

# Chapter Eight

## ►► HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY Country Contextual Reports

### ROMANIA

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This report provides information about Romania in the context of:

- Demographic trends
- Labour market trends
- Policies related to family and work, and social policies

The report describes the salient characteristics of the present Romanian society and the dynamic trends related to the above topics arguing that a series of polarisation trends have already been initiated:

- A polarisation trend in education
- A polarisation trend in the labour market
- A polarisation trend of the wealth and well-being

Within this context, flexibility follows the same dual pattern:

- A minority of people choose to be flexible
- A large segment of population is forced to retreat either into subsistence agriculture or into making a living in the informal economy: they are rather pushed into being flexible.

The predominant family model is the traditional one – man as the breadwinner and female in charge with the domestic life – but alternative models, more democratic ones, have also developed mainly for young, highly educated people based in large cities.

In the context of the economic and social transformations that started in 1990, labour market

policies have been predominantly passive, forced flexibility being one of the results. In addition, the decline of economic performance was exacerbated by an unfocused and ‘stingy’ (as opposite to generous) welfare system, which has resulted in a serious diminishment of the population’s quality of life and increasing impoverishment.

### Literature and data sources

In present report we used as major sources of information the *National Human Development Reports* (UNDP, 1997 – 2000), the UNDP and Institute for the Study of the Quality of Life (IQL) reports on: *Poverty in Romania: Causes, Anti-Poverty Policies, Recommendations for Action* (C. Zamfir coord. 2001) and *Informal Sector in Romania* (M. Stănculescu and S. Ilie, 2001), the UNDP and the Romanian National Institute for Statistics (NIS) report on *Women and Men in Romania* (2000), the report of International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights: *Women 2000. An Investigation into the Status of Women’s Rights in Central and South Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States* (R. Weber and N. Watson eds. 2000), and the *National Development Plan 2002 – 2005*, Romanian Government.

Major sources of data were: Integrated Household Survey (HIS, NIS), Romanian Labour Force Survey (LFS, NIS), Census of Population and Housing (1966, 1977, 1992), current population civil registration, and the Open Society Foundation Surveys: *Public Opinion Barometers* (POB, OSF 1996 – 2001) and *Gender Barometer* (2000).

## 2. FAMILY TRENDS

### 2.1. Population

In 2000, the Romanian population was 22435205, with 10968854 men and 11466351 women. The population inhabits 2951 administrative territorial units of which 263 urban settlements (10 cities have more than 200 thousands inhabitants) and 2688 rural settlements (communes), which are clusters comprising about 13 thousands villages. The rural population represents 45.4 per cent of the total population of the country. The main ethnic groups are Romanians (89.5 per cent in 1992), Hungarians (7.1 per cent), and Roma (1.8 per cent). The majority of the population belongs to the Orthodox religion (86.8 per cent in 1992) and the balance mainly belongs to Roman-Catholic (5.1 per cent), Protestant (3.5 per cent), Greek Catholic (1 per cent) and Pentecostal (1 per cent) churches.

#### 2.1.1 Natural increase

In the last years, the population has experienced negative growth due to a drop in fertility and a slight decline in life expectancy at birth. Life expectancy rose spectacularly after the Second World War, reaching over 69 years in early 1970s, since when it has fluctuated between 69 and 70 years. After 1990 the socio-economic changes were accompanied by a decline in life expectancy, so that in 1996 it reached only 1972 value of 68.9 years. In the European context, Romanian life expectancy is among the lowest, as is its rate of increase. For instance, in Romania, women's life expectancy increased by 3.5 years between 1970 and 1998 compared to 6 years in the European Union. According World Health Organisation, Romania has stagnated of over 30 years on this indicator.

The fertility dynamic has been determined by two opposing factors. On the one hand there is a downward trend induced by modernization (education, labour market participation of women, urbanization). On the other hand, the pro-natalist

policy promoted by the Romanian communist party (by far the most coercive policy in Europe) artificially pushed up the number of children born (e.g. 3.6 children per woman in 1967 compared to 1.9 in 1966). After 1990, the legislative changes (free abortions and lack of focused demographic policy), the changes brought by the economic reform (poverty, unemployment) as well as the higher availability of information about family planning and the diffusion of western cultural models, altered demographic behaviour. Thus, fertility strongly diminished, from 1.8 children per women in 1990 to 1.3 children per women in 1998. The fertility rate is much below the level required for generational replacement, so demographic ageing will be one of the most serious problems in about 20-25 years, when the generations born after 1967 will retire. In addition, the natural rate of population growth turned negative and the population lost around 375 thousands people in the last ten years. (Tables 3-5)

#### 2.1.2 Households

At the 1992 Census, 7281441 households were recorded in Romania. The average size of a household has been almost constant around 3 persons (3.07 persons in 1992, compared to 3.21 in 1966). Ethnological studies show that the Romanian model of a household is traditionally formed by one nuclear family. One and two-generation households represented 37 per cent and 48 per cent of households respectively, in 1992. One-person households comprise two distinct groups. About 60 per cent are women – retired widows over 65, mostly located in the rural areas. The second group includes both women and men who have never married (21 per cent) or are divorced (13 per cent), under 25 (4 per cent), of whom 13 per cent are workers and 7.5 per cent professionals (Table 6).

## 2.2. Marriage and family

Romanians still marry young. Since the 1980s, men marry at around 25 and women at around 22 years old. Marriage is a universal model in the Romanian society; in the age-category 25-30, over 70 per cent of men and 85 per cent of women have been recorded as at least once married from the 1956 Census onward. Celibacy is rare: only about 4 per cent men in their 50s have never been married and this is the case for about 3 per cent of women. Young couples have their first child in the first two years of marriage. Over 2/3 of live births are to mothers aged 20-29 years and over 4/5 are to fathers aged under 35 years. Nevertheless, in the last 10 years, both women and men delayed first marriage and correspondingly having the first child, by some 1-2 years. (Tables 7-8)

Marriage is highly stable. The total divorce rate has constantly had a low value of 0.18 since World War II and peaked at 0.24 in 1998. A slight growth took place mainly after 1990, in all age categories. The highest number of divorces, for the first marriage, takes place after 5-9 years of cohabitation. (Table 9)

Although the consensual unions are not recorded, based on various social surveys done after

1990, an increasing proportion of consensual couples are observed. The share of 20-24 olds women living in consensual union increased from 7.5 per cent in 1993 to 9.2 per cent in 1999. The corresponding share for women at reproductive age was 4.4 per cent, and 6.1 per cent respectively. Consensual union is widely spread amongst students and mainly represents a form of trial marriage.

Just as in other European countries, the number of out-of-wedlock births increased in the 1990s in Romania (from 15 per cent of total births in 1992 to 25.5 per cent in 2000, namely 32426 out of wedlock first births). A third of total children out of wedlock are born to very young mothers, under 20 years. Associated with this trend, the single-parent families and their share in the total number of families grew considerably. In the 1992 Census, 690 thousands single parent families were recorded, of which the great majority were single mother with children (83 per cent) living alone (69 per cent). The rest share the household with parents or other relatives. (Tables 10-11).

## 2.3. Matrimonial and parenthood models

In Romania, marriage represents 'the unity of interests and solidarity of spouses'. Nearly all Romanians, irrespective age, gender or social class share the beliefs: 'family is very important', 'marriage is not an obsolete institution', 'a child needs a home with both parents in order to be happy' (Value Survey, Romania 1997). Worthwhile to mention is the attitudinal change of the youth. Less than half of 18-24 olds think 'a women has to have children in order to be fulfilled' compared to almost all persons over 60. However, the entire population agree that romantic love, trust and mutual support are *sine qua non* for a successful marriage.

According to the Family Code, spouses have equal rights in marriage and in relation to their

children. However, irrespective of gender, Romanian people share rather a traditional view. 'The woman is the centre of the household' (61,5 per cent) while 'the man is the head of the family deciding for the entire household' (83 per cent). 'It is more the woman's duty to take care of the household' (63 per cent), and 'it is more the man's duty to be the main breadwinner' (70 per cent). Overall, 'the woman must follow her husband' (78 per cent). These core values are mirrored in every day life. In the overwhelming majority of households women do the domestic tasks and child rearing. Only two-earner, young and highly educated families, based in the large cities adopt a more balanced distribution of domestic roles. Thus, the man as being responsible for providing for the

family in connection with the public sphere and the woman as belonging to the private sphere, keeping the household and raising the children, is still the dominant pattern in the society. (Data: OSF, Gender Barometer, 2000)

In Romanian society, marriage should come first and the child only afterwards. Consequently, mothers with out of wedlock children are stigmatised, particularly in the rural communities where

there is high social control. The children's well-being comes first in the parents' hierarchy of responsibilities, from the child's birth to parents' death. Parents support their children even when they are grown up, in attending education, in finding a job, in acquiring a dwelling, in setting up their own households, and in raising their children.

### 3. EDUCATION

#### 3.1. Educational policy

The number and proportion of population with secondary and higher education increased considerably in the last decades. In 1966 only a quarter of the population had secondary or higher education compared to nearly a half (51.7 per cent) in 1977 and 71.7 per cent in 1992. At present (2000), only 13.5 per cent of the workforce attended at most primary education, a proportion that falls to only 3.7 per cent for the workforce between 15 - 35. (Table 12)

This is mainly due to the communist educational policy promoted before 1990. Compulsory education was raised to ten grades (equivalent to vocational schooling) in 1968. During the 1970s, with the emphasis on the development of industry, the communist party promoted the principle of 'the integration of the education, research, and production' and most of the theoretical (general) high schools were transformed into industrial, agricultural or economic ones. Vocational schools were annexed to industrial enterprises, which financed them and offered training / jobs for vocational pupils. The education law from 1978 acknowledged training for the labour market as the 'fundamental objective' of the high-school system and stipulated a compulsory 12 grades (equivalent to high school). In addition, the great majority

of workplaces offered some form of training. Consequently, the proportion of the unskilled population fell dramatically whilst most of the population acquired an industrial, economical, or medico-pharmaceutical qualification. Qualifications such as sociology, psychology, social assistance, we can note, were not available having being dissolved by the communist party.

Since 1990, educational policy has undergone continuous changes as has the educational system. Compulsory education was reduced to eight grades and the qualification opportunities have dramatically decreased. Nearly all young people complete the first stage of secondary education (gymnasium, eight grades), which is costless and compulsory, but a permanently declining proportion continues education until some qualification is achieved. As in economy, in education the young re-oriented to non-technical qualifications. The proportion of students enrolled in technical faculties decreased spectacularly from 62.5 per cent (1990) to 27.6 per cent in 1998; at the level of secondary education the proportion fell from 84.8 per cent to 67.4 per cent. (Table 13) Nowadays, law, social sciences and informatics are the most attractive qualifications.

### 3.2. Polarisation trend in education

A polarisation trend has emerged within education in the last 10 years. At the university level there is an 'explosion' of the faculties and enrolled students. In the school year 1999/2000 the number of faculties was by 6.26 larger than in 1989/1990 with, respectively nearly three times more enrolled students. Nevertheless, the number of students is still low (238 students / 1000 inhabitants, in 2000) compared to most European countries. At the other extreme stand the professional schools, which have diminished considerably from 789 schools with 304533 pupils (1989/1990) to only 97 schools with 222234 pupils (1999/2000).

At the pre-school level of education, the number of kindergartens (3-6 years) improved while the number of enrolled children decreased to less than three quarters. There has been a growth of private child-caring facilities, but these are mostly expensive and located only in the larger cities. In contrast, as part of the educational reforms, the number of state kindergartens has continuously diminished reaching in 2000/2001 about ten thousands units (21.4 per cent lower than in 1999/2000), of which three quarters are based in rural areas. On the other hand, due to lack of financial resources an increasing share of parents have little access to these facilities so that they handle child-caring either alone or helped by relatives and friends.

If before 1990 the urban – rural education gap diminished, after 1990 the trend reversed and the

gap has widened. The rural workforce is concentrated at the lower levels of education. Nearly a quarter achieved less than primary education, a further third completed the first stage of secondary education (with no qualification either) whilst only 1.8 per cent graduated university. This is due to three factors: 1) the workforce in agriculture is aged and consequently poorly educated; 2) lack/scarcity of financial resources impedes young people from continuing their education since most of the vocational as well as high schools are based in cities and the education related costs (transport, accommodation etc.) are excessive; 3) young people who attended higher education left villages in favour of urban areas. In contrast, about two thirds of the urban workforce graduated the second stage of secondary education and 16 per cent has higher education. (Table 14)

The situation of the cohorts that exited the educational system after 1990 (20 – 35 years in 2000) reflects clearly the polarization trends. If only 9.2 per cent of the 30-34 olds completed eight grades at most, with no qualification, in the new context of educational reforms the corresponding share has grown to 10.9 per cent of the cohort 25-29 and 17.7 per cent for 20-24 years. The proportion of young people dropping out of school before achieving any professional qualification increases more dramatically in the rural areas from 17.2 per cent of the age category 30-34 to 33.4 per cent of 20-24 olds. (Tables 15-16).

### 3.3. Gender and ethnic disparities in education

The Romanian legal framework provides for the equal access to education, regardless of social status, gender, race, nationality, and political or religious belief.

With respect to ethnicity, the Roma population has a much lower education than the general population irrespective cohort. Roma mostly achieved primary education (two thirds) whilst only 0.1 per cent graduated a faculty. In the last

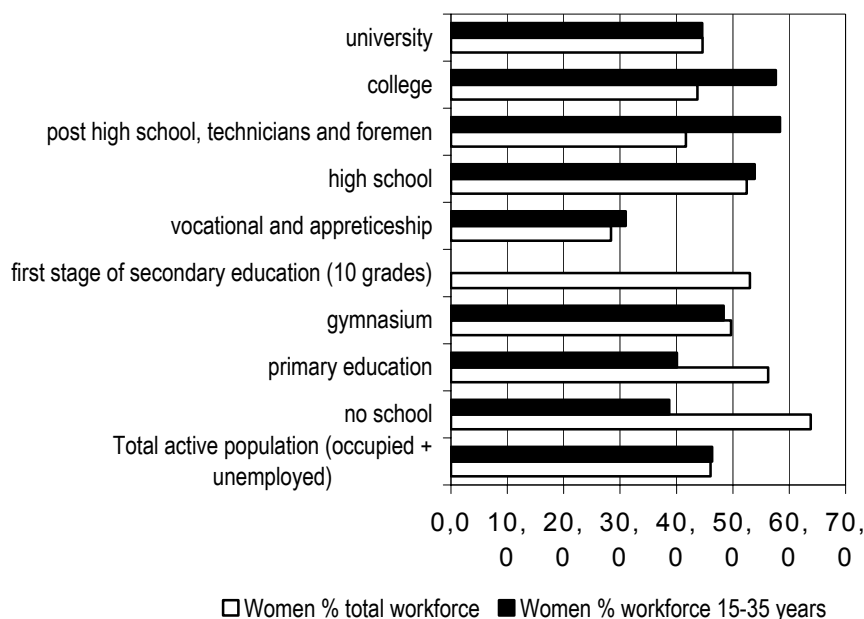
ten years the Roma situation has not improved, a fifth of Roma children never attending school and the dropout rate being significantly higher than for the other ethnic groups. (E. Zamfir and C. Zamfir, coord. 1993) (Table 12).

Romanian females represent 46 per cent of the workforce (5.33 million women). They are 1.6 times more likely than men to have never graduated from primary school and make up a lower

share of university graduates than do men (44.6 per cent). In comparison with the educational structure by gender for the whole workforce, the educational structure by gender of cohorts 15 – 35 years (in 2000) is quite different and reflects changes in the educational system over the last 20

years. This segment of population includes 2.92 million people, of whom 46.3 per cent are females. The gender structure of education among the young as compared to the total workforce is to the advantage of women. (Tables 14-15)

**Figure 1. Share of women in total workforce and in the 15-35 years workforce by education level, 200**



Source: Romanian Labour Force Survey, 3<sup>rd</sup> semester 2000

### 3.4 Transition from school to work

In discussing the transition from school to work during the last ten years we focus on the cohorts of 15 – 35 years. According to the *Transition from School to Work Survey* (NIS, 2000) less than half of the graduates of all education levels found a significant job (working in the same job for more than six months with more than twenty hours per week on average). As a general rule, irrespective of gender, age or residency, the entrance on the labour market is highly differentiated according to the completed level of education; the higher the education the more likely a person is to find a good job. It is not only that poorly educated people have lower chances of finding a job

but also that the job seeking duration is much longer in their case. Thus, only 11.3 per cent people with less than primary education found a significant job, mostly after two years or more. At the other end of the spectrum, 83 per cent of the university graduates found a good job, mostly in less than three months. (Tables 17-18).

Overall women and men have equal chances of finding a job. However, women have more chances to get a good job either at the university or at the primary education levels. By contrast, men with vocational or post high school, technicians and foremen education (mainly technical profiles) as well as men with

no school are favoured compared to women. Much more significant is the urban – rural gap; people from rural areas have much lower

chances in finding a good job irrespective education level.

## 4. LABOUR MARKET

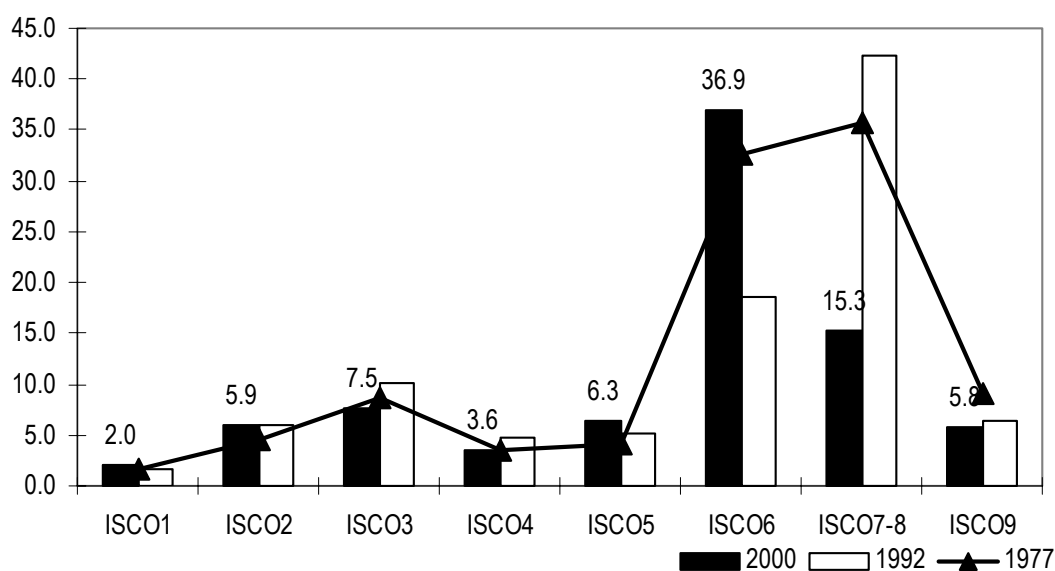
### 4.2. Employment

#### 4.1.1. Re-agrarisation and re-ruralisation

The period before 1989 was characterized by the shift of the labour force from agriculture to industry and construction and at a small extent to services. The share of employment in agriculture reached its minimum (22.3 per cent) in 1992 compared to 65.6 per cent in 1960 (a reduction with 3.92 million persons). In contrast, the proportion of employment in industry and construction increased from 15.1 per cent (1960) to 45.1 per cent in 1989, with 3.57 million persons. (Tables 19-21)

The shift from agriculture to industry was accompanied by high rate of migration of the active age population from rural to urban areas (even under the conditions of the restrictive policy promoted by the communist party); at the same time the rural population decreased from 68 per cent to 46 per cent (also as result of administrative re-classification of settlements). Thus, the urban active age population grew between 1966 and 1992 at a high pace, especially in the case of women, whose numbers doubled.

**Figure 2. Employment by occupational categories (ISCO classification), Romania 1977-2000**



Source: Romania LFS, 3<sup>rd</sup> semester, 2000

After 1992, two major structural shifts took place in the Romanian economy, namely re-agrarisation and re-ruralisation. Between 1989 and 1999 employment shrank by more than 2.9 million jobs in

the declining industrial sectors, construction and transport, and only 958 thousands jobs were newly created during this same period, mostly in agriculture (400 thousands), trade, real estates and

other services. (Table 21) The manufacturing industry suffered a drastic drop both in production and employment (to 24.4 per cent in 1999). The employment in agriculture has continuously increased (41 per cent) becoming by far the greatest when compared to the OECD countries and other transition countries. However, the increase in the employment rate has not resulted in growth of production. The agriculture in Romania is at the present mainly subsistence agriculture, due to the very small and fragmented nature of ownership<sup>1</sup> and lack of modern equipment to work the land.

In direct relationship with re-agrarization an unprecedented change has occurred in the flows of internal migration. Massive industrial lay-offs left a substantial workforce without an income and urban areas had little to offer. Meanwhile, the agricultural land was reinstated to their owners prior to the communist era. Thus, agriculture became the main sector offering a livelihood, considerably increasing the force of attraction of the rural environment for the income-less families, despite of its lower quality of life. Consequently, the urban - rural flow has increased as proportion of the total migration, from 3.5 per cent in 1990 to 33.8 per cent in 2000; since 1997 it has become the dominant migration flow.

There are great disparities between urban and rural areas - while in cities 47.8 per cent of

the population work in services and other 45.7 per cent in industry, in rural areas 70 per cent of the population work in agriculture and only 14 per cent in services. The concentration of economic activities in rural areas into agriculture is associated with an employment structure in which 35 per cent are self-employed, and 32 per cent are unpaid family workers, while in urban areas employees account for 90 per cent of employment (WB and NIS, 1999). The young generations reproduce this pattern.

The Roma population makes a distinctive case. In the last 50 years most of the Roma traditional trades have disappeared being discouraged by the former regime. The majority of Roma used to hold marginal positions in the planned economy. After 1989, their lack of training combined with discriminatory stereotypes - Roma are 'the last to be hired and the first to be fired' - led to a very precarious employment situation. Thus, in 1998, the Roma population occupational structure included 27.5 per cent employees (mainly elementary occupations), 42 per cent day workers, 12 per cent agricultural workers, 10 per cent craft workers, 6.4 per cent traditional craft workers, 1.5 per cent were temporarily abroad, and 0.8 per cent were self-employed (E. Zamfir, and C. Zamfir coord. 1993, C. Zamfir and M. Preda coord. 1998)

**Table 1. Workforce by occupational categories, ISCO classification, Romania 2000**

Workforce	ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7-8	ISCO9
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>5.8</b>
Rural	0.7	1.2	2.6	1.5	2.9	68.4	8.7	5.1
Young (15-35) - National	0.7	6.2	6.4	2.6	7.4	3.8	11.5	3.5
Young (15-35) - Rural	0.1	1.7	2.7	1.0	4.0	8.2	9.3	3.2

Source: Romanian LFS, 3rd Semester, 2000 and Transition from School to Work Survey, NIS, 2000

#### 4.1.2 Gender dimension

The research conducted by the Romanian Society for Feminist Analysis indicated that textbooks in primary school promote women as teachers, villagers, fruit or flower sellers, while men are viewed as astronauts, policemen, physicians, ac-

tors, conductors, and masons. The children are transmitted the belief that women belong more to private family life, while men are shaped to devote themselves to advancing in a career. Girls are oriented towards 'beauty and cleanliness', to hold 'light' professions with well-defined responsibili-

ties that would facilitate and allow a 'normal' family life. Boys are guided to focus on technical or strongly profitable occupations that would enable them to support a family. Thus, related to gender issues, the modern institutions transmit the same 'message' as the traditional ones (R. Weber and N. Watson eds. 2000).

The structure of the economic sectors by gender is highly unbalanced. In fact, it concurs with the values acquired through socialization. Women prevail in education, health and social assistance (over 70 per cent), financial, banking and insurance services, hotels and restaurants (60 – 70 per cent), trade, postal and telecommunications, and agriculture (50 – 60 per cent). (Tables 22-23) Additionally, in industry women represent more than three thirds of the employment in textile industries and significant proportions in the food and chemical industry. By contrast, men are concentrated in construction, transport, electric and thermal energy, gas and water, public administration and industry, mostly state monopolies, strongly unionised with high negotiating power and political influence. Thus, women form the majority of the labour force in poorly remunerated sectors, particularly in sectors financed by the state budget, where the income constraints are higher. Furthermore, women form the majority with low and medium salary earners only few of them holding leadership positions even in sectors in which they abound. According to the LFS data, the share of women amongst officials and managers fluctuated between 29 per cent (1996) and 24 per cent in 1998. As a corollary, despite the fact that equal pay for equal work is enshrined in the Constitution, in practice women are paid less than men for equal work and equal value. In the sectors financed by the state budget earnings are generally up to one third lower than the average salary in the economy as a whole (in 1998). As shown in Table 27 women's average gross salary is lower than the sector average. Among the employees with a higher salary than average women earn less than men with about 13 per cent.

In 1973, Romania ratified the UN Convention No. 111 concerning discrimination in respect of employment and occupation. According to the Constitution this has become a part of domestic legislation. The Constitution provides for the equal access to employment. Furthermore, the Governmental Ordinance on Preventing and Punishing all Forms of Discriminations stipulates the right to work and choose freely one's occupation. Although the legal framework related to access to jobs is relatively satisfactory the level of implementing the legal provisions remains low and is not assimilated as daily practice. A survey conducted in one Romanian county (Mures, Transylvania region) revealed that many women reported being refused jobs either because they were too young, implying that childbearing and child rearing would negatively affect their economic efficiency, or because they were too old and therefore un-trainable and unattractive as work potential. The analysis of job offers in the local newspapers (in January 2000) indicated that: among job offers for leadership positions most require the candidate to be 'male' as an employment condition. From the total number of job offers, those requiring male candidates is 2 – 4 times higher than those specifying female candidates. Moreover, the job offers for male candidates were frequently for engineers, computer operators, chemists, trade agents, bookkeepers, and administrators; the job offers for female candidates were frequently for housekeepers, secretaries, sales staff, and manicurists (R. Weber and N. Watson eds. 2000).

#### 4.1.3 Self-employment

Beginning in 1988 some new professional categories arrived on the economic scene: entrepreneurs, self-employed, unpaid family workers. In 2000, employees represented 56 per cent of the employment (Table 26), self-employed 23 per cent, unpaid family workers 19 per cent and only 1.1 per cent were firm owners. Only the proportion of self-employed and unpaid family workers has shown a positive trend since 1990. (Tables 24-25) This fact is due to the massive industrial lay offs

in combination with land restitution and the households' strategy of retreating into the subsistence agriculture.

The employers predominantly are men (67 per cent), company managers (85 per cent) urban residents (79 per cent) of 35-49 years (57 per cent). Unlikely, in Romania the self-employed overlap at a great extent with the unpaid family workers. According to the official methodology, within a household of farmers the person(s) declared the 'head of the household' is/are recorded as self-employed whilst the other members of the family, performing the same agricultural activity (work on own plot) is/are recorded as 'unpaid family workers'. In this light, the profile of the Romanian self-employed (as well as unpaid family workers) is rather straightforward. In 2000:

- Romanian self-employed – 87 per cent live in the rural areas and perform agriculture. While the patriarchal model is dominant, especially in the rural areas, most of the self-employed are men (67.7 per cent) of 50 years or over.
- Romanian unpaid family workers – mostly are the wives, sons and daughters of the self-employed persons, 95 per cent in the rural areas, 70.5 per cent women, 61 per cent younger than 49.

Only a minority of these two groups work in services (2.5 per cent, mainly trade), are qualified craftspeople, mechanics or similar (3.8 per cent) and unskilled workers (6.8 per cent).

#### 4.1.4 Atypical forms of employment

Before 1989 almost entire active population were employees in the state-owned enterprises (workforce was equal employment, employee vast majority). The normal working time was eight hours per day and six days a week. Flexible time was almost inexistent and only women with dependent children under three, people with health problems and commuters from large distance were allowed to part time schedule. After 1990, the regular working time was reduced to five days

per week, which makes up 40 working hours. The atypical forms of employment (fixed term contract, part time work, casual work) are not yet fully regulated in Romania or at all.

##### *Fixed term contract*

In 2000, 2.7 per cent of the employees had a temporary work contract, equally men and women. Share of the temporary contract is double in rural areas compared to urban. The majority of these employees (64 per cent) worked on fixed term contract only because they did not find a permanent job, therefore in Romania, the fixed term contract is rather a form of forced flexibility.

##### *Part time<sup>2</sup> and irregular hours*

The share of part-time employment increased from 13 per cent in 1994 to 16 per cent in 2000 (1.75 million). The largest number of part time jobs belongs to women (53 per cent), 25-49 age category (37.5 per cent) rural residents (87 per cent) working in agriculture (88.5 per cent) as self-employed or unpaid family workers (94 per cent altogether). Accordingly, the development of part time in Romania is spontaneous (not politically designed) and associated with the re-agrarisation tendency. (Tables 28-31)

The lowest rate of part time corresponds to people 25-49 old and the majority of them self declare permanent job seekers. On the other hand, elderly part time employment holds the highest rate, irrespective gender or residency. Mostly they are retired people forced to complete their insufficient pensions mainly by growing food and breeding animals on their own plots or in their own gardens. Thus, the part-time employment represents in Romania either an alternative to unemployment or a necessary additional income generating activity. Therefore part time is a form of forced work flexibility.

About half of both women and men, mainly employees, work regular hours. Ten percents of the employment works short hours (less than 35), 12.5 percents works more than 46 hours (especially employees and employers) and a quarter has irregular hours, mostly people in agricultural activities.

## 4.2. Unemployment

Unemployment though politically kept hidden has started to develop since the 1980s in the context of decline of the socialist planned economy. About half million persons were unemployed in 1989, which represented a 5 per cent unemployment rate (C. Zamfir 1996)

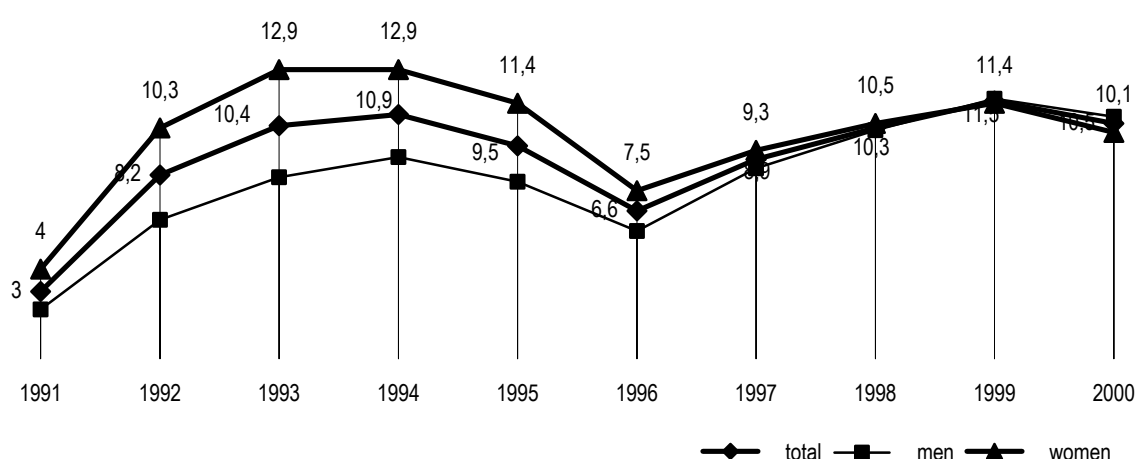
Unemployment was officially recognized after 1989. The measure of unemployment used until 1994 takes into account only the registered unemployed with the AEs. This measure has been considered highly underestimating while most persons in chronic unemployment are removed from the official statistics once eligibility for any form of unemployment benefits is lost. However, in 1994 the National Institute for Statistics adopted the ILO measure and the newly estimates are even lower. (Table 32) This is due to the fact that in Romania most of the unemployed (registered or unregistered) make a living either in agriculture or in the cash informal economy so that the ILO definition<sup>3</sup> overlooks a large part of them.

Despite the discrepancies between the data of the different surveys and the official statistics the

trend of unemployment is a consensus: it reached a high in 1994, it fell until 1997 since has permanently risen due to the acceleration of the economic reforms and the massive lay offs from sectors such as mining, chemistry, and metallurgy. In 2000 the registered unemployment rate declined again reaching 10.5 in the end of the year.

Massive lay-offs in industry has affected at a larger extent the urban areas compared to the rural ones. As result, the unemployment rate was in 2000 almost four times higher in the former ones. However, within the urban network there are large disparities. In small towns, unlike in larger ones, as well as in mono-industrial areas, closure of large plants has combined with lack of newly created private enterprises. The unemployment reached worrying figures, in some over 50 per cent (In 2001, the National Agency for Employment recorded 70 towns with unemployment rate greater than 50 per cent; e.g. in March 2001, in the former mining area Jiu Valley, the unemployment rate was 63 per cent in Lupeni city and 58 per cent in Petrla).

Figure 3. Registered\* unemployment rates by gender, Romania 1991-2000



Note: \* Unemployed registered with Agencies for Employment (AEs), at the end of the year

Source: National Human Development Report 2000

**Table 2. Employment decline by types of cities, Romania 1990-1997**

	Employment dropped with
Cities with more than 100 thousands inhabitants	around 20%
Towns with 30 - 100 thousands inhabitants	around 30%
Small towns with less than 30 thousands inhabitants	between 40% and 50%

Source: Locality file, NIS

#### 4.2.1 Risk groups

In the first ten years of transition the unemployment rate among women was systematically higher than among men but with a declining trend. In 1991 the women represented 62 per cent of the total registered unemployed<sup>4</sup> compared to 47 per cent in 1999, and with an unemployment rate of 11.4 per cent nearly equal to men (11.6 per cent). (Table 32) Nevertheless, women are, more than men, discouraged to enter labour market, especially young (15-24) and situated in rural areas (Romanian LFS 2000). Lower unemployment rate have either poorly educated women, especially in rural areas, or highly educated women. On the one hand, the context of economic constraints, growing poverty and scarcity of jobs combines with the reality of early marriages, younger and poorly educated women postpone entry labour market for getting married and have the first child. Afterwards they are discouraged entering the labour market, remaining instead in the domestic area and/or performing some agricultural activities. At the other end of the spectrum there are the highly educated women more successful, compared to men, in finding and keeping a job.

Most of the unemployed are medium educated; they graduated vocational or high schools. Two thirds of them are people made redundant, mainly men, from urban areas, who used to work in manufacturing. The other third comprises young unemployed (15-24 years), mostly men, who did not succeed to enter labour market but registered as unemployed immediately after graduation. Otherwise, in Romania, young people (15-24 years) are highly exposed to unemployment risk. Their unemployment rate is twice or

three times higher than the average rate. In 1996-1997 youth accounted for almost half ILO unemployment, share that fell to 35.5 per cent in 2000. Most of the young unemployed are based in urban areas due to the high involvement in agriculture of the rural youth. (Table 33-34)

Even at higher unemployment risk are young Roma, with a rate of 50 per cent in 1998 (S. Cace and S. Ilie, 2001).

Only a quarter of the active age population with no more than eight grades (no qualifications) were officially employed, compared to 54 per cent of those with vocational school or high school qualifications, and 75 per cent of the university graduates. In addition, 38 per cent of the unskilled people, in the last ten years, lost the jobs they had held under the planned economy and have retreated into the informal sector. A further 10.5 per cent of the unqualified people never succeeded in entering the official labour market but earn their living through casual or day work. The corresponding values for those with university degree are respectively 8 per cent and 4 per cent. These data indicate a strong tendency of polarisation of the labour market, which has already become evident. (OSF POB 2000)

The average duration of unemployment has increased from 16.3 months in 1995 to 19.1 months in the last semester of 2000. Persons over 50 from the rural areas and women 35-49 olds have the highest risk to chronic unemployment. The proportion of people unemployed for over one year has fluctuated between 45.3 per cent of all unemployment in 1994 and 51.5 per cent in 2000, and half of them experienced this situation for over two years. (Table 35 and 36) Correspondingly there was a systematic increase of people losing eligibility for unemployment benefits. (Table 37-39 and Figure 5)

In conclusion, the unemployment in Romania is not a temporary state in between jobs but

the first step to exclusion from the labour market, a 'safe ticket' to poverty.

### 4.3. Informal economy

In order to earn even a basic living, a large part of Romanian households supplement their income from official sources (salaries or social transfers) either with non-monetary incomes, mainly from agricultural activities, or cash informal incomes, occasional or day work. Furthermore, a large segment of the population operates in the informal sector as client, to obtain low-cost or good-quality services. They purchase goods from street vendors, at kiosks or fairs, repair their own homes, and call on informal house painters and plumbers. They also fix their own cars or use informal auto mechanics, own an apartment they rent out on the basis of an informal agreement, which is only partly declared, pay for tutoring for their children and offer 'gifts' in hospital. In addition to all these, Romanian women spent 3 - 4.5 hours a day completing a large range of domestic activities, due both to scarcity of financial resources and underdevelopment of services. (Gender Barometer 2000)

According to NIS estimates, the cash-earning activities of the 'grey economy'<sup>5</sup> are to be found mainly in sectors of trade, construction, transport, car repair, household repairs, hotels and restaurants, real estate, education, health, and cottage industry. (NHDR 1998: 21)

In 1998, just 26 per cent of all Romanian households made a living only from the formal economies (state and market), 9 per cent made a living from informal economic activities combined at best with low-level social transfers, while the rest (65 per cent) pooled income sources from various economies. In one hundred households operating in the informal economy, 64 produce food within the household or get it from relatives and friends, 11 perform casual activities, work on own account or 'on the side', and the balance 25 combine the two types of informal economic activities. (R. Neef and M. Stănculescu 2002)

Participation in a multiplicity of economies (state, market, and informal) is the main explanation of the difference between the workforce cut and the official unemployment rate in official statistics. Besides risk to unemployment erosion of all types of income urges people to develop a combinatory economic strategy. Under such circumstances, data on the occupational structure of the population as well as employment or unemployment data are difficult to interpret accurately. People are counted in statistics as being employed, retired or students when in reality they hold an occupational portfolio, of which they declare one or another, depending on the situation or interest. Pensioners doing subsistence agriculture are often in rural areas, while the unemployed developing informal economic activities (casual work, black work, work by day, etc.) are common in urban areas. The informal sector is mushrooming therefore in order to understand the Romanian realities one should take into account the formal-informal occupational portfolio, both at the individual and household level.

Since 1991 possibilities for pensioners to be hired on a part-time basis while continuing to receive their pension benefits were instituted. Consequently, some pensioners were able to combine pension with wage earnings. In conditions of the radical restructuring process, particularly after 1996, the policy changed so that in economic sectors with massive lay-offs, the working pensioners had to give up their jobs. There is no data to assess the effectiveness of this regulation and to understand how it was applied in various enterprises. However, part of the working pensioners, at one time made redundant, has turned to the informal sector (mainly in constructions and basic accounting) to search for additional income, especially those better qualified and with connections. Thus, in 1998, less than a third of households with all retired members have incomes neither from

subsistence agriculture nor from an informal job. (M. Stănculescu and S. Ilie, 2001)

The size of the informal economy in Romania is without question very large, having expanded greatly during the economic transformations. In fact, the informal economy contains many different kinds of initiatives involving various aspects of flexibility. Firstly, there are the informal dependent activities, performed by the poor, irregu-

lar, low paid and highly insecure, which all are forms of forced flexible work. A second group includes the informal additional activities practiced mainly with the aim of improvement of the standard of living, within non-poor households with stable incomes from employment or pensions. This category is highly heterogeneous and it is a mix of forced flexibility and flexibility by choice.

## 5. STANDARD OF LIVING

After 1989, people got back the properties confiscated by the communist state and they were of-

fered the opportunity to purchase at low prices the dwellings they lived in.

### 5.1. Access to housing and housing policy

In Romania more than 95 per cent of dwellings are owner-occupied, of which 36 per cent are in urban block of flats. Since the beginning of the 1990s the role of the public authorities has been reined in and building subsidies have been continuously cut back. In the 90's the dwelling construction is slow and due to the drop in public funds, private funds has become dominant (85 per cent in 1998), and, therefore, two thirds of the newly built dwellings were concentrated in the rural areas. Mostly of these were built in a traditional manner by the peasants with no formally acquired knowledge and no modern construction materials (e.g. adobe).

Each Romanian government launched a dwelling program but neither of these has been effective and no attention has been paid to the existent stock (including block of flats started before 1989 still unfinished), which meanwhile is deteriorating. Up to present, there is no clear legal frame addressing the new form of ownership and maintenance related regulations (not to mention financial support) in the situation of cohabitation within block of flats, concentrating a large number of owners and mutual responsibilities.

During 1991-1998, despite the dwelling stock growing from 7.66 to 7.86 million combined with the population decline, deficit<sup>6</sup> in dwellings and

rooms has preserved (compared to the standard recommended in the European Urban Paper – one room per capita, one dwelling per family). (Table 40)

A large share of the young couples adopts the cohabitating strategy, living together with parents/relatives, partly due to the lack of housing opportunities and partly for coping with unemployment and insufficient incomes. In 1999, (Ministry for Public Works and Transportation Survey, 1999) 59 per cent of the population declared that someone from the household would need a dwelling in the near future. The reasons mainly mentioned were 'insufficient space' – 39 per cent', 'one offspring's marriage' – 28 per cent' and 'the low quality of the dwelling' – 10 per cent. 'In fact 9 per cent of the Romanians need a new house and another 13 per cent are potentially in need. That makes about 200.000 households, which represents the real dwelling demand' (B. Voicu and R. Noica, 2000).

The dwelling stock exceeds the number of households (by some 300 thousand dwellings), particularly in the rural areas. However, the number of families is much larger than the number of households and is constantly increasing (much above the dwelling growth rate) therefore the situation is rather of housing crisis. The situation

is worsened by the deterioration of the block of flats, which diminish further the available dwelling stock. Lack of rental regulation and the uncontrolled rental system along with the slow pace of urban construction has favoured the development of an informal housing market based on sales/rentals within the existent stock. (NHDR 2000: 56)

The urban dwellings are significantly better endowed with utilities compared to houses in rural areas (Table 40), yet low-income households don't have access to public utilities; quarter of the urban blocks dwellers are cut off central heating system and have neither heating nor hot water. This is due to the newly developed process with long-term effects, specifically the failure of lower-income households to pay flat maintenance fees. Debts accumulation brings over eviction from block of flats. The social housing offer is almost nonexistent and only few shelters have occurred in the large

cities of the country. Thus, most people losing their jobs and dwellings end up in misery:

- retreat at the outskirts of the city, in shanty towns, stay in improvised shelters, and make a living from the city garbage pit.
- retreat in the newly emerged 'ghettos' within the former industrial areas of the cities, in very low quality blocks, cut off all utilities (including electricity).
- live on the streets - there is a growing number of street children and homeless people, mainly man in their 40s, particularly in Bucharest and other large cities.

Thus, dwelling shortage and lack of coherent housing policy are strong factors, which enlarge social inequality and create a serious barrier for labour force territorial mobility.

## 5.2. Land ownership

As part of the economic reform, based on Law 18/1991, land was reinstated (up to 10 ha) to those who owned it prior to the formation of the agricultural cooperatives or to their descendants. Employees of former agricultural cooperatives received half of hectare albeit they were not landowners before the communist regime. Young farmers' access to land was blocked due this restitution procedure and low banned land sales. Consequently, land ownership is aged and, at large extent reproduces the rural traditional poverty

prior to 1950s. In Romanian rural areas land is a crucial asset, it considerably reduces the risk to poverty. In 1998, the rural households with no land (16 per cent) had 0.55 probability of being poor compared to 0.22 of households owning more than three hectares of land (8 per cent). The balance owned less than 3 ha of land, divided into scattered plots, which makes possible only subsistence agriculture. (*From Poverty to Rural Development*, NIS and WB, 1999)

## 5.3. Income inequality

Gini index rose from 21 in 1989 to 30 in 1998, which is in range with the other transitional countries of Central and Eastern Europe. (Table 41) The situation is nevertheless fragile as long as does not result from income stabilisation but it is a result of re-agrarisation; the monetary incomes have been substituted with non-monetary ones

(home grown products), which gain increasingly share in the total household budget (from 13.5 per cent in 1989 to 32 per cent in 1997, HIS, NIS). (Table 42) In 1998, peasants supplied from their own resources, in average, 55 per cent of their consumption, the pensioners some 40 percent while the employers only 10 per cent. In the ab-

sence of non-monetary incomes inequality would have been approximately 38 (Tesliuc, Pop, Tesliuc, 2001). Alternatively, the cash informal earnings deepen the inequality, in the informal sector the

rich becomes richer, while the poor manage only to obtain the bare necessities. (M. Stănculescu and S. Ilie, 2001)

#### 5.4. Poverty

The serious deterioration of the standard of living during the 1980s released the impoverishment process; an estimated 7 per cent of the Romanian population was in poverty in 1989 (C. Zamfir, 1995). In transition, the decline of the economy, the underdeveloped market tied in with the deficit of social policy over pose structures distorted since the 1980s and have determined impoverishment of the entire population. Thus, large groups of employees, of pensioners and even of small entrepreneurs are relatively poor. In 2000, according to the Government White Book (2001), the poverty rate<sup>7</sup> reached 44 per cent of the country population compared to 34 per cent (1998) or 25,3 per cent (1995). (Table 43)

According to Tesliuc, Pop, Tesliuc (2001) the number of poor has considerably grown up to 7.5 million people (1998), of which 2.6 million experienced severe<sup>8</sup> poverty. The proportion of people living in severe poverty increased from 8 per cent in 1995 to 12 per cent in 1998. In 1998, the extreme poverty rate:

- in rural areas (15.9 per cent) was twice as high as in urban areas (8.1 per cent)
- households with six or more members (35.3 per cent) had a rate more than ten times higher than households with one or two members; the greater the household size, the higher the risk of living in extreme poverty
- risk to poverty decreases with the increase of average age of household adult members; the poverty rate for young people is considerably higher than for adults or the elderly; 38 per cent of children under seven years and 50 per cent of 7 - 15 olds were in poor households
- amongst households headed by unemployed, self-employed or peasants - 28 per cent, 27.8 per cent and 26.9 per cent, respectively, are

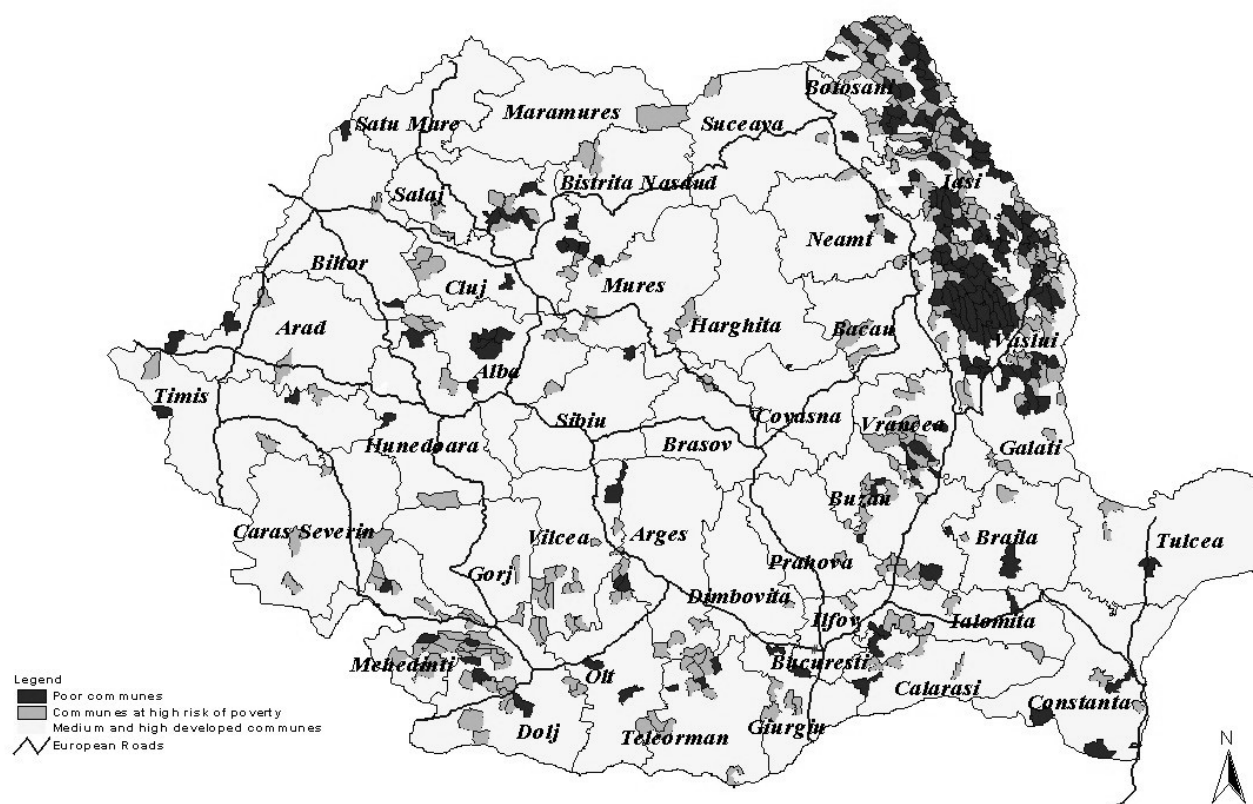
poor, compared to 8 per cent for the households headed by a wage earner

- in 1995, 40 per cent of the Roma population was living in extreme poverty; this share increased to 60 per cent in 1998. (Table 44)

In comparison with other Central and Eastern European countries in transition, in 1998 Romania had the highest poverty rate except Albania and the former Soviet States: 44.5 per cent of the population below 4USD PPP/day/adult equivalent, 7 per cent below 2USD PPP/day/adult equivalent respectively (WB 2000).

'New' poverty in Romania is the poverty of whole communities, which extends across regions. In 1998 were drawn for the first time in Romania a set of rural poverty maps. According to the UNDP poverty map (see above) there are regions dominated by generalized rural community poverty. Overall it looks like a 'poverty arc' (W. Crowther 1998), which parallels the Carpathian Mountains. In the Northeastern part of the country rural community poverty seems to cover the whole territory while in the Central regions there are only isolated islands of poor communes. Most poor communes are at large distances from larger cities. The private non-agricultural sector is virtually nonexistent so that agriculture is the main means of livelihood. Community poverty has peripheral character. That is to say poor communes are mostly grouped along country and county borders; poor villages have a peripheral nature within the commune to which they belong as well (D. Sandu, 2000). Thus, in Romania, the unbalanced policy and the distorted distribution of administrative and budgetary resources are also causes of the rural poverty.

Figure 4. Rural Community Poverty in Romania at the commune level, 1996



Note: This map was largely confirmed by a subsequent study (D. Sandu coord.) that used 1998 data disaggregated at the village level, within the WB project *The villages of Romania: development, poverty and social capital. Updating targeting for the Romanian Social Development Fund*, Bucharest, April 2000.

Source: UNDP 1999. By definition, a poor commune has high demographic dependence rate, low endowment with infrastructure, low educational capital, high share of population working in agriculture, high birth rate, and high out-migration rate. 137 Romanian communes have been identified to be in the community poverty situation presented above. Data from Locality File NISES 1996 (M. Stănculescu and I. Berevoescu).

## 5.5. Access to health

In the past ten years, the budgetary spending for health (as well as for education) have been much lower than in the other countries in transition, fluctuating between two and four percent of GDP. (Table 45) Access to health services has undergone a process of polarisation.

- Coverage of health care service felt dramatically in the rural areas.
- Liberalisation of prices to medications combined with the scarcity of financial resources.
- Low coverage of the population with medical specialists (physicians, dentists, pharmacists, etc.) compared to the other European countries (member states and accession candidates).
- Health care insurance excludes large segments of the population from health services. Inclusion of health insurance within services provided under the social aid programme produced basic inequities while families entitled to social aid were decided according to

the local councils financial constraints and not based on eligibility criteria.

- Health system is designed rather for a population of employees. Thus, self-employed, peasant and especially unpaid family workers have considerably lower access to health care insurance.
- Family planning for the prevention of unwanted pregnancy yielded limited results.

Mostly middle class based in urban areas benefited from this programme.

Health expenditures as share in GDP is less than half of the budget allotted to health in any member state of the European Union and less than in any accession country, although the size of population is larger than in most of these.

## 6. POLICIES RELATED TO WORK

In the early 90s legal regulations for protecting people from the foreseeable negative aspects of the restructuring process and for private sector

settings were set out: the unemployment law, law for private initiatives, land restitution law, and the regulations on second job.

### 6.1. Wages and policies on wages

In early 80s Romanian economy reached a structural crisis, which has continued and deepened after 1990. Eleven years after beginning of transition, GDP remains at about three quarters of its 1989 level. The poor performance of the economy in Romania resulted in sharp decline in all types of incomes.

Nowadays, salaries cover only 40 per cent of the total household consumption expenditures compared to 63 per cent in 1989. (Table 42) This is due to the dramatic fall of wages. In 2000, the net average wage had 60 per cent of its 1989 value (USD 90.4 per month compared to USD 150.7). (Table 46-47)

The minimum wage has been regulated since the beginning of the transition so as to provide basic protection of human dignity and work-related welfare. However, in few years its level dramatically fell. In 2000, the minimum wage represented only 28.2 per cent of the average wage compared to 65.3 per cent in 1989. (Table 48)

Before 1989, wages were artificially maintained within a narrow band by the communist regime. Since 1992-93 wages started to differentiate. The share of employees earning minimum wage doubled between 1994 and 1998 (5 per cent). (NHDR 1999) At the other end of the scale, share of employees earning the equivalent of two monthly average salaries increased fivefold in the same period, reaching 10 per cent. Mostly were employees in large state-owned enterprises and monopolies and their earnings have not been decided based on work efficiency but on their negotiation power. Besides, significant spending from the Unemployment Insurance Budget subsidised the wages of those employed in the so-called national strategic branches and the army during periods when their production was low or zero.

Salary policy since 1992 has created and exacerbated the imbalance and inequality in the system of work remuneration. (C. Zamfir, 2001: 25)

### 6.2. Support for unemployed

The system of support the unemployed was established as early as 1990. The protection of the unemployed was mainly passive, through cash benefits, which accounted for 60 to 90 percent of the

spending from the Unemployment Insurance Budget.

### 6.2.1 Unemployment benefits

The unemployment benefit is granted to employees who contributed to the Unemployment Insurance Budget at least six months in the last twelve months and self-employed who contributed at least twelve months in the last two years. Registration to the Labour Force and Unemployment Offices together with a health certificate (proving for work capacity) is compulsory. The unemployment benefit represents 50 – 60 per cent of the average net earnings of the last three months, depending on the recorded work seniority. However, it should not be lower than 20 per cent of the national average net salary and it should not be greater than 55 per cent of this

Graduates of secondary or higher education who for 60 days have not found a proper job for their qualification are granted aid for professional insertion. Both people at the end of the military services that neither had a job nor find one in thirty days and graduates of special needs education benefit also of this provisioning. The aid for professional insertion is 18 per cent of the national average wage for the secondary education graduates and 20 per cent for higher education graduates.

After nine months (270 days), the unemployment benefit as well as the aid for professional insertion is replaced by unemployment allowance, which is 60 per cent of the unemployment benefit and lasts for eighteen months.

Afterwards, the cash benefits are cut and long-term unemployed tend to be removed from the official records.

In 1992, the Unemployment Law 1/1991 was modified in such a way that people owning 20.000 square meters in plain/hilly areas or 40.000 in the mountainous areas are not entitled to unemployment benefits. In the mid-90s the Social Assistance Law extended this ineligibility to everyone owning a piece of land.

Initially the unemployment benefit was set at a reasonable level in relation to the wage it replaced but shortly after it declined, as the number of the unemployed increased. In 1991 the unem-

ployment benefit was 43 percent of the net average wage compared to 31 percent in 2000. However, it diminished less than the minimum salary and the ratio between them increased from 7/10 (1991) to 11/10 (2000). By contrast, the unemployment allowance followed the trend of the minimum wage, constantly representing some half of the latter. (Tables 49-51)

System of support of unemployed has low coverage and efficiency, and fluctuant evolution. Five percent of Romanian households benefit of it but only a half of the households headed by unemployed persons. (Tesliuc, Pop, Tesliuc, 2001)

In February 2002 a new Law on the Unemployment Insurance System and Employment Stimulation was issued. The unemployment benefit has been reduced to a level lower than the minimum wage and the duration of benefits depends of the period of contribution to the system. The number of active measures has been increased from three to eleven. According to the provisions of this Law a number of labour market concepts have been defined, such as: employment service providers, collection procedure, centralisation and processing of statistical indicators, establishing the system of indicators and the methodology for their calculation.

### 6.2.2 Active programmes

Active programmes altogether did not exceed three percent between 1991-2000, except in 1995 and 1996. In 2001 the weight of active measures increased to 11.7 per cent of the Unemployment Insurance Budget. (Table 52-53)

Incentives for the employment of young graduates were provided by the Government's Emergency Ordinance no. 35/1997, which provides one year subsidy of 70 per cent of the minimum net wage for newly created jobs that last a minimum of three years.

Beginning 1992, workforce training/retraining courses made less than 1 per cent of the spending from the Unemployment Insurance Budget and 'optimistic assessment would indicate that these courses could have reintegrated into the

labour market no more than 1 per cent of the overall recorded unemployed' (C. Zamfir, 2001: 37). Intensive vocational re-training is not typical in Romania after the initial stages. Newly established firms (many joined ventures) offer training but mainly to highly qualified people, in management and marketing.

Small and medium enterprises, which allocate 50 per cent of newly created jobs to the unemployed for a period of three years benefit by credits with subsidised interest rates stipulated by Law no. 65/1997. According to the National Agency for Employment, in 1998, a ROL 66 billion credit lead to the creation of 2619 jobs of which 1355 were for unemployed.

In 2000 National Agency for Employment (NAE) launched in 42 centres from a number of county agencies for employment the Electronic Labour Exchange, which is an Internet-based job-matching service. The most required occupations in 2001 were: IT programmer (62 per cent), mechanical engineer (9 per cent), network administrator (7 per cent), economist (7 per cent), secretary (5 per cent), electronics engineer, constructions engineer, accountant, computer operator, and lawyer each in a share less than three percent. This programme is thus targeted to highly qualified employment. In addition, in 2001 a job-matching programme addressed to all job seekers was implemented by NAE, which resulted in more than 35 thousands persons newly employed.

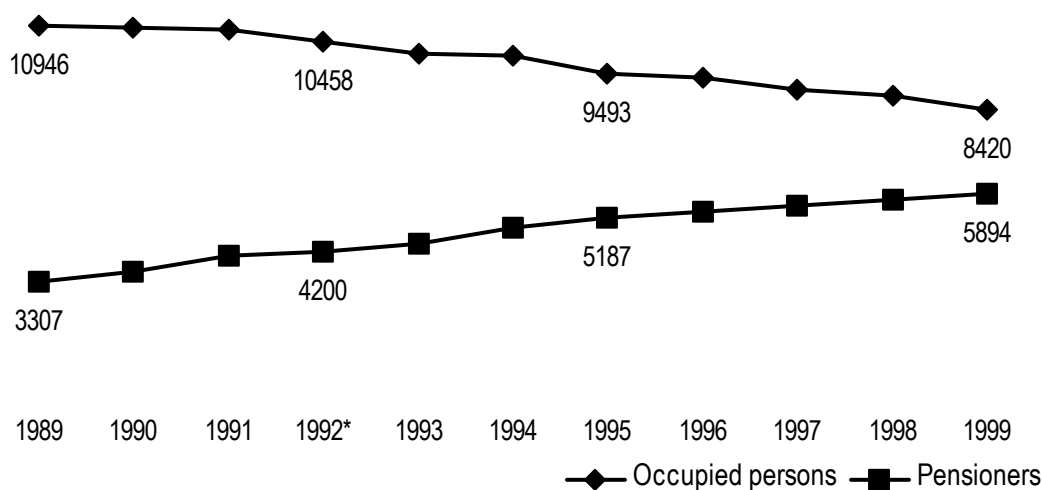
In 2001 NAE developed also 'Program 70' for localities with very high rate of unemployment and 'Valea Jiului Region Program' aiming to stimulate employment in this highly depressed area.

According to the new Law of Employment Stimulation the three active measures previously presented have been extended to eleven, namely:

- Provision of information and vocational counselling services to all persons coming to the Agency for support in making career decisions
- Vocational training courses
- Provision for allowances for the unemployed who find work before the end of the period of eligibility to unemployment benefit
- Finding a job for over 45 years old unemployed or for single family income earners
- Stimulating the labour force mobility
- Stimulating the employers to hire graduates of educational institutions
- Stimulating the employers to hire disabled persons
- Provision of low-interest credits for SME's for job creation
- Provision of counselling and assistance for starting-up an independent activity or a business
- Temporary employment in public works within the community
- Organisation of Job Fairs

Corresponding share of financial resources allotted for the implementation of these measures has been established to rise to 15.3 per cent in 2002. The target groups of these active measures are: women (26 per cent), young (23 per cent), 'disadvantaged persons' (over 45 years old or single family income earner) (22 per cent), long-term unemployed (16 per cent), over 18 years old graduates leaving social care institutions (6 per cent), Roma ethnic minority (5 per cent), disabled persons (1 per cent), and persons released from imprisonment (1 per cent).

Since 1991 have been promoted alternative measures to unemployment.

**Figure 5. Number of pensioners and number of employed (thousands), Romania 1990 – 1999**

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1995, 2000, NIS

### 6.2.3 Early retirement

On the one hand, incentives were instituted to encourage early retirement as alternative for redundancy. As result the number of pensioners have spectacularly increased while the number of employees, contributing to the insurance system, felt sharply. For instance, between 1995 and 1999 the number of pensioners increased with 23 per cent and the number of employees decreased with 20 per cent. Thus, as a solution, employees' contribution to the social insurance system was raised considerably; with 50 per cent in the same period.

### 6.2.4 Financial compensations

On the other hand, the policy promoted in the first six years of transition had emphasized job protection by supporting from the state budget large enterprises with no profit. In 1997 the Government introduced financial compensations to those who were made redundant from large state enterprises closed down. The level of the financial compensations and their distribution varied in time and from an enterprise to another. In average, a person made redundant received about 10 times the wage (depending on his work seniority and the economic sector he/she was laid off).

Only in 1999 the system of social protection for collective lay-offs was regulated. According this legal provisioning the level of financial compensation is determined based on the national average net salary in the month previous downsizing takes place. The financial compensation represents 6, 9, or 12 average net wages, corresponding to work seniority of 5, 5-15, and over 15 registered years of work. After the eligibility period for financial compensation ends this is replaced by the unemployment benefits as presented above.

Financial compensation programme has been part of the *Employment and social protection* project, financed by World Bank. From the Government point of view these incentives were expected to provide start-up capital. However, a very small share of the newly unemployed developed any private initiative but most of them became long-term unemployed, particularly in former mono-industrial zones. The compensation system 'was perceived as <bribe> to avoid social protest, as a way of making unemployment acceptable for organised groups, rather than a support system for creating new jobs.' (C. Zamfir, 2001: 36)

Number of beneficiaries of financial compensations increased from 169 thousands in 1997 to 252.7 thousands in 2000, when the legal framework was changed. Nowadays financial compen-

sations should be supported from the employers' funds (and not from the Unemployment Insurance Budget), except for downsizing included in the RICOP program.

### 6.3. Taxation policies and black work

'The highest proportion of the fiscal burden lay on the employees' shoulders and on their families. They represent 44 per cent of the Romanian population but the tax on salary and the social contributions they pay make 70 per cent of the overall revenues.' (Tesliuc, Pop, Tesliuc, 2001: 154)

Burdensome and unstable fiscal system adds to the high inflation and the lack of legal provisioning regarding atypical forms of work. In facing this environment people develop ways to gain and protect their incomes. Small entrepreneurs (representing most of the Romanian entrepreneurs) as well as self-employed operate at least partially in the informal sector, to buffer the burden imposed on their official businesses by the fluctuating fiscal system. Alternatively, employees accept all sorts of informal agreements to ensure that at least a part of their payment goes through invisible channels in order to avoid taxation.

Given the present wage versus profit-related taxes, and in spite of the risks involved in breaking the law, the most profitable option for an employer is to pay taxes on profits and to hire people without a workbook. In 2001, a net ROL 100 can be obtained on ROL 140 gross profit or 210 lei gross wage. The number of blackleg increased accordingly. NIS estimate 1.5 - 2 million people undertook black work in 1999. They hold low-wage, labour-intensive and insecure work, highly exposed

to accidents. The majority is unskilled workers in construction, trade and transport. For people excluded from the official labour market black work provides living from a day to another but involves high social risks: no health insurance, no work experience recorded in the workbook, no eligibility to state pension, in case of accident the employer has no responsibilities. Many of them end in exploitation for instance often the trial period is reneged by the employer for various reasons shortly before an official contract is concluded and sometimes before the payment has been made.

The Romanian Governments has shown a marked interest in limiting the extent of black work. Law no. 83 was adopted in 1995 and subsequently modified to become more and more restrictive. Severe penalties have been set for employers who hire without legal forms. A Department of Workplaces Inspection has been functioning since January 2000 with central and local units to cope with the black labour market and encourage private entrepreneurs to operate legally. However, a series of factors impede on the efficiency of the institution such as low financial resources (mainly from the state budget), low number of inspectors with low salaries, insufficient equipment. (Interview with the General State Inspector, C. Popescu, Ziu, 3.08.2000)

### 6.4. Temporary work incapacity

This programme of social insurance includes various types of aid such as sickness leave, sickness prevention, health recovery and work capacity recovering. Insured people incapacitated by temporary sickness or invalidity benefit from sickness leave. Employees with workbook are all health insured therefore they benefit of this pro-

gramme. Peasants need to contribute at least six of the last twelve months in order to be eligible for this provisioning. A medical certification is compulsory in any case. The level of sickness benefit depends on the type of work contract (part time workers have lower benefits) and type of sickness (professional or not). When the temporary work

incapacity is due to work accidents or work conditions the sickness benefit equals salary. Otherwise, it represents 50 – 85 per cent of the salary. Sickness leave is funded for ten days by the em-

ployer, the social insurance budget funds for the rest. Work accidents and professional related sickness are completely supported by the employer.

### 6.5. Working women protection

‘According to Article 38 of the Constitution, the right to social protection is guaranteed. There are protective measures directed towards occupational safety, working conditions for women, the minimum wage, weekends, paid leave, and supplementary grants for work carried out under specific situations. The working conditions offered to women are no less favourable than those enjoyed by men. Also, the Labour Code entitles workingwomen with children to special measures of protection:

- Pregnant or breast-feeding women are not placed in hazardous, arduous or dangerous

occupations, and may not be requested to work additional hours.

- Night shifts for women are permitted under restricted conditions, which are explicitly laid down by law.’

(R. Weber and N. Watson, 2000)

According to the Labour Code, the labour contract of woman during pregnancy, maternity leave or period of nursing, or while the mother is caring for a sick child up to age of three may not be terminated at the initiative of the employer.

### 6.6. Policies for flexibilisation

*There are no designed policies for flexibilisation*

Types of work carried out mainly by black leg are not regulated, namely day work, occasional, and seasonal work.

Part time work is not yet fully regulated although temporary work contracts have been formalised. An extended form of part time contract is the so-called *civil contract (collaboration agreement)*. In the beginning of the transition, income tax had to be paid for such contract, while no social contributions were required. This regulation made room for devious practice of diminishing fiscal duties by hiring

people with civil contracts (often for 1-2 years). Following 1999 a legal constraint was added, whereby firms are prohibited from using civil contracts in their main field of activity, and for a given activity the number of civil contracts that can be concluded should be less than a full time position, for which a full time workbook contract is compulsory. In addition, the new regulations also increase fiscal dues for a civil contract to include health and pension insurances rights. However, civil contract does not entitle the person to unemployment benefit. (M. Stănculescu and S. Ilie, 2001: 37)

### 6.7. Trades Unions and social dialogue

There are neither agreements regarding flexibility, nor negotiations in this respect.

Before 1989, the state was in the same time employer and representative of the working people and the employees. Both the 1950 and the 1973 Labour Code deliberately ignored the right to strike of the employees and it reduced to the minimum the importance of collective work

agreements in structuring the rights and obligations of the employees. The communist policy promoted:

- abolition of all forms of social dialogue, especially in the form of collective bargaining;
- abolition of trade union pluralism by establishing a monopoly in the form of Romania’s

Syndicate of Trade Unions Organizations, an entity subordinated to the Communist party;

- elimination of the freedom of work contract;
- prohibition of all forms of social protest, in particular, the right to strike.

(Alex. Athanasiu and A.Moarcas, 1996)

After 1989, the trade union movement boomed. Independent unions were created in virtually all, relevant institutions. In the first semester of 1990 there were 800 legally registered trade unions. In the same year, a special Government – Union commission for dialogue was set up. Nowadays, there are one or several unions in each enterprise and they may belong to different trade union confederations. Primarily the trade unions represent the employees in negotiating collective work agreements at enterprise level. Federations perform this role at the branch or professional level. At the same time, the trade unions confederations provide representation to employees during negotiations with the Government in the National Commission for Indexation as well as during the preparations of the legislation establishing minimum salary throughout the economy.

In 1998 a Social and Economic Council (SEC) was set up, as an advisory tripartite body of representatives of trade union confederations, employers' organisations and Government (9 members of each). The main task of this council is reaching consensus in regards to future relevant legislation and social-economic programmes. The council may also act as mediator in disputes at national or branch level. SEC includes seven commissions on: labour relations and mediation, privatisation, salary policies, health and safety, education and research and relations with international and non-governmental organisations. In short, the trade union movement assumed the role of a social partner in a dialogue with State authorities. (NHDR, 1999: 63)

With the shrink of industry (massive lay-offs) the power of confederations and federations in negotiations decreased. After 1995 collective labour disputes changed from national to organization level, from actions coordinated by confederations

and federations to local trade unions, with more and more accent on specific topics. As a general rule, newly elected governments had higher support of the trade unions, but the larger the governance period the lower the unions' support and the higher the number of disputes. Thus, the number of collective disputes reached its maximum (653) in 1999. (Table 54) The main claims of the collective labour disputes have been related to salary – non-payment of compensations, indexations, non-payment of wages in time, non-payment of holiday bonuses –, which represented 39 – 49 per cent in total disputes. (Table 55) Working conditions claim holds the second share and has a rather increasing importance. Most disputes have not had satisfactory results on employees' part, which is mirrored in a low level of trust in trade unions but also in state as well as private enterprises. Only a fifth of the population over 18 years trust trade unions, only a third have confidence in the state enterprises, and less than quarter trust private enterprises. (OSF POB, November 2001)

On 1<sup>st</sup> January 1999 the National Agency for Employment was set up. The main objectives of this governmental institution are:

- To enforce the social dialogue in the field of employment and vocational training
- To implement the strategies in the field of employment and vocational training
- To implement the social measures for the unemployed.

The attributions of the National Agency for Employment:

- To take steps to widen the professional profiles and to increase the mobility of the labour market
- To provide a foreseeing management of the labour force
- To maintain relations of partnership and co-financing in the area of job-creation, especially in areas where the labour market is confronted with serious problems

- To provide accreditation for legal persons functioning in the area of labour force selection and placement on the internal labour market
- To provide support for both employers and employees in case of collective lay-offs
- To forcibly recover budgetary debts and to grant facilities to their payment within the limits of its competencies according to the law
- To implement ESF-type projects
- To manage the Unemployment Insurance Budget.

NAE is created based on social dialogue principle being coordinated by a board, which includes representatives of the Ministry of Labour and Social Solidarity, relevant employers' associations, and relevant trade unions.

Based on the same tripartite system in 1999 the National Council for the Adult Vocational Training was established. Program for adult vocational training is implemented by NAE and it aims provision of vocational training services according to employment policy and with labour market trends in order to foster employment.

## 7. POLICIES RELATED TO FAMILY

'Legal measures are enforced aimed at creating, maintaining, consolidating and protecting family life, such as: five days of leave for the marriage of the salary-earner; assistance for the wives of men performing compulsory military service; allowances for childbirth; state child allowance; paid medical leave in cases of sickness of children up

to three years.' (R. Weber and N. Watson 2000: 353)

Allocations for the family and for maternity as percent of GDP decreased more than three times during transition, from 3.8 (1990) to 1.1 (1999).

### 7.1. Child allowance and family protection

In Romania, by law, the state child allowance is paid to all children under 16 years (18 years for those attending day-education). School enrolment is a requirement for children over seven years. In 1993, the child allowance was changed in the sense that any child receives the same amount irrespective parents' earnings. During transition, child allowance it proved to be the most effective instrument in reducing poverty. (Tesliuc, Pop, Tesliuc, 2001: 86, 144) That is to say many poor households rely on this benefit as the single regular monetary income.

Before 1989, the child allowance was about 10 per cent of the average wage. After 1990 its value dropped and remained low, representing barely three percent of the present average wage with lower purchasing power. (Tables 50-51) The

state child allowance is important per se but the granted amount of money is ridiculous, about USD 3/child/month. Starting from 1997, families taking care of two or more children are entitled to additional state allowances but again the granted amount of money is unreasonable: USD 1,75/month/two children; USD 3,5/month/three children; USD 4,25/month/ four or more children.

For protecting the families with children in the event of mass dismissals the Government issued an emergency ordinance according which 'only in the last resort may the labour contract be terminated when the employee is a woman caring for children, a man taking care of children, or the sole financial support of the family'.

## 7.2. Care for children

Child-care related services – nurseries, steadily degraded after 1989, while parental costs rose continually. Nurseries were neglected as a consequence of the extension of maternity leave until

the child reaches two years of age. As we have already shown (page 9-10) although the 3 – 6 years child-care infrastructure has improved the enrolment rate decreased. (Tables 56-57)

## 7.3. Pregnancy leave

Paid pregnancy leave is part of the social insurance system. Only women with work contract benefit from this provisioning. More than six months contribution to the insurance fund is an eligibility condition for women working in agriculture. The amount of the pregnancy allocation depends on the contribution – from 50 per cent of

the salary for a contribution of less than six months to 85 per cent for more than one year (80 per cent in the case of farmers) – and of the number of children, raising to 94 per cent of the salary beginning with the third child. In Romania, paid pregnancy leave lasts 112 days before or after the child is born.

## 7.4. Parental leave

The pregnancy leave is followed by the parental leave, which lasts up to two years. The allowance represents 85 per cent (80 per cent for farmers) of the salary. Recently (in 1999) the law on paid parental leave was modified. At present, both parents are entitled, according to their will, to take leave in order to be involved in raising a child. In this way, fathers are encouraged to share family responsibilities with regard to the child and they have the same right to obtain family benefits for the children as mothers. Parental leave as stipulated by the Law 210/1999 consists of five days of paid leave for the father upon the birth of the

child, to which and additional ten days are added if he attended a certified course on child raising. This modern legal initiative has been presented in a macho style by the most widespread daily newspaper in Romania in an article entitled 'Men Caressing Children'. The article focused on a case in which the father chose staying at home and taking care of a new born child while his wife continued to go to work. The father was pictured as weak and blamed for breaking traditional family roles. Thus, mass media illustrates but also reinforces the dominant traditional family model. (R. Weber and N. Watson 2000: 354)

## 8. SOCIAL POLICIES

In the first two years of the transition to market and democracy the economic decline was accompanied by a reparatory-type of social policy, which kept out poverty the majority of population. Afterwards, the economic decline has been accompanied by a 'stingy' social policy, which has entailed a continuous lowering of the social protection transfers.

Although the 1989 level of public social spending as percentage of GDP was among the lowest in the socialist system, particularly if we

consider the Central European countries, the growth after 1990 was very low. Consequently, Romania has continued to lag behind in the social sphere compared to the other European countries in transition. The slight increase in social policy funding (e.g. social transfers spending were 9.5 per cent of GDP in 1989 compared to 11.3 per cent in 1999) was ineffective in ensuring social protection due to its decline in real terms (Tables 45 and 58). Direct cash social transfers (pensions, child allowance, social benefits), remained fairly stable,

with small variations, despite the increasing need of social protection.

'At slightly over 10 per cent of GDP, given the rapid growth in the number of individuals requiring social support after 1990, we can safely state that the effort to assist those in difficulty has decreased. Thus, Romania was an exception to the general pattern: it did not choose to make an enhanced effort for social protection, but allowed protection to stagnate or decline in the face of increased need, failing to make the efforts visible in other countries in transition. This policy choice

(partly imposed by the financing international organizations, authors' note) was, with no doubt, a source of the excessive social and human costs of transition, an important explanatory factor for the wave of poverty.' (C. Zamfir 2001: 35)

More than four fifths of Romanian households and nearly a half of the 22 million Romanian people are granted at least a social benefit. The system of social insurance for the employed was the central pillar of the social policy during transition.

### 8.1. Social insurance – pensions

Between 1989 and 1998 the number of pensioners increased from 2,3 million to 4 million (social insurance pensioners), 0,2 million to 0,5 million (disability pensioners) and from 1 million to 1,68 million (farmers' pensioners). (*Romanian Statistical Yearbook* 1995 and 2000, NIS) Since 1997 the number of retired has exceeded the number of employees with 400 thousand people.

The emphasis of social protection policy was placed on retirement. Retirement programme covers 95 per cent of the target population and a fairly stable evolution. However the degree of system comprehensiveness has lowered while an important segment of self-employed and the vast majority of peasants run the risk of remaining uncovered by social insurance. The new pension system promulgated in a recently passed law intends

to consolidate the system of insurance protection, stipulating that it will be supplemented by at least two pillars: an investment-based compulsory insurance and optional private insurance.

Former agricultural cooperative members receive purely symbolic level farmers' pension, which force them to perform some agricultural activities, and throw the eldest of them (particularly with no support from children) into severe poverty. In 1998, the average farmers' pension represented 25 per cent of the average social insurance pension, 10 per cent of the net average wage and a third of the minimum wage. In the same year the average pension (state social insurance) represented 37,2 per cent of the net average wage and 122,5 per cent of the minimum wage.

### 8.2. Social assistance and related benefits

The social assistance system includes all non-contributory programmes granted to families with incomes below a threshold established by law or in extremely difficult situations. The main programmes are:

- Social aid, means-tested benefits directed to support the poorest families. It was introduced at the end of 1995 and it was highly ineffective. Beginning with 1996 the financial responsibility was transferred to local city governments and by 2000 the system crashed
- Allocation for solidarity, income tested benefits directed to support families with per capita incomes less than a half of the national minimum wage. It was introduced in 2000 with the intention of replacing the social aid system. It is financed from a special fund and

(the expenditures for social aid in 2000 represented only 6 per cent of those from the first months after the benefit was passed in 1995). In January 2002 was replaced by the minimum guaranteed income. (Table 50)

managed at the county level. It is granted upon request, usually for no more than six months. Due to its location in county seats the access to this benefit is discriminatory and generates inequality.

- Assistance for the wives of men performing compulsory military service, heating allowance, compensation of bread price raising, and various programmes for families in difficulty and persons with special needs.

Despite the large number of social assistance programmes the number of beneficiaries is low

and most corresponding social benefits are paid rather sporadically due to the financial problems of the local councils. (Tesliuc, Pop, Tesliuc, 2001: 88, 146) In this respect, the fiscal decentralisation has generated new inequalities while people in the same situation are differently granted social assistance according to their residency (in poor rural communes and in most depressed towns none of this programmes function). However, they play rather an insignificant role in the population budget being low-level and highly irregular.

## CONCLUSION

There has been a substantial drop in the fertility rates in Romania, so that the population is no longer reproducing itself. There is a rather traditional family pattern of early marriage and childbearing, although there are also an increasing number of consensual unions. The family values with regard to roles and the division of domestic labour are traditional and patriarchal.

There is a general polarisation in the living conditions of the Romanian population, with an increasingly large number of poor people, especially those with lower educational achievements as well as Roma. Poor people are concentrated especially in particular regions. There has been a mass impoverishment of many parts of the population due to the loss of jobs resulting from the transition. Despite the growth of personal property due to the privatisation of housing, such housing stock can often not be maintained by their owners and have hence deteriorated in condition. On the other hand, there are a much smaller number who have benefited from the transition and these are generally the better educated and those in urban areas.

A distinctive feature of economic and social trends in Romania is the re-ruralisation of the population. Whilst the rapid industrialisation and

forced settlement policies of the Communist era produced urban industrial conglomerations, since 1992, the population has dispersed back to the land. This was encouraged by the privatisation policies which restored land to the former owners (or their descendants). This turned into a kind of survival strategy for supporting unemployed or underemployed families through subsistence agriculture. Hence, although the number of self-employed is relatively high, 87 per cent of them are living in rural areas and involved in agriculture and their wives and children are likely to work for them as 'unpaid family workers'.

There are no flexibilisation policies as such and although it is possible to work part time, people do not do so willingly and this represents in fact a kind of involuntary sub-employment. The response to the EU Employment Action Plan has been to introduce active measures for the unemployed, although these only really reach 3 per cent of the population. The loss of jobs has rather been disguised by the high rates of retirement and by the return to the land or by so-called 'self employment' which is mostly of an agricultural subsistence nature. There is of course plenty of flexibility in the informal economy which has grown through the transition. Equality for women has been institutionalised, but women

nevertheless have worst pay and employment conditions.

Family support looks generous on paper, with 2 years parental leave at 85 per cent of previous salary or 80 per cent for farmers that can be taken by either spouse. However, in practice this is undermined by the dramatic fall in rates of employment and the fact that fathers who take parental leave are seen as lacking in masculinity.

Although there is a large raft of social policies for supporting the poor, very few actually get such assistance. Social policies represent a very low proportion of GDP spending and could best be described as 'stingy'. They are not adequate to the challenges of a rapid loss of jobs and the mass impoverishment of large parts of the population.

## NOTES

1. Compared to the average-sized 18 ha individually-owned farms in Western Europe, Romania's average farm today is a mere 2.3 ha.
2. In the Romanian LFS part time work is self-declared.
3. Work for one hour in a non-agricultural activity or fifteen hours in agriculture in the past week is recorded employment.
4. The ILO estimates have the same trend: women share in the total number of ILO unemployed decreased from 57 per cent (1994) to 43 per cent (1999), and the women's ILO unemployment rate fell from 8.6 per cent to 6.7 per cent in this same period.
5. According to NIS, the grey economy encompasses legal productive activity, which is not recorded in the National Accounts.
6. 'The average number of rooms per dwelling is 2.5, whilst the population per dwelling is 2.9; therefore there are 1.2 people per room, which means that 20 per cent of the Romanian population continues to live in overcrowded conditions.' (NHDR 1999: 55)
7. Expenditures per adult equivalent below 60 per cent (some USD 40) of the national average, methodology elaborated by the NIS based on HIS data (UNDP 1999).
8. Expenditures per adult equivalent below 40 per cent of the national average, NIS methodology, HIS data.

## ANNEX

Table 3. Population and age structure by residential areas, Romania 1966-2000

	Total				
	1966	1977	1992	2000	
<b>Total (thousands)</b>	<b>19103163</b>	<b>21559910</b>	<b>22810035</b>	<b>22435205</b>	
0-14 years	26.0	25.4	22.7	18.3	
15-59 years	61.7	60.2	60.9	62.9	
60 years and over	12.3	14.4	16.4	18.8	
	Urban				
	1966	1977	1992	2000	
<b>Total (thousands)</b>	<b>7305714</b>	<b>9395729</b>	<b>12391819</b>	<b>12244598</b>	
0-14 years	21.8	23.1	24.3	17.0	
15-59 years	67.3	65.4	64.1	68.8	
60 years and over	10.9	11.5	11.6	14.2	
	Rural				
	1966	1977	1992	2000	
<b>Total (thousands)</b>	<b>11797449</b>	<b>12164181</b>	<b>10718216</b>	<b>10190607</b>	
0-14 years	28.7	27.1	20.9	19.7	
15-59 years	58.1	56.2	57.0	56.0	
60 years and over	13.2	16.7	22.1	24.3	

Source: Population and Housing Census, Romania, 1966, 1977, 1992; Current Statistics, NIS, 2000

Table 4. Total fertility rate, Romania 1958-2000

	1958	1965	1966	1967	1968	1970	1973	1974
RTF	2.59	1.91	1.90	3.66	3.63	2.89	2.44	2.72
	1980	1983	1984	1989	1990	1991	1995	2000
RTF	2.45	2.00	2.19	2.19	1.83	1.56	1.34	1.30

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2000, Current Statistics, NIS, 2000

Table 5. Life expectancy at birth, Romania 1964-1999

	1964-1967	1975-1977	1979-1981	1983-1985	1986-1988	1989-1991	1990-1992	1995-1997	1997-1999
<b>Total</b>	<b>68.51</b>	<b>69.76</b>	<b>69.14</b>	<b>69.7</b>	<b>69.27</b>	<b>69.76</b>	<b>69.78</b>	<b>68.95</b>	<b>69.74</b>
Male	66.45	67.45	66.53	66.81	66.3	66.59	66.56	65.19	66.05
Female	70.51	72.06	71.78	72.65	72.32	73.05	73.17	73.00	73.67

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2000

**Table 6. Households by size, family nucleus and residential areas, Romania 1966-1992**

	TOTAL			URBAN			RURAL		
	1966	1977	1992	1966	1977	1992	1966	1977	1992
<b>Total number of households (thou)</b>	<b>5955</b>	<b>6808</b>	<b>7281</b>	<b>2430</b>	<b>3031</b>	<b>3967</b>	<b>3524</b>	<b>3777</b>	<b>3314</b>
Size of household	3.2	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.9	3.0
	Share in total households (%)								
Family households	84.7	82.8	81.3	79.8	79.9	81.9	88.1	85.0	80.5
1 family nucleus	78.8	77.4	75.1	76.2	76.1	77.7	80.6	78.4	71.9
2 family nuclei	5.7	5.2	5.9	3.5	3.7	4.0	7.2	6.4	8.2
3 family nuclei and over	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
2+ persons non-family households	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.5	2.2	1.8	0.9	1.0	1.5
One-person households	14.2	15.7	17.1	18.7	17.9	16.3	11.0	14.0	18.1
– active person	9.0	7.4	5.4	12.3	10.1	6.2	6.8	5.3	4.3
– non-active person	5.1	8.3	11.7	6.3	7.8	10.1	4.3	8.7	13.7

Source: Romanian Demographic Yearbook, NIS, 1996

**Table 7. Mean age at first marriage, Romania 1981-2000**

	1981	1985	1989	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Male	25.5	25.7	25.3	25.0	26.0	26.0	26.2	26.4	26.5	26.9
Female	22.4	22.0	22.1	22.0	22.8	22.8	22.9	23.2	23.3	23.6

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2000, Current Statistics, NIS, 2000

**Table 8. Mean age at first birth, Romania 1970-2000**

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000
	22.2	22.2	22.6	22.4	22.4	22.7	22.9	23.1	23.5	23.7

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2000, Current Statistics, NIS, 2000

**Table 9. Total divorce rate, Romania 1960-1998**

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998
	0.2	0.2	0.05	0.21	0.2	0.19	0.19	0.2	0.2	0.21	0.24

Source: Evolution démographique récente en Europe, 1999, Conseil de l'Europe

**Table 10. Proportion of out of wedlock births, Romania 1992-2000**

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1998	2000
	15.0	17.0	18.3	19.7	20.7	22.2	23.0	24.1	25.5

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1990-2000, Current Statistics, NIS, 2000

**Table 11. Single parent families, Romania 1992**

	Thousands nuclei	Age category of the parent (%)			Total
		Under 30 years	30-59 years	60 years and over	
<b>Total</b>	<b>690.3</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Urban	405.9	11.6	70.1	18.3	100.0
Rural	284.4	11.3	55.8	32.9	100.0
Males	119.9	6.3	68.4	25.3	100.0
Females	570.4	12.6	63.4	24.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Romanian Census, 1992

**Table 12. Population over 12 years by education level, Romania 1966-1992 (per cent)**

	1966 Census			
	Total	Urban	Rural	Roma
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>-</b>
At most primary school	75.3	54	86.5	-
Gymnasium and first stage of secondary education	11.1	16.1	8.4	-
Vocational and apprenticeship	4.8	9.3	2.4	-
High school and post high school, technicians and foremen	6.6	15.1	2.3	-
College and university	2.2	5.5	0.4	-
1977 Census				
	Total	Urban	Rural	Roma
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>-</b>
At most primary school	48.3	30.0	62.9	-
Gymnasium and first stage of secondary education	27.3	29.6	25.5	-
Vocational and apprenticeship	10.2	14.4	6.9	-
High school and post high school, technicians and foremen	10.6	18.9	3.9	-
College and university	3.6	7.1	0.8	-
1992 Census				
	Total	Urban	Rural	Roma
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
At most primary school	28.3	17.3	40.9	62.6
Gymnasium and first stage of secondary education	32.1	27.8	36.9	29.6
Vocational and apprenticeship	14.1	16.5	11.3	3.9
High school and post high school, technicians and foremen	20.4	29.7	9.8	2.1
College and university	5.1	8.7	1.1	0.1

Note: - Not estimated

Source: Population and Housing Romanian Census, 1966, 1977, 1992

**Table 13 Gross enrolment rate by level of education, Romania 1990-1998**

	1990	1992	1996	1998
<b>Total</b>	<b>62.4</b>	<b>60.3</b>	<b>62.0</b>	<b>63.9</b>
Primary education	90.8	93.8	99.1	99.8
Gymnasium	91.4	86.1	86.4	94.3
Secondary education	90.7	65.7	69.1	67.8
College and university	10.6	20.2	22.2	25.4

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 14. Total workforce (employment and unemployment) by education level, Romania 2000**

	Total	Women	Men	Urban	Rural
Active population (employment + unemployed)	11584977	5331157	6253820	5673840	5911137
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
No school	1.6	2.3	1.1	0.4	2.8
Primary education	11.9	14.5	9.6	2.0	21.4
Gymnasium	21.2	22.9	19.8	8.8	33.2
First stage of secondary education (10 grades)	4.8	5.5	4.1	3.3	6.1
Vocational and apprenticeship	22.3	13.7	29.5	25.3	19.3
High school	25.2	28.7	22.2	36.8	14.0
Post high school, technicians and foremen	4.3	3.9	4.7	7.4	1.4
College	1.5	1.4	1.5	2.5	0.5
University	7.2	7.0	7.4	13.4	1.3

Source: Labour Force Survey, NIS, 2001

**Table 15. Workforce of 15-35 years (employment and unemployment) by education level, Romania 2000**

	Total	Women	Men	Urban	Rural
Active population (employment + unemployed)	2920790	1352640	1568150	1605842	1314948
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
No school	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.8
Primary education	3.1	2.7	3.5	1.5	5.1
Gymnasium	23.8	24.9	22.9	11.1	39.4
Vocational and apprenticeship	22.7	15.2	29.2	20.4	25.4
High school	36.0	41.9	30.9	45.1	25.0
Post high school, technicians and foremen	3.9	4.9	3.0	6.0	1.4
College	1.5	1.9	1.2	2.3	0.7
University	8.3	8.0	8.6	13.2	2.3

Source: Labour Force Survey (*Transition from School to Work*), NIS, 3<sup>rd</sup> Semester, 2000

**Table 16. Workforce 15-35 years and the share of people with mostly gymnasium in the age categories, Romania 2000**

	Total	Mostly gymnasium	Urban	Mostly gymnasium	Rural	Mostly gymnasium
15-19 years	1798179	14.1	1024835	3.5	773344	28.2
20-24 years	1769434	17.7	1041541	6.8	727893	33.4
25-29 years	1628819	10.9	911253	4.3	717566	19.4
30-34 years	1942335	9.2	1132740	3.5	809595	17.2

Source: Labour Force Survey (*Transition from School to Work*), NIS, 3<sup>rd</sup> Semester, 2000

**Table 17. Proportion of 15-35 old graduates who found a significant job (work in the same job for more than six months with more than twenty hours per week on average) in the education categories, Romania 2000**

	Total	Women	Men	Urban	Rural
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>48.4</b>	<b>48.2</b>	<b>48.6</b>	<b>59.9</b>	<b>34.4</b>
No school (%)	14.1	0.0	23.1	*	*
Primary education (%)	10.7	14.6	8.1	8.5	11.5
Gymnasium (%)	24.9	23.3	26.3	32.6	22.2
Vocational and apprenticeship (%)	51.5	47.8	53.2	61.3	41.9
High school (%)	53.4	54.3	52.3	57.2	44.9
Post high school, technicians and foremen (%)	78.2	73.3	85.1	78.4	77.4
College (%)	79.6	79.4	80.0	82.2	69.4
University (%)	82.8	86.3	79.9	85.3	65.1

Note: \* Not estimated

Source: Labour Force Survey (*Transition from School to Work*), NIS, 3<sup>rd</sup> Semester, 2000

**Table 18. Proportion of 15-35 old graduates who found a significant job after two years or more in the total number of those who found a significant job, by education level, Romania 2000**

	Total	Women	Men	Urban	Rural
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>20.1</b>	<b>25.5</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>28.4</b>
No school (%)	85.0	*	85.0	*	*
Primary education (%)	76.0	84.1	66.2	83.5	74.0
Gymnasium (%)	32.3	26.3	37.2	43.6	26.5
Vocational and apprenticeship (%)	28.9	24.2	30.7	27.2	31.3
High school (%)	25.0	23.8	26.6	23.3	29.8
Post high school, technicians and foremen (%)	4.8	6.2	3.1	3.4	12.0
College (%)	9.9	4.7	16.9	11.9	0.0
University (%)	6.6	5.4	7.7	6.7	6.5

Source: Labour Force Survey (*Transition from School to Work*), NIS, 3<sup>rd</sup> Semester, 2000

**Table 19. Total workforce, Romania 1966-2000**

	1966	1977	1992	2000
<b>Total (thousands)</b>	<b>10362</b>	<b>10794</b>	<b>10466</b>	<b>11585</b>
Men	5675	5867	5785	5331
Women	4687	4927	4681	6254

Source: Population and Housing Romanian Census, 1966, 1977, 1992; Romanian Statistical Yearbook 2000

**Table 20. Labour force occupation rate, Romania 1990-1997**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
<b>Total</b>	<b>82.0</b>	<b>82.5</b>	<b>79.6</b>	<b>76.1</b>	<b>75.6</b>	<b>71.5</b>	<b>70.1</b>	<b>67.3</b>
Women	79.0	81.0	77.5	72.8	73.0	67.1	67.1	63.3
Men	84.8	83.8	81.5	79.1	78.1	75.6	73.0	71.2

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 21. Employment by economic branches, Romania 1950-1999**

	1950	1970	1977	1980	1989	1992	1994	1996	1999	2000
<b>Total employment (thousands)</b>	<b>8377</b>	<b>9875</b>	<b>10793</b>	<b>10350</b>	<b>10946</b>	<b>10466</b>	<b>10011</b>	<b>9379</b>	<b>8420</b>	<b>8629</b>
of which (%)										
Industry	12.0	23.0	30.5	35.5	38.1	37.3	28.8	29.2	24.4	23.2
mining and quarrying	-	-	-	-	2.3	2.9	2.6	2.7	1.7	
manufacturing	-	-	-	-	33.0	34.4	24.5	24.5	20.6	
Electric and thermal energy, gas and water*	-	-	-	-	1.2	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.1	-
Construction	2.2	7.8	6.2	8.3	7.0	5.6	5.6	5.1	4.0	4.1
Agriculture	74.1	49.1	36.5**	29.4	27.5	22.3**	35.6	34.6	40.6	40.8
Sylviculture	0.2	0.2		0.4	0.4		0.9	0.8	0.6	0.5
Transport and storage	1.9	3.6	5.7***	6.1	6.2	6.1***	4.6	4.8	3.7	3.8
Post and telecommunications	0.3	0.6		0.8	0.7		0.9	1.1	1.1	1.1
Trade	2.5	4.3	5.3****	6	5.9	6.6****	6.4	8.2	9.0	10.1****
Education, culture, arts	2.3	3.7	4.1	4.2	3.4	4.2	4.4	4.7	5.1	4.9
Health and social assistance	1.1	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7	3.1	3.3	3.6	3.3	4
Public administration	1.7	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.5	3.1	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.7
Financial, banking, and insurance activities	-	-	0.3	-	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.9
Real estates and other services	-	-	-	-	0.0	3.5	4.4	2.7	2.8	3.1
Other activities	1.7	4.7	7.3	6.0	7.6	5.9	3.3	3.1	3.9	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: \* Since 1994 has been included within industrial activities; \*\* includes agriculture and sylviculture; \*\*\* includes transports and telecommunications; \*\*\*\* includes hotels and restaurants

Source: Census of Population and Housing 1992, Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1970-2000

**Table 22. Proportion of women in civilian working population by sectors, Romania 1990-1997**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Agriculture	55.7	54.3	54.5	52.8	52.8	49.5	52.0	51.2
Industry	43.2	43.0	41.7	41.4	41.2	41.1	41.3	40.8
Trade	58.8	57.2	54.9	51.8	54.0	53.4	53.4	52.7
Financial services	65.4	72.1	66.9	67.7	68.9	69.6	66.5	69.8
Education	67.1	67.6	67.0	66.4	65.5	67.0	66.8	61.7
Health and social work	72.9	72.8	74.1	73.7	73.6	74.7	75.6	75.3

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 23. Workforce by occupational categories and gender, ISCO classification, Romania 2000**

	Workforce (=100)	Employ- ment	ISCO1 (%)	ISCO2 (%)	ISCO3 (%)	ISCO4 (%)	ISCO5 (%)	ISCO6 (%)	ISCO7-8 (%)	ISCO9 (%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>11584977</b>	<b>10763763</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>5.8</b>
Women	5331157	4991570	1.1	6.4	10.3	5.7	9.9	41.3	9.7	5.2
Men	6253820	5772193	2.8	5.5	5.2	1.8	3.3	33.1	20.1	6.4

Source: Labour Force Survey, NIS, 2001

**Table 24. Workforce by professional status, Romania 1995-1998 (per cent)**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000
Employees	60.6	61.7	59.8	59.4	56.1
Employers	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1
Self-employed	20.7	18.6	19.3	19.9	23.1
Unpaid family worker	13.4	15.0	16.4	16.4	19.3

Note: The difference up to 100 per cent are members of agricultural companies or cooperatives

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 25. Share of women in working population by professional status, Romania 1994-1998**

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000
Employee	41.1	40.5	41.8	42.3	42.9	44.4
Employer	24.8	27.4	23.3	21.5	25.6	22.8
Self-employed	41.7	43.1	35.8	34.8	33.1	32.3
Unpaid family worker	73.4	74.8	70.6	71.6	71.0	70.5

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 26. Proportion of employees in total active population, Romania 1990-1997**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Women	67.9	60.7	51.5	50.3	49.5	54.3	55.1	52
Men	81.3	73.2	64.4	62.8	60.4	60.5	61.9	56.7

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 27. Ratio of average gross salary of women to men by economic sectors, Romania 1994 – 1998**

Activity	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Forestry	97	94	86	87	89
Agriculture	95	95	92	98	102
Post and telecommunications	91	98	88	86	89
Real estates	91	89	89	88	93
Health and social security	90	91	85	86	87
Constructions	87	89	90	89	95
Trade	87	85	85	75	80
Transport and storage	87	85	88	84	91
Education	86	87	85	91	87
Public administration	85	82	83	89	78
Hotels and restaurants	79	77	79	74	74
Industry	74	76	75	71	71
Financial, banking and insurance	72	93	98	90	91

Source: „Survey on employees and salaries breakdown by occupation in October”, NIS, from *Women and Men in Romania*, Bucharest 2000

**Table 28. Employment by work schedule and number of hours worked per week, Romania 1996-2000 (per cent)**

	Total	Part-time	Full-time								
			Total full-time	Hours worked per week						51-60 hours	61 hours and over
				under 21 hours	21-30 hours	31-39 hours	40 hours	41-50 hours			
<b>Total</b>											
1996, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	12.3	87.7	7.4	9.8	2.8	52.2	9.7	4.2	1.6	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	14.4	85.6	3.5	6.1	3.6	50.3	13.5	6.4	2.2	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	14.4	85.6	4.5	5.5	2.8	49.5	14.5	6.7	2.1	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	14.0	86.0	5.4	8.0	2.8	51.7	12.3	4.5	1.3	
1997, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	12.9	87.1	6.3	8.4	2.8	54.3	10.6	3.6	1.1	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	15.1	84.9	3.4	6.6	3.3	50.8	13.4	5.7	1.7	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	15.7	84.3	4.3	5.8	3.0	49.8	13.9	5.6	1.9	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	15.0	85.0	5.9	8.4	3.3	50.6	11.7	4.0	1.1	
1998, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	13.8	86.2	6.4	8.6	3.5	52.7	10.9	3.3	0.8	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	16.1	83.9	3.5	6.4	4.2	50.1	12.9	5.4	1.4	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	16.4	83.6	4.6	5.7	3.3	48.7	14.1	5.5	1.7	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	15.0	85.0	5.5	8.4	4.3	49.6	12.4	3.8	1.0	
1999, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	14.6	85.4	6.2	8.9	3.6	51.4	11.4	3.2	0.7	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	16.3	83.7	3.4	6.8	4.2	47.7	15.1	5.4	1.1	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	16.4	83.6	4.3	6.1	3.5	46.2	15.7	6.4	1.4	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	15.3	84.7	4.9	8.8	4.4	48.8	12.8	4.3	0.7	
2000, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	14.9	85.1	6.8	10.0	3.8	48.4	12.2	3.3	0.6	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	16.2	83.8	3.3	7.2	3.9	45.9	16.2	6.2	1.1	
<b>Men</b>											
1996, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	10.8	89.2	5.9	9.0	2.7	53.3	10.8	5.4	2.1	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	11.5	88.5	2.6	4.8	2.8	52.5	14.8	8.0	3.0	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	11.6	88.4	3.2	4.3	2.0	52.0	15.6	8.5	2.8	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	12.0	88.0	4.0	6.6	2.2	53.8	13.8	5.7	1.9	
1997, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	11.1	88.9	5.0	7.1	2.3	56.4	12.1	4.5	1.5	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	12.3	87.7	2.6	5.0	2.5	53.2	14.9	7.0	2.5	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	12.7	87.3	3.0	4.4	2.2	52.2	15.7	7.2	2.6	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	12.9	87.1	4.2	7.1	2.7	52.3	13.7	5.5	1.6	
1998, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	12.2	87.8	4.9	7.4	3.3	54.5	12.3	4.3	1.1	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	13.3	86.7	2.2	5.2	3.6	52.5	14.3	6.8	2.1	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	13.6	86.4	3.2	4.4	2.5	51.0	15.8	7.2	2.3	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	13.0	87.0	3.9	7.1	3.7	51.6	14.3	5.0	1.4	
1999, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	12.8	87.2	4.8	7.9	3.2	53.1	12.9	4.4	0.9	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	13.7	86.3	2.1	5.3	3.4	49.9	16.8	7.2	1.6	
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	16.4	83.6	4.3	6.1	3.5	46.2	15.7	6.4	1.4	
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	13.8	86.2	3.4	7.1	4.2	50.3	14.5	5.7	1.0	
2000, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	13.5	86.5	4.8	9.0	3.8	50.0	13.8	4.4	0.7	
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	14.0	86.0	2.2	5.5	3.5	47.1	17.9	8.1	1.7	

(Table 28 continued)

	Total	Part-time	Total full-time	Full-time						
				Hours worked per week						
				under 21 hours	21-30 hours	31-39 hours	40 hours	41-50 hours	51-60 hours	61 hours and over
<b>Women</b>										
1996, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	14.2	85.8	9.4	10.9	3.0	50.7	8.2	2.8	0.8
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	18.0	82.0	4.5	7.8	4.4	47.7	11.9	4.5	1.2
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	17.6	82.4	6.1	7.0	3.8	46.6	13.1	4.6	1.2
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	16.6	83.4	7.1	9.6	3.4	49.1	10.5	3.1	0.6
1997, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	15.1	84.9	8.1	10.1	3.3	51.7	8.8	2.4	0.5
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	18.3	81.7	4.3	8.4	4.3	48.0	11.8	4.1	0.8
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	19.2	80.8	5.8	7.2	4.0	47.1	11.8	3.9	1.0
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	17.5	82.5	7.8	10.1	4.0	48.5	9.3	2.3	0.5
1998, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	15.9	84.1	8.3	10.0	3.7	50.4	9.1	2.2	0.4
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	19.4	80.6	4.9	7.8	4.9	47.3	11.3	3.8	0.6
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	19.6	80.4	6.2	7.2	4.3	46.2	12.1	3.5	0.9
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	17.5	82.5	7.4	9.9	5.0	47.3	10.1	2.4	0.4
1999, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	16.8	83.2	7.9	10.2	4.0	49.4	9.6	1.7	0.4
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	19.2	80.8	4.9	8.6	5.1	45.2	13.2	3.3	0.5
3 <sup>rd</sup> semester	100	19.4	80.6	5.7	7.9	4.5	44.7	13.4	3.9	0.5
4 <sup>th</sup> semester	100	17.0	83.0	6.5	10.8	4.7	47.1	10.9	2.6	0.4
2000, 1 <sup>st</sup> semester	100	16.6	83.4	9.2	11.1	3.8	46.5	10.4	2.0	0.4
2 <sup>nd</sup> semester	100	18.6	81.4	4.5	9.1	4.4	44.5	14.2	4.2	0.5

Source: Labour Force Survey, NIS, 1990-2000

Table 29. Part time employment by gender and residency (per cent in age categories), Romania 2000

	Total employment (thousands)	Part time (thou)	%	Males (thou)	%	Females (thou)	%	Urban (thou)	%	Rural (thou)	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>10764</b>	<b>1754</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>825</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>928</b>	<b>18.6</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>1522</b>	<b>26.6</b>
15-24	1275	258	20.3	151	20.5	107	19.9	34	7.0	224	28.5
25-49	6392	658	10.3	306	8.9	351	11.9	128	3.3	529	20.7
50-64	2034	425	20.9	183	16.9	242	25.5	45	6.9	380	27.6
65+	1063	413	38.8	186	36.6	227	40.8	24	46.3	388	38.4

Source: Romanian Labour Force Survey, NIS, 1990-2000

**Table 30. Part time employment by branches, Romania 2000**

	Total employment	Part time	% in branch category	% in part time
<b>Total</b>	<b>10763763</b>	<b>1753519</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Agriculture	4544921	1551550	34.1	88.48
Sylviculture, forestry and hunting	53808	6040	11.2	0.34
Fishery	7889	240	3.0	0.01
Mining and quarrying	163241	134	0.1	0.01
Manufacturing	2053784	52336	2.5	2.98
Electric and thermal energy, gas and water	195791	797	0.4	0.05
Construction	403431	19034	4.7	1.09
Trade	928373	45895	4.9	2.62
Hotels and restaurants	122838	3675	3.0	0.21
Transport and storage	400445	14918	3.7	0.85
Post and telecommunications	110853	1757	1.6	0.10
Financial, banking and insurance activities	92557	1337	1.4	0.08
Real estate and other services	132315	3212	2.4	0.18
Public administration	563126	2662	0.5	0.15
Education	415041	9389	2.3	0.54
Health and social assistance	345777	5775	1.7	0.33
Other activities of the national economy	229572	34768	15.1	1.98

Source: Labour Force Survey, NIS, 2000

**Table 31. Employment by professional status and work schedule, Romania 2000**

	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Unpaid family worker
<b>Total (% in working population)</b>				
Full time	55.3	1.1	14.9	12.2
1-35 hours	1.1	0.0	3.5	3.6
46+ hours	7.9	0.5	2.6	1.4
irregular	1.7	0.3	5.1	4.7
36-45 hours	44.6	0.3	3.6	2.5
Part time	0.8	0.0	8.3	7.1
1-30 hours	0.2	*	0.9	0.9
31+ hours	0.3	*	0.2	0.2
irregular	0.3	0.0	7.2	5.9
<b>Women (% in working women)</b>				
Full time	52.7	0.5	9.5	18.5
1-35 hours	1.1	*	3.0	6.2
46+ hours	6.8	0.2	1.1	1.7
irregular	1.1	0.1	3.2	6.9
36-45 hours	43.7	*	2.2	3.7
Part time	1.0	0.0	6.6	10.9
1-30 hours	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
31+ hours	0.3	*	0.1	0.4
irregular	0.4	0.0	5.7	9.1

Note: \*Not estimated  
The difference up to 100 per cent are members of agricultural companies or cooperatives

Source: Labour Force Survey, NIS, 2000

**Table 32. ILO Unemployment, Romania 1994-1998**

	1994	1995	1996*	1997	1998
Number of unemployed	971023	967924	722957	736534	773028
Total unemployment rate (%)	8.2	8.0	6.2	6.4	6.8
Male unemployment rate (%)	No data	7.5	5.6	6.3	7.1
Female unemployment rate (%)	No data	8.6	6.9	6.5	6.5
Ratio of women within the total unemployed (%)	49.7	49.6	50.4	46.3	42.8

Note: \* In NHDR 1997, NIS published a different set of values for the year 1996.

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 33. ILO Unemployment rate for 15-24 old people, Romania 1994-1998**

	1994	1995	1996*	1997	1998
<b>Total</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>19.4</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20.8</b>
Men	20.2	18.8	16.6	17.3	20.1
Women	25.8	23.1	23.1	21.4	21.7
Ratio of young people (15-24 ani) within total unemployed (%)	45.8	43.8	50.3	46.1	44.6

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 34. ILO unemployment by education, Romania 2000**

	ILO unemployed	Total	Women	Men
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>821214</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>7.7</b>
No school (%)	9677	5.1	2.3	10.0
Primary education (%)	27474	2.0	1.0	3.3
Gymnasium (%)	136818	5.6	4.9	6.2
First stage of secondary education (10 grades) (%)	48836	8.9	8.3	9.5
Vocational and apprenticeship (%)	254794	9.9	9.7	9.9
High school (%)	278993	9.6	9.4	9.7
Post high school, technicians and foremen (%)	28181	5.6	6.4	5.1
College (%)	7050	4.1	6.4	2.4
University (%)	29391	3.5	3.1	3.8

Source: Labour Force Survey, NIS, 2000

**Table 35. Incidence of long term unemployment as share in total unemployed, Romania 1994-1998**

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
6 months and over	58.8	70.4	64.7	59.2	62.0
men	53.0	69.6	62.9	54.1	63.3
women	64.6	71.1	66.4	65.2	60.2
12 months and over	45.3	47.0	50.2	46.7	46.3
men	39.6	46.2	48.0	41.4	46.5
women	51.0	47.9	52.3	52.9	45.9
24 months and over	22.9	26.0	29.9	24.8	24.4
men	18.9	25.8	28.8	22.5	24.8
women	27.1	26.2	31.1	27.5	23.8

Source: National Human Development Report, 2000

**Table 36 Incidence of long term unemployment as share in total young (under 25 years) unemployed, Romania 1998 – 2000**

	1998	1999	2000
Total young unemployed, of which	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 9 months	50.4	49.0	46.4
9 to 12 months	5.7	9.4	10.5
12 to 37 months	43.9	41.6	43.1

Source: National Development Plan 2002 – 2005: 84, Romanian Government

**Table 37. Unemployed who do not receive benefits as share in total registered unemployment, Romania 1992-1999**

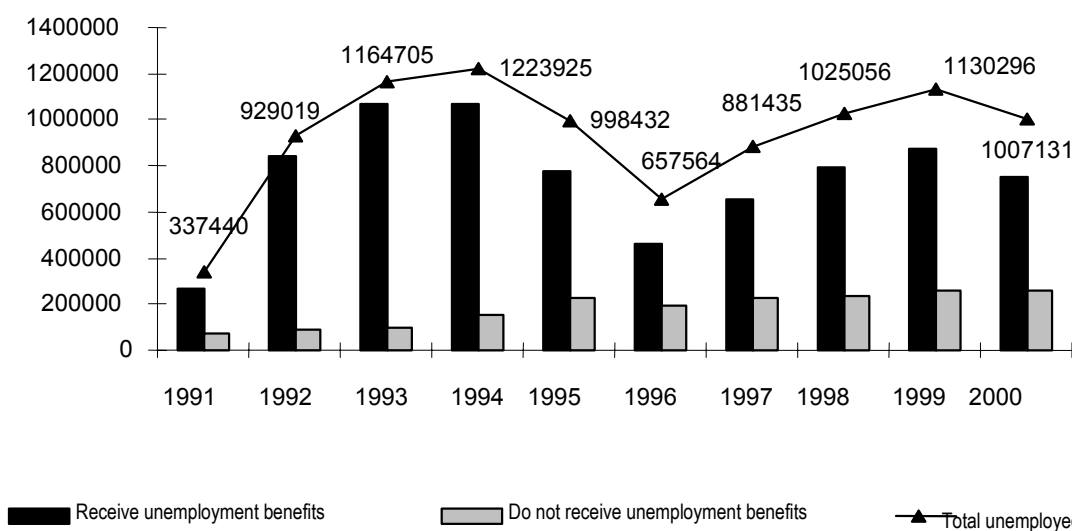
1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
9.3	8.5	12.7	22.4	29.8	25.6	22.6	22.9

Source: National Human Development Report, 2000

**Table 38. Unemployment receiving benefits by age and gender, Romania 2000 (per cent)**

	Total	Under 25 years	25-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-55 years	Over 55 years
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>29.4</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>22.9</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>2.1</b>
– women	100.0	30.0	10.9	23.9	25.8	8.5	0.9
– men	100.0	28.8	11.1	22.2	24.2	10.6	3.1

Source: Ministry of Work and Social Solidarity data, from National Development Plan 2002 – 2005: 62, Romanian Government

**Figure 6. Number of registered unemployed and number of those who receive benefits, Romania 1991 – 2000**

Source: Ministry of Work and Social Solidarity data, from National Development Plan 2002 – 2005: 61, Romanian Government

**Table 39. Number of unemployed by types of benefits, Romania 1997-2000**

	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total registered unemployed at the Labour Force Offices, of which receive	881.435	1025.056	1.130.296	1.007.131
– unemployment benefit	333.219	310.976	291.021	221.815
– aid for professional insertion	104.825	92.004	95.496	85.250
– unemployment allowance	217.959	390.038	445.992	391.932
– compensatory payments, according EOG No. 98/1999 <sup>x)</sup>	–	–	39.042	52.914
– no benefits	225.432	232.038	258.745	255.220

Source: National Institute for Statistics data, from National Development Plan 2002 – 2005: 64, Romanian Government

**Table 40. Dwelling stock and endowment, Romania 1966-1998**

	1966	1977	1992	1995**	1998**
Dwellings stock (thou)	5380.6	6379.8	7659	*	*
Living floor (sqm) per:					
dwelling	27.6	33.8	29.6	*	*
person	7.9	11.6	8.9	*	*
No. of persons per room	1.73	1.52	1.19	*	*
Dwellings endowed with (%):					
installation for supply with drinking water	12.2	29.5	51.6	49.3	48.5
installation for hot water	5.2	20.2	43.1	43.1	42.8
sewerage	12.2	29.5	50.7	48.5	48.5
electricity	48.3	85.2	96.7	98.5	98.9
central heating	5.4	20.4	39.1	33.3	32.3

Note: \*Not estimated  
\*\* Estimates NIS based on Household Integrated Survey

Source: Romanian Population and Housing Census, 1966, 1977, 1992; For 1995, 1998 National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 41. Gini Index, Romania 1989-1998**

1989	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
21	23	30	31	30	28	30

Source: Teşliuc, Pop, Teşliuc, 2000 (Data: Household Integrated Survey, NIS)

**Table 42. Real income of households, Romania 1989-1998**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Average household income - ROL/month (in 1989 prices)	5270	6531	5739	4759	4082	3968	4154	4356	-	-
% of which:										
Monetary income	86.2	81.9	81.1	81.1	78.3	79.8	72.1	68.9	67.3	70.9
- wages	62.8	57.1	61.3	60.8	56.6	58.3	43.8	41.7	37.9	39.6
- social transfers	11.7	10.7	7.9	7.5	7.0	7.5	15.9	15.6	17.8	18.7
- other monetary sources of income	11.7	14.2	12.1	12.8	14.7	14.0	12.4	11.6	11.6	12.6
b. Counter-value of con- sumption from own re- sources	13.5	17.9	18.6	18.7	21.5	20.0	27.6	30.7	31.7	29.1

Source: National Human Development Report, 1999

**Table 43. Poverty rates, Romania 1995-2000**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000***
Poverty rate*	25.3	19.9	30.1	33.8	41.2	44.0
Extreme poverty rate**	8.0	5.1	9.5	11.7	16.6	-

Note: Methodology of NIS used in *Poverty in Romania 1995 - 1998*, 1999.

The relative method adapted, with NIS equivalent scale.

\*poverty level defined as 60 per cent of household consumption expenditure per equivalent adult

\*\*poverty level defined as 40 per cent of household consumption expenditure per equivalent adult

\*\*\* *Government White Book* (2001)

Source: 1995 - 1998 NIS, Household Integrated Survey; 1999 Teşliuc and others, Polirom (2001)

**Table 44. Dimension and depth of poverty by ethnic groups in Romania 1997-1998**

Nationality	Gini Index		Poverty rate (%)	
	1997	1997	1997	1998
Romanian	0.29	29.65	29.65	32.48
Hungarian	0.28	28.38	28.38	30.34
Roma	0.3	78.82	78.82	87.13
Other	0.35	32.55	32.55	36.00

Source: Dhanji F. at all 1999. NIS, HIS data for 1995-1997. The ethnic affiliation is self-declared.

The poverty rate is determined on the basis of the superior NIS; relative poverty line – 60 per cent of the average consumption expenditures. NIS scale of equivalence.

**Table 45. Dynamic of public expenditure as share in GDP, Romania 1989-2000**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Social transfers*	9.5	10.7	10.1	9.6	9.3	9.3	9.7	9.3	10.0	11.8	11.3	10.2
Education	2.2	3.0	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.6	3.1	3.2
Health	2.5	2.9	3.3	3.6	2.7	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6	3.1	3.8	3.8

Note: \* Include social assistance, allowances, pensions, aid and compensation and other expenditures minus housing expenditures.

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001

**Table 46. Dynamic of GDP, Romania 1990-1999**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
GDP - annual growth rate (%)	-5.6	-12.9	-8.8	1.5	3.9	7.1	3.9	-6.6	-7.3	-3.2
Real GDP (1989=100) (%)	94.4	82.2	75	76.2	79.2	84.8	88.2	82.8	78.3	75.8

Sources: Romanian Human Development Report (1999) UNDP (1999); National Institute for Statistics and Economic Commission for Europe – Economic Survey of Europe no.2/2000  
1989 GDP in ROL billion Comparable = 800

**Table 47. Dynamic of minimum net salary and average net salary, Romania 1989-2000 (per cent)**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Minimum net salary	100	95.1	80.7	52.5	36.2	33.4	33.8	35.5	26.3	28.6	25.4	26.1
Average net salary	100	105	85.4	74.6	62.1	62.4	70.2	76.9	59.4	61.5	61.6	60.4

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001

**Table 48. Minimum salary as per cent of the average salary (medium salary = 100), Romania 1989-2000**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
	65.3	59.2	61.5	46	38	34.9	31.5	30.2	29	29.5	26.9	28.2

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001

**Table 49. Social benefits as per cent of the minimum salary, Romania 1989-2000**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Average pension (state social insurance)	71	75.6	73.3	95	118.9	122	129.6	127.8	139.2	122.5	133	121.7
Unemployment benefit			69.8	64.4	73.7	102.5	95.8	97.9	135.8	106.4	138.9	111.2
Unemployment allowance				43.5	42.5	41.1	59	52.1	53.2	48.2	62.2	45.9
Social aid							60	46.4	39.3	41.1	38.6	27.2

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001

**Table 50. Social benefits as per cent of the average salary, Romania 1989-2000**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Average pension (state social insurance)	46.4	44.7	45.1	43.6	45.2	42.6	40.8	38.6	40.3	37.2	35.9	34.3
Children allowance	10.5	9.7	7.2	5.4	4.9	4.2	4.3	3.9	7.4	6.2	4.3	3.2
Allowance for the second child									13.7	10.1	7.0	5.5
Social aid							21.3	14.0	15.6	13.2	10.6	7.7
Unemployment allowance				20.0	16.1	14.4	18.6	15.7	15.4	14.7	16.8	12.9
Aid for professional insertion						24.7	20.1	17.0	18.8	17.9	21.9	17.4

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001**Table 51. Dynamics of different social transfers (1989 = 100), Romania 1989-2000**

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Child allowance	100.0	97.8	59.1	38.4	29.0	25.0	28.6	28.6	42.2	36.7	25.2	18.7
Social insurance pensions (excluding farmers)	100.0	107.3	83.2	70.0	60.8	58.2	63.1	65.5	51.6	*	*	*
Social insurance pensions for farmers	100.0	180.7	74.4	40.2	48.0	64.2	65.2	74.2	77.4	*	*	*
Unemployment benefits			100.0	60.0	47.3	60.7	57.6	61.8	63.5	*	*	*

Note: \* Not estimated

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001**Table 52. Employment social protection spending, Romania 1992 - 2000**

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total spending (bill. ROL)	44.9	177.9	482.1	717.4	754.5	3215.6 <sup>x)</sup>	5332.5 <sup>x)</sup>	8290.3 <sup>x)</sup>	9333.1 <sup>x)</sup>
<b>Passive measures (bill. ROL)</b>	<b>35.4</b>	<b>157.8</b>	<b>444.6</b>	<b>493.7</b>	<b>442.1</b>	<b>2640.4</b>	<b>4337.4</b>	<b>6898.3</b>	<b>6854.8</b>
– unemployment benefits	31.8	110.4	292.8	205.0	183.6	625.1	1334.9	2252.6	1951.7
– unemployment allowances	3.6	47.4	106.8	229.2	200.2	215.6	497.7	1043.5	1346.3
– aids for professional insertion	–	–	5.0	59.4	58.3	101.9	200.9	283.0	370.6
– pli - compensatory payments	–	–	–	–	–	1739.2	2303.9	3319.1	3186.2
<b>Active measures (bill. ROL)</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>106.0</b>	<b>84.3</b>	<b>71.9</b>	<b>145.9<sup>x)</sup></b>	<b>283.3<sup>x)</sup></b>	<b>217.5</b>
– graduates' insertion	0.3	0.9	5.4	4.5	4.9	8.1	42.0	66.0	89.5
– training / retraining	0.4	1.1	1.3	1.6	3.0	14.0	19.2	25.4	30.1
– SME credits	–	–	–	99.9	76.5	49.8	66.0	100.0	86.6
– local economic development	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	98.8	11.3
<b>Total passive measures (%)</b>	<b>78.8</b>	<b>88.7</b>	<b>83.9</b>	<b>68.8</b>	<b>58.6</b>	<b>82.1</b>	<b>81.4</b>	<b>83.2</b>	<b>73.5</b>
<b>Total active measures (%)</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>2.3</b>

Note: x) Including International Bank for Reconstruction and Development credits

Source: National Institute for Statistics data, from National Development Plan 2002 – 2005: 66, Romanian Government

**Table 53. Number of persons who benefit of employment active measures, Romania 1992-2000**

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Persons who attended vocational training courses, of which:	45.640	65.458	45.858	45.29	49.07	61.47	70.76	79.25	87.01
– unemployed	37.432	49.470	25.478	22.79	20.40	23.57	27.15	30.55	26.41
Graduated the vocational training courses:	31.665	49.082	31.330	32.40	34.51	40.39	46.04	56.10	61.88
– upon employers' request	2.498	1982	7.170	8.07	10.09	11.32	10.77	14.55	18.79
– based on studies forecasting the evolution of the labour market	28.327	45.436	7.044	5.27	5.26	7.37	10.65	11.73	10.29
– upon request from interested parties	840	1.664	17.116	19.11	19.15	21.69	24.62	29.81	32.79
Still attending courses	1.233	11.019	11.648	10.51	14.44	21.04	24.67	23.15	20.15

Source: National Institute for Statistics data, from National Development Plan 2002 – 2005: 64, Romanian Government

**Table 54. Collective labour disputes, Romania 1994-1999**

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Number of disputes	384	319	285	260	352	653
Number of employees for the units where collective labour disputes took place	1281432	1075452	1273633	1052680	1557384	1620817
Number of employees involved in disputes	646478	771238	694358	614959	908616	1029500

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2000

**Table 55. Claims which caused the labour disputes (per cent in total), Romania 1993-1999**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
For salary reasons (non-payment of compensations, of indexations, of wages in time, of holiday bonuses)	49.6	39.7	44.4	43.9	38.7	40.6	43.4
Labour force use (lack of employment loading, redistribution of staff, redundancies and sending in unemployment)	4.7	7.5	5.0	3.9	6.4	5.4	5.2
Labour organization (revision of labour norms, organisation of working time, schedule, lack of position file)	6.1	8.2	12.0	5.6	8.4	7.1	7.5
Technical-material conditions (lack of orders and contracts, lack of material base, inadequate technical situation of outfits)	7.4	5.3	4.6	6.1	6.0	7.5	4.3
Working conditions (lack of normal labour and social conditions, promotion in higher wage classes)	6.1	8.7	21.0	15.6	9.3	11.8	11.6
Working time (lack of day-off, additional hours and leaves, shifts)	0.6	0.8	-	1.7	2.0	2.6	1.5
Social rights (lack of some social security measures at economic unit level, own systems of social insurance, dwellings, treatment tickets, funds for social actions)	9.8	7.4	7.9	3.3	3.1	5.0	4.7
Trade-union life (conditions for union activity, measures of leaders sanction, lack of transparency, presence of leaders at negotiations)	4.9	7.8	2.4	3.9	7.2	4.6	3.2
Other claims (changes in organisational structures, negotiation of collective contracts)	10.8	14.6	2.7	16.0	18.9	15.3	18.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 2000

**Table 56. Pre-school education, Romania 1989-1999**

School year	Number of kindergarten	Number of children aged 3-6 years	Number of children enrolled	Enrolment rate (%)	Number of pre-school teachers
1989-1990	12108	1008856	835890	82.9	31293
1990-1991	12529	1047061	752141	71.8	37007
1991-1992	12595	1430512	742066	51.9	36311
1992-1993	12603	1430512	752063	52.6	36447
1993-1994	12715	1410675	712136	50.5	37303
1994-1995	12665	1296148	715514	55.2	37603
1995-1996	12772	1197772	697888	58.3	38915
1996-1997	12951	1091963	659226	60.4	39166
1997-1998	12368	947385	623553	65.8	36648
1998-1999	12795		632287		

Source: Mihailescu I (coord.), A decade of transition: The situation of child and family in Romania, UNICEF, Bucharest, 2000

**Table 57. Number of nurseries and places in nurseries, Romania 1950-1999**

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1994	1997	1999
Nurseries	292	306	430	902	840	630	464	388
Places in nurseries	5217	12807	30121	92632	79698	43733	28590	22966

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1990, 2000

**Table 58. Real public social expenditures\* as share in GDP (1980=100), Romania 1989-2000**

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999**	2000**
100	104.2	80.4	65.4	62	67.9	80.5	86	76.8	76.4	74.6	72.6

Note: \* Include social transfers (social assistance, allowances, pensions, aid and compensation), education, health, the expenditures of a social character, minus the ones related to dwellings and housing.

\*\*Provisional data

Source: *Poverty in Romania*, RIQL and UNDP, C. Zamfir coord, 2001

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