes in 2004, 2010 and 2014 (square meters)*



Source: National Statistics Institute

Demographic dynamic. The phenomenon of shrinking cities in Romania has occurred at a higher rate after the integration in the EU, when the external migration has increased significantly. In this period, the urban population was more attracted to the suburbs of the medium and large size cities in Romania, a consequence of the increasing incomes and that the residential spaces inside the urban area were not sufficient for the demand (Grigorescu et al. 2012(a), Sârbu, 2012). In an era of concentration and centrality the reasons for suburbanization and urban sprawl are numerous: the increased individual mobility that allowed people to travel from longer distances to their jobs that were located in town; the low land-prices that determined people to renounce to living in the city and move in places that they could afford; the low air-quality and other environmental-related causes determined young families to want to raise their children in non-polluted areas, etc. All these causes are part of one big important process: urban planning (Fernandez et al. 2012) which in the metropolitan area of Suceava has produced little effects.

Figure 6. *The number of inhabitants in 2004, 2010 and 2014*



Source: National Statistics Institute

In the post-communist period Suceava has suffered a quite drastic process of deindustrialization, this causing major social problems that determined people to migrate in west-European countries in serch for jobs. The population loss was quite big between the last two national censuses (2002 and 2011), when according to the published results the city of Suceava had with 13,744 less inhabitants (-12.9%).

At the metropolitan level the population mass has increased between 2004 and 2014 mainly in the rural settlements and in the city of Salcea (fig. 6, tab.3). In this interval Salcea and Scheia have passed the threshold of 10.000 inhabitants, the new residents bringing a big contribution to the sprawl mapped at *figure 3*.

According to the data provided by the National Statistics Institute (tab.3), Suceava has only lost 1.89% of its population between 2004 and 2014 and the entire metropolitan area has gained with 14.39% more population. The biggest growth rates were registered in the villages that are very close to Suceava, Ipotesti and Scheia, practically, the people living in these villages are living in an urban area but administratively they belong to rural units. Besides Suceava, two other units recorded a decrease in population number, Adancata and Stroiesti that also had a very low increase in built-up area, so their attractiveness isn't very high. The city of Suceava experiences an accelerating population decrease, in the last four years it lost more inhabitants than in the previous 6 years and it is possible that the trend will continue, the rural settlements attracting more people.

Table 3. Number of inhabitants and dynamics 2004-2014

Territorial Administrative Unit	Suceava	Salcea	Adancata	Bosanci	Ipotesti	Mitocu Dragomirnei	Moara	Patrauti	Scheia	Stroiesti	Total
Population 2004	118550	9115	4433	7044	4997	4180	4446	4444	7413	3522	**168144**
Population 2010	118089	9861	4378	7371	5826	4638	4859	4879	8851	3406	**172158**
Population 2014	116311	10347	4363	7649	6732	4976	5277	5237	10313	3375	**174580**
Evolution 2004-2010 (%)	-0.39	7.57	-1.26	4.44	14.23	9.87	8.50	8.92	16.25	-3.41	**6.47**
Evolution 2010-2014 (%)	-1.53	4.70	-0.34	3.63	13.46	6.79	7.92	6.84	14.18	-0.92	**5.47**
Evolution 2004-2014 (%)	-1.89	13.52	-1.58	8.59	34.72	19.04	18.69	17.84	39.12	-4.17	**+14.39**

Source: National Statistics Institute

The rural areas in the Suceava metropolitan area are more attractive for the population who doesn't want to live in an apartment inside the city but that still want to have general access services in their reach. This kind of argument is very present for the people in the studied area because they constructed mainly in the areas located in the proximity of the city that also had good road connectivity, therefore the engine for the sprawl is a cultural one. The city's economy isn't nowadays between the most competitive in Romania, actually Suceava is located in one of the poorest regions in EU but it represents an island of welfare in the region so it attracts population from the rural areas in the county. Also, some of the economic activities are located in the outskirts of Suceava and in the near rural settlements so the employees that don't live in the city will be more tempted to buy or build a home near their workplace, in order to avoid the in-city traffic.

Giving the fact that in general the people that decide to move in the suburbs are economically active, relatively young families with their children, Suceava will suffer a more accentuated ageing of the population, the share of old people will increase causing putting the health system under pressure. The life in the new-sprawled areas isn't as good as the inhabitants expected. In most of the cases they don't have asphalted roads; their houses aren't connected to any centralized utilities such as water, sewage, gas; don't benefit from waste collection and the public transport is not in reach. The separate urban planning for all the localities that compose the metropolitan area of Suceava leads to this type of dysfunctions that alters the quality of life for the inhabitants. The changes for the landscape are considerable, the type of sprawl that occurred in Suceava in the studied years, have fragmented more the built-up areas, creating low-density, discontinuous urban foot-prints, changing the land use form agricultural to rural or partial urban. The natural environment in the metropolitan area is quite fragmented and this can be an opportunity to stop the territorial expansion of the localities and guide them to a more thoroughly urban planning that will create a better environment for inhabitants and contribute to a better quality of life.

4. Conclusions

Suceava and its metropolitan area has encountered in the last 10 years with major transformations in what concerns the way of living, the landscape and the mobility of its inhabitants, these transformations happening with a different rate for a medium-sized city like Suceava. The engine for the urban and demographic dynamics are various, the changes in the Romanians' culture and incomes combined with an ambiguous and un-coherent planning policies have provoked some irreversible transformations, that will need time and investments to correct.

The used methodology for assessing the dynamic of the urban sprawl and the demographic one has shown that for most of the territorial administrative units the urban expansion was a consequence of a demographic growth, but the sprawl's rate of growth was bigger than the demographic one. Between 2004-2014, the metropolitan area of Suceava increased its urban foot print with 14.95% and its population grew with 14.39%. Only the city of Suceava has experienced an inverse process: while the built-up area was expanding, the population decreased and the trend is continuing in this direction. The GIS based methodology for measuring the dynamic of the urban sprawl can be a useful tool for planners that will provide a clear image of the land use changes (Aguilera et al. 2011, Jinki &Ellis, 2009). For a more comprehensive image of the causes and more important, the consequences of the urban sprawl in Suceava, further sociological research must be made in order to determine what type of population choose to move in the city's suburbs and how their life changed since they live there.

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *56-67*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

PERCEPTIONS OF A SAMPLE OF PHYSICIANS FROM BUCHAREST UPON ROMANIAN HEALTH POLICY[1]

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Abstract: *This article is part of a broader analysis, which is based on qualitative data collection by interviewing a sample of physicians. Data collection was conducted from November 2014 to March 2015. There were interviewed a total number of 40 physicians in Bucharest. Most of those interviewed are specialists working in state hospitals or are family physicians. Their perceptions upon how the medical system works show their displeasure against low wages, disorganization in the system, less efficient management of financial and human resources in the system. They pull the alarm on the phenomenon of massive migration of physicians and health indicators of the population. Rates of morbidity and mortality in Romania are a blend of specific indicators for developed countries with specific indicators for developing countries. Although most health indicators have improved over the last two decades, a number of indicators are still very problematic, with significant gaps compared to the EU average.*

Keywords: *perceptions, Romania, health policy, physicians, health indicators.*

Introduction

The medical system in Romania has gone through some changes over the last 25 years, but it has not improved the quality of services at the level expected by public and by medical personnel, taking as reference the European average performance. The average life expectancy remains among the lowest in the region (74.4 years versus 80.3 EU27 average) and healthy life expectancy at birth (57.9 years, Romania 2013, compared to 61,5 years the average UE28) experienced a slight decline from 2007 to 2013 in

[1] This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of a program co-funded by the European Union within the Sectoral Operational Program, Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programs. Project Code: POSDRU/ 159/1.5/S/141086.

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Romania, both women and men (62.9 years in 2008 to 57.9 in 2013) (EUROSTAT, 2015)

Rates of morbidity and mortality are in Romania, a combination of specific indicators of developed countries (mortality from cardio-vascular diseases, the increase in cancer morbidity rates) with specific indicators of developing countries (the rate of infectious diseases, the increased rate of TB and rate of sexually transmitted diseases). Although most indicators have improved all along the period of 25 years after the revolution, a number of indicators still remains very problematic, far behind the EU average: the highest infant mortality in the EU (9 at 1,000 live births compared to 3.8 EU27 average in 2012) and the highest incidence of TB in EU (87 per 100,000 population in 2013, 10 times higher than some Western EU countries). (EUROSTAT, 2015)

The main cause of death in Romania are cardiovascular system diseases. In the West Europe, the trend is to reduce this rate; in Romania, it is growing. Deaths attributable to malignancy are below the EU average, but one should note avoidable deaths: the highest rate of death from cervical cancer in the EU, reflecting the inadequacy of the system to the needs of the population. Infant and maternal mortality indicators are also a strong correlation with the performance of the health system.

Also, in developed countries, health resources began to demand considerable effort. Life expectancy has increased in the European Union and the share of population aging (the main consumer of services in total), also modern drugs/interventions are costly. All these are important fiscal pressures. Although the Romanian state's financial efforts have increased over the last 10 years, in absolute numbers and percentage, the system deficiencies persist and, in the European context, Romanian health finance remains low. Romania continues to be one of the last places in the EU in terms of health resources. (4.36% of GDP government allocation, including social security funds, that is half of what countries like Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands allocate). The allocation of health finance should reach a minimum of 6% of GDP. (EUROSTAT, 2015)

In spite of statistical indicators, interviewed physician show that Romanian population's state of health is not overall known. A national screening was done couple of years ago, with the aim of knowing population's health state. Unfortunately, only a part of population, including a large part of the old age generations have responded, as the screening was not compulsory.

> "Before 1990, there were mandatory checks, even if it was a reduced screening, but they did some research and population was known. Now, I organized a workshop for gastric cancer, where I invited some teachers from Japan. We are in an embarrassing situation because, in spite all the relationships we have in Ministry of Health, the Health Insurance Fund, I cannot say which is the incidence of gastric cancer in Romania. There is nothing to tell us what is happening in Romania with this rate. Basically, we do not even know what is happening in our health system."

> "We do not know the real situation of the health of the population. We are influenced by what we saw on TV that everything was dramatic. Perhaps the

> situation is not so dramatic or it is even worse than we think. Media campaigns have always media interest on their back. There are not aimed at sustaining the health of the population. During the workshop on cancer I am organizing, I invited the biggest names in the field in the world. Nobody from Minister was interest. Everything that is done, is done through my own efforts."

It is known that a sick society brings monetary and social costs on the long term, by the consequences upon human capital, directly related to productivity and the system of social assistance. Thus, solving health problems only punctually, marginally, poorly funded has long-term consequences.

This article is part of a broader analysis conducted by the author, based on an analysis of qualitative data collection by interviewing a sample of physicians in Bucharest. Qualitative data collection was conducted from November 2014 to March 2015. There were interviewed a total number of 40 physicians from Bucharest. Most of those interviewed are specialists (32 physicians), working in state hospitals (28), physicians in private hospitals (4), or family physicians with individual practice cabinet (8).

The used research instrument was an interview guide with open items, which included topics related to health policy in the health system since 1990, the weaknesses / obstacles that physicians encounter in the daily exercise of their profession, financing the system, policies for health professionals, social costs of current health policy.

Physician have left the country massively in the last years. That should be a warning to health policy. The government should realize that an investment in public health is absolutely necessary and set as a priority for Romania. That it should not be delayed just because it does not bring results on short term, with electoral impact. It requires taking political responsibility and prioritization of investments. Currently, employees in the system complains not only about the low level of salaries and low funding for the needs of the system, but about the fact that studies of cost–effectiveness are not used in policy decisions, there is not proper a prioritization in investments and there is no transparency in the allocation of funds.

The process of health policy must be a real answer to current health problems

Analysis of health policy should be studied in social and historical context of national social policy. In Romania, the policy adopted, on the background of limited financial resources, granted marginal positions to health system and education system, in terms of funding, after 1990. At the same time, the policy of reforming the health system was not bold enough to achieve major reform, as other former communist countries did, reforms that have succeed to improve services quality. Social and political history, ideology of each state and the role of unions or professional organizations shape the evolution of systems in Europe.

The process of health policy must be essentially a pragmatic response to a range of health and social problems and it must be based on a set of values. Based on an assumed set of values, there is determined a set of prioritized problems. Public policy is therefore that course of action (or lack of action), chosen by the public authorities in response to a particular issue or set of issues. Public policies offer a path forward for a whole range of interrelated actions. Thus, policies are tools that solve community problems. Not everything that governments do is the result of a policy. Faced with a crisis, there is a tendency to adopt emergency solutions that bring temporary solutions and whose impact is not measured on long term. (Drummon M. F *et al.*, 2005; Hunink M. G., 2014)

Cost control should be considered and the current state of the system assumed, as well as the consequences of long-term underfunding of some subdomains. Otherwise, the health system adjusts itself, as it happens with the Romanian one at the moment, because funding ends and the services / products are not free anymore, as stated legitimately by the law, limiting access to those without out of pocket resources. Therefore, the damage caused by reduced funding cannot be controlled, because they are not legitimately recognized. Legally, everything is free in the system based on quality of insured; many services are not free, in fact, because it cannot be accessed without out of pocket money, when funding is over.

It is better to have a strategy and a hierarchy of problems to be solved on the basis of how current resources allow, an acceptance that the current funding cannot maintain functional European standards for all its components, because finances are not enough for this level. Thus, there is developed a hierarchy of damage and problems remaining unsolved, served at lower standards or provided with copayment. It is preferable to the inability to assess collateral damage and losses and not be able to prioritize direct costs and social costs of the system. The example below is of one of a surgeon in a great emergency hospital in Bucharest. He shows that there are serious shortcomings in the system, even for simple, basic materials in one of main hospitals in Romania:

> "It's terrible what I am going to tell you. Today in my hospital I did not have serum, I did not have glucose and to discuss the order of magnitude, to understand the chaos in the system, a bottle of saline serum is 1leu (leu in one unit of Romanian money);but there are spent millions of lei on things that are locked and not used and this serum is 1 leu and it is missing. It is a total chaos." (…)

> "I cannot prescribe the same antibiotic two days one after the other. Once I started antibiotic treatment, treatment guidelines force me to follow that treatment for 5-7 days. Unless the answers of the body requires exchange of treatment. But I have patients who received 5 different antibiotics in 5 different days. It is an abomination. I have no hope that things go well and that the patient go well. Furthermore, under the new law, I cannot prescribe recipes, while they are hospitalized, which I think it is perfectly legal, the patient have already paid health insurance and it seems natural that during he is in hospital, the medication should be provided for free. But in fact, there is not an optimal provision of drugs and I cannot release prescription, in order that he buys antibiotic from the pharmacy. Maybe basic package should be really functional. Let us know what we can do and what we can do for patient. What can I offer to the patient and what can I not offer him. We say that we offer what we actually do not offer."

Basically, at the moment, according to interviewed physicians, there is a discrepancy between what it is stated that is offered and what is really offered. Also, it is a major dispersion of the few physicians and few financial resources in many health facilities, without a strategy. Everything starts from a policy unable to assume reforms which have a political price. The common shortcomings reported by interviewees include: lack of a system to monitor the quality of health services; lack of awareness of the real costs of the system; chronic sub-financing of some areas of the health system; inability to have a coherent long-term strategy for hospitals' development; professionals that are leaving the system.

> "It's hard to take things forward when things are judged in following terms at Ministry of Health: it is an election year or it is a pre-election year. So, it is better not to take decisions that would cost us politically. To close a hospital means to pay a political price, even if you actually raise the quality of services in the area, on a long run. And so, because we avoid to pay a political price, money is wasted unnecessarily. Senior hospitals have not enough physicians, nor do minor hospitals have enough physicians. Let's be serious: a hospital with 5 physicians is not hospital, a hospital must have at least 5 emergency line physicians. You cannot do emergency line with 2 people. Things are not done properly, with direct consequences for the patient. But they do not recognize this officially. I think the society could understand that some reforms are essential, if a real discussion and an effective information could be made."

Part of the problem seems to be therefore lack of political assumption, combined with a certain mindset, things dragged under the same form year, after year. One of these assumptions relates to the closure of hospitals that are below the national imposed rules, because they have no equipment required, nor necessary medical staff. A second type of political accountability that is expected by the medical staff is increasing/changing medical status in society. Firstly, by increasing the wages. But not only wages are important, doctors say, but also social recognition of the social role of physician. The physician is a person who has invested a lot of time/resources in education, the society also has invested a lot of resources in his education. A specialist physician reaches the age of 30-years and barely finish his residency, while in other specialties on the labor market, people reach a career and financial advancement, faster at this age. Romanian society loses its entire initial investment in educating physicians, because the state fails to provide decent salaries and a social deserved status thereafter. It is a social problem that must be raised. Does the society want not to have competent people to assist it in ensuring health? Valuing health is essential for most of people. Does the Romanian society want to lose previous investment in educating medical personnel?

> "The main fears of the people are death and disease. Any nation with a good judgment ensures itself that the members of that population are assisted in front of the main fears: disease and death, by the most competent people. Romania does not do this. It selects, up to a certain point, the most competent people and then, no longer cares for them, it lets them go… "

Making the list of priorities

The struggle for resources between the various issues to be resolved is another fact. Hence, the need for prioritization. Through the intervention of social policies, we are dealing with a process that decides assigning values to a group. The number of values assigned is smaller than the number of existing stock of values, which leads to competition between values and recipients: either economy does not have sufficient resources or just certain values are considered more desirable in society. Physicians interviewed talk about lack of prioritization in present Romanian health system. Do we know which the priorities of Romanian society are? Do we know what does Romanian society want to finance? Physicians explained that several mechanisms occur: those in decision facilitate their medical specialty and their own interests, when they come at governance, and the real costs of the system are not known.

> "Society must decide. Does it want to fund people who do not return any money into the society, or to what extent does it want to fund? You cannot finance anything, to anyone, even if he does anything for society later. Nor can be financed any type of ideas for everyone, even if one contributes more ".

> "Lack of prioritization of health. Each one that gets minister, each puts in the forefront of budgeting, the specialty where he comes from. That is not okay. The society has some priorities. They differ from one society to another. Nobody asked the society, which are its priorities and where you want to give money to. If we look, for example, in the newspapers, we see that one of the priorities is childhood cancer. Most ads requiring money, otherwise honest, are for such cases. For better treatment abroad. So this seems to be the number one priority. It must be funded, not different kinds of nonsense. So prioritizing is important and it is not done. "

Priorities of different social groups differ. On the other hand, Romanian society's values have been changing in the last 25 years of transition. Some 20 years ago patient from urban areas, is now no longer the same patient, physicians say. The patient of urban areas, especially large urban areas, wants to save time and solve things quickly. There are some people who refuse medical leave, while two decades ago, medical leave was a priority. Methods of financing some subdomains of the system should take into account these.

> "Priorities vary greatly from one social group to another. For example, for the Roma people, the most important is the treatment of pain. So if they have a pain, they are extremely aggressive in finding a solution for the rapid treatment of pain. But, it is not so important treating elderly, treating heart failure or care of a person with terminal disease. Pain is more important (...)

> For active and appropriate earning persons, price treatments not important, but the speed of effect of the treatment. This has been changing, comparing to 15 to 20 years ago. At that period, 20 years ago, it was important to get a medical leave, as long as possible. Now, the contrary, there are groups who simply refuse medical leave. Priorities change. They have to be seen. And when you have that list of priorities from top to bottom, a government may announce priorities and will have

a lot of back up from the population. Because it is what the population wants. But now, they actually finance where it can obtain more bribes."

According to Gilliam S. and Yates J. (2012), prioritization should be a transparent process based on a clear set of criteria. Is it required that service? Is the intervention suitable for that health system? Is service efficient in terms of cost? Setting priorities must take place within a clear ethical framework (Gilliam S et al., 2012:115). All systems have limited budgets and not every service can be financed. Those responsible for providing assistance facility should be able to explain how taxpayers' money was spent. Some more appropriate decisions are taken locally, but the need for some specialized services may be at low level for small populations. What factors should take into account when comparing options? As Stephen Gilliam S. shows, the first step would be to identify the needed services. It sounds simple, but in practice it is difficult because many of the services continue to be funded on "historic" basis. The last year work is funded the same this year plus perhaps a little extra funding, which takes into account couple of factors, as ageing or increase of population. The new interventions and service options are always potentially available but rarely decisions are made that lead to the withdrawal of a service investment and promote investing in new ones. (p.116). Secondly, establishing needs is very important. It is important to determine types of interventions of which services /goods will benefit most people and therefore, become priorities. The role of health professionals is to ensure that services are aimed at those who most need them. Most often needs are better assessed locally.

Evaluation of evidence of efficacy and cost-effectiveness evaluation are the next step. What action does not work, it should not be provided by a publicly funded facility. Often, however, the evidence is difficult to obtain. There are many health interventions for which quality and quantity of evidence are limited because they are a category of interventions that have multiple facets. The results are only partly owing to that intervention that we are concerned with. For example, the reduction in lung cancer mortality at men can be attributed to services as anti-smoking campaigns or tobacco taxation? Hard to say which of the interventions must be stopped or reduced (p.117).

The value is not counted only in money units and saving lives is not the only benefit. Costs and benefits should be carefully measured and compared between different interventions results. How to determine whether 100 lei spent on treatment for improvement of cardio-vascular diseases are more effective than 100 lei spent on cancer treatment? The results of interventions are competing in relation to the resources they consume. Relevant results and costs should be measured (p.119). Economic evaluation, on the other hand, may be defined as a comparative analysis of the action alternatives in terms of costs and consequences. Costs are generally of two types: direct (associated with the activity, i.e. the cost of 10 minutes for a GP consult) and indirect (are more difficult to measure, may include i.e. the cost of maintaining an office where physician works). Opportunity costs are the amount lost by not using resources (labor, capital) in the best alternative of use.

These types of cost-benefit analyzes are difficultly conducted in the medical systems, because of their complexity, shown above. The Romanian system took evaluation analyzes made in other health systems, put them into its system, adjusting as far as it could to the Romanian reality. The result is inconsistent with the needs of Romanian health services.

> "Manner of disbursement of a medical service in Romania are currently extremely random and contain 99 % incompetence and 1% malevolence. Normally, they must go hand in hand with the desire that health system has, that service is to be used more or less. If me, as a society am very interested in cervical cancer, then disbursement for that screening I do it bigger, in order that physicians draw patients for checking. This way must be made. All these settlements should take into account social priorities.
>
> Currently disbursements are generally to ensure a number of patients evaluated, to give something to the patients who have paid insurance, without taking into account the complexity of the procedures by which, those patients should be given, or quality of service that reach to them."
>
> „For example, in the UK, if you are in a hospital, let's say that it is a hospital of obstetrics and gynecology. This hospital receives from institution that pays an amount of money. They say: with that amount of money we pay such and such and we can produce 10 baby deliveries. The 11th birthday we cannot provide because there is no money. In our system, it is reversed. They say that for paying you wages and all costs, you should do in the first month a total of 10 baby deliveries, but in the second month, you can make a total of 12deliveries. In the third month, they decide that you can make 20 deliveries. So, it has nothing to do with working hours, with material consumption or with reality"
>
> "How do they decide? I do not know how. The system was initially started to budget according to Australian system, where someone has calculated which priorities are to budget. Then transposed in Romania, physicians were astonished, because apparently trivial procedures were very well paid. And important things were not paid at all. Trivial things as high cholesterol. Increased levels of it means that, at some point, some one is going to do heart attack or stroke. If you do not die, you will be expensive for the health system in the near future. So, it is very important to do something for this little thing. It was paid more points. But things that for us were very important, as is osteoarthritis, which is pain, suffering, distress, but never recover and to us it was the bulk of patients, in my specialty (patients sat for days in hospital) but for society this does not have an importance and hence the discrepancy."(…)
>
> "And then began the rebellion of physicians, that did not understand why some are better paid and more, less and someone from Health Ministry started to adjust, but adjusted them according to his own interests. If someone was gynecologist and now at power, he adjusted up everything from gynecology and down the rest. It did not matter that neurology hospitals groaned with patients with strokes. Important was that the money went to gynecology and things went well. And so on. "

> “Solutions? The first solution is not applicable: people to be told the truth. To receive for the money they contribute. At the moment, everyone lives under the impression that it can receive anything for the money they contribute. Few people know that with the money they contribute, they support 4-5 people that do not contribute to the system. And they think they can receive anything because it is their right. “

On the other hand, people expect that governments always take smart decisions and these decisions are the result of a vision. Taking smart decisions is to operate in a coherent framework, which often does not happen. The mere fact of selecting a right issue is actually based on some values. Typically, the policies do not respond to an isolated problem, often they meet a set of problems. It's what governments choose to do or not do. On the other hand, governments have a wide range of instruments of which must choose whose implementation will differently solve the identified problem. For example, to discourage smoking, governments can appeal to different tools such as information (through advertising campaigns), taxation, subsidy, regulation, setting up agencies to tackle directly the issue. Currently, physicians say a lack of vision dominates present Romanian system.

> "I worked outside the country, I saw what happens outside. We're not inferior in terms of medical training as compared with outsiders. What characterizes us is a lack of vision and total disorganization, nobody knows what the other does. "(..)

> "It has not changed anything since 1990, in my opinion, apart from the fact that the equipment began to appear, but the way it appears is totally chaotic, disproportionate and unrealistic. It appears where no equipment is needed and there are spent millions of Euros on that and the one we real need it does not appear "(...)"

Allocations are based almost exclusively on historical background

The inertia of all policies in itself is a thing to be taken into account. The budget from year to year, works on historical grounds. Innovation, the introduction of new measures, the increase of funding system face bottlenecks. Although policies may change gradually, in small steps, policy instruments have their inertia. Policies need to show internal consistency and coherence vertically, therefore activities arising from interrelated policy must be logically consistent. Horizontal consistency is manifested by coherence between policy areas.(Cleverly W.O., 2011; Drummon M. F et al., 2005; Gilliam S. et al., 2012;Hunink M. G., 2014)

> “The budget is something historic and budget allocations are based almost exclusively on historical background. What the budget had last year, it got this year. It uses an index to multiply with and it is the last year’s budget multiplied with this index. If the money are not enough, at rectification, there is a little complement. But this is not a problem of Ministry of Health, it is a mode our administrative is generally functioning. It is very hard to bring something new, to move things forward, towards something important because this historical ballast hangs. Budgets

> are often late. There are following election, and prime minister says: I do not do the budget, it will be prepared by the next prime minister. I do not know what will be the philosophy, I do not do it now, and it is to be done after the election. If the elections are on 15th of November, there will not be debate on the budget before the end of January. We're having budget in the second quarter of the year. "

Unfortunately, as shown by several physicians in Romania, at this moment, we do not have an estimation of actual costs of medical services in the system, fact that is reflected upon the entire political system. Not knowing the real costs of the system, you cannot make proper funding. This leads to some areas losing money and others are over-financed where not appropriate.

> "First of all, Romania has no way an estimation of the actual costs of the health services they provide, for a good period of time. This is about the laboratories or hospitals (outside the area Pharma/drugs, which is quite regulated); all the others, except Pharma are legacy costs, with historical background. I do not know on what basis they are placed. In hospitals, the real price of the intervention is a mixture imported from Australia, with one taken by Canada and with a Romanian contribution. Basically, we have no idea how much a medical act in a hospital costs. The cost of a day of admission in hospitals, this calculation was not done. There were some European projects commenced but withdrawn, there were not final adjustments to those calculations."

> "In the hospital this calculation is the most difficult to assess, because the prices of materials are non-unified, each hospital makes its own purchases, salaries of physicians are somewhat not uniform and there are not guides and therapeutic protocols, in the budget area. "

Another factor underlying health policies can be considered path dependence. It is the continuity of healthcare policy and other areas, and the importance of making choices for present related to past. Path dependence explains stability and resistance to change options. It is about investment costs, the effects of learning, coordination and anticipation. The change involves investing in learning, the ability to provide new behaviors, expectations change and organizational stress. On the other hand, mandates of those elected are on short-term, making them choose less expensive solution in terms of policy. A completely new solution often show immediate costs for its implementation and learning for long term benefits and therefore is not chosen by politicians. (Pierson P., 2000).

One of the factors Romanian health policy incoherence is in the opinion of those interviewed often change of decision makers from the Ministry of Health, involved in shaping policy.

> "It is very hard to do health policy, given that those who run health destinies are changed in less than a year. In continuous, these changes ... You cannot accuse those that were changed. They have just left, they left the place empty. Not their will. Most of them have not resigned or were forced for respective resignations. He is beginning to understand how things work, understand not know it all, only beginning to understand, and he is leaving. "

There are several common factors underlying policy responses in the health field since the 80s (Mahon A. *et al.,* 2009). One of them is a move toward reforms inspired by the market principles, from the patterns associated with the public service to business models, there is a talk about the new public management. It is about using ideas borrowed from the market in public sector management and breaking the public monopole. Efforts to reform and streamline the government began to be put on the public agenda only in the 80s, while criticism of the welfare state arose.

One of the most important changes is in personnel management. It is noted that traditional systems of remuneration and evaluation of employees in the public system, including the health system, offer the same prizes/salaries, regardless of performance. These are not effective and do not stimulate performance. Secondly, retention in the system regardless of the performance is another issue that is being discussed.

Romanian physicians are not interested to work in the state system, they are concern in moving towards private health sector, say interviewed physicians. Salaries are paid properly and consistent with the performance or the volume of work in private area, fact that is not available in the public sector. It is about level of salaries, also, these are much higher in private area. But, private system development is available mostly only for some medical specialties and for urban part.

> "Physicians are not interested that things go differently. Physicians do not know how to finish quickly the state program, to go to private, where they are better paid and have a responsibility. We do not need to have fixed wages for everyone, everything must be differentiated depending on the results and the individual performance of each. Why would I work more, if I do 10 operations on a day in surgery and my colleague is doing only one and receives the same pay? For what? Differential pay on results and performance. "

Conclusions

Cost distribution and control should be reconsidered in the system. Current state of the system should be assumed politically. We must recognize that we cannot provide any free service to European standards. We must know and accept priorities. Otherwise, the system adjusts itself, an example of this are the financial ceilings ending and then damages cannot be controlled.

Health care costs are increasing in all countries, including Romania. There are therefore two options for systems: decreasing quality of services (systems have perverse mechanisms to regulate deficits) or the allocation of new funds for health as other components of the society may suffer: public administration, public investment etc. In general, the public does not want to pay new taxes.

It is required taking social and political prioritization of health social policy in the entire national health system and determining the list of priorities. As long as you do not know the real costs of the system, underfunding sub domains may prevail. Consultation with specialists working in hospitals/ clinics and with hospital management is very important. They have estimated real costs which they must face in their field.

Generally, when the system costs up, access to services decreases, and the most affected categories remain the socially vulnerable, the poor, the socially excluded, the elderly, the uninsured, those with low standard of living, which is more likely to be sick. Unfortunately, any European health systems failed to reduce totally social inequality in access to services. There are still groups with poor access. Most times, they select among immigrants, poor, uninsured/unemployed. See the criticism of consumerism on the private healthcare market and issues of equity and access to services groups.

It is required a better management of financial resources, given that health care costs are constantly rising, amid the advance in technology and medication. In health policy, taken decisions need better consultation of professional medical organizations. Eliminating services that are not necessarily needed is one way to reduce costs. Reducing the cost of administrating the scheme is an alternative. There is an excess of administration in most systems. The advantage of large bureaucracies in the state system is that they provide many jobs in general and jobs for female labor force in particular. Cutting bureaucracy in the field may mean rise of unemployment. Another strategic policy is absolutely necessary: revising wages of medical personnel and physicians and to stop denigrating them in the media. Keeping the current rate of physicians leaving the country will have long-term consequences on the system, with no reversibility on a short term.

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *68-73*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

EDUCATION FOR A HIGH QUALITY OF LIFE

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Abstract: *In our present society we need an education for change as the new social contexts requires the contemporary man to adapt faster to increasingly rapid changes in the everyday life. Failure to do so can have a significant negative impact on the quality of life. Therefore, the major problems of contemporary education are closely related to preparing students for a "new quality of life." "Quality of life" refers primarily to how people experience their life, conceive and carry out their existance. The most important objectives of education for a high quality of life aim to cultivate human qualities that will allow students to live at a superior levels in the new contexts of social life. Each of them is raising specific psycho- pedagogic challenges. The article aims to identify these qualities, analyze their psychological traits and propose an education strategy for each.*

Keywords: *quality of life, stress resistance, self-confidence, emotional stability, self-directed learning, social engagement*

In a rapidly changing society people face new adaptive problems which require them to develop new capabilities for action. For this reason, the 21st century creates new requirements for education. We need an *education for change* as the new social context compels the contemporary man or woman to *adapt to the every changing conditions of the everyday life*. Failure to do so can seriously impact the quality of their life.

In these circumstances, one of the major problems that contemporary education faces is to prepare students for "a new quality of life" in our present society and in the future. "Quality of life" refers not only to the material sufficiency of the members of the society but also, mainly, to *how they experience their life, conceive and carry out their existance.* The most important goal of education for quality of life is cultivating *human qualities* important in order to *live on a superior level* in new social context. Each of these qualities raises specific pedagogical challenges. The article aims to identify these qualities, analyze their psychological traits and propose an education strategy for each.

Mental resistance to stress is one of the most useful abilities for the contemporary man. It represents the capability to successfully overcome „shocks" caused by the increasingly frequent changes that affect the personal life of an individual in our society. Stress has become a frequent phenomenon and often has des-adaptive effects

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manifested by disturbances of the normal psychic equilibrium such as neurotic or psychotic phenomena. Symptoms of mental stress include irritability, impulsiveness, emotional instability, fear (without awareness of the reason), the feeling of being watched, depression, perpetual fatigue, inability to concentrate, sweating attraction to alcohol, smoking, drugs, insomnia, feelings of surreal, chronic migraines, psychosis (in which the relationship of the individual with himself, with others and with the world is altered, false), reduced self-esteem. The sources of stress are numerous: job and financial instability, disintegrating families, economic and social crises, the death of the dear ones, diseases, the feeling of being incapable to deal with an overwhelming number of tasks at work and at home and many others.

A first strategy to increase mental resistance to stress and to the shocks of traumatic life experiences is to grow self-confidence, the belief that any difficult situation can be overcome. The person proned to believe that any attempt of a personal learning will be invevitably doomed to fail will not find the energy required to carry out a new learning project. The confidence in his abilities and chances of success are key determining factors for the individual's *level of aspiration*. A low level of aspiration, the lack of hope in the success of future projects, exacerbates the stress on the individual. *Successes* increase *the level of aspiration* while repeated *failures lower* it. To increase students' confidence in their learning abilities and to keep them on a high level of aspiration experienced teachers strive to help them succeed, to have positive learning experiences and to remove students' negative expectations and emotions toward the fields they teach.

Self-confidence involves a *high degree of integration* of one's personality substructures. Personality integrates multiple components (substructures): *motivational*, *emotionally – affective*, of *control* and *cognitive*. Sometimes these sub-components are *in conflict*. The subject has a *contradictory view of himself/herself* and ceases to identify with a *clear picture about himself/herself*. It can become apathetic and unmotivated. The hallmark of a high degree of integration is *activism* - the subject tends to integrate in ambient through assimilation and transformation and is" struggling" for self- realization. *Self -confidence* is an important condition of this "activism" and also an important direction for the development of personality. The role of education is to help the human being to preserve its coherence and stability, ensuring that conflicts between individual psychological substructures do not affect the overall dynamic unity of individual's overall psychic structure.

A second educational strategy, on which depends the ability to successfully overcome the stressful experiences of life, is cultivating ***wisdom***. *Wisdom* is a reflexive reaction of the human being which allows it to distance from the processes of daily life, instead of being completely absorbed by them, and understand their overall meaning. Understanding the meaning of things depends on man's ability to properly classify them in the categories they belong to, beyond the particular and individual level. In order to do so he needs to use *ordering principles*. For these reasons the development (through education) of *conceptual thinking* and *capacity of conceptualization* is of great practical and adaptive utility for gaining wisdom.

Emotional stability, characteristic of people who are emotionally robust and able to withstand the strong emotions caused by risk and uncertainty, is another contributing factor to a high quality of life. The research on emotional intelligence opened up new horizons for educators to cultivate this human quality. “Emotional abilities are meta-abilities that determine how well we can use the talents we have, including pure intelligence" (Goleman, 2001, p. 52) They include, among other things "*emotion management*" - a person's ability to self-control, to calm down, to easily overcome anxiety, depression and irritability. They also include "*self-motivation*" which requires subordinating emotions to a main goal, delaying rewards and controlling the impulses of the moment as well as the ability to think positively, to show optimism that things will work out eventually, despite the obstacles and frustrations. Goleman proposed a program of "*education of emotions*" which involves "inclusion of the tensions and traumas that students face as part of the everyday agenda". This program consist of teacher discussions with the students *about how they feel* at that moment, or sharing important stories about their *moods*. Each of these discussions helps their self-awareness and clarifies the relationship of self with the others. The program teaches students that there are always different choices regarding reaction to emotions, helps them practice awareness of the emotions and gives them an adequate vocabulary for their expression. The students also learn to listen to what others have to say, to ask questions, to collaborate, to solve conflicts and negotiate compromises. In the education of emotions it matters a lot how the teacher leads the class, *the personal example of emotional control* he offers to his students, and the *way he disciplines the class,* because “whenever a teacher reacts to one student other 20 or 30 students learn a lesson” (idem, p. 335)

Epistemic curiosity which is interest for knowledge and alertness to the new, enhances the quality of life with the joy caused by the discovery of an answer to a difficult problem or by learning new things. The psychologists have documented the existence in humans of a cognitive impulse, which is the desire to learn new things, to formulate and solve problems. Any normal human being manifests curiosity for the new things it comes in contact with and becomes more or less interested in them if they respond to its needs. The curiosity fires expecially when things are presented as problems that generate a congnitive conflict between what appeared to be known and new facts that prove old information is insufficient. Learning driven by the desire to know (not only by an immediate curiosity) is usually the result of a long educational process as it requires a previous familiarity with a given field of knowledge as well as confidence in one’s own abilities to solve new problems. It sets in motion a virtuos circle: the more one knows the more one wants to know. The only reward is the understanding of something new, previously ignored.

Beside an *emotional component*, linked to the pleasure of meeting with your preferred domain of knowledge, the cognitive impulse includes an *attitudinal component*, embodied in a set of ideas about a field, ideas which often are the result of previous experiences ("this is an interesting/boring discipline", "necessary/unnecessary to be learned", "serves / does not serve personal plans for the future", etc.). *This attitudinal component can enhance or inhibit learning.* Often it is widespread among students the belief that many of the subjects studied in school are useless, unnecessary things which they should not be obliged to learn.

Many teachers realize that the *attitude* of a student toward a new discipline is very important for the subsequest learning effort. Therefore they strive to induce *a favorable* *attitude from the very beginning* trying to highlight the *social utility of the issues addressed*, *the satisfactions its study can bring*, the reasons for which the teacher took the decision to specialize in the field, etc. Everything needs to be presented as attractively as possible, with many examples and real life stories. In general, teachers should display some *enthusiasm* for their field of study, because it is hard to believe that the attitude of a bored, disappointed, skeptical teacher will not be transmited to students and cause them to adopt similar attitudes.

A favorable attitude toward a field, once created, has to be sustained by a permanent effort of the teacher in every class. Two things are essential in order to maintain student's interest: first, the *climate* of the class, which needs to be one of "*intellectual effervescence*" (Ausubel and Robinson, 1981) and, the second, maintaining the students *feeling that they are permanently progressing in the particular domain of knowledge*, that they are not wasting time. The first is linked to the ability of the teacher to continuously propose *interesting problems*, *fairly difficult but yet accesible*, to the solving of which students are invited to actively participate together with the teacher. This strategy creates among students *a sense that important problems are discussed*, problems whose solution requires some initiation and intellectual effort. The second strategy involves continuous evaluation, *communicating progress* and practicing a "pedagogy of success" With this strategy *any progress* in learning, however small, is immediately *noticed, praised* and used to induce confidence in the possibility of obtaining similar satisfactions in the future.

Willingness to develop oneself, to self- directed learning is a is a human quality important for quality of life as it makes possible a fluid adaption to different social contexts and life situations.It requires some prior **psychological conditions** such as self-awareness, the will to finalize educational pursuits and resists tentations, the existence of intellectual work skills, clarity of purposes pursued, having an acquired repertoire of methods and procedures to learn and train oneself. Only as these premises are met **education** becomes possible, driven by the initiative of the person that wants to develop abilities that will allow him/her to adapt to whatever life is perceived as requiring at a certain moment.

This individual educational effort is known as self-training or independent learning. The goals of self training are designed by the individual himself and its finality is driven by the human aspiration *to rise to its authentic existential status, to fulfill its human nature*. These are the type of aspirations that guide the individual effort of independent learning. Romanian pshychology of personality offer a wide perspective of the directions that guide such goals, the most general educational goals, to which human beings aspires due to their existential status. The concept of „aspects of personality" identifies the most important directions of self training. Human beings tend to assert themselves as: (a) *an epistemic subject*, able to reach awarenes of self and the world ("homo sapiens"); (b) *axiologic subject*, being able to be guided by values ("homo valens"); (c) pragmatic subject ("homo faber") able to act effectively to transform the world and create outcomes (Neveanu, 1978). Thefore the *contents of independent learning* are as diverse as the outcomes or finalities sought by an individual at a certain moment. (language, system of values, attained knowledge , valuation criteria and others).

The appropiate educational strategy to stimulate self-directed learning is based on the natural inclination of human beeings to start learning *spontaneously* when this is helping them achieve a goal of significant *personal* importance to them at a certain moment. When learning is alligned with *personal goals* and is based on *previous learning investments* students should in theory undertake *spontaneously* and *autonomously* both the learning tasks as well as the *self – evaluation* process related to the value of the education to the task at hand. The big challange for any teacher is to convince its students that the problems he proposes for study are mainly **their** problems not the problems of the educator and the requests he makes are alligned with their personal learning interests and goals.

The desire to permanently surpass ones own achievements, for continous improvement, represents a quality greatly appreciated in a competitive society and a driver of adaptive success of the individual. An important role in the triggering it is played by *self image*. *The self image* is the collection of beliefs someone holds about himself, about his strenghts and weaknesses in 3 main areas: (1) *cognitive competence* – the beliefs related to its own abilities and performances in the field of learning (e.g. One is intelligent, has good memory, has difficulties in learning, etc.); (2) *social competence*– beliefs related to the personal ability to relate to other people (e.g. one is friendly or has difficulties making friends, etc.); (3) *physical abilities* – beliefs about abilities to perform various physical activities (e.g. sports, physical work, etc.)

The positive or negative self-image is the result of several factors among which the most important seem to be: (a) prior performances (e.g. someone concludes that he/she is good at mathematics if in the previous years it consistently had good results in this field); (b) other's behavior toward him (e.g. one concludes is unpopular when rejected or ridiculed by colleagues); (c) other's expectations with respect to one's future achievements (e.g. one will form a positive image about his/her abilities when others imply they expect great achievements from him/her in the future in a particular field).

The role of teachers is to help students reach a positive but realistic self-image, and to gain self-confidence by influencing all these three factors.

Teachers need to strive to create *opportunities for students to succeed* in school tasks or social and physical activities. In order to do so they have to make sure that each student has *all the information and skills necessary* for success *before* giving him or her new task. Second, they need to provide *instructions on how to proceed* in order to succeed in the new task and the needed support. In order to influence the views of other students the teacher needs to treat all students with respect, *asking for everybody's opinion* and the personal point of view with respect to the subjects discussed in class and showing *interest for their personal problems*. The teacher will always communicate that he expects good things from them in the future, formulating high but realistic expectations with respect to the future performances. The concern for developing meta-cognitive capacities – awareness and control of their own thinking processes and learning – represents a pre-condition for student's desire of acceding to superior levels of knowledge but also for perseverance and intrinsic motivation for learning. Those who do not realize their ignorance and their own limits do not understand the usefulness of their efforts to learn new things.

The availability for social engagement provides the satisfaction generated by the social utility of one's efforts and by the belief that one has helped solving a problem of common interest. The recognition of personal merit and value is conditioned by the impact it has on the life of others. This requires the engagement in projects of public interest or the ability to make its own abilities relevant to the other's people social, personal and professional lives. Living in the "ivory tower" of individual pursuits, far removed from the problems of other people cannot provide the recognition of personal value, nor the satisfaction of social integration. From an educational point of view, the availability for social engagement requires two complementary way of action, with a double function in the life of individual in society.

The first direction is *socialization*. Socialization is the process by which a person becomes a human being, by assuming gradually the behaviors, attitudes, values of the society in which he or she lives. In this process the individual creates a social identity ("a social self") and integrates in the society and further propagates it. The socialization include individual's efforts to "keep it up" with others, to internalize the social conscience of his time, to adapt his behavior to the norms and standards adopted by the others. This is the *integrative function* of social development through which the *individual connects to society,* through his interpersonal relations and responsibilities assumed.

The second educational strategy is to stimulate the *personalization* of the human being, the *assertion of its unique social identify and personality*. This strategy involves the development individual's capabilities of self-awareness as well as the understanding of social role and social status conferred by them. This is the *differentiating function* of social development, as this is the way by which the individual reaches an understanding of his *uniqueness versus others*, of his own *unique characteristics* and, as a result, of finding a place for himself in the society. Through the *integrating* function of social development the individual can benefit from all the *advantages* conferred by social *relations* with other people or institutions; through the *differentiating* function he acquires social status and *self – awareness*.

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *74-83*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

BIOCULTURAL LANDMARKS MEDIATING THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS IN ROMANIAN CONTEXT[1]

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Abstract. *The acculturation process produce changes in physical health conditions and in subjects' lifestyle. The present study looked at the adaptation process of some anthropological landmarks, in the context of economic and socio-cultural transitions under Western European influence.*

Methodologically, we have applied an anthropological questionnaire and another one for the assessment of trends in personality structuring to a sample of 210 subjects (10-16yrs) in rural communities with different adaptive parenting strategies. Three samples were selected: subjects whose parents are working in Western European countries and were left in their extended family's care, the ones that were left in the care of the restrained family and subjects under parents' care.

Some results: We have adapted the classical methods of acculturation analysis by adding aspects of the sleep-wake functioning, being known that in this context significant changes of the sleep/wake pattern appear, along with consequences on physical and mental health. Our study also identified the adaptation effort in the mental balance, by accentuating tendencies in the structuring of personality or by emotionally weakening (aspects of the internal equilibrium of the targeted population) - processes usually seen in major changes, as e.g. in the acculturation process. In our culture, in the acculturation context the enlarged family is supportive especially for boys and the restrained family is supportive for girls, but many of them shift towards pathology. Boys are more resistant in the acculturation process, being more easily moldable by multiculturality

Our study identified our openness towards multiculturality (the Western European model), during the acculturation process, both boys and girls respect the pro-social norms and behavior. The anthropological frame proved its adequacy in investigating the context of multiculturality, necessary to manage the stages of the acculturation process.

Keywords: *anthropological landmarks, socio-economic transition, acculturation, multiculturality*

[1] This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/159/1.5/S/136077

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Introduction

The subject of this research requires an integrative approach that puts together bio-psycho-cultural aspects, with there being little existing research literature in this endeavour. Different fields of study have a tendency to be fragmented, leading to a more difficult comprehension of the complex process of human development. Research suggests that understanding children's developmental well-being requires an integrated approach towards the way social relationships, biology and cognition interact (Bernier et al., 2014).

Also, the problem of acculturation stress has been first raised within an international congress at Jerusalem, Israel, barely in September 1995, at the World Congress of the International College of Psychosomatic Medicine.

The integrative approach could be useful in developing adequate and efficient European integration strategies, as well as in coming to terms with the integration politics, with specific cultural contexts.

In the context of opening the borders and raising the mobility of individuals, multiculturality imposes extensive anthropological researches regarding the acculturation issue. Therefore, by understanding cultural variability, one can avoid ethnocentric biases. Individuals may have different systems of understanding, values, beliefs, knowledge that are shared within the same culture (D'Andrade, 1982) , in reference to the way they define themselves and relate to each other (Kitayam et al., 1997; Rhee et al., 1995) and also regarding the way they think about the world they live in (Norenzayan and Nisbett, 2000).

These cultural understanding systems are interpretative and influence the affect, the cognition and the behaviour (Geertz, 1973; Hong et al., 1997; Kashima, 2000; Mendoza-Denton et al., 1999).

The concept of acculturation is rooted in anthropology, being used in disciplines like psychology, sociology and public health. The Webster's Unabridged Dictionary introduced the term of acculturation for the first time in 1928, as two human races or tribes getting together through contact. Acculturation configures the cultural exchange between two or more cultures in what is defining for them (Dana, 1996; Herskovits, 1958). The theory of acculturation refers to psychological acculturation in cognitive and behavioural areas, explaining cultural changes that appear within the immigrant groups (Cuéllar et al., 1995). Acculturation, which resulted following a prolonged contact between two distinct cultural groups, results in the individuals' adaptation to the new cultural situation (Berry, 2003).

The acculturation construct is applicable in public health (basic condition of individual, human species and culture survival) by understanding the health of individuals who migrate from one society to another. There are recent studies that underline the positive relation between acculturation and chronic disease prevalence, cancer screening, the use of health care and health-oriented behaviours. There are also studies concerning the association between cultural beliefs regarding lifestyle, habits and nutritional patterns (certain traditional practices can favour the development of certain diseases). Also, the place of origin and alimentary preferences may be determinant factors for obesity and diabetes (Hazuda et al., 1998).

In the bio-cultural researches, the concept of adaptation is central and it unifies biological, psychological and cultural aspects. This requires insuring a minimal set of organic needs, which provides a normal functioning of the biological systems (Glavce and Borosanu, 2013; Glavce et al., 2014). Still, the biological finality associated with every cultural aspect is a reductionist endeavour of cultural ecology or socio-biology. One can also talk about symbolic satisfactions when it comes to human nature, which do not necessarily contribute to the biological adaptation (e.g. alimentation – both cultural and biological connotation).

In the context of migration one raises the problem of adaptation. In general, it is accomplished along phylogenesis, in the bio-psychic history (e.g. H. Erectus → H. Sapiens; the patterns of milk consumption at the yellow race) and along ontogenesis, and individual development respectively. Culture is being transferred inter and transgenerationally during ontogenesis. These two levels of adaptation make the diversity of human beings and the unity of species become possible.

The acculturation process of migrants' children at a micro level is mediated by the family and group of friends (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver, 2006, 2008). The host society offers a particular social context, with migrants having a certain statue that needs to be taken into consideration when one interprets the patterns of the acculturation process (Schchner et al., 2014; Van De Vijer, 2011).

In the current context, one requires education in forming intercultural competencies and communication, based on cultural identity (norms, values, attitudes) (Schein, 2010) and taking into consideration the responses towards the environment (Hofstede, 2011). The integration process implies the development of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 2009), so that redefining values and identities and respecting human variability and cultural specific from a multiple cultural perspective become possible.

In the Western European culture, a dynamic of adaptive orientations for containing within borders or expanding and rearranging, along with assimilation or transcendence has been shaped evolutionally (Rădulescu-Motru, 1999). Noica stated the perennial value of the European culture, capable of regeneration, which freely realizes its model. Through its philosophical reason, its scientific methods, through its moral and political values (human dignity, freedom, equity ideal – United Nations Millenium Declaration, 2000), the European culture is a culture that runs by the "one in multiplicity" model and is "equal" with nature in speech, being also able to provide the archetype for any other culture while showing their partiality (Noica, 1993).

The present study looked at the adaptation process of some anthropological landmarks, in the context of economic and socio-cultural transitions under Western European influence. I will present the general scheme of Acculturation and the internal processes, in regards to which the research is barely at the beginning.

Materials and methods

We used a sample of 200 subjects (12-16yrs) from two rural communities with different adaptive parenting strategies (parent-child relationship).In the selected localities, there are a high percentage of parents who migrated to Western Europe, more than 30%, who work there since several years, or are seasonal workers or parents who did not migrate. The children who are left at home are either taken care of by the extended family, or taken care of by the restrained family or Children whose parents did not migrate to Western Europe. The sample's distribution, according to place of origin, of 1:1, Gender (54%B 46%G), Migrating/ non-migrating parents criteria of 33%-67%, in the first locality and 50%-50% in the second locality).

We have applied an anthropological questionnaire and another one for the assessment of trends in personality structuring to a sample of 210 subjects (10-16yrs) in rural communities with different adaptive parenting strategies.

We used an anthropologic questionnaire with 87 items that comprises a set of items gathering information regarding personal identity and biological and cultural characteristics that are culturally mouldable: means of contact and maintaining the parent-child relationship, sleep parameters, sexual maturation, health condition, nutrition, corpulence (BMI), physical activity, tradition and urbanism elements and educational investment. We also added two open questions regarding: their troubles and what they want in the future. The second questionnaire we used is a standardized questionnaire, the Woodworth-Mathews personality inventory, which contains8 scales (simple emotivity, obsessive-psychasthenic, schizoid, paranoid, depressive-hypo-chondriac, aggressive, instability, antisocial tendencies). These assess tendencies in personality structuring and the level of their intensity.

For the statistical analysis of the data were used were adequate for the research (quantitative and categorical data). For the computation we used data analysis packages implemented in SPSS Statistics (SPSS 20.0 version) as well as the ones from Microsoft EXCEL (Microsoft Office 2010).

Results

In the adaptation context, one raises the problem of the biological adaptation – the physiological and genetic transformations that are necessary for environment adaptation, the internal psychological adaptation (the meaning of personal and cultural identity, personal satisfaction, mental balance) as well the socio-cultural adaptation, with external psychological consequences (connecting the individual to the new context, allowing him to cope with daily problems regarding family, school and career). The adaptation variables that are subjected to the acculturation process appear as observable behaviours of internal individual characteristics, each of them being assessable with specific research instruments (Figure 1).

According to the acculturation research paradigm of John Berry, 1997, Arends-Tóth, Van de Vijver, 2006 and Rudmin, 2009, although there is a situational diversity, the essential internal psychological processes are similar, therefore allowing a universal approach.

Moreover, the brain is busy even when we are asleep, and it establishes metabolic and hormonal regulations, so that poor or insufficient sleep can impair certain vital processes. Also, during sleep, informational processing of data that has been stocked during wakefulness takes place, therefore we are dealing with a continuous cognition process. In the processes of major changes, like the acculturation process, sleep disturbances take place, in what concerns both its duration and quality. (Borosanu, PhD diss., 2013; Borosanu et al., 2014, paper presented at the XXVth edition of the international Symposium "Nature et l'homme" on "Provocations contemporaines dans la relation homme-nature", Sinaia, Romania). Sleep-wake functioning, although it is powerfully rooted in biology (genetic clock), it has a cultural imprinting, which allows us to talk about a cultural typology of sleep Borosanu, PhD diss., 2013).

That is why, for the schemes that are usually used in researching acculturation, we added characteristics of the sleep-wake functioning, sleep disturbances being frequent when one raises the issue of adapting to a different culture. Therefore, we adapted the classic schemes of the acculturation research, and at the contact between the two cultural contexts we added the Sleep/Wake functioning, which must be taken into consideration, being sensitive to the change of the cultural frame of reference. (Figure 1).

The adaptation effort (aspecte legate de internal process), towards adjusting to a nee culture (acculturation process) can be seen in the mental balance, and is evidentiated by the functioning levels of the personality structuring tendencies. Among the 8 scales of the W-M standardized questionnaire, we used the ones of interest for the acculturation process, which target the internal equilibrium of the targeted population, respectiv: emotional stbaility/instability (instability tendencies), respecting the norms (antisocial tendencies) and depresion and somatisation tendencies (depressive tendencies and somatisations), processes usually seen in major changes, as e.g. in the acculturation process.

In what concerns the instability tendencies that are normal and often encountered in acculturation, the results confirm with their high percentage of border functioning level, of over 50%, the openness towards multicultural integration, for both girls and boys. One has to notice, though, the high instability level (pathological levels), of girls in comparison to boys, both in the enlarged family, as well as in the restrained family (11,1% - F, in the enlarged family; 11,5% - F, in the restrained family). (Figure 2).

Regarding the functioning levels in antisocial tendencies, in what concerns accepting norms and pro-social behaviors, we notice that both boys and girls have an overall understanding and acceptance of norms (55%+33% - B from enlarged family; 68%+24% - B from restrained family and 65%+28% F from enlarged family; 61%+35% F from restrained family). Only a very small percentage, that comes naturally in any collectivity, manifest antisocial tendencies, which is normal in any colectivity. (Figure 3).

Regarding depressive tendencies and somatizations, for boys, the normal functioning condition is met in 60% of the cases, for those that remained within the enlarged family and in 43% of the cases for those that stayed in the restrained family. This means that boys are more bounded to the family system. The difference consists of the fact that a higher percent of the boys from the restrained family have a border functioning level (38% - enlarged family; 55% - restrained family). (Figure 4)

For girls, one notices that they find themselves in the border functioning level more than in the case of boys (61% - enlarged family; 43% - restrained family). Apparently, one finds less girls within the restrained family in what concerns the border functioning area, yet, the difference consist in their shifting towards the pathological functioning level (14%F - restrained family). (Figure 4)

Discussions

In acculturation, one frequently notices sleep related issues, in what concerns both the quantitative aspect, regarding duration, as well as its quality (wake/sleep transitions, night sleep development). This means a lowering in the functioning efficiency during the day, health social costs as a consenquence for major sleep disturbance and also a drop in the economic efficiency.

From the point of view of sleep duration this is placed within certain borders, beyond which certain problems related to sleep pathology appear. Sleep duration is a species characteristic with genetic determination (molecular genetic clock). Sleep duration also has a cultural variability, being philogenetically established, specific to bio-cultural environment conditions. In the process of changing the pattern of sleep duration, qualitative changes of sleep become visible, as well as changes of the duration itself, from the wake/sleep transitions (the duration of the process of falling asleep, subject's state when waking up, physiological or informational processing aspects during night sleep). (Borosanu, 2013, Borosanu et al. 2014).

The cultural change, which takes place in the acculturation process, requires changing certain values and belief systems that are attached to an affective component. As a consequence, both sleep disturbances as well as perturbances in the level of functioning of certain affective vectors appear in the process of acculturation. Taking into consideration the reminded aspects, adapting the analysis models of acculturation requires introducing certain elements which characterize sleep patterns. On the other hand, the Woodworth-Matthew personality questionnaire represents a useful instrument in evidentiating the affective processes that accompany the transforming value and belief systems.

In our research, the results fit in the category of normal processes, fact that was also shown in other researches in this area that target this aspect.

Moreover, for the target sample of investigated subjects, we were able to put together in a complex approach certain elements that are only found separately in scientific papers.

Conclusions

In the analysis of the acculturation process which implies changes in different functioning areas of human existente, one needs to take into consideration certain aspects related to the sleep/wake functioning and subsequently to connect them to acculturation analysis models.

In our culture, in the acculturation context the enlarged family is supportive especially for boys and the restrained family is supportive for girls, but many of them shift towards pathology.

In our culture, during the acculturation process, both boys and girls respect the pro-social norms and behavior, which can be translated as our openness towards multiculturality (the Western European model). Boys are more resistant in the acculturation process, being more easily moldable by multiculturality

The anthropological frame work proved its adequacy in investigating the context of multiculturality, necessary to manage the stages of the acculturation process.

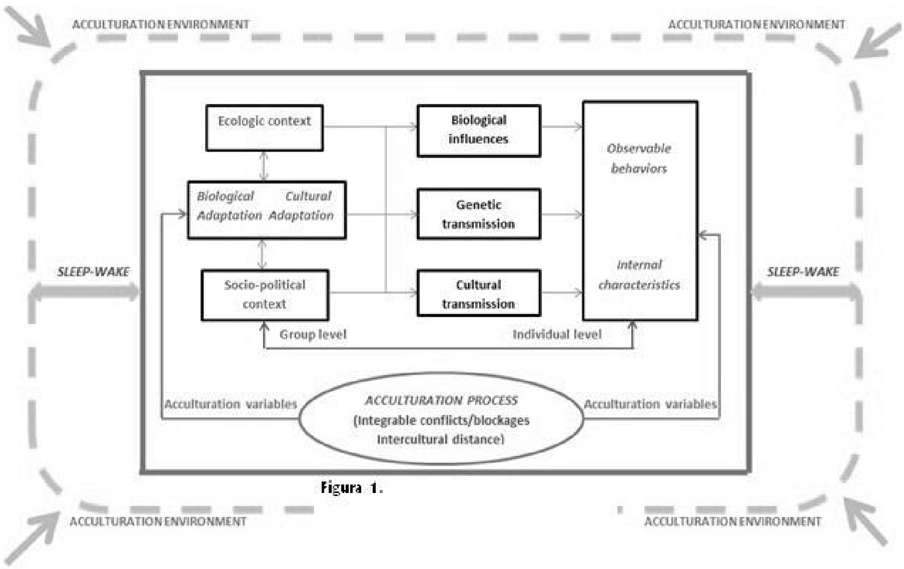
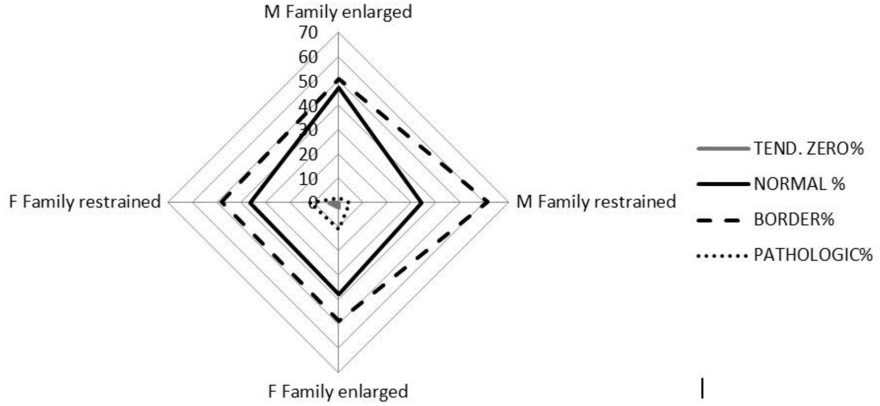


Figura 1.



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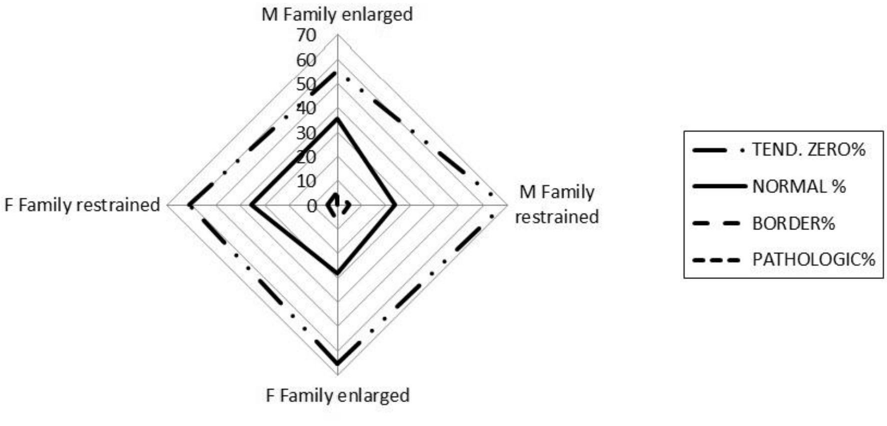

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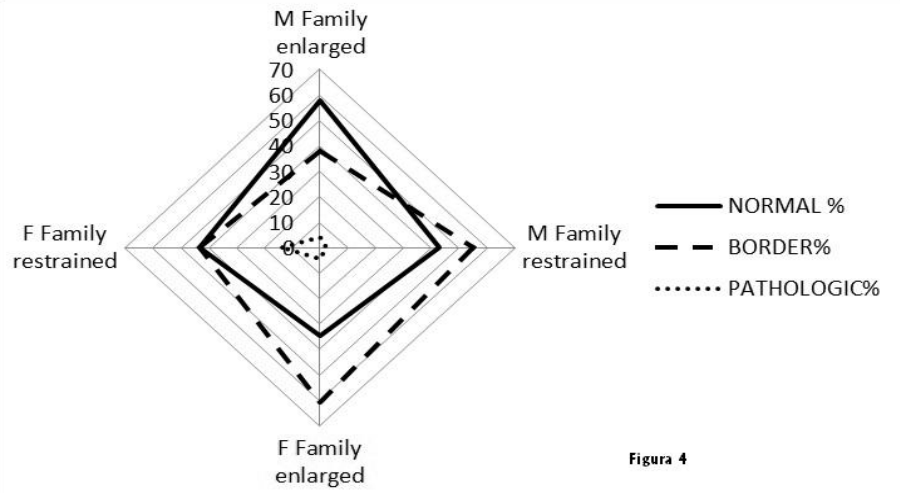

Figura 4

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *84-100*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

SWEET AS HONEY: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HOW BEEKEEPING IS REFLECTED IN ROMANIAN MASS MEDIA[1]

Eugen GLĂVAN[2]

Abstract: *Apiculture is an activity with multiple ramifications, as it is approached from an economic, biologic, social or ecologic perspective in the attempt to tackle its contributions to biodiversity, a healthy eating style, the sustainable growth of agricultural production or community development. In this material we will study apiculture from a sociologic perspective, focusing on the way the field is reflected in mass media. The aim of the paper is to show the way in which the experts, the legislation and the institutions involved contribute to the construction of a particular image and to its traits. The exploratory research is based primarily on content analysis, but also on data mining and semantic network visualization. These methods are applied to a number of 2,248 articles published between 2010 and 2014 in digital format on the websites of news agencies and news aggregators such as Agerpres, Hotnews, Mediafax and Ziare.com. The results point to an image in which the dominant dimension is natural, ecologic, health and medicine oriented, with secondary aspects concerning the way in which the bees and their products connect the people and the environment.*

Keywords: *apiculture, content analysis, honey*

Introduction

The changes which occurred after 1989 in Romania brought about major changes in all domains of social life. Under the impulse of changing the property regime, of the extension of the right to free circulation, of association, of institutional construction specific for a democratic state, and of forming the local economic capital, many specific trends of Romanian society were abandoned, whilst others adapted themselves to the

[1] This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of a programme co-funded by the European Union within the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programmes. Project Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/141086.

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capitalist system. The phase generically known as "transition" developed through a series of "*institutional construction through human projects*" (Rughiniş, 1999: 115) processes, processes which were uncompleted and incoherent due to lack of continuity. The lack of logic which characterized the economic reconstruction measures caused Romanian to adopt a set of austerity policies recommended by international financial institutions, which generated economic decline or stagnation, without any perspectives of convergence towards strategic objectives, as well as an acute polarization of society. Nowadays, Romania is confronted with a series of uncertainties related to social evolution, and must revise economic growth forecasts, as well as reduce the gap between itself and the developed European Union countries, in the difficult context of the economic crises and the geopolitics challenges in the area.

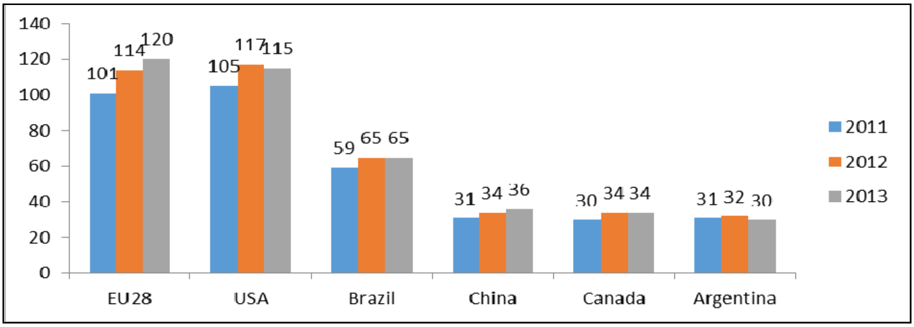
A short analysis of the main relevant social inequality indicators shows that, although the GDP evolution in Romania is positive on the short term, this is the result of a favourable natural context. The evolution of the GDP in 2013 increased by 0.7% compared to 2012 (Ministerul Finanţelor, 2014). This positive evolution was not generated mainly by government policies, but by good agricultural harvests (the added value reaching 11.3%). Romania still has an employed agriculture workforce which is much superior to the EU average, and mostly unremunerated. This leads to a weak fiscal regulation of this domain, and to numerous rural households entering a subsistence economy.

In this paper we shall approach the beekeeping activity, a domain which is hard to classify, situated at the border line between economic and social, rural and urban, hobby and recreation, a form of activity which maintained its relevance on the Romanian territory, regardless of the type of social organization existent at a specific point in time. The procedure's relevance is warranted by the changes which could occur in the beekeeping domain, changes caused by the national legal system through the Apiculture Law no. 383/2013, and by the EU-approved related regulations, implemented by the National Apiculture Programmes 2014-2016. These transformation could take up the form of "super-innovation", a process which could ignore the specifics of the existing reality (Chelcea, 2006: 129) and introduce in the system some variables which could destabilize it. Through a content analysis applied to articles from the four main Romanian news sites, combined with data mining and network analysis methods, and completed with secondary statistic data from published sources (FAO, Eurostat, MARD etc.), we shall proceed towards defining an exploratory profile of the beekeeping activity. The main directions of analysis will be the way apiarian products are presented in the local cuisine and culinary traditions, their role in defining certain lifestyles, the specific traits of the economic activity of beekeeping, the role of national and international regulations, as well as the perception of the authorized institutions in this field.

The current state of apicultural knowledge

The contemporary reality of the Romanian rural space is characterized by the balkanization of agricultural fields, the migration of active workforce, the lack of investments or networks for valuing agricultural products. The challenge to which society must respond to is to adapt measures for basic economic and social development, maintaining the specific country-side landscape, „*the survival*", as Stahl calls it, „*elements of social organization, ethnographic facts, rituals, linguistic forms"* (Zamfir & Vlăsceanu, 1993: 46). The competition for food production and procurement has lately intensified on an international level, the food price index elaborated by the Food and Agriculture Organization having doubled in 2013 compared to 1990 (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2013). This reality puts pressure on the Romanian state policies to solve the problems generated by the property system and the lack of autonomy of large population segments, which depend on the individual exploitation of small land surfaces. Beyond emotional reactions which should not be neglected, the increasing and volatile nature of prices poses the question of the states' food sovereignty. When important agricultural resources can be oriented towards export, and EU subventions are maintained unequal amongst member states, Romania's capacity of procuring its necessary amount of food from internal resources is being questioned, and the preservation of the specific natural landscape which is favourable for beekeeping is under threat.

Figure 1*. Top 6 agricultural exporters worldwide (€ billion).*



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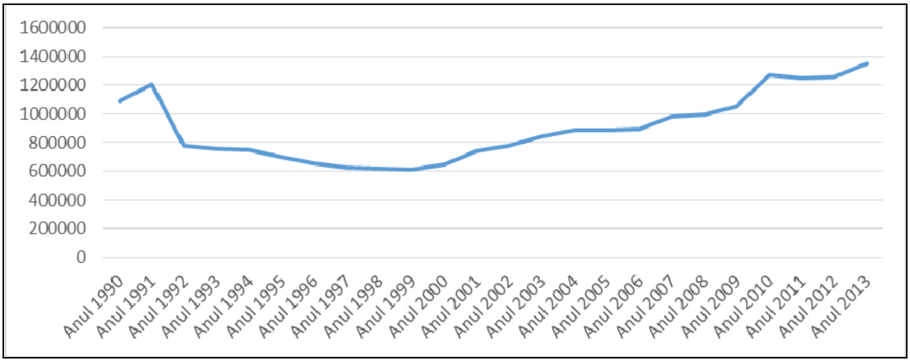
Food prices are increasing on a global level, in spite of the crisis which developed economies are facing, this growth being fuelled by climate change fears, changes is the nutrition habits in developing countries, or the perturbation of distribution channels following geopolitical decisions. The European Union is the most important food exporter worldwide, as agricultural policies are integrated and significant funds are allocated in this direction, the production being stimulated by the high requests from China and Middle East region. Forecasts indicate the necessity for a 70% growth of food production in order to feed the World's population, in the event of its number increasing by 40% until 2050. However, climate changes, decreases in water supply sources, degradation and limitation of fertile lands, make this objective hard to achieve. In this case, Romania is a contrasting country, having a very high potential to develop its production capacity, but also limitations imposed by degrading soils, as over 60% of the land surface being severely degraded following yearly cultivation, deforestations and overgrazing (Bot, Nachtergaele, & Young, 2000: 30). Plus, the decision capacity is limited, European-level agricultural policies being the result of negotiations between European Union member states, Romania having weak performances in this context.

Probably, in this context, it is quite ironic that agriculture is the only domain in which Romania has contracted all the available European funds, through the National Rural Development Programme (PNDR). According to the Ministry of Agriculture data, the PNDR 2007-2013 absorption rate is 70%, and the payments towards beneficiaries rise up to over 6,3 billion Euros, European money which must be paid until 2015 (Reţeaua Naţională de Dezvoltare Rurală, 2014, p. 4). The funds that had been spent according to EU negotiations created structural unbalances, especially due to the fact that the large proportion of rural population existing in the early 1990s was not taken into consideration. The re-ruralisation process caused by the closing down of major industrial objectives on the city outskirts, as well as mono-industrial ones, such as the Valea Jiului coal basin, or the city of Călăraşi, together with a loss of workplaces, were completed by a disastrous property policy and disparities between the financing of rural communes, both through own funds or expenditures for the public projects allocated from central state budget (Mihalache, 2013). The hesitations regarding land retrocession and the solution of restitution on the old settlements have led to the fragmentation of the agricultural land and to the incrementing of subsistence agriculture. The main strategy for an economically-stagnant population, without a high educational level and lacking in perspectives, was temporary migration abroad in search for work.

Professional beekeeping is an important component of agriculture as part of the European and national economy, recognized as such by being included in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Beekeeping is thus relevant to the general objectives of the CAP: to limit surplus (compensation payments included), to grant a decent living standard for farmers, to promote better environmental conditions, to preserve rural space and to ensure a reasonable price range for consumers.

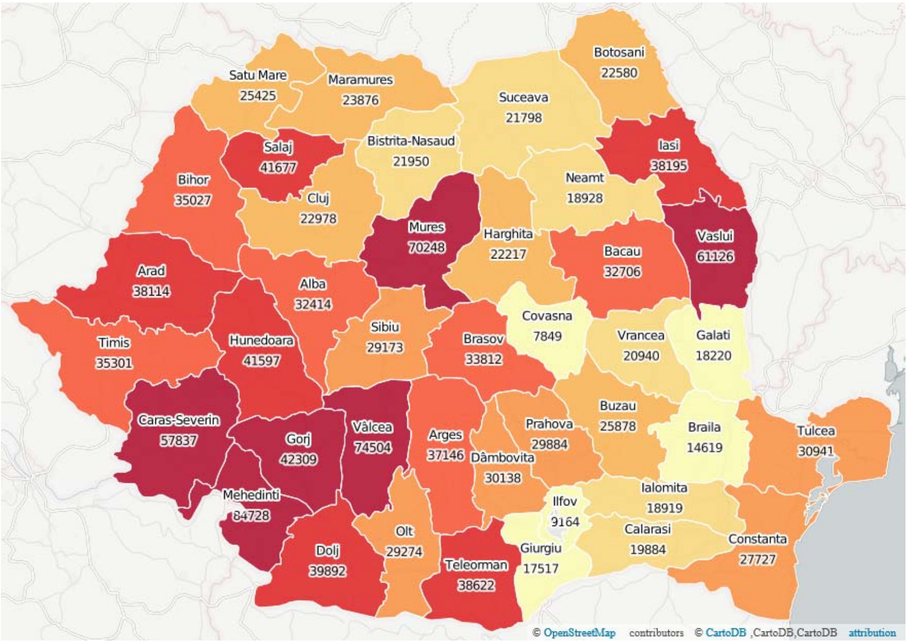
***Figure 2**. The evolution of bee hives in Romania during 1990-2013*



Source: INS Tempo-Online

Specialized European programmes regarding beekeepers were introduced in 2007 and include measures related to technical assistance, disease control, transhumance rationalization, analysis of the properties of honey, the renewal of the bee families in case of mortality and research programmes (European Commission, 2013). The European Union does not set only the way in which funds are spent, it also creates legislation and defines bee products, as its policies are correlated with standards regarding imports and exports both within the EU, as well as foreign. Through the 2001/110/EC Directive, honey is defined as „*the natural sweet substance produced by Apis mellifera bees from the nectar of plants or from secretions of living parts of plants or excretions of plant-sucking insects on the living parts of plants, which the bees collect, transform by combining with specific substances of their own, deposit, dehydrate, store and leave in honeycombs to ripen and mature*". Honey composition is the object of very strict EU regulations setting the maximum levels of residues of pesticides, antibiotics, heavy metals and sulphonamides in order for it to be considered safe for consumption. The requirements (set through the 2001/110/EC Directive) are grouped in according to sugar content, moisture, water-insoluble, electrical conductivity, free acid and distaste activity and HMF content after processing and blending (Deloitte, 2013: 28). The definitions agreed upon at intra-communitarian level are completed in Romania through the Apiculture Law no. 383/2013 which containing terms and expressions relevant to beekeeping activities and have the ability to shape its characteristics.

Map 1. The spatial distribution of bee families in Romania at county level



Source: INS Tempo-Online

The activity of beekeeping is influenced by fiscalization, environmental conditions, financial facilities, legal systems or international treaties, cultural aspects or technological innovations. In the past, honey consumption and implicitly the development of the beekeeping activity was influenced by the introduction of sugar beet, and the use of wax was reduced due to the apparition of public illumination, and particularly through petrol and electricity. At present, the colony collapse disorder (CCD) phenomenon makes it difficult to identify a cause for the decrease in the number of bee families, putting pressure, however, on the way apicultural products are used and valued.

Another aspect to be taken into consideration is the melliferous base available for melliferous bees in a given geographic area. In Romania, approximately five million hectares worth of land are covered in melliferous plants (around 60% being represented by forest species, and the rest by cultivated plants and spontaneous species), three million hectares being valued by production harvests and maintenance by melliferous bees. In the past one of the main causes for decline of beekeeping was generated by grubbing some extended natural meadows and pastures, and turning these into arable lands, aimed for monocultures. Currently, the risks are mainly generated by the decrease in forest areas and planting species which do not offer nectar or pollen, as well as cultivating genetically modified organisms which no longer need pollination, and implicitly, do not provide nectar. The local diversity of melliferous plants also reduces the risk of unintentional negative consequences which might appear within environmental preservation and development projects (Zimmerer, 2006: 69). Therefore, it is necessary for plants and trees with native flowers, specific to Romanian flora, to be given priority within these initiatives.

Romania is one of the European countries with a developed beekeeping sector; in 2013 it totals 1,354,218 bee families, which represents 7% of the EU total, and approximately 40,000 beekeepers, most of them amateurs. Another relevant indicator of the development of the sector is the funding level through the National Apiculture Programme: Romania receives 50% from the European Union for 2014-2020, the third largest sum among the European countries, amounting to EUR 20,045,340. These funds are awarded through an institutional system that proved its administrative capacity during the previous financial interval, Romania spending 100% in 2010 out of the available funds, 85% in 2011 and 98% in 2012. The main institutional responsibilities are:

- MARD: elaborates implementation regulations;
- APIA: elaborates the guides for financial support, financing documentation, manages requests, develops and implements payment control and management for funding programmes;
- NAIRZ: implements the common identification system and manages the statistical database for the beekeeping sector.

The distribution channels for apicultural products include producers, rural assemblers, transporters, wholesalers, retailers and consumers, and their structure is influenced by request and offer. The number and sizes of companies, and the number of producers and consumers in a given area at a given moment in time, as indicators of the apicultural products market structure, regulated by entry barriers, pricing policies, can indicate the system's performances. One of the characteristics of the beekeeping field in Romania is the dominance of the direct, producer-to-consumer distribution channel, a type of economic interaction which favours that brings prices down but raises difficulties in the way of expansion or entering new markets. This is the reason that contexts and structures that enable interaction are important; we are talking about beekeeping fairs, promotional and informative materials, origin or quality certificate, obtainable through the analysis of honey which can be done using funding from the National Apiculture Programme.

The beekeeping activity left its imprint on Romanian culture, the presence of bees and apicultural products references being attested in folklore, legends, songs, people's names, riddles or proverbs. The cultural symbol of the bee has been used on the coats of arms of the counties of Mehedinți, Vaslui and Romanați as a reference to hard work and prosperity. Just like any traditional activity, beekeeping demonstrates, through a specific terminology, its long period of existence and continuity in time:

- BEE (ALBINĂ), n.f. Present in all Romanian dialects (dr. albină; ar. algină; megl. albină; ir. albire). The word comes from the Latin "alvina" („hive").
- HIVE (STUP), n.m. Comes from the Latin "stypus" ("hollow tree trunk, either by rotting, either caved by man")
- GOFER (FAGURE), n.m. The word derives from the Latin "favulus-um", a diminutive of "favus".
- HONEY (MIERE), n.f. Derives from the Latin "mel", "melem". It is present in all dialects (dr. miere; ar. ńare, megl. ńani; ir. ml'are) and it is encountered in all Romance languages (cf. it. miele; fr. miel; port. mel etc).
- WAX (CEARĂ), n.f. Derives from the Latin "cera, -am" (in ir. tsere and ar. țeară). The word has been kept by all Romance populations: ital. cera; franc. cire; in prov. cat., span., port. cera.
- BEE BREAD (PĂSTURĂ), n.f. Floral pollen, gathered, processed and stored by bees in gofers' cells, an indispensable food for the normal development of bees and spawn. The word derives from the Latin "pasture" (from "pastus"- food).

Other few words which refer to beekeeping are of Slavic or unknown origin:

- APIARY (PRISACĂ), n.f. a place where hives are being placed, encountered dominantly in Moldova and Bucovina, it is assumed that it derives from the ancient Slavic "prěsěka". In Moldova, the word has evolved, generalizing itself with the sense of 'apiary', "where bees are being raised".
- QUEEN BEE (MATCĂ), n.f. Derives from the Bulgarian "matka" = mother, scr. matca, (often determined by the bee family, the hive). Generic term replacing, in the Romanian apicultural terminology, the Latin term "mama", derived from the Latin "mamma".

- DRONE (TRÂNTOR), n.m. Generic term, comes from the sl. trontŭ + agent suffix – tor. The male of the bee family, is born out of an unfertilized egg.

The importance of beekeeping in the Romanian geographic area is attested by the habit of National monarchs of offering "apiary space", tax exemption and commercial privileges to worthy citizens. For example, in 1388, monarch Mircea the Elder of Wallachia offers the Cozia Monastery honey and wax for religious activities, and in 1391 offers tax exemption to his faithful Stanciu, accepting "*especially not to pay tribute from bees"*. The oldest document attesting commercial activities associated with apicultural products is dated on the 20th of January 1368, when Vlaicu Vodă offers the city of Braşov the privilege to carry out commercial activities with wax from Wallachia, which wax producers from Braşov were transporting from Transylvania to Hungary. Beekeeping came across an increased development on monastery and church locations, being supported by tax exemption, as well as by the request for wax, used for candles production.

A few chronological references attesting publishing, educational, organizational and research activities in the field of beekeeping in Romania:

- The first Romanian publication which approaches the beekeeping activity is "The Economy of Hives" ("Economia stupilor"), a publication which was issued in Romanian, in Vienna, in 1785, written by Ioan Piuariu Molnar. This book is written from an economic perspective and is divided in two sections: *Theoretical Content* and *Practical Content*. The author shows how beekeeping practices can be improved, encouraging beekeepers to give up on inefficient medieval practices. In 1880 the Beekeepers Society of Transylvania was created in the city of Cluj-Napoca, the first professional beekeepers' association in Romania. In Moldavia, in the year 1829, in Iasi, Gh. Asachi types the magazine *The Romanian Bee* (*Albina Românească)*, a general knowledge magazine which systematically approaches apiculture-specific themes as well.
- In 1906, on the occasion of an apicultural exhibition, Remus Begnescu presented a systematic hive, for the first time in Romania.
- In 1907, the work "The Hive Guide" („Călăuza stupului") is published, written in Romanian by N. Nicolaescu and I. Stoenescu, a Romanian Academy award-winning work, which was republished in 11 editions and represented a fundamental point of reference in the beekeeping field, being also permanently updated with recent information.
- On the 21st of December 1915, the first National Apiculture Congress is organized, and also the National Apiculture Society was created (which was renamed the Romanian Central Apicultural Society in 1925), taking the decision to publish what would become the "Apicultural Romania" („România Apicolă") magazine in 1916, and which has been published continuously from that period of time to the present day.
- Starting with 1930, Remus Begnescu organizes beekeeping courses throughout the year, each cycle lasting 15 days. As he was named professor by the Ministry of Agriculture, this period attests the beginning of apicultural education in Romania.
- Since 1930, the organization of apicultural research has been institutionalized under the apiculture section within the National Zootechnic Institute of Romania, which became in 1947 the Institute for Zootechnic Research.

- On the 30th of December 1957 the Romanian Beekeepers Association was created, as a working class beekeepers' civic organization. Veceslav Harnaj was its first president, and declared: „*I am a Hydraulics professor at the Romanian Institute of Petrol, Gas and Geology. Apiculture has been and will remain my hobby, my invincible passion*" (Gheorghe, 2012) as an indicator of the way beekeeping represents an open domain of activity both economically and culturally.
- The development level of the prestige of Romanian apiculture is confirmed in 1965 by the election of Prof. Harnaj as President of APIMONDIA, the most important international apicultural forum, a role which he has maintained for 20 years, between 1965-1985 (Asociația Crescătorilor de Albine, 2006).

After 1989 the organizational structure has been maintained, however, a strong decrease in the number of bee families has been registered, from 1,400,000 to 600,000 in 2000, following the dissolution of state sectors and rural cooperatives. Nowadays, the bee families regenerated on the national level, registering an increase of the hives profitability through professionalization and a broader coverage in terms of the types of the apiarists involved in beekeeping.

The studies approaching beekeeping from a social perspective emphasize the importance of social capital in carrying out the specific activities. The resource investment for lucrative purposes is facilitated by small entrance costs, an atypical knowledge distribution simultaneously derived from experience and standardized scientific research, a seasonal programme which can be adjusted according to availability, as well as scalable and predictable profits, which depend on involvement. Workplace precariousness in the Romanian rural space is a reality which could be improved through involvement in beekeeping activities, and the National Apiculture Programmes of 2011-2013 derived its worth from having financed mainly small exploitations, facilitating hives creation and development for beneficiaries with limited financial capital.

The Romanian beekeepers community is organized at the local and National level through associations, which have the role of certification, knowledge transfer, logistic support, consultancy, etc. Their importance derives from legal regulations (only members can "*benefit from financial support for hives' creation, development and modernization, through access to the measures contained in national or European programmes destined for this domain*" – the Law of Apiculture). Besides, these associations represent the institutional response to the need for social inclusion (Cace, 2008), promoted on the European level as a response to community under-development and an important source for negotiation capacity in the context of the elaboration of legislation in this domain. Therefore, the Romanian Beekeepers Association and other associations have been actively involved in defining the stipulations of the Apiculture Law no. 383/2013, acting as a mobilization source (Rammelt, 2011: 130) connecting and energizing its beekeeper members in order to effectively participate in the legal elaboration process.

The data generated by the modern communication devices and digital social media networks, which can be accessed by specialists, can create new, interdisciplinary research domains, which can answer questions related to social dynamics in border-line disciplines such as computational gastronomy (Ahnert, 2013). As historical documents are being digitalized, and textual information becomes available, research on the way beekeeping has been perceived throughout the years can be carried out.

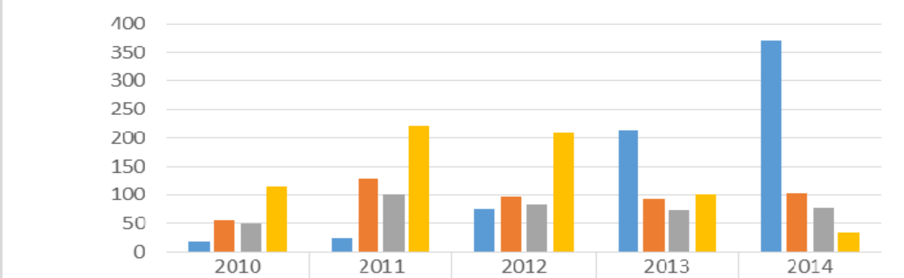
The way that the online environment presents types of food and beverages according to certain standards represents the subject of institutional and organizational regulations, giving the volatile and dynamic nature of the internet. Among the self-regulating initiatives promoting food and beverages we can find Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI). Through this procedure, the Canadian member organizations are making the commitment, since 2007, to present messages about healthier food and beverage items or healthy lifestyle habits in at least 50% of their marketing communications (Brady, Mendelson, Farrell, & Wong, 2010: 167).

Methods and Materials

Researching the way in which the image of beekeeping is built in Romanian media is based on a series of articles selected from some of the main websites producing and gathering information in a digital format:

- Agerpres (www.agerpres.ro) is the Romanian national news agency and also the oldest. Its website was launched in 1999 and with its 2013 reorganization came its focus on online news.
- Hotnews (www.hotnews.ro) is an online news portal with articles and analysis generated by its in-house news room, but also with a daily press rundown and other information coming from third parties.
- Mediafax (www.mediafax.ro) is a news independent agency established in 1995 in Romania providing news and information feeds in real time. In addition, Mediafax is information aggregator from print and broadcast media across the country.
- Ziare.com (www.ziare.com) is a politically independent news aggregator which publishes informative and opinion texts.

Figure 3. *The distribution of selected the articles for analysis*



	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Agerpres	17	25	76	213	371
Hotnews	56	127	98	93	104
Mediafax	49	102	83	73	78
ziare.com	115	222	209	102	35

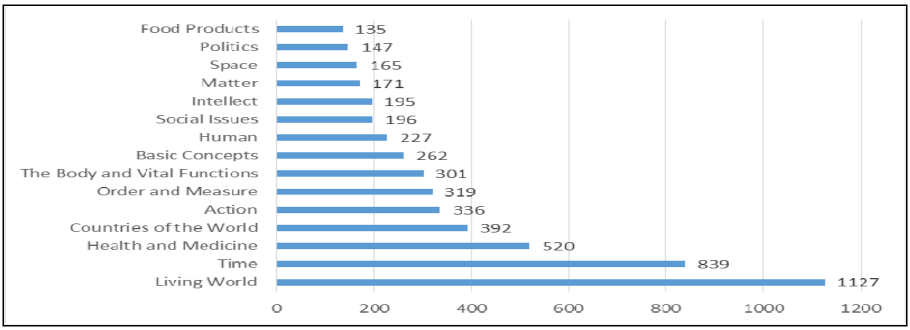
Source: personal database

The distribution of the selected articles is presented in Table 1. The preliminary data analysis is necessary because its sheer number requires an approach suited to extracting relevant information. The recommended necessary steps (Kitchin, 2014: 101-102) cover the requirement that the data be structured for data mining and pattern recognition and that the analysis for data visualization and visual analytics be possible:

- *Data selection*: the subset of variables that can be included in the exploratory model must provide as much relevant information as possible. In the article we selected we chose to discard, for example, the number of times they were viewed because, in addition to the fact that the information was incomplete, there were major audience differences between the websites, making any comparison useless.
- *Data pre-processing*: cleaning databases is necessary in order to eliminate errors, biases, inconsistencies or missing fields. In this context taking out diacritics and tokenizing the text become increasingly relevant. The databases selected for the analysis do not provide text with diacritics in the case of Hotnews.ro and Ziare.com, while Agerpres and Mediafax include diacritics. This limitation makes taking them out of the entire database a necessity, while also generating some loss of information. The topical pre-processing procedures done through the Sci^2 Tool application and presented in the design stage of the research are also used at this moment.
- *Data reduction and projection*: the size reduction of data through its aggregation, normalization and ranking seeks to make visualization more efficient. Because we chose a visual, descriptive method this stage combines the syntactic and semantic dimensions of the text through software applications and programmes.

The content analysis consists of classifying the symbolic material on behalf of scientifically-qualified observers, who would observe which part of the textual material enters a research scheme category, with the aid of explicit classifications and procedural rules (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000: 58). Alex Mucchielli frames the content analysis as quasi-qualitative research, as it focuses on measuring objectives, whilst qualitative methods focus on "reading" objectives, understood as "discourse comprehension" (Mucchielli, 2002: 34).

Figure 4. *The principal semantic categories that emerges from analysis (direct link from title and database name*



Source: personal database

The theories at the basis of the content analysis procedure generally derive from communication theories such as the *mass communication model* (Laswell), which answers the following questions: *who? what do they say? on which communication channel? to whom? with what effect?*, *the contingency analysis* (Osgood – e.g. the semantic differentiator*), the interaction processes' analysis* (Bales – the purpose is to identify and register the nature, and not the content, of each separate interaction of a group), *semiotics* (Morris – communication is not only possible on the basis of stimuli, but also on the sense which they are given, and which cannot be accessed through the concrete form of the stimuli). Similar research methods and techniques are represented by *latent semantic analysis* or LSA, (Landauer *et al,* 1998), pLSA (Hofmann, 1999), Pachinco allocation (Li & McCallum, 2006), latent dirichlet allocation or LDA (Blei *et al,* 2003) or *relational topic models*, (Chang & Blei, 2010).

The suggested level of analysis is syntactic and semantic, following the identification of words, and structuring these in sentences within the analysed text, the word representing the analysis unit, and the sentence being the context unit. The procedure has two levels, summarizing in order to reduce and simplify the material, and its structuring for pattern identification and scheme building (Titscher et al., 2000: 62-64).

Exploratory *text network analysis* of data, which is used in this material, turns words into nodes, and the relationship between them in network edges. The purpose is to identify the most influential way to produce meaning within the analysed text. For a better understanding of the narrative structure, the information is presented in graphic form.

Table 1. A typology of content analysis procedures (selection).

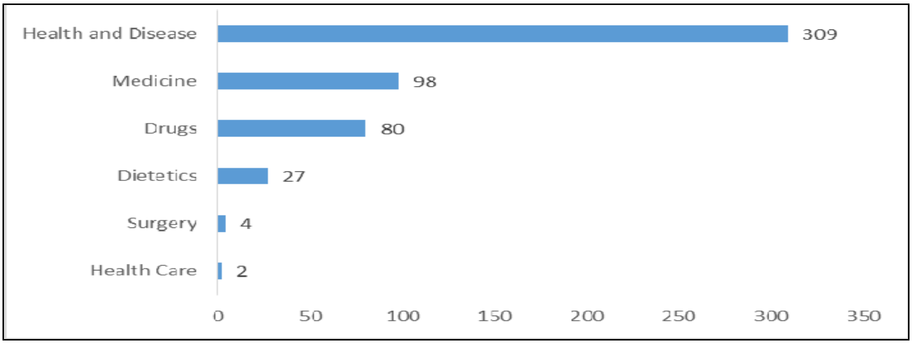
Semiotic levels	**Object**	**Examples of procedure**	**Research question**						
			Who?	**What?**	**How?**	**To whom?**	**Why?**	**What situation?**	**What effect?**
Syntactic	Syntactic characteristics of message	Author analysis (style analysis)	x		x				
Semantic	Meanings of words, sentences	Theme analysis	x	x				x	
Semantic-pragmatic	Meaning and effect of message	Attribution analysis	x	x	x		x	x	
Pragmatic	Effect of message	Interview analysis	x	x		x	x	x	X

Source: Titscher et al., 2000: 63

Results and discussion

The first step of the analysis is represented by the textual analysis of the selected articles, according to a pre-established scenario, in order to identify the semantic structure using the Tropes[1] application. In order to achieve the analysis, the software undergoes a complex process focusing on: attributing all significant words to a category, the analysis of their distribution into sub-categories (word categories, equivalent classes); examining the order of appearance, within sentences (relations, actants and acted), as well as throughout the text (distribution graphs, packs, episodes and the most characteristic textual parts) (ACETIC & CYBERLEX, 2014)[2].

Figure 5. *The "Health and Medicine" semantic categories that emerges from analysis (direct link from title and database name.*



Source: personal database

The second step consists of drafting graphics based on the data supplied by Tropes through the Gephi[3] application. This is a software specialized in the visual analysis of network-type information, with the objective to identify patterns, elaborate hypotheses, isolate structures and facilitate rationalizations and argumentations (Bastian, Heymann, & Jacomy, 2009). The graphic construction follows these stages:

- *The chosen layout* is „Atlas Force-based". The mutually associated nodes (words) are attracted and the unlinked ones are pushed aside;
- *The hierarchy* is achieved according to the nodes' grade, calculating the length for all possible pairs of words and offering information on nodes' proximity (we used the Avg. Path Length option and modularity);
- *The centrality hierarchy* between words (the most frequent pairs are placed towards the middle of the graph), each node being adjusted according to size. The main interpretations of the centrality hierarchy are:
    - A: degree centrality = local connectivity => nodes having many edges are central

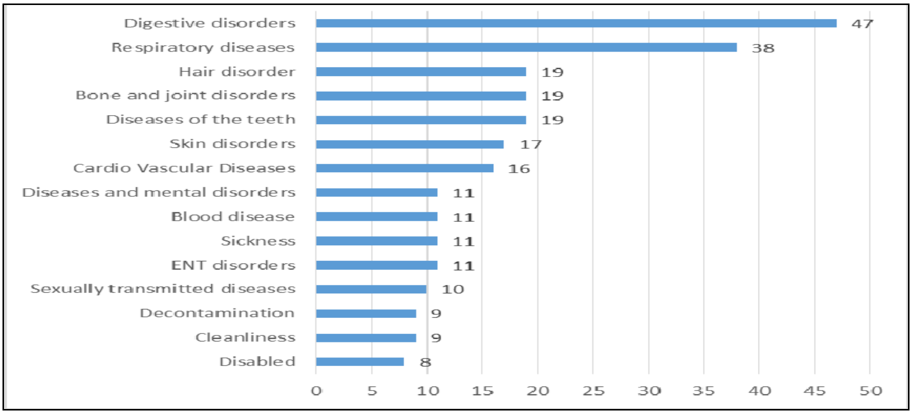
[1] http://www.semantic-knowledge.com/tropes.htm
[2] Tropes Help Index
[3] https://gephi.github.io/

– B: closeness centrality = “geographic” middle => nodes that are close to all other nodes are central
– C: *betweenness* centrality = connectivity => nodes that lay on many shortest paths are central (a shortest path is the quickest way to go from one node to another)
– D: Eigenvector centrality = authority => nodes that are connected to highly ranked nodes are central (recursive approach).

- *Nodes' labelling* (Show Labels) is achieved in such way as the text is proportional with these;
- *Communities' identification* (the capacity to identify and study communities is central to network analysis), is achieved through the Louvain modularity method. Similar clusters are identified with a pre-defined scheme through different colouring. This procedure allows the (in)validation, at least generally, of the inferences operated by the article's authors, recognizing the existence of alternative methods of observation and rationalization of the argumentative procedure (Krippendorff, 2004: 413);
- *Partitioning* the clusters identified in classes;

Finally, we created a *filter* in order to hide the network's nodes and edges which have few commonalities. As the print version of the material cannot visually present the complex networks built with Gephi we make referrals in the appropriate areas to the existing interactive online versions[1].

Figure 5. *From within semantic category „Health and Medicine" the principal subcategories that emerge from the content analysis (direct link from title and database name)*



Source: personal database

[1] For example www.sociologic.ro/images/visual/bee-title-database-network/ which show the networked concepts formed between the title and the website that published the article.

The style of the articles is rather argumentative, as it uses discussion, comparison and critique. The articles are anchored in reality, not fiction, expressing concepts related to being and possession. The five main categories of meaning built through the Tropes scenario that can be identified in the articles are the world, time, health and medicine, countries and action. Within the „Health and medicine" (composed out of 520 subcategories), the „Health and disease" subcategory is dominant, with 309 entries. Within this category we can identify rare illnesses of the digestive system, of the lungs, teeth, bones, hair, skin or cardiovascular problems. This framing of meaning allow us to put forward the premise that one of the most important dimensions of the texts we analysed is the consumption of beekeeping products and their positive effects. An example that perfectly illustrates this premise is: „ … Romania keeps alive the tradition of apitherapy by using the venom of the bee to treat sclerosis, pollen for indigestion and honey to cure wounds" (Toea, 2014). Nevertheless, the sensationalism oriented style of the mass media is going strong, as many references in this category are closer to words such as „sting", „allergy", „edema", describing cases in which bees have attacked people or domestic animals.

Generally speaking, the approaches characteristic to each news agency or news aggregator are not that much different. Towards the end of the interval we studied the number of articles published by Agerpres went up, confirming the fact that the national news agency increased its digital focus. Beekeeping is presented as an economic activity mainly through references to EU funded projects and to taxes. The temporal framing suggests order and particular periods, while the geographical one confirms the connections with the world trends and its relevance for the EU discourse. The most frequent conceptual reference encountered in the articles we analysed is „honey". Mentioned 2,595 times, it forms a semantic field together with other terms such as „spoon", „jar", „sweets", „sugar" or „bio", building an image of daily use and healthy food.

Conclusions

From a EU2020 Agenda perspective, beekeeping can be considered a fundamental form of smart growth based on innovation and knowledge, of sustainable growth through an environmentally friendly economy, of inclusive growth in order to act against unemployment and strengthen social cohesion. In addition to the estimated added value of a billion euros annually, maintaining biodiversity, the estimated contribution of EUR 22 billion through polenization (Deloitte, 2013: 11) and the well-being of the bees as an environmental health indicator are just three of the crucial roles of beekeeping in the EU agriculture.

With a developed beekeeping sector and a relatively small internal consumption of apiary products (in 2007 honey consumption was registered at 0.42 kg per capita – CBI Market Survey, 2009: 5), Romania is one of the self-sufficient countries as far as consumption is concerned. This reality puts pressure on export distribution networks, on how producers develop de capacity to meet EU standards and how they respect the parameters for products with high added value. For example, EU honey has a higher distribution price, while honey coming from China is considered low quality and, therefore, has a lower price. Consequently, domestic producers must, through personal example of that of professional associations that represent them, develop the capacity to influence internal consumption and/or export products as advantageously as possible in order to generate profit.

The beekeeping products consumption is part of culinary practices, and is influenced by history, culture, geography, climate and institutional quality standards. The local food production being regulated within the EU, and the cultural norms being influenced by the free circulation of people and ideas, it is important to notice the way these changes can bring added value to a field of activity which is traditional, as well as modern, developed, but also fragile in front of contemporary challenges.

Abbreviation List

APIA – Agency for Payments and Intervention in Agriculture

CAP – Common Agricultural Policy

MARD – Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development

PNDR – National Rural Development Programme

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization

NAIRZ – The National Agency for Improvement and Reproduction in Zootechnics „Prof. Dr. G. K. Constantinescu"

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Journal of Community Positive Practices, XV(2) **2015**, *101-112*
ISSN Print: 1582-8344; Electronic: 2247-6571

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF ROMANIAN NATIONALISM, IN THE VIEW OF ANTOINE ROGER - A CRITICAL APPRAISAL -

Vladimir CREȚULESCU[1]

Abstract: *Before proceeding to the reviewing of Antoine Roger's original account of Romanian nationalism, I find it necessary to outline the field to which Roger's book makes an inspired contribution. In other words, I shall begin by discussing some of the recent works on the birth and shaping of Romanian nationalism, and therefore, of the Romanian nation. But first, our attention is called to the matrix which exerts an undeniable influence on many of these writings - the field of Romanian historiography*[2].

Keywords: *nationalism; socio-economic historical research; Antoine Roger*

One can argue that from a certain stand point, the advent of communism has had a "cryogenic" effect on Romanian historiography: the romantic outlook of XIXth century's nationalist authors had established certain *topoi* (Dacian-Roman origins, cultural Latinity, historical continuity, etc.) that were carried forth and strengthened in the interwar years. The subsequent fall of the iron curtain has had a dual effect on Romanian historiography: on the one hand, it largely (though not completely[3]) insulated

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[2] This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development (SOP HDR), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HDR/159/1.5/S/136077.

[3] A noteworthy exception to the isolation of communist-era Romanian scholarship is the Romanian-French colloquium held in Bucharest in October 1969. The colloquium brought together the prominent Romanian historians of the time, and personalities of the *Annales* French school of historiography (G. Duby, A. Dupont, F. Furet, P. Chaunu, etc.). The studies on the history of mentalities having been presented at the colloquium were subsequently published in *Revue Roumaine d'Historie*, 3/1970. The colloquium spawned a series of academic debates, to be found in articles published in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 4/1970, in *Synthesis*, 10/1983, and in *Cahiers roumaines d'études littéraires*, 1/1986, respectively; see Simona Nicoară, *Istorie și imaginar: eseuri de antropologie istorică*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 119, footnote 272;

the Romanian historian milieu from the fundamental mutations occurring in western social science throughout the 1960s, '70s and '80s (see the advent of the linguistic turn, of post-modern deconstructivism, etc.); on the other hand, history was labeled by the regime a "political" science, which meant that it became subject to Marxist dogmatism - any intake of western "decadent capitalist" scholarship was *a priori* out of the question, as classical Marxism became *the only* "correct" interpretative paradigm. When the aggressive russification and Stalinization of Romania ceases following Stalin's death – and particularly after Khrushchev came to power –, a shift occurs in Romanian communist society: Nicolae Ceaușescu, the new Secretary General risen to power in 1965, is henceforth free to revive the romantic nationalist historical motifs of the late XIXth century, 1930s and 1940s, warping them into his own brand of national communism – a convenient endorsement of his regime.

Twenty-five years after the fall of Communism in December 1989, Romanian society is still struggling to overcome the ideological paradigms and nationalist clichés of national-communist historical writing. Bluntly put, the crux of the problem resides in an antiquated and ideologically charged manner of understanding and explaining the birth and development of the Romanian nation. This is not just an academic question but also a serious social and political issue, with a direct impact on popular understandings of history and collective identity, as fostered in the media and, most importantly, *in school*[1].

Fortunately many Romanian historians are aware of this complex problem, and are making efforts to bridge the conceptual and methodological gap separating traditional Romanian national history from western, shall we say, "post-national" history. Victor Neumann, for instance, speaks out against epistemic isolationism, maintaining that although Romanian culture and statehood differ somewhat from those of the West, "the present-day historian shall have to strive to render the past using the universal scientific methods"[2]. Furthermore, he points out that the idea of the historian's reconstituting the past based exclusively on the sources is "an absurd ambition", since documents are not always credible, that is to say, they "don't always justify the description of the past"[3]. Therefore some theoretical-methodological outlook should always be called upon to sanction, inform and verify historical interpretation. In point of fact, Neumann advocates a comprehensive reconsideration of Romanian history from the standpoint of one such theoretical paradigm; namely, Reinhart Koselleck's conceptual history[4]. In the volume *Istoria României prin concepte*[1] Victor Neumann, his co-

[1] On the issue of school-taught history, see Mirela Murgescu, *Istoria din ghiozdan. Memorie și manuale școlare în România anilor 1990*, București, 2004;

[2] Victor Neumann, „Este utilă rescrierea istoriei României? Evoluția conceptelor social-politice şi alternativele interpretative", în Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen (eds), *Istoria României prin concepte:perspective alternative asupra limbajelor social-politice*, Ed. Polirom, Iaşi, 2010, p. 17;

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 22;

[4] Two key works by Kosseleck have been translated into Romanian, whereby Kosseleck's theory is made accessible to the Romanian reader. See Reinhart Koselleck, *Conceptele și istoriile lor. Semantica și pragmatica limbajului social-politic*, traducere din limba germană de Gabriel H. Decuble

editor Armin Heinen, and their collaborators, attempt a concept-by-concept approach to Romanian modern and contemporary history, in the vein of Koselleck's work. The volume features several contributions on concepts directly relevant to the understanding of the nation, such as "patriotism"[2], "national character"[3], or "people"[4]. Another important collective work, this time edited by Sorin Mitu[5], puts forward an array of approaches stemming from the contemporary theories on nationalism[6], as part of a plural effort to understand and interpret various facets of Romanian national identity, nationalism and nation-building. In a laudable attempt to account for the lack of consensus in the field of nationalism studies, the volume plays host to several mutually incompatible theoretical outlooks, and even features some positions which are squarely at odds with each other[7].

The chief editors of the aforementioned two collective tomes have both made extensive contributions to the field of study of Romanian nationalism. Victor Neumann has developed his conceptual approach throughout several books[8], while Sorin Mitu has written a highly original work on Romanian identity-formation in Transylvania – a study which traces the structuring of the Transylvanian Romanian social imaginary through stereotypical self-representations[9]. And these two authors are by no means alone in their preoccupations. Irina Livezeanu is the author of a history of cultural

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şi Mari Oruz, Bucureşti, 2009; *Idem*, *Conceptul de istorie*, traducere de Victor Neumann şi Patrick Lavrits, studiu introductiv de Victor Neumann, Iaşi, 2005 ;

1 See Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen (eds), *Istoria României prin concepte:perspective alternative asupra limbajelor social-politice*, *ed. cit.*;

2 Klaus Bochmann, „Conceptul de patriotism în cultura română", in Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen (eds), *Istoria României prin concepte:perspective alternative asupra limbajelor social-politice*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 103-128;

3 Balázs Trencsényi, „Conceptualizarea caracterului naţional în tradiţia intelectuală românească", in Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen (eds), *op. cit.,* pp. 339-378;

4 Victor Neumann, „Neam şi popor: noţiunile etnocentrismului românesc", in Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen (eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 379-400;

5 Sorin Mitu (ed.), *Re-searching the Nation: The Romanian File. Studies and Selected Bibliography on Romanian Nationalism*, International Book Access, Cluj, 2008;

6 For good overviews of said theories, see Omut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Second Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2010 [2000]; Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism*, Polity Press, Cambridge UK, Malden MA, 2010 [2001]; Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Pallgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2006;

7 See the implicit polemics opposing Ioan Aurel Pop's article, "Medieval Antecedents of the Modern Nations", sporting a perennialist approach to nationness, and Ovidiu Pecican's contribution, entitled "Case Study: A Historical Anachronism: the Romanian Medieval Ethnic Nation", which takes a manifestly modernist stance; Sorin Mitu (ed.), *Re-searching the Nation: The Romanian File. Studies and Selected Bibliography on Romanian Nationalism*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 22-49, 50-56;

8 See Victor Neumann, *Neam, popor sau naţiune? Despre identităţile politice europene*, Bucureşti, 2005; *Idem*, *Essays on Romanian Intellectual History*, Timişoara, 2008; *Idem*, *Conceptul de naţiune la români şi unguri : un studiu despre identităţile politice*, Institutul European, Iaşi, 2013;

9 Sorin Mitu, *Geneza identităţii naţionale la românii ardeleni*, Editura Humanitas, Bucureşti, 1997 ;

politics in interwar Greater Romania[1] – a phenomenon that she analyses by drawing on on some of the contemporary theories of nationalism[2]. Dan Dungaciu takes things further - he cultivates a highly systematic, theoretically oriented and comprehensive approach to the phenomenon of Romanian nationalism, as seen in European political and ideological context[3]. Simona Nicoară, for her part, has taken an oblique, essay-approach to the issues of nation and nationalism, as she interrogates various mythical, ideological and imaginary aspects of collective identity[4]. Liviu Maior has chosen to focus his attention on the paradoxes of Transylvanian Romanian identity. His *In the Empire: Habsburgs and Romanians*[5] expands upon the Romanians' moments of vacillation between Habsburg dynastic loyalty and (Romanian) national identity. Maior's other major opus, dealing with the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania[6], constitutes the first account of the "year of nations" in Romania to manifestly abandon the customary romantic paradigm in favor of an outlook focused on the ebb and flow of collective mentalities, and on the development of the social imaginary. For the latter concept Maior is indebted to Lucian Boia, whose writings on the social imaginary have laid the foundations for an entire field of historiography. According to Boia, "the imaginary […] is always present in all compartments of history", and is continuously being structured by six underlying vectors: the supernatural, death and the afterlife, otherness, the myths of origins, the imaginary of divination, and the refuse and abandonment of history (via the nostalgia of a mythical Golden Age, millennial beliefs, utopias, etc.)[7]. Boia's chief contribution to the field of study of Romanian nationalism remains his *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*[8] – a deconstruction of Romanian national-communist historical myths.

There are also several noteworthy foreign contributions to the contemporary reconsideration of Romanian national history. For the purposes of the present review, I shall only retain two names. Keith Hitchins[9], an American historian specialized in

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[1] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: regionalism, nation building and ethnic struggle: 1918-1930*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1995; the book was translated into Romanian as *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare: 1918-1930*, Vlad Russo (trad.), Editura Humanitas, București, 1998;

[2] I shall be returning to this subject;

[3] Dan Dungaciu, *Națiunea și provocările (post)modernității*, Tritonic, București, 2004; see also *Idem*, *Elemente pentru o teorie a națiunii și naționalismului*, ISPRI, București, 2012;

[4] Simona Nicoară, *Istorie și imaginar: eseuri de antropologie istorică*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2000 ; *Idem*, *Națiunea modernă: mituri, simboluri, ideologii*, Accent, Cluj-Napoca, 2002;

[5] Liviu Maior, *In the Empire: Habsburgs and Romanians: from dynastic loyalty to national identity*, Bogdan Aldea (trans.), Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, 2008; for the original edition in Romanian, see L. Maior, *Habsburgi și români: de la loialitatea dinastică la identitate națională*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2006;

[6] Liviu Maior, *1848-1849. Români și unguri în revoluție*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1998;

[7] See Lucian Boia, , "Vers une histoire de l'imaginaire", in *Analele Universității București*, History, 40/1991, pp. 3-22 ; see particularly p. 22 ;

[8] Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, Humanitas, București, 2010 [1997];

[9] See Keith Hitchins, *Rumania 1866-1947*, Oxford History of Modern Europe, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994; *Idem*, *Românii (1774-1866)*, Ediția a III-a, George G. Potra și Delia Răzdolescu

Romanian modern history, demonstrates a sharp attention to historical detail, all while endeavoring to ply some contemporary theories of nationalism to the peculiarities of the Romanian case[1]. And Daniel Chirot, whose attempt of applying Immanuel Wallerstein's economocentric logics of center – periphery interaction[2] to medieval, pre-modern, and then modern Wallachia[3] has remained singular, up until Antoine Roger's somewhat similar endeavor[4].

My account of the field of study on Romanian national history and Romanian nationalism makes no claim to being exhaustive. It is intended merely as a bird's eye view, meant to help the reader situate Antoine Roger's tome in a context of related literature. It is worth noting that, as a general trend, Romanian scholarship focuses predominantly on the transition of the Romanian social imaginary towards national forms. A. Roger's study is well-placed to provide a welcome corrective to this outlook, as it interrogates Romanian nationalism from a rather different perspective – as we are about to see.

Although Antoine Roger's treatise, *Les fondements du nationalisme roumain (1791-1921)*, is not a very recent work (it was published in 2003), its insights have been largely ignored by Romanian scholarship. Much like Chirot before him, Roger draws on Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system theory, seeking to adapt it to the study of Romanian nationalism. Briefly put, Wallerstein argues that modernity has ushered in a world-system of economic dependency, where the industrially developed "center" (essentially comprised of colonial England and France) exploits less-developed "peripheries": it taps the peripheral societies for raw materials to feed its ever-growing industry, and then sells the resulting finished products back to its peripheries. In the attempt of adapting Wallerstein's model to his case study on Wallachia, Daniel Chirot postulated that the modern industrial world-system had been preceded by other, pre-modern world-systems of economic dependency. He further maintained that the Ottoman Empire had been the center of one such system – a "protocolonial" structure which was less effective at exploiting its peripheries than the later, industrial one. Thus according to Chirot, Wallachia had long been subjected to Ottoman protocolonial exploitation, before eventually falling under the sway of the "neocolonial", Anglo-French world-system. *Contra* Chirot, Antoine Roger contests the existence of an Ottoman "protocolonial" world-system, arguing that the amount of resources extracted by the Ottomans from Wallachia is far too small to be qualified as exploitation. In fact, the very concept of "protocolonialism" seems to Roger forced and abusive. He also criticizes Wallerstein's world-system model, on account of the fact that it uses two

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(trad.), Editura Humanitas, București, 2013 [1996]; *Idem*, *The Identity of Romania*, Second, Enlarged Edition, The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009;

[1] I shall be returning to this topic;

[2] For Wallerstein's world-system theory, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System,* volumes I, II and III, published by Academic Press in London and New York in 1974 (vol. I), in New York in 1980 (vol. II), and in San Diego in 1989 (vol. III), respectively;

[3] Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society: The Creation of a Balkan Colony*, Academic Press, New York, 1976;

[4] I shall be returning to this topic;

distinct dynamics to explain the workings of a supposedly integrated system: According to Roger, Wallerstein uses center-periphery (i.e. "horizontal") dynamics to account for the continuous stable functioning of his system, and internal changes in the social hierarchy of the peripheries (i.e. "vertical" dynamics), to justify changes in the structuring of the world-system (such as, for instance, a periphery's ascent to semi-periphery or even center status, entailing the corresponding fall of a central power to a subordinate status).

In order to correct this illogical disjunction at the heart of Wallerstein's system, Roger urges a reconsideration of the two dynamics – that is to say, of the internal-external "horizontal" movement of international center-periphery relations, and of the up-down "vertical" motion of inter-class relations within the peripheral societies. In short, our author proposes that the two dynamics should be seen as working together, in dialectical interaction, rather than apart. He arranges the two processes on a system of crosscutting axes, with center-periphery interactions represented on the horizontal, and the peripheries' intra-social mobility gauged on the vertical. Roger postulates that this dual-axis system is adequate for describing the development of nationalisms in peripheral societies bound by relations of *direct dependency* to a center – according to our author, such is the case of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The next question that presents itself is that of the variables to be used in the analysis of developments occurring along the two axes. Roger finds that the central "event" of the "international", horizontal axis is the periphery's transition from an agrarian system of dependency, to an industrial one. This change can occur via the center's transitioning from a small-scale manufacturing industry (which requires agricultural input from the peripheries, to feed the center's craftsmen manufacturers), to a full-blown heavy industry (which taps the peripheries for raw materials, leading the center to develop extractive industries and transportation infrastructures in its peripheries, so as to help feed its own growing industrial machine). Alternatively, the periphery can change hands, passing from the area of influence of a less developed, small-scale industry center, to the sway of a more developed, heavy-industry center. In the case of Wallachia and Moldavia (which would subsequently become the United Principalities, then "old kingdom" Romania), this transition from an agrarian, to an industrial system of dependency occurs little by little, as the two principalities' grain exports to Austro-Hungary gradually decrease, and their oil exports to industrialized Germany increase correspondingly. Furthermore, Roger notes that the principalities' transitioning from the Austrian sphere of economic influence to the German one occurs peacefully, on account of the two central powers' having contracted their secret alliance in 1888.

Having thus fleshed out the dynamics of the horizontal, "international" axis featured in his analytical model, Roger still has to account for changes occurring along the "internal" vertical axis. In order to furnish it with relevant variables, our author draws on Miroslav Hroch's three-stage scheme for gauging the development of national movements[1]. According to Hroch, all national movements experience an initial, scholarly phase (A), where the basic points of the national discourse are elaborated, followed by a second phase, of national agitation (B), marked by the propagation of the national discourse via nationalist activism and propaganda; finally, a third phase ensues (C), where the national idea finally wins over the popular masses – the general population adheres to the nation enthusiastically, and internalizes it as a felt reality.

Antoine Roger sets this three-stage system of reference against the background of developments occurring on the other, horizontal axis. Thus, he explains that as a system of agrarian dependency (termed 'stage 1', on the horizontal axis) is set up, the greater nobility, which owns more land, is able to export grain in the amounts that the center requires. It thus gets increasingly wealthier. The lesser nobility, however, does not own sufficient land to meet the center's standards of volume. Though it doesn't lose wealth in absolute terms, its relative poverty vis-à-vis the greater nobility becomes ever more obvious. Eventually, the lesser nobility becomes painfully aware of its inferiority. It therefore elaborates a nationalist discourse, constructing itself as a patriotic elite whose destiny it is to assume leadership of the nation by toppling the greater nobility, which is branded as hostile to the nation, or even alien (phase A on the vertical axis). However the lesser nobility is thwarted in its ambitions, because the greater nobility has a powerful ally: a greater intelligentsia benefits from its patronage, and indorses it. The privileged position of this greater intelligentsia (higher clergy, university academics, etc.) is coveted by a lower intelligentsia (country clergymen, village teachers, etc.), which comes to realize that it can elevate itself by joining the lower nobility's cause. The lower intelligentsia thus assumes the lower nobility's nationalist discourse. Its prominent position in the rural environment allows it to effectively propagate the national ideas among the peasant masses (phase B on the vertical axis). The peasants, for their part, are already frustrated with the great economic and social pressures placed upon them by the higher, landowning nobility: the ever-increasing grain demands of the center constrain the landowning aristocrats to bully the peasantry into producing ever-higher yields, and surrendering an ever-greater share of the harvest for export, without being grated adequate compensation. The lower intelligentsia manages to persuade the peasantry that its socio-economic gripes are the expression of a larger, national problem: the oppressive higher nobility is hostile not only to the peasantry, but to the nation as a whole! It must be toppled, and a new elite must be instated – the patriotic lower nobility, once in power, shall put everything right, and improve the peasant's lot. According to Roger, the lower intelligentsia thus manages to mediate a *physical connection* between the lower aristocracy and the peasantry, ensuring that the nationalist discourse wins over a mass audience (phase C on the vertical axis). At this point, all the strata of the peripheral society are united against the higher aristocracy and its ally, the higher intelligentsia. That, however, is not sufficient for the nationalist movement to succeed. As long as the great, landowning aristocracy has at its disposal the huge resources afforded it by the grain trade with the center,

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1 On Hroch's theory, see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe :A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985 [1968] (the original, 1968 edition is in German);

nothing can topple it. However, once the shift from an agrarian to an industrial system of dependency (stage 2 on the horizontal axis) takes place, the greater aristocrats lose their agricultural cash-cow; the lower nobility, which has by now long been making inroads into industry, is well positioned to supply the center with the industrial raw materials it now requires. This new-found source of wealth finally allows the lower aristocracy to topple the weakened higher nobility, and assume power. The national movement succeeds.

Antoine Roger applies this analytical paradigm to the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), outlining a dynamics of social interaction between the greater boyars, who are able to export large amounts of Grain to Austria, the lower boyars, who are excluded from this lucrative trade, the lower (rural) intelligentsia, and the peasantry being subjected to a second serfdom by the great boyars in need of evermore grain. We shall not be going into the details of Roger's analysis. Suffice to say that with the Principalities' gradual shift from the agrarian system of dependency imposed by Austria, to the industrial one presided over by Germany, the greater boyars are removed from power definitively; the Conservative Party – their political umbrella – ceases to exist, and the nationalistic lesser boyars take the lead, as their National Liberal Party comes to dominate the political scene.

Roger's analytical model of crosscutting axes seems to lend itself well to the study of a system of *direct dependency*, such as the one affecting Wallachia and Moldavia. Transylvania, on the other hand, presents the researcher with a much more complex and fastidious socio-political reality. Of this, our author is very aware. He elaborates an all new, and entirely different analytical framework, specifically designed to ply itself to the intricacies of Transylvanian Romanian nationalism.

First, Roger observes that in the case of Transylvania, one is dealing with a less direct system of dependency. Roger terms it a *boxed-in dependency*, to account for the fact that Transylvania is dependent on Hungary, which is itself dependent on Habsburg Austria. Secondly, whereas in the case of Wallachia and Moldavia, the dependency in question is of a socio-economic nature, Transylvania, with its underdeveloped pastoral economy, can hardly be construed as being subjected to any sort of exploitation. In fact, Roger deems that its dependency is *political-institutional in nature*, rather than *economic*. And thirdly, the Romanian population of Transylvania finds itself in a peculiar position: though the Romanians are in demographical majority, their elites are deprived of any political standing and institutional acknowledgement – unlike the three *political nations*[1] of Transylvania, namely the Magyars, the Szeklers and the Saxons. In this context, the Romanian elites – at first comprised exclusively of churchmen – struggle for recognition. They want seats on the Transylvanian Diet, as well as to be granted the tax

[1] Here, the term "nation" is not to be taken in its modern sense – the bulk of the Saxon, Szekler and Magyar population in Transylvania is just as deprived of political rights as the Romanian peasantry. It is just the corresponding *political nations*, that is to say the Saxon, Magyar and Szekler *privileged elites*, who sit on the Transylvanian Diet (a medieval gathering of the *Oratores* and *Bellatores*, rather than a modern parliament), and exert political power;

exemptions, and all the other privileges that go along with being acknowledged as one of the political nations.

According to Roger, the Romanian elite develops a national movement as a way of claiming political recognition and privilege. Due to Transylvania's boxed-in dependency system, the said movement has to react dynamically to changes occurring in the national movement of the Hungarian Elite, itself fighting to conserve its traditional rights and privileges in the face of the Austrian center's constant attempts at neutralizing its institutional and political power. In essence, the Romanian elite's main problem is taken to be its inability to establish a *physical connection* with the Romanian peasant masses. Consequently, the elite is forced to resort to making a purely *symbolic connection*, through discourse. Its first generation (the "Transylvanian School", influent from the 1790s to the 1820s) harps on the Romanian populace's prestigious Latin origins. The second generation of the Romanian elite (that of the 1848 revolutionaries, prominent between the 1830s and the 1850s) develops the theme of the Romanian "aristocratic peasant", supposed to be a descendant of early Medieval nobility, laid low and deprived of its privileges by the Magyar invasion. This discursive development is in line with the Magyar *quarante-huitard* nobility's own nationalist discourse, which is centered on the aristocracy's time-honored, traditional historical rights. The Romanian elite's third generation (1860s – 1880s) has to deal with the consequences of the instauration of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, in 1867: the Hungarian elite establishes its own autonomous state, which it now has to defend from Austrian attempts at political re-assimilation. Furthermore, Transylvania loses its autonomy and is absorbed into the resurrected Hungarian kingdom. As a consequence, any recourse to traditional historic rights now becomes irrelevant: the new Hungary is a modern state, founded on political representation, not aristocratic privilege. The third generation therefore elaborates two new discursive themes: the theme of the Romanian "good-subject peasant" aims to curry favor with the Austrian Emperor, in an attempt to stimulate an intervention by Vienna in Hungarian matters, on the Romanians' behalf. The second theme, that of the Romanian "good-citizen peasant", constructs the peasantry as politically aware and emancipated – a class both desiring, and deserving of, a political voice. This image couldn't be further from the truth, as the illiterate peasantry was oblivious to politics; its gripes were social and economic, not political. On the whole, the third generation hopes for a speedy dissolution of the dualist compromise. When it becomes apparent that this will not be the case, the fourth generation of the Romanian elite (the so-called "tribunists"[1], prominent from the 1890s to the 1920s) conceives of obtaining seats on the Hungarian parliament, and then utilizing its political presence therein as an effective means of resisting Hungarian assimilationist policies. This generation therefore plays the dualist political game, while simultaneously working to dismantle dualism. On a discursive level, the fourth generation carries forward the discursive theme of the "good-citizen peasant", while also adding an organicistic element to it: the peasantry is articulated as the embodiment of a strong and ancient Romanian cultural nation, having developed organically throughout the ages, in the face of all adversity.

[1] A nick-name inspired by their main periodical publication, called "Tribuna";

I shall not be going into further detail in regard to Antoine Roger's analysis. Suffice it to say that the analytical scheme is further complicated by the confessional division of the Romanian nationalist elite into Greek-Catholic (Uniate) and Orthodox camps, as well as by the Habsburg Emperor repeatedly bating the Romanian peasantry into rebelling against the Hungarian nobility – Vienna's long-time rival.

On the whole, Antoine Roger's argumentation is well founded, clear, persuasive, and, I would add, quite seductive. One would be hard-pressed to find a more consistent and coherent theoretical treatment of Romanian nationalism. I have, however, been able to identify two other theoretical approaches that should retain the reader's attention.

Keith Hitchins focuses solely on Transylvanian Romanian nationalism, approaching it from an ethno-symbolist[1] perspective. He argues that the identity roots of the movement are to be found in the XVII-th century, if not earlier[2] (as opposed to Roger's modernist[3] view, which sees the movement in question beginning in the XVIII-th century). Furthermore, Hitchins applies Miroslav Hroch's three developmental stages of national movements to the Transylvanian case[4]. The results are admittedly interesting, though in my view Roger's more elaborate analytical framework is more pertinent to the study of the Transylvanian Romanian movement. Moreover, by using Hroch's three-stage scheme for his study of Wallachia and Moldavia *only*, Roger implies that he deems it inadequate for understanding Transylvanian nationalism. I tend to agree. Which is not to say that Hitchins' account lacks value. On the contrary, it is extremely rich in historical details – to the point where Roger's rendering of events seems schematic by comparison. As a matter of fact, I would recommend reading Roger's and Hitchins' accounts in tandem. They are, in a sense, complementary: Roger's political science approach brings to light the systemic quality of the Transylvanian Romanian national movement, via emphasizing its integration in a wider Central-European politico-economic context. Hitchins, on the other hand, brings to the table the historian's attention to minute events and small-scale cultural dynamics – see,

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[1] Ethno-symbolism is a theoretical paradigm of nationalism comprising theories which seek to reconcile a view of national identity as having developed over the *long durée*, with the objective modernity of actual nations. For a comprehensive statement of ethno-symbolist theoretical positions, see first of all Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1986; for a good critical overview of ethno-symbolism, see Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, particularly pp. 172-182;

[2] See particularly Keith Hitchins, "Identity and Religion: The Romanian Clergy in Transylvania Before the Union with Rome", in Keith Hitchins, *The Identity of Romania*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 17-37;

[3] Modernism is a theoretical paradigm of nationalism comprising theories which see the nation as chronologically and *qualitatively* modern phenomena – that is to say, as a product of economic and political modernization, against the ideological background of popular sovereignty and collective self-determination ushered in by the French Revolution; for a good overview of modernism, see Umut Ozımıkı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Second Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 [2000], Chapter 4, pp. 72-142;

[4] Keith Hitchins, "Romanian Nation-Formation in Transylvania: The Stages, Seventeenth Century to 1914", in K. Hitchins, *The Identity of Romania*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 87-117; this study was originally published in *Researching the Nation: The Romanian File*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 57-80;

for instance, his persistent preoccupation with the detailed interplay between orthodoxy and uniatism[1].

Irina Livezeanu's treatise on cultural politics in Greater Romania gives an account of Romanian nation-building beyond the early 1920s (which is the cut-off point of Roger's book). Livezeanu mobilizes a modernist theoretical perspective. She sets Liah Greenfeld's emphasis on nations being engendered by politics[2] against Ernest Gellner's insistence on the key role of industrialization[3], and then asks herself which of the two outlooks is better suited to understanding Romanian nation-building during the interwar period. In the end, Livezeanu opts for Greenfeld's perspective, though she is unwilling to give up on Gellner's insights altogether. She is able to recuperate the latter's emphasis on cultural standardization as a nation-building tool, by adapting Alexander Gerschenkron's conception on the *flexibility of prerequisites for industrialization*[4]. Briefly put, Gerschenkron claims that in industrially backward societies, the state can substitute budgetary policies for the organic accumulation of capital necessary for industrialization; Livezeanu reasons that, *mutatis mutandis*, the state can also "presumably substitute cultural policies for the structures of industrial society" which Gellner's model requires[5].

In final analysis, both Hitchins' and Livezeanu's contributions are to be seen not as challenging Antoine Roger's reading of Romanian nationalism, but rather as complementing it. That said, Roger's book is a valuable work in its own right, more than capable of standing on its own as a competent, self-contained political science account of how the Romanian nation came to be. Furthermore, the book's concern with the economic and institutional mechanisms underlying the growth of Romanian nationalism is, in itself, important; it provides a welcome corrective to the Romanian scholarship's quasi-exclusive focus on the dynamics of the social imaginary.

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[1] Keith Hitchins, *The Identity of Romania*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 17-132, *passim*;

[2] For Greenfeld's theory, see Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MASS., 1992;

[3] For Gellner's classical theory, see principally Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1983;

[4] Alexander Gerschenkron *apud* Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: regionalism, nation building and ethnic struggle: 1918-1930*, *ed. cit.*, p. 6;

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 6-7;

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JCPP

Year XV • No. 2/2015

EDITURA Expert

ISSN 1582-8344