

URBANIZATION IN ROMANIA



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Per Ronnås

URBANIZATION IN ROMANIA

A Geography of Social
and Economic Change
Since Independence

EFI THE ECONOMIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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For Ioana

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Per Ronnås

PROBLEMS, METHODS AND SOURCES

THE SETTING

To drag knowledge of reality over the threshold of consciousness is an exhausting task.¹

This is a study of urbanization in Romania. The initial intention differs from the end result. The author started out to study centrally planned urbanization in Romania, based on existing theories and local studies on socio-economic development and urbanization. It soon became clear that both cornerstones were frail and partly nonexistent. Although a few attempts have been made to formulate theories on centrally planned urbanization there is no congruent theory. Several good economic and social studies of Romania exist, but they cover either few topics and short periods or are general and provide little specific information. Combined they were a valuable source, but insufficient as a basis for the intended study. Necessity thus made this volume largely explorative.

As it now appears the study purports to analyze, interpret and describe the urban transition in Romania. The complexity of the problem and the dearth of data justify such a study in its own right. It may also widen our knowledge of urbanization in centrally planned economies by distinguishing features of postwar urbanization in Romania ascribed to the introduction of a centrally planned economy based on socialist ideology and thus be a basis for formulating theory.

The approach is broad, covering a long period and many aspects. Detailed census data were used, and the text goes into details when considered important to the argument. The problems involved in an explorative study put the collection and evaluation of data into focus. Changes of political system, of national boundaries and in administrative divisions created serious comparability problems. Much time and effort was spent to obtain statistics with a high degree of comparability. The main series are provided in the appendix to facilitate future research in this field.

The study covers the period from the late 19th century until 1980. The emancipation of the peasants and - in

Wallachia and Moldavia - the termination of Turkish rule greatly facilitated the start of industrialization and urbanization. Previous urban growth had been irregular with periods of growth followed by decline and - except for Moldavia - there were few examples of consistent urban growth. In Moldavia the number and population of towns increased considerably in the 1820s and 1830s with the development of commerce.² The appropriate last year of the study was 1980, the year when rapid economic growth and urbanization came to an end and the first year of the agricultural and economic crisis that were to dominate the scene in subsequent years.

Time falls neatly into three periods: pre-world war I, interwar and postwar. Sections on the first period emphasize regional comparison. Present Romania was under three administrations³ prior to the unification in 1918, and socio-economic studies covering all regions are almost non-existent. 'Push' was a stronger factor than 'pull' in interwar rural-urban migration, as land fragmentation and low yields increased rural poverty and sluggish industrial growth failed to provide alternative employment to the rapidly increasing rural population. Bucuresti dominated urban growth entirely. The postwar period saw centrally planned urbanization, divided into two parts: a) the period of socialist transformation, ending with the completion of the collectivization of agriculture, and b) the period of established socialism.

Although seldom quoted, interviews and other first hand sources were of fundamental importance to the study. They provided an understanding of many facets of Romanian society not readily obtained from other sources. They were rarely used as the only source, but were of great value for the interpretation and analysis of statistics. Two academic years, 1975-76 and 1979-80 were spent at the University Babes-Bolyai in Cluj-Napoca and long periods were spent in the Romanian countryside. In the first year the author commuted weekly by car between Cluj-Napoca and Negresti-Oas, 200 kilometres each way. Hitch-hikers⁴ were regularly picked up for company and to help finance the petrol cost. In retrospect, it is clear that hundreds of hours of conversation with, mostly, peasant hitch-hikers during the incipient stage were not idly spent time. A local study was made on the Oas region⁵ and in 1980 the author had the privilege to partake in a field study on the conditions of life in several mountain villages in the Apuseni region. Personal interviews and contacts were a rich source of inspiration and knowledge, a reminder that the study concerned the life of people and not impersonal processes.

The sharpness of the division between the peasants and the educated classes is one of the most striking features of Romanian life. The peasant-born who adopt a profession and rise in the social scale have almost by necessity to settle in the towns, and to accustom themselves to a style of life modelled upon that of Paris and other capitals.⁶

Romania offers a fascinating but frustrating laboratory for the study of urbanization. Few countries in Europe have had so sharp social, cultural and economic differences between town and village, and between regions. Even seasoned travellers used to be astonished by the dualistic character of the country.⁷ Romania at the end of World War II was still a pronounced peasant state with 70 per cent of the population in agriculture. A major aim of the postwar regime has been to break up the social structures and transform the entire population into one homogeneous class, modelled after the urban working class. The domination of the peasantry and the weak tradition and position of the working class made this a complete social transformation. The industrialization and urbanization programmes should be seen in this context. The diverse socio-economic and cultural map of Romania and the profound political changes after the two world wars add to the complexity of the urban transition of Romania and makes the study both intriguing and difficult.

A Western scholar studying socio-economic or cultural aspects of Romania will often be confused by what he may perceive as different and, sometimes, contradictory pictures of the same reality. Official Romanian declarations and documents will present him with one picture, censuses and official statistics provide another and studies in the field may confront him with a third. This is of course a universal problem, but perhaps more acutely felt in Romania and it casts light on some of the most serious difficulties confronting a Western scholar studying Romania: the collection, evaluation and interpretation of data.

Primary data abound in some fields but are scarce and inaccessible in others. It is only too easy to let convenient access to data shape the design and result of the study. Unfamiliar and often uncertain and changing classification criteria further complicate data collection. Institutional barriers and a general tendency to consider all data secret that have not been declared public, make the collection of unpublished information difficult.

Official Romanian publications aim at information as well as indoctrination. This particularly holds for official publications, studies etc, but is much less evident in censuses and other statistical publications. Social scientists in Eastern Europe often find it difficult to reject their 'background assumption' that everything is basically sound.⁸ Many Western scholars may also suffer from this handicap, but it is perhaps more institutionalized in Eastern Europe. A normative element is often embedded in official studies as the present state is seen in the light of 'how it should be'.

Failure to put data in their proper context is probably the most important reason for seemingly incompatible images of the same reality. Correct interpretation requires a profound knowledge of the cultural, historical, socio-economic and political setting which in Romania differs considerably from that familiar to most Western scholars. A high threshold must be overcome before meaningful studies can be conducted. Although more tangible, the language barrier carries less weight as an obstacle to fruitful studies.

Because large initial investments in time and effort are necessary, there are relatively few studies of Romania by Western scholars and they tend to be long term projects.

The course of development in Romania differs in important aspects from that of Western Europe. Some differences are due to the introduction of a centrally planned economy after World War II, while others have their roots in history. To obtain relevant reference points it is useful to put Romania in a Balkan - rather than an East European - setting,⁹ thus avoiding two common fallacies: firstly, the tendency to lump all East European countries together, which for most purposes is unhelpful and misleading. Although they have belonged to the same political bloc since World War II, Romania has hardly more in common with GDR or Czechoslovakia than has, say, Portugal with Norway. A second, more dangerous fallacy is to study these countries in an historic vacuum. The change of political system after World War II sometimes serves as an excuse for disregarding the past, as if postwar developments were so pervasive as to wipe out all traces of the past. Although the importance of this development should not be underestimated, it is clear that the postwar development must be studied and interpreted in an historic perspective. A student of Romania is constantly reminded of the strong ties between the past and the present.

A Balkan setting highlights a number of important characteristics which Romania shares with Yugoslavia and other countries with their roots in Balkan history. Important are a) the late emergence and disappearance of feudalism, b) the vague connection between state, ethnic affiliation, language, religion and culture, and c) the lack of history common to all parts of the country. Feudalism was not formally abolished until the mid-19th century, when land reforms emancipated the peasantry in both Romania and Transylvania. However, much land remained in the hands of the landed gentry and the freedom of the peasantry proved to be somewhat illusory as dissolved formal bonds were replaced by economic ties. Only after the land reforms of 1920-21 did Romanian peasants become masters of their own land.

Social classes were distinct and cultural differences between them often strengthened by ethnical. Three main social classes can be distinguished: a) the landed aristocracy, b) the middle class or bourgeoisie and c) the peasantry. In Moldavia and Wallachia the landed gentry (boierimea) was largely of Romanian or mixed Romanian-Greek origin. In their manners and customs they did their best to imitate the French haute culture, thus keeping a distance to their poorer ethnic brethren, the Romanian peasants. In the Hungarian Territories the landed gentry was almost exclusively Magyar, although some may not originally have been of Magyar stock. The large Saxon land owners were as a rule not noble as the feudal privileges had not been accepted in the Saxon and Szekler lands.

The bourgeoisie was predominantly non-Romanian. In Crisana-Banat and Transylvania they were largely Magyar and German. In Maramures and Moldavia Jews dominated many trades. The Romanian middle class in these regions was exceedingly small in absolute and relative terms. In Walla-

chia the ethnic origin was more mixed. In addition to Jews - much less numerous than in Moldavia - there were Greeks, Germans, Armenians and others. Strong ties often existed between trade and ethnic affiliation. Generally, the Romanian bourgeoisie was confined to areas lacking other large ethnic groups, such as Oltenia and parts of Muntenia. These were also the regions where the bourgeoisie was weakest. Non-Romanians were also underrepresented in the emerging working class, albeit to a lesser degree.

The peasantry remained by far the largest social group, comprising well over three fourths of the total population and a considerably higher share of the Romanians. The Romanian peasantry was the largest ethnically and culturally homogeneous group in the country.¹⁰ Following the land reforms in 1920-21 the economic and political power of the peasantry increased sharply and the polarized social structure of the Romanians was eminently reflected in interwar political life. On the one hand were the interests of the former gentry, many of whom turned to manufacturing, and the bourgeoisie, who within the Liberal Party demanded low food prices and industrialization under the umbrella of protectionism. On the other hand was a strong 'populist' movement emphasizing the role of agriculture and the roots of the Romanian culture in the peasantry and favouring free trade and decentralization.¹¹ Looking at politics from this angle, it is clear that the former urban-oriented group were to dominate after World War II.

THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

The general meaning of the concepts rural, urban and urbanization is fairly clear and uncontroversial. 'On the one hand, urbanization commonly refers to the concentration of formerly dispersed populations that are primarily engaged in farming in a small number of settlements whose principal economic activities are in the services, trades and manufactures'.¹² It is intimately linked to the transition from subsistence production to functionally specialized production. 'A second meaning refers to urban modes of production, living, and thinking originating in these (urban) centres and spreading from these to outlying towns and rural populations'.¹³ The latter approach is only partial at best as it sees towns as the initiators rather than the result of urbanization and does not explain the evolution of towns.

There appears to be a general consensus on three basic approaches to urbanization: a) an habitational, focusing on the mode of living, b) an industrial, focusing on the industrial structure, and c) a social and cultural, with an emphasis on cultural traits and habitual and social characteristics.¹⁴ These approaches by no means are mutually exclusive. There are strong causal links between them.

Western Europe saw an intimate link between industrialization and urbanization. The concepts were often seen as two sides of the same coin. While industrialization is an economic concept and refers to the changes in the industrial structure, urbanization is a socio-economic concept focusing

on man and settlement. A number of empiric studies have proved a high correlation between level of urbanization and indicators such as per capita income and manufacturing employment.¹⁵

However, the close link between industrialization and urbanization has not been accepted as universal. Studies in Third World countries testify to the existence of urbanization without industrialization,¹⁶ so called pseudo-urbanization or overurbanization,¹⁷ and in the postindustrial society concentration of population is no longer a prerequisite to many non-agricultural activities. New modes of transportation and communication, permitting longer distances between home and place of work, have lessened the link between population agglomerations and non-agricultural activities in the postindustrial society.

The industrial approach may be considered the most basic of the three. The other two are partly consequences of the industrial changes. William-Olsson distinguished between areal and stigmal or pointbound production.¹⁸ Primary activities - agriculture, forestry and fishing - are examples of the former. They need large surfaces and production is often correlated to the area used. Stigmal production, on the other hand, is less surface-demanding and most production units are points, even on a large-scale map. Most secondary and tertiary activities belong to this category. A shift in the industrial structure from primary to secondary and tertiary production thus implies a concentration of production. Functional specialization, division of labour and economies of scale further stress the need for a concentration of the non-agricultural population in agglomerations.

Increased division of labour and increased specialization, the necessary concomitants of increased productivity, inevitably became forces promoting concentration in the cities. Associated with this population shift, indeed an integral part of it, was the shift in the occupational structure of economies.¹⁹

Socio-cultural elements are linked both to industrial and habitational ones. They were studied in the interwar period by American sociologists. In a classical work on rural sociology Sorokin, Zimmerman & Galpin²⁰ looked for criteria to define rural and urban agglomerations that were both general in space and relatively constant over time. They arrived at the conclusion that jobs in agriculture was the main criterion distinguishing rural from urban agglomerations and they went as far as to define the rural population as the 'totality of individuals actively engaged in agricultural pursuits and the totality of their children...'.²¹ A series of social and cultural criteria were distinguished, most of them causally connected with the difference in occupation.²² The most important were: a) differences in environment - rural people work out-doors in proximity to or in direct relation to nature. The urban environment is more removed from nature. b) Differences in size - the nature of agriculture hinders aggregation, while the nature of manufacturing promotes it. c) Differences in density - urban agglomerations generally have a higher population density than rural. d) Differences in the homogeneity of the population - the rural population tends to be more homoge-

neous with respect to occupation, language, belief, opinion, mores, pattern of behaviour etc. e) Differences in social differentiation, stratification and complexity. Closely related to the previous criterion, it states that urban agglomerations are characterized by a higher degree of complexity. This is manifested in areal segregation, greater division of labour, greater specialization and greater differences between extremes in wealth, education, health etc. Farming, like no other occupation, is inherited from father to son and is closed to outsiders. The doors of farming are open for exit, but not for entry. Agriculture tends to send to towns those who become excessively poor or rich and thus purifies itself from extremes. f) Differences in mobility - areal and social mobility appear to be higher in urban agglomerations. g) Differences in the system of social interaction - the rural population has fewer contacts than the urban, but the latter tend to be more impersonal and indirect, more casual and short-lived than those of the rural population.

The works of Sorokin et al are of particular relevance because of the bearing they have had on research and the evolution and formation of the rural and urban concepts in Romania. In an attempt to define the Romanian village on the basis of its fundamental characteristics Marica²³ adhered closely to the findings of Sorokin. He distinguished between natural-material, social and 'socio-spiritual' factors. The main natural-material factors were the close relation between the village and the natural environment on the one hand and the village and agriculture on the other. These factors were basic to the social and spiritual factors. Marica arrived at the same social and cultural criteria for distinguishing the village as Sorokin et al, but stresses the autarkical character and importance of the village. As no other industry, agriculture can be pursued independently. While the town depends on the village and on agriculture for its existence, the village does not depend on the town. The possibility of the village and of each of its households to conduct an autarkic life, gives the village the character of a complete entity. This, Marica argued, is reflected in rural relations, which do not extend beyond the limits of the village. Rural social relations can be represented as circles, where the largest circle is the village. An effect of the autarky of the village is the importance of tradition in village life and the low propensity to accept innovations and changes from 'outside. Habits and inherited values and codes of conduct regulate village life. Marica's characterization of the village, as indeed most rural studies in Romania, is influenced by the pioneering works of Stahl²⁴ on the origin and evolution of Romanian villages, from communal, where land was available to all members of the community, to feudal, to incipient capitalist.

After years of field studies between the World Wars in the Polesie region, Obrebski refuted the conception of the peasant community as tradition-bound and static.

However, the more we learn about the peasant's life, even within the framework of his traditional system, not to mention recent revolutionary changes, the more we are convinced that facts totally contradict the idea of inborn indolence and conservatism.²⁵ We must remem-

ber that what is usually described as the traditional culture of the eastern European peasantry is a historical formation of recent origin. It is not a product of passive conservatism, but the outcome of an active and creative reaction by the peasant to the changed situation of his life. It was certainly not the product of mechanical repetition of old customs. Neither was it the result of an inbreeding of inherited tradition. On the contrary, the peasant's traditional village culture was reshaped continuously, and cross-fertilized by borrowings from without. Old trends were readily replaced by new, or both were propagated.²⁶

Marica made an important modification to Sorokin's conclusion that the sociology of rural life is that of the agricultural population.

I do not want to deny that agriculture determines the character of the village. For example, the strong bonds in the village family and the importance of neighbourhood relations can not be understood as independent of agriculture. Agriculture also shapes the artistic, cultural and religious life of the village. But is the influence of agriculture on these factors due to its intrinsic qualities, or to the fact that in the village, it is pursued in a certain traditional and premodern fashion? It is not an agriculture pursued for profit in a businesslike manner with modern equipment, but with a rudimentary technique without the aid of modern cooperatives. One must not forget that agriculture can be pursued in a capitalist fashion that has nothing in common with the village spirit.²⁷

The distinction between various kinds of cultivators is important.²⁸ On the basis of vast amounts of economic research, Chayanov²⁹ concluded that the peasant economic behaviour differed in important respects from that of a profit-maximizing capitalist farmer and that it could not be explained either by Marxist or classical economic theory. He argued that peasant agriculture, using no hired labour, was a distinct economic system.

The economic behaviour of the capitalist farmer can be explained by the interrelationship of wages, interest, rent and profit. These four factors are reciprocally determined and the moment one of them is absent it becomes impossible to establish the other three.

Economists would have to face the fact that economies made up of family units in which the category of wages was absent belonged to a fundamentally different economic structure and required a different economic theory.³⁰

He based his analysis of 'family economics' on a concept of 'labour-consumer balance' between the satisfaction of family needs and the drudgery of labour.

Each family ... seeks an annual output adequate for its basic needs, but this involves drudgery, and the family does not push its work beyond the point where the possible increase in output is outweighed by the irksomeness of extra work. Each family strikes a rough balance or equilibrium between the degree of satisfaction of family needs and the degree of drudgery of labour.³¹

This explained the competitive power of the peasant family farms versus the large-scale capitalist farms, because

In conditions where capitalist farms would go bankrupt, peasant families could work longer hours, sell at lower prices obtain no net surplus, and yet manage to carry on with their farming, year after year.³²

Chayanov's work is relevant to this study because it was based on a peasant system of agriculture similar to that found in Romania before World War II. Chayanov showed that peasant farming did not abide by the same economic rules as other industries, including commercial farming, and rural sociologists and anthropologists sustained that it was not only an occupation, but a way of life.

Urbanization

Urbanization can be seen as a rural-urban continuum³³ - an axis with rural maximum and urban minimum at one end and urban maximum and rural minimum at the other, according to the urban definition used.

Rural maximum	Localities with	Rural minimum
	rural status urban status	
Urban minimum		Urban maximum

If the definition allows a consistent ordinal classification of all localities according to their urban or rural characteristics, they may be plotted on the axis which may be divided at any point within a range to separate urban from rural localities. Urban population - all people living in localities with urban status - can increase in two ways: through growth of the population in the system of urban localities or through growth of the number of urban localities in the system. Urbanization in a broad sense can take place in two ways: firstly, through migration from localities at the lower end of the rural-urban axis to those at the upper end or through higher natural increase in the latter than in the former or as a combination of both. In the case of rural-urban migration, it is generally assumed that the migrant adopts the 'way of life' of the locality he moves to. A person living in an urban locality is usually considered an urbanite even if he does not conduct 'an urban way of life' and urbanization refers to the population en masse rather than to individuals. However, each individual will influence the character of the locality he lives in and - in a small way - its location on the rural-urban axis.

The second aspect of urbanization, sometimes referred to as the 'urbanization of villages', is the gradual change of the character of rural localities, making them approach urban localities, a movement of places along the rural-urban axis, from rurality towards urbanism. If this process continues long enough, the locality will eventually cross the rural-urban division point and by definition become urban and the urban population will abruptly increase by the inhabitants of this locality. The increase does not reflect any abrupt change in reality, but is rather the result of a long and gradual process.

The theoretical concept of urbanization should be distinguished from the operational. Although ideally com-

pletely consistent, the latter is usually designed to comply with statistical and political-administrative definitions. In most cases it is restricted to the movement of people and localities across the rural-urban division line, while the theoretical concept includes any movement along the rural-urban continuum.

As the rural-urban division point cannot be but arbitrary, the moment the locality changes status is arbitrarily determined. The point of division is likely to move as the general socio-economic conditions change. Two centuries ago domestic animals were kept in many metropolitan cities of Europe and even today a grandfather with a household pig on leash is no uncommon sight in the big cities of China. In a country where a locality does not automatically become urban once certain criteria are fulfilled - as in Romania - there will also be a considerable time lag before it is recognized that a locality has moved across the critical point and its status has been changed. Inconsistencies are also likely to appear - localities with urban status may have less urban characteristics than places with rural status.

With a core-periphery or dominance-dependency model Friedmann & Wolff³⁴ argued against the importance often attached to migration in urbanization studies.

Students of comparative urbanization are likely to forget, however, that migration to cities reflects merely a demographic adjustment to changes in the spatial structure of economic and social opportunities that result from major urbanization processes...³⁵

They perceived urbanization as a complex of spatial processes of which four main groups were identified: a) the distribution of power, b) capital flows, investments and the location of economic activities, c) the diffusion of innovations and patterns of modernization and d) migration and settlement.

The Marxist View

In Marxist theory it is held that 'the division of settlement types into urban and rural results from the social and territorial division of labour and particularly from the separation of industry and agriculture'.³⁶ According to Engels the elimination of the old division of labour will signify the fusion of town and country.³⁷

The division of labour in any society leads above all to the separation of labour in industry and trade from that in agriculture, and similarly to the separation of town and country. In a class society this division creates an antagonism between town and country. With the liquidation of the class structure, and with the rebuilding of society along communist lines, the existing differences between town and country will gradually be eroded.³⁸

The creation of the classless society will lead to a unified system of settlements.

Marx regarded agriculture and the peasantry from the angle of production rather than from that of social organisa-

tion.³⁹ Firmly convinced of the benefits of large-scale production in agriculture as in manufacturing, he saw no future for the peasantry. In the Communist Manifesto the peasants were included in the reactionary 'petty bourgeoisie' and consequently there was no place for them in the revolution.

Property acquired by one's own labour, by one's own effort, by one's own merit. Are you speaking of the petty bourgeois, of the small peasant property which was before the bourgeois property? We do not need to do away with it. The evolution of industry has done and is daily doing away with it.⁴⁰

Marx and Engels did not disguise their contempt for the peasant way of life. Marx even praised capitalism for having rescued 'a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life'⁴¹ and according to Engels the elimination of rural-urban differences was sociologically justified because of the necessity of 'plucking the agricultural population from its isolation and dullness in which it had vegetated for thousands of years'.⁴²

The analysis of Marx and Engels was based on conditions in England and Western Europe, where the peasantry had all but disappeared and met with serious difficulties when applied to East European societies, where the working class was weak and the peasants in numeric majority and where the course of history had been different. The Romanian Marxist Dobrogeanu-Gherea took a much more sympathetic view on the peasantry.⁴³ He argued that the analysis of Marx did not apply in Eastern Europe where agrarian problems were fundamentally different. It was not a matter of small-scale versus large-scale agriculture, but of a poor and oppressed peasantry versus feudal latifundia with absent landlords. He favoured the development of a free peasantry as this would increase the living conditions of the masses of the population and as it would be a step towards socialism. As Lenin, he argued that the peasantry had to be involved in the class struggle in order to accomplish the revolution.

Romanian Views on Urbanization

In the official doctrine of the Romanian Communist Party the peasantry is ascribed much the same qualities as by Dobrogeanu-Gherea.

For a long time, the peasantry represented the main progressive social force. The class struggle of the peasantry and of the masses against oppression was the basic factor behind social change and the advances of our people on the road towards socio-economic progress and national independence.

The peasantry has established itself, with emphasis, as a revolutionary social class through countless uprisings against feudal domination.⁴⁴

The importance of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry is stressed in most political documents and speeches,⁴⁵ but it is made quite clear that the role of the peasantry is second to that of the working class.

The Romanian Communist Party adheres closely to the concept of urbanization used by Marx and Engels. In the Party Programme it is stated:

The process of elimination of the essential differences between agricultural and industrial work will be intensified as agricultural work increasingly becomes just another kind of industrial work. Thus, we will contribute to the gradual disappearance of the differences in the conditions of work and in the mode of life and work between the working people in towns and villages. The towns and villages will become increasingly similar. As a result of the urbanization of village life, the difference between the town and the village will diminish at an increasing pace and the general level of civilization in the society will become increasingly homogeneous. These transformations will increase as the multilaterally developed socialist society is constructed and will draw together the working class and the peasantry, as well as the other social classes, and will strengthen the unity and cohesion of the whole people and bring about an increasing homogenization of our society.⁴⁶

Urbanization is not merely a consequence of the development of the non-agricultural industries, but is considered by the regime to have important intrinsic values. It is perceived to play a major role in the creation of a socialist society, based on the 'new socialist man', and the development of manufacturing is often seen as a mean to achieve these social transformations.

Urban areas are considered superior to rural economically, socially and culturally. The development of villages to towns will 'ensure a general increase of the level of civilization in the villages'⁴⁷ The elimination of the rural-urban differences has often been equated with the development of all villages⁴⁸ to urban places. Towns have indiscriminately been seen as models for the development of villages. Signs of this attitude are apartment blocks in many villages. Barbat,⁴⁹ among others,⁵⁰ has reacted against this conception. He argues that a large part of the rural population will continue to work in agriculture and although it may change, it will nevertheless retain its character as areal production and this will continue to have a bearing on the size and density of rural settlements. The introduction of modern comfort, such as electricity, tap water and sewage, radio and TV in the villages is not tantamount to urbanization as these comforts are not intrinsically urban. He concludes that villages can be modernized in their own right without being depersonalized.

Along this road of progress a new rurality will appear, which, as a total structure, will present certain advantages and disadvantages as a human environment compared to the towns, but which will offer as favourable conditions for material and spiritual progress and manifestation as the towns.⁵¹

Urbanization under Socialism

Urbanization in centrally planned economies takes place under other conditions than in market economies and can be expected to differ. In such economies the government, through its programme for national development, 'limits the number and

restricts the intensity of factors of urbanization, such as demand for and supply of housing, accessibility to and availability of urban services, and the diffusion of urban innovations. The government has replaced the interplay of urbanizing factors to a great extent by government directives...'.⁵² Theories elaborated from studies in market economies are of limited use when applied to centrally planned economies. Yet, centrally planned urbanization has received little attention by Western scholars. Studies of centrally planned urbanization are often based on indiscriminate use of either theories elaborated for market economies or of government plans and directives. One of the few attempts to construct a theory of centrally planned urbanization was made by Kansky,⁵³ based on a study of Czechoslovakia. As he points out himself, the empirical basis of his theoretical conclusions is not altogether satisfactory, but they still deserve to be referred to at some length.

Kansky distinguishes between government and private urbanization.⁵⁴ Government urbanization may take the form of investments in urban structures - housing, jobs, services etc. - and reflects official urban priorities and goals. Private urbanization refers to the behaviour of individuals, which leads to the creation of urban functions, such as supply of non-agricultural labour in towns.

Thus, we have two processes: private and government urbanization, both progressing at their individual rates and both complementary to a degree. Their union - in the topological sense of the word - is the process of socialist urbanization.⁵⁵

A town is overurbanized if it contains more functions than structures, for example more industrial workers than jobs. It is underurbanized if it contains more structures than functions, for example a surplus of apartments. A town can be overurbanized with respect to certain functions and structures and underurbanized with respect to others. Over- and underurbanization reflect contradictions between government and private urbanization.

Kansky arrives at a number of theorems:

1) 'The greater the disparity between urban goals pursued by government agencies and those pursued by urban residents, the greater the urban contradiction, the greater the intensity of conflict - open or hidden - within an urban node, between its structure and function'.⁵⁶ Referring to his empirical research, Kansky suggested that the three main private goals were: a) a good home, b) accessibility to shopping facilities, jobs, information, relevant persons etc., and c) status, i.e. residence in high-status areas. The main government goals were: a) intracity socio-economic homogeneity, b) preferential treatment of the working class, c) proximity of towns to industrial capabilities and natural resources, d) strategic location, and e) balanced urbanization.⁵⁷

2) 'The greater the contradiction in an urban node, the slower the process of urbanization',⁵⁸ which means that the intensity of conflict within a town is a factor impeding or stimulating its development and growth. The more divergent and the less complementary the private and government goal vectors are, the less aggressively a town or a region will

urbanize.

3) 'The rate of private urbanization of a town is proportional to the past rate of private and government urbanization and to the desire of the residents to sacrifice some of their economic goals for acquiring some socio-economic benefits'.⁵⁹ When urbanizing stimuli - private or government - cease to act, a town will not stop developing or growing, but will only diminish its rate of urbanization. The second factor in this theorem refers to the structure of the private goal vector.

The average citizen of a socialist country is less afraid of unemployment than a 'comparable average citizen' of a Western country. Consequently, urban residents or potential urban migrants tend to emphasize noneconomic goals, especially mobility and accessibility to places and things that count, while simultaneously de-emphasizing the intensity of their desires for a 'good' job and even a 'suitable' home. They tend to assume that once they gain mobility and accessibility, the economic and material goals - home and job, for example - will automatically be obtained as a consequence. The prevailing perception is an important factor of urbanization; as such it increases its rate and leads to or results in overurbanization.⁶⁰

4) The rate of governmental urbanization of a town is proportional to the desire of the low-level agencies to modify and adjust the top-level directives so that they correspond more closely to the local private-goal-vector.

5) 'The greater the contradiction in an urban node, the more frequent and more intense are the party-state attempts at redistributing and deemphasizing the private goal vector...'.⁶¹ This often takes the form of mass media campaigns aiming at 'increasing the level of socialist consciousness'. The impact of such campaigns is usually small.

Lack of relevant data makes it impossible, for the time being, to subject these theorems to a rigid empirical test. Based not only on empirical research, but also on 'intuition' and 'discussions with Czech scholars',⁶² they should be seen as theoretical propositions. Yet, they have considerable merits, guiding the scholar away from seeing urbanization in centrally planned economies as either tantamount to planned urbanization or 'basically the same as in market economies', and focusing on its particular features. The approach to urbanization as a function of the interplay of private and government goals is both thought-provoking and, most likely, fruitful. It may help provide the scholar with relevant points of reference.

A different approach led Sampson⁶³ to the same basic conclusions as Kansky. In an anthropological study of middle- and low-level officials in Romania he found that they generally depended on a certain amount of general support to carry out plans in rural localities. When plans are at odds with the private goals of those concerned, they are implemented with great difficulty or not at all. Locally born officials depended on a network of informal relations to carry out party-state directives smoothly. Close bonds with the local population, often combined with tacit obligations, lead low-level officials to take advantage of the flexibility or ambiguity of plans to accommodate them with private goals

and local opinion. In this respect Sampson's findings support Kansky's fourth theorem. The government goals are usually not controversial. They are found in party programmes, ideological and political proclamations and public speeches.

Kansky's observation that the average socialist citizen tends to emphasize non-economic goals such as 'accessibility to things and places that count' rather than economic goals, e.g. a job, is probably true also for Romania, although lack of data makes this difficult to prove. Work is both a constitutional right and an obligation and as jobs are usually not in short supply, the average Romanian citizen has little fear of unemployment. Instead, jobs are often looked upon not as an end, but as a means to obtain status, an urban residence permit or 'accessibility to things that count'. However, the possibility to pick and choose among jobs is circumscribed, particularly for white-collar workers. Graduates from universities and vocational schools are assigned posts and it is often difficult to change employment, particularly if it means crossing a county border. Indeed, it is often more difficult to terminate a job than to find one. In this respect unqualified blue-collar workers are more mobile.

The Central Place Model

At first sight it might appear that Christaller's theory of central places⁶⁴ would offer Romanian officials little guidance in the planning of a unitary settlement system.⁶⁵ A deductive theory, constructed to explain the size and distribution of central places according to the services they perform for the rural umland, it has mainly been used to explain the location of retail outlets and other services in market economies.⁶⁶ However, the strong hierarchical element as well as a number of other qualities makes it palatable as a normative model in centrally planned economies. The plans for a unitary settlement system in Romania,⁶⁷ as well as in other socialist countries,⁶⁸ strikingly resemble the hierarchy and system of localities arrived at in the central place model.⁶⁹

Its system of central places is efficient for serving rural areas with services and goods. By determining the market threshold and range of services and goods,⁷⁰ these can be hierarchally arranged and classified on a scale from low-order to high-order goods. From this a hierarchy of central places can be derived, where low-order centres provide only low-order services to the immediate umland, while high-order centres provide high-order services to an extensive umland, encompassing the umlands of several low-order centres, as well as low-order services to its immediate umland. The unitary settlement system, which comprises all rural and urban localities, aims to bridge the rural-urban hiatus by providing non-agricultural employment within commuting distance to rural people and to facilitate the diffusion of 'the urban culture' and socialist values to rural areas. It can easily be argued that a system of central places that efficiently serves rural areas with services and goods, will also be efficient in these respects.

Besides, the provision of services and goods to the umland is an important function of central places in centrally planned economies as well. The restriction introduced by Christaller that all areas should be served by central places increases the attractiveness of the model as it is an explicit goal in Romanian regional planning that the entire population, irrespective of residence, shall be able to benefit from the fruits of the national development. The orderly hierarchy of urban places in the central place theory is attractive, as an administrative hierarchy with its territorial division can be imposed on it. High-order central places can be made county capitals, with the county as their umland, low-order places can be made commune centres with the commune as their umland etc. In a centrally planned economy this aspect is particularly relevant. The fundamental importance of such concepts as threshold and range to the central place theory increases its usefulness. The economic threshold for goods and services is difficult to determine in a centrally planned economy for lack of a functioning price mechanism.⁷¹ Thresholds, although arbitrary, can be established with a high degree of consistency within the rigid frame of a central place model.

INDICATORS AND OPERATIONALIZATION

Habitational Aspects

A vast literature on the subject testify to the lack of universally acceptable definitions of urban and rural areas. The settlement pattern varies between scattered farmsteads, as in the Nordic countries and in Anglo-America, where all agglomerations have urban functions and areas where even agglomerations with 25 000 and more inhabitants are farming communities, e.g. Southern Italy,⁷² Southern Spain and until recently Eastern Hungary. In most of continental Europe the agricultural population is agglomerated in villages. The official Swedish criterion of an urban place draws the lower limit at 200 inhabitants with a maximum of 200 metres between buildings, such a definition is relevant in countries of scattered farmsteads. In Romania the average village has over 1 000 inhabitants and many well over 5 000 and it is necessary to classify agglomerations according to functions along the rural-urban continuum axis. In Western Europe most villages have moved from the rural end of the axis towards the urban end after World War II. In Anglo-America, Western Europe and in some centrally planned countries, such as GDR and Czechoslovakia, the cultural, occupational and social differences between rural and urban areas have lost most of their importance⁷³ and agriculture no longer appears to be different in the way of living from other industries. Postwar studies of urbanization in Europe have tended to focus on the concentration of population. Urban definitions based only on size and density criteria have often proved adequate. But this does not hold for Romania, where cultural and socio-economic differences between rural and urban populations are pronounced and it still seems reasonable to speak of a peasantry. Definitions and concepts are the

scholar's tools and should be cut to provide maximum efficiency. Universality beyond the studied area and time should not be sought at the expense of their sharpness.

An ideal way of studying the urban transition would be to determine the place and movement of each locality along the rural-urban axis and to study the relative shift of the population from localities at the lower end to localities at the upper end of the axis. The urban population would be those living in localities on the 'urban side' of the rural-urban division point - e.g. in urban places - and the rural population those living on the rural side - i.e. in rural places. The time and work involved⁷⁴ and lack of data,⁷⁵ makes this infeasible. The industrial, social and cultural structure could not be studied for villages, but only for counties and regions - separately for rural and urban areas - and in some cases for individual towns. With little or no information on the socio-economic characteristics of individual villages, the study of population changes by village would have entailed too much work.⁷⁶

The official classification of localities into urban and rural had to be used, which was not an ideal solution. In Romania localities do not become urban once certain urban criteria are met, but are so decreed by law. However, the study of the industrial structure of towns partly compensated for this disadvantage. The network of towns reflects present urban criteria and to some extent those used in the past. Decision-makers can be expected to be slower to degrade towns into villages, than to upgrade villages to towns, although there are several examples of the former. Between 1948 and 1956 fourteen towns were degraded to rural communes and twenty-five villages upgraded to towns. The number of towns increased from 119 in 1912 to 152 in 1948 to 236 in 1977.

Official criteria for defining urban and rural localities are poorly known. Prior to World War I criteria obviously varied as regions were under four national administrations. In the interwar period towns were decreed by the government on the initiative of the commune council.⁷⁷ Also in the postwar period, information on urban criteria have been scanty. The law of the administrative reform of 1968 simply states that 'the town is a centre of population, economically, socially and culturally more developed and with a superior infrastructure'.⁷⁸ In a party session preceding the passing of the law it was stated that towns were distinguished by a large population, political and administrative functions, considerable industrial, commercial, social and cultural potentials and by a considerable influence over the surrounding areas.⁷⁹ Cities (municipii) distinguished themselves from towns (orase) by having 'a larger population and a considerable importance in the country's economic, social, political, cultural and scientific life, or having possibilities of obtaining such a position'.⁸⁰ The last part of the quotation is particularly important, as the granting or revoking of town or city rights has been used in the postwar period as an instrument for regional development. Villages have often been granted urban status in anticipation of future development, rather than in recognition of past performance.

The frequent changes of the urban boundaries constitute another problem. Ideally, administrative urban boundaries should reflect the actual spatial limits of the towns and changes in the urban boundaries should reflect changes in the spatial extension of the towns. Unfortunately, this has not been the rule in Romania. Towns tend to be overbounded. Urban boundaries were considerably extended after World War I. The population of many small towns increased beyond reason as their boundaries were extended and they had suburban communes attached to them. The largest extensions were made in the regions of the Old Kingdom, where towns already were more generously bounded than in the former Hungarian Territories. Administrative changes appear to have been used to increase artificially the urban population in poorly urbanized areas. Many changes were revoked in 1930-48, as a large number of suburban communes lost their semi-urban status and became rural. Several administrative revisions in the postwar period led to further extension of the urban boundaries and in 1977 a large number of, particularly small and medium-sized, towns were clearly overbounded. Besides towns and rural communes were intermediate categories, until 1950 suburban communes which were attached to towns and from 1950 'urban-like localities' (localitati asimilate urbanului), i.e. rural localities with certain urban characteristics. In 1968 some of these received urban status, but most were degraded to rural communes. Instead the system with suburban communes was reintroduced, although in most cases not the same as prior to 1950. The suburban communes declared in 1968 were distinct administrative units. They should have close functional ties with a neighbouring town. At least half the population should be non-agricultural and a large part of the active population should work in the neighbouring town.⁸¹ However, often these criteria were not met when suburban communes were attached to small towns.⁸² Twenty-seven of the 147 suburban communes had more than three fourths of their population in agriculture in 1966.

Table 1. Total Population and Percentage in Agriculture by Category of Locality in 1966

	A	B	C	D
Population (000)	6 264.3	479.6	718.6	11 640.6
in agriculture (%)	7.8	52.8	52.0	79.0

Source: Recensamintul (1966: Vol VI)

Remarks: A - Cities and towns, excluding villages under their jurisdiction
 B - Villages under urban jurisdiction
 C - Suburban communes
 D - Rural communes

Three urban definitions are possible: a) cities and towns, excluding villages under their jurisdiction, b) cities and towns according to their administrative boundaries,

including the villages under their jurisdiction, and c) cities and towns according to their administrative boundaries, plus suburban communes.⁸³ As the industrial structure of B and C agrees more with D than with A, Table 1, the first definition is the best. However, such data on towns are available only for 1966. To maximize comparability, the second definition was chosen for all years. Whenever another definition had to be used, this was always indicated.

Table 2. Growth of Urban Intercensal Cohorts as Percentage of Total Change of Urban Population by Regions

Region	1912-30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
Maramures	91.1	125.4	100.0 ^a	56.3	87.7	59.4
Crisana-Banat	46.6	105.6	b	41.4	81.4	71.0
Transylvania	81.2	91.1	b	51.3	82.4	84.4
Oltenia	11.9	130.4	124.3	104.3	100.0	62.7
Muntenia	56.8	77.1	15.0 ^a	73.2	100.0	77.2
Dobrogea	90.1	100.0	100.0 ^a	104.7	100.0	99.5
Moldavia	36.2	191.1	89.7	105.2	96.9	88.0
Bucuresti	87.2	98.8	100.0	117.4	100.0	100.0
ROMANIA	62.3	99.4	90.6 ^a	69.4	92.2	81.3

Sources: Table 82-83, 88-91

Remarks: a - Decrease of urban cohort population

b - Decrease of urban cohort population combined with increase through administrative measures

Figures over 100 indicate that administrative changes led to decrease of the urban population

For details on the construction of the cohorts, see Tables 82-83 and 88-91.

The strong impact of administrative changes on the development of the urban population is clear from Table 2. The magnitude and frequency of the administrative changes makes it imperative to separate real population changes from changes caused by administrative measures. Not doing so would inevitably give a distorted picture and lead to erroneous conclusions. Much time was spent on an attempt to create an urban cohort covering the entire period of study, including data not only on population, but also on structures - industrial, ethnic etc. The attempt had to be discontinued as the task of collecting and rearranging the data proved insurmountable. A more modest approach had to be used. Separate rural and urban cohorts were created for each intercensal period, including data on population, but not - except for 1966-77 - on structures. Even this modest solution was time-consuming as a large number of localities had to be added to or subtracted from individual towns for each census and as detailed information on the administrative changes was difficult to obtain. The studies of the population structure usually had to be based on the administrative division and boundaries of the census year.

While urbanization was interpreted in the broad sense outlined above, related concepts had to be defined more precisely to become operational. Urban places are towns and cities as decreed by law and was used synonymously with towns. As a rule, no distinction was made between towns (orase) and cities (municipii). The urban places of a region were collectively referred to as urban area. Urban/rural growth is a measure of the population increase in urban and rural areas. Unless the contrary is explicitly stated or is clear from the context, it refers to growth within the cohort. The rate of increase of the urban population over the rural was sometimes referred to as rate of urbanization and the percentage urban population as degree of urbanization. As the latter two terms are not entirely consistent with the broad interpretation of urbanization, they were used with great restrictiveness. However, as there are no good alternatives and as they are widely used in this precise and unambiguous sense, it was decided to use them for the sake of convenience.

Industrial Aspects

Availability of comparable data was the main reason for choosing population by industry instead of population by occupation as the main indicator of the industrial aspect of the urban transition. The Romanian censuses of 1930, 1956, 1966 and 1977 and the Hungarian censuses of 1891, 1900 and 1910 provide information on population by industry while data on population by occupation were collected only in the postwar censuses.

The classification of the population by major industries is rather unambiguous and by grouping the industries into three main economic sectors - the primary, secondary and tertiary - it was possible to achieve intercensal comparability. However, even if classifications remain the same, a study of the industrial structure is still confronted with validity problems as the character of many industries has changed. This is particularly true of agriculture. A traditional peasant and a worker on a state farm are statistically referred to the same industry and consequently the transformation of the peasants to collective or commercial farmers cannot be measured by this indicator. Therefore, population by social groups was used as a complementary indicator in the study of the postwar period. Another shortcoming of the censuses is their failure to distinguish between day and night population; only the latter has been recorded. Scanty data on rural-urban commuting shed some light on this difference in the postwar period.

Socio-economic and Cultural Aspects

Except for literacy and education, few universal and quantitative indicators of the social and cultural aspects of the urban transition exist. When such data are available, an indicator relevant at the turn of the century may no longer be of interest fifty years later. A number of indicators were used to illustrate social and cultural conditions at a particular time, but were rarely used to study changes

throughout the century-long period of study. Education and literacy are central aspects in any study of socio-cultural development and in Romania statistics on literacy and education are satisfactory and comprehensive and permit comparisons over time. Thus, it was considered natural to make a study of the literacy and education the backbone of the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the urban transition.

Ethnic Concept

The ethnic concept is often used in a rather broad meaning. A dictionary of the social sciences concludes that:

The term denotes a social group which, within a larger cultural and social system, claims or is accorded a special status in terms of a complex of traits which it exhibits or is believed to exhibit. Such traits are diverse, and there is much variety in the complexes that they form. Prominent among them are those drawn from religious and linguistic characters of the social group, the distinctive skin-pigmentation of its members, their national or geographic origin or those of their forebears.⁸⁴

The term is most frequently applied to any group which differs in one or several aspects of its patterned, socially-transmitted way of life from other groups or in the totality of that way of life or culture.⁸⁵

Obviously, the broad definition reflects the diversity in the traits that bind an ethnic group together. In the Romanian case there are four main indicators of ethnicity: a) citizenship (Romanian cetatenie and Hungarian allampolgarsag), b) mother tongue (Romanian limba materna and Hungarian anyanyely), c) nationality⁸⁶ (Romanian nationalitate or neam and Hungarian nemzetiseg) and d) religion (Romanian religie and Hungarian vallas). Mother tongue is the most universal indicator, found in all censuses used. It was considered less abstract and ambiguous than 'nationality'. In reality they are close, at least with respect to Romanians, Magyars and Germans,⁸⁷ Table 3.

Table 3. Population by Mother Tongue and by Nationality in 1930, 1956 and 1966 in Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania

(A) Mother tongue	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Yiddish	Other
(B) Nationality	Romanian	Magyar	German	Jewish	Other
1930 (A)	3 233 216	1 480 712	540 793	111 275	182 367
(B)	3 207 880	1 353 276	543 852	178 699	264 656
1956 (A)	4 081 080	1 616 199	372 806	9 744	152 483
(B)	4 051 603	1 558 631	368 255	43 814	210 009
1966 (A)	4 569 546	1 625 702	370 933	1 118	152 256
(B)	4 559 432	1 597 438	371 881	13 530	177 274

Sources: Recensamintul (1930: Vol II), (1956a), (1966: Vol I)

It could be argued that religion is a more reliable indicator than mother tongue, being the last thing people in the process of assimilation are likely to give up. However, religion suffers from two serious drawbacks: for Romania it is imprecise since ethnic and religious affiliation do not coincide and after World War II data on religion are unavailable. For the Jews religion would be ideal. But combining two overlapping indicators would lead to obvious difficulties. Apart from identifying the Jews, religion was used as a control variable to spot fictitious changes in the population by mother tongue.

Regional Division

Romania according to its present boundaries was the object of study for all periods. In addition, historic and ethnic reasons justified the inclusion of Bessarabia, Bucovina and South Dobrogea⁸⁸ in the study of the interwar period.

For the regional analyses Romania was divided into eleven regions, Figure 1, as faithfully as possible to the historic provinces but with the restriction that the division had to be based on the administrative units of 1977. Some attention was also paid to the physical landscape. The use of historic provinces for the division of the country was considered relevant as they are still used for identification by the inhabitants, irrespective of mother tongue. A person from Bucovina will consider himself a Bucovinian and Romanian, Ruthenian, Polish or whatever his nationality. The definition of the regions did not present many difficulties but some comments may nevertheless be justified.

The counties of Maramures, Satu Mare and Salaj were included in Maramures. Whereas the southern part of Satu Mare, may rather belong to Crisana, this is definitely not the case with the northern and eastern parts of the county. Besides, Satu Mare and Maramures at times formed a single administrative unit and the border between the two counties frequently changed. Salaj constitutes a transition area between the Western Plain and Transylvania. It was included in the Maramures region because it was thought to be more closely tied to Satu Mare than to Transylvania.

Crisana and Banat, with their historically close ties and great physical similarity, form one region. The county of Caras-Severin was also included as it had historically been attached to the Banat. The delimitation of Transylvania presented no difficulty, except for the county of Salaj.

In the past, Oltenia and Muntenia were divided by the river Olt. The present county of Olt is situated on both sides of the river. Because of the considerable influence exercised by the city of Craiova, Olt was included in Oltenia.

The Danube forms a natural border between Muntenia and Dobrogea. The border between Buzau and Braila on the one hand and Vrancea and Galati on the other follows the historic border between the two principalities closely enough to justify it as a border between Muntenia and Moldavia.

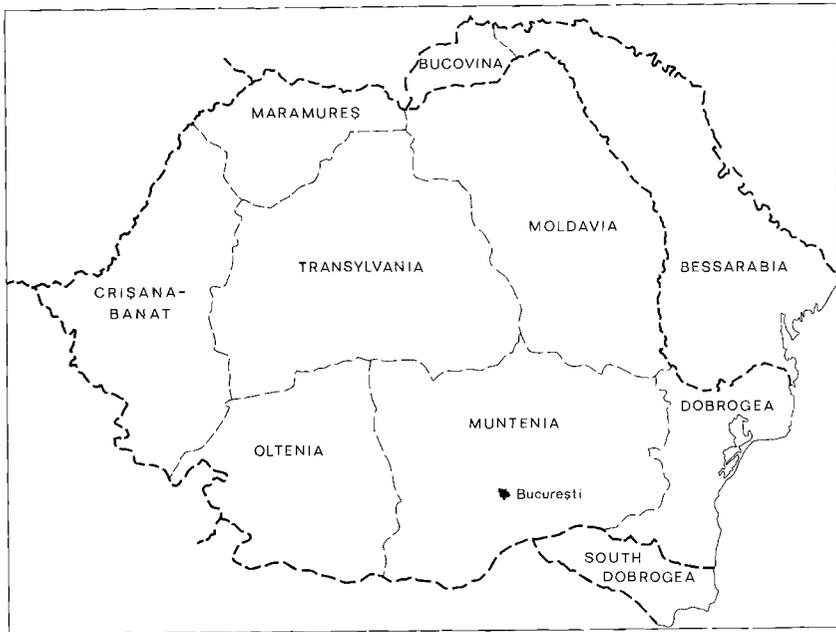


Figure 1. Regional Division of Romania.

The unique position of Bucuresti as Romania's most important economic and administrative centre justifies its rank as a separate regional unit.

Three additional regions were included in pre-World-War II Romania: Bucovina, Bessarabia and South Dobrogea. Their delimitations are clear-cut. Outwards, their borders were national boundaries and inwards they coincide with the present frontiers of Romania. With two exceptions, these delimitations can also be historically justified. Herta, traditionally a part of Moldavia, was included in Bessarabia as it was ceded to the Soviet Union, together with Bessarabia, in 1940. Bucovina traditionally included a considerable part of the present counties of Suceava and Botosani. The present national boundary, though ethnically justifiable, divides the historic region of Bucovina.

Local forms of geographic names were used, with a few exceptions, English forms were used for major mountains and rivers, e.g. the Danube, the Dniester, and the Carpathians. The English translation 'The Old Kingdom' and 'The Two Principalities' were used instead of 'Vechiul Regat' and 'Cele doua Principate', 'Moldavia' instead of 'Moldova'. The Romanian names were used for places even if, at the time, they were under another country's jurisdiction.

Definition of geographical terms:

- The Hungarian Territories - Common name for the parts of present Romania under Hungarian jurisdiction until 1918, i.e. Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania
- Wallachia - Common name for Oltenia and Muntenia
- The Two Principalities - Common name for Wallachia and Moldavia until independence in 1877
- The Old Kingdom - Romania between 1877 and 1913, i.e. the Two Principalities and Dobrogea (after 1878)
- Greater Romania - 'Romania Mare' - interwar Romania including Bucovina, Bessarabia and South Dobrogea

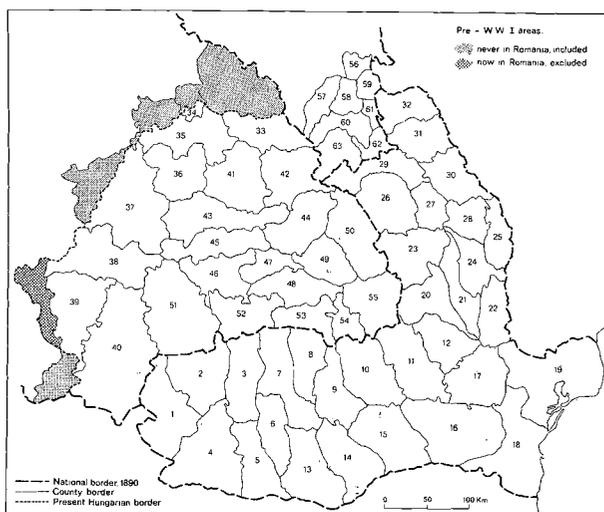


Figure 2. Pre-World War I Administrative Division of Romania

THE OLD KINGDOM

Oltenia

1. Mehedinti
2. Gorj
3. Vilcea
4. Dolj
5. Romanati
6. Olt

Muntenia

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 7. Arges | 13. Teleorman |
| 8. Muscel | 14. Vlasca |
| 9. Dimbovita | 15. Ilfov |
| 10. Prahova | 16. Ialomita |
| 11. Buzau | 17. Braila |
| 12. Rimnicu-Sarat | |

Dobrogea

- 18. Constanta
- 19. Tulcea

Moldavia

- 20. Putna
- 21. Tecuci
- 22. Covurlui
- 23. Bacau
- 24. Tutova
- 25. Falciu
- 26. Neamt
- 27. Roman
- 28. Vaslui
- 29. Suceava
- 30. Iasi
- 31. Botosani
- 32. Dorohoi

Transylvania

- 41. Szolnok-Doboka
- 42. Besztercze-Naszod
- 43. Kolosz
- 44. Maros-Torda
- 45. Torda Aranyos
- 46. Also-Feher
- 47. Kis-Kukullo
- 48. Nagy-Kukullo
- 49. Udvarhely
- 50. Csik
- 51. Hunyad
- 52. Szeben
- 53. Fogaras
- 54. Brasso
- 55. Haromszek

THE HUNGARIAN TERRITORIES

Maramures, Crisana, Banat

- 33. Maramaros
- 34. Ugocsa
- 35. Szatmar
- 36. Szilagy
- 37. Bihar
- 38. Arad
- 39. Temes
- 40. Krasso-Szoreny

BUCOVINA (Austrian)

- 56. Kotzman
- 57. Wiznitz
- 58. Storozynetz
- 59. Czernowitz
- 60. Radautz
- 61. Sereth
- 62. Suczawa
- 63. Kimpolung



Figure 3. The 1968 Administrative Division of Romania

SOURCES

Reliability and validity were the main criteria in the choice and use of sources for this study, while availability was a major constraint. For this reason the study was mainly based on primary sources, particularly population censuses. The Romanian censuses of 1899, 1930, 1941, 1948, 1956, 1966 and 1977, the Hungarian censuses of 1881, 1891, 1900, 1910 and 1941 and the Austrian censuses of 1890 and 1900 were used. The Romanian censuses of 1859 and 1912 were not available.⁸⁹

A population count was made simultaneously, though separately, in Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859-60. Although, a major achievement for their time, their reliability was not satisfactory. According to Colescu⁹⁰ the counted population was considerably below reality. The Wallachian count was superior to the Moldavian.⁹¹

A large section on methodology, critical comments and analysis by the head of the statistical institute, L Colescu, increased the usefulness and value of the 1899 census. Among the variables registered were sex, age, civil status, citizenship, religious affiliation and state of literacy, but not, unfortunately, profession, 'sphere of occupation'⁹² or mother tongue. The census was published in a single volume in 1905. The census of 1912 was not altogether a success. The occupational data in particular appear to suffer from poor reliability.⁹³

After the unification and the creation of Greater Romania in 1919 there was a strong need for a new population count. An initial attempt in the Twenties failed and it was not until 1930 that the first, and only, interwar census was taken. Carried out with support from the League of Nations and under the auspices of the director of the Statistical Institute, Sabin Manuila, the census of 1930 is a milestone in the history of Romanian statistics. It covered a large number of variables both on households and individuals. It was published in great detail in ten volumes by topics. Several variables were published by village.⁹⁴ Lack of alternative data and its high standard makes it natural to draw heavily on the 1930 count for the interwar period.

Only preliminary results of the 1941 census were published in one thin volume, containing information on sex and mother tongue by village. It was taken in an atmosphere of nationalistic fervor during the war. An explicit purpose of the count was to keep track of the Jews.⁹⁵ Its value was further reduced as it was taken after the annexation of Bucovina and Bessarabia by the Soviet Union and Maramures and northern Crisana and Transylvania by Hungary in 1940.

The 1948 census was only published in the form of an article in *Probleme economice*, containing preliminary population data on sex, mother tongue and state of literacy by counties and towns. The reliability of the data on the ethnic structure is subject to serious doubt. Comparison

with the 1956 count indicate that ethnic minorities were considerably underestimated in 1948.

Apart from the 1948 count, three censuses were taken in the postwar period - 1956, 1966 and 1977. They were taken under more favourable administrative conditions than previous censuses and it is reasonable to assume that data were satisfactorily accurate. Political considerations may have influenced the choice of variables and the form of their publication, but there is no evidence that such considerations should have diminished the reliability of the published data. These censuses have been criticized for poor reliability of their ethnic data, particularly by Magyars in exile, but the criticism has not been substantiated by evidence. Most variables and definitions were identical in the three counts, but sometimes differed from earlier censuses. Comparability between them is good. However, the awkward administrative division of the country at the time of the 1956 census is a major disadvantage. For comparison by region with the 1966 and 1977 censuses, data have to be recalculated and comparisons remain approximate.

The 1966 census was published in two editions; the first in sixteen volumes by region and the second in nine topical volumes according to the administrative division of 1968. Only the latter was available for this study. Together with the 1930 census it is the most comprehensively published Romanian census, providing information on many variables by village. The 1966 and 1977 censuses are almost perfectly comparable, but unfortunately the publication of the 1977 count was condensed to two volumes, with few crosstables, no data by village and only few by town.

Hungarian population statistics has a longer tradition than Romanian and was well established by the end of the 19th century. A comprehensive census was taken as early as 1785/87. Although available in a new edition,⁹⁶ it was considered of peripheral interest to this study and was not used. Hungarian censuses were taken at approximately ten year intervals before World War I. However, the 1850-51, 1857 and 1869 censuses were of uneven quality⁹⁷ and were not used. The 1881 and 1891 censuses were better and the first to provide information on mother tongue. They were similar in content, although industries were registered in greater detail in 1891. Most information was published by county and town. The 1900 and 1910 censuses represent major improvements,⁹⁸ providing detailed information on many variables by village⁹⁹ and using advanced methodology. Extensive introductory texts and a high degree of comparability greatly increase their usefulness. A most useful volume with urban statistics for this period was published by Thirring (1912).

The Hungarian census of 1941 was taken a few months prior to the Romanian and under the same circumstances. Limited use was made of it and it was available to this study only in the form of articles in Magyar Statisztikai Szemle. The Austrian censuses of 1890 and 1900 were used for information on Bucovina. No effort was made to evaluate their quality.

Vital statistics were used chiefly as a complement to census data. Because of the poorly developed administrative apparatus, Romanian vital statistics remained incomplete and of uneven quality well into the interwar period. In the Twenties and Thirties vital statistics were published in demographic yearbooks. Amply provided with comments and analytical remarks by the editor, Sabin Manuila, they are an important source of demographic information for the interwar period. Attempts to continue this ambitious tradition of demographic publications into the Forties were frustrated by the war. Vital statistics for the first postwar years are scarce and most postwar series of vital statistics begin by 1948. Romanian statistics on migration are notoriously poor. Estimates on net migration were obtained by subtracting natural change from total population change between censuses. However, a distinction between the natural and migrational components of the population change could only be made for some periods. Hungarian vital statistics for the 1901-10 intercensal period were published by village in a volume of the series *Statisztikai Kozlemenyek*.¹⁰⁰

Romanian agricultural statistics are notoriously poor and must be used with discrimination. Work with agricultural statistics is frustrating, and one frequently encounters inconsistent data, more clearly shown when disaggregated. Work with agricultural statistics on the local level in a study of the Oas region made the arbitrary nature of the statistics painfully clear to the author. To produce reliable statistics for a predominantly subsistence agriculture is difficult at best. In interwar Romania it was complicated by the lack of complete and up-to-date land registers. A Hungarian agricultural census was taken in 1895 and published in great detail.¹⁰¹ Romanian agricultural censuses were taken in 1930, 1941 and 1948. The latter is probably the best of the three, but none should be used indiscriminately. Socialization of agriculture ostensibly created conditions for more reliable agricultural statistics, yet, the quality still leaves much to be desired. Production statistics for the collective farms is poor. Several unofficial estimates given the author indicated that the statistics supplied by individual collective farms may have a margin of error of thirty per cent. Because of the carrot and stick policy used to make collective farms fulfill plan targets, production reports tend to comply with the plan rather than the results. On the other hand, unregistered internal consumption of farm produce may lead to underestimation of production in the statistics.

Censuses of industrial enterprises were taken in 1901/02, 1930 and 1947. The 1901/02 census is of particular importance as it is one of the few sources of data on economic activity in Romania before World War I. The chief importance of the 1947 census lies in its timing - a year before the nationalization of manufacturing. Unfortunately, only extracts of the 1930 census were available for this study. The publication of economic statistics in the postwar period has been comprehensive and quite detailed. The collection of data was much facilitated by the nationalizations and the introduction of a centrally planned economy. For example, statistics on investments and total production value by economic branch are available by region. These

statistics were very useful to the study and are probably reasonably accurate.

A wide array of secondary sources were used in this study. This is not the place to list them all, but the most important deserve some comments. Seton-Watson's (1934) classical work *The History of the Romanians* is still the best Romanian history available in English. Among a number of works in English that put Romanian history in a larger regional perspective, Okey's (1982) *Eastern Europe 1740-1980, Feudalism to Communism; Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* by Berend and Ranki (1974); *The Balkans in Our Time* by Wolff (1953) and not the least *Eastern Europe between the World Wars* by Seton-Watson (1945) deserve to be specially mentioned. The latter three cover the interwar period particularly well. Two contemporary works on Romanian economic history, *Progresul economic in Romania 1877-1977* edited by Totu (1977) and *Istoria economiei nationale a Romaniei* edited by Lupu (1974), provide much information on the economic development. *Voievoiaatul Transilvaniei* by Pascu (1979) is an original inquiry into the Romanian aspects in particular of the history of Transylvania, while a recently published Hungarian historical encyclopedia, *Magyar Tortenek Tiz Kotetben* (1978), gives the history of the region from the Hungarian point of view. The ethnic problems of this region and the Hungarian minority policy before World War I are studied in great detail by Seton-Watson (1908) in *Racial Problems in Hungary*. For a general description of the last decades of the Habsburg Empire, Drage's (1909) *Austria-Hungary* was used. The pre-capitalist Romanian village is the object of study in Stahl's classical *Traditional Romanian Village Communities* (1980). *The Land and the Peasant in Romania* by Mitrany (1936) is an excellent study of the conditions of the Romanian peasantry until the land reforms in 1920-21. Another classical analysis of the agrarian situation prior to the land reforms was made by the Romanian socialist Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1977) in *Neoiobagia*.

Several narrations of contemporary observers of the Old Kingdom and Transylvania are available in English and provide an interesting and informative insight into 19th century Romania. Examples are *Hungary and Transylvania* by Paget (1850), *Transylvania: Its Products and Its People* by Bonet (1865) and *Three Years in Romania* by Ozanne (1878).

There is a substantial literature on the interwar period in Romanian and a few good works in English. Mitrany's cited work on the peasantry was followed up by another excellent study by Roberts (1953), *Romania: Political Problems of an Agrarian State*. The agrarian perspective is put in a regional perspective in *The Agricultural Economy of the Danubian Countries 1935-45*, edited by Bilimovich, Vegh and Zagoroff (1955). A large number of Romanian studies published between the wars testify to the need for knowledge of the new Romania emerging after the war. *Enciclopedia Romaniei* (1938-43) in four volumes is a rich and valuable source of information. Another encyclopedic work in three volumes, *Transilvania, Banatul, Crisana, Maramuresul 1918-28*, focuses on the former Hungarian Territories. Several studies deal with agriculture and the situation of the peasantry.

Agricultural atlases were published in 1929 and 1938, *l'Agriculture en Roumanie*, Enescu and Enescu's (1915) *Ardealul, Banatul, Crisana si Maramuresul din punct de vedere agricol, cultural si economic* drew much of its data from the Hungarian agricultural census of 1895. Gusti initiated and carried out several sociological studies on the Romanian peasantry, mostly published as village monographies; some in the periodical *Sociologia Romaneasca*, and others in books, e.g. *60 de sate romanesti*. Gusti's *La vie rurale en Roumanie* (1940) is one of few available to non-Romanian readers. His work, and the tradition of research he initiated, is invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the Romanian peasantry.

Ionescu's (1965) classical work *Communism in Romania 1944-1962* still provides the most detailed account of the political scene during the first postwar decades. A complementary study is Fisher-Galati (1967) *The New Romania: From People's Democracy to Socialist Republic*. The Romanian development is put in its East European perspective in *The East European Revolution* by Seton-Watson (1951). *Captive Romania* (1956) is a joint effort by several Romanian emigres to depict various aspects of postwar Romania, edited by the former Romanian Ambassador to Turkey, A Cretzeanu. Many first-hand but often emotional and random narrations of the early postwar years were published by Romanian exiles, e.g. *Ciel rough sur la Roumanie* by Serbanesco (1952). A good insight is also provided by some works of fiction, notably *Incognito* by Dumitri (1962) and *Morometii* (1955) and *Cel mai bun dintre paminteni* (1980) by Marin Preda.

The best analysis of the economic development is provided by Montias (1967) in *Economic Development in Communist Romania*. The early postwar years are studied in detail in Conrad's (1953) *Die Wirtschaft Rumaniens von 1945 bis 1952*. They are also well covered in Romanian literature. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-64* provides a wealth of information on all aspects of the economic development. Other important general works are *Monografia geografica a RPR* (1960) and *Romania in anii socialismului* (1980). A general account of the primary sector is given in *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964) and *Dezvoltarea agriculturii RPR* (1965) contains agricultural statistics. *Constanta prima regiune colectivizata* (1960) is a detailed account of the collectivization of agriculture in one of Romania's 16 regions. Periodicals such as *Probleme economice*, newspapers and economic plans are other valuable sources of information.

Many Romanian works, but few in English, cover the latest decades of development. Among the latter Turnock's (1974) *An Economic Geography of Romania* and Gilberg's (1975) *Modernization in Romania Since World War II* deserve special mentioning. The World Bank's report *Romania: The Industrialization of an Agrarian Economy Under Socialist Planning*, edited by Tsantis and Peppar (1979) is a very detailed, but somewhat unimaginative and uncritical, account of Romania's economic performance in the past decades. *Rumanien* edited by Grotlevsen (1979) is one in a series of good country reports by the *Sudosteuropa* Institute in Munchen, *The Peasantry of Eastern Europe* edited by Volgyes (1979) contains an interesting article on Romania by Gilberg,

while the chapter on Romania in *Agrarian Policies in Communist Europe: A Critical Introduction* edited by Wadekin (1982) perhaps better illustrates the shortcomings of any study on Romanian agriculture exclusively based on official statistics than the actual state of agriculture in contemporary Romania. A work in English by the Romanian Trebici (1976), *Romania's Population and Demographic Trends* gives a brief but informative account of the demographic situation. The tradition of Gusti was carried on into the postwar period in several sociological studies. The series *Tineretul si lumea de mine* contains some interesting studies on rural and urban youth, while while *Procesul de urbanizare in R S Romania: Zona Slatina-Olt* (1970) is best in a series focussed on the urbanization process. Some books by Cucu, notably *Orasele Romaniei* (1970) deal with the structure of towns. *Orasele din Moldava* by Ungureanu (1980) is an excellent study of the Moldavian towns.

Among several works on regional policies, *Repartizarea teritoriala a fortelor de productie in Romania* by Blaga (1974) remains the best. *Repartizarea teritoriala a industriei*, edited by Rausser (1977), contains valuable information, but little analysis. Official documents are the main sources of information on the systematization programme, but this programme is also dealt with in several studies and manuals. *Sistemizarea rurala* by Bold, Matei and Sabadeanu (1974) probably is the most informative of these works. Other useful studies in this field are *Urbanismul in Romania*, edited by Lazarescu (1977), *Sociologie si sistemizare in procesele de dezvoltare* by Matei and Matei (1977) and *Sistemizarea localitatilor rurale* by Defour and Baucher (1977). *The Planner and the Peasants* by Sampson (1982) is an analytical and most useful work, based on an academic thesis, accessible to the non-Romanian reader. For an illuminating case study on planned urbanization see Sampson (1979). The selection of new towns is studied in depth in a paper by Turnock (1982), who has also published a number of interesting articles on Romanian regional policy (1976), (1979a), (1979b).

Romania by Tufescu (1974) is a comprehensive economic geography. Two good studies on the Carpathians are *Viitor in Carpati* by Rey (1979) and *The Romanian Carpathians* by Turnock (1977). Two series of county monographs provide a wealth of socio-economic information on individual counties. Both series are somewhat confusingly called *Judetele Patriei* and both suffer from having been published at rare intervals over a long period. The first, published by *Institutul de Geografie*, started in the late Sixties and by 1983 only a few volumes remained. The second series, published by the *Sport-Tourism Publishing House* was commenced in the late Seventies and by 1983 approximately twenty out of forty volumes had been published. The two series are much alike in content.

Official documents plans and other political manifests are important sources of information on the economic policy and development and Ceausescu's collected works are an indispensable source of information on economic and political matters. Yet, periodicals are perhaps the most important

source of information on the past decades. The most important used for this study were Viitorul Social, a contemporary version of Sociologia Romaneasca, Revista de statistica, Revista economica and Revue roumaine de geologie, geophysique et geographie and the political weekly Era Socialista. The main newspaper Scinteia kept the author up-to-date with the latest political and economic development.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Political and institutional factors have shaped the urban transition, whose complexity can only be understood in the light of many, often dramatic, changes in the political and institutional scenes, which are presented in this chapter. After accounts of the historical background and the political scene follows a discussion of the agrarian reforms and the regional development policies.

The formal emancipation of the peasantry in the middle of last century, the extensive land reforms after World War One, the minor reform after World War Two, and the socialization of agriculture in the early Sixties fundamentally affected all aspects of rural life. They were among the most important factors determining the speed of the urban transition.

The programmes for regional development and systematization, elaborated after the proclamation of the socialist republic in the mid-Sixties, had considerable influence on the structure of urban growth and industrialization in the Seventies. They also illuminate government strategies for creating a socialist society and features particular for urbanization in a centrally planned economy based on socialist ideology.

THE UNIFICATION OF ROMANIA

The creation of the unified Romanian state in 1919 was not without precedent. The first successful attempt to merge the three principalities - Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania - was made in 1600 by the Turkish vassal, King Mihai the Brave. But it did not last long. After only a few months the country disintegrated¹.

The Romanian principalities constituted a buffer zone between the Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, Polish and Russian Empires, which explains much of the political instability in Romanian history.

Oltenia and Muntenia formed a principality - Wallachia or Tara Româneasca - in the Ottoman Empire. It was ruled by a Turkish vassal, usually of Romanian origin. Turkey also levied taxes and recruited soldiers from Wallachia. But the principality was normally allowed to conduct its domestic affairs without much interference from Constantinople.

Moldavia was also an Ottoman principality, but due to its peripheral location it managed to stay quite independent. It often made use of its proximity to Poland and Russia to strengthen its position vis-à-vis Turkey. Dobrogea was completely integrated in the Ottoman Empire.

In the early 18th century the relative independence of Wallachia and Moldavia was circumscribed. In order to suppress rebellious tendencies Turkey began appointing Greeks, so-called Fanariots, to the Romanian thrones. Fanariots saw their appointments as mere investments which had to pay back the large sums spent on bribes. The net flow of capital from the Romanian lands illicit as well as licit, increased considerably and misrule and corruption held back economic development for more than a hundred years. Between 1715 and 1807 there were thirty-six shifts of princes in Wallachia and thirty-four in Moldavia.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, especially, the whole system had steadily developed into a wondrously elaborate design for killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. It was undermining all incentive to work on improvement in a country more than usually endowed by nature².

The history of Transylvania prior to its unification with Romania can be divided into four fairly distinct phases. The Hungarian invasion of Transylvania in the eleventh century marks the beginning of a five hundred year period of Hungarian rule in Transylvania. This was abruptly ended by the Turkish victory in the battle at Mohács in 1526, which led to the Turkish conquest of the Hungarian Plain and the detachment of Transylvania from Hungary. During the next 160 years Transylvania was ruled by native princes without much interference from Constantinople. By the end of the 17th century

the Turkish tide had turned and in 1691 Transylvania was attached to the Habsburg Monarchy. By then the Hungarian throne had been subjected to the House of Habsburg.

Thus from 1691 right on to 1867 Transylvania enjoyed complete autonomy under Vienna, forming *de jure* an integrated part of the Hungarian crown, but *de facto* being linked by a mere personal union and really controlled by the emperor³.

For some six hundred years⁴ Transylvania was divided into three ethnic nations: The Magyar, the Szekler and the Saxon. Although by far the most numerous ethnic group, the Romanians were not recognized but merely 'tolerated by grace' and did not enjoy any political rights. Nor was the Orthodox church recognized. The supreme forum in Transylvania was the Diet which was open to the nobles of the recognized nations. The Hungarian nation in central and western Transylvania was feudal and strictly divided into nobles and commons. The Szekler nation in the east and the Saxon nation in the south were much more egalitarian. All Szeklers were traditionally considered nobles by birth, while the Saxons refused to have the feudal system imposed upon them. Both the Szeklers and the Saxons were usually allowed to govern themselves with little outside interference. The 19th century saw the position of the Szeklers and the Saxons gradually being circumscribed as a result of the growing national aspirations of the Magyars and the strengthened position of Budapest.

The autonomy of Transylvania and its division into the recognized nations came to an end in 1867 with the *Ausgleich*, i.e. the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. Transylvania lost its bond with Vienna and was completely integrated into Hungary and the Szekler and Saxon nations were disintegrated. Transylvania remained an integrated part of Hungary until its unification with Romania after the First World War.

The weakening of the Ottoman Empire and the loosening of its grip over the Romanian principalities in the 19th century made nationalist sentiments grow into a popular movement. The separation of Hungary from Austria in 1867 and the Magyarization in the territories under Hungarian jurisdiction tightened Hungary's grip over Transylvania, which lost its position as a separate principality. Hence, the nationalistic aspirations and the culture of the Romanian people had different possibilities in the Hungarian Territories and in the Two Principalities.

In 1818 Moldavia had to cede Bessarabia, historically part of Moldavia, to Russia. The southern part of Bessarabia was regained in 1856, only to be lost again in 1878.

In January 1859 Moldavia and Wallachia elected a common king - Alexander Cuza - and merged into one administrative and political unit. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, after Russia's and Romania's successful war against Turkey, the Two

Principalities gained independence and became the Kingdom of Romania. It had to cede southern Bessarabia to Russia but in return received northern Dobrogea with a predominantly Romanian population. As a result of the Balkan Wars it received southern Dobrogea from Bulgaria in 1913.

Romania entered the First World War on the side of the Entente in August 1916. The war became a brief but traumatic experience. Fighting on two fronts - with Hungary and Bulgaria - the ill-equipped and numerically inferior Romanian army was forced to retreat into Moldavia, abandoning the whole of Wallachia, including Bucuresti. The Central Powers made peace with Romania in Bucuresti in May, 1918. The terms for Romania were harsh. It had to accept substantial economic and territorial losses to Hungary and Germany. But the development in Bessarabia brought some consolation to the defeated Romanians. In the chaos following the October Revolution in Russia, Bessarabia proclaimed itself an independent republic in February 1918. Three months later, facing the danger of being engulfed by the Soviet Union, its legislative body, Sfatul Tarii, voted for a union with Romania.

Less than six months after the Treaty of Bucuresti the Central Powers collapsed. In December 1918 a large popular gathering in Alba Iulia voted for the union of Transylvania with Romania. In the Paris Treaty of 1919 Romania's new borders were drawn. Romania received the whole of Maramures and Crisana and most of Banat from Hungary, the whole of Bucovina from Austria and South Dobrogea from Bulgaria and eventually came out of the war with both territory and population doubled and with an old dream fulfilled - a Romanian state comprising all Romanians.

THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The political arena changed in two respects as a result of the war and the subsequent land reforms. The political and economic influence of the boyars was severely undermined by the agrarian reforms in 1921. A new constitution came into effect providing universal suffrage for men, but not for women. The Conservative Party disappeared from the political scene, giving way to the Liberals and the National-Peasants. Another major change was the broadening of the political arena as a result of the enlargement of Romania's territory and population.

Corruption and rigged elections, but also devotion and patriotism belong to the picture of Romanian interwar politics. The political climate developed from bad to worse, from a weak democracy to royal dictatorship. The populist movement gained strength after the war and the land reforms. Urban-rural relations were in the focus as the political debate focused on the promotion of agriculture or industrialization and large-scale manufacturing as alternative development stra-

tegies. Still, in spite of numerous shifts in political power, a policy of active promotion of large-scale manufacturing, blended with strong nationalism in face of the threat from Bulgaria, Hungaria and the Soviet Union characterized the whole interwar period.

The Liberals dominated the political scene between 1922 and 1928. It was essentially a party of the Old Kingdom and enjoyed little support in other areas.⁵ They enforced a centralistic, nationalistic and increasingly protectionistic policy aiming at a strong domestic manufacturing industry. During this period, business and political bureaucracies became increasingly intermingled, adding to the already flourishing corruption. Roberts⁶ concluded that the unification and centralization during the Liberal period was 'to the advantage of the Old Kingdom as against the provinces, of the Romanians as against the minorities, and of the Liberal party as against all comers'.

In late 1928 the National Peasant Party came to power. This party was a coalition between the National Party in Transylvania and the Peasant Party in the Old Kingdom. It was led by Iuliu Maniu who had been the political leader of the Romanians in Transylvania before the unification. He had been educated in Budapest and Vienna and was a man of considerable integrity, apparantly aloof of the often sordid political practices in Bucuresti. He resigned in October 1930 in protest against the return from exile of King Carol II and his mistress madame Lupescu. His party had to renounce government only a few months later. While in power, Maniu attempted to promote decentralization and the interests of the peasantry. However, his time in power was too short for any lasting impact.

After the return of King Carol II, parliament began to loose ground in Romania. The years of depression, 1930-33, were characterized by growing influence of the King, decline of the National-Peasant Party and rapid growth of the Iron Guard, a Fascist organization. The Liberals came back in power 1934 and remained until 1937. They continued a policy of protectionism and government support to big industry at the expense of agriculture. After an indecisive election in 1937, King Carol II gained complete control of government. A year later the constitution was changed, parliament abolished and royal dictatorship introduced. During the absolute rule of King Carol II the emphasis on industrialization continued. Romania for a long time succeeded to withstand German infiltration of the economy. As late as in 1937 Germany's share in Romania's foreign trade was still only 23 per cent, less than in some neighbouring countries⁷. However, from 1939 Germany's influence over the Romanian economy grew rapidly.

Romania stayed neutral at the outbreak of the Second World War. In June 1940 it was forced to cede Bessarabia and northern Bucovina to the Soviet Union as a consequence of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939 in which the buffer zone

between the two Great Powers was divided into two spheres of influence.⁸ Only a month later Romania had to cede southern Dobrogea to Bulgaria and northern Transylvania to Hungary. All in all, Romania lost a third of its territory. These defeats weakened King Carol's position and in September 1940 he was forced to abdicate. General Antonescu formed a pro-German government together with the Iron Guard, originally called the League of Archangel Mihai, which was a Romanian brand of Fascism, blended with religion and a cult of primitive peasantry. This organization was in power four terror-ridden months until dissolved and extinguished by General Antonescu and the German troops, by then firmly established in Romania. Under Antonescu, German control soon became complete. In June 1941, Romania joined Germany in the war against the Soviet Union to regain Bessarabia and the Romanian army participated in the battle of Stalingrad. By 1944 the Red Army had advanced well into Bessarabia and popular discontent with Romania's participation on the German side was growing. On August 23, 1944, King Mihai, supported by the National-Peasants, the Liberals, the Social-Democrats and the Communists, made a coup d'état and overthrew General Antonescu. A few weeks later, Romania signed an armistice with the Allies.

Several reasons can be found to explain the failure of democracy in interwar Romania⁹. The social structure was polarized. On the one hand a small and declining but still influential aristocracy, living in luxury and caring for little but their own well-being, and on the other hand a large, poverty-stricken and largely illiterate peasantry. The middle class of merchants, tradesmen and pursuers of the free professions was traditionally of non-Romanian origin, both in the Old Kingdom and in the former Hungarian Territories. The peasants - the vast majority of the population - were largely self-sufficient and poorly integrated and their horizon did often not stretch beyond the local village. Neither agrarian reforms nor state-fostered industrialization managed to create a much-needed middle-class. Failure to solve the complex agrarian problems contributed to political instability. Attempts to copy the democratic system of Western Europe in detail without allowing for adjustments to the political and economic realities of Romania were stillborn, and when blended with the political practices of Byzantine and Phanariot tradition, the result was disastrous. The problems of administering a Romania, more than doubled in population and territory were great. Friction between the new provinces and the former Old Kingdom were bound to arise, given the centralized administration which provided little room for local autonomy.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The immediate result of the coup d'état was an assault on two fronts. The Germans swiftly responded by bombing Bucuresti and on August 26 Romania declared war on Germany. The Soviet Red

Army acted as though still at war with Romania. Between August 23 and the signing of the armistice on September 12, the Red Army took 130 000 prisoners and thoroughly pillaged the country. The value of the booty taken in these three weeks has been estimated at 2 000 million US dollar¹⁰. Romania's contribution to the Allied war effort was brief but intensive. The Romanian Army helped fight the Germans all the way to Prague and between August 23 and the end of the war reportedly lost 170 000 men¹¹.

The Soviet acquisition of power in Romania and its transformation of the country into a docile satellite followed very much the same pattern as in the other countries in the Soviet bloc.¹² The civilian government succeeding General Antonescu was faced with the impossible task of guarding national sovereignty while collaborating with the Soviet Union, who showed little respect for Romanian sovereignty and understood collaboration to be unilateral subjugation¹³.

In the next six months three governments succeeded each other. Soviet pressure led to the establishment of a left-wing coalition led by Petru Groza in March 1945. Thus began a period of transition, with a 'popular-democratic' regime which was to last until February 1947. Room for maneuver in internal affairs allowed by the Soviet Union was restricted. 'In this period the forms of the old state were maintained, but filled with new content'¹⁴. In October 1945 the first open Communist Party Conference was held.¹⁵ The party was split in two fractions; the 'Muscovites' and 'the Home Communists'. Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca were the main representatives of the former group, which included many who had spent the war - and often also the interwar period - in the Soviet Union, and often were of non-Romanian origin¹⁶ and clearly had their loyalties with the Soviet Union rather than with Romania. Prominent members of the latter, more nationalistic group, who had been active in Romania and in some cases held in prison, were Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Chivu Stoica, Nicolae Ceausescu and Lucretiu Patrascanu. The top party posts were shared between the two groups, but backed by the Soviet Union - who obviously expected the Romanian Communist Party to function as a mere proxy of Moscow - the 'Muscovites' apparently had the upper hand in the party until 1952.

The 1945-1947 transition period paved the way for the establishment of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'. Purges of former political personalities, particularly in the National Peasant Party, were carried out in 1947. Among those arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment were the former leaders of the National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihailache. On December 30, 1947, the last symbol of the old reign, King Mihai, was forced to resign and driven in exile, and the republic was proclaimed.

Two months later the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party merged into the Romanian Workers' Party - Partidul Muncitoresc Român - and the one-party system was

established also de jure. The political changes were further emphasized in 1948 by the adoption of a new constitution. With the political power firmly in hand, the Communist Party turned its attention to the consolidation of economic power and the creation of a socialist society. In June 1948 a bill was passed, nationalizing most of the secondary and tertiary sectors and in the next 18 months 90 per cent of the country's production capacity was nationalized¹⁷. A State Planning Commission was established in July 1948 and in January 1949 the first One Year Plan came into force. Following the expropriation of all holdings over 20 hectares and the eviction and deportation of many 'kulaks' (chiaburi) in 1949, an attempt at forced collectivization was made. But the attempt was aborted and denounced¹⁸ after the dethronement of Ana Pauker and the purging of the 'Muscovites' in 1952. Subsequent collectivization took a much gentler form and the socialization of agriculture was not completed until 1962.

The traditional territorial division into counties (judete) and communes was exchanged in 1950 for a Soviet inspired system dividing the country into regions (regiuni), districts (raioane) and communes and People's Councils took the place of the former regional administrative institutions.

The introduction of the one-party system changed the political situation from interparty to intraparty fights. Tension between the 'Muscovites' and the 'Home Communists' culminated in radical purges and in a reorganization of the party in 1951-52. Almost 200 000 members were expelled. This 'purification' was a reaction to a previous policy of indiscriminately accepting new members in order to boost membership numbers. Through repeated reshuffling of the top layer, party 'home communists' gained the upper hand. The main representative of the 'Muscovites' - Ana Pauker - was purged in 1952, but another 'Muscovite' - Emil Bodnares - remained in a top position. Through the purges Gheorghiu-Dej's position as head of the party was strengthened.

In 1952 a new constitution was adopted, confirming the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Romanian Workers' Party. The Penal Code had already undergone gradual modification and the 1952 constitution established a new judiciary system after Soviet model.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 marked the beginning of a period of political and economic relaxation. The political and economic toll exacted by the Soviet Union on Romania for almost nine years had had heavy repercussions on Romania's postwar recovery. By 1953 it was clear that an economic reorientation was needed to save the country from sliding deeper into the economic abyss. The death of Stalin made such a reorientation possible.

In contrast to the turbulent political scene in the interwar period and in the first postwar decade, the post-Stalin period was characterized by gradual change within an

established political framework. Political development in post-Stalin Romania differed somewhat from that of neighbouring socialist countries. The death of Stalin did not lead to political liberalization, but rather to 'Romanianization' as policies became increasingly nationalistic in form and content. In the first postwar decade a russification policy had been pursued. Romanian history had been rewritten to stress Russo-Romanian ties. Slav cultural and linguistic elements had been emphasized and Latin elements played down. The glorification of all aspects of the Soviet Union and the negation of the Romanian cultural heritage had prevented rapprochement between the regime and the population. By playing on the strong patriotic and, indirectly, anti-Russian feelings of the Romanians, Gheorghiu-Dej managed to increase the popularity of the regime and its nationalistic policy without yielding to demands for political liberalization. At the same time he strengthened his position in the party and vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Romania began to deviate from the Soviet code of conduct already in the mid-Fifties¹⁹ but it was not until the early Sixties that the Romanian-Soviet rift came into the open. Romania refused to accept its role as a supplier of agricultural and other primary products to the more industrialized countries of the Soviet bloc in return for manufactured products. Instead Romania committed itself even more strongly to rapid industrialization. The construction of a large steel mill in Galati in the early Sixties was seen as a demonstration of independence and obviously annoyed the Soviet Union²⁰. The withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Romania in 1958 had increased the Romanian room for maneuver and by skillfully playing on the Sino-Soviet conflict Romania managed to gradually emancipate itself from the Soviet Union. In retrospect it appears that the Romanian-Soviet rift gave an impetus to industrialization and led to an emphasis on economic self-reliance that has persisted until the present.

The proclamation of the socialist republic in 1965 coincided with the appointment of Nicolae Ceausescu as First Party Secretary, later also, President of the Republic, following the sudden death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in March 1965. Ceausescu gradually strengthened his position in the party and his leadership remained unchallenged, while the power of the Communist Party²¹ was consolidated and penetrated all spheres of the Romanian society. The consolidation of power was gradual and the political scene in the Sixties and Seventies was characterized by stability.

Because of Ceausescu's dominance in the political life, the period after 1965 has already become known as the Ceausescu era. Yet, there were only minor changes in the political course laid out by Gheorghiu-Dej. As his successor, Ceausescu gained a reputation as an orthodox and 'hard-line' communist, but also a devoted patriot. Gheorghiu-Dej's combination of relative independence from the Soviet Union in foreign affairs and ideologically orthodox policy in domestic affairs was continued and further developed by Ceausescu. By skillful maneuvering, Romania attained independence that was

unique among the countries in the Soviet bloc. It was combined with an international reorientation. Romania developed and intensified its political and economic contacts particularly with the Third World countries, but also with Western Europe and the United States. The share of the Socialist countries in her foreign trade fell throughout the Seventies. Romania's relative independence was highlighted as she continued friendly relations with Israel also after the Six-Day-War in 1967, strongly condemned and refused to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and refused to condone the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

At home the 'hard-line' policy continued. The creation of a new socialist man was not seen as mere rhetoric. Political and ideological mobilization of the masses was carried out more emphatically than in most other socialist countries. Kadar's slogan 'those who are not against us are for us' was not applied in Romania and active opposition or passive 'opting out' was not tolerated. The wave of economic reforms that swept over the Socialist countries in the late Sixties had little lasting effect in Romania. The economy remained highly centralized and the ministries still had the final say in the long-term strategy decisions of individual enterprises.

THE AGRARIAN DEVELOPMENT

We are by origin, spirit and taste villagers. Our country is based on the villages. We have all the qualities and all the defects of the village²².

The Emancipation of the Peasantry

I have travelled over a considerable part of Wallachia and Moldavia, and I never saw two countries, of their extent, so rich in production, so fruitful in resources. The land is of the very richest quality: the greater part of it an alluvial plain, like the Banat of Hungary, with a climate the most favourable for production. Yet with all these advantages, I never saw a country so thinly populated, nor a population so excessively poor and miserable. I had pitied the Wallacks of Transylvania till I saw their brethren of the Principalities, and found that there are those who might envy them their lot. Years of monopoly, oppression, and insecurity have worked out these consequences²³.

The agrarian evolution until the First World War followed similar pattern in the Old Kingdom and in the Hungarian Territories. Feudalism reigned in the countryside in all part of Romania until the middle of the 19th century. The Land Emancipation Acts of 1848 in the Hungarian Territories and of 1864 in the Two Principalities mark the formal end of the feudal era. These acts abolished the servitudes and other feudal institutions and thus emancipated the peasants in a legal sense.

The land reforms accompanying the emancipation were only partial. The peasants received approximately one third of the cultivated land while 60 per cent remained in the hands of the old landowners, the boyars, and 10 per cent in the hands of the state. In the Two Principalities the peasants were allocated land according to the number of cattle they possessed. The allotments varied on the average from 2.1 to 5.5 hectares in Muntenia and from 3.5 to 8 hectares in Moldavia²⁴.

These reforms did not bring about any revolutionary change in the relationship between the peasants and the boyars. The allotments given the peasants were often too small or too poor for making a living. The peasants, unprepared for the freedom and responsibility thrust upon them, were often unable to cope with the new situation. A substantial part of the peasantry was impoverished and had to sell their labour and sometimes also lease or sell²⁵ part of their land to avoid famine in the winter. Another group fared better and were able to increase the land allotted to them by purchasing or leasing land from their impoverished brethren. The homogeneous character of the peasantry was gradually lost.

This led to an increase in the number of landless peasants in the Old Kingdom from approximately 60 000 families in 1864 to 300 000 families in 1905²⁶. The situation in the Hungarian Territories was similar. However, as Figure 4 shows, the gap between the various groups of peasants remained insignificant compared to the vast gap that continued to exist between the peasantry and the boyars. In 1902, almost half of the land was in the hands of some 5 400 boyars, while 920 000 peasant families had to share 40 per cent of the cultivated land in the Old Kingdom²⁷.

The average size of the peasant holdings was strikingly small, considering the size of the allotments allocated to them in 1864. A considerable division of land had occurred since the land reform. The tradition of dividing the land equally between the heirs led to rapid fragmentation.

Considerable regional variations in land ownership are evident from Figure 4. The largest inequalities and the most clear-cut division between peasants and boyars existed in Muntenia. The relation between the average peasant and boyar holdings was 1 to 253 in Muntenia, as against 1 to 207 for the whole of the Old Kingdom. A study by county reveals even larger regional differences. The average boyar holding varied from 230 hectares in Vilcea and Muscel to over 2 000 hectares in Braila²⁸. Dobrogea shows a completely different pattern. The petty boyars and well-to-do peasants with holdings between ten and hundred hectares, strikingly insignificant in the rest of the Old Kingdom, were important in Dobrogea. The polarized structure did not apply to this area, which had been integrated into the Old Kingdom in 1878.

Nor was the land reform that accompanied the emancipation of the peasants adequate in the Hungarian Territories. Formal

bonds between peasants and landlords were dissolved but were soon followed by economic ties. Peasants became share croppers and in addition tilled their own land to make a living. By 1910

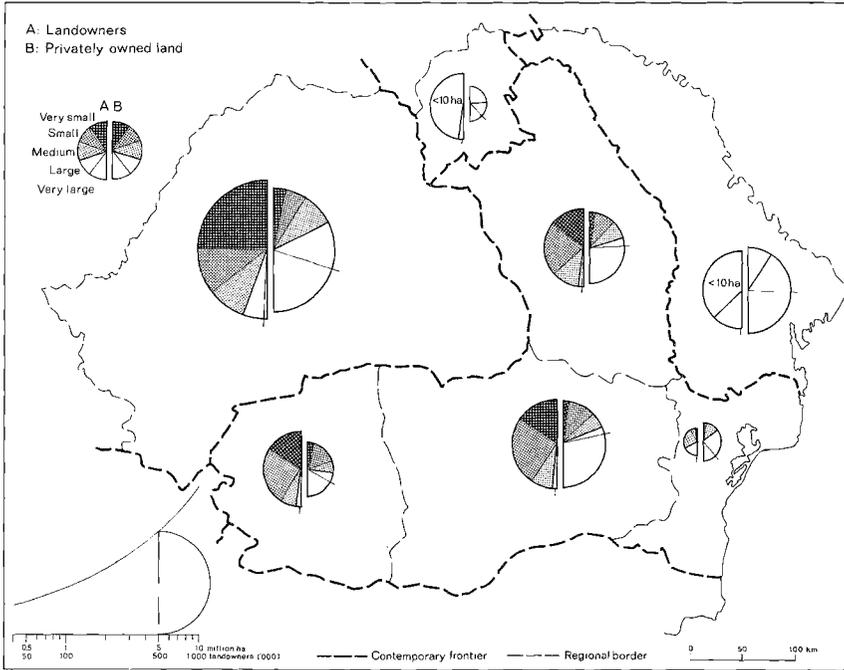


Figure 4. Rural Land Structure in Pre-World War One Romania

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1909: part VIII, various tables), Babel (1926: 300-301), Marcu (1974: 233-234), Roberts (1951: Appendix)

Remarks: Size of holdings, hectares: Very small (-1.9), small (2-4.9), medium (5-9.9), large (10-99.9), very large (100-). Transylvania -2.4, 2.5-4.9, 5-9.9, 10-49.9, 50-

Data from 1902 in the Old Kingdom, 1896 in Transylvania and 1916 in Bessarabia and Bucovina. See further Appendix, Tables 6-8.

almost a third of the agricultural population was landless and half of those with land had less than two hectares²⁹. Available data indicate that the polarization of the size of holdings was more pronounced in the Hungarian Territories than in the Old Kingdom. The former had a larger share with less than two hectares of arable land, and a smaller with two to five hectares. The ten to fifty hectares category was more than twice as common as in the Old Kingdom³⁰.

It may be assumed that the structure of holdings was less polarized in the Saxon and Szekler areas, with less of a feudal past than the rest of Transylvania.

As the landed aristocracy in the Hungarian Territories was overwhelmingly Magyar it follows that the land was unevenly distributed among the ethnic groups. Only 209 out of 8 435 holdings in Transylvania with more than 50 hectares were held by Romanians who made up the vast majority of the agricultural population in the region³¹

The greater wealth and the higher standard of living in the Saxon nation is documented by John Paget, who, travelling from the Szekler land to the Saxon land in Transylvania, observed:

I have already remarked that the Három-Szék was better cultivated than the rest of the Szekler land, but the Burzenland, as this part of the Saxon land is called, appeared like a garden in comparison even to that. ...It was more like a scene in the best part of Belgium, than what one would expect on the borders of Turkey³².

Several factors contributed to the maintenance of the old bonds between the peasants and the boyars, in the form of paid labour or share-cropping: a) the uneven distribution of land combined with a lack of mechanization meant that the boyars had to rely on outside labour to till their land, b) the boyars usually had no agricultural equipment as the peasants had tilled the land with equipment of their own before the emancipation, c) the majority of the peasant holdings were too small to adequately support their often large families, d) lack of common pastures meant that the peasants had to buy grazing rights from the boyars, e) the railways opened new markets for the boyars' surpluses and thus gave them cash income, f) the poor peasants often had to resort to the boyars in the winter for advances of grain and flour. In return they not only had to pay back the loan after the harvest but also to work for the boyars a certain number of days. As the economic situation of the peasants failed to improve, their indebtedness tended to increase.

The system of peasants providing paid labour, but not the tools, dominated in Moldavia and Transylvania, while various forms of share-cropping were more frequent in Muntenia and Oltenia.

Between the boyars and the peasants a new group of leaseholders appeared. These middlemen leased vast areas of land from the boyars and in their turn let peasants sublease or share-crop. They rapidly came in control of a considerable part of the boyars' land and land concentration thus increased. In 1902, for instance, 3 300 tenants held over 2.3 million hectares, or 57 per cent of the land in holdings over 50 hectares³³. The concentration was even larger than the numbers indicate. A small group of 127 middlemen held almost a third of

the leased land and one single Jewish family leased 159 000 hectares in 1905³⁴. Foreigners, including Jews, were not allowed to own property in the Old Kingdom, but they could lease land.

This form of lucrative leasing, open to foreigners and not requiring much initial capital, led to a fast increase in land rents. According to a survey, the rents paid by the peasants increased from an average 20 lei per year in 1870 to 49 lei in 1906. For share-cropping, the middleman's share increased from 25 to 43 per cent in the same period³⁵. The price for grazing increased likewise.

The extension of intermediate leasing varied considerably by region, from 77 per cent of the area of large holdings³⁶ in Botosani to 14 per cent in Tulcea. Generally, it was most widespread in Muntenia and Moldavia, less significant in Dobrogea and virtually non-existent in Transylvania.

The increasingly polarized land structure in the Old Kingdom, with deepening peasant misery in the midst of flourishing production, proved explosive. In March 1907 peasants in northern Moldavia revolted. The revolt spread rapidly all over the country and threatened to turn into a civil war. The government responded by letting the army descend upon the countryside and peace was restored at the cost of some 11 000 peasant lives. In 1908, a law was introduced limiting the right to lease land to 4 000 hectares, but apart from this, the revolt had little immediate effect on the land structure, which remained basically unchanged until after the First World War.

The 1861 land reform in Bessarabia resembled the reform of 1864 in the Old Kingdom. However, in Bessarabia the allotted land was not given to the individual peasants but to the village community, the mir. After the Russian revolution in 1905, a new reform worked to break up the mir and to increase individual ownership. After 1907 considerable sale of land to peasants by the large landowners took place. Nevertheless, on the eve of First World War the agrarian structure and problems in Bessarabia were fairly similar to those in the Old Kingdom³⁷. Before the unification with Romania, the National Council in Bessarabia, Sfatul Tarii, passed a decision on a far-reaching land reform. A modified version of the reform was ratified by the Romanian government after the war.

The land structure in Bucovina was somewhat less polarized than in the other parts of Romania. Peasant holdings smaller than ten hectares occupied 48 per cent of the arable land and intermediate holdings, 19 to 100 hectares - insignificant in the Old Kingdom - accounted for 27 per cent. Most of the forests belonged to holdings of more than 100 hectares.

The Land Reforms of 1918-21

Sons of peasants, who, with your own hands, have defended the soil on which you were born, on which your lives have

passed, I, your King, tell you that besides the great recompence of victory which will assure for every one of you the nation's gratitude, you have earned the right of being masters, in a larger measure, of that soil upon which you fought. Land will be given to you. I, your King, am the first to set the example; and you will also take a larger part in public affairs.

King Ferdinand in a speech to the Romanian troops at the front in April 1917³⁸.

King Ferdinand's promise to the Romanian army of a land reform was timely and urgently needed. The land-starved peasants made up the bulk of the Romanian army and had to carry the brunt of the war. At the time of the declaration both the external and the internal situation was very precarious indeed. The Romanian army had retreated into Moldavia and, because of the February revolution in Russia, the Russian military support had been lost and social unrest was spreading among the Russian and Romanian troops.

Immediately after the war, King Ferdinand reaffirmed his promise and a bill of reform was taken by the Parliament in 1918. After several amendments and modifications a second set of land reforms were decided upon in 1921³⁹. The new laws had to take into account the situation not only in the Old Kingdom, but also in the new provinces, where the feudal character in land ownership sometimes was less pronounced. In Bessarabia, the Red Army had confiscated and distributed all land to peasant collectives. The prospect of returning to a semi-feudal situation was a major obstacle when merging Bessarabia with Romania. The land reforms took different form and were generally more far-reaching in the new provinces than in the Old Kingdom⁴⁰.

Total expropriation was made of land belonging to juridical persons, foreign citizens, Romanians residing abroad and of land that had been leased for ten consecutive years or more⁴¹. Partial expropriation was only applied to arable land and according to a sliding scale, different in the Old Kingdom and the new provinces. The amount left to the original owner depended mainly on local land pressure and varied between 100 and 250 hectares in the Old Kingdom and between 29 and 290 hectares in the former Hungarian Territories. In Bessarabia, all land above 100 hectares remained expropriated. War merits and need of land were the main criteria for eligibility. The standard size of the created peasant lots were to be 5 hectares in the Old Kingdom, 4 hectares in Bucovina and 6 hectares in Bessarabia. Two million peasants were qualified to receive land.

The absence of comprehensive and reliable agricultural statistics makes a quantitative appraisal of the reform difficult. According to official sources, some six million hectares were expropriated, of which four million arable land⁴². By 1927 some 3.6 million hectares of these had been distributed to 1 369 000 peasants⁴³. Most of the rest was turned into communal pastures and forests, particularly in Transylvania. The reliability of the data has been challenged. In 1940, it was shown that 3 900 large estates had not yet been expropriated and that 440 000 hectares had not been divided⁴⁴. The land reform was supposed to have been completed in 1929-30.

The shortcomings of the reform - only two-thirds of the peasants entitled to land actually received any and the size of allotments generally fell short of established criteria - must not shadow the far-reaching social and political consequences of the reform⁴⁵. The structure of land ownership changed from large estates to small peasant holdings. Although exact pre-reform and post-reform comparisons cannot be made, it appears that properties of more than 100 hectares decreased from approximately 40 to 10 per cent or from eight to two million hectares. The reform also ensured political calm in the countryside for several decades and effectively kept the Soviet 'red menace' out of Romania. Of all land reforms in Eastern Europe after the First World War, the one in Romania was probably the most radical.

Why did the reforms fail to create a viable peasantry and a much needed agrarian middle-class? The reforms of 1918 and 1921 had social and political, but not primarily economic motives. Economic results of the reform were mere by-products. Strong economic motives existed for a land consolidation reform, but it was never carried out because of lack of popular support. The tradition of splitting farmland between all heirs at successions led to land fragmentation and strip farming. The absence of up-to-date land registers⁴⁶ and proper land delimitation made the use of land as collateral difficult and was a major obstacle to creating agricultural credit institutions. The fragmented structure of land was a technical obstacle to improved productivity. Low prices for agricultural products after 1930, the high credit costs, and the small size of farms were economic obstacles. Several attempts were made to create credit cooperatives for agriculture but lack of capital and of a land register limited their success⁴⁷. Still, by 1936 some 5 200 credit cooperatives existed with 1.1 million members⁴⁸. Their outstanding credit amounted to 5.7 billion lei in 1935⁴⁹.

According to the Danish agricultural specialist Gormsen, who worked as a consultant for the Romanian government in the late Thirties, a distinction should be made between agrarian and agricultural reforms. The former concerns the structure of agriculture and the latter its methods of production. While the former usually has to be decreed from above, the latter is a gradual and often self-induced process. Agrarian reform is a prerequisite for an agricultural reform. In Romania the agrarian reforms had only been partial, not comprising land consolidation, registration or the construction of a network of farm to market roads. Attempts to bring about agricultural

failed partly because of the incompleteness of the agrarian reforms⁵⁰. Sheer ignorance and the nature of a peasant economy⁵¹ also served to preserve traditional methods in agriculture.

The methods of cultivation were particularly poor in the regions of the Old Kingdom, where a poor system of crop rotation was used⁵². Agriculture was somewhat more efficient in Transylvania and Banat. The level of mechanization was higher in the former Hungarian Territories, too. In 1927 there were 4.8 hectares of arable land to every plough in these regions, compared to 7.7 hectares in the regions of the Old Kingdom and 8.3 hectares in Bessarabia⁵³. Ten years later the gap had narrowed somewhat. Animal husbandry was also poorly managed and manure was generally not used in Wallachia and Bessarabia⁵⁴. In 1930 Romania had 2.2 million cows, 11.8 million sheep and 3.0 million hogs, too many 'extensive' animals - sheep - and too few 'intensive' - hogs⁵⁵. One-third of the farms had no milk cow and 48 per cent had no hogs. Agriculture was generally quite extensive in spite of the high labour/land ratio.

Pressure on land depends both on the agricultural population per hectare and yields and can thus be expressed by the formula $C=Y/D$, where C is output per capita, Y is yield and D is density of agricultural population. Moore⁵⁶ elaborated a method to convert various kinds of arable land into 'arable-equivalent agricultural land', thus making possible comparisons of yields and density of agricultural population between regions and countries. According to him, using Europe as a norm, the Romanian equation would be $0.48=0.69/1.43$. The Romanian output per capita was less than half the European average.

Large differences existed within Romania. The equation for Bucovina would be $0.45 = 1.17/2.61$, for Bessarabia $0.45 = 0.56/1.24$ and for Transylvania $0.51 = 0.74/1.45$. The former Old Kingdom was close to the national average⁵⁷. This shows that the low output per capita was as much due to low yields as to the high density of agricultural population, Bucovina being the exception. According to contemporary estimates only 60 per cent of the potential labour on farms between three and five hectares and 38 per cent on farms under three hectares was adequately utilized⁵⁸. The tradition of dividing farms equally between heirs and the limited access to jobs outside agriculture prevented a large-scale shift away from agriculture.

The 1930 census revealed that more than half the farmed units were less than three hectares, considered to be the subsistence level and well below the standard of five hectares established as a norm in the land reform. As much as 18.6 per cent of the units were below one hectare, clearly not enough to support a family. A large proportion of the peasants cultivated too little land to support themselves - let alone produce a surplus - and had to resort to additional income. This was substantiated by contemporary studies and by the 1941 census. Although the land reform was supposed to have been completed in 1929, more than 14 per cent of the cultivated land still belonged to holdings over 100 hectares.

Table 4. Land Structure in 1930, Percentages

Area (ha)	Holdings	Total area	Arable area
0 - 1	18.6	1.6	2.1
1 - 3	33.5	11.1	14.4
3 - 5	22.9	15.3	19.3
5 - 10	17.1	20.0	24.2
0 - 10	92.1	48.0	60.0
10 - 50	7.2	19.8	21.2
50 - 100	0.4	4.5	4.2
100 - 500	0.3	10.6	7.2
500 -	0.1	17.1	7.4
	100	100	100
Total area	3 280 000 ha	19 750 000 ha	12 850 000

Sources: Roberts (1951: 370), Scalat (1945: 45)

The most comprehensive agricultural census of the interwar period - 1941 - unfortunately did not include northern Transylvania, Maramures, Bucovina, Bessarabia or South Dobrogea as it was taken after the territorial cessions in 1940. Comparisons between earlier and later censuses must therefore be made with caution. Between 1930 and 1941 there was a continued fragmentation of holdings, particularly among those below five hectares. Dwarf holdings of less than one hectare accounted for 21 per cent of all holdings and 23 per cent of all properties⁵⁹. Properties of more than 500 hectares still accounted for 8 per cent of the cultivated land. The fragmentation was actually more serious than indicated, as the holdings generally consisted of several plots, sometimes four to seven kilometers apart. Frequently they were up to several hundred meters long, but only a few meters wide. There was an average of four to seven plots per holding in 1941. The average holding was 4.5 hectares⁶⁰.

Some 58 per cent of all holdings were worked by the family of the owner. An additional 25 per cent were worked by part of the owner's family and members of the family brought in additional income from elsewhere. Paid workers were found on 15 per cent of the holdings. Only 1.5 per cent of the holdings were worked exclusively by paid labour, but these covered 12 per cent of the cultivated area. Seen from a different angle: 72 per cent of the holdings were fully owned by the tiller, 28 per cent consisted of owned plus leased land and only 0.5 per cent were wholly leased⁶¹.

The Socialization of Agriculture

A major land reform was carried out after World War II, just as after World War I, albeit for other reasons. The motive for the reforms of 1920-21 was a desire to stem revolutionary feelings aroused by the Russian Revolution in 1917, but the reform in 1945 was part of a socialist strategy to transform Romanian agriculture. Similar reforms were carried out in other countries of the Soviet bloc. Since a comprehensive land reform had been carried out only twenty-five years earlier, relatively little land was available for expropriation. Some 1.5 million hectares or 11 per cent of the agricultural land were confiscated against 4.4 million in 1920-22⁶². Properties larger than 50 hectares, those of 'war criminals', of collaborators with the Germans and of owners holding more than ten hectares but not tilling them in the preceding years were subject to confiscation⁶³. An average of ten hectares were confiscated from 143 200 proprietors⁶⁴. Some 1.1 million hectares were distributed to 400 000 landless families and to 500 000 small peasants. In 1948 and 1949 additional 940 000 hectares were confiscated from the royal family and from landowners with more than twenty hectares. The land confiscated in 1948 and 1949 was not distributed to the peasants, but converted to state and collective farms.

The agricultural census of 1948 can be used as a base for a study of the collectivization and postwar development of agriculture. It reflects the effects of the war on agriculture, the pillage of and compensation deliveries to the Soviet Union and the harvest failures in 1945 and 1946. The census was taken prior to the collectivization campaigns and registered 5.5 million landowners, i.e. half the adult population⁶⁵. Small properties (proprietati) prevailed; 36 per cent were smaller than one hectare, 27 per cent one to two hectares, 28 per cent two to five hectares and only 2.3 per cent were larger than ten hectares. However, the registration criteria appear to have led to an artificially large number of small properties as often several landowners were registered per household even when the land was tilled jointly. By comparison, the number of holdings (exploatati) was only 3.1 million. Comparisons with the 1930 and 1941 censuses were made difficult by differences in classification and uneven reliability. In contrast to earlier censuses the 1948 count was taken in public. All villagers were called to the centre where they had to declare their possession of land, livestock and inventory in front of neighbours, the census-taker and a resident instructed to verify the information given. The chances of giving wrong information were probably reduced. The strict census procedure should be weighed against the political climate with fear for confiscation of land and produce which probably made many peasants unwilling to declare 'more than necessary'. The reliability of the census returns remains an open question, but comparisons with the 1941 census indicate that the 1948 count on many points came closer to reality⁶⁶. The sum of land declared in 1948 fell short of official estimates by 8 per cent.

Table 5. Structure of Land Holdings in Census Years, Percentages

Area(ha)	1930 ^a	1941 ^b	1948 ^a	1948 ^c
- 1	18.6	21.3	16.8	17.1
1 - 3	33.5	33.0	35.9	35.7
3 - 5	22.9	19.2	23.3	22.8
5 - 10	17.1	19.5	17.8	17.8
10 - 50	7.2	6.3	5.7	6.1
50 -	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.5

- a) Interwar Romania; including Bucovina, Bessarabia and South Dobrogea
 b) Romania as of 1941; excluding Maramures, northern Crisana and Transylvania
 c) Present Romania

Sources: Cresin (1948); Recensamintul agricol (1948), Roberts (1951: 370); Scalat (1945: 45)

Small and medium-size peasant holdings completely dominated Romanian agriculture in 1948. Only 48 thousand of 3.10 million holdings were larger than 20 hectares, many not held by physical persons, and the number of landless agricultural households had been reduced to 150 thousand.

The land reform in 1945, at least temporarily, halted fragmentation of holdings and polarization of the land structure, manifested by an decrease of holdings under one hectare and of medium-size holdings (5-10 ha). Those in the 1 - 5 hectare interval increased, Table 5.

It was estimated that less than half the holdings provided a satisfactory living for the tillers⁶⁷. The size structure varied regionally with relatively more ver small holdings - less than one hectare - in hilly parts of Moldavia, Muntenia and Oltenia than on the Danubian and Pannonian Plain and in Transylvania. Dobrogea stood out with a low labourtoland quotient and a large number of holdings in the 5 to 20 hectare interval. The practice of dividing equally between heirs led to splitting of the land into many holdings which in their turn were cut into many strips. Both the 1918-21 and the 1945 reforms failed to consolidate the holdings and by 1948 each holding averaged 6.6 parcels. Mini-plots were an obstacle to mechanization and to efficient use of land and labour in agriculture and was an argument for collectivization⁶⁸. To prevent continued polarization in the structure of holdings a law was passed in 1947 banning virtually all sale of land. The leasing of land (*arenda*) and sharecropping (*dijma*) were also banned in 1947. The 1948 census revealed that even prior to the law, 94.4 per cent of the agricultural land were tilled by the owner.

Apparently the reform of 1945 had led to a sharp decrease in land leasing and sharecropping.

Table 6. Development of Livestock 1938 - 1947
Index: 1938 = 100

Year	Horses		Cattle		Hogs		Sheep	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1938	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1939	92	94	103	101	91	95	102	102
1940	80	80	96	94	76	79	96	96
1941	81	81	102	98	73	74	93	93
1942	81	81	110	106	97	89	94	94
1943	72	71	117	113	82	85	87	87
1944	69	n a	111	n a	76	n a	84	n a
1945	54	47	89	70	44	37	66	56
1946	54	54	91	91	50	50	67	67
1947	50	50	85	85	50	50	70	70

Sources: Dezvoltarea Agriculturii Romanesti (1965: 426-427), Statistica agricola a Romaniei (1937-1947: Vol II, IV, V, VII, VIII)

Remarks: A) Index based on absolute figures in Dezvoltarea Agriculturii Romanesti referring to the postwar Romanian territory for all years

B) The indices for 1939 to 1945 are based on absolute figures for truncated Romania, excluding the parts annexed by Hungary. Data for 1946 and 1947 refer to present Romania. All data from Statistica agricola a Romaniei.

n a - not available

Annual livestock inventories were made in January. Numbers should be seen as approximations as the 1948 agricultural census showed earlier inventories to have underestimated the actual stock of animals. However, as inventory procedures appear to have been unchanged, comparability should be satisfactory.

World War II, the subsequent Soviet occupation and the famines in 1946 and 1947 had taken a heavy toll. Table 6 clearly indicates that the main losses occurred after the Soviet occupation in September 1944⁶⁹. In 1948 there were only 47 hogs and 30 horses, but 138 cattle per 100 holdings. The loss of draught animals was particularly serious, with three holdings for every pair on the average. The poor harvests in 1945 and 1946 are likely to have resulted not only from drought but also from the loss of draught animals and the immediate effects of the land reform.

Mechanization by 1945 had advanced little since the 1920's. The increase in holdings was not matched by an increase in inventory, leaving many holdings without such basic equipment as ploughs and carts. In 1948 Romania had only 10 800 tractors and the same amount of ploughs as in 1927⁷⁰. In Transylvania and Crisana-Banat agriculture continued to be somewhat better equipped than in the regions of the Old Kingdom. In Romania as a whole one of two holdings possessed a plough and one of four a harrow. Many peasants were faced with the choice of renting the necessary equipment, or doing without it, neither of which they could afford.

The policy for the socialist transformation of agriculture was set down at a Central Committee meeting in March, 1949. An important distinction was made between five classes of agricultural people: a) landless peasants; b) poor peasants, possessing less than five hectares of land; c) middle peasants, with five to twenty hectares; d) large landowners, with over twenty hectares and e) 'kulaks' (chiaburi), comprising those regularly using hired labour, i.e. possessing more land than they could till themselves⁷¹. The explicit strategy was to 'lean on the poor peasants, strengthen the alliance with the middle peasant and "contain" the kulaks'⁷². Two and a half per cent of the agricultural households were classified as agricultural proletariat⁷³, 57 per cent as poor peasants, 34 per cent as middle peasants and 5.5 per cent as kulaks. The last remnants of the large landowners disappeared during the expropriation in 1949.

The landless, small and middle peasants were encouraged to form and enter collective farms by a 'carrot and stick' policy, while 'kulaks' were gradually taxed to poverty and then allowed to join collective farms. The socialist transformation of agriculture, was seen as an absolutely necessary but difficult process, requiring much time and patience.

But no matter how difficult and complex this task (the socialist transformation of agriculture) may be, it has to be done. A socialist economy cannot in the long run be based on two profoundly different socio-economic bases; a large and rapidly developing industrial sector and an agricultural sector based on backward and fragmented small scale peasant production⁷⁴.

The aim was not only to change the mode of production, but also to transform the peasant psychology and mode of life in line with socialist ideals and ideology⁷⁵.

The transformation of agriculture was the most complex and difficult task facing the new regime. Sheer magnitude made the enterprise much more difficult than the nationalization of commerce and manufacturing. There were over three million agricultural holdings, but only 47 500 manufacturing and other non-agricultural enterprises⁷⁶. It was by necessity also different in nature from the nationalization in the nonagricultural sectors. The owners of manufacturing and trading firms were

thought to be dispensable and their consent to nationalization not required. The agricultural proprietors - the peasants - made up the vast majority of the population, and the government could not afford to antagonize them too much. Attempts to collectivize by force in 1949 and 1950 had failed and were later harshly condemned by Gheorgiu-Dej⁷⁷. Peasant culture steeped in religion, tradition and possession of land inevitably was in conflict with the aims and values of the regime. Peasants were traditionally wary of state intentions and not easily convinced of the benefits of socialist agriculture. They were largely self-subsistent and thus less exposed to economic pressure than other groups. The creation of a socialist society required the transformation of the peasantry into an agricultural working class and the collectivization of agriculture should be seen in this context.

Three prerequisites for successful collectivization were pointed out⁷⁸: a) mechanization of agriculture; b) the creation of a cadre of agronomists and other agricultural specialists to assist the collectives and c) indoctrination of peasants to make possible collectivization by consent. They restrained the pace of collectivization. Although consent was repeatedly said to be important, collectivization was not held out as a spontaneous process, but the result of a relentlessly enforced policy. As peasants were put under increasing pressure to enter collectives, the definition of consent became increasingly elastic. An analysis of livestock, crop and mechanization statistics led Montias to conclude that the mentioned prerequisites by and large were fulfilled⁷⁹. The tractor/ arable land quotient in the socialist sector remained almost constant between 1958 and 1962, a remarkable achievement considering the fast increase of collectivized arable land over the period, Table 7. Livestock was not reduced, indicating a more peaceful procedure than in the Soviet Union after 1928.

All in all, the orderly and relatively mild character of the Romanian collectivization campaign 1958 to 1962 contrasts positively with the Soviet experience of the early 1930's and even with Romania's earlier attempt to dragooon farmers into collectives in the 1950's⁸⁰.

However, a decline in orchards and vineyards and a shift from cattle to hogs, i.e. from long-term to short-term investments⁸¹, indicate that many peasants in the Fifties regarded their future as uncertain.

To make the change from individual peasant cultivation to collective farming more gradual, an intermediate form of loose collective association was instituted. In these associations (intovarasiri) each household retained ownership over its land and animals, but tilled most of the land in common. Although the zadruga system, found elsewhere in the Balkans, was uncommon in Romania, joint labour in the field (claca) was in line with Romanian tradition and the associations were certainly much more palatable to the peasants than the full-fledged collectives. The associations were regarded by the regime as a

strictly interim form and in the final collectivization campaign all were turned into collective farms⁸². After several

Table 7. Distribution of Arable Land by Type of Tiller, Percentages

Year	Individual		Associations	Collectives	State	
	Private	CAP members			Total	IAS
1950	88.0	0.1	..	2.7	9.1	5.9
1951	86.4	0.1	..	2.8	10.7	6.7
1952	80.0	0.3	2.0	6.7	11.0	6.9
1953	75.3	0.3	2.5	7.4	14.5	7.0
1954	75.1	0.3	3.3	7.6	13.7	7.2
1955	74.1	0.3	4.0	7.9	13.7	7.2
1956	69.2	0.5	7.8	9.2	13.3	7.9
1957	52.0	0.6	20.2	13.9	13.3	9.3
1958	44.7	0.8	24.3	16.7	13.5	10.4
1959	26.0	1.6	30.3	25.7	16.4	12.9
1960	15.7	2.8	25.3	39.0	17.2	13.7
1961	13.1	4.3	13.9	49.2	17.5	15.9
1962	3.5	7.8	1.5	69.6	17.6	13.9
1963	3.4	7.9	1.5	68.1	19.1	15.3
1964	4.5	8.0	0.3	67.3	19.9	16.1
1965	4.6	8.2	0.1	67.8	20.0	16.6
1970	4.6	8.2	..	66.6	20.6	17.1
1975	4.7	8.0	..	66.2	21.1	17.0
1980	4.8	7.7	..	66.2	21.3	16.7

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1971), (1976), (1981),
Dezvoltarea Agriculturii RPR (1965: 108-109)

Remarks: Individual, private: Privately owned land
Individual, CAP-members: Personal lots of
CAP-members
Associations (Intovarasiri): Land and equipment privately owned, but most of the land worked in common.
Collectives (Colective Agricole de Productie): Data exclude personal lots tilled by CAP members
IAS (Intreprinderi agricole de stat): State farms

years of slow advance a final collectivization campaign began in 1958 and four years later the socialization of agriculture was concluded, Table 7. In these four years the general rule appears to have been to collectivize the fertile and easily mechanized plains first, and to make maximum use of scarce agricultural machinery. It was here that the advantages of large-scale, mechanized farming were most obvious. When collectivization in the plains approached the saturation point, the hilly regions of the Carpathian Piedmont and the Transylvanian

Tableland came into focus. Dobrogea and most of Muntenia, Oltenia, Banat and Crisana were collectivized prior to Moldavia, Transylvania and Maramures. About four per cent of the arable land remained uncollectivized, most of it marginal land in the mountains where the prospects for large-scale mechanized farming were poor. Local resistance to collectivization was sometimes a decisive factor in hilly areas with poor land, but never on the plains. The collectivized households were allowed to keep a cow, a few pigs and sheep and poultry and to retain a private lot, usually 0.3 - 0.4 hectares.

Table 8. Degree of Mechanization in Agriculture: Area Ploughed and Sown by Tractor and Harvested with Combine

Year	Ploughed			Sown			Harvested		
	Ind	CAP	State	Ind	CAP	State	Ind	CAP	State
1955	12.8	85.8	96.0	2.9	48.5	86.5	3.8	49.2	86.0
1960	28.9	85.9	98.9	13.1	57.6	96.1	5.3	41.8	95.3
1961	28.2	85.6	99.0	12.8	68.7	96.8	3.6	49.3	96.8
1962	20.5	85.8	99.8	2.0	66.4	96.1	2.0	44.1	98.7
1963	24.5	87.1	99.6	15.6	72.2	97.8	12.7	50.2	96.7
1964	22.7	92.8	99.2	10.7	78.1	98.3	9.6	56.6	94.0

Source: Dezvoltarea agriculturii RPR (1965: 414-415)

Remarks: Ind: Individual farms, i.e. total less State and CAP.
CAP: Collective farms

Mechanization was largely confined to the socialist sector of agriculture and intimately connected with the collectivization and the expansion of the socialist sector at the expense of the private, Table 8. Machine-tractor stations were set up to serve agricultural collectives and associations with machinery⁸³. State farms had their own machinery. Individual farms could rent from the stations, but could not acquire machinery which were not marketed. The peak of mechanization coincided with the collectivization. On the local level the correlation was even more intimate.

As as village was collectivized it also gained easier access to tractors and other machinery. Apart from a general increase in the capital-to-land ratio, there was also a shift in the capital stucture as machinery were substituted for draught animals.

Animal power decreased from 80 per cent of total power in agriculture⁸⁴ in 1950 to 58 per cent in 1955, to 34 in 1950 and 11 in 1964⁸⁵.

Table 9. Structure of the Agricultural Population in 1956, 1966 and 1977

Category	1956		1966		1977	
	1 000	%	1000	%	1000	%
Active population	7 254.0	100.0	5 889.6	100.0	3 942.1	100.0
Private farmers	6 234.1	85.9	699.9	11.9	633.4	16.1
Associated farmers	386.2	5.3	69.9	1.2	2.0	0.0
CAP members	369.3	5.1	4 576.0	77.7	2 768.5	70.2
IAS	153.8	2.1	264.7	4.5	249.1	6.3
SMA	51.5	0.7	102.7	1.7	132.6	3.4

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a: 770-771), (1966: Vol I, 420-421), (1977: Vol I, 180-181)

Remarks: Active CAP-members working only their private lots - mainly elderly - were not included. They were 154 000 in 1966 and 99 600 in 1977.

Table 10. Age and Sex Structure in Agriculture, Percentages

Category	1956	1966	1977
Mean age	38.2	40.5	43.2
Male, per cent	46.4	42.5	37.3

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a: 770-771), (1966: Vol I, 420-421), (1977: Vol I, 180-181)

Remarks: Statistics on the active population was given by quinquennials. Mean age was calculated as the sum of people in each group multiplied by the mean age of the group and divided by the total of the active population.

In the interwar period small and fragmented holdings and lack of capital and know-how had led to low productivity. Lack of non-farm employment opportunities caused much of the natural increase in rural areas to remain in agriculture, further depressing productivity. By 1948, the marginal productivity of labour in agriculture must have been very low. As rapid industrialization led to an increase in non-farm jobs, and mechanization and the merging of small holdings into cooperatives reduced the need for labour in agriculture, it should come as no surprise that the percentage engaged in agriculture decreased in the postwar period, although still very high by

West-European standards. The rate of decrease was almost twice as high in 1956-1966 as between 1948 and 1956⁸⁶. Collectivization gave a strong impetus to seek non-farm jobs. Through collectivization peasants became less tied to the land and mechanization reduced the demand for labour⁸⁷. The collectives received not only land but also labour in abundance from the individual sector. The land-to-labour quotient for the collectives went down from 1.7 hectares per active in 1958 to 1.3 in 1963 as collectivization advanced in less productive but heavily populated regions. For the high degree of mechanization attained in 1963 and the low output, the land-to-labour quotient was very low. State farms, by comparison had much larger production per hectare with four times as high land/labour quotient⁸⁸. The transfer of labour from agriculture to the secondary and tertiary sectors in the Sixties and Seventies should be seen against this background.

SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

An intensive development of the productive forces in all parts of the country in a unitary and long term perspective is a precondition for the creation of the socialist society. This is the only way to guarantee an increase in the level of civilization in all localities, a cessation of the migration to the large cities, a harmonious transformation of the entire social structure and life, the achievement of total equality with regard to conditions of life and work and the assertion of all citizens in social life and in the use of their rights.⁸⁹

As part of an overall strategy to create a communist society, the policies for regional development and urbanization in Romania has a wider scope than regional policies in market economy countries. The merger of all social classes into a uniform class, modelled after the urban working class, is essential for the creation of the communist society. Regional policies in Romania thus have explicit social and cultural goals in addition to economic ones. Traistaru & Traistaru⁹⁰ distinguish four fields of homogenization: economic, social, political and cultural. They are obviously interconnected and in the formulation of policies for regional development and urbanization all aspects on homogenization are taken into account. Social, cultural and political homogenization are major aims in addition to regional harmony in the economic development. The wide scope is well illustrated in the Communist Party Programme of 1974⁹¹, which states that the creation of the diversified socialist society requires: a) regional policy that ensures harmonious economic development and uniform increases in living standards; b) elimination of differences between agricultural and industrial work; c) increasingly dominant role of the working class in society; d) a social and cultural homogenization of the people.

Policies are highly urban-oriented. The urban life style is considered superior to traditional rural life and urbanization is considered to have a value per se⁹². Mining and manufacturing have higher prestige than agriculture. However, present agricultural problems have led to an unprecedented preoccupation with the primary sector and the official esteem of this sector is increasing. If this reevaluation of agriculture will be permanent is yet too early to tell.

The first post-WW II period - from the late 1940s until the mid-60s - was devoted to the creation of an industrial and agricultural base on which to build 'an advanced socialist society', and the second period has aimed for a more balanced development - by sector as well as by region - for 'a multilaterally diversified, developed, socialist society'⁹³. A third stage planned to follow the present within a few decades - will be the creation of 'a homogeneous communist society'.

The preoccupation since 1965 with regional development and urbanization, manifested in statements and ambitious programmes, stands in sharp contrast to the slight interest shown in the past. The shift is said not to be coincidental. Socialization of the means of production - nationalization of industry and collectivization of agriculture - was a prerequisite for effective regional development and urbanization policies⁹⁴. The succession of Nicolae Ceausescu as party secretary, after the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in 1965, probably also contributed to increased concern with regional development.

Policy Formation

It is useful to distinguish between policies for regional development and for territorial systematization. The latter has come to mean restructuring of the entire network of localities by means of industrialization and the transfer of labour from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors. The former aims at a 'rational' and 'equitable' regional distribution of the economic development. Two political manifests are the cornerstones of these policies, the administrative reform of 1968 and the systematization programme⁹⁵ elaborated in the early Seventies.

The administrative map is a main instrument in the regional development planning. Central planners and decision makers use it for setting targets and for channeling investments. Regional imbalances will seldom be perceived unless reflected by statistics on administrative units. Resources and investments are concentrated to the centres of these units. The reform of 1968 created an entirely new administrative map and shaped regional policies in the Seventies. An analysis of the reform and the administrative map reveals much about regional policies and development.

The systematization programme was adopted at the Communist Party Conference in 1972 and passed as a law in 1975. Its many detailed provisions and directives make up a blueprint for the restructuring of the economic map of Romania. An in-depth study of the programme is warranted by its importance to the contemporary urban transition.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM OF 1968

The 1968 reform is a milestone in Romanian regional planning, materializing its growing importance and changing the premises for its development. Although not the first reform of its kind⁹⁶ it was the most comprehensive, bringing profound changes at all levels of the administration. The three level hierarchy, dividing the country into a) 16 regions (regiuni), b) 150 districts (raioane), and c) 4260 communes⁹⁷ and 183 towns was substituted for a two level hierarchy, dividing the country into a) 39 counties (judete)⁹⁸ and b) 2562 rural and 144 suburban communes and 236 towns. At the same time the cumbersome division of the towns into national, regional or district towns according to their importance to the national economy was abandoned for a simpler division into cities (municipii) and towns (orase).

The old administrative division was discarded as inefficient. The two middle levels led to unnecessary bureaucracy and the large size of the regions to a concentration of industrial development to a few regional centres and to economic disparities within regions. Many former county capitals declined as they lost their administrative status and the role of towns and rural communes was undermined when decisions that could be taken locally was referred to the district level⁹⁹.

The new division was a return to the traditional Romanian administrative pattern - although the new counties were fewer and larger. The rejection of the Soviet-inspired division, introduced after World War II, was emphasized by the introduction of the old term judet for the new mid-level. The new division should decrease the distance between top and bottom levels, reduce bureaucracy and increase the administrative and economic power of the communes. Local party control was enhanced by a decision to make the county and communal party secretaries eligible for the posts as county presidents and mayors. To increase the viability of the communes they were reduced from 4260 to 2706.

According to Blaga¹⁰⁰ the increasing interest in local development was a consequence of the national development. As the economy develops, the focus of regional planning is on smaller and smaller units. The rough division into regions may have met the needs of the economy in the early postwar years, but a finer division became necessary as the economy became more sophisticated¹⁰¹.

The counties were intended as socio-economic entities, viable economic units rationally employing their labour force and ensuring a diversified economic development. They were to have an average population of 450 000 inhabitants and an area of 6100 km², encompassing 40-50 rural communes and at least one major economic centre¹⁰². The counties were also intended to be equal with regard to economic potential. However, large regional disparities, that had been obscured in the statistics of the few regions, were disclosed when data were recalculated for

the new administrative units. Eight counties had a gross industrial production of more than 6000 million lei, fourteen counties did not even reach 2000 million lei¹⁰³. Decreasing the inter-county differences in the level of industrialization was made a major task for the future.

Zones of influence and the transportation network were important criteria in the delimitation of the counties. All parts of the county were to have good access to the county capital. Attention was also paid to historical and cultural ties¹⁰⁴.

Initially it was decided that the main economic centre should form the county capital¹⁰⁵. Later a central position in the county was introduced as a second criterion¹⁰⁶. The importance of this was manifested in the selection of Slobozia as county capital in Ialomita, Alexandria in Teleorman, Slatina in Olt and Vaslui in the county of Vaslui, instead of the larger, but more peripheral towns of Calarasi, Turnu Magurele, Corabia and Birlad. Initially thirty-six counties were designed, but shortly after the party conference in December 1967 three more counties - Braila, Mehedinti and Salaj - were created as a response to regional opinions¹⁰⁷. The Municipality of Bucuresti was given an independent status, equal to that of the counties.

The function of the counties as economic entities was further stressed in the late Seventies, when demands for a higher degree of county self-sufficiency in industrial inputs and agricultural products were raised. Among measures taken, the most important was a decree requiring all counties to be self-sufficient with agricultural products and to produce a surplus for a central national fund. With large regional differences in natural conditions it is hard to see how all counties may become self-sufficient.

In an obvious attempt to facilitate this for agricultural products, a minor change in the administrative division was made in January 1981¹⁰⁸. The Municipality of Bucuresti was expanded to include some 764 km² of agricultural land, from the county of Ilfov. Three other counties were also affected, Table 11.

Table 11. Effects of the 1981 Change in the Administrative Division

County	Old Division		New Division	
	Area km ²	Inh. (000)	Area km ²	Inh. (000)
Bucuresti	605	1 933.9	1 369	2 033.7
Calarasi	-	-	4 754	333.8
Dimbovita	3 738	421.6	4 026	527.6
Giurgiu	-	-	3 810	377.9
Ialomita	6 211	372.8	4 912	311.9
Ilfov	8 225	780.4	-	-
Teleorman	5 872	523.0	5 780	518.9

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1980), (1981), Decretul 1981/15

Remarks: Population data refer to January 15, 1977

Economic, social, cultural and traditional ties, as well as existing road and rail networks, were main criteria in the delimitation of the enlarged rural communes. A population of 4500-5000 inhabitants was set as an optimum for the new communes. However, in reality most communes fell short of this goal. The largest and most centrally located village was made commune center (resedinta de judet)¹⁰⁹. The reform also involved a new delimitation of most towns. The administrative boundaries of many towns were extended, ostensibly as a consequence of the increased influence by towns over their umland. Fifty-three rural communes were upgraded to towns¹¹⁰.

Two new administrative bodies were instituted, the County Popular Council and the Town (Commune) Popular Council¹¹¹. The former's responsibilities were to implement decisions from above, plan the economy of the county and approve local economic plans and budgets. The latter were made responsible for the execution of socio-economic decisions on the local level, although plans and budgets were referred to higher level for approval. A special school was created to train political cadres for the communes¹¹². The important role of communes and towns as basic administrative units was repeatedly emphasized¹¹³. But only the functions to execute and suggest were decentralized to the local level. The final say in important matters remained in Bucuresti.

The administrative reform was accompanied by a decision to make a thorough revision and rearrangement of the rural settlement system referred to as the 'systematization' of the rural localities.¹¹⁴ All communes should have as a minimum: a primary school (class 1-8/10), a cultural house, a library, a medical dispensary, a maternity ward, a public bath, a grocery, a non-food store, a bakery and repair and service shops. The 'systematization' of the communes and villages was to include three elements: a) Land use plans confining all nonagricultural land use to the continuously built up area of the village (vatra); b) plans for endowment with roads, sewage, electricity etc; and c) regulations assuring a 'proper' architectural facade in the villages. Special attention should be paid to the 'systematization' of communes with good development potentials and those in the proximity of towns¹¹⁵.

Rural 'systematization' made slow progress, but it was a first attempt to fundamentally change the rural landscape and emphasized the increasing importance paid to the development of the rural sector. The period 1969-1972 was devoted to policy formulation and saw the beginning of comprehensive 'systematization' studies. Documentary studies were made, aiming at economic zonification and classification of villages according to growth potential. Such studies were carried out for most towns. Several comprehensive local studies of the urbanization process were also published¹¹⁶.

THE SYSTEMATIZATION PROGRAMME

A comprehensive programme for the 'systematization' of Romania was adopted at the Communist Party Conference in July 1972¹¹⁷. The opening statement of the programme expressed the importance attached to 'systematization':

The construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the general progress of the country are inseparably connected with the judicious organization and systematization of the territory, which makes possible a well-balanced distribution of the productive forces over the whole country and a harmonious development of various zones and localities¹¹⁸.

A fundamental idea in the programme was to structure urban and rural localities into a well-defined hierarchy with a pre-determined place and function for each locality, with each region and locality developed according to the role planned for it to ensure a harmonious national development. The rural 'systematization' was considered particularly important as the traditional settlement pattern with many small villages - in some areas with rather scattered houses - was seen as an obstacle to modernization and to narrowing the social and economic gap between rural and urban life. Industrialization and urbanization of rural localities was said to require a well-structured network of densely populated small agglomerations, the bottom level of the national settlement hierarchy. According to the programme 'increasing the level of organization and civilization in the villages can only be achieved through a concentration of buildings'¹¹⁹. 'Systematization' aimed at facilitating continued rapid industrialization without depopulation of rural areas and excessive concentration into large cities.

The 1972 programme was the basis for the urbanization policies in the Seventies. Its basic principles were: a) Studies determining the profile of all zones and localities should be made as a basis for subsequent development plans. The prospects of all localities, specifying future size and profile, should be determined. Some 300-350 rural localities should be selected for development into towns. b) Conservation of agricultural land was considered imperative and the environment should be protected. Agricultural land should not be converted into urban land. c) The rural population should be concentrated to fewer localities through the gradual phasing out of villages with no prospects for development; a population concentration within the localities should be assured through more intensive land use. d) Popular participation in the elaboration and execution of the 'systematization' plans should be ensured.

For the urban system it was stated that rapid urbanization made it imperative to study the socio-economic profile of each town and to ensure a rational location and a harmonious development of place of work, housing and services. The need for land zoning, intensified and rational land use, increased density of apartments in residential areas and environmental protection were dealt with in detail. The need for more intensive center-umland relations is pointed up, as well as inter-urban relations, to be taken into account in the 'systematization' activities.

The guidelines for 'systematization' of the villages was a central part of the programme. It stressed the importance of a discriminatory development policy, concentrating investments to localities with good development prospects, particularly to future towns. Construction of houses and service units should be allowed only in villages with development prospects; small ones and those with scattered houses should gradually be depopulated. The built-up area was to be restricted by tightly drawn settlement perimeters, beyond which new buildings must not be constructed. A more intensive land use was foreseen for the villages with population densities often increasing many-fold. Inter-communal cooperation was encouraged in order to make better use of investments. The preservation of elements of traditional architecture was recommended, as far as possible using local raw materials in the construction of new buildings.

The 300-350 rural localities to be developed into towns should be selected on the basis of several criteria. Material and human resources, geographic location, relations with surrounding localities, access to railways and modernized roads and the state of existing infrastructure. The development of these localities into agro-industrial centres should contribute to the 'judicious blending' of industrial and agricultural activities. They were designed for at least 5000 inhabitants, an umland of 4-5 rural communes, within 15-20 km, and endowed with central functions for the town and its umland¹²⁰.

Some organisation measures were also specified. A government commission for systematization¹²¹ should guide and coordinate all activities. The local bodies should be reorganized and enlarged. A centre of systematization was to be instituted, responsible for systematization activities, nationally and inter-county, and serving the local centres with technical assistance. The Council of Ministers were to elaborate a systematization law and a national systematization programme, and the county councils should coordinate local systematization activities.

The 1972 systematization programme was followed by the 1974 law on 'Systematization of the territory and the urban and rural localities'¹²². One of the key paragraphs of the law declared:

Through systematization the development of the towns and the communes ... within the frame of a general national programme will be assured, having in view the entire network of urban and rural localities, their mutual influence, the correlation of the development of the towns and villages with their surrounding zones and the extension of the cooperation between localities. Special attention will be devoted to the rural localities with the aim to gradually increase the level of living in these localities, bringing it closer to that of the urban areas...¹²³.

The law also aimed at more rational land use and savings in infrastructure investments through concentration of people, land use zoning and reclamation of agricultural land. The law provided a minimum density criteria for new constructions in towns. Increased density in urban areas should be achieved through higher buildings and closer distances between blocks. Five floors were set as a recommendation and two floors as a minimum for new buildings. In residential areas the minimum density level was 4 000 m² living space per hectare. The law also provided guidelines for the arrangement of public transportation and other public services.

The impact of the law should be greatest in the rural localities. Villages will be structured like towns; the settlement perimeter will be strictly drawn, land use zoning will include distinct civil centres with administrative and service units concentrated to one or a few multistoried buildings. New houses should have two floors or more and house lots should be restricted to 250 m², with 12 m street fronts a maximum. Private lots of collective farm members¹²⁴ should be moved outside the settlement perimeter. House lots in excess of 250 m² will be included in the calculation of the private lot. The population of villages that are small or have scattered buildings and which are without development prospects, and people living outside villages will gradually be moved to larger agglomerations according to long-term plans made by the Popular County Councils.

The socio-economic investments will be highly selective. Service units will be concentrated to commune centres and designed to cover the needs of the entire commune, while service units in other villages will be restricted to basic daily needs. Commune centres, particularly future towns, will get investments in industrial or agro-industrial enterprises, artisan cooperatives and other economic units based on local human and material resources.

The final section of the law specifies the tasks of various administrative bodies. Central coordinating and controlling roles are given to the State Committee of Planning¹²⁵ and to the Committee for the Problems of the Popular Councils¹²⁶. A central party and state commission will guide the 'systematization' activities and prepare the national programme. It will also serve the local centres with norms, standard projects and technical advice and control their activities.

An appendix to the law specified the administrative bodies that should carry out, keep track of and decide on various 'systematization' documents. A distinction is made between four kinds: 'Systematization' studies (studii de sistematizare) which draw the socio-economic profile and the prospects of an area; 'systematization' plans (schite de sistematizare) which outline, often with several alternatives, the spatial and socio-economic development of the locality; 'systematization' details (detalii de sistematizare) which provide a detailed physical plan of a locality or part thereof; and location studies (studii de amplasament) of individual buildings to be located within an area. The systematization studies are carried out for the nation, counties and communes¹²⁷ and for functional zones extending over county borders. Systematization plans are made for all localities and communes.

The documents generally consist of a synthesis, a justificatory memorandum, models, drafts, maps and an appendix including maps of existing and proposed installations, calculation of costs, etc¹²⁸. While the local bureaus generally are responsible for the elaboration of the documents - sometimes in cooperation with the central agencies - decisions on approval and adoption are made at a higher level. The final approval of plans and studies for counties, functional zones and county capitals rests with the president. The Council of Ministers approves plans of cities (municipii) and future towns, while the Popular County Councils approve plans of other towns and of rural communes and villages. It should be noted that, while the plans for towns and villages are approved at the county level, the plans for rural localities to be developed into towns are referred to Bucuresti for approval.

The main principles of the 'systematization' programme were adopted at the 11th Party Congress in November 1974¹²⁹. They confirmed the essential role of 'systematization' in the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society. It was stated that

One of the essential guiding principles of all systematization activities will be the ensurance of equal living conditions for all citizens of the country regardless of nationality... of the gradual disappearance of the differences between town and villages by bringing villages to the same level of development as towns¹³⁰.

Although 'systematization' is essentially horizontal and sectorial planning vertical, the two are in reality closely interconnected and must cooperate closely to avoid discrepancies and dysfunctions. 'Systematization' usually takes a longer view than sectoral planning whose perspective plans stretch over 10-15 years, with five-year goal-oriented and specific plans and one-year operationalized plans. 'Systematization' has 15-20 years and for large investments 30-50 years as its basic perspective. The long-term plans are broken down into operational plans of 3-5 years aiming for stage goals. Hence, sectoral planning is more directly applicable than

'systematization' which outlines premises and solutions which may have to be revised later on¹³¹.

According to Ciobotaru (1971) 'systematization' consists of several stages: Firstly, understanding reality, which means that it must be based on a documentary study. Secondly, forecasting which implies the study of economic plans and other documents leading to alternatives plans in close correlation between 'systematization' and planning. Thirdly, choice and adoption of plan, execution and control. 'Systematization' and sectorial planning are tied step-wise to each other.

Regional Development and Systematization

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

In the early postwar years investments were concentrated to counties¹³² with a well-developed industrial base or with mineral resources¹³³. In 1951-55 seven counties¹³⁴ with 22 per cent of the population, received 58 per cent of investments. Per capita investments in fourteen poorly industrialized counties were less than a third of the national average¹³⁵.

The regional distribution of investments gradually became more even. With few exceptions they increased at above national rates in less industrialized counties. In 1976-80 Satu Mare had the lowest per capita investments, only 47% of the national. Two counties, Constanta and Gorj - as against seven in 1951-55 - had per capita values more than twice the national average. The more equitable investment pattern is clearly expressed by the coefficient of variation of per capita data by counties: in the early Fifties 103, late Fifties 74, early Sixties 55, late Sixties 56, early Seventies 46 and late Seventies 45 per cent¹³⁶.

Efforts to emphasize less developed areas have been irregular. In the Fifties the only such areas receiving large investments were those with large untapped natural resources. Exploitation of oil and lignite deposits in Gorj and the construction of hydroelectric plants in the Bistrita River in Neamt explain the large investments in those counties. The investments in Ialomita were due to the development of the agricultural potentials of the Baragan steppe. The Soviet inspired attempts to dig a canal from the Black Sea to the Danube explains the large investments allocated to Constanta in 1951-55. The project was abandoned shortly after Stalin's death, but was taken up again in the late Seventies.

The investments pattern in the early Sixties was clearly influenced by the division of the country into only sixteen regions. Large, poorly industrialized areas, e.g. Oltenia and much of Muntenia, benefited from increasing shares of the

national investments. The poor economic status of such future counties as Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Salaj and Vaslui was not perceived in regional statistics and they continued to be niggardly treated for investments.

The administrative reform of 1968 revealed large regional disparities and provided an administrative apparatus to deal with disparities in economic development. While gross industrial production exceeded 6 000 million lei in eight counties in 1967, it was less than 2 000 million¹³⁷ in fourteen counties. Immediately after the administrative reform it was decided to invest heavily in nine poorly industrialized counties¹³⁸. While the 1966-70 investments averaged 1.7 times those of 1961-65, they were 4.2 times larger in Mehedinti, 3.9 times in Vilcea and 2.5 times in Arges, Buzau and Covasna¹³⁹.

The 1971-75 plan set the national rate of increase of the gross industrial production at 12.2 per cent per annum, but much faster rates were foreseen in counties with low per capita production: Olt 29 per cent, Tulcea 28, Salaj and Vilcea 25, Mehedinti and Teleorman 22, Bistrita-Nasaud and Vaslui 20 and Buzau 19 per cent¹⁴⁰. Actual performance exceeded the plan in 1971-75¹⁴¹, but fell short in six of the specified counties¹⁴². In all but one of these - Tulcea - growth rates exceeded the national average.

Regional aspects of economic development received more attention in the new plan than previously. A major directive was that all counties by 1980 should achieve a gross industrial production of at least 10 000 million lei, a more than fourfold increase in five years for several counties¹⁴³. This implied that a substantial part of the national investments had to be earmarked for less industrialized counties.

Table 12. Distribution of Counties by Gross Industrial Production, 1 000 million Lei

Class	Achieved			Planned 1980	Achieved 1980
	1965	1970	1975		
- 2	14	5	1	-	-
2.1 - 4	13	11	4	-	-
4.1 - 10	9	15	14	-	8
10.1 - 15	3	5	7	16	7
15.1 - 25	-	3	10	12	14
25.1 -	1	1	4	12	11

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1979: 145), (1981: 155), PCR (1979a)

In spite of massive investments in counties as Salaj and Bistrita-Nasaud, gross industrial production fell short of the 10 000 million lei target in eight counties¹⁴⁴. Massive injection of investments, within a few years, into poorly industrialized regions lacking adequate infrastructure and qualified workers created many bottlenecks¹⁴⁵. Full effect will appear only after a long period of sustained effort.

The 1981-85 plan shifts emphasis in regional development. Gross industrial production pays no attention to variations in population¹⁴⁶, and this crude measure has been abandoned in favour of population-related criteria. The minimal regional per capita targets for 1985 are: 70 000 lei gross production (*productie globala*), of which 10 000 agricultural and 40 000 industrial production. At least 40 per cent of the population should be on payrolls in all counties¹⁴⁷. The change of development criteria has regional consequences. While Bistrita-Nasaud, Salaj and Tulcea were in focus in 1976-80, the highest rates of increase are now foreseen for Teleorman, Vaslui, Ialomita, Suceava and Vilcea¹⁴⁸.

Table 13. Range of Gross Industrial Output (A) and Gross Industrial Output per Capita (B) by County (Maximum/Minimum)

	Actual		Planned	
	1975	1980	1985	1990
A	21.2	13.3	5.7	4.8
B	12.4	6.5	4.2	2.6

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1981), Ianovici & Popescu (1977: 21)

Remarks: Figures for 1985 and 1990 according to official forecasts. Bucuresti excluded. Counties according to the 1968 administrative division

Experiences from 1976-80 and the lower national rates of economic growth foreseen in the 1981-85 plan¹⁴⁹ partly explain the much lower development targets for the less developed counties in the new plan. In retrospect, the 1976-80 industrialization effort in the less industrialized counties appears to have been a limited effort to ensure a sufficient industrial base for effective systematization in all counties. When the goal is gradually achieved the focus may switch from county industrialization to commune development. Emphasis on county self-sufficiency in key products and small-scale and artisan manufacturing - based on local material and human resources¹⁵⁰ - is an important feature in the 1981-85 plan. This should contribute to decentralization of non-agrarian activities, necessary for successful industrialization and systematization in rural areas.

In conclusion, the Seventies have seen a more equitable distribution of investments to less industrialized counties. Although, still below the national average, the per capita investments in most of these counties increased at a higher rate than the national average. Botosani constitutes a conspicuous exception with a persistent small share of investments. The rapid increase of per capita investments in the poorly industrialized counties was particularly pronounced after 1975. In Bistrita-Nasaud and Salaj they increased from an annual average of 900 lei in 1966-70 to 7-8 thousand lei in 1976-80.

Unfortunately, information on investments are neither published on administrative units smaller than counties, nor on rural and urban areas. Balanced development within the counties seems to increase as they become more developed. In the Sixties and Seventies the policy was to concentrate large industrial plants to the county capitals in poorly industrialized counties. The construction of an aluminium plant in Slatina and a car assembly plant in Pitesti were examples in the Sixties and the rapid growth of the county capitals in Salaj and Bistrita-Nasaud - Zalau and Bistrita - and a modest growth of other towns indicates that the policy was continued in the Seventies.

Table 14. Regional Contribution to National Gross Agricultural and Industrial Production and Share in Total Investments in the Socialist Sector, per Mill

Region	Share of Production				Share of Investments		
	1965	1970	1975	1980	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80
Maramures	40	35	33	40	26	27	34
Crisana-Banat	125	113	103	108	79	83	85
Transylvania	242	235	222	231	157	175	172
Oltenia	66	79	90	88	125	126	116
Muntenia	193	194	195	196	214	215	191
Dobrogea	38	35	32	33	61	66	94
Moldavia	163	165	173	173	165	164	176
Bucuresti	133	145	153	131	163	143	132

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1971: 120), (1979: 145, 360, 376-77, 392, 401), (1981: 155, 376, 418-29)

Remarks: Production calculated as gross agricultural and industrial production in lei. Investments measured as total investments in the socialist sector. The large share of investments allocated to Dobrogea in 1976-80 is mainly due to the Black Sea - Danube Canal Project.

The contribution of Maramures, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania to the national industrial and agricultural pro-

duction considerably exceed their investment shares; the reverse holds for Oltenia and Dobrogea. This net economic transfer from the former regions to the latter, Table 14, was observed already in the interwar period¹⁵¹. It decreased in the Seventies. The decline of production shares for Maramures, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania was broken after 1975, probably as a result of the contemporary efforts to develop their economically lagging counties. A more detailed study reveals that at least until 1970 several counties in Maramures, Crisana-Banat, Transylvania and Moldavia with per-capita production well below the national average still had a larger share in production than in investments¹⁵², in sharp contrast to the situation in the less developed counties of Oltenia and Muntenia. Except for Botosani, this was apparently not the case in the Seventies.

Without being an explicit urbanization programme, a number of measures will stimulate the transfer of labour from agriculture to other sectors of the economy.

Table 15. Average Monthly Income, Lei

Year	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
Wage earners	337	499	802	1028	1289	1595	2238	(2670)
Collective farmers	172	381	416	506	589	1018	1388	(1741)

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1981:132), Economia Romaniei Socialiste (1979: 280-281), PCR (1979b), Scinteia (12.06.77), (21.08.77)

Remarks: Average monthly income (Venituri medii reale)
 Wage earners (Personal muncitori), covers all work for salary or wage
 Collective farmers (Tarani CAP), nominal income in kind and in cash
 Data for 1980 and 1985 according to the 1981-1985 five-year plan

The main principle is that remuneration should reflect the economic and social contribution of the work¹⁵³. It depends on quantity as well as quality and varies between economic branches according to their importance to the national economy. Low income in the cooperative agricultural sector reflect underemployment of the work force and low appreciation of the sector's importance and is probably the main stimulus for the transfer of labour from agriculture to other sectors. The income of the collective farmer is directly tied to results with large variations from farm to farm and from region to region in addition to large annual variations. The collective farmer has not only a smaller but also a less secure income than the wage earner and it is partly in kind, which may also

add to the attractiveness of wage work. On the other hand, the collective farmer, as most rural dwellers, obtains extra income from the cultivation of his private lot.

Pensions, allocations for children and retail prices also disfavour the rural population. Pensions were introduced for collective farmers in 1971 and for non-collective farmers in 1977, but are incomparably lower than for wage earners. Allocations for children in rural areas are approximately two thirds of those in urban areas¹⁵⁴ and retail prices are ten per cent higher.

Other living conditions also differ between the urban - nonagricultural and the rural - agricultural populations: Housing, education, medical care and the supply of consumer goods. Even if the rural disadvantage in these respects may be a common international phenomenon, and not part of an urbanization policy, in a centrally planned society they nevertheless reflect government priorities. Less tangible is the low prestige of agricultural work and the agricultural sector in general, a phenomenon characteristic of most societies undergoing rapid urbanization, but particularly pronounced in the socialist countries.

Since 1980 the official appreciation of the agricultural sector and its population has gradually increased. In 1981 the state purchase prices for agricultural products from the collective farms were increased and a system of progressive bonuses was introduced for extra deliveries, made possible by high yields. The price ceiling of the private market was abolished. Together these measures provide considerable production incentives. In a speech, early in 1982, Ceausescu¹⁵⁵ called for a return of unskilled labour from the secondary to the primary sector. In other speeches, a few weeks later, Ceausescu spoke of the peasantry in the highest terms, in what appears to be a concerted effort to boost the prestige of this group¹⁵⁶.

RESTRUCTURING THE SYSTEM OF LOCALITIES

According to official estimates, Romania's population will increase from 21.5 million in 1977 to approximately 30 million in 2000. The proportion living in urban areas will increase from 47 to 70-75 per cent between 1977 and 2000, a doubling of the urban people. The agricultural share will decrease from 34.4 per cent in 1977 to 12-15 per cent in 1990¹⁵⁷. The urban system will expand through growth and addition of towns. Growth will be monitored in order to create a spatially and hierarchically well-balanced system of localities¹⁵⁸.

Urban localities are arranged in hierarchies according to size and socio-economic importance. They are generally divided into very large towns (more than 500 thousand inhabitants), large towns (100 - 500 thousand), medium-sized towns (20 or 25 - 100 thousand), and small towns (less than 20 or 25 thousand)¹⁵⁹. A finer division is sometimes used¹⁶⁰. In an

attempt to establish a hierarchy based on socio-economic criteria and spheres of influence, Cucu¹⁶¹ distinguishes five levels: a) Seventeen 'nodal towns' or 'growth poles', of which fourteen with more than 100 thousand inhabitants. b) Some sixty small and medium-sized 'equilibrium centres'. Favourable location and economic and demographic growth distinguish them from others in the size group. c) Centres with 'zonal attraction', economically one-sided, often growing rapidly, but exercising little influence on their umlands. Many oil and mining towns, fluvial and rail nodes, e.g. Pascani, Simeria and Sulina, and agro-industrial towns, e.g. Bals and Salonta, belong to this category. d) Towns exercising only local influence, i.e. the majority of recently declared towns and most small towns. e) Towns with a specialized tertiary sector, mainly spas and health resorts, are seen as 'complimentary centres'.

Traistaru & Traistaru have a somewhat different approach, identifying microsystems with one or more centres within the national economy¹⁶². Hierarchically they distinguish: a) First grade zones - Bucuresti; b) second grade zones - 17 towns of which 14 with more than 100 000 inhabitants and spheres of influence extending into neighbouring counties; c) third grade zones - some 60 rapidly developing towns with particularly favourable locations; d) fourth grade zones - a large number of localities with rich natural resources, including agricultural land. Touristic and agricultural zones are mentioned as separate microsystems under this heading.

The division of towns according to local, county or national importance is common in daily life and has a counterpart in the official classification of economic units according to local, county or national interest.

The rural localities are usually divided into three main categories according to their development perspectives¹⁶³: a) Future urban centres or rural-urban centres; b) villages with development perspectives; and c) those without development perspectives. In the latter group are some villages that will be left alone for the time being and others that will be forced to dissolve. A sub-category of the second group are some 150 villages which will be developed into 'models'¹⁶⁴. The grouping into hierarchies is of great practical importance to individual localities. The designed socio-economic role and growth ture etc largely depend on their hierarchic position. For rural localities this may be a matter of existence.

Table 16. Present and Projected Urban Population by
Size-Group of Towns

Size (000)	1977		2000		2010	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
- 9	74	5.4	182	6.6	380-470	18-20
10 - 19	69	10.1	252	16.5		
20 - 49	57	18.0	122	16.8	130-150	25-30
50 - 99	18	12.8	46	15.9		
100 - 199	9	13.6	21	13.7	22-27	19-21
200 - 299	8	21.0	7	8.4		
300 - 399	-	-	7	11.8	5-7	8-13
400 - 499	-	-	-	-	7	16-16.5
Bucuresti	1	19.1	1	10.3	1	11-11.5
All sizes	236	100.0	638	100.0	550-650	100.0

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1978: 54), Dragomirescu (1977: 22);
Pavlu (1977: 36)

Remarks: The 1977 column is based on census data, those for
2000 and 2010 are two separate forecasts by the
ISLGC, Planning Centre.

Forecasts with the urban population distributed on size-groups of towns have been elaborated, with 1990-2010 as the time horizon, Table 16. The most notable change is the larger share of small towns and the reduced importance of Bucuresti. The great number of small towns will result from the upgrading of rural localities into urban centres. The 2000-forecast emphasizes the creation of new urban centres to increase the urban population, while the 2010-forecast stresses the growth of existing towns. The former appears to be most in line with the current urbanization policy. The 1981-85 plan states that 'the development of the network of urban localities in the coming five years will be characterized by an increasing economic and social importance of the small and medium-sized towns, while the population of the large towns, including Bucuresti, will remain approximately the same¹⁶⁵.

The rank-size rule has sometimes been used as a descriptive tool. The large difference in size between Bucuresti and the second largest town is pointed out as a deviation to be corrected¹⁶⁶. But generally, the hierarchy of localities is seen in a spatial context and interurban and urban-rural relations are emphasized.

Table 17. Numeric Evolution of Localities

Category	Observed		Planned		
	1956	1977	1980	1985	2000-2010
Towns	183	236	365	505	550-650
Villages	15,096	13,149			6,700-7,700

Sources: Lazarescu & Enache (1977: 3), Pavlu (1977: 36), PCR (1979a: 25), Recensamintul (1956a), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: Data for 2000-2010 are approximate. The number of villages corresponds to the number considered to have development potential. No official time-schedule for dissolving the villages without development perspective exists. The planned number of towns for 1980 was not achieved; no new towns were declared. Traistaru & Traistaru (1979:168) puts the number of villages by 1990 at 9,811. The decrease in the number of villages between 1956 and 1977 was of administrative nature; some 1,900 units were degraded to hamlets and subordinated other villages. Many degraded villages had received their village status only in 1956.

Table 17 clearly shows a dramatic change in the network of localities envisaged to take place within the next decades. The creation of many new urban centres and the phasing out of almost half the existing villages are seen as a prerequisite to the industrialization and modernization of the rural landscape. The present settlement pattern is considered to have been outmoded by social, economic and demographic changes in the rural system and an important aim of the rural systematization is to ensure a rational relationship between the present stage of development and the territorial distribution of the population¹⁶⁷.

The planned network of localities is strongly influenced by the theories of Christaller and Lössch, minimizing the effects of distance, permitting continued industrialization with a minimum of population movements, facilitating harmonious territorial distribution of the productive forces and generally reducing the rural-urban differences by providing 'urban services' and a differentiated labour market within 15-20 km of each village.

The importance of rural-urban centres¹⁶⁸ as diffusion points for urbanizing the rural landscape has repeatedly been stressed. Matei & Matei¹⁶⁹ concluded that apart from acting as growth poles and stimulating the development of the umland, they will serve as development models for other rural localities, avoiding the use of the present town as standard. They

argued that the future town should be used as example and that the rural-urban localities should have an important role to play as an alternative urban mode. They predicted that although many rural-urban localities may represent a transition towards full-fledged urban centres, others may stabilize and retain their characteristics. Similar ideas have been evoked by Barbat¹⁷⁰.

A first stage of the systematization programme was to be implemented in 1976-80: Studies and plans should be elaborated and approved for all counties and at least 100 rural localities should be developed into agro-industrial towns¹⁷¹. By 1980 all counties were expected to have at least six towns. Systematization plans now exist for all towns and communes, in many cases in a second or third version. Many rural localities, designed to become urban, have registered important development of the non-agricultural sectors, but as of 1983, none of them had been declared urban.

In a second stage, initially scheduled for 1981-85, some 140 rural localities are earmarked for development into agro-industrial towns. More than 700 industrial units will be constructed in these future towns. Although the non-agrarian sector is planned to increase from 63 per cent of the active population in 1977 to 78 per cent in 1985¹⁷², the rate of urbanization will slow down considerably. Urbanization will increase by only 2.3 percentage units¹⁷³, from 52.2 per cent in 1980 to 54.5 in 1985 - as against an increase of 9-10 units in the previous two five-year periods which means that the rural non-agrarian population will increase considerably. By 1985 all counties are planned to possess at least nine urban centres. Within 15-20 km of each town some 4-6 rural towns will gravitate¹⁷⁴.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN URBAN AREAS

Almost complete control over places of work and housing theoretically provide the government with potent instruments for directing urban growth. In reality, a number of factors impede their effectiveness. A preference for locating industry to less developed regions, rather than to existing industrial centres, may easily come in conflict with efficiency and create pressure on the transportation system. Besides, a considerable number of new jobs are created within existing plants. The use of jobs to control population distribution is most effective if employed as part of a consistent long-term policy, and more effective when developing areas than to slow down growth in main industrial centres. The construction of housing is also a decidedly long-term instrument. A restrictive housing policy may encourage rural-urban commuting and help avoid an unwanted inflow of workers to large cities. Existing regional imbalances in the provisioning of food have not been used as an instrument for regional policy, but food deficiencies may eventually lead to a slow-down in rural-urban migration.

The government has also instruments for directing individuals to specific places of work. Graduates of universities and professional schools are assigned posts which they must keep for two or three years, which provides the government with an instrument for correcting regional imbalances in the supply and demand of labour¹⁷⁵. Distribution of posts is based on school-leaving diplomas, with a first choice - generally a post in the capital - offered those with the best marks and jobs in the rural districts left for those with the lowest grades. However, graduates have priority for posts in their home town or commune. Usually graduates are offered posts in their native county irrespective of grades. The assignment of jobs according to

Table 18. Construction of Dwellings in Urban and Rural Areas, Number of Units and Percentage Privately Built (A)

Period	Urban Areas		Rural Areas	
	Total	A	Total	A
1951 - 1955	116,302	68.3	316,759	97.0
1956 - 1960	269,413	65.6	591,236	98.1
1961 - 1965	348,999	40.2	556,625	98.0
1966 - 1970	386,934	15.9	260,734	97.0
1971 - 1975	562,437	10.8	189,459	94.4
1976 - 1980	755,824	2.8	84,820	75.5

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1981: 464-465)

Remarks: Suburban communes are included in urban areas. Most privately built houses are constructed with government loans.

grades has the disadvantage of strengthening the qualitative difference between professionals in rural and urban areas, which is further emphasized by widespread urban-rural commuting by intellectuals working in rural areas, but unwilling to give up urban residence. Intellectuals and professionals fleeing the villages at night remains a reality in many areas - the opposite of what presently happens in Western Europe.

The housing situation was precarious in most towns after World War II. It was further aggravated by the low priority of home construction in the first ten years after the war. While the urban population increased by 225 000 annually between 1948 and 1956, less than 150 000 urban dwellings were constructed in that period¹⁷⁶. Construction increased considerably in the Sixties and, particularly, in the Seventies. The housing shortage is being remedied in most towns, in spite of a continued high rate of urbanization. The low percentage of privately built urban dwellings in the latest five years reflect, among other things, the difficulties in obtaining construction permits for one-family houses under the systematization law of 1974.

The rural construction data are perhaps even more interesting. After a peak in 1956-60, construction of rural dwellings declined at an ever steeper rate. Although more than half the population remained rural in 1977, only 10 per cent of all new dwellings in 1976-80 were in rural areas. The drop in rural construction has not yet stopped. In 1980 only 13 700 dwellings were constructed, as against 24 200 in 1976. The two obvious reasons for this development were the rural exodus and increasing construction costs, the latter due to higher costs for building material as well as to difficulties in constructing traditional one-storey houses under the systematization law. The rural construction data should cause alarm among planners in Bucuresti and put the success of the efforts to vitalize and urbanize the rural landscape in doubt.

The allocation of flats is closely related to work. As a rule dwellings are provided to those who move to a new job and many factories and institutions provide their own flats to employees or help them obtain dwellings through the People's Town Councils. Those who cannot give this reason queue for flats, with priority given to families with children. Flats are exclusively offered to married couples. Singles live in dormitories.

The granting of residence visa is another instrument through which the government can control population movements. To establish legal residence in another town or rural commune, one has to obtain a residence visum from the local police. Visa are accorded on a permanent or temporary basis¹⁷⁷. The latter are usually given for a period of three or six months and are renewable.

To curb immigration, residence visa in fourteen of the largest cities are granted restrictively¹⁷⁸. Work can be a reason only if the post cannot be filled by someone legally residing in the city or within a 30-km commuting distance. Two family reasons are accepted: Newly married couples are allowed to settle in the city if one of the spouses has previous residence there, and dependent children and pensioners are allowed to move in to live with their parents and children, respectively¹⁷⁹.

In spite of seemingly potent instruments for control of these movements of the population, the government's knowledge of its whereabouts appears to be far from perfect. Table 19 shows large discrepancies in 1977 between officially estimated and observed populations in the fourteen largest cities. Intercensal estimates of population are based on census data adjusted for births, deaths and registered migration. The census registers a 'de jure' population. In addition to those with permanent residence visa, those who have lived more than six months in a locality are considered permanent residents¹⁸⁰. When the total urban population in 1977 proved to be 824 000 or 10 per cent larger than expected, and Bucuresti alone had almost 200 000 in excess, an astonishing lack of control by the central authorities was revealed. In a study of Brasov, Sampson¹⁸¹ showed that knowledge on the local level may be better than the official population estimates, but still far

Table 19. Estimated and Actual Population in the Large Cities in 1977 (Thousand inhabitants)

City	1966	1977		
	Actual	Estimated	Actual	Error %
Arad	126.0	151.0	171.1	13
Brasov	163.3	208.8	257.2	23
Braila	138.6	173.6	194.6	12
Bucuresti	1 365.9	1 619.9	1 807.0	12
Cluj	185.8	227.6	262.4	15
Constanta	150.4	205.2	256.9	25
Craiova	148.8	207.0	222.4	7
Galati	151.3	210.7	239.3	14
Iasi	160.9	223.9	264.9	18
Pitesti	60.1	103.6	123.9	20
Ploiesti	147.0	183.7	199.3	8
Sibiu	109.6	135.3	151.1	12
Timisoara	174.4	219.5	268.8	22
Tirgu Mures	86.5	119.5	130.1	9
Total Large Cities	3 168.6	3 988.2	4 549.1	14
Total Urban	6 743.9	8 569.4	9 393.9	10
Total Romania	19 105.1	21 637.5	21 559.4	0

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1968-1979), Recensamintul (1966: Vol I)

Remarks: Actual population based on census data. Estimated population in 1977 calculated on the basis of a trend analysis based on actual population in 1966 and officially estimated population in subsequent years until 1975. Error calculated as actual/estimated population x 100 - 100.

from perfect: Three unofficial estimates - of temporary residents in Brasov - by city planners in 1977 ranged from 25 000 to 50 000, with an additional 2 000 to 25 000 illegal - undocumented - migrants in the city. The practical consequences of an underestimate of the urban population may be considerable as construction, services and, not the least, supply of food and other merchandise will be underdimensioned.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN RURAL AREAS

The building of the multilaterally developed Socialist society and the gradual transition to Communism imply that the living standards of the village will gradually be brought nearer to those of the town. This trend should be kept in mind in planning the villages and the communes, so that we act systematically, consciously in setting up powerful and flourishing rural centres, real agricultural towns, in which all the inhabitants should be able to fully enjoy the boons of Socialism¹⁸².

Rural systematization differs from urban in scope and the magnitude and character of the problems. According to Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu¹⁸³ it is the harmonization in space and time of all factors; a combination of the positive elements in inherited structures and new ones demanded by the socio-economic conditions. The authors stress that villages exist in their own right and should not be remodelled after towns. The main goals of the rural systematization are increased standard of living, less difference between rural and urban modes and conditions of living, and an optimal use of natural, economic and human resources. It should promote social and cultural homogenization. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu put the systematization programme in a wider perspective by distinguishing five phases in the transformation of rural areas: a) socialization of agriculture; b) ten years of basic schooling; c) industrialization; d) restructuring and concentration of the settlement pattern; and e) development of the rural potential for recreational needs.

Rural systematization poses two kinds of problems. Firstly, the rural landscape covers 90-95 per cent of the territory and comprises over 13 000 localities. Hence, the object is very much larger than in urban systematization. Secondly, the lack of tradition and experience gives rural systematization a somewhat experimental character, as demonstrated by the richness of the literature on the subject in the Seventies.

Frequent reformulation and reinterpretation of aims and directives have given rural systematization a somewhat fluid character. A major preoccupation has been the combination of local knowledge of physical and socio-economic realities with the central overview to achieve a systematization which takes into account the realities and specifics of individual villages and at the same time is consistent and unitary.

Viability studies play an important part in rural systematization. At the basis of any plan for developing the rural settlement pattern lies thorough documentary studies of the physical, historical, demographic and socio-economic conditions of each locality and an appraisal of their viability¹⁸⁴. Cucu¹⁸⁵ stresses the importance of studying the interrelations between population and places of work on the one hand and localities on the other. The dangers of indiscriminate use of standardized government norms have repeatedly been warned against¹⁸⁶. In the view of Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu solutions have to be founded on reality and be flexible to succeed. Cucu¹⁸⁷ emphasizes the need

to understand and take into consideration the historic role of the physical and economic environment in the shaping of settlement patterns. Particular concern is expressed for the mountain areas¹⁸⁸, with small and scattered villages foreseen in the systematization programme.

The systematization studies will be repetitive. Preliminary studies have been carried out for all communes and counties and submitted to central authorities. Under the coordination and guidance of the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils¹⁸⁹ (CPPC) a second round is being carried out. In order to obtain unitary and comparable studies of high quality CPPC has elaborated a detailed manual for the execution and presentation of systematization studies. A standardized form, with many physical, socio-economic, urbanistic and infrastructural indicators, has been submitted to the People's County Councils by CPPC to be completed for all villages and communes. The forms are centrally processed and a score elaborated for each village, showing its position in relation to the national and county averages with regard to demographic, socio-economic and urbanistic development. This information is a benchmark for determining the development perspectives - positive or negative.

Indicators to determine viability and development perspectives can be divided into groups: Location and natural setting; transportation and communications; commerce; demographic development and population characteristics; labour force and work places; housing conditions; land use and other infrastructure. As the commune constitutes the smallest administrative-financial unit and as collective farms usually are based on communes, indicators referring to agriculture and finance are applied to communes only. Other infrastructural indicators take into account education, health care, art and culture, and commune services, such as electricity, water, sewage, central heating, etc. To determine the economic profile, the population is usually divided into four categories: engaged in agriculture; engaged in non-agricultural activities, excluding those serving the local population; engaged in activities serving the local population; and not gainfully employed¹⁹⁰. Generally 35-42 per cent of the population will belong to the first two categories, 5-18 per cent to the third and 40-50 per cent to the fourth.

The development of a large number of future urban centres has been dealt with at length in the Romanian press and other massmedia. Articles reporting the progress made in these localities were frequent in Scinteia, Romania Liberia and other newspapers in the late Seventies. The main criteria for selecting the localities to be developed into future towns have been: Size, socio-economic level of development, infrastructure, and location¹⁹¹. A study of the location of future urban places indicates that, firstly, a more uniform network of towns and, secondly, an urban centre within easy reach of every village were given considerable weight in the selection of the future towns.

Other factors may also have been decisive. In 1977 it was announced that seven villages would be developed into urban centres in recognition of their active role in the peasant revolt of 1907¹⁹². A more even town distribution countywise has been endeavoured in the selection of the future urban centres¹⁹³.

Apart from statements about the necessity to reduce the number of villages, very little has been published on the dissolution of villages without development perspectives. Obviously, the phasing out of several thousand villages is more difficult than the industrialization of a couple of hundred villages, practically as well as politically. Besides, the empirical base is limited¹⁹⁴ which is reflected in uncertainty about how to proceed and caution in the formulation and application of this part of the systematization programme. Two approaches can be distinguished: One, to ban all new construction and only permit minimal maintenance investments, leaving the villages to die gradually; the other, to enforce the dissolution of the villages and provide their population with flats in neighbouring localities or give them monetary or material compensation for their losses. Both solutions have advantages and disadvantages: The first involves a minimum of force and is less final. A gradual phasing out permits a close follow-up and leaves more room for correction of mistakes but leads to gradual deterioration of the conditions of life which is contrary to the very aim of the systematization policy. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu¹⁹⁵ point out that little is known about how easily a population forced to move will integrate into a new community. According to Matei & Matei¹⁹⁶ it was initially considered that villages should be allowed to disappear at the rate of the deterioration of the houses. Later it was decided that this would take too long but, nevertheless, that the population should not be moved by force.

In practice, the solutions applied are likely to vary from locality to locality and from area to area. In Vrancea the small villages on the plain will be left to disappear by themselves, while the small villages and settlements in the mountains will be regrouped and concentrated¹⁹⁷. In the Apuseni Mountains with a large number of small and scattered villages a policy of benign neglect has so far been followed.

The number of villages that eventually will be dissolved has not been published. An official study¹⁹⁸ came to the conclusion that out of 13 000 villages some 5 400 to 6 400 have no long-term development perspectives¹⁹⁹. This estimate is supported by data available for individual counties. In Dolj on the Wallachian Plain 119 villages are proposed to be dissolved. In Olt 207 of 379, in Vrancea 158 of 341, in Bacau 230 of 497, in Botosani 144 of 341 and in Maramures 125 of 232²⁰¹. In Alba more than 200 of 658 villages will be dissolved, of these 90 per cent are situated in the Apuseni Mountains²⁰². In Cluj, approximately 200 of 420 villages are considered to have poor development perspectives. However, decisions to dismantle have been taken for only forty villages and of these only twenty risk to be dissolved within the near future.

In Iasi 111 of 420 villages are proposed to be phased out. Their mean population in 1977 was 356 inhabitants, a decrease by 27 since 1966. Their population varied from 31 to 1 554 in 1977. Thirty-one registered a population increase in 1966-1977²⁰³. It is reasonable to assume that the Romanian authorities are aware of the contemporary development in Germany, Britain and France where villages have become high-status areas of residence for people holding urban jobs. This factor alone would justify a signal to go slow with village destruction.

LOCAL SYSTEMATIZATION

This systematization is made in towns, rural communes and villages. Systematization of towns is tantamount to town planning and falls largely outside the scope of this study. In urban systematization stress is laid on intensive land use and strict zoning. Residential areas are concentrated and any tendency to urban sprawl is checked. One-family houses play a minor role in the construction of new housing, particularly in the large towns. Concentration of manufacturing to industrial areas is prescribed as a way of taking advantage of the external economies of the town. Many detailed standards and norms govern the planning activities and make for unitary concepts in the planning of towns. They concern dimensions of schools, kindergartens, shops, playgrounds, sports fields, etc²⁰⁴.

Rural systematization differs from urban in several respects. While the latter can fall back on extensive town planning experience in Romania and abroad, the systematization of villages is a relatively recent phenomenon²⁰⁵. Bold, Matei and Sabadeanu see the central problem of rural systematization to be ensuring such conditions of living that villages can compete with towns for the labour force²⁰⁶.

The main systematization activities in the communes are: a) Socio-economic profiling; b) endowment of villages with public utilities, services and institutions; c) development of the collective farms and the communal economy; and d) population forecasts by village.

Corresponding activities for the villages are: a) Delimitation of the agglomeration perimeter; b) location and dimension of zones of production; c) organization of residential zones; and d) infrastructural endowment.

Activities by territory, commune and village partly overlap, but as a rule the territory plans constitute frames within which the local systematization takes place. Some factors are considered as given and treated as parameters in the local activities²⁰⁷: a) The future place and role in the hierarchy of localities; b) the general development perspectives; c) the demographic development; and d) the infrastructure endowment.

Efficient land use and concentration of the population in village centres (vatra) are prime objectives of the systematization activities by village. According to directives, popula-

tion densities should increase to 50-60 inhabitants per hectare, the present average being 10-15²⁰⁸. Strict land use zoning and a dense construction pattern will give the village a more urban appearance and minimize costs for infrastructure. The directives prescribe the agglomeration perimeter to be as tightly drawn as possible, including only continuously built-up areas. The rule appears to be to exclude, rather than include, houses in the village margin²⁰⁹. Inside the perimeter a higher population density will be achieved by splitting lots, with maximum size set at 200-500 square meters.

Table 20. Present and Projected Built-up Area and Population in Five Rural Communes

Commune	Present		Projected	
	Hectares	Population	Hectares	Population
Branistea	279	3 840	118	4 820
Corod	682	895	274	1 500
Roseti	266	5 672	187	8 200
Pirscov	800	6 794	241	7 000
Pogoanele	983	10 223	307	15 350

Source: Architectura 1971/1

Remarks: Branistea and Corod in Galati County. Reseti in Ilfov and Pirscov and Pogoanele in Buzau. Pirscov consists of twelve villages at the present and Pogoanele of two.

As a rule new houses must have at least two stories and be constructed according to standard design. These directives are in conflict with existing patterns and the traditional peasant way of life. They are accustomed to live in a low-priced 2-3 room house on a lot large enough for a pigsty and a small barn and to provide their household with fresh vegetables, potatoes etc. The often stated aim to increase agricultural land²¹⁰ is rejected by Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu as false²¹¹. They point out that house lots are already intensively cultivated and it would merely be a matter of transferring land to the socialist agricultural circuit. The effects on the agricultural production would not necessarily be positive.

The systematization programme stresses the preservation of local architectural values to be desirable, but the requirement that new houses shall have at least two stories and the centralized directives and standards may easily lead to a uniform rural architecture. In 1971 only a third of Romania's architects worked outside Bucuresti²¹².

State aid for investments in village infrastructure usually covers only part of the cost. Improvements to a large extent

depend on voluntary work and self-taxation on the part of the local population. Consequently, the success of village systematization plans depends on how they respond to the needs and wants of local people, i. e. on their popularity²¹³. As a rule every village is supposed to provide for the daily needs of its population. Among institutions to be found in all villages are: Kindergarten, school, maternity ward, dispensary, grocery, general store and bakery²¹⁴. The communal centre serves the population of the entire commune.

The systematization law was adopted at a time of overfulfilled plans and optimistic economic forecasts. But the economic climate has changed and some dispositions in the law have proved increasingly impractical. Steep increases in construction and heating costs have placed two-storied houses beyond the means of most rural dwellers and not in line with the national demand for energy saving. This disposition may be counterproductive as prohibitive construction costs obstruct rejuvenation of the housing stock.

Increased house and population densities diminish the villager's ability to produce his own food and clashed with the law on self-sustainment with food products passed in November 1981²¹⁵. This law requires rural dwellers to use their gardens and private lots to achieve self-sufficiency with major food products. Although still in vigour in 1982, the construction criteria were no longer strictly enforced.

POPULATION DEVELOPMENT AND ETHNIC STRUCTURE

This chapter consists of two parts. The first is a study of the demographic development and the migration flows. The second part is an in depth study of the ethnic structure with particular reference to the former Hungarian regions; Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania. The changes in the ethnic structure are broken down on components and studied in some detail. This study has a value of its own as a statistical and detached study of a highly controversial subject and is also highly relevant to the study as the ethnic structure has to be considered in a study of the socio-economic development of these regions.

POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

The demographic transition began fairly late in Romania and followed a somewhat different course from the one experienced in Western Europe. Around 1880 birth rates increased and remained above 40 per mill until the First World War.¹ Mortality rates fluctuated widely around a slowly declining trend, remaining well above 20 per mill. At the turn of the century approximately fifty per cent of all deaths were in the 0-5 age group.²

The Interwar Period

In the interwar period the wide gap between birth and death rates narrowed through falling birth rates. Death rates remained high, largely due to a persistently high infant mortality rate (18-20 per cent). The decreasing birth rates were mainly a result of falling rural rates. Rural areas accounted for almost the entire national growth of the population. The natural growth of the urban system was very small, although with considerable local variations. Throughout the 1930's, Romania had the highest birth and death rates and by far the highest infant mortality rates in Europe.

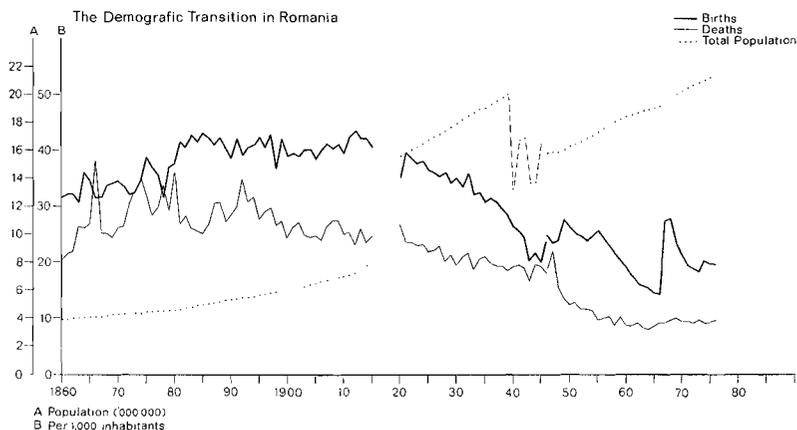


Figure 5. Population Development 1860-1977

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1938),
Anuarul Statistic (1915-16, 1937-38, 1957-60,
1963, 1966-78), Mitchell (1975)

Remarks: 1860-78: Wallachia, Moldavia and South
Bessarabia
1879-1915: Wallachia, Moldavia and Dobrogea
1919-39: Greater Romania
1940: Excluding Bessarabia, Bucovina,
Maramures, South Dobrogea and the
ceded parts of Crisana and
Transylvania
1941-42: As in 1940, but including Bessarabia
and Bucovina
1943-44: As in 1940
1945-77: Present Romania

Table 21. Birth Rates by Regions, per Mill

Period	The Old Kingdom	The Hungarian Territories
1875-90	39.9	42.3
1891-00	40.6	36.8
1901-10	39.2	36.1
1911-13	42.6	34.6
1921-25	40.5	32.2
1926-30	39.1	29.0
1931-35	36.3	25.9
1936-38	33.9	25.0

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 144) Manuila (1940),
Miscarea Populatiei Romaniei (1937: XVII)

Natural growth varied considerably and consistently between regions. A division can be made between the Old Kingdom and the former Hungarian Territories. Birth rates in the former remained high into the 1930's, while in the latter they began to fall already in the 19th century and remained well below those of the Old Kingdom, Table 21. For birth rates, three broad regions can be distinguished: Eastern Moldavia with birth rates much above average, Crisana-Banat with low birth rates and the rest of the country.

Migration data for the interwar period are lacking, but some information can be gleaned from census data on population by place of birth and place of residence. Statistics thus provide a rough measure of internal migration, with no specification of the time or frequency of movements. Return migrants may not be included in the statistics at all.

In 1930, some 17 per cent of Romania's rural and 49 of its urban population were born elsewhere than in their locality of residence. Regional variations were large, Table 22.

The high percentages of migrants among rural people in Dobrogea and South Dobrogea were at least partly due to rural colonization. Relatively more females than males were migrants, 25 per cent versus 22. However, female migration tended to be shorter. Rural-rural intra-country migration accounted for 42 per cent of the female and 29 per cent of the male migration. Female rural-rural migration was often connected with inter-village marriages.

Table 22. In-migrants as Percentage of Rural and Urban Population by Region in 1930

Region	R + U	Rural	Urban
Maramures	23.6	18.7	49.5
Crisana-Banat	29.8	22.6	61.5
Transylvania	24.2	17.2	58.7
Oltenia	16.4	13.0	40.6
Muntenia	20.5	17.3	40.1
Dobrogea	34.7	29.4	51.5
Moldavia	21.4	17.9	42.8
Bucuresti	59.2	-	59.2
Bucovina	25.1	14.3	48.4
Bessarabia	18.3	16.2	32.2
South Dobrogea	32.5	30.6	40.1
ROMANIA	23.7	17.4	48.6

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 100-115)

Remarks: Migrants measured as persons born elsewhere than in locality of residence in 1930
For data by country, see Appendix, Table 12

Inter-county migration made up 46 per cent of the male but only 35.5 of the female migration. While 70 per cent of migration to urban areas crossed a county border this was the case with only 34 per cent of migration to rural areas. Only 27 per cent of the migrants in urban areas had come from rural areas in the same county. According to Manuila³ most rural-urban migration was step-wise, either village - small town - large town, or village - suburb - town centre and often occurred over two generations. Half the migrants remained within their county of birth.

All regions except Muntenia & Dobrogea were net losers in inter-regional migration.⁴ The large positive net migration to Muntenia and Dobrogea was the result of heavy immigration to Bucuresti. Over a third of Bucuresti's population had been born outside Muntenia and Dobrogea. Oltenia had suffered the heaviest migration loss, relatively. Its net loss amounted to 4.5 per cent of its 1930 population.

Migration from the regions of the Old Kingdom to the newly acquired provinces - Maramures-Crisana-Banat, Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bucovina - was much less than the opposite flow. Some 105 600 persons born in the regions of the Old Kingdom lived in the new provinces and 274 900 from the new provinces in the Old Kingdom. The social and professional characteristics of the two categories was probably different. State officials and administrators made up a substantial part of the migrants from the Old Kingdom to the new provinces.⁵ While migration of the ethnic Romanians from the Hungarian Territories to the Old Kingdom was an old phenomenon, movements the other way hardly occurred before the unification in 1919.

The Postwar Period

The demographic development in the 1944-64 period was just as dramatic as the political. Mortality rates ranged between 22.0 per mill in 1947 and 8.1 per mill in 1964 and the natural increase rate grew from 1.4 per mill in 1947 to 15.9 per mill in 1955.

Data on population changes in the 1941-48 intercensal period are incomplete and at times contradictory. According to official estimates⁶ war losses amounted to 615 000 people,⁷ which roughly agrees with the discrepancy of 683 000 between the population estimated prior to the 1948 census⁸ and the count.⁹ The number includes unrecorded deaths and net migration losses. Total war losses must have been higher as many deaths caused by the war and by the Soviet occupation were registered as normal deaths.¹⁰ To this should be added reduced natality caused by the war. Natality rates were one fourth lower in 1941-45 than in the late thirties.¹¹ If the natural increase rates of the 1930-41 period were extrapolated to cover 1941-48, the 1948 population would have been 1.7 million larger than actually registered. This gives a rough indication of the total war losses caused by excess mortality, migration and reduced natality. A closer scrutiny of data on human losses for this period indicates that a large part occurred after the coup in August 1944.

The Romanian army suffered heavy losses, first in the campaign against the Soviet Union and later fighting Germany. These military losses may approach 700 000.¹² In 1930 some 482 000 Jews¹³ lived in present Romania and an additional 274 000 in Bucovina and Bessarabia, ceded to the Soviet Union in 1940. Information on the number of Jews that survived holocaust is incomplete. Mother tongue was the only ethnic breakdown in the 1948 count. Yiddish was spoken as mother tongue by 263 000 in 1930 and 139 000 in 1948. The Jews in the territories ceded to Hungary fared much worse than those in the rest of Romania. In the former area lived 138 900 Jews in 1930.¹⁴ According to Reitlinger¹⁵ all but 6 000 were deported in 1944. Some 20 000 of those deported returned after the war, while 120 thousand perished in concentration camps. No mass deportations took place in truncated Romania. The overwhelming majority of the Bucovinian and Bessarabian Jews were deported across the Dniester and Bug and few appear to have survived the war.¹⁶ Equally tragic, but less known was the fate of the Gypsies. Except for a novel by Stancu¹⁷ it is largely undocumented.

Official statistics and interviews indicate that the hardships of the civilian population increased after the Soviet occupation. Registered death rates as well as infant mortality rates remained high after 1944, with a peak in 1947. The harvest failures of 1945 and 1946, extensive pillage by the Red Army and the exorbitant delivery quotas exacted from the peasants to satisfy Soviet demands on restitution led to severe famine in 1946/7. For 1947 some 349 300 deaths were registered, compared to 248 200 in 1948.¹⁸

The population development between 1941 and 1948 displays large regional variations. Moldavia was the region most ravaged by the war and by the 1946/7 famine. In spite of traditionally high birth rates, the Moldavian population in this period declined by 200 000. Oltenia and Muntenia on the other hand registered a net increase of 168 000.¹⁹ Cities accounted for most of the Moldavian decrease. Information on internal migration is scarce, but some evidence indicate migration to Vallachia, particularly to Bucuresti, and mainly from Moldavia. For example, Bucuresti had a much larger Jewish population in 1948 than in 1941.²⁰

Death rates fell sharply after the 1947 peak, from 22.0 per mill to 12.4 per mill in 1950 and 9.9 per mill in 1956. Combined with a delayed baby boom 1948 to 1955 this led to a rapid population increase. In the 1948-56 intercensal period the population increased by an average annual rate of 1.2 per cent. In Moldavia and Dobrogea the annual increase was 2 per cent, compared to only 0.3 per cent in Crisana-Banat.

Birth rates began to fall rapidly in the mid-Fifties as a consequence of the liberal abortion law introduced in 1957, the rapid increase in education among the fertile age-groups and urbanization, and by the mid-Sixties the net reproduction rate was down at 0.86.²¹ In the same period the fall in death rates came to a near halt. As a result, the rate of natural increase fell sharply from 15.9 per mill in 1955 to 6.1 in 1966.

In late 1966 a law was passed banning all forms of contraceptives as well as abortions and severely restricting the grounds for obtaining a divorce.²² The effects of the law were drastic. Birth rates increased from 14.3 to 27.4 per mill in one year,²³ Figure 5. Death rates increased, too, following an increase in infant mortality, but the rate of natural increase nevertheless trebled and stood at a record high 18.1 per mill in 1967. The increase was sharpest in areas with traditionally low birth rates, i.e. in urban areas and in Crisana-Banat. Birth rates soon began to fall again and were down at 18 per mill in 1980. Yet, the 1965-80 period as a whole was characterized by very high rates of natural increase, both in rural and urban areas, Figure 14. The fall in birth rates after 1967 was sharpest in areas with a previous record of low birth rates and regional differences in birth rates increased.

Table 23. Regional Mobility: Power of Retaining Native Population and of Attracting Migrants, Percentages

Region	A		B		C		D		E	
	1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Maramures	71.3	67.5	83.7	82.1	16.3	17.9	10.8	10.6	94	92
Crisana-										
Banat	67.5	65.6	88.0	87.6	12.0	12.4	20.9	22.5	111	114
Tran-										
sylvania	65.8	63.3	82.0	81.4	18.0	18.6	21.1	20.0	104	104
Oltenia	67.7	65.6	81.1	81.1	18.9	18.9	9.5	10.0	90	90
Muntenia	67.9	64.4	81.0	78.6	19.0	21.4	11.4	11.6	92	89
Dobrogea	60.8	56.8	82.5	82.4	17.5	17.6	29.0	29.3	116	117
Moldavia	70.2	66.1	83.7	80.1	16.3	19.9	11.9	11.6	95	91
Bucuresti	86.3	94.1	88.3	94.5	11.7	5.5	60.9	59.1	226	231
ROMANIA	68.6	65.9	83.0	81.5	17.0	18.5	18.5	19.5	102	101

- A: Percentage of native population residing in place of birth
 B: Percentage of native population residing in county of birth
 C: Percentage of native population residing in another county
 D: Percentage of residing population native in another county
 E: Residing population as percentage of native population

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1974: 452-467),
 Recensamintul (1977: Vol I, 696-755)

Remarks: Excluding emigrants residing abroad

A study of birth rates by county indicates that the coefficient of variation²⁴ increased from 14.9 in 1967 to 28.0 in 1980.

In 1966,²⁵ some 32.7 per cent of Romania's population were born elsewhere than in their place of residence, compared to 23.7 per cent in 1930.²⁶ The increase in mobility

Table 24. Population by Origin, Percentages

Region		Urban and rural			Urban areas			Rural areas		
		A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Maramures	1966	75.9	89.2	10.8	53.0	77.0	23.0	85.7	94.4	5.6
	1977	73.4	89.4	10.6	52.0	79.9	20.1	86.3	95.1	4.9
Crisana-Banat	1966	60.7	79.1	20.9	38.7	65.3	34.7	73.9	87.3	12.7
	1977	58.0	77.4	22.6	39.1	66.6	33.4	73.9	86.6	13.4
Tran-sylvania	1966	63.3	78.9	21.1	39.8	61.8	38.2	80.7	91.5	8.5
	1977	60.7	78.0	22.0	41.6	64.9	35.1	80.8	91.7	8.3
Oltenia	1966	75.6	90.5	9.5	45.8	74.0	26.0	84.7	95.6	4.4
	1977	72.8	90.0	10.0	43.9	77.2	22.8	85.7	95.7	4.3
Muntenia	1966	74.2	88.6	11.4	46.4	73.5	26.5	82.4	93.0	7.0
	1977	72.5	88.4	11.6	45.9	75.5	24.5	83.9	93.9	6.1
Dobrogea	1966	52.3	71.3	29.0	33.5	61.0	39.0	65.5	78.0	12.0
	1977	48.8	70.7	29.3	35.1	64.1	35.9	64.8	78.5	21.5
Moldavia	1966	73.9	88.1	11.9	40.3	67.2	32.8	85.4	95.3	4.7
	1977	72.9	88.4	11.6	43.2	73.2	26.8	88.0	96.0	4.0
Bucuresti	1966	38.2	39.1	60.9	37.5	37.9	62.1	-	-	-
	1977	40.8	40.9	59.1	40.3	40.4	59.6	-	-	-
ROMANIA	1966	67.3	81.5	18.5	41.0	61.4	38.6	81.7	92.4	7.6
	1977	65.1	80.5	19.5	42.3	64.8	35.2	82.8	92.7	7.3

A: Born in the locality of residence

B: Born in the county of residence

C: Born elsewhere

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1974: 460-467), Recensamintul (1977: Vol I, 744-755)

Remarks: C includes 'place of birth not declared'

was largely due to migration to urban areas. The corresponding numbers for the rural population were 18.3 and 17.4, and for the urban population 59.0 and 48.6.

The magnitude of migration to rural areas has been remarkably stable over time. Intervillage marriages, assignments to posts in rural areas, and, to a lesser extent, colonization accounted for most of this migration, which largely covered short distances.²⁷ In ten counties more than 10 per cent of the rural population were natives of another county.²⁸ Fertile land, low national increase and in the Banat, emigration of Germans, created possibilities for migration of agricultural population to the plains of Banat, Dobrogea and Baragan (Ialomita and Braila). Particularly in the Banat, permanent migration was complemented by considerable seasonal migration of farm labour. Many migrants to

rural Hunedoara, Sibiu and Brasov were probably attracted by non-agrarian employment opportunities.

Migrational flows largely reflected regional variations in natural increase and in the level of industrialization. Muntenia, Oltenia, Moldavia and Maramures registered net migrational losses. Bucuresti, Dobrogea, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania were all net receivers in 1966, only Bucuresti in 1930. The migrational flows from rural to industrialized areas appear more clearly at the county level. In addition to Bucuresti, five counties²⁹ with strong and expanding industrial centres had a resident population exceeding the native population³⁰ by more than 10 per cent. Small secondary sectors, a sub-proportionate share of national investments and remote location³¹ within their administrative region were characteristics of the twelve counties³² with a 1966 population of less than 90 per cent of the native population.

Bucuresti's traditional position as the only large net receiver of migrants had been lost by 1966, a major change from 1930. There were 808 600 more residents than natives, as against 546 600 for the five other main receivers.³³ Some 69 per cent of the latter migrants had arrived after 1950, but only 45 per cent of the former. The shift in migrational flows can largely be explained by government efforts to develop a number of industrial centres outside Bucuresti. The Bucuresti migrants originated mainly in Muntenia, 49 per cent, Oltenia, 20 per cent, Moldavia, 15 per cent, and to a much less extent in C-B-M, 4 per cent, and Transylvania, 10 per cent, as important industrial centres in the latter regions acted as intervening migrational opportunities.

Registered migration decreased from 362 300 in 1955 to 268 100 in 1961.³⁴ The decline was in interregional, largely

Table 25. Natural and Migrational Population Change in 1966-1977 by Regions

Region	Population in 1966	Natural change	Migrational change	Population in 1977
Maramures	1 050 141	149 666	-48 538	1 151 269
Crisana-Banat	2 034 030	101 169	102 376	2 237 575
Transylvania	3 635 384	464 639	21 362	4 121 385
Oltenia	2 144 811	255 626	-46 172	2 354 265
Muntenia	4 114 527	575 688	-184 830	4 505 385
Dobrogea	702 461	113 538	47 349	863 348
Moldavia	3 969 867	791 435	-358 504	4 402 798
Bucuresti	1 451 942	98 917	383 026	1 933 885
ROMANIA	19 103 163	2 550 678	-83 931	21 559 910

Sources: Measnicov and Trebici (1978), Recensamintul (1977: Vol I, 6)

Remarks: Migration calculated as the residual. The negative migration for Romania as a whole includes some 70,000 emigrants to West Germany (Table 31)

rural-urban, movements, while short distance migration remained on the same level. The decline in long distance migration was officially ascribed to more judicious regional planning.³⁵ The development of at least one industrial centre in each of the 16 administrative regions considerably reduced interregional migration. Other important factors were a severe housing shortage in most towns³⁶ and restricted granting of residence visa in large towns (orase mari).

Migration remained at a high level in 1966-77. By 1977 some 11.7 per cent of the population had arrived at their place of residence after 1970, slightly fewer than during the corresponding period prior to the 1966 census.³⁷ The percentage of the population born elsewhere than in their place of residence increased from 32.7 in 1966 to 34.9 in 1977.

The pattern of migrational flows in 1966-77 was largely the same as in earlier periods, with Bucuresti, Brasov, Constanta and Timis as main receivers. An additional 11 counties were net receivers, and 25 had migration losses. Among three main areas of out-migration, Moldavia continued to have a large migration loss. In Vaslui and Botosani, net out-migration in 1966-77 amounted to almost 20 per cent of their 1966 population. The Danubian Plain was another main area of out-migration. Migrational losses were particularly large in south-western Muntenia, while those in Oltenia apparently were smaller than earlier. The third main area of out-migration was Maramures. Noticeable changes in the migrational flows were few. The shift in industrialization policy, away from heavy manufacturing, was reflected in the flows of migrants. Most drastic was the change in Hunedoara from a major receiver of migrants to net out-migration. Brasov, on the other hand, became the second largest receiver of migrants after Bucuresti. Large migrational losses in some poorly industrialized counties³⁸ show regional development efforts of the Seventies to have been insufficient.

THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE

Through the merger after World War I of the new provinces with the Old Kingdom, Romania lost its ethnic homogeneity. The new provinces were ethnically complex. In the former Hungarian Territories, Romanians were in slight majority, but Magyars and Germans made up over 40 per cent of the population. They were in majority in the towns and formed an economic and social upper class. Various Slav groups, Germans and Jews complemented the Romanians in Bucovina and Bessarabia. Bulgarians and Turks formed a vast majority in South Dobrogea. The ethnic pattern goes a long way to explain regional differences in the level of socio-economic development, which had important ethnic implications. An in-depth analysis of the ethnic structure was considered essential for a study of social and economic change in Romania. The first part of this chapter depicts the ethno-geographic situation in the regions which formed Romania after World War I and the second part describes changes in the ethnic structure since World War I. The latter section focuses on the former Hungarian Territories - Crisana-Banat,

Maramures and Transylvania - as these were the only regions to retain large ethnic minorities after World War II.

The Old Kingdom

Very little data were available before the First World War on the ethnic structure in the Old Kingdom. The only division made was by citizenship and religion. However, citizenship can be used to give an approximate idea of the ethnic structure as it was virtually impossible for non-Romanians to acquire Romanian citizenship. Very likely it underestimates the long established non-Romanians, such as the Turks and the Greeks. The statistics distinguished two kinds of foreigners - citizens of foreign countries and foreigners under Romanian protection. The latter category consisted mainly of Jews.

Table 26. Urban and Rural Population in the Old Kingdom by Nationality in 1899, Percentages

Region	Romanians	Jews	Others	Total
<u>Oltenia</u>				
Urban	80.2	4.0	15.8	123 600
Rural	99.2	-	0.8	1 201 500
Total	97.4	0.4	2.2	1 325 100
<u>Muntenia</u>				
Urban	82.4	6.9	10.7	278 300
Rural	98.7	0.1	1.3	1 961 200
Total	96.7	0.9	2.4	2 239 500
<u>Dobrogea</u>				
Urban	79.8	5.6	14.6	69 600
Rural	95.9	0.2	3.9	198 200
Total	91.8	1.6	6.6	267 800
<u>Moldavia</u>				
Urban	54.6	38.7	6.7	372 200
Rural	95.1	3.6	1.3	1 376 000
Total	86.9	10.6	2.4	1 848 100
<u>Bucuresti</u>				
Urban	65.5	14.7	19.8	276 200
<u>All Regions</u>				
Urban	68.6	19.0	12.4	1 119 800
Rural	97.6	1.1	1.3	4 836 900
Total	92.1	4.5	3.4	5 956 700

Source: Recensamintul (1899: 72-91)

Remarks: Romanians - Romanian citizens,
 Jews - those adhering to the Jewish faith,
 Others - non-Romanian citizens of other than Jewish faith

The non-Romanians constituted only 8 per cent of the population in the Old Kingdom, Table 26. However, this figure does not reflect the importance of the foreign element. Non-Romanians were almost exclusively urban and made up almost one-third of the town people. Most Jews lived in Moldavia and were here a substantial part of the population, accounting for the majority in the ten northernmost towns, including Iasi, and constituting a major element in the other towns. The non-Romanians dominated commerce, trade and the free professions in many parts of the Old Kingdom.³⁹

The Gypsies cannot be distinguished from the Romanians in the statistics of the Old Kingdom. Later official statistics give the number of Gypsies in Oltenia, Muntenia and Moldavia as 43 900,⁴⁰ but this is probably an underestimation as many Gypsy groups were nomads and took care to avoid unnecessary contact with the authorities. The Gypsies fell into two categories: settled and nomads.⁴¹ The former traditionally worked as servants of the Boyars.⁴¹

Except for the Jews, the foreign population was mainly found in Bucuresti, in some port towns and in Dobrogea. This province was always an ethnic melting pot with a multitude of nationalities influencing its life and culture. According to a contemporary estimate⁴² the population of Dobrogea had the following composition: Romanians 45 per cent, Bulgarians 14.5 per cent, Tatars 11 per cent and Russians, Lipovenians and Turks 5 per cent each. The main conclusion is that the Old Kingdom - except for Dobrogea and the towns in northern Moldavia was fairly homogenous ethnically.

Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania

Transylvania is the most individual province in all Eastern Europe. No one who has experienced the peculiar beauty of its landscape, the charm of its people and the complex fascination of its problems, can ever keep his thoughts for long away from it or be happy until he has revisited it yet again.⁴³

The former Hungarian regions - Crisana-Banat, Maramures (C-B-M) and Transylvania - had the most complex ethnic history and geography of all regions acquired by Romania after World War I. They held four ethnic groups: the majority Romanians, the politically dominant Magyars, the Germans and a fairly large Jewish community. The Magyars and the Germans were divided into distinct subgroups. The former were the Magyars proper and the Szeklers, a people of mixed origin, speaking a Hungarian dialect, who settled in south-eastern Transylvania in the 10th century, soon after the arrival of the Hungarians. The Germans were 'Saxons' and 'Swabians'.⁴⁴ The Saxons, contemporary with the Szeklers, originated in Flanders and the Trier area. They were traditionally craftsmen and merchants and the most urban group. The Swabians did not arrive until the 18th century, from Wurtemberg, and settled predominantly in the Banat. They were mainly occupied in agriculture.

The struggle between the ethnic groups was in the focus of the political scene in Transylvania throughout the 19th century. The ethnic and national consciousness of the

Romanians grew, inspired by the achievements of their brethren on the other side of the Carpathians. Their aspirations for national rights, equal to those of the other inhabitants of Transylvania and for the continued independence of Transylvania vis-a-vis Hungary became militant and led to open clashes with the Hungarian administration. At the same time the Magyar aspirations to integrate Transylvania with Hungary and the subsequent policy of Magyarization with the ultimate goal of making a national Magyar state out of the polyglot Hungarian nation caused increasing unrest not only among the Romanians, but also among the Saxons and the Szeklers who saw their position as independent and fully recognized nations threatened.

The integration of the former Hungarian regions into Romania after World War I posed serious problems. Although a majority, the Romanians formed a distinct underclass, the vast majority being peasants with little formal education. They were badly prepared to assume their new, dominant political and cultural role. The merger with Romania provided the political means to end segregation. A gradual cultural, economic and social leveling of the ethnic groups has taken place in the latest fifty years.

The ethno-geographic pattern of the Hungarian Territories was very complex. At the county level a few homogeneous areas could be distinguished, but usually ethnic homogeneity was found first at the village level or even below. The former Szekler nation inside the Carpathian bend, comprising the counties of Csik, Udvarhely and Haromszek,⁴⁵ was almost exclusively inhabited by Szeklers. They also dominated in the county of Maros (Mures), especially the town of Maros-Vasarhely (Tirgu Mures).

The purely Romanian areas usually had certain physical characteristics in common, often being major depressions in the mountains, known as Tari,⁴⁶ i.e. countries. Main examples are Tara Birsei in Fagaras, Tara Hategului in Hunedoara and Tara Lapusului, Tara Maramuresului and Tara Oasului in the north. Although the Germans were dominant in several areas in southern Transylvania and in the Banat, there were no large, exclusively German areas.

In most of Transylvania the Romanians were the dominant group, complemented by Magyars or Germans. Ethnic homogeneity was usually found in the communes or villages. Ethnically heterogeneous villages were also common but a closer study sometimes reveals them to be invisibly divided into ethnically homogeneous parts. A case in point is the village of Feldioara in Brasov.⁴⁷

Figure 6 shows the ethnic composition by county in 1891. The Romanians were in majority in eleven counties, the Magyars in six, while six counties had no dominant ethnic group. In Maramures, Crisana and Banat 47 per cent were Romanian, 27 per cent Magyar, 10 per cent German and 5 per cent Jewish. The corresponding percentages for Transylvania were 57, 30, 9 and 4.⁴⁸ The ethnic composition varied considerably between urban and rural areas. The Romanians were much less urbanized than the Magyars and the Germans, Table

27. They constituted a minority of the total urban population both in Maramures, Crisana, Banat and Transylvania.

Although Jews were found all over the Hungarian Territories, they constituted a large part of the population only in the counties of Maramaros and Ugocsa. Mother tongue and literacy statistics indicate considerable differences between the Jews in these counties and in the rest of the territories. Generally they made up 1-3 per cent of the population, had Hungarian or German as their mother tongue and 75 per cent were literate. In Maramaros they made up 17 per cent of the population, spoke Yiddish although the rest of the population was Romanian and Ruthenian, and only 21 per cent were literate.⁴⁹

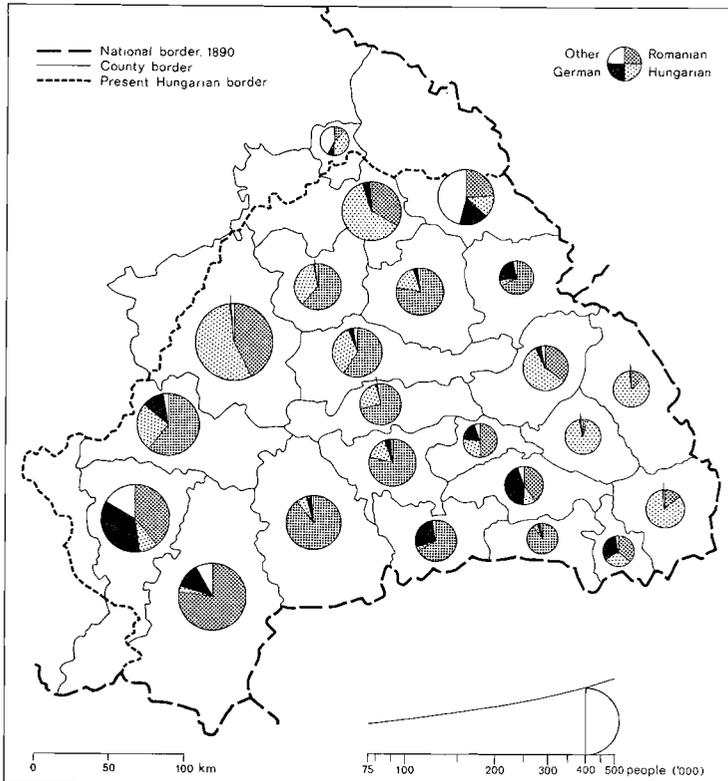


Figure 6. Population in the Hungarian Territories by Mother Tongue in 1891

Source: Nepszamlalasa (1891: 106ff)

Table 27. Urban and Rural Population by Mother Tongue in 1891

Region Area	Per cent				Total population
	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Other	
<u>C-B-M</u>					
Urban	13.1	61.9	20.3	4.6	222 100
Rural	50.6	26.2	11.1	12.1	2 317 200
All	47.3	29.3	12.0	11.4	2 539 300
<u>Transylvania</u>					
Urban	24.5	51.6	20.9	3.0	238 500
Rural	60.5	28.6	8.3	2.6	2 012 800
All	56.7	31.0	9.7	2.6	2 251 200

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1891: 106), Thirring (1912: 84)

Remarks: C-B-M: Crisana-Banat and Maramures

Bessarabia, Bucovina and South Dobrogea

The ethnic structure of Bessarabia at the turn of the century was as complex as that of Transylvania. Rural Bessarabia could be divided by ethnic characteristics into three parts: a northern, a middle and a southern. The Romanian element was present in all three but in varying degrees.

The northern region was the smallest, covering little more than Hotin. Ethnically, it was an extension of Bucovina, predominantly populated by Ruthenians.

The middle region was largest and held predominantly Romanians; in the north and centre almost exclusively and in the south mixed with minorities.

The southern region's extremely complex ethnic pattern was similar to that of Dobrogea. In addition to the Romanians, no less than twelve major ethnic groups lived in Cetatea Alba, Ismail and parts of Cahul and Tighina. The German communities were the most prosperous. As in Banat, they were populated by Swabians who had arrived in the beginning of the 19th century, preserving their way of life with neat and flourishing villages.⁵⁰ Other prosperous groups were the Bulgarians and the Gagauzes,⁵¹ who had arrived in immigration waves from the south, mainly during the 18th and 19th century. Their centre was Bolgrad. Another large minority were the Ukrainians, whose villages, according to Babel⁵² were characterized by misery and poverty.

Other Slavic minorities in this region were the Lipovenians and the Cossacks. The former, traditionally fishermen, lived along the sea and in the Danube Delta. Minor non-Slavic minorities were the Tatars, the Turks - remnants

from the Ottoman occupation - Greeks and Armenians - traditionally tradesmen - and a colony of Swiss from the area of Lausanne. The Swiss lived at the town of Saba on the Dniester.

The ethnic structure of the towns reflected that of the countryside with one important exception. The Jews, rather insignificant in rural areas, were all-important in towns. They were in majority in Chisinau⁵³ and, as a rule, dominated urban commerce. Generally, their situation was less fortunate than in the Old Kingdom.

Statistics on the ethnic groups were only available for 1930. By then, Romanians made up 56 per cent, Russians and Ukrainians 11 each, Jews 7, Bulgarians 5 and Turks and Germans 3 each.⁵⁴ The population of the region was 2 864 000.

Bucovina, defined as the part of Greater Romania under Austrian jurisdiction until 1919, can ethnically be divided into two parts: a southern, in the north delimited by the present national border, with Romanian majority and with German and Jewish elements; and a northern, with predominantly Ruthenian population but with strong elements of Romanians, Poles, Jews and Germans.

With the exception of the town of Ostrov, presently in Romania, the population of South Dobrogea was almost exclusively Bulgarian.

Changes in the Ethnic Structure

Changes in the ratios of ethnic groups, Table 28, can refer to one or more of four factors: a) Natural changes, i.e. surpluses or deficits of births over deaths; b) changes due to migration; c) changes due to assimilation, i.e. change of mother tongue; d) intentional or unintentional errors in the collection, processing or editing of data.

Available statistics are unfortunately far too scratchy and uncertain to allow quantitative analysis of the importance of the four factors. A general discussion of their influence is nevertheless warranted.

NATURAL CHANGES

The Magyars and, particularly, the Germans and the Jews are known to have had lower birth rates than the Romanians, Tables 29 and 30. On his return from extensive travels in Transylvania in the middle of last century, John Paget⁵⁵ predicted that the Saxons would eventually be swallowed up by the Romanians because of the large difference in birth rates.

The differences in birth rates can partly be explained by larger proportions of urbanities, non-agrarians and well-educated among the Magyars, Germans and Jews. The Szeklers, predominantly rural, had higher birth rates, 14.4 per cent in 1965, than the Magyars as a whole.⁵⁶ Yet an

unexplained cultural factor also seems to be present. For example, birth rates among Romanians in Transylvania, Crisana and Banat, since the late 19th century have been considerably lower than in Moldavia, in rural and urban areas alike. Accumulated over a long period ethnic differences in birth rates lead to important changes in the ethnic structure. Quite likely this was the most important of the four factors.

Table 28. Ethnic Composition of the Population in Crisana, Banat, Maramures and Transylvania

Region and Year	Per cent					Population 1 000
	Romanian	Magyar	German	Yiddish	Other	
<u>C-B-M</u>						
1840	54.0	25.6	8.1	-	12.3	2 091
1881	48.9	27.5	11.7	-	11.9	2 285
1891	47.3	29.3	11.9	-	11.5	2 539
1900a	45.7	32.0	11.5	-	10.8	2 815
1900b	56.0	27.1	12.2	-	4.7	2 198
1910	54.3	32.4	10.9	-	2.4	2 404
1930	58.0	22.8	13.9	(2.6)	5.3	2 674
1948	65.6	22.4	7.1	(0.6)	4.9	2 713
1956	65.7	22.7	7.2	(0.2)	4.4	2 767
1966	69.1	20.7	6.1	(0.0)	4.1	3 084
1977	72.3	18.3	4.8	(0.1)	4.6	3 379
<u>Transylvania</u>						
1840	58.5	28.0	13.1	-	0.4	1 694
1881	57.0	30.3	10.2	-	2.2	2 084
1891	56.7	31.0	9.7	-	2.6	2 251
1900	56.4	32.9	9.4	-	1.3	2 477
1910	55.0	34.3	8.6	-	2.1	2 678
1930	58.3	30.3	9.8	(1.5)	1.6	2 875
1948	64.7	28.7	5.6	(0.4)	1.0	3 048
1956	65.3	28.5	5.3	(0.1)	0.9	3 465
1966	67.1	27.1	5.1	(0.0)	0.7	3 635
1977	69.8	25.1	4.1	(0.1)	1.0	4 121

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1881), (1891), (1900a), (1910a), (1941), Recensamintul (1930: Vol II), (1948), (1956a), (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I), Haraszti (1971: 125)

Remarks: Ethnicity as measured by mother tongue. Yiddish was included in German for all years.

C-B-M: Crisana, Banat and Maramures, 1840, 1881, 1891 and 1900a including 12 200 km² situated outside present Romania, 1900b and 1910 approximately according to present region, for exact delimitation see Table 38, and 1930, 1948, 1956, 1966 and 1977 exactly according to present frontiers. In the 1881 census, infants not yet able to speak were registered as 'mother-tongue unknown'. They were 3.7 per cent of the population and were distributed proportionally on the ethnic groups.

Table 29. Distribution of Population and Births by Nationality in the 1930s

Nationality	Population	Births
Romanian	71.9	79.6
Magyar	7.9	5.2
German	4.1	2.7
Jewish	4.0	1.7
Ukrainian	3.2	2.9
Russian	2.3	2.2
Bulgarian	2.0	2.2
Other nationalities	4.6	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Sources: Anuarul Statistics (1939/40: 58-59), Miscarea Populatiei Romaniei (1934: 58), (1935: 60), (1936: 56)

Remarks: Data refer to interwar Romania
Population: According to the 1930 census
Births: Average 1934-36

Table 30. Birth Rates by Ethnic Groups in 1940 and 1965, Live Births per Mill

Nationality	Romania		C-B-M and Transylvania
	'1940'	1965	1965
Romanian	29.1	16.5	14.6
Magyar	23.3	13.1	12.3
German	19.5	12.0	12.1

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1967), Anuarul Statistic (1966), Manuila (1940)

Remarks: The '1940' figures were published in 1940, but refer to the late thirties. They cover interwar Romania, i.e. including Bessarabia, Bucovina and South Dobrogea.

MIGRATION

The importance of migration is more difficult to assess, since particularly the movements during and after the two world wars are poorly documented. In the last pre-World War I decade considerable immigration of Magyars from 'present' Hungary took place and a substantial number of Romanians emigrated to the Old Kingdom - Romania - before and during World War I. In 1930 some 176 400 people originating in C-B-M and Transylvania⁵⁷ lived in the other Romanian provinces. However, some of these had evidently arrived after the war. After World War I the migration flows were reversed. Romanians, who had moved to the Old Kingdom to avoid being drafted into the Hungarian Army or to use

superior educational facilities, returned after the unification in 1918, together with a large number of bureaucrats (Regateni), merchants and industrialists, occupying positions vacated by the Magyars.

Regateni officials flooded the new provinces, bringing with them the customs and morals of their Balkan ancestors diluted with some smattering of French Constitutional Theory acquired from half-digested lectures by graduates of the Sorbonne.⁵⁸

By 1930 some 68 650 people from the Old Kingdom lived in the former Hungarian Provinces. Almost all had arrived after the war. Some 197 000 Magyars left for Hungary between 1918 and 1924.⁵⁹ Among these were former officials, vacating their posts as they refused to work for the new administration, the landed aristocracy, deprived of their land in the reforms of 1920-22, and a number of pursuers of the urban professions. The 1930 census registered 161 700 living in C-B-M and Transylvania as born abroad, in most cases in Hungary. Obviously, many Magyars who moved to these regions before the war stayed.

For centuries, Szeklers had migrated to the towns of Moldavia and Muntenia in search of work. This migration appears to have continued throughout the interwar period, but has since declined. In 1977, only some 20 800 natives of the Szekler counties of Covasna and Harghita lived in the provinces of the Old Kingdom. By comparison, in 1930 there were 8 100 Magyars - Szeklers - in one Moldavian county alone - Bacau - and 14 000 in Bucuresti.

Table 31. Emigration to Israel and West Germany

Period	Migrants arrived from Romania in	
	Israel	West Germany
1948-51	117 950	n.a. ^{a)}
1952-54	3 935	36
1955-57	1 944	1 558
1958-60	26 583	4 903 ^{b)}
1961-64	63 549	6 442 ^{b)}
1965-68	n.a.	5 007 ^{c)}
1969-72	n.a.	32 702
1973-76	n.a.	37 555
1977	n.a.	13 020
1978	n.a.	14 740
1979	n.a.	11 976
1948-79	213 961	127 939

Sources: Statistical Abstract of Israel (1973: 126-127),
Statistisches Jahrbuch der BRD (various years)

Remarks: a) Some 149 000 refugees arrived from Romania in West Germany between 1945 and 1950. Of 127 900 migrants to West Germany 1955-79, 63 900 were ethnic Germans.

b) Excluding 1963

c) Excluding 1968

Almost nothing is available on interwar migration. Statistics on population change indicate that the C-B-M and Transylvania together registered a minor net migration loss between 1930 and 1941.

Movements during and immediately after World War II are only partly documented. All but 26 000 of the approximately 140 000 Jews in the territories annexed by Hungary were deported and perished in Nazi concentration camps.⁶⁰ Considerable movements preceded the partition of Transylvania between Romania and Hungary in 1941, but most were temporary and people moved back when the old borders had been restored in 1945.

According to official West German statistics⁶¹ war casualties among the indigenous German population in Romania amounted to 136 000, of whom 101 000 civilian. The same source estimates that 250 000 Germans were expelled after the war,⁶² of whom 150 000 lived in West Germany in 1950. Approximately 16 000 migrated from Romania to West Germany between 1950 and 1965,⁶³ the overwhelming majority being ethnic Germans. Also the Jews registered considerable migration losses in the early postwar period. Exposed to state fostered anti-Semitism and often ruined by the nationalizations in 1948, many Jews applied for, and received, passports to migrate to Israel. Between 1948 and 1951 Israel registered 117 950 Romanian born migrants.⁶⁴ As the 'Muscovite' group declined, anti-Semitism subsided and emigration nearly came to a halt. Between 1952 and 1954 less than 6 000 Jews emigrated to Israel. From 1958 to 1964 a new Jewish emigration wave occurred and 90 000 Jews emigrated to Israel.⁶⁵ In 1966 Romania was left with less than 43 000 Jews, compared to 146 000 in 1956.⁶⁶

Emigration to West Germany increased in the Seventies. Between 1969 and 1979 West Germany received 100 000 migrants from Romania. This massive emigration explains the fall in the German population between 1966 and 1977.

ASSIMILATION

The languages are preserved as pure as other nationalisms; and though the German can often speak Wallachian, you may quite sure that the Wallack can only speak his own barbarous tongue.

In some places, people of two or three nations are mixed together, and it not unfrequently happens, that the next door neighbours cannot understand each other. The different nations rarely intermarry, - a Magyar with a Wallack, never.⁶⁷

Few matters have been subject to so much academic quarrel and so little serious investigation as the process of ethnic assimilation in Transylvania. Scarce data have usually been marshalled to support a priori assumptions, rather than used for illumination. A study published in a modern Hungarian historic encyclopedia is a rare exception. As an authoritative inquiry it deserves to be quoted. It casts light on the quantitative side of the Magyarization and also on the mechanisms.

If⁶⁸ we make a joint balance of the natural increase and the losses through migration, we arrive at the conclusion that 30 per cent of the increase in the Magyar population between 1880 and 1910⁶⁹ - more than a million people - was due to assimilation. Among the assimilated were 400 000 Magyarized Germans, 200 000 Slovaks, 300 000 Jews, 80 000 southern Slavs, 50 000 Romanians and equally many Ruthenians. Our calculation indicate similar proportions during the whole period from the time of Joseph II's census (1782) until World War I.

... the main force behind assimilation in the 19th century was capitalism, the development of modern manufacturing and urbanization. This is proved mainly by the fact that assimilation was by far strongest in the economically advanced regions. The towns were Magyar strongholds, economically and culturally, and ethnic melting pots. Our conclusions are also affirmed by the fact that the ethnic groups most exposed to Magyarization were those involved in the urbanization process and in the expansion of the bourgeoisie - Germans, Slovaks and Jews - while the people in the backward areas who remained confined within a less mobile, traditional life style - Romanians, Serbs and Ruthenians - were hardly assimilated at all.

Magyarization hardly affected the predominantly agrarian people living together in ethnic blocks and the old language frontiers hardly changed at all in the period of the Dual Monarchy.

Without doubt, the spontaneous process (of assimilation) was facilitated and sometimes accelerated by premeditated Government policies, particularly in the field of education. In places where spontaneous factors were already at work, based on socio-economic development, the educational policies aiming at Magyarization achieved some results.

Dispersed over large areas and living in small numbers, the Swabians and the Jews appear to have been particularly susceptible to assimilation. By 1910 a large number declared themselves to be Magyar. The unification with Romania and the subsequent drive to 'Germanize' the Swabians gradually brought Magyarization to a halt. The impact of the Magyarization on the Romanians was quite insignificant. It was generally a result of, and a prerequisite for, upward social mobility. Thus the few Romanians who managed to raise themselves above the poor lot of their kins, often lost their ethnic identity in the process. Racial discrimination not only kept the Romanians in a state of material and spiritual backwardness, but also saved them from assimilation.

Table 32 clearly shows that the potential for Magyarization in C-B-M and Transylvania was quite small, at least in a short perspective. The low proportion of Romanians speaking anything but their mother tongue is surprising in a region that for centuries had been under Austro-Hungarian administration. The higher proportions of Magyars speaking Romanian reflect that the Romanians, inspite of their lower social status, were the dominant ethnic group.

Table 32 indicates that most of the social intercourse between the Romanians and other groups was carried out in Romanian. This assumption is further supported by a contemporary witness. A Saxon pastor, Stephan Ludwig Roth, argued in a pamphlet - *The Language Struggle* - published in 1843,

that if it were desirable to proclaim a landessprache, it already existed. 'One only needs to make a journey or visit a market: Before one tries to see whether the one speaks German or the other Magyar, the conversation begins in the Wallach language'.⁷⁰ The proportion of Magyars and Germans speaking Romanian in counties dominated by Romanians was considerably higher than the averages shown, generally between 30 and 50 per cent.⁷¹ Still, the high proportion of people speaking only their mother tongue implies a considerable degree of ethnic segregation, which must have hampered efforts to develop Transylvania economically.

Table 32. Knowledge of Languages in the Hungarian Territories in 1881, Percentages

Mother tongue/Speak	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Mother tongue only
<u>Crisana-Banat and Maramures</u>				
Romanian	-	6.2	1.1	91.8
Hungarian	9.2	-	10.4	77.7
German	15.6	17.5	-	59.1
<u>Transylvania</u>				
Romanian	-	5.2	0.8	93.7
Hungarian	18.0	-	4.4	77.2
German	45.0	15.8	-	38.9

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1881: 656ff)

Remarks: For distribution on county level see Appendix, Tables 19-21

After the unification with Romania the role of cultural and educational institutions as centres for Magyarization came to an end, but in many parts the Magyars continued to dominate urban life throughout the interwar period. Urbanization, improved education and increased occupational mobility among the Romanians obviously led to increasing opportunities for contact between the Romanians and the other ethnic groups. In a study based on 133 115 marriages in urban Transylvania between 1920 and 1937,⁷² it was shown that 30.9 per cent of the marriages involving a Romanian man and 11.5 per cent of those involving a Romanian woman were exogamous. The corresponding percentages for the Magyars were 17.7 and 28.9, for the Germans 28.9 and 29.9 and for the Jews only 7.4 and 7.2. Marriages between a Romanian man and a Magyar woman were three times as common as the opposite. Which ethnic element dominated in the mixed marriages? The author of the study obviously feared that the non-Romanian party would dominate. It was argued that Romanian men married non-Romanians to facilitate upward social mobility and it was even suggested that legal measures should be taken to prevent mixed marriage.

In the post World War II period the basic conditions for assimilation changed. The cultural, economic and social barriers between the ethnic groups broke down, knowledge of Romanian became universal, social and geographic mobility was on a scale unknown in the past, and minorities were increasingly exposed to assimilation. The proportion of exogamous marriages in 1965⁷³ did not differ much from the interwar period, Table 33, but by then little doubt existed that the Romanian element would eventually dominate marriages between a Romanian and a non-Romanian. Towns as ethnic melting-pots are shown in Table 33.

Table 33. Endogamous and Exogamous Marriages in Romania in 1965, Percentages

Nationality	Romanian	Magyar	German
<u>All marriages</u>			
Romanian	98.1	15.1	20.7
Magyar	1.1	82.5	6.7
German	0.4	1.7	70.7
<u>Urban areas</u>			
Romanian	96.6	18.0	27.0
Magyar	2.2	79.1	10.3
German	0.7	2.2	60.7
<u>Rural areas</u>			
Romanian	99.1	7.7	10.3
Magyar	0.6	91.2	3.7
German	0.1	0.6	84.9

Source: Anuarul Demografic (1967: 216-217)

Remarks: Data refer to the whole of Romania, thus the high proportion of endogamous Romanian marriages.

Even a casual visit to Transylvania reveals that assimilation now takes large proportions and this is also confirmed by census statistics. A county study showed that the Magyar - Szekler - population in Covasna, Harghita and Mures increased by almost 50 000 between 1966 and 1977, while remaining Magyars in Transylvania decreased by 24 000. Higher birth rates among the Szeklers⁷⁴ cannot explain such discrepancy. It is logical that the Szeklers, living in a region with a compact Magyar population, are less exposed to assimilation than Magyars living in small numbers dispersed among Romanians.

ERRORS IN THE STATISTICS

Data on population by mother tongue and by religion in the village of Tarna Mare in the extreme northwest of Romania, Tables 34 and 35, focus attention on the reliability and the validity of ethnic data. The first table suggests that drastic changes in ethnic structure took place between 1881

and 1930. Indeed, the changes were so large and contradictory than the numbers make little sense. The abrupt increase of Romanians after World War I, the very high figures for Magyars in 1900 and 1910 and the disappearance of the Germans in these two counts are too drastic to be taken at face value.

The disappearance of some 400 Ruthenians in 1930 and the appearance of a corresponding number of Russians is obviously due to a mistake in the registration. A scrutiny of the first table and a comparison of population by mother tongue and by religion suggest that the only real major change was the appearance of some 400 Ruthenians between 1881 and 1900.

Table 34. Population in Tarna Mare by Mother Tongue

Year	Romanian	Magyar	German	Ruthenian	Yiddish	Russian	Total
1881	544	247	151	33	n.a.	-	1 004
1900	585	848	-	403	n.a.	-	1 850
1910	555	881	20	475	n.a.	-	1 931
1930	905	242	141	-	350	427	2 066

Table 35. Population in Tarna Mare by Religion

Year	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protestant	Jewish
1881	149	614	106	126
1900	189	1 210	159	292
1910	239	1 305	156	227

Source: Nepszamlalasa (1881), (1900a), (1910a), Recensamintul (1930: Vol. II)

This increase is substantiated by the numbers on population by religion as the Ruthenians, as well as the Romanians, predominantly were Greek Catholics. The appearance of 350 Yiddish-speakers in 1930 was because the Hungarian censuses did not register Yiddish as a separate language but included it in German. It appears that the Jews, the Swabians and many Romanians were registered with Magyar as their mother tongue in 1900 and 1910.

The spurious ethnic statistics for Tarna Mare may not be typical, but they nevertheless cast doubt on the accuracy of the ethnic data, particularly in the 1900 and 1910 enumerations. It is painfully clear that the quality of the ethnic statistics often leaves much to be desired, but it is difficult to pin-point errors and estimate them quantitatively. Apart from outright manipulation a large number of

potential sources of error can be identified. Some result from varying classification practices,⁷⁵ others from poorly instructed census takers, from a repressive political climate that might induce individuals to hide their ethnic identity⁷⁶ and unintentional processing and printing errors - only too numerous - which are even less easily accounted for.

Lack of means of control makes it particularly difficult to state a firm opinion on the quality of the ethnic data in the post World War II counts.⁷⁷ Comparisons of census data show a small decrease in the number of Magyars between 1930 and 1948, followed by an increase - quite considerable in Transylvania - between 1948 and 1956. Thus, the 1948 census may have somewhat underestimated the number of Magyars. The 1966 and 1977 censuses have been subject to criticism, particularly from Magyars in exile, but the criticism has not been substantiated by evidence.

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

A distinction is made in this chapter between the economic development on the one hand and the industrial structure on the other. The study of the economic development was mainly based on secondary sources and is fairly brief, as there are good studies on this subject. The study of the changes in the industrial structure was mainly based on census data and is presented in the some detail. The industrial structure of rural and urban areas were studied jointly, as well as separately, and the regional and ethnic aspects were paid particular attention.

THE PRE-WORLD-WAR-ONE PERIOD

Quantitative comparisons of the industrial structure in the Hungarian Territories and the Old Kingdom are made difficult by lack of comparable data. For the Old Kingdom paucity of data is a serious problem. The population census of 1899 did not record the industrial or occupational structure of the population, but was complemented by an industrial census taken in 1901. This one is very useful but obviously it does not cover the pre-war advances of manufacturing in the Old Kingdom where the most rapid development occurred in the 1900-10 period. The Hungarian census of 1891 and particularly those of 1900 and 1910 provide a wealth of information on the industrial structure. But it is difficult to make comparative studies of the manufacturing industry versus handicraft as the use of mechanical power was the main criterion used in the Old Kingdom to distinguish the former, while enterprises were classified according to the size of the work force in the Hungarian censuses.

The Old Kingdom

The unification of the Principalities in 1859, the emancipation of the peasantry in 1864 and independence in 1877 paved the way for industrialization in the Old Kingdom. Industrial progress was insignificant until independence. The main achievements were made in railway construction. In 1869 the first railway, connecting Bucuresti with the Danube at Giurgiu, was built and by 1877 some 921 kilometers had been completed, connecting Moldavia, Muntenia and Oltenia.¹ In

Table 36. Structure of Manufacturing and Handicraft Industry in the Old Kingdom in 1901

	Type of Industry		
	Manufacturing	Handicraft	'Special'
Units	625	54 400	6 900
Engaged	39 700	105 000	17 900
Mechanical power (hp)	45 200	235	15 300
Engaged/unit	63.6	1.9	2.6
Horse power/unit	72.3	-	2.2

Source: Ancheta Industriala 1901-02 (1904: 38+)

Remarks: The census distinguished three types of industry: large, small and special. The main criterion for large industry was the use of mechanical power. Consideration was also paid to invested capital and size of workforce. Manufacturing not qualifying as large industry was referred to as small industry. Small flour mills and sawmills using mechanical power, but not qualifying as large industry were referred to as special industry. As the distinction between large and small industry was in essence one between manufacturing and handicraft it was decided to refer to 'large industry' as manufacturing and 'small industry' as handicraft.

Data do not include extractive industries.

1896 the first railway bridge over the Danube was opened, linking the formerly isolated Dobrogea with the rest of the Old Kingdom.

After a short period of free trade Romanian economic policy became increasingly protectionist. Prohibitive customs duties were levied on foreign goods. Apart from a protected market, the home industry also enjoyed a series of benefits, such as reduced railway fares, allocation of free land, exemption from taxes etc. As a result the budding Romanian industry made fast progress.²

An industrial census taken in 1901 registered 169 200 engaged in manufacturing, i.e. 2.2 per cent of the population or 13.3 per cent of the family heads. Three fourths of all industrial units were owned by Romanian citizens, but only 54 per cent of the 'manufacturing' units. Three fourths of the entire workforce were Romanian citizens.³

Food processing was the most important branch of 'manufacturing' industry, accounting for 31 per cent of the units, 42 per cent of the horse power, 27 per cent of the work force and 57 per cent of the output.⁴ Most food processing firms were flour mills. Other important manufacturing branches were the chemical and wood industries, while the textile industry was insignificant. The smallness of the manufacturing industry and the branch structure, with a large share of flour mills, reflect that at the turn of the century industry in the Old Kingdom was still in an incipient phase.

Handicraft industry was to a large extent domestic. Numerically, the most important branches were shoe-making, tailoring and smithery.

The manufacturing industry was unevenly distributed. The counties of Ilfov (including Bucuresti), Neamt, Covurlui, Prahova and Iasi⁵ had 22 per cent of the Kingdom's population, but 67 per cent of those engaged in manufacturing. Oltenia, southern Muntenia and Dobrogea were practically void of manufacturing industry and in Moldavia it was restricted to a few main centres.⁶ As might be expected, handicraft industry was more evenly distributed regionally. Only

Table 37. Economic Development in the Old Kingdom, 1876-1905

	Index: 1976 = 100				Absolute value (000)	
	1876	1886	1896	1905	1905	
Population	100	113	129	146	6 480	
Export (value)	100	108	138	194	457 100	lei
Railways	100	152	306	345	3.2	km
Goods transported						
by rail	100	360	856	1 071	5 750	ton
Postal circulation	100	235	673	1 353	105 000	units
Government income	100	154	245	286	411 000	lei

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1909), Colescu (1907: 26)

Oltenia had less than its 'share'. More than half of the artisan industry was found in rural areas.

The secondary sector developed at a relatively fast rate during the first decades of the 20th century. The most rapid progress was experienced in the petroleum industry. Oil production increased from 15 900 tons in 1881 to 250 000 tons in 1900 to 1 142 000 tons in 1901 and to 1 910 000 tons in 1914.⁷ As the petroleum industry was concentrated to the Prahova valley and the Bacau area, the regional concentration of the manufacturing industry increased. The relative importance of the food processing industry diminished and by 1915 it had declined to 36 per cent of the industrial output. The mechanical force used in manufacturing industry increased from 45 200 horsepower in 1901 to 126 700 in 1915. Still, on the eve of World War I manufacturing in Romania was far from versatile and, with few exceptions, poorly developed. But in spite of the backward state of manufacturing the development since independence was the first important step away from an agrarian society.

The Hungarian Territories

The emancipation of the peasantry in 1848 marked the beginning of industrialization in the Hungarian Territories, as in the Old Kingdom. Previous industrial development had often been linked to the rich natural resources of the area. Gold and silver were mined near Zlatna in the Apuseni Mountains⁸ and near Baia Mare in the north. Salt was mined in Maramures and in several places in Transylvania, traditionally by convicts.⁹

In the latter half of the 19th century development was based on iron ore and coal mines. Some 240 000 tons of coal were extracted in 1867, almost exclusively in the Banat, and by 1913 some 2.5 million tons, of which 2.3 million tons in the Jiu Valley of the Hunedoara region.¹⁰ Main metallurgical centres were Resita and Hunedoara.

The development of manufacturing was hampered by the recession of 1873 and by a tariff war with the Old Kingdom in 1886-91, but gained momentum after the turn of the century. Between 1900 and 1910 employment in manufacturing and handicraft industry increased from 117 600 to 149 200 in C-B-M¹¹ and from 91 000 to 128 400 in Transylvania. The number of establishments increased from 58 400 to 67 500 in C-B-M and from 51 000 to 59 100 in Transylvania in the same period. Two thirds of the establishments used no hired labour. The number of manufacturing enterprises with more than 20 employees¹² in C-B-M and Transylvania increased from 383 in 1900 to 691 in 1910 and the employment in these enterprises increased from 37 600 to 68 300. The largest concentration of manufacturing was found in the Banat, but manufacturing was much more evenly distributed than in the Old Kingdom and all counties had at least a few manufacturing establishments. Three establishments in Arad, Cluj and Timisoara had more than 1 000 employees. Another twenty-two had more than 500 employees.

Table 38. Industrial and Residential Structure of the Population in Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania in 1910, Percentages

Residential structure	Industries			
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	All industries
Urban areas	14.2	41.9	43.9	100.0
Rural areas	82.3	11.1	6.7	100.0
All areas	74.1	14.8	11.1	100.0

Source: Nepszamlalasa (1910b)

Remarks: The primary industries include agriculture and silviculture, the secondary mining and manufacturing, and the tertiary commerce, financial institutions, transportation, public services and free professions, military services and domestic servants. Non-specified day labourers and those with other or unknown occupations were proportioned on the three groups. Urban areas had 13 per cent of the population. To delimit Crisana-Banat and Maramures as faithfully as possible to the present borders the following system was used. In Maramures was included the districts Izavolgyi, Sugatagi, Szigeti and Visoi in the Maramaros county; the Tizsantuli district in the Ugozca county; the Szatmar county except for the districts Csengeri, Fehergyarmati and Mateszalkai and the county of Szilagy. In Crisana-Banat was included the county of Bihar except the Berettyoujfalusi, Biharkerestes, Derecskei, Sarreti and Szekelyhidi districts; the entire county of Arad and Krasso-Szoreny and the county of Temes except for the districts Fehertemploni, Kevevarai and Verseczi and for the towns Fehertemplon and Versecz.

Table 39. Industrial Structure by Major Ethnic Groups in Hungary in 1910, Percentages

Industry	Romanians	Germans	Magyars	Jews
Agriculture	85.9	49.9	54.7	7.4
Manufacturing	5.3	27.2	19.8	34.5
Mining	1.1	1.6	1.0	0.1
Transportation	0.8	2.2	4.6	3.9
Trade	0.6	6.0	4.8	38.0
Church and civil services	1.5	2.7	5.0	8.1
Other	4.8	11.0	10.2	8.0

Source: Suciu (1929: 691-705)

Remarks: Data are not strictly representative as they refer to the whole of Hungary and C-B-M and Transylvania were less industrialized than the rest of the country. The source does not give information on how ethnicity was measured. The division into industries follows standard Hungarian practice at the time.

By 1910 three fourths of the population in C-B-M and Transylvania were engaged in the primary industries, 15 per cent in the secondary and 11 per cent in the tertiary. In six counties more than 30 per cent of the population were found outside agriculture, as against less than 15 per cent in one county - Kis-Kukullo. Regional variations were rather small. Eighteen per cent of the rural population were non-agricultural. Of those in the secondary industries 66 per cent were rural and of those in tertiary activities 52 per cent. Traditional, small-scale units continued to dominate and rural areas were far from exclusively agricultural. When manufacturing gained over the crafts secondary activity was concentrated to towns and a stagnation - and even decline - of the non-agricultural industries in rural areas took place.

The ethnic segregation in the Hungarian Territories was eminently reflected in industrial structure. Romanians more than other ethnic groups remained confined to agriculture and only rarely capitalized on their artisan skills to gain off-farm income.¹³ In northern Transylvania and Maramures Slovaks were brought to work in mines, although Romanian labour was abundantly available.¹⁴ Tradition, lack of education and cultural and social barriers seems to have effectively blocked their access to secondary and tertiary industries. Commerce was generally in Jewish hands, while Magyars and in some areas Jews and Germans dominated the crafts. The shop- and inn-keeper would be a Gypsy and the shoemaker, the butcher, the carpenter, the miller and the public servant were Magyars. Only 2.7 per cent of the Romanians were craftsmen and there were only 11 500 Romanian intellectuals,¹⁵ of whom 3 820 belonged to the clergy, 3 440 were teachers and 1 360 worked in public administration.

THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The character of Romania as a pronounced peasant state was never seriously challenged in the interwar period. The urban population grew considerably, but the urban share of the total population increased only slowly.

Table 40. Industrial and Residential Structure in 1930, Percentages

Residential structure	Industrial structure		
	Farm	Non-farm	All industries
Urban areas	16.2	83.8	100.0
Rural areas	86.6	13.4	100.0
All areas	72.3	27.7	100.0

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vol I and V)

Remarks: Data refer to total population. 20.0 per cent were urban and 79.8 per cent rural.

In 1930 some 80 per cent of the population was still rural and agriculture was the principal source of income for 72 per cent of the population. By 1941 the proportion non-farm population had increased by a mere 2.6 percentage units.¹⁶ Urbanization in the interwar period should be seen in this context. A proletarianization of the peasantry rather than economic growth was the main promotor of urbanization in the interwar period. A rapidly growing agricultural population and stagnant agricultural production forced many peasants to gain at least a supplementary income from non-farm activities. Theoretically they had the choice of seeking non-farm income near home or to migrate. In most cases the first option was almost non-existing.

The increase in the supply of labour in the urban areas was not met by a corresponding demand. Some found permanent work in factories, but many became day labourers or street vendors. Particularly the Oltenians became known as vendors of vegetables and pastries. Most of them were street peddlers, but some managed to establish themselves as small tradesmen with their own shops.

Economic Development

Romania suffered immense human and material losses in the First World War. An estimated one million people were lost in the war.¹⁷ Livestock dwindled to a mere fraction of the prewar level,¹⁸ partly as a direct result of the war and partly through German 'export'. Industrial and transportation infrastructure was largely destroyed.

The disastrous effects of the war upon the economy appear clearly from the production data of the first postwar years. Industrial production in 1921 was less than half the prewar level.¹⁹ Transportation was in a poor state. Only about a fourth of the rolling stock remained²⁰ and the new political boundaries made the network inappropriate. Especially the Transylvanian industry suffered from being disconnected from its former markets. Factories had to close down because of shortages in transportation.²¹ According to a contemporary American report²² the whole Romanian economy was restricted by the ability, or rather disability, of the distribution system.

Agriculture, too, was slow to recover, partly due to the heavy depletion of labour and livestock. Also, the agrarian reforms in 1920-21 had unfavourable effects on production. They led to an immediate fall in production as much land remained untilled because of uncertainty about ownership and time lags between expropriation decisions and distribution to the peasants.²³ The reforms also had more far-reaching effects. As ownership of the land and thus production decisions shifted from the large landlords to less market-oriented peasants, wheat - the traditional export crop - lost ground to maize - the staple food - which was considerably more labour intensive than wheat.

Yields of the most important crops - maize and wheat - did not improve during the interwar period, but remained below the prewar levels, Tables 41 and 42. Increases in the

sown area in the regions of the Old Kingdom led to an increase in the production of maize, while production of both maize and wheat in Transylvania remained considerably below the prewar level.

The 1920's saw relatively fast economic development. By 1926, manufacturing production surpassed the level of 1913.²⁴ Cereals lost its position as the most important export item to petroleum. Oil production more than trebled between 1922 and 1928. The most expansive industries were paper, textiles, and metals.²⁵ By value, the food industry remained most important, 29 per cent, and the chemical industry, 19 per cent.²⁶ Agricultural production increased, too.

Table 41. Cultivation of Maize and Wheat in the Old Kingdom, Annual Averages

Period	Maize		Wheat	
	Sown area, 1 000 ha	Yield kg/ha	Sown area, 1 000 ha	Yield kg/ha
1862-66	980	990	697	920
1872-76	1 307	970	1 060	710
1891-95	1 793	1 000	1 435	1 090
1901-05	2 090	900	1 681	1 240
1911-15	2 087	1 360	1 928	1 170
1923-27	2 283	1 100	1 501	880
1931-35	2 873	1 100	1 429	830

Sources: L' Agriculture en Roumaine (1929), (1938), Anuarul Statistic (1909: 146-147), (1915/16: 26-31)

Remarks: Yields 1862-1915 converted from hectolitres to kilograms according to formula 1 hl = 78 kg, stated as average in Anuarul Statistic (1909). Data should be interpreted with caution as their reliability may be uneven. A systematic substitution of yields after the agrarian reforms in 1921 can be suspected as an increasing part of production was consumed within the producing households.

Table 42. Cultivation of Maize and Wheat in Transylvania, Annual Averages

Period	M a i z e			W h e a t		
	Sown area 1 000 ha	Production 1 000 tons	Yield kg/ha	Sown area 1 000 ha	Production 1 000 tons	Yield kg/ha
1896	380.7	506.0	1 330	309.9	366.3	1 180
1923-27	330.7	409.9	1 240	314.1	315.6	1 010
1931-35	388.4	418.6	1 080	356.4	340.9	960

Sources: Agriculture en Roumanie (1929), (1938), Mezogazdagi Statiztikaja (1895: Vol III)

The world depression of 1930 struck the various sectors of the Romanian economy differently. The petroleum industry was least affected. Although prices fell, both production and export increased throughout the depression. Iron ore and coal mining and the steel industry, on the other hand, were badly hit. Employment in 'large-scale'²⁷ manufacturing decreased by 24 per cent. Artisan and home industry were also in a bad shape. Nevertheless, by 1933 industrial production was back at the 1929 level.²⁸

Table 43. Development of Manufacturing in 1929-38

	1925	1929	1932	1938
Enterprises	3 445	3 736	3 487	3 767
Mechanical power (hp)	384 700	480 000	514 700	746 800
Employment	208 700	201 200	152 200	289 100
Output (1 000 lei, constant prices)	n.a.	56 100	53 800	87 700

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 478), Lupu ed. (1974: 415)

Remarks: n.a. = not available
Data refer to 'large-scale' manufacturing, i.e. enterprises with more than ten employees or 20 horse powers.

The depression hit agriculture most severely. Prices fell much more than for manufactured goods and were slower to recover. Farmers were caught in a price pinch as the relation between prices of farm output and manufactured input increased from 1:1 in 1929 to 1:1.9 in 1934 and 1:1.5 in 1939.²⁹ The decline in product prices increased the debt burden considerably and served to maintain the depressed state of agriculture. Per-capita national income dropped from 11 000 lei in 1928 to 4 800 lei in 1932.³⁰ Romania's terms of trade deteriorated sharply after 1929. The ton-value relation between imports and exports fell from 1:6.6 in 1929 to 1:15.6 in 1933.³¹

In the years 1933-38 manufacturing industry grew under an import substitution policy. By 1938 industrial production was up 32 per cent as against 1929,³² shifting somewhat from consumer to capital goods. The iron and metal industry expanded considerably, partly because of increased armaments. Agricultural production fluctuated much from year to year, but except for the early Twenties no sustained increase can be detected.³³ Livestock other than horses decreased slightly between 1927 and 1935.³⁴

As a consequence of the strongly protectionistic policy, the industrial growth was largely of import substituting character. Romania became increasingly self-sufficient in industrial products, by 1938 at 80 per cent.³⁵ The structure of imports changed considerably. Finished products declined

from 65 per cent in 1930 to 33 per cent in 1939, while raw materials and semi-finished products increased correspondingly. However, the state-fostered industrial growth was costly and not accompanied by any increase in national consumption. Consumption of industrial products actually fell from 93 billion lei in 1927 to 88 billion in 1938³⁶ and per capita consumption of most consumer goods also declined.³⁷ Neither did industrial growth absorb much of the labour surplus in agriculture. Employment in manufacturing³⁸ increased by only 90 000 between 1929 and 1938, Table 43, while population grew by over two million. A major reason why a self-sustained economic development did not take off, was the failure to improve agricultural efficiency and the depressed economic conditions of the peasantry, who continued to make up over 70 per cent of the population, but had very low purchasing-power. By 1939, the value of agricultural inventory per hectare was only 1 000 lei, compared with 3 000 lei in Poland and 15 000 lei in Germany.³⁹

Industrial growth before the Second World War had considerable regional and structural consequences. Data do not allow exact comparisons, but a study of the 1901 and 1930 censuses suggest that a considerable geographic concentration of industrial activity took place in the Old Kingdom. By 1930 almost half the industrial activity in the former Old Kingdom was concentrated to the counties of Ilfov (Bucuresti) and Prahova, Table 44. Concentration was at the expense of Moldavia and poorly industrialized Oltenia. Manufacturing employment increased more than 150 per cent in Ilfov and Prahova, but actually decreased somewhat in Oltenia and increased only slightly in Moldavia.

By the end of the First World War the former Hungarian Territories were more industrialized than the Old Kingdom. In 1926 industrial production per capita in the former amounted to 3 480 lei, as against 2 570 lei in the latter, 4 060 lei in Bucovina and only 308 lei in Bessarabia.⁴⁰ Manufacturing in the former Hungarian Territories was somewhat more dispersed than in the Kingdom and heavy industry was different in character, based on coal and iron rather than oil.⁴¹ During the interwar period a relative shift in manufacturing from the former Hungarian Territories to the Old Kingdom appears to have occurred. It is difficult to tell to what extent the shift was due to economic policy or the attraction of Bucuresti or was a result of the depression, which hit iron and coal harder than oil. The close ties between business and politics in the interwar period made intimate contacts with political decision-makers very important to big industry and this greatly increased Bucuresti's attraction. The loss of its traditional market probably affected the Transylvanian industry in the years after the war. This shift and the relocation within the regions of the Old Kingdom indicate a considerable concentration of industry to the Bucuresti-Prahova area. Table 44 and 45 refer to different periods but this should not invalidate the conclusion.

Another concentration of manufacturing, with regional as well as rural-urban consequences, was the shift from handicraft industry to manufacturing. The crafts were traditionally most developed in the Carpathian Piedmont, where the

Table 44. Regional Distribution of Manufacturing in the Old Kingdom in 1901 and 1930, Percentages

Area	Mechanical Power		Employment	
	1901	1930	1901	1930
Oltenia	10.9	7.7	14.9	8.6
Muntenia ¹⁾	21.2	24.6	19.4	17.7
Ilfov and Prahova	28.5	49.9	29.3	44.8
Dobrogea	2.6	1.9	4.3	4.0
Moldavia	36.8	15.9	32.1	24.9
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Total	60 700 hp	618 900 hp	162 600	274 300

Sources: Ancheta Industriala 1901-02 (1904: 38+), Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 380)

Remarks: ¹⁾ Excluding Ilfov and Prahova

Table 45. Regional Distribution of Manufacturing in the Interwar Period, Percentages

Area	1919		1928		1933		1937	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
The Old Kingdom	40.2	39.4	44.5	41.5	46.1	42.3	45.6	52.6
The Hungarian Territories	51.8	55.0	46.9	50.9	45.1	50.6	46.5	41.6
Bucovina and Bessarabia	<u>8.0</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>8.8</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>7.9</u>	<u>5.8</u>
	<u>100.0</u>							
Total (1 000)	157.4	481.2	206.5	472.3	184.8	529.9	278.9	722.6

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 478), Turnock (1977: 348)

Remarks: A: Employment
B: Installed power (hp)

necessary raw materials and energy were available and the pressure on arable land high.⁴² The growth of manufacturing increasingly referred handicraft industry to rural areas.⁴³ In the former Hungarian Territories the share of employment in crafts in the secondary industries declined from 57 per cent in 1910 to 35 per cent in 1930, and the number of artisan enterprises declined from 105 700 to 55 000.⁴⁴ A similar development occurred in other regions.

As might be expected, handicraft industry was regionally more evenly distributed than manufacturing, Table 46. More interesting is the positive correlation between the two. Regions with high intensity of manufacturing - Transylvania, Maramures and Crisana-Banat - also had more than their share of handicraft industry, while regions with few large

Table 46. Economically Active Population in Extractive and Manufacturing Industries by Size of Firm and Region in 1930

Region	Labour force by size of firm			Per 1 000 inh.	
	1-5	6-20	21-	1-5	20-
M-C-B	39 400	11 800	66 100	16.9	28.4
Transylvania	56 100	15 900	80 200	17.4	24.9
Oltenia	13 700	3 600	6 200	9.1	4.1
Muntenia	34 300	10 200	53 100	10.1	15.7
Dobrogea	10 300	2 600	3 800	12.6	4.7
Moldavia	28 300	7 200	32 900	11.6	13.5
Bucovina	12 800	3 500	15 300	15.0	17.9
Bessarabia	24 400	5 400	5 900	8.5	2.1
Bucuresti	14 900	12 200	46 500	23.2	72.8
ROMANIA	234 200	72 500	310 100	13.0	17.2

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 346-355)

Remarks: M-C-B: Maramures, Crisana and Banat. Data on regions refers to official administrative division of region as of 1930. For specification, see Table 4 in Appendix.

factories, particularly Oltenia and Bessarabia, also had a poorly developed handicraft industry.

The effects of the shift from handicraft to manufacturing industry on the pattern of urbanization are not altogether clear. The employment created by the growth of large factories may in many cases have been offset by a decrease in handicraft industry. As the growth of the former was much more concentrated than the the decrease of the latter, the shift is likely to have channeled rural-urban movements to a few expansive areas and to have increased regional disparity, measured by industrial intensity. A case in point would be Oltenia, where employment in manufacturing actually decreased between 1901 and 1930.

The Industrial Structure

Unfortunately, quantitative analyses of changes in the industrial structure of the population remain incomplete because of territorial changes between the censuses. The 1941 census did not cover Maramures and northern Crisana and Transylvania, by then under Hungarian administration, and studies of the development before 1930 must largely be restricted to the former Hungarian Territories because of lack of data on the industrial structure in the Old Kingdom.

A comparison of the 1930 and 1941 censuses, limited to the territory covered by both censuses, shows that the population increased by 1.6 million people, almost equally divided between farm and non-farm populations.⁴⁵ This resulted in a 9.6 per cent increase in the former and a 23.7 per cent increase in the latter, but with large regional differences. In Moldavia 82.5 per cent of the population increase remained in the agricultural sector, resulting in a

Table 47. Population by Industry in 1930, Percentages

Region		A	B	C	D	E	Total
Maramures	urban	18.0	27.5	12.2	7.4	12.2	128 600
	rural	83.5	6.4	2.5	1.3	2.3	671 200
Crisana-Banat	urban	8.6	33.0	12.0	8.4	13.5	346 900
	rural	81.4	8.5	1.8	1.3	2.2	1 527 000
Transylvania	urban	11.0	32.3	11.8	7.6	16.2	487 800
	rural	81.9	9.1	1.6	1.5	2.3	2 386 800
Oltenia	urban	31.1	18.1	10.6	6.5	16.4	209 500
	rural	92.6	2.5	0.8	0.8	2.4	1 487 300
Muntenia	urban	18.9	25.9	13.2	9.9	12.5	451 500
	rural	84.2	6.6	1.4	2.2	2.5	2 754 900
Dobrogea	urban	16.7	15.0	13.1	16.4	16.7	126 400
	rural	87.4	5.6	1.8	0.8	2.5	313 900
Moldavia	urban	22.9	20.7	14.0	9.0	14.3	667 900
	rural	89.2	3.5	1.6	1.3	2.4	2 142 700
Bucuresti	urban	3.2	29.2	17.9	10.7	15.8	639 000
Bucovina	urban	18.6	23.2	14.8	5.6	15.5	150 300
	rural	87.6	4.4	2.1	1.4	2.0	325 800
Bessarabia	urban	26.5	16.8	14.2	6.1	14.3	371 000
	rural	90.9	2.8	2.3	0.7	1.8	2 493 400
South Dobrogea	urban	19.1	20.0	13.9	7.6	12.7	70 100
	rural	91.5	2.7	1.0	0.3	2.4	305 100
ROMANIA	urban	16.2	25.2	13.9	8.8	14.7	3 649 000
	rural	86.6	5.5	1.7	1.3	2.3	14 408 100

A: Agriculture (Exploatarea solului)

B: Manufacturing and mining (Industrie and Exploatarea
subsolului)

C: Credit and commerce (Credit, reprezentanti, agentii de comert
and comert)

D: Transportation (Transporturi)

E: Public institutions (Institutiile publice)

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V)

Remarks: Urban population refers to the official administrative delimitation of towns. Orsova is included in Crisana-Banat, Herta in Moldavia. Data refer to total population, i.e. both active and passive.

17.2 per cent increase of the agricultural population, while the agricultural population in the Suceava area,⁴⁶ Dobrogea and Transylvania increased by only 3-4 per cent and actually decreased in Banat. In Oltenia and Muntenia the increase was 9 and 14 per cent.⁴⁷

Table 47 shows by region how far the industrial transition from farm to non-farm activities had progressed in 1930. The transition ostensibly follow two courses; growth of urban areas at the expense of rural through rural-urban migration and a shift from farm to non-farm activities in rural areas. In 1930 agriculture was still the primary source of income for over 80 per cent of the rural population in Romania, but there were considerable regional variations. Larger shares of the rural population were occupied in non-farm activities in Crisana-Banat and Transylvania than in the rest of Romania. The poorly developed regions - Bessarabia, Oltenia and South Dobrogea - had the lowest rates of the rural population in non-farm activities. In spite of small relative numbers, the non-agrarian rural population was numerically important. Some 42 per cent of all manufacturing employees and 49 per cent of the mechanical power used in manufacturing was found in rural areas.⁴⁸ The credit,

Table 48. Industrial Structure in Urban and Rural Areas in Maramures, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania in 1910 and 1930, Percentages

Region		Urban			Rural		
		A	B	C	A	B	C
Maramures	1910	15.9	35.4	28.9	78.4	9.7	6.2
	1930	18.0	27.5	31.8	83.5	6.4	6.1
Crisana-Banat	1910	7.1	37.3	29.5	78.0	11.2	5.4
	1930	5.7	31.6	36.9	79.0	9.7	5.9
Transylvania	1910	13.2	35.9	26.0	80.3	10.9	4.7
	1930	10.6	32.0	36.4	81.1	9.5	5.6

A: Agriculture

B: Mining and manufacturing

C: Credit, commerce, transportation and public insitutions
In 1910 also 'free professions'

Source: Nepszamlalasa (1910b), Recensamintul (1930: Vol V)

Remarks: The residual is made up of military services, non-specified day labourers, domestic servants, others and unknown in 1910 and of various and unknown in 1930.

The urban system consists of towns existing both in 1910 and 1930. For delimitation of Crisana-Banat and Maramures and Transylvania, see Table 38.

commerce and transportation industries were 34 per cent rural and public institutions 38 per cent.

Table 48 clearly shows that no gradual penetration of non-agricultural activities took place in rural areas in the period.⁴⁹ On the contrary, they appear to have become increasingly agricultural. The agricultural population increased both absolutely and relatively in rural areas, as well as in urban Maramures. Mining and manufacturing lowered their share in both urban and rural areas, while the service sector increased considerably. Changes in classification and in administrative boundaries may account for some of the differences and call for caution in the interpretation of the data.⁵⁰

There are two plausible explanations for this development. Firstly, it is most likely that the population movement after World War I affected the industrial structure. Some 197 000 Magyars emigrated to Hungary between 1918 and 1924.⁵¹ A few of them belonged to the landed aristocracy who lost their land in the agrarian reforms,⁵² but it can be safely assumed that most emigrants belonged to the secondary and tertiary sectors. Hungarian peasants, as well as Romanian, benefitted from the reforms and because of their economic ties to the land no doubt were less mobile than the non-agricultural population. Thus Maramures, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania were depleted of an important part of their non-farm population. This was particularly important in Maramures and Crisana-Banat and in the towns. Places and functions left vacant by emigrating Magyars were not easily filled by predominantly agricultural Romanians. The Magyar exodus very likely hampered the economic development in the former Hungarian Territories in the early interwar period.

Secondly, data confirm that the relative shift from handicraft to manufacturing industry led to a concentration of secondary activity to towns to the disadvantage of the development of non-agricultural activities in rural areas. Poor transportation prevented commuting.

ETHNIC ASPECTS ON THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

The Saxons are a canny folk, and if not very romantic and chivalrous, they are prudent and labourious. The Saxons are undoubtedly the most industrious, steady and frugal of the inhabitants of Transylvania, and they are consequently the best lodged, best clothed and best instructed.⁵³

Should a peculiarly fine season have sent a better crop than usual, the Wallack will load his little wagon, harness his oxen, provide himself with his maize loaf and bit of bacon, and set off for some distant market where he thinks he can turn his produce to account. It is true, he sleeps on the top of his load the whole way, perhaps he drinks a good part of the money before he gets back, probably the Jew cheats him out of the rest of it in exchange for some worthless trinkets for his wife, - still the spirit of commercial enterprise is there, little as its benefits are felt.⁵⁴

A few kind words are rarely lost even on a Gypsy.⁵⁵ They (the Gypsies) are the only blacksmiths in the country⁵⁶

Table 49. Residential and Industrial Structure of All Ethnic Groups and Romanians in 1930, Percentages

Region	All groups		Romanians	
	Urban	Non-farm	Urban	Non-farm
Maramures	16.1	27.0	8.3	14.6
Crisana-Banat	18.5	32.0	9.7	18.6
Transylvania	17.0	30.1	10.7	19.0
Oltenia	12.0	15.0	11.5	14.4
Muntenia	13.1	25.0	12.3	23.2
Dobrogea	28.7	32.9	29.7	45.9
Moldavia	20.7	26.5	18.0	19.9
Bucuresti	100.0	96.8	100.0	96.2
Bucovina	30.1	34.2	28.8	26.5
Bessarabia	12.5	17.5	6.5	9.6
South Dobrogea	18.7	22.0	22.7	26.5
ROMANIA	19.5	27.7	16.2	22.0

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vols II and V)

Remarks: Orsova included in Crisana-Banat. Herta included in Moldavia. Non-farm population measured as total population less agricultural population.

Table 50. Industrial Structure of Major Ethnic Groups in 1930, Percentages

Ethnic group	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Commerce	Other	Total
All groups	72.3	8.6	4.1	15.0	100
Romanians	78.0	5.8	2.3	13.9	100
Magyars	57.0	18.3	4.2	20.5	100
Germans	54.2	22.5	5.1	19.2	100
Jews	6.3	28.0	40.0	25.7	100
Ukrainians	91.5	2.7	0.7	5.8	100
Russians	72.6	7.4	3.1	16.9	100

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V)

Remarks: Commerce includes credit. 'Other' includes mining, public institutions, transportation, 'various' and 'non-declared'.
Ethnicity measured by nationality (neam).
Data are based on accumulation by county which excluded ethnic groups smaller than 1 000 people.

The regional ranking of economic development - with Crisana-Banat and Transylvania in the lead - is reversed if only the Romanians are considered, Table 49. The industrial variations between the main ethnic groups remained large.

The largest minorities - the Magyars, the Germans and, especially, the Jews - were much less agrarian than the Romanians. Only 48 and 40 per cent, respectively, of those living from manufacturing and from credit and commerce were Romanians, Table 51. The Jews - only 4 per cent of the population - made up 39 per cent of those engaged in credit and commerce. Wherever large minorities were present, Romanians were largely confined to agriculture. The largest shares of non-agricultural Romanians were found in purely Romanian areas, such as Muntenia. As a rule, Romanians did not benefit from the generally higher level of economic development in ethnically mixed areas. An exception was the former Saxon land, where Romanians living among Germans traditionally were more prosperous than elsewhere.

Table 51. Ethnic Composition in Various Industries in 1930, Percentages

Ethnic Groups	All industries	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Commerce
Romanians	72.1	77.8	48.4	39.9
Magyars	7.8	6.2	16.6	7.9
Germans	5.0	4.1	3.0	10.6
Jews	4.0	10.3	3.0	38.5
Ukrainians	3.2	4.0	1.0	0.5
Russians	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.6
Bulgarians	2.0	2.4	1.2	1.3
Others	4.6	4.1	7.3	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V)

Remarks: See Table 50

The minorities are slightly underrepresented as data were accumulated by county, which excludes ethnic groups smaller than 1 000 people.

The Romanians have been able to learn from the Saxons in the fields of agriculture and housekeeping. Furthermore, the Saxons' greater familiarity with books, their commercial and manufacturing skills and economic spirit have had a positive influence on the Romanians. Generally, where Romanians live among Saxons, material living standards of not only the Saxons, but also of the Romanians are higher than in other parts.⁵⁷

Regionally, the share of minorities among the non-farm population was much higher. Wherever Jews lived in large numbers, they dominated commerce. Their share in credit and commerce was 80 per cent in Bucovina and 75 per cent in Bessarabia. Many counties in Moldavia and Maramures showed similar high proportions: Botosani 73 per cent, Dorohoi 84, Iasi 72, Radauti 78, Suceava 75 and the county of Maramures 89 per cent.⁵⁸ Except for the ports, credit and commerce was almost entirely in the hands of ethnic Romanians in Muntenia

and Oltenia. In 1930 no less than 82 per cent of the Romanians were still agricultural in C-B-M and Transylvania as against 58 per cent of the Magyars, 54 per cent of the Germans and 9 per cent of the Jews. Although Romanians made up 57 per cent of the population in these regions, their share of the manufacturing population was only 31 per cent. A similar situation was found in Bessarabia.

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE OF TOWNS

The difference in the economic structure between towns in Crisana-Banat and Transylvania on the one hand and those in the rest of Romania on the other appears clearly from Figure 7. Regional differences in administrative delimitations from the time before unification, continued to influence the urban system in the interwar period. Towns in the former Hungarian Territories were, as a rule, more strictly delimited than those in the former Old Kingdom. This may partly explain the higher agricultural shares in towns of the latter region.

The weak manufacturing base in Romanian towns in the interwar period is reflected by 1930 census data on industries and sources of living. In five towns did more than half the population receive its income from manufacturing,⁵⁹ based on local mineral resources in all cases. In fifty towns the proportion of manufacturing population was between 25 and 50 per cent. Of the forty-eight towns in Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania, thirty-one belonged to this group, while the remaining nineteen were found among the 124 towns of Romania's other regions. Their average size - 26 500 - was well above the national average - 16 900⁶⁰ - and most of the larger cities were among them. Their industrial structure varied, but only a few cases were based on mineral resources. Their tertiary base was generally well-developed. Nineteen towns had less than a tenth of their population in the manufacturing sector, five in Oltenia and five in Bessarabia, but none in the the former Hungarian Territories.

Towns with a large share in the transport sector can be divided into three broad categories; ports, railway junctions and those along old trade routes. Of thirty-one towns with more than 10 per cent in the transport sector, twelve were ports, all the major Danubian ports and fast-growing Constanta on the Black Sea. Port activities generally constituted the economic base in these towns and other industries were largely auxiliary. In four towns - Adjud, Marasesti, Medgidia and Pascani - economic life was centred around the railway. Many towns had an old tradition as transport and trade centres and having grown up along old trade routes were strengthened by the appearance of the railway. However, they usually had a relatively broad economic base and profited from, but were not dependent on their transport location.

The historical division of Romania into a large number of counties⁶¹ meant administrative functions in many towns. Seventy of the 172 towns were county capitals. They held 79 per cent of the urban population in 1930. Twenty-five counties had no town but the county capital. The administrative functions in several cases were the *raison d'etre* of the town. The administrative division of the country was

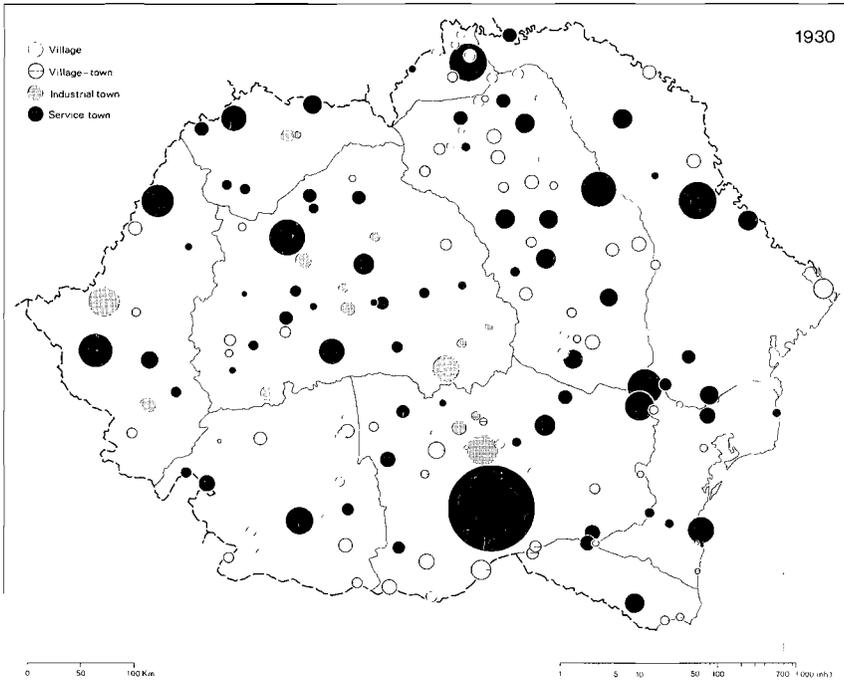


Figure 7. The Economic Structure of Romanian Towns in 1930

Sources: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V), William-Olsson (1953), (1977)

Remarks:	Village:	More than 50 per cent of the population live from agriculture and forestry.
	Village-town:	Between 25 and 50 per cent in agriculture.
	Manufacturing town:	Less than 25 per cent in agriculture, more in secondary than in tertiary activities.
	Service town:	Less than 25 per cent in agriculture, more in tertiary than in secondary activities.
	Secondary activities:	Manufacturing, mining and construction.
	Tertiary activities:	Credit, commerce, transportation and public institutions.

Method elaborated by William-Olsson.

See also Appendix Table 26

important for the development of a fairly uniform network of small and medium-sized towns.

Places with a high rate in credit and commerce were concentrated to Moldavia and Bessarabia. Of thirty-three towns with more than 15 per cent in these industries, thirteen were Moldavian and five Bessarabian. As noted above, commerce in these regions was largely in Jewish hands. The massive settlement of Jews in northern Moldavia, Bucovina and Bessarabia in the 19th century stimulated commerce in these regions.

A large number of towns retained their agricultural character; thirty-five had more than half their population in agriculture in 1930 and in fifty the share was 25 to 50 per cent. Only thirty-four towns had less than 10 per cent in agriculture but they had 54 per cent of the urban population. Half the towns by international comparison thus could be classified as 'village' or 'village-town'.⁶² In many cases the agricultural percentage was so high that it equalled that of the rural areas.⁶³ The 'village-towns' were concentrated to the less developed regions of the former Old Kingdom and to Bucovina and Bessarabia. In eight of eighteen towns in Oltenia and in five of eight in Bucovina but none in the former Hungarian Territories did agricultural rates exceed 50 per cent.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The need for rapid industrialization was widely recognized after World War II. With the Communist acquisition of power, Romania for the first time got a government with the will as well as the political means to embark on an ambitious industrialization programme. The postwar decades saw industrialization proceed at a pace unknown in the past and impressive also by international standards. In terms of economic development the postwar period can be divided into five distinct periods: 1944-48, 1948-53, 1953-57, 1958-65 and 1965-80.⁶⁴ The study of the postwar economic development follows this division into periods.

The rapid industrialization drastically changed the industrial structure of the population in the postwar period. The agricultural population declined from 70 per cent in 1956 to 36.5 per cent in 1977. In rural areas the fall was from 86 to 56 per cent, Table 53. Data on population by industry were provided by censuses taken in 1956, 1966 and 1977 and the study of the changes in the industrial structure had to be based on intercensal periods.

Table 52. Annual Change in Selected Economic Indicators 1948-1980, Percentages

Year	Employment	Investment	National Income	Gross output	
				Industrial	Agricultural
1948	-	-	-	-	-
1949	-	-	-	-	-
1950	-	29.3	48 ^{a)}	73 ^{a)}	20
1951	13.8	40.7	31	24	25
1952	5.4	33.6	5	17	-7
1953	9.3	27.4	15	15	17
1954	2.6	-11.1	-1	6	1
1955	3.2	11.6	23	14	18
1956	1.5	12.8	-8	11	-19
1957	-2.8	-6.3	16	8	24
1958	1.3	9.9	3	10	-14
1959	3.7	17.9	13	10	20
1960	6.2	32.1	11	16	1
1961	7.3	21.4	10	16	5
1962	6.8	15.8	4	14	-8
1963	5.1	10.1	9	12	4
1964	4.7	10.7	12	14	7
1965	4.6	8.7	10	13	7
1966	4.4	10.3	10	11	14
1967	4.1	16.8	8	14	2
1968	2.3	12.3	7	12	-3
1969	3.6	5.8	8	11	3
1970	3.0	9.4	7	12	-5
1971	5.2	10.5	13	12	19
1972	4.7	11.0	10	12	9
1973	3.6	8.2	11	14	1
1974	3.3	11.3	12	15	2
1975	4.6	16.2	10	12	3
1976	4.1	8.4	11	11	17
1977	2.8	13.7	9	12	-1
1978	3.2	16.3	8	9	2
1979	3.3	7.2	6	8	6
1980	2.2	3.3	3	7	-4
1981	1.3	-7.1	2	3	-1

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (Various issues); Dezvoltarea agriculturii RPR (1965:563), Dezvoltarea industriei RPR (1964:121), Forta de munca (1966:42-43), Investitii-Constructii (1966:38), Montias (1967:269)

Remarks: a) Percentage change over 1948
 Employment: Annual average on payrolls
 Investments: Total investments in the socialist sector, current prices

Table 53. Industrial and Residential Structure in 1956, 1966 and 1977, Percentages

Residential structure	Industrial structure		
	Farm	Non-farm	All industries
<u>1956</u>			
Urban areas	12.6	87.4	100.0 (27.1)
Rural areas	85.9	14.1	100.0 (72.9)
All areas	69.7	30.3	100.0 (100.0)
<u>1966</u>			
Urban areas	11.3	88.7	100.0 (35.3)
Rural areas	77.5	22.5	100.0 (64.7)
All areas	57.1	42.9	100.0 (100.0)
<u>1977</u>			
Urban areas	6.0	94.0	100.0 (43.6)
Rural areas	59.5	40.5	100.0 (56.4)
All areas	36.5	63.5	100.0 (100.0)

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a:13, 642-643), (1966: Vol I, 2-3, 402-403), (1977: Vol I, 178-179)

Remarks: Urban areas in 1956 exclude 'urban-like localities' and in 1966 and 1977 suburban communes. For 1956 they are according to the 1956 urban network and boundaries and for 1966 and 1977 according to the 1968 network and boundaries. The industrial structure refers to the active population.

Economic Development

Most economic losses occurred after - rather than before - the coup d'etat in August 1944 and were inflicted by the Soviet Union. Romania's war time losses in fixed capital were only about 30 per cent of the 1938 national income, a smaller share than in any other East European country.⁶⁵ Yet, the prewar level of industrial output was reached later than in Poland where the war losses amounted to 3.5 times the 1938 national income. After the coup Romania's infrastructure and productive capacity was mobilized for the needs of the Red Army. It contributed with its industrial and agricultural production and was stripped of much of its economic infrastructure. Industrial plants were dismantled and transported to the Soviet Union and much of its rolling stock was seized.⁶⁶

Soviet exploitation after the war took two forms, war reparations and the establishment of joint Soviet-Romanian companies (Sovroms). Romania's war indemnity to the Soviet Union was officially set at 300 million dollars⁶⁷ to be paid in kind at 1938 prices. In addition, 508 million dollars worth of goods had to be paid as a compensation for assets ostensibly taken from Bessarabia and Bucovina before the Soviet annexation of these regions in 1940.⁶⁸ Most of the reparations were paid in oil. Through the establishment of fifteen Sovrom companies the Soviet Union acquired control over much of Romania's natural resources.⁶⁹ Romania contri-

buted capital, manpower and raw material to the Sovroms, while the Soviet 'contribution' mainly consisted of former German and 'enemy' shares in Romanian companies and production was split equally between the two countries. The Sovroms produced approximately a third of the oil production and half the steel. They were dissolved in 1954-56 when Romania bought the Soviet shares.

Table 54. Output of Key Industrial Products

Product	1938	1944	1945	1948	1953	1965	1970	1980
Crude oil mt	6.6	3.5	4.6	4.1	9.1	12.6	13.4	11.5
Pig iron, tt	133	142	56	186	448	2 000	4 200	9 000
Crude steel, tt	284	245	134	353	717	3 400	6 500	13 200
Cement, tt	510	n.a.	214	657	1 906	5 400	8 100	14 600
Cotton cloth, tm ²	104	35	38	91	197	431	437	748
Wollen cloth, tm ²	12	9	8	12	29	41	63	128
Leather shoes, mp	2.7	3.0	3.0	8.7	8.9	28.9	40.4	63.6

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1966: Various issues), Dezvoltarea Industriei RPR (1964: 142-48), Montias (1967: 22)

Remarks: mt = million tons, tt = thousand tons, tm² = thousand m², mp = million pairs

Also other factors complicated economic recovery, Table 54. The economic costs of the political turmoil and of the nationalization of manufacturing, trade and commerce were considerable. The poor harvests of 1945 and 1946 and the reparation payments to the Soviet Union depressed the economy and left the country with hardly any export earnings. Food shortage, inflation and the foreign currency crisis were the main factors behind the slow recovery, according to Montias.⁷⁰

By 1948 the necessary conditions existed for pushing ahead with the industrialization programme. Control over manufacturing, trade and commerce had been secured the same year through nationalization and the restructuring and reorganization had already begun. The relatively good harvest of 1947 and relaxation of the Soviet reparation demands somewhat relieved the strain on foreign exchange. The 1951-55 five-year plan (FYP) was preceded by two one-year plans, reflecting initial difficulties in mastering the economic development. The adoption of a ten-year electrification plan in 1950 stressed the importance attached to electrification in the national development. The 1949 and 1950 plans and the 1951-55 FYP reflected Soviet philosophy, focusing on heavy manufacturing as a spearhead for economic development. A rapid increase in investments and continued low levels of consumption resulted in an increase in the rate of accumulation from approximately 11 per cent in 1950 to 29 per cent in 1953.⁷¹ Manufacturing⁷² received no less than 57.7 per cent of all investments, of which 'group A', producer goods, 50.2 per cent and 'group B', consumer goods,

the remaining 7.5 per cent.⁷³ Agriculture received 10 per cent, transportation and communications 11 per cent, housing and communal services 6 per cent, culture, science and medical care 7.7 per cent and other branches 7.5 per cent.⁷⁴ The 'group A' industries were developed at the expense of almost all other sectors in the economy. By 1953 there were signs of serious strains in the economy. The rapid growth of the urban population did not go parallel with an increase in housing.⁷⁵ Agricultural production failed to keep pace with the needs of the growing non-agricultural population, resulting in food shortages and steep price increases in the

Table 55. Agricultural Production: Indices of Gross Output and Wheat and Maize Yields

Year	Gross output			Yields kg/ha	
	Total	Crop	Animal	Wheat	Maize
1938	100	100	100	1 330	1 050
1950	74	65	94	800	740
1951	92	89	99	1 250	1 080
1952	86	80	99	1 072	851
1953	100	101	98	1 437	1 117
1954	102	98	110	871	1 500
1955	120	119	123	1 020	1 800
1956	97	89	116	842	1 101
1957	120	120	122	1 247	1 703
1958	104	95	125	980	1 003
1959	124	120	134	1 339	1 598
1960	126	118	144	1 216	1 548
1961	133	121	159	1 344	1 674
1962	122	110	147	1 332	1 588
1963	126	121	136	1 322	1 782
1964	134	125	156	1 292	2 016
1965	143	133	163	1 990	1 778
1966	163	155	183	1 669	2 440
1967	166	152	197	1 998	2 129
1968	160	146	191	1 721	2 125
1969	165	154	191	1 576	2 331
1970	157	136	201	1 446	2 119
1971	186	172	219	2 221	2 507
1972	204	185	246	2 378	3 071
1973	206	179	265	2 312	2 502
1974	208	180	269	2 079	2 511
1975	214	181	287	2 059	2 780
1976	251	220	320	2 788	3 410
1977	249	209	338	2 820	3 040
1978	256	210	356	2 710	3 210
1979	270	223	373	2 203	3 720
1980	258	209	365	2 837	3 390

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (Various issues), Dezvoltarea Agriculturii RPR (1965: 160-191, 292-323, 563, 574-575)

Remarks: The indices for 1938-65 were based on 1955 prices, for 1965-75 on 1963 prices and for 1976-80 on 1977 prices. Wheat yields for 1971-80 refer to wheat and rye.

peasant markets. The standard of living increased only slowly from the very low level of 1948.

Agricultural production increased at a sluggish rate in the postwar period. The 1938 level was not reached until 1953. A combination of man-made and natural factors contributed to the low production in the early postwar years.⁷⁶ Soviet pillage had depleted the country of much of its agricultural inventory including animals, and the immediate effects of the 1945 land reform were also negative, to which should be added the droughts of 1945 and 1946 and the attempts at forced collectivization in 1949-50.⁷⁷ In 1948 a system of compulsory delivery quotas was introduced, ranging from twenty per cent of the production for poor peasants to sixty per cent for large holders and 'kulaks'.⁷⁸ In 1951 a system of steeply progressive quotas were introduced, ranging from 70-250 kg per hectare for 'poor peasants' to 590-895 kg for 'rich peasants' and 200 kg for collective farms.⁷⁹ State purchase prices were much below market prices.⁸⁰

The death of Stalin in March 1953 marked the beginning of a period of more balanced, albeit slower, economic development, which was to last until 1957. This was essentially a period of economic and political consolidation. In the previous period a manufacturing base had been laid; gross industrial output almost doubled between 1948 and 1953. But the concentrated development of the 'group A' industries could not have continued much longer. The depressed standard of living, the neglected infrastructure and mounting deficits in foreign trade would sooner or later have forced a change.

The need for economic recovery and a 'breathing spell' after years of political and economic turmoil was recognized at a Party Plenum in August 1953.⁸¹ The change in 1953 was a shift not only from investments to consumption, but also within investments from 'group A' industries to the other economic sectors, Table 52. Total investments in 1954 and 1955 actually fell below the 1953 level in absolute terms. The transfer of labour from agriculture to the non-agricultural sectors decreased sharply as the annual increase in employment fell from 220 000 in 1950-53 to 32 000 in 1953-58.⁸² Employment in the non-agricultural sectors actually had a constant share in the latter period.⁸³ Agriculture saw a shift from coercion to incentives with substantially increased state purchase prices for its products in 1953. Delivery quotas were scaled down and altogether abolished in 1956. The collectivization campaign was tuned down and the capital base in agriculture expanded through increased investments. The 'terms of trade' of agricultural products sold by peasants to the prices of the industrial inputs they bought from the state retail network improved by nearly 30 per cent between 1954 and 1957.⁸⁴ This new economic course resulted in larger production, albeit with substantial annual variations, Table 55.

The crises in Hungary and Poland probably extended the consolidation period one or two years. The initial 1956-60 plan was abandoned and the next plan came into effect already in 1960 and lasted for six years. By 1958, time was

considered ripe for a new industrialization drive and for completing the collectivization of agriculture. As in 1948-53 the development of the 'group A' industries was stressed. Yet, there were important differences. While the 1948-53 drive had been part of an overall Soviet policy, industrialization after 1958 was largely in defiance of Soviet wishes, which assigned Romania the role of a furnisher of raw materials to the more industrialized countries in the block. Import-substituting industries received particular attention and self-reliance became the new catchword. Mining, metallurgy and the machine building and chemical industries increased their shares of industrial investments, while the oil industry saw its share drop.

Concomitant with collectivization the trend of improved 'terms of trade' of the agricultural population was broken; parts of the gains obtained since 1953 were lost. State procurement of farm products increased at a much faster rate than agricultural output. The share of state procurement to gross production increased from 27 per cent in 1955 to 52 per cent in 1964⁸⁵ and prices remained constant at a level considerably below those obtained on the peasant market.

Industrialization after 1958 went much more smoothly than in 1948-53 and by and large was a success. Most of the goals in the ambitious 1960-65 plan were achieved with a wide margin. Industrial production increased at an annual rate of 13.6 per cent between 1958 and 1965,⁸⁶ faster than in any other CMEA country. Industrial output and labour and capital input data indicate a rapid increase in both labour and capital productivity.⁸⁷ In spite of almost doubled investments in absolute terms, consumption increased by 20 per cent between 1959 and 1963.⁸⁸ An annual increase in employment of almost 200 000 from 1958 to 1965⁸⁹ absorbed some of the people in agriculture who were underemployed after mechanization.

The collectivization of agriculture in 1958-62 appears to have been carried out without serious disruptions in production, which in most years was sufficient to satisfy domestic needs and generate a surplus for exports. State farms were expanded and strengthened concomitant with collectivization, probably to offset a predicted fall in production, yet the stable production level only marginally was due to increased production on state farms. At the conclusion of collectivization, agricultural production was 20-30 per cent above the 1938 level. Yet, a poor harvest in 1962 demonstrated that agriculture remained the Achilles heel of the Romanian economy. Reduced food exports led to curtailed imports and revision of the entire investment programme, food shortages led to queuing and informal rationing.

The slow increase in the Fifties and early Sixties fell far short of the optimistic 1956-60 and 1960-65 plans.⁹⁰ The production targets of these plans obviously were unrealistic. Montias⁹¹ concludes that 'the socialization of agriculture must have been expected to exert a favourable impact on output by virtue of its inherent superiority'. The discrepancies between plan targets and results had particularly adverse effects on animal husbandry as the expected fodder base did not materialize.⁹² Poor crops in

1956 and 1962 were followed by heavy slaughters the same years and a reduction in livestock and slaughters the following year.⁹³

By 1965 the economic and political development reached an official milestone. The construction of 'the unitary socialist economy', comprising all main sectors of the economy had been completed and Romania was proclaimed a socialist republic. Subsequent decades were to be devoted to the building of a 'multi-laterally developed socialist society'.

Subsequent development confirmed the mid-Sixties as a milestone. The 1965-80 period saw none of the shifts in economic policy and profound political changes of the economy that had marked the previous two decades, it was a period of continuity. Yet, this period was far from uneventful. Rapid industrialization and sustained high rates of economic growth, Table 52, fundamentally altered the structure of the economy. Gross industrial output almost trebled between 1970 and 1980. Economic growth rates culminated in the first half of the Seventies. The 1971-75 FYP was the most ambitious and also the most successfully implemented of the three five-year plans in this period. An increasing share of the national income was set aside for investments - 29 per cent in 1966-70, 34 per cent in 1971-75 and 1976-80.⁹⁴ The investments indicate that the development strategy, emphasizing heavy manufacturing, remained essentially the same. More than half of all investments in 1966-80 went to mining and manufacturing, some 44 per cent to heavy - Group A - and only 7-8 per cent to light - Group B - manufacturing. Investments in agriculture fell from 19 per cent in 1961-65 to less than 14 per cent in 1976-80.

As in the 1948-53 period, the 1965-80 period of rapid industrialization was brought to an end as imbalances in the economy became acute. Romania's domestic resources of raw material and - particularly - energy soon proved inadequate and the Romanian industry became increasingly dependent on imports. Oil import increased from 2.3 million tons in 1970 to 16.0 million tons in 1980 and by then exceeded domestic production. A parallel example was iron ore. The rapid increase in oil import combined with the increase in oil prices⁹⁵ severely strained the balance of payment. In the late Seventies the world recession adversely affected Romanian exports and the balance of payment rapidly deteriorated. An increasing debt-service ratio further aggravated the problem.

The development of agriculture was unsatisfactory in the 1965-80⁹⁶ period and remained the Achilles heel of the Romanian economy. Agriculture was rapidly depleted of its labour⁹⁷ both in quantity and quality as migration from the primary sector was selective in terms of age and education. Although labour productivity increased, the agricultural production grew at a sluggish and uneven rate. Supply of agricultural products failed to keep up with demand and after a poor harvest in 1980 a number of staples were rationed while others all but disappeared from the market. In the early Eighties several measures were taken to strengthen agriculture, production incentives were substantially

increased and the position of agriculture in the economy was officially enhanced. By mid-1983 it was yet too early to say if the new importance paid to agriculture was temporary or reflected a shift in long-term policy.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY

The transformation from a market economy to a centrally planned economy after World War II was accompanied by major structural changes. The new government strongly criticized the economy for its inappropriate structure: The secondary sector lacked a sufficient base of heavy industry, was excessively concentrated to a few regions and was split on too many units to take advantage of economies of scale.⁹⁸

The postwar decades saw a concentration of manufacturing to fewer enterprises and plants but poor statistics make documentation of the changes in the first decade difficult and incomplete. Definitions changed which made comparisons uncertain and in addition data were scarce in the Forties.⁹⁹ A gradual concentration of manufacturing from many small and scattered workshops to fewer factories, had started even before World War I as a consequence of industrialization and improved transportation. Important changes took place during the Forties. In the areas under Hungarian administration - Maramures, Crisana and northern Transylvania - many establishments were closed as their Jewish owners had been deported. In Moldavia the secondary and tertiary sectors in the late Forties suffered from the massive emigration of Jews to Israel. A census¹⁰⁰ taken in 1947 registered 47 500 non-agricultural enterprises with a workforce of 650 000, of which 35 500 with 534 300 employees in mining and manufacturing and 10 330 with 84 300 employed in trade. Almost 41 000 engaged less than ten people. The nationalizations in 1948 affected 1 600 enterprises, leaving some 45 900 small enterprises in private hands. The nationalized enterprises were regrouped into 1 090 companies.¹⁰¹

Table 56 reveals a considerable concentration of manufacturing to fewer and larger enterprises between 1955 and 1965. Private, mostly one-man, workshops were reduced by two-thirds in only ten years. Many were obviously turned into cooperatives, often several workshops forming one cooperative. But all told, combined, cooperative and private workshops declined in numbers and employment, indicating a sharp reduction in small-scale manufacturing. The stagnation of local state enterprises strengthen this conclusion.

The rapid growth of manufacturing employment in 1965-80 was largely confined to the republican enterprises. However, the stagnation of the artisan cooperatives was broken. Membership in the cooperatives more than doubled in this period. Although comparatively few worked in cooperatives, these were important as they provided local employment in small towns and villages.¹⁰² Local enterprises all but disappeared as many were converted into republican enterprises.

The increase in manufacturing employment was confined to republican enterprises, i.e. large firms serving more

than the local market. Within these was also a marked concentration. In 1965 two-thirds of their blue-collar workers were in companies with more than 1 000 workers, but in 1956 they had only been 38 per cent. No more than 2.4 per cent worked in enterprises with less than 200 workers in 1965.¹⁰³ Enterprises, cooperative firms and local manufacturing included,¹⁰⁴ in 1965 averaged 1 049 blue-collar workers, a very high number by international comparison.

Table 56. Structural Change in the Secondary Sector

Category	1955	1960	1965	1970	1980
I. Socialist enterprises:					
units	2 223	1 658	1 572	1 731	1 752
employees, thousand	1 075	1 241	1 648	1 997	3 198
employees per unit	484	748	1 049	1 154	1 825
A. State enterprises					
1) Republican enterprises:					
units	1 306	1 001	1 065	1 126	1 321
employees, thousand	870	1 003	1 409	1 629	2 881
employees per unit	666	1 002	1 323	1 447	2 100
2) Local enterprises:					
units	292	318	207	246	13
establishments	-	8 374	6 196	n.a.	n.a.
employees, thousand	81	149	137	207	16
B. Artisan cooperatives:					
units	637	345	302	409	442
workshops	5 549	10 463	11 100	12 399	14 725
engaged, thousand	131	110	128	195	337
II. Private workshops and small scale manufacturing:					
units	124 501	84 974	34 977 ^{a/}	n.a.	n.a.
engaged, thousand	129	91	35	36	42

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1966: 165), (1981:135, 205, 222-223), Dezvoltarea industriei RPR (1964: 22, 24-25, 64-70)

Remarks: a/ 1963

Units: juridical enterprises

Establishments: work places

Of the artisan cooperatives more than 90 per cent were officially referred to the secondary sector. In 1959 an unspecified, but minor number of cooperatives became local industries. Republican and local enterprises add up to state enterprises, which together with the cooperatives add up to 'Socialist enterprises'.

The strong concentration within the republican enterprises continued in the 1965-80 period. By 1980 some 85 per cent of the work force in these enterprises were found in those with more than 1 000 employed and 28 per cent within

Table 57. Size Structure of Socialist Enterprises in the Secondary Sector: 1956, 1965 and 1980, Percentages

Size of enterprises (workers)	Enterprises			Workers		
	1956	1965	1980	1956	1965	1980
- 50	8.2	0.6]		0.5	0.0]	
51 - 100	13.9	4.1]	8.5	2.3	0.3]	0.7
101 - 200	24.9	12.3]		7.9	2.1]	
201 - 500	30.2	30.8	19.5	21.7	11.2	4.1
501 - 1 000	12.9	25.6	23.0	20.3	20.1	10.2
1 001 - 2 000	6.9	17.1	23.3	21.0	26.5	20.2
2 000 - 3 000	1.7	5.1	11.5	5.1	13.5	17.1
3 001 - 5 000	0.7	2.9	8.5	6.1	11.9	19.5
5 000 -	0.7	1.5	5.7	5.6	14.3	28.2

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1966: 138-139), (1980: 145-149)

Remarks: Socialist enterprises include republican and local state enterprises.

Table 58. Investments, Production and Employment in Main Secondary Sector Industries in 1950, 1965 and 1980, Percentages

	Investments			Production			Production		
	1950	1965	1980	1950	1965	1980	1950	1965	1980
Electric power	9.7	18.3	10.8	1.9	3.2	1.8	1.3	2.1	1.3
Fuels	48.8	18.9	13.2	11.3	7.0	4.5	7.5	5.8	3.7
Metallurgy	9.1	18.7	14.1	7.5	7.7	10.5	6.2	7.3	6.3
Machine building and metal working	7.4	6.6	28.9	13.3	28.3	35.2	21.3	24.2	35.6
Chemicals	3.3	12.5	14.0	3.1	10.0	8.7	2.6	5.4	6.7
Building materials	3.8	4.0	4.2	2.4	3.6	3.4	5.8	5.3	3.9
Lumber and woodwork	4.0	6.1	1.8	9.9	7.1	4.1	17.2	16.1	9.5
Paper and pulp	1.3	5.6	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.5	1.1
Textiles and clothing	3.9	2.9	4.3	18.6	11.8	11.8	16.9	15.4	17.7
Shoes and leather	0.6	0.5	0.3	4.0	2.4	2.2	5.4	3.8	3.6
Food	5.2	4.3	4.4	24.2	14.8	12.8	11.0	9.1	6.8

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1966: 160-161), (1981: 164-165, 206-207, 408-409),
Dezvoltarea industriei in RPR (1964: 131),
Forta de munca in RSR (1966: 112-115),
Investitii-constructii in RSR (1966: 66-69)

such with more than 5 000 employed. Employment in republican enterprises averaged 3 700 in 1980.

Changes in the structure of production in agriculture were modest after collectivization had been completed, Table 59. State and collective farms dominated the production of less labour-intensive and easily mechanized crops, such as wheat, and industrial crops, such as sugar beets. Maize produced on the personal lots of collective farmers and on private farms was largely consumed on the farm, much of it as fodder, and fairly little was marketed. Most of the potatoes were privately produced, both for marketing and farm consumption. The same was true for vegetables. A larger share of livestock than of crops were privately produced. The large and increasing share of private farms in beef and milk production is easily understood; most individual farms are in mountainous areas with land suited for pasture. The government encouraged cattle raising on private farms in the late Seventies by increasing prices and providing cheap fodder in the winter. The increased shares of state and cooperative farms in pork and poultry production reflect the introduction of large-scale 'factory' production. Limits on the number of hogs and cattle a collective farmer could keep privately restricted private production of beef, pork and milk on cooperative farms.¹⁰⁵ Still, milk and eggs remained mainly privately produced. As part of the production on state and cooperative farms was exported, the role of private production for domestic consumption was larger than indicated by the production figures, Table 128.

Table 59. Structure of Production in Agriculture in 1965 and 1980, Percentages

	State farms		CAP		Pers. lots		Private	
	1965	1980	1965	1980	1965	1980	1965	1980
Wheat and rye	24.8	22.0	66.6	64.1	6.5	10.0	2.1	3.9
Maize	21.0	20.7	62.2	55.4	13.8	18.0	3.0	5.9
Sugar beets	1.1	0.1	98.9	99.8	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Potatoes	6.5	5.7	44.4	35.9	35.1	38.0	14.0	20.4
Vegetables	10.6	22.8	55.3	35.5	27.7	32.9	6.4	8.8
Meat: beef	20.7	14.0	32.7	33.8	33.9	30.3	12.7	21.9
pork	28.4	41.6	16.7	25.0	46.5	23.3	8.4	10.1
poultry	13.7	35.6	5.1	17.5	62.4	33.7	18.8	13.1
Milk	16.9	14.2	26.8	29.1	40.3	34.1	16.0	22.6
Eggs	11.7	24.9	4.0	13.6	62.0	44.3	22.3	17.2
Wool	17.4	22.5	40.0	34.8	32.4	29.0	10.1	13.6

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1981: 280-289, 358-361)

Remarks: CAP: Cooperative farms
 Pers. lots: The personal lots of cooperative farmers
 Private: Privately owned farms
 For distribution of land, see Table 7

The concentration of investments to a few 'basic' branches - over 75 per cent of secondary sector investments went to five industries¹⁰⁶ - led to a sharp increase in

their capital-to-labour quotient and a more modest shift in employment from light to heavy industry. The five heavy industries increased their employment share from 39 to 45 per cent. The establishment of a strong heavy industry was rated higher than the immediate creation of new jobs.

The postwar regime inherited an economy with large regional variations. Manufacturing was concentrated to Bucuresti and a few other industrial centres. The new division of the country into sixteen large regions provided a crude instrument for regional development policy but the distribution of investment indicates that this was of little concern until 1960. The main goal was to create a strong manufacturing base. The four most industrialized regions¹⁰⁷ with 24 per cent of the 1956 population received 39 per cent of the 1950-59 investments, but only 33 per cent in 1960-65. The only poorly industrialized areas to receive large investments in the Fifties were those with untapped natural resources, e.g. the Bacau and Gorj oil districts. Per capita investments¹⁰⁸ in 1950-54 ranged from 140 lei in Oltenia and 187 lei in Suceava to 1 653 lei in Hunedoara.

Table 60. Per Capita Investments in the Socialist Sector, Lei

	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80
Bucuresti	7 560	10 620	19 880	35 370	51 030	63 080
Counties with reg. capitals	4 400	5 960	11 210	18 540	28 260	41 030
Other counties	1 790	3 490	6 700	11 620	22 190	38 260
Romania	3 300	5 040	9 820	16 460	27 050	41 730

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1979: 376-377), (1981: 46-47, 394-395, 418-429)

Remarks: The 1956 census was used for calculating per capita investments for 1951-55 and 1956-60, the 1966 count for 1961-65 and 1966-70 and the 1977 count for 1971-75 and 1976-80. Counties according to the 1968 administrative division. 'Counties with regional capitals' are those with the capitals of the sixteen former administrative regions: Arges, Bacau, Brasov, Cluj, Constanta, Dolj, Galati, Hunedoara, Iasi, Maramures, Mures, Prahova Suceava and Timis.

In 1960-65 the gap had narrowed from 1 017 and 1 040 lei in Iasi and Suceava at the lower end to 3 795 and 3 284 lei in Bucuresti and Hunedoara at the upper end.

Table 60 shows the importance of the administrative division as an instrument for regional development. Investments were concentrated to the centres of each region. Apparently centrally placed planners did not perceive intra-regional differences. With the emphasis on regional development in the 1960-65 plan came increased investments in poorly developed regions, e.g. Oltenia, Bucuresti and Arges, while

large 'poverty pockets' in Transylvania - counties like Alba, Bistrita-Nasaud and Salaj - continued to receive very little. Of 433 new-built or enlarged industrial plants between 1951 and 1965, 71 were in Bucuresti, 149 in the other fifteen regional capitals and 213 in the rest of the country.¹⁰⁹

The Industrial Structure

In view of the industrialization drive after World War II, the shift from the agrarian to the non-agrarian sector in the industrial structure was very modest until 1956. According to Cresin (1948) the non-farm share of the population increased by 2.6 percentage units between 1930 and 1941.¹¹⁰ The non-farm population probably declined both absolutely and relatively in the Forties, yet one still arrives at the conclusion that until 1956 it did not increase at a substantially higher rate than the total population.¹¹¹ The industrialization drive in 1948-53 aimed at creating a heavy

Table 61. Industrial Structure in Rural and Urban Areas in 1930, 1956, 1966 and 1977, Percentages

	1930	1956	1966	1977
<u>All areas</u>				
Primary sector	70.3	69.7	57.1	36.5
Secondary sector	10.5	16.6	24.6	38.9
Tertiary sector	19.1	13.7	18.3	24.6
<u>Rural areas</u>				
Primary sector	85.4	85.9	77.5	59.5
Secondary sector	6.2	8.4	13.5	26.5
Tertiary sector	8.3	5.7	8.9	14.0
<u>Urban areas</u>				
Primary sector	14.8	12.6	11.3	6.0
Secondary sector	26.4	45.6	49.0	55.7
Tertiary sector	58.9	41.8	39.7	38.2

Sources: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V), (1956a: 642-643), (1966: Vol I, 402-403), (1977: Vol II, 178-193)

Remarks: The secondary sector includes mining, manufacturing and construction. The tertiary sector is here a residual and includes, apart from specified tertiary activities, 'various', 'other sources of income' and 'non-declared'. The latter categories held 6.3 per cent of the population in 1930, 0.7 in 1956, 0.5 in 1966 and 1.1 per cent in 1977. Data for 1930 refer to total population, while those for 1956, 1966 and 1977 refer to the active population. As the percentage active generally is higher in agriculture than in other sectors, data for 1930 probably underestimate this category. According to the 1956 census, 76.7 per cent of the active population were in agriculture in 1930. Urban areas exclude 'suburban communes' for 1930, 1966 and 1956 and 'urban-like localities' for 1956.

manufacturing base rather than increasing non-farm employment. This is reflected in the 1956 census data on population by industry and in statistics on salaried employment. An increase in wage earners per 1 000 inhabitants from 131 in 1950 to 171 in 1956 was at least partly balanced by a decline in non-farm self-employment. There was considerable urban under-employment in the interwar period and the growth of salaried employment in the early Fifties was probably partly recruited from hidden unemployment among interwar urban labour.

The shift in employment from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector was accelerated in the 1956-66 period. By 1966 57.1 per cent of the active population was found in the primary sector, as against 69.7 per cent in 1956. This was a decline of 1.36 million. The shift took place mainly after 1960. Between 1956 and 1959 total population actually increased at a faster rate than salaried employment, which by 1959 stood at only 170 wage earners per 1 000 inhabitants.¹¹² Concomitant with the conclusion of collectivization of agriculture the second industrialization drive was commenced and by 1966 there were 228 wage earners per 1 000 inhabitants.

The changes in the industrial structure were more dramatic in 1966-1977 than in any previous period. Employment in agriculture fell by 20.6 percentage units - more than a third - to 36.5 per cent of the active population in 1977 or absolute terms almost two million. The non-agricultural population increased by over 2.3 million to over 6.8 million. By 1977 there were 313 wage earners per 1 000 inhabitants.

A breakdown of data on regions, ethnic groups, rural and urban areas, and the secondary and tertiary sectors is necessary for an understanding of these changes. In 1930-1956 the main change was from tertiary to secondary activities, rather than from agricultural to non-agricultural activities, Table 61, which appears both on the national and regional level. The rate of agricultural population remained approximately the same in all regions between 1930 and 1956, Figure 8. In four regions¹¹³ it even increased¹¹⁴ only Transylvania saw a notable decrease. The slight relative decrease of the primary sector on the national level can be explained by a concentration of the non-agricultural population to the industrialized regions, particularly Bucuresti.¹¹⁵

The share of the tertiary sector fell sharply in all regions; in several instances it was almost halved. But it should be remembered that the tertiary sector had a large share of undefined activities, Table 61. The lack of detailed data makes an analysis of the decline qualitative, deductive and partly speculative. In 1930 the Jews accounted for 38.5 per cent of employment in credit and commerce. By 1956 their role in these trades, as indeed in almost any trade, was negligible. The persecution and deportation of Jews during the war and the massive emigration to Israel after the war had severe repercussions on commerce. Skills and established channels of distribution were not easily replaced. The decline of the tertiary sector was strongest in Maramures and Moldavia,¹¹⁶ where the Jews had been most dominant.¹¹⁷ A comparison shows that between 1930 and 1956

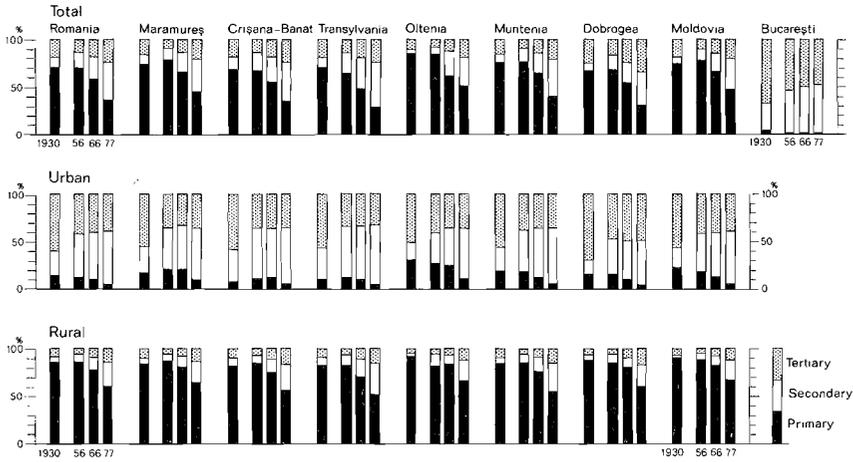


Figure 8. Industrial Structure in Rural and Urban Areas by Regions in 1930, 1956, 1966 and 1977

employment in credit and commerce fell from roughly 4.1 to 3.1 per cent. The decline in the Forties must have been much larger as salaried employment in the tertiary sector increased by 81 per cent between 1950 and 1956.¹¹⁸

In 1930 some 6.9 per cent of the population was reported under 'various industries and non-specified'. This category was much reduced by 1956. Differences in classification criteria were probably of less importance for the decline of the 'tertiary residual'¹¹⁹ than the absorption by the manufacturing industry of underutilized self-employed - street peddlers etc. According to the new state ideology most activities in the tertiary sector were unproductive, their low official status was reflected in low wages and small investments. The secondary sector was favoured over the tertiary. There was a slight tendency for tertiary employment rates to become regionally more uniform in the 1930-56 period, which was partly the result of reduced variations in 'credit and commerce'. Very high percentages for Dobrogea were due to the importance of parts and maritime transport in the economy of this region. On the other hand, the regional concentration of the industrialization drive was reflected in increasing regional differences in secondary employment.

The pattern of changes in the industrial structure in 1956-66 differed from that of the previous period. The secondary and tertiary sectors increased at the expense of the primary sector and at almost equal rates. Within the sphere of salary and wage employment the branch structure remained stable.¹²⁰ The only major change was a fall in employment in administration from 4.3 to 2.2 per cent.

The shift in employment from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors was common to all regions with slight variations in magnitude. The regionally more even

Table 62. Regional Distribution of the Population by Industrial Sectors, Percentages

Region	All sectors				Primary sector				Secondary sector				Tertiary sector			
	1930	1956	1966	1977	1930	1956	1966	1977	1930	1956	1966	1977	1930	1956	1966	1977
Maramures	5.6	5.3	5.5	5.3	5.8	5.9	6.3	6.4	5.2	3.9	4.5	4.6	5.0	3.7	4.2	4.5
Crisana-Banat	13.1	11.8	11.0	10.6	12.6	11.4	10.5	10.0	16.2	13.4	11.8	11.1	13.0	11.7	11.4	10.9
Transylvania	20.0	18.9	18.8	19.1	20.0	17.3	15.9	14.8	24.9	25.4	25.0	23.1	17.9	19.1	19.4	19.0
Oltenia	11.8	12.2	12.2	11.4	14.3	14.8	15.6	15.9	5.0	5.1	7.4	8.7	6.5	7.5	8.1	9.0
Muntenia	22.4	22.9	21.3	20.9	23.9	25.2	24.0	23.2	19.8	18.7	18.5	20.5	18.4	16.2	16.6	17.9
Dobrogea	3.1	3.1	3.4	3.8	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.2	2.4	2.9	3.0	3.4	4.0	3.8	4.5	5.4
Moldavia	19.6	19.9	20.3	19.7	20.5	22.0	23.7	25.3	14.2	14.8	14.9	16.1	19.4	15.6	16.7	16.8
Bucuresti	4.5	5.6	7.4	9.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.4	12.4	15.2	14.9	12.4	15.8	22.0	19.2	17.7
ROMANIA	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V), (1956b: 578-1 006), (1966: Vol I, 402-417), (1977: Vol II, 370-533)

Remarks: Primary sector: Agriculture and silviculture

Secondary sector: Mining, manufacturing and construction

Tertiary sector: All other economic sectors

The 1930 figures refer to total population, while the 1956, 1966 and 1977 figures refer to the active population only.

The figures for 1930 and 1956 are close approximations only as the delimitation of the regions in these years are approximates based on the administrative divisions in vigour at the respective year.

distribution of new industries came out in the 1966 census, Figure 8. It led to an increase in Oltenia's share of secondary employment, while that of Crisana-Banat continued to fall, Table 62. The increase in the share of Maramures, was due to the growth of mining and heavy manufacturing in the Baia Mare area. The decline in Bucuresti's share of tertiary employment reflects the cuts in administration.

Employment in the secondary sector increased at a much faster rate in 1966-77 than in previous periods. Its share of the active population increased by 14.3 percentage units to 38.9 per cent in 1977, by then the secondary sector was larger than the primary. The tertiary sector increased at approximately the same rate as in 1956-66, i.e. much less than the secondary sector. In absolute terms the increase was more than 700 000 and by 1977 the tertiary sector held a fourth of the active population.

Regional variations in the changes of the industrial structure were fairly small. They were largest in Muntenia, where the primary sector declined by 23.4 percentage units and the secondary sector increased by 17.0 units, and smallest in Moldavia and Transylvania. County variations were larger.¹²¹ In five counties the primary sector declined by more than 25 percentage units: Buzau, Harghita, Ilfov, Salaj and Teleorman. They had all been predominantly rural and benefitted from the regional development policy in the Seventies. In five counties the decline of the primary sector was less than 16 percentage units: Brasov, Caras-Severin, Maramures, Suceava and Vrancea. They do not lend themselves to a common classification. Brasov was the most urbanized county and had limited potentials for further reductions of the agricultural population. The last three still had large agricultural sectors and were in mountainous areas where private farms played an important role and where mechanization had advanced at a slower pace.

Regional variations in the share of agricultural population around the national average, 36.5 per cent, were still large in 1977. At the upper end was Botosani with almost two thirds of the active population still in agriculture and on the lower end Brasov with only 11 per cent. Eleven counties¹²² still had more than half their active population in agriculture, and six¹²³ less than a fourth. The regional pattern of the secondary sector was largely the inverse of that of the primary sector. Four counties had more than half their active population in the secondary sector - Brasov 63 per cent, Sibiu 56, Prahova 54 and Hunedoara 51 - as against less than a fourth in five counties - Botosani 19 per cent, Vrancea 21, Bistrita-Nasaud 22, Vaslui 23 and Ialomita 24. The tertiary sector was much more evenly distributed. At the upper end was Constanta with 39 per cent¹²⁴ reflecting the importance of maritime transport in this county and at the lower end Botosani and Olt with 16 per cent.

The shift of the active population from agriculture to other economic sectors was discriminating with respect to age, sex and education. The shift took two forms; a) youths from agricultural homes sought non-farm employment after completed education and b) people in agriculture changed to non-agricultural employment. The rapid rise of education

Table 63. Age Structures of the Active Agricultural and Non-agricultural Populations in 1956, 1966 and 1977. Index: Age Structure of the Total Active Population = 100

Age groups	Agricultural sector			Non-agricultural sectors		
	1956	1966	1977	1956	1966	1977
14 - 19	105	113	63	88	83	122
20 - 24	90	82	46	123	124	131
25 - 29	90	82	63	122	124	122
30 - 39	94	88	90	115	116	106
40 - 49	97	98	114	107	103	92
50 - 59	108	114	147	81	81	73
60 -	125	151	211	42	32	36

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a: 680-681), (1966: Vol I, 418-507), (1977: Vol II, 178-179)

Remarks: The agricultural sector includes agriculture and silviculture.

increased social mobility among the young and as low pay and low status made agriculture unattractive, it was depleted of much of its youth. Traditionally it was men who had sought non-farm employment to complement farm income. Following the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture in the early Sixties it became increasingly common for one of the spouses, usually the husband, to seek non-farm employment. This was often not combined with a change of residence. The husband commuted to work and the household continued to live on the farm and retain membership in the agricultural collective. Between 1961 and 1965 some 1.23 million people entered the sectors of salaried and wage employment, of which 0.85 million had only elementary schooling.¹²⁵ A third of these came from urban and two thirds from rural areas. Men made up 83 per cent of the rural group but only 54 per cent of the urban.¹²⁶ In other words, 39 per cent of those who became wage earners in this period were men from rural areas with only elementary schooling, in most cases four years. As men left agriculture, the female share increased from 54 per cent in 1956 to 58 per cent in 1966.¹²⁷ The mean age of those active in agriculture increased from 38.2 to 40.5 years in the same period, Table 10.

As the exodus from agriculture increased in intensity, feminization and aging of the work force was accentuated. By 1977 women made up 63 per cent of the agricultural work force and the mean age had risen to 43.2 years. The age-groups 14-29 were seriously underrepresented, Table 63. In the Seventies the exodus was probably not so much a matter of actives changing for other employment as of rural youth never taking up agriculture. The division of labour by sex was distinct. Men held four fifths of the wage jobs in agriculture, many worked on state farms, and others as mechanics, tractor drivers or zoo technicians on cooperative farms. Women made up 70 per cent of the cooperative farmers, who earned much less than the wage workers.

The low status of agriculture is best expressed by the large and increasing educational gap between the agricultural and the non-agricultural populations, Table 65. Rural-urban differences in literacy rates were documented already in the pre-World War I period and was no new phenomenon. Traditional agriculture had not required much formal education, but modern farming obviously requires theoretical and technical skills. Besides, it was an ideological goal of the new regime to transform the peasantry into an agricultural working class. The continued low educational level of the agricultural population, in sharp contrast to the urban and non-agricultural population should have given cause to alarm.

Table 64. Sex Structure of the Active Population in Agriculture by Social Groups in 1966 and 1977, Percentage Females

Year	Workers	Farmers		All groups
		Cooperative	Private	
1966	18.1	60.7	61.8	57.5
1977	22.2	69.3	71.0	62.7

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I, 538-539, 568-659), (1977: Vol II, 322-23, 338-39)

Remark: Workers include 'intellectuals and functionaries'

Table 65. Rates of Rural-Urban and Agricultural-Non-agricultural Populations with no more than Four Year in School

Area	Farm			Non-farm			All sectors		
	1956	1966	1977	1956	1966	1977	1956	1966	1977
Urban areas	88.2	82.3	51.7	58.4	45.4	19.0	61.9	49.7	21.0
Rural areas	96.7	90.0	71.9	75.7	71.8	36.7	93.6	86.0	57.7
All areas	96.4	89.5	70.5	64.8	54.8	25.5	86.6	74.7	42.1

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a: 936-938), (1966: Vol I, 508-520), (1977: Vol II, 226-241)

Remarks: Data refer to active population only. The farm sector includes agriculture and silviculture. Urban areas exclude 'urban-like localities' in 1956 and suburban communes in 1966 and 1977.

Education was seen as a key to non-farm employment by the rural youth and those who remained on the farm in most cases had not studied beyond compulsory school.¹²⁸ The aging of the agricultural population also contributed to the widening educational gap. Table 65 indicates a considerable brain drain not only from agriculture but from rural areas altogether since the educational gap between the rural and the urban non-farm population increased, too. Fewer rural

than urban youth received secondary education, and those who did, often ended up with urban employment, living in urban areas. The rural non-farm sectors could obviously not attract educated labour. A large, perhaps dominating, share of active rural non-farm people were commuters to neighbouring towns. Most of them had little formal education and worked in construction or manufacturing as unskilled labourers. They made up the lower levels of the working class. Of the urban population in mining and manufacturing 22.7 per cent had secondary education in 1977 as against 5.8 per cent of the rural.

Table 66. Social Structure of Urban and Rural Population in 1956, 1966 and 1977, Percentages

Social group	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	1956	1966	1977	1956	1966	1977	1956	1966	1977
Peasants	58.1	43.8	26.8	8.9	8.2	4.3	76.8	63.2	44.1
non-CAP	51.2	5.2	3.8	7.9	1.1	0.5	67.3	7.5	6.3
Workers	23.7	39.9	54.3	47.2	59.7	64.8	14.9	29.1	46.2
Functionaries & Intellectuals	13.6	12.3	13.2	35.6	26.6	24.1	5.4	4.5	4.8
Craftsmen	3.6	3.2	3.8	6.8	40.	4.3	2.4	2.8	3.4
Others	0.7	0.8	1.9	1.5	1.5	2.5	0.4	1.0	1.4

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a: 628-629), (1966: 370-384), (1977: Vol II)

Remarks: Peasants: Tarani. Excluding employed on state farms.
 Peasants, non-CAP: non-collectivized peasants (Tarani cu gospodarie individuale)
 Workers: Muncitori 'Blue-collar workers' including foremen.
 Functionaries & Intellectuals: Functionari & Intelectuali
 Civil servants, clerks, and other 'white collar workers'.
 This category includes those pursuing the 'free professions', liber profesionisti (lawyers, artists etc) in 1956 and 1977, but not in 1966.
 Craftsmen: Mestesugari

The urban transition was even more drastically expressed in the changes in the social composition of the population than in the industrial or rural/urban composition. The peasantry was reduced from 58 per cent of the population in 1956 to 44 per cent in 1966 and 27 per cent in 1977. By 1966 only two thirds and by 1977 less than half the rural population was part of the peasantry. The working class increased from 24 to 40 in 1966 and to 54 per cent in 1977 and then made up 65 per cent of the urban and 46 per cent of the rural population. 'Functionaries and intellectuals' registered a slight decline in 1956-66, ostensibly because of low fertility in this group.¹²⁹ However, the figures on the social composition should be interpreted with caution as the classification by social group is more ambiguous than by industry and has not been consistent over time.¹³⁰ The discrepancy between the share of the primary sector and of the peasantry is partly explained by the former being

measured as active population and the latter as total population. However, the discrepancy also reflects an increased importance of wage workers in agriculture. In 1966 peasants made up 92 and in 1977 86 per cent of the agricultural population. The rest were workers, functionaries and craftsmen.

A major change in the postwar period was the gradual reduction of differences in the social structure of the ethnic groups. Incipient in the interwar years, the process gained momentum in the postwar period. Romanians made up the vast majority of the peasants and consequently the large postwar transfer of labour from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors primarily affected this group. But Germans and Magyars were also involved. By 1966 Romanians made 85.4 per cent of the non-peasant population as against 60.1 per cent in 1930.¹³¹

Table 67. Social Structure of the Major Ethnic Groups, Percentages

Ethnic group	Peasants			Workers		Functionaries		Craftsmen	
	1930	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966
All groups	70.3	58.4	43.8	23.7	39.9	13.6	12.3	3.6	3.2
Romanians	76.3	61.4	45.2	21.6	38.9	13.4	12.3	3.0	2.9
Magyars	57.0	47.5	36.2	32.6	45.9	12.9	11.6	6.1	5.5
Germans	52.0	22.2	20.7	57.2	58.6	14.0	13.6	5.7	5.9
Jews	4.5	0.7	0.5	25.6	29.0	54.7	59.5	15.8	7.5

Sources: Recensamintul (1930: Vol V), (1956a: 564), (1966: 175)

Remarks: Ethnicity measured by nationality (neam).

The 1930 figures on peasants refer to living from agriculture.

For remarks on the 1956 and 1966 figures see also Table 66.

Unfortunately, the 1977 census did not provide information on the social structure of the ethnic groups.

While the industrial differences between Romanians and Magyars almost disappeared, Germans and Jews retained their industrial edge, just as in education.¹³² Part of the explanation is likely to be found in the past, although reservation must be made for the effects of migration on these two groups. The Germans and the Jews were always minorities with little political leverage. The Magyars, on the other hand, in the past achieved their social position largely by political means. Furthermore, the industrial structure of the Szeklers, who made up a large and increasing share of the Magyar population, was rather similar to that of the Romanians.

The Jews were more than other ethnic groups affected by the turbulent years in the Forties. However, they retained the highest social status by far, with 60 per cent in the category 'intellectuals and functionaries'.

The non-agricultural share of the rural population remained more or less constant between 1930 and 1956 but with a considerable shift from the tertiary to the secondary

sector, Table 61 and Figure 8. Between 1956 and 1966 both the secondary and tertiary sectors increased their shares of the rural active population at the expense of the primary sector. In urban areas the changes were less clear. Between 1930 and 1956 the agricultural sector increased relatively and absolutely in Crisana-Banat and Maramures, registered a small relative decline in Oltenia, Dobrogea and Moldavia and remained almost constant in Transylvania and Muntenia. The secondary sector increased its share in all regions in both periods, except for Crisana-Banat in 1956-66. The share of the tertiary sector fell sharply in all regions between 1930 and 1956. In 1956-66 its share was retained in Crisana-Banat, Transylvania, Muntenia and Moldavia, but continued to fall in Maramures and Oltenia and increased slightly in Dobrogea.

Statistics on population by industry for rural and urban areas suffer from two drawbacks which limit their informative value. Firstly, except for the 1966-77 period, the rural and urban areas were not identical in the censuses because of the administrative changes. As a rule, the primary sector increased its share in both rural and urban areas after administrative transfers from the former to the latter. The primary sector in localities receiving urban status tended to be larger than in towns, but smaller than in rural areas. Secondly, all statistics refer to night population. As place of work became increasingly separate from place of residence the distinction between day and night population became more important. This aspect is particularly important as commuting in the postwar period became a mass phenomenon. An increase in non-farm rural population does not necessarily mean an increase in rural jobs.

Between 1930 and 1956 C-B-M, Transylvania and Muntenia registered urban population growth through administrative measures, while decreases were registered in Moldavia, Oltenia and Dobrogea.¹³³ The industrial structure of the population affected by the administrative changes can not be entirely reconstructed. However, most administrative increases of the urban population resulted from the upgrading of rural localities to towns. A subtraction from the 1956 urban population of towns declared in 1930-56 reveals that they explain almost the whole increase of the primary sector in urban C-B-M and Transylvania.¹³⁴ In the other regions the share of the primary sector was only marginally affected by the appearance of new towns. Being based mainly on manufacturing, the new towns contributed to the shift from the tertiary to the secondary sector. In Transylvania and Muntenia the new towns caused decline of the tertiary sector by four or five percentage units.

The 1956-66 changes in the urban industrial structure were much affected by administrative changes, Table 68.¹³⁵ The 65 localities receiving urban status¹³⁶ averaged a much larger primary sector than existing towns,¹³⁷ which resulted in a relative increase of the urban primary sector by three percentage units. Table 68. A study restricted to the 1956 network of towns shows a marked decrease of this sector in all regions. The increase in Maramures and Crisana-Banat in 1956-66 and the persistingly high share in Oltenia were due to the appearance of a number of predominantly agricultural

Table 68. Agricultural Population as Percentage of Total Active Population, Rural and Urban Areas, in 1956, 1966 and 1977

Region	Urban areas				Rural areas			
	1956	1966a	1966b	1977	1956	1966a	1966b	1977
Maramures	21.2	18.0	21.5	10.5	87.2	78.2	80.4	63.5
Crisana-Banat	12.0	9.1	13.2	6.8	84.3	72.5	74.7	56.5
Transylvania	13.0	8.9	11.1	5.6	82.4	69.0	70.8	51.6
Oltenia	27.9	18.6	26.1	12.1	81.8	82.6	83.8	66.8
Muntenia	18.3	11.2	13.6	6.6	85.0	75.3	76.2	54.5
Dobrogea	16.1	10.7	10.8	5.3	85.7	78.6	79.3	60.6
Moldavia	18.1	10.5	13.5	6.9	87.1	81.5	81.9	66.9
Bucuresti	2.6	0.8	0.8	0.9				
ROMANIA	12.6	8.3	11.3	6.1	85.9	76.7	77.5	59.5

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a: 642-643), (1966: Vol I, 402-403, Vol VII, Part 1, 85-143), (1977: Vol II, 1978-193)

Remarks: a: 1956 network of towns, 1968 boundaries
 b: 1968 network and boundaries of towns
 Boundaries changes amounted to an increase of the 1966 urban population by 1.8 per cent in Maramures, 2.7 in Crisana-Banat, 3 in Transylvania, 8.3 in Oltenia, 1.6 in Muntenia, 0.8 in Dobrogea and 1.1 per cent in Moldavia.

towns in these regions. Also in Transylvania, Muntenia and Moldavia the influence of the new towns on the industrial structure was considerable. In rural areas, too, the industrial structure was affected by the administrative changes, albeit to a lesser degree than in towns. The general observation of increasing non-farm populations in rural areas was only slightly affected by the administrative changes, Table 68.

The transition from farm to non-farm employment in rural areas did not gain momentum until after 1956, Table 61. In 1956-66 the rural non-farm population increased by almost ten percentage units, from 14.1 to 23.3 per cent, of the active population, Table 68. Rural-urban commuting decisively helped increase the rural non-farm population. The shift in employment only partly reflected an increase in non-farm jobs in rural areas.¹³⁸ The economic and political turmoil in the Forties, the shift from handicraft to manufacturing industry and the strong concentration of manufacturing to fewer and larger units certainly had an adverse effect on the non-farm sectors in rural areas. Industrial growth continued to be concentrated to large plants in the Sixties and the increase of the secondary sector in rural areas from 8.4 to 13.5 per cent between 1956 and 1966 was largely due to increased commuting. In 1961 almost a fourth of the wage workers, 787 600 people, were commuters.¹³⁹ It is reasonable to assume that most commuters resided in rural areas. 'Blue-collar' workers (muncitori) commuted much more - 29.6 per cent - than 'while-collar' workers - 9.3 per cent.¹⁴⁰ Sixty-three per cent of the commuters worked in the secondary sector, as against less than 20 per cent in the tertiary sector. Modest demands on professional skills made

Table 69. Relation between Place of Work and Place of Residence in Major Industries in 1961, Percentages of Numbers on Payrolls

Industry	Local residents	Commuters					Total on payrolls
		Total	-10km	11-30km	31-50km	50-km	
Manufacturing	78.6	21.4	10.6	6.2	2.4	2.2	1 314 500
Construction	36.5	63.5	11.0	13.6	9.5	29.4	336 900
Agriculture & silviculture	64.3	35.7	18.9	9.5	2.9	4.3	305 500
Transportation	69.4	30.6	12.6	9.1	4.4	4.6	261 000
Trade	94.1	5.9	2.9	1.9	0.5	0.6	293 100
Communal services	90.0	10.0	3.9	3.6	1.3	1.2	126 900
Education	96.8	3.2	1.5	0.9	0.3	0.5	251 000
Health care	90.2	9.8	2.9	1.8	4.0	1.1	145 400
Administration	94.4	5.6	2.9	1.4	0.6	0.7	103 400
All branches	76.3	23.7	9.2	6.3	2.9	5.3	3 327 500

Source: Forta de munca (1966: 196-197)

Remarks: Transportation includes Telecommunications.

construction more accessible to commuters than other branches. In 1961 some 72 per cent of the construction employees lived in rural areas,¹⁴¹ the vast majority, no doubt, were commuters. Construction had the highest share of commuters - 63.5 per cent - of all economic branches. A large and increasing share of the rural work force in manufacturing - 37 per cent of the manufacturing employees lived in rural areas - must have worked in towns.

In most tertiary branches the discrepancy between day and the night population was small, Table 69, and rural-urban commuting of little importance. The rapid development of education and health care in rural areas, and a gradual development of other communal services, increased the rural day population in these sectors.¹⁴² The rural population living from trade and commerce declined, both absolutely and relatively, between 1930 and 1956, but after an expansion in 1956-66 their share of the rural population increased and by 1966 was slightly higher than in 1930.¹⁴³

The industrial structure of the rural population changed dramatically between 1966 and 1977. Employment in the primary sector fell by 18.4 percentage units, from 77.9 to 59.5 per cent. Manufacturing more than doubled its share from 10.2 to 21.5 per cent. The shift away from agriculture was more pronounced for males than females. By 1977 only 41.9 per cent of rural men were in agriculture as against 78.9 per cent of women. Almost as many men were in the secondary as the primary sector. Rural women in manufacturing increased several fold, albeit from a small base. Trade, education and health engaged an increasing number of rural women.

This shift from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors was universal in rural areas, although with considerable regional variations. In ten counties¹⁴⁴ the agricultural

Table 70. Employment by Industry and Sex in Rural Areas in 1966 and 1977, Percentages

Industry	Men		Women		Both sexes	
	1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Agriculture	64.3	41.8	92.2	78.9	77.9	59.5
Manufacturing	17.6	31.0	2.4	11.0	10.2	21.5
Construction	6.2	9.1	0.3	0.6	3.3	5.1
Transportation	4.9	7.5	0.3	0.8	2.7	4.3
Trade	2.2	3.0	0.9	2.5	1.5	2.8
Communal services	0.9	3.0	0.6	0.9	0.7	2.0
Education	1.9	1.8	2.3	3.0	2.1	2.4
Health	0.6	0.8	0.7	1.5	0.6	1.1
Other industries	1.4	2.0	0.3	0.8	1.0	1.3
All industries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I, 403), (1977: Vol II, 186 ff)

Remarks: All data refer to active night population.
 Agriculture includes silviculture.
 Manufacturing includes mining.
 Transportation includes communications.
 Other industries among others include administration and financial institution.

share of rural employment fell by more than 20 percentage units. Except for Buzau and Teleorman, they had a well-developed urban net work, with urban jobs within commuting distance for a large part of the rural people. The wide range of non-farm jobs in Bucuresti together with the restrictions in the granting of residence visa, led to considerable commuting to the capital from the rural umland,¹⁴⁵ which explains the large relative decline of the rural farm population in Ilfov, Teleorman and possibly also Buzau. Of six counties¹⁴⁶ with a small decline of the agricultural sector, five were in Moldavia, where the rural rates of natural increase had been highest and urban non-farm employment opportunities were less, as reflected in long-distance migration from the region.

By 1977 the rural industrial structure varied greatly from one county to another. In eight counties¹⁴⁷ more than 70 per cent of the active rural population were still in agriculture. In seven counties¹⁴⁸ less than half were engaged in agriculture. Among the latter were many of the most industrialized counties with a large urban population. Most counties in the former group had opposite characteristics - high rates of rural population combined with high shares of agricultural population in rural areas.

The rapid increase in the rural non-farm population was achieved largely through rural-urban commuting. Unfortunately, national commuting data were not available, but county studies indicate that 40-50 per cent of the rural non-farm workers - approximately one million - in the late Seventies worked in towns. In Bacau county 36 thousand or 43

per cent of the rural non-farm work force were commuters in 1976.¹⁴⁹ Some 45 per cent of the commuters held jobs in construction and 36 per cent in mining and manufacturing. In Satu Mare the proportion commuters in the rural non-farm work force was approximately the same. A study of Mures county¹⁵⁰ showed 50 000 out of 85 000 new non-farm jobs created in 1960-75 to be in the capital, Tirgu Mures, with 15 per cent of the 1966 county population. Four of the other five towns¹⁵¹ got 30 000 and rural areas and the small town of Sovata only 5 000. In 1977 the county had over 40 000 commuters, 83 per cent were rural-urban, 9 per cent rural-rural, 6 per cent urban-rural and 2 per cent urban-urban. Over 40 per cent of the rural non-farm work force commuted to urban areas.¹⁵² Most commuters went short distance - more than half less than 15 kilometres each way. Discount fares on trains and buses kept down the cost and large enterprises often provided transport for a symbolic price. However, tickets were subsidized only up to a distance of 30 kilometres, after which the cost increased sharply. Slow transport also made long-distance commuting costly in time. The sensitivity of commuting distance to money and time cost led to large variations in the rate of non-farm population in rural areas, depending on location. Unfortunately, data on industrial structure were not published by communes in the 1977 census reports. The development of a large number of rural communes into towns in the late Seventies increased non-farm jobs in rural areas. It appears that many of the new non-farm jobs in rural areas were concentrated to these future towns, but lack of data makes a firm assessment difficult.

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE OF TOWNS

The economic structure of towns changed profoundly in the postwar period. The manufacturing base was considerably strengthened in most towns and secondary activities increasingly came to dominate urban employment at the expense of both primary and tertiary activities. The tertiary sector, which had dominated urban employment in 1930, suffered a strong decline and by 1956 had lost its first position to manufacturing, Table 61 and Figures 8. The relative decline of the urban tertiary sector was a result of destruction of part of this sector in the Forties as well as from the rapid increase in postwar manufacturing employment. Administrative changes increased the magnitude of the shift from the tertiary to the secondary sector. Most of the newly declared towns were centres of mining or heavy manufacturing, while the towns deprived of their urban status after 1949 had been dominated by tertiary activities.

The increasing role of the secondary sector in the urban economy was even stronger than indicated by the statistics. Firstly, commuters made the urban day population in mining, manufacturing and construction much larger than the registered night population. They affected the tertiary sector much less than the secondary. Secondly, a decline of the primary sector in the urban cohort was partly balanced by extended boundaries and upgrading of many rural localities to towns.¹⁵³ A conservative estimate is that the primary sector in the 1956 urban cohort fell from 12.6 to 8.3 per cent in 1966, Table 71.

Table 71. Employment by Industry in Urban Areas in 1956, 1966 and 1977, Percentages of Actives

Region	Primary sector				Secondary sector				Tertiary sector			
	1956	1966a	1966b	1977	1956	1966a	1966b	1977	1956	1966a	1966b	1977
Maramures	21.2	18.0	21.5	10.3	43.3	52.0	45.8	54.4	35.5	36.7	32.7	35.3
Crisana-												
Banat	12.0	9.1	13.2	6.8	51.7	53.2	50.7	57.8	36.3	37.8	36.1	35.4
Transyl-												
vania	13.0	8.9	11.1	5.6	53.1	56.6	55.6	61.7	33.2	34.5	33.3	32.7
Oltenia	27.9	18.6	26.1	12.1	30.2	41.8	38.6	57.1	41.8	39.7	35.3	36.8
Muntenia	18.3	11.2	13.6	6.6	44.0	49.8	48.7	57.9	37.7	39.0	37.7	35.5
Dobrogea	16.1	10.7	10.8	5.3	36.3	39.8	40.2	46.2	47.6	49.5	48.9	48.5
Moldavia	18.1	10.5	13.5	6.9	40.0	47.0	45.0	54.7	41.9	42.5	41.5	38.4
Bucuresti	1.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	44.9	49.6	49.6	51.7	53.3	49.5	49.6	47.4
ROMANIA	12.6	8.3	11.3	6.1	45.6	49.0	50.4	55.7	41.8	39.7	41.3	38.2

Sources: Recensamintul (1956: 642-643), (1966: 402-403, Vol VII, Part 1, 85-143)

Remarks: 1966a: Urban population according to the 1956 network of towns, but with 1968 boundaries
1966b: Urban population according to the 1968 network and boundaries

In only five towns in 1930 did more than fifty per cent of the population make their living from mining, manufacturing and construction. By 1966 almost half the urban population was in the secondary sector. In fifteen towns more than 75 per cent worked in this sector,¹⁵⁴ but only one, Baile Tusnad, had so many in the tertiary sector. Along with the increasingly dominant position of mining and manufacturing in the urban economic base went a strong reliance in many towns on a single manufacturing branch. Thirty towns in 1966 had a concentration of 75 per cent or more of their secondary population in one branch. The number of towns with more than half in one branch was 92.¹⁵⁵

The dominance of one or two factories in the economy of many towns resulted from the development policy and the concentration of manufacturing to fewer and larger establishments, Table 56 and 57. In 1965 the average enterprise employed 1 049 blue-collar workers (muncitori).¹⁵⁶ The one-sided economic base of many towns led to uneven growth among towns and to structural problems. The undiversified labour market in many towns led to a shortage of female jobs, particularly in mining or metal processing towns. In 1966 urban areas averaged 161 active men per 100 active women. The index peaked in some small and medium-sized manufacturing towns: Balan 767, Cavnic 581, Vulcan 495, Petrila 447 and Baia Sprie 419.¹⁵⁷ Also large towns had high indices: Hunedoara 336, Turnu Severin 270 and Resita 248. Some major towns showed surprisingly high indices - Constanta 256, Braila and Galati 240 - indicating that a poorly diversified labour market was not exclusively a small-town problem. A number of predominantly agricultural and food processing

Table 72. Agricultural Population in Urban Areas by Region and Size of Town in 1966, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (1 000)						
	- 5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100 -	All Sizes
Maramures	-	50.6	33.4	16.0	4.1	-	21.5
Crisana- Banat	30.0	40.9	24.9	6.8	2.7	5.4	13.2
Transyl- vania	20.2	32.8	16.2	11.7	9.6	2.7	11.2
Oltenia	50.2	48.7	44.6	13.4	3.4	3.8	26.1
Muntenia	5.6	37.8	17.6	16.5	6.0	2.8	13.6
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	0.8	0.8
Dobrogea	1.5	33.2	12.5	11.0	-	3.8	10.8
Moldavia	55.1	47.8	23.7	7.7	3.0	2.6	13.5
ROMANIA	35.0	40.5	22.8	10.4	3.7	2.3	11.3

Source: Recensamintul (1966: Vol VI, 57-780)

Remarks: Data refer to active population. Urban areas according to 1968 network and boundaries.

towns had indices below a hundred: Topoloveni 81, Baia de Arama 82, Costesti 93, Novaci and Solca 97, Darabani 98 and Tirgu Carbunesti 99. Negative effects associated with a specialized urban economic base received increased government attention after 1968.

Almost all towns saw their agricultural population decline relatively, if not absolutely, in the postwar period, particularly after 1956. In the 1930-56 period the rate of urban population living from agriculture changed very little in most regions, Figure 8. The relative increase of the primary sector in C-B-M and Transylvania was largely due to administrative changes. In 1956 the primary sector in urban areas - towns decreed after 1930 excluded was 19.9 per cent in Maramures, 9.8 in Crisana-Banat and 11.3 in Transylvania. In Oltenia and Moldavia, on the other hand, a registered decline of the primary sector was partly due to revised urban boundaries and the degrading of ten towns, Tables 83, 88 and 89. Limited knowledge of the effects of administrative changes and changes in the occupational structure in the Thirties and during the war makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the development in the first postwar decade. Most probably any decline in the primary sector in 1930-56 occurred after the war.

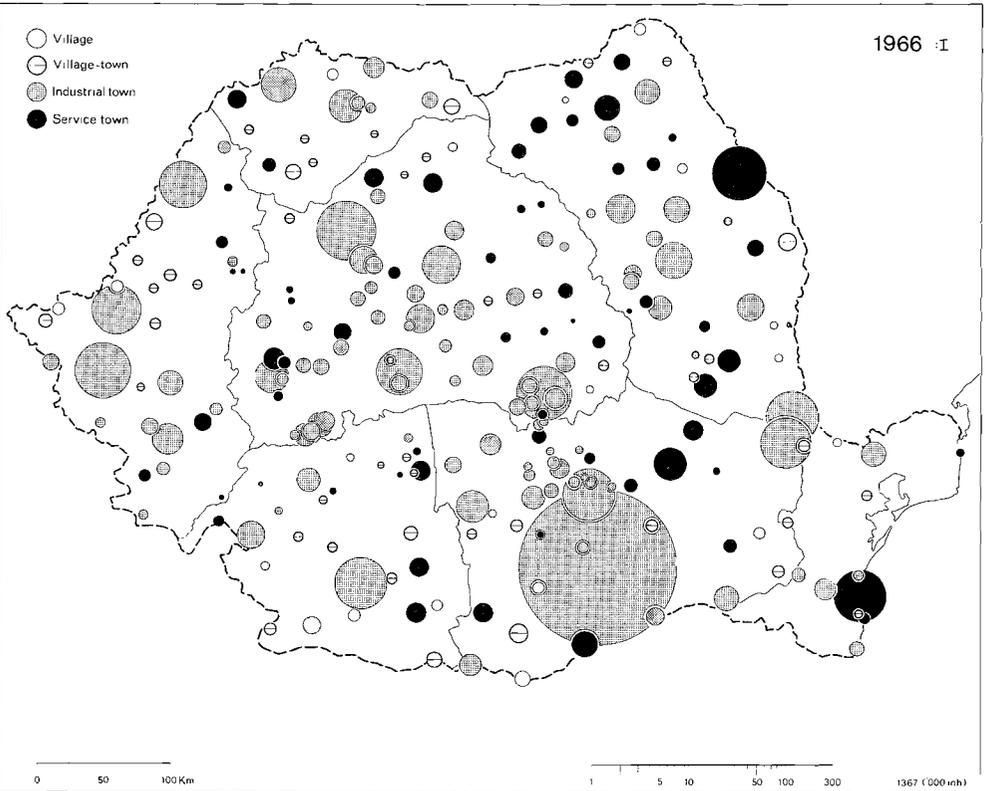
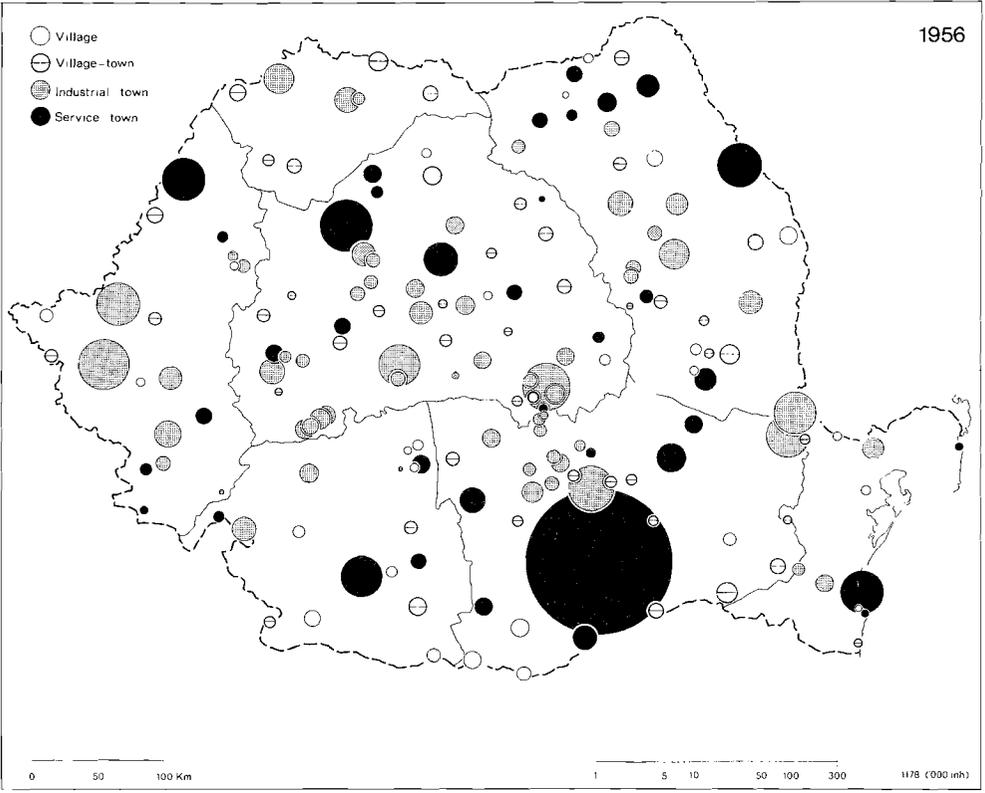
The decline of the primary sector was more pronounced in 1956-66 than in any previous period, Tables 68 and 71, and was strongest in Oltenia, Muntenia, Dobrogea and Moldavia, i.e. in regions with traditionally high agricultural percentages in towns. Changes appearing in the urban cohort do not show up in statistics for urban areas of respective census year, because of administrative changes. Extended urban boundaries and many new towns in 1968 inflate the 1966 numbers on the urban primary sector in all regions but particularly in Oltenia, Table 71. By 1966 the economic base

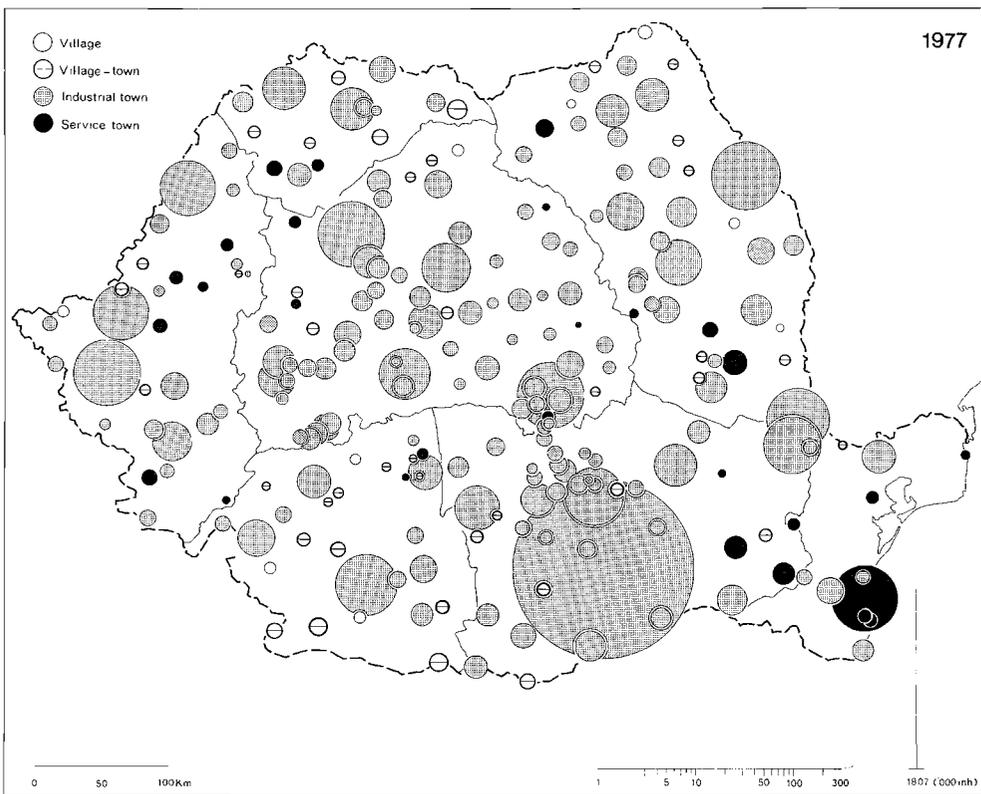
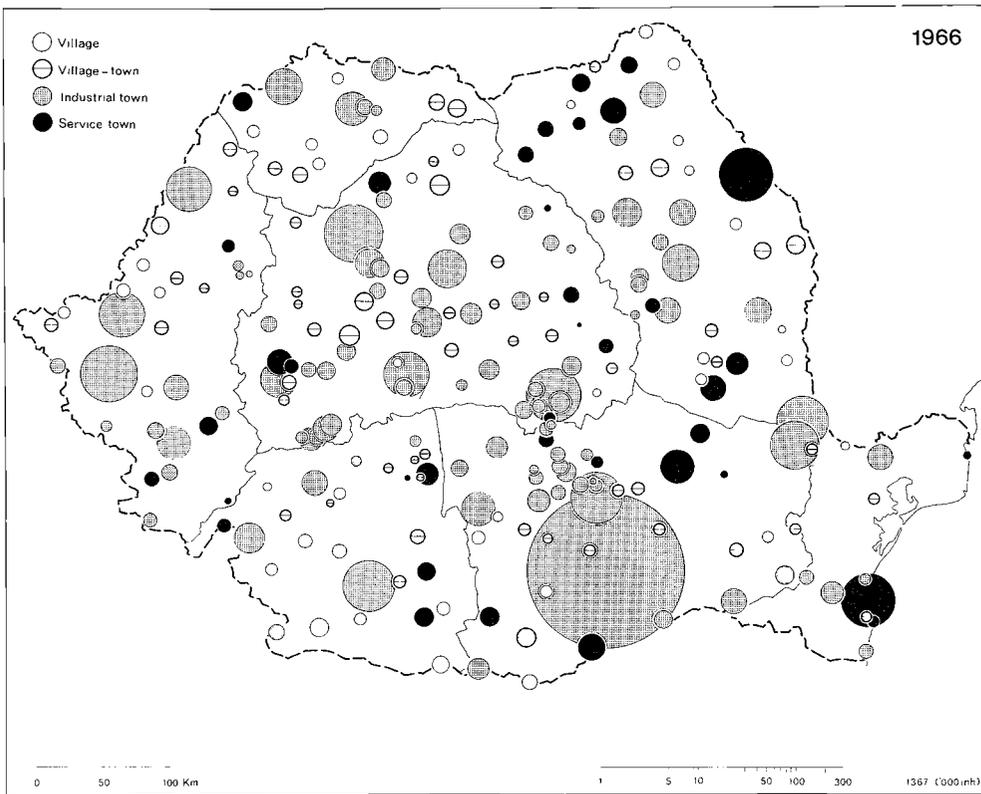
of almost all towns that in 1930 had been classified as 'villages' or 'village-towns' had been diversified and strengthened, Figures 9-12. Instead, the decreeing of many new, often overbounded, towns led to the appearance of a number of new urban 'villages' and 'village-towns'.

The manufacturing base of most towns was considerably strengthened in 1966-77. The share of the secondary sector in urban employment increased to almost 56 per cent in 1977. The increasing dominance of the secondary sector in urban employment was in contrast to the development in Western Europe, where tertiary activities had a growing share and often dominated, particularly in large towns. The difference reflects the preeminence of manufacturing in the socialist development philosophy as applied in Romania. The growing share of manufacturing was at the expense of agriculture in particular but also of tertiary employment. Most small and medium-sized towns saw their economic base considerably strengthened as manufacturing was developed and the number of non-farm jobs rapidly expanded. Many small towns lost their agricultural character and became manufacturing towns. The number of towns with more than half their employment in agriculture fell from 41 in 1966 to 9 in 1977 and those with 25 to 50 per cent fell from 58 to 41 in the same period. In Crisana-Banat and Transylvania most towns decreed in 1968 when they were predominantly agricultural had less than a fourth of their population in agriculture by 1977. In Oltenia and Muntenia many towns decreed in 1968 had very little non-farm activity and agriculture remained important in their economic base also in 1977.

The tertiary sector continued its relative decline in urban employment, although employment in the tertiary sector increased absolutely in most towns. By 1977 there were only 28 'service-towns' as against 38 in 1966. Several 'service-towns'¹⁵⁸ of 1977 had been classified as 'village-towns' in 1966, while the 'service-towns' of 1966 had become 'manufacturing towns' in 1977. The relative decline of the urban tertiary sector was strongest in Moldavia, where most towns had had a large tertiary sector, Figure 8. Iasi and a number of towns in northern Moldavia became 'manufacturing towns'. Except for the small, previously agricultural places in C-B-M, the 'service-towns' of 1977 were either spas¹⁵⁹ or had much employment in transportation. Constanta and Sulina were ports, while Adjud, Faurei, Fetesti and Tecuci were railway nodes.

In spite of the increase of the secondary sector in the urban system as a whole, the number of towns dominated by manufacturing did not increase. In 1977 fourteen towns had more than 75 per cent of their active population in manufacturing, against fifteen in 1966. Four of these had been developed to decongest Sibiu and Brasov,¹⁶⁰ while the others were based on mining and ore-processing industry. Most of the latter grew at a slow rate in the Seventies and two even registered a decline in manufacturing employment.¹⁶¹ The dominance of a single plant in the economy of towns lessened somewhat in the Seventies. By 1977 only seventeen towns had more than 75 per cent of their secondary population concentrated to one branch of manufacturing, against thirty in





Figures 9, 10,

11 and 12.

Industrial Structure of Romanian Towns

Sources:

Recensamintul (1956b: 578-1 021), (1966: Vol VI, 57-780, Vol. VII, part 1, 85-143), (1977: Vol II, 534-599), William-Olsson (1953), (1974)

Remarks:

1956 - towns according to the 1956 network and boundaries.
 1966 - towns according to the 1968 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes.
 1966:I - towns proper - the continuously built-up area of the town, excluding villages situated within the administrative town boundary.
 1977 - towns according to 1968 network and boundaries.
 Method elaborated by William-Olsson.

Village:

More than 50 per cent of the active population in agriculture (and silviculture)

Village-town:

Between 25 and 50 per cent in agriculture

Manufacturing towns:

Less than 25 per cent in agriculture, more in secondary than in tertiary activities

Service town:

Less than 25 per cent in agriculture, more in tertiary than in secondary activities

Secondary activities: Manufacturing, mining and construction

Tertiary activities:

All industries except agriculture, silviculture, manufacturing, mining and construction

Table 73. Agricultural Population in Urban Areas by Region and Size of Town in 1977, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (1 000)						
	- 5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100 -	All sizes
Maramures	-	27.0	20.0	10.7	-	3.3	10.2
Crisana-							
Banat	12.9	23.2	14.6	4.6	2.1	4.1	7.0
Transyl-							
vania	2.7	21.4	10.6	6.1	3.8	2.2	2.9
Oltenia	34.3	39.2	26.2	6.4	4.8	3.3	12.4
Muntenia	11.8	11.4	11.7	9.2	5.1	3.5	6.9
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	1.0
Dobrogea	0.3	16.5	11.1	7.3	4.7	2.9	2.6
Moldavia	43.7	36.9	13.2	6.8	4.5	2.5	7.2
ROMANIA	25.2	24.9	14.4	7.1	4.3	2.3	6.1

Source: Recensamintul (1977: Vol II, 534-599)

Remarks:

Data refer to active population.

Urban areas according to the 1968 network and boundaries.

1966. Seventy-four towns had more than half their secondary population in one branch.

The postwar regime had inherited an urban network characterized by large regional dissimilarities. The formerly Hungarian Territories - C-B-M and Transylvania - had long had a well-developed network of towns with strong secondary and tertiary sectors. In Wallachia - Muntenia and Oltenia - the urban network was weak and regionally uneven. Agriculture dominated in most towns and large areas were practically void of commercial or manufacturing centres. In Moldavia the urban network was dense, but most towns were based on agriculture, commerce and administration and had little manufacturing.

In the postwar period these differences gradually diminished, although in the first two decades the change was more apparent than real. The administrative consolidation of

Table 74. Agricultural Population in 'Towns Proper' by Regions and Size of Towns in 1966, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (1 000)						All sizes
	- 5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100 -	
Maramures	31.1	24.2	20.8	-	3.7	-	13.0
Crisana-							
Banat	20.5	28.1	22.0	6.8	0.5	5.4	10.5
Transyl-							
vania	24.8	15.5	8.2	4.1	1.5	2.7	6.3
Oltenia	33.0	43.8	30.0	3.7	-	3.0	18.5
Muntenia	17.6	26.5	17.5	16.3	6.0	3.8	12.2
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	0.8	0.8
Dobrogea	43.1	22.8	12.5	8.7	-	2.9	9.1
Moldavia	39.1	32.9	34.1	7.0	3.0	2.6	9.2
ROMANIA	29.0	26.5	14.9	7.5	3.1	2.2	7.8

Source: Recensamintul (1966: Vol VI, 57-780)

Remarks: 'Town Proper' - The continuously built-up area of the town excluding villages situated within its administrative boundary. Data refer to active population.

the towns in Oltenia, Muntenia and, particularly, Moldavia through more tightly drawn urban boundaries and the degrading of some towns that did not live up to the new urban criteria, Tables 88 and 89, is reflected in the statistics by an increase of the manufacturing base of towns in these regions. In C-B-M and Transylvania extended urban boundaries and the appearance of a large number of new towns had the reverse effect. Until 1960 little attention was paid to the weak urban network in the regions of the former Old Kingdom. Urban growth was concentrated to the oil-rich Prahova Valley and Bacau region. After 1960 the backward state of Oltenia received increased attention and the weak urban network in this region was gradually strengthened. The 1966 census permits a breakdown of urban data on 'town proper' and

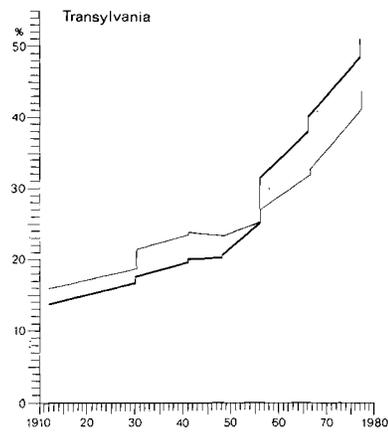
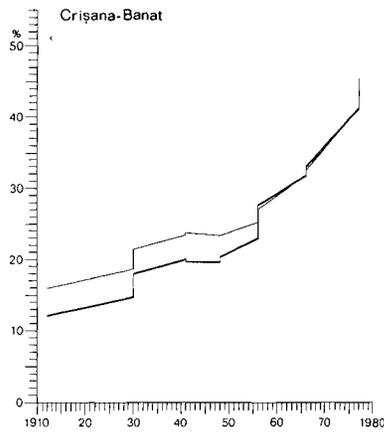
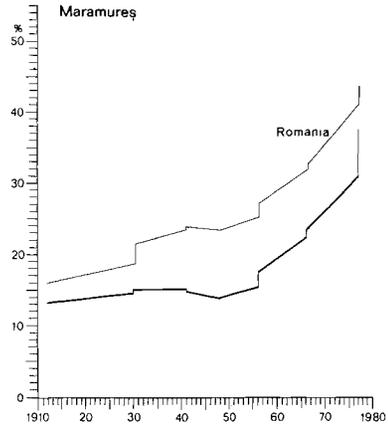
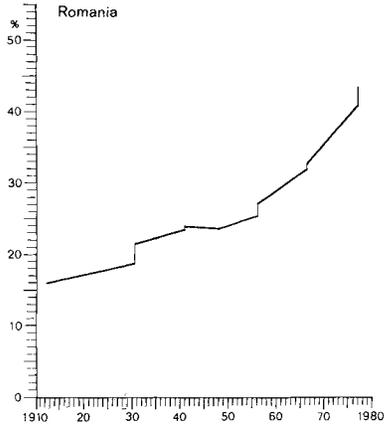
villages included within the urban administrative areas, and the distortions caused by a generously drawn urban boundary can thus be eliminated.¹⁶² A study of the occupational structure of 'towns proper' by region and size of towns, Table 74, show that in 1966 those with less than 25 000 inhabitants were still much more agricultural in Oltenia and Moldavia than in the other regions. The small primary sector in this size-group in Muntenia was due to the existence of some small oil-based manufacturing towns in the Prahova Area. The small primary sector in all size-groups of towns in Transylvania reflect the well-developed urban network and hierarchy of this region.

Obviously, differences in the urban structure developed over centuries were not easily eradicated. Although regional variations in the urban industrial structure diminished, morphological differences remained. The influence of the prevailing ideology with a simplistic view of towns as nodes of manufacturing and 'workers centres' made less imprint on the nucleated towns in C-B-M and Transylvania with their early developed central-place functions than on towns in other regions whose development was often the consequence of a recent industrialization of a village.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The urban transition is here studied from the point of view of habitations. Lack of comprehensive and rigorous studies makes the chapter highly explorative. The data basis was created through processing of detailed census data. The generated data are presented in detail and may serve as a basis for further study and not only substantiate the present analysis.

The official classification of localities into urban and rural had to be used. The ambiguity of the official urban concept and the magnitude and frequency of administrative changes made it imperative to separate real population changes from changes caused by administrative measures. To this end, changes in the urban population in each intercensal period were broken down on their components, Tables 82-83 and 88-91, and separate rural and urban cohorts were created for each period, Tables 84, 92-94 and 97. The 'administrative' and 'real' changes were studied under separate headings for each period. The former reflect changes in the industrial structure - e.g. cases of villages qualifying to become towns and urban boundaries extended to confirm with de facto changes - and they also illuminate official policies and concepts. The studies of the 'real' changes were based on the rural and urban intercensal cohorts and make up the core of the chapter. Whenever possible, changes were broken down on their migrational and natural components. As a study of the growth of the urban system in Romania, based on cohorts and covering a long period, it is unique. The national surveys were complemented by detailed regional studies.



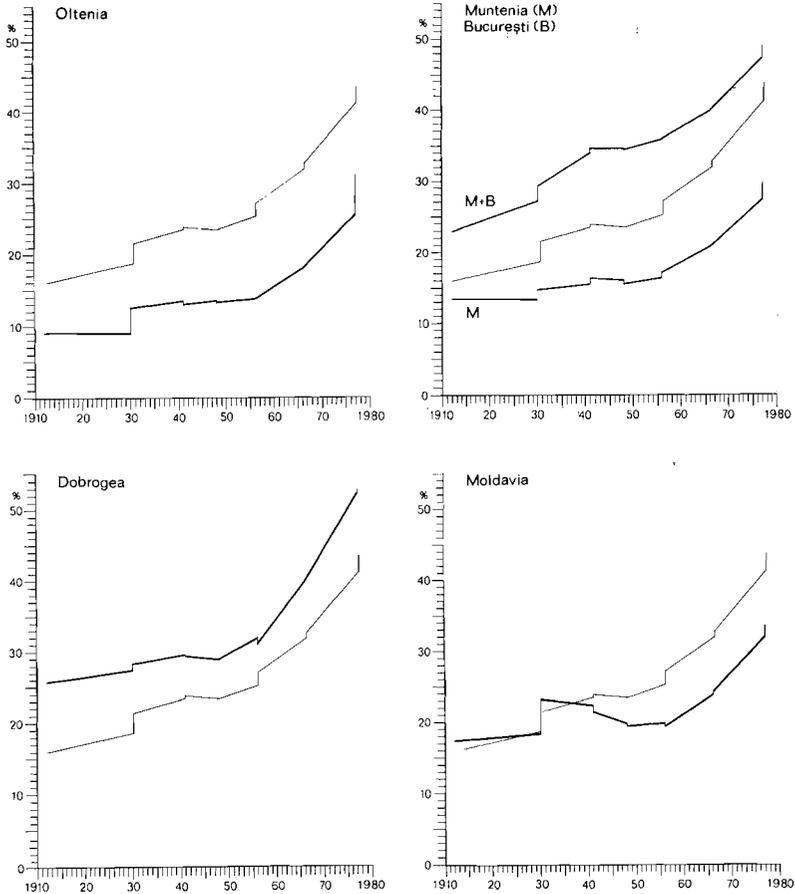


Figure 13. Urbanization in Romania

Sources: Cucu (1967), Measnicov (1968a), (1968b), (1969), Nepszamlalasa (1910a), (1941), Recensamintul (1930: Vol I), (1941), (1948), (1956a), (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: The figures show urban growth broken down on (a) changes in intercensal urban cohorts and (b) changes due to administrative measures. The latter is given by vertical lines at the end of each intercensal period, while the gradients of the lines between census points show the former.

URBAN LEGACIES

Slumbering ethnic hostilities go far to explain the peasant's aversion to the town. It was a symptom of East European backwardness that these had failed to develop into genuine centres for the surrounding countryside, but for most part remained alien to their hinterland in language and in creed.

The urban system was a major legacy of Romanian history. Political and economic conditions had shaped the urban systems differently in the various regions. A distinction could be made between the Austro-Hungarian Territories and the regions of the Old Kingdom. Urban development in the former had been strongly influenced by urban life in Western Europe and preserved a nucleated urban morphology, while the original rural element remained more prominent in the towns of the latter.

The persistence of a feudal and primitive agriculture, the late emergence of a manufacturing industry and, not the least, the unstable political situation until the mid-19th century, with foreign domination, incessant changes of rulers and frequent wars had hampered urban development in Wallachia and Moldavia. Agriculture continued to dominate the economy of most towns and the non-agricultural sector often remained small. Towns retained arable land and ensured some degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products.

The emergence of an internal market after the Treaty of Adrianopol in 1829 stimulated the appearance of numerous market places, particularly in Moldavia. These were intimately linked to the feudal economy. They appeared on the large estates and had monopoly on commerce within the estate.² The markets (*tirguri*), at first periodic, usually turned villages into permanent commercial centres as

Table 75. Urban Population by Size of Towns in 1899/1900

Size (000)	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-	Inhabitants
Region	Percentages						
Maramures	5.2	15.0	49.6	30.3	-	-	88 800
Crisana-Banat	-	3.6	8.9	-	87.6	-	182 100
Transylvania	8.2	31.4	22.0	38.4	-	-	302 200
Oltenia	8.1	28.6	26.5	36.9	-	-	123 600
Muntenia	8.7	17.5	37.3	16.2	20.2	-	278 300
Dobrogea	43.1	8.8	48.1	-	-	-	69 600
Moldavia	5.5	9.6	38.0	8.8	38.0	-	369 300
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	196 600

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1900a), Recensamintul (1899)

Remarks: Data for Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania refer to 1900, for all other areas to 1899.

Towns in Moldavia exclude those under Austrian administration.

merchants (negustori) and craftsmen (mestesugari) located themselves in the vicinity of the market place. After the abolishment of the feudal privileges in 1864 many empora declined and resumed an altogether agricultural character. As a rule, only those with a varied umland, for example, at the intersection of hilly and flat regions or with some potential for transit or external trade, managed to develop into urban centres. With the exception of towns resulting from the expanding oil industry most of the 19th century urban development in Moldavia and Wallachia was a result of this process.

Wallachia had the weakest urban system of the Romanian regions. Its towns historically were either Danubian ports or inland market towns. With few exceptions they had a large agricultural sector. A third category, the oil-based manufacturing towns, emerged in the second half of the 19th century.

The ports³ were almost equidistantly located along the Danube. The opening of the river to international traffic after the Treaty of Adrianopol in 1829 and the flourishing trade in cereals before World War I stimulated the growth of the ports. Gradually, a selection process led to the expansion of some ports - Turnu Severin, Giurgiu, Braila and Galati - at the expense of others, notably Calafat, Zimnicea, Oltenita and Hirsova.

Although most market towns were quite old, they usually retained a large agricultural sector and their manufacturing base remained poorly developed. Many had administrative functions. Except for the oil-based towns, only Bucuresti and Craiova had a strong manufacturing base. The rapid growth of Bucuresti,⁴ particularly after the unification of the Two Principalities in 1859, dominated urban development in Wallachia in the 19th century.

The urban network was more developed in Moldavia than in Wallachia, partly, no doubt, as a consequence of the traditionally greater independence from the Ottoman Empire.⁵ It should also be noted that the northeastern part of the region, historically part of Bucovina, was under Austrian administration until 1919. The majority of towns had first appeared as market places and had developed into commercial centres, often with some administrative and cultural functions. Some could look back on an old and often glorious history as important commercial and cultural centres, while others belonged to the 19th century generation of market towns. Many such towns developed a local industry of their own and although usually retaining a fairly large agricultural sector, their economic base became broader than in Wallachia.

Northern Moldavia had a dense network of very old towns, remnants of a prosperous past. Towns like Botosani, Falticeni, Radauti, Siret and Suceava had once been administrative and commercial centres of international repute, but had after centuries of decay degraded into small or medium-sized commercial centres. Botosani, for example, still in 1860 held the rank as the fourth largest town in Romania, but in 1970 was only the thirty-fifth town.⁶ Of Siret, once the capital of Moldavia, only a small agricultural town remained. The

urban decline in northern Moldavia appears to have accelerated after the union of the Two Principalities in 1859 when the centre of economic activity moved south. The mushrooming of market places in the late 18th and early 19th century had been particularly evident in Moldavia and the number of towns increased from 34 in 1831 to 90 in 1860, while the number in Wallachia remained almost constant.⁷

The railways changed the relative location of many towns in Moldavia and profoundly affected their growth potential. Adjud, Bacau, Focsani, Marasesti, Pascani and Tecuci were among the towns that came to profit from location along major railway lines, while Botosani, Falticeni, Hirlau, Radauti and Tirgu Neamt among others saw their relative location deteriorate.

The urban structure in Dobrogea was characterized by a large number of small towns. The port of Constanta benefitted from the cereal trade but suffered from Dobrogea's isolation from the rest of Romania. The isolation was broken in 1895 by the construction of a railway bridge over the Danube, providing rail connection between Constanta and Bucuresti. As a consequence of the improved communications Constanta entered a period of sustained rapid growth and eventually became the main port of the country.

In Crisana and Maramures the market places have rural status even if they are large and are industrial and commercial centres, but in Oltenia and Dobrogea small market places with rural character have urban status.⁸

The urban tradition was stronger in the Hungarian Territories than in the Old Kingdom, as these regions had generally enjoyed greater political stability and had been more open to the impact of the industrial revolution in Western Europe. This had helped create a broader economic base with a more dominant position for manufacturing and less for agriculture than was generally the case on the other side of the Carpathians. It should be remembered, however, that the urban population in the Hungarian Territories was essentially non-Romanian.

A distinction should be made between Crisana-Banat and Maramures on the one hand and Transylvania on the other. The former had been integrated in Hungary and for centuries subordinated to Budapest and the latter had constituted an urban system of its own, thanks to Transylvania's relatively independent status.

The urban system in Crisana-Banat and Maramures was dominated by a few large towns - Arad, Oradea, Satu Mare and Timisoara. These were old commercial centres located on the Hungarian Plain at the foot of the Carpathians, functioning as meeting-places between the two regions and in addition serving as administrative, cultural and military centres. Arad and particularly Timisoara, early developed a manufacturing base.

A fairly even geographical distribution and a well-balanced hierarchy of small, medium-sized and large towns characterized the urban network in Transylvania. Many towns

in Transylvania had a long history. Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca and Turda date from Roman times, while others, Brasov, Medias, Sighisoara and Sibiu, were old Saxon strongholds. The Transylvanian towns distinguished themselves by a comparatively well-developed manufacturing base, even in small towns.

The ethnic composition of the urban population in Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania reflected the dominance of the non-Romanians over the Romanians in these regions. The relatively sophisticated urban network was developed and inhabited by the three formerly privileged nations; the Magyars, the Saxons and the Szeklers. Although a majority in the region, the Romanians were a minority in the towns. Social, cultural, legal and fiscal barriers prevented major rural-urban migration of Romanians before World War I. The wide cultural, rural-urban gap found in all Romanian regions, was accentuated by ethnic factors in the Hungarian Territories.

THE PRE-WORLD-WAR-ONE PERIOD

A comparative analysis of the urban structure in the Hungarian Territories and the Old Kingdom before unification in 1918 must be incomplete. Detailed and comprehensive data exist for towns in the Hungarian Territories, but unfortunately urban data for the Old Kingdom are scarce. A further complication is the ambiguity of the urban concept. The definition of towns was hardly made the same way in the Old Kingdom and in Hungary. In the Old Kingdom the definition was rather broad. Several towns were later degraded into villages and are still predominantly agricultural.⁹ In view of these difficulties and of the need for a comparative study, the emphasis of this chapter is on regional comparison.

Urban growth was considerable both in the Old Kingdom and in the Hungarian Territories in the latter half of the 19th century. In the Old Kingdom the urban population almost doubled between 1859 and 1900.¹⁰ Urban growth was fastest in Wallachia, where the large towns Bucuresti, Craiova, Braila and Buzau more than doubled their population. Moldavia had seen rapid urban growth in the first half of the 19th century and had a better developed urban network than Wallachia, but registered a slower urban growth rate in the latter half of the 19th century. The two largest towns, Iasi and Botosani, increased by a mere 20 per cent between 1859 and 1899, while the port of Galati more than doubled its population and became the second largest town in Moldavia by the end of the century.

In the Hungarian Territories the urban population increased by 70 per cent between 1857 and 1900.¹¹ The growth was unevenly distributed. Among the large towns the fastest growth was recorded for the towns on the Pannonian Plain. Oradea, Arad, Timisoara and Cluj more than doubled their population. Brasov and Sibiu in the interior of Transylvania grew at a much slower rate. With the exception of mining

Table 76. Urban Development in the Last Pre-World War I Decade by Regions

Region	Urban population		A	B
	1899/1900	1910/12		
Maramures	88 772	104 586	1.65	13.2
Crisana-Banat	182 093	227 707	2.26	12.1
Transylvania	303 889	350 258	1.43	13.7
Oltenia	123 580	149 363	1.47	9.1
Muntenia	278 282	346 080	1.69	13.2
Dobrogea	69 596	98 249	2.69	25.8
Moldavia	407 687	442 588	0.39	17.6
Bucuresti	276 178	341 321	1.64	100.0
ROMANIA	1 730 077	2 060 152	1.41	17.0

A: Per cent average annual rate of change

B: Urban population as percentage of total in 1910/12

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1900a), (1910a), Recensamintul (1899), (1977: Vol I, 9-13), Volkszahlung (1900: Vol II)

Remarks: Data are based on the 1899/1900 network of towns, but on the administrative boundaries of the respective census. Only one town - Slobozia - was declared in the period. Population figures for Cimpulung Moldavenesc and Vama were not available for 1900 and these towns were excluded in the calculation of the urban growth in Moldavia. Data on the urban growth rates are approximate as some administrative boundaries may have changed in the period.

centres, as Caransebes and Deva, the overall growth of the smaller towns was slower than that of the larger towns.

Urban growth averaged 1.4 per cent per year in the decade before World War I. The large regional variations in the urban growth rates, Table 76, corresponded roughly to those registered in the latter half of the 19th century. The high rate of urban growth in Crisana-Banat reflected the rapid development of manufacturing in this region. Timisoara grew faster than any other large town (3.2 per cent per year) as it strengthened its position as a modern manufacturing centre. Caransebes, Lugoj, Oradea, Satu Mare and Sighet, the latter two in Maramures, also grew considerably faster than the national average. Urban growth in Transylvania was more modest than in C-B-M. As a rule Magyar towns increased at a higher rate than German or Romanian towns. Szekler strongholds as Tirgu Mures, Miercurea Ciuc, Gheorgheni, Odorheiu Secuiesc and Sfintu Gheorghe all grew by at least two per cent a year. Their rapid growth was partly due to immigration from other parts of Hungary. The continued modest growth of Saxon towns - Brasov, Medias, Sibiu and Sighisoara - is somewhat astonishing in view of their position as old centres of manufacturing and trade. Most of the towns with a large Romanian population, as Abrud, Alba Iulia, Fagaras and Hunedoara, registered only a small population increase.

The urban population in Oltenia and Muntenia increased at approximately the national rate, 1.5 per cent a year. There were large variations in urban growth rates, but no clear pattern can be discerned. A number of towns on the Carpathian Piedmont recorded rapid growth - notably Tirgu Jiu, Rimnicu Vilcea, Curtea de Arges, Tirgoviste and Sinaia - as did the Danubian ports Corabia and Giurgiu, and some towns on the plain - Dragasani, Buzau, Rosiorii de Vede and Urziceni. The construction of a railway bridge across the Danube in 1895 broke the isolation of Dobrogea and led to rapid growth of the port of Constanta and the two Dobrogean towns along the railway line - Cerna Voda and Medgidia. Most other towns in Dobrogea increased at rates below the national average.

The near stagnation of most towns in Moldavia continued into the 20th century. Only one town, Odobesti, increased faster than the national average. Seven¹² of the twenty-four towns declined in population, among them Iasi, and two towns - Botosani and Husi - registered zero growth. Considering the generally high rate of natural increase in this region, it is obvious that many Moldavian towns suffered migration losses.

Table 76 conveys a picture of no large variations in the degree of urbanization between the Old Kingdom and the Hungarian Territories. However, as the morphological and economic character of the towns differed between Hungary and the Old Kingdom, this picture needs to be complemented. Many smaller towns in the Old Kingdom were based on agriculture, with some commercial activity.¹³ Few examples of such agricultural towns were found in the Hungarian Territories. Unfortunately, few quantitative comparisons can be made for lack of data.

To the extent that literacy can be used as a mean to distinguish urban environment from rural, data on literacy support the supposition that the distinction between town and village was ambiguous in the Old Kingdom. There was a clear

Table 77. Literate Population in Urban Areas, by Size of Towns and in Rural Areas, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (000)							Rural areas
	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-	All sizes	
C-B-M and Transylvania	56.0	61.6	58.9	68.0	67.6	-	64.1	26.0
Wallachia	26.6	36.1	38.4	44.7	44.9	53.5	44.1	11.9
Moldavia	29.8	29.8	38.2	25.6	37.9	-	35.6	11.8

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1900a), Recensamintul (1899: 87-88)

Remarks: Dobrogea included in Wallachia.

The data for C-B-M and Transylvania refer to 1900, for the other areas to 1899.

C-B-M includes the parts of the counties Bihar, Maramaros, Szatmar, Temes and Ugoicsa situated outside present Romania.

difference in literacy between urban and rural areas in the Hungarian Territories, Table 77. Literacy rates in the smallest towns were on average 30 percentage units higher than in rural areas, while there were comparably small variations in literacy between small and large towns. In the Old Kingdom, particularly in Wallachia, literacy rates on average were much lower in small than in large towns.

Interpreting Table 77 it should be born in mind that towns, by virtue of their status, were provided with better educational facilities than rural localities, both in the Hungarian Territories and in the Old Kingdom.

Table 78. Urban Population by Source of Income and Size of Towns in the Hungarian Territories, 1900. Percentages

Size (000)	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Commerce	Other sources
- 5	31.2	34.9	6.9	27.0
5 - 10	22.0	31.8	11.6	34.6
10 - 25	16.7	34.2	13.7	35.4
25 - 50	11.1	34.0	16.0	38.9
50 -	6.1	34.3	19.1	40.5
All sizes	14.1	35.6	15.0	35.3
C-B-M	11.2	34.3	17.5	37.0
Transylvania	14.1	35.6	15.0	35.3

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1900b)

Remarks: C-B-M: Crisana-Banat and Maramures
 Manufacturing includes mining, commerce includes, credit and transportation. Other sources includes public services, free professions, army, day labourers, domestic services and unknown.

Table 78 not unexpectedly shows that the relative importance of primary activities was negatively correlated to the size of the town. Approximately one-third of the population, irrespective of town size made its living in manufacturing, while the importance of tertiary activities - trade, credit and transport - increased with the size of the town. It is noticable that even in towns with less than 5 000 inhabitants did less than a third of the population make its living in agriculture. Only in four towns did the majority derive its income from agriculture.¹⁴

In the Hungarian Territories the ethnic structure of the towns was strikingly different from that of the rural areas, Table 27, reflecting the past division of the population into 'privileged' Magyars, Gemans and Szeklers and 'tolerated' Romanians.¹⁵ The Romanian population remained almost entirely rural. In 1900 the Romanians in Crisana-Banat and Maramures were only 2.6 per cent urban, Table 80. The rate in the

Table 79. Ethnic Structure of the Urban System

	Percentage			Total population
	Romanian	Magyar	German	
<u>C-B-M</u>				
1881	14.5	61.1	19.4	183 543
1891	13.1	61.9	20.3	222 132
1900	12.1	68.0	16.9	270 865
1910	11.7	70.8	14.5	332 293
1930	31.1	49.3	13.1	462 480
1948	46.8	42.0	6.8	511 624
1956	51.8	36.5	9.4	718 775
1966	62.7	27.7	7.2	1 076 838
1977	70.0	21.9	5.0	1 452 024
<u>Transylvania</u>				
1881	24.0	51.9	16.5	183 543
1891	24.5	51.6	20.9	238 456
1900	23.1	54.7	18.6	302 204
1910	23.4	58.7	16.1	350 258
1930	36.9	43.0	14.1	489 164
1948	53.2	36.6	7.4	604 741
1956	59.3	32.1	7.5	1 037 059
1966	66.3	27.4	5.8	1 543 087
1977	71.2	23.9	4.0	2 106 627

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1881), (1891), (1900a), (1910a), Recensamintul (1930: Vol II), (1948), (1956a), (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: Ethnicity measured by mother tongue. German data for 1881, 1891, 1900 and 1910 include Yiddish speaking Jews. Data refer to urban system and boundaries at the time of respective census.

formerly autonomous Transylvania, 5 per cent, was twice that of C-B-M, which had always been an integrated part of Hungary. The regional differences in the degree of urbanization among the Germans is explained by the different ethnic groups making up the German-speaking population in the two regions; Swabians and Jews in Maramures, Crisana and Banat and Saxons in Transylvania.

The difference in the degree of urbanization among Romanians in the Hungarian Territories and in the Old Kingdom - 4 versus 14 per cent - is large enough, in spite of the ambiguity attached to the urban concept, to warrant the conclusion that the Romanians in the latter were more urban than those in the former.

The low degree of urbanization of Romanians is further illustrated in Table 81. The proportion of Romanians was negatively correlated to the size of town. The average percentage of Magyars was roughly 60 in all size-groups, while the proportion of Germans was higher in the large town.

The growth prior to World War I did not change the established ethnic structure of the towns in the Hungarian Territories. In spite of a predominantly Romanian umland for

most towns, the Magyars managed to increase their share of the urban population from 61 to 71 per cent in C-B-M and from 48.5 to 59 per cent in Transylvania between 1881 and 1910, Table 80. The rapid growth of the towns in the Szekler areas

Table 80. Urban Population by Ethnic Group, Percentages

	Romanian	Magyar	German	All groups
<u>C-B-M</u>				
1881	2.5	18.5	13.7	8.0
1891	2.4	18.5	14.9	8.7
1900a	2.6	20.6	16.1	10.0
1900b	2.6	28.3	14.4	11.5
1910	3.0	30.3	18.4	13.8
1930	9.3	37.5	20.0	17.3
1948	13.4	35.4	19.9	18.9
1956	20.5	41.8	34.7	22.9
1966	32.1	46.8	41.0	34.9
1977	41.6	51.5	45.5	43.0
<u>Transylvania</u>				
1881	4.5	17.2	25.5	10.4
1891	4.6	17.6	22.9	10.6
1900	5.0	20.3	24.2	12.2
1910	5.6	22.4	24.4	13.1
1930	10.7	24.2	28.9	17.0
1948	16.3	25.3	28.7	19.8
1956	27.2	33.7	44.0	29.9
1966	42.0	42.8	48.2	42.4
1977	52.1	48.6	47.8	51.1

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1881), (1891), (1900a), (1910a), Recensamintul (1930: Vol II), (1948), (1956a), (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: C-B-M - Crisana-Banat and Maramures
 Ethnicity measured by mother tongue. German data for 1881, 1891, 1900 and 1910 include Yiddish-speaking Jews. Data refer to urban system at the time of the respective census. Data for C-B-M 1881, 1891 and 1900a include parts of the counties Maramaros, Szatmar, Bihar, Temes and Ugocsa, presently in Hungary, Yugoslavia and the USSR. The 1900b and 1910 data were recalculated to comply with the present national border. The following areas were included: The Izavolgyi, Sugatagi, Szigeti and Visoi districts in Maramaros county. Tiszantuli district in Ugocsa county. Szatmar county except the Csengeri, Mateszalkai and Fehergyarmati districts. Bihar county except Berettyoujfalusi, Biharkerestes (in 1900 Mezokeresztesi) Derecskei, Sarreti (in 1900 Tordai) and Szekelyhidi districts. Temes county except the Fehertemplomi, Kubini and Verseczi districts and the towns of Fehertemplom and Versecz. The entire counties of Arad, Krasso-Szoreny and Szilagy. C-B-M data for 1900b, 1910b and 1956 are approximations with an estimated error of a few decimals, as administrative boundaries could not be recalculated to comply exactly with regional boundaries. For 1881, 1891 and 1900a the errors for C-B-M are larger.

Table 81. Urban Population by Mother Tongue and Size of Towns in the Hungarian Territories in 1900, Percentages

Size (000)	Romanian	Hungarian	German
- 5	36.6	57.2	3.8
5 - 10	24.0	61.2	13.5
10 - 25	20.6	59.7	17.6
25 - 50	17.8	60.2	20.5
50 -	10.6	64.2	21.4
All sizes	18.6	61.3	17.8
C-B-M	12.1	68.0	16.9
Transylvania	24.4	55.2	18.7

Source: Nepszamlalasa (1900a)

Remarks: C-B-M: Crisana-Banat and Maramures
For the ethnic structure of individual towns, see Appendix, Table 18.

can only partly explain the relative increase of Magyars in the towns. Assimilation, i.e. Magyarization, of the non-Magyar urban population is another probable explanation. The German and Romanian shares of the urban population decreased in the same period.¹⁶ The Jews accounted for the most impressive urban growth and increased from 35 500 in 1880 to 60 600 in 1900. Although found in most places, they were concentrated to a few large towns - Sighetu Marmatiei, Oradea, Satu Mare and Dej - where they made up 20 to 35 per cent of the population. Urbanization in the Hungarian Territories prior to World War I was largely a non-Romanian phenomenon.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD

Administrative Changes

Four types of administrative measures affected the urban population between 1910/12 and 1930: Changes in the administrative boundaries of towns, the attachment of suburban communes to towns, upgrading of rural localities to towns and the degrading of towns to rural localities. The combined effect was an increase of the urban population by roughly 370 000 people, or 38 per cent of the total increase in the urban population between 1910/12 and 1930. It is difficult to see any logic behind many of the administrative changes. Often they appear to have been made at random or to artificially increase the urban population in areas where it was small and stagnant. The largest changes were made in the

regions of the Old Kingdom, where many towns already had been agricultural and overbounded. In Oltenia, the least urbanized region, administrative changes accounted for 88 per cent of the total increase in the urban population, against 64 per cent in Moldavia, 53 in Crisana-Banat, 43 in Muntenia, but only 19 per cent in Transylvania and 9 in Dobrogea and Maramures.¹⁷ Most towns endowed with suburban communes were small¹⁸ and in several cases the suburban communes accounted for a substantial part of the total population.¹⁹

Many of the suburban communes were later degraded into rural communes. An urban definition excluding the suburban communes was used as far as possible.²⁰ Unfortunately, many suburban communes had to be included in the 1930-41 and 1941-48 urban cohorts, as urban data had to be recalculated to cover the same area at both censuses.

Thirty-one towns were decreed between 1910/12 and 1930,²¹ while five lost their urban status.²² Of the new towns, four were located in Crisana-Banat,²³ four in Transylvania,²⁴ six in Oltenia,²⁵ one in Muntenia,²⁶ two in Dobrogea,²⁷ nine in Moldavia²⁸ and five in Bessarabia.²⁹ The grounds for promoting these localities varied. Petrosani and Resita stand out by their exceptional performance in coalmining and metal manufacturing. Location at railway junctions was important for Adjud, Blaj, Marasesti and Pascani, while a strategic location on the Danube appears to have been decisive in the case of Orsova. Thermal baths and resort potentials determined the promotion of several localities, such as Baile Govora, Calimanesti, Eforie, Pucioasa and Techirghiol, and was one of several factors for Lipova, Solca and Vatra Dornei. Administrative and cultural functions were decisive for Darabani and Nasaud. Favourable location combined with commercial functions was a common ground for promotion. Such towns are Bailesti, Calarasi-Tirg, Leova, Moinesti, Saveni and Strehaiia. As a rule, manufacturing was more important for urban status in Crisana-Banat and Transylvania, while new towns in the former Old Kingdom and Bessarabia had been promoted because of market functions, location and sheer size and to a much larger extent remained agricultural in character.³⁰

The size of the new towns varied from 872 inhabitants (Eforie) to 19 900 (Resita), with an average of 6 700 inhabitants. Their average growth was slower than for the urban system as a whole.³¹ Four towns decreased in population before 1930 and an additional four towns were stagnant.

Between 1930 and 1941 five more localities were declared towns: Brad, a mining centre in the Hunedoara region; Baile Slanic (Slanic Moldova), a spa in Moldavia; Predeal, located in the important urban corridor Bucuresti-Ploiesti-Brasov; Fetesti, a market town with favourable location at a railway junction; and Falciu, a market town by the river Prut with some manufacturing.

Table 82. Changes in the Urban Population in 1910/12-1930 by Components

Region	Towns 1910/12	Degraded towns	Boundary changes	Cohort 1910/12	Cohort change	Cohort 1930	New towns	Towns 1930	S	Towns 1930 incl S
Maramures	104 586	-	-	104 586	21 904	126 490	-	126 490	2 136	128 626
Crisana-Banat	227 707	-	4 313	232 020	51 725	283 745	52 245	335 990	2 798	338 788
Transylvania	350 258	8 186	3 662	345 734	111 688	457 422	31 742	489 164	-1 319	487 845
Oltenia	149 363	-	9 281	158 644	8 102	166 746	48 601	209 353	8 272	217 625
Muntenia	350 938	-	5 054	355 992	57 123	413 115	5 772	418 887	32 596	451 483
Dobrogea	98 249	6 567	6 309	97 991	25 557	123 548	2 828	126 376	-	126 376
Moldavia	442 588	-	19 352	461 940	79 213	541 153	70 282	611 435	50 035	661 470
Bucuresti	341 321	-	25 213	366 534	259 494	626 028	-	626 028	13 012	639 040
ROMANIA	2 065 010	14 753	73 184	2 123 441	614 806	2 738 247	205 476	2 943 723	107 530	3 051 253

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1910a), Recensamintul (1930: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: S - Suburban communes

The cohort was based on towns existing both in 1910/12 and in 1930, including localities that have since merged with a town. In most cases the boundaries applied in the cohort coincide with the official boundaries of 1930, excluding suburban communes.

Data for 'Towns' refer to the urban system and boundaries at the time of the respective census.

For population on individual towns, see Appendix Table 31.

Table 83. Changes in the Urban Population in 1930-41 by Components

Region	Towns 1930	Degraded towns	Boundary changes	Cohort 1930	Cohort change	Cohort 1941	New towns	Towns 1941
Maramures	128 626	-	-2 136	126 490	10 562	137 052	-	137 052
Crisana-Banat	338 788	-	-2 798	335 990	52 858	388 848	-	388 848
Transylvania	487 845	-	2 402	490 247	113 610	603 857	8 742	612 599
Oltenia	217 625	-	-10 313	207 312	44 218	251 530	-	251 530
Muntenia	451 483	-	17 681	469 164	94 504	563 668	10 341	574 009
Dobrogea	126 376	-	-	126 376	27 336	153 712	-	153 712
Moldavia	661 470	-	-31 136	630 334	49 684	680 018	7 453	687 471
Bucuresti	639 040	-	4 390	643 430	349 106	992 536	-	992 536
ROMANIA	3 051 253	-	-21 910	3 029 343	741 878	3 771 221	26 536	3 797 757

Sources: Measnicov (1968b), Nepszamlalasa (1941), Recensamintul (1930: Vol I), (1941), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: The cohort was based on towns existing both in 1930 and in 1941, but according to their 1948 boundaries (including suburban communes). Boundary changes were calculated as 'Towns 1941' less 'Cohort changes' less 'Towns 1930'. As the cohort changes are based on 1948 boundaries, boundary changes contain a residual, apart from the changes due to boundary changes in the period, whenever boundary changes took place in 1941-48. This residual does probably not exceed 1 000 in any region. Data for 'Towns' refer to the urban system and boundaries, including suburban communes, at the respective census. For population in individual towns, see Appendix, Table 31.

Patterns of Urban Growth

The urban population grew by an annual rate of 1.2 per cent between 1910/12 and 1930,³² a little faster than the population as a whole. But while the latter was exclusively based on natural increase, the former was mainly based on migration, Table 87.

Table 84. Average Annual rates of Population Growth by Regions, Percentages

Region	1910/12 - 1930			1930 - 1941		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Maramures	0.96	0.33	0.42	1.00	0.6	0.7
Crisana-Banat	0.82	-0.13	0.03	1.52	-0.1	0.3
Transylvania	1.37	0.22	0.40	1.92	0.6	0.8
Muntenia	0.83	0.87	0.87	1.86	1.3	1.4
Bucuresti	3.02	-	2.93	3.96	-	3.96
Dobrogea	1.38	0.74	0.91	1.91	1.5	1.6
Moldavia	0.90	0.63	0.69	0.82	1.3	1.2
Bucovina	0.80	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
Bessarabia	0.61	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
South Dobrogea	1.69	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
ROMANIA	1.36	0.47	0.60	2.06	1.0	1.2

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1941), Recensamintul (1930: Vol I), (1941)

Remarks: n d - no data

a - 1897

Romania excluding Bessarabia, Bucovina and South Dobrogea.

Rural and total figures for 1930-41 are approximates.

All figures refer to urban and rural cohorts.

Table 85. Urban Growth by Size-groups of Towns, Percentages

Size	1910/12-30	1930-41
- 4 999	8.2	29.8
5 - 9 999	8.6	11.1
10 - 24 999	10.8	17.8
25 - 49 999	35.2	15.7
50 - 99 999	29.6	21.2
100 -	70.8	103.0
All sizes	27.6	23.2

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1941a), Recensamintul (1930: Vol I), (1941)

Remarks: Bessarabia, Bucovina and South Dobrogea excluded.

Calculations based on towns existing in 1930, with 1910 respectively 1930 as cohort base.

Urban growth was unevenly distributed. Throughout the interwar period the growth of Bucuresti was spectacular. It accounted for 41 per cent of the total urban growth between 1910/12 and 1930³³ and for 45 per cent between 1930 and 1941, increasing its share of the urban population from 15.7 per cent in 1910/12, to 21.3 in 1930 to 25.7 in 1941.³⁴ Between 1910/12 and 1930 thirteen towns grew at an average annual rate of more than 2 per cent,³⁵ while 47 of the 172 towns experienced a population decline. The fastest growth outside Bucuresti was recorded in Transylvania, Dobrogea and South Dobrogea.

Table 86. Real, Natural and Migration Growth of Towns 1930-41 by Size-groups

Size group	Absolute change			Percentage change		
	Real	Natural	Migration	Real	Natural	Migration
- 9 999	58 700	26 000	32 700	15.0	6.6	8.3
10 - 19 999	84 900	13 100	71 800	19.7	3.0	16.6
20 - 49 999	62 200	4 200	58 000	18.4	1.2	17.2
50 -	119 900	6 800	113 100	17.2	1.0	16.2
Bucuresti	349 200	20 300	328 900	53.0	3.1	49.9
All sizes	675 000	70 400	604 600	27.1	2.8	24.3

Source: Measnicov (1968a)

Remarks: Cohort with 1930 as base. Figures refer to towns under Romanian administration in 1941 only, and are adjusted for changes in the administrative boundaries.

Table 87. Real, Natural and Migration Growth of Towns 1930-41 by Regions

Region	Absolute change			Percentage change		
	Real	Natural	Migration	Real	Natural	Migration
Crisana-Banat ^{1/}	42 800	-8 500	51 300	19.0	-3.6	21.6
Transylvania ^{2/}	79 100	10 300	68 800	31.0	4.1	26.9
Oltenia	36 700	3 800	32 900	18.4	1.9	16.5
Muntenia	89 800	15 000	74 800	21.7	3.6	18.0
Dobrogea	27 300	9 700	17 600	21.6	7.7	13.9
Moldavia	50 000	19 700	30 300	8.1	3.2	4.9
Bucuresti	349 200	20 300	328 900	53.0	3.1	49.9
ROMANIA	675 000	70 400	604 600	27.1	2.8	24.3

Source: Measnicov (1968a)

Remarks: ^{1/} Excluding Oradea and Salonta, under Hungarian administration in 1941.

^{2/} Excluding Bistrita, Cluj, Dej, Gheorgheni, Gherla, Huedin, Miercurea Ciuc, Nasaud, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Reghin, Sfintu Gheorghe, Tirgu Mures and Tirgu Secuiesc, under Hungarian administration in 1941.

For regional division of town, see Appendix, Table 5.

The urban growth rates increased in the 1930s, except in Moldavia. The most spectacular increase was recorded in Oltenia where stagnation was followed by an average annual growth of 1.5 per cent. Average rates of more than 2 per cent were recorded in 44 of 140 towns, while 21 had declining population.

Urban growth between 1930 and 1941 was almost entirely migration based. Only a tenth of the increase in the urban population was due to natural increase. Bucuresti was unequalled in its attraction on the rural population. It received more than half of all urban migrants between 1930 and 1941,³⁶ although its share of the total population in 1930 was only 21 per cent. An important catchment area for migration to Bucuresti was the Carpathian Piedmont, which traditionally had a high density of agricultural population. This migration was mainly determined by push factors and not by excessive demand for labour in Bucuresti. The migrants were often young and unmarried without prospects of making a living in their native village.³⁷ Sons were often sent to Bucuresti to contribute to the family income when the farm proved an insufficient source.³⁸ The interwar growth of Bucuresti resembles that of many major cities in the developing countries today.

Other important migrant receiving towns were Ploiesti (22 100), Brasov (21 800), Timisoara (21 600) and Constanta (17 000). The relative contribution of natural increase and migration to the urban growth differed considerably between large and small towns and between regions. Generally, natural increase was a more important factor in the small towns and in the eastern parts of the country. Out of thirty-two towns with negative net migration between 1930 and 1941, nineteen had less than 10 000 inhabitants and twenty were found in Dobrogea or in Moldavia. In Moldavia three large towns showed negative migration figures - Galati, Birlad and Botosani. On the other hand, in Crisana-Banat and Transylvania only Petrosani registered migration loss, no doubt because of the decline in coal-mining. However, the large migration nets in some towns in Crisana-Banat and Transylvania were partly due to the influx of refugees from the territories ceded to Hungary. This obviously was the case with Beius and Turda, and probably also with such towns as Arad, Timisoara and Brasov. The pattern of natural growth was largely the reverse of that of migration. In Crisana-Banat all towns registered a surplus of deaths over births, but only four out of thirty-eight in Moldavia.³⁹ Only rarely was natural increase a major factor in urban growth. However, statistics are likely to underrate the natural increase in urban areas since rural dwellers dying in urban hospitals affect urban death rates.⁴⁰ Yet, in light of the age-selectiveness of rural-urban migration - a high proportion of young people - the small natural increase in most large and middle-sized towns is astonishing.

Migration took three forms; seasonal, temporary and permanent. Seasonal migration was an old phenomenon that had been practiced for centuries in some areas, notably in the Apuseni Mountains and the Maramures-Oas region. In the former region every village had its own special trade. Vidra and other villages in Tara Motilor were specialized in wood

products, as barrels, bowls, plates etc, fabricated at home and sold during extensive tours through all parts of Romania.⁴¹ The Margau area was specialized in glass and windows, while people in the Mogos area often worked as agricultural labourers in the Mures valley and in the Banat at harvest time. The peasants in Oas were specialized in deforestation and were reputed to be hard workers. Seasonal migration was practiced in other areas as well in the interwar period, for example in the Carpathian Piedmont. Although seasonal migration was very widespread in Apuseni and Oas, sometimes comprising 80-90 per cent of the adult male population,⁴² it was not a way of gradual urbanization, but rather a means of maintaining the traditional rural way of life. It was strictly seasonal in character and the migrants seldom cut their ties with their homes to become permanent migrants. It did not serve as a diffuser of urban ways of life. The Apuseni Mountains as well as Maramures and Oas remained very traditional peasant communities.

Temporary migration was often the first step towards permanent migration. As peasants were driven to temporary migration by economic necessity, their intention was often to come back to the farm when times got better or when they had saved some money. Often the rest of the family remained behind on the farm. If the economic situation failed to improve, often the temporary migrant gradually became a permanent migrant.

The emigrant's intention is not to remain in the town, but to earn a small sum of money to be able to return to the village, buy land and build a larger house. But the reckonings at home do not stand up to the test of reality, as life becomes different and the mentality is transformed.⁴³

Urban Development on the Regional Level

CRISANA-BANAT, MARAMURES AND TRANSYLVANIA

The urban system in Crisana-Banat and Maramures continued to be dominated by a few large towns - Arad, Oradea, Satu Mare and Timisoara - which together contained 75 per cent of the regions' urban population. The new Hungarian border of 1919 cut off much of the traditional umlands of Arad, Oradea and Satu Mare. A number of other towns had basically the same location and character as the four largest towns, but had not reached their size or importance.⁴⁴ Sighetul Marmatiei suffered much from the new international borders. It was cut off from its umland north of the river Tisa and, even worse, from the rest of Romania as its only all-year connection with Romania, the railway to Satu Mare, was intercepted by the Czechoslovak border. Sighetu Marmatiei and the Maramures depression remained a very isolated part of Romania until the 1950's, when a railway was constructed across the Rodna mountains. A few industrial towns, based on local mineral resources, grew fast during the interwar period, notably Baia Mare, Oravita and Resita.

In Transylvania a third of the urban population received its income from manufacturing and one tenth from agriculture. Although manufacturing in some towns, notably Abrud, Blaj, Hunedoara and Petrosani, was based on the extraction of local mineral resources, this was not generally the case, in contrast to the trans-Carpathian parts of Romania. Agricultural towns were few, in only five did agriculture dominate.

The merger of Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania with the Old Kingdom in 1918 gave the Romanians politically the upper hand in these regions, opened the urban gates for the Romanian peasantry and started a process of social equalization for the ethnic groups.

Urban growth between 1900 and 1930 was accompanied by radical changes in the urban ethnic structure, Table 79. Although differing census practices and national biases call for caution when interpreting the data, the occurrence of a major change in the ethnic structure of most towns is indisputable, even if the registered magnitude may sometimes be subject to doubt. The major political, intercensal changes, 1910-30, 1930-41, had considerable influence on the urban growth. After the First World War a massive emigration of Magyars to Hungary took place. By the time the 1941 census was taken Maramures and northern Crisana and Transylvania had been ceded to Hungary. The cession had been preceded by large-scale migration from the ceded parts to the rest of Romania. In the light of these circumstances, it is difficult to make generalizations about the urban growth. Population decline between 1910 and 1930 was registered in sixteen out of forty-eight towns. Among them were Magyar and Szekler strongholds, - Carei, Miercurea Ciuc, Odorheiu Secuiesc and Sfintu Gheorghe - and towns that had experienced heavy Magyar in-migration before the war - Abrud and Hunedoara - but also towns with a poor economic base - Gherla, Lipova and Salonta. Between 1930 and 1941 only five towns declined in population,⁴⁵ of which four in the ceded areas.

Urban growth was largely due to Romanian rural-urban migration. The Romanians increased their share of the urban population so fast that centuries-old Magyar and German strongholds, with few traces of Romanian culture, after only a few decades of Romanian administration had a predominantly Romanian population. While the degree of urbanization among Magyars and Germans increased only slowly, it trebled among Romanians, Table 80. However, the Magyar influence in towns remained strong. A study of 133 100 urban marriages in Crisana, Banat, Maramures and Transylvania revealed that 31 per cent of the Romanian men married non-Romanian girls, mostly Magyar.⁴⁶ Exogamic marriages were particularly common among clerks and others working in the tertiary sector. Career was said to be a major motive for exogamic marriages, as the Magyars still dominated the social upper class and Romanian men tried to marry themselves to a higher social position. The different criteria for classifying Jews in the Hungarian and Romanian censuses makes exact comparisons of the ethnic structure over time impossible. Yiddish was not recognized as a separate language in the Hungarian censuses, but registered as German. According to a Romanian source,⁴⁷ urban Jews were often multilingual and often preferred to declare their mother tongue as Hungarian, lacking Yiddish as

an alternative. Consequently, the relative decline of the Hungarian speaking population was probably less than indicated in Table 80.

The increase in the Romanian share of the urban population was far from uniformly distributed. As a rule, it was largest in Magyar towns, situated in areas of mixed or predominantly Romanian population, as Carei, Oradea, Satu Mare, Sighetul Marmatiei, Tirgu Mures and Zalau. The increase in the old Saxon towns Bistrita, Brasov, Medias, Sibiu and Sighisoara or in the Szekler towns was much smaller. Hence, it seems that the Romanian urban growth was largely due to short-distance migration. The potential for such migration was largest in Crisana and Maramures and in the parts of Transylvania where Hungarian-dominated towns were surrounded by Romanian-dominated countryside. In the Saxon areas the rural population, too, was mixed, besides the urban Romanian population was already rather large. In the Szekler areas, towns as well as countryside had a homogeneous Szekler population.

OLTENIA, MUNTENIA AND DOBROGEA

There were three main categories of towns in Muntenia and Oltenia: Danubian ports, market towns and those based on local mineral resources. With a few exceptions, the first two categories had a large agricultural sector.

Although most market towns in these regions were quite old, they usually had retained a large agricultural sector and a village-like morphology. Manufacturing was still poorly developed in these towns, the main exception being Craiova. In many cases the towns also had administrative functions. These agro-commercial centres dominated in Oltenia and on the Danubian Plain in Muntenia. Because of their poor economic base they usually grew very slowly before the Second World War.

With the exception of Bucuresti and Craiova, the manufacturing towns were closely connected with the booming oil industry. The most important were Ploiesti and Cimpina. They distinguished themselves from the other towns by their industrial character and by growing by more than 2 per cent a year, well above the national average, throughout the inter-war period. Between 1930 and 1941 Ploeisti grew by 22 100 people through migration, second only to Bucuresti. The towns in the Carpathian Piedmont generally had relatively large net in-migration.

In a number of towns the urban status was due to the existence of thermal baths and favourable climatic conditions, qualifying them as spas.⁴⁸ They usually retained a large agricultural population.

The urban structure in Dobrogea was characterized by a large number of small towns. Apart from Constanta, with half of Dobrogea's urban population in 1930, none of the thirteen towns had more than 25 000 inhabitants. Although several towns had been degraded to villages in the preceding decades,⁴⁹ 17 per cent of the urban population in 1930 still lived in towns with less than 5 000 inhabitants. The rapid

growth of Constanta dominated the urban scene. Its population grew from a mere 4 000 in 1878 to 31 500 in 1912, to 80 000 in 1941, and it was by then Romania's leading port.

The only other towns to experience significant growth were Medgidia and Cernavoda along the Constanta-Bucuresti railway and the small Black Sea resorts Eforie, Mangalia and Techirghiol. Particularly the transit port Sulina, but also Tulcea, suffered from Constanta's expansion. Dobrogea's other towns - Babadag, Hirsova, Isaccea, Macin and Ostrov - continued a dormant existence through the interwar period, in some cases actually declining in population through out migration.

Early ethnic data are rare and based on uncertain estimations, but it seems that a considerable in-migration of Romanians took place after independence in 1878. The Dobrogean towns had previously been characterized by ethnic heterogeneity, but in 1930 more than 70 per cent of the urban population had Romanian as mother tongue. Turks, Russians, Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians complemented the Romanian population.

MOLDAVIA AND BUCOVINA

The overall growth of Moldavian towns in the interwar period was rather slow, particularly in the Thirties, Table 84. According to Ungureanu (1980) the poor growth performance was largely due to centralistic policies and the locational importance of the railways which disadvantaged the eastern parts of Moldavia, particularly Iasi, Botosani, Husi, Birlad and Darabani. Apart from a continued decline of many towns in northern Moldavia, the growth of Moldavian towns 1912-30 and 1930-41 does not present any clear pattern.⁵⁰ Only a few towns distinguished themselves by high rates of growth throughout the period, notably Bacau, Iasi, Pascani and Tecuci.

Romanians made up 75 per cent of Moldavia's urban population. Jews were the second largest group with 16.5 per cent.⁵¹ Almost all towns had some Jews, but the Jewish share of the urban population was generally highest in northern Moldavia. Many towns in the former Austrian areas also had a large German-speaking population.⁵²

The urban system in Bucovina was completely dominated by Cernauti, which held three fourths of the region's urban population. Cernauti had a very mixed population, Yiddish being the most common mother tongue (29 per cent), followed by Romanian 26, German 23, Ukrainian 11 and Polish 7.5 per cent. Cernauti had a diversified economic base with a fourth of its population in manufacturing and 23 per cent in credit, commerce and transportation.

The other towns in Bucovina had all less than 10 000 inhabitants and generally had more than half their population in agriculture. Their ethnic structure varied according to location. Ukrainians were in absolute majority in three towns⁵³ and Romanians in one.⁵⁴ The small town of Vijnita differed from the others in that 70 per cent of the inhabitants had Yiddish as mother tongue. Commerce was the most important activity in this Jewish town (24 per cent),

followed by manufacturing (23 per cent), while agriculture engaged less than 4 per cent of the population. Five of the seven small towns declined between 1910 and 1930. Cernauti grew by 32 per cent in the same period.

BESSARABIA AND SOUTH DOBROGEA

Bessarabia shared with Oltenia the position as the least urbanized region in Romania. It had relatively few towns. Their economic base was generally weak, with a large proportion of agricultural population. Chisinau had a third of Bessarabia's urban population. Five of the seventeen towns were concentrated to the county of Ismail along the Danube. The towns in northern and central Bessarabia were ethnically similar to the towns in Bucovina and northern Moldavia, with Romanian majorities complemented by large Jewish populations. Slavs were in majority in most towns in the south, complemented by Romanians, and here the Jewish element was insignificant.

Commerce, administration and agriculture were the economic cornerstones in most of Bessarabia's towns. With a few exceptions, manufacturing played a secondary role. Lack of mineral resources and poor transportation made manufacturing development difficult. Especially in northern and central Bessarabia commerce was dominated by Jews. Commerce and administration were the *raison d'etre* of many towns and Jews played a vital role in the urban economy of Bessarabia in the interwar period.

South Dobrogea had only five towns with a total population of 70 100 inhabitants in 1930. Bulgarians made up 34 per cent of the urban population, followed by Turkish-speaking 32 per cent and Romanians 25 per cent. Although earlier data are not available it seems safe to assume that a large part of the Romanian urban population had arrived after the First World War. Between 1910 and 1930 the urban population on the average increased by 1.7 per cent a year, exceeded only by Bucuresti. Three of South Dobrogea's towns were located along the Black Sea with port as well as resort facilities. With 20 per cent of the urban population in manufacturing, 12 per cent in credit and commerce and 19 per cent in agriculture, the economic structure of South Dobrogea's towns did not differ much from the Romanian average.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The industrialization efforts in the postwar period were not immediately reflected in an increased rate of urbanization, which in the first postwar decade was only slightly higher than the prewar rate.⁵⁵ Severe shortage of housing in urban areas reflected in rural-urban commuting, and a considerable underemployment of the urban work force after World War II were factors behind the slow relative increase of the urban population. In the late Fifties urbanization gained momentum and has since continued at a progressive rate. By 1966 a third of the population lived in urban areas and 43 per cent worked outside agriculture. A decade later these proportions were 44 and 63 per cent. It is reasonable to assume that urban growth followed the same cyclical development as

industrial development in the first postwar decades, with peaks in 1948-53 and 1958-65. Statistics on wage employment substantiate this assumption, Table 52, but lack of good intercensal data makes a year by year study unfeasible. In 1965-1980 there were no large fluctuations in economic growth. Censuses were taken in 1948,⁵⁶ 1956, 1966 and 1977 and this study was confined to the 1941-48, 1948-56, 1956-66 and 1966-77 intercensal periods. Variations within the periods were not studied in any detail.

The 1941-48 period covers the war and the first turbulent postwar years. The terminal year is appropriate, as 1948 may be considered the first year of economic recovery. The 1948-56 period rather unfortunately covers two disparate phases in the postwar development. The 1948-53 period of rapid, albeit not uniform, industrial growth and the subsequent years of consolidation and slow economic growth. The rate of urban growth was certainly highest in the first half of the 1948-56 period. The 1956-66 intercensal period was characterized by gradually increasing rates of economic growth. It can be assumed that urban growth followed the same pattern. Sustained rapid economic development and social change marked the period after 1966. The urban population increased at a higher rate than in any previous period, and by 1980 almost half the population lived in urban areas. The 1966-77 period is of particular interest as it offers insight into the effects of the ambitious spatial development policies adopted in the mid-Sixties.

The frequent administrative changes in the postwar period impose severe restrictions on comparisons over time. One major and several minor administrative reforms between 1948 and 1956 makes comparisons between these two censuses difficult. There was no major administrative reform between 1956 and 1966, but comparisons between these censuses are still difficult to make as the 1966 census was rearranged to comply with the regional division after the administrative reform in 1968.⁵⁷

Fortunately, however, this made the 1966 census perfectly comparable with the 1977 census. Population data were recalculated to obtain intercensal population cohorts. Except for 1966-1977, the data on population characteristics - industry, education etc - could only partly be recalculated.

Administrative Changes

Besides natural increase and migrational gains, administrative changes contributed to urban growth in the postwar period. They accounted for 31 per cent of the growth between 1948 and 1956 and 8 per cent between 1956 and 1966, Tables 88 and 89. Administrative changes took two forms; alterations in the administrative boundaries of existing towns and the granting and revoking of urban status to communes. A detailed study of the administrative elements is warranted by their sheer magnitude, but also because they shed light on government policies and values.

THE 1941-1948 PERIOD

Only minor administrative changes were made between 1941 and 1948. The urban population was reduced by 41 100⁵⁸ as the boundaries of twenty-one towns were redrawn. In most cases the changes were due to the degrading of suburban communes to rural communes.⁵⁹ Ten of the affected towns were in Muntenia and nine in Moldavia. In all but five cases the revision led to a decrease of the urban population. The measures had been preceded by downward revisions of boundaries, particularly in Oltenia and Moldavia in 1930-41, Table 83, and should be seen as a reaction to the considerable overbounding of towns in the regions of the Old Kingdom after World War I.

Five rural communes received urban status between 1941 and 1948.⁶⁰ Cisnădie near Sibiu and Moreni in the Prahova oil region received it in acknowledgement of industrial performance. Busteni was a spa and a tourist resort in the Prahova valley.

In the case of Sinniculae Mare, size, past administrative functions and the need for an urban centre in a rich agricultural area appears to have been decisive. The motives for making Racari, northwest of Bucuresti, a town are not so easy to discern. With only 2 500 inhabitants, Racari lost its urban status again in 1950, but is presently on the list to be developed into an agro-industrial town.

THE 1948-1956 PERIOD

The administrative reforms in 1950 and 1952 affected the urban system in several ways. The boundaries of a large number of towns (68) were redrawn, 32 rural communes were upgraded to towns and 14 towns lost their urban status. In Crisana-Banat and Transylvania almost half the increase in the urban population between 1948 and 1956 was due to administrative measures, Table 89. In the other regions the magnitude of the changes was smaller. The administrative alterations in this period are of particular interest, as they reflect the confrontation of the old urban criteria and policies with those of the new regime.

It is difficult to see any logic behind the redrawing of the urban boundaries. Fifty-nine towns had them extended, in nine cases they were contracted. There was no apparent correlation between the boundary changes on the one hand and size, economic structure or growth performance on the other. A number of small, slow-growing towns had their boundaries considerably extended.⁶¹ The boundary changes were evenly distributed regionally. A plausible explanation to the lack of pattern may be that the revision was not monitored in detail from Bucuresti, but that local and regional planners were left room for initiative and maneuver.

To deprive fourteen towns of the urban status was a unique measure, and together with the granting of urban status to thirty-two communes it was an eloquent expression of the urban criteria and policies of the new regime. The role of manufacturing and mining as a basis and *raison d'etre* for towns was stressed, while the importance of commercial and other service functions was played down. Twelve of the thirty-two new towns were based on mining, oil extraction

Table 88. Changes in the Urban Population in 1941-1948 by Components

Region	Towns 1941	Degraded towns	Boundary changes	Cohort 1941	Cohort change	Cohort 1948	New towns	Towns 1948
Maramures	137 052	-	-	137 052	-12 269	124 783	-	124 783
Crisana- Banat	388 848	-	-	388 848	-11 796	377 052	9 789	386 841
Transylvania	612 599	-	1 202	613 801	-16 344	597 457	7 284	604 741
Oltenia	251 530	-	-2 976	248 554	15 232	263 786	-	263 786
Muntenia	574 009	-	-28 876	545 133	-2 245	542 888	16 117	559 005
Dobrogea	153 712	-	-	153 712	-7 240	146 472	-	146 472
Moldavia	687 471	-	-10 475	676 996	-91 292	585 704	-	585 704
Bucuresti	992 536	-	-	992 536	49 271	1 041 807	-	1 041 807
ROMANIA	3 797 757	-	-41 125	3 756 632	-76 683	3 679 949	33 190	3 713 139

Sources: Measnicov (1968b), Recensamintul (1941), (1948)

Remarks: The cohort was based on towns existing both in 1941 and in 1948, according to their 1948 boundaries, including suburban communes. Data for 'Towns' refer to the urban system and boundaries, including suburban communes, at the respective census.

For population on individual towns, see Appendix Table 31.

Table 89. Changes in the Urban Population in 1948-1956 by Components.

Region	Towns 1948	Degraded towns	Boundary changes	Cohort 1948	Cohort change	Cohort 1956	New towns	Towns 1956
Maramures	124 783	-	6 322	131 105	26 124	157 229	13 956	171 185
Crisana-Banat	386 841	-	35 355	422 196	63 090	485 286	53 786	539 072
Transylvania	604 741	5 134	40 427	640 034	221 976	862 010	175 050	1 037 060
Oltenia	263 786	8 248	3 531	259 069	21 534	280 603	3 836	284 439
Muntenia	559 005	4 878	9 441	563 568	75 803	639 371	23 141	662 512
Dobrogea	146 472	4 015	2 104	144 561	42 950	187 511	-	187 511
Moldavia	585 704	47 967	19 085	556 822	106 765	663 587	23 645	687 232
Bucuresti	1 041 897	-	-23 507	1 018 300	159 361	1 177 661	-	1 177 661
ROMANIA	3 713 139	70 242	92 758	3 735 655	717 603	4 453 258	293 414	4 746 672

Sources: Measnicov (1969), Recensamintul (1948), (1956a), (1977: Vol I).

Remarks: The cohort was based on towns existing both in 1948 and 1956, according to their 1956 boundaries. Data for 'Towns' refer to the urban system and boundaries at the time of the respective census, including suburban communes in 1948, but excluding 'urban-like localities' in 1956.

Table 90. Changes in the Urban Population in 1956-1966 by Components

Region	Towns 1956	Degraded towns	Boundary changes	Cohort 1956	Cohort change	Cohort 1966	New towns	Towns 1966
Maramures	171 185	-	-	171 185	66 427	237 612	9 311	246 923
Crisana-Banat	539 072	-	-	539 072	107 500	646 572	24 583	671 155
Transylvania	1 037 060	-	-	1 037 060	342 923	1 379 983	73 196	1 453 179
Oltenia	284 439	-	-	284 439	104 617	389 056	-	389 056
Muntenia	662 512	-	-	662 512	191 330	853 842	-	853 842
Dobrogea	187 511	-	-	187 511	93 573	281 084	-	281 084
Moldavia	687 232	-	-	687 232	262 566	949 798	8 368	958 166
Bucuresti	1 177 661	-	-	1 177 661	189 023	1 366 684	-	1 366 684
ROMANIA	4 746 672	-	-	4 746 672	1 357 959	6 104 631	115 458	6 220 089

Sources: Cucu & Urucu (1967), Recensamintul (1956a), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: The cohort was based on towns existing both in 1956 and in 1966, according to their 1966 boundaries. Data on 'Towns' refer to the urban system and boundaries, excluding 'urban-like localities', at the time of the respective census.

For population on individual towns, see Appendix Table 31.

Table 91. Changes in the Urban Population in 1966-1977 by Components

Region	Towns 1966	Degraded towns	Boundary changes	Cohort 1966	Cohort change	Cohort 1977	New towns	Towns 1977
Maramures	246 923	-	4 366	251 289	110 080	361 369	70 734	432 103
Crisana-Banat	671 155	-	17 894	689 049	247 781	936 830	83 091	1 019 921
Transylvania	1 453 179	-	43 300	1 496 479	551 663	2 048 142	58 485	2 106 627
Oltenia	389 056	-	32 240	421 296	213 470	634 766	94 879	729 645
Muntenia	853 842	-	13 830	867 672	388 247	1 255 919	100 594	1 356 513
Dobrogea	281 084	-	2 196	283 280	173 002	456 282	9 717	456 999
Moldavia	958 166	-	10 663	968 829	457 247	1 426 076	51 606	1 477 682
Bucuresti	1 366 684	-	-	1 366 684	440 555	1 807 239	-	1 807 239
ROMANIA	6 220 089	-	124 489	6 344 578	2 582 045	8 926 623	469 106	9 395 729

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: The cohort was based on towns existing both in 1966 and in 1977, according to their 1977 boundaries, excluding suburban communes. Data on 'Towns' refer to the urban system and boundaries at the time of the respective census. For 1966 they refer to the situation prior to the 1968 reform, excluding 'urban-like localities'. For 1977 data on towns exclude suburban communes.

For population on individual towns, see Appendix Table 31.

and related manufacturing industries.⁶² These towns were sometimes put forward as examples of 'socialist towns',⁶³ and workers' centres. Their growth was inextricably tied to the development of mining and heavy manufacturing and they all grew rapidly in the early Fifties. Yet, most of them remained economically one-sided. As the mining activities in southeast Bihor were scaled down after the dissolution of the Sovroms in the early Fifties⁶⁴ the population of Dr. Petru Groza, Vascau and Nucet began to decline.

A developed manufacturing base was behind the upgrading of Cimpia Turzii and Azuga to towns, while the role as a railway node was decisive in the case of Simeria. Spa functions had been a valid reason for urban status in the past and continued to be so under the new regime; seven of the new towns were spas.⁶⁵ Next to Bucuresti, the heaviest concentration of manufacturing was found in the Brasov area. A concentration of industrial investments to already industrialized areas after World War II led to a rapid growth of Brasov.⁶⁶

In an obvious attempt to decongest the city of Brasov, four localities in its neighbourhood were upgraded to towns.⁶⁷ Villages in the old Saxon area in Transylvania were often large, compact and relatively well endowed with infrastructure and well suited for urbanization. Regional development aspects had low priority in the first postwar decade, yet, in six cases location appears to have been an important factor in the selection of new towns.⁶⁸ Agnita, Rupea and to some extent also Jimbolia represent attempts to develop somewhat peripheral parts of a well-developed region. Two of the towns in this category - Cristuru Secuiesc and Toplita - were in the Autonomous Magyar Region. The sixth, Viseu de Sus, was located in the poor and still archaic Viseu Valley in Maramures and had a considerable potential for the timber industry.

The fourteen degraded towns⁶⁹ had several characteristics in common and together they provide an eloquent example of the new urban criteria. They were all market towns, some had had administrative functions - Falciu had even been a county capital until 1950 - but none had a strong secondary sector. Often located in economically backward areas at some distance from the nearest town, many of them had an important role serving the surrounding rural population with central place functions. Eight of them were old Moldavian market places. The present county of Botosani was particularly badly hurt as four of its six towns lost their urban status.⁷⁰ The degradation of the fourteen towns shows an astonishing lack of concern for regional development aspects. One of the degraded towns - Huedin - received its urban status back in 1965, five in 1968⁷¹ and another three were on the list to become urban by 1980,⁷² which reflects a shift in the development strategy in the Sixties. The regional aspects of the economic development became increasingly important and the simplistic view of towns as mere centres of manufacturing gave way to a more complex one, emphasizing rural-urban interrelations.

THE 1956-1966 PERIOD

Between 1956 and 1966 the only administrative changes of the

urban system was the appearance of another twelve towns,⁷³ apparently according to the same criteria as in 1948-56. Seven were based on mining and heavy manufacturing⁷⁴ and one - Singeorz Bai - was a spa. Negresti-Oas in the Oas depression and Cimpeni in the heart of the Apuseni Mountains were both located in backward and isolated rural areas, while Huedin was an old market place at the foot of the Apuseni Mountains. All but one of the new towns - Bicaz - were in C-B-M and Transylvania. The development of Bicaz in Moldavia was tied to the regulation of the Bistrita river.

THE 1966-1977 PERIOD

The administrative reform in 1968 affected the urban system in two main ways.⁷⁵ The boundaries of many towns were extended and fifty-three rural communes received urban status. Besides, the semi-urban category 'urban-like localities'⁷⁶ was exchanged for another semi-urban category, 'suburban communes'.⁷⁷ The latter change was disregarded as both semi-urban categories were seen as rural settlements in this study.

The boundaries of fifty-three towns were extended in the 1968 reform. The population in the incorporated areas amounted to 124 500 in 1966, Table 91. The extended boundaries led to a considerable increase in the population of many towns, in eleven cases by more than 25 per cent. Sometimes rapid growth may have justified boundary changes, e.g. Resita, Moldova Noua, Otelu Rosu, Deva, Petrosani, Hateg, Blaj, Tirgu Jiu and Techirghiol. However, in many cases it was difficult to see any logic behind the changes. Several towns were small, stagnating and largely agricultural.

The fifty-three towns declared in 1968 provide an eloquent illustration of the spirit of 'the systematization policy' adopted a few years later.⁷⁸ The reclassification was a declaration of intention rather than a recognition; only few of them had a strong manufacturing base. It was the first major attempt to reshape the urban map according to a coherent plan. A study of the new towns indicate that most of them were located in areas with a poorly developed urban network. They had a somewhat more developed non-agrarian sector than the surrounding rural localities and constituted low-order central places with few central functions, but often had large umlands. Six of them had an urban past⁷⁹ and twenty-seven had had some administrative functions as district centres (resedinte de raion) prior to the 1968 reform. They had a potential to be developed into central places, providing non-agricultural jobs, manufactured goods and services to an agricultural umland. It can be seen as an attempt to bridge the large socio-economic and cultural distance between urban and rural areas, by 'bringing the town nearer the village' and to slow down long-distance rural-urban migration by creating intervening employment opportunities at commuting distance. The new urban localities automatically gained advantages over rural localities. Municipal services usually had to be extended to comply with the minimum requirements for urban areas. Retail trade was often considerably extended and the provisioning with goods improved. Retail prices in urban areas are ten per cent lower than in rural areas. To change the administrative

status is also a regional development instrument in itself. The official hierarchy of localities is used for allocating investments, and a town receives more government funds than a village. However, the subsequent development of these towns should be considered in an evaluation of the urbanization policy.

Ten of the new towns were on the Pannonian Plain in C-B-M.⁸⁰ The domination of a few large towns on the plain was seen as negative. With rich agriculture and a generally high level of development it had a good potential for new urban centres. Besides, large and compact villages facilitated the transition. An additional five towns were declared in depressed rural areas in Maramures.⁸¹

Only eight towns were declared in Transylvania.⁸² Except for the mining centre Balan and the spas Baile Tusnad and Ocna Sibiului, they were predominantly agricultural towns with some manufacturing or commercial activities, located in the less developed parts of the region.

The urban network in Oltenia had traditionally been weak, reflecting the agricultural character of the region. The eleven towns declared here⁸³ were evenly distributed and can be seen as an attempt to create central places in profoundly agricultural areas. Except for two towns located near natural resources, Brezoi and Motru, the new towns were predominantly agricultural, some with a past as market places.

Location in agricultural areas was decisive in the case of six⁸⁴ of the eleven towns declared in Muntenia. Four of the new towns⁸⁵ were centres of manufacturing and oil extraction in the industrialized Prahova region, while Buftea, in the outskirts of Bucuresti, was developed into a film centre.

Both Dobrogea and Moldavia had old, well developed networks and the need for additional urban centres was less than in the other regions. Only one new town was declared in Dobrogea, Navodari, a centre of heavy manufacturing just outside Constanta. Seven towns were declared in Moldavia. Four⁸⁶ in the northeastern part of the region had an urban past, but had been degraded in 1950. The other three⁸⁷ were rural localities with few urban features, located in profoundly agricultural areas. Agriculture dominated the economic base of all the new towns in Moldavia.

Some census data are available for 1966 on both administrative units as towns and rural communes and on individual localities. Thus, it is possible to distinguish the town from the villages included within its, often generously drawn, boundaries. Villages under urban jurisdiction are divided into two categories. Components of towns and belonging to towns.⁸⁸ The former are socially and economically subordinated to the town, while the latter have close economic and social relations with the town and clearly lie within its sphere of influence.⁸⁹ However, in reality the distinction tends to be rather vague.

In twenty cases⁹⁰ the villages under urban jurisdiction made up more than half the urban population and in fifty-four

between 25 and 50 per cent. Seventy-five towns had no village under their jurisdiction and in twenty-one, villages amounted to less than five per cent of the urban population.

If the administrative boundaries of towns had been drawn to match their immediate spheres of influence, one would expect the village population under urban jurisdiction to be fairly well correlated with the size of the town. However, in 1966 there was no such correlation at all.⁹¹ A number of large towns with extensive spheres of influence had tightly drawn administrative boundaries, with no or few villages under their jurisdiction⁹² and some recently decreed, often small and agricultural, towns had a large village population under their jurisdiction. Villages under urban jurisdiction made up 7 per cent of the total urban population, but 32 per cent in the 53 towns decreed in 1968. As villages under urban jurisdiction in their industrial structure more resembled rural communes than towns,⁹³ the generous boundaries of the small and recently declared towns led to the impression that they not only were larger, but also more agricultural than was actually the case, Figures 10 and 11.

Patterns of Urban Growth

THE 1941-1948 PERIOD

Urban development in the 1941-48 period was marked by the war, the famines of 1946 and 1947 and the general political, social and economic turmoil after the war. Ninety-three of 151 towns declined in population and the urban population as a whole was reduced by 76 700 people, but the relative decrease of the urban population was slight, as the rural population also declined. Measnicov⁹⁴ concluded that a surplus of deaths over births was the main factor behind the decline of the urban population. The urban rates of natural increase had been only slightly above zero before the war. The hardships and dislocations caused by the war and the famines led to lower birth rates and higher death rates. The decline in the rate of natural increase was highest in Moldavia.

This period had large regional variations in the urban development, Table 92. In Moldavia and Dobrogea the urban population fell considerably, while in Oltenia and Muntenia (including Bucuresti) it increased slightly. In C-B-M and Transylvania the urban population declined, but there were large individual variations. The regional variations can be accounted for by the war and the 1946-47 famines. Moldavia suffered more than any other region from both⁹⁵ C-B-M, Transylvania and Dobrogea, too, were much affected and the division of the former regions between Romania and Hungary had caused much disorder. Oltenia and the southern and western parts of Muntenia were much less affected.

The migratory movements cannot be studied in any detail, but two separate flows can be discerned. A westward flow, from Moldavia and Dobrogea to Bucuresti, Oltenia and parts of Muntenia and repatriation movements in C-B-M and Transylvania following the restoration of the pre-war border. This

Table 92. Average Annual Rates of Population Change in 1941-1948, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (000)						B	Urban areas	Rural areas	All areas
	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-				
Maramures	-1.15	1.53	-0.31	-4.81	-1.58	-	-	-1.33	-0.02	-0.37
Crisana-Banat	-	-1.11	-1.06	0.06	-0.82	0.15	-	-0.44	-0.43	-0.43
Transylvania	-0.53	-0.67	-0.73	-0.51	-0.47	0.96	-	-0.31	-0.35	-0.34
Oltenia	-1.15	0.51	1.50	0.39	1.38	-	-	1.01	0.25	0.34
Muntenia	0.14	1.05	0.56	0.05	-	-1.08	-	-0.08	0.17	0.14
Dobrogea	2.24	-3.94	-0.24	-	-0.27	-	-	-0.71	-0.36	-0.46
Moldavia	-0.81	-2.68	-1.38	-1.66	-2.50	-3.53	-	-2.11	-0.71	-1.01
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.72	0.72	-	0.72
ROMANIA	0.16	-0.76	-0.40	-0.83	-0.69	-0.88	0.72	-0.29	-0.19	-0.22

Sources: Measnicov (1968b), Nepszamlalasa (1941), Recensamintul (1941), (1948)

Remarks: B - Bucuresti

All data refer to cohorts in terms of boundaries and network of towns: 1941 cohort size groups, 1948 network of towns. Regional data for rural and total areas are approximate.

The length of the intercensal periods were for Maramures 7.0 years, Transylvania 6.9 years and for all other regions 6.8 years.

migration was of a different kind than the interwar movements. Instead of rural dwellers looking for work in town, these people, often urbanites, were on the run from the war and the famine, looking for food and shelter.⁹⁶ Net receivers were no longer industrial centres in the economically developed regions, but rather, towns in areas less devastated by the war and best served with agricultural products. A number of agricultural towns on the Dabubian Plain increased their population in this period; e.g. Oltenita 28 per cent, Tirgu Jiu 23, Gaesti 22, Rosiorii de Vede 16, Fetesti and Dragasani 15 per cent. But the main individual net receiver was Bucuresti.

The two largest Moldavian towns, Iasi and Galati, registered the largest absolute declines; 16 000 respectively 15 100 people. In fourteen towns the decline amounted to more than a fifth of their 1941 population. Of these, Cerna Voda, Odobesti and Sulina were transportation nodes. Iasi, Hirtau, Stefanesti-Tirg and Tirgu Frumos were all located in the area most ravaged by the war and the famine, while the deportation of Jews accounted for most of the decline in Sighet. Beius, Blaj and Turda had received large numbers of refugees when northern Transylvania had been ceded to Hungary in 1940 and their repatriation accounted for the population loss in these towns. In Miercurea Ciuc the decline was due to the emigration of Magyars to Hungary.

A study of the 1930-41 and 1941-48 periods combined reveals that the urban growth was strongly concentrated to Bucuresti, which alone accounted for 60 per cent of the urban population increase between 1930 and 1948. By 1948 some 28 per cent of Romania's urban population lived in Bucuresti, against 21 in 1930 and 16.5 per cent in 1912. The interwar dominance of Bucuresti was accentuated in 1941-48 when the capital increased and the urban system as a whole declined. The urban growth rate in Romania, excluding Bucuresti, was modest in 1930-48 - 11 per cent - only slightly more than the total rate⁹⁷ - 9 per cent. In Moldavia the urban population actually declined by 41 400. Together with a decrease of 34 300 due to administrative changes it led to a drop in the percentage urban population in Moldavia from 23.3 in 1930 to 19.5 in 1948. Also in Maramures the urban population decreased absolutely and relatively in this period.

THE 1948-1956 PERIOD

Urban population increased at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent in the 1948-56 period, approximately the same rate as in 1956-66 and somewhat faster than in 1930-41. Declining mortality led to an increase in the total population by 1.2 per cent a year. High rates of natural increase in rural areas more than compensated the population losses from rural-urban migration and the rural population increased in all but four counties.⁹⁸

In Moldavia the rural population increased at an annual rate of 1.8 per cent. Because of the high rate of natural increase in rural areas, the urban population increased its share by only 1.9 percentage units; from 23.4 per cent in 1948 to 25.3 in 1956.⁹⁹

Table 93. Average Annual Rates of Population Change in 1948-1956, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (000)							Urban areas	Rural areas	All areas
	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-	B			
Maramures	-	2.26	2.76	1.41	-	-	-	2.28	-0.82	1.06
Crisana-Banat	10.42	5.25	0.92	3.91	1.35	1.68	-	2.32	-0.41	0.28
Transylvania	3.76	5.02	3.29	3.56	4.54	2.95	-	3.87	0.49	1.45
Oltenia	1.33	0.76	0.60	0.46	1.83	-	-	1.06	0.38	0.47
Muntenia	3.67	2.16	0.92	1.67	1.68	-	-	1.54	0.89	1.00
Dobrogea	2.77	6.51	1.62	-	2.84	-	-	3.21	1.58	2.07
Moldavia	4.91	3.14	1.96	1.88	2.46	-	-	2.35	1.82	1.92
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.82	1.82	2.45	1.85
ROMANIA	4.65	3.72	2.79	2.28	2.43	2.32	1.82	2.52	0.74	1.21

Sources: Measnicov (1969), Recensamintul (1948), (1956a)

Remarks: B - Bucuresti

All data refer to cohorts in terms of boundaries and network of towns, as of 1956 and size groups as of 1948.

The intercensal period was 8.1 years.

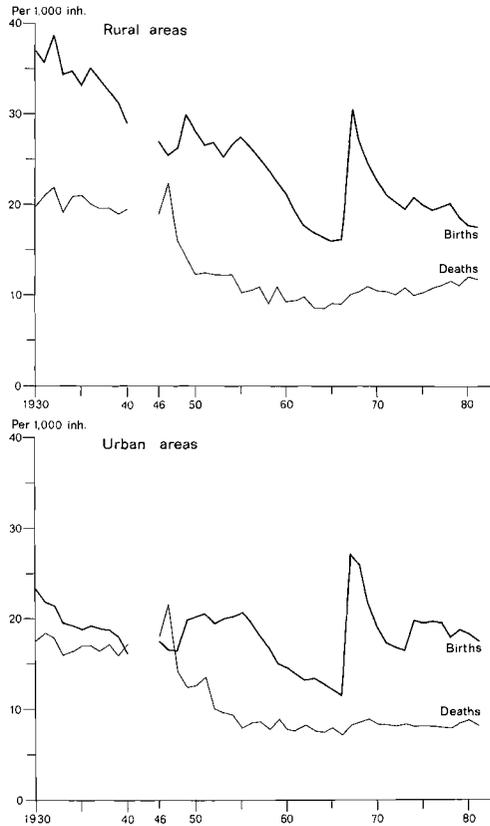


Figure 14. Birth and Death Rates in Rural and Urban Areas

Urban growth was intimately tied to industrialization. Towns with a strong manufacturing base and particularly towns located near natural resources and with a large mining and heavy manufacturing potential grew at a rapid rate, while most towns with predominantly commercial or administrative functions stagnated or even declined. This was by far the most important reason for the regional and town to town variations in urban growth in this period. This growth pattern accentuated the regional differences in economic development. The highest urban growth rates were registered in counties rich in either mineral resources - Hunedoara 6.9 per cent a year, Maramures 3.6, Bacau 4.6 - or strong manufacturing industry - Brasov 4.9, Sibiu 3.7 and Constanta 3.7 per cent a year. The most agricultural and least industrialized counties registered the lowest urban growth rates: Botosani -0.2 per cent a year, Gorj 0.3, Mehedinti and Olt 0.5, Teleorman 0.6 and Buzau 0.7 per cent. The least developed region - Oltenia - registered the lowest growth rate.

In contrast to previous periods, Bucuresti grew at a considerably slower rate than the urban subset as a whole. Acute housing shortage and restrictive granting of residence visa were main factors behind the reduced growth. It is also possible that some refugees from the 1941-48 period returned home.

Nine towns doubled their population between 1948 and 1956,¹⁰⁰ of which seven were based on mining and heavy manufacturing. Medgidia was a railway junction and Eforie a tourist resort. Four¹⁰¹ were so called 'socialist new towns', i.e. mining and manufacturing centres that appeared as a consequence of the development of these sectors in the first postwar decades.¹⁰²

The administrative reforms of 1950 and 1952, which reduced the number of administrative units from 58 counties (judete) to 19, later 18, regions (regiuni) had an unfortunate effect on many of the former county capitals. Of 39 towns that lost their status as county capitals, six¹⁰³ registered population decline and fifteen¹⁰⁴ grew at a slower rate than Romania's population as a whole.¹⁰⁵ The former county capital Falciu even lost its urban status. These towns had all been capitals in predominantly agricultural counties, they were based on administrative and commercial functions and lacked a strong manufacturing sector.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, they were important as urban centres in agricultural regions. Altogether eighteen towns declined in the 1948-56 period and fifty-three of the 171 towns grew at a slower rate than the national population.¹⁰⁷ Four towns with declining population had been declared urban in this period.¹⁰⁸ Most stagnating towns were commercial centres in predominantly agricultural and unindustrialized areas. Many of them had a large agricultural sector besides commerce, small-scale manufacturing and administration.

It may be argued that urban growth in Romania prior to World War II largely was a spontaneous process, although certainly influenced by government measures. In the postwar period it lost much, though not all, of such spontaneous character and became part of a centrally planned development,¹⁰⁹ when non-agricultural jobs and urban housing became government controlled.

The development of mining and heavy manufacturing was given priority over all other goals in this period and this was reflected in the urban growth pattern. The structure and location of towns with poor growth performance and of those that lost their urban status suggest that regional development and the function of towns as central places were almost completely disregarded. Government policies were later criticized on these points.¹¹⁰

THE 1956-1966 PERIOD

The urban population increased at approximately the same rate in this as in the previous period, but the rate of urbanization increased as the total population growth declined. The urban population increased from 27.1 per cent in 1956 to 32.0 in 1966. The rural growth was much slower than in the previous period; 0.18 versus 0.74 per cent a year. The decline in rural growth rates was largely due to

Table 94. Average Annual Rates of Population Change in 1956-1966, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (000)							Urban areas	Rural areas	All areas
	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-	B			
Maramures	-	3.76	2.01	5.71	2.72	-	-	3.28	0.06	0.73
Crisana-Banat	2.28	0.21	1.76	2.55	2.15	1.89	-	1.87	-0.19	0.44
Transylvania	3.76	2.99	2.85	4.20	2.32	2.27	-	2.81	-0.06	0.98
Oltenia	0.62	1.61	3.00	3.38	4.36	-	-	3.26	-0.09	0.40
Muntenia	2.55	2.23	2.24	2.86	-	2.76	-	2.55	0.15	0.60
Dobrogea	6.30	2.00	4.06	-	4.18	-	-	4.11	0.36	1.69
Moldavia	2.29	2.19	3.15	2.89	4.12	3.58	-	3.34	0.67	1.25
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.48	1.48	-	1.61
ROMANIA	3.70	2.31	2.75	3.37	3.36	2.47	1.48	2.54	0.18	0.88

Sources: Cucu & Urucu (1967), Recensamintul (1965a), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: B - Bucuresti

All data refer to cohorts in terms of boundaries and network of towns. 1956 for size group, but network and boundaries as of 1966.

Length of intercensal period 10.1 years.

lower birth rates, Figure 14, and was particularly pronounced in Dobrogea and Moldavia, regions which traditionally had high birth rates. Rural population actually decreased in Crisana-Banat, Transylvania and Oltenia. It declined in seventeen counties, against four in 1948-56 - in three of four counties in Crisana-Banat, six of nine counties in Transylvania, four of five counties in Oltenia. But it did not decline in any county in Moldavia. The urban growth pattern in the 1956-66 period contrasts sharply with that of the previous period. The correlation between the development of mining and mining-related manufacturing and urban growth was lost. Obviously the strong link between the development of manufacturing and urban growth remained, but as the emphasis on mining and heavy manufacturing was relaxed and the lighter, more footloose, manufacturing branches were developed, more towns began to benefit from the growth of manufacturing. Urban growth in this period was comparably even with smaller individual variations than in 1948-56 and the coefficient of variance ($6/u$) of the growth rate of individual towns fell from 3.5 in 1948-56 to 1.0 in 1956-66. The previous period was one of transition, in which the urban system was modified to suit the demands of the new economic system. But this transition had now lost in intensity. A greater harmony between the urban system and the economic development, which was more balanced was expressed in the more even urban growth.

Also the regional growth pattern changed as urban growth became less tied to mining and heavy manufacturing, and as there was an increasing concern for regional development. Generally, urban growth rates fell in Maramures, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania and increased in Oltenia, Muntenia, Dobrogea and Moldavia. Bucuresti's very low rate is noticeable. Government attempts to contain its growth had obviously succeeded.¹¹¹ The sharp increase in urban growth in Oltenia¹¹² was largely due to greater concern for regional development. As the largest backward area in the country, it became the main target for regional development efforts. The development of its manufacturing industry was aided by the exploitation of the oil and coal fields in the Gorj area.

Few towns displayed extreme growth patterns in this period. Five towns¹¹³ more than doubled their population, and seven¹¹⁴ suffered losses. The heavy manufacturing towns Victoria and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej continued to grow at a rapid pace and more than doubled their population. But two other 'socialist towns' - Dr. Petru Groza and Nucet - which had ranked among the fastest growing towns in the previous period even saw their population decrease as their sole economic base, mining, declined. Nucet lost almost three fourths of its population. The decline of Vascau and Bicaz had similar grounds.¹¹⁵ Two towns that doubled their population were tourist resorts - Eforie and Mangalia - another, Zarnesti was a new town designed to decongest Brasov.

A detailed study of urban growth broken down on its natural and migrational elements can not be made for lack of precise data. Available information indicate a strong relative shift from migration to natural increase in the urban growth, Figure 14 and Table 95. In the interwar

period high death rates and low birth rates led to low natural increase in urban areas and migration accounted for most of the growth. In the postwar period declining death rates led to a large surplus of births over deaths also in urban areas. A rough calculation indicates that natural increase accounted for over half the urban growth in 1948-56.¹¹⁶ But in 1956-66 birth rates fell rapidly in both urban and rural areas. The rate of natural increase in urban areas in this period was 0.7 per cent, Table 85, less than in the previous period, but more than the interwar rate.

Table 95. Annual Migrational, Natural and Total Urban Growth Rates. Percentages

Period	Total	Natural	Migrational
1930-41	2.4	0.3	2.2
1956-66	2.5	0.7	1.8

Sources: Cucu and Urucu (1967), Measnicov (1968a)

Remarks: The 1930-41 data refer to truncated Romania only.

Table 96. Percentage Non-natives in the Urban Population in 1966 by Regions and Size Groups

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (000)						All sizes
	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-	
Maramures	-	34.8	36.4	43.2	60.0	-	47.0
Crisana-Banat	51.3	51.2	52.8	67.8	66.3	65.2	61.3
Transylvania	54.7	46.5	55.1	62.7	70.9	65.8	60.5
Oltenia	31.2	36.6	40.9	63.8	67.3	69.8	54.2
Muntenia	73.1	41.1	47.7	56.8	62.8	57.9	53.6
Biciresto	-	-	-	-	-	62.5	62.5
Dobrogea	49.1	60.0	72.2	61.2	-	70.4	66.5
Moldavia	29.0	45.8	49.0	64.8	68.8	65.6	59.7
ROMANIA	45.4	45.2	49.8	62.1	65.8	64.0	59.0

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol IV)

Remarks: Non-natives - born elsewhere than in the town of residence.
Data refer to the 1968 network of towns.

There was a strong negative correlation between the size of towns and their rate of natural increase in 1930-41, Table 86. But in 1956-66 this correlation was much less pronounced.¹¹⁷ Declining death rates and changes in demographic and socio-cultural characteristics probably explain the higher natural growth rates in middle-sized and large towns.

In 1966 only 41 per cent of the urban population were

Table 97. Average Annual Rates of Population Change in 1966-1977, Percentages

Region	Urban areas by size of towns (000)						B	Urban areas	Rural areas	All areas
	-5	5-10	10-25	25-50	50-100	100-				
Maramures	-	1.27	2.59	2.32	3.97	-	-	3.03	-0.23	0.85
Crisana-Banat	0.78	1.08	1.49	2.16	2.74	3.47	-	2.71	-0.47	0.84
Transylvania	4.72	1.35	2.80	2.72	2.81	3.57	-	2.92	-0.35	1.17
Oltenia	0.91	1.82	2.53	6.92	3.88	3.49	-	3.46	-0.09	0.87
Muntenia	3.22	2.28	2.86	3.74	5.66	3.05	-	3.39	-0.06	0.84
Dobrogea	1.90	2.36	4.97	4.48	-	5.09	-	4.50	-0.35	1.93
Moldavia	0.44	1.18	2.12	3.77	4.95	4.51	-	3.52	-0.09	0.96
Bucuresti	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.62	2.62	-	2.69
ROMANIA	2.09	1.60	2.58	3.67	4.06	3.77	2.62	3.12	-0.15	1.13

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: B - Bucuresti

All data refer to cohorts based on 1968 boundaries and network of towns and 1966 size groups. The length of the intercensal period was 10.8 years.

natives of the towns where they lived, as against 82 per cent for the rural population. Some 20 per cent of the urban dwellers were intracounty migrants, while 39 per cent originated in another county. More than a third of the migrants had arrived in the Sixties and only 24 per cent prior to, or during, World War II.¹¹⁸ Generally, 45 to 50 per cent of the population in towns with less than 25 000 inhabitants were migrants, as against 62-66 per cent in the large towns. However, there were large individual differences, particularly for the smaller towns. In twelve towns more than 75 per cent of the population were migrants,¹¹⁹ of these ten had less than 25 000 inhabitants in 1966. The regional variations in the share of migrants were not pronounced, indicating that urban growth had become regionally more even with respect to its natural and migration composition.

THE 1966-1977 PERIOD

The urban population increased from 6.74 million in 1966 to 9.40 million in 1977, i.e. at a faster rate than in any previous period. The increase in the annual growth rate of the urban population from 2.54 per cent in 1956-66 to 3.12 in 1966-77 was largely due to a sharp increase in urban births, Figure 14. The urban population increased by 182 000 a year in the previous period, of whom only 40 500 or 22 per cent were a natural increase.¹²⁰ In 1966-77 natural increase in urban areas more than doubled, to 95 200 a year or 37 per cent of the total urban increase of 256 900 a year.¹²¹ The rural-urban migration net increased only slightly, from 141 500 a year to 161 700 in 1966-77, and its share of the urban growth fell from 78 to 63 per cent.

Age specific fertility and age and sex structure of the population determine the birth rate. Fertility had long been considerably lower in urban than in rural areas, due to a higher level of education in towns and to cultural factors.¹²² In 1973 fertility in the 15-49 age group was 42 per cent higher in rural than in urban areas.¹²³ High birth rates had compensated for net out migration in rural areas. The rural-urban fertility gap was maintained in the

Table 98. Natural Increase in Rural and Urban Areas for Selected Years. Percentages

	1930	1948	1956	1960	1966	1970	1975	1980
Rural areas	17.2	10.1	15.7	12.1	7.2	12.2	9.7	5.7
Urban areas	5.6	2.4	11.1	6.9	4.3	10.6	11.3	9.6

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1974: 142-43, 236-37), Anuarul Statistic (1976), (1981)

Remarks: Data refer to the official definition of urban and rural areas respective year, including suburban communes. They are approximate since the exact rural and urban population were known only for the census years.

Fifties and early Sixties. However, the rural-urban gap in birth rates and in the rate of natural increase gradually narrowed as the age structure changed through age selective migration, Figure 14. Females in the fertile ages made up an increasing share of the urban population and a decreasing share of the rural.

As birth control was more widespread in urban than in rural areas, the effects of the ban on all forms of birth control, including abortion, in late 1967 were most drastically felt in towns. As birth rates increased more in urban than in rural areas, the ban accentuated the relative increase of the urban population over the rural. Fertility soon began to decline again, but in towns it was balanced by a continued increase of females in the most fertile age groups. At the same time, declining fertility and a relative decrease of young women led to declining birth rates in rural areas. Rural death rates increased, which further lowered natural increase in the countryside. By 1975 the urban rate of natural increase had surpassed the rural and by 1980 the gap had widened considerably, Table 98. The relative increase of the urban population over the rural had become self-sustained and no longer depended on rural-urban migration.

The change from a slow increase of the rural population in 1956-66 to a slow decrease in 1966-77 was mainly due to declining rates of natural increase. By 1977 three counties even registered a surplus of deaths over births in rural areas.¹²⁴ The low rates of natural increase in rural areas in 1966-77 no longer compensated for the net out migration and the rural population declined by 0.18 per cent a year. The large absolute increase of the urban population and a decrease of the rural made the urban ratio go up from 35 to 44 per cent.

A study of the urban percentage rates by age and sex, Table 99, offers insights into the process of urban growth. A much higher percentage urbanites in 1977 under the age of ten than in the 10-14 age group reflects the relative increase of urban births following the ban on birth control in late 1967. The magnitude of the change is remarkable.

The propensity among rural youth to migrate to urban areas reaches an absolute peak at the age of fifteen. Two main alternatives are open to the rural youth after leaving compulsory school, to continue secondary school or to work on the farm. Secondary schools are entered in fierce competition with urban youth and often remaining on the farm is a consequence of failure to enter secondary school. As there are very few secondary schools in rural areas, studies on the secondary level means boarding school in a town. Some, mainly boys, start as unqualified workers at urban factories or construction sites after finishing compulsory school. Communal lodgings for unmarried are provided by most large enterprises. However, the vast majority of the fifteen year old rural migrants were students, going to secondary school. In 1977 about a fourth of the rural youth moved to urban areas within a year of finishing compulsory school. In 1966 this percentage was fifteen, higher for boys than for girls.

In 1956, education was still poorly developed in the countryside and few rural youth could continue to study after primary school.¹²⁵ The importance of the 'educational revolution' to rural urban migration is clear from Tables 99 and 100. The propensity to migrate to urban areas before the age of fifteen was small. Eighty-four per cent of those born in 1961-65 and living in rural areas in 1966, were still rural by 1977, Table 100. The propensity to migrate from rural to urban areas after the age of fifteen was also quite small. As many as 83 per cent of the rural youth aged 16-20 in 1966 was still rural in 1977. Most of those who lived in the village a year after finishing primary school remained rural. Upon finishing secondary school the boys

Table 99. Urban Population as Percentage of Total by Age and Sex in 1956, 1966 and 1977

Age	1956		1966		1977	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	22.3	22.3	28.7	28.5	45.9	45.7
5	19.8	19.9	27.1	27.1	39.0	38.8
9	20.8	20.9	29.2	29.4	41.2	41.6
10	21.4	21.8	29.8	30.3	34.4	34.5
11	21.8	22.1	30.1	30.3	33.9	34.1
12	21.8	22.3	30.7	31.2	34.0	32.8
13	20.8	21.6	29.5	30.4	34.4	34.5
14	27.4	25.9	28.6	29.9	35.7	36.4
15	28.2	24.7	42.6	37.0	52.6	50.4
16	32.0	27.7	50.6	41.3	54.8	50.9
17	31.1	28.2	50.3	42.4	57.3	53.4
18	29.6	27.4	46.9	40.7	56.1	55.3
19	28.8	26.9	43.8	39.6	53.5	55.3
20	27.2	26.3	37.3	40.4	41.6	56.5
21	32.8	28.5	36.6	38.0	47.9	57.9
22	34.0	28.1	40.8	40.5	54.9	59.7
23	28.6	28.7	42.1	40.4	56.6	58.8
24	28.8	29.3	41.8	40.0	56.7	57.4
25	29.9	29.5	40.8	32.2	56.7	56.1
30	30.7	31.0	40.9	38.1	51.9	49.7
35	30.6	31.3	39.8	38.3	48.4	46.1
40	32.8	30.9	39.2	37.0	44.2	42.6
45	30.6	29.3	38.2	36.2	41.3	40.9
50	26.9	27.3	39.0	35.3	40.5	38.8
60	25.1	25.4	31.4	32.1	38.5	37.1
All ages	27.2	27.0	35.9	34.7	43.7	43.5

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a), (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: Data for 1956 are based on urban areas as of 1956, excluding 'urban-like localities'
 Data for 1966 and 1977 are based on urban areas as of 1968, excluding 'suburban communes'.
 Data for 1956 are not perfectly comparable with those for 1966 and 1977, as towns were not the same.
 Age measured as age in full years at the time of the census.

are drafted into the army. According to the census practice, boys doing their military service are registered at their permanent address, i.e. in most cases with their parents. This explains the low percentage urban boys aged 20-21, both in 1966 and 1977. University and professional school graduates are assigned posts which they must keep for two or three years. Graduates from rural homes will often be assigned posts in rural areas. Graduates from secondary schools of general culture (lycee), on the other hand, are not assigned posts, but have to search for employment. As general secondary education is more common among girls, while boys predominate in the professional schools, girls generally have more options than boys to remain in urban areas. After completing secondary education a rural girl will often marry an urban boy rather than return to the village. It is less common for rural boys to marry urban girls. These circumstances may explain the slightly higher percentage urbanites among girls than boys in the upper teens and early twenties in 1977.

Table 100. Age Specific Propensity to Migrate from Rural to Urban Areas in the 1966-77 Intercensal Period

Years of birth	Rural population		Percentage still living in rural areas
	1966	1977 adjusted	
1921-25	851 900	837 600	98.3
1926-30	927 800	901 100	97.1
1931-35	954 800	910 700	95.4
1936-40	937 300	867 500	92.5
1941-45	757 800	646 900	85.4
1946-50	875 700	726 100	82.9
1951-55	1 280 900	803 400	62.7
1956-60	1 265 700	813 200	64.2
1961-65	1 004 900	846 600	84.2

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: The 1977 data were adjusted for deaths and net emigration. The upward revision of the 1977 data was proportionally distributed on the rural and urban population. For the 1960-1964 age groups inconsistencies in the data were detected. The 1977 population exceeds the 1966 population. For 1960-63 the errors were traced to the 1977 census data, for 1964 to the 1966. Data were recalculated to account for the errors, but the 1961-65 figures should nevertheless be seen as approximate.

The urban growth pattern in 1966-77 was strongly influenced by the administrative reform of 1968 and the importance attached to regional development. The substitution of forty counties for sixteen large regions revealed large variations in the level of industrialization and urbanization. These variations used to be intraregional, but came into the open as they became intercounty. In 1966 ten counties had less than 20 per cent of their population in

urban areas,¹²⁶ against more than 50 per cent in two counties.¹²⁷ To reduce variations in economic development between counties had high priority in the 1971-75 and 1976-80 FYPs. A target of the latter plan was to create a minimum manufacturing base in all counties.¹²⁸ Although this target was not met everywhere, it led to rapid urban growth in the least developed counties after 1975.

Variations in urban growth by county were smaller than in previous periods and the pattern had changed. There was no longer any positive correlation between the manufacturing base and urban growth. Some of the most industrialized counties registered growth rates considerably below the national average, notably Hunedoara and Caras-Severin. The efforts to develop the least urbanized counties was reflected in a negative correlation between urban population rates for 1966 and the urban growth rate for 1966-77.¹²⁹

Table 101. Urban Development in 1966-77 by Categories of Towns

	Population		Population change	
	1966	1977	Absolute	Per cent
All towns	6 743 900	9 395 700	2 651 800	39.3
Bucuresti	1 366 700	1 807 200	440 500	32.2
County capitals	2 841 400	4 468 500	1 627 100	57.3
of which new	1 008 700	1 619 400	610 700	60.5
Other towns	2 535 800	3 120 000	584 200	23.0

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I, 4-6), (1977: Vol I, 2-5)

Remarks: All data refer to 1968 administrative boundaries.
'New county capitals' are towns which had not been capitals of the administrative regions before 1968.

The regional development philosophy was clearly influenced by the growth pole theory. New counties were designed to become viable economic entities and the county capital was assigned the role as regional development centre.¹³⁰ Development efforts were concentrated to the county capitals,¹³¹ particularly in the poorly developed new counties, which often had been peripheral parts of the old regions.¹³² In thirty-one of thirty-nine counties the capital grew faster than any other town. County capitals as a group grew more than twice as fast as 'other towns', Table 101, and the county capitals increased their share of the urban population from 53 per cent in 1966 to 59 per cent in 1977. New county capitals¹³³ increased at a faster rate than towns being regional capitals prior to 1968. As a consequence of the administrative reform and the subsequent development policies Romania got forty economic growth centres instead of a little more than sixteen. The growth of the county capital was spectacular wherever it was a small town in a poorly industrialized county. A number of towns with a weak economic base - Zalau, Miercurea Ciuc, Rimnicu Vilcea, Slatina, Slobozia and Vaslui - were developed beyond recognition after becoming county capitals

and more than doubled their population between 1966 and 1977. The decrease in intercounty economic variation was sometimes accompanied by growing intracounty differences, when the development effort was concentrated to one town. A case in point is the county of Salaj, where the capital - Zalau - had 35 per cent of the urban population in 1966, but 81 per cent of the urban growth in 1966-77.

Apart from adherence to a growth pole strategy, two other factors may help to explain the concentration of development to the county capitals. Firstly, the large size of manufacturing plants which grew throughout the postwar period and by 1980 averaged 1 825 employees, and the policy of locating several plants together in industrial compounds, reflecting the importance paid to economies of scale, by necessity lead to a concentration of manufacturing to a limited number of places. Secondly, planning is highly centralized and decisions are taken in Bucuresti, by people who may have a good overall view, but can be presumed to lack a detailed knowledge of regional development needs and opportunities. Intracounty variations in the level of development may even not be perceived by centrally placed planners.

The growth of towns decreed in 1968 was on the whole not very impressive. Their combined population increased by 17.5 per cent between 1966 and 1977, i.e. slightly faster than the national population. It varied widely. Three towns more than doubled their population,¹³⁴ while nine registered a population decline,¹³⁵ and twenty-eight grew slower than the nation. Yet, poor growth should not be taken as proof of slow development as increase in non-farm employment often could be met by a local supply of farm labour. The economic base of many of the new towns was considerably changed and by 1977, 74.1 per cent of their active population worked outside agriculture, as against 55.2 per cent in 1966.¹³⁶

Twelve towns more than doubled their population between 1966 and 1977¹³⁷ eight were county capitals, of which all but one - Pitesti - has received their status in 1968. Three were small towns based on oil or other natural resources and had been decreed urban in 1968. Another four towns,¹³⁸ all country capitals, grew by more than 75 per cent.

Eighteen towns registered population decline. All had a one-sided economic base and were of three types: a) Eight were mining towns.¹³⁹ The rapid growth of this type of towns in 1948-56 slowed down in 1956-66 and in 1966-77 all mining towns grew slowly. Hence, the absolute decline of eight of them was not an isolated phenomenon. b) Six were predominantly agricultural¹⁴⁰ and c) two were spas.¹⁴¹ Another fifty-four towns grew at a slower rate than the nation - 11.4 per cent - but the majority of the 236 towns grew faster than this, but by less than 75 per cent. Bucuresti increased at a faster rate than in previous postwar periods, but slower than the urban population as a whole and its share of the urban system thus continued to decline.

In spite of relatively slow postwar growth Bucuresti

remained the most important recipient of intercounty urban migrants, with an extensive migration field. A study of the attraction of major urban regions on intercounty migrants¹⁴² showed that Bucuresti attracted more intercounty migrants than any other urban region¹⁴³ from all counties in Muntenia, Oltenia and Moldavia, while its attraction was much smaller in C-B-M and Transylvania.¹⁴⁴ The counties of Bistrita, Mures and Salaj were in Cluj's area of influence, Covasna in that of Brasov and Tulcea in that of Constanta and Arad, Bihor and Caras-Severin in that of Timisoara. The weak attraction of Craiova and Iasi is noteworthy.

Urban Development on the Regional Level

Although the economic, demographic and political factors influencing urban development were more or less the same in all regions, their impact on the urban development varied from region to region. World War II and the subsequent centrally planned economic development and urbanization led to important intraregional as well as interregional changes in the urban system.

MARAMURES

The urban network and structure in Maramures changed profoundly in the 1941-66 period. The region experienced ruralization in the Forties as the urban population declined at a faster rate than the rural.¹⁴⁵ The percentage urban population declined from 14.9 in 1941¹⁴⁶ to 13.9 in 1948. The urban economic base was severely weakened and an increased share of the population were engaged in agriculture. The urban decline took place during the war and was largely due to the deportation of Jews. Both Satu Mare and Sighetu Marmatiei, the two largest interwar towns, had large Jewish populations and were commercial rather than manufacturing centres. As Maramures was under Hungarian administration during the war all Jews were deported. Sighetu Marmatiei lost 29 per cent of its population.¹⁴⁷

Baia Mare, an old centre of heavy manufacturing, based on rich resources of non-ferrous ore, became a major industrial town in the postwar period. It benefitted from the development of heavy manufacturing after 1948 and grew at a sustained high rate¹⁴⁸ and surpassed Sighetu Marmatiei and later also Satu Mare in population. The decline of Sighetu Marmatiei was reversed into growth in the Fifties and its isolation was broken by the completion of the Ilva Mica - Viseu railway link in 1950. Satu Mare grew considerably between 1956 and 1977 after a long period of stagnation, but the dominance of these two towns in the urban network of Maramures was lost. In 1941 the two towns accounted for 77 per cent of the regions's urban population, by 1966 their share had declined to 37 per cent and by 1977 to 33.

In 1966-77 the highest growth rates were registered in the three county capitals - Baia Mare, Satu Mare and Zalau. All other towns increased less than the urban average of Romania. As capital of one of the poorest counties, Zalau benefitted from the ambitious regional development policy of the Seventies and grew by a spectacular 7 per cent a year.

The other three towns in the county grew much less. Although based on mining and mining-related manufacturing, Baia Mare continued to grow at a high rate, as the manufacturing base was diversified to absorb labour from the populous umland.

Table 102. Annual Rates of Population Growth in Maramures, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Satu Mare	0.95	0.63	0.85	1.32	2.45	3.11	0.85	0.04	-0.29
Maramures	1.67	1.53	1.32	3.64	4.25	2.78	1.17	0.63	0.31
Salaj	0.44	-0.33	0.05	0.85	2.26	3.71	0.40	-0.59	-0.84
MARAMURES	1.06	0.73	0.85	2.28	3.28	3.03	0.82	0.06	-0.23
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources: Cucu & Urucu (1967), Measnicov (1969), Recensamintul (1948), (1956a: 21-22), (1966: Vol I, 4-6), (1977: Vol I, 6-13)

Remarks: Counties according to the 1968 administrative division. All figures are based on urban and rural cohorts. 1948-56 cohort according to 1956 urban network and boundaries. 1956-66 cohort according to 1966 urban network and boundaries. 1966-77 cohort according to 1977 urban network and boundaries. Intercensal periods: 1948-56, 8.07 years; 1956-66, 10.06 years; 1966-77, 10.81 years. For growth rates on individual towns, see Appendix, Table 32.

CRISANA-BANAT

In Crisana-Banat the dominance of the large cities - Oradea, Arad and Timisoara - was weakened in the first postwar decades, albeit less than in Maramures. Their combined share of the region's urban population fell from 75 per cent in 1941 to 63 per cent in 1966. The three cities were not as severely affected by the war as Satu Mare and Sighetu Marmatiei. Arad and Timisoara even registered a slight population increase in 1941-48, while the population of Oradea, which had been under Hungarian administration, fell from 92 800 to 82 300. None had had a large Jewish population before the war.

The declining dominance of the three large cities was due to two factors: a) An increase in the number of towns in the region from ten to twenty-one, and b) the growth of the mining and manufacturing centres in the Banat Mountains.¹⁴⁹ In Crisana-Banat the upgrading of rural localities to towns was more important for urban growth than in any other region. Eight new towns were declared in 1948-56 and administrative changes accounted for 59 per cent of the region's urban growth in this period.¹⁵⁰ Most of the new

towns received their urban status on grounds of mining and heavy manufacturing activities.¹⁵¹ As in Maramures and elsewhere, the fastest growth in 1948-56 was registered in mining and heavy manufacturing towns - Resita and Anina in the Banat Mountains and Dr. Petru Groza and Nucet in Crisana. In 1956-66 urban growth was more evenly distributed among towns.

Table 103. Annual Rates of Population Growth in Crisana-Banat, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Bihor	0.86	0.21	0.71	2.86	1.27	2.69	0.27	-0.17	-0.29
Arad	-0.02	0.12	0.58	0.86	1.67	2.07	-0.29	-0.44	-0.52
Timis	-0.43	0.66	1.28	1.14	1.84	3.38	-1.32	-0.07	-0.48
Caras-Severin	1.01	0.90	0.67	4.71	2.14	2.38	0.01	0.31	-0.71
CRISANA-BANAT	0.28	0.44	0.84	2.32	1.87	2.71	-0.41	-0.19	-0.47
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources and Remarks: See Table 102

Also in Crisana-Banat county capitals registered the highest growth rates in 1966-77. The three largest towns - Arad, Oradea and Timisoara - had 55 per cent of the region's urban population in 1966, but 74 per cent of its growth in 1966-77. Six new towns were declared in the county of Arad in 1968, raising the total number from two to eight. Yet, the dominance of the county capital, Arad, prevailed. The new towns increased very little in population between 1966 and 1977 and the town of Arad accounted for 97 per cent of the county's urban growth. The dominance of the county capitals in Bihor and Timis was somewhat less pronounced. Urban growth in Caras-Severin remained on the same level as in 1956-66, but with a shift from the mining towns to the others.

Urban growth in Maramures and Crisana-Banat was slower than in Romania, Table 102 and 103. Per capita investment was much below the national average in these regions throughout the postwar period.¹⁵² Until 1970 the counties of Satu Mare and Salaj were particularly disfavoured. In Crisana-Banat low birth rates had an adverse effect on urban growth. Low, often negative, rates of natural increase meant that growth was migration-based in most towns. Low rural rates of natural increase could not compensate for migration losses and the rural population in Crisana-Banat decreased at a faster rate than in any other region in Romania. The labour-to-land quotient was comparatively low¹⁵³ and labour productivity in agriculture among the highest in the country.¹⁵⁴ Consequently, the potential for rural-urban

migration was smaller in Crisana-Banat than elsewhere and the towns dependent on intercounty migration for their growth. In 1966 some 48.5 per cent of the population in Timisoara were natives of another county,¹⁵⁵ in Arad 33.0 per cent, in Oradea 27.8 and in Resita 44.8 per cent.

Table 104. Ethnic Structure in Urban and Rural Areas of Maramures, Crisana-Banat and Transylvania in 1966 and 1977. Percentages

Region		Romanians		Magyars		Germans	
		1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Maramures	Total	69.8	71.9	26.2	23.4	0.6	0.3
	Urban	62.2	68.7	36.0	28.9	1.0	0.9
	Rural	73.0	73.8	22.0	20.1	0.4	0.2
Crisana-Banat	Total	68.8	72.6	17.9	15.7	8.9	6.9
	Urban	62.9	70.5	24.3	19.0	9.7	6.7
	Rural	72.3	74.3	14.0	12.9	8.4	7.0
Transylvania	Total	67.1	69.8	27.1	25.1	5.1	4.0
	Urban	66.3	71.2	27.4	23.9	5.8	4.0
	Rural	67.6	68.4	27.0	26.3	4.6	4.0

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I, 163-167), (1977: Vol I, 614-615)

Remarks: Ethnicity measured by mother tongue in 1966 and by mother tongue and nationality in 1977. In 1977 those with mother tongue other than nationality - 44 875 people in Romania - were lumped together in a residual category.
For data by county, see Appendix, Table 17.

The Romanians made up the vast majority of the rural population and were more affected by urbanization and rural-urban migration in the postwar years than other ethnic groups. The urban rates among Romanians had been very low in Crisana-Banat and Maramures, 3.0 per cent in 1910 and 9.3 in 1930, but increased rapidly in the postwar period. By 1966 a third of the Romanians in these regions were urban, as against 47 per cent of the Magyars and 46 of the Germans. Between 1966 and 1977 Romanians accounted for 86 per cent of the urban growth both in Maramures and in Crisana-Banat. In Caras-Severin the urban growth was actually less than the growth of urban Romanian population, as the urban Magyar and German populations registered a slight absolute decrease. By 1977 some 42 per cent of the Romanians were urban against 52 per cent of the Magyars and 46 per cent of the Germans, Tables 80 and 104.

The traditionally sharp rural-urban differences in ethnic structure diminished rapidly, as the ethnic structure of towns was profoundly altered. The percentage of Romanians in the urban population increased from 32 in 1930 to 63 in 1966, and to 70 in 1977.¹⁵⁶ The growth in the early postwar period of the mining and heavy manufacturing towns, which had a predominantly Romanian population and the

upgrading of rural, often Romanian, villages to towns only account for part of the rapid relative increase of Romanians in the urban population. A study of individual towns confirms their rapid Romanianization. By 1956 the Romanians were in absolute majority of seven of eleven towns¹⁵⁷ against one - Caransebes - in 1930.¹⁵⁸ Among towns with a Romanian majority in 1956 were Arad, 56 per cent, Baia Mare, 52, Sighetu Marmatiei, 53, and Timisoara, 54, while the Magyars still were in majority in Carei, 73 per cent, Oradea, 64, Satu Mare, 68, Simleu Silvaniei, 52, and Zalau, 51 per cent.

TRANSYLVANIA

Transylvania registered 0.34 per cent annual population decline between 1941 and 1948, the same in rural and urban areas, and the urban rate remained at 20 per cent.

Table 105. Annual Rates of Population in Growth in Transylvania, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Cluj	1.37	0.82	1.19	2.97	2.28	2.79	0.45	-0.29	-0.48
Bistrita-Nasaud	1.13	0.54	0.56	2.54	2.20	3.98	0.98	0.29	-0.28
Mures	1.33	0.90	0.70	3.58	2.72	2.92	0.69	0.18	-0.54
Harghita	0.72	0.30	1.35	2.10	2.07	4.17	0.41	-0.19	0.02
Hunedoara	2.74	2.18	0.75	6.85	4.11	1.79	0.40	0.17	-0.96
Alba	0.33	0.32	0.63	1.07	3.33	2.45	0.19	-0.64	-0.56
Sibiu	1.33	1.07	1.39	3.71	2.46	2.69	-0.03	-0.18	-0.02
Brasov	2.73	1.69	2.58	4.93	3.20	3.80	0.72	-0.25	0.35
Covasna	1.16	0.25	1.10	2.22	1.62	3.84	0.93	-0.09	-0.41
TRANSYLVANIA	1.45	0.98	1.17	3.87	2.81	2.92	0.49	-0.06	-0.35
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources and Remarks: See Table 102

The dislocative effects of the division of Transylvania between Hungary and Romania between 1940 and 1945 have already been briefly discussed. In retrospect they appear to have been temporal.

Transylvania's position as the most urbanized and industrialized region in Romania¹⁵⁹ was strengthened in the first postwar decade when development was concentrated to areas rich in mineral resources or with a developed industrial base and infrastructure. The rapid growth of towns based on mining and heavy manufacturing led to a shift in the point of gravity of the urban network. In 1948-56 the Hunedoara and Brasov areas grew at more than twice the national rate, Table 105. The provincial town of Hunedoara increased its population from 8 600 in 1948 to 36 500 in

1956 and to 68 200 in 1966, as it developed into one of the nation's main metallurgical centres. The mining towns in the Jiu Valley¹⁶⁰ almost doubled in 1948-56. By 1966 the resident population of Hunedoara County exceeded the native population by 39 per cent, the highest for any county except Bucuresti.¹⁶¹ The mining and manufacturing towns in the Hunedoara area attracted migrants from all over Romania, just as Bucuresti, but in contrast to other towns. Migrants made up 69 per cent of the urban population in Hunedoara County in 1966. Fifty-four per cent were intercounty migrants. Of these, 36.5 per cent originated in Transylvania, 22.9 per cent in Oltenia and 15.9 per cent in Moldavia.¹⁶²

Massive investments secured the position of the Brasov area as the second largest manufacturing centre in Romania. Brasov, unlike most other manufacturing centres, lacked mineral resources. Its competitive advantages were location, well-developed infrastructure and an old entrepreneurial tradition. It was the centre of the old Saxon region. The population of the Brasov conglomeration¹⁶³ increased from 115 900 in 1948, to 166 200 in 1956, and to 226 600 in 1966.

Urban growth in Transylvania slowed down considerably in 1956-66 and then approached the national rate. Declining rates of natural increase¹⁶⁴ and a regionally more even distribution of investments probably account for the lower growth rate. Within Transylvania the large local variations in growth narrowed considerably. The growth rates of the towns in the Hunedoara and Brasov areas were sharply reduced. An increasingly concern for regional development was reflected in the rapid growth of a number of urban centres in less industrialized areas, notably Alba Iulia, Aiud, Blaj and Dej. However, none of these were handicapped by location in remote or particularly poor areas.

The Transylvanian towns grew at a slightly higher rate in 1966-77 than in 1956-66, but in contrast to earlier periods at a rate below the national average. Transylvania had the largest variations of all regions in the level of economic development and this was reflected in the growth pattern in 1966-77. The previously intraregional variations were disclosed in the statistics after the administrative reform of 1968. Two categories of counties were found after the reform: a) Those economically advanced with a strong urban base, and b) those economically backward with few and small towns. Urban growth in the two categories differed distinctly in 1966-77. In the former - Cluj, Mures, Sibiu and Brasov - it was evenly distributed with few cases of very high or low rates of growth. In the latter - Bistrita-Nasaud, Harghita, Alba and Covasna - county capitals grew at very high rates, while other towns as a rule registered modest growth. These were the counties that received massive investments in the Seventies to remedy their low level of economic development. Only one - Hunedoara - breaks the pattern. All mining and heavy manufacturing towns in this county stagnated or even declined¹⁶⁵ after 1966.¹⁶⁶ Only Deva, the county capital, which is not based on mining-related manufacturing, grew rapidly.

Postwar urbanization in Transylvania, as in C-B-M, had important ethnic implications. Romanians accounted for three

fourths of the urban increase in Transylvania in 1948-66 and by 1966 two thirds of the urban population were Romanian. The percentage urbanites among Romanians increased from 16.3 in 1948 to 42.0 in 1966, equal to that of the Magyars and only slightly lower than that of the Germans. The rapidly increasing share of Romanians in the urban population was only partly due to administrative changes or to the pattern of urban growth, although the Hunedoara region was an old Romanian stronghold.

Between 1966 and 1977 Romanians accounted for 85 per cent of the urban growth and by 1977 Romanians were more urban than the Magyars or the Germans, Table 104, 52, 49 and 48 per cent respectively. Romanians accounted for the entire urban growth in the counties of Alba, Bistrita-Nasaud and Hunedoara and for 95 per cent in the old Saxon county of Brasov. They accounted for 28 per cent of the urban growth in the Szekler counties of Covasna and Harghita, increasing their share of the urban population in these counties from 16.8 per cent in 1966 to 20.8 in 1977. The increase of Romanians in the Szekler towns was obviously due to inter-county migration. By 1977 the rate of Romanians in these counties was considerably higher in the urban than in the rural areas.

The rural-urban differences in the ethnic structure - non-Romanian towns in Romanian rural areas - were less pronounced in Transylvania than in C-B-M. In Szekler areas both rural and urban populations were Magyar. In most other areas Romanians dominated both in the towns and in the countryside. A study of changes in the ethnic structure of the Transylvania towns¹⁶⁷ between 1930 and 1956 suggests a division into three broad groups: a) 'Romanian towns', b) 'Magyar towns' and c) previously non-Romanian towns which by 1956 had a Romanian majority.

In western Transylvania were a number of old Romanian towns. Abrud, Alba Iulia, Deva, Fagaras, Hateg, Hunedoara, Orastie and Sebes had been predominantly Romanian already in 1930, some even in 1881.¹⁶⁸ They were all small towns in 1930, but had in many cases developed rapidly after World War II.¹⁶⁹ The Magyar towns were all in the Szekler area and had managed to remain predominantly Magyar even in times of rapid growth as their umlands were also Magyar. Gheorgheni, Miercurea Ciuc, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Sfintu Gheorghe, Tirgu Mures and Tirgu Secuiesc¹⁷⁰ were still overwhelmingly Magyar towns in 1956.

However, in most towns growth led to a change in the ethnic structure if the original ethnic structure of the town differed from that of its umland or migrational catchment area. Such changes were particularly pronounced in the rapidly growing Saxon towns. In Brasov the rate of Romanians increased from 32.7 per cent in 1930 to 71.6 per cent in 1956, in Sibiu from 38.5 to 66.9 per cent and in Medias from 27.6 to 55.8 per cent. The relative increase of Romanians was at the expense of both Germans and Magyars. By 1956 Germans did not make up more than a fourth of the population in any town. In the Seventies, the rural-urban differences in the ethnic structure had narrowed considerably and rural-urban migration could no longer be counted on to increase the

rate of Romanians in towns. Continued 'Romanianization' of towns will probably result from interregional migration, ethnic differences in birth rates and assimilation.

OLTENIA

Urban development in Oltenia falls into two distinct periods: a) 1941-56, with annual growth rates around one per cent, i.e. only slightly above the rural growth rates, and, b) 1956-, with rapid urbanization and annual growth rates in excess of three per cent and slightly declining rural population.

Table 106. Annual Rates of Population Growth in Oltenia, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Mehedinti	-0.03	0.19	0.36	0.54	2.88	2.77	-0.13	-0.39	-0.73
Gorj	0.54	0.18	1.45	0.27	4.59	4.55	0.56	-0.21	0.48
Vilcea	0.73	0.17	1.08	1.16	1.47	4.40	0.67	-0.02	0.10
Dolj	0.53	0.74	0.76	1.46	3.84	2.87	0.32	-0.13	-0.28
Olt	0.46	0.37	0.79	0.51	2.56	3.91	0.45	0.07	0.02
OLTENIA	0.47	0.40	0.87	1.06	3.26	3.46	0.38	-0.09	-0.09
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources and Remarks: See Table 102

World War II and the first turbulent postwar years affected towns in Oltenia less than elsewhere. War destruction was limited in Oltenia and food supply was a less severe problem in this rich agricultural region where most towns had a large primary sector. Most Oltenian towns registered a modest growth in 1941-48, from migration and from natural increase.¹⁷¹

The agricultural character of many towns became a disadvantage after 1948, since these towns benefitted little from the 1948-53 industrialization drive. The region's largest town, Craiova, increased by a modest 1.8 per cent a year, slower than the urban national average, but more than most towns in the region. Most towns retained a large primary sector and by 1956 eleven of seventeen towns were still classified as 'villages' or 'village-towns', i.e. they had more than a fourth of their active population in agriculture.

Oltenia drew larger benefits than most other regions from the increasing concern for regional development in the Sixties.*¹⁷² Per capita investments in the region were almost

ten times as high in 1961-65 as in 1951-55.¹⁷³ The development effort was concentrated to a few regional centres and although urban growth rates increased generally they were highest in the large towns. A number of large manufacturing plants were built in Craiova in the early Sixties,¹⁷⁴ which increased in population from 96 900 in 1956 to 148 700 in 1966. Slatina, a dormant provincial town in a profoundly agricultural area, emerged as a centre of heavy manufacturing when it got a large aluminium plant in 1965. Tirgu Jiu, another stagnating provincial town, was abruptly vitalized in the late Fifties¹⁷⁵ as nearby oil, gas and coal reserves were exploited.

Oltenia's division into five counties through the 1968 reform can be seen in the urban growth pattern of 1966-77. The growth rate of Craiova, the former regional capital, declined, while the four new county capitals - Rimnicu Vilcea, Slatina, Tirgu Jiu and Turnu Severin - grew at a much faster pace than previously. The highest annual rates were registered for Rimnicu Vilcea, 8.3 per cent, and Slatina, 7.6 per cent. The latter drew the benefits from the aluminium plant constructed in 1965. Four new towns were declared in the county of Gorj, where Tirgu Jiu had been the only urban centre but except for Motru, a mining town, they only registered modest growth.

MUNTENIA

The pattern of urban growth in Muntenia was distinctly different before 1965 than after. Generally, the towns in western and southern Muntenia fared better during the war than those in the northeast. Braila, Buzau, Ploiesti, and Rimnicu Sarat, as well as most small towns in the Prahova Valley and to the east registered a decline in 1948-48,

Table 107. Annual Rates of Population Growth in Muntenia, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Arges	0.93	0.91	1.64	1.86	4.06	4.92	0.78	0.30	0.49
Dimbovita	0.91	0.33	1.47	2.21	1.60	4.70	0.73	0.13	0.65
Prahova	1.40	1.17	1.43	2.42	2.26	2.46	0.94	0.60	0.66
Buzau	0.99	0.32	0.52	0.66	1.66	3.82	1.05	0.08	-0.35
Braila	1.14	1.34	0.99	0.88	3.06	3.19	1.28	0.32	-0.95
Teleorman	0.58	0.11	0.03	0.56	2.17	2.70	0.58	-0.24	-0.65
Ilfov	0.77	0.17	0.29	1.16	2.42	2.90	0.74	-0.02	-0.05
Ialomita	1.54	0.73	0.24	1.50	3.22	3.99	1.55	0.22	-1.05
MUNTENIA	1.00	0.60	0.84	1.54	2.55	3.39	0.89	0.15	-0.06
BUCURESTI	1.85	1.61	2.69	1.82	1.48	2.62	-	-	-
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources and Remarks: See Table 102

while several agricultural towns on the Danubian Plain and in the Pitesti area increased. The urban population in Muntenia decreased by a few thousand in 1941-48, while the rural population increased somewhat. The urban growth in 1948-56 was considerably below the national rate. The highest rates were registered in the Prahova oil district,¹⁷⁶ but even here rates were slightly below the national average. Pitesti gradually emerged as a new manufacturing centre outside the Prahova oil district. In the eastern and southern parts of Muntenia¹⁷⁷ the urban population actually increased at a slower rate than the rural, i.e. a case of de-urbanization or ruralization.

Urban growth increased considerably in all parts of the region in 1956-66. On the Danubian Plain stagnation and ruralization was followed by rapid urbanization, as many towns began to grow at an unprecedented pace. The collectivization and mechanization of agriculture provided a strong stimulus for rural-urban migration as the Plain was well-suited for large-scale mechanized agriculture and as the land-to-labour quotient was low. Large investments were allocated to this part of Muntenia in 1961-65. The weak manufacturing base in many towns - Turnu Magurele, Rosiorii de Vede, Oltenita, Urziceni, Slobozia, Calarasi and Fetesti - was considerably strengthened to absorb labour released from agriculture.

The Danubian Plain was dominated by the city of Bucuresti and, except for Braila, had no other strong regional centre. It was Bucuresti's traditional catchment area and the curtailment of migration to Bucuresti after World War II, provided room for other towns in the region to grow. The administrative region of Bucuresti,¹⁷⁸ comprising most of the Danubian Plain east of the river Olt, was, with Oltenia, the least industrialized region in Romania. The large increase in investments allocated to this region was an expression of the increasing concern for region development in the Sixties, but here investments were not concentrated to one or two towns, but distributed to many. Possibly because the region had no administrative centre outside Bucuresti. Concern for regional development also led to the location of industrial plants at Pitesti and Curtea de Arges in the Arges administrative region.

The urban population increased much faster in 1966-77 than in previous periods. The growth pattern resembled that of Transylvania. In Prahova, the most industrialized county, growth was well below the national average and rather evenly distributed among towns. In the other counties the capital grew more than twice as fast as the remaining towns¹⁷⁹ and the even growth pattern of 1956-66 was broken. The importance to growth of the administrative status was particularly striking in Ialomita and Teleorman, where the centrally located Slobozia and Alexandria became county capitals in 1968 instead of the larger Calarasi and Turnu Magurele. The growth rates of the latter declined in 1966-77, while those of the former were several times higher.

DOBROGEA

Dobrogea was severely affected by the war, and all but four small towns decreased. The port of Sulina and the railway river junction Cerna Voda declined by a third. In the case of Sulina the decline was permanent. It has not yet regained its pre-World War II population. The large port city of Constanta accounted for half the increase in the region's urban population¹⁸⁰ and consolidated its position as the country's main port. It doubled between 1949 and 1966.

Table 108. Annual Rates of Population Growth in Dobrogea, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Tulcea	1.90	0.56	0.67	1.97	2.80	3.92	1.88	-0.09	-0.71
Constanta	2.17	2.32	2.51	3.73	4.50	4.64	1.30	0.71	-0.09
DOBROGEA	2.07	1.69	1.93	3.21	4.11	4.50	1.58	0.36	-0.35
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources and Remarks: See Table 102

Also several other towns grew considerably in the postwar period. The port of Tulcea developed a fish processing industry and strengthened its role as a regional centre of the Delta and northern Dobrogea, particularly after 1966. Its favourable location as a railway junction and the creation of a manufacturing base led to the rapid growth of the inland town of Medgidia, while the growth of seaside resorts Eforie, Mangalia and Techirghiol were due to the expansion of tourism.

MOLDAVIA

Economic development and urban growth in Moldavia was unimpressive in the first half of the 20th century. The region suffered more than others from the interwar concentration of economic activity to Bucuresti. With the cession of Bessarabia and Bucovina to the Soviet Union in 1940, several towns, including Iasi, were cut off from part of their natural umland and the relative remoteness of northeastern Moldavia was further stressed. The hardships of the war and the following famine years resulted in a considerable population decrease in both rural and urban areas. The population in the 1941 urban cohort fell by 91 300, i.e. 13.5 per cent in 1941-48, Table 88. The largest decreases were registered in Iasi (-26 000) and Galati (-15 100). In relative terms the decrease was largest in Tirgu Frumos 36.1 per cent, Hirslau 30.5 and Suceava 26.3 per cent. Only five of thirty-eight towns increased slightly.¹⁸¹

Most towns in Moldavia were old market-places and many continued to be based on commerce, administrative functions and agriculture, rather than manufacturing and they were

Table 109. Average Rates of Population Growth in Moldavia, Urban and Rural Areas, by Counties, Percentages

County	All areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Vrancea	1.47	0.73	0.47	0.92	1.95	3.08	1.58	0.48	-0.27
Galati	1.85	1.81	1.90	2.10	4.19	3.86	1.74	0.60	0.35
Bacau	2.54	1.64	1.02	4.64	4.01	3.02	1.97	0.82	0.05
Vaslui	1.90	0.72	0.12	1.92	2.06	3.37	1.90	0.44	-0.89
Neamt	2.02	1.13	1.15	2.41	2.71	3.38	1.94	0.72	0.39
Iasi	2.25	1.81	1.53	2.67	3.43	4.39	2.12	1.23	-0.06
Suceava	1.80	1.21	0.94	2.20	3.13	2.67	1.71	0.75	0.40
Botosani	1.31	0.55	-0.02	-0.18	1.58	3.59	1.50	0.43	-0.86
MOLDAVIA	1.92	1.25	0.96	2.35	3.34	3.52	1.82	0.67	-0.09
ROMANIA	1.21	0.88	1.13	2.52	2.54	3.12	0.74	0.18	-0.15

A: 1948-56

B: 1956-66

C: 1966-77

Sources and Remarks: See Table 102

usually located at crossroads or intersections between natural regions¹⁸² rather than near natural resources. The urban structure in Moldavia differed sharply from that envisaged by the new regime. Eight towns were deprived of their urban status, while two new towns in the old-rich Trotus Valley - Comanesti and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej - were declared.

Sharply declining death rates and sustained high birth rates led to a rapid population increase in Moldavia in 1948-56. Rural growth rates were highest in the country, while the urban rate was slightly below average. In view of the traditionally high rates of natural increase in Moldavian town, migration gains must have been modest, although there was a potential for rural-urban migration and for a return of refugees. According to Ungureanu¹⁸³ most Moldavian towns registered an annual rate of natural increase of 10-20 per mill, but less than ten per mill migration net in 1948-56. A number of town suffered migration losses,¹⁸⁴ in some cases, no doubt, due to the emigration of Jews.¹⁸⁵

Urbanization increased only slowly in 1948-56 and by 1956 was only one percentage unit higher than a century earlier.¹⁸⁶ This comparison neither takes into account changes in the urban economic structure nor network or boundary changes, but it nonetheless indicates a remarkable urban stagnation during a period elsewhere characterized by industrialization and urban growth.

In eastern Moldavia and in the present county of Vrancea modest urban growth combined with rapid rural increases led to a low or negative rate of urbanization. Ruralization was particularly strong in the present Botosani county, which had suffered more than most from the war and the famines. In 1950 four of its six towns - Darabani, Mihaileni, Stefanesti and Saveni - were degraded to villages and the remaining two - Botosani and Dorohoi - declined in population between 1948 and 1956. Urbanization in the Botosani County in this period declined from 19.1 to 10.4 per cent.

The concentration of the development effort to mining and heavy manufacturing led to high rates of urban growth in the Bacau oil district, where two new towns were declared and urban growth averaged 4.6 per cent a year in 1948-56.¹⁸⁷ The large intraregional differences in growth rates led to a westward shift in the urban system of Moldavia.

In 1956-66 urban growth increased considerably and, combined with sharply declining rural growth, led to rapid urbanization. The collectivization and mechanization of agriculture provided a strong stimulus for urbanization and the urban growth pattern was much more even than in the previous period. In addition to a continued development of the Bacau area, the manufacturing base of the three other regional capitals - Galati, Iasi and Suceava - was considerably strengthened. The largest steel mill in the country went into operation at Galati in 1965. Urban growth increasingly was migration-based. Migrational increases in excess of two per cent a year were registered in the towns in the Bacau oil region, Galati, Iasi, Piatra Neamt, Roman and Siret.¹⁸⁸ In most towns both natural and migration rates of increase were between one and two per cent a year.

The high rates of urban growth continued in 1966-77 and the rapid decline of the rural growth rates led to a small decrease of the rural population in 1966-77. The percentage urban population increased from 25.6 in 1966 to 33.6 in 1977.¹⁸⁹ Urban growth was much more even than in previous periods, Table 109, as growth rates in less urbanized areas - Botosani, Vaslui and Vrancea - increased. The slower urban growth in the Bacau county was due to the stagnation of the towns based on mineral resources - Gheorghiu-Dej and Moinesti. The predominantly agricultural counties of Botosani and Vaslui benefitted from the regional development programme of the Seventies. The century-long stagnation of the town of Botosani came to an end and it increased from 35 200 in 1966 to 63 200 in 1977. The increases in the other towns in this county were much more modest. The case of Vaslui was analogue to those of Ialomitza and Teleorman. The small, but centrally located town of Vaslui, which had become county capital instead of the much larger Birlad, more than doubled its population between 1966 and 1977, while Birlad had a modest increase.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

The development of education and literacy is the single most important aspect of social development in Romania in this century. The achievements in this field have been impressive. Starting from a very low educational level, illiteracy has been obliterated in all but the oldest age groups, ten years education has become universal and a large number of students continue beyond compulsory school. Education has been intimately linked to industrialization and urbanization. Its impact on social and cultural life has been just as pervasive as the impact of industrialization has been on economic life.

The Pre-World-War-One Period

In 1864 a first attempt was made to create a universal and uniform system of primary education in the Two Principalities. Wallachia at the time had 1635 rural primary schools.¹ Many were temporary and most teachers had only primary education themselves. Moldavia, at the time of unification (1859), had no communal primary schools in the rural areas. The only rural education was provided by the Church. In 1864 some 64 500 boys and 473 girls were enrolled in rural primary education.² The urban situation was much better, with 17 000 boys and 6 300 girls enrolled.

The 1864 school law made four years of primary education compulsory. The teaching staff was to be salaried by the government but individual communes were responsible for the construction and maintenance of buildings. However, little was done in the countryside to enforce the law and the results were rather meager. In 1885 an estimated 27 per cent of rural children were enrolled, an absolute improvement over 1865 of only 33 000 pupils. Only 13 per cent of the enrolled were girls, more than half in their first year, indicating

that few received more than a rudimentary schooling.³ The improvement of the urban situation was somewhat greater; 46 per cent were enrolled in 1885 and the percentage of girls was considerable.⁴ While the towns had an old and well-functioning administration, the rural communes had been created only in 1864. To find honest and competent administrators to run the rural communes was not easy.

New school laws introduced at the turn of the century gradually increased the pressure on the communes not only to provide primary education but also to check attendance. As a result, enrollment in rural primary schools increased sharply. In 1900 the percentage enrolled was 40, and in 1909 about 61.⁵ However, the gap between enrolled children and those actually attending widened. In 1904 only 64 per cent attended regularly, female attendance was only 56 per cent.⁶ Regional differences in primary education do not appear to have been very pronounced. The proportion of villages with a school varied considerably, from 26 per cent in Bacau and Buzau to 70 per cent in Ialomita.⁷ However, these differences were largely explained by the variations in size and density of villages by county.⁸

Universal primary education was introduced in Hungary in 1868 when school attendance was made compulsory for children between six and twelve. The immediate effect of the reform was rather limited. Lack of competent teachers and the multitude of languages spoken in a given area were obstacles to the enforcement of the reform. Not only the state, but also churches, associations and private persons were allowed to open schools. In 1901-02 churches provided 71 per cent of primary education and the state only 28 per cent.⁹ Romanian primary education was exclusively denominational. Of 2,046 state primary schools in Hungary in 1906 all but one were exclusively Magyar.

The Law of Nationalities of 1868 established the right to receive primary education in one's mother tongue.¹⁰ However, the increasing Magyarization policy prevented any real impact of the Law of Nationalities. The schools soon became a major instrument of Magyarization which further diminished the effect of the school reform of 1868.¹¹ In the non-Magyar schools an increasing number of hours per week had to be devoted to the Hungarian language. By 1902 between 18 and 24 of 26 hours per week were devoted to Hungarian.¹²

It is difficult to get a clear picture of ethnic differences in school attendance. Data are scarce and often ambiguous. The existence of such differences, however, is clearly implied by Table 110. Later data indicate that they were not temporary. In 1911, when Romanians made up 16 per cent of Hungary's population, 39 per cent of not enrolled children of school age - 6-12 years - were Romanian, as were 48 per cent of those exempt from attending school.¹³ Apart from physical or mental deficiency, lack of local school or lack of proper clothing were valid reasons for exemption.¹⁴ According to another study,¹⁵ 77 per cent of the school absentees in Transylvania were Romanian.

The poor educational performance of the Romanians was due not only to deficiencies in the school system, but also

Table 110. Population (A) and Pupils Attending Primary School (B) by Mother Tongue in 1874, Percentages

Mother Tongue	A	B
Hungarians	46.6	49.6
Germans	13.8	17.8
Slavs	20.9	21.1
Romanians	<u>18.7</u>	<u>11.5</u>
All Groups	100.0	100.0

Source: Keletti et Beothy (1876: 17 and 143)

to poverty and ignorance. Children went to school when there was no need for them on the farm, i.e. in the winter. Long way to school and lack of clothes and shoes kept many children at home even in the winter. Many who knew how to read and write fell back into virtual illiteracy within a few years for lack of practice. Most households lacked books and magazines and in his daily life the Romanian rarely encountered the written word.

Secondary education was almost non-existent among the Romanians. All secondary education in state schools was in Hungarian in the early 20th century.¹⁶ Six denominational schools provided secondary education in Serb and Romanian.

The highest literacy rates were found in southern and eastern Transylvania, Crisana-Banat and in the more urbanized parts of the Old Kingdom, i.e. Bucuresti, Braila, Galati and Iasi, Figure 15. While the pattern in the Old Kingdom was fairly uniform outside the areas mentioned regional differences were marked in the Hungarian Territories. Literacy rates were on the average higher here.

A comparison of figure 15 and 16 indicates that much of the regional differences was due to variations in the ethnic composition. The regional variation in literacy among Romanians shows a different and more uniform pattern than that of the total population. The highest rates were found in southern Transylvania and in the more urbanized areas of the Old Kingdom and the lowest in the rest of the Hungarian Territories and in Oltenia, while the situation in Moldavia generally was somewhat better. The areas in the Hungarian Territories with high rates of literacy among Romanians seem to correlate positively with those populated by Germans, i.e. Szeben, Brasso, Nagy-Kukullo and Besztercze-Naszod. No such correlation is seen for the predominantly Hungarian areas, i.e. Csik, Haromszek and Udvarhely.

The ethnic differences in literacy are striking. The Romanian population was almost entirely rural and literacy rates were generally higher in urban areas, but the urban population was obviously too small to be the main explanation

Table 111. Literacy by Mother Tongue and Sex in the Hungarian Territories in 1891, Percentages

Mother tongue	Male	Female	Both sexes
Romanian	19.4	8.0	13.7
Hungarian	53.7	41.6	47.6
German	65.1	55.0	59.9

Source: Nepszamlalasa (1891: 164 ff)

Remarks: For a division by county, see Appendix, Table 33

of the large ethnic variations. They reflected a considerable difference in development between the Germans and the Magyars on the one hand and the Romanians on the other.

The Magyar and German rates of literacy were regionally more even.¹⁷ The rates among the Szeklers in Csik, Haromszek and Udvarhely were lower than among the Magyars proper in Crisana-Banat. The remarkably low literacy rates among the German-speaking population in Ugocsa and Maramaros, refer to the large Yiddish-speaking Jewish community in this area.

Table 112. Literacy in the Commune of Orasu Nou, Percentages

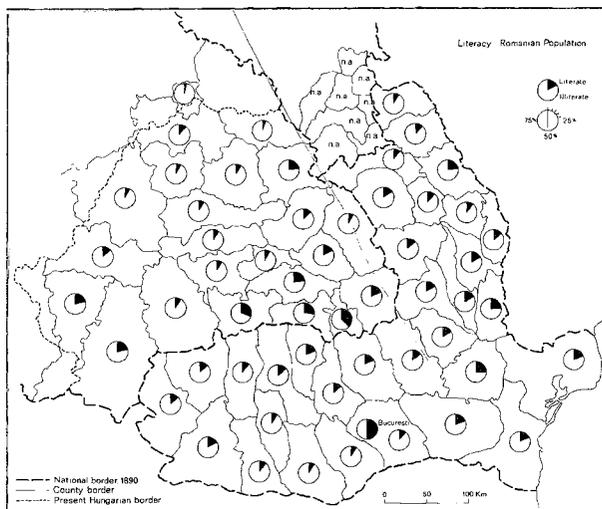
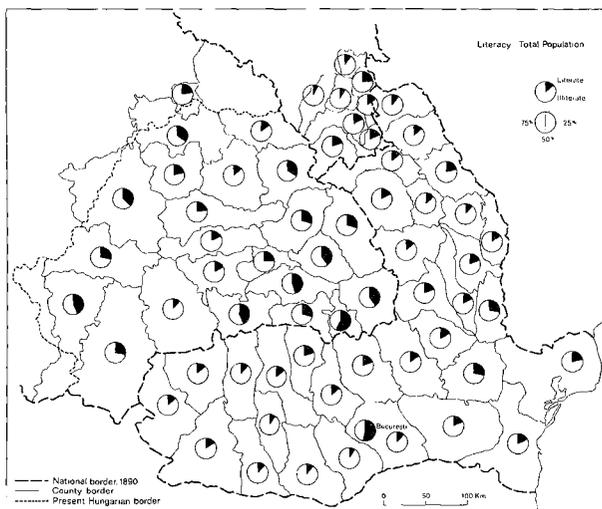
Village	1881a	1900a	1910a	1910b	1930b	1966c
Orasu Nou	45.9	54.4	57.1	68.9	79.5	16.3
Prilog	3.4	16.5	26.0	31.3	36.7	10.3
Racsa	1.4	2.9	8.4	10.0	17.5	7.3
Remetea Oas	29.6	60.9	59.9	73.1	83.4	12.5

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1881), (1900a), (1910a), Recensamintul (1930: Vol III), (1966: Vol V)

Remarks: a: Percentage literates of total population
 b: Percentage literates of population over the age of seven
 c: Percentage with more than primary education (4 years) of population over the age of twelve

For the sake of comparability, Orasu Nou Vii was included in Orasu Nou, Prilog Vii in Prilog and Racsa Vii in Racsa in 1966.

In 1930 Orasu Nou was 79.0 per cent Magyar and Remetea Oas 97.7 per cent Magyar, while Prilog was 91.8 per cent and Racsa 100.0 per cent Romanian, measured by mother tongue.



Figures 15 & 16. Literacy in Pre-World War I Romania, Total and Romanian Population

Sources: The Old Kingdom; Recensamintul (1899: 80-88). The Hungarian Territories; Nepszamlalasa (1891: 164 ff). Bucovina; Volkszählung (1891: Vol I)

Remarks: Data reflect the situation in 1899 in the Old Kingdom, 1891 in the Hungarian Territories and 1890 in Bucovina. Later Hungarian census did not provide data on literacy by ethnic groups. Romanians measured by mother tongue in the Hungarian Territories and by citizenship in the Old Kingdom.

The ethnic variations in literacy come out even starker locally. See for instance literacy by village in the commune of Orasu Nou in the Oas depression in the Maramures region, Table 112. Located a few kilometers from each other, Orasu Nou and Remetea Oas were predominantly Magyar while Prilog and Racsa were pure Romanian villages. The high literacy rates in the Magyar villages are remarkable, considering that they lived isolated in great poverty in the midst of an illiterate Romanian population, far from any town or cultural centre. Literacy must have been more due to cultural and political factors than economic.

Male-female differences in literacy are also interesting, Tables 111, 113 and 114. Among Romanians in the Hungarian Territories the female rate was less than half the male rate, 8.0 per cent versus 19.4 per cent, Table 111. These differences were much smaller among the Magyars and Germans.

Interviews with old people show that Romanian parents generally did not object to send their girls to school, provided it was in the neighbourhood, but they were reluctant to send young girls unescorted to schools in other villages. The poorly developed network of schools thus, affected Romanian girls more than boys.

Table 113. Structure of Literacy in the Old Kingdom in 1899, Percentages

Area	Romanian citizens			Foreign citizens		
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes
Rural	19.6	3.0	11.4	36.9	32.6	30.8
Urban	50.0	28.6	40.0	51.7	36.0	43.9
All areas	24.0	6.5	15.4	47.9	65.1	40.6

Source: Recensamintul (1899: 80-97)

The male-female difference in literacy among the Romanians was even larger in the Old Kingdom than in the Hungarian Territories; 6.5 to 1 in the rural and 1.8 to 1 in the urban areas, Table 113. The Romanian literacy rates compared unfavourably with those of the non-Romanian population, here too, especially in the countryside and among the female population.

Table 114 shows that the groups with low rates of literacy, i.e. the Romanians, rural and female, had the highest proportion of literates under the age of 15. The diffusion of literacy among them was a recent phenomenon indicating that these structural variations had begun to diminish.

Considerable structural differences in literacy rates thus existed both in the Hungarian Territories and in the Old Kingdom. The most important differences were male-female, urban-rural and ethnic. The magnitude rather than the occurrence of these variations is of interest. The regional

differences appear to have been less important, at least in the Old Kingdom, but the regional implications of the urban-rural and ethnic differences were considerable.

Table 114. Literates Under the Age of 15 as a Percentage of All Literates in the Old Kingdom in 1899

Area	Romanian citizens			Foreign citizens
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Both sexes
Rural	35.9	49.7	37.7	21.2
Urban	24.4	33.9	27.6	23.1
All areas	32.4	40.4	34.0	22.7

Source: Recensamintul (1899: LXII and 90-97)

The Interwar Period

Major advances in education took place in the interwar period. Literacy increased throughout the country by twenty to forty percentage units and the literate share of the population more than doubled in many regions.

There were large differences in literacy between the regions of the former Hungarian Territories on the one hand and those of the Old Kingdom on the other, Table 115. They were largely due to differences in the ethnic composition. Literacy rates among Romanians in the Hungarian Territories did not differ much from those in the Old Kingdom. It is unfortunate that the 1930 census does not provide data on literacy by mother tongue.

Literacy at a given moment reflects educational efforts in the past. Assuming that few become literate when they are past school age, literacy by age-groups gives information on educational efforts over time. Table 116 shows that regions and population groups with previously low literacy rates continued to have less than average rates among their young albeit with smaller deviations. Those previously disadvantaged in terms of education were gradually catching up with the rest of the population making literacy rates structurally and regionally more uniform. This was particularly noticeable in Oltenia and among the female and rural population. The major exception was Bessarabia, which continued to have low rates also among its young and large differences between males and females. The difference was only 5.7 percentage units smaller than for the 20-64 group, as against 12.6 units for the whole country. In the rest of Romania female literacy rates rapidly approached male rates, but Bessarabia had not yet entered that stage of development.

In Oltenia, after Bessarabia the least developed region, the closing of the male - female literacy gap was a recent phenomenon. The difference was only 24 percentage units for the young and 48 for the middle group, Table 116.

Table 115. Literate Population as Percentage of Total Population over the Age of Seven

Region	1899/1900	1930	1948
Maramures	36.5	59.3	73.6
Crisana-Banat	47.3	67.9	81.7
Transylvania	41.5	68.5	82.7
Oltenia	17.2	48.8	70.2
Muntenia	20.0	52.5	70.9
Dobrogea	24.8	59.2	76.2
Moldavia	21.0	58.1	75.4
Bucuresti	62.6	82.2	91.6

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1900a), Recensamintul (1899), (1930: Vol III), (1948)

Remarks: The countries Cimpulung, Radauti and Suceava were not included in the 1899 data for Moldavia, they were then under Austrian administration.

Table 116. Literacy by Age, Sex and Region in 1930, Percentages of Respective Age-group

Region	Age group								
	7 - 19			20-64			Over 65		
	M+F	Male	Female	M+F	Male	Female	M+F	Male	Female
C-M	70.0	73.9	66.3	59.7	67.5	52.2	39.9	44.0	35.5
Banat	83.7	86.1	81.2	71.2	80.7	62.3	47.0	58.2	37.1
Transylvania	79.0	81.5	76.4	66.8	73.8	60.1	37.8	43.1	32.2
Oltenia	71.6	84.1	59.7	40.3	66.6	18.3	15.5	25.8	5.2
Muntenia	72.1	83.3	61.3	52.3	72.2	33.7	22.1	31.8	12.9
Dobrogea	64.8	71.6	60.0	48.7	64.5	32.2	17.2	26.9	6.7
Moldavia	77.2	85.0	69.7	48.9	67.2	31.7	17.8	26.4	8.7
Bucovina	81.9	85.7	78.3	61.7	69.8	54.5	21.8	26.7	17.1
Bessarabia	46.7	58.6	35.1	34.8	49.5	20.3	16.2	21.4	10.6
ROMANIA	69.8	77.8	61.9	53.0	67.7	39.2	28.0	35.2	20.6

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: various tables)

Remarks: C-M: Crisana and Maramures
The official administrative division was accepted for the regional analysis. See Appendix, Table 4.
Bucuresti is included in Muntenia.

Regional literacy rates had the same pattern as most other socio-economic indicators. Highest were Crisana-Banat, Transylvania and Bucovina. Maramures, Muntenia, Dobrogea and Moldavia were near the country average, and the Oltenia, South Dobrogea and, particularly, Bessarabia had rates below average. A more detailed study of literacy by county, Figure 17 shows uniform patterns of low literacy in Oltenia and high

Table 117. Literacy and Secondary Education by Region in 1930, Percentages of Population Over the Age of Seven

	Literate			With secondary education		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Maramures	59.3	82.5	54.6	6.1	22.6	2.7
Crisana-Banat	67.9	87.8	63.1	8.9	30.9	3.7
Transylvania	68.5	87.5	64.2	9.2	32.6	4.0
Oltenia	48.8	69.0	45.8	4.8	21.7	2.4
Muntenia	52.5	73.0	49.1	5.0	19.9	2.6
Dobrogea	59.2	72.3	53.3	6.5	15.9	2.3
Moldavia	58.1	74.8	53.3	7.0	20.8	3.0
Bucuresti	82.2	82.2	-	28.9	28.9	-
Bucovina	64.3	81.2	56.3	10.0	25.4	2.6
Bessarabia	37.9	62.6	34.0	5.2	20.8	2.7
South Dobrogea	45.2	60.5	41.4	5.8	19.7	2.4
ROMANIA	56.8	77.5	51.3	7.6	25.0	3.0

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vol III)

Remarks: Secondary education is defined as more than four year of primary education. It includes secondary, professional, university and other forms of higher education.

rates in Crisana-Banat. Those in Transylvania varied considerably and were still highly correlated with the ethnic composition. The conspicuously low rate in the county of Maramures reflect its backwardness and isolation. In Muntenia the counties on the Danubian Plain had lower rates than the more industrialized in the Carpathian Piedmont. In Moldavia the highest rates were found in the former Austrian areas. With the exception of Cetatea Alba, literacy rates in Bessarabia were uniformly low.

Secondary education had the same regional pattern as literacy. Primary schools were well established also in rural areas, but secondary education was still a predominantly urban phenomenon.

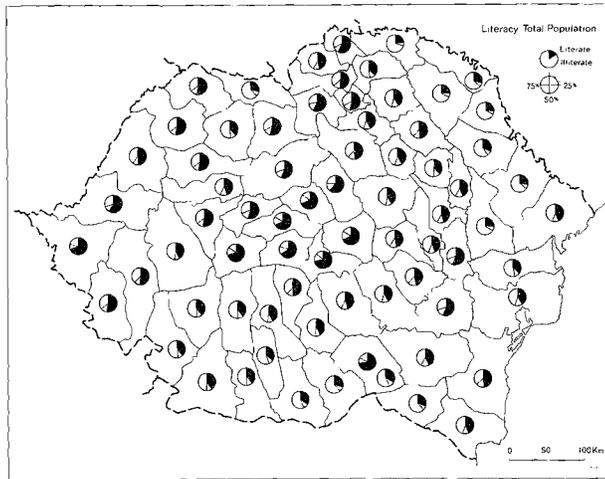


Figure 17. Literate Population in Romania in 1930

Source: Recensamintul (1930: Vol III)

Remarks: Literate population as percentage of population over seven years of age is indicated by the extra radius.

The Postwar Period

Illiteracy declined throughout the interwar period and by 1948 some 77 per cent of the population was literate.¹⁸ Yet, the vast majority of the population, both in rural and urban areas, had only rudimentary formal education, in most cases four years of primary school. In 1938/39 only 14 per cent of the pupils were beyond the primary level (class V-).¹⁹ This percentage had increased to 26 by 1948/49, and to no less than 59 in 1965/66.²⁰

A law passed in 1948 provided for seven years of free education, of which four years were compulsory. Literacy campaigns were initiated and evening courses provided rudimentary education in the three R's to illiterate adults under the age of fifty-five. In 1955/56 seven years of compulsory school was introduced in urban areas and later - in 1959/60 - also in rural areas.²¹ In 1961/62 it was extended to eight years. Means were provided over the state budget to enforce the ambitious educational programme. The teaching staff more than doubled between 1948/49 and 1965/66²² and the number of pupils per teacher in primary and secondary schools (lyces) fell from 35.4 to 23.7 in the same period.²³ Scholarships and cheap lodging in student hostels made education beyond compulsory school increasingly accessible to less well-situated families.

As compulsory education was emphatically enforced, illiteracy was gradually concentrated to the upper age groups and lost its meaning as an indicator of educational performance, Table 118.

Table 118 Age Structure of Illiterates in 1930, 1948 and 1956, Percentages

Age group	1930	1948	1956
7 - 12	9.3	7.9	1.0 ^a
13 - 19	14.0	10.1	3.4
20 - 29		(11.2)	7.9
30 - 49	67.7	(32.7)	19.7
50 - 64		(23.9)	34.1
65 -	9.0	14.2	33.8
7 -	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: 98-99),
Recensamintul (1956a: XXII)

Remarks: a: The number refers to the 8-12 age group.
The 1930 data include Bucovina, Bessarabia
and South Dobrogea.

Throughout the interwar period secondary education remained almost twice as common among men as among women, Table 119. As secondary education expanded in the Fifties the male-female gap decreased. The rapid increase in vocational schools, mainly attended by boys accounted for the remaining male-female gap in secondary education. In the 20-29 age group secondary general and technical education²⁴ was even somewhat more common among women than men in 1966.²⁵ The male-female gap in higher education apparently decreased sharply after World War II. The small percentage of men with higher education in the 20-29 age group is not compatible with the known expansion of higher forms of learning, nor with later statistics.²⁶ Many had probably not yet finished education at the time of the 1966 census.

As noted for the interwar period the male-female educational gap varied regionally. This also holds for secondary education in the postwar period. The gap was larger in less developed counties than in more industrialized ones and it was generally larger in Oltenia and Muntenia than in the rest of the country. The small male-female gap in Bucuresti and other large cities was due to a more even distribution of secondary education over the age groups and rather small male-female differences in the upper age groups.

The rapid spread of education continued in the Seventies. University graduates increased from 57 000 in 1956-60 to 115 600 in 1966-70 and to 170 400 in 1976-80.²⁷ In the same periods 321 700 and 882 500 and 980 300 respectively were graduated from secondary schools.²⁸ The increase in education was combined with a shift from classical to technical and professional education.

The increase in education was reflected by the 1977 census returns, Table 120. More than half in the age group 20-29 had secondary education or more in 1977 as against a

Table 119. Secondary and Higher Education by Sex and Age Groups in 1966, Percentages

Age group	Secondary education			Higher education		
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes
20 - 24	29.8	20.0	24.9	1.4	1.7	1.6
25 - 29	25.3	15.6	20.4	3.5	2.6	3.1
30 - 39	16.8	9.6	13.2	4.7	2.3	3.5
40 - 49	12.0	6.6	9.1	4.4	1.5	2.8
50 - 59	11.4	5.9	8.5	3.9	1.3	2.6
60 -	6.8	4.0	5.1	2.8	0.6	1.6

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol. I, 188)

Remarks: Secondary education includes lycees, secondary technical schools and vocational schools.

Table 120. Percentage of Urban and Rural Population with Secondary Education or More by Sex and Age Groups in 1977

Age group	Urban areas			Rural areas			All areas		
	M	F	M + F	M	F	M + F	M	F	M + F
20 - 24	70.5	55.9	62.8	55.6	27.9	42.9	63.2	44.1	53.8
25 - 29	71.3	54.8	63.3	46.3	19.9	33.0	60.2	49.2	49.6
30 - 39	58.2	42.4	50.5	19.2	6.4	12.7	38.1	23.1	30.6
40 - 49	49.6	30.1	40.0	9.0	2.6	5.8	26.1	13.9	20.0
50 - 59	41.6	21.7	31.0	5.2	1.5	3.2	19.3	9.2	13.9
60 -	36.5	18.5	26.2	4.6	1.3	1.8	15.4	7.4	10.9

Source: Recensamintul (1977: Vol I, 624-695)

fourth in 1966. Rural-urban differences in the educational level remained large, but were smaller among the young than among the old and smaller for men than for women. The male-female differences in education remained remarkably large in rural areas also for the young.

It should be remembered that rural-urban variations in education do not necessarily reflect variations in past propensity to continue beyond primary education,²⁹ but rather variations in employment opportunities for educated people. Rural-urban differences in the propensity to study beyond primary school, were certainly not as large as Table 120 would indicate. Those born in the countryside were apt to seek urban employment after completed secondary or university education.³⁰ Education has a dual role as condition for and promotor of the urban transition. The postwar 'educational explosion' was closely tied to the rapid industrialization and the growth of the non-agricultural sectors. The large male-female difference in education in rural areas should be seen in this light. It reflects primarily the greater employment opportunities for educated men than for women in

rural areas. Most agricultural jobs requiring formal qualification are held by men, Table 64, and rural-urban commuting is also a predominantly male phenomenon.

Regional variations in secondary and higher education followed the traditional pattern with Crisana-Banat and Transylvania at the top and Maramures, Oltenia, Muntenia and Moldavia at the bottom, and with Bucuresti, the only exclusively urban region, in a class apart. Post primary education doubled between 1956 and 1966, but regional variations persisted. They were obviously largely due to variations in urbanization and non-agricultural employment, but there were considerable regional variations also in urban areas.

Table 121. Level of Education in Selected Counties in 1966 and 1977. Percentage of the Population over the Age of 12 with Secondary Education or More

Counties	1966	1977
Ilfov	5.6	12.9
Salaj	5.6	15.2
Teleorman	5.6	14.6
Botosani	6.0	13.6
Bistrita-Nasaud	6.1	15.6
Tulcea	6.3	16.6
Sibiu	19.7	30.5
Cluj	19.9	31.3
Brasov	24.8	36.4
Bucuresti	37.5	46.7
ROMANIA	13.6	24.4

Sources: Recensamintul (1966: Vol I, 178-179), (1977: Vol I, 622-623)

Regional variations were even stronger at the county level, Table 121. The regional pattern remained almost unchanged between 1966 and 1977³¹ with Bucuresti, Brasov and Cluj at the top of Ilfov, Salaj, Botosani and Teleorman at the bottom, but variations decreased in magnitude. Bucuresti's share of the university graduates fell from 37.4 per cent in 1966 to 31.8 per cent in 1977, but remained well above its share of the total population - 9.0 per cent in 1977. Regional and rural-urban variations reflected variations in job opportunities rather than in propensity to study beyond compulsory school. There was a brain drain from poorly developed regions, and from rural areas.

The educational level was raised substantially for all ethnic groups. As primary school - now ten years - became compulsory, ethnic variations was restricted to higher levels. But already in 1956 the educational edge of the minorities had disappeared, the Jews being an exception. Secondary education had even become more common among Romanians than among Magyars, but illiteracy was still much more

Table 122. The Educational Situation of the Major Ethnic Groups in Romania, Percentages

Ethnic group	Illiterate		4 years		7-8 years		Secondary		University	
	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966
Romanians	10.9	n.a.	76.2	75.8	7.8	10.7	4.3	11.3	1.5	2.2
Magyars	3.1	n.a.	80.4	71.7	11.5	14.6	3.9	12.2	1.0	1.5
Germans	1.1	n.a.	76.7	68.4	16.7	14.8	4.4	15.0	1.1	1.8
Jews	3.1	n.a.	55.3	40.4	19.0	12.7	14.6	29.3	8.0	17.6
All groups	10.1	n.a.	76.3	75.3	7.8	11.1	4.3	11.5	1.5	2.2

Sources: Recensamintul (1956a), (1966: Vol I)

Remarks: Ethnicity measured by nationality
'4 years' in 1956 included literates with up to four years of formal schooling and in 1966 'four years schooling and other situations'.

common among Romanians, reflecting their disadvantaged situation in the past.

The relatively low level of education among the Magyars may be surprising. Data do not permit more detailed analysis, but a breakdown by age-groups and regions for 1956 show lower percentages with secondary education in all age-groups in the Szekler-inhabited Magyar Autonomous Region than in the nation. It may not be representative for all Magyars as the Szeklers traditionally had poorer schooling than the Magyars proper. Urban Magyars outside the Szeker heartland were not only better educated, but also more exposed to assimilation. The poor schooling among Magyars may partly be explained by well-educated Magyars being particularly exposed to assimilation. The changed political situation after World War I and the loss of external incentives for Magyar education may also have contributed. The high levels of education among Germans and Jews have always been due to cultural rather than political factors. It is difficult to draw conclusions on postwar educational changes in these two groups since the levels of the emigrants are not known. Emigration may have been negatively selective since it was more difficult for the young and educated to obtain passports.

CONDITIONS OF LIFE

The poverty and misery of the peasants in Romania in the past is well established. Under the auspices of professor Gusti village monographies were made between the wars and some findings were published in *Sociologia Romaneasca*. They provide valuable information on everyday life in rural Romania. Its hardships have also been immortalized in Romanian literature and music. Under a thin veneer of picturesque folklore was a reality of ignorance, poor health and deplorable material and sanitary conditions. Advances

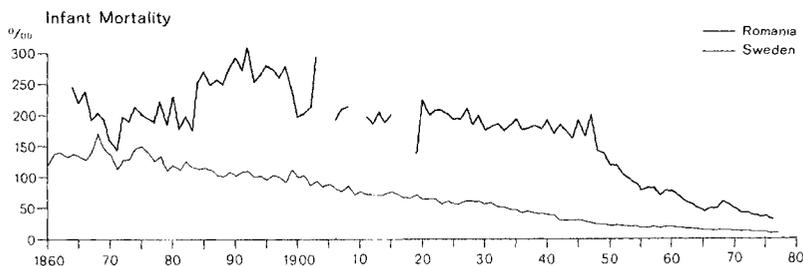


Figure 18. Infant Mortality 1860-1977

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1938),
 Anuarul Statistic (1915-1916, 1937-1938, 1947-1960, 1963,
 1966-1978),
 Miscarea populatiei (1931-1937, 1940-1946),
 Mitchell (1978),
 Year book of Nordic Statistics (1978)

Remarks: Deaths before the age of one as per mill of live births

and regional variations in standard of living must be measured in terms of infant mortality, literacy etc, rather than in consumption of luxury items or higher education.

Infant mortality remained extremely high until the late Forties. The most common causes were pneumonia in the winter and diarrhea in the summer. Children under the age of five accounted for 40 to 50 per cent of all deaths. Regional and urban-rural differences were surprisingly small. Oltenia and Transylvania generally were below average and Moldavia and Bessarabia were above. No consistent rural-urban gap can be traced. Deficiencies in the registration of infant mortality are probable, especially in backward areas. Births without assistance were by far most common in Oltenia, where the registered rate was relatively low. Constant underestimation of infant mortality in areas of high real rates would smooth out registered regional differences. This was obviously a case with still-births, registered to be three times more common in urban than in rural areas.

Medical care was poorly developed outside the major cities. In 1937 there were 1 421 rural doctors,³² one for 11 100 inhabitants. The situation was worst in Wallachia and

Bessarabia with 12 000 - 13 500 inhabitants per doctor in rural areas, as against 7 700 in Banat and 9 900 in Transylvania. The poor state of medical care was also reflected in the birth statistics. Most births took place without qualified assistance. Considerable regional differences existed, Table 123. The Old Kingdom had state and private midwives, but no communal. The former Hungarian Territories had a well-developed system of communal midwives, accounting for the relatively better situation.³³

Table 123. Indicators of Standard of Living

Region	A	B	C	D
Maramures	3.7	9.2	8.9	65.3
Crisana-Banat	7.8	21.7	8.8	62.2
Transylvania	6.6	16.4	14.5	63.6
Oltenia	2.3	4.4	2.8	29.7
Muntenia	3.2	12.3	3.4	32.7
Dobrogea	6.5	5.3	5.3	56.0
Moldavia	4.6	9.1	5.3 ¹	44.7
Bucuresti	19.1 ¹	120.6	28.5 ¹	88.8
Bucovina	7.2	7.0	17.5 ²	47.7
Bessarabia	3.5	4.2	2.1	22.0
South Dobrogea	3.9	5.0	2.3	43.2
ROMANIA	5.4	13.9	6.6	42.6

A: Sugar consumption 1937/38: kg /inh

B: Radio licences 1938: per 1 000 inh

C: Correspondence in 1938: letters per inhabitant

D: Births assisted by qualified personnel 1935:
percentage of births

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1939/40: various tables),
Anuarul Statistic P.T.T. (1937/38: various tables),
Miscarea Populatiei Romaniei (1935: 30-31)

Remarks: 1 The county of Ilfov

2 The county of Cernauti only

Correspondence measured as letters and postcards sent, plus
received letters from abroad. Official letters were excluded.

Investigations of the peasant diet showed that it was generally sufficient in quantity but not in quality. An investigation in 1938³⁴ indicated that it contained too much cereal, especially maize, and too little meat and vegetables. The food was poorly stored and cooked and the intake was unequally distributed over the year. Maize porridge (mamaliga) flavoured with onion, cabbage, cheese or milk was the staple. The everyday diet also suffered from strict fasting rules during Lent and Advent³⁵ and from the saving of all surpluses for occasions of 'conspicuous food consumption', such as weddings, Easter and Christmas.

Table 124. House Standard by Counties in Crisana-Banat and Maramures (C-B-M) and Transylvania in 1910, Percentages

County	Wall materials				Roof materials		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Arad	8.6	9.5	40.3	40.7	49.6	11.0	39.3
Bihar	5.8	11.9	47.9	34.4	35.2	13.4	51.4
Krasso-Szoreny	32.4	11.1	6.2	50.3	47.5	43.5	9.0
Maramaros	4.5	1.6	0.6	93.3	2.3	79.6	18.1
Szatmar	6.5	16.0	30.5	47.0	15.7	25.5	58.8
Szilagy	4.7	10.4	24.5	60.4	20.0	18.0	62.0
Temes	18.4	19.0	46.5	17.5	65.3	5.6	30.5
Ugocsa	2.1	21.7	10.7	65.5	8.8	41.8	49.4
C-B-M	12.1	11.9	28.9	47.1	35.1	27.7	37.2
Also-Feher	22.8	3.5	15.2	58.5	21.4	31.7	46.9
Beztercze-Naszod	15.2	2.3	0.3	82.2	20.1	69.4	10.5
Brasso	61.1	2.5	0.3	36.1	74.3	25.2	0.5
Csik	4.3	0.8	0.1	94.8	12.2	87.1	0.1
Fogaras	35.1	1.5	0.5	62.9	74.4	14.1	11.5
Haromszek	7.1	0.7	0.3	91.9	19.7	77.1	3.2
Hunyad	24.9	3.9	2.5	68.7	21.2	39.9	38.9
Kis-Kukullo	36.4	3.5	20.2	39.9	53.8	5.0	41.7
Kolosz	17.5	3.7	16.5	62.3	12.8	47.5	39.7
Maros-Torda	8.5	3.0	10.7	77.7	21.4	49.5	29.2
Nagy-Kukullo	70.1	3.9	4.2	21.8	86.6	4.5	8.9
Szeben	56.7	2.5	2.1	38.7	69.1	25.4	5.5
Szolnok-Doboka	12.2	3.5	6.3	78.0	2.8	45.6	51.6
Torda Aranyos	5.4	2.7	14.1	77.8	5.4	47.1	47.5
Udvarhely	14.1	2.0	0.7	83.2	50.4	44.0	5.6
TRANSYLVANIA	23.9	2.9	6.9	66.3	30.9	42.2	26.9

A: Brick or stone

B: Sun-baked brick of clay and straw (cirpici), but with foundation of stone or brick

C: Sun-baked brick of clay and straw (cirpici)

D: Wood or other material

E: Tile, slate or corrugated metal

F: Board or shingle

G: Straw

Sources: Nepszamlalasa (1910a)

Remarks: Data for Bihar, Maramaros, Szatmar, Szilagy, Temes and Ugocsa include the parts presently in the USSR, Hungary and Yugoslavia, those for Temes excludes the city of Vrsac (Versecz). For location of counties, see Figure 2.

The Hungarian census of 1910 revealed not only a generally poor standard of houses, but also surprisingly large regional variations, Table 124, reflecting the socio-economic heterogeneity. The old Saxon lands³⁶ - Brasso, Nagy-kukullo and Szeben - stand out by their high standard of houses. The proportions made of stone or brick and with tile, slate or metal roofs were several times higher in the Saxon area than in the other parts. Two counties bordering on the Saxon-inhabited area - Fogaras and Kis-Kukullo - fall into an

intermediate category. The former was actually part of the Saxon land, but inhabited mainly by Romanians, while the latter was in the Transylvanian heartland, just north of the Saxon land, and had an ethnically mixed population. The good housing situation in Fogaras is another indication that the higher level of economic development in the Saxon land was not confined to the German population only.³⁷ On the other hand, the large German population in Beztercze-Naszod was not reflected in the general house standard. The lowest proportions of brick or stone houses and of tile, slate or metal roof were found in the Szekler region - Csik, Haromszek - and in Torda Aranyas - in northwestern Transylvania and in Maramures and Crisana. The low standard of houses in the Szekler region may come as a surprise. It is however, in conformity with observations made by Paget,³⁸ who travelled through these parts of Transylvania sixty years earlier.

The reliance on local material for construction is clear from Table 124. Wood was the main building material in the Carpathians - notably in Maramaros, Csik, Haromszek, Udvarhely and Beztercze-Naszod - while sun-baked brick (cirpici) predominated on the Pannonian Plain - Arad, Bihar, Szatmar and Temes. Most peasants would take great pains to beautify their houses with artistic carvings and paintings and rich local folklore variations underlined the variations in construction materials and techniques.

Comparable data are unfortunately not available for the Old Kingdom. A partial census taken in 1930 showed that out of three million rural dwellings, 2.2 million had earth floor, 1.6 million lacked laterine, one million were made of wood, and 2.2 million had only one or two rooms.³⁹

The peasants were self-sufficient in most necessities and poorly integrated into the monetary economy. Poultry were sometimes raised for sale and eggs were commonly used as barter for sugar, kerosene, tobacco etc at the, often Jewish, village store. Consumption of sugar, another standard-of-living indicator, showed considerable regional variations around an annual consumption of only 5.4 kg/inh.⁴⁰

Radio licences and correspondence may be used as indicators of contacts with the outside world. They show the same regional pattern as sugar consumption or literacy. Together they provide an unequivocal picture of the regional differences in living standards and socio-economic development, with Bucuresti, Crisana-Banat, Transylvania and Bucovina in top positions, followed by Moldavia, Dobrogea, Muntenia and Maramures near the national average and Oltenia, South Dobrogea and Bessarabia at the bottom. Two studies made simultaneously in the village Oarja in Arges county provide insights into the economic differentiation among peasants. A study on the process of impoverishment⁴¹ showed it to be caused by increase in agricultural population and land fragmentation, and by the economic crisis. Falling below the subsistence level, the peasant found himself in a vicious circle. Poverty led to inadequate maintenance of drought animals, due to poor and insufficient fodder, and to technical stagnation, which had adverse effects on the tilling of the land and resulted in poor harvests. Resorting

to local money-lenders in years of poor harvest served to accelerate the process of proletarianization.

The other study on the accumulation of wealth focussed on a number of peasants who had managed to improve their material situation considerably.⁴² It was found that they had all started from a situation of relative well-being. All but one started out with approximately ten hectares of land, either inherited or acquired through marriage. Wealth was accumulated through hard work, enterprising spirit and frugal living. Most of the study objects neither smoked nor drank and often lived on maize porridge seven days a week. Two main ways were used to acquire land. Almost all lent money against security in land and kept the land when the loans were not repaid. They also raised cattle, which was sold at markets, and bought land for the cash.

Major improvements took place in the postwar decades reflected in fundamental indicators such as infant mortality and literacy. From a peak of 19.9 per cent in 1947, infant mortality dropped to 4.4 per cent in 1965 and 2.9 in 1980 and illiteracy was obliterated for all but oldest age groups. Life expectancy at birth increased from 42 years in 1932 to 68.6 years in 1970-72,⁴³ largely thanks to a reduction in infant and child mortality.

The creation of a dense network of medical dispensaries and maternity wards and the gradual introduction of free medical care after 1954, brought this within reach of everyone, not only in towns, but also in the countryside. The

Table 125. Development of Medical Care

Indicators	1938	1948	1960	1970	1980
Hospital beds/ 1 000 inh	2.2	3.0	7.3	8.3	9.4
Doctors/ 1 000 inh					
- urban areas	1.9	2.6	3.7		
- rural areas	0.1	0.2	0.5	1.5	1.8
Hospitalized, 1 000	376	746	2 417	3 794	5 103
Births in medical institutions (%)					
- urban areas	15.1	34.1	91.2		
- rural areas	n.a.	1.2	62.9	89.5	98.5
Infant mortality, per mill					
- urban areas	172	115	68	46	26
- rural areas	180	148	77	51	32

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1974: 306-307), Anuarul Statistic (1966: 576-582), (1971: 704-709), (1981: 641-650)

Remarks: Hospital beds include maternity wards, but not beds in prophylactic institutions. Most births in 1938 and earlier took place in homes with the assistance of midwives.

achievements were remarkable in the rural areas where the density of doctors increased fourfold between 1938 and 1965, when every rural commune had a doctor. Innoculation programmes led to a sharp decrease in malaria, typhoid fever, diphtheria and poliomyelitis. Although the equipment of the rural dispensaries and maternity wards was rudimentary by western standards, they nevertheless represented a large step forward. Prophylactic measures, too, helped reduce mortality. Hygiene and child care were improved through information campaigns and increased education.

Lenin pointed out electrification as a main ingredient in the cultural and socio-economic transformation of the rural landscape. To this, paved roads might be added. Electrification was a decisive factor in breaking up the cultural isolation of the peasants and a prerequisite for the penetration of the socialist ideology into the villages. Paved roads imperative for breaking the physical isolation of the villages.

Rural electrification was a postwar phenomenon in Romania. Only 535 of approximately 15 000 villages were connected to the national grid in 1945.⁴⁴ In 1960 the number had risen to 3 034, in 1965 to 7 570 and in 1970 to 10 591.⁴⁵ Rural electrification was first accomplished on the plains, where the terrain was less of a problem than in the mountains and villages were large, compact and collectivized. In 1965 more than 80 per cent of the villages of Dobrogea, Banat and Bucuresti were connected to the grid, but less than 40 per cent in Suceava, Iasi, Cluj and Oltenia.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the number of villages connected to the grid is no perfect indicator of rural electrification, as it merely indicates where the necessary conditions for electrification exist, but it is the only measure available. National statistics on the electrification of rural households are not published. In the county of Satu Mare, 178 of 226 villages were connected to the national grid in 1970, but only 39 per cent of the rural households had electricity.⁴⁷

Few roads were paved in the interwar period.⁴⁸ The road network was rudimentary, leaving many towns and counties without paved roads.⁴⁹ Particularly Moldavia was badly served. Railways entirely dominated the transportation of people and goods. The domination of the railways was strengthened after the war when they carried most of the increased goods volume following industrialization.⁵⁰ The first FYPs did little to develop the road network. In 1956 paved roads made up 4.8 per cent of the 76 000 kilometre network. Modernization programmes were started in the late Fifties and the paved share increased to 11.5 in 1965⁵¹ and 20.0 in 1980.⁵² An additional 26.5 per cent had a 'light tarmac surface' in 1980.

Consumption of consumer goods and real income showed less spectacular development than medical care or education. The material standard of living remained depressed long after the war. The purchasing power of the agricultural population was reduced as their produce bought less industrial goods. In 1952 the weighted average of prices that the peasant received per kilogram of grain, meat and milk from all sources, including compulsory deliveries and free market

Table 126. Purchasing Power, The Cost in Working Time of Selected Customer Goods, Hours (h) and Minutes

Item	Prewar	1952	1955	1965	1975
White bread, kg	34	1h33 ^a	1h48	52	34
Maize flour, kg	-	58 ^a	1h00	30	19
Sugar, kg	3h03	5h50 ^b	3h41	1h41	1h09
Cow milk, l	42	58 ^b	49	25	18
Pork meat, kg	-	6h38	5h19	3h58	3h12
Beer, l	-	-	2h28	1h12	46
Egg, 1 piece	15	49	21	-	7 ^c
Potatoes, kg	23	22 ^{ab}	22	13	11
Butter, kg	5h38	20h22 ^a	9h31	-	4h46 ^c
Cheese, kg	-	-	8h54	-	3h34 ^c
Men's overcoat	-	-	549h	267h	172h
Dress	-	-	157h24	71h50	46h18
Men's leather shoes	-	144h	85h51	41h40	26h51
Bicycle	-	-	351h36	136h54	88h15
Electricity, kwh	-	-	15	4	2

Sources: Conrad (1953: 26-27), Ionescu (1956: 83), Scinteia (77.11.09), (78.06.13)

Remarks: a - Rationed goods. Price calculated on 70 per cent rationed and 30 per cent free market.
 b - 1951 Source Ionescu (1956)
 c - 1976

Data were based on average net wages, average working hours per month and official retail prices. Rationing was abolished in 1954. Data for 1955, 1965 and 1975 are official as published in Scinteia. Those for 1952 were based on information in Conrad (1953). The prewar and 1951 (b) figures were published in Ionescu (1956) uncommented and without reference to sources and should perhaps not be accepted at face value.

sales, bought only some 20 to 50 per cent of the sugar, shoes and cloth it would have bought in 1938.⁵³ The reduced purchasing power of the peasantry is even more spectacular considering that in 1938 the same amount of agricultural products bought only half the industrial products it would have bought in 1913.⁵⁴

Even among non-agricultural people real income remained well below the prewar level. Real wages of blue-collar workers probably attained the 1938 level around 1955 and those of white-collar workers a few years later.⁵⁵ Rationing of basic food products, shoes and textiles was abolished in 1954. The increase in purchasing power, albeit from a very low level, is clear from Table 126. The purchasing power of a working hour almost doubled between 1955 and 1965, and by 1965 per capita food consumption was well above the 1938 level, Table 128.

Table 127. Estimated Average Annual Per Capita Purchases from Socialist Trade, Lei

	1950	1955	1957	1959	1961	1963	1965
Rural population	349	830	1 012	1 054	1 329	1 605	1 883
Urban population	1 942	3 251	3 994	3 963	5 057	5 985	6 841

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1966: 65, 442-443)

Remarks: Socialist Retail Trade includes state and cooperative, but not private trade (insignificant after 1950) or peasant markets. Later data were not available. Numbers were based on sales in rural and urban areas. It was assumed that the rural population make a third of their purchases in towns (see Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964: 1964, 568 and Montias: 1967, 84).

The development of the purchasing power of the agricultural population is of particular interest as it mirrors the penetration of the monetary economy into the agricultural sector and the decline in subsistence farming. The difference between the rural and the urban populations has remained large throughout the postwar period, Table 127. The purchasing power of the agricultural population was actually lower than indicated in Table 127, as an increasing share of the rural population was non-agricultural. Assuming that the latter had the same purchasing power as the urban people, it can be concluded that per capita purchases among the agricultural population in 1956 were less than a sixth - 565 lei⁵⁶ - of those of the urban population.⁵⁷ Available data do not permit a chronological study, but the increase in rural per capita purchases were obviously due not only to increasing cash income among agricultural people, but also to an increasing share of wage workers in the rural population. Purchasing power increased much more slowly for the agricultural population than for rural people as a whole.

Through collectivization, agricultural people were deprived of much of their produce in return for payment in kind and cash. The increase in rural retail purchases during the years of collectivization - 1958 to 1962 - was fairly modest, indicating that no large automatic increase in cash income followed collectivization. Pay on collective farms was low, Table 15, and still in the early Sixties largely in kind.⁵⁸ It was partly offset by reduced income from sales on the peasant market. As state procurements on private and collective farms increased their share from 38 per cent of gross output in 1958 to 52 per cent in 1964,⁵⁹ less was left over for sales in the peasant markets, which accounted for 17.3 per cent of all retail sales of food products in 1959, but for only 10.5 per cent in 1962.⁶⁰ On-farm consumption, too, fell by five to eight per cent during collectivization.⁶¹

For the supply of basic food, peasant markets and production for personal consumption remained important. In

Table 128. Per Capita Consumption (A), Retail Sales of Consumer Goods (B), and Retail Sales as Percentages of Consumption (C)

Product	1938			1950			1965			1975		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Meat & meat products, kg	21.1	16.7	5.3	32	26.6	11.0	41	45.7	39.2	86		
Milk & dairy products, l	108.7	107.6	2.2	2	105.0	13.1	13	132.6	26.9	20		
Eggs, pieces	73	59	1.7	3	115	16.5	14	214	62	29		
Sugar & products of sugar	5.3	6.9	6.1	88	15.0	12.8	85	20.3	18.5	91		
Vegetables, kg	44	65.6	6.4	10	75.3	19.1	25	112.6	38.2	34		
Cloth & clothes m ²	n.a.	13.2	10.5	79	16.3	15.4	94	24.2	20.9	86		
Shoes, pairs	n.a.	0.6	0.5	85	2.0	1.9	96	3.1	3.0	98		

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1971: 596-597), (1981: 512-513)
Anuarul Demografic (1974: 3), Scinteia 1978.06.13

Remarks: Data on per capita consumption were based on extensive annual studies of household budgets and consumption patterns made by the Statistical Bureau.
Those on retail sales refer to the socialist - state and cooperative - sector only. Private shops had 10 per cent of the retail sales in 1950, but none in 1965 and 1975. Peasant markets accounted for 16 per cent of the retail sales in 1950, less in 1965 and 1975. Data on peasant market sales are approximate.

1965, three years after completion of the collectivization, state and cooperative shops supplied only 13 per cent of the milk and dairy products, 14 per cent of the eggs and 25 per cent of the vegetables consumed. This reflects, on the one hand, the inability of the socialist retail distribution to meet consumer demands, quantitatively and qualitatively, particularly for perishable food, and on the other hand, continued production for private consumption and for the peasant markets. Peasant markets played an important role as buffers, dampening the effects of irregularities in the supply of consumer goods by the socialist retail system. The traditional sources of food supply - peasant markets and production for personal consumption - and the barter economy continued to exist under more favourable conditions than they would have done in a market economy because of the inadequate socialist retail system.

Official data on household expenditure patterns, Table 129, indicate considerable differences in the material standard of living between peasant and workers households. Peasants spend relatively more on food and beverages than workers, 63 against 46 per cent, and less on all other items. The dominance of food in both workers' and peasants' budgets reflects both low levels of income and generally low cost of housing and medical care. Peasant expenditures on 'non-

Table 129. Household Expenditure Patterns in 1980, Percentages

Items	Workers	Peasants
Food and beverages	45.6	62.7
Clothing	17.5	13.8
Housing, including heating	10.8	9.2
Capital goods and their maintenance	7.8	4.7
Health	0.9	0.7
Transport and telephone	8.6	3.7
Culture and education	5.4	3.0
Other expenditures	3.4	2.2

Source: Anuarul Statistic (1982: 51)

Remarks: Data are based on official sample investigations. Peasant households include cooperative peasants only. It is uncertain if data refer to cash expenditure only, or if on-farm consumption of food is included for peasant households.

basic' items as capital goods, transport, telephone, culture and education are conspicuously small.

A more detailed investigation of variations in the standard of living must be based on field studies for lack of national data. Two extensive field studies⁶² indicate that rural-urban differences in the standard of living are both of an occupational and residential nature. Non-agricultural rural people enjoy a higher material standard than their agricultural neighbours, but a lower standard than their urban compatriots.

The questionnaire applied to households in the Oas region⁶³ disclosed large differences in the possession of capital goods between agricultural and non-agricultural households, Table 130. Three-fourths of the non-agricultural population had electricity against 47 per cent of the peasant households⁶⁴ and this may partly explain the differences in the possession of electrical appliances such as refrigerators, washing-machines, grammophones and TV-sets. However, electricity too, is an indicator of standard of living. The pattern indicates that differences between peasant and non-agricultural households were due to cultural factors as well as to differences in disposable income. Most capital goods listed in Table 130 are modern devices and some may not easily be integrated into the traditional life style of the peasant. It is significant that a radio is usually the first modern capital good a peasant family will acquire, followed by a TV-set, while a washing-machine or a refrigerator come much further down on the peasant's shopping list. This priority does not reflect cost only, as both washing-machines and refrigerators are cheaper than TV-sets. However, the introduction of washing-machines and refrigerators meets with some resistance as the use of these goods implies a change of habits. Even when money is no objection, peasant wives and daughters will still wash the clothes in the local stream, as the use of a washing-machine confines them to their home,

Table 130. Possession of Capital Goods by Socio-economic Types of Households in the Oas Region in 1978, Percentages

Item	Type of household			
	A	B	C	D
Radio	29.6	51.0	43.2	49.6
TV	8.8	23.1	14.2	42.0
Washing-machine	0.8	10.6	3.3	25.2
Bicycle	3.7	13.5	10.2	17.6
Iron	5.5	18.3	12.5	37.0
Car	1.0	3.8	2.5	6.7
Sewing-machine	17.0	29.8	24.6	23.5
Grammophone	4.6	7.7	4.5	16.0
Refrigerator	2.0	9.6	3.9	27.7

Source: Survey Oas (1979)

Remarks: A - Peasant household
 B - Wage-worker in agriculture
 C - Semi-agricultural household with both farm and wage income
 D - Non-agricultural household

Data are based on an investigation of 2 672 households in the villages of Camirzana, Certeze, Tur and Turt in the Oas region. Of the investigated households, 1 535 belonged to group A, 104 to group B, 914 to group C and 119 to group D.

It should be noted that the investigation was carried out in economically backward villages with possession of capital goods generally below the national average.

deprives them of a source of social contact and subjects them to slander and a reputation for being lazy. Cooking and diet is closely linked to the traditional means of preserving food and the efficient use of a refrigerator requires modifications in cooking and food habits. The high percentage of peasant households possessing a sewing-machine reflects their tradition of making their own clothes. Sewing-machines have been a favourite dowry item. Most sewing-machines are not electrical. There were differences in the standard of housing, too. Forty-eight per cent of the non-agricultural households had a separate kitchen, but only 30 per cent of the peasant households. The corresponding percentages for separate bathroom were 10 and 3 and for earth floor 37 and 65.

The study of intellectuals working in rural areas in the county of Cluj demonstrated clearly that rural-urban differences in the standard of living cannot be explained by the industrial structure of the rural and urban population alone. Intellectuals working in rural areas, but living in towns possess more capital goods and have considerably higher housing standard than their colleagues living in rural areas, Table 131. Although 65 per cent were rural born, 61 per cent preferred to live in a town and commute to work in the village. Most saw their present post as temporary. Only 7 per cent of the commuters planned to buy an apartment or a house in the village within the next five years and 53 per cent wanted to obtain an urban post. All were asked to state

Table 131. Possession of Capital Goods and Housing Standard in 1974 among Intellectuals Working in Rural Areas in Cluj County by Place of Residence, Percentages

Item	Residence in	
	Rural areas	Urban areas
Radio and TV	53.1	68.0
Washing-machine	52.0	63.3
Refrigerator	44.7	69.1
Vacuum cleaner	30.8	54.4
Bicycle	31.1	17.4
Car	10.4	19.3
Bathroom with tub	11.2	72.0

Source: Survey Rural Intellectuals (1974)

Remarks: Data are based on a questionnaire answered by 1 815 of 3 800 intellectuals working in rural areas in the county of Cluj in 1974, of whom 1 093 lived in urban areas and commuted to their rural jobs. Intellectuals were defined as persons with university or equivalent education.

the main reasons for preferring an urban post to a rural. The answers cast light on the perceived disadvantages of rural life. Material motives dominated (51 per cent) followed by cultural (18) and professional (18) and family reasons (14 per cent). The main material reasons were poor housing conditions, inadequate supply of goods in village shops and problems of transportation. Difficult conditions of work was the main 'professional motive', followed by poor conditions of study and documentation, poor career possibilities and a generally unintellectual environment. Poor schools and absence of higher institutes of learning was an important family motive.

CULTURAL CHANGE

The traditionally large cultural differences between rural and urban areas were pointed out in the introduction to this study. Industrialization, urbanization and not least education has affected both rural and urban culture in a number of ways and the rural-urban cultural gap has diminished. In rural areas craft skills are rapidly being forgotten following the development of manufacturing and traditional ethnic codes are undermined by the spread of education and through urban influence. Active culture in the form of folk songs, dances, story-telling etc has been exchanged for passive culture consumption by means of TV, radio, grammophone, books etc. Urban culture changes, too, following massive rural-urban migration. The peasant who migrates to town brings much of his culture with him. The adoption of a new culture is a slow process, and when a large number of rural dwellers move to the town, they will change the character of the town, just as the town, in time, will change them. In the postwar

period it has been an explicit goal of the government to exchange the bourgeois and peasant cultures for a new, socialist culture, based on officially sanctioned ethnics and values.

A full exploration of this vast and important field is beyond the scope of this study, but a few illustrations of the cultural aspects of the urban transition will be made.

Rural life has a more pronounced annual rhythm than urban life, following the changes of the seasons through the agricultural work and strictly regulated by the church calendar. There is a time for each activity. Both the Orthodox, the Roman Catholic and previously also the Greek Catholic Church⁶⁵ have a strong influence on the life rhythm of its followers. Particularly the Orthodox Church is rich in traditions, has a large number of holidays and demands strict adherence to the lents.⁶⁶ The church influence on rural and urban life is particularly interesting as secularization has been associated with urbanization in most countries. In Romania it is also an official policy.

The distribution of weddings over the year is good indicator of church influence, since the church forbids weddings during lent. The rhythm of agricultural work can also be expected to influence the timing of weddings. Table 132 gives a clear and unequivocal picture of increasing secularization. The distribution of weddings over the year has become increasingly even. The standard deviation around the mean of 8.3 per cent per month fell from 9.0 in 1899 to 1.6 in 1973.⁶⁷ January and February in particular, but also

Table 132. Distribution of Weddings by Month for Selected Years, Percentages

Month	1899	1931	1932	1937	1938	1957	1965	1973
January	20.2	11.9	10.1	10.0	8.8	9.5	8.4	6.7
February	29.2	17.2	18.4	17.7	19.6	13.9	12.3	8.4
March	0.7	2.7	9.7	12.1	5.8	6.9	7.6	6.9
April	1.4	3.7	2.5	3.1	3.4	5.1	6.2	5.8
May	2.8	7.2	4.2	4.6	5.0	6.1	6.3	7.3
June	2.3	4.3	4.9	5.0	5.3	6.0	6.3	7.8
July	2.7	4.3	3.9	4.3	4.2	5.3	6.9	8.4
August	2.0	4.0	3.6	4.3	4.3	5.9	7.1	9.5
September	4.9	6.0	3.6	4.3	4.3	5.9	7.1	9.5
October	12.9	13.3	11.8	11.8	12.6	12.1	11.7	11.8
November	14.4	18.0	17.9	14.6	16.9	12.6	10.8	9.3
December	6.5	7.4	7.4	6.3	7.0	8.2	8.5	8.3
All months	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Standard deviation	9.0	5.4	5.4	4.8	5.3	3.1	2.1	1.6

Sources: Anuarul Statistic (1909: 55), (1967: 94-95), Anuarul Demografic (1938: 198-199), (1967: 204-205), (1974: 340), Miscarea Populatiei Romaniei (1931: 120-121), (1932: 174-175), (1937: 200-201)

Table 133. Distribution of Weddings by Month in 1931, 1938 and 1965 in Rural and Urban Areas, Percentages

Month	1931		1948		1965	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
January	12.5	9.2	9.3	6.6	9.5	7.1
February	18.6	10.1	22.0	10.6	14.7	9.4
March	2.2	5.4	5.5	7.0	7.9	7.3
April	3.1	6.8	2.7	6.3	5.6	6.9
May	7.0	7.8	4.8	5.8	6.1	6.6
June	3.8	6.8	4.6	8.1	5.4	7.4
July	3.6	7.8	3.3	7.5	5.2	8.9
August	3.3	7.6	3.6	7.2	5.5	9.0
September	5.6	7.8	6.6	8.8	7.2	8.7
October	13.6	11.2	12.9	11.5	12.9	10.2
November	19.5	11.1	18.4	11.1	12.4	9.0
December	7.2	8.4	6.3	9.5	7.7	9.6
All months	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Standard deviation	6.2	1.8	6.3	2.0	3.3	1.2

Sources: Anuarul Demografic (1938: 198-199), (1967: 94-95), Miscarea Populatiei Romaniei (1931: 120-121)

October and November, have been popular months for marriages, as they do not coincide with either lent or with work peak in agriculture. January and February were also particularly suitable for supply of wine and meat. In 1899 almost every other wedding took place in these two months, but only 15 per cent in 1973. The low frequency of weddings during the summer months was a regional phenomenon. It was much more pronounced in the regions of the Old Kingdom than in Crisana-Banat, Maramures, or Transylvania. At the turn of the century weddings during the Easter lent were very infrequent and Jews may well have accounted for most of them. Since then the frequency has continuously increased. The increase has been particularly fast in the postwar period and by 1973 weddings during lent were almost as frequent as during the rest of the year.

Weddings data for rural and urban areas, Table 133, clearly show that the church influence was much stronger in villages than in towns. This observation comes as no surprise to anyone who has travelled in Romania on a Sunday, when full village churches contrast to half-empty churches in towns. Yet, the apparently small church influence in towns in the interwar period is noteworthy. The data also indicate a rapid rural secularization in the postwar period.

However, abidance by church rules was probably stronger than indicated by the data. Eastern time, and consequently the time of the Eastern lent, varies from year to year. Lent is always in March and/or April, but often does not coincide with full months. Furthermore, the times of the Orthodox and the Catholic⁶⁸ Easter do not, as a rule coincide, nor do their lent. The statistics refer to the time of the civil wedding, which is compulsory. To most rural people it is the church

wedding that counts and the civil wedding is often seen as a mere formality.⁶⁹ Often the young couple will be officially married before the mayor soon after the agreement to marry has been made. The church wedding requires much preparation and will often take place weeks later. The couple does not live together as married until after the church wedding.

As church influence declines, socialist ethic and values do not automatically take its place. In spite of indoctrination through frequent campaigns and through the entire educational system, the penetration of the 'socialist culture' has made slow progress.⁷⁰ In an investigation of the 'moral consciousness' in Oas⁷¹ a stratified sample of 999 adults were asked which qualities they appreciated most in a person. The most frequent answers were honesty (22.5 per cent) and industriousness (20.5), followed by kindness (5.3), courage (4.3) and sincerity (4.0 per cent). Only few - 3.3 per cent - stated specific socialist qualities; i.e. front worker (0.8), fulfilling work norms (0.7), irreproachable political schooling, a good communist, a proletarian moral and patriotism (0.3 per cent each). Religious qualities, too, received low values, i.e. pioussness (0.3 per cent). The sample consisted of 30 per cent party members and 20 per cent members in the communist youth organization (UTC).

Differences in the mode of life between the agricultural and non-agricultural population are reflected in their respective time budgets, Tables 134 and 135. The differences conditioned by work are striking. The non-agricultural population spent considerably more time at work than the agricultural, both in the winter and in the summer. The non-agricultural population in these villages have not cut off their ties with agriculture. In the summer they devoted over two hours per day to farm work. The seasonal variations in the work load of the agricultural population were very large. Traditionally the crafts complemented agricultural work in the winter. The women would spin, weave and do needle-work and the men would make and mend tools. With the decline of the crafts, the time spent idly in the winter has increased as alternative occupations are not usually available. The study indicate that even in the summer the peasant spent only seven hours a day on agricultural work. By contrast, they spent much more time in household work than the non-agricultural people.

Differences were also important in the use of spare time on Sundays. Remarkably much time was spent in church. An average orthodox sermon lasts for 3 - 3½ hours and the data indicate that the entire agricultural population went to church in the winter. Even if this was the case, three hours is improbably much, as many do not stay for the whole service. Religiosity is confirmed by the insignificant time spent on farm work on Sundays even in the summer. The large difference in the time spent at church between the agricultural and the non-agricultural people indicate that the latter was more secularized. Country-dancing is a favourite Sunday activity in these parts. The young will gather at the outdoor dancing place after church and dance until the evening,⁷² dressed up in their folk costumes. Visits is also a popular Sunday activity. The very low amounts for reading and watching TV for particularly the agricultural population

Table 134. Allocation of Time on Weekday Activities among Active Agricultural and Non-agricultural People, Hours (h) and Minutes

Activity	Agricultural		Non-agricultural	
	summer	winter	summer	winter
Sleep, hygiene and eating	9h45	11h30	9h25	9h55
Agricultural work	7h12	0h30	2h12	0h10
Non-agricultural work	-	-	8h25	9h35
Household work	4h40	4h00	2h10	1h25
Shopping, administrative, various	1h20	5h90	0h50	1h34
Free time, cultural activities	1h05	2h00	1h00	1h20

Source: Barsan et al (1980)

Remarks: Data are based on field studies in the villages Racsa and Tur in the Oas region in June 1975 and February 1976. 688 persons (374 agricultural and 314 non-agricultural) were interviewed on their activities the preceding day. Agricultural and non-agricultural work include transfer time.

Table 135. Allocation of Time on Sunday Activities among Active Agricultural and Non-agricultural People, Hours (h) and Minutes

Activity	Agricultural		Non-agricultural	
	summer	winter	summer	winter
Sleep, hygiene and eating	12h25	13h33	12h25	12h90
Agricultural work	0h10	0h04	0h07	-
Non-agricultural work	-	-	1h50	1h22
Household work	4h27	1h50	2h13	1h17
Shopping, administrative, various	1h06	1h10	1h35	1h35
Free time, cultural activities of	5h52	7h25	5h50	6h53
which spent on: reading	0h05	0h05	0h13	0h27
watching TV	0h01	0h07	0h10	0h14
bars, cafes	0h08	0h18	0h20	0h50
visits	2h45	1h35	2h47	1h35
public/collective work	0h01	0h02	0h01	-
cultural activities, dancing	1h12	1h47	0h55	1h32
church	1h21	3h05	1h03	1h53
weddings, baptisms	0h15	0h23	0h17	0h08

Source: Barsan et al (1980)

Remarks: See Table 134

indicate that most people did not engage in these activities at all.

For a number of reasons conclusions based on the time budgets should be made with reservation. Firstly, no

distinction was made between men and women. What appears to be a difference between agricultural and non-agricultural people may primarily be a male-female difference, as fewer women than men were found in non-agricultural industries. This probably explains the difference in the time spent on household work. In addition, the distinction between household and agricultural work often tends to be vague. Secondly, the data were not based on direct observations, but on interviews. The difficulties in recollecting how each hour and minute was spent the previous day are obvious. Thirdly, there is no reason to believe that the villages where the study was conducted were representative of the whole country. Racsa is an economically backward village, which has preserved many archaic traits. Agriculture is not collectivized and land is poor. Tur, the other village, is a more prosperous village in the vicinity of the small town Negresti-Oas. Agriculture in Tur is collectivized. Many commute to non-farm jobs in Negresti-Oas.

A socio-economic survey made in eight communes in the mountainous Apuseni region in 1980 casts light on the cultural differences between the social groups. Poor agriculture, which has remained largely uncollectivized, led early to a flourishing handicraft industry in this region. Agriculture was combined with artisan industry and the products were sold during extensive journeys throughout the country.⁷³ In the last few decades both agriculture and handicraft have declined and the region has suffered heavy out-migration.

Endowment with cultural attributes - e.g. possession of radio, TV, books, Table 136 - as well as cultural manifestation⁷⁴ - e.g. reading, listening to radio, watching TV, Table 137 - registered generally very low values in the study area. Their absolute level are not representative for rural Romania as a whole, as the region has remained one of the economically most backward in the country. The study revealed

Table 136. Selected Socio-economic Characteristics by Category of Households in Eight Communes in the Apuseni Mountains in 1980, Percentages

	Category of household			
	Peasant	Artisan	Worker	All categories
Electrified	53.4	67.5	83.4	62.1
Possess radio	37.5	54.7	63.3	49.8
Possess TV	12.3	21.4	42.6	25.3
Possess books	26.9	53.8	47.8	37.1
Possess savings account	30.7	49.6	49.4	39.6
Subscribe to newspaper	38.0	64.3	70.5	45.5

Source: Survey Apuseni (1980)

Remarks: The survey was based on a sample of 2 100 households in the communes of Avram Iancu, Girda, Iara, Mogos, Salciua and Vidra in the county of Alba and Belis and Marisel in the county of Cluj. Of the sampled households, 759 were classified as peasant, 117 as artisan and 745 as wage-worker.

Table 137. Cultural Characteristics of Heads of Households by Main Social Groups in Eight Communes in the Apuseni Mountains in 1980, Percentages

	Social groups			
	Peasant	Artisan	Worker	All groups
More than 4 years primary school	23.3	54.6	65.7	42.1
Read books; daily	1.1	3.6	6.0	3.6
; never	92.2	74.1	74.3	71.3
Listen to radio; daily	11.2	22.8	31.3	21.2
; never	67.2	50.0	34.0	52.1
Watch TV; daily	3.7	4.4	21.7	11.4
; never	81.9	76.1	48.9	68.3
Visit neighbouring town:				
daily	3.0	5.2	16.8	8.4
never	41.2	12.0	24.1	34.6

Source: Survey Apuseni (1980)

Remarks: For sample characteristics, see Table 136.

'Never' includes those who professed to engaged in the activity less than once a year.

considerable differences in these respects between the main social groups. The peasants scored much lower values than the workers. The artisans generally registered intermediate values. Differences between the social groups in education, age and income probably explain much of the registered cultural differences. However, that does not make them any less significant.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The urban transition in Romania since World War I falls into three main periods, the pre-World War I, the interwar and the postwar period. World War I and the subsequent land reforms turned Romania into a country fundamentally different from the Old Kingdom, which had been based on export-oriented agriculture owned by the landed gentry, who had dominated political and economic life, and on a manufacturing sector restricted to the small, albeit fast-growing, oil industry.

After the war Romania doubled both its territory and population. Although the ethnic bonds with the new provinces were strong.¹ The difficulties in transforming Romania into an economically and socially unitary nation marked interwar development. The land reforms changed the social structure entirely. Possession of land gave the peasants both economic and political power, at the expense of the landed gentry. Romania remained a pronounced agrarian society throughout the interwar period. The development of manufacturing failed to create alternative employment opportunities to the increasing agricultural population. Employment in manufacturing increased at a slow rate, particularly after 1930, Table 43, and was balanced by a decline of handicraft employment. The geographic net effect was a concentration of employment in secondary activities to a few large towns, particularly Bucuresti, Tables 44-46. In Crisana-Banat, Maramures and Transylvania secondary employment in rural areas declined between 1910 and 1930,² Table 48. Entire regions saw a decline in secondary employment, notably Oltenia and Muntenia, as there was a strong concentration of manufacturing to Bucuresti and the Prahova Valley, Tables 44-47.

The population increase between 1930 and 1941 was equally divided between the agricultural and the non-agricultural sectors,³ resulting in an increase of the share of non-farm population by a mere 2.6 percentage units. The increase in the agricultural population was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in production. Fragmentation of holdings and plots and lack of capital were obstacles to increased productivity and production. Subsistence agriculture prevailed and the conditions of life

of the peasantry remained depressed. Rural poverty rather than industrial growth was the main cause behind rural-urban migration. The urban population increased at an annual rate of 1.4 per cent in 1912-1930⁴ and at 2.1 per cent in 1930-41, Table 138, i.e. at slightly more than twice the rural rate. The rates of natural increase were much lower in urban than in rural areas and urban growth was largely migration based. In Bucuresti and the other large cities, as well as in towns in Crisana-Banat and Transylvania natural increase was generally insignificant.

Table 138. Annual Rates of Population Change in Rural and Urban Areas, Percentages

Category	1912-30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
Rural areas	0.47	0.95	-0.19	0.74	0.18	-0.15
Urban areas	1.36	2.06	-0.29	2.52	2.54	3.12
All areas	0.60	1.19	-0.22	1.21	0.88	1.13

Sources: Tables 84, 92-94, 97

Remarks: All data refer to cohorts.

Bucuresti dominated urban growth entirely. It accounted for almost half the urban population increase in 1930-1941 and increased its share of the urban population from 16.5 per cent in 1912 to 20.9 in 1930 to 26.1 in 1941 and to 28.1 per cent in 1948. Besides Bucuresti, the large towns registered the highest growth rates in 1912-30. In 1930-1941 growth rates were more evenly distributed between size-groups of towns. Transylvania and Dobrogea - with the port of Constanta - registered the highest urban growth rates in 1912-1930, while rates in Oltenia, Bessarabia, Bucovina, Muntenia and Crisana-Banat were well below the national average. Urban growth rates in Oltenia and Muntenia increased considerably after 1930, but fell in Moldavia and Maramures, Table 84. Many towns had a poorly developed economic base. There was a marked difference in this respect between the towns in the regions of the Old Kingdom on the one hand and towns in Crisana-Banat, Maramures, and Transylvania on the other. In the former regions there were only a few large towns with a developed manufacturing sector and agriculture was still the main industry in many towns, Figure 7. In the latter regions secondary and tertiary industries predominated also in small towns and there were few agricultural town.

The difficult war years were followed by a period of extreme hardship, caused by pilferage and economic exploitation by the Soviet Union, which culminated in two consecutive years of famine - 1946 and 1947. Infant mortality peaked in 1947. By 1948 the new regime had consolidated the political power and acquired economic control over the non-agricultural sectors of the economy. The banks and the large manufacturing and commercial firms

were all nationalized. The development programme initiated in 1948 aimed at a rapid creation of a heavy manufacturing base and gave top priority to the development of mining and metallurgy. Centres of mining and metallurgy as Hunedoara, Petrosani and Resita boomed and a number of other mining centres were developed into towns. The origin of these new towns in the socialist development was sometimes stressed by their names, e.g. Dr. Petru Groza, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Victoria. Manufacturing was developed largely through expansion of existing plants. New plants were often located in traditional industrial areas⁵ as Brasov, Constanta and Sibiu and regional differences in economic development increased. The small concern for regional development appeared clearly from the regional distribution of investments⁶ and was illustrated by the degrading of fourteen towns, most of which were commercial centres in backward agricultural areas. The intensive industrialization efforts led to strains on the economy and was brought to a near halt in 1953, after the death of Stalin. The following five years offered a 'breathing spell', with slow economic growth, but increasing standards of living through a shift from investments to consumption. Agricultural production increased slowly from a very low level in the first postwar years. High compulsory delivery quotas at very low prices impoverished the peasants, but failed to increase production. After 1953 they were scaled down as incentives were substituted for coercion. Mechanization was confined to the small state sector and overall productivity remained very low. In 1956 some 12 million, 70 per cent of the total population, lived from agriculture, i. e. an increase of over a million since 1930. Agricultural production in 1956, which was a bad year, was slightly less than in 1938, Table 55, and not much larger than in 1930. The main shift in the industrial structure in the first postwar decades was from tertiary to secondary employment,⁷ Table 61. The rate of employment in agriculture fell only slightly.

Urban growth averaged 2.5 per cent per year in 1948-56. High rates of natural increase was an important complement to migration for urban growth and more than compensated for the migrational losses in rural areas. There were large regional as well as town to town variations in the growth rates. Towns based on mining and metallurgy registered the highest growth rates, more than twice the national average, in sharp contrast to previous periods, Table 139. Seven of the nine towns that doubled their population in this period belonged to this category. Important manufacturing centres, notably Brasov and Sibiu, and the main ports, Constanta and Galati, grew at fast rates, too. The sustained rapid growth of Bucuresti was broken as migration to the capital was curbed. Transylvania and Dobrogea had the highest urban growth rates and poorly developed Oltenia and Muntenia the lowest.

The collectivization of agriculture in 1958-62 was combined with a mechanization drive. The collectivization cut the peasants' bonds to the land and mechanization reduced demand for agricultural labour. Hence, underutilization of labour became a pressing problem in agriculture. According to official calculations productivity in the non-agricultural sectors was five times higher than in agriculture.⁸ The collectivization coincided with a new industrialization

Table 139. Urban growth by Category of Towns. Index: National average - 100 for each period

Category	1912-30	1930-41	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
Towns based on mining and metallurgy	45	59	237	141	40
Bucuresti	255	213	77	56	82
Capitals of 1956 regions	135	72	118	131	141
Other towns	36	68	86	101	90
Capitals of 1968 counties	41	73	69	97	154
Other towns	33	64	96	104	61
All towns	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Appendix, Table 32

Remarks: Towns based on mining and metallurgy - town with at least a third of the active population in mining and metallurgy in 1966, for 1912-30 and 1930-41 either in 1966 or in 1930. These towns were in 1966 Anina, Baia Sprie, Balan, Brad, Cavníc, Calan, Cimpia Turzii, Copsa Mica, Hunedoara, Lupeni, Moreni, Motru, Nucet, Otelu Rosu, Petrila, Ticleni, Uricani, Vlahita, Vulcan and Zlatna. In 1930 also Petrosani, Resita and Slanic.

Capitals of 1956 regions - Bacau, Baia Mare, Brasov, Cluj, Constanta, Craiova, Deva, Galati, Iasi, Oradea, Pitesti, Ploiesti, Satu Mare, Suceava, Timisoara and Tirgu Mures.

Capitals of 1968 counties - county capitals excluding Bucuresti and capitals of 1956 regions. I.e. Alba Iulia, Alexandria, Arad, Bistrita, Botosani, Braila, Buzau, Focsani, Miercurea Ciuc, Piatra Neamt, Resita, Rimnicu Vilcea, Sfintu Gheorghe, Sibiu, Slatina, Slobozia, Tirgoviste, Tirgu Jiu, Tulcea, Turnu Severin, Vaslui and Zalau.

drive. The focus was still on heavy manufacturing, but mining and metallurgy no longer received absolute priority. The change in the development strategy indicates a shift in goals, from developing a strong base of heavy industry to developing the working class. To increase manufacturing employment became a main development objective. Wage and salary employment increased by almost 200 000 per year in 1958-65, against 32 000 in 1953-58, and the agricultural population declined both absolutely and relatively. As a logical consequence of the shift in policy, regional development aspects received increased attention. However, the division of the country into sixteen large regions provided a crude instrument for regional planning. Spatial development efforts focused on regions with large agricultural populations and poorly developed manufacturing, particularly Oltenia, but also Bucuresti,⁹ Suceava and Galati. In the latter two regions development was concentrated to the regional capitals. Intraregional variations in development were usually ignored. The focus on the Danubian Plain is easily explained. Collectivization and mechanization of agriculture was fastest in these parts and a poorly developed

manufacturing sector¹⁰ meant a small supply of non-farm jobs.

Urban growth average 2.5 per cent per year in 1956-66, the same as in 1948-56. Falling rates of natural increase made urban growth increasingly migration-based and led to a sharp decline in rural growth, Table 138. In Crisana-Banat, Transylvania and Oltenia the rural population decreased. The town to town variations in growth were much smaller than in previous periods. A number of previously slow-growing towns in Oltenia, Muntenia and Moldavia registered increased growth, while the rates of the mining and metallurgy towns fell sharply. There was a pronounced regional shift in urban growth, from Transylvania and Crisana-Banat to the regions of the Old Kingdom and Maramures. The growth of Bucuresti slowed down further and the capital grew at little more than half the national rate.

Spatial development planning became increasingly sophisticated after 1965 and was made an important complement to sectoral planning. The exchange of 16 regions for 40 counties in 1968 considerably improved the administrative division as an instrument for regional development. The design of the counties, the choice of county capitals and the granting of urban status to a large number of rural communes emphasized the reform as an expression of increased concern for spatial development. In the early Seventies a comprehensive programme for restructuring the entire system of localities into a well-defined hierarchy with a predetermined place and function for each locality and region by means of industrialization and transfer of labour from agriculture to other sectors of the economy was elaborated - the systematization programme. Spatial development, in the past little more than a consequence of sectoral development, emerged as central to the national programme, which reflected a shift in goal from a socialist economy to a socialist society. A simplistic view of towns as mere centres of manufacturing was exchanged for a more complex view stressing centre-umland relations and the role of urban places as providers of central services and non-farm jobs and as diffusers of the urban, socialist culture to the rural umland.

Rapid industrialization and economic growth characterized most of the Sixties and Seventies. Employment in secondary and tertiary industries increased by 2.4 million between 1966 and 1977, i. e. from 47 to 63 per cent of the active population. Employment in agriculture fell at an increasing rate after the collectivization, by 1.4 million between 1956 and 1966 - by then approximately the same as in 1930 - and by 1.9 million between 1966 and 1977. Preliminary data indicate a further decline by half a million between 1977 and 1980. Increases in agricultural productivity more than compensated for the decline in labour. Production doubled between 1960 and 1980, but remained unimpressive by international comparison. The rural non-farm population increased by almost a million between 1966 and 1977, from 23 to 41 per cent of the labour force in rural areas. However, this increase was largely due to rural-urban commuting and the increase in the non-farm rural day population was much less impressive.

The urban population increased at a higher rate in 1966-77 than in any previous period - 3.1 per cent a year. This was mainly due to increased rates of natural increase in urban areas over 1956-66. Rural-urban migration was only slightly larger than in previous periods. Sustained high rates of rural-urban migration and falling rates of natural increase led to a decrease of the rural population in all regions. Variations in urban growth by county were smaller than in previous periods. There was no longer any positive correlation between the manufacturing base and urban growth. Highly industrialized counties, such as Caras-Severin and Hunedoara, had growth rates well below the national average, while the urban population in a number of predominantly agricultural counties grew rapidly. Most mining and metallurgy towns stagnated, Table 139. A number of these towns registered an absolute fall in employment in mining, metallurgy and metal processing: Anina -35 per cent, Baia Sprie -43, Cavnic -11, Calan -13, Hunedoara -13, Petrila - 11, Resita -9 and Zlatna -24 per cent among others. The development of economically lagging counties was largely concentrated to the county capitals. Most of the new county capitals grew at rates much above the national average, Table 139. The growth rate of Bucuresti increased, but remained below the national average.

The Romanian case indicates that centrally planned urbanization differ in several respects from urbanization in a market economy. However, as we do not know what course the urban transition in Romania would have taken in a different economic and political setting the effects of the introduction of a centrally planned economy based on a socialist ideology on postwar urbanization cannot be determined with certainty or quantitatively, although comparisons with development in previous periods offer some help. Kansky, among others, has pointed out that governments do not have perfect control over urbanization in centrally planned economies. Also, it is well-known that government intervention affect urbanization in market economies as well. Hence, differences in urbanization between the two systems are often in degree rather than in kind. It is conceptually useful to distinguish between features in the urban transition that are due to the system on the one hand and to the policies on the other. However, as the policies in many instances are direct effects of the system and the ideology, it is not always possible or practical to make this distinction. A case in point is the brief period of rapid growth of the mining and metallurgy towns after 1948. A direct effect of government policy, this was nevertheless an inevitable consequence of the adherence to a Marxist-Leninist development philosophy. Some of the effects resulting from the collectivization of agriculture and of the complete government control over investment decisions, on the other hand, can be directly be attributed to the system. The following observations should not be seen as firm conclusions of the study but rather as generated and, hopefully, thought-provoking hypotheses, in need of further investigation.

A main feature in the postwar urbanization has been the importance of the regional administrative division and the official status of localities to the growth and development

pattern. The administrative map has been used for regional development and for channeling of investments. The administrative reform in 1968 clearly showed, through the design of the new counties and public statements, that the administrative division was intentionally used as an instrument for regional development.¹¹ The substitution of 40 counties for 16 regions was motivated by the sophistication and the level of social and economic development attained in the mid-Sixties,¹² which permitted the use of a finer scale in the regional development planning. Analogously, the low level of economic development and the focus on creating a national manufacturing base motivated the exchange of 54 counties for 16 regions in 1950. A focus on interregional differences and a disregard for intraregional differences follows from the use of the region as a basis for regional distribution of investments and resources, and is clear from empirical data. Investments have tended to be concentrated to the regional/county capitals, particularly in regions with a low level of development and where special development efforts have been made. Ostensibly, this reflects a reliance on a growth pole theory. The county capitals are sometimes referred to as growth centres and policy statements¹³ reveal that a strong spread effect is expected from the centres to the, often large, umlands.

The new county capitals that emerged through the 1968 administrative reform provide eloquent examples of the importance of the official status of localities to their growth. The relative growth rate of these towns increased from 97 per cent of the national average in 1956-66 to 154 per cent in 1966-77, Table 139. Small provincial towns with poor previous growth records as Slobozia, Vaslui and Zalau suddenly received massive investments and more than doubled their population in the Seventies. In the four cases where the new county capital was not also the largest town, their growth rates increased several fold, Table 140. It is interesting to note that the combined growth rate of the 'other towns', i.e. the large number of towns that did not receive capital status through the reform, deteriorated sharply in relatively terms, Table 139. Hence, the concentration of the intra-county urban growth to the county capital was much more pronounced after the reform than the intra-regional concentration to the regional capitals had been under the old administrative system. A main effect of

Table 140. Annual Growth Rates of the County Capital and the Largest Town in Counties Where These Were Not the Same in 1966, Percentages

County	County capital		Largest town	
	1956-66	1966-77	1956-66	1966-77
Harghita	2.47	6.71	2.55	4.29
Ialomita	2.58	8.47	3.37	3.12
Teleorman	1.27	5.06	3.85	1.89
Vaslui	1.91	7.48	2.50	2.87

Source: Appendix, Table 32

the administrative reform was the creation of forty growth centres.

A general conclusion is that discrepancies between the official and the 'real' status of a locality can be expected to exercise a strong influence on its growth. If the former is higher than the latter, as was the case with many of the new county capitals after 1968, the influence will be positive. If the reverse is true, as was the case with the towns that lost their urban status in 1950 as well as with most of the towns that lost their status as county capitals in the same year, the influence will be negative and stagnation or near-stagnation will follow.

Although the county capitals provide the best example of the importance of the administrative status to growth, the phenomenon can be seen at all hierarchical levels. The growth performance of the villages upgraded to towns in 1968 has by and large not been very impressive, but their industrial structure has changed considerably. Jobs created in the secondary and tertiary sectors have been filled with local labour from agriculture. On a lower level, it can be seen that commune centres generally grow faster than villages without any administrative status.

Reliance on a growth pole strategy is an explicit policy for regional development. Yet, a concentration of the regional development efforts to the regional centres, at all levels, is likely to be inherent in the economic system. The centralization of all important investment decisions to a small group of government planners in Bucuresti is likely to produce a concentration of investments in space. Basically, this is because government monopoly on investments implies a monopoly on non-investment decisions as well. There is very little scope for development and investment initiatives on the local level. Planners in Bucuresti may have a good overall view, but do not have a detailed knowledge of local development needs or investment opportunities. Vertical information channels cannot possibly compensate for this lack of detailed knowledge. Planners use crude administrative maps for regional planning and investment decisions. In Romania the division into 40 counties is used as a basis for planning and monitoring of regional development and for investment decisions. Intra-county variations do not usually come out in the statistics and are in most cases likely to be of small concern for planners in Bucuresti. The geographic pattern of investments and development will depend on the administrative map. The finer the administrative division, the more even the geographic pattern of development.

The collectivization of agriculture detached the peasants from the land and turned them from farm operators into farm workers. The transfer of land from individual to collective ownership cut the peasants' ties to the land, literally as well as sentimentally, and loosened his ties to his profession. The change of work status to farm worker made it possible for the individual peasant to gradually shift his labour use from farm to non-farm activities. Mechanization of agriculture and the higher remuneration of non-farm activities promoted such a shift. In market

economies, too, mechanization has permitted individual farmers to devote more time to non-farm activities. However, as they remain farm operators there is a limit to the extent to which they can substitute off-farm work for the farm work. The operation of the farm requires a certain amount of time and work. If a farmer wants to work less on the farm he will have to either hire farm labour, lease or sell his land. Thus, in most cases non-farm income will remain supplementary to farm income. To the worker on the collective farm there is no such limit as the individual responsibility for the operation of the farm has been exchanged for a collective responsibility. The allocation of labour of the individual farmer on a collective farm is no longer restricted by the labour input required to run the farm. Higher and more secure returns to labour in tertiary and, particularly, secondary industries provide strong incentives to collective farmers to seek non-farm employment. Non-farm employment is usually on a permanent and full-time basis and much less divisible than work on the collective farm, which is remunerated on a daily basis. Consequently, work on the farm tends to become a supplementary source of income to non-farm employment to an increasing number of households on collective farms.

Since collectivization was completed in the early Sixties, the number of households on collective farms has only decreased slightly, while the number of collective household members permanently employed outside agriculture has increased at a rapid pace. Labour input on collective farms has fallen as each member devoted less time to farm work.

In 1963-64 a large aluminium plant was constructed in the town of Slatina in Oltenia, sharply increasing the local supply of non-farm jobs. A study of the development of the labour force on neighbouring collective farms in the subsequent years¹⁴ provides a good illustration of this phenomenon. In 1964 the investigated collective farms had 21 850 members. By 1968 the number had fallen to 20 600, i.e. by less than 6 per cent. However, the percentage of the male members permanently engaged outside the farm increased from 48 to 73 in the same period. The corresponding percentages for the female members were 45 and 60. By 1968 the female share of the farm labour force was 64 per cent against 55 in 1964. Those working full-time off the farm would often work on the farm on Sundays and during vacations in the agricultural peak period.

On the national level the proportion of collective farm members who did not work a single day on the farm increased from 7 per cent in 1963 to 25 per cent in 1971.¹⁵ In the same period the percentage of the members working full-time on the farm - at least 200 days per year - fell from 25 to 15.

Access to the personal lot of land on the collective farm and the possibility to keep animals for domestic needs, rather than income opportunities from work on the collective farm, has been a major factor in inducing the collective farm population to remain on the farm when they shift to non-farm occupations.¹⁶ Thus the cost of food and housing are kept at

a minimum and a higher material standard of living can be attained than if the shift of occupation is accompanied by a change of residence to the town. Long commuting hours and the time put down on the personal lot of land may balance this gain. However, much time is saved, too, as shopping for food tends to be very time consuming. The Romanian authorities have stimulated rural-urban commuting as it is seen to permit industrialization with a minimum of investment in infrastructure, to lessen the problem of supplying the urban population with food and as a way to diffuse urban culture and values to the countryside. By comparison the cost of providing cheap public transportation is low.

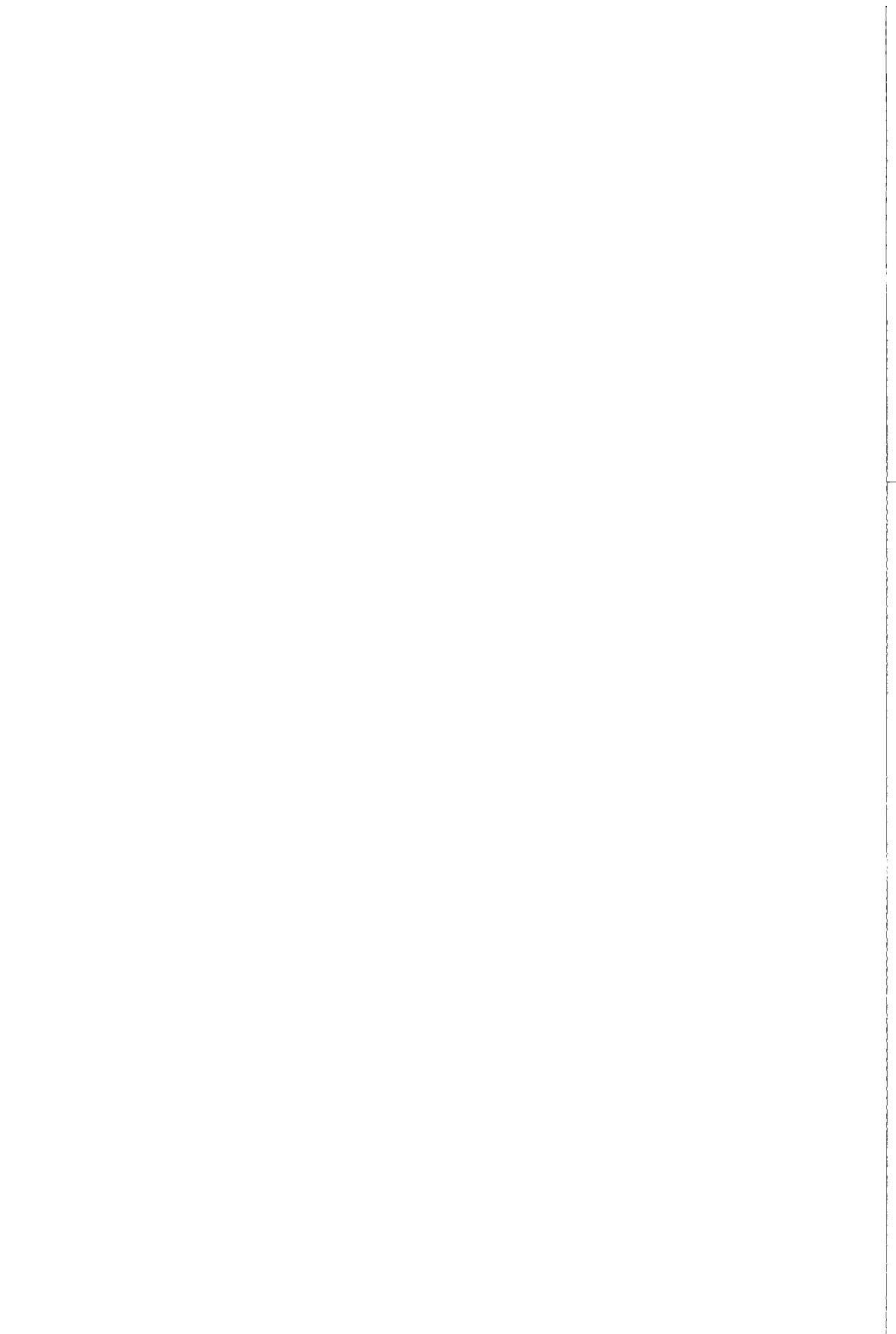
Another important factor that can be assumed to stimulate commuting and reduce migration is the importance of relations following the absence of a functioning price mechanism regulating supply and demand. Many goods are permanently or temporarily in short supply and an established net work of relations and connections and a knowledge of how and where to procure desirable things are necessary prerequisites to attain and maintain a high material standard of living. As a persons ability to procure desirable and scarce goods is usually restricted to the home town¹⁷ and as it takes much time and effort to develop it in a new locality it imposes a high cost on migration. Furthermore, the average Romanian has little fear of unemployment and work-related motives must be very strong to warrant migration.

Although it would be exceedingly difficult to study and quantitatively estimate the importance of these factors on migration, they should nevertheless be taken into account. The following extract from a satirical novel,¹⁸ recently published in Romania, provides a good illustration of the importance of connections.

Mr. Borangic, who lives in a small town in Romania has been offered a promotion to a post in Bucuresti. Mr. and Mrs. Borangic discuss if they should accept the offer and move to Bucuresti.

- Marcela, please listen, there would be serious problems. We have lived here for 25 years and we have connections here. Do you understand?
- We will make connections there, too.
- But until we do?
- We will get along. We will make them quickly.
- Look, we have Sirbu here.
- Sirbu who?
- The butcher. He supplies us with meat anytime. You don't have to get up at five in the morning to queue for it. Who will supply us with meat there?
- That is a problem.
- We won't be able to bring Sirbu with us to Bucuresti, nor Misu.
- Misu?
- Misu at the grocery. He supplies you with egg, coffee, butter, cheese.....
- That is true, we will have to make other acquaintances in Bucuresti. Surely, there are decent people there, too.

- And what about uncle Varzaru, the vice mayor.
 - What about him?
 - His word counts here, but it does not in Bucuresti. When we needed a flat he arranged one and when we wanted to buy a car without having to wait for it he arranged, that, too.
 - You are right. We won't have anyone in Bucuresti. It is frightening.
 - You see. Here the teachers know our children and they get premiums every year. In Bucuresti there are ever so many children, I mean parents. And I have thought about you, too. When you want a day off from work you just call the manager. He is your brother-in-law. You won't be able to do that in Bucuresti.
- Mrs. Borangic sobs silently and then says bitterly.
- We would need a complete transfer.
 - What do you mean?
 - A transfer with connections and all.



NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. West (1942: Vol II, 13).
2. Cucu (1970), Ungureanu (1980).
3. To which may be added Bessarabia under Russian rule and South Dobrogea under Bulgarian rule until 1913.
4. All but the richest strata of Romanians practice hitch-hiking. Usually people wait at bus stops, trying to get a lift by a private car against the equivalent of the bus fare.
5. Material from this study was used in Chapter VI.
6. *A Handbook of Romania* (1920: 173).
7. See for example Gordon (1918), Paget (1850), Sitwell (1938) and Wolff (1956).
8. Matejko (1974: XVII).
9. Although Eastern Europe - GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia - is essentially a political concept with little geographic meaning it was used here for the sake of convenience.
10. Although regional differences in culture existed among the Romanian peasantry, these were much less significant than those existing between the social classes or between the ethnic groups.
11. For a discussion of these political mainstreams, see Ornea (1969), (1971), (1980).
12. Friedmann & Wulff (1976: 4).
13. Ibid.
14. See for example Falk (1976: 14-15), Friedmann & Wulff (1976), Sorokin, Zimmerman & Galpin (1930).
15. Weber (1899), Davis & Golden (1954) and Berry (1962) quoted in Falk (1976).
16. Berry (1973), Friedmann & Wulff (1976), Gilbert & Gugler (1982), Herbert & Thomas (1982).
17. This is a rather dubious theoretical concept. It equates urban unemployment with overurbanization.
18. William-Olsson (1938), (1975).
19. Berry (1974: 4).
20. Sorokin, Zimmerman & Galpin (1930).
21. Sorokin, Zimmerman & Galpin (1930: Vol I, 187).
22. Ibid. 186 ff.
23. Marica (1942). See also Marica (1948).

24. For a summary in English of Stahl's work, see Stahl (1980).
25. Oberbski (1976: 27).
26. Oberbski (1976: 29).
27. Marica (1942: 10).
28. For a discussion on the classification of cultivators, see Rudengren (1981).
29. Chayanov (1966).
30. Chayanov (1966: XV).
31. Chayanov (1966: XVI).
32. Chayanov (1966).
33. Redfield was one of the first to forward this concept. Although his empirical evidence has been criticised, the concept has been widely accepted. See further Reissman (1964). William-Olsson used it on his economic map of Europe (1953) and Alexandersson (1950) in his pre-study of Sicily for William-Olsson's map. The clustering of many localities at the ends of the axis at the initial stage of development is no proof of a permanent rural-urban dichotomy and does not invalidate the idea of a rural-urban continuum as a dynamic concept.
34. Friedmann & Wulff (1976).
35. Ibid. 26.
36. Khodzhaev & Khorev (1973: 43).
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Mitrany (1951: 23). This work by an authority on agrarian problems in Eastern Europe is a well-documented and detached study of the Marxist view of the agrarian problems.
40. Quotation from the Communist Manifesto in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935: 38). See also Mitrany (1951: 23).
41. Quotation from the Communist Manifesto in Mitrany (1951: 41).
42. Quotation of Engels in Khodzhaev & Knorev (1973: 44).
43. Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1977). For an interpretation of Dobrogeanu-Gherea's view, see Mitrany (1951).
44. PCR (1975: 31).
45. See for example Ceauşescu (77.04.18).
46. PCR (1975: 105-106).
47. PCR (1975: 86).
48. Except for those that will be dissolved.
49. Barbat (1974a), (1974b), (1978).
50. For example Matei & Matei. For a Polish article on this theme, see Mleczo (1974).
51. Barbat (1978: 348).
52. Kansky (1976: 171).
53. Kansky (1976).
54. Kansky's vocabulary was used in the description of his theory below, although his definitions of concepts sometimes differ from those used in the present study.
55. Kansky (1976: 256).
56. Kansky (1976: 254).
57. These are referred to as private and governmental goal vectors.
58. Kansky (1976: 256).
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid. 257.
61. Ibid. 258.
62. Ibid. 237.
63. Sampson (1982).
64. Christaller (1966). First published in 1933, his work has since been revised and extended by other scholars. For a good discussion of the central place theory and the theoretic departures that have been made from it, see Beavon (1977) and Berry (1966).
65. This concept is used in most East European countries. It refers to the restructuring of urban and rural localities into a well-defined hierarchy, with a predetermined place and function for each locality according to the role planned for it to ensure a harmonious national development. The creation of this settlement system is closely linked to the elimination of the essential differences between rural and urban

- areas. In Romania it implies more than doubling of the number of towns - 300 villages will be reclassified - and the phasing out of 25-40 per cent of the villages or 3-6 thousand.
66. The original model has been considerably modified and sophisticated by others. See for example Berry (1966).
 67. See Chapter II.
 68. A large number of articles on this subject have been published over the years in *Geographia Polonica*. For example: Khodzhaev & Khorev (1973), Khorev (1973), Lappo (1981), Masgbits (1981), Medvedkova (1981), and Solofnenko et al (1981) on the Soviet Union; Chojnicki & Czyż (1973), Jerczynski (1977) and Leszczycki et al (1973) on Poland; Grimm (1981), Kind (1981), Krübert (1981), von Känel (1981) and Scherf (1981) on the GDR and Macka et al (1981) on Czechoslovakia.
 69. The central place theory and Christaller are rarely mentioned, except occasionally in Polish articles, e.g. Chojnicki & Czyż (1973) and Jerczynski (1977).
 70. These concepts were not part of Christaller's model, but were introduced by Berry & Garrison.
 71. There are detailed standards on what services various kinds of localities shall provide, as well as on the number of places in kindergarten, retail floor space, park space etc. required per 1 000 inhabitants in towns. See for example Cristea (1977c).
 72. For a study of agricultural agglomerations in Sicily, see Alexandersson (1950). For a map of urban and rural agglomerations with more than 10 000 inhabitants in Europe, see William-Olsson (1975).
 73. In a study of northern Skane in Sweden in the Fifties, Swedner (1960) found that the socio-cultural differences between the urban and rural population had all but disappeared.
 74. The 1966 census recognized 13 385 villages and towns.
 75. Only the censuses of 1930 and 1966 provide socio-economic data for villages.
 76. A study based on census data by village of the Apuseni Mountain region by the University of Cluj-Napoca, not only entailed much statistical work, but also time-consuming 'detective efforts' as villages frequently changed names and merged with or were separated from neighbouring villages.
 77. Regatan (1965).
 78. *Legea 1968/2*.
 79. *Scinteia* (67.10.11).
 80. *Legea 1968/2*.
 81. *Recensamintul* (1966: Vol I, XXVII).
 82. For example Aleşd, Baia de Arama, Bereşti, Faurei, Fieni, Gaeşti, Intorsura Buzaului, Plopeni, Titu, Tirgu Frumos, Urziceni, Valenii de Munte and Videle.
 83. For 1950-68 'urban-like localities'.
 84. *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (1964: 243).
 85. Ibid.
 86. Nationality is the ethnic affiliation declared to the census taker and should be distinguished from citizenship.
 87. In the Hungarian censuses the German speaking population is inflated by Yiddish-speaking Jews.
 88. For South Dobrogea these ties were less strong.
 89. The data from the 1912 count used in the study were obtained from the publications of the 1930 and 1977 censuses.
 90. Colescu (1905).
 91. Regetan (1970a).
 92. Information on 'sphere of occupation' were taken but not published (Regetan, 1965).
 93. Regetan (1970a).

94. For example, population by sex, mother tongue and level of education.
95. Burgdörfer (1942).
96. *Nepszamlalasa* (1784/87).
97. Moldovan (1970).
98. *Ibid.*
99. For example, sex, age, religion, mother tongue, civil status, occupation and literacy.
100. *Nepmozganla kbzegenkint* (1910).
101. *Mezbgazdasagi Statisztikaja* (1895).

CHAPTER II

1. For comprehensive works on Romanian history in English, see Iorga (1925) and Seton-Watson (1934).
2. Seton-Watson (1934: 132).
3. Seton-Watson (1934: 122).
4. From the 12th century until 1867.
5. Roberts (1951: 96).
6. Roberts (1951: 118).
7. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 600-608).
8. Byrnes (1948: 301).
9. For an excellent analysis of interwar Romanian politics, see Roberts (1951).
10. Wolff (1956: 345).
11. Ionescu (1964: 91).
12. See Seton-Watson (1951).
13. Ionescu (1964: 94 ff).
14. Ionescu (1964: 107).
15. Earlier conferences had been held in clandestine.
16. For example Ana Pauker was of Jewish, Vasile Luca of Hungarian and Emil Bodnaras of mixed German-Ukrainian origin.
17. Ionescu (1964: 162).
18. Gheorghiu-Dej (61.12.05). The programme was denounced because it had not been based on free consent and had weakened the alliance between the workers and the peasants.
19. Fisher-Galați (1977: 206 ff).
20. *Ibid.*
21. Concomitant with the declaration of the Socialist republic, the name of the party was changed back to the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Roman*).
22. Iorga (1943).
23. Paget (1850: Vol II, 380).
24. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 296).

25. In the Two Principalities the peasants were prohibited to sell or mortgage the land allotted to them for thirty years. This does not seem to have been the case in the Hungarian Territories.
26. Marcu (1974a: 233), Roberts (1951: 6).
27. See Appendix, Table 6.
28. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 206).
29. *Nepszamlalasa* (1910b: 44*-46*).
30. Ciomac (1931: 27). The figures are not perfectly comparable as the measurement unit in the Hungarian Territories - *jugar* - could not be recalculated to comply exactly with the size classes in hectares used in the Old Kingdom.
31. Ciomac (1931: 30). The figures refer to all land, but in Transylvania only.
32. Paget (1850: Vol II, 349-350).
33. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 232).
34. Ibid.
35. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 256). Author's calculations.
36. Over 50 hectares.
37. Roberts (1951: 32-35).
38. Cited in Mitrany (1930: 101).
39. For a detailed account of the legal and practical aspects of the law, see Mitrany (1930) and Scalat (1945).
40. The discussion of the law is based mainly on Mitrany (1930) and Cornatzeanu (1940).
41. For a detailed account of the law, see Appendix, Table 9. For data on distributed land, see Appendix, Table 10.
42. See further Appendix, Table 10.
43. By 1937 an additional 300 000 ha had been distributed.
44. Roberts (1951: 48). On the other hand, a later source claims that over five million hectares were distributed to the peasants (Scalat, 1945: 21).
45. For an analysis of the social and economic effects of the reform, see Mitrany (1930).
46. Particularly in the regions of the Old Kingdom.
47. Roberts (1951: 63-64).
48. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 700-703), Mladenatz (1940).
49. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 700-703), Pienesco (1940).
50. Gormsen (1945: 7-9).
51. See Chaianov (1966).
52. Cornatzeano (1940).
53. *L'Agriculture en Roumanie* (1929).
54. Cornatzeano (1940).
55. Ibid.
56. Moore (1945).
57. Moore (1945: 182-192, 197-204). See also Roberts (1951: 44-45).
58. Roberts (1951: 44-45). See also Moore (1945: 64).
59. Scalat (1945: 48), Roberts (1951: 370-371).
60. Gormsen (1945: 14-15).
61. Scalat (1945: 43-44).
62. *Recensamintul Agricol* (1948), Mitrany (1930: 185-226), Roberts (1951: 366-367).
63. According to Wolff (1956: 349) 90 per cent of the expropriated holdings and 50 per cent of the expropriated land was in Crişana-Banat, Maramureş and Transylvania.
64. *Agricultura României 1944-64* (1964: 24-25), Ionescu (1964: 111), Montias (1967: 88-89).
65. *Recensamintul Agricol* (1948).
66. Cresin (1948), *Recensamintul Agricol* (1948).
67. *Recensamintul Agricol* (1948).
68. See for example Cresin (1948).
69. See also Zagaroff, Vegh and Bili-movich (1955).
70. There were 1 346 000 ploughs in 1948 against 1 303 000 in 1927. *L'Agriculture en Roumanie* (1929), *Recensamintul Agricol* (1948).
71. *Agricultura României 1944-64*

- (1964: 36), see also Ionescu (1964: 187-189).
72. *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 50).
 73. The 1948 count had identified 256 000 (1.3 per cent) landless agricultural households.
 74. *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 35-36).
 75. *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 37).
 76. *Recensamintul Intreprinderilor* (1947).
 77. See for example *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 43).
 78. *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 41).
 79. Montias (1967: 93-100).
 80. Montias (1967: 96).
 81. Montias (1967: 101-102).
 82. In 1964 there were only 274 associations left.
 83. *Stațiuni de mașini și tractoare*, later *Stații pentru mecanizarea agriculturii* (SMA).
 84. Measured in horse power.
 85. *Dezvoltarea Agriculturii RPR* (1965: 74-75).
 86. 2.05 per cent a year in 1956-66, as against 1.18 per cent in 1948-56.
 87. Unfortunately, data on the labour flows between the state, cooperative and individual agricultural sectors do not exist. Only stock data are available.
 88. State farms had 5.5 ha of arable land per employed person in 1963. The capital-to-land quotient was of course higher on state farms than in the collective sector. In 1963 it was 8 019 lei/ha for state farms and 2 467 lei/ha for collective farms and machine stations combined.
 89. Ceaușescu (76.02.04).
 90. Traistaru & Traistaru (1979).
 91. See for example PCR (1975: 66).
 92. PCR (1975: 84).
 93. PCR (1975: 57-60).
 94. *Economia Romaniei Socialiste* (1978: 240).
 95. The Romanian word *Sistemiza* has no exact equivalent in English. It refers to geographic planning and organization and is generally used in a broad sense, including everything from county development planning to the design of buildings. It connotes that the network and the internal structure of localities are instruments to be used and manipulated to achieve national economic or political goals. It is distinct from *planificare*, which refers to sectorial or overall national planning. *Sistemiza* is defined as activities carried out to organize existing counties, towns and settlements in conformity with the present demands of society or to create new settlements, complexes and social, economic and cultural units (*Dictionarul statistic economic*, cited in Ciobotaru, 1971). To avoid confusion, systematization will be used to denote *sistemiza*, while *planificare* will be referred to as planning or sectorial planning.
 96. For a detailed account of the numerous administrative reforms carried out in Romania, see Helin (1967).
 97. Including 171 semi-urban communes (*localități asimilate urbanului*).
 98. Plus the Municipality of București.
 99. Ceaușescu (68.02.15), *Scinteia* (67.10.11).
 100. Blaga (1974: 34).
 101. See also PCR (1972: 13-108).
 102. Ceaușescu (68.02.15).
 103. Ibid.
 104. Ceaușescu (67.12.06), (68.02.15).
 105. *Scinteia* (67.10.11).
 106. Ceaușescu (68.02.15).
 107. Ibid.
 108. *Decretul 1981/15*.
 109. *Legea 1968/2*.
 110. Aleșd, Baia de Arama, Baraolt.

- Baile Tuşnad, Balan, Beclean, Bereşti, Boldeşti-Scaeni, Borşa, Brezoi, Buftea, Căvnic, Cehu Silvaniei, Chişineu-Criş Comarnic, Costeşti, Curtici, Darabani, Deta, Draganeşti-Olt, Faurei, Fieni, Filiaşi, Hirlau, Horezu, Ineu, Intorsura Buzăului, Jibou, Marghita, Motru, Nadlac, Navodari, Negreşti, Novaci, Ocna Sibiului, Pincota, Plopeni, Săveni, Sebiş, Segarcea, Taşnad, Titu, Tirgu Bujor, Tirgu Carbuneşti, Tirgu Frumos, Tirgu Lapuş, Topoloveni, Tândărei, Ţicleni, Videle, Vinju Mare, Vlahiţa and Zlatna.
111. *Consiliul Popular Judeţean and Consiliul Popular Oraşanesc/Comunal.*
 112. *Scinteia* (67.10.11).
 113. See for example Ceauşescu (68.02.15).
 114. *Sistematizarea localităţilor rurale.*
 115. *Scinteia* (67.10.11)
 116. Bogdan et al (1970), Constantinescu & Stahl (1970), Merfea (1973).
 117. PCR (1972: 476-499).
 118. PCR (1972: 476).
 119. PCR (1972: 479).
 120. PCR (1972: 485-486).
 121. *Comisia guvernamentală de sistematizare.*
 122. *Legea 1974/58.*
 123. Ibid.
 124. Generally 4 - 6 000 m².
 125. *Comitetul de Stat al Planificării.*
 126. *Comitetul pentru Problemele Consiliilor Populare.*
 127. The law does not prescribe systematization studies on communal level, but these were introduced later. See Ciobotaru (1977: 200).
 128. Ciobotaru (1977: 200).
 129. PCR (1975). Also available in English.
 130. PCR (1975: 85).
 131. Ciobotaru (1971: 44-46).
 132. The 1968 administrative division was used in the analyses for the sake of comparability and to show the importance of the administrative division to regional development. Another, cruder administrative map was used for regional development planning prior to 1968.
 133. Total production values are not published by county. Gross agricultural and industrial production values are available since 1970 and through indices can be traced back to 1965. Statistics on payrolls (*personal muncitor*) are available by county since 1950 and give a fairly good picture of the level of economic development as they exclude those engaged in cooperative and individual farming. Gross industrial production values and share of population on payrolls were used to determine the relative level of development. Braşov, Hunedoara, Prahova, Sibiu and Bucureşti, are the most developed counties, while Oltenia, southern Muntenia, eastern Moldavia and Bistriţa-Nasaud, Salaj and Tulcea are found at the lower end of the scale. The distinction between 'industrialized' and 'economically developed' is most noticeable in the counties on the Danubian Plain, where a rich agriculture partly compensates for a small industrial output, but hardly enough to change the relative position of the counties.
 134. Bacău, Braşov, Constanţa, Hunedoara, Neamţ, Prahova and Bucureşti.
 135. Most of these counties were peripheral parts of larger administrative regions.
 136. See Appendix, Table 24.
 137. Ceauşescu (1968.02.15).
 138. Buzău, Covasna, Harghita, Ialomiţa, Mehedinţi, Olt, Suceava and Vâlcea (Ceauşescu, 68.02.15).
 139. *Anuarul Statistic* (1979: 392-401).
 140. Dinu (1973).
 141. The actual growth rate was 13.8 per cent a year.

142. The recorded annual growth rates were: Olt 31 per cent, Tulcea 11, Salaj 23, Vilcea 16, Mehedinti 22, Teleorman 20, Bistrița-Nasaud 17, Vaslui 18 and Buzau 21 per cent.
143. In 1975 the gross industrial production in the least industrialized counties amounted to 1 808 million lei in Bistrița-Nasaud, 2 082 million lei in Salaj, 2 675 million lei in Tulcea, 3 388 million lei in Botoșani and 3 494 million lei in Covasna (*Anuarul Statistic*, 1980, 145).
144. Gross industrial production in 1980 was 4 690 million lei in Bistrița-Nasaud, 6 496 in Tulcea, 6 558 in Salaj, 7 005 in Botoșani, 7 550 in Vrancea, 9 003 in Covasna, 9 440 in Vaslui and approximately 8 100 million lei in Ialomița (*Anuarul Statistic*, 1980: 155).
145. In Bistrița-Nasaud and Salaj investments were 3.5 times larger in 1976-80 than in 1971-75.
146. In 1977 the least populated county, Covasna, had 200 500 inhabitants and the most populated, Ilfov, had 780 800. București excluded.
147. PCR (179).
148. With planned annual growth rates of 12.4, 12.3, 12.3, 11.5, 11.1 and 10.5 per cent respectively, against 6.8 per cent for the whole country (PCR, 1979a).
149. National income is planned to increase at an annual rate of 6.0-6.6 per cent in 1981-85, as against 10.4 per cent in 1976-80. The figures have since been revised downwards.
150. Small-scale manufacturing will increase its output value at an annual rate of 15.3 per cent against 9-10 for manufacturing as a whole (PCR, 1979b).
151. See Chapter IV, The Interwar Period.
152. Notably Satu Mare and Salaj in Maramureș, Bistrița-Nasaud in Transylvania and Botoșani, Vaslui and Vrancea in Moldavia.
153. Blaga (1979: 87-91, 126-131), *Economia Romaniei Socialiste* (1979: 267-289).
154. *Scinteia* (82.02.15).
155. *Scinteia* (82.02.28).
156. *Scinteia* (82.06.03), (82.06.11).
157. *Anuarul Statistic* (1979), Ceaușescu (79.11.19), Dragomirescu (1977: 12), Ianovici & Popescu (1977: 15), Lazarescu & Enache (1977: 20). In 1983 the numbers had not yet officially been revised, although they seemed increasingly unrealistic.
158. PCR (1972), (1975).
159. Cristea (1977a: 12), Cucu (1972: 49).
160. See Table 15.
161. Cucu (1977: 143-144). See also Cucu (1970), (1974), (1975), (1976) and Cristea (1977a: 13-14).
162. Traistaru & Traistaru (1979: 160-161).
163. See for example Cristea (1979b: 188), Bold Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 147-148).
164. Sampson (1979b).
165. PCR (1979a: 25).
166. Lazarescu & Enache (1977: 9).
167. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 176-177).
168. Future urban centres, agro-industrial centres and rural-urban centres are used more or less synonymously for the rural localities that will be developed into urban centres.
169. Matei & Matei (1972).
170. Barbat (1974a), (1974b), (1978).
171. The number was ultimately set at 129. The 1980 deadline was eventually changed for 1985.
172. The present problems in the agricultural sector are likely to cause a downward revision of these numbers. In a recent speech Ceaușescu even demanded that unskilled labour be transferred from construction and manufacturing to

- agriculture (*Scinteia* (82.02.28),
173. The data obviously refer to increase in the present system of towns.
174. PCR (1979a).
175. *Decretul 1975/53*.
176. Derer (1977: 42-43).
177. *Viza de reședința and viza de flotant*.
178. Arad, Brașov, Braila, București, Cluj-Napoca, Constanța, Craiova, Galați, Iași, Pitești, Ploiești, Sibiu, Timișoara and Tirgu Mures.
179. *Decretul 1976/88*.
180. *Recensamintul* (1966: Vol I, 85*).
181. Sampson (1979a: 510).
182. Ceaușescu (72.07.19).
183. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 18, 57).
184. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974), Matei & Matei (1977), Cucu (1977).
185. Cucu (1977: 163-170).
186. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 57).
187. Cucu (1977).
188. Cucu (1976a), (1977), Rey (1979).
189. *Comitetul pentru Problemele Consiliilor Populare*.
190. Baucher & Defour (1977: 56-61).
191. Baucher & Defour (1977: 49-53), PCR (1972: 485-486).
192. Bechet in Dolj, Belcești in Iași, Birla in Argeș, Flaminzi in Botoșani, Patulele in Mehedinți, Piatra in Teleorman and Putineiu in Ilfov (*Scinteia*, 77.04.17).
193. In 1977 the number of towns varied from two in Braila and Buzau to 13 in Prahova, with an average of six.
194. So far, the almost only cases of villages being forcibly dissolved have been in connection with the construction of dams and reservoirs. The most well-known example was the Turkish village Ada Kaleh on a Danubian island.
- Fourteen villages with 17 400 inhabitants were dissolved when the large hydroelectric plant on the Danube was constructed in the early Seventies. Constantinescu et al (1969).
195. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 109).
196. Matei & Matei (1977).
197. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 155-156).
198. Pavlu (1977: 36).
199. In 1966 some 40 per cent of the villages had less than 600 inhabitants and 6.9 per cent had less than 100 (Șandru, 1978: 338).
200. *Arhitectura* 1974/1.
201. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 166).
202. Susan & Susan (1979).
203. Obreja (1979).
204. A detailed list of standards is given in Cristea (1977c).
205. Very few systematization studies were made before the cooperativization of agriculture (Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu, 1974: 171).
206. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 181).
207. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 171-240).
208. Baucher & Defour (1977: 13).
209. Examples of delimitation of perimeters of build-up areas and splitting of lots are given in Baucher & Defour (1977).
210. See for example PCR (1972: 481-494).
211. Bold, Matei & Sabadeanu (1974: 177-178).
212. *Arhitectura* 1971/1.
213. For a discussion on relations between planners and the people, see Sampson (1981), (1982).
214. Baucher & Defour (1977: 162-170).
215. *Decretul 1981/313*. The law requires the rural and the urban agricultural population to be self-sufficient in food products.

CHAPTER III

1. Vital statistics before World War One are incomplete and of low quality. No attempt was made to study the demographic development in this period in any detail.
2. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 50).
3. Manuila (1940).
4. A matrix on inter-regional migration is provided in Appendix, Table 4.
5. The *regateni* were sent to the new provinces to replace former Hungarian, Russian and Austrian administrators.
6. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964: 185).
7. The figure refers to the 1941-47 period; i.e. includes the first turbulent postwar years, but not the year of the partition of Romania (1940).
8. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 74), *Buletinul Demografic al Romaniei* (1948: Vol XVI/3-4).
9. *Recensamintul* (1948).
10. See *Comunicari Statistice* (1945-48).
11. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei* (1964: 186).
12. Wolff (1956: 236), Ionescu (1964: 91).
13. Ethnicity measured by religion.
14. *Comunicari Statistice* (1945: Vol 6-7). Ethnicity measured by nationality (*neam*), of these 134 200 were of Jewish faith.
15. Reitlinger (1953: 497).
16. Reitlinger (1953: 394-411).
17. *Şatra* by Zaharia Stancu.
18. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 76).
19. Including an increase in Bucureşti by 74 000.
20. Some 33 500 Yiddish speaking in 1948 and 13 500 in 1941.
21. Trebici (1976: 90, 105-112).
22. *Decretul 1966/779*.
23. 1966 - 1967.
24. / x100.
25. Unfortunately, the 1956 census did not register place of birth. The 1966 had to be used as a base for a study of migrational flows.
26. Including Bucovina, Bessarabia and South Dobrogea.
27. Some 58 per cent of the rural migration was intra-county, against 35 per cent of the migration to urban areas by 1966.
28. Arad, Braşov, Braila, Caras-Severin, Constanţa, Hunedoara, Ialomiţa, Sibiu, Timiş and Tulcea.
29. Constanţa 35 per cent, Braşov 33, Hunedoara 39, Timiş 29 and Caras-Severin 15 per cent.
30. Population native of, i.e. born in, the area.
31. Remote in the sense that the capital was not located within the county. It should be noted that the county division used here refers to the 1968 administrative division and not to the division in vigour at the time.
32. Salaj 82 per cent, Alba and Buzau 84, Botoşani, Gorj and Vâlcea 85, Vaslui 86, Harghita 87, Ilfov, Mehedinţi and Teleorman 88 and Dimboviţa 89 per cent.
33. Braşov, Caras-Severin, Constanţa Hunedoara and Timiş.
34. Measnicov & Birsan (1963).
35. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 190-191), Measnicov & Birsan (1963).
36. Only 385 700 urban dwellings were built between 1951 and 1960 (*Anuarul Statistic*, 1981: 464-65).
37. *Anuarul Statistic* (1974: 468-69), *Recensamintul* (1977: Vol I, 756). The comparison is not exact.
38. Notably Bistriţa-Nasaud, Botoşani, Buzau, Ilfov, Ialomiţa, Salaj, Teleorman and Vaslui.
39. Ozanne (1878).
40. *Recensamintul* (1930: Vol II).

41. See for example Clebert (1963).
42. *Recensamintul* (1899: L).
43. Seton-Watson (1945: 296).
44. In Romanian *Sași and Șvabi*.
45. In Romanian Ciuc, Odorheiu and Trei Scaune.
46. Singular *țara*.
47. The village of Feldioara was the object of study of a team of anthropologists from the Univ. of Massachusetts, led by prof. Cole. See also Sampson (1981), (1982).
48. See Appendix, Table 14.
49. See Appendix, Tables 14 and 33.
50. Babel (1926: Ch VI).
51. A Christian people of obscure origin speaking Turkish or Bulgarian.
52. Babel (1926: 219).
53. Ibid.
54. *Recensamintul* (1930: Vol II). Ethnicity measured by mother tongue.
55. Paget (1850: Vol II).
56. Birth rates in the Magyar Autonomous Region was used as a proxy for Szekler birth rates.
57. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 100-115).
58. Seton-Watson (1945: 152).
59. *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* (1944).
60. Reitlinger (1953).
61. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der BRD* (1960: 79).
62. These are only rough estimates. In view of the underestimation of the Germans in the 1948 count, data on casualties and expellees appear to be exaggerated. It is unclear if the data include Germans in Bucovina and Bessarabia.
63. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der BRD* (Various years).
64. *Statistical Abstract of Israel* (1973: 126-27).
65. Ibid.
66. *Recensamintul* (1956a), (1966: Vol I).
67. Paget (1850: Vol II, 77-78). The observations were made during a travel through the Banat.
68. *Magyar Törvények Tíz Kötetben* (1978: Vol VII, part 1-2).
69. Data refer to the whole of Hungary.
70. Seton-Watson (1934: 227).
71. For a division on county level, see Appendix, Tables 19-21.
72. Rimneanțu (1938).
73. Unfortunately, later data are not available. Mixed marriages have doubtless become more common in the latest decades.
74. In 1965 the Szekler birth rate was 14.4 against 12.9 for all Magyars.
75. A case in point is the omission of Yiddish as a mother tongue in the Hungarian censuses.
76. This was probably the case with the 1941 and 1948 censuses, but it may have influenced the results in other censuses as well.
77. The the 1977 census, mother tongue and nationality were only published combined. Those declaring different mother tongue and nationality, in all 44 875, were referred to as a residual group. Except in the case of Gypsies, this procedure was of little practical consequence.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 407).
2. For a study on the industrial progress in Romania before the Second World War, see Turnock (1977a).
3. *Ancheta Industrială 1901-1902* (1904: 6*).
4. *Ancheta Industrială 1901-1902* (1904: 45-110).
5. With the towns Piatra Neamț, Galați, Ploiești and Iași.
6. For data by county, see Appendix Table 22.
7. Lupu ed (1974: 292-299).
8. In German *Erzgebirge*.
9. The frequent occurrence of place-names beginning with Ocna, i.e. salt mine, shows the dispersion and abundance of salt in this area. The Romanian word for convict, *ocnaș*, is derived from *ocna*.
10. Paul & Puia (1974: 217), Lupu ed (1974: 300).
11. Data exclude extractive, domestic and ambulant industries. Data for C-B-M include the parts of these regions that are outside present Romania.
12. Defined as 'large manufacturing' in the Hungarian censuses.
13. A notable exception are the Moți in the Apuseni Mountains who specialized in the production of wood utensils, which they sold on long trips throughout Romania. Their products are still found in many Romanian homes.
14. A number of place-names beginning with Huta and Tauți are testimonies of Slovak colonies. Tauți is a romanianized form of the Magyar word *tot*, i.e. Slovak.
15. Suciu (1929: 691-705).
16. Cresin (1948). The figure refers to changes in the territories included in the 1941 census only.
17. Puia & Bozga (1974: 346).
18. In the occupied areas only 10-12 per cent of the livestock remained after the war (Dobre, 1977a: 192).
19. Dobre (1977b: 217), Puia & Bozga (1974: 346-353), Roberts (1951: 68).
20. Dobre (1977b: 217).
21. *Rumania: An Economic Handbook* (1924: 66).
22. *Rumania: An Economic Handbook* (1924: 62).
23. The cultivated area in Greater Romania was only two thirds of the 1914 level (Puia & Bozga, 1914: 354).
24. See Appendix, Table 23.
25. Dobre (1977c: 235).
26. Dobre (1977c: 235), Roberts (1951: 68).
27. The official Romanian definition of large-scale manufacturing as enterprises with more than twenty employed, was used for statistical reasons. It also serves the purpose of distinguishing industrial manufacturing from artisan and home industry.
28. Lupu ed (1974: 386), Roberts (1951: 68).
29. Roberts (1951: 71).
30. Lupu ed (1974: 403).
31. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 576-577).
32. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 499).
33. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 404).
34. *L'Agriculture en Roumanie* (1929), (1938).
35. Lupu ed (1974: 416).
36. Roberts (1951: 73).
37. Roberts (1951: 69).
38. For definition, see Table 43.
39. Lupu ed (1974: 418), Roberts (1951: 58).
40. Popescu (1929). Data are based on production in enterprises with at least 5 hp of installed power or 20 'qualified' workers.

41. See further Turnock (1977a),
42. Turnock (1977a: 334).
43. Turnock (1977a: 337).
44. Turnock (1977a: 338).
45. Cresin (1948). 49 respectively 51 per cent.
46. The counties of Cimpulung, Radauți and Suceava.
47. Cresin (1948).
48. *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/40: 380-383). Including handicraft.
49. For lack of data a comparison must be confined to the former Hungarian Territories, i.e. Crișana-Banat, Maramureș and Transylvania.
50. The administrative boundaries of Sighetu Marmăției, Hațeg and Miercurea Ciuc changed between the censuses, resulting in an additional increase of the urban population by 3 623 people. Since censuses were taken by different administrations it is likely that the methods of classification differ. Unfortunately, the 1930 census does not contain sufficiently detailed information on classification criteria to make an evaluation of these effects possible. Furthermore, the registration of the agricultural population may have been influenced by the agrarian reforms after World War One, which allotted land to a large number of landless agricultural workers.
51. *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* (1944).
52. In 1910 there were 8 200 non-Romanian landowners with more than 57 hectares of land (Ciomac, 1931: 18).
53. Paget (1850: Vol II, 351).
54. Paget (1850: Vol II, 140-41).
55. Paget (1850: Vol II, 171).
56. Paget (1850: Vol II, 248).
57. Ciomac (1931: 71-72).
58. *Recensământul* (1930: Vol V).
59. Reșița 74 per cent, Cimpina 58, Baia Sprie 53, Slanic 53 and Petroșani 51 per cent.
60. București excluded.
61. In 1930 Romania had 70 counties with an average population of 250 000 inhabitants.
62. For definitions, see Figure 7. See also Alexandersson (1950).
63. The highest proportion of agricultural population was found in Plenița 90 per cent, Tuzla 86, Băilești 84, Comrat 78, Darabani and Zimnicea 76, Baile Govora and Strehaia 74 and Solca and Zastravna 70 per cent.
64. For an in-depth analysis of the economic development in the first four of these periods, see Montias (1967).
65. Montias (1967: 17).
66. For example, the number of freight cars in working order fell from 68 815 in 1945 to 28 676 in 1950 (Conrad, 1953: 73).
67. The United States and Great Britain did not forward any claims.
68. Montias (1967: 16-19).
69. Sovrompetrol (founded in 1945), Sovromtransport (1945), Tars (air transport, 1945), Sovrombanc (1945), Sovromlemn (lumber, 1946), Sovromchim (chemical industry, 1948), Sovromtractor (1948), Sovromgaz (1949), Sovromconstrucții (construction, 1949), Sovromasigurări (insurance, 1949), Sovromutilaj (oil equipment, 1952), Sovromnaval (ship building, 1952), Sovromcvarț (uranium, 1952). Montias (1967: 19).
70. Montias (1967: 21).
71. Montias (1967: 27). The percentages are rough estimates only.
72. Including mining.
73. The official distinction between 'group A' industries - manufacturing producer goods - and 'group B' industries - turning out consumer goods - was adopted for the sake of convenience. The former includes mining, metallurgy, building materials, and most of 'energy', machine building, chemicals, lumber and wood working.

- Group B includes the garment, shoes, leather and furniture industries, as well as most of the textile, food processing, cosmetics and part of the glass and porcelain, printing and machine building industries.
74. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964: 86-88).
 75. For example, in București only 872 new apartments were added to the housing stock between 1949 and 1953, while the population increased by over 100 000 (Montias, 1967: 25).
 76. Zagoroff, Vegh & Bilimovich (1955: 85).
 77. Agricultural statistics for the 1944-50 period generally leave much to be desired and is almost nonexistent for the years 1945-1947.
 78. *Agricultura Romaniei 1944-64* (1964: 39-40), Ionescu (1956: 64-65).
 79. Ionescu (1956: 64-65).
 80. According to Ionescu (1956: 64) the state purchase price of wheat was 5.60 lei compared to 30 lei on the open market.
 81. Montias (1967: 40).
 82. *Forța de munca* (1966: 42-43).
 83. *Forța de munca* (1966: 25).
 84. Montias (1967: 129).
 85. Montias (1967: 116). The numbers refer to the private and cooperative sectors only.
 86. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 148-149).
 87. Montias (1967: 56).
 88. Montias (1967: 69).
 89. *Forța de munca* (1966: 42-43).
 90. Cereal production was 9.8 million tons in 1960 against 15 in the plans and between 1960 and 1965 agricultural production increased by a mere 13 per cent against planned 70-80 per cent.
 91. Montias (1967: 102).
 92. Montias (1967: 102).
 93. Montias (1967: 126).
 94. Schönfeld (1977: 310).
 95. To avoid dependency on the Soviet Union oil was imported for convertible currency at high prices from the OPECs.
 96. Official production targets were seldom attained.
 97. The proportion of the active population working in agriculture fell from 57.1 per cent in 1966 to 36.8 in 1977, still among the highest in Europe.
 98. See for example *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964: 3-15, 55-60 and 515-519), *Monografia geografica a RPR* (1960: 73-108).
 99. A major disadvantage is the almost complete lack of information on physical establishments. Most statistics concern juridical units. However, relatively few juridical units consist of more than one establishment.
 100. *Recensamintul Intreprinderilor* (1947).
 101. The former state enterprises and the nationalized ones had 85 per cent of the national manufacturing capacity. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964: 53-59).
 102. Almost half of those engaged in cooperatives were rural dwellers.
 103. Some changes may have been fictitious as data refer to firms and not to factories.
 104. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 138).
 105. These restrictions were de facto abolished in 1982.
 106. Electric power, fuels, metallurgy, machine building and chemicals.
 107. Brașov, Hunedoara, Ploiești and the Municipality of București.
 108. Annual averages.
 109. *Investiții-Construcții* (1966: 168-283).
 110. The figures refer to truncated Romania only.
 111. Comparisons between the industrial structures of 1930 and 1956, Table

- 11, should be made with caution as 1930 data refer to total population and those of 1956 to the gainfully employed. According to the 1956 census 76.7 per cent of the active population was in agriculture in 1930. Assuming this to be correct, this share did probably not fall by more than five percentage units between 1948 and 1956 (*Recensamintul*, 1956a: XXIX).
112. *Forța de muncă* (1966: 42-43).
113. Maramureș, Muntenia, Dobrogea and Moldavia.
114. In most cases the increase probably falls within the margin of error due to the imperfect comparability of the data. See remarks to Table 61.
115. Only net changes in the industrial structure are available.
116. See also Table 62.
117. In Moldavia the merging of a large number of small counties into large regions may also have reduced employment in administration.
118. *Forța de muncă* (1966: 42-43).
119. In 1930 some 21 per cent of the urban population earned their living from 'various' or 'unspecified' activities. The latter was defined as other than agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction, credit, commerce, transportation and employment in public institutions.
120. *Forța de muncă* (1966: 42-43).
121. See Appendix, Table 30.
122. Botoșani 65 per cent, Vrancea 61, Bistrița-Nasaud and Vaslui 59, Olt and Teleorman 57, Ialomița 54, Salaj 52 and Dolj, Mehedinți and Vâlcea 51 per cent.
123. București 2 per cent, Brașov 11, Prahova 20, Sibiu 21, Hunedoara 23 and Constanța 25 per cent.
124. Actually, București topped with 46 per cent.
125. *Școala elementară*, i.e. compulsory school or less.
126. *Forța de muncă* (1966: 277).
127. Active population only.
128. See further Chapter V.
129. *Recensamintul* (1966: Vol I, LXXX).
130. Classification criteria varied slightly between the 1956, 1966 and 1977 censuses. It was a goal of the new regime to increase the working class and this may have influenced the classification criteria, e.g. a classification transfer from 'functionaries' to 'workers'.
131. *Recensamintul* (1930: Vol V), (1966: Vol I, 175). The 1930 percentage refers to 'living from agriculture.
132. See Chapter VI.
133. The increase amounted to roughly 230 000 in Transylvania, 96 100 in Crișana-Banat, 44 600 in Muntenia, 18 100 in Maramureș and the decrease to 39 600 in Moldavia, 14 000 in Oltenia and 1 900 in Dobrogea, Tables 88 and 89.
134. In 1956 the share of the primary sector in towns declared prior to 1930 was 19.9 per cent in Maramureș, 9.8 in Crișana-Banat and 11.3 in Transylvania.
135. All occupational data for 1966 refer to the administrative division of 1968.
136. Twelve in 1956-66 and 53 in 1968.
137. On average, 45 per cent of the active population in the new towns worked in the primary sector, 33 per cent in the secondary sector and only 22 per cent in the tertiary sector in 1966, against 8.3, 50.4 respectively 41.3 per cent in the previously existing towns.
138. A discussion of the industrial structure of the day population must be based on 'guesstimates' for lack of data.
139. *Forța de muncă* (1966: 196).
140. Calculated as the residual.
141. *Forța de muncă* (1966: 32).
142. In fact, urban-rural commuting

- was common among professionals as doctors and teachers worked in villages but lived in towns.
143. The percentage of the rural population living from trade and commerce was 1.5 in 1930, 1.3 in 1956 and 1.7 in 1966. These data refer to the total population and are approximate. The classification criteria were not the same in all censuses.
 144. Braşov and Ilfov 26 percentage units, Harghita and Sibiu 25, Buzau, Cluj, Dimboviţa, Teleorman and Timiş 21 and Constanţa 20 percentage units.
 145. According to Iordan (1973: 93) commuters to Bucureşti increased from 8 500 in 1950 to 70 000 in 1970.
 146. Braila 10 percentage units, Botoşani and Vrancea 12, Vaslui 13, Suceava 14 and Iaşi 15 percentage units.
 147. Botoşani 79 per cent, Vaslui 78, Braila 75, Vrancea 74, Iasi 73, Dolj 72, Mehedinti and Bistrita-Nasaud 70 per cent.
 148. Braşov 32 per cent, Prahova 35, Sibiu 42, Dimboviţa 43, Hunedoara 44, Covasna and Argeş 49 per cent.
 149. Ghidu (1979).
 150. Ciotea et al (1979).
 151. Reghin 10 000, Sighişoara 10 000, Tirnaveni 6 000 and Ludus 4 000.
 152. See also Vereş (1979).
 153. The data for 1966 refer to post-1968 reform situation. The administrative changes in 1956-66 were comparatively small.
 154. Balan 93 per cent, Azuga, Cavnic, Plopeni and Vulcan 87, Lupeni 83, Cismadie and Fieni 82, Petrila 81, Baia Sprie and Zarnesti 79, Hunedoara 78, Anina, Brezoi and Victoria 76 per cent.
 155. *Recensamintul* (1966: Vol VII, 85-143). Data were based on a division of manufacturing into twelve branches.
 156. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 138). Including cooperative firms and local manufacturing firms.
 157. Ionescu (1973: 92).
 158. For definitions, see Figures 9-12.
 159. Baile Govora, Baile Herculane, Baile Tuşnad, Borsec, Calimaneşti, Eforie, Predeal, Slanic Moldova and Techirghiol.
 160. Cismadie, Rîşnov, Sacele and Zarnesti.
 161. Cavnic and Lupeni.
 162. Unfortunately, studies on 'town proper' over time cannot be made since only the 1966 census permits this breakdown. The difference between 'administrative town' and 'town proper' is discussed further in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

1. Okey (1981: 32).
2. Seton-Watson (1934), Ungureanu (1980).
3. Orșova, Turnu Severin, Calafat, Corabia, Turnu Magurele, Zimnicea, Giurgiu, Oltenița, Calarași and Braila.
4. The population of București increased from 50 400 in 1835 to 121 700 in 1859 to 276 200 in 1899 and to 375 000 in 1912 (Dragoș, 1967).
5. For an excellent study of the Moldavian towns, see Ungureanu (1980).
6. Tufescu (1977: 87-90).
7. Cucu (1970: 36).
8. Manuila & Georgescu (1938).
9. E.g. Filipești, Chilia Veche, Mahmudia, Mihaileni and Ostrov.
10. The population of towns existing both in 1859 and 1899 increased from 552 000 to 1 050 000 (*Recensământul*, 1899: XX).
11. Thirring (1912: 52-54).
12. Falticeni, Gura Humorului, Hir-lau, Iași, Mihaileni, Pascani and Tirgu Ocna.
13. E.g. Calafat and Slatina in Oltenia; Alexandria, Filipești-Tirg, Gaesti, Mizil, Urlați, Urziceni, Valenii de Munte and Zimnicea in Muntenia; Chilia Veche, Cusgun, Isaccea, Macin, Mahmudia and Ostrov in Dobrogea and Hir-lau, Huși, Mihaileni and Pașcani in Moldavia.
14. Cojocna, Gheorgheni, Ocna Sibiului and Sebeș.
15. See Chapter II.
16. Since many Jews reported Hungarian as their mother tongue and since no distinction was made in the censuses between Yiddish and German, part of the Hungarian and German speaking population referred to was Jewish. Statistics on Jews were taken from tables on religious affiliation.
17. Administrative changes calculated as total change less change within the urban intercensal cohort.
18. E.g. Adjud, Miercurea Ciuc, Ocnele Mari, Odobești, Orșova, Panciu Plenița, Slobozia and Urziceni.
19. E.g. Panciu 70 per cent, Urziceni 59 and Adjud, Odobești and Suceava 40 per cent.
20. A definition based on towns excluding suburban communes was used. In a few cases where villages have merged with a town since 1930, these were included as well. There were eight such cases: București, Craiova, Calarași, Galați, Oltenița, Tirgu Jiu, Turda and Turnu Magurele. These account for a small part of the administrative changes shown in Tables 82 and 83.
21. In the case of Bessarabia between 1897 and 1930.
22. Chilia Veche, Cojocna, Ion Corvin, Mahmudia and Ocna Sibiului.
23. Beiuș, Lipova, Oravița and Reșița.
24. Blaj, Huedin, Nasaud and Petroșani.
25. Baile Govora, Bailești, Balș, Calimanești, Orșova and Strehăia.
26. Pucioasa.
27. Eforie and Techirghiol.
28. Adjud, Buhuși, Darabani, Marășești Moinești, Pașcani, Saveni, Solca and Vatra Dornei.
29. Calarași-Tirg, Comrat, Leova, Tuzla and Vilcov.
30. The foundation of the modern administrative division of Romania was made by Kogalniceanu in 1864, through a division of the country into rural and urban communes. In 1925 a number of important towns received the status of cities (*municipii*) and in 1929 a law made it possible for spas to receive urban status. No written criteria existed for granting urban status, but towns were decreed by the government on the initiative of the respective communal council.

- (Regetan, 1965). The towns distinguished themselves from the rural communes mainly by their more extensive obligations to provide public services.
31. The average growth of the new towns between 1910/12 and 1930 was 0.76 per cent a year, Bessarabia excluded, compared with 1.18 for the urban system as a whole. Between 1930 and 1941 the respective annual growth rates were 1.13 and 1.91 per cent.
 32. Romania including Bessarabia, Bucovina and South Dobrogea.
 33. Excluding Bucovina, Bessarabia, and South Dobrogea.
 34. Bucovina, Bessarabia and South Dobrogea excluded.
 35. Bacau, Bazargic (1897-1930), Bucureşti, Buhuşi, Cluj, Constanţa, Eforie, Mangalia, Medias, Silistra, Techirghiol, Tirgu Mures and Tirnaveni.
 36. Between 1930 and 1941 net migration to Bucureşti amounted to 328 900, compared to a natural increase of 20 300.
 37. See Regetan (1945), Marin-Dunare (1945) and Constantinescu (1971).
 38. Marin-Dunare (1945).
 39. Birlad, Focşani, Radauşi and Suceava.
 40. Manuila (1935: XXIV-XXV).
 41. Particularly the village Vidra was thoroughly investigated by sociologists in the interwar period. See for example Florescu (1937), (1938). For a comprehensive study of the Apuseni Mountains, see Ciomac & Popa-Necşa (1936).
 42. A census in 1936 in the commune of Vidra showed that 236 out of 283 heads of households were seasonal migrants (Florescu, 1938). A study of the village Certeze in Oaş in 1977, under the auspices of professor Aluaş, revealed similarly high numbers.
 43. Constantinescu (1971: 53).
 44. Caransebeş, Carei, Beiuş, Lipova, Lugoj, Sighetu Marmaţiei and Zalău.
 45. Carei, Gherla, Huedin, Petroşani and Salonta.
 46. Rimneanţu (1938).
 47. Dragomir (1927).
 48. Baile Govora, Calimaneşti, Ocnele Mari, Pucioasa and Slanic.
 49. Chilia Veche, Ion Corvin and Mahmudia.
 50. The cession of Bessarabia and Bucovina to the Soviet Union in June 1940 had led to an exodus of Romanians from these territories, which must have affected the population of many towns in Moldavia. Also, The census was taken at a time of open anti-semitism and an explicit aim of the census was to provide a picture of the Jewish situation in Romania (Burgdörfer, 1942).
 51. Ethnicity measured by mother tongue. Measured by religion the Jewish proportion of the urban population was larger.
 52. E.g. Cimpulung Moldovenesc 17 per cent, Gura Humorului 44, Radauti 32, Siret 27, Solca 30, Suceava 27 and Vatra Dornei 24 per cent.
 53. Cozmeni 70.5 per cent, Zastravna 78 and Vascauţi-pe-Ceremus 70 per cent.
 54. Herţa 70 per cent. However, this town historically belonged to Moldavia and not to Bucovina, but was included in the areas ceded to the Soviet Union in 1940.
 55. 1930-41.
 56. The 1948 census was published only in the form of an article.
 57. A first edition of the census was published in accordance with the administrative division in vigour at the time of the census, but this edition was not available for this study.
 58. 1941 figure.
 59. The population figures for individual towns included the suburban communes attached to them in 1941 and 1948.
 60. Buşteni, Cîsnădie, Moreni, Racari and Sinnicolae Mare. Bistriţa and Nasaud were not registered as

- towns in the 1941 Hungarian census. As they had been towns in the past and have continued to be towns in the postwar period their rural status during the Hungarian occupation was disregarded.
61. Extended boundaries led to a more than fifty per cent population increase in nine towns: Lipova 86 per cent, Abrud 83, Calimaneşti 68, Brad 64, Suceava 64, Miercurea Ciuc 56, Panciu 55 and Baia Sprie and Pucioasa 52 per cent.
 62. Anina, Baicoi, Comaneşti, Dr Petru Groza, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Lupeni, Moldova Noua, Nucet, Petrila and Vulcan.
 63. Notably Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Comaneşti, Dr Petru Groza, Lupeni, Nucet, Petrila and Vulcan.
 64. Apparently the mines were opened on Soviet initiative after the war to supply the Soviet Union with uranium.
 65. Baile Herculane, Baile Olanesti, Borsec, Breaza, Buzias, Covasna and Şovata.
 66. The population of Braşov increased from 82 144 in 1948 to 123 834 in 1956.
 67. Codlea, Risnov, Sacele and Zarnesti.
 68. Agnita, Cristuru Secuiesc, Jimbolia, Rupea, Topliţa and Vişeu de Sus.
 69. Baia de Arama, Darabani, Falciu, Filipeşti de Tîrg, Hirlau, Huedin, Mihaileni, Ostrov, Pleniţa, Racari, Saveni, Stefanesti-Tîrg, Tîrgu Frumos and Vama.
 70. Darabani, Mihaileni, Saveni and Stefanesti-Tîrg. The latter had been devastated in the war.
 71. Baia de Arama, Darabani, Hirlau, Saveni and Tîrgu Frumos.
 72. Pleniţa, Racari and Stefanesti-Tîrg.
 73. Bicaş, Bocşa, Calan, Cimpeni, Copşa Mica, Cugir, Huedin, Luduş, Negreşti-Oaş, Oţelu Roşu and Uricani.
 74. Bocşa, Calan, Copşa Mica, Cugir, Luduş, Oţelu Roşu and Uricani.
 75. For a detailed account of the reform, see Chapter II.
 76. *Localitaţi asimilate urbanului.*
 77. *Comune suburbane.*
 78. See further Chapter II.
 79. Baia de Arama, Darabani, Hirlau, Ocna Sibiului, Saveni and Tîrgu Frumos.
 80. Aleşd, Chişineu Criş, Curtici, Deta, Ineu, Marghita, Nadlac, Pincota, Sebiş and Taşnad.
 81. Borşa, Cavnic, Cehu Silvaniei, Jibou and Tîrgu Lapuş.
 82. Baraolt, Balan, Baile Tuşnad, Beclean, Intorsura Buzaului, Ocna Sibiului, Vlahiţa and Zlatna.
 83. Baia de Arama, Brezoi, Draganesti Olt, Filiaşi, Horezu, Motru, Novaci, Segarcea, Tîrgu Carbunesti, Ţicleni and Vinju Mare.
 84. Costeşti, Faurei, Titu, Topoloveni, Ţandarei and Videle.
 85. Boldeşti Scaeni, Comarnic, Fieni and Plopeni.
 86. Darabani, Hirlau, Saveni and Tîrgu Frumos.
 87. Bereşti, Negreşti and Tîrgu Bujor.
 88. *Localitaţi componente oraşului and localitaţi care aparţin oraşului.*
 89. Cucu (1977: 156).
 90. Out of 236 towns.
 91. Correlation coefficient -0.115.
 92. Notably, Arad, Bacau, Braşov, Braila, Cluj-Napoca, Constanţa, Craiova, Iaşi, Oradea, Piteşti, Ploieşti, Sibiu, Timişoara and Turda.
 93. See further Table 1.
 94. Measnicov (1968b).
 95. See Measnicov (1968b).
 96. Ibid.
 97. Excluding Bucureşti.
 98. Arad, Mehedinţi, Sibiu and Timiş.
 99. Administrative changes led to a further increase to 27.1 per cent in 1956.

100. I.e. had an annual growth rate exceeding 9 per cent. The towns were Victoria (non-existent in 1948), Nucet 40.6 per cent a year, Dr Petru Groza 35.0, Hunedoara 19.6, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej 12.8, Medgidia 10.4, Eforie 10.2 and Moineşti and Vulcan 9.4 per cent a year.
101. Dr Petru Groza, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Nucet and Victoria.
102. Their names emphasized their roots in the socialist industrialization. Dr Petru Groza was the first leader of the new regime, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was First Party Secretary until 1965 and Victoria is Romanian for victory.
103. Botoşani, Dorohoi, Rîmnicu Sărat, Slatina, Turnu Magurele and Vaslui.
104. Alba Iulia, Braila, Buzău, Caracal, Calăraşi, Cîmpulung, Dej, Focşani, Giurgiu, Huşi, Radauţi, Rîmnicu Sărat, Tirgu Jiu, Turnu Severin and Zalău.
105. Less than 1.21 per cent a year.
106. Except for Braila.
107. I.e. less than 1.21 per cent a year.
108. Breaza, Cristuru Secuiesc, Jimbolia and Şovata.
109. An analogous discussion is found in Romanian literature where it is argued that urban growth before the war was anarchical.
110. See for example Ceauşescu (62.02.15).
111. Failure to relieve the housing shortage, restrictiveness in the granting of residence visa and in the creation of new jobs hampered Bucureşti's growth.
112. Oltenia's urban population increased by 104 600 in 1956-66 against 21 500 in 1948-56.
113. Eforie, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Mangalia, Victoria and Zărneşti.
114. Bicaz, Dr Petru Groza, Isaccea, Moreni, Nucet, Ocnele Mari and Vascau.
115. Bicaz had grown with the construction of a hydroelectric complex on the Bistriţa river.
116. The natural increase in urban areas in 1948-56 amounted to approximately 400 000 (*Anuarul Statistic*, 1974: 142, 306). The total increase of the urban cohort was 717 600.
117. Cucu and Urucu (1967). Unfortunately they grouped the towns according to size at the end rather than the beginning of the period, which reduced the value of their study for our purposes.
118. *Recensămîntul* (1966: Vol IV). 5.2 per cent of the migrants had not declared when they had established residence.
119. Baile Tuşnad, Balan, Dr Petru Groza, Eforie, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Hunedoara, Mangalia, Navodari, Plopeni, Predeal, Sinaia and Victoria.
120. *Anuarul Demografic* (1974: 142-43, 236-237). Including suburban communes.
121. *Anuarul Demografic* (1974: 142-43, 236-37), *Anuarul Statistic* (1976), (1977), (1978). Including suburban communes.
122. Trebici (1976: 105 ff).
123. *Anuarul Demografic* (1974: 224-25).
124. Arad, Caraş-Severin and Hunedoara *Anuarul Statistic* (1978: 64-65).
125. Unfortunately, statistics on the background of students are not available.
126. Ilfov 10 per cent, Botoşani and Salaj 16, Bistriţa-Nasaud, Dimboviţa and Olt 17, Buzău and Teleorman 18 and Vâlcea and Vrancea 19 per cent.
127. Braşov 61 per cent and Hunedoara 59 per cent.
128. The target was set at a minimum of 10 000 lei gross industrial production in all counties by 1980.
129. The correlation coefficient was -0.34.
130. See further Chapter II.
131. Unfortunately, data on investments are not available below county level.

132. This was true for all the new counties, i.e. those not possessing a former regional capital, except for Arad, Braiila and Sibiu.
133. I.e. those which had not been regional capitals under the old administrative system.
134. Balan, Motru and Plopeni.
135. Cavnic, Darabani, Horezu, Negrești, Saveni, Segarcea, Tirgu Carbunestii, Vinju Mare and Zlatna.
136. *Recensamintul* (1966: Vol VII, part 1), (1977: Vol II, 534-600).
137. Balan, Mangalia, Miercurea Ciuc, Motru, Pitești, Plopeni, Rîmnicu Vilcea, Slatina, Slobozia, Tirgoviște, Vaslui and Zalău.
138. Botoșani, Deva, Sfintu Gheorghe and Tirgu Jiu.
139. Anina, Cavnic, Calan, Lupeni, Nucet, Uricani, Vașcau and Zlatna.
140. Darabani, Negrești, Saveni, Segarcea, Solca and Vinju Mare.
141. Horezu and Slanic Moldova.
142. Measured as the rates of migrants from a county - natives less natives and residents - living in the respective urban region in 1977.
143. The urban regions were București, Brașov, Cluj, Constanța, Craiova, Galați, Hunedoara, Iași and Timișoara. As data on individual towns were not available, the data for all urban regions, except București, refer to the sum of towns in the county.
144. For rates, see Appendix, Table 13.
145. In 1941-48 the urban population declined by 1.33 per cent a year, as against 0.02 per cent for rural areas. However, the latter number is an approximation since the exact area of the region can not be calculated from the 1941 census.
146. The number is based on the 1948 urban boundaries and network.
147. Yiddish was declared as mother tongue by 38 per cent of Sighetu Marmației's population in 1930.
148. 4.95 per cent a year in 1948-56 and 5.69 in 1956-66.
149. The present county of Caraș-Severin.
150. Including boundary changes, see Table 89.
151. Anina, Bocșa, Dr Petru Groza, Moldova Noua, Nucet, Oțelu Roșu and Vașcau.
152. See Appendix, Table 24.
153. Ștefanescu (1971).
154. Ștefanescu (1974).
155. *Recensamintul* (1966: Vol IV). Later data were not available.
156. These data are not fully comparable as they do not refer to a cohort. The 1966 data include the population of towns declared in 1968.
157. See Appendix, Table 18. Data on the ethnic structure of individual towns were not available for 1966 or 1977.
158. In 1930 the Romanians were the largest ethnic group in another three towns; Baia Mare, Lugoș and Sighetu Marmației.
159. Except for București.
160. Petroșani, Lupeni, Petrila and Vulcan. The latter three declared urban in 1950.
161. *Anuarul Demografic* (1974: 462-63), Measnicov, Hristache & Trebici (1977: 80, 93, 103-04).
162. Measnicov, Hristache & Trebici (1977: 80-93, 103-04).
163. Brașov, Codlea, Risnov, Sacele and Zărnești.
164. The slow increase of the region's rural population in 1948-56 turned into a decline in 1956-66.
165. Calan, Lupeni and Uricani.
166. Except for the small town of Vulcan.
167. See Appendix, Table 18.
168. Abrud, Hațeg, Hunedoara and Sebeș.
169. Notably Hunedoara and Alba Iulia.
170. In Hungarian Gyergyoszentmiklos,

Csik-Szereda, Szekely-Udvarhely, Sepsi-Szent-György, Maros-Vasarhely and Kezdi-Vasarhely.

171. Measnicov (1968b).
172. This concern should be interpreted in the context of the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture, which greatly increased the potential for rural-urban migration in agricultural areas as Oltenia.
173. 203 versus 1 924 lei per capita and year. See Appendix, Table 24.
174. 'Electroputere', '7 Noiembrie' and 'Combinatul Chimic de la Işalniţa'.
175. Its average annual growth rate increased from 0.27 per cent in 1948-56 to 4.59 in 1956-66.
176. The present counties of Dimboviţa and Prahova.
177. The present counties of Braila, Buzau, Teleorman and Ialomiţa.
178. The Municipality of Bucureşti was separate from the administrative region of Bucureşti.
179. Except for the county of Ilfov, for which Bucureşti acted as county capital.
180. 46.4 per cent in 1948-56 and 54.1 in 1956-66.
181. Cimpulung Moldovenesc (338), Falciu (25), Radauţi (993), Solca (5) and Vama (374).
182. Ungureanu (1980: 14-17).
183. Ungureanu (1980: 58-59).
184. For example Botoşani, Dorohoi, Huşi, Marăşeşti, Radauţi and Solca.
185. Botoşani, Dorohoi, Radauţi, Siret and Saveni among others.
186. 21.6 per cent in 1956 as against 20.7 in 1860 (Ungureanu, 1980: 35-37).
187. The figure refers to Bacău County.
188. Ungureanu (1980: 59).
189. Both figures refer to the 1968 urban network and boundaries.

CHAPTER VI

1. *Recensement* (1909: IV).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Recensement* (1909: XIV).
4. *Recensement* (1909: XVI).
5. *Recensement* (1909: XXII).
6. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 84).
7. *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: 11, 86).
8. Ialomiţa had only 3.1 villages/100 km², as against Bacău 11.5 and Buzău 11.7. While Ialomiţa had four villages with less than 100 inhabitants, Bacău had 91 and Buzău 101.
9. *Annuaire Statistique Hongrois* (1902: 352).
10. The Law of Nationalities of 1868 states in paragraph 17: 'But since from the standpoint of general culture and well-being, the success of public instruction is one of the highest aims of the State also, the State is, therefore, bound to ensure that citizens living together in considerable numbers, of whatever nationality, shall be able to obtain instruction in the neighbourhood in their mother tongue, up to the point where the higher academic education begins.' (Seton-Watson, 1908: 432).
11. See further Seton-Watson (1908: 205-233) and Drage (1909).
12. Seton-Watson (1934: 406).
13. *Annuaire Statistique Hongrois* (1912: 22, 364).
14. *Annuaire Statistique Hongrois* (1912: 362).
15. Enescu & Enescu (1915).
16. Seton-Watson (1908: 214-15).
17. See Appendix, Table 33.
18. *Recensământul* (1948).
19. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 490-91, 494-95).
20. *Ibid.*

21. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964: 660-61).
22. Including universities, but excluding kindergarten.
23. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 490-91).
24. *Licee and școli medii tehnice și de specialitate*.
25. *Recensământul* (1966: Vol I, 188).
26. The 1977 census show no decline in higher education in the corresponding age groups.
27. *Anuarul Statistic* (1982: 281).
28. Lycee, secondary technical school and vocational school, including apprentices.
29. Data correlating level of education with place of birth were unfortunately not available.
30. Unpublished studies on the origin of students at the University of Cluj-Napoca support this conclusion.
31. *Recensământul* (1966: Vol I, L), (1977: Vol I, VIII).
32. Banu (1940).
33. Banu (1940).
34. Georgescu (1940). See also Lenghel-Izanu (1939).
35. As many as 200 days a year could be considered fasting days (Lenghel-Izanu, 1939).
36. I.e. the formerly autonomous region, inhabited and ruled by Germans.
37. Ciomac (1931: 71-72).
38. Paget (1850: Vol II).
39. Banu (1940).
40. See Table 123.
41. Constantinescu (1942), (1971).
42. Marin-Dunare (1942).
43. *Anuarul Demografic* (1974: 324-325).
44. *Anuarul Statistic* (1959: 332).
45. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 598), (1971: 732).
46. *Anuarul Statistic* (1963: 74), (1966: 598).
47. *Județul Satu Mare la cumpana dintre doua cincinale* (1971: 27).
48. A main project in this period was the paving of the road between Oradea and București.
49. *Monografia geografica* (1960: Vol II, annex XXIV).
50. Rail accounted for 83 per cent of the goods-kilometres and for 94 per cent of the person-kilometres in 1959 (*Anuarul Statistic*, 1966: 410-411).
51. *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 408).
52. *Anuarul Statistic* (1981: 474).
53. Montias (1967: 30).
54. Ibid. See also Conrad (1953: 27).
55. Montias (1967: 78-79). *Anuarul Statistic* (1966: 130). See Table 19.
56. Approximately 31 dollars according to the official exchange rate.
57. Assuming that the socialist retail trade had the same share of the purchases of all groups.
58. Cash payment amounted to 39 per cent of total pay in 1960 and 55 per cent in 1963 (*Agricultura Romaniei 1944-1964*, 1964: 380).
59. Montias (1967: 116-18).
60. *Dezvoltarea economica a Romaniei 1944-1964* (1964: 575).
61. Montias (1967: 116-18).
62. The following discussion is based on two extensive field studies carried out by scholars and students at the University Babeș-Bolyai under the auspices of professor Ioan Aluș. The first, made in 1974, was an inquire into the situation of intellectuals working in rural areas in the county of Cluj. It was based on a comprehensive questionnaire submitted to 1 850 of 3 800 intellectuals. The second study was a vast interdisciplinary investigation in 1977-78 of the Oaș region in the extreme northwest of Romania, studying most facets of the region and its development potentials. The backward economic state of this region received increased

- government attention in the early Seventies and the ultimate aim of the study was to provide a basis for development planning. The backbone of the investigation was a comprehensive socio-economic questionnaire applied to 2 700 households and almost 10 000 individuals in four villages; Camirzana, Certeze, Tur and Turț. Results of the investigation have been published in *Studia Universitara Babeș-Bolyai* and in *Napoca Universitara* (1977/2) and remain to be published in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic din Transilvania*.
63. Data were obtained from approximately 90 per cent (2 672) of the households in the villages of Camirzana, Certeze, Tur and Turț. In the former two agriculture is still private, while the latter two are collectivized.
 64. The exact percentages were: Group A 47, group B 67, group C 53 and group D 75.
 65. Most Romanians in Crișana-Banat, Maramureș and Transylvania belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church until it was banned in the late Forties.
 66. The church prescribes seven weeks of lent before Eastern, six weeks before Christmas and two weeks before Saint Peter's Day in August.
 67. Unfortunately, later data were not available.
 68. Including the Greek Catholic.
 69. This was even more the case in the past.
 70. This has been a recurrent theme in Ceaușescu's speeches. For a discussion on the subject, see Gilberg (1975).
 71. Irimie (1980). This investigation was a part of the Oaș research project (note 62 above).
 72. This custom is still alive in the Oaș region, where the study was made, but has been lost in most other parts of the country.
 73. See for example Florescu (1937), (1938).
 74. Doubts arose over the reliability of some of the data on the frequency of cultural manifestations during the collection and processing of the data. However, such errors would not be large enough to change the general picture.

CHAPTER VII

1. Except for South Dobrogea.
2. Data were not available for the other regions.
3. The comparison does not include changes in the territories ceded to Bulgaria, Hungary and the USSR in 1940.
4. The rates in this period were affected by population losses during World War One.
5. Blaga (1974).
6. See Appendix, Table 24.
7. Tertiary employment in 1930 included a large residual of 'other occupations' and 'unspecified'.
8. Blaga (1974: 48). According to the same source the ratio was one to ten in 1950.
9. The administrative region of București was distinct from the Municipality of București. It comprised the southern part of Muntenia.
10. Except for București, but massive migration from rural areas to the capital was considered undesirable.
11. See Chapter II, Spatial Development Planning.
12. Blaga (1974: 34), PCR (1972: 12-108).
13. See for example Ceaușescu (67.12.06), (68.02.15).
14. Constantinescu (1970).
15. Vilceanu & Constantin (1973).
16. In the late Seventies the right to a personal piece of land was made conditional to working a minimum of days on the collective farm.
17. Except when it automatically follows from a profession or occupation.
18. Cacoveanu (1982: 56-59).

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APPENDIX

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Table 1. Short Guide To Romanian Pronunciation

a	- like 'a' in <u>class</u> , but shorter
ă	- like 'e' in <u>father</u>
â	- see î
e	- like 'e' in <u>bed</u>
i	- like 'ee' in <u>seen</u> , but shorter
î	- resembles the vowel represented by 'o' in <u>lesson</u> in affected speech
o	- like 'o' in <u>sport</u> , but shorter
u	- like 'oo' in <u>moon</u> , but shorter
c	- like 'c' in <u>scar</u> , except when followed by e or i
c followed by e or i	- like 'ch' in <u>chair</u>
g	- like 'g' in <u>going</u> , except when followed by e or i
g followed by e or i	- like 'j' in <u>jam</u>
j	- like 's' in <u>pleasure</u>
ș	- like 'sh' in <u>shoe</u>
ț	- like 'ts' in <u>cats</u>
ch and gh	- see c respectively g

The letters b, d, f, h, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, x and z are pronounced as in English. All letters are pronounced, apart from 'i' at the end of a word which is mute except in infinitives.

Table 2. Romanian - Hungarian - German Dictionary of Place-names in
Crişana - Banat, Maramureş and Transylvania

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>Hungarian</u>	<u>German</u>
Abrud	Abrudbánya	Altenburg, Gross-Schlatten
Aiud	Nagyenyed	Grossenyed, Strassburg
Alba Iulia	Gyulafehérvár	Weissenburg, Karlsburg
Aleşd	Elesd	
Anina, Staierdorfanina	Stajerlak	Heuerdorf
Arad	Arad	Arad
Baia Mare	Nagybanya	Frauenbach
Baia Sprie	Felsőbanya	Mittelstadt
Baraolt	Barót	
Băile Herculane	Herkulesfürdő	Herculesbad
Băile Tuşnad	Tusnádfürdő	
Bălan, Poiana Mărului	Balánbanya	
Beclean	Bethlen	
Beiuş	Belényes	
Bistriţa, Tîrgu Roşu	Beszterce	Bistritz
Blaj	Balázsfalva	Blasendorf
Bocşa, Bocşa Româna Bocşa Vasiovei	Romanbogsan Nemetbogsan	Altwerk Neuwerk
Borsec	Borszék	
Borşa	Borsa	
Brad	Brád	
Braşov	Brassó	Kronstadt
Buzias	Buziasfürdő	
Caransebeş	Karomsebes	Karansebesch
Carei	Nagykároly	Karol
Cavnic	Kapnikbánya	Kapnik-Oberstadt
Cehu Silvaniei Cehu Sălajului	Szilagy-Cseh	
Chişineu-Criş	Kisjenő	
Cisnădie	Nagydisznód	Heltau
Cîmpeni	Topánfalva	
Cîmpia Turzii	Gyéres	
Cluj-Napoca	Kolozsvár	Klausenburg
Codlea	Feketehalom	Zeiden
Copşa Mică	Kiskapus	Kleinkopisch

Table 2 continued

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>Hungarian</u>	<u>German</u>
Covasna	Kovaszna	
Christuru Secuiesc	Szitaskeresztúr	
Cugir	Kudzsir	
Curtici	Kurtics, Kürtös	
Dej	Dées	Desch
Deta	Detta	
Deva	Déva	Schlossberg, Denburg, Dimrich
Dr Petru Groza, Ştein		
Dumbrăveni	Erzsébetváros	Eppeschdorf
Făgăraş	Fogaras	Fogarach
Gheorgheni	Gyergyoszentmiklós	
Gherla	Szamosújvár	Armenierstadt
Haţeg	Hätszeg	Hotzing, Wallenthal
Huedin	Bánffyhungyad	
Hunedoara	Vajdahungyad	Eisenmarkt, Eisenstadt
Ineu	Köröskisjenő	
Intorsura Buzăului	Bodzaforduló	
Jibou	Zsibő	
Jimbolia	Zsombolya	Hatzfeld
Lipova	Lippa	Lippa
Lugoj	Lugos	Lugosch
Lupeni	Lupény	
Marghita	Margitta	
Mediaş	Medgyes	Mediasch
Miercurea Ciuc	Csiksereda	
Moldova Nouă	Ujmoldova, Moldovabanya	
Nădlac	Nagylak	
Năsăud	Naszód	Nussdorf
Negreşti-Oaş	Avasfelsőfalu	
Ocna Mureş, Uioara	Marosújvar	Maroschujwar
Ocna Sibiului	Vizakna	Salzburg
Odorheiu Secuiesc	Székelly-Udvarhely	Odorhellen
Oradea	Nagyvárad	Grosswardein
Oraviţa, Oraviţa Montana	Oravikabanya	
Oraviţa Română	Romanoravika	

Table 2 continued

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>Hungarian</u>	<u>German</u>
Orăştie	Szászváros	Bros
Oţelu Roşu, Ferdinand	Nandorhegy	
Petroşani	Petroszény	
Pîncota	Pankota	
Predeal	Predeál	
Reghin	Szász régen	Sächsisch-Reen
Reşiţa	Resica	Reschitza
Rîsnov	Rozsnyó	Rosenau
Rupea	Kőhalom	Reps
Salonta	Nagyszalonta	
Satu Mare	Szatmárnémeti	Sathmar
Săcele	Hétfalu	
Sebeş	Szászsebes	Mühlbach
Sebiş	Borossebes	
Sfîntu Gheorghe	Sepsiszentgyörgy	
Sibiu	Nagyszeben	Hermannstadt
Sighetu Marmăţiei	Măramarossziget	
Sighişoara	Segesvár	Schässburg
Simeria	Piskitelep	
Sîngeorz-Băi	Oláhszentgyörgy	
Sînnicolau Mare	Szernagyszentmiklós	Grossanktnikolaus
Şovata	Szováta	
Şimleu Silvaniei	Szilágysomlyó	
Tâşnad	Tasnad	Trestendorf
Timişoara	Temesvár	Temeschwar
Tîrgu Lăpuş	Magyarlâpos	
Tîrgu Mureş	Marosvásárhely	Neumarkt
Tîrgu Secuiesc	Kezdivásárhely	
Tîrnăveni	Dicsőszentmárton	
Topliţa	Oláhtoplica, Maroshéviz	
Turda	Torda	Thorda, Torenburg
Uricani	Hobicavrikány	
Vaşcău	Vaskőh	
Vişeu de Sus	Felsőviső	Oberwichau

Table 2 continued

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>Hungarian</u>	<u>German</u>
Vlăhița	Szentgyházásfalu	
Zalău	Zilah	Waltenburg, Zillenmarkt
Zărnești	Zernest	Zernescht
Zlatna	Zalatna	Kleinschlatten, Goldmarkt

Source: Suciu (1967)

Table 3. Hungarian - Romanian Dictionary of County Names

Also-Fehér	Alba
Arad	Arad
Besztercze-Nasződ	Năsăud
Bihar	Bihor
Brassó	Braşov
Csik	Ciuc
Fogaras	Făgăraş
Háromszék	Trei Scaune
Hunyad	Hunedoara
Kis-Küküllő	Tîrnave Mică
Kolozs	Cluj
Krasso-Szöreny	Caraş-Severin
Maramaros	Maramureş
Maros-Torda	Mureş
Nagy-Küküllő	Tîrnave Mare
Szatmar	Satu Mare
Szeben	Sibiu
Szilagy	Sălaj
Szolnok-Doboka	Someş
Temes	Timiş
Torda Aranyos	Turda
Udvarhely	Odorhei

Table 4. Regional Division of Romania in 1930, Counties by Regions

REGION	County		
MARAMUREȘ	(Crișana-Maramureș)	BUCUREȘTI	(Muntenia)
Maramureș		București	
Satu Mare			
Sălaj	(Transilvania)	DOBROGEA	(Dobrogea)
CRIȘANA-BANAT		Constanța	
Arad	(Crișana-Maramureș)	Tulcea	
Bihor	(Crișana-Maramureș)	Ostrov (town)	
Caras	(Banat)	MOLDAVIA	(Moldova)
Severin ¹⁾	(Banat)	Bacău	
Timiș-Torontal	(Banat)	Baia	
TRANSYLVANIA	(Transilvania)	Botoșani	
Alba		Cîmpulung	(Bucovina)
Brașov		Covurlui	
Ciuc		Dorohoi ⁵⁾	
Cluj		Fălciu	
Făgăraș		Iași	
Mureș		Neamț	
Năsăud		Putna	
Odorhei		Rădăuți	(Bucovina)
Sibiu		Roman	
Someș ²⁾		Suceava	(Bucovina)
Tîrnave Mare		Tecuci	
Tîrnave Mica		Tutova	
Trei Scaune		Vaslui	
Turda		BUCOVINA	(Bucovina)
OLTENIA	(Oltenia)	Cernăuți	
Dolj		Storojineț	
Gorj		Herța (town)	(Moldova)
Mehedinți		BESSARABIA	(Basarabia)
Olt	(Muntenia)	Bălți	
Romanți		Cahul	
Vâlcea		Cetatea Albă	
MUNTENIA	(Muntenia)	Hotin	
Argeș ³⁾		Ismail	
Brăila		Lăpușna	
Buzău		Orhei	
Dîmbovița		Soroca	
Ialomița		Tighina	
Ilfov		SOUTH DOBROGEA	(Dobrogea)
Muscel		Caliacra	
Prahova		Durustor (excl. Ostrov)	
Rîmnicu Sărat ⁴⁾			
Teleorman			
Vlașca			

Source: *Recensămîntul* (1930: Vol 1)

Table 4 continued

Remarks: Official Administrative Provinces in Brackets

- 1) Including Orșova, situated in Oltenia
- 2) Including the districts Gîrbou, Ileande and Lăpuș, situated in Maramureș (pop. 68,043).
- 3) Including the district Olt, situated in Oltenia (pop. 38,848).
- 4) Including several districts situated in Moldavia (pop. 114,126).
- 5) Including the district Herța, but not the town Herța situated in Bucovina (pop. 66,021).
- 6) Including the district Putilei, situated in Bucovina (pop. 23,947).

Table 5. Regions, Counties and Towns.

REGIONS	REGIONS	REGIONS
<u>Counties</u>	<u>Counties</u>	<u>Counties</u>
Towns	Towns	Towns
MARAMUREȘ	<u>Timiș</u>	Cristuru Secuiesc
<u>Satu Mare</u>	Timișoara	Gheorgheni
Satu Mare	Lugoj	Toplița
Carei	Buziaș	Vlăhița
Negrești-Oaș	Deța	<u>Hunedoara</u>
Tășnad	Jimbolia	Deva
	Sinnicolau Mare	Hunedoara
<u>Maramureș</u>	<u>Caraș Severin</u>	Petroșani
Baia Mare	Reșița	Lupeni
Sighetu Marmăției	Anina	Petrila
Baia Sprie	Băile Herculane	Uricani
Borșa	Bocșa	Vulcan
Căvnic	Caransebeș	Brad
Tirgu Lăpuș	Moldova Nouă	Călan
Vișeu de Sus	Oravița	Hațeg
	Oțelu Roșu	Orăștie
<u>Sălaj</u>	TRANSYLVANIA	Simeria
Zălau		<u>Alba</u>
Cehu Silvaniei	<u>Cluj</u>	Alba Iulia
Jibou	Cluj-Napoca	Abrud
Șimleu Silvaniei	Dej	Aiud
	Turda	Blaj
CRISANA-BANAT	Cimpia Turzii	Cimpeni
<u>Bihor</u>	Gherla	Cugir
Oradea	Huedin	Ocna Mureș
Aleșd	<u>Bistrița-Năsăud</u>	Sebeș
Beiuș	Bistrița	Zlatna
Dr Petru Groza	Beclean	<u>Sibiu</u>
Marghita	Năsăud	Sibiu
Nucet	Singeorz-Băi	Mediaș
Salonta		Agnita
Vașcău	<u>Mureș</u>	Copșa Mică
	Tirgu Mureș	Dumbrăveni
<u>Arad</u>	Sighișoara	Ocna Sibiului
Arad	Luduș	<u>Brașov</u>
Chișineu Criș	Reghin	Brașov
Curtici	Șovata	Codlea
Ineu	Tirnăveni	Făgăraș
Lipova		Predeal
Nădlac	<u>Harghita</u>	Risnov
Pincota	Miercurea Ciuc	Rupea
Sebiș	Odorheiu Secuiesc	Săcele
	Băile Tușnad	Victoria
	Bălan	Zărnești
	Borsec	

Table 5 continued

REGIONS	REGIONS	REGIONS
<u>Counties</u>	<u>Counties</u>	<u>Counties</u>
Towns	Towns	Towns
<u>Covasna</u>	MUNTENIA	<u>Ilfov</u>
Sfintu Gheorghe	<u>Arges</u>	Giurgiu
Baraolt	Pitești	Buftea
Covasna	Cimpulung	Oltenița
Intorsura Buzăului	Costești	Urziceni
Tirgu Secuiesc	Curtea de Argeș	<u>Ialomița</u>
OLTENIA	Topoloveni	Slobozia
<u>Mehedinți</u>	<u>Dimbovița</u>	Călărași
Turnu Severin	Tirgoviste	Fetești
Baia de Aramă	Fieni	Jândărei
Orșova	Găești	BUCUREȘTI
Strehaia	Moreni	București
Vinju Mare	Pucioasa	DOBROGEA
<u>Gorj</u>	Titu	<u>Tulcea</u>
Tirgu Jiu	(Răcari)	Tulcea
Motru	<u>Prahova</u>	Babadag
Novaci	Ploiești	Isaccea
Țicleni	Azuga	Măcin
Tirgu Cărbunestii	Băicoi	Sulina
<u>Vilcea</u>	Boldești-Scăeni	<u>Constanța</u>
Râmnicu Vilcea	Breaza	Constanța
Baile Govora	Bușteni	Eforie
Băile Olănești	Cimpina	Mangalia
Brezoii	Comarnic	Năvodari
Călimănești	Mizil	Techirghiol
Drăgășani	Plopeni	Cerna Vodă
Horezu	Sinaia	Hirșova
Ocnele Mari	Slănic	Medgidia
<u>Dolj</u>	Urlați	(Ostrov)
Craiova	Vălenii de Munte	MOLDAVIA
Băilești	(Filipești Tirg)	<u>Vrancea</u>
Calafat	<u>Buzău</u>	Focșani
Filiași	Buzău	Adjud
Segarcea	Rimnicu Sărat	Mărășești
(Plenița)	<u>Braïla</u>	Odobești
<u>Olt</u>	Braïla	Panciu
Slatina	Făurei	<u>Teleorman</u>
Balș	Alexandria	Turnu Măgurele
Caracal	Roșiorii de Vede	Videle
Corabia	Zimnicea	
Drăgănești Olt		

Table 5 continued

REGIONS

Counties

Towns

Galați

Galați
 Tecuci
 Berești
 Tirgu Bujor

Bacău

Bacău
 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej
 Buhuși
 Comănești
 Moinești
 Slănic Moldova
 Tirgu Ocna

Vaslui

Birlad
 Vaslui
 Huși
 Negrești
 (Fălciu)

Neamț

Piatra Neamț
 Roman
 Bicz
 Tirgu Neamț

Iași

Iași
 Hirleu
 Pașcani
 Tirgu Frumos

REGIONS

Counties

Towns

Suceava

Suceava
 Cimpulung Moldovenesc
 Fălticeni
 Gura Humorului
 Rădăuți
 Siret
 Solca
 Vatra Dornei
 (Vama)

Botoșani

Botoșani
 Darabani
 Dorohoi
 Săveni
 (Mihăileni)
 (Stefănești-Tirg)

Remarks: For location of regions and counties, see Figure 1 and 3.
 Towns in brackets no longer have urban status.

Counties as of 1968

Table 6. Size Structure of Agricultural Properties in the Old Kingdom in 1902

Hectares arable land	OLTENIA		MUNTENIA		DOBROGEA		MOLDAVIA		OLD KINGDOM	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
- 1,9	32.74	7.23	31.97	4.10	4.52	0.37	29.13	4.00	30.23	4.30
2 - 4,9	51.32	32.65	49.31	21.89	11.26	2.70	44.63	19.70	46.92	21.46
5 - 9,9	12.31	14.04	16.04	11.10	49.24	26.33	22.38	16.62	18.28	14.53
Total peasants	96.37	53.92	97.32	37.09	65.02	29.40	96.14	40.32	95.43	40.29
10 - 99	3.26	11.92	2.09	5.75	34.03	47.57	3.24	8.01	4.01	11.01
100 -999	0.32	18.52	0.47	20.41	0.88	15.81	0.50	23.78	0.46	20.69
1000	0.04	15.55	0.12	36.75	0.08	7.21	0.12	27.90	0.10	28.00
Total boyars	0.36	34.17	0.59	57.16	0.96	23.02	0.62	51.68	0.56	48.69
Ha/peasant	3.1		3.3		7.7		3.5		3.4	
Ha/boyar	423.5		829.5		408.6		695.9		707.6	
Total arable land, ha.	1,346,900		3,497,300		663,800		2,318,800		7,826,800	
Landowners	269,530		378,900		39,200		277,420		965,050	

A: Number of landowners (percentages)

B: Arable land (percentages)

Source: *Anuarul Statistic* (1909: part VIII, various tables)

Remarks: The table includes private properties, land owned by religious or other public foundations, state land and crown domains. It includes arable land, meadows and pastures, but not vineyards, orchards or forests.

Table 7. Size Structure of Agricultural Holdings in Crişana-Banat, Maramureş and Transylvania in 1900, Percentages

Jugars arable land	Percentage of	
	Holdings	Arable land
- 5	50.7	8.4
5 - 10	21.4	14.6
10 - 20	17.2	21.5
20 - 50	8.6	21.5
50 - 100	1.3	7.2
100 - 1,000	0.6	13.3
1,000 -	0.1	13.5

Source: Ciomac (1931) See also Enescu & Enescu (1915)

Remarks: 1 jugar = 0,5755 hectare

Data are based on Hungarian statistics and refer to Transylvania and the counties Bihar, Szátmar, Măramaros, Arad, Temes, Szilagy and Krassó-Szöreny in C-B-M.

Arable land amounted to 3,679,000 hectares divided on 972,800 properties.

Table 8. Size Structure of Agricultural Properties in Bessarabia and Bucovina

Hectares	BESSARABIA		BUCOVINA		
	A	B	A	B	C
10	74.6	17.0	96.3	48.0	25.9
10 - 100	24.7	33.0	3.3	27.0	12.8
100 -	0.7	49.1	0.4	25.0	61.3
Total A	290,140 landowners		199,100 landowners		
Total B	557,300 hectares				
Total C	3,499,800 hectares		1,044,500 hectares		

A: Number of landowners (percentages)

B: Arable land (percentages)

C: Area (percentages)

Sources: Bessarabia; Babel (1929: 300-301)
Bucovina; Mitrany (1930: 204), Roberts (1951: Appendix).

Remarks: The data for Bessarabia refers to 1916 and for Bucovina to pre-1914. The data for Bessarabia is very uncertain and contradictory and gives an approximation at best. Other sources give different data. See for example Mitrany (1930). It is uncertain if the data on area include forests. The data for Bucovina appear to be of better quality.

Table 9. The 1918 and 1921 Land Reforms in Romania

Total expropriation of:

- land belonging to juridical persons
- land belonging to foreign persons
- land belonging to Romanians living abroad
- land that had been leased for ten consecutive years or more

Partial expropriation was only applied to arable land. The extent of the partial expropriation varied by region.

In the Old Kingdom landowners were allowed to keep:

- 100 ha in mountainous and hilly areas
- 150 ha in flat areas where pressure on land was considerable
- 200 ha in flat areas where pressure on land was average
- 250 ha in flat areas where pressure on land was weak.

In the Hungarian Territories landowners were allowed to keep:

- 29 ha in mountainous areas
- 58 ha in hilly areas
- 116 ha in flat areas where pressure on land was considerable
- 174 ha in flat areas where pressure on land was average
- 290 ha in flat areas where pressure on land was weak.

In Bucovina a distinction was made between the following categories:

- church land with more than 12 hectares
- properties with no important installations were expropriated from 100 hectares
- up to 250 hectares were left to properties with important agricultural installations.

The Red Army made a total expropriation of land in Bessarabia during the war. After the war all land above 100 hectares remained expropriated.

In the Old Kingdom the land was distributed according to the following system of preference:

- 1 war veterans from the First World War
- 2 demobilized
- 3 war widows with children
- 4 landless peasants
- 5 peasants with less than five hectares land
- 6 war orphans.

As a further mean of separation the following criteria were used: war invalids, previous employment on expropriated farm, possession of agricultural equipments, number of children and age.

In Transylvania the following system of preference was used:

- 1 wounded who had been under Romanian flag at the time of expropriation and who had worked on the expropriated property
- 2 others who had worked on the expropriated property for more than two years
- 3 wounded heads of family and war widows
- 4 war veterans, heads of family
- 5 wounded bachelors, war veterans
- 6 those mobilized by *Consiliul Național al Transilvaniei*

Table 9 continued

- 7 emigrants returned to the former Hungarian Territories and without other means of living
- 8 heads of families who had not been mobilized during the war
- 9 volunteers to the Romanian or Allied armies.

In Bucovina the following system of preference was used;

- 1 peasants and war invalids with less land than established necessary by the communal council
- 2 orthodox parish priests
- 3 rural schools, one hectare per class
- 4 landless in the following order of preference
 - war widows and war invalids
 - war veterans
 - persons who had suffered losses through the war.

The total land to be held by the receiving peasant was to be 5 hectares in the Old Kingdom, 4 hectares in the former Hungarian Territories, 6 hectares in Bessarabia and 2.5 hectares in Bucovina.

Sources: Cornetzeanu (1940), Mitrany (1930)

Table 10. Distribution of Land Expropriated Under the Land Reforms of 1918 and 1921, as of 1927

	The Old Kingdom	C-B-M & Transylvania	Bucovina	Bessarabia
Peasants entitled to land	1,053,628	490,528	77,911	357,016
of which received land	630,113	310,583	71,266	357,016
Area distributed, ha	2,037,300	451,600	42,800	1,098,000
average per peasant, ha	3.2	1.5	0.6	3.1
Communal pastures, ha	524,700	418,400	5,800	-
Communal forests, ha	-	484,800	4,400	-
Reserved for other purposes, ha	214,400	309,000	22,900	393,900
Total area expropriated, ha	2,776,400	1,663,800	76,000	1,491,900
of which arable land, ha	2,269,200	470,400	48,500	1,210,600

Sources: Mitrany (1930: 185-226), Roberts (1941: 366-367)

Remarks: C-B-M: Crişana-Banat and Maramureş

Table 11. Natural Population Increase by Counties, Average 1934 - 1938

<u>County</u>	<u>Per mill</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Per mill</u>
MARAMUREŞ		Ilfov ¹⁾	16.9
Maramureş	12.1	Muscel	14.0
Satu Mare	10.2	Prahova	15.4
Sălaj	11.0	Râmnicu Sărat	18.5
		Teleorman	13.6
CRIŞANA-BANAT		Vlaşca	13.2
Arad	1.4	DOBROGEA	
Bihor	7.7	Constanţa	16.2
Caraş	- 2.2	Tulcea	18.6
Severin	0.3		
Timiş Torontal	- 0.3	MOLDAVIA	
TRANSYLVANIA		Bacău	15.5
Alba	7.8	Baia	18.6
Braşov	9.4	Botoşani	17.3
Ciuc	10.6	Cîmpulung	12.0
Cluj	8.7	Covurlui	11.4
Făgăras	4.5	Dorohoi	18.0
Hunedoara	1.6	Fălciu	13.8
Mureş	9.5	Iaşi	12.8
Năsăud	7.8	Neamţ	16.6
Odorhei	7.3	Putna	13.0
Sibiu	8.0	Rădăuţi	10.6
Someş	9.2	Roman	16.6
Tîrnave Mare	8.8	Suceava	11.7
Tîrnave Mică	10.9	Tecuci	15.4
Trei Scaune	7.8	Tutova	13.2
Turda	12.9	Vaslui	15.7
OLTENIA		BUCOVINA	
Dolj	11.2	Cernăuţi	3.9
Gorj	12.1	Storojineţ	9.8
Mehedinţi	10.0	BESSARABIA	
Olt	15.4	Bălti	13.4
Romanaţi	13.2	Cahul	14.7
Vîlcea	14.6	Cetatea Alba	11.2
MUNTENIA		Hotin	9.1
Argeş	14.1	Ismail	11.3
Brăila	14.5	Lăpuşna	4.9
Buzău	16.6	Orhei	9.3
Dimboviţa	14.9	Soroca	11.2
Ialomiţa	19.2	Tighina	12.1
		SOUTH DOBROGEA	
		Caliacra	14.6
		Durustor	12.4

Sources: *Miscarea populatiei României* (1934-1938: various tables)

1) Including Bucureşti

Table 12. Interregional Migration Until 1930

To \ From	The Hungarian Territories	Oltenia	Muntenia & Dobrogea	Moldavia	Bessarabia	Bucovina	Abroad
The Hungarian Territories	-	14,742	25,647	11,795	8,619	7,847	161,662
Oltenia	13,081	-	16,560	2,981	1,558	575	5,381
Muntenia & Dobrogea	134,858	78,953	-	93,403	32,860	11,867	44,629
Moldavia	18,218	3,939	32,768	-	35,446	26,424	13,603
Bessarabia	5,629	4,178	10,870	21,988	-	3,572	59,654
Bucovina	4,595	444	2,840	13,121	5,806	-	25,067
Net migration	-107,731	-67,501	263,256	-26,493	-38,052	-23,479	
as % of pop.	-1.9	-4.5	5.4	-1.1	-1.3	-2.8	

Source: *Anuarul Statistic* (1939/1940: 100-115)

Remarks: Dobrogea includes South Dobrogea.
Migrants measured as persons born elsewhere than in locality of residence

Table 13. The Migrational Field of Major Urban Regions

Percentage total number of migrants from a country (native less native and resident population) living in the respective urban region in 1977

County	Bucureşti	Braşov	Cluj	Constanţa	Craiova	Galaţi	Iaşi	Timişoara	Hunedoara
Satu Mare	5.4	2.4	4.8	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.4	6.2	4.9
Maramureş	6.7	3.3	7.2	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.9	5.3	3.6
Salaj	5.2	5.2	18.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.2	4.7	6.4
Bihor	10.0	2.9	5.8	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.5	12.9	4.7
Arad	10.8	1.9	3.3	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.6	25.6	8.2
Timiş	11.8	1.9	3.0	1.8	1.6	1.0	1.0	-	5.9
Caraş Severin	9.9	1.2	1.7	1.2	1.9	1.4	0.6	36.9	3.8
Cluj	14.5	5.4	-	1.2	0.7	0.6	0.7	4.8	8.5
Bistriţa	8.8	4.0	18.0	1.0	0.3	0.4	0.7	4.0	11.6
Mureş	9.4	8.3	14.0	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.6	2.5	9.1
Harghita	7.1	12.7	5.7	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.5	3.5	4.5
Hunedoara	9.4	2.3	5.1	1.2	2.2	1.9	0.8	8.5	-
Alba	8.9	4.3	12.4	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.3	3.9	14.3
Sibiu	18.4	14.8	5.6	1.8	1.3	0.7	1.1	3.3	5.7
Braşov	25.4	-	4.2	1.9	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	1.7
Covasna	6.9	35.4	3.7	0.6	0.4	0.8	1.5	1.3	1.5
Mehedinţi	22.9	1.4	0.6	2.1	10.7	0.7	0.5	10.3	4.9
Gorj	28.5	1.2	0.8	2.4	14.1	0.5	0.4	4.2	13.2
Vilcea	28.0	3.7	0.9	2.4	6.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	4.3
Dolj	28.5	2.6	0.8	2.4	-	0.8	0.7	5.3	8.2
Olt	30.5	2.7	0.5	3.1	9.7	0.5	0.5	2.5	2.8
Argeş	47.9	3.0	0.6	2.8	1.6	0.6	0.7	1.3	1.2
Dimboviţa	49.9	3.7	0.4	1.6	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7
Prahova	40.7	7.6	0.8	2.4	0.9	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.2
Buzau	29.6	10.6	0.4	2.9	0.3	5.5	1.0	0.7	0.9
Braila	31.7	5.1	0.6	7.7	0.6	11.2	1.5	1.1	1.0
Teleorman	57.4	2.0	0.3	2.3	1.3	1.9	0.4	1.0	1.9
Ilfov	65.7	1.1	0.4	1.7	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.7
Ialomita	51.1	3.1	0.3	12.5	0.4	2.2	0.4	0.6	0.7
Constanţa	34.2	3.5	1.0	-	1.3	3.0	2.0	1.8	1.4
Tulcea	15.2	1.6	0.4	30.2	0.4	11.9	0.8	0.8	0.8
Vrancea	23.9	9.8	0.4	2.4	0.5	10.4	2.5	1.1	1.9
Galaţi	26.7	6.0	0.7	5.0	0.8	-	3.8	1.6	1.7
Bacau	17.8	10.1	0.8	3.1	0.6	5.5	4.1	1.8	2.7
Vaslui	17.1	7.9	0.4	4.3	0.4	10.9	13.4	1.5	5.3
Neamţ	16.5	6.1	0.7	3.5	0.5	2.4	9.3	1.9	2.1
Iaşi	20.6	2.5	0.9	4.8	0.7	2.5	-	2.6	4.4
Suceava	21.6	4.4	1.3	3.5	0.5	1.7	9.2	5.0	3.0
Botoşani	15.2	6.4	0.7	5.5	0.4	2.4	12.4	3.2	5.6
Bucureşti	-	6.8	3.3	5.7	2.8	1.9	2.0	2.3	1.7

Source: *Recensământul* (1977: Vol 1, 696-743)

Table 14. Ethnic Structure in the Hungarian Territories in 1891

County	Percentage				Total Population
	Romanians	Magyars	Germans	Jews	
Arad	60.8	23.1	10.4	2.6	343,597
Bihar	42.5	50.1	0.5	5.0	517,704
Krasso-Szöreny	76.4	2.5	11.1	0.9	407,635
Maramaros	24.2	11.1	1.7	16.8	268,281
Szatmar	33.1	55.0	3.8	7.1	323,768
Szilagy	61.1	31.8	0.3	4.4	191,167
Temes	39.0	7.7	34.7	1.9	412,670
Ugocsa	11.7	33.1	0.1	12.5	75,461
Total C-B-M	47.2	26.5	9.6	5.2	2,539,283
Also-Fehér	78.4	14.5	3.4	1.7	193,072
Besztercze-Naszód	67.2	4.4	20.4	4.2	104,737
Brassó	35.8	29.6	31.6	1.0	86,777
Csik	12.6	86.2	0.2	0.6	114,110
Fogaras	89.2	4.2	4.1	1.0	88,217
Háromszék	13.4	84.7	0.4	0.5	130,008
Hunyad	89.0	5.9	2.6	0.9	267,895
Kisküküllő	49.0	26.3	17.8	1.4	101,045
Kolozs	59.0	31.8	3.3	3.0	225,199
Maros-Torda	34.8	56.0	3.3	2.1	177,860
Nagy-Küküllő	39.6	10.2	43.7	0.6	135,312
Szeben	66.4	2.8	28.3	0.4	148,738
Szolnok-Doboka	75.7	16.2	1.0	4.5	217,550
Torda Aranyos	71.3	24.1	0.2	1.3	150,564
Udvarhely	2.9	93.1	1.9	0.7	110,132
Total Transylvania	56.6	30.0	9.0	1.7	2,251,216
Total	51.6	28.2	9.4	3.6	4,790,499

Source: *Népszámlálása (1891)*

Remarks:

C-B-M - Crişana-Banat and Maramureş
 The city of Versecz is not included in Temes.
 Romanians, Magyars and Germans are measured by mother tongue. Jews: Those adhering to the Jewish faith, irrespective of mother tongue

For location of counties, see Figure 2

Table 15. Population in Bucovina by Mother Tongue in 1890

County	Percentage				Total Population
	Romanian	Ruthenian	German	Polish	
Czernowitz	19.1	45.6	27.9	7.2	143,853
Kimpolung	57.4	13.1	28.4	1.0	44,895
Kotzman	0.1	58.6	27.9	7.2	89,929
Radautz	63.2	9.6	22.5	2.6	91,901
Sereth	27.1	42.3	16.9	3.4	53,972
Storożynetz	43.5	37.7	16.0	2.6	70,573
Suczawa	62.1	12.3	21.4	3.3	82,719
Wiznitz	0.3	75.6	21.0	3.1	64,653
Total	32.4	41.8	20.8	3.7	642,495

Source: *Volkszählung* (1890: Vol I)

Remarks: The German speaking population was probably to a large extent Jewish. Ukrainians were not separated from Ruthenians.
For location of counties, see Figure 2

Table 16. Jews in the Hungarian Territories by Mother Tongue and Literacy in 1891, Percentages

County	Mother tongue			Literate	Total no. of Jews
	Romanian	Hungarian	German		
Arad	0.5	83.2	16.0	77.0	8,924
Bihar	0.5	96.0	3.2	66.8	25,968
Krasso-Szöreny	1.4	20.3	77.6	74.9	3,713
Maramaros	0.2	8.4	91.1	20.7	45,073
Szatmar	3.5	89.4	6.9	52.2	22,849
Szilagy	10.0	77.3	12.5	52.3	8,435
Temes	0.3	37.6	60.9	74.2	7,945
Ugocsa	0.1	41.3	56.9	36.6	9,414
Total C-B-M	1.5	53.5	44.6	46.9	132,321
Also-Fehér	1.4	67.9	30.7	61.5	3,280
Besztercze-Nasződ	1.4	8.0	90.5	47.5	4,349
Brassó	3.5	47.1	43.1	79.1	868
Csik	7.2	73.4	19.4	55.9	706
Fogaras	5.1	44.2	49.2	67.9	866
Háromszék	0.6	88.7	10.2	70.6	698
Hunyad	4.4	53.6	43.9	64.0	2,470
Kisküküllő	7.1	72.7	20.2	53.2	1,418
Kolozs	5.9	84.1	9.8	59.4	6,727
Maros-Torda	5.6	80.3	13.9	59.3	3,735
Nagy-Küküllő	3.4	43.1	53.5	62.0	803
Szeben	1.3	31.0	67.4	67.8	639
Szolnok-Doboka	21.1	37.5	41.4	40.1	9,890
Torda Aranyos	3.7	66.3	30.0	54.5	1,931
Udvarhely	0.4	94.3	5.3	56.9	768
Total Transylvania	8.3	55.6	35.8	54.1	39,148
Total	3.1	54.0	42.6	48.5	171,469

Source: *Népszámlálása* (1891: 182-188, 254-302)

Remarks: C-B-M - Crişana-Banat and Maramureş. The city of Versecz was excluded from Temes county. German includes Yiddish. For location of counties, see Figure 2.

Table 17. Ethnic Structure in Urban and Rural Areas in Crişana-Banat, Maramureş and Transylvania in 1966 and 1977, Percentages

REGION County	Romanians		Magyars		Germans		
	1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977	
Satu Mare	Total	55.2	58.6	43.2	38.2	1.1	0.6
	Urban	47.8	56.0	51.6	42.1	0.3	0.5
	Rural	58.4	60.3	39.6	35.8	1.4	0.6
Maramureş	Total	79.4	80.9	13.0	11.4	0.7	0.6
	Urban	72.2	77.9	24.5	19.2	1.7	1.4
	Rural	83.4	83.3	6.0	5.2	0.1	0.0
Sălaj	Total	74.2	74.8	24.3	23.6	0.0	0.0
	Urban	58.4	67.5	40.4	31.2	0.1	0.1
	Rural	77.2	77.1	21.2	21.3	0.0	0.1
MARAMUREŞ	Total	69.8	71.9	26.2	23.4	0.6	0.3
	Urban	62.2	68.7	36.0	28.9	1.0	0.9
	Rural	73.0	73.8	22.0	20.1	0.4	0.2
Bihor	Total	64.0	65.8	33.8	31.0	0.2	0.1
	Urban	49.1	56.4	49.7	41.5	0.3	0.2
	Rural	70.5	71.5	26.8	24.6	0.1	0.0
Arad	Total	71.9	75.0	16.3	14.1	9.0	7.5
	Urban	66.3	72.9	23.3	17.9	6.2	4.8
	Rural	75.5	76.8	11.7	10.8	10.7	9.8
Timiş	Total	62.5	69.8	13.0	10.4	18.2	13.5
	Urban	61.4	71.2	18.5	12.8	16.7	11.5
	Rural	63.3	68.3	9.1	7.9	19.2	15.5
Caraş-Severin	Total	83.0	85.6	2.5	2.1	7.4	5.2
	Urban	78.0	83.9	4.8	3.7	13.6	8.0
	Rural	86.5	87.2	0.8	0.5	3.1	2.4
CRISANA-BANAT	Total	68.6	72.6	17.4	15.7	8.7	6.9
	Urban	62.7	70.5	23.4	19.0	9.3	6.7
	Rural	72.2	74.3	13.8	12.9	8.3	7.0
Cluj	Total	72.8	75.4	26.3	23.4	0.3	0.2
	Urban	64.0	71.5	35.0	27.3	0.6	0.4
	Rural	80.7	80.3	18.7	18.5	0.0	0.0
Bistriţa-Năsăud	Total	88.9	91.7	8.0	7.0	2.2	0.8
	Urban	82.3	88.7	11.7	8.9	5.5	1.5
	Rural	90.2	92.6	7.3	6.3	1.6	0.6
Mureş	Total	49.8	51.2	45.0	43.7	3.7	2.9
	Urban	42.6	47.1	52.7	48.3	3.9	2.9
	Rural	53.2	54.1	41.4	40.6	3.5	2.9
Harghita	Total	10.8	14.1	88.8	84.5	0.1	0.1
	Urban	15.5	21.3	84.2	77.6	0.2	0.1
	Rural	9.0	9.8	90.5	88.6	0.0	0.0

Table 17 continued

REGION County	Romanians		Magyars		Germans	
	1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Hunedoara	Total	89.6 92.0	8.5	6.6	1.3	0.8
	Urban	84.1 88.8	13.1	9.3	1.9	1.2
	Rural	97.5 98.4	1.9	1.2	0.3	0.2
Alba	Total	89.2 90.3	7.0	6.2	3.3	2.7
	Urban	87.3 90.1	8.8	6.8	3.2	2.4
	Rural	90.2 90.5	5.9	5.8	3.4	3.0
Sibiu	Total	71.2 75.2	4.8	4.3	23.5	19.1
	Urban	67.5 74.6	8.0	6.3	24.1	18.1
	Rural	74.8 76.0	1.8	1.7	22.9	20.5
Braşov	Total	75.3 80.9	15.0	12.0	9.3	6.2
	Urban	76.2 82.5	16.2	12.3	7.2	4.5
	Rural	73.9 77.3	13.3	11.4	12.5	9.9
Covasna	Total	19.1 20.6	80.5	77.9	0.1	0.1
	Urban	18.8 20.2	80.8	78.2	0.3	0.2
	Rural	19.2 20.9	80.3	77.8	0.1	0.1
TRANSYLVANIA	Total	66.7 69.8	26.9	25.1	5.1	4.0
	Urban	66.0 71.2	27.0	23.9	5.8	4.0
	Rural	67.2 68.4	26.8	26.3	4.6	4.0

Sources: *Recensamintul* (1966:Vol I, 163-167), (1977:Vol I, 614-615)

Remarks: Ethnicity measured by mother tongue in 1966.
In 1977 ethnicity was measured by mother tongue and nationality. Those with different mother tongue and nationality - in all 44,875 people in Romania - were lumped together in a residual category.

Table 18. Population in Towns in Crişana-Banat, Maramureş and Transylvania by Mother Tongue, Percentages

CRIŞANA, BANAT & MARAMUREŞ	1881	1900	1930	1948	1956
<u>Arad</u>	35,556	56,260	77,181	87,291	106,460
Romanian	18.6	17.0	37.0	52.5	55.5
Hungarian	57.7	69.2	53.3	40.5	35.3
German	15.8	10.0	6.0	2.6	7.6
<u>Baia Mare</u>	8,632	11,183	13,904	20,959	35,920
Romanian	29.6	21.5	46.7	43.3	52.2
Hungarian	66.7	76.5	41.5	53.7	46.6
German	2.2	1.3	0.0(9.0)	0.0	0.3
<u>Baia Sprie</u>	5,053	4,584	4,127	3,968	8,134
Romanian	20.5	7.5	28.2	30.7	53.4
Hungarian	77.8	91.7	62.5	67.9	45.3
German	1.1	0.4	0.0(2.4)	0.0	0.2
<u>Caransebeş</u>	4,764	6,497	8,704	10,106	15,195
Romanian	54.6	50.9	62.4	85.6	80.8
Hungarian	6.5	13.5	7.2	4.8	4.0
German	33.4	31.2	26.6	7.9	12.7
<u>Carei</u>	12,523	15,382	16,042	15,425	16,780
Romanian	2.8	1.9	27.6	31.1	28.1
Hungarian	95.7	96.8	61.8	67.0	71.2
German	1.2	1.0	0.0(7.3)	0.1	0.1
<u>Lugoj</u>	11,287	16,126	23,593	26,707	30,252
Romanian	44.3	34.5	41.2	64.1	62.4
Hungarian	12.4	24.4	26.4	21.0	20.2
German	41.4	38.7	28.6	11.9	14.8
<u>Oradea</u>	31,324	50,177	82,687	82,282	98,950
Romanian	6.6	6.6	25.3	32.8	34.9
Hungarian	86.8	89.2	66.6	63.9	63.5
German	4.0	2.8	1.4(5.0)	0.2	0.7
<u>Satu Mare</u>	19,708	26,881	51,495	46,519	52,096
Romanian	5.0	3.4	27.1	29.2	30.3
Hungarian	88.9	93.3	58.9	65.6	67.6
German	3.9	2.2	0.0(11.3)	0.2	0.3
<u>Sighetu Marmăţiei</u>	10,852	17,445	25,134	18,329	22,361
Romanian	8.6	9.7	30.0	52.5	53.2
Hungarian	64.2	72.6	27.8	36.3	38.4
German	19.9	2.2	0.0(37.9)	0.1	0.2

Table 18 continued

CRIȘANA, BANAT & MARAMURES	1881	1900	1930	1948	1956
<u>Șimleu Silvaniei</u>	4,189	5,658	7,448	7,931	8,560
Romanian	15.9	19.4	30.4	41.3	46.0
Hungarian	64.2	77.1	52.3	52.8	52.4
German	19.9	1.7	0.0(15.7)	0.2	0.0
<u>Timișoara</u>	33,694	53,033	91,580	111,987	142,257
Romanian	10.1	7.6	26.3	52.2	53.5
Hungarian	22.2	35.1	35.5	27.4	25.6
German	56.6	51.0	33.5	14.4	17.9
<u>Zalău</u>	5,961	7,639	8,340	11,652	13,378
Romanian	6.0	4.8	24.7	42.8	48.2
Hungarian	92.9	94.5	71.1	56.4	51.4
German	0.6	0.3	0.0(2.6)	0.0	0.0
TRANSYLVANIA					
<u>Abrud</u>	2,869	3,341	2,468	2,656	4,411
Romanian	60.6	57.5	73.4	83.7	93.6
Hungarian	36.2	37.3	21.8	15.7	6.0
German	1.9	4.5	1.7	0.3	0.3
<u>Aiud</u>	5,362	7,494	9,478	9,535	11,886
Romanian	20.3	22.2	40.0	58.4	63.3
Hungarian	75.6	74.8	53.1	39.5	33.4
German	3.2	1.7	2.0(2.4)	0.7	0.7
<u>Alba Iulia</u>	7,338	11,507	12,282	14,420	14,776
Romanian	43.6	42.0	65.6	82.5	86.8
Hungarian	35.3	45.6	20.3	11.3	9.8
German	17.2	11.0	5.0(6.5)	1.7	2.4
<u>Bistrița</u>	8,063	12,081	14,128	15,801	20,292
Romanian	26.2	31.1	40.1	67.5	69.0
Hungarian	7.1	19.2	10.5	14.8	14.9
German	62.9	48.7	33.1(13.4)	11.8	12.9
<u>Brașov</u>	29,584	36,646	59,232	82,984	123,834
Romanian	31.7	30.7	32.7	66.5	71.6
Hungarian	33.2	38.5	42.2	21.3	19.5
German	33.5	29.0	22.4	10.2	8.4
<u>Cluj</u>	30,363	49,295	100,844	117,915	154,723
Romanian	12.0	12.3	34.5	40.1	48.2
Hungarian	80.0	82.9	54.3	57.6	50.3
German	4.9	3.6	2.7(6.6)	0.3	0.7

Table 18 continued

CRIȘANA, BANAT & MARAMURES	1881	1900	1930	1948	1956
<u>Dej</u>	6,169	9,888	15,110	14,681	19,281
Romanian	25.5	23.5	40.5	53.4	57.8
Hungarian	70.3	70.6	36.5	42.1	40.5
German	3.5	5.4	0.0(20.3)	0.2	0.2
<u>Deva</u>	3,935	7,089	10,509	12,959	16,879
Romanian	46.8	35.4	52.1	69.9	75.3
Hungarian	37.6	57.3	40.9	24.0	21.3
German	11.8	6.2	3.7(2.0)	1.4	2.2
<u>Dumbrăveni</u>	2,500	3,903	4,067	4,562	5,367
Romanian	21.0	19.6	40.5	56.3	58.8
Hungarian	41.9	63.1	38.0	22.9	18.1
German	7.8	8.5	12.3	9.5	13.9
<u>Făgărăș</u>	5,307	6,457	7,841	9,296	17,256
Romanian	33.9	35.5	54.9	79.0	82.3
Hungarian	32.8	45.1	29.7	13.8	9.8
German	30.5	19.3	13.5	5.9	7.1
<u>Gheorgheni</u>	5,503	7,028	10,355	10,031	11,969
Romanian	0.3	0.4	4.4	7.5	6.3
Hungarian	97.6	97.7	91.0	91.9	93.1
German	0.7	1.3	0.0(3.4)	0.0	0.3
<u>Gherla</u>	5,317	6,363	6,608	6,663	7,617
Romanian	32.2	29.2	43.7	60.2	64.7
Hungarian	63.9	65.8	37.4	35.9	33.3
German	2.5	1.4	0.0(13.7)	0.0	0.4
<u>Hațeg</u>	1,808	2,367	3,091	3,210	3,853
Romanian	70.0	56.5	65.9	83.3	85.9
Hungarian	16.0	37.2	21.2	8.7	11.6
German	11.3	5.9	5.2	0.8	1.0
<u>Hunedora</u>	2,303	4,419	4,600	7,018	36,498
Romanian	68.6	45.0	60.6	78.9	82.2
Hungarian	21.0	42.9	33.1	16.4	10.6
German	9.4	8.3	4.4	3.9	4.7
<u>Medias</u>	6,489	7,954	15,505	23,247	32,498
Romanian	30.3	29.0	27.6	51.7	55.8
Hungarian	11.4	19.2	26.9	20.2	18.8
German	55.0	48.2	39.3(2.3)	23.6	24.7

Table 18 continued

CRIȘANA, BANAT & MARAMURES	1881	1900	1930	1948	1956
<u>Miercurea Ciuc</u>	1,597	2,858	3,612	6,143	11,996
Romanian	0.4	1.8	13.7	12.5	5.6
Hungarian	96.1	95.8	80.3	86.0	93.8
German	2.1	1.7	2.0(3.0)	0.2	0.4
<u>Odorheiu Secuiesc</u>	5,948	8,045	8,518	10,366	14,162
Romanian	0.9	1.1	10.9	7.3	3.2
Hungarian	93.0	95.5	85.6	92.1	96.2
German	2.8	3.1	2.0	0.3	0.4
<u>Orăștie</u>	5,451	6,934	7,337	8,817	10,488
Romanian	43.6	52.2	67.9	83.0	87.2
Hungarian	23.1	27.2	17.0	10.3	5.9
German	26.9	19.1	12.8	5.6	6.4
<u>Reghin</u>	5,652	6,552	9,290	9,599	18,091
Romanian	12.8	15.4	19.4	32.5	38.9
Hungarian	31.5	39.6	42.1	57.0	55.3
German	53.7	44.9	23.9(13.6)	4.2	2.7
<u>Sebeș</u>	6,244	7,770	9,137	10,080	11,628
Romanian	60.3	62.5	70.9	78.1	81.0
Hungarian	3.1	7.1	3.8	3.8	3.1
German	34.5	29.0	21.5	13.3	11.7
<u>Sfintu Gheorghe</u>	5,268	7,131	10,818	14,221	17,638
Romanian	0.6	0.7	18.7	10.2	12.4
Hungarian	97.4	98.6	77.3	89.1	86.8
German	1.4	1.0	1.9	0.3	0.6
<u>Sibiu</u>	19,446	29,577	49,345	60,602	90,475
Romanian	14.5	24.0	38.5	61.7	66.9
Hungarian	10.6	19.4	13.7	8.3	5.3
German	73.7	54.6	44.7	27.0	27.2
<u>Sighișoara</u>	8,788	10,868	13,033	18,284	20,363
Romanian	23.9	25.8	34.4	60.8	58.4
Hungarian	13.4	25.8	34.4	14.1	15.2
German	58.3	50.3	40.6	22.6	25.0
<u>Tirgu Mureș</u>	13,192	19,522	38,517	47,043	65,194
Romanian	6.7	9.5	24.6	23.4	22.0
Hungarian	86.8	85.6	65.8	74.3	77.0
German	4.0	3.5	1.9(5.9)	0.2	0.4

Table 18 continued

CRIȘANA, BANAT & MARAMURES	1881	1900	1930	1948	1956
<u>Tirgu Secuiesc</u>	5,183	5,638	5,107	5,424	7,500
Romanian	0.5	0.7	4.6	2.2	3.6
Hungarian	98.4	98.6	93.6	97.1	96.0
German	0.9	0.4	1.2	0.2	0.3
<u>Turda</u>	9,434	12,117	20,023	25,905	33,614
Romanian	19.6	22.8	39.0	74.7	77.7
Hungarian	76.0	73.0	53.1	21.3	20.7
German	1.4	0.8	2.7	0.3	0.4

Sources: *Népszámlálás* (1900a), *Recensământul* (1930:Vol II), (1956a), *Thüring* (1912)

Remarks: Yiddish included in German in 1881 and 1900, but not in 1930, 1948 and 1956. For 1930 Yiddish is given in brackets after German. The 1900 figures include military personnel.

Table 19. Knowledge of Languages among Romanians and the Romanian share of the Total Population by Counties in 1881, Percentages

REGION County	Romanian only	Hungarian	German	Romanian population	
				Per cent	Absolute
Arad	94.77	4.40	0.40	60.94	185,241
Bihar	87.88	11.88	0.06	41.69	186,264
Krasso-Szöreny	95.96	0.85	2.51	76.02	289,849
Maramaros	95.81	3.24	0.28	25.09	57,059
Szatmar	80.36	18.93	0.31	33.81	99,093
Szilagy	89.72	10.01	0.05	60.39	103,307
Temes	92.66	1.61	2.37	37.60	148,928
Ugocsa	92.25	4.73	0.10	12.52	8,183
C-B-M	91.83	6.17	1.13	47.17	1,077,924
Also-Fehér	96.79	2.60	0.42	76.08	178,021
Besztercze-Naszód	95.31	1.62	2.58	65.30	62,048
Brassó	92.31	5.72	1.87	34.85	29,250
Csik	75.80	23.99	0.16	11.57	12,832
Fogaras	97.62	1.22	0.83	88.74	75,050
Háromszék	64.19	35.63	0.14	12.33	15,448
Hunyad	96.92	2.05	0.66	87.50	217,414
Kisküküllő	90.69	8.69	0.38	48.12	44,372
Kolozs	92.02	7.63	0.15	57.37	112,627
Maros-Torda	75.47	22.34	0.15	33.74	53,650
Nagy-Küküllő	92.76	3.79	2.11	39.98	51,632
Szeben	96.26	0.96	2.15	64.11	90,802
Szolnok-Doboka	95.77	3.82	0.25	75.45	146,135
Torda Aranyos	94.00	5.75	0.08	70.65	96,809
Udvarhely	49.24	47.53	2.03	2.94	3,099
TRANSYLVANIA	93.67	5.23	0.76	55.02	1,146,611
C-B-M & TRANSYLVANIA	92.78	5.69	0.94	50.91	2,224,535

Source: *Népszámlálása* (1881: 646 ff)

Remarks: For location of counties, see Figure 2

Table 20. Knowledge of Languages among Magyars and the Magyar Share of the Total Population by Counties in 1881, Percentages

REGION County	Hungarian only	Romanian	German	Magyar population Per cent	Absolute
Arad	65.62	14.26	19.05	22.24	67,613
Bihar	87.61	5.30	6.24	52.18	233,135
Krasso-Szöreny	29.20	25.55	52.92	1.89	7,201
Maramaros	54.10	12.68	14.10	10.47	23,819
Szatmar	80.02	8.53	8.66	57.08	167,284
Szilagy	76.78	18.51	4.27	34.03	58,224
Temes	41.69	14.25	41.28	6.55	25,955
Ugocsa	78.00	1.58	6.76	34.67	22,664
C-B-M	77.68	9.25	10.41	26.51	605,895
Also-Fehér	40.31	51.01	8.12	14.50	25,818
Besztercze-Naszód	32.03	51.89	15.71	3.72	3,540
Brassó	70.97	19.40	9.58	28.53	23,948
Csik	96.82	2.00	1.05	83.65	92,802
Fogarás	37.45	41.09	21.12	3.18	2,694
Háromszék	94.36	3.77	1.68	83.50	104,607
Hunyad	27.02	49.78	21.58	4.94	12,278
Kisküküllő	56.16	39.70	3.84	23.43	21,604
Kolozs	55.42	33.99	10.05	32.10	63,005
Maros-Torda	82.14	13.50	3.82	54.40	86,497
Nagy-Küküllő	57.50	32.70	9.65	9.08	12,026
Szeben	43.97	20.16	34.87	2.11	2,991
Szolnok-Doboka	43.49	51.83	4.34	16.29	31,559
Torda Arnyos	55.52	40.80	3.42	22.24	30,472
Udvarhely	96.81	1.61	1.15	89.38	94,311
TRANSYLVANIA	77.23	17.95	4.45	29.18	608,152
C-B-M & TRANSYLVANIA	77.46	13.60	7.43	27.79	1,214,047

Source: *Népszámlálása* (1881: 646 ff)

Remarks: For location of counties, see Figure 2

Table 21. Knowledge of Languages among Germans and the German Share of the Total Population by Counties in 1881, Percentages

REGION County	German only	Romanian	Hungarian	German population	
				Per cent	Absolute
Arad	53.61	16.99	28.70	10.18	30,931
Bihar	21.72	6.39	66.83	0.96	4,305
Krasso-Szöreny	46.05	32.77	13.70	9.92	37,833
Maramaros	46.49	14.32	9.24	13.95	31,718
Szatmar	26.07	10.34	62.73	4.76	13,948
Szilagy	18.19	1.59	78.75	0.48	819
Temes	72.22	12.09	10.88	34.65	137,239
Ugocsa	22.13	1.25	48.03	3.68	2,409
C-B-M	59.07	15.64	17.50	11.34	259,202
Also-Fehér	20.75	58.85	19.88	3.92	6,972
Besztercze-Naszód	25.88	65.97	7.99	24.32	23,113
Brassó	50.51	20.45	28.98	31.67	26,579
Csik	19.71	7.79	72.02	0.37	411
Fogaras	26.08	39.32	34.13	4.55	3,850
Háromszék	27.91	8.60	62.56	0.34	430
Hunyad	21.47	40.41	34.95	4.74	6,968
Kisküküllő	42.70	42.93	14.35	18.41	16,976
Kolozs	31.38	45.65	22.53	3.91	7,667
Maros-Torda	24.58	17.48	57.79	3.95	6,274
Nagy-Küküllő	39.60	49.05	11.20	8.61	57,398
Szeben	47.70	47.37	4.57	28.75	40,723
Szolnok-Doboka	31.60	50.98	17.14	2.38	4,604
Torda Aranyos	13.85	17.84	67.61	0.31	426
Udvarhely	48.97	49.44	1.51	2.20	2,322
TRANSYLVANIA	38.86	44.98	15.85	9.82	204,713
C-B-M & TRANSYLVANIA	50.15	28.59	16.77	10.62	463,915

Source: *Népszámlálása* (1881: 646 ff)

Remarks: The data include Yiddish-speaking Jews.
For location of counties, see Figure 2

Table 22. Indicators of Industrialization in the Old Kingdom in 1900

Region County	A	B	C	D	Population
Oltenia	18.4	2.0	5.0	2.3	1,325,086
Mehedinți	18.4	2.5	3.6	1.4	249,688
Gorj	22.6	1.2	2.1	0.4	171,300
Vâlcea	18.7	2.8	5.2	4.2	190,903
Dolj	20.4	2.9	7.4	4.1	365,579
Romanai	17.4	0.2	4.3	0.5	203,773
Olt	9.1	0.8	5.7	1.1	143,843
Muntenia	31.6	9.1	12.0	9.7	2,515,674
Argeș	15.8	1.0	4.8	2.5	207,605
Muscel	27.0	1.9	6.9	6.0	115,180
Dîmbovița	20.0	3.1	4.7	3.3	211,666
Prahova	42.6	12.3	20.1	19.0	307,302
Buzău	21.7	2.3	5.3	3.0	221,263
Rîmnicu-Sărat	14.2	0.6	3.6	0.3	136,918
Teleorman	16.9	2.6	8.0	4.2	238,628
Vlașca	11.3	0.1	4.4	0.9	202,759
Ilfov	64.2	28.9	20.6	19.4	541,180
Ialomița	12.2	-	4.8	-	187,889
Brăila	39.3	7.3	32.4	29.0	145,284
Dobrogea	26.4	2.1	5.9	2.4	267,808
Constanța	28.5	3.3	7.2	3.2	141,056
Tulcea	23.9	0.7	4.5	1.4	126,752
Moldavia	28.3	7.5	12.1	9.3	1,848,122
Putna	35.2	7.8	11.3	10.3	151,249
Tecuci	15.1	2.6	6.0	2.8	121,179
Covurlui	41.1	16.2	20.1	16.0	143,784
Bacău	28.4	8.7	18.1	16.7	195,194
Tutova	26.4	1.4	8.1	2.1	116,377
Fălciu	15.0	0.7	5.7	0.9	93,831
Neamț	43.5	20.5	20.1	19.2	149,711
Roman	21.1	6.2	15.8	13.8	111,588
Vaslui	16.0	0.7	5.3	0.7	110,184
Suceava	20.8	6.3	2.7	2.1	131,596
Iași	39.6	10.3	19.1	16.3	192,531
Botoșani	30.6	5.9	9.7	6.1	171,437
Dorohoi	16.3	2.5	5.9	2.9	159,461
OLD KINGDOM	27.3	6.7	10.2	7.6	5,956,690

Source: *Ancheta industrială* (1904:38)

Remarks: A: Engaged in manufacturing per thousand inhabitants
 B: Engaged in large manufacturing per thousand inhabitants
 C: Mechanical power (hp) in manufacturing per thousand inhabitants
 D: Mechanical power (hp) in large manufacturing per thousand inhabitants

Table 23. Indicators of Economic Development in the Interwar Period;
Index: 1922 = 100; Wheat and Maize, average 1921-1925 = 100

	Manufacturing	Crude Oil	Iron Ore	Crude Steel	Wheat	Maize
1913	137	135	n.a.	n.a.	94	87
1919	n.a.	62	119	n.a.	74	101
1920	n.a.	81	84	59	68	130
1921	64	85	96	66	88	79
1922	100	100	100	100	103	85
1923	100	110	104	121	114	108
1924	122	135	108	128	79	111
1925	126	169	113	149	117	117
1926	142	236	108	165	124	164
1927	162	267	102	191	108	99
1928	180	312	88	225	129	77
1929	187	352	95	237	111	179
1930	181	422	98	231	146	127
1931	192	492	65	166	151	170
1932	153	535	8	151	62	168
1933	186	537	15	213	133	128
1934	229	617	88	257	85	136
1935	226	611	97	313	108	151
1936	239	634	113	324	144	158
1937	249	521	136	351	154	133
1938	243	481	146	406	198	144
1939	n.a.	454	147	394	183	170
1940	n.a.	423	158	384	n.a.	n.a.

Sources: *Anuarul Statistic* (1939-1940: various tables),
Roberts (1951: 68).

Remarks: n.a. = not available
Data for 1913 refer to the Old Kingdom only.
Index based on production in quantity

Table 24. Per Capita Investments in the Socialist Sector. Annual Averages in Lei

REGION County	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80
MARAMUREŞ	329	477	1,175	1,559	2,543	5,260
Satu Mare ^a	143	322	770	1,324	2,738	3,932
Maramures ^a	608	775	1,933	2,163	2,567	4,829
Sălaj	195	268	576	896	2,222	8,040
CRIŞANA-BANAT	544	889	1,588	2,454	4,024	6,841
Bihora	661	656	1,389	2,622	3,385	5,746
Arad	405	794	1,262	1,791	3,674	5,472
Timiş ^a	502	1,029	1,605	2,664	4,546	7,179
Caras-Severin	625	1,195	2,352	2,711	4,621	9,848
TRANSYLVANIA	814	1,095	1,977	2,329	4,669	7,526
Cluja	393	728	1,773	2,546	4,291	6,982
Bistriţa-Năsăud	177	227	578	919	2,154	7,272
Mureş ^a	569	884	2,337	2,680	3,883	5,650
Harghita	91	377	1,120	2,014	3,796	5,301
Hunedoara ^a	2,964	3,368	5,000	5,341	6,242	9,904
Alba	456	686	1,131	1,712	3,651	6,941
Sibiu	766	856	1,649	2,399	4,252	5,634
Braşov ^a	1,475	1,698	2,664	4,446	7,963	11,100
Covasna	114	448	787	2,014	3,610	8,375
OLTENIA	203	754	1,924	3,671	5,792	8,849
Mehedinţi	140	342	1,086	4,540	4,450	5,880
Gorj	484	1,865	2,467	4,087	11,000	18,157
Vilcea	213	959	963	3,723	6,781	7,069
Dolj ^a	179	524	2,450	3,642	4,258	7,973
Olt	91	480	2,126	2,849	4,704	7,131
MUNTENIA	640	832	1,913	3,267	5,151	7,516 ^b
Argeş ^a	555	719	2,343	5,688	8,364	7,932 ^b
Dimboviţa	828	705	1,078	2,243	6,638	7,670 ^b
Prahova ^a	1,942	1,865	2,579	3,756	5,215	8,785
Buzău	260	257	848	2,055	3,226	6,174
Brăila	495	1,414	3,605	4,035	6,249	10,711
Teleorman	110	349	1,879	2,482	4,015	5,476 ^b
Ilfov	119	362	1,267	2,146	3,421	5,439 ^b
Ialomiţa	798	1,297	2,359	4,324	4,840	9,838
BUCURESTI	1,624	2,125	4,295	7,074	8,753	12,598 ^b
DOBROGEA	1,511	1,776	2,826	5,463	8,707	19,555
Tulcea	456	1,395	1,821	2,502	6,923	11,834
Constanţa ^a	2,156	2,006	3,379	6,969	9,523	22,781
MOLDAVIA	663	960	1,779	2,622	4,055	7,194
Galati ^a	564	1,085	3,283	7,662	8,497	13,280
Vrancea	174	469	955	1,502	2,577	5,825
Bacău	1,744	2,378	3,153	3,083	5,169	8,297
Vaslui	227	387	786	1,239	2,824	5,785
Neamţ	1,485	1,748	1,948	2,110	4,335	6,714

Table 24 continued

REGION County	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80
Iași ^a	479	557	1,485	2,297	3,932	6,886
Suceava ^a	297	544	1,385	1,898	2,355	4,704
Botoșani	149	276	833	812	1,807	4,767
ROMANIA	692	1,008	2,051	3,292	5,082	8,345

Sources: *Anuarul Statistic* (1980: 402-411),(1981: 418-429),
Recensământul (1977: Vol 1)

Remarks: a: The county capital was also capital of an administrative region prior to 1968.
b: approximate figure
1951 - 1965 in 1959 prices, 1966-1975 in 1963 prices and
1976-1980 in 1977 prices

Table 25. Population by Industry in Rural and Urban Areas in Crişana-Banat, Maramureş and Transylvania in 1910, Percentages

REGION County	Total			Urban			Rural		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
MARAMUREŞ	73.6	14.2	12.3	18.2	40.6	41.2	82.0	10.1	7.9
Szatmár	67.3	18.8	14.0	18.2	43.7	38.1	80.9	11.1	7.3
Máramaros	68.9	14.7	16.4	13.4	32.8	53.8	76.6	12.2	11.2
Ugocsa	80.3	8.8	10.9				80.3	8.8	10.9
Szilagy	83.0	9.2	7.8	24.5	37.4	38.1	86.7	7.5	5.8
CRIŞANA-BANAT	73.1	15.4	11.5	8.5	44.3	47.2	81.7	11.6	6.8
Bihar	75.6	13.0	11.4	7.1	42.0	50.9	84.3	9.3	6.4
Arad	73.6	14.1	12.3	8.3	45.1	46.7	83.9	9.2	6.9
Temes	66.2	18.8	15.0	5.2	47.6	47.2	79.9	12.3	7.8
Krassó-Szöreny	75.1	16.6	8.3	19.8	40.2	40.0	78.4	15.2	6.4
TRANSYLVANIA	74.8	14.7	10.5	16.6	40.7	42.7	82.7	11.3	6.1
Also-Fehér	75.7	13.5	10.7	22.8	34.2	43.0	82.4	10.9	6.6
Beszt, Naszod	78.3	11.4	10.3	18.7	37.2	44.1	84.6	8.7	6.7
Brassó	45.6	30.9	23.5	6.9	47.5	45.6	70.6	20.1	9.3
Csik	76.1	15.0	8.9	37.9	31.4	30.7	79.6	13.5	6.9
Fogaras	82.8	10.8	6.4	12.4	46.1	41.5	87.4	8.5	4.1
Háromszék	70.0	20.0	10.0	13.7	51.3	35.0	75.8	16.7	7.4
Hunyad	71.5	20.5	8.0	19.4	41.9	38.7	74.9	19.1	5.9
Kis-Küküllő	85.7	6.7	7.6	31.9	28.5	39.6	89.5	5.1	5.4
Kolosz	69.7	15.6	14.7	14.8	38.9	46.3	83.8	9.6	6.6
Maros-Torda	74.2	14.0	11.8	8.0	44.8	47.2	84.9	9.0	6.1
Nagy-Küküllő	78.9	11.8	9.3	32.2	36.5	31.3	85.6	8.3	6.1
Szeben	67.5	18.1	14.4	12.2	40.8	47.0	83.0	11.7	5.3
Szołnok-Doboka	83.4	8.3	8.3	12.1	37.8	50.1	88.3	6.3	5.4
Torda-Aranyos	82.3	10.2	7.5	28.8	39.7	31.5	86.3	8.0	5.7
Udvarhely	79.2	12.4	8.4	14.3	46.6	39.1	84.6	9.6	5.8
TOTAL	74.1	14.8	11.1	14.2	41.9	43.9	82.3	11.1	6.7

cont.

Table 25 cont

Source: Népszámlálása (1910b)

Remarks: The primary sector includes agriculture and silviculture. The secondary sector includes mining and manufacturing. The tertiary sector includes commerce, financial institutions, transportation, public services and free professions, military personnel and domestic servants. Non-specified day labourers and those with other or unknown profession were proportionally distributed on the sectors.

To delimit Crişana-Banat and Maramureş as faithfully as possible to the present borders the following system was used. In Maramureş was included the districts Izavölgyi, Sugatagi, Szigeti and Visői in the Măramaros county; the Tiszántúli district in the Ugocsa county; the Szátmar county except for the districts Csengeri, Fehérgyarmati and Mátészalkai and the county of Szilagy. In Crişana-Banat was included the county of Bihar except the Berettyóújfalusi, Biharkerestes, Derecskei, Sárréti and Székelyhidi districts; the entire county of Arad and Krassó-Szöreny and the county of Temes except for the districts Fehértemploni, Kevevárai and Verseczi and for the towns Fehértemplon and Versecz.

Table 26. The Economic Structure of Romanian Towns in 1930

- A: Agriculture
 B: Manufacturing, mining and construction
 C: Banking and commerce
 D: Communication and transportation
 E: Public institutions

REGION Town	Total Population by Industry, Percent					Population
	A	B	C	D	E	
MARAMUREŞ	18.0	27.5	12.2	7.4	12.2	128,626
Satu Mare	17.9	27.3	13.2	9.5	12.8	51,495
Carei	17.0	25.4	12.1	7.2	9.8	16,042
Baia Mare	13.3	41.9	10.4	5.5	7.8	13,904
Sighetul						
Marmaţiei	22.5	19.8	13.3	6.5	13.1	27,270
Baia Sprie	8.5	53.1	5.7	1.6	5.0	4,127
Zalău	18.6	23.0	7.4	4.4	22.1	8,340
Şimleu Silvaniei	17.2	25.5	13.2	7.2	11.6	7,448
CRIŞANA-BANAT	8.4	33.3	12.1	8.2	13.5	338,788
Oradea	4.1	30.5	14.8	8.0	16.7	82,187
Beiuş	14.5	28.4	12.1	3.1	13.5	4,293
Salonta	43.4	22.5	6.5	2.7	9.5	15,297
Arad	8.3	32.5	11.6	9.2	10.7	77,181
Lipova	28.3	25.5	8.5	3.2	5.9	6,000
Timişoara	2.7	32.1	13.9	10.6	15.0	91,580
Lugoj	10.1	33.4	10.7	5.9	17.5	23,593
Reşiţa	3.3	74.0	4.6	2.0	3.3	19,868
Caransebeş	17.9	24.2	8.2	9.8	20.6	8,704
Oraviţa	26.7	22.7	7.5	8.4	10.0	9,585
TRANSYLVANIA	11.0	32.3	11.8	7.6	16.2	487,845
Cluj-Napoca	5.8	29.8	12.8	10.2	16.9	100,844
Dej	12.6	22.0	13.2	11.8	23.0	15,110
Turda	21.6	38.6	7.7	4.9	10.1	20,023
Gherla	9.6	27.5	14.5	3.9	19.2	6,608
Huedin	32.1	25.7	12.4	5.9	8.7	5,401
Bistriţa	13.1	30.1	11.7	2.5	24.5	14,128
Năsăud	41.5	14.6	7.8	2.5	12.7	3,512
Tîrgu Mureş	6.5	29.9	12.8	9.6	16.6	38,517
Sighişoara	20.3	29.2	11.1	9.1	12.1	13,033
Reghin	8.3	41.2	16.3	4.9	9.6	9,290
Tîrnaveni	18.9	30.9	9.5	3.0	13.5	6,567
Miercurea Ciuc	19.3	21.6	14.3	5.5	22.4	4,807
Odorheiu						
Secuiesc	11.0	32.6	12.4	3.1	19.2	8,518
Gheorgheni	33.1	23.3	8.5	7.4	6.1	10,355

Table 26 cont

REGION County	Total Population by Industry, Percent					Population
	A	B	C	D	E	
Deva	25.6	22.3	9.2	3.4	22.3	10,509
Hunedoara	25.0	38.8	7.0	4.0	9.6	4,600
Petroșani	7.1	51.5	6.2	9.5	5.8	15,405
Hațeg	24.7	22.8	13.4	3.4	11.5	3,383
Orăștie	15.7	27.1	8.9	3.9	18.9	7,337
Alba Iulia	18.9	23.2	12.4	5.4	28.9	12,282
Abrud	11.0	30.7	11.0	3.3	27.4	2,468
Aiud	14.7	22.1	10.1	5.8	18.3	9,478
Blaj	14.2	21.0	9.7	10.2	14.6	4,618
Sebeș	36.7	26.5	7.2	1.9	12.0	9,137
Sibiu	2.7	34.2	13.4	7.8	20.0	49,345
Mediaș	15.1	49.3	9.6	1.9	8.2	15,505
Dumbrăveni	21.1	25.3	8.7	2.1	18.5	4,067
Brașov	3.7	39.1	14.3	11.0	13.3	59,232
Făgăraș	6.7	31.1	10.4	4.1	28.4	7,841
Sfintu Gheorghe	7.8	38.6	7.7	4.9	19.2	10,818
Tîrgu Secuiesc	10.7	36.0	15.2	3.3	11.8	5,107
OLTENIA	30.5	18.1	10.5	7.1	16.3	217,625
Turnu Severin	2.3	26.7	13.3	16.5	16.9	21,107
Baia de Arama	41.5	30.5	8.6	1.8	8.6	1,461
Orșova	16.4	19.0	7.8	19.9	14.5	8,159
Strehaia	74.1	10.8	3.5	3.5	4.3	7,870
Tîrgu Jiu	25.6	19.2	9.5	4.9	21.3	13,030
Rîmnicu Vîlcea	31.5	16.1	9.9	6.0	19.6	15,648
Băile Govora	73.6	6.7	3.8	3.4	7.5	910
Călimănești	66.1	9.4	3.5	5.0	5.4	2,876
Drăgășani	51.6	17.5	10.5	2.0	9.2	7,002
Ocnele Mari	70.6	10.1	3.3	4.2	7.9	7,223
Craiova	6.3	22.9	14.1	8.1	21.4	63,215
Băilești	84.0	6.4	4.1	0.8	3.0	13,169
Calafat	39.3	17.7	8.1	5.4	17.8	7,633
Plenița	89.7	4.0	1.7	0.3	3.0	7,771
Slatina	16.5	18.2	12.3	6.0	29.9	11,243
Balș	65.2	9.7	8.1	7.8	4.9	5,501
Caracal	27.0	17.9	12.5	3.0	21.3	14,950
Corabia	45.4	15.7	13.2	5.4	7.2	8,857
MUNTENIA	18.9	25.9	13.2	9.9	12.5	451,483
Pitești	2.7	22.6	15.7	12.1	20.2	19,532
Cîmpulung	14.6	23.4	11.2	5.4	17.3	13,868
Curtea de Argeș	40.7	20.8	8.0	2.9	11.2	6,809
Tîrgoviște	27.1	20.5	9.6	2.8	19.5	22,298
Găești	37.6	18.7	12.7	5.1	11.5	5,328
Pucioasa	50.3	22.3	5.4	4.4	5.3	5,772
Ploiești	3.7	39.4	13.9	8.5	11.4	79,149
Cîmpina	8.0	58.1	9.9	6.6	4.4	16,918
Mizil	16.2	28.5	18.2	6.2	10.5	6,440
Sînaia	5.4	32.2	13.9	10.3	19.2	4,072
Slănic	3.4	53.3	5.5	11.0	7.0	6,306
Urlești	60.5	14.3	6.2	2.3	3.9	5,501
Vălenii de Munte	26.1	30.1	10.4	5.1	7.8	4,237
Filipești Tîrg	59.5	18.2	4.7	2.8	6.9	1,915

Table 26 cont

REGION County	Total Population by Industry, Percent					Population
	A	B	C	D	E	
Buzău	8.3	20.1	14.1	17.4	17.3	35,687
Râmnicu Sărat	17.6	20.0	14.9	4.5	19.2	15,007
Brăila	1.8	25.1	19.6	19.4	11.2	68,347
Alexandria	46.9	21.1	10.4	3.0	6.8	19,350
Turnu Măgurele	38.5	14.2	9.0	5.4	17.7	16,950
Rosiorii de Vede	22.2	24.3	17.0	7.4	7.1	11,453
Zimnicea	76.1	7.8	4.2	1.9	4.2	10,879
Giurgiu	26.7	18.9	11.1	11.8	13.8	31,016
Oltenița	32.2	20.3	12.7	10.0	7.2	10,389
Urziceni	63.3	13.8	8.0	3.2	4.0	8,616
Slobozia	48.5	16.1	11.6	7.4	5.7	7,591
Călărași	19.7	18.7	14.7	11.9	20.0	18,053
BUCUREȘTI	3.2	29.2	17.9	10.7	15.8	639,040
DOBROGEA	16.7	15.0	13.1	16.4	16.7	126,376
Tulcea	21.6	18.4	12.0	5.9	14.6	20,403
Babadag	47.2	16.7	5.9	4.5	9.0	4,626
Isaccea	66.1	7.6	3.9	2.4	5.9	4,576
Măcin	44.9	13.0	7.0	10.7	4.8	5,628
Sulina	5.8	8.3	7.4	51.1	12.3	6,399
Constanța	3.8	12.8	16.6	22.0	20.4	59,164
Eforie	6.3	24.9	11.7	4.0	13.4	872
Mangalia	29.5	16.7	14.7	7.0	9.0	2,764
Techirghiol	54.2	13.0	4.4	3.9	6.8	1,956
Cerna Vodă	7.0	31.3	8.0	9.0	32.0	6,744
Hîrșova	34.7	20.7	16.1	8.4	6.1	3,665
Medgidia	12.9	17.9	15.9	14.8	18.1	6,466
Ostrov	60.0	10.1	5.1	3.1	8.7	3,113
MOLDAVIA	22.4	20.8	14.1	9.1	14.4	659,470
Focșani	19.4	18.3	12.7	6.0	22.6	32,481
Adjud	41.5	10.2	9.8	24.7	4.5	6,748
Mărășești	29.2	17.9	5.9	28.2	4.7	4,532
Odoboești	61.0	11.6	9.6	3.6	5.0	8,106
Panciu	64.0	12.9	8.4	2.2	5.6	6,816
Galați	5.0	21.9	19.5	14.3	14.4	100,611
Tecuci	27.5	13.4	10.3	11.9	22.5	17,172
Bacău	7.5	28.3	15.5	11.2	19.1	31,138
Buhuși	25.4	47.8	9.3	1.7	4.6	8,655
Moinești	20.1	28.9	17.1	7.8	5.6	6,616
Tîrgu Ocna	47.0	14.9	6.5	10.7	10.5	12,588
Bîrlad	17.9	17.3	14.3	8.7	21.2	26,204
Vaslui	30.2	15.7	17.2	7.1	24.7	13,310
Huși	45.0	12.7	10.1	4.1	12.1	17,130
Piatra Neamț	19.2	28.4	12.9	7.1	12.1	29,827
Roman	24.8	20.5	11.5	5.7	21.3	28,823
Tîrgu Neamț	34.2	20.9	16.0	4.2	9.3	9,475
Iași	2.8	25.2	15.9	12.0	16.0	102,872
Hîrlau	57.1	18.4	9.6	3.1	4.6	9,074
Pașcani	44.1	6.7	7.0	29.7	3.4	13,968
Tîrgu Frumos	36.7	16.4	18.1	7.8	6.0	4,932

Table 26 cont

REGION County	Total Population by Industry, Percent					Population
	A	B	C	D	E	
Suceava	39.2	16.4	11.0	3.0	14.6	17,028
Cîmpulung Mold.	35.4	15.0	8.3	10.1	11.6	10,071
Fălticeni	29.1	18.5	13.6	4.0	18.5	14,096
Gura Humorului	17.5	29.6	18.7	4.7	8.7	6,042
Rădăuți	17.6	26.2	16.0	3.9	13.0	16,788
Siret	52.8	14.9	11.7	2.4	6.5	9,905
Solca	70.3	8.8	4.1	1.1	7.9	2,822
Vatra Dornei	46.3	22.2	9.8	4.2	4.9	9,826
Vama	51.1	20.8	3.5	2.8	3.5	5,315
Botoșani	15.6	22.6	15.3	5.3	17.5	32,355
Darabani	76.3	8.4	8.5	0.6	2.4	10,748
Dorohoi	14.5	19.2	17.0	8.8	22.1	15,866
Săveni	51.0	19.1	15.4	1.8	4.1	4,953
Mihăileni	37.8	23.0	16.3	4.8	7.9	3,686
Stefănești	62.1	12.8	11.7	1.5	4.4	8,891
BUCOVINA	21.2	22.7	14.6	5.4	14.9	158,713
Cernăuți	7.8	25.7	16.4	6.6	18.0	112,427
Cozmeni	66.1	8.8	5.8	1.6	7.8	4,918
Sadagura	52.6	20.9	8.6	1.9	6.8	8,968
Zastravna	70.1	8.4	5.4	1.7	6.2	5,116
Storoiineț	36.8	20.1	13.7	4.0	10.6	8,695
Vaşcăuți pe Ceremus	68.8	9.8	6.5	1.0	6.5	6,336
Vijnița	3.7	22.5	24.3	8.2	10.6	3,799
Herța	66.2	13.4	10.2	1.1	3.8	8,454
BESSARABIA	26.5	16.8	14.2	6.1	14.3	370,971
Hotin	13.4	27.4	14.4	3.7	17.6	15,334
Soroca	26.4	19.7	12.8	2.9	18.4	15,001
Bălți	20.4	20.4	20.1	4.0	16.5	30,570
Orhei	31.0	19.5	16.9	2.3	13.7	15,279
Chișinău	10.6	20.1	16.3	6.0	15.9	114,896
Călărași Tîrg	4.3	27.3	36.4	7.6	5.1	4,776
Cahul	61.4	8.4	8.2	2.0	9.4	11,370
Leova	43.8	14.9	19.4	3.0	6.1	6,539
Tighina	22.6	15.3	14.3	12.6	12.3	31,384
Comrat	78.1	7.7	4.1	1.2	3.8	12,331
Cetatea Albă	39.9	11.6	9.4	4.4	18.2	34,485
Tuzla	85.8	5.0	1.6	0.3	4.9	3,146
Ismail	23.6	14.0	10.8	5.9	18.4	24,998
Bolgrad	20.2	21.4	13.6	3.1	20.8	14,280
Chilia Noua	55.5	7.8	10.5	6.8	3.6	17,245
Reni	19.6	12.9	15.3	28.0	8.2	11,923
Vilcov	68.4	6.3	6.4	2.4	8.0	7,414

Table 26 cont

REGION County	Total Population by Industry, Percent					Population
	A	B	C	D	E	
SOUTH DOBROGEA	19.1	20.0	13.9	7.6	12.7	70,102
Silistra	11.4	22.2	17.7	9.1	18.5	17,339
Turtucaia	37.7	12.5	7.9	6.2	7.8	11,175
Bazargic	12.4	21.0	15.8	7.7	13.3	30,106
Balcic	29.9	19.0	7.8	4.8	7.9	6,396
Cavarna	29.6	24.5	9.7	8.1	6.4	5,086
ROMANIA	16.2	25.2	13.9	8.8	14.7	3,649,039

Source: *Recensământul* (1930: Vol V)

Remarks: Data refer to total urban population according to official administrative delimitation of urban areas, including suburban communes.

Table 27. Industrial Structure of Romanian Towns in 1956; Active Population in Primary (I), Secondary (II) and Tertiary (III) Employment

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
MARAMUREȘ					
Satu Mare	52096	23839	14.6	47.1	38.3
Carei	16780	6745	35.1	28.7	36.1
Baia Mare	35920	16927	3.9	57.5	38.6
Sighetul Marmației	22361	9934	31.1	32.1	36.7
Baia Sprie	8134	3331	21.2	64.2	14.6
Vișeu de Sus	13956	5964	37.5	41.9	20.7
Zalău	13378	6318	41.2	24.2	34.6
Șimleu Silvaniei	8560	3732	31.1	25.8	43.1
CRIȘANA-BANAT					
Oradea	98950	48424	9.2	45.3	45.5
Beiuș	6467	2961	11.0	31.7	57.3
Dr. Petru Groza	5874	4399	4.4	83.3	12.3
Nucet	9879	8019	0.1	94.6	5.4
Salonta	16276	7958	45.0	30.9	24.1
Vășcău	4538	2704	60.0	25.4	14.6
Arad	106460	55331	11.4	54.3	34.3
Lipova	10064	5265	43.9	22.3	33.8
Timișoara	142257	73483	3.9	52.9	43.1
Lugoj	30252	15584	12.1	48.5	39.4
Buziaș	5140	3011	65.0	12.4	22.7
Jimbolia	11281	5886	34.0	45.9	20.1
Sfântnicolau Mare	9956	5768	61.3	13.0	25.7
Reșita	41234	23998	2.3	79.6	18.2
Anina	11837	6190	1.6	73.9	24.5
Băile Herculane	1656	1006	27.1	18.5	54.4
Caransebiș	15195	7832	18.9	33.0	48.1
Moldova Nouă	3582	1151	15.6	25.8	58.6
Oravița	8175	3759	6.7	25.5	67.8
TRANSYLVANIA					
Cluj-Napoca	154723	73023	7.1	44.8	48.1
Dej	19281	8651	21.2	29.1	49.7
Turda	33614	15829	12.7	56.7	30.6
Cîmpia Turzii	11514	5790	15.9	68.7	15.4
Gherla	7617	2830	24.2	27.5	48.2
Bistrița	20292	9477	33.1	22.4	44.5
Năsăud	5725	3001	54.8	11.2	34.0
Tîrgu Mureș	65194	31041	6.9	46.0	47.1
Sighișoara	20363	10089	16.6	49.1	34.3
Reghin	18091	8163	20.2	50.1	29.7
Sovata	6498	3380	31.5	44.1	24.4
Tîrnăveni	14883	7205	12.9	58.7	28.4
Miercurea Ciuc	11996	6022	28.3	31.9	39.8
Odorheiu Secuiesc	14162	6403	22.2	33.5	44.2

Table 27 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Borsec	2318	1133	4.9	41.8	53.2
Cristuru Secuiec	5194	2643	60.7	14.6	24.7
Gheorgheni	11969	5991	28.8	38.0	33.2
Toplița	8944	4984	47.7	30.4	22.0
Deva	16879	9378	12.1	36.2	51.7
Hunedoara	36498	26155	3.6	84.4	12.1
Petroșani	23052	12055	6.9	53.7	39.4
Lupeni	21188	12759	2.1	81.4	16.5
Petrila	19955	11029	8.1	80.5	11.4
Vulcan	14859	8436	7.2	82.0	10.8
Brad	9963	5181	31.7	40.9	27.3
Hațeg	3853	1869	26.7	24.3	49.0
Orăștie	10488	5276	20.3	48.0	31.8
Simeria	7706	4156	22.1	40.7	37.2
Alba Iulia	14776	6545	16.0	36.3	47.7
Abrud	4411	1697	34.5	29.2	36.4
Aiud	11886	5160	3.3	61.2	35.5
Blaj	8731	3352	30.4	21.3	48.4
Ocna Mureș	10701	5069	11.8	70.4	17.9
Sebeș	11628	5984	27.9	41.6	30.5
Sibiu	90475	44613	6.9	58.0	35.1
Mediaș	32498	16948	6.2	69.7	24.1
Agnita	9108	5138	41.3	35.8	22.9
Cisnădie	12246	7570	8.8	80.1	11.0
Dumbrăveni	5367	2652	48.7	29.5	21.8
Brașov	123834	68769	3.1	60.7	36.2
Codlea	9309	5208	22.9	60.8	16.3
Făgăraș	17256	9137	9.4	58.4	32.2
Predeal	5121	2766	3.3	20.9	75.8
Rîsnov	7974	4213	25.4	60.2	14.4
Rupea	4691	2517	48.6	13.2	38.2
Săcele	18365	9739	23.0	60.4	16.6
Victoria	2762	887	0.2	72.8	26.9
Zărnești	6673	3340	25.8	61.6	12.5
Sfîntu Gheorghe	17638	9036	12.1	50.9	37.0
Covasna	7290	3616	53.9	29.5	16.6
Țirgu Secuiesc	7500	3456	21.5	34.5	44.0
OLTENIA					
Turnu Severin	32486	13290	3.8	49.2	46.9
Orșova	6527	2918	11.3	40.6	48.0
Strehaia	8545	5156	70.7	8.7	20.6
Țirgu Jiu	19618	9501	12.7	48.1	39.2
Rîmnicu Vîlcea	18984	8279	10.9	37.7	51.4
Băile Govora	1590	955	43.5	7.3	49.2
Băile Olănești	3836	2481	75.7	6.7	17.6
Călimănești	6651	3673	51.3	19.7	29.0
Drăgășani	9963	5567	49.1	19.9	31.0
Ocnele Mari	4420	2514	67.1	18.6	14.2
Craiova	96897	42602	5.4	39.5	55.0
Băilești	15932	9905	80.3	7.8	12.0
Calafat	8069	3845	48.4	15.1	36.6
Slatina	13381	5426	22.9	22.3	54.8
Balș	6956	3833	55.6	14.5	29.9
Caracal	19082	8177	34.9	21.1	44.0
Corabia	11502	5745	58.8	12.3	28.9

Table 27 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Pitești	38330	17933	6.7	40.4	52.9
Cîmpulung	18880	8234	14.5	44.2	41.4
Curtea de Argeș	10764	5648	38.8	34.2	27.0
Țîrgoviște	24360	11775	11.5	51.7	36.7
Găești	7179	3807	44.8	20.8	34.4
Moreni	11687	6382	0.9	72.8	26.4
Pucioasa	9259	4771	24.3	49.1	26.7
Ploiești	114544	55738	2.3	57.1	40.7
Azuga	3732	2197	2.3	83.7	14.0
Băicoi	8287	4784	38.3	45.8	15.8
Breaza	11122	4612	10.5	60.3	29.2
Bușteni	8591	4528	2.2	69.3	28.6
Cîmpina	18680	9925	1.4	65.3	33.3
Mizil	7460	3212	33.1	23.8	43.0
Sinaia	9006	5012	2.3	49.8	47.9
Slănic	6842	2518	11.0	64.6	24.4
Urlați	8658	4599	46.1	31.2	22.7
Vălenii de Munte	5472	2309	16.4	38.0	45.6
Buzău	47595	18378	15.9	34.7	49.4
Rîmnicu Sărat	19095	7891	20.3	39.1	40.6
Brăila	102500	41469	8.3	53.7	38.0
Alexandria	19294	8759	51.2	24.0	24.7
Turnu Măgurele	18055	8406	57.6	14.8	27.6
Roșiorii de Vede	17320	7222	21.8	35.8	42.5
Zimnicea	12445	7278	77.3	9.3	13.5
Giurgiu	32613	12039	12.7	36.8	50.5
Oltenița	14111	6339	36.0	38.1	25.9
Urziceni	6061	2880	38.2	20.9	40.9
Slobozia	9632	4434	52.1	14.4	33.5
Călărași	25555	9468	33.6	25.5	40.9
Fetești	15383	6529	48.5	9.6	41.9
BUCUREȘTI					
București	1177661	589422.	1.8	44.9	53.2
DOBROGEA					
Tulcea	24639	10189	17.7	45.8	36.5
Babadag	5549	2843	52.0	15.4	32.6
Ișaccea	5203	2714	70.9	14.5	14.6
Măcin	6533	3050	49.0	18.4	32.6
Sulina	3622	1255	2.2	29.4	68.4
Constanța	99676	43722	5.3	35.6	59.0
Eforie	3286	1788	7.1	33.3	59.6
Mangalia	4792	2224	33.8	25.3	40.9
Techirghiol	2705	1123	53.8	12.2	34.0
Cerna Vodă	8802	3681	7.5	57.0	35.5
Hîrșova	4761	2401	45.6	17.5	36.9
Medgidia	17943	8644	17.6	52.8	29.5

Table 27 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
MOLDAVIA					
Focşani	28244	11293	17.3	30.5	52.1
Adjud	6119	2766	29.9	10.2	59.9
Măraşeşti	5604	2603	41.1	24.8	34.2
Odobeşti	4977	2587	62.3	18.9	18.8
Panciu	7679	3910	67.8	9.4	22.8
Galaţi	95646	42718	3.9	50.3	45.8
Tecuci	23400	9641	33.5	22.5	44.0
Bacău	54138	26934	4.6	53.2	42.2
Gheorghiu-Dej	11253	7616	29.5	61.2	9.3
Buhuşi	12382	7038	18.1	64.3	17.6
Comăneşti	12392	5498	4.3	72.9	22.8
Moineşti	12934	6379	9.7	58.5	31.8
Slănic Moldova	3082	1604	36.3	25.9	37.8
Tîrgu Ocna	11227	4946	23.4	36.3	40.4
Bîrlad	32040	14057	9.4	45.5	45.1
Huşi	14850	6685	44.0	16.8	39.1
Negreşti	18055	8452	59.3	10.7	30.1
Piatra Neamţ	32648	15217	9.1	50.3	40.6
Roman	27948	12859	16.7	46.3	37.0
Tîrgu Neamţ	10373	5062	45.0	19.3	35.8
Iaşi	112977	50910	5.0	40.6	54.4
Paşcani	15008	7851	52.3	21.1	26.6
Suceava	20949	10681	18.8	25.6	55.6
Cîmpulung Moldovenesc	13627	6770	22.5	35.6	41.9
Fălticeni	13305	6378	20.4	42.1	37.6
Gura Humorului	7216	3240	19.4	36.5	44.0
Rădăuţi	15949	7016	24.7	29.5	45.8
Siret	5664	3395	73.8	8.2	18.0
Solca	2384	1342	64.4	18.0	17.7
Vatra Dornei	10822	6103	14.7	46.9	38.4
Botoşani	29569	12247	17.7	39.7	42.6
Dorohoi	14771	5746	35.8	16.5	47.7

Source: *Recensământul* (1956b: 578-1021)

Remarks: Primary employment - Agriculture and silviculture
 Secondary employment - Mining, manufacturing and construction
 Tertiary employment - Other industries

Table 28. Industrial Structure of Romanian Towns in 1966; Active Population in Primary (I), Secondary (II) and Tertiary (III) Employment

Town	Population		Actives on Industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
MARAMURES					
Satu Mare	69769	31500	6.8	59.3	33.9
Carei	19686	7269	24.1	32.2	43.7
Negrești-Oaș	9311	4630	63.4	15.0	21.6
Tâșnad	8859	4310	60.3	22.5	17.2
Baia Mare	64535	29890	1.3	58.5	40.3
Sighetul Marmăției	29771	12530	16.0	44.8	39.2
Baia Sprie	14151	6249	8.5	79.1	12.3
Borșa	18929	8505	39.9	45.0	15.1
Căvnic	6063	2644	0.2	87.0	12.8
Țirgu Lăpuș	12361	7241	70.1	9.4	20.4
Vișeu de sus	16601	6501	25.8	42.3	32.0
Zalău	15144	7012	31.8	29.5	38.6
Cehu Silvaniei	7945	4145	56.0	14.0	29.9
Jibou	7507	3790	53.0	14.6	32.4
Șimleu Silvaniei	12324	4824	25.2	24.3	50.5
CRIȘANA-BANAT					
Oradea	122534	61188	5.9	51.3	42.8
Aleșd	6371	3349	29.1	33.1	37.8
Beiuș	8744	3570	14.6	24.9	60.5
Dr Petru Groza	5754	2470	4.6	47.9	47.4
Mărghita	11179	5667	31.4	34.7	33.9
Nucet	2768	1183	3.5	60.0	36.5
Salonta	17754	7695	36.7	28.6	34.7
Vaşcău	3621	2133	58.4	20.4	21.2
Arad	126000	61166	9.0	58.8	32.2
Chișineu Criș	8891	4752	55.3	15.4	29.3
Curtici	10908	5698	65.7	12.1	22.3
Ineu	9973	5066	47.9	18.6	33.5
Lipova	11705	5706	27.0	28.4	44.6
Nădlac	8304	4846	79.1	11.7	9.2
Pîncota	6993	3975	51.4	36.6	11.9
Sebiș	5537	2866	41.0	23.4	35.6
Timișoara	174243	88105	2.6	56.2	41.2
Lugoș	35364	16550	6.8	49.4	43.8
Buziaș	7310	4145	60.8	14.1	25.2
Deța	6680	3370	22.3	42.6	35.1
Jimbolia	13633	6438	23.6	57.3	19.2
Sînnicolau Mare	11428	5414	42.1	17.2	40.8
Reșița	63302	30531	2.7	74.4	22.9
Anina	14063	5794	0.3	76.2	23.4
Băile Herculane	2456	1489	10.3	21.6	68.2
Bocșa	16015	6794	4.8	73.1	22.1
Caransebeș	18838	8620	9.5	36.5	54.0
Moldova Nouă	10868	5401	20.0	49.4	30.7
Oravița	12879	6048	21.4	25.6	53.0
Ţelul Rosu	9770	4112	9.5	71.7	18.8

Tabel 28 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
TRANSYLVANIA					
Cluj Napoca	185663	87392	3.1	49.5	47.4
Dej	26984	12046	18.2	38.8	43.0
Turda	44980	19566	8.6	57.0	34.4
Cîmpia Turzii	17457	7076	8.6	73.5	17.9
Gherla	13329	5775	15.3	48.3	36.5
Huedin	7834	3847	35.5	22.2	42.3
Bistrița	25519	10959	26.7	26.0	47.3
Beclean	5874	2840	54.6	18.6	26.8
Năsăud	6620	3489	43.5	16.0	40.6
Sîngeorz Băi	6693	3728	75.3	9.5	15.2
Tîrgu Mureș	86464	41259	2.9	51.4	45.7
Sighișoara	26207	13066	11.7	55.5	32.8
Luduș	11794	5420	34.1	25.1	40.9
Reghin	23295	9790	11.6	51.9	36.4
Șovata	9312	4547	28.4	38.7	32.8
Tîrnăveni	22302	9220	14.1	52.0	33.8
Miercurea Ciuc	15329	7204	13.4	42.4	44.1
Odorheiu Secuiesc	18244	8373	11.1	47.6	41.3
Băile Tușnad	1204	641	0.8	23.9	75.4
Bălan	4646	2671	1.8	93.1	5.1
Borsec	2750	1228	0.8	38.7	60.5
Cristuru Secuiesc	5942	2831	40.2	33.0	26.8
Gheorgheni	13828	6531	12.7	46.7	40.7
Toplița	10993	5115	25.0	41.6	33.4
Vlăhița	5482	2525	35.8	47.1	17.1
Deva	30477	15863	9.5	44.1	46.4
Hunedoara	69085	34043	2.4	78.4	19.2
Petroșani	37490	17024	5.3	58.9	35.8
Lupeni	29340	11376	0.6	82.9	16.5
Petrila	24796	9677	6.7	80.5	12.8
Uricani	7662	3741	17.3	71.8	10.9
Vulcan	21979	9260	1.9	85.6	12.5
Brad	15532	7297	13.5	55.8	30.7
Călan	12748	6274	29.3	54.8	15.9
Hațeg	6869	3590	28.2	31.1	40.7
Orăștie	12822	6440	13.2	51.9	34.9
Simeria	11211	5237	17.4	41.2	41.5
Alba Iulia	24388	11325	26.3	36.2	37.4
Abrud	5150	1902	25.1	35.1	39.9
Aiud	19543	8896	31.7	35.8	32.5
Blaț	17798	8088	27.9	38.7	33.4
Cîmpeni	7170	3532	39.8	22.6	37.6
Cugir	18224	10497	14.6	74.3	11.1
Ocna Mureș	15283	6164	17.7	56.1	26.2
Sebeș	19607	9800	22.8	49.0	28.2
Zlatna	10453	5425	46.0	42.1	11.9
Sibiu	109658	52761	3.7	63.7	32.6
Mediaș	48057	24323	4.7	70.6	24.7
Agnita	10865	5625	26.8	50.2	23.0
Cisnădie	14979	8003	6.0	81.9	12.0
Copșa Mică	6156	2684	8.7	74.4	16.8
Dumbrăveni	8452	3647	38.7	35.5	25.9
Ocna Sibiului	4816	2540	53.9	28.1	18.0

Table 28 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Braşov	163345	89471	1.7	62.3	35.9
Codlea	13075	6741	12.3	69.0	18.7
Făgăraş	22934	10962	6.0	61.5	32.5
Predeal	6680	3586	0.6	33.7	65.6
Rîsnov	9589	4299	15.1	67.2	17.7
Rupea	6240	2973	32.1	23.9	44.0
Săcele	22809	11018	10.2	70.3	19.5
Victoria	6717	3013	0.7	76.1	23.1
Zărneşti	17628	8544	8.6	79.3	12.0
Sfîntu Gheorghe	21465	10647	8.2	54.2	37.6
Baraolt	8948	4436	44.0	39.1	16.9
Covasna	7831	3535	33.3	38.2	28.5
Intorsura Buzăului	5185	2881	57.1	28.4	14.5
Tîrgu Secuiesc	11286	5406	24.5	36.3	39.2
OLTENIA					
Turnu Severin	50806	23320	3.4	61.9	34.7
Baia de Aramă	4648	2563	67.4	14.3	18.3
Orşova	10173	4565	3.9	47.8	48.2
Strehaia	10696	5495	52.9	13.7	33.4
Vînju Mare	9281	5442	74.5	7.5	18.0
Tîrgu Jiu	34923	18281	10.7	54.4	34.9
Motru	7734	4429	32.5	61.0	6.5
Novaci	6095	3853	68.8	19.3	11.9
Ţicleni	4234	4619	50.6	21.1	28.3
Tîrgu Cărbunefşti	8007	2561	43.3	48.2	8.5
Rîmnici Vîlcea	28042	12862	17.2	36.3	46.4
Băile Govora	2189	1084	14.8	13.1	72.1
Băile Olăneşti	4619	2811	48.5	24.9	26.6
Brezoi	6647	3270	5.4	76.3	18.3
Călimăneşti	6735	3023	26.8	22.3	50.8
Drăgăşani	13278	6687	47.4	14.8	37.7
Horezu	6251	3957	41.0	33.6	25.4
Ocnele Mari	3651	1766	48.5	29.4	22.1
Craiova	152650	68108	3.8	52.6	43.6
Băileşti	18490	10404	61.3	19.7	19.0
Calafat	14507	7059	53.5	13.1	33.4
Filiaşi	11546	6278	61.3	18.4	20.3
Segarcea	8704	5036	78.7	8.6	12.6
Slatina	20425	8422	12.2	40.7	47.2
Balş	9720	4360	38.0	24.2	37.8
Caracal	22714	8856	22.8	21.3	55.9
Corabia	17678	8375	53.3	16.9	29.7
Drăgăneşti-Olt	10448	5711	74.5	7.7	17.8

Table 28 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
MUNTENIA					
Pitești	60113	29647	2.4	49.2	48.4
Cîmpulung	24877	10402	9.0	47.4	43.6
Costești	9930	5302	56.2	11.5	32.3
Curtea de Argeș	16424	8920	15.3	52.1	32.6
Topoloveni	5605	3514	68.3	16.1	15.6
Tîrgoviște	29763	12562	12.6	46.5	40.9
Fieni	5139	2221	5.5	82.3	12.2
Găești	8962	4281	31.2	21.6	47.2
Moreni	11659	4986	0.4	73.5	26.2
Pucioasa	11212	5376	7.6	65.8	26.6
Titu	6315	3089	43.4	17.4	39.1
Ploiești	146922	70807	1.5	57.5	41.0
Azuga	4808	2710	2.1	87.0	10.8
Băicoi	15299	5988	14.5	64.6	20.9
Boldești Scăeni	8318	3858	17.7	69.2	13.1
Breaza	14796	6069	2.3	69.9	27.8
Bușteni	10781	5266	0.2	68.3	31.6
Cîmpina	22902	10940	0.9	56.4	42.7
Comarnic	11839	4186	1.6	71.8	26.6
Mizil	10334	4310	25.6	33.7	40.6
Plopeni	2807	1417	0.9	86.5	12.6
Sinaia	11976	6363	0.4	48.9	50.7
Slănic	7307	2230	2.6	69.1	28.3
Urlati	9145	4096	42.7	35.3	22.0
Vălenii de Munte	7380	2822	4.0	38.7	57.3
Buzău	61937	24050	10.4	41.7	47.9
Rîmnicu Sărat	22336	8632	11.1	43.0	45.8
Brăila	138802	58279	4.3	62.5	33.1
Făurei	3060	1252	18.5	14.8	66.7
Alexandria	21898	9430	34.9	27.1	38.0
Turnu Măgurele	26409	12258	24.8	48.4	26.7
Roșiorii de Vede	21747	8617	15.8	36.5	47.7
Videle	9249	5700	59.1	19.6	21.3
Zimnicea	13231	7478	69.5	12.2	18.4
Giurgiu	39199	14791	8.7	42.9	48.4
Buftea	8767	4285	29.2	41.1	29.7
Oltenița	18623	7937	20.0	48.8	31.3
Urziceni	9291	3813	28.2	22.4	49.4
Slobozia	12443	5368	36.5	22.7	40.9
Călărași	35684	14812	20.6	42.4	37.0
Fetești	21412	8577	38.4	14.4	47.2
Tândarei	7331	3478	55.8	25.7	18.5
BUCUREȘTI					
București	1366684	721255.	0.8	49.6	49.6

Table 28 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
DOBROGEA					
Tulcea	35561	15484	8.2	53.8	38.0
Babadag	7343	3129	38.1	20.3	41.6
Isaccea	5059	2489	78.7	7.2	14.1
Măcin	8147	3616	29.6	32.0	38.4
Sulina	4005	1441	1.5	34.4	64.1
Constanța	150276	69916	3.8	38.2	58.0
Eforie	6617	3348	3.0	32.4	64.6
Mangalia	12674	6831	13.8	49.9	36.3
Năvodari	6344	2541	17.0	63.1	19.9
Techirghiol	6839	3130	42.7	14.7	42.7
Cerna Vodă	11259	3721	10.2	48.9	41.0
Hîrsova	7519	3463	32.2	28.8	39.1
Medgidia	27981	11431	14.9	49.0	36.1
MOLDAVIA					
Focșani	35094	15831	12.1	37.4	50.6
Adjud	10557	4840	29.7	13.8	56.5
Mărășești	8059	3904	47.7	22.1	30.2
Odobești	7209	3608	57.3	16.5	26.2
Panciu	7948	4594	62.8	7.7	29.5
Galați	151412	73750	2.2	61.1	36.8
Tecuci	28454	10653	16.9	35.1	48.0
Berești	3332	1854	76.8	7.6	15.6
Tîrgu Bujor	6788	3539	67.9	5.8	26.3
Bacău	75503	35420	3.0	52.3	44.7
Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej	35663	19109	6.9	68.6	24.4
Buhuși	15341	7752	7.8	72.8	19.4
Comănești	15274	5648	1.0	73.6	25.4
Moinești	18714	7619	1.6	60.4	38.0
Slănic Moldova	4857	2393	9.4	55.5	35.1
Tîrgu Ocna	11647	5084	17.1	37.6	45.3
Bîrlad	41060	16266	6.1	49.0	45.0
Vaslui	17960	7807	28.8	24.2	47.0
Huși	20715	8694	43.7	14.0	42.3
Negrești	7465	3720	67.6	5.2	27.3
Piatra Neamț	45852	21351	4.3	57.8	38.0
Roman	39012	14814	8.1	47.6	44.3
Bicaz	9311	3833	3.5	61.5	35.0
Tîrgu Neamț	12877	5624	34.0	19.8	46.2
Iași	161023	73521	3.1	45.7	51.2
Hîrlău	6017	2997	53.7	8.2	38.1
Pașcani	18689	8870	37.0	26.6	36.4
Tîrgu Frumos	5502	2343	52.2	13.3	34.5

Table 28 cont

Town	Population		Actives on industries, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Suceava	37697	18939	4.6	46.1	49.2
Cîmpulung Mold.	15031	7244	20.7	28.4	50.9
Fălticeni	17839	8281	12.3	47.6	40.1
Gura Humorului	9081	3990	7.3	37.7	55.0
Rădăuți	18580	7789	13.0	37.9	49.2
Siret	8018	3428	49.2	10.1	40.7
Solca	4618	2731	80.5	6.6	12.9
Vatra Dornei	13815	6970	6.1	46.5	47.4
Botoșani	35220	15874	7.8	47.9	44.3
Darabani	11024	5897	86.5	4.7	8.9
Dorohoi	16699	6611	22.4	25.2	52.4
Șaveni	7774	4130	60.0	8.2	31.8

Source: *Recensământul* (1966: Vol VI)

Remarks: Towns according to 1968 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes
 Primary employment - Agriculture and silviculture
 Secondary employment - Mining, manufacturing and construction
 Tertiary employment - Other industries

Table 29. Industrial Structure of Romanian Towns in 1977; Active Population in Primary (I), Secondary (II) and Tertiary (III) Employment

Town	Population		Actives by Industry %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
MARAMURES					
Satu Mare	103544	51187	4.2	61.0	34.8
Carei	24050	10366	11.0	50.4	38.6
Negrești Oaș	12387	5509	31.2	40.1	28.7
Tășnad	9934	4955	34.5	41.8	23.6
Baia Mare	100985	47068	2.2	57.8	40.0
Sighetul Marmăției	38146	17735	13.7	52.9	33.5
Baia Sprie	15554	6122	5.1	72.9	21.9
Borșa	24406	9047	25.6	53.1	21.3
Cavnic	6033	2274	0.6	82.8	16.5
Tîrgu Lăpus	13218	6304	45.5	30.4	24.0
Viseu de Sus	20205	7622	13.4	55.1	31.6
Zalău	31923	15628	7.3	49.3	43.4
Cehu Silvaniei	8302	4077	36.6	36.4	27.1
Jibou	8841	3935	23.0	31.7	45.3
Șimleu Silvaniei	14575	5691	12.8	41.8	45.4
CRIȘANA-BANAT					
Oradea	170531	86715	4.9	58.2	36.9
Aleșd	9608	4732	12.3	54.9	32.8
Beiuș	9960	4546	6.6	41.9	51.5
Dr Petru Groza	7794	3505	2.4	61.7	35.9
Marghita	14589	7694	16.3	57.7	26.0
Nucet	2345	930	2.2	62.0	35.8
Salonta	19746	9018	22.6	45.0	32.4
Vășcău	3441	1618	31.7	38.7	29.6
Arad	171193	85274	5.9	59.7	34.4
Chișineu Criș	8913	4359	36.1	29.4	34.5
Curtici	11104	5501	41.3	26.1	32.5
Ineu	10259	4938	24.0	37.7	38.3
Lipova	11863	5181	14.4	42.7	42.9
Nădlac	8405	4066	59.0	21.1	19.9
Pîncota	7206	3429	22.7	57.2	20.2
Sebiș	6070	2832	23.7	36.3	39.9
Timișoara	269353	138263	2.5	60.8	36.8
Lugoș	44537	21716	4.8	57.7	37.5
Buziaș	7976	3940	31.1	32.5	36.4
Deta	6937	3489	13.8	54.1	32.1
Jimbolia	14682	7340	11.2	68.0	20.9
Sînnicolau Mare	12811	6169	18.5	46.5	34.9
Reșița	84786	42889	2.1	66.9	31.0
Anina	11478	4866	1.6	71.7	26.7
Băile Herculane	3835	2321	4.2	28.6	67.3
Bocșa	20731	10346	5.2	71.9	22.9
Caransebeș	27190	13113	4.3	49.1	46.5
Moldova Nouă	15973	7113	7.4	65.2	27.5
Oravița	14987	6784	12.9	37.1	50.0
Oțelu Rosu	11618	5924	5.6	70.8	23.7

Table 29 cont

Town	Population		Actives by industry, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
TRANSYLVANIA					
Cluj Napoca	262858	126487	2.6	56.6	50.8
Dej	32345	13971	10.2	48.4	41.5
Turda	55294	25040	5.3	64.3	30.4
Cîmpia Turzii	22409	9638	5.9	73.6	20.6
Gherla	17599	8380	9.0	60.0	31.0
Huedin	8378	3667	19.8	36.3	43.9
Bistrița	44339	21418	10.8	45.1	44.1
Beclean	6957	2928	29.9	34.4	35.7
Năsăud	8610	4350	28.8	33.6	37.7
Sîngeorz Băi	8243	4271	53.3	18.2	28.5
Țîrgu Mureș	130076	63767	2.4	58.8	38.8
Sighișoara	33208	16227	5.5	67.0	27.5
Luduș	14978	6894	20.5	42.5	37.0
Reghin	29903	13990	7.6	62.2	30.3
Sovata	10482	4939	14.6	47.4	38.1
Țîrnăveni	26073	6927	19.7	41.3	38.9
Miercurea Ciuc	30936	16500	5.5	55.4	39.1
Odorheiu Secuiesc	28738	14094	4.3	63.1	32.6
Băile Tușnad	1880	981	1.0	20.8	78.2
Bălan	12161	5401	0.9	86.1	13.1
Borsec	2999	1517	3.8	43.4	52.7
Cristuru Secuiesc	7197	3246	18.3	51.0	30.7
Gheorgheni	17748	8341	4.9	58.5	36.6
Toplița	13618	6594	12.2	59.3	28.5
Vlăhița	6636	3039	16.0	63.8	20.2
Deva	60334	30669	5.6	51.1	43.3
Hunedoara	79719	37886	1.9	71.4	26.7
Petroșani	40664	17791	3.6	57.6	38.8
Lupeni	28280	11291	0.7	77.7	21.6
Petrla	25173	9361	3.8	74.3	21.9
Uricani	7353	3104	16.0	66.5	17.5
Vulcan	28664	11067	1.0	78.6	20.3
Brad	17077	7847	10.8	57.1	32.1
Călan	12397	5680	21.7	58.1	20.2
Hateg	8423	4131	14.0	48.5	37.5
Orăștie	17845	8976	6.2	67.2	26.6
Simeria	13206	5948	10.9	45.2	43.9
Alba Iulia	41199	20224	7.6	50.3	42.1
Abrud	5315	1966	15.7	42.1	42.2
Aiud	24620	11126	15.6	54.7	29.8
Blaș	20826	8951	14.6	51.4	34.0
Cîmpeni	7682	3864	36.8	28.3	34.9
Cugir	26773	14851	5.3	80.5	14.2
Ocna Mureș	16416	6735	11.1	59.7	29.2
Sebeș	25926	12459	8.9	63.5	27.6
Zlatna	10027	4521	35.5	45.7	18.8
Sibiu	151137	76162	2.5	63.1	34.4
Mediaș	65072	31288	3.3	71.9	24.8
Agnita	12853	6530	14.0	66.7	19.3
Cîsnădie	20135	10579	3.8	81.5	14.7
Coșta Mica	6194	2732	3.9	79.5	16.6
Dumbrăveni	9883	4046	28.0	44.7	27.4

Table 29 cont

Town	Population		Actives by industry, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Ocna Sibiului	5048	2353	23.2	54.4	22.4
Braşov	256475	143128	1.5	67.2	31.3
Codlea	22449	11769	11.6	71.3	17.2
Făgăraş	33827	17570	3.0	71.8	25.2
Predeal	7273	4002	1.1	31.3	67.6
Risnov	13792	7153	6.8	77.7	15.5
Rupea	6640	3059	17.5	45.3	37.2
Săcele	30551	15096	4.1	77.9	18.0
Victoria	8209	3995	0.9	73.7	25.4
Zărneşti	23288	11996	2.1	85.6	12.3
Sfîntu Gheorghe	40804	20653	4.9	55.8	39.2
Baraolt	9235	4071	18.9	58.5	22.7
Covasna	9308	4324	11.7	53.7	34.5
Intorsura Buzăului	6541	3942	42.5	37.3	20.2
Tîrgu Secuiesc	16329	8058	10.2	56.7	33.2
OLTENIA					
Turnu Severin	76686	36842	2.9	58.3	38.9
Baia de Aramă	4899	2591	49.0	30.9	20.1
Orşova	13701	6572	1.8	60.3	37.9
Strehaia	11271	5121	29.7	34.2	36.1
Vînju Mare	8508	4462	51.5	22.2	26.2
Tîrgu Jiu	63506	33353	6.6	58.0	35.4
Motru	15998	7354	11.8	64.9	23.2
Novaci	6464	3662	60.8	18.5	20.7
Ticleni	5161	2479	33.3	49.5	17.2
Tîrgu Cărbunestî	7519	3583	35.5	32.1	32.5
Rîmnicu Vîlcea	66321	33499	5.1	54.6	40.3
Băile Govora	2749	1467	14.9	22.6	62.4
Băile Olanesti	4644	2266	35.0	21.9	43.0
Brezoi	6907	3081	6.3	68.8	24.9
Călimăneşti	8095	3530	13.8	28.0	58.2
Drăgăşani	15647	7694	24.1	40.1	35.7
Horezu	5536	3074	43.2	28.8	28.0
Ocnele Mari	3883	1925	28.4	47.3	24.3
Craiova	221261	103620	3.3	55.2	41.5
Băileşti	19890	9825	41.1	37.1	21.9
Calafat	15568	7862	28.3	45.0	26.8
Filiaşi	14294	6918	35.5	41.4	23.1
Segarcea	8534	4384	55.5	24.1	20.4
Slatina	44892	22842	4.2	56.9	38.9
Bals	16539	7521	11.9	59.8	28.3
Caracal	30408	12885	10.4	46.4	43.2
Corabia	19705	8958	30.3	37.7	32.0
Drăgăneşti-Olt	11059	5717	44.8	34.2	20.9
MUNTENIA					
Piteşti	123735	65172	2.0	61.0	37.0
Cîmpulung	31533	14233	3.3	59.9	36.8
Costeşti	10471	4781	35.3	30.1	34.6
Curtea de Argeş	24645	12564	5.5	67.9	26.6
Topoloveni	6196	3097	29.7	48.9	21.4
Tîrgovişte	61254	30858	4.9	60.2	34.9

Table 29 cont

Town	Population		Actives by industry, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Fieni	6325	3504	13.4	74.7	11.9
Găești	12494	6061	12.7	51.1	36.2
Moreni	17737	8559	0.8	73.8	25.3
Pucioasa	13555	6874	6.8	63.5	29.7
Titu	8612	4274	19.8	46.7	33.5
Ploiești	199699	96603	2.0	58.9	39.1
Azuğa	5397	2897	0.8	83.5	15.7
Băicoi	17440	7117	8.9	64.2	26.9
Boldești Scaeni	9681	4274	9.5	73.3	17.2
Breaza	17583	7594	1.3	74.0	24.7
Bușteni	12223	5969	1.0	60.3	38.7
Cîmpina	32503	15791	0.8	63.6	35.5
Comarnic	13703	5250	1.3	66.8	31.9
Mizil	13189	5753	10.8	57.4	31.8
Plopeni	6071	3404	1.0	85.8	13.2
Sinaia	13822	7279	0.7	46.4	52.9
Slănic	7780	2794	2.2	70.6	27.2
Urlați	10654	4226	25.5	40.9	33.6
Vălenii de Munte	10508	4241	3.0	54.7	42.3
Buzău	97698	46007	4.8	57.0	38.2
Rîmnicu Sărat	28689	12722	5.2	62.2	32.6
Brăila	195659	90416	6.2	60.8	33.0
Făurei	3574	1454	11.8	31.7	56.5
Alexandria	37340	17727	8.6	49.4	42.0
Turnu Măgurele	32341	15066	14.4	56.9	28.7
Roșiorii de Vede	28847	12938	6.9	53.0	40.1
Videle	10904	5640	34.9	32.8	32.3
Zimnicea	13964	6985	44.2	33.8	22.0
Giurgiu	51544	23847	5.7	59.0	35.2
Buftea	14891	7102	9.9	55.7	34.5
Oltenița	24414	11691	9.2	63.2	27.6
Urziceni	12476	5839	9.3	48.8	42.0
Slobozia	29978	14395	12.5	40.6	46.9
Călărași	49727	22126	11.4	55.8	32.8
Fetești	27491	10785	20.9	30.9	48.2
Tandarei	10166	3729	28.2	40.0	31.9
BUCUREȘTI					
București	1807239	933354	1.0	51.7	47.3
DOBROGEA					
Tulcea	61729	29451	4.7	53.5	41.8
Babadag	8564	3370	22.0	35.9	42.1
Isaccea	5347	2325	44.0	30.5	25.5
Măcin	10544	4921	13.8	52.7	33.6
Sulina	4911	2295	0.3	48.3	51.3
Constanța	256978	125680	2.9	43.1	54.1
Eforie	9507	4583	3.4	25.8	70.7
Mangalia	26821	13320	6.2	48.1	45.7
Năvodari	9717	4754	6.0	72.5	21.5
Techirghiol	9706	4497	18.4	28.2	53.4

Table 29 cont

Town	Population		Actives by industry, %		
	Total	Active	I	II	III
Cerna Vodă	13608	5213	8.6	51.7	39.8
Hîrşova	8239	3359	22.1	35.1	42.8
Medgidia	40328	18444	8.1	59.6	32.3
MOLDAVIA					
Focşani	56252	26835	6.2	50.5	43.3
Adjud	12501	5383	20.5	25.1	54.4
Mărăşeşti	10521	4227	18.2	48.6	33.2
Odoboeşti	8544	3460	40.7	28.1	31.2
Panciu	7766	3667	47.2	19.1	33.7
Galăţi	238292	112738	2.5	60.1	37.4
Tecuci	36143	14182	10.6	41.9	47.4
Bereşti	4155	1879	51.8	22.2	26.0
Tîrgu Bujor	7583	3282	42.0	22.9	35.0
Bacău	127299	62693	3.0	60.6	36.4
Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej	41738	21601	3.2	69.0	27.7
Buhuşi	20148	9385	6.2	75.4	18.4
Comăneşti	16879	6284	1.2	69.8	29.0
Moineşti	20862	8132	2.1	53.8	44.1
Slănic Moldova	4734	1935	5.7	34.6	59.7
Tîrgu Ocna	12603	4920	4.7	50.1	45.2
Bîrlad	55781	24963	3.6	61.2	35.2
Vaslui	39186	19712	7.8	53.1	39.1
Huşi	22828	9382	19.8	42.9	37.3
Negreşti	6978	3087	50.1	22.0	27.9
Piatra Neamţ	77812	39330	3.4	59.3	37.3
Roman	51132	21657	4.9	57.5	37.6
Bicaz	9477	5099	11.5	65.0	23.6
Tîrgu Neamţ	14951	6927	19.7	41.3	38.9
Iaşi	265002	122546	2.2	57.1	40.7
Hîrlău	7500	3548	46.0	20.0	34.0
Paşcani	24459	11751	17.3	49.3	33.3
Tîrgu Frumoş	7165	2753	32.3	26.6	41.1
Suceava	62715	30874	4.3	52.1	43.6
Çîmpulung Moldovenesc	18648	9320	15.2	42.1	42.7
Fălticeni	20656	9199	7.7	56.4	35.9
Gura Humorului	13235	5960	7.6	50.4	42.0
Rădăuţi	21869	10195	7.5	49.9	42.6
Siret	8264	2993	26.7	29.5	43.8
Solca	4541	2488	67.2	14.2	18.5
Vatra Dornei	15873	8353	8.1	50.6	41.3
Botoşani	63204	30003	5.1	55.8	39.1
Darabani	10880	5034	66.1	14.7	19.2
Dorohoi	22161	9505	8.7	50.4	40.9
Săveni	7345	3369	46.6	15.7	37.7

Source: *Recensământul* (1977: Vol II)

Remarks: Towns according to 1968 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes.
 Primary employment - Agriculture and silviculture
 Secondary employment - Mining, manufacturing and construction
 Tertiary employment - Other industries

Table 30. Distribution of Active Population on Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Activities, Urban and Rural Areas, in 1966 and 1977 by Counties, Percentages

County		Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
		1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Satu Mare	Total	66.5	44.2	19.0	34.7	14.5	21.1
	Urban	19.8	9.1	47.6	56.5	32.7	34.4
	Rural	82.3	64.5	9.4	22.0	8.4	13.4
Maramureş	Total	57.1	41.7	27.0	37.2	15.9	21.1
	Urban	17.8	10.0	51.1	56.0	31.1	34.0
	Rural	75.8	62.6	15.6	24.9	8.6	12.6
Salaj	Total	78.0	52.4	11.0	27.4	10.9	20.2
	Urban	39.4	14.0	22.1	43.7	38.5	42.3
	Rural	83.8	63.6	9.4	22.6	6.8	13.8
Bihor	Total	59.2	39.4	22.1	37.6	18.7	23.0
	Urban	12.7	7.4	45.7	56.2	41.5	36.4
	Rural	76.1	57.5	13.5	27.0	10.4	15.5
Arad	Total	59.7	38.4	23.3	37.3	17.0	24.3
	Urban	24.3	12.5	45.3	53.3	30.3	34.3
	Rural	77.9	59.1	11.9	24.6	10.2	16.3
Timiş	Total	49.6	27.8	28.2	44.6	22.2	27.6
	Urban	8.5	4.3	51.8	59.5	39.7	36.2
	Rural	73.6	51.9	14.4	29.3	12.0	18.8
Caraş Severin	Total	47.7	33.4	34.6	42.9	17.7	23.8
	Urban	7.2	3.9	62.1	62.2	30.7	33.9
	Rural	69.2	58.5	19.9	26.4	10.8	15.1
Cluj	Total	47.8	28.1	28.9	44.3	23.4	27.6
	Urban	7.0	4.2	50.0	57.6	43.0	38.2
	Rural	76.1	55.3	14.1	29.1	9.7	15.6
Bistriţa Năsăud	Total	77.0	59.2	11.1	22.4	11.8	18.4
	Urban	41.9	20.0	20.4	39.2	37.7	40.9
	Rural	82.6	70.0	9.7	17.8	7.7	12.2
Mureş	Total	55.4	34.8	25.6	42.0	18.9	23.2
	Urban	10.0	5.3	49.7	59.1	40.3	35.6
	Rural	73.2	54.2	16.2	30.7	10.6	15.1
Harghita	Total	56.1	29.8	26.6	46.7	17.3	23.5
	Urban	16.4	6.2	47.0	60.2	36.5	33.6
	Rural	68.5	43.6	20.3	38.7	11.2	17.7
Hunedoara	Total	34.1	22.7	46.4	51.4	19.5	26.0
	Urban	8.0	4.9	66.0	63.7	26.0	31.3
	Rural	61.6	51.1	25.7	31.6	12.6	17.3
Alba	Total	58.7	38.5	25.9	40.6	15.4	20.9
	Urban	26.4	12.1	46.1	47.5	27.6	30.3
	Rural	73.5	56.9	16.7	28.7	9.8	14.4
Sibiu	Total	39.9	20.5	41.7	55.5	18.4	24.0
	Urban	8.1	4.3	64.4	66.4	27.4	29.2
	Rural	66.6	42.0	22.6	41.0	10.8	17.0
Braşov	Total	26.3	11.1	49.5	63.1	24.2	25.7
	Urban	4.6	2.6	63.2	69.0	32.2	28.4
	Rural	57.6	32.1	29.9	48.8	12.6	19.2

Tabel 30 cont

County		Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
		1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Covasna	Total	54.6	31.8	29.1	44.0	16.3	24.1
	Urban	25.9	11.3	43.2	54.3	30.8	34.5
	Rural	65.8	46.4	23.6	36.8	10.6	16.9
Mehedinți	Total	71.1	50.8	15.5	28.9	13.4	20.3
	Urban	23.3	10.8	43.8	52.1	32.8	37.0
	Rural	85.3	70.6	7.1	17.4	7.6	12.1
Gorj	Total	66.0	43.7	22.7	38.0	11.3	18.4
	Urban	28.1	14.3	46.2	53.9	25.7	31.8
	Rural	74.5	54.6	17.5	32.1	8.1	13.4
Vâlcea	Total	73.4	50.7	14.1	29.4	12.4	19.8
	Urban	29.3	12.2	32.5	48.0	38.2	39.8
	Rural	81.9	64.0	10.6	23.1	7.5	13.0
Dolj	Total	70.6	50.9	16.0	28.9	13.4	20.3
	Urban	21.2	10.7	41.7	51.5	37.1	37.8
	Rural	86.2	71.6	7.8	17.2	5.9	11.2
Olt	Total	80.6	57.4	8.6	26.2	10.8	16.5
	Urban	37.6	14.3	23.0	49.7	39.4	35.9
	Rural	87.0	69.1	6.4	19.7	6.6	11.1
Argeș	Total	58.5	35.4	25.7	43.2	15.7	21.4
	Urban	14.5	4.8	43.9	59.9	41.6	35.3
	Rural	68.8	48.7	21.5	36.0	9.7	15.3
Dâmbovița	Total	56.8	34.6	27.1	45.1	16.1	20.3
	Urban	14.8	6.6	50.2	61.5	35.0	31.9
	Rural	64.3	43.3	23.0	40.0	12.7	16.7
Prahova	Total	33.5	20.1	43.6	54.2	22.9	25.7
	Urban	4.6	2.9	58.4	60.8	37.1	36.3
	Rural	52.7	34.7	33.8	48.5	13.4	16.7
Buzău	Total	73.5	48.3	13.8	32.5	12.7	19.1
	Urban	10.6	4.7	42.0	58.1	47.4	37.2
	Rural	82.8	61.7	9.6	24.7	7.6	13.6
Brăila	Total	56.5	39.9	27.3	37.7	16.2	22.4
	Urban	4.6	6.0	61.5	60.4	33.9	33.6
	Rural	84.9	74.7	8.5	14.4	6.6	10.9
Teleorman	Total	82.0	57.3	9.3	25.8	8.8	16.9
	Urban	37.4	16.2	31.4	48.7	31.2	35.1
	Rural	89.2	68.5	5.7	19.6	5.1	11.9
Ilfov	Total	74.7	47.8	14.0	33.4	11.3	18.8
	Urban	16.9	7.4	41.6	58.3	41.5	34.3
	Rural	79.1	53.2	11.9	30.1	9.1	16.7
Ialomița	Total	76.4	53.7	10.6	24.6	12.9	21.7
	Urban	31.8	14.5	29.9	45.1	38.4	40.4
	Rural	85.8	69.8	6.6	16.2	7.6	14.0
București	Total	2.3	1.5	49.6	52.2	48.1	46.3
	Urban	0.8	0.9	49.6	51.7	49.6	47.5
	Rural	25.5	9.9	49.8	59.7	24.7	30.5

Table 30 cont

County		Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
		1966	1977	1966	1977	1966	1977
Tulcea	Total	66.4	43.5	19.1	32.9	14.5	23.7
	Urban	21.1	8.6	41.3	50.5	37.7	40.9
	Rural	78.7	61.9	13.0	23.5	8.2	14.5
Constanța	Total	47.2	25.1	22.9	36.1	29.9	38.8
	Urban	8.3	4.5	40.0	45.2	51.8	50.3
	Rural	79.8	59.6	8.7	20.8	11.5	19.6
Vrancea	Total	76.6	60.8	10.4	20.8	13.0	18.4
	Urban	31.0	15.0	25.6	42.7	43.4	42.3
	Rural	85.5	74.0	7.4	14.5	7.1	11.5
Galați	Total	56.5	37.0	24.9	37.2	18.6	25.8
	Urban	8.0	4.9	54.7	56.7	37.3	38.4
	Rural	84.2	66.9	7.8	19.0	8.0	14.1
Bacău	Total	54.5	37.6	29.2	41.6	16.3	20.8
	Urban	5.2	3.0	59.4	62.5	35.5	34.5
	Rural	72.5	57.4	18.1	29.6	9.4	13.0
Vaslui	Total	80.4	58.7	7.9	23.1	11.7	18.2
	Urban	26.2	9.9	30.9	53.3	42.9	36.8
	Rural	90.7	77.5	3.5	11.5	5.8	11.0
Neamț	Total	61.8	41.7	23.8	39.2	14.5	19.1
	Urban	9.1	5.6	50.1	57.5	40.8	37.0
	Rural	73.8	55.8	17.7	32.1	8.4	12.1
Iași	Total	66.1	44.7	14.9	31.6	19.0	23.7
	Urban	9.5	5.0	41.6	55.0	48.8	40.1
	Rural	87.5	72.6	4.8	15.2	7.7	12.2
Suceava	Total	62.3	46.8	21.2	32.5	16.5	20.8
	Urban	15.2	9.4	38.7	48.8	46.2	41.8
	Rural	73.3	59.4	17.1	26.9	9.6	13.7
Botoșani	Total	83.1	64.6	7.3	19.3	9.6	16.1
	Urban	31.7	14.9	30.4	47.6	38.0	37.5
	Rural	91.0	78.7	3.7	11.3	5.3	10.0

Sources: *Recensământul* (1966: Vol VI), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: Urban areas according to 1968 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes.
 Primary activities include agriculture and forestry.
 Secondary activities include mining, manufacturing and construction. Tertiary activity was calculated as the residual.

Table 31. Population in Romanian Towns 1912 - 1977

REGION														
County														
Town	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1910a	1910
MARAMURES														
Satu Mare														
Satu Mare	103544	69769	68246	68246	52096	46519	46519	51987	51987	51495	51495	51495	34892	34892
Carei	24050	19686	19042	19686	16780	15425	15425	15863	15863	16042	16042	16042	16078	16078
Negrești-Oaș	12387	9311	7060	9311	(7348)									
Tășnad	9934	8859	5701											
Maramureș														
Baia Mare	100985	64535	62658	62658	35920	24326	20959	21404	21404	13904	13904	13904	12877	12877
Sighetu Marmăției	38146	29771	24498	29771	22361	18329	18329	25888	25888	25134	27270	25134	21370	21370
Baia Sprie	15554	14151	9457	13182	8134	6012	3968	4304	4304	4127	4127	4127	4422	4422
Borșa	24406	18929	13132											
Cavnic	6033	6063	6063											
Tîrgu Lăpuș	13218	12361	3989											
Vișeu de Sus	20205	16601	13964	16601	13956	11575								
Sălaj														
Zalău	31923	15144	14380	15144	13378	12563	11652	8537	8537	8340	8340	8340	8062	8062
Cehu Silvaniei	8302	7945	4956											
Jibou	8841	7507	4968											
Șimleu Silvaniei	14575	12324	10452	12324	8560	7931	7931	9069	9069	7448	7448	7448	6885	6885

Table 31 cont.

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1910a	1910
<u>CRIȘANA-BANAT</u>														
<u>Bihor</u>														
Oradea	170531	122534	122534	122534	98950	87774	82282	92798	92798	82687	82687	82687	64169	64169
Aleșd	9608	6371	3309											
Beiuș	9960	8744	8375	8744	6467	5807	5807	7828	7828	4293	4293	4293	4223	
Dr Petru Groza	7794	5754	5754	5754	5874	521								
Marghita	14589	11179	9099											
Nucet	2345	2768	1541	2768	9879	631								
Salonta	19746	17754	17754	17754	16276	14447	14447	15255	15255	15297	15297	15297	15943	15514
Vașcău	3441	3621	1621	3621	4538	3883								
<u>Arad</u>														
Arad	171193	126000	126000	126000	106460	96529	87291	86674	86674	77181	77181	77181	67479	63166
Chișineu Criș	8913	8891	6406											
Curtici	11104	10908	8452											
Ineu	10259	9973	8731											
Lipova	11863	11705	7535	11705	10064	12204	6556	6038	6038	6000	6000	6000	7864	
Nădlac	8405	8304	8304											
Pincota	7206	6993	5530											
Sebiș	6070	5537	4179											
<u>Timis</u>														
Timișoara	269353	174243	174243	174243	142257	124346	111987	110840	110840	91580	91580	91580	72555	72555
Lugoș	44537	35364	35364	35364	30252	26707	26707	26328	26328	23593	23593	23593	19818	
Buziaș	7976	7310	4369	5554	5140	4470								
Deta	6937	6680	5978											
Jimbolia	14682	13633	13633	13633	11281	11590								
Sînnicolau Mare	12811	11428	11428	11428	9956	9789	9789	10640						

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1910a	1910
<u>Caras Severin</u>														
Reșița	84786	63302	55752	56553	41234	25754	24895	25062	25062	19868	19868	19868	17382	
Anina	11478	14063	9438	14063	11837	7489								
Băile Herculane	3835	2456	1654	2456	1656	1161								
Bocșa	20731	16015	16015	16015	(11992)									
Caransebes	27190	18838	18194	18194	15195	10824	10106	11032	11032	8704	8704	8704	7999	7999
Moldova Nouă	15973	10868	5838	6192	3582	3111								
Oravița	14987	12879	8622	9912	8175	8015	6974	6993	6993	6787	9585	6787	7873	
Oțelu Roșu	11618	9770	8568	8568	(6093)									
<u>TRANSYLVANIA</u>														
<u>Cluj</u>														
Cluj-Napoca	262858	185663	185663	185663	154723	122341	117915	110418	110418	100844	100844	100844	60808	60808
Dej	32345	26984	22052	26984	19281	17517	14681	16353	16353	15110	15110	15110	11452	11452
Turda	55294	44980	44980	42307	33614	25905	25905	30668	30668	20023	20023	20023	14011	13455
Cîmpia Turzii	22409	17457	17457	17457	11514	6310								
Gherla	17599	13329	12005	12766	7617	6957	6663	6340	6340	6608	6608	6608	6857	6857
Huedin	8378	7834	6970	7834	(6779)		5134	5118	5118	5401	5401	5401	5194	
<u>Bistrița-Năsăud</u>														
Bistrița	44339	25519	20559	25519	20292	16297	15801	18044	16515	15657	14128	14128	13236	13236
Beclean	6957	5874	4263											
Năsăud	8610	6620	5307	6620	5725	4950	3716	3614	3614	3512	3512	3512	3501	
Sîngeorz-Băi	8243	6693	4875	6693	5167									

Table 31 cont.

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1910a	1910
Hațeg	8423	6869	5252	5631	3853	3210	3210	3708	4035	3091	3383	3091	3124	3124
Orăștie	17845	12822	12822	12822	10488	8817	8817	9751	9751	7337	7337	7337	7672	7672
Simeria	13206	11211	8009	9365	7706	6402								
<u>Alba</u>														
Alba Iulia	41199	24388	18255	22215	14776	14420	14420	15489	15489	12282	12282	12282	11616	11616
Abrud	5315	5150	2867	5150	4411	4870	2656	2847	2847	2468	2468	2468	2938	2938
Aiud	24620	19543	12761	16536	11886	11449	9535	9810	9810	9478	9478	9478	8663	8663
Blaj	20826	17798	11718	15775	8731	8690	6641	9036	9036	4618	4618	4618	3667	
Cîmpeni	7682	7170	2610	7170	(6348)									
Cugir	26773	18224	14791	15575	(9366)									
Ocna Mureș	16416	15283	8952	12126	10701	7496								
Sebeș	25926	19607	13715	13715	11628	10080	10080	9389	9389	9137	9137	9137	8504	8504
Zlatna	10027	10453	4410											
<u>Sibiu</u>														
Sibiu	151137	109658	109515	109515	90475	67553	60602	63765	63765	49345	49345	49345	33489	33489
Mediaș	65072	48057	46384	46384	32498	23247	23247	19907	19907	15505	15505	15505	8626	8626
Agnita	12853	10865	8676	10865	9108	6939								
Cisnădie	20135	14979	13546	14979	12246	8714	7284	5385						
Copșa Mică	6194	6156	6156	6156	(4032)									
Dumbrăveni	9883	8452	6224	8452	5367	5404	4562	4262	4262	4067	4067	4067	4408	4408
Ocna Sibiului	5048	4816	4074											4048
<u>Brașov</u>														
Brașov	256475	163345	163345	163345	123834	82144	82984	84557	84557	59232	59232	59232	41059	41059
Codlea	22449	13075	13075	13075	9309	6943								
Făgăraș	33827	22934	22934	22934	17256	10260	9296	10482	10482	7841	7841	7841	6579	6579
Predeal	7273	6680	4955	6680	5121	3408	2568	2764	2764	2113				
Rîsnov	13792	9589	9589	9700	7974	6038								
Rupea	6640	6240	5537	6273	4691	3301								

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
<u>Vilcea</u>														
Rîmnicu Vilcea	66321	28042	22540	23867	18984	17238	17238	15653	15653	11550	15648	15648	13588	9628
Băile Govora	2749	2189	2189	2189	1590	1156	1156	1581	1581	910	910	910	799	
Băile Olănești	4644	4619	4619	4619	3836	3230								
Brezoi	6907	6647	4662											
Călimănești	8095	6735	3587	6735	6651	5578	3329	3449	3449	2876	2876	2876	2613	
Drăgășani	15647	13278	11589	11589	9963	9737	9737	8496	8496	7002	7002	7002	6700	6700
Horezu	5536	6251	2912											
Ocnele Mari	3883	3651	3651	3651	4420	4466	6159	6314	6314	5463	7223	5463	5120	5120
<u>Dolj</u>														
Craiova	221261	152650	148711	148711	96897	83732	84574	77051	77051	62558	63215	60888	53995	51404
Băilești	19890	18490	17752	18490	15932	15289	15289	13825	13825	13169	13169	13169	11006	
Calafat	15568	14507	9483	9483	8069	8251	8251	8064	8064	7633	7633	7633	7608	7608
Filiași	14294	11546	6749											
Segarcea	8534	8704	8704											
Plenița							6735	7450	7450	6925	7771	6925	7509	
<u>Olt</u>														
Slatina	44892	20425	19250	19250	13381	13403	13136	13918	13918	10580	11243	10851	9990	9825
Balș	16539	9720	7970	9174	6956	6128	6128	5763	5763	5501	5501	5501	4945	
Caracal	30408	22714	22714	22714	19082	17892	17892	17634	17634	14950	14950	14950	15048	15048
Corabia	19705	17678	15849	14502	11502	11469	10772	9607	9607	8857	8857	9303	9124	9124
Drăgănești Olt	11059	10448	7056											

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
MUNTENIA														
Argeş														
Piteşti	123735	60113	60113	60113	38330	30143	29007	27763	26551	20636	19532	19532	19722	19722
Cîmpulung	31533	24877	24358	24877	18880	18740	18174	16872	16872	13868	13868	13868	11791	16090
Costeşti	10471	9930	6019											
Curtea de Argeş	24645	16424	15785	16424	10764	9680	9180	8099	8099	6809	6809	6809	6279	6279
Topoloveni	6196	5605	4193											
Dimboviţa														
Tîrgovişte	61254	29763	29012	29763	24360	20182	26038	26169	26144	20143	22298	15062	13106	13041
Fieni	6325	5139	3684											
Găeşti	12494	8962	8962	8962	7179	7726	7726	6353	5903	5764	5764	5328	3990	3990
Moreni	17737	11659	11659	11659	11687	9046	9046	9061						
Pucioasa	13555	11212	7655	11212	9259	7049	4643	4168	4168	3520	5772	5772	5068	
Titu	8612	6315	2672											
Răcari							2519	2415						
Prahova														
Ploieşti	199699	146922	146922	146922	114544	94170	95632	103037	107068	78326	79149	77260	56440	56440
Azuga	5397	4808	4808	4808	3732	2918								
Băicoi	17440	15299	7162	9120	8287	7617								
Boldeşti-Scăeni	9681	8318	6940											
Breaza	17583	14796	8624	12733	11122	11169								
Buşteni	12223	10781	7513	10781	8591	6173	4552	4625						
Cîmpina	32503	22902	22902	22902	18680	14113	16963	16617	22752	14780	16918	11781	8525	8525
Comarnic	13703	11839	3920											
Mizil	13189	10334	9961	10334	7460	6528	6528	7268	7268	6440	6440	6440	5800	6358
Plopeni	6071	2807	2807											
Sinaia	13822	11976	11976	11976	9006	6537	6537	6038	6038	4072	4072	4072	3919	3919

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
Slănic	7780	7307	3482	7307	6842	6495	6495	6514	6514	6306	6306	6306	5512	5512
Urlați	10654	9145	4260	9145	8658	6661	6661	6555	6555	5798	5501	5501	4441	4441
Vălenii de Munte	10508	7380	7380	7380	5472	4491	4491	4554	4554	4237	4237	4237	3704	3704
Filipești Tîrg							2359	2219	2219	1915	1915	1915	1572	1572
<u>Buzău</u>														
Buzău	97698	61937	61937	56349	47595	43365	43365	44511	44511	35687	35687	35687	28807	28807
Rîmniceu Sărat	28689	22336	22336	22336	19095	19880	19267	20622	20622	15007	15007	15007	14496	14496
<u>Brăila</u>														
Brăila	195659	138802	138802	138802	102500	95514	95514	102736	99531	89492	68347	68347	65035	65035
Făurei	3574	3060	3060											
<u>Teleorman</u>														
Alexandria	37340	21898	21898	21898	19294	17840	17840	16493	22099	16796	19350	16796	15785	15785
Turnu Măgurele	32341	26409	26409	26409	18055	20343	11493	11097	19242	10036	16950	16950	15631	10169
Roșiorii de Vede	28847	21747	21747	21747	17320	14905	14905	12856	12856	11453	11453	11453	10960	10960
Videle	10904	9249	8443											
Zimnicea	13964	13231	13231	13231	12445	11056	11056	10140	12356	8945	10879	8945	7563	7563
<u>Ifov</u>														
Giurgiu	51544	39199	39199	39199	32613	30197	30197	29709	37344	24282	31016	24282	20629	20629
Buftea	14891	8767	7034											
Oltenița	24414	18623	18623	18623	14111	13482	10284	8032	8032	7584	10389	10389	9717	6574
Urziceni	12476	9291	9291	9291	6061	4425	4425	4572	4572	3558	8616	3558	3037	3437
<u>Ialomita</u>														
Slobozia	29978	12443	9692	12443	9632	8433	7714	7453	7453	6781	7591	5537	4858	4858
Călarăși	49727	35684	35684	35684	25555	24448	24448	24345	24345	18053	18053	18053	14673	12995
Fetești	27491	21412	9796	21412	15383	11946	11946	10341	10341	8315				
Îndăreii	10166	7331	7331											

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
BUCUREȘTI	1807239	1366684	1366684	1366684	1177661	1018300	1041807	992536	992536	643430	639040	626028	366534	341321
	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
DOBROGEA														
<u>Tulcea</u>														
Tulcea	61729	35561	34686	35561	24639	21642	21642	21993	21993	20403	20403	20403	22562	21727
Babadag	8564	7343	7343	7343	5549	4022	4022	4607	4607	4626	4626	4626	4686	4686
Isaccea	5347	5059	4238	5059	5203	4653	4653	5442	5442	4576	4576	4576	4655	4112
Măcin	10544	8147	8147	8147	6533	5217	5217	6356	6356	5628	5628	5628	5286	5286
Sulina	4911	4005	4005	4005	3622	3373	3373	5052	5052	6399	6399	6399	7347	7347
<u>Constanța</u>														
Constanța	256978	150276	147062	150276	99676	79520	78586	80028	80028	59164	59164	59164	31576	27201
Eforie	9507	6617	6617	6617	3286	1503	1503	1068	1068	872	872	872	218	
Mangalia	26821	12674	12674	12674	4792	4547	4547	3374	3374	2764	2764	2764	1929	1929
Năvodari	9717	6344	5704											
Techirghiol	9706	6839	4278	4643	2705	2136	2136	1927	1927	1956	1956	1956	617	
Cerna Vodă	13608	11259	11259	11259	8802	6100	6100	9933	9933	6744	6744	6744	5743	5743
Hirșova	8239	7519	7068	7519	4761	3762	3762	3441	3441	3665	3665	3665	3990	3990
Medgidia	40328	27981	26525	27981	17943	8086	6916	7740	7740	6466	6466	6466	6252	6252
Ostrov							4015	3351	3351	3113	3113	3113	3965	3409
MOLDAVIA														
<u>Vrancea</u>														
Focșani	56252	35094	33880	35094	28244	27960	27960	32745	37653	28175	32481	28175	25066	25066
Adjud	12501	10557	7567	8347	6119	4606	4028	4174	4174	4059	6748	4059	2903	
Mărășești	10521	8059	6072	6795	5604	4940	4940	5753	5753	4532	4532	4532	4459	
Odobești	8544	7209	5741	5741	4977	4482	4482	5788	7458	4833	8106	4833	5744	5744
Panciu	7766	7948	3207	7948	7679	6899	4523	5071	7697	4628	6816	2061	2937	2737

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
Galați														
Galați	238292	151412	151412	151412	95646	80411	80411	95545	95545	99605	100611	100611	72499	71641
Tecuci	36143	28454	28454	28454	23400	20292	20292	21480	21480	17172	17172	17172	14927	14927
Berești	4155	3332	3332											
Țirgu Bujor	7583	6788	3697											
Bacău														
Bacău	127299	75503	75503	73414	54138	40180	34461	38965	38965	31138	31138	31138	20280	18846
Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej	41738	35663	31510	35663	11253	4274								
Buhuși	20148	15341	14882	15341	12382	10198	8198	8669	8669	7015	8655	8655	5376	
Comănești	16879	15274	13627	14653	12392	8544								
Moinești	20862	18714	17506	18714	12934	6282	5868	6690	6690	6616	6616	6616	6453	
Slănic Moldova	4734	4857	1777	4857	3082	2157	2157	2354	2354	1761				
Țirgu Ocna	12603	11647	9402	11647	11227	9796	9796	11572	11572	9095	12588	9095	9111	7989
Vaslui														
Bîrlad	55781	41060	41060	41060	32040	24035	24035	25101	25819	25677	26204	25677	25288	25288
Vaslui	39186	17960	14079	17960	14850	15060	13738	13887	13887	13922	15310	13922	11699	19397
Huși	22828	20715	20715	20715	18055	16605	16605	18906	18906					
Negrești	6978	7465	4387											
Fălciu							5124	5099	5099	4501				
Neamț														
Piatra Neamț	77812	45852	45852	45852	32648	26303	26303	31018	34896	25492	29827	25492	20583	18965
Roman	51132	39012	39012	39012	27948	23701	23701	26347	26347	21093	28823	21093	18128	18128
Bicaz	9477	9311	4652	8368	(10147)									
Țirgu Neamț	14951	12877	8454	12877	10373	8948	8948	10209	10209	9475	9475	9475	9821	9095

Table 31 cont

	1977	1966a	1966b	1966	1956	1948a	1948	1941a	1941	1930a	1930c	1930	1912a	1912
Iași	265002	161023	161023	161023	112977	91097	94075	120103	111669	110266	102872	102872	75229	75229
Hîrlău	7500	6017	3560				4172	6000	9527	5800	9074	9074	8451	4358
Pașcani	24459	18689	10522	18689	15008	12390	10857	13002	13002	11247	13968	11247	8236	
Tîrgu Frumoș	7165	5502	5502				4665	7300	7706	5750	4932	4932	4986	4986
<u>Suceava</u>														
Suceava	62715	37697	37697	37697	20949	16557	10123	13744	13744	10207	17028	10207	11229 ^{b)}	11229 ^{b)}
Cîmpulung Moldov.	18648	15031	15031	15031	13627	11041	11041	10703	10703	10071	10071	10071	8784 ^{b)}	8784 ^{b)}
Fălticeni	20656	17839	14837	17839	13305	10563	10563	12607	12607	11533	14096	11533	11394	8637
Gura Humorului	13235	9081	8343	9081	7216	5178	4573	5683	5683	6309	6042	6042	5308 ^{b)}	5308 ^{b)}
Rădăuți	21869	18580	18580	18580	15949	14530	14530	13537	13537	16788	16788	16788	16535 ^{b)}	16535 ^{b)}
Siret	8264	8018	6440	8018	5664	8300	8058	10123	11299	8180	9905	6558	7948 ^{b)}	7948 ^{b)}
Solca	4541	4618	2550	2550	2384	2212	2212	2207	2207	2822	2822	2822	3280 ^{b)}	
Vatra Dornei	15873	13815	12092	13815	10822	7078	7078	8217	8217	7759	9826	7759	5843 ^{b)}	
Vama							4580	4206	4206	5315	5315	5315	5372 ^{b)}	5372 ^{b)}
<u>Botoșani</u>														
Botoșani	63204	35220	35220	35220	29569	29985	29145	29599	29599	32355	32355	32355	35017	32574
Darabani	10880	11024	8102				11379	12951	12951	10902	10748	10748	9516	
Dorohoi	22161	16699	15597	16699	14771	15036	15036	15555	15555	15866	15866	15866	14755	13951
Săveni	7345	7774	4846				6470	7571	7571	6455	4953	4953	3882	
Mihăileni							3807	4751	4751	3686	3686	3686	4095	3202
Stefănești-Tîrg							7770	9764	9764	8891	8891	8891	7310	

Table 31 cont

Sources: Cucu & Urucu (1967), Measnicov (1968a), (1968b), (1969),
Népszámítás (1910a), (1941), *Recensământul* (1930:Vol I), (1941),
 (1948), (1956a), (1966:Vol I & II), (1977:Vol I)

Remarks: a) 1912
 b) 1910

1977	- 1977 population according to 1968 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes.
1966a	- 1966 population according to 1968 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes, i.e. same as 1977.
1966b	- 1966 population according to 1968 network, but excluding villages under urban jurisdiction as well as suburban communes.
1966	- 1966 population according to 1966 network and boundaries.
1956	- 1956 population according to 1966 network and 1956 boundaries - same as 1966 boundaries. Towns decreed between 1956 and 1966 in brackets.
1948a	- 1948 population according to 1956 network and boundaries.
1948	- 1948 population according to 1948 network and boundaries, including suburban communes.
1941a	- 1941 population according to 1948 network and boundaries, including suburban communes.
1941	- 1941 population according to 1941 network and boundaries, including suburban communes.
1930a	- 1930 population according to 1941 network, but 1948 boundaries, i.e. boundaries same as 1941a and 1948.
1930c	- 1930 population according to 1930 network and boundaries, including suburban communes.
1930	- 1930 population according to 1930 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes, but including localities that since then have merged with the town.
1910a/12a	- 1910/12 population according to 1930 network and boundaries, i.e. same as 1930.
1910/12	- 1910/12 population according to 1910/12 network and boundaries, excluding suburban communes.

Table 32. Urban Growth in Romania, Average Annual Rates of Population Increase in Towns, Percentages

REGION	1912/30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
Town						
MARAMUREŞ	0,96	1.00	-1.33	2.29	3.28	3.03
Satu Mare	1.97	0.09	-1.58	1.41	2.72	3.72
Carei	-0.01	-0.11	-0.40	1.05	1.60	1.87
Negreşti-Oaş					2.38	2.68
Tăşnad						1.07
Baia Mare	0.38	4.37	-0.30	4.95	5.69	4.23
Sighetu						
Marmaţiei	0.81	0.29	-4.81	2.49	2.89	2.32
Baia Sprie	-0.03	0.42	-1.15	3.83	4.92	0.88
Borşa						2.38
Cavnic						-0.05
Tîrgu Lăpuş						0.62
Vişeu de Sus				2.35	1.74	1.83
Zalău	0.17	0.23	4.54	0.78	1.24	7.14
Cehu Silvaniei						0.41
Jibou						1.52
Şimleu Silvaniei	0.39	1.97	-1.90	0.95	3.69	1.56
CRÎŞANA-BANAT	0.82	1.52	-0.44	2.32	1.87	2.71
Oradea	1.28	1.15	-1.70	1.50	2.15	3.10
Alieşd						3.87
Beiuş	0.08	6.03	-4.30	1.34	3.04	1.21
Dr Petru Groza				35.01	-0.20	2.85
Marghita						2.49
Nucet				40.62	-11.88	-1.52
Salonta	-0.21	-0.03	-0.80	1.49	0.87	0.99
Vaşcău				1.95	-2.22	-0.47
Arad	0.67	1.14	0.10	1.22	1.69	2.88
Chişineu Criş						0.02
Curtici						0.16
Ineu						0.26
Lipova	-1.34	0.06	1.22	-2.36	1.51	0.12
Nădlac						0.11
Pîncota						0.28
Sebiş						0.85
Timişoara	1.17	1.88	0.15	1.68	2.04	4.11
Lugoj	0.88	1.07	0.21	1.56	1.56	2.16
Buziaş				1.75	0.77	0.81
Deta						0.35
Jimbolia				-0.33	1.90	0.69
Sînnicolae Mare			-1.22	0.21	1.38	1.06
Reşiţa	0.67	2.29	-0.10	6.01	3.21	2.74
Anina				5.84	1.73	-1.86
Băile Herculane				4.50	4.00	4.21
Bocşa					2.92	2.42
Caransebeş	0.42	2.34	-1.28	4.29	1.81	3.45
Moldova Nouă				1.76	5.59	3.63
Oraviţa	-0.74	0.29	-0.04	0.25	1.93	1.41
Oţelu Roşu					3.45	1.62

Table 32 cont

	1912/30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
TRANSYLVANIA	1.37	1.92	-0.39	3.87	2.81	2.92
Cluj-Napoca	2.56	0.90	0.97	2.95	1.83	3.27
Dej	1.40	0.79	-1.57	1.20	3.40	1.69
Turda	1.80	4.24	-2.38	3.28	2.31	1.93
Cîmpia Turzii				7.74	4.22	2.34
Gherla	-0.18	-0.41	0.73	1.13	5.27	2.60
Huedin	0.20	-0.53	0.05		1.45	1.27
Bistrița	0.33	1.42	-1.93	2.75	2.30	5.24
Beclean						1.58
Năsăud	0.02	0.28	0.41	1.82	1.45	2.46
Sîngeorz-Băi					2.61	1.95
Țirgu Mureș	2.08	1.53	0.69	3.71	2.85	3.85
Sighișoara	0.59	1.22	0.70	3.15	2.10	2.21
Luduș					3.66	2.24
Reghin	0.20	0.90	-0.84	4.02	2.55	2.34
Sovata				-1.90	1.55	1.10
Țîrnăveni	2.00	2.00	-0.87	6.51	3.16	1.46
Miercurea Ciuc	-0.12	6.66	-5.87	2.86	2.47	6.71
Odorheiu Secuiesc	-0.92	3.39	-2.03	2.13	2.55	4.29
Băile Tușnad						4.21
Bălan						9.31
Borsec				4.50	1.71	0.81
Christuru Secuiesc				-0.25	1.35	1.79
Gheorgheni	0.76	0.56	-1.29	2.21	1.45	2.34
Toplița				1.86	2.07	2.00
Vlăhița						1.78
Deva	0.64	3.92	-2.60	3.33	4.77	6.52
Hunedoara	-0.80	2.66	2.21	19.60	6.41	1.33
Petroșani	1.16	-0.25	-0.86	6.25	4.29	0.75
Lupeni				6.94	3.29	-0.34
Petritla				5.99	2.18	0.14
Uricani					2.66	-0.38
Vulcan				9.39	3.97	2.49
Brad		3.24	0.55	-0.28	4.51	0.88
Călan					2.31	-0.26
Hațeg	-0.05	1.79	-2.04	2.29	3.84	1.90
Orăștie	-0.22	2.81	-1.43	2.17	2.02	3.11
Simeria				2.32	1.96	1.53
Alba Iulia	0.28	2.29	-1.02	0.30	4.14	4.97
Abrud	-0.87	1.40	-0.99	0.47	1.55	0.30
Aiud	0.45	0.34	-0.41	0.47	3.34	2.16
Blaj	1.16	6.76	-4.30	0.06	6.06	1.46
Cîmpeni					1.22	0.64
Cugir					5.19	3.62
Ocna Mureș				4.51	1.25	0.66
Sebeș	0.36	0.27	1.02	1.79	1.65	2.62
Zlatna						-0.38

Table 32 cont

	1912-30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
Sibiu	1.96	2.53	-0.72	3.69	1.92	3.01
Mediaș	2.98	2.47	2.24	4.24	3.60	2.84
Agnița				3.43	1.77	1.57
Cisnădie			4.41	4.76	2.02	2.77
Copșa Mica					4.31	0.06
Dumbrăveni	-0.40	0.46	0.98	-0.09	4.62	1.46
Ocna Sibiului						0.44
Brașov	1.85	3.53	-0.27	5.22	2.79	4.26
Codlea				3.70	3.43	5.13
Făgăraș	0.88	2.87	-1.70	6.65	2.87	3.66
Predeal		2.65	-1.05	5.18	2.68	0.79
Rîsnov				3.51	1.97	3.42
Rupea				4.45	2.93	0.58
Săcele				2.56	2.18	2.74
Victoria					9.24	1.87
Zărnești				1.73	10.14	2.61
Sfîntu Gheorghe	1.12	2.86	-0.16	2.70	1.64	6.12
Baraolt						0.29
Covasna				0.40	0.71	1.61
Întorsura Buzăului						2.17
Țîrgu Secuiesc	-0.87	2.17	-2.27	3.07	2.38	3.48
OLTEȚIA	0.29	1.69	0.88	1.06	3.26	3.46
Turnu Severin	-0.63	3.64	0.38	0.46	3.38	3.88
Baia de Aramă	-0.11	-0.01	0.52			0.49
Orșova	-0.40	1.25	-2.45	0.48	2.18	2.79
Strehaia	0.47	-0.10	0.90	0.88	1.34	0.49
Vinju Mare						-0.81
Țîrgu Jiu	0.05	2.48	2.95	0.27	4.59	5.69
Motru						6.95
Novaci						0.55
Țîrgu Cărbunestii						-0.58
Țicleni						1.85
Rîmnicu Vîlcea	0.79	3.01	1.39	1.20	2.30	8.29
Băile Govora	0.73	5.53	-4.37	4.03	3.23	2.13
Băile Olănești				2.15	1.86	0.05
Brezoi						0.36
Călimănești	0.53	1.79	-0.50	2.20	0.12	1.72
Drăgășani	0.25	1.90	1.97	0.28	1.51	1.53
Horezu						-1.12
Ocnele Mari	0.36	1.42	-0.35	-0.13	-1.88	0.57
Craiova	0.67	2.05	1.34	1.83	4.35	3.49
Băilești	1.00	0.47	1.45	0.51	1.49	0.68
Calafat	0.02	0.54	0.33	-0.28	1.62	0.66
Filiași						1.99
Segarcea						-0.18
Plenița	-0.45	0.71	-1.43			
Slatina	0.46	2.71	-0.82	-0.02	3.68	7.56
Balș	0.59	0.45	0.88	1.58	2.79	5.04
Caracal	-0.04	1.62	0.21	0.80	1.75	2.74
Corabia	0.11	0.80	1.65	0.04	2.33	1.01
Drăgănești-Olt						0.53

Table 32 cont

	1912-30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
MUNTENIA	0.83	1.86	-0.06	1.54	2.55	3.39
Pitești	-0.05	2.93	0.63	3.02	4.57	6.91
Cîmpulung	0.91	1.93	1.07	0.09	2.78	2.22
Costești						0.49
Curtea de Argeș	0.45	1.71	1.81	1.32	4.29	3.83
Topoloveni						0.93
Tîrgoviște	0.78	2.58	-0.07	2.36	2.01	6.90
Fjeni						1.94
Găești	1.62	0.95	2.83	-0.91	2.23	3.12
Moreni			-0.02	3.23	-0.02	3.96
Pucioasa	0.73	1.66	1.55	3.44	1.92	1.77
Titu						2.91
Răcari			0.60			
Ploiești	1.76	2.71	-1.06	2.46	2.51	2.88
Azuga				3.10	2.55	1.07
Băicoi				1.05	0.96	1.22
Boldești Scăeni						1.41
Breaza				-0.05	1.35	1.61
Bușteni			-0.23	4.18	2.28	1.17
Cîmpina	1.81	1.15	0.29	3.54	2.05	3.29
Comarnic						1.36
Filipești Tîrg	1.10	1.45	0.88			
Mizil	0.58	1.19	-1.52	1.67	3.29	2.28
Plopeni						7.40
Sinaia	0.21	3.91	1.14	4.05	2.87	1.33
Slănic	0.75	0.32	-0.04	0.65	0.66	0.58
Urlești	1.20	1.20	0.23	3.15	0.55	1.42
Vălenii de Munte	0.75	0.71	-0.20	2.48	3.02	3.32
Buzău	1.20	2.18	-0.37	1.16	1.69	4.31
Rîmnicu Sărat	0.19	3.15	-0.97	-0.50	1.57	2.34
Braïla	0.28	1.35	-1.04	0.88	3.06	3.23
Făurei						1.45
Alexandria	0.35	-0.18	1.13	0.97	1.27	5.06
Turnu Măgurele	0.45	0.98	0.50	-1.47	3.85	1.89
Roșiorii de Vede	0.24	1.13	2.14	1.88	2.29	2.65
Videle						1.53
Zimnicea	0.94	1.23	1.24	1.48	0.61	0.50
Giurgiu	0.91	1.99	0.23	0.96	1.85	2.57
Buftea						5.02
Oltenița	0.37	0.56	3.59	0.57	2.80	2.54
Urziceni	0.88	2.47	-0.47	3.98	4.34	2.76
Slobozia	0.73	0.93	0.49	1.66	2.58	8.47
Călărași	1.18	2.96	0.06	0.55	3.37	3.12
Fetești		2.15	2.08	3.18	3.34	2.34
Țândărei						3.07
BUCUREȘTI	3.02	3.96	0.72	1.82	1.48	2.62

Table 32 cont

	1912-30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
DOBROGEA	1.38	1.91	-0.71	3.21	4.11	4.50
Tulcea	-0.56	0.73	-0.23	1.62	3.71	5.23
Babadag	-0.07	-1.39	-1.92	4.07	2.82	1.43
Isaccea	-0.10	1.70	-2.21	1.39	-0.28	0.51
Măcin	0.35	1.19	-2.78	2.83	2.22	2.41
Sulina	-0.76	-2.28	-5.61	0.89	1.00	0.20
Constanța	3.55	2.99	-0.26	2.84	4.17	5.09
Eforie	8.23	2.00	5.78	10.18	7.21	3.41
Mangalia	2.02	1.96	4.35	0.65	10.15	7.18
Năvodari						4.02
Techirghiol	6.62	-0.15	1.48	2.97	5.52	3.29
Cerna Voda	0.90	3.85	-6.73	4.65	2.48	1.77
Hîrșova	-0.47	-0.61	1.28	2.96	4.65	0.85
Medgidia	0.19	1.77	-1.60	10.38	4.52	3.44
Ostrov	-1.34	0.72	2.69			
MOLDAVIA	0.90	0.82	-2.11	2.35	3.34	3.52
Focșani	0.65	1.48	-2.23	0.13	2.18	4.46
Adjud	1.88	0.27	-0.51	3.58	3.13	1.58
Mărășești	0.09	2.35	-2.15	1.58	1.93	2.50
Odoboești	-0.95	1.77	-3.59	1.31	1.43	1.58
Panciu	-1.95	0.89	-1.62	1.34	0.34	-0.21
Galați	1.84	-0.40	-2.43	2.17	4.67	4.28
Tecuci	0.78	2.21	-0.81	1.78	1.96	2.24
Berești						2.06
Tîrgu Bujor						1.03
Bacău	2.41	2.21	-1.74	3.76	3.07	4.95
Gh Gheorghiu-Dej				12.75	12.15	1.47
Buhuși	2.68	2.08	-0.79	2.43	2.15	2.55
Comănești				4.72	1.68	0.93
Mojinești	0.14	0.11	-1.86	9.36	3.74	1.01
Slănic Moldova		2.87	-1.24	4.52	4.63	-0.24
Tîrgu Ocna	-0.01	2.38	-2.35	1.70	0.37	0.73
Vaslui	0.97	-0.02	-0.15	-0.17	1.91	7.48
Bîrlad	0.08	-0.22	-0.62	3.63	2.50	2.87
Fălciu		1.22	0.07			
Huși	0.12	0.97	-1.84	1.04	1.38	0.90
Negrești						-0.62
Piatra Neamț	1.20	1.93	-2.33	2.71	3.43	5.01
Roman	0.85	2.19	-1.50	2.06	3.37	2.53
Bicaz					-1.90	0.16
Tîrgu Neamț	-0.20	0.73	-1.87	1.85	2.17	1.39
Iași	1.75	0.84	-3.43	2.70	3.59	4.72
Hîrlău	0.40	0.33	-5.06			2.06
Pașcani	1.75	1.42	-2.54	2.40	2.20	2.52
Tîrgu Frumos	-0.06	2.35	-6.20			2.47
Suceava	-0.48	2.94	-4.27	2.96	6.01	4.82
Cîmpulung						
Moldovenesc	0.69	0.59	0.45	2.64	0.98	2.01
Falticeni	0.07	0.87	-2.50	2.90	2.96	1.37
Gura Humorului	0.65	-1.01	-3.06	4.20	2.31	3.55

Table 32 cont

	1912-30	1930-41	1941-48	1948-56	1956-66	1966-77
Rădăuți	0.08	-2.08	1.02	1.16	1.53	1.52
Siret	-0.96	2.10	-3.21	-4.62	3.52	0.28
Solca	-0.75	-2.37	0.03	0.93	0.67	-0.16
Vama	-0.05	-2.26	1.22			
Vatra Dornei	1.43	0.56	-2.11	5.40	2.46	1.29
Botoșani	-0.44	-0.86	-0.22	-0.16	1.75	5.56
Darabani	0.68	1.69	-1.83			-0.12
Dorohoi	0.40	-0.19	-0.48	-0.22	1.23	2.65
Mihăileni	-0.58	2.50	-3.11			
Săveni	1.36	1.57	-2.22			-0.52
Stefănești Tîrg	1.09	0.92	-3.21			

Sources: Measniçov (1968b), (1969), *Népszamlálás* (1910b), (1941), *Recensământul* (1930:Vol I) și (1941), (1948), (1956a), (1966:Vol I), (1977: Vol I)

Remarks: All figures refer to intercensal urban cohorts. The absolute figures on which this table was based are provided in Table 31. For all towns in Maramureș, Crișana-Banat and Transylvania, as well as for Orșova in Oltenia and Cimpulung Moldovenesc, Gura Humorului, Rădăuți, Siret, Solca, Suceava, Vatra Dornei and Vama in Moldavia the '1912-30' cohort refer to 1910-30.

Table 33. Literacy in the Hungarian Territories by Mother Tongue in 1891, Percentages

REGION County	Romanian	Hungarian	German	All groups
Arad	13.2	52.9	53.2	28.1
Bihar	6.6	60.3	70.9	36.7
Krasso-Szöreny	20.7	58.5	61.5	27.8
Maramaros	5.8	55.9	21.2	14.4
Szatmar	10.9	47.1	49.3	34.8
Szilagy	7.8	45.9	47.0	21.5
Temes	21.2	51.7	63.0	40.8
Ugocsa	3.6	40.3	29.6	23.0
C-B-M	13.8	53.2	54.0	30.6
Also-Fehér	9.7	45.5	46.0	16.7
Besztercze-Naszöd	21.5	53.9	64.1	32.8
Brassó	36.4	59.7	77.9	56.9
Csik	6.2	32.0	59.9	28.8
Fogaras	26.7	54.4	68.3	29.5
Háromszék	19.4	43.7	78.4	40.5
Hunyad	8.3	58.9	62.3	13.3
Kisküküllő	8.2	29.9	64.6	24.2
Kolozs	9.0	44.1	58.8	22.9
Maros-Torda	12.7	39.6	65.8	29.8
Nagy-Küküllő	23.4	47.1	70.6	45.6
Szeben	31.1	68.7	72.8	43.8
Szolnok-Doboka	6.5	35.7	40.2	13.1
Torda Aranyos	9.3	43.4	56.0	17.9
Udvarhely	16.2	41.8	74.7	41.2
TRANSYLVANIA	13.7	41.6	68.0	27.5
C-B-M & TRANSYLVANIA	13.7	47.6	59.9	29.2

Source: *Népszámlálása* (1891: 106 ff, 164 ff)

Remarks: C-B-M - Crişana-Banat and Maramureş. The city of Versecz was excluded from Temes county. Yiddish-speaking Jews included in German. For location of counties, see Figure 2

Table 34. Indicators of Standard of Living in 1930 by Counties
Index: Romania = 100

A: Sugar consumption, kg/inhabitant

B: Radio receivers per 1.000 inhabitants

C: Births with qualified assistance, as percentage of all births.

REGION County	A		B		C	
	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index
MARAMUREȘ	3.7	67	9.2	66	65.3	153
Maramureș	3.1	57	6.3	45	56.4	133
Satu Mare	5.2	96	13.3	96	66.3	156
Sălaj	2.6	48	7.0	50	68.9	162
CRIȘANA-BANAT	7.8	143	21.7	156	62.2	146
Arad	7.5	138	23.4	168	84.3	198
Bihor	5.3	98	16.2	117	48.5	114
Caras	7.2	131	14.2	102	42.7	100
Severin	5.8	106			40.5	95
Timiș-Torontal	12.0	220	32.8	236	83.6	196
TRANSYLVANIA	6.6	121	16.4	118	63.6	149
Alba	4.5	83	11.4	82	56.2	132
Brașov	22.5	413	47.6	343	87.8	206
Ciuc	4.4	82	10.1	73	71.6	168
Cluj	9.3	171	27.7	199	56.0	132
Făgăras	3.8	70	11.2	81	82.0	193
Hunedoara	5.6	104	13.8	99	39.7	93
Mureș	5.4	99	14.3	103	61.4	144
Năsăud	4.3	79	9.3	67	60.5	142
Odorhei	3.3	61	8.2	59	85.9	202
Sibiu	9.9	182	25.9	186	92.2	217
Someș	2.6	48	6.9	50	38.6	91
Tîrnave Mare	7.1	131	16.8	121	92.6	218
Tîrnave Mică	1.3	25	7.7	55	63.4	149
Trei Scaune	9.8	180	15.6	112	94.8	223
Turda	3.1	57	9.3	67	39.8	94
OLTENIA	2.3	41	4.4	32	29.7	70
Dolj	2.9	53	7.1	51	38.1	90
Gorj	1.7	30	2.1	15	21.7	51
Mehedinți	3.1	58	3.0	22	19.6	46
Olt	1.2	23	3.5	25	15.7	37
Romanați	1.4	26	3.3	24	53.0	125
Vâlcea	2.2	40	4.8	35	18.5	43
MUNTENIA	3.2 ¹⁾	59 ¹⁾	12.3	89	32.7	77
Argeș	2.8	52	4.3	31	21.5	51
Braïla	6.1	112	11.0	79	79.9	188
Buzău	2.6	48	6.8	49	19.5	46
Dîmbovița	2.4	43	8.1	58	32.6	77
Ialomița	2.0	37	5.8	42	33.7	79
Ilfov	-	-	7.5	54	50.5	119
Muscel	2.1	38	5.5	40	36.7	86
Prahova	6.8	124	21.7	156	24.6	58

Table 34 cont

REGION County	A		B		C	
		Index		Index		Index
Râmnicu Sărat	1.4	26	5.0	36	24.7	58
Teleorman	1.9	36	4.7	34	20.1	47
Vlaşca	1.5	27	6.0	43	23.7	56
BUCUREŞTI	19.1 ²⁾	351 ²⁾	120.6	868	88.8	209
DOBROGEA	6.5	119	10.5	76	56.0	132
Constanţa	9.4	172	15.5	112	64.4	151
Tulcea	2.7	49	3.9	28	45.7	107
MOLDAVIA	4.6	84	9.1	66	44.7	105
Bacău	4.2	78	9.3	67	23.0	54
Baia	2.9	53	5.3	38	59.6	140
Botoşani	4.1	75	6.7	48 ³⁾	58.8	138
Cîmpulung	7.4	136	7.9 ³⁾	57 ³⁾	57.1	134
Covurlui	9.5	174	21.4	154	64.8	152
Dorohoi	1.7	32	3.3	24	35.1	82
Fălciu	2.2	41	4.9	35	56.7	133
Iaşi	9.0	166	17.2	124	68.8	162
Neamţ	5.1	93	9.6	69	41.2	97
Putna	4.3	79	10.6	76	26.6	63
Rădăuţi	4.7	87	6.9	50	29.9	70
Roman	3.7	67	7.6	55	28.0	66
Suceava	3.3	61	-	-	40.4	95
Tecuci	2.2	41	6.0	43	59.5	140
Tutova	2.7	50	6.5	47	28.5	67
Vaslui	2.0	36	4.6	33	36.7	86
BUCOVINA	7.2	133	14.0	101	47.7	112
Cernăuţi	9.9	182			63.7	150
Storojineţ	2.6	48	14.0	101	25.6	60
BESSARABIA	3.5	64	4.2	30	22.0	52
Bălţi	3.4	62	3.2	23	16.9	40
Cahul	1.7	31	3.0	22	17.3	41
Cetatea Albă	4.0	74	5.1	37	39.8	94
Hotin	3.6	66	2.7	19	9.8	23
Ismail	4.4	81	5.2	37	29.0	68
Lăpuşna	6.1	112	7.9	57	34.9	82
Orhei	1.3	23	2.4	17	24.5	58
Soroca	2.6	48	3.2	23	11.0	26
Tighina	2.9	54	3.8	27	14.1	33
SOUTH DOBROGEA	3.9	71	5.0	36	43.2	102
Caliacra	5.3	96	5.6	40	64.7	152
Durustor	2.7	50	4.5	32	26.6	63
ROMANIA	5.4	100	13.9	100	42.6	100

Sources: *Anuarul Statistic* (1939-40: various tables),
Mişcarea populaţiei României (1935: 30-31)

Remarks: 1) Excluding the county of Ilfov
2) Figures refer to the whole county of Ilfov.
3) Including the county of Suceava

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