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International Relations

RESILIENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE - ROMANIA AFTER 1989

Ionut-Daniel MOLDOVAN[1]

ABSTRACT:
COMMON ACTIVITIES, HABITS AS WELL AS TRADITIONS AND CULTURE ARE THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITIES AND SOCIETIES THEMSELVES. THESE CHARACTERISTICS REFLECT THE DECISION-MAKING MADE BY INDIVIDUALS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THEY LIVE, BEING IN CLOSE CORRELATION WITH THIS ENVIRONMENT AND AS THE ENVIRONMENT CHANGES AUTOMATICALLY CHANGES OCCUR IN SOCIAL NORMS. PHENOMENA SUCH AS SOCIAL CHANGE AND MIGRATION HAVE BEGUN TO ATTRACT MORE AND MORE BOTH THE INTEREST OF RESEARCHERS AND DECISION-MAKERS. THIS INTEREST SEEKS TO OVERCOME THE SIMPLISTIC AND GEO-DETERMINISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPACT THAT HUMAN MOBILITY HAS ON STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN SOCIETY. THIS HAS LED TO THE RECOGNITION OF THE IDEA OF "MIGRATION AS ADAPTATION" IN RESEARCH ON MIGRATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT (REFERRING HERE TO THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT).
ROMANIA HAS ALWAYS KNOWN THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION, A PHENOMENON THAT HAS EXPERIENCED FLUCTUATIONS MAINLY DETERMINED BY THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT. MORE PRECISELY FROM THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT IN WHICH THE COUNTRY WAS FOUND, OR, IN THE RECENT PERIOD, THIS PHENOMENON HAS BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND BY OTHER ELEMENTS THAT FAVOR THE MOBILITY OF INDIVIDUALS AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

KEYWORDS: RESILIENCE, SOCIAL CHANGE, MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we will try to analyze how, demographic changes, labor market instability,changes in people's mobility as well as changes and political and economic uncertainty create patterns of change that are in constant motion. We will emphasize the concepts of social change as well as the resilience of society. By analyzing the data available at the National Institute of Statistics we will try to find key patterns of the change process as well as of the migration phenomenon in the Romanian society. Thus, the indicators used in

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the analysis are those referring to the stable population of Romania (before and after 1989), life expectancy, the evolution of minimum incomes as well as indicators regarding the emigration rate before and after 1989.

Social resilience is a concept that develops in the 1970s, from the need to identify those qualities that human societies have to regain / readjust themselves as a result of a bad event, a conflict, a state of insecurity, or even in relation to day-to-day changes. Therefore, resilience is represented by the ability to transform a hostile issue / event into personal, relational and collective growth, by strengthening existing social commitments and by developing new relationships, with creative collective actions.[2] This capacity to react to "something hostile" involves three processes: recovery, support and growth or it can be increased.[3] The specialized literature attaches more importance to the recovery process because after a certain shock, the consequences of the existence are largely experienced, so, in order to restore the balance after such an adverse event, it must make some psychophysiological and social adjustments. Despite some shocks, communities and individuals are able to continue their activities and this serves as an element of the sustainability process. Resilience also includes the growth reflected in progress and the changes in perspective that have resulted from adversity.

The concept of "resilience" has become a powerful principle and a discursive tool in national and international security. Moreover, although this concept remains rather vague, it has become popular in the lexicon and in the discourse of international and regional organizations that complement and further advance the concept of sustainable development. [4]

Resilience has become somewhat of a sticker in the discourse of international relations and especially in the EU's foreign policy. This is one of the priority objectives of the European Union Global[5] Strategy (EUGS), which was unveiled in June 2016, being certainly an initiative that attracted great attention from academia and politicians.[6] In this case, resilience is referred to as "a broad concept that encompasses all individuals and the whole society," which characterizes "democracy, trust in institutions, sustainable development and reform capacity." [7]

Given the nature of EU policy, coupled with an increase in nationalism, it is not surprising that the countries of the region are pursuing self-survival strategies, trying to build their own resistance against growing political, economic and social challenges and threats.

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[2] Cacioppo John., Reis Harry & Zautra Alex. (2011). "*Social Resilience, The Value of Social Fitness With an Application to the Military", American Psychologist*, 66(1), 43–51

[3] Zautra Alex, John S. Hall, Kate E. Murray (2008). "*Resilience: A new integrative approach to health and mental health research"*. Health Psychology Review 2, 41-64

[4] Charles Perrings, *"Resilience and Sustainable Development"*, in Environment and development Economics, Vol. 11, No. 4 (2006), p. 417-427; see also United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR), disaster risk reduction and resilience in the 2030 agenda for Sustainable development, 2015, http://www.unisdr.org/files/46052_disasterriskreductioninthe2030agend.pdf

[5] Global" is not a term to be seen only in a geographical sense: it also refers to a wide range of policies and tools promoted by the Strategy. It focuses on military capabilities and terrorism as well as on employment opportunities, inclusive societies and human rights. It is concerned with the consolidation of peace and the resistance of states and societies, in and around Europe.

[6] European Union External Action Service (EEAS), Shared vision, Common action: a Stronger Europe. a Global Strategy for the European union's Foreign and Security Policy, June 2016, https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/node/339

[7] European Commission, *a Strategic approach to resilience in the Eu's External action* (JoIN/2017/21), 7 June 2017, p. 3, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legalcontent/en/TXT/?uri=celex:52017JC0021.

The EU's Global Strategy for External and Security Policy contains significant changes compared to the 2003 EU Security Strategy and can be described as a post-neoliberal document driven by recent developments in the EU and worldwide.

This paradigm shift is evident from the EU's attempts to shift its emphasis from its normative power projection, visible in Enlargement Policies and Neighborhood Policy, to a more cohesive attitude internally as a result of the deterioration of the strategic component on most of the levels of policies that it supports, especially in the area of foreign and security policy. We are thus faced with a scenario of accepting a decrease in the EU's influence, in conjunction with the non-linearity of changes at local, regional and international level. Thus, in this context, the strategic approach to resilience proves to be useful because this concept establishes the necessary but insufficient conditions for nonlinear change.

Another important novelty of this strategy is its multidimensional approach and its efforts to overcome what constitutes a "silo mentality"[8] in EU policy approaches and discussions. In order to break away from the previous division of individual policies, an ambitious effort is proposed to increase coherence, coordination and inclusion between the various EU actions - whether they have a developmental nature in the fields of energy, security, humanitarian aid, infrastructure, development, climate or political-diplomatic issues.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change is also a significant phenomenon of human life with incidents important for adapting to new demands in a changing environment. We are talking here about economic and political changes, migration from rural areas to urban areas as well as international migration. These social changes bring with them both challenges and opportunities for human development.[9] For example, urbanization involves changes in lifestyle, thus proving that some of the adaptive skills that are important in the rural context lose their value, while cognitive-oriented competencies become essential to ensure successful adaptation.[10] Because not all the consequences are proven to be benign in the long run, new challenges ("post-transformation") may need to be answered; sometimes almost suggesting reinventing solutions to replace old ones that are out of reach applicability. Such a process does not have a well-defined result, and the initial sequences of change, followed by the change in social order, make the intended consequences of the answers appear to follow the "logic" of political and economic transformation.

It has also become clear that although other societies in their transformation process (eg, some successor states of the former Soviet Union such as Vietnam or China) have been put to find their own operating solutions, conceptualizing the mechanisms change, challenge of the old status quo and the reaction could be generalized, in order to be applied in the form of gradual changes encountered in economic systems enjoying greater stability.

In Romania, internal migration between the 70s and 90s has seen a predominant direction from rural to urban areas (figure 1). Since 1992, the number of those who have

[8] Silo mentality is a mental framework existing at the level of departments within a company or organization, which makes them look only indoors and resist the exchange of information or resources with other departments / sections of the same organizations or companies. Such a mentality will reduce the efficiency of the company's operations; contribute to lessening the importance of organizational culture and diminishing the role of morality in its current work. In such companies, there is an implied resilience to change, and often managers do not take a proactive attitude toward changes that are natural to other companies.

[9] Cigdem Kağçıtcibası, Zeynep Cemalcilar, and Nazli Baydar Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey, ISSBD Bulletin Number 1 Serial No. 55

[10] Cigdem Kağçıtcibası, Zeynep Cemalcilar, and Nazli Baydar Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey, ISSBD Bulletin Number 1 Serial No. 55

moved from rural areas (villages) to urban centers (cities) has begun to diminish, and mobility has begun to take shape in the opposite direction (from urban to rural areas). This was largely due to the economic transition and the decrease of the working possibilities in the cities. After 1997, the migration from urban to rural areas exceeded the number of those who moved from villages to urban centers, which is only partially due to the phenomenon of suburbanization.

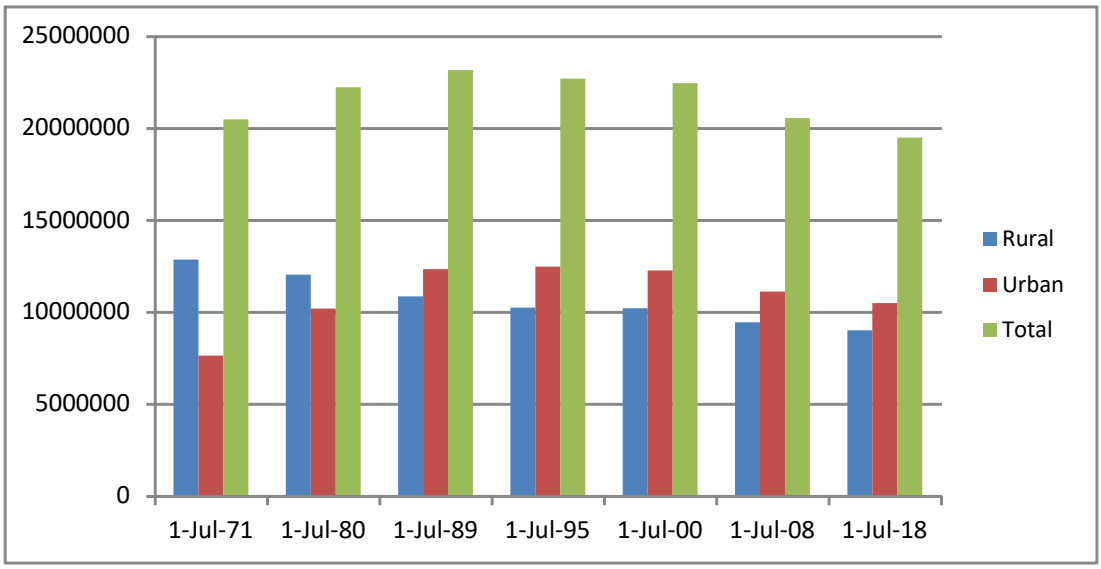

Figure 1. RESIDENT (STABLE) POPULATION BY AREA (1971-2018)

Note: the data used were chosen so as to give us a perspective on both the situation before 1989 and the recent situation until 2018
Source: own representation with data from the National Institute of Statistics (Demographic Yearbook, 2019).

After 1990, the new changes, international economic alliances, socio-political diversity, discoveries in information technology and the application of scientific innovations in all areas of human activity have brought important changes in all aspects related to the development of activities in society. New modes and concepts of development appear, the concept of nation state loses its traditional rigidity. Concepts and issues related to sustainable development, efficient education for all, market liberalization, and technology transfer appear on international agendas. These represent only a part of the new concepts that arrive in developing countries due to the geopolitical interests of the industrialized countries. The net complex of these changes, not only redirects the actions of nations / societies at international level, but creates new conditions of development, with a social impact especially on developing countries. In the recent documents of the United Nations (UN)[11] and the World Bank may refer to:

- increasing human capital,
- reducing inequality
- structural changes in the care of quality of life

[11] United Nations Development Programme, avalilable at: https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html

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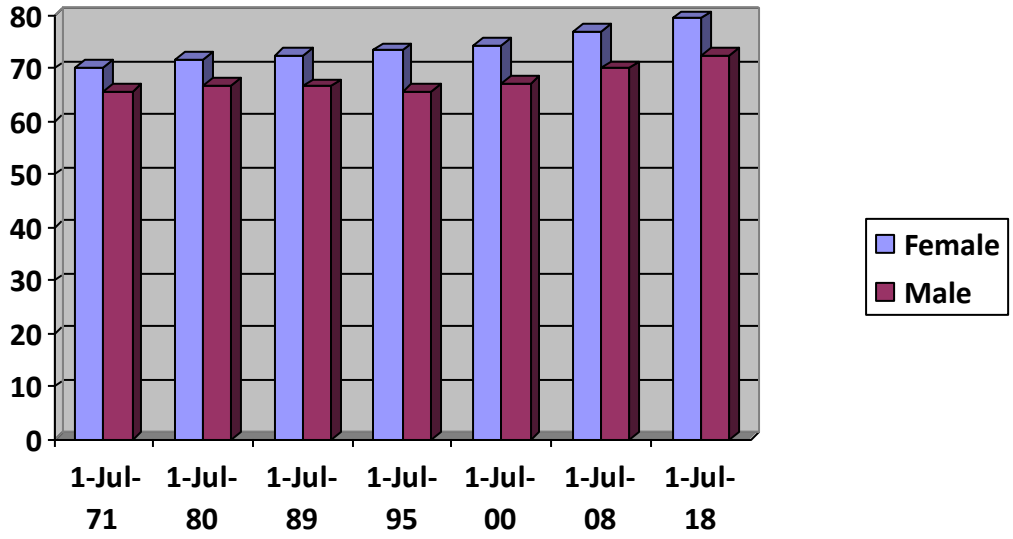

Figure 2. LIFE EXPECTANCY (1971-2018)

Note: the data used were chosen so as to give us a perspective on both the situation before 1989 and the recent situation until 2018
Source: own representation with data from the National Institute of Statistics (Demographic Yearbook, 2019).

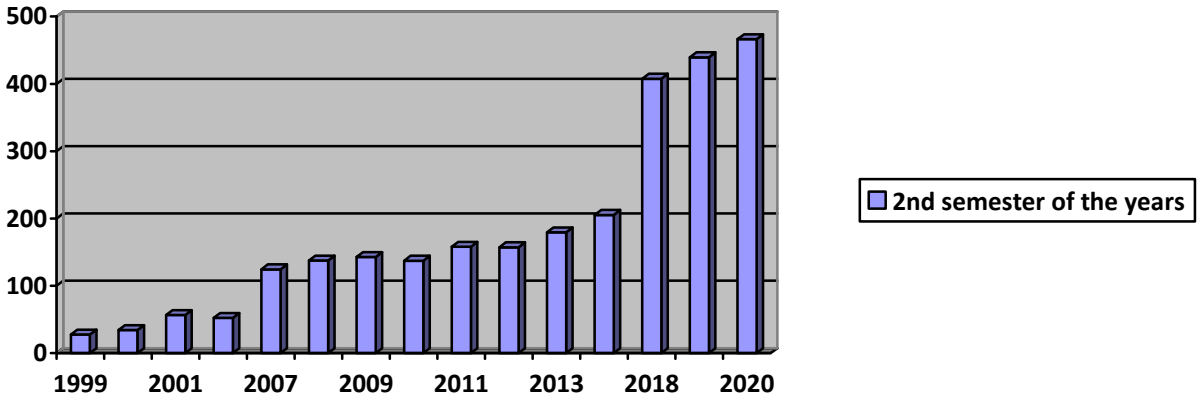

Figure 3. MONTHLY MINIMUM WAGES

Source: own representation with data from Eurostat (Minimum wages in EU Member States, 2019).

A wave of economic and social changes spanned the country in the 2000s. The new decade conveyed enthusiasm through the changes in social conventions that were taking place at that time. As the economy grew, wages increased which led to a higher standard of living and a rather aggressive growth in consumption (figure 3). Although most lives have not been radically transformed by the advent of new technologies, this evolution has changed the way they dress, think and act in a way that has had an impact on parents and the more traditional ones in society. These changes were encouraged by the new media that included increasingly accessible mobile telephony and the Internet.

Life expectancy data (figure 2) shows that it has grown steadily in the analyzed period, with higher increases after 2000, the average life expectancy increased by about 8.4 years for women and about 6 years for men between 1971 and 2018. These changes in life expectancy can result from long-term changes of certain factors, including changes in the political regime, economic and socio-economic changes as well as changes in education. Moreover, this accentuated increase of life expectancy as well as of the minimum wage, can be attributed to Romania's accession to the EU, accession that can be seen as a process of integrated development.

As a factor of change, the political regime is used as a distal determinant of life expectancy at the country level.[12] For example, a democratic state recognizes more easily the rights of citizens to express themselves and act on political views and, therefore, this involvement can generate public services that are more closely linked to social needs.[13]

In electoral processes, it is assumed that politicians govern national policies to increase per capita incomes, to make public health systems more efficient, and to improve the health and quality of life of the population. The power of representation can be demonstrated as an important promoter of health.[14] Some studies have shown that people living in more democratic societies, who have been given more autonomy, have longer life expectancies and lower mortality rates than people living in more autocratic societies.

MIGRATION PHENOMENON

Migration, as a social phenomenon, especially after 1989, has become a very important aspect for Romanian society, because either leaving the country and returning or internal migration to the development poles both condition and influences the major economic and social processes.

Often, migration flows occur to meet immediate needs and in response to latent socio-economic conflicts and tensions. Initially, the benefits generated for the 2 sets of countries (origin and destination) are considerable. The countries of origin manage to solve problems related to employment, social and political burden and obtain remittances, which also contribute to the economic development of the departure regions. As a cause of change, migration has been analyzed from a cultural perspective (emphasizing its potential for value / normative transformation) and from a structural perspective (which highlights its demographic and economic significance).

- The neoclassical approach, based on an individualistic calculation of benefits and costs among potential migrants;[15]
- The "new economy" approach, based on the concept of relative deprivation and focus on family strategies to overcome the imperfections of the capitalist market;
- The perspective of the world system, based on the concepts of structural penetration and the "unbalance" of peripheral areas, makes the conditions for mass movements determined;

[12] Navarro V, Muntaner C, Borrell C, Benach J, Quiroga A, Rodriguez-Sanz M, Verges N, Pasarin MI. *Politics and health outcomes*, Lancet. 2006: 1033–1037

[13] Gerring J, Bond P, Barndt WT, Moreno C. Democracy and economic growth: a historical perspective. (World Polit. 2005), 323–364

[14] Cattaneo LB, Chapman AR. The process of empowerment: a model for use in research and practice. (Am Psychol. 2010), 646–659.

[15] Alexandra Porumbescu, Defining the New Economics of Labor Migration Theory Boundaries: A Sociological-Level Analysis of International Migration, RSP No. 45, 55-64

- The sociological approach, based on the notions of "path dependence" and on the reduction of the costs of migration. These concepts are invoked to explain the origin of migration as the continuation and development of resistance over time in terms of their structural properties or their beliefs and values.

The power of migration to make changes in the countries of origin of migrants depends on three main factors: number of people involved; length of stay and class composition.

Regarding the first factor, it is obvious that small displacements have little causal power, rarely exceeding the lives of those involved and their close relatives. At the other extreme, "telluric movements" can have dramatic consequences. As far as the second factor is concerned, short-term circular flows tend to produce a less sustainable change than permanent movements. Under certain conditions, cyclical movements can strengthen existing social structures rather than inoculate their change. This can happen, for example, when the income of migrant workers contributes to supporting productivity growth in countries of origin, thereby enhancing their long-term viability.

Finally, the third factor - the composition of migratory flows - affects the potential of changing migration in unexpected ways. Moves composed of people with higher human capital would have a greater impact on recipient societies due to the ability of these migrants to express themselves and to protect their cultural traits. Good human capital translates into better opportunities on the labor market and easier entry into the host economy's basic economy. The flows of poorly trained workers can have a lasting impact due to the initial ignorance of the host language and culture and the tendency to maintain their own habits and values. Finally, streams that are made up of diverse classes, which include both high-capital migrants and those with low human capital - are most likely to lead to ethnic enclaves. This is due to the fact that skilled migrants are able to set up businesses that use the masses of their co-ethnic, both as a market and as a source of labor.[16] In turn, less educated immigrants find in these ethnic enterprises an alternative source of employment opportunities and even a "training mechanism".

If the political transition is conceived as a fine, peaceful, pragmatic and organized transformation, we can say that Romania had a history that is both promising and dangerous. The fall of the old regime has paved the way for the institutionalization of pluralism and civil liberties after decades of authoritarian rule. A new Constitution has been adopted and several representative and independent bodies have been created.

In 1990, one of the first steps taken by the Transitional Government in Romania was the liberalization of the passport regime. The right to hold passports and to leave the country depended only on the financial possibilities, because the entry into many Western countries was no longer restricted by a visa regime (figure 4).

[16] Kenneth, Wilson, Alejandro, Fortes,*"Immigrant enclaves: An analysis of the labor market experiences of Cubans in Miami"*, American Journal of Sociology 86 (September) 1980, 295-319.

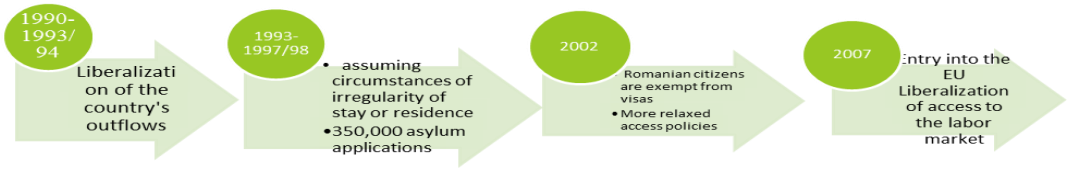

Figure 4. MIGRATION REGIMES AFTER 1989

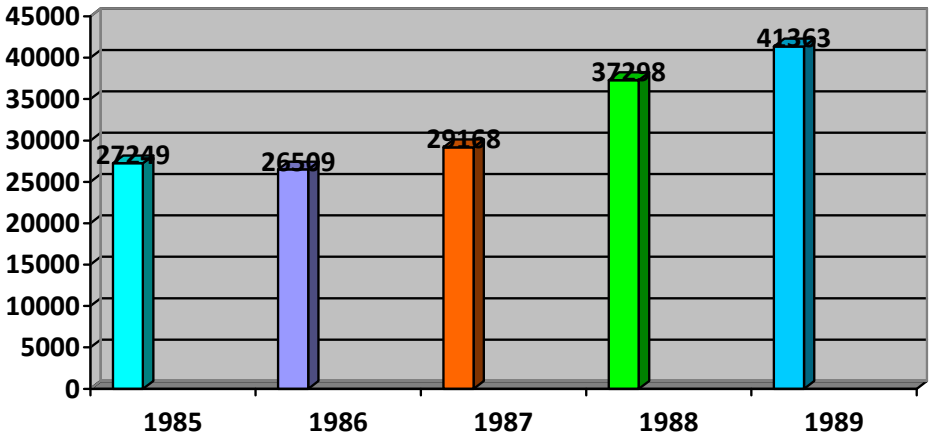

Figure 5. EMIGRANTS OFFICIALLY REGISTERED BETWEEN 1985 AND 1989

Source: own representation with data from the National Institute of Statistics (2006 Demographic Yearbook of Romania and 2007 Statistical Yearbook).

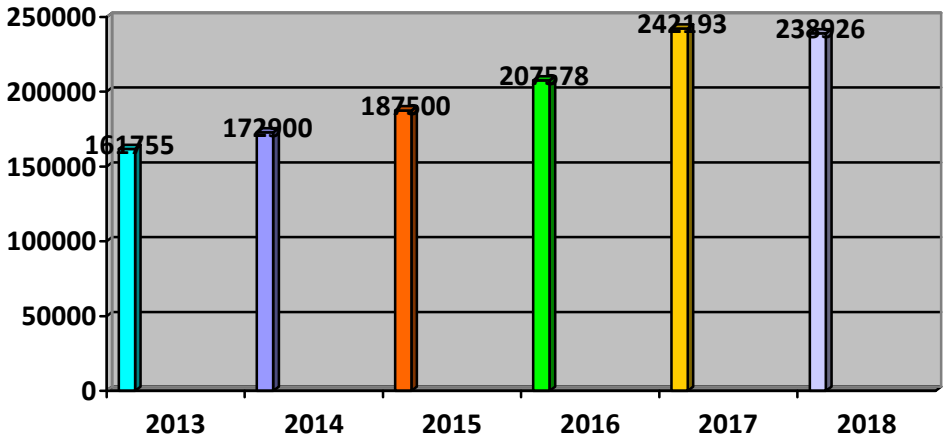

Figure 6. EMIGRANTS OFFICIALLY REGISTERED BETWEEN 2013 AND 2018

Source: own representation with data from the National Institute of Statistics (Demographic Yearbook of Romania and 2019 Statistical Yearbook)

After 1989, Romania faced the phenomenon of international migration, which led to the decrease of the (stable) resident population. The resident population was on July 1, 2018 smaller by about 1 million than in 1971, being around 19.5 million inhabitants.(figure 7)

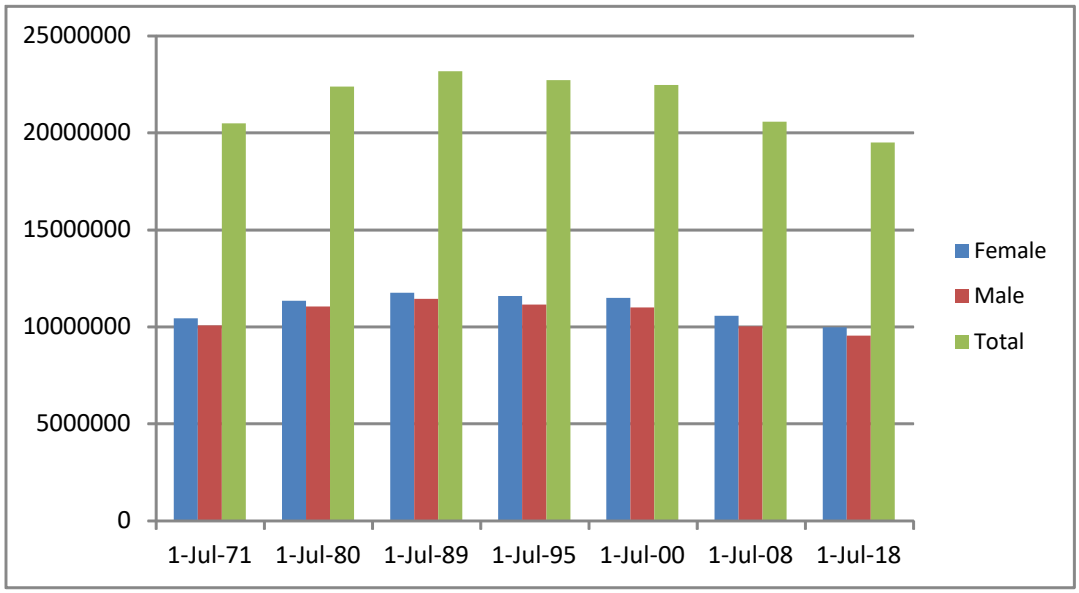

Figure 7. RESIDENT (STABLE) POPULATION BY SEX (1971-2018)

Note: the data used were chosen so as to give us a perspective on both the situation before 1989 and the recent situation until 2018
Source: own representation with data from the National Institute of Statistics (Demographic Yearbook, 2019).

According to the presented data, in the period 1989-2013, the stable population of Romania decreased by over 3.1 million inhabitants. Over 77% of the negative growth of the

(stable) resident population during this period was due to emigration. Moreover, between 2014 and 2018 the population of the country decreased by over 500 thousand people.

International migration has led to an average annual reduction of Romania's population by almost 104.2 thousand people. In 2002, the number of emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants of the resident population of Romania was 48.6, and in 2012 this indicator increased to 116.5. On 1 January 2018, the resident population was 19.52 million people, down 120.7 thousand people as of January 1, 2017.

After 1989, the economic and political transition created a context, causing many categories to consider migration as an opportunity to obtain the resources needed to maintain daily life or materially support social status. The context has generated a relative surplus of population that cannot be reintegrated into the new emerging economic system and has limited alternatives: it can conform (by adapting the way of life to the resources available), it can protest (in a circle to determine the policy to promote susceptible measures to change the socio-economic context or derailment, may emerge from unfavorable economic circumstances, trying to find more favorable existential contexts. Migration seems to have emerged as the dominant response to this situation.

In times of rapid change, as was the period immediately after 1989 the old rules, norms and institutions it no longer works as before. One of the challenges of development in the 1990s is to bring new ways to the center of the policies developed to ensure long-term human development. This new way of thinking and applying policies has made it necessary to revise some of the basic elements regarding the assumptions of economic development and the governance of society. The new social agenda required a fundamental rethinking of the existing forms and identifying new roles of the state that can generate improved forms of popular participation and social consensus.

As an industrialized country progressively moves towards a model of national development that involves dismantling the remaining aspects of a welfare state, it is obliged to look for similar alternatives of social development at an extremely high social cost. Thus, alternatives may include reducing state social investments, increasing privatization of social services and setting different tax models.

Migratory networks function as a form of social capital, consisting of links between those in certain destination countries and those in a particular region of origin, links governed by a set of reciprocal obligations derived from relatives, friendship or any other relationship type, which implies certain types of obligations defined in informal terms. These networks, on the one hand, provide information that is relevant to those who consider migration to be an option and, on the other hand, they make connections that can be mobilized, used in a context in which someone is engaging in migration.

The complex that includes the new development trends, the increased globalization of international economy that has generated new models of trade liberalization and the formation of consolidated coalitions between different countries, more or less industrialized, has had major political and economic implications for most developing countries.

The concept of social resilience is developed in relation to:

1. The issue of persistence and change within ecosystems;
2. The ability of the system to change its specificity to the way it allows it to return to a state of equilibrium;
3. Opportunities for reorganization that arise from exposure to various disturbing factors;

Resilience may include the following manifestations: maintenance / stabilization, marginalization and renewal. In the sense of stabilization / maintenance, resilience can induce a migration securitization, at this level the emphasis is placed on the exogenous shock.

The communities in Romania predominantly represented such a pattern as:

- Migrants have insisted on the protection of social cohesion at the expense of the transformation shock caused by their displacement;
- They insisted on protecting the lifestyle of that community, which is seen as a securitization attempt, even if only locally;
- Identifying the junction point between the old lifestyle and their adaptation to the host state is suggestive in understanding the transformation capacities of the respective communities;
- Why junction / turning point? Because such a critical moment has fundamentally altered the projection of community members in the host state, both in terms of status and their manner of integration.
- Thanks to social resilience, communities have had to be secured outside the Romanian state's borders so that they can then develop a new type of identity, that is, a social imaginary one with which to identify themselves.
- Migrant networks have contributed to building social capital and increasing the resilience of societies / communities in the country of origin through the material resources sent, through knowledge that brings added value, new technology, new products and services adapted to local needs.

"We must see human social life as always structured but incomplete". [17] This structure, seen as a dynamic phenomenon, is more a process of change than a process of stability.

Social change is a significant human phenomenon that has important implications for adapting / resisting changes that have occurred or have taken place. Starting from economic and political changes, from international migration to rural migration to urban areas (towards development poles), social change brings with it both challenges and opportunities for

CONCLUSIONS

Demographic change, labor market instability, people's movement, climate change and economic uncertainty are patterns of change that are in a continuous movement. Migrant social networks have helped build social capital and increase the resilience of home communities by increasing social resistance in beneficiary countries through the transfer of knowledge, innovation technologies and other resources. Diasporas could, for example, be a fragmentation and instability factor by generating divided loyalties, challenging traditional notions of citizenship and leading to the formation of disputed social groups. By eroding, or by perceiving the erosion of the cultural basis of national identity, international migration can favor "the insecurity of society."

Migration flows also have the potential to affect the power of a state, be it economic, military or diplomatic. However, migration can also have benefits in the sense that "states compete to harness well-educated and highly skilled migrant workers, especially in areas such as information technology and the knowledge-based economy, two areas that represent assets and vectors of power in the context of globalization ". Migration can prevent stagnation of the social system by exerting pressure on the innovation and creativity sectors.

[17] European Commission, a Strategic approach to resilience in the Eu's External action (JoIN/2017/21), 7 June 2017, 3, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legalcontent/en/TXT/?uri=celex:52017JC0021.

In Romania, migrant networks have contributed to building social capital and increasing the resilience of communities through the cash flow sent, through knowledge that brings added value, new technology, new products and services adapted to local needs.

An integrated and comprehensive approach to migration is needed in the European Union. But the common policy on migration remains an ambitious goal. A common approach to the management of economic migration and the harmonization of Member States' migration policies is a challenge for the European Union due to an aging population and a decrease in fertility among young people.

In conclusion, the analyzed indicators give us an overview of the changes that have occurred in Romanian society in the recent period. Starting with the changes in the political regime and continuing with the related changes in the other fields, economic, industrial and technological, the Romanian society has known more or less profound changes in the social norms. With the liberalization of individuals' mobility and later with the elimination of visas and EU accession, Romania began to feel the emigration process more acute.

Migrant networks have contributed to building social capital and increasing the resilience of societies / communities in the country of origin through the material resources sent, through knowledge that brings added value, new technology, new products and services adapted to local needs. Also, the diasporas contribute massively to the import of consumer culture, the culture developed mainly after 2007. And any change in the usual norms, whether we are talking about political, economic, educational changes, stimulates in one way or another the process of emigration.

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