



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Case Study Report
Mălin-Codlea
Legalization of an Informal Settlement in Braşov County,
Romania

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Abbreviations

ADDJB	Agencia de Dezvoltare Durabilă a Județului Brașov (Sustainable Development Agency of Brasov County)
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LAG	Local Action Group
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
NAR	National Agency for Roma
NLCRP	National Land Cadaster and Registry Program
NSICR	Strategy for Improving the Condition of the Roma
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OCRA	Office of Cadaster and Real Estate Advertising
RIRNM	Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities
R&D	Research and Development
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

Executive summary

Background. In 2001, as a precondition for EU accession, the Romanian government adopted the National Strategy for Improving the Condition of the Roma. The strategy defined housing as one of its key policy areas. In 2004, the National Agency for Roma (NAR) was established. A second national strategy for the inclusion of Roma citizens of Romania (2014–2020) was adopted in the larger context of the European Framework Strategy (2011). In 2014, NAR started to give financial support for short-term projects under the aegis of ‘citizen participation and empowerment.’ These projects aimed to identify and provide legal solutions regarding ownership of land and housing in the informal settlements inhabited by Roma. One of the 16 projects selected for funding, entitled ‘Accountability of citizens in the field of housing’ was implemented between July and December 2014 by the local administration of Codlea Town (Braşov county, Central Development Region) in collaboration with the Roma Association of Făgăraş (who actually developed the project by a Roma expert representing the Roma Party in a town that is 52 km away from Codlea). The project targeted a Roma community lacking property documents in the Mălin district of Codlea since it was relocated in the 1960s to an area nearby the landfill, which happened in the context of socialist systematization and was not legally regulated ever since. In parallel with these Roma-specific actions, starting in 2015, the National Land Cadastre and Registry Program launched a long-lasting process of registering all the lands and buildings in Romania that up until 2015 were not cadastred or fiscally regulated.

Findings. None of the projects financed by NAR could be completed in the terms set in the call for applications. This was due to the short implementation period, to the administrative procedures’ (including public auctions and acquisitions) calendar, and due to the lack of national legislation on the legalization of informal settlements and the non-acknowledgement of the various situations that different settlements display. It was expected that the Mălin-Codlea project would serve 150 households from Mălin neighborhood, and would enforce people’s citizenship status under the conditions in which Romanian legislation connects citizenship acknowledged by an identity card to the existence of a recognized domicile. But only 10% of the targeted households went through a process of legalization, and only partially; 15 families could buy the land under and around their houses from their own pockets, so they gained ownership on land. Therefore, this action, which promised to repair the injustice that this community suffered in the past (not being legally recognized for almost 60 years during socialist or post-socialist times), ended up re-creating injustice among its members. Besides, framing the project as action for citizen empowerment and accountability, the project coordinator was convinced that by implementing it, he had done everything he possibly could, and affirmed that those who did not become ‘accountable citizens’ were simply not able to legalize their homes and did not really want to improve their situation.

Outlook. Three years after the implementation of the Mălin-Codlea initiative, the municipality started a project co-financed by the European Social Fund under a poverty alleviation and social inclusion program. M.Ă.L.I.N (Work, Engagement, Legality for Integration and Non-discrimination) aims at solving the legal situation of 175 households in the community. This is a positive development for those who will benefit from it, but it creates a sense of injustice among those who had to pay for their land from their own resources during the first project. At the end of the day, these two initiatives, despite of the promise to solve a decades-old problem of spatial injustice, created tensions and new forms of mistreatment in the locality. Our case study demonstrates that there is a need for a legislative measure that could recognize the existence of informal settlements, in order to enable them to have full access to local resources regarding infrastructural improvements in their

area and to assure full citizenship rights to their dwellers, while avoiding putting more financial burden on the already impoverished people or endangering them with further injustices. Policy-makers should not forget that in the case of many people informal housing is a solution to their disparate condition, in which they are unable to provide other housing alternatives for themselves and their families. Even more, one should also note that getting legal documents in the case of situations characterized by housing deprivations cannot be the final aim. In such cases, the endeavor should be completed by improving people's housing and infrastructural conditions, their access to public transport and public utilities, as well as by eliminating all the sources of pollution from the neighborhood where people are supposed to enjoy their property rights. Last, but not least, it must be noted that initiatives of 'legalizing informal settlements' are very much part of a larger trend of housing politics in Romania and in the contemporary world, which targets homeownership as the most ideal type of tenancy, while minimizing the role of the state as a developer of public/social housing offered to people in need.

1. Introduction

The project entitled ‘Accountability of citizens in the field of housing’ (hereinafter: Mălin-Codlea project or Mălin-Codlea) was part of a cluster of projects funded by NAR in 2014 under the title ‘Citizens Participation and Empowerment’. It was implemented on local level in Codlea (Braşov County) from July to December 2014, alongside 16 similar projects in the country. According to the NAR methodology, these projects should have aimed to identify and provide legal solutions in the informal settlements with the aim to support people to gain ownership on the lands, but also on the houses in which Roma families live. In Codlea, the target group included 150 households, approximately half of the total population of Mălin district, selected based on the fact that only they inhabited public land that the project could refer to; the rest of the households were settled on private property. The project was conceived, written, and submitted to NAR by a Roma NGO ‘Făgăraş Roma Association’ from another locality (a town 52 km away from Codlea), and it was implemented by the municipality of Codlea in partnership with this organization.

This action is relevant for the RELOCAL research because it addresses a manifestation of housing injustice strictly related to the space where the houses in the project’s focus are situated. The problem that it refers to and the measures that it implements are not defined in terms of ‘spatial justice,’ but via other concepts such as ‘access to social rights and citizen participation’. Since this space became and was developed as an informal residential area from the 1960s onward, its inhabitants could not benefit from full citizenship rights and from local resources for infrastructural improvements in the absence of legal documents acknowledging their domicile in this area. As a project, Mălin-Codlea is actually a policy-driven action, one initiated by a governmental body, inscribed in the national strategy regarding Roma inclusion. It was implemented in 2014, therefore—being an already ended action—it allows for a better analysis of its impact. Regarding the latter, its limited effects are indirectly highlighted by the very existence of a new project (called M.Ă.L.I.N), which focuses on the same area, began in 2017, and is still running. This has similar objectives of regulating people’s property acts but in the frame of a larger integrated project addressing ‘social inclusion and combating poverty’. The case of the Mălin district is not mentioned in the development strategy of Codlea; however, the latter speaks about the Roma people from the town in general terms. Likewise, while the housing and space related issues are not associated with concrete examples (nor with Mălin or others), they are acknowledged in general terms in the Braşov county development strategy (ADDJB, 2010) as a problem that supposedly resulted from how ‘Roma illegally squat public and private lands.’

Data from different studies by the World Bank and UNECE on the European level speak to the condition of communities where legalization is essential for better management of the problems these settlements face. In accordance with UNECE (2009, 2012, 2015), the most common situation in conferring legal status to these communities is that these communities are disconnected from urban development plans. The Romanian case is quite a special one on the map of informal communities.¹ The study authored by Suditu and Vâlceanu

¹ With a wide range of definitions according to where the territory is located, informal settlements in Romania are described as follows: they *generally emerge on the edge of the (rural or urban) settlement, on land that has either legal or illegal status, with unauthorized or partly authorized constructions, whose basic features are the lack of access to basic infrastructure, proper housing conditions, etc. which jeopardize the safety and health of the resident population* (Suditu and Vâlceanu, 2013).

(2013) identifies the main factors that contribute to the formation of this type of communities: historical, socio-economic, political, and legal. The authors consider that the phenomenon is related to the process of enforcing Roma to settle and become sedentary during socialism and to the measures the regime took to relocate the Roma to the outskirts of the towns and villages or into the houses left behind by Saxons after they emigrated in great numbers starting in 1968. Together with the authors one might deem that one of the most important factors that (re)creates such situations has been the failure to put this issue on the public and political agenda ever since. But we also stress that besides the settlements displaying such history, there are also other informal housing areas within cities, which were constituted after 1990 as a result of post-socialist housing and urban development policies. They were formed when many evicted persons and families were made homeless and were forced to look for cheap housing solutions that they found on the cities' margins, or were directed towards infrastructurally underdeveloped areas by public authorities, where they settled informally, without legal documents. Moreover, as a result of the lack of public social housing or other housing alternatives where they could have moved as they aged into adulthood, the new generations of families with modest homes built improvised homes around their parents' houses, for which they could not then provide property documents (Vincze et al, 2013; Vincze and Hossu, eds, 2014; Vincze 2013, 2018). At the same time, it is worth noting that Romania as a whole is in a very interesting situation regarding the cadastral situation of properties. The state does not have an up-to-date situation in this respect, meaning it does not know who the rightful owners for each property are. One of the implications of this situation was the failure of implementing several European infrastructural projects. The National Land Cadastre and Registry Program, to be implemented between 2015–2023, was conceived exactly to correct this situation across the whole country.

A great majority of the Roma in Romania, but not all, live in precarious housing conditions, as studies of FRA show (2009), often in isolated compact communities² lacking basic infrastructure. It is a fact that local authorities often overlook this situation, although they are best placed to initiate community development programs and programs targeting the improvement of these living/housing conditions. These precarious legal housing situations are transmitted from one generation to the next with all the uncertainties regarding the status of property. Lack of ownership documents means vulnerability of this group in the face of any action coming from outside. It means also that there is no possibility for clarifying property rights and obligations in case of inheritance. Most importantly, due to the fact that issuing identity documents is conditioned by a domicile in Romania, so lacking a legal domicile is a major obstacle in accessing social services and benefits. In addition, having only a temporary identity document makes the person vulnerable towards discrimination for example on the labor market, where the potential employers would deny access to jobs to people with temporary identity cards.

The Mălin-Codlea project under our scrutiny has been implemented in an informal settlement and targeted a large part of Mălin district. The neighborhood came into being in the 1960s after the demolition of the old Roma neighborhood of about 50 houses situated on the exit to Sibiu, close to national road DN 13. A district of blocks of flats named North Codlea was built in its place (Iaru, 2010). Since then, the Mălin district, located in the southwestern part of the town, toward the forest, has grown into a larger district with approximately 405 households (Badic, 2016). It is situated next to the former town land-

² According to estimates made based on the results of SocioRoMap (RIRNM, 2017) the size of Roma population is around 1,215,846 persons. On national level, more than half of this population (59.1%) lives in compact communities (SocioRoMap - *Research Report*, 2017, p. 93).

fill, which was closed in 2009. The majority of the inhabitants in the district are Roma living in precarious and poor material conditions. The district appears on the 'List of highly problematic Roma communities' (PROROMI, 2005). They are in a situation with multiple risks: lack of ownership documents makes them vulnerable in the face of evictions or exposes them to forced relocation, all this insecurity is added to people's general poverty and poor housing conditions, and lack of access to developmental resources.

2. Methodological Reflections

Our interviewees were local stakeholders (local government, experts), the representative of the NGO who wrote the project but was from another town, institutional stakeholders on the county level (Brasov Agency for Sustainable Development, Prefecture), and stakeholders on national level (experts in the domain of housing, President of NAR, and representatives of different NGOs). When we entered the town, keeping in mind the focus of the RELOCAL research on institutional stakeholders, first we looked for a key person in the Codlea Town Hall (hereafter: Town Hall), who directed us towards others involved in the project. After finding out about the fact that the project was initiated by an NGO, we established contact with its representative. Moreover, aiming to address what is happening locally at the crossroads of several territorial scales, we went to the institutional stakeholders at county and national levels. At the regional level, our endeavors to receive an answer from the NAR Central Regional Office were unsuccessful, a fact that became understandable when we found out that during this period of time it was under restructuring and eventually closed (together with all the other regional centers across Romania). Further on, learning about a current national initiative on the issues of informal housing, we decided to interview its experts, members of NGOs from Bucharest. Besides all these formal interviews conducted with institutional stakeholders, we also had several informal individual and group discussions with inhabitants of the Mălin district, who we randomly selected during our walks through the settlement, which were enlightening for us to understand what was happening from their perspective. We registered these discussions in our field notes, which are a rich material for understanding the intra-community tensions around the injustice that the project might have generated: only very few households could benefit out of it, because the beneficiaries had to pay for the land, and at the end of the day the process did not provide either these few with property documents on their houses, only on the land under and around it.

Although during the documentation phase of our research we identified a connection between the project under our analysis and a new one implemented by the municipality³ that is currently ongoing, during the first fieldwork period we did not learn about this other project from the interviews. This might be explained by the fact that people who were engaged in implementing the first project are not involved in the second one. During the last part of our field research, we directly approached the local stakeholders with questions regarding the relationship between the two projects. We conducted interviews with the deputy mayor, the new project manager, the legal counsellor from Town Hall, and a community development agent working in M.Ă.L.I.N. Since the latter was just starting when the RELOCAL research was selecting cases of older actions back in 2017, we did not aim to focus on the new project in detail. Altogether, our report analyses the first project that started in 2014. But it is worth mentioning at this point how, together, the two projects generated certain tensions in the community.

³ *Muncă, Asumare, Legalitate pentru Integrare și Nediscriminare (MĂLIN)*/ Work, Engagement, Legality for Integration and Non-discrimination, project website accessible here: <https://malin.municipiulcodlea.ro/>

3. The Locality

3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Codlea is a municipality in Braşov County, Transylvania, Romania, Center Development Region, northwest of the county seat, Braşov. Table 1 from Annexes presents its major socio-economic characteristics. It is one of the 15 localities of the Braşov Metropolitan Area. It is connected to the national and county roads, and it has access to the railway network.

Government Decision no. 998/August 2008 designated Braşov as a national growth pole for the Center Development Region consisting of a first ranked urban center (Braşov), and an area in its proximity with two municipalities (one being Codlea), three cities, and nine communes. In the last three years, Codlea has recorded economic growth, both in industry and other economic domains, as companies of cable systems, electric and electronic parts for luxury cars, wooden ornaments for luxury cars, and production of electric lamps and lighting devices and equipment were settled in the locality (ADR Centru, 2007, p. 220). Regarding economic development, local stakeholders and the Braşov Development Agency consider that tourism has the highest potential for growth in the years to follow.

According to the 1992 census, Codlea had a population of 24,547 inhabitants, and in 2002 the number of its inhabitants was about the same (24,286), while in 2011 it showed a decrease (21,708). However, afterwards, in just 5 years, the town recorded a growth in population: according to 2016 data⁴ its population reached 26,068 inhabitants. This increase might be explained by its economic recovery as signaled above.

In terms of ethnic structure, Codlea has seen a resettling process. Before 1990, ethnic Germans formed the most numerous group; today there are only few Germans left in the locality. The members of this ethnic group still residing there are also aging. On the other hand, the Roma population increased its share in the total population as the data of the last two censuses show, from 1.7% in 2002 to 5.2% in 2011. The increase of the number of the Roma, as reflected in the censuses, might also be explained by the changing number of those who self-identity as Roma in these situations (see Table 2 Annexes).

The settlement is one of the oldest in Bârsa Region (Country),⁵ and it was presumably founded by German colonists. The oldest known written mention of the town dates back to 1377, where it was named in a document as 'Cidinis'. Codlea was formally declared a town in 1950.⁶ In the 1980s it gained international reputation thanks to its greenhouses, and it became known as the *Town of Flowers*.⁷

The Mălin district, the place under our scrutiny, is a relatively new district in the town. It started being built up in the sixties, after Roma families were removed from an old neigh-

⁴http://www.insse.ro/cms/sites/default/files/field/publicatii/populatia_romaniei_dupa_domiciliu_la_1_iul_2016_0.pdf

⁵ Historical and ethnographic region of Transylvania.

⁶ <http://www.tara-barsei.eu/codlea.php>, accessed September 2018.

⁷ *Serele Codlea – minunile României în chip de floare* [Codlea Greenhouses - Romania's flower-wonders], 18.11.2015 in the EduSoft Magazine. Lifelong Learning, accessible here: <https://www.edusoft.ro/serele-codlea-miniuni-romaniei-in-chip-de-floare/>, accessed in August 2018.

borhood from North Codlea where they used to live and where a new block of flats was built as part of socialist systematization. The evicted population was relocated near the forest, at the foot of Măgura Codlei Mountain (See in Annexes Map 3 - Mălin neighborhood in Codlea).

Currently, the Mălin neighborhood is composed of six streets, as table below shows.

Street	Number of households	Number of persons
Răchitei	47	180
Mesteacănului	115	356
Plopului	86	268
Salciei	78	235
Venus	56	207
Șcheilor	23	56
TOTAL	405	1302

Table 3: Households in Mălin neighborhood

Source: 2016 study ADDJB

One part of Șcheilor Street belongs to the Mălin district, and its other part continues until it reaches the historical center of the town, with the Evangelical Church in its middle. There are 56 people in 23 households living in the part of the Șcheilor Street that belongs to the Mălin district (ADDJB, 2016). It is the only paved street in the neighborhood; after each serious rain shower, the other streets are hardly suitable for walking (see photo on Mălin streets in Annexes). Moreover, the study [carried out in](#) March–August 2016 acknowledged 1,302 self-identified Roma people in the Mălin neighborhood (ADDJB, 2016, 11). The same study mentioned that in 2016 none of the buildings had ownership documents. In 2018, at the time of our research, we could note that 15 families had become owners of lands under their houses due to the project carried out in 2014.

According to data from the ADDJB study, 73% of the households from the Mălin neighborhood pay yearly taxes, even though not all of them possess ownership documents on the assets or any kind of documents for the buildings that they pay taxes for, as the majority of them were built without authorization (see Table 4 below).⁸

⁸ An explanatory note for anyone intrigued by this situation is necessary. This should be understood, on the one hand, from the point of view of the history of property regime in Romania and at the local level, and, on the other hand, from the perspective of the current legislation regarding registering a household constructed without authorization on a public land. The history of private property practices in Romania shows some geographical and regional particularities as well as specific characteristics according to class and social status, ethnicity, and family history. For example, ethnic Roma—under a politics of assimilation in Transylvania and slavery in the Romanian states—never had private properties. The private property of the major owners of land and buildings was nationalized after 1948 in the whole nation-state, which increased the state-owned properties. However, during really existing socialism the housing law recognized the personal property on housing as a type of property beside state and cooperative property (Vincze, 2017). After 1990, the property practices embarked on an extremely complicated journey traced by the policy of restitution, which generated a multitude of unclear situations regarding ownership of land and buildings, and by the privatization of public housing via the measures of right to buy. The great losers of this process were the social groups who have never been in a position of power and did not benefit at all from the restitution or from the privatization process (Verdery, 2003, p. 242). Regarding the current legislation on land registering, this allows for dwellers who do not own their house on paper to receive a street and house address if they are in the evidence of the so-called Agricultural

Street	No. of tax payers on buildings and lands	Average tax value Buildings (RON)	Average tax value Land (RON)
Răchitei	40	24	27
Mesteacănului	77	34	40
Plopului	72	34	41
Salciei	51	30	46
Venus	43	42	48
Șcheilor	14	129	122

Table 4: Property taxes in Mălin District, 2016

Source: ADDJB study, 2016, based on data provided by the Local government of Codlea

Regarding the demographic structure of the Mălin district, here we note that data from the already mentioned 2016 study show that the population of the district is a young population: 40% are aged 18 or younger, and 30% belong to the 19–35 age group. Regarding the level of education of the population, the study holds that 25% of the population lacks school education, 47% have graduated from primary education, 14% from secondary education, and only 14 percent are high school graduates.⁹ These data suggest a high dropout rate during primary education. Altogether, they show that the population is highly vulnerable and also marginalized because of this, which its turn out is a result of the lack of adequate material resources and living condition.

3.2 The Locality with regards to Dimensions 1 & 2

Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

Stakeholders on the local and county levels consider the Mălin district to be the most disadvantaged, marginal, and poor area of Codlea. Besides Mălin, there is another district that gets the same evaluation; it is a district comprising blocks of flats, reminiscent of socialist urbanism, a neighborhood built for the workers of the paint factory that disbanded in 2005. This neighborhood was named after the factory, Colorom. S.C. COLOROM S.A. was a paint and pigment factory with a long history. It was established by a German trust called I.G. Farben Industrie, when it was named Factory of Chemical products. In 1938, its name has changed into COLOROM. The activity of the factory also changed, and it started to work with imported concentrated paint. After 1990, like many other factories in Romania, it went through many stages of restructuring and privatization, until 2003, when it entered a process of judicial liquidation¹⁰ and closed down. However, all interviewees tend to put the Mălin district in the foreground, as they are more prone to talk about this district rather than about Colorom.

register and pay taxes accordingly (Governmental ordinance 28/2008). We should add that this practice is used mostly in small towns and in villages, and in cases where the land these houses are on without legal papers do not present real estate value. For the history of private property in Romania from an anthropological perspective see Verdery (2003); from a legal perspective see Florea-Popescu (2016); Danciu (2008); Enache (2015).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰ http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:CzrAWuhg0twJ:www.infodip.ro/docu mente_vanzari/45_2.doc+&cd=2&hl=ro&ct=clnk&gl=ro, accessed in September 2018.

During our research, almost none of our interviewees used the term of ‘spatial/territorial justice’. The terms interviewees associated with the district when they talked about it were: *disadvantaged*, *(il)legal*, *compact*, *marginal*, *vulnerable*, *poor*, and *disparate*. The use of these terms often refers to Roma communities, mostly compact groups that are often at risk of poverty, and in our understanding, they suggest a perception about spatial (in)justice. Living often in informal settlements or ‘ghost communities’ (as one of our interviewees calls them), people belonging to these communities and the communities as such are vulnerable in their relationship with local authorities.

Local Level

Although interviewees know and say that the Mălin district was built after community displacement took place in the 1960s (a binding action coming from the top down that did not leave any chance for opposition from the people concerned), they do not question, not even for a single moment the appropriateness, adequacy, or justness of the measure and action. Moreover, they explain and justify displacement by saying that previously the community lived close to the national road and therefore it was highly visible and the ‘view or image was not too pleasant’. Moreover, this discourse goes hand in hand with a sort of rhetoric that is a fairly common discourse in Romania, in which Roma are perceived as an undifferentiated whole, as a poor community that looks anything but pleasant. The discourse is widespread, but the source or causes of this perceived condition seem unproblematic for many, i.e., they are unproblematized. The need to seek solutions that might ameliorate the situation identified as problematic from an outside perspective remains unthought of, unapproached. One of the respondents did use the terms *disadvantaged* and *illegal area* (i.e., suggesting the need for legal regulation) in relation to the Mălin district. The Mălin-Codlea project is placed under this umbrella concept or idea of the need to build up a framework that will allow legal regulation of the settlement, of the community and its members. Local stakeholders highlight the merits of local administration in this context (in 2014 the mayor was the same, presently in office for a second turn).

‘There are disadvantaged areas. In my opinion, there are two: one is located in the western, southwestern part of the settlement and it is known as the Mălin district. It is a disadvantaged area, with disadvantaged people, mainly ethnic Roma; the other is an area with several blocks of flats in the southern part of the town, at the exit to Braşov, I think it is a community of people who have lost the jobs they had at Colorom, at SC Color Codlea, when the factories were closed down. They became unemployed, and its liquidation and dissolution made them unemployed. Probably because of this, their financial and material condition also deteriorated. [...]

With the project we had in 2014, ... [w]e tried to create a legal framework to allow inhabitants of the district to arrange the legal aspect of their stay. Appointed experts carried out a study and documentation, and we learned that the settlement, the Roma community, is built on private property and not on town or public property. And then, with the project we implemented, we wanted to do just that, to make a legal framework that allows individuals to buy state and town property, so they can have their documents and they can live there legally’. (Code codlea_1.2)

The coordinator from the NGO partner and initiator of the project is the one who identified the situation going back in the history of the problem, namely that this community got here after being relocated from another place. He is the one who stressed the need to understand the causes that led to this situation instead of pointing a finger of blame at people in the community and arguing that they do not want to solve the problems that make their current situation perpetuate. During discussions with him, an interesting idea surfaced, namely that some of them would have had legal documents for the properties that had been demolished in the neighborhood from where they were relocated in the 1960s.

'[...] And that was the problem in the Roma community in Codlea, they [authorities] have created the problem some years ago. Now they have to solve it. Because you cannot blame the people who have been moved from there. It is logical, because ... it is simple, that is all, there is nothing else to be done. They would do better to solve the problem, because there is money for many other things, so it must be money for this, too.' (Code codlea_1.1)

One of the interviews with a community member brings to the foreground the changes this community went through in time. She speaks about how they had to use oil lamps for lightning because there was no electricity in community, no tap water; they had to queue to collect water from a pump and carry it in buckets to their houses. Today, there is electricity, tap water, and sewage in some parts of the area, and the area is soon going to have asphalt too. Speaking about these two images—before and after 1989, respectively—the interviewee stresses that Mălin is not such a bad place compared to other Roma districts she knows about, which do not even have access to water. However, she thinks Mălin is the most disadvantaged district in the town. (Code codlea_2_7)

County Level

Regarding the county level stakeholders, they affirm that they know the names of the disadvantaged locations, visit them, and often conceive and implement projects that address issues related to these places. They use the following terms to describe the Mălin district: *injustice, disadvantaged, and marginal*.

'It is clearly a district, I would say, famous, well-known, the Mălin district ... [...] Codlea I do not really know ... I know it is a **disadvantaged area** and so on, yes ... in general, in my domain of competence this **inequity**, let us say urban inequity or, how should I put it is, inequity related to dwellings and housing is very present. It is still there and it is visible'. (Code codlea_4.1)

'[...] And we talk about **marginalized** and/or **disadvantaged communities**, rather **marginalized**. I already told you about Gârcin, Mălin in Codlea, Zărnești ... In general, poor units and Roma communities are those disadvantaged. [...] Yes ... and probably because ... I use the term **marginalized community** more often than I use the term disadvantaged. Although yes, indeed, marginalized is also a spatial concept, but also marginalized not only in spatial sense ... how should I put it? Disadvantage is ... I do not know how to express it, but I think you understand me, the idea I want to convey. **Yes, marginalized, for me marginalized pinpoints in a more clear-cut way the problems they face in a given situation. We actually marginalize them from all points of view.**' (Code codlea_2.4)

National Level

There is a tendency that we have found both in the official documents and in the discourse of housing experts, to use the term **disparities** for naming the differences between certain regions of the country, or between different localities or districts at the local level.

'I call them **disparities**. [...] **Territorial disparities**, and, I repeat, we have to admit that Romania progresses with different speeds, at least four, in different areas. I cannot put Bucharest and Lehliu [village in Călărași county, southern Romania] on the same level and launch a call for competition for public funds, for national or European programs and let them compete for the same funds.

[...] In urban areas, neighborhoods and poor areas, many of them plunge deeper and deeper into **poverty**. [...] So, **disparities** need to be officially recognized'. (Code codlea_4.3).

A report by the Center Development Agency focuses on the *Analysis of Intra-Regional Disparities and Urban Development at the Level of the Center Region*¹¹ in 2017. And at national level, too, the term **disparities**, has begun to take precedence over others. The current NAR president names this discrepancy between the different communities using the term **vulnerable communities** as he tries to draw a distinction between informal living and Roma, arguing that it is not only Roma who are affected by this problem.

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

There are a series of strategies related to the topics that the project addressed, and which are supposed to form the policy framework for actions similar to the Mălin-Codlea project: Strategy for Sustainable Local Development in Codlea 2011–2020; Development Strategy for Brasov County. Horizons 2013–2020; Integrated Strategy for the Development of Brasov Urban Growth Pole, 2014–2020; Regional Development Plan for Center Region 2014–2020; Strategy for Sustainable Development in Romania. However, they do not have significant impact on the situation of the communities. Of all these strategies, the one that probably treats at some length the issue of marginal Roma communities and informal housing and elaborates on the need for intervening and solving these cases through joint actions carried out by all stakeholders (community and authorities) is the Development Strategy of Brasov County (ADDJB, 2010, pp. 37–38). At the same time, the local strategy of Codlea speaks about the need for information and awareness campaigns (for Roma and other disadvantaged groups) on education. It hardly mentions the serious problem of informal housing (Strategy Codlea, 2011). Several members of the local government have often mentioned the strategies that exist in theory but rarely make their way to become action. Instead, they remain strategies on paper. National level experts and consultants share the same perception of countless strategies wandering from one drawer to another only to see the light when an update is due. The case of the Strategy for Territorial Development in Romania is even worse, since experts say that the Romanian government adopted the strategy in 2016, and since then it continues to stay in some drawer, and it never managed to be voted on in the Parliament and gain legal force.

National Level

Within NAR, the organization which provided financial support for Mălin-Codlea project the perception on what is being done at the political or policy level is at least reserved. Our interviewee stresses the fact that NAR has not had a housing policy until now. At the same time, he argues that the problem regarding property and ownership, closely related to cadastre records, is an issue on national level, not only in some localities. Further, he emphasizes that policies targeting this situation must take into consideration the fact that there are different types of communities, and he gives us an example regarding the need for better contextualization when it comes to Roma communities: the extremely poor vs. those living in the palaces. The fact that these two communities are so different (especially in economic terms) should be in itself sufficient reason to understand and claim the need for refining and nuancing housing measures or policies ‘for the Roma’.

Housing experts stress that there were, and still are, some governmental programs targeting housing needs in Romania, but the majority is for the benefit of the middle class (i.e.,

¹¹http://www.adrcentru.ro/Document_Files/ADStudiiRegionale/00002635/3idk9_Studiu%20disparitati%20si%20dezvoltare%20urbana.pdf, accessed on August 2014.

the First House program¹²). However, there are no programs that address vulnerable, poor categories. One of our interviewees affirms that public policy should target them specifically in order to provide for them just what the state should theoretically ensure, according to the legislation in force: free and unrestricted access to housing, decent housing, and a decent life. All of the above are stipulated in the Housing Act, and also in the Law for Preventing and Combating Social Marginalization.

'[...] There are marginalized and vulnerable groups in every country, so in Romania, too. Therefore, at least theoretically, not one but many public policies, social policies, housing policies should target these categories and address their issues. The government will not be able to turn everyone into an owner, or owners of big houses, or houses having flowers in the windows. Consequently, they should support them, shouldn't they? They should support those in need of decent housing, according to Article 1 of the Housing Act, those in need of a decent life, as written in the Constitution, and those entitled to housing, as in the Act on Preventing and Combating Social Marginalization ... Thus, they should be the beneficiaries of measures taken by the state. The state does not have to make them owners. They need to support people to have access to decent shelter'. (Code codlea_4.3)

The national strategy that has had a certain local impact in Codlea, is the 'Romanian government's Strategy of Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens Belonging to Roma Minority for 2014–2020.' This is the strategy that provided the base for the framework program, which, in turn, provided support for NAR, and which subsequently gave financial support also for the Mălin-Codlea project.

County Level

At this level, things do not look much different regarding territorial cohesion policies or informal settlements in particular. Experts in the field notice major discrepancies and inconsistencies between theory and practice. They point out that current legislation is not of much help in resolving cases of informal housing. As the NAR president declares, Romania is the only European country that still requires an ID document to be issued for dwelling ownership. The expert on county level confirms the fact. Both of them emphasize the need to separate the relation that still exists between issuing an ID card and having a so-called 'permanent address.'

'[...] Just think about it, that in terms of housing there is no town hall that knows the precise situation of the houses or buildings that do not have building permits. It is the case of the Roma; the majority of them do not have authorization for their dwellings, they built them sometime in the past without proper permission or authorization. I call them the ghost houses of Brasov county, because they can be seen, are here as objects, but you cannot find them on paper in any registry. Every attempt of the County Office for Roma to evaluate and assess the situation got the same reaction: "According to the law, we have a registry of the houses and building permits and of the houses that were built on the basis of the documentation sub-

¹² The "First House" program approved by Emergency Ordinance no. 60/2009 provides financial support to young people to purchase their first dwelling, so it has contributed to further strengthening the ideal of homeownership and to support banks offering mortgage credits. Adopted under the conditions of financial crises, the program aimed to support the housing market. Since 2009, the program has seen a number of changes, including the 'Second House' program launched in 2015. This, in turn, is a governmental program for supporting young people who have already benefited from the first program, to buy for themselves a larger apartment/house.

mitted to the mayor's office. If the owner or the builder does not notify us to ask for some authorization, then, obviously, the building is not in our records”.

‘... lack of documents is a second order problem. As long as the law links the two things, that is, “not having a home, not having a property or building where you can prove you live, on the one hand, and issuing an ID on the other hand. [...] If we cannot help them in justifying, proving their ownership ... at least let us unravel these two areas to give people the chance to request identity documents’. (Code cod-lea_4.1)

Local Level

Regarding local policies for marginalized Roma communities, local stakeholders describe the situation in rather harsh words. For them, mayors are not local leaders interested in community welfare or in the welfare of the settlement in general, but are leaders who act in their personal interest and interests of their own networks. They only care for communities when elections are close, and vulnerable people are often considered as a mass for electoral purposes. One of our interviewees concluded that local political leaders should be interested in forming groups specifically to work with Roma communities. Sadly enough, he realizes that such a mayor does not exist.

‘Because, and this is a paradox, indeed a paradox, but even so being a paradox, it applies for the whole country. Every time a mayor wins the election, they say: “Well, we have other problems. There is no asphalt on the streets downtown, the town is not clean enough, I do not know... we do not have heating in schools, and there is no roof, and so on. We will deal with the Roma, too”. However, they always forget to do so. They remember these problems once every four years. [...] **The mayor who will think of Roma first and then about the others has not yet been born.** They are not born yet, and they will not be born very soon’. (Code cod-lea_1.1)

We did not only interview institutional stakeholders during our fieldwork, but also spoke with people from the community. They do not think the mayors represent their interests, and they doubt that locally elected politicians care for the community. On the other hand, people in local government have told us that a certain family has a kind of ‘monopoly’ in terms of representing the Roma. They also think that so long as this situation persists, the creation of a practical problem-solving partnership between the local authorities and the community is impossible.¹³ Unfortunately, these are not isolated cases. One explanation could be that the families who manage to be less dependent on the community and community resources tend to promote, urge, and support other family members to embark on the same path, which, in turn, produces situations like the one just described. The family in question did not speak about any conflict or about lack of good partnership and collaboration with the local authorities and the town hall (in fact, one member of this family works there). Finally, communities are the ones who lose most in these cases. They are caught in the middle, between their own ethnic representatives and the representatives of local government.

¹³ Field observations confirm that two members of the same family (mother and daughter) are employed in two positions on the behalf of the Roma community in Codlea. We refer here to the school mediator and the Roma expert hired at the Town Hall.

4. The Action

4.1 Basic Characteristics of the Action

Although the Mălin-Codlea project was implemented locally, it also had a national dimension, since its funding came from the central government. Moreover, because the national strategies for Roma inclusion were encouraged and promoted by the European Union (before and after the accession of Romania to EU), we may even say that the possibilities to frame such projects were determined even from beyond the national level. We just mention here, that other trans-national forces (such as the World Bank) might also promote in countries such as Romania the full clarification of property relations in what regards lands, and the sale and lease of land for commercial use.

However, the fact that a Roma organization from another locality conceived the project and local authorities in the district implemented it, suggests that there is a need for interventions conceived on local level, independently from all other levels (national, European). One of our interviewees mentioned this need when speaking about it in relation to the local government's interest in the Mălin district, an interest that surfaced as early as 2007–2008.

Mălin-Codlea project has not aimed to address the issue of ownership in terms of spatial justice. Nevertheless, the project addressed this phenomenon via handling issues of legal uncertainty and inequalities between the majority and the Roma population regarding their access to local development resources that are dependent on the legal ownership status of the land and houses in which they lived, but also on introducing the lands under the informal settlements into the administrative territories of the localities in order to be urbanized and to benefit of infrastructural development.

The project chronology presented in Table 5 of the Annexes results from a process of documentation that brought together online materials and interviews with local stakeholders engaged in writing up and implementing the project.

4.2 The action with regards to Dimensions 3-5

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

The **implementation process** took six months (July–December 2014). The stakeholders involved on the local level were the following: the local government as coordinator, the project partner who wrote the project (the manager of an NGO from Făgăraș), and the vice president of the Roma Party (who was also one of the beneficiaries). Members of the 150 households were acting mostly as selected potential beneficiaries, and not as stakeholders involved in the decision-making. Their selection was made on the basis of circumscribing the territory in which Town Hall could intervene under the project, i.e., the land that was owned by the municipality. The other households (up to the total of approximately 400) were excluded from the very beginning from this process, because their houses were built on the lands of different private owners.

Technically speaking, there were some steps that were followed in order to fulfill the aim of the project. The urban function of the land where the 150 households were located had been changed from agricultural land to building sites. Moreover, this territory was moved

from the so-called private domain of the municipality to its public domain, which, in a further step, allowed for the plots to be sold by Town Hall to private persons. However, in order to benefit from these processes, people should have had the financial possibility to buy the respective lands. Some of those who wanted to buy found themselves in the awkward situation of being indebted to the state (utility arrears, for example, or unpaid fines), a situation that severely limited their access to the possibility of buying the land under their homes. The only solution for them was to pay these debts, which would have been impossible for most of them because they could not afford it, lacking the necessary money. There was another category of people who did not have the means to buy the property altogether.

The **coordination** of the procedure described above was in the hands of Town Hall. So, from a legal point of view, the mayor played the leading role in this, because he was in a **power position** to implement the identified measures. In practice, officials and institutions like Office of Cadastre and Real Estate Advertising Braşov - OCPI have held important roles. This was an extremely costly procedure; Town Hall (the territorial administrative unit) had to pay large sums to the institutions that managed all the documentation work as part of the procedure. Eighty percent of this amount came from the project budget and 20% was the contribution of the mayoralty. In fact, 171,625 RON¹⁴ was paid only to create the legal framework for regulating the situation of the 150 households (that occupy approximately 5 hectares). Finally, Town Hall proceeded to evaluate the land and established the selling price. The amount they settled on was 5 Euro/m², which may seem small enough to most people but for very many of those living in the community of Mălin that amount has a different value. Therefore, only 15 households could afford to buy the land at the end of this process. During discussions with community members, we observed that there were several opinions regarding the legal status of these properties. Although the community members may not have understood the bureaucracy involved, some of the beneficiaries in the first project have agreed to pay a certain amount of money to obtain legal proof of ownership for the land they inhabited. However, other people in community who were supposed to benefit from the project could not afford to pay the required sums. They seemed to be the biggest losers in the terms of the project indicators. Furthermore, people in the community were ambivalent on these matters; they often did not know what position to take, as the following excerpt aptly illustrates:

‘Yes and no ... I am not entirely convinced that this is quite that important [legal status of properties]. Do you know why? No one ever came to do or bring something to this community. And the town hall kept a record of us and we paid our taxes. When we asked for a certificate or permit, we got it. Therefore, I do not know whether these papers are important or not. I do not think so ... [...] Well, we have this law saying that buildings and dwellings have to be recorded in a registry and so on. I accept the law, and I think it is a good thing and even necessary for people to buy their dwellings and to have their property documents. [...] On the other hand, living here for such a long time, I do not see this as some sort of necessity. [...] I think the money should have been used for other purposes in community development’. (Code codlea_2.7)

Regarding the project **coordination**, we observed that there were two stakeholders involved, one from the mayoralty (the project coordinator) and the manager of the NGO partner. Due to its position in the town hall, the former managed all that belonged to bu-

¹⁴ Based on the Euro-Ron exchange rate at BNR (20 June 2015, 1 Euro=4.39 RON) the sum is approximately 39,094 Euro. It is the exact sum the coordinator on behalf of the local government declared, including VAT, and the contribution of the local government.

reaucracy and administrative management of the project: preparing documents, obtaining permits and certificates, and so on. The project coordinator on behalf of the NGO acted as a contact person who mediated between the sponsor (financier), community members (beneficiaries), and project coordinator (Town Hall). The manager from the NGO claimed that the project implementation often faltered because there was no designated person with whom to discuss and solve problems that occurred frequently. When a blockage appeared, the solution was to directly call the NAR in Bucharest, the organization providing financial support for the project. The interviewee said that Bucharest would call the local government back and ask them to 'take the appropriate measures.' This is a plausible situation given that interviewees frequently spoke about the lack of efficient coordination. After all, from the outside it may seem that all of them felt alone and carried out activities on their own.

The project coordinator from the local government complained that there was no methodology or a flexible framework that could have helped dealing with challenges coming from the ground, and he was obligated to follow the legal procedures already in place, and so could not do anything else or more. Specifically, he gathered and prepared documents, allocated lots to households, recorded them in the land registry, and changed the destination in the records from agricultural land to residential site. He states that people in the community received information before the starting date of the project implementation. Following the existing legal procedures, he put all information regarding the process on display at Town Hall. In addition, he also disseminated information in the community.

People in the community voiced their dissatisfaction with the fact that only a portion of the households were included in the project. It seemed they did not entirely understand why the selection of beneficiaries followed the criteria of land-ownership (the land had to be the property of the town hall), or why should they buy the land, or what this procedure could have brought them in terms of home ownership.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation, and engagement

The answers of the stakeholders from the mayoralty to questions about who is making decisions regarding local development policies and projects, indicate a strong tendency to follow decisions coming from the top. In the name of **local autonomy**, the strategies for local development are supposed to be written by the local governments, but they often subcontract consultancy firms for this purpose. There is a pressure coming from the top for producing more and more strategy documents.. Moreover, the idea of promoting local development under the responsibility of the local community has created other absurd situations in the administration. An example of such a situation is the transfer of the portion of DN1 passing through Codlea to the local administration without allocating the financial resources required for its maintenance or asphaltting. This, then, reshapes the way priorities are defined and financial resources allocated from the local budget. Under these conditions, the amount of financial resources remaining for writing up and implementing new projects is even smaller, which translates into tensions between various local groups. Meanwhile, representatives of local government indicate that private firms should be the main pillars on which local development is based.

The process of different stakeholders getting involved in the project poses the question of its legitimacy. The concept of Mălin-Codlea project belonged to an NGO from Făgăraș, which responded to the call for proposals of NAR. Its coordinator saw a financial opportunity there and took it. At first, he wanted to implement the project in Făgăraș, but there the local authorities were not open to such a project. As a result, the NGO turned to

Codlea municipality, where the then deputy mayor, now a public administrator, proved to be interested in collaborating on this project. However, as the coordinator on behalf of Town Hall has declared, the interest in solving the respective problems in the Mălin district predated the NGO's proposal for collaboration. One of the conditions NAR stipulated for the financial framework was that applicants should be local authorities in partnership with an NGO. So, each and every stakeholder considered the project idea to be legitimate at a local level, even if it was not developed by the municipality. Regarding the project legitimacy from the point of view of the targeted Roma community, things seem to be more unclear, since they were not consulted beforehand, only informed afterwards.

Given the nature of the project, community members could **participate** in it at a fairly low level, as its main activities were focused on the creation of a framework for legal recognition. In essence, the project was 80% administrative-bureaucratic in nature, and by its nature provided a challenge as to how this entire process could be explained to the beneficiaries. As we have already noted, the project coordinators organized several meetings to inform the beneficiaries about the project and explained to them the conditions and steps involved. Informal discussions with community members show that they very much wanted to have their situation solved and clarified at that time. Contrary or ambivalent opinions came only after the project ended—when they realized that after the project had established the legal framework for solving ownership issues, they had to purchase the land at a price set by an appointed assessor. The community member who was also a member in the project coordination team, an employee in Town Hall as Roma expert, and a beneficiary in the project had an important role in this communication process.

The two project coordinators, one from the NGO and the other from the local government mentioned that during project implementation there were several meetings for informing beneficiaries. However, beneficiaries had different opinions about what took place. They spoke about poor communication between the parties and poor explanation by the project coordinators.¹⁵ In addition, by addressing only a part of the community, the project raised the issue of unfairness from the beginning. The main losers of the project were exactly those families who were the most vulnerable, for whom that 'symbolic' amount of 5 Euros/m² was more than they could afford to pay. On the other hand, the majority of the local population, which does not live in this neighbourhood, is rather 'blind' to this inequality. Even more, during our discussion with the people, we often heard opinions saying that the majority are, in this instance, also discriminated against because they do not receive support from state to clarify their own property situations. In one of the interviews, a representative of the local government voiced the same opinion.¹⁶

The problem of **accountability** has been articulated very clearly—even right in the title of the project—which aimed at 'empowering and raising accountability of citizens in the field of housing.' The involved stakeholders said that they have met this target. Assessing the impact of a project by relating it to the immediate terms of the project itself, without seeing or thinking about its consequences, is an attitude we encountered quite often at every level and among all stakeholders involved in actions regarding marginalized communities. Authorities easily consider that they create a framework so these communities can leave behind their unfortunate situation. Thus, they suppose that, if the problem persists, it re-

¹⁵ We need to take note of the subjectivity of such a statement, since the complicated bureaucracy and legislation is often amenable, and interpreted according to who reads the law. Romania thus becomes the propitious territory for creating situations where two camps can enter a conflict simply because one does not have the skills to understand such a bureaucratic process and the others, while trying to apply the letter of the complicated law, often forget that they work with people.

¹⁶ Regarding the history of private ownership in Romania, see note 11 of this Report.

sides in the lack of involvement on the part of community members, and they quickly may conclude that the Roma community members have no desire to get out of the bad situations in which they are. Among the most vocal members of the community in the neighborhood, we find the local representative of the Roma Party, who was involved in the project, both as a project member and as a beneficiary. She is not part of the new M.Ă.L.I.N project team and does not consider the first project to be a successful one—despite personally being one of the beneficiaries. The strongest argument of her used against the first project is the conditions within which land acquisition took place. That is, people had to buy the land after the price was set in an evaluation.

Despite being financed from public funds (government funds) and developed and implemented by a public institution (local government of Codlea), there is very little evidence-based trace of the project online or in the written media. We have to note this lack of **transparency**. Despite this, most of the stakeholders we contacted responded affirmatively to our invitation to give interviews.

Finally, after the termination of the project, no one has followed-up so the current situation is unclear regarding its current effects. There is no clear evaluation that anyone interested could consult. There is only an approximate evaluation based on local knowledge. There is no such database at the NAR on national level either. At local level, we did not get access to the existing evaluation until today.

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

Due to the partnership with Town Hall, the NGO that wrote the project application had access to local information about Mălin despite the fact that it was an outsider in relation to the community in question. The project coordinator on behalf of Town Hall stated that they had already carried out a diagnosis of the situation in Mălin in 2007–2008, so they had a **place-based knowledge**. In other words, local authorities already knew about the neighborhood and the problems associated with it. However, today we might consider that the project served rather as an initial **learning process** for those who implemented the later M.Ă.L.I.N. project.

The decisions taken during Mălin-Codlea were limited to the local level without echoing the experience and the lessons learned on a higher level; however, the NGO brought this knowledge back to Făgăraș. Concluding the project according to its aims—issuing ownership documents for the 150 households, or at least for a high percentage of them—would have required a series of changes in legislation. Since the latter did not happen, the chances to fulfill this aim were very limited, as we described elsewhere in the report. Beyond this local case, one should also note that none of the 16 initial NAR-funded projects could reach their generous objectives in this regard. At least theoretically, these partial failures do have the potential to inform **organizational learning** not only at the local level, but also at national level. The coordinator on behalf of the local government recounted an absurd situation in which he had to look for various administrative solutions to follow the letter of law and to respect the project schedule, which gave them less time than needed.

‘In 2014, I asked about other localities in the South, I did not know where they had their projects from, and they said. When I heard them ... It was true that there were villages, small, communal localities, when I heard what aberrations they kept saying ... "Brothers, I do not know really..." [...] Finally. I tell you that I would be curious to know how other projects like this one were carried out, others who gave it [the land] for free ... do not know ... what they could do with these projects.

But, as a matter of principle, they all want to give them property titles. But they cannot be given. You came, I gave you. As I have told you, here the [2015/2001] act on local governments regulates our work. The law clearly says, black and white, there is nothing to give to anyone for free. [...] You cannot give them for free'. (Code codlea_1.2)

Besides the structural problem mentioned above, there was another issue that limited the potential of such an initiative, and not only in the case of the first project from 2014, but also in the case of the new one. This is the terms of ownership of the land where the to-be-legalized Roma houses were built. As already said, this land only partially belongs to the state, a large part of it has small private owners, usually the Saxons who left the country before 1990, but afterwards they claimed their former properties to be restituted to them or to their descendants.¹⁷

'Let me give you an example because they found in the land registry the German people who are 80 years old in the present moment. So then they looked it up in a Hungarian registry. That is, it depends, because the land is very large, I cannot tell you now, there is more than one person [with a claim to it], and the registries are old, very old and have to be translated'. (Code codlea _2.8)

On the other hand, the coordinator of the NGO, who wrote the project and applied for funding, told us that the 2014 experience was useful for implementing a project with the same objective in Făgăraș, where he was from. There, as he stated, in a project started in 2016, they managed after many years to approach the finalization of documents for both the land and houses by the end of 2018. In his case, the project was an occasion for individual learning.

'It takes about two or three years, it depends on whether the situation is similar to that in Făgăraș. Făgăraș was a different situation, and here we have been trying hard for two years to do, and ... this year it ends, we need to solve the situation until the end of 2018...' (Code codlea_1.1)

Besides, one may observe that national governmental funding schemes are characterized by **low elasticity and adaptability**: they impose short periods of implementation (this project had to be implemented in six months). In addition, there are a series of administrative procedures (including public auctions and acquisitions, which have their own legal calendar and procedures) that can hamper the implementation of project activities.

¹⁷ The situation of these properties is complex. The majority of Saxons left the country during the communist regime. But they continued emigrating massively after 1989, too. Some of the lands they left behind were the subject of more or less legal retrocessions, when, after 1989, some of the former owners asked for their properties to be given back. However, there are also lands that did not fall under regulation. This is another matter that seems to add to the complications that have occurred not only in the implementation of the first Mălin-Codlea project, but also of the new M.Ă.L.I.N project.

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

As mentioned several times in the report, the Mălin district in Codlea started to form in the 1960s after the demolition and relocation of a Roma community from another part of town where urban planning at the time had placed some new blocks of flats. Local social history does not link these two actions (systematization of the territory and the displacement of the Roma). However, the relation is evident. We have to point out that the way in which the history of the Roma communities in Romania interweaves with the troubled history of private property is one of the most important factors that contributes to the formation of a particular type of informal settlement, which is also the case of the Mălin district in Codlea. On the other hand, one should note that the complicated and incomplete legislation regarding informal settlements is the main **inhibiting factor** in the implementation of the project under analysis.

The involvement of different stakeholders (decision makers) at the local level largely shapes the results one sees from these actions. In the case of Mălin-Codlea project under consideration, the fact that the principal applicant was an NGO from another locality complicated the whole process in relation with the locals (both the authorities and the communities). In addition, even though the project objectives were clear in the beginning, they were not designed while taking into consideration the legislation in force and the many hardships it created when it was implemented. Further, as the coordinator from the local government pointed out, there was no flexibility in such actions and executing the project had to follow the strict rules imposed by the institutions responsible for certifying such documents (most importantly the Office of Cadastre and the Real Estate Advertising Braşov). OCPI Braşov is an institution with strict rules and regulations, and, as such, it imposed its own rhythm and rules on the project.

The involvement of Town Hall represented the most important **promoter or supportive factor** in the project's implementation. This essentially meant that Town Hall identified and acknowledged the problem, and also came with some solutions. All these benefits came with some limitations, namely legal constraints and the decision the project administrators made when they accepted the limitation of narrowing the target group to only a small number of households in the district as a whole.

Legislation did not allow for the slightest **flexibility** in potential negotiations with the project staff in Codlea. Had the project been designed locally, results may have been different, but only slightly. That is, the project coordinator would have been more closely connected to the local community and its knowledge. However, the results could not have been much different, because the national legislation was the obstacle in the process of local legalization of informal settlements.

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

Apparently, from our documentation and the data we had access to (online articles, interviews with stakeholders, NAR pages, and reports), there is only one project financed by NAR in the landmark program aiming to solve the legal status of informal settlements that

managed to produce results with significant impact (in the district of Kuncz from Timișoara).

The first observation we can note about what could increase the **capacity** of any stakeholder who implements such projects is best illustrated by what the NGO project coordinator declared about the community he knows the best:

'[A]fter 12 years of working in Făgăraș, results have started to show just two years ago. Why? Because ... the generations and people in the community have changed, at least those in Făgăraș, some of them. Some 50%, 60% understood that any kind of development must start from them and with their support. Because those who live outside the community won't succeed ... Very many do this, they go into the community and tell them what they need. "You need that, you need that, you need that ..." No, insiders know best what they need'. (Code codlea_1.1)

Although anyone might notice the contradiction between this statement and the results of the project, the idea is nevertheless supported by an in-depth analysis of the fieldwork material. During the research, none of the respondents questioned the need to solve the problems related to these types of settlements. Thus, creating a framework that initially sought to empower citizens has led to the creation of new needs piled on the other needs already in place in the community (e.g., there was a need to have access to a sum of money to pay for land added to the daily subsistence needs). All this led to overburdening the part of the community that could not (easily) afford to pay the price for the land, and also contributed to their stigmatization. The majority of the population believes that the Roma have been provided with all the support they need to legalize their situation and they have simply chosen not to do so. A local government representative involved in the M.Ă.L.I.N project spoke about the situation of inequality created, but also declared the inability to solve it, emphasizing that the only solution was trying to include the 15 purchased parcels in the new project.

A local approach with greater involvement of the local community and of the beneficiaries would have been helpful and could have increased the capacity of stakeholders to act according to their needs and interests. In fact, interviews with key stakeholders emphasize the need for greater autonomy at the local level for this type of project. In reality, in most cases, the funding framework is rather rigid, and those who try to implement the projects must confront a complicated bureaucracy that is interpreted by the legal counsellor who reads it. In trying to adapt to these type of funding, local government employees are asking funders for more documents—which makes things difficult, even raises suspicions and often delays effective implementation. Apart from these drawbacks on the level of local government, there is another aspect that only few speak about, but which nevertheless remains an objective fact: the lack of specialized staff.

'But the problem is that there are no longer people, and local governments do not have professionals to employ for accessing European funds. That is, in fact, our greatest problem. It is inadmissible when the local government does not submit applications for entire domains of action. That is a big problem. We have approximately 12 projects submitted over the past few months, we have already signed contracts for about six and we are advancing with them. And there are other problems. too. Bureaucracy often makes you delay the projects, you submit it this year, sign it next year, and you start implementing it at least three years after submission'. (Code codlea_2.8)

As for the political representation of the Mălin community, it does not exist. Although there were candidates for the Local Council, they did not receive the necessary votes to win a seat. From the online documentation—starting from the autumn of 2016 there are the records of the local council meetings made available to interested parties—one can

notice that the situation of Mălin appears only sporadically in discussions, and most often the current deputy mayor is the one who pleads for the case of the community. There is a Roma expert at the mayor's office in the Social Assistance Department. Although people may attend the meetings, no presence of any community representative at meetings was noted. We do not have data to hypothesise the reasons for their non-involvement. Instead, we can note the observations that several stakeholders have made about the fact that this community is a disjointed one, and all projects that favoured one or another part of the community strengthened the cleavages that already existed between various groups. Ultimately, the greatest losers remained those who had the lowest financial or social capital. That group could not fully benefit from what the first project proposed. Under the current conditions, they also cannot be among the beneficiaries of the M.Ă.L.I.N project currently under implementation.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

Distributive justice. Having an initiative like this that only serves 10% of the households in a community represents an action that is itself marked by social injustice, at least partly, since it ignores the identical needs of the part of the community that was not included in the project. However, we should note in a positive tone, that a new project, called M.Ă.L.I.N, was developed and gained funds via POCU 2014–2020 program of the EU funds. This project aims at solving the situation of the rest of the households in the community by financing the cost of land acquisition from project funds. But, as such, it raises the further problem of people's unequal access to resources. The action might raise the obvious question, already asked by community members: why will this part of the community receive the property free of charge while the other side (of the action analyzed by us) had to pay for it? ***Is this a fair solution or does the solution give rise to unnecessary tensions inside and produce inequality and further spatial injustice regarding the community members' access to allocated resources?*** Unsurprisingly, this situation has not contributed at all to improve the inter-personal relations at local level.

Under these circumstances, we could say that the 2014 project had a poor chance of succeeding from the beginning. It started from the premise of an existing inequality in terms of housing between the disadvantaged communities and the majority population, which was manifested in the lack of ownership documents for land and houses. The way in which the target group was addressed—namely that the project addressed only a part of the community because of legal constraints—created a new form of inequity among members of the community. The vicious circle created and maintained largely by a historical context and by a current legislation that is not adapted to the multitude of situations in the field, is now being reproduced through the ongoing M.Ă.L.I.N project. Its management team has attempted to put an end to this by expanding the regulations for the target group selection to include community members who have benefited from having their documents legalized in the first project, on the condition that they have gone through the regulatory process. In the current project, they hope that they will be able to finalize ownership documents for the houses built on the land parcels.

First of all, Mălin was divided into two because a part was already included in the land recorded in the registry. Automatically, there remained only one... the other part. Later on, we found a solution to give them the opportunity to buy their land so that they could also get into the project. Because the first project in 2014 did not give them the opportunity to record their dwellings in the registry, only the land. And there are two different things that cost the same. And so, I said okay, buy the

land, and we will give you the possibility to get your building, your house, recorded in the registry. [...] There were very few who chose to buy the land and which now will have their buildings recorded in the registry. (Code codlea_2.8)

Although apparently a welcome adjustment made by the M.Ă.L.I.N project, this regulation in turn has a perverse effect, increasing the gap between those included in the first project, who had their homes on public domain land and could not afford to purchase it, and those for whom property acts will be acquired and legalized, regarding both the land and the houses, through the current project without asking for their own financial contribution.

Procedural justice. Town Hall in partnership with the NGO was supposed to represent the interests of the target group in this project, while the communities were not involved in the elaboration of the project; they were not consulted about what they would like to achieve, but only informed about what their possibilities were (buying or not buying the land from their own pockets). This non-participatory way of launching the action seemed to be the only solution available due to the kind of activities the given legal and project framework established regarding what, how, and when things should be done. The whole project was predominantly about a bureaucracy procedure, which did not leave much room for citizens participation, although they were the beneficiaries of the project. The coordinator on behalf of Town Hall told us that there are laws that regulate in a rather strict manner the entire procedure, and there is no room for different interpretations or alternative solutions. However, everybody agreed that the implementation would have benefited from better communication between the parties: the project team and the beneficiaries. But even with a better communication flow between the parties, since only declarations and more or less self-confident aspirations could have been exchanged, its results would have been very limited regarding the potential of changing the real power (in)balances among them.

6. Conclusions

What is being achieved in terms of delivering greater distributive and procedural spatial justice?

Currently, four years after the implementation of Mălin-Codlea project, there are only 15 land owners out of the 150 people included in its initial target group that was supposed to go through the process of legalizing their informal housing. The project was regarded as an intervention to improve the access for poor Roma to full citizenship and to developmental resources (or of spatial justice, in our understanding). However, from the very beginning, the project targeted less than half of the population from the selected district. Moreover, it could convince only 15 families to pay for the land that was made ready to be sold to 150 households by Town Hall. And so, the project ended up reproducing injustice, this time among community members. What it managed to do, was testing some of the legal procedures of such an endeavor and offered occasion for both organizational and individual learning.

The analysis of a project of this type brings us to the conclusion that experts in the domain of informal housing have drawn: there is no one-size-fits-all solution in such cases. Plus, a landmark program with such a short, inflexible duration and one not ready to recognize and acknowledge the variety of situations in the field that would be encountered has no chance to succeed; it simply does not have the means and mechanisms that would make it work. It might formulate the targeted 'solutions', but it does not provide concrete directives for the persons in charge with the implementation of projects under its umbrella, or resources to people who are supposed to benefit of them. Lack of time, budget constraints, and even racist attitudes appear to build enormous obstacles in the implementation of such a program. Legislation often defeats the stakeholders responsible for running the program, even though they hardly admit it. Altogether, the legislation does not provide the national (or a general) framework for solving these problematic local situations. Even if the legal framework will eventually be in place, designing, promulgating, and implementing such programs would require further local knowledge and expertise. In addition, the implementation of such projects requires political will from local authorities, i.e., they would have to approve the legal recognition of the Roma settlement on their administrative territories. Involving many more local stakeholders is desirable not only for a more successful implementation, but also for elaborating a better plan based on knowledge about the local realities.

Most importantly, people who are intended to be targeted by such interventions need to be approached from the very beginning, since they are the best sources for learning about the histories and the realities of living in informal settlements and deprived housing areas. In addition, since they will bear the consequences of such actions, they should be not only informed, but also consulted about the procedures and their expected positive outcomes and also risks. Each such project should be started from identifying people's material/financial situation, needs and desires, and even from building up small grassroots action groups that could participate in the whole decision-making process. It is very crucial to avoid imposing solutions on people, which instead of improving their access to resources and their condition, might burden them with further (financial) obligations that they cannot bear, and eventually force them to leave the area where they lived informally for decades. Although it is necessary to mention that in the present case, from our fieldwork and the documentation phase, we do not think that the scenario in which the neighborhood members would be obliged to leave applies.

What are the policy changes ahead for bigger impact?

The case presented in this report is not an isolated one. According to existing surveys, there are 350 communities (NAR) or 65,000 persons (Ministry of Regional Development, 2014) in identical or similar situations, a fact that shows the need to find solutions to this problem nation-wide. At the moment, there is one initiative in this domain, elaborated by Foundation PACT, MKBT: MakeBetter and their partners,¹⁸ which has already submitted a legislative proposal for completing Law 350/2001 on urbanism and territorial management to the Romanian Parliament. This initiative rightly proposes that informal settlements across the whole country need to be identified and typologies should be constructed so that solutions can be elaborated by local and national authorities. But unfortunately, it overemphasizes the need to legally forbid the extension of the existing informal settlements or the appearance of new ones. The proposal was criticized by the Block for Housing (*Blocul pentru Locuire*, BPL), a decentralized network of organizations fighting for the empowerment and political organization of communities against housing injustice. The main criticism they formulated is that a legislative proposal in this form will create the risk of criminalizing those who choose informal living because they have no resources for other alternatives. BPL states that, in order to ensure the improvement of housing conditions and security for the impoverished, measures regarding the legal recognition of informal housing should be defined and implemented within a larger legislative package, which should include outlawing forced evictions, providing public and social housing, and supporting marginalized categories of people who cannot pay for their housing-related costs (including utilities).

Beyond tackling the issue of informal settlements, Romania needs to adopt a National Strategy of Housing and a Strategy for Territorial Development that would combine solutions for territorial and housing unevenness not only at national level, but also among counties, localities, and districts at local level, which would make mainstream the principle of social and territorial cohesion. For these strategies to be feasible in the long run, concrete programs targeting disadvantaged groups and territories, but also slightly better off communities, are needed, so they can respond to differentiated local needs. In addition, in order to implement such strategies, legislation from different domains should be correlated and modified in a complementary manner. Otherwise, they will not provide adequate means for local authorities to be implemented, and at best they will inform some temporally limited, project-based actions. At the national level, there is also a need to change legislation regarding ID documents as a condition for legal domicile, which are only provable with property or rental documents. The provisional identity cards without domicile do not solve the problems resulting from this outdated legislation. But even more, the legal assurance of full citizenship rights for everybody by such needed measures could not secure *de facto*, in the absence of proper material conditions, that people will be able to make use of their formally guaranteed rights.

In 2014, in Romania, there were running 16 projects similar to Mălin-Codlea. None of them could be completed in the terms set in the call for applications for the already mentioned causes. Furthermore, one should also note that the legalization of informal settlements or homes in the case of situations characterized by deep housing deprivation or by the positioning of such settlements or homes nearby polluted areas, cannot be a final aim or a single aim in itself. In such cases, this endeavor should be completed by improving people's housing and infrastructural conditions, their access to public transport and public utilities,

¹⁸ http://locuireinformala.ro/?page_id=716&lang=en.

as well as by eliminating all the sources of pollution from the neighborhood where people are supposed to enjoy their property rights. Last, but not least, one should also note that in addition to initiatives regarding legalization of informal settlements, other housing-related exclusions should be also targeted by legislative/policy changes, such as outlawing evictions that leave people homeless or providing an adequate social public funding source at least to respond to the housing needs of people with low income and living under poor and insecure conditions.

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8. Annexes

8.1 List of Interviewed Experts/ stakeholders

Interviews List: Categorisation of stakeholders according to role and level (eg. local civil actor) to avoid ethical issues	Type of stakeholder and list of interviews/ focus groups	
	Project team and partners of the project: local, county, national	codlea_1.1
		codlea_1.2
		codlea_2.5
	Governmental representatives (local, metropolitan, county, regional)	codlea_2.1
		codlea_2.2
		codlea_2.6
		codlea_2.8
		codlea_2.9
		codlea_2.10
	Local non-profit/civil society organisations and experts	codlea_2.3
		codlea_2.7
		codlea_4.2
		codlea_4.1
		codlea_2.4
		codlea_2.11
		codlea_4.3
		codlea_4.4
	Local community 'stakeholders' and beneficiaries (Group discussions, Individual discussions)	4 not-recorded informal discussions

8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Local politicians	Town Hall Codlea; Roma Party	Invited to participate as interviewees; took part in interview
Local administration	Town Hall Codlea	A number took part in interviews; were invited to the stakeholder event
Associations representing private businesses	Not relevant	
Local development companies/agencies	Agency for Sustainable Development Braşov	Took part in interviews
Municipal associations	-	
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	Roma Association of Fagaras; Roma expert	Took part in interviews
Other local community stakeholders	Town Hall Codlea; Retired professor Codlea	Took part in interviews
Local state offices/ representations	NAR - National Agency for Roma, The Roma Office, Bucharest;	Took part in interviews
Regional state offices/ representations	NAR - National Agency for Roma, The Roma Office, Brasov	Took part in interviews
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment	-	
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)	Romanian Association for International Cooperation and Development:	Took part in interviews
Primary and secondary educational institutions	Not relevant	
Colleges and universities	University of Bucharest	Took part in interviews;

	(expert on housing)	will be invited for the feedback
Social and health care institutions	Not relevant	
Cultural institutions and associations	Not relevant	
Media	Local and national	May be invited to stakeholder event

8.3 Tables

Name of Case Study Area	Mălin neighbourhood, Codlea Municipality
Size	Codlea: 132,8 km ²
Total population (2016) ¹⁹	26.068 in 2016, whilst the 2011 Census recorded a population of 21.708 inhabitants Estimates regarding inhabitants of Mălin: 1.302 ²⁰
Population density (2016)	Codlea: 201,02 inhabitants/km ² (in 2010) ²¹
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disadvantaged within a developed region/town? Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region? 	Mălin is a disadvantaged area within a town with rural specificities, in the proximity of a developed town part of a developed region
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predominantly urban? Intermediate? Predominantly rural?	Intermediate
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	RO122 Braşov County/Judeţul Braşov Metro Region Code RO504M – Braşov
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated	RO12 Center Center Development Region

¹⁹http://www.insse.ro/cms/sites/default/files/field/publicatii/populatia_romaniei_dupa_domiciliu_la_1_iul_2016_0.pdf

²⁰ According to *Analiza comunității marginalizate din cartierul Mălin, municipiul Codlea, judeţ Braşov, martie-august 2016* ADDJB, by Ana-Maria Badic, made available for researcher by ADDJB.

²¹ *Strategia de Dezvoltare Locală Durabilă a municipiului Codlea [Sustainable Local Development Strategy of Codlea 2011-2020]*, accessible here: <https://www.municipiulcodlea.ro/images/Strategie-Codlea-FINAL-12.01.2012.pdf>, accessed on August 2018.

ated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)

Table 1: Basic socio-economic characteristics of Codlea, locality hosting Mălin, the target area of the project Mălin-Codlea

Source: National Institute for Statistics – County Office + Study ADDJB

Codlea/ Feketehalom (Hu) – Zeiden (De)	Number of inhabitants by ethnicity (2002)	% of inhabitants by ethnicity (2002)	Number of inhabitants by ethnicity (2011)	% of inhabitants by ethnicity (2011)	Difference (2011-2002)	Difference % (2011-2002)
Romanian	22518	92.7%	17930	82.6%	-4588	-10.1%
Hungarian	917	3.8%	569	2.6%	-348	-1.2%
Roma	424	1.7%	1121	5.2%	697	3.5%
German	367	1.5%	213	1.0%	-154	-0.5%
Turks	0	0.0%	4	0.0%	4	0.0%
TOTAL:	24 286		21 708		-2578	

Table 2: Municipiul Codlea - Feketehalom - Zeiden²²

Source: RIRNM

Phase	Date	Documents to be analyzed in the later stages of the project
Prehistory (1) – Adopting National Strategy for Improving the Condition of the Roma (SIRS) 2001-2010;	2001	http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/28463
Establishing National Agency for Roma (NAR)	2004	http://www.anr.gov.ro/index.php/anr/306-istoric
Prehistory (2) – Institutional Development Fund (IDF) - World Bank – financial support for strengthening institutional capacity to run programs that aim at social integration of Roma in Romania (FID Nr. 055352)	2005-2008	http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/programe/GRANT/Prezentare%20activitate%20IDF%20Grant.pdf
Prehistory (3) Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015)	2005-2015	http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTROMANIAINROMANIAN/Resources/brosuraromana.pdf
Prehistory (4) <i>Romanian Government's Strategy of Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens Belonging to Roma Minority for 2012 -2020.</i>	2011/2012	https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gi4dmzruhe/anexa-la-hotararea-guvernului-nr-1221-2011-pentru-aprobarea-strategiei-guvernului-romaniei-de-incluziune-a-cetatenilor-romani-apartinand-minoritatii-romilor-pentru-perioada-2012-2020-din-

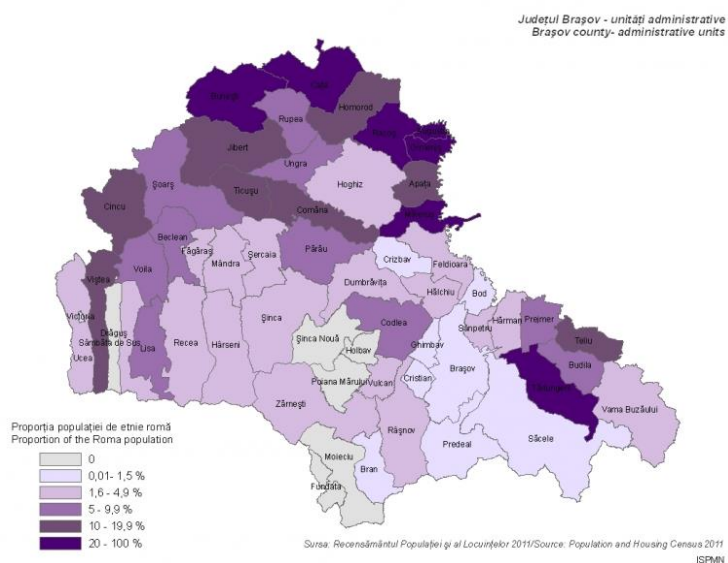
²² Source RIRNM project: *Ethnic maps*, accessible at <http://www.ispmn.gov.ro/maps>, accessed in August 2018.

		14122011
Debate on <i>Romanian Government's Strategy of Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens Belonging to Roma Minority for 2015 -2020.</i>	2014	http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Site2014/Strategie/Strategie_final_18-11-2014.pdf
NAR publishes the Methodology for submitting applications in 7 May- 4 June 2014. 'The program aims to provide financial support for identifying and legal solution in case of settlements, lands and dwellings where members of Roma minority live.'	April 2014	http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/finantari2014/anr_metodologia.pdf
Announcement of winner applications	9 June 2014	http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/finantari2014/lista_proiecte_admise2014.pdf
Signing contracts	20-27 June 2014	http://www.anr.gov.ro/index.php/anr/proiecte-programe/finantari/finantari-2014
There is a list on NAR containing the project related to the <i>National program of property documents</i> and a 19 page report presenting general data on the problems the action focuses on. There is no reference to <i>Accountability...</i>	2014 (? month)	http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Site2015/ProiectePrograme/Proiecte%20finalizate/Programul%20National%20Acte%20de%20proprietate/Table2014ANR.pdf http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Site2015/ProiectePrograme/Proiecte%20finalizate/Programul%20National%20Acte%20de%20proprietate/MFE%20acte%20proprietate.pdf
Video material on the NAR website regarding the launch of the project. Duration 2'27 "	2014 (? month)	http://www.anr.gov.ro/index.php/anr/presedinte-a-n-r/comunicate-si-informatii-2/343-lansare-proiect-responsabilizarea-cetatenilor-in-domeniul-locuire-localitatea-codlea
Newspaper article about the project. The article presents declarations of main stakeholders involved in the project: NAR president, deputy-mayor of the settlement, project coordinator on behalf of the NGO, and local representative of Roma Party	17 July 2014	http://www.brasovultau.ro/articol/stiri/proiect-pentru-persoanele-de-etnie-rroma-din-codlea.html

New, newspaper article	21 July 2014	http://www.romaniaregional.ro/2014/07/21/peste-150-de-romi-din-municipiul-brasovean-codlea-vor-primi-actele-de-proprietate-pentru-imobilele-in-care-locuiesc/
New, newspaper article, project termination	27 November 2014	http://www.bzb.ro/stire/si-au-intabulat-casele-a80710
End of the project	December 2014	http://www.anr.gov.ro/index.php/anr/proiecte-programe/finantari/finantari-2014
<i>Romanian Government's Strategy of Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens Belonging to Roma Minority for 2015 -2020 is adopted</i>	2015	http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Site2014/Strategie/Strategie_final_18-11-2014.pdf https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/guytsnzsha/hotararea-nr-18-2015-pentru-aprobarea-strategiei-guvernului-romaniei-de-incluziune-a-cetatenilor-romani-apartinand-minoritatii-rome-pentru-perioada-2015-2020

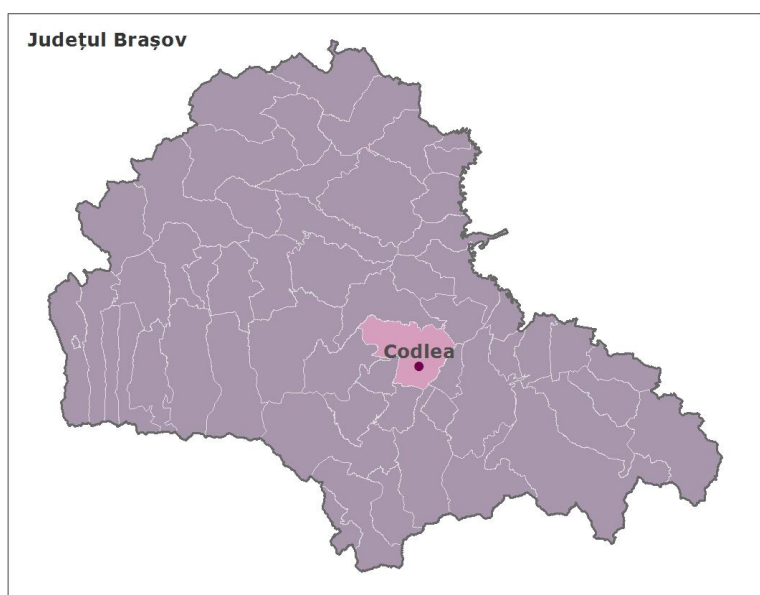
Table 3: The chronological diary of Mălin-Codlea project

8.4 Maps



Map 1: Proportion of the Roma population – Brașov County (level LAU)

Source: ISPMN



Map 2: Codlea in Brașov County



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Mălin b): The marked segment - the Mălin houses included in the project

8.5 Photos - Mălin neighborhood



Photo 1



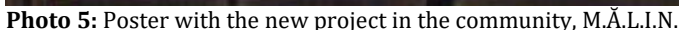
Photo 2



Photo 3



Photo 4

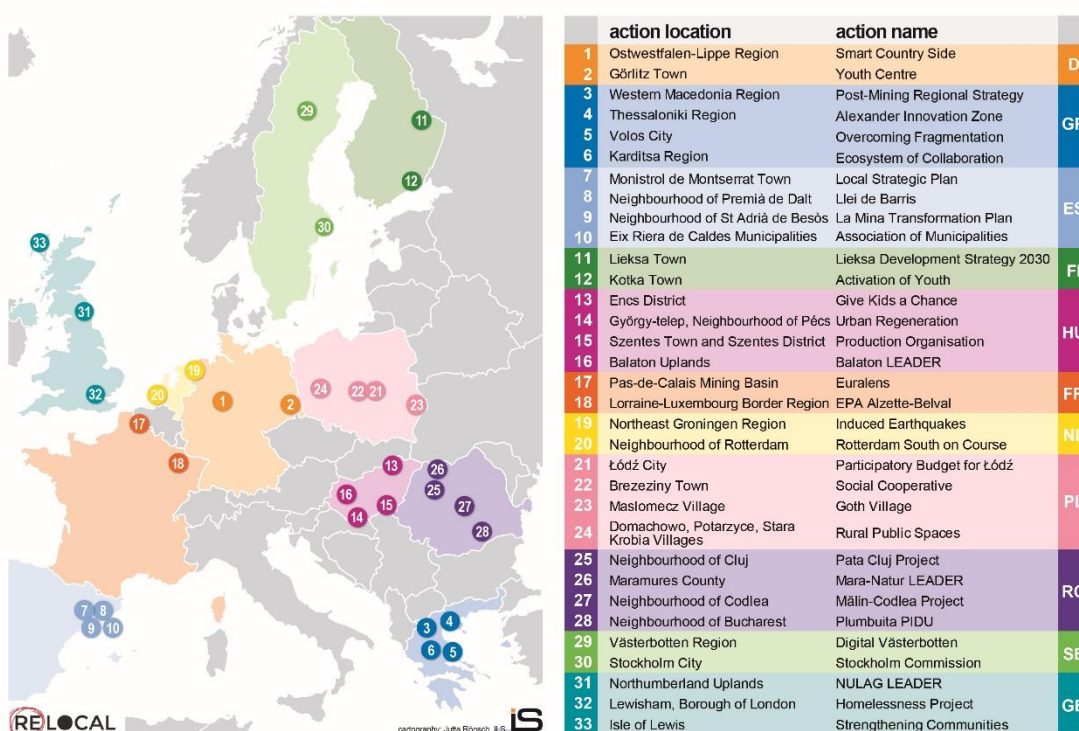


The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project '**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**' –**RELOCAL** aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at <https://relocal.eu>

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