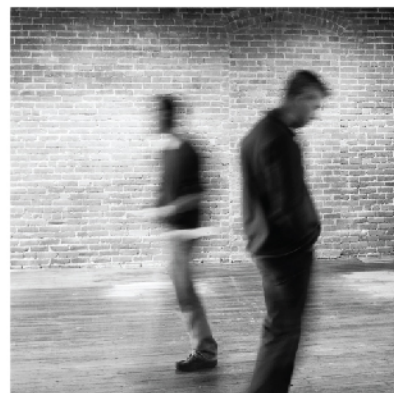


Romanian Youth

worries, aspirations,
values and life style



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Romanian Youth: concerns, aspirations, attitudes and life style

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FOREWORD

This study focuses on a socio-demographic category which is crucial to any country's future: youths. Public or private speeches on youths are both enthusiastic and passionate (i.e., "youths are our future!", "it is youths who started the Revolution!" etc.), and less flattering (i.e., "youths nowadays are good for nothing!", "youths were different back in the day [better, more hardworking, more diligent...]", "generation gap", etc.).

Politicians often tend to remember youths especially during election campaigns. During the most recent elections for the European Parliament and the presidential elections in Romania we could see that politicians stopped pretending to be interested in youths, thinking that since youths do not usually come to vote, addressing them during electoral campaign would be a waste of time and money. Still, the experience of the 2014 presidential elections seems to have contradicted at least part of these assumptions. During the second ballot of the 2014 presidential elections, 58% of the youths voted, which, according to analyses, represented the highest participation rate for this age group after 1989 (IRES, 2014).

However, at the level of speeches, regarding the creation and promotion of countless public policies, it is youths or the future generations who are often claimed to be their beneficiaries. According to politicians, salary cuts, tax increases, introducing new taxes or the constant education reform are all made to the benefit of future generations. The main problem is that neither politicians nor public opinion leaders seem to have a clear picture of "the future of the young generations."

The only thing we are somewhat certain about is the fact that youths aged between 15 and 19 years old represent 18.8% of the Romanian population, according to the data in the most recent Census (2011). We also know that the youth unemployment rate in Romania is 24.3% in the second trimester of 2014, slightly more than the European average of 22%. For the rest, apart from sensation-monger topics such as "hipsters," "Gypsy music composers and fans," "homies," "junkies," "the X, Y or Facebook generation," it seems we do not know too much about the youths that we either praise (when they exercise their right to vote or when they take part in rallies against abuses, such as the rally "Together we can save Roșia Montană!"), or criticize (when they want to leave the country, they do not vote, they cheat in the school leaving examinations, etc.). Nevertheless, understanding which are their concerns, their plans for the future, their fears, and their hopes, as well as their status on the labor market and in society is essential not only for politicians, and decision-makers, but also for society as a whole. Regardless of their interest or lack of interest in politics, of their social involvement or their not having any political allegiance and their do not exercising their right to vote, it is youths who will give substance to tomorrow and will further shape the society we live in.

By this study, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation - Romania aimed to fill a gap in our information on youths aged between 15 and 29 years old. The initiative of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation is but one of the regional initiatives

aiming to analyze the youths' status. Such studies are made periodically, once every few years, in Germany, relying on the same research methodology. Similar studies, using the same methodology and instruments, have been drafted by FES in countries such as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina. These studies' fields of interest (including the study in Romania) looked at: the youths' socio-economic status, cultural consumption; concerns and aspirations; education and the labor market; values; spirituality; social and political involvement.

As we mention in this study's section dedicated to methodology, the study on the status of youths in Romania was made by intertwining quantitative and qualitative methodologies. In this respect, the Urban and Regional Sociology Center (CURS) - the institute which FES-Romania selected for this project - completed an opinion poll on a sample of 1302 respondents aged between 15 and 29 years old; the face-to-face interviews took into account a random, layered and representative sample for this population segment. Moreover, in order to explore some of the poll's results thoroughly, CURS set up 10 focus-groups consisting of youths from all the regions of Romania, from urban and rural areas.

The next pages include both the report for this research and the unprocessed poll results on a national level (in the Annex). Regarding the content of this report, it does not contain a comprehensive analysis of the answers to all the poll questions; such an approach would have been far beyond our intention and (financial and time) resources. The content of this report contains a selection of the issues that both FES experts and CURS experts considered relevant or interesting for the Romanian society (i.e. socio-economic status, social and educational mobility, concerns and aspirations, social and political involvement, etc.).

As far as the form of this report is concerned, we opted for an approach that the general public, who is not specialized in this field and - hopefully - the decision makers may consider accessible. Many of our conclusions are based on the results of multi-varied statistical analyses but we preferred to present such analyses in a simplified form.

We hope that our efforts in analyzing the youths' mentalities and thinking mechanisms offers the opportunity for a deeper understanding of their world, in order to provide clues for public policies that could be more appropriate for this age group. In addition, the information brought to the attention of the readers of this study may be set up as a premise for understanding the future, as it is the attitudes and the concerns of youths today that will affect their actions, and their actions will shape the future.

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CHAPTER 1

RESULTS

1.1

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

Country's direction and problems:

- Almost two-thirds of the interviewed youth feel that things in Romania are headed in the wrong direction. Only a little over one-quarter of them feel the heading is the right one and the remaining 9% did not answer. The perception of the youth is that at this point in time the country's three primary problems are: corruption, poverty and employment.

Family and habitation:

- Almost three-quarters of the youth aged 14 to 29 and 50% of the youth over 18 years of age live with their parents and this is primarily due to the absence of economic or social opportunities for them. The young are neither encouraged nor given an opportunity to leave their parents' home and start their own life after they turn 18 of after graduating from high school/school;
- Unsurprisingly, given the reference population, (i.e., young people aged 15 to 29), the greater part of respondents are not in a stable couple; women tend to marry younger than men and have children sooner. Figures show that young people in this generation do not want many children. The average number of children they want is 1.9, and the median is 2 children. That is in the context where the needed replacement level for the current generations is 2.1.

Social class:

- Almost half these young people consider their parents as members of the middle class, and one out of three sees them as working class. Material status is the most significant criterion for social ranking used by youth when they discuss about social classes; level of education and income are the next two criteria they use to place themselves in a social class; for the most part the young believe they are in the same social class as their parents.

Education:

- In the context of the post-1989 growth of the school system, the young are better educated than their parents;
- Significant differences exist per residential environment and regions in terms of access to higher education. From this point of view the young in the rural and poorer regions have fewer

chances to graduate from post-secondary studies or go to university. Of the respondents who have completed their school career, females tend to be better educated than males;

- Females are more enthusiastic than males as regards school attendance and only experience moderate stress in school;
- Significant differences exist in terms of school average grades between females and males, between the youth of the urban and rural environments, and between Romania's historical regions. Males spend less time in individual study than females;
- There is a close relationship between the subjective experience of attending school, time investment in education and the formal results (grades obtained);
- Influencing grades by using illegal methods (small gifts, bribes, etc.) appears as a phenomenon with regional variations, and young people aged 25 to 29 seem to have been faced with this more often than teenagers in this sample;
- One-quarter of the young take private lessons, females more than males, and their numbers are larger in the urban environment than in the rural environment;
- Only one out of three young persons declare themselves at least satisfied with the Romanian education system, and satisfaction increases with the younger respondents;
- Migration outside the country is an option for the young at present. One-third of the respondents state that in 10 years' time they see themselves as successful in another country than Romania; moreover, almost 40% of the respondents state they would like to emigrate, even if only temporarily (for studies or work).

Labor market:

- The income of employed young persons differ substantially and increases with age, males make more than females, townspeople make more than rural people, young Bucharesters make the most money and those in Moldavia the least;
- Personal connections are regarded as crucial for finding a job, followed by professional expertise and education. Employment strategies seem

to differ between regions and are also distinct depending on the age of respondents;

- Pay is by far the most important criterion in choosing a job, followed by job security;
- In our sample, if we leave out the persons who are still in some form of school and those aged 25 to 29, unemployment is 17.9% – a number that is close to European official statistics. Young persons in the rural environment are at a slightly higher risk of unemployment than those in the urban environment. Young persons in the urban environment have more opportunities to get employed: 44% of them are active on the labor market, as compared to only 37% in the rural environment.

Discrimination:

- Almost one out of five young persons feels discriminated often, and almost half of them feel discriminated either often or occasionally for one reason or another. The most frequent ground for discrimination is the respondent's material status. Poor young persons feel discriminated against in everyday life. Gender discrimination is the second most frequent form of discrimination, and experienced by females;
- Almost 50% of the young Hungarians or Roma feel discriminated either often or occasionally;
- Lifestyle/ media and Internet consumption;
- Differences in terms of lifestyle and spending leisure time are the most significant between young persons living in the urban and rural environment;
- At a difference from adults, young persons spend less time watching TV and more time on the internet. Of our respondents, the youngest (i.e. the teenagers) appear as the most active internet users, primarily for information and entertainment;
- The parents' social class and level of education are in positive correlation to internet use and more diverse ways to spend leisure time. Young persons whose parents have a higher level of education and/or are members of the higher or middle class tend to use the internet to a larger extent and have more diverse way to spend leisure time;
- Males tend to declare they use contraceptives to a significantly higher extent than females, while the latter state they had fewer sexual partners than the males;
- As regards risk behavior, males tend to drink more alcohol, smoke more and get more frequently involved in violent physical conflicts than females.

Religion:

- Though over 80% of the youth declare themselves as Christian-Orthodox, one-third of them do not believe in God or reject other basic tenets of the Christian-Orthodox faith. Those who identify with a different Christian religion (protestant, Roman-Catholic, Neo-Protestant, etc.) tend to declare more often that they believe in God;
- Over 60% of the young state they observe religious holidays and pray, but the number of persons who observe lent, say confession or go to church every week is much lower;
- Females tend to be significantly more religious than males – in terms of both spirituality and observance of the usual religious rules. Females tend to be more conservative than males as regards sexual abstinence before marriage and position towards abortions;
- The data provided by this research concerning the issue of abortion announces a potential important research topic in the coming years. More than half the young population wishes to see a limitation of abortion rights in Romania.

Civic and political involvement:

- Though the young do feel capable of changing things in politics, they are very disappointed with the main political entities in the country, especially those at central level. The young are also extremely disappointed with young politicians, and their interest for politics is low. Practically the young as a group do not really want anything to do with politics, the way it is done at present or in its classical Romanian format;
- All this disappointment of the young seems nevertheless to vent in a very strong confidence in their future. A great many of the young are confident they will have a life that will be much better than their parents'. This confidence is likely also tied to the opportunities brought by unrestricted circulation in the European Union;
- This generation seems to have a degree of propensity towards protest. While apathetic towards classical ways to engage in politics, they seem ready to get mobilized for protests on various issues. Their problem seems to be that they couldn't find a way to transition between informal – protest and resistance – and formal political involvement and decision-making;
- The young in our research primarily get their information about political life in the country from the internet, and this shows very good openness towards the new communication media and

a degree of rejection of traditional mass-media such as television and the (now defunct) print media;

- One-third of the young state they do not identify with any specific ideology, in the sense that they

did not answer the question about ideological affiliation to the left or the right. At this point in time the young are situated in a relatively balanced manner on the left or right of the ideological and political spectrum in Romania.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The study was performed by a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. CURS carried out a nationwide opinion poll and 10 focus groups with

young people in both urban and rural areas in all the regions of the country. We detail below the technical parameters of each method used.

2.1

NATIONWIDE OPINION POLL (1,302 RESPONDENTS AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 29)

Type of sample: The sample used was a random, stratified sample, with a proportional allocation of respondents. Stratification criteria were the following: 1) Romania's development regions (NUTS II); 2) residential environment (urban and rural); 3) size of urban localities; 4) type of rural localities (central village or commune/peripheral village).

Sampling universe: Resident un-institutionalized population of Romania aged between 15 and 29.

Theoretical margin of error for the entire sample: +/- 2.7% at a confidence level of 95%.

Selection procedures: The localities included in the sample were randomly selected, using the sampling

scheme presented in Table 2.1. within each randomly selected locality, and voting districts were also randomly selected subsequently. The locations thereof made up the starting points for the utilization of the random route method for the selection of households.¹ In each household selected with a statistic step by CURS experts, they selected a respondent aged between 15 and 29 whose birthday was closest to the first of any month (i.e. a variant of the so-called "first birthday method").²

Performance period: July 19-31, 2014.

1 The random route method is a quasi-random method of selecting households, which is used in many countries where sampling frames do not exist or are not available (i.e., "sampling frames" – lists of people wherefrom respondents might be randomly selected).

2 If a household selected by a statistic step does not include any respondent in the target group, interviewers were instructed to apply the statistic step to select the next household.

Table 2.1. Distribution of interviews in the national sample of 1,302 young people, by development regions, residential environments and types of localities.

Development regions (NUTS II)	County	URBAN ENVIRONMENT				RURAL ENVIRONMENT	TOTAL BY LINE
		Towns with less than 30,000 inhabitants	Towns with 30,000 to 99,999 inhabitants	Towns with 100,000 to 199,999 inhabitants	Towns with more than 200,000 inhabitants		
North-East	BC	5				21	37
	BT	4	0	7	0	14	25
	IS	2	2	0	26	29	60
	NT	2	7	0	0	18	27
	SV	11	7	0	0	24	42
	VS	3	6	0	0	14	23
	Sub-total	27	24	16	26	120	213
South-East	BR	1	0	9	0	7	17
	BZ	1	2	6	0	16	25
	CT	5	7	0	18	15	45
	GL	1	2	0	16	15	34
	TL	2	4	0	0	6	12
	VN	3	5	0	0	12	20
	Sub-total	13	20	16	33	71	153
South	AG	4	4	10	0	19	38
	CL	3	4	0	0	12	19
	DB	4	5	0	0	25	34
	GR	2	4	0	0	12	18
	IL	3	5	0	0	9	16
	PH	8	2	0	13	24	46
	TR	4	3	0	0	13	20
	Sub-total	27	27	10	13	114	191
South-West	DJ	5	0	0	20	18	43
	GJ	5	6	0	0	12	23
	MH	2	6	0	0	8	15
	OT	5	7	0	0	15	26
	VL	4	6	0	0	11	21
	Sub-total	20	24	0	20	64	128
West	AR	5	0	10	0	12	27
	CS	5	4	0	0	8	18
	HD	10	9	0	0	6	24
	TM	4	2	0	30	17	54
		24	16	10	30	43	123
North-West	BH	6	0	14	0	19	39
	BN	2	5	0	0	12	19
	CJ	2	6	0	32	14	54
	MM	8	2	8	0	14	32
	SM	4	0	6	0	13	23
	SJ	2	4	0	0	8	14
	Sub-total	23	17	29	32	80	181

Development regions (NUTS II)	County	URBAN ENVIRONMENT				RURAL ENVIRONMENT	TOTAL BY LINE
		Towns with less than 30,000 inhabitants	Towns with 30,000 to 99,999 inhabitants	Towns with 100,000 to 199,999 inhabitants	Towns with more than 200,000 inhabitants		
Center	AB	8	4	0	0	9	21
	BV	5	4	0	17	10	36
	CV	3	3	0	0	7	14
	HG	4	5	0	0	12	20
	MS	6	2	9	0	18	35
	SB	5	3	11	0	9	27
	Sub-total	31	21	20	17	65	153
Bucharest	IF	9	2	0	0	16	27
	B	0	0	0	133	0	133
	Sub-total	9	2	0	133	15	159
Total by column		174	151	101	305	572	1302

Note: The allotment of interviews by strata was made according to most recent NSI data.

Type of interview: face-to-face, using a form developed by FES and CURS experts. The average duration of an interview was about 45 minutes and in interviewing respondents the CURS interviewers complied with the ethical standards in social research (i.e., anonymity, confidentiality, informed consent, etc.). CURS is registered as a personal data operator with the National Supervisory Authority for Personal Data Protection (ANSPDCP). The parents' or legal guardian's consent for interview was also required for 18-year-old respondents.

The questionnaire: The instrument of the opinion poll included questions regarding the young people's problems, values, family, social networks, consumption of media, consumption behavior, civic and political

participation, religion and social-economic situation of the family and respondents. From reasons associated with the possibility of comparing the data internationally, most of the questions in the questionnaire were formulated by FES experts and were used as such in similar studies performed in other south-eastern European countries. The questions in that category were translated from English, adapted and pre-tested in the Romanian context by the CURS experts. The particularities of this context were also taken into consideration when formulating additional questions which were not used in other FES studies. *The questionnaire of the poll and the frequencies in the whole sample are presented in the appendix to this report.*

2.2 FOCUS GROUPS

The main benefit of the opinion poll (a sub-type of a sociologic survey) is the possibility to extrapolate its data over the entire universe of reference. This is made possible by the utilization of samples which, by using random methods to select respondents, are representative for the population wherefrom subjects

were selected. A constraint of the opinion poll is the fact that it focuses on surface issues (often opinioned), ignoring by its very logic some qualitative aspects (motivations, etc.).

In this context, in the attempt to explore some results of the quantitative component of the research in-depth,

FES and CURS used several focus groups. Given the very wide range of topics in the survey, in using such focus groups the FES and CURS representatives selected a number of sub-topics deemed relevant for the general objectives of the study. Therefore, the discussion guidebook included the following large discussion themes: 1) Problems and values of the youth in Romania; 2) Religion and confidence in institutions; 3) Civic, political participation and democracy. The discussion guidebook or the moderator's guidebook was prepared by CURS experts starting from the FES experts' recommendations; the final form of the guidebook was approved by the FES representatives and is presented in the appendix to this document.

The localities where such focus groups were used were selected according to the following criteria: 1) regional distribution of the persons in the focus group; 2) distribution by residential environments within regions of the persons in the focus group; 3) goals of the research; 4) time and financial resources available

to FES and CURS. The list of localities and their distribution by regions and residential environments was approved by the representatives of the beneficiary (i.e. FES).

The participants in the focus group in each locality were selected by the CURS interviewers in the territory by age, gender (i.e. an approximately equal number of men and women) and by educational level. The discussions within focus groups were moderated by CURS-affiliated researchers with experience in the field, whose age was close to the age of the participants.

The focus groups were used over September 15-21, 2014 and lasted 2 hours on an average; such focus groups consisted of 11 persons on an average. The discussions were audio and video recorded, with the informed consent of the participants in the focus groups. Table 2.2 presents the distribution of focus group participants by localities, residential environment, region, gender, age groups and educational level.

Table 2.2. Distribution of focus group participants by residential environments, gender, age groups and educational level.

Focus groups		Bucharest	Iasi	Rural, Iasi county	Craiova, Dolj county	Rural, Dolj county	Rural, Dolj county	Cluj	Rural, Cluj county	Rural, Cluj county	Total	%
	No. of groups	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	
	No. of participants	23	12	11	12	12	11	12	12	12	117	
Gen	Male	10	6	5	4	5	6	5	6	5	52	44%
	Female	13	6	6	8	7	5	7	6	7	65	56%
100%												
Education	University and postgraduate	3	3	0	4	0	2	5	0	1	18	15%
	High school and post-secondary	7	7	3	8	3	5	7	4	4	48	41%
	Lower than high school	13	2	8	0	9	4	0	8	7	51	44%
100%												
Status	Pupil	6	2	7	2	8	3	0	8	6	42	36%
	Student	11	2	0	4	3	0	4	4	1	29	25%
	Employee	4	5	2	3	0	1	6	0	4	25	21%
	Unemployed, no occupation, housewife	2	3	2	3	1	7	2	0	1	21	18%
100%												
Grupe de vârstă	15 to 19 y.o.	8	4	9	3	9	5	1	9	7	55	47%
	20-25 years	13	5	2	5	2	4	7	3	5	46	39%
	26-29 years	2	3	0	4	1	2	4	0	0	16	14%
100%												

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

We begin this report by analyzing the social and economic situation of the young people in Romania as it is reflected by the data in our survey. First, we consider the young people’ perception of the direction Romania is heading to and of the seriousness of economic and social issues. Then, using factual data from the nationwide survey, we talk about the young people’ situation with regard to the material conditions of the households they live in (together with their families or alone). To better understand the young people’ current socioeconomic situation, we shall analyze some of their origin families’ characteristics. We shall

examine the parents’ education and occupational status, and afterwards we shall contrast the situation in the origin family with the respondents’ educational and economic status. Our study aims both at an objective and at a subjective assessment of the social mobility between the parents’ generation and the generation under the present survey; in our analysis we shall compare the origin social situation (the parents’ education and occupation) to the destination one, considering the elements linked to the educational and social mobility and the inter-generation replication of associated inequalities.

3.1

THE DIRECTION ROMANIA IS HEADING IN AND PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY

A first question of our research targeted the assessment of the society our young respondents live in. An impressive number of young people – almost two thirds of the sample – believe Romania is going in the wrong direction. Only a little over a quarter of the young people consider the direction is the right one, while the remaining 9% gave no answer.

Table 3.1 In your opinion, is Romania heading in a wrong direction or in a good one? (CURS Surveys)

	CURS survey on young people (July 2014)	CURS survey on adult population (August 2014)
Direction is wrong	64.5%	75.8%
Direction is good	26.4%	20.0%
Don't know / Don't answer	9.1%	4.2%
Total	100%	100%

Note: The CURS survey of August 2014 was performed on a sample of 1100 adult respondents, face to face

A comparison between the figures in the survey on young people and the figures in another CURS survey on a nationwide representative sample in August shows that the young people’ pessimism regarding the direction our country is heading in is lower than the pessimism of the entire adult population, where three quarters of respondents consider the direction is wrong.

The first observation is that the unfavorable opinions about the direction Romania is heading to are relatively uniformly distributed among men and women and among the respondents in the urban and rural areas (the latter are slightly more confident but at a difference with no statistical significance). Another difference – but also below the statistical significance threshold – is between the age groups, teenagers having a more positive outlook than the young people over 25.

Table 3.2 In your opinion, is Romania heading in a wrong direction or in a good one? (% total sample)

		Direction is wrong	Direction is good	Don't know / Don't answer	Total
Total sample		64.5%	26.4%	9.1%	100%
Gender	Male	64.2%	26.2%	9.6%	100%
	Female	64.8%	26.6%	8.6%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	65.1%	24.8%	10.0%	100%
	Rural	63.7%	28.5%	7.8%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	59.3%	30.5%	10.2%	100%
	Wallachia	69.3%	19.7%	11.0%	100%
	Transylvania	60.9%	30.8%	8.3%	100%
	Bucharest	72.2%	24.8%	3.0%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	60.6%	29.4%	10.0%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	64.6%	25.6%	9.8%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	69.3%	23.8%	7.0%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

There is the possibility that the young people facing employee and family problems be more dissatisfied with the general situation of the society, be more careful about the direction of the society, or at least be more interested in answering this general question.

The only statistically significant difference is the one between the historic regions of Romania, although in each of those regions there are considerably more persons who consider that Romania embarked on a wrong path. The young people in Wallachia are the most critical, the ratio between those considering a wrong direction and those considering a good one is 3.5 to 1, while the ratio in Bucharest is almost 3 to 1. By contrast, there is about only one optimistic respondent per two pessimistic respondents in Transylvania and Moldavia. The current economic differences among regions do not match the differences in outlook, which

makes us think of either a cultural explanation, or a local history one. A potential subsequent analysis might show the extent to which the regions displaying more optimism had a different socioeconomic evolution in the last years than the areas displaying more pessimistic outlooks. Moreover, it is interesting that the most developed area in Romania – the capital city – includes the largest number of young critics. A possible explanation is the access thereof to more information, exposure to models that are more successful than Romania and higher (or much too high) aspirations as compared to what reality offers them nowadays.

Further, we tried to understand the serious problems the respondents perceive in the society they live in. The two most important problems they mentioned are corruption and poverty, each of them being perceived as very serious by almost two thirds of the respondents.

Table 3.3 How serious are the following problems in the Romanian society? (% total sample, excluding non-responses; descending order by "very serious" category)

	Very serious	Serious	Slightly serious	Very slightly serious	Total
Corruption	65.5%	28.5%	4.4%	1.6%	100%
Poverty	64.1%	31.4%	3.4%	1.0%	100%
Job insecurity	61.2%	32.1%	5.9%	0.9%	100%
Unemployment	59.2%	36.6%	3.6%	0.5%	100%
Prices of energy	54.5%	36.7%	7.3%	1.5%	100%
Failure to properly implement laws	52.0%	39.0%	7.7%	1.3%	100%
Conditions of the public medical assistance / health system	51.2%	40.1%	7.8%	0.9%	100%
Lack of affordable housing	47.5%	39.8%	10.5%	2.2%	100%
Romanians' leaving abroad	45.3%	33.7%	14.5%	6.4%	100%

	Very serious	Serious	Slightly serious	Very slightly serious	Total
Great inequalities among people	42.6%	37.8%	15.2%	4.4%	100%
Delinquency/crime	41.9%	40.3%	15.0%	2.8%	100%
Environment pollution	38.9%	40.7%	16.4%	4.1%	100%
Hazards at the workplace (improper working conditions included)	32.0%	41.6%	21.3%	5.0%	100%
HIV/AIDS pandemic	30.5%	35.0%	26.7%	7.9%	100%
Climate changes	24.4%	37.6%	28.1%	9.8%	100%
Terrorism threat	23.9%	31.1%	31.3%	13.7%	100%

They are followed by other economic problems such as the job insecurity, unemployment or high prices of energy as well as political issues such as the failure to properly implement the laws. Another problem considered as very serious by at least half of the respondents is the one associated with the conditions of the public health system. All the aforementioned problems are deemed serious or very serious by at least 90% of the respondents. Noteworthy is the relatively low seriousness young people associate with issues such as pollution, climate changes or threat of terrorism, which are greatly debated in the highly developed societies. The problems defining the European rightist and leftist discourses, such as crime and, respectively, social inequity, are associated with a

moderate significance by the young people in Romania according to our research.

Taking the main five issues in the order of their significance as perceived by the respondents, we tried to determine to what extent they are associated with the characteristics of the young people in our research. From this point of view, one can note a clear association between, on the one hand, the assessment of the gravity of the problems and, on the other hand, the respondents' age group and the region they live in. The poverty issue, for instance, is more often considered as very serious in Moldavia and Wallachia than in Bucharest or in Transylvania, an association that can be easily explained by the different economic development of those regions.

Table 3.4 How serious is poverty in the Romanian society?

	Very serious	Serious	Little serious	Very little serious
Total sample	64.1%	31.4%	3.4%	1.0%
Historical region	Moldavia	70.0%	26.7%	2.2%
	Wallachia	69.2%	28.5%	1.9%
	Transylvania	57.2%	36.6%	5.1%
	Bucharest	59.4%	33.1%	5.3%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	56.5%	36.4%	5.3%
	20 to 24 y.o.	65.1%	31.9%	2.8%
	25 to 29 y.o.	72.2%	24.9%	1.9%

Likewise, poverty tends to be deemed more serious as the respondents get older, an effect that will be seen later, too. Basically, teenagers have – unsurprisingly – different assessments of the gravity of the problems facing the country than the young people between 20 and 24, or than the young people over 25 in particular. Young people are likely to face such issues more frequently as they get older and change their social status. As they assume the role of a parent, an

employee or an employer, of an independent agent in the society, they also experience the interaction with the health system, with administrative corruption, with the job insecurity, and become more conscious of the danger of poverty and the high living costs.

There are also differences between regions in the perception of the public medical assistance system. These differences are similar to those regarding

poverty, but stronger. The number of the respondents in Moldavia who see the public medical system as a very serious issue is 50% higher than respondents in Bucharest, while the respondents in Wallachia are more concerned over it than those in Transylvania. A possible explanation might start from the actual

regional differences in the performance of the medical system. Another explanation, a subjective one this time, might be associated with the respondents' capacity to ensure and finance medical services either by informal payments to the state, or by the transfer to the private system.

Table 3.6 How serious are the problems of the public health system in the Romanian society?

		Very serious	Serious	Slightly serious	Very slightly serious	Total
Total sample (without non-responses)		51.2%	40.1%	7.8%	0.9%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	62.8%	32.5%	4.0%	.7%	100%
	Wallachia	52.9%	38.6%	8.0%	.5%	100%
	Transylvania	45.8%	42.0%	10.4%	1.8%	100%
	Bucharest	40.2%	53.8%	6.1%	0.0%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	45.3%	44.0%	8.9%	1.8%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	52.7%	39.1%	7.8%	0.4%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	56.4%	36.6%	6.4%	0.5%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Again, the young people over 25 are more concerned with the corruption issue than teenagers, a probable explanation being the fact that the former face this phenomenon more often. Almost three quarters of the respondents in Moldavia consider corruption as a very serious problem unlike 57% of the respondents in Transylvania. The same explanation as in the case of the concerns about the health system can be given. Either corruption has a significantly different occurrence by region, or enough respondents in richer areas can afford to pay the corruption-associated costs and do not consider corruption as a very serious

issue (or both explanations, because they do not exclude each other). Another possible explanation might be the political culture specific for each area. At least at the public opinion level, poorer counties are characterized by a neo-materialistic political system, where local administrative leaders exercise their power at their discretion to the benefit of illegal network of politicians, clerks, businessmen, etc. In the economically more developed regions and/or in the areas with a longer democratic tradition, such as Transylvania, corruption is less predominant, at least at the level of public perception.

Table 3.7 How serious is the problem of corruption in the Romanian society? (% total sample without non-responses)

		Very serious	Serious	Slightly serious	Very slightly serious	Total
Total sample		64.1%	31.4%	3.4%	1.0%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	73.7%	21.8%	3.0%	1.5%	100%
	Wallachia	69.6%	25.1%	4.0%	1.4%	100%
	Transylvania	57.2%	36.0%	5.0%	1.8%	100%
	Bucharest	63.2%	28.6%	6.8%	1.5%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	56.5%	33.6%	7.3%	2.5%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	68.0%	27.7%	3.5%	0.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	72.8%	23.7%	2.2%	1.3%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The young people in Wallachia are the most concerned with the costs of energy, while the young people in Bucharest seem the least affected according to our research. With regard to the latter, we cannot but question about the effect of the massive subsidy of the heating costs in the capital city, which adds to

the already high purchasing power of its inhabitants. This together with other factors represents the reason why the percentage of the Bucharest young people considering the cost of energy as a less serious problem is double as compared to the average of the entire sample.

Table 3.8 How serious is the problem of energy prices in the Romanian society? (% total sample without non-responses)

		Very serious	Serious	Slightly serious	Very slightly serious	Total
Total sample		54.5%	36.7%	7.3%	1.5%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	52.3%	37.6%	7.8%	2.3%	100%
	Wallachia	58.5%	35.2%	5.2%	1.2%	100%
	Transylvania	53.0%	39.1%	6.5%	1.3%	100%
	Bucharest	51.1%	31.6%	15.8%	1.5%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	47.5%	42.4%	8.3%	1.8%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	56.7%	35.4%	7.0%	.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	60.0%	31.6%	6.5%	1.9%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Teenagers are less preoccupied with the energy prices than the young people over 20, which might be explained by the fact that many young people under 19 still live with their parents and are not directly responsible for the payment of utilities.

The issue of the certainty of jobs is perceived as very serious by the young people in Moldavia and Wallachia as against the young people in Bucharest and Transylvania, which results from the differences in

the economic development. Moreover, the workforce market gives rise to greater concerns in rural areas than in urban areas, probably because of the inelastic structure of the work supply in rural areas. Finally, as expected, only a little over half of the teenagers perceive the job insecurity as a very serious problem, while the percentage increases to two thirds with the young people involved in the workforce market.

Table 3.9 How serious is job insecurity in the Romanian society? (% total sample without non-responses)

		Very serious	Serious	Slightly serious	Very slightly serious	Total
Total sample		61.2%	32.1%	5.9%	0.9%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	58.1%	33.7%	7.4%	0.7%	100%
	Rural	65.2%	29.9%	3.8%	1.1%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	67.5%	28.0%	4.1%	0.4%	100%
	Wallachia	69.9%	25.9%	3.7%	0.5%	100%
	Transylvania	51.6%	38.9%	8.0%	1.6%	100%
	Bucharest	53.0%	37.1%	9.1%	0.8%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	52.5%	36.5%	9.6%	1.3%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	65.0%	30.9%	3.5%	0.6%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	66.9%	28.2%	4.3%	0.5%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

In conclusion we must mention several aspects. First, one should note a relative homogeneity between how males and females perceive the general situation of our society and the seriousness of its problems. Then, as expected, the great majority of the respondents assess each of the problems under discussion as being serious or very serious (over 50% of options).

Anyhow, a general assessment shows that the young people in our research are not characterized by a high sensitivity to the problems associated with the

post-materialistic structure of the society, characteristic for the advanced societies, according to Inglehart. To a large extent their concerns are oriented towards strictly material-financial issues, such as poverty and access to jobs, or towards social-political justice issues, such as the rule of law and corruption. To sum up, in a society in a seemingly ceaseless transition, the survival problem and material issues are more stringent for the Romanian young people than the problems that might be associated with a so-called post-materialist society.

3.2 LIVING AND TANGIBLE GOODS

While 20% of the respondents live without their parents, which is not surprising in view of the target group of the study (i.e., young people) and the Romanian context, almost 80% of the respondents live with their parents or in-laws – of which one of five families lives in a rented dwelling. One in ten young people in the urban areas lives in a rented house, while living together with parents is more common in the rural areas. Living together with parents or in-laws is less frequent in Moldavia and Transylvania but more frequent in Wallachia. Most of the young people in Bucharest live without their parents, either in a rented dwelling – one in ten, or on a private property – almost one in five.

These lodging differences between regions and residential environments are probably due to larger socioeconomic structures that are reflected upon our youth sample. Therefore, it is very likely that the higher financial resources of the young people and of their families in the capital city allow the former to pay the rent or to acquire a dwelling so as to leave their parents' house, even if the latter might continue to help them financially. Finally, one should note a foreseeable tendency of the young people to live more frequently without their parents as they pass into adult life. However, almost half of the young people over 25 live together with their parents or in-laws.

Table 3.10 Type of lodging (% total sample without non-responses)

		Live together with parents/ in-laws, in rented housing	Live together with parents/in-laws, on a private property	Live without parents, in rented housing	Live without parents, on a private property	Total
Total sample		14.9%	61.6%	6.2%	14.4%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	14.2%	59.4%	9.5%	14.2%	100%
	Rural	16.0%	64.4%	2.0%	14.7%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	11.6%	63.3%	5.8%	16.7%	100%
	Wallachia	22.1%	56.3%	5.1%	14.7%	100%
	Transylvania	11.0%	67.1%	6.4%	11.4%	100%
	Bucharest	12.1%	56.1%	10.6%	18.9%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	18.6%	77.1%	0.9%	2.0%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	15.8%	64.9%	6.2%	10.5%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	9.4%	38.3%	12.9%	34.6%	100%

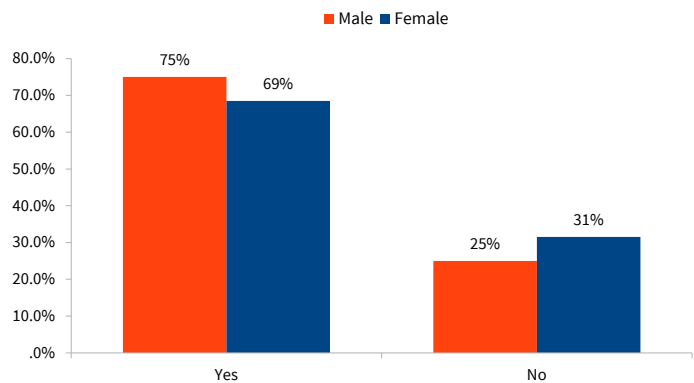
Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The high number of young people living with their parents can be explained both by the lower economic possibilities in Romania to live independently from their origin family, and by the cultural pattern that delays as much as possible the leaving of the parents' house. Moreover, such leaving is either not wished by the young people or is discouraged by their relatives in the idea of keeping several generations under the same roof, in particular in rural areas where, according to the figures, it is more frequent than in towns. While in towns a dwelling has 3.3 persons on the average, in

villages this figure is close to four persons. This is due both to the production routine in agriculture and to the inter-generation assistance in raising children and in domestic activities.

In our sample, 72% of the respondents have their own room as compared to 28% who share a room with other persons, for instance brothers or sisters. Young men have more often their own room than young women, either because women sleep with children, or because men are granted a better comfort, according to traditional norms.

Chart 3.1 Percentage of the young people who have their own room, differences by Gender



The young people living in the rural area have dwellings with more rooms than the young people in the urban area. This is probably due to the differences between the traditional houses and the apartments in the town blocks of flats. As a confirmation, the dwellings of the young people in Bucharest have fewer rooms than in

the other regions. The young people over 25 live in households with fewer rooms and persons than the younger people, probably because of the young people who have already left the parent house but do not have yet a partner and/or children.

Table 3.11 Living conditions. (Average values, total sample without non-responses)

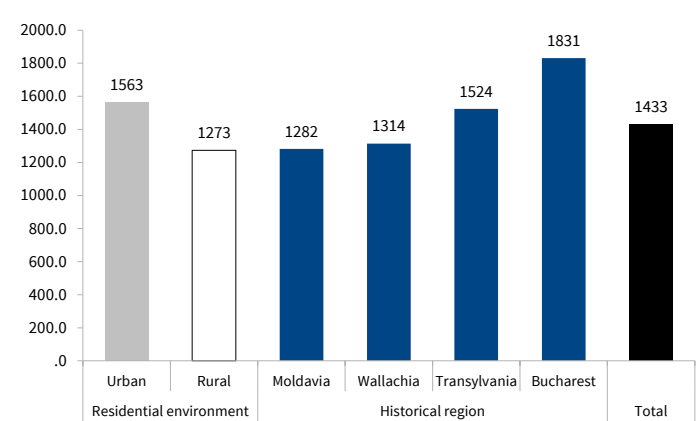
		How many rooms has the household you are living in?	How many persons live in the household?
Total sample		3.31	3.57
Residential environment	Urban	2.92	3.30
	Rural	3.82	3.92
Historical region	Moldavia	3.53	3.64
	Wallachia	3.49	3.62
	Transylvania	3.15	3.57
	Bucharest	2.81	3.29
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	3.55	3.82
	20 to 24 y.o.	3.28	3.55
	25 to 29 y.o.	3.04	3.29

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

On the average, a respondent's household spent RON 1433 every month for upkeep/utilities, clothes, school, food and pastime. The differences between residential environments and between historic regions are significant statistically and strengthen our intuitions about economic inequities in Romania. The answers given by the young people in our research show that,

due to their higher revenues, the families in the urban area spend about RON 300 more per month than the families in the rural area. The differences can be also noticed at the level of historic regions. While in Moldavia and in Wallachia about RON 1300 are spent every month, in Transylvania the amount exceeds RON 1500, while in Bucharest it is about RON 1830.

Chart 3.2 Monthly average expenses per household for upkeep/utilities, clothes, school, food and pastime.



Purchase of various goods. Our study includes a series of questions about various goods owned by young people or by the household they belong to. Almost half of them have a bicycle, in particular the young men in the rural area and teenagers (i.e. the young people aged between 15 and 19). A youngster in three has a tablet PC, and they are mainly among the young people (girls) in the urban area, in particular in Bucharest. Income differences between the rural and the urban areas can also be noticed with regard to the acquisition of laptops; on the average there are 60% more laptops in the urban area than in the rural area.

Only one in ten young people does not have an internet connection in his household, and in the urban area this ratio decreases to one youngster in 20. An impressive percentage, 96% of the Bucharest young people, have internet in their households and all of them have cable TV. Only Transylvania registers the highest percentage (6%) of young people who do not have access to internet or satellite cable.

Half of the young people in the sample have mobile access to Internet (by modem, etc.), more in the urban than in the rural areas, fewer in Transylvania and more in Wallachia. Less than half of the young people have a fixed telephone line at home, but almost all of them have mobile phones. Not surprisingly, fewer teenagers have mobile phones, but a higher percentage has access to a fixed telephone line. Because most of the latter live together with their parents, it is possible to use this means of communication while at home but to renounce it when they become independent and can afford a mobile phone. A similar hypothesis might explain another difference between age groups. On an average, there are three desk computers per four households where young people live, with a higher percentage in case of teenagers (i.e., 15 to 19 y.o.) than in the case of young people over 25. The young people are likely to abandon desk computers while passing to a more mobile style of living, when the computer is used at the university or at the workplace.

Table 3.12 Purchase of personal or household goods (% total sample)

<i>Do you have ... in your household? (Percentages indicate affirmative answers)</i>							
		Bicycle	Electronic tablet	Internet connection	Cable TV or satellite	Portable Internet	Fixed telephone Mobile telephone
Total sample		48.8%	35.6%	88.5%	96.1%	50.3%	46.4% 96.3%
Gender	Male	55.7%	32.2%	88.8%	96.7%	49.0%	44.8% 94.9%
	Female	42.0%	39.0%	88.3%	95.5%	51.6%	48.1% 97.7%
Residential environment	Urban	42.4%	40.0%	94.2%	96.8%	54.8%	48.7% 96.4%
	Rural	57.0%	29.9%	81.1%	95.2%	44.5%	43.5% 96.1%
Historical region	Moldavia	46.8%	35.3%	86.7%	97.4%	50.2%	43.3% 98.5%
	Wallachia	50.9%	39.3%	87.1%	96.8%	55.6%	38.8% 95.2%
	Transylvania	53.3%	29.4%	88.8%	93.6%	45.0%	54.3% 95.6%
	Bucharest	30.3%	45.8%	96.2%	100.0%	51.5%	50.8% 97.7%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	61.1%	32.2%	88.8%	96.7%	49.0%	44.8% 94.9%
	20 to 24 y.o.	41.3%	39.0%	88.3%	95.5%	51.6%	48.1% 97.7%
	25 to 29 y.o.	43.1%	40.0%	94.2%	96.8%	54.8%	48.7% 96.4%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

In fact, half of our respondents' parents have a private car – a higher percentage in the urban area than in the rural area, due to the differences in revenues between the two residential environments. Furthermore, 58%

of the teenagers' parents have a private car, while only 39% of the young people over 25 are in the same situation.

Table 3.13 Possession of a car (% total sample)

		The respondent owns a car	The respondent's parents own a car
Total sample		22.2%	49.3%
Residential environment	Urban	22.3%	55.3%
	Rural	22.1%	41.5%
Historical region	Moldavia	24.0%	45.8%
	Wallachia	25.5%	46.4%
	Transylvania	19.2%	53.3%
	Bucharest	18.0%	52.6%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	5.2%	58.0%
	20 to 24 y.o.	18.8%	49.3%
	25 to 29 y.o.	47.3%	38.8%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

It is possible that the teenagers' parents belong to a generation with better financial possibilities. Likewise, it is possible that the parents of the young people over 25 renounced the car because of their age or because of the high costs as against lower financial means at an old age. The relationship between the car purchasing power and the car maintenance capability is obvious

with young people as well. Only one in 20 teenagers has a private car, but the ratio increases to almost one in five with the young people between 20 and 24, and to almost half of the young people over 25.

One should note that while fewer young people in Moldavia or Wallachia have parents who own a private car than the young people in Transylvania or

Bucharest, the situation is exactly opposite as regards the possession of a car by the respondents. Therefore, around one quarter of the young people in Wallachia and Moldavia own a car as compared to only 18% in Bucharest and 19% in Transylvania. But there is no statistically significant difference between the young people in the rural area and those in the urban area as regards their possession of a car.

This result is slightly counter-intuitive and we restrict ourselves to formulating the following hypothetical

explanations: With regard to the young people in the urban area, in particular in Bucharest and in Transylvania, maybe they do not own a private car but use a car owned by the company or organization they work for. Another explanation might be that, for the young people in Bucharest at least, the lack of a car is a way to avoid stress and expenses; the public transportation can successfully make up for the lack of a car, especially in the most congested urban areas.

Table 3.14 Books in the household (% total sample without non-responses)

		No books	No more than 10	10 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 50	51 to 100	Over 100 books
Total sample		6.2%	12.3%	12.7%	12.6%	16.4%	16.1%	23.7%
Gender	Male	7.0%	15.0%	14.0%	12.2%	13.9%	16.3%	21.5%
	Female	5.5%	9.7%	11.4%	13.0%	18.8%	15.9%	25.8%
Residential environment	Urban	4.4%	10.7%	13.4%	11.5%	14.6%	18.3%	27.1%
	Rural	8.6%	14.4%	11.8%	14.0%	18.6%	13.3%	19.3%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Over 40% of the interviewed young people declare that they have more than 50 books in their households, but almost 20% have only 10 books at most. The women in the sample report a higher number of books than the men; either girls buy more books than boys, or one of the genders underestimates (or overestimates) the number of books in the household. As expected, the young people in urban areas have more books in

their households than those in rural areas. Moreover, there is a strong correlation statistically between the number of books in a household, on the one hand, and the respondent's and his parents' education and occupation, on the other hand: the young people with university studies and/or with parents with a higher level of education generally have a larger number of books.

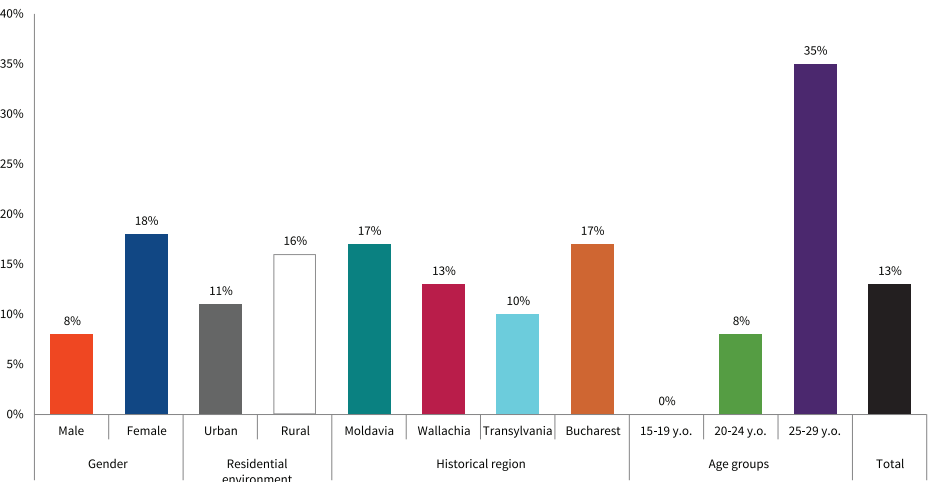
3.3

MARITAL STATUS AND CHILDREN

In our sample, one in eight young people is a parent; of them, 64% have one child and almost 30% have two children. As expected, the number of young people with

children, the number of children as well as the marital status of responders vary depending on age and other socio-demographic elements.

Chart 3.3. Percentage of respondents with children, by gender, residential environment, age group and historic region



In our research there are twice as many young women with children than men. The explanation lies in the difference in age between mothers and fathers when first children are born, a demographic phenomenon that can be often seen in societies all over the world.³³ In our case such disparity is explained as follows: many of our women-respondents have children with partners older than 30, but the reverse situation (when men younger than 30 have partners older than 30) is less frequent. The difference in age at the birth of the first child results in a smaller number of young men becoming fathers than women becoming mothers before they reach the age of 30. This hypothesis is further supported by the data about the respondents' marital status. While a woman in five is married, only one man in ten is in a legal partnership, which strengthens our conviction that there is a significant difference in age in the couples, men being generally older than women.

Table 3.15 Average number of children by category of analysis (including only the respondents with children)

Total sample		1.4
Gender	Male	1.4
	Female	1.5
Residential environment	Urban	1.3
	Rural	1.5
Historical region	Moldavia	1.5
	Wallachia	1.4

3 Zhang Xu, Fecundity and Husband-Wife Age Gap at First Marriage—Cross-Country Analysis, 2014 <http://www.scrip.org/journal/PaperInformation.aspx?paperID=48732#.VEZKMmeSxiA>

Total sample		1.4
Historical region	Transylvania	1.6
	Bucharest	1.2
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	1.0
	20 to 24 y.o.	1.5
	25 to 29 y.o.	1.4

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Another difference is between the urban and the rural areas. By reason of cultural differences and of differences in the dynamics of life stages, the young people in rural areas have children at a younger age than those in urban areas. A little over 16% of the young people in the rural area have children as compared to only 11% in the urban area. Some of the reasons why the young people in the urban area have a first child later are their longer education years, the constraints associated with the development of a professional career as well as a specific way of life where youth is associated with entertainment, travels and numerous other pastime opportunities. Another important factor is the structure of households: in the rural area, the presence of grandparents in the same household might be a support for young parents in raising their children. In the urban area, where families are commonly made up of maximum two generations, the decision to have children can be delayed because of the lack of such a support, as well as because of the relevant effort and costs.

This interpretation is also backed by the fact that the young people in rural areas have more children (1.5) on an average than those in urban areas (1.3 children). It is interesting to note that the difference between the rural and the urban areas is significant as regards children, but there is no relevant difference as regards marital status. In other words, the young people in the urban area have a relatively equal rate of marriage to the young people in the rural area but they have children more seldom and/or later. The

effect of regional cultures on demographic decisions can also be seen in the difference between Moldavia and Transylvania as regards the percentage of young people with children: 18% of the young people in Moldavia have children while only 10% of the young people in Transylvania have children. However, although fewer young people in Transylvania are parents, those who have children have 1.6 children on an average unlike the young people in Bucharest, for example, who have 1.2 children on an average.

Table 3.16 Respondent's marital status (% total sample without non-responses)

		Married	Divorced	In non-marriage partnership	Not married/ not in partnership	Other	Total
Total sample		14.5%	0.8%	18.7%	65.4%	0.4%	100%
Gender	Male	9.1%	0.6%	17.6%	72.0%	0.3%	100%
	Female	19.8%	1.1%	19.8%	58.8%	0.5%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	12.7%	0.8%	19.3%	66.7%	0.4%	100%
	Rural	16.9%	0.9%	18.0%	63.7%	0.4%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	17.8%	0.7%	16.4%	64.0%	1.1%	100%
	Wallachia	16.7%	0.5%	20.9%	61.5%	0.2%	100%
	Transylvania	9.9%	1.5%	17.9%	70.2%	0.2%	100%
	Bucharest	15.8%	0%	19.5%	64.7%	0.0%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	0.7%	0.2%	8.3%	90.8%	0.0%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	7.1%	0.2%	23.7%	68.2%	0.6%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	40.8%	2.4%	25.5%	30.6%	0.5%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The specific character of Transylvania is also preserved as regards marital status, 70% of the young people in that area being unmarried, i.e. five percentage points more than the young people in any other Romanian region. There is no simple explanation for these

significant differences but they suggest different strategies in setting up a family, strategies that are influenced – at least partially – by cultural patterns specific for certain geographic areas and by the development (urbanization) thereof.

3.4

SOCIAL ORIGIN: PARENTS' EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Most of our respondents come from families where parents graduated from a high school at least. One can notice a difference between the last studies made by the parents of the young people in our research: fathers

are over-represented among those having graduated from a vocational school, most probably because of how technical education was structured in view of the industry needs before 1989.

Table 3.17 Last school graduated by parents

		Grade school	Primary	Vocational school	High school	Post-secondary	University	Postgraduate
Last school graduated by mother (% total sample without non-responses)								
Total sample		4.0%	15.6%	16.7%	41.2%	7.0%	12.4%	3.1%
Residential environment	Urban	1.5%	10.7%	16.6%	40.8%	8.5%	17.0%	4.9%
	Rural	7.4%	22.1%	16.8%	41.7%	5.0%	6.3%	0.7%
Historical region	Moldavia	1.9%	14.1%	18.6%	42.4%	8.6%	13.4%	1.1%
	Wallachia	4.9%	15.1%	12.5%	46.1%	7.3%	12.0%	2.1%
	Transylvania	5.5%	18.2%	18.4%	36.6%	5.5%	11.1%	4.6%
	Bucharest	0.8%	12.1%	20.5%	37.9%	7.6%	15.9%	5.3%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	2.8%	13.1%	16.3%	42.1%	6.4%	14.7%	4.6%
	20 to 24 y.o.	3.5%	15.5%	16.0%	42.0%	7.7%	12.5%	2.8%
	25 to 29 y.o.	6.3%	18.8%	17.9%	39.1%	6.8%	9.5%	1.6%
Last school graduated by father (% total sample without non-responses)								
Total sample		3.5%	11.8%	23.6%	39.4%	5.6%	13.3%	2.8%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	2.5%	9.4%	23.7%	40.6%	5.8%	14.5%	3.5%
	20 to 24 y.o.	3.6%	11.6%	22.4%	40.2%	6.2%	13.3%	2.7%
	25 to 29 y.o.	4.7%	14.8%	24.9%	37.0%	4.7%	11.8%	2.2%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Analyzing only mother's education one can notice several significant differences among respondents depending upon the residential environment, the historic region they live in and the age group they belong to. The young people in the rural area have parents with a lower level of education than those in the urban area. Almost 22% of the latter have mothers with higher education as against only 7% in the rural area, while 30% of the young people in villages have mothers who graduated 10 grades at most, as against 11% in towns. There is another explanation besides the replication of educational targets from generation to generation: some parents of the young people in the urban area were born in rural areas but their education allowed them to migrate from village to town. In other words, today's discrepancy as regards parents might be the result of a "brain-drain" (rural -> urban) of 35 or more years ago.

Similar inequalities can be found at regional level as well. For instance, while in Bucharest (an attraction for the higher-educated young people) a respondent in four has a mother with university or postgraduate studies, in Moldavia and Wallachia (two regions wherefrom significant flows of people migrate to Bucharest) there are only 14% of respondents in the same situation.

Moreover, in Bucharest there is the smallest number of young people whose mothers learned only 10 grades: only one in eight young people is in such a situation.

Almost 20% of the teenagers have mothers who graduated at least one faculty, but only 11% of the young people over 25 have mothers with a comparable level of education. Similarly, more young people aged between 20 and 24 have mothers with maximum 10 grades than the young people under 19, but fewer than the older respondents. This trend can also be seen with the fathers' education, but it is slighter and does not reach a statistically significant level. We can interpret these results in two complementary ways: on the one hand, looking at the generations the respondents in our research belong to, one can notice an increase in the educational level of the population as we get closer to our days. For instance, the parents belonging to the cohorts born between 1960 and 1965 tend to have a lower education than the parents of the cohorts born between 1965-1970 or between 1970-1975. This is the outcome of the expansion of the educational system over those periods (e.g., 8-10-year compulsory education, new forms of learning and more educational opportunities [high schools, faculties, etc.]).

One can notice a deeper change in education between mothers' generations and fathers' generations. Therefore, almost 20% of the teenagers' mothers have higher education as compared to 11% with the mothers of the young people over 25, while the difference between the fathers' generations is 16% and, respectively, 14% - a minor difference which is not statistically significant. The most likely explanation is the leveling of educational opportunities that occurred after 1980. Although seemingly positive, such leveling can be just the result of the higher number of university

places at specialties that matched the interests and resources of the women attracted by university studies. If women seem to have benefitted more from the increase in the tertiary educational system over 1980 - 1995, then this explains why the teenagers in our research have much more educated mothers – but only sensibly better educated fathers – than the young people over 25. In conclusion, our data show that the generations of parents were better educated after 1990, while the women were the main beneficiaries of that change.

Table 3.18 Father's professional status (% total sample without non-responses)

		Employee/ employer/ active	Pensioner	Unemployed	Homemaker	Other	Total
Total sample		68.1%	12.4%	4.5%	4.6%	10.4%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	73.1%	11.9%	3.7%	2.3%	9.0%	100%
	Rural	61.4%	13.2%	5.5%	7.7%	12.2%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	63.9%	9.3%	5.6%	6.7%	14.5%	100%
	Wallachia	69.2%	12.6%	5.8%	4.4%	7.9%	100%
	Transylvania	67.6%	13.5%	3.1%	4.5%	11.2%	100%
	Bucharest	74.4%	14.7%	2.3%	1.6%	7.0%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	82.9%	3.6%	4.0%	3.1%	6.5%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	68.9%	10.6%	5.3%	5.3%	9.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	48.9%	25.5%	4.1%	5.7%	15.8%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

As regards the parents' occupational status, about 68% of the fathers and 63% of the mothers of our respondents are still active professionally; approximately 13% of the parents are pensioners, and more than one mother in six is a homemaker. The parents of the young people in urban areas are more active professionally than those in rural areas, where there is a larger number of parents declared as homemakers – almost 8% of the fathers and over one quarter of the mothers.

Most of the still active parents are in Bucharest and the fewest are in Moldavia. This asymmetry between the two areas can be found in other categories as well. In Moldavia there are, significantly from a statistic point of view, more parents in charge of the homemaking and fewer pensioned parents than in Bucharest. Unlike Moldavia, Bucharest seems to be a place with enough workplaces for the parents' generation, nowadays and in the past, a proof of the duration and persistence of the unbalanced economic development in Romania. This also explains the theory of the attraction exercised by Bucharest over time in luring inhabitants, in particular

persons with higher education and qualifications. Obviously, the demographic factor (i.e. the age of the parents) can also be used to explain the differences between the parents' occupational status besides economic factors (i.e. better employment opportunities in certain regions and residential environments). As expected, there is a significant variation as regards the occupational status between the three age groups of the respondents. Most of the teenagers' parents are still active professionally, but the percentage of the active ones decreases at below half of the total parents of the over-25 young people, a quarter of whom have pensioner parents.

Most of the professionally active parents are skilled workers: 43% of the fathers and 28% of the mothers. At a great distance there are the parents whose professions require higher education (a little over 11%) and the parents employed as unskilled parents. In particular, a little more than one in five respondents' mothers work in services area, that is a double percentage than with the male parents.

Table 3.19 Mother's professional status (% total sample without non-responses)

		Employee/ employer/ active	Pensioner	Unemployed	Homemaker	Other	Total
Total sample		62.9%	11.3%	2.8%	17.6%	5.5%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	67.7%	11.9%	3.6%	11.5%	5.3%	100%
	Rural	56.5%	10.4%	1.8%	25.7%	5.6%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	57.5%	8.1%	3.3%	20.5%	10.6%	100%
	Wallachia	60.6%	11.2%	2.3%	20.0%	5.8%	100%
	Transylvania	67.2%	12.1%	2.5%	15.1%	3.1%	100%
	Bucharest	66.9%	15.0%	4.5%	12.0%	1.5%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	71.5%	3.1%	2.6%	17.7%	5.1%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	65.1%	8.3%	3.5%	17.2%	5.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	49.6%	24.9%	2.2%	17.9%	5.4%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

As expected, there are statistically significant associations between residential environment and parents' occupation. So, the percentage of those working in agriculture is five times higher in the rural area than in the urban area (10% versus 2%), and of the unskilled workers is about twice as high. In urban areas there are much more young people whose parents are employed as higher educated staff (i.e. 16% of the fathers and 17% of the mothers), in contrast to only 4% of the fathers and 6% of the mothers of the respondents in rural areas. The difference in the rate of skilled parents is also in favor of the rural area, but at the limit of statistical significance. The

difference between the two residential environments is explained by the different structure of the workforce market. The rural area normally has more agricultural and raw material processing activities which do not require professional training, while the urban area contains relatively more institutions and companies that employ higher educated people. The high rate of skilled workers in the rural area is explained both by the presence in that area of industrial or construction units, and by the phenomenon of commuting workers who are employed in the factories in urban areas but live in outer areas.

Table 3.20 Father's occupation (if he is professionally active).

		Farmer	Unskilled worker	Skilled worker in industry / constructions	Worker in services	Civil servant with secondary education	Higher-education staff	Entrepreneur	Employer
Total sample		6.1%	9.6%	42.6%	10.0%	7.0%	11.2%	2.9%	3.6%
Residential environment	Urban	2.1%	6.6%	40.0%	10.9%	8.2%	16.3%	3.5%	4.8%
	Rural	11.6%	13.8%	46.1%	8.7%	5.4%	4.3%	1.9%	1.9%
Historical region	Moldavia	9.4%	8.7%	35.1%	12.1%	8.7%	11.7%	3.4%	3.8%
	Wallachia	6.6%	11.0%	42.2%	10.5%	9.1%	11.3%	2.2%	2.7%
	Transylvania	5.5%	11.4%	48.3%	8.1%	5.0%	8.3%	2.6%	3.8%
	Bucharest	.0%	1.6%	40.6%	10.2%	3.9%	19.5%	4.7%	5.5%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The regional development asymmetry is also manifest in the differences in the parents' occupational profile. About 10% of the parents of the young people in Moldavia work in agriculture, but – not surprisingly – almost none of those living in Bucharest. Also in

Moldavia one can note a relatively low percentage of skilled workers among the respondents' parents, i.e. 21% and 35% of the female and, respectively, male parents. The percentages can be explained by the low industrialization of Moldavia associated with the

higher occupancy in agriculture in view of the poor technological facilities, the low work efficiency and the subsistence agriculture.

In the capital city, the percentage of the parents employed as unskilled workers is exceptionally low as well, under 2% of the fathers and 4% of the mothers. A relatively great part of the parents of the Bucharest young people – one in five fathers and one in six mothers - work in highly skilled jobs, by over 50% more than in any other region. These figures confirm the exceptional character of Romania's largest city which concentrates the demand of highly skilled staff.

Earlier we referred to a leveling trend of educational qualifications between genders over the years, and to

a general improvement of such qualifications in time. These trends were visible in the differences between the educational levels of the parents of the young people in different age groups. If we try to make a similar comparison, we note that the trends in education are not found in the parents' occupation, with a few exceptions that we shall present first. As expected, because the difference in the father's education did not vary greatly between the three age groups, we do not find remarkable differences in the occupational status. Only the percentage of fathers-employers is sensibly higher with teenagers than with young people over 25, which might be explained by the entrepreneurial opportunities the young people had after 1989.

Table 3.21 Mother's occupation (if she is professionally active).

		Farmer	Unskilled worker	Skilled worker in industry / constructions	Worker in services	Civil servant with secondary education	Higher-education staff	Entrepreneur	Employer
Total sample		5.9%	10.9%	27.9%	21.4%	6.5%	12.2%	1.7%	2.0%
Residential environment	Urban	2.3%	8.3%	27.1%	22.5%	7.5%	17.0%	2.3%	1.9%
	Rural	10.8%	14.5%	29.0%	20.0%	5.1%	5.7%	1.0%	2.2%
Historical region	Moldavia	10.2%	4.5%	20.7%	28.6%	9.0%	13.2%	1.9%	1.5%
	Wallachia	6.9%	13.5%	24.7%	21.9%	8.1%	12.2%	1.8%	1.5%
	Transylvania	4.0%	14.6%	34.6%	17.9%	4.0%	10.1%	1.4%	2.6%
	Bucharest	.0%	3.9%	30.2%	17.1%	4.7%	17.1%	2.3%	2.3%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

In the mothers' case, the differences in education between cohorts are associated with small differences in occupation. Having a better education, teenagers' mothers are more often employed as higher-educated

staff than the mothers of the young people over 25. Moreover, the mothers of the teenagers (persons aged between 15 and 19) work more often in services or as entrepreneurs and more seldom as civil servants.

3.5

SUBJECTIVE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SOCIAL CLASS

In contemporary society, an individual's social class is one of the decisive factors in determining their chances in life and personal ideological orientation. In our research we aimed at two major elements: 1) the subjective perceptions of the respondents' origin class (the social class the respondents' parents belong to) and of the "destination" class (i.e. the respondent's / respondents' social class); 2) the identification of the

main principles the respondents use when talking about social classes. In our questionnaire we use "social class" in a broad or popular sense and made use of four categories: 1) upper class; 2) middle class; 3) working class; 4) lower class. We note that these categories have been used in previous studies both in Romania and in other countries.

Practically, half of the interviewed young people consider that their parents belong to the middle class, while one in three sees his parents as belonging to the working class. One in ten respondents places his parents in the lower class and 7% - in the upper class. One can note a difference by gender: the women in our sample are more inclined to classify their parents in the middle class, while the men tend to place them in the working class. If we admit as probable the absence of

objective discrepancies in the demographic structure by gender of the social classes, a potential explanation of these results lies in the different understandings and judgments which the girls and the boys attach to social class categories. In such a hypothesis, the men might feel prouder in placing their parents in the working class and the women in placing them in the middle class, without any difference between the parents' "objective" positions.

Table 3.22 What social class do your parents belong to? (% total sample without non-responses)

		Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Lower class	Total
Total sample		7.0%	49.6%	33.4%	10.0%	100%
Gender	Male	7.1%	46.1%	37.4%	9.3%	100%
	Female	6.9%	53.1%	29.3%	10.7%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	8.5%	52.4%	32.1%	7.0%	100%
	Rural	5.0%	46.0%	35.1%	14.0%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	11.8%	47.2%	25.8%	15.1%	100%
	Wallachia	5.5%	51.2%	33.4%	9.9%	100%
	Transylvania	6.6%	49.3%	35.3%	8.8%	100%
	Bucharest	3.1%	50.4%	42.7%	3.8%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	10.4%	48.8%	31.1%	9.8%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	6.1%	49.8%	34.6%	9.4%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	3.9%	50.4%	34.7%	11.0%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

One can note that teenagers tend more often to place their parents in the upper class and more seldom in the working class. On the contrary, only 4% of the young people over 25 place their parents in the upper class. These answers might reflect the aforementioned results about the differences in education between the generations of our respondents' parents, which also determine a difference in their social classification. To this we can add an explanation based on subjective interpretations: teenagers tend to be more optimistic (or less realistic) and tend to place their parents in a higher class than the young people over 25, who have a more cynical-realistic view of the Romanian society and the position their parents occupy.

The tension between the objective reality of the social structure and the social desirability of the image associated with social classes might be the explanation of other paradoxical results as well. On the one hand, 15% of the young people in Moldavia classify their parents as belonging to the lower class as against only 4% in Bucharest. Furthermore, 43% of the Bucharest young people see their parents in the working class, while only a little over one quarter of the respondents

in Moldavia have the same view. These results can be easily explained by the economic differences and the discrepant life opportunities between the two areas. On the other hand, a little over 3% of the young people in Bucharest consider that their parents are in the upper class, and almost 12% of the young people in Moldavia have such a view – we shall come back to this.

Further, the young people in urban areas are more inclined to place their parents in the middle or upper class, while the young people in rural areas tend more to place their parents in the lower class. In both residential environments most young people see their parents as belonging to the middle class, followed by those with parents in the working class. Behind this ostensible similarity there is a dilemma: are the young people in the rural area "ignorant" of the social structure of the society they live in, where the inhabitants of rural areas are much more disadvantaged than the inhabitants of urban areas? What makes the young people in Moldavia place their parents in the upper class more often than the young people in other regions of the country? The supply of detailed answers exceeds the scopes of this research report, but we can outline a short explanation.

The answers given by our young people – and by other age categories as well – tend to rely on the closely surrounding reality: where are my parents placed as against the other people in the same village or in the neighboring villages? Do my parents belong to the elite of Dorohoi? If such questions drive the subjective social classification used by the young people it is easy

to understand the difference between the assessment based on “objective” criteria (i.e. income, wealth, etc.) of the social position and the personal assessment driven by cognitive and informational limits and oriented towards subjective or personally relevant social criteria.

Table 3.23 What is the main reason/factor why you placed your parents in this social class? (% calculated for those having mentioned a social class of their parents, without non-responses)

		Their material situation	Their level of education	Their income/pay	Their occupation	Other	Total
Total sample		36.9%	16.7%	27.5%	18.4%	0.5%	100%
Gender	Male	36.7%	15.7%	29.0%	18.5%	0.2%	100%
	Female	37.0%	17.7%	26.1%	18.4%	0.8%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	36.0%	18.4%	28.3%	16.5%	0.7%	100%
	Rural	38.0%	14.4%	26.5%	20.9%	0.2%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	43.5%	17.7%	21.4%	17.0%	0.4%	100%
	Wallachia	42.8%	13.6%	31.1%	12.2%	0.2%	100%
	Transylvania	30.2%	19.1%	24.1%	26.6%	0.0%	100%
	Bucharest	26.7%	16.0%	40.5%	13.7%	3.1%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	35.0%	14.6%	27.5%	22.7%	0.2%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	37.0%	16.7%	27.3%	17.8%	1.1%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	39.0%	19.1%	27.9%	14.1%	0.0%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Another source of variation in the objective assessment of their parents' social class is the use of different classification criteria. For instance, in the urban area the parents' level of education is more frequently used to determine their social class than in the rural area, where the occupation is generally considered more important than in towns. Differences can be seen between historic regions as well: in Moldavia and in Wallachia, the parents' material situation is much more important than in Bucharest and Transylvania. The young people in Bucharest commonly think of their parents' incomes in order to assess their social position: 41% of them consider incomes as the main factor, which is an almost double percentage than in Moldavia. In Transylvania, more than in Wallachia or in Bucharest, occupation is deemed more important for the belonging to a social class. The age groups have small but statistically significant differences in the criteria considered as relevant for defining the parents' social class. While teenagers frequently consider their parents' occupation as a criterion of their social class, the young people over 25 think more of education or material situation when assessing their parents' social position.

How do young people place themselves in the class structure of contemporary Romania? Almost 60% of the young people declare themselves as belonging to the middle class, with ten percentage points more than the parents assessed in that class. The difference can be found in the lower percentage of young people classifying themselves in the working class, 23% as against 33% of their parents. A comparison between the young people' self-classification and the classification they make of their parents shows that the percentage associated with the classification in the upper and lower classes remained unchanged, while the rate of classification in the working class decreased and the classification in the middle class increased. It is undeniably that such change reflects an actual change in the social structure of the society if we consider the reduced share of industry in the workforce simultaneously with the increase in the share of services and white-collar occupations. However, we should take into account a possible tendency of the young people to over-assess themselves in comparison to their parents. Such over-assessment might derive from a better education than their parents' education, even if it does not automatically result in better employment

opportunities or in acquiring greater wealth than their parents.

Table 3.24 What social class do you think you belong to? (% calculated for those having mentioned a social class, without non-responses)

		Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Lower class	Total
Total subgroup		7.1%	59.3%	22.8%	10.8%	100%
Gender	Male	6.6%	54.4%	28.9%	10.1%	100%
	Female	7.6%	64.1%	16.8%	11.4%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	9.5%	62.5%	21.2%	6.8%	100%
	Rural	4.0%	55.1%	24.9%	15.9%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	10.3%	58.2%	15.8%	15.8%	100%
	Wallachia	6.6%	58.2%	23.8%	11.4%	100%
	Transylvania	7.0%	60.4%	24.5%	8.1%	100%
	Bucharest	2.4%	61.6%	28.8%	7.2%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	9.8%	60.0%	18.7%	11.4%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	5.0%	59.1%	24.9%	10.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	6.5%	58.7%	25.0%	9.8%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

As expected, there is a strong (and statistically significant) connection between the young people' origin class (their parents' social class) and their own class. For instance, if a youngster declares that his parents belong to the working class, it is highly probable that he will place himself in the same class. Besides the conservation of the class position, we can note a significant number of young people who declare themselves in the middle class while their parents belong to the working class. There are three possible explanations. First, there might exist an actual social mutability between the origin class and the destination class. This hypothesis is, however, relatively unlikely because we do not have a reverse flow, of young people who move to a lower social class. The second and most realistic hypothesis is that there was an expansion of the middle class by incorporating workers' children as well. The third hypothesis considers that this is rather the expression of the young people' wish to have a better social status than their parents, even if the objective reality contradicts their assessments.

The differences noted among young people are to be found in several analysis categories. Men are more inclined than women to place themselves in the working class, while women are more likely to consider themselves as belonging to the middle class. Likewise, the young people in urban areas classify themselves

in the middle or upper classes more frequently than the young people in rural areas who tend to place themselves in the lower class.

The young people in Moldavia place themselves quite often in the extreme classes while the Bucharest young people consider themselves surprisingly seldom as belonging to such extreme classes (i.e. upper or lower). An almost double percentage of Bucharest young people (29%) as compared to the young people in Moldavia (16%) declare they belong to the working class. We shall not repeat the aforementioned hypotheses, but we consider that the same reasoning can be applied to solve the ostensible paradox between the objective reality of the social structure at national level and the young people' subjective representations.

Further, social self-classification is slightly different among age groups as well. As compared to the young people over 25, the respondents aged between 15 and 19 (teenagers) are more inclined to place themselves in the upper class but less inclined to choose the working class. Again, this might result from the young people' over-assessing their position in the social hierarchy, and becoming more conscious of their actual social position as they grow older. We do not rule out the possibility that the difference in self-assessment reflects an actual social gap in favor of younger generations.

Table 3.25 What is the main reason/factor why you placed yourself in this social class? (% calculated for those having mentioned a social class, without non-responses)

		Situația mea materială	Nivelul meu de școlarizare	Veniturile/ salariul	Ocupația mea	Alt factor	Total
Total sample		37.5%	30.1%	17.3%	12.6%	2.4%	100%
Gender	Male	35.1%	28.3%	18.8%	15.4%	2.5%	100%
	Female	39.9%	32.0%	15.7%	9.9%	2.4%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	35.3%	33.7%	17.0%	11.3%	2.8%	100%
	Rural	40.4%	25.6%	17.6%	14.3%	2.0%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	32.7%	33.5%	16.2%	11.4%	6.3%	100%
	Wallachia	46.0%	24.5%	19.5%	9.5%	.5%	100%
	Transylvania	36.6%	31.7%	13.8%	16.1%	1.8%	100%
	Bucharest	24.0%	35.5%	24.8%	13.2%	2.5%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	41.9%	34.5%	10.6%	8.7%	4.3%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	33.6%	31.8%	18.7%	13.6%	2.2%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	37.4%	23.1%	23.1%	15.9%	.5%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

In general, young people make use of approximately the same assessment criteria to classify their parents and themselves in a social class. In other words, if a youngster places his parents in a social class depending upon their incomes, he is very likely to use the same criterion in placing himself in a social class. However, some sensible differences can be noted. Therefore, 30% of the respondents classify themselves by their education, i.e. twice as many than the number of young people making use of this criterion when placing their parents in a social class. On the other hand, the young people use much more seldom the income or occupation criteria when placing themselves in a social class than when placing their parents in a class.

Most probably, such differences can be explained by the discrepancies in the life history between young people and their parents. While the latter consider their profession, workplace and acquired goods as identity and class criteria, young people do not have such points of reference. As they are much closer to the experience of academic years, they consider more often their education as the criterion in assessing their social class. Put simpler, when one does not have a long work and social acquisition trajectory, it is much easier for such person to compare to others – especially to other young people – by making use of the level of education as a common and easy criterion.

Table 3.26 Structure of destinies: what social classes do the children with parents of various social origins get to? (% calculated without non-responses)

		Respondent's class (self-assessment)				
		Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Lower class	Total
Father's social class (child's assessment)	Upper class	69.3%	28.4%	1.1%	1.1%	100%
	Middle class	2.9%	92.8%	1.9%	2.4%	100%
	Working class	1.2%	29.1%	64.7%	5.0%	100%
	Lower class	0.8%	12.1%	7.3%	79.8%	100%

Note: The grey-colored boxes mark the respondents who keep the same social class as their parents

Finally, we shall make a brief commentary on the relationship between the social class the respondent

considers he belongs to and the social class he assigns to his parents. As expected, in most cases young

people consider themselves in the same social class as their parents. Almost 93% of the young people whose parents are classified in the middle class place themselves in the same class and almost 80% of the respondents whose parents are in the upper class consider they are in the same social class. Almost 30% of the young people whose parents are in the working class or in the upper class consider themselves as belonging to the middle class, showing a subjective

view on their social mobility (upward or downward). As the respondents' opinions are influenced by a series of subjective factors originated outside the real social class structure, we shall consider the social mobility dynamics in the following sub-chapters, when we shall also analyze objective data regarding the respondents' and their parents' social position, in particular in education.

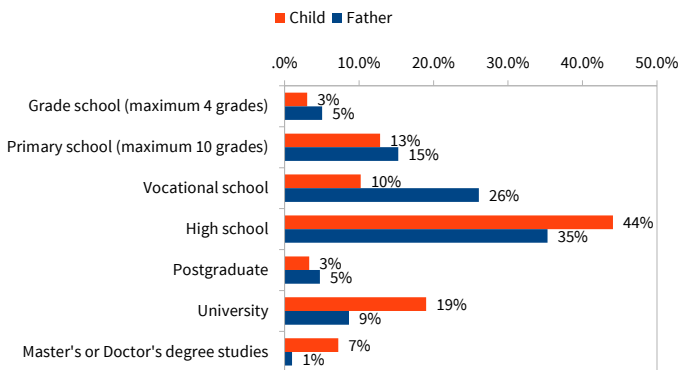
3.6

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE AND MOBILITY

More than half of the young people in our research left (temporarily or definitively) the educational system. Of those that are still in school, more than half are in high school and more than a quarter are in a faculty. About 3% of the total young people study in vocational schools or in a master's programme, and less than 1% is involved in doctor's degree programmes or post-secondary studies. There are statistically significant differences in terms of the young people' residential environment, the historic region they live in and their age, but they shall be analyzed in the following chapter.

In this sub-chapter we shall consider the inter-generation educational mobility (i.e. the relationship between the young people' education and their parents' education). As many of the interviewed young people have not finished their studies yet, this analysis refers to the almost 700 respondents who stated that they no longer attended any form of tuition (53% of the total sample).

Chart 3.4 Last school graduated. Comparison between respondent and parent (of total sub-sample of young people having left the learning system n=665)



First, we must understand how the educational structure of the parents in this sub-sample looks like. We shall analyze only the father's education, because this interpretation is essentially valid for the mother's education as well - the educational level of both parents tends to be similar. Thus, 20% of the fathers have maximum 10 grades (5% maximum four

primary grades), more than one quarter graduated a vocational school, and 35% graduated a high school. Almost 5% have post-secondary studies, almost 9% have university studies and only 1% has postgraduate studies. As compared to their parents, the children's educational structure is completely different. The percentage of those having maximum 10 grades

decreases to 16%, while the percentage of those having graduated a vocational school dramatically decreases to only one in ten. The percentage of those having graduated a high school grows to 44%, and of the faculty graduates doubles reaching 19%. The percentage of the post-secondary courses graduates remains relatively the same, but we can note a massive increase in the postgraduate graduates who reach 7% of the young people having left the educational system.

The changes are remarkable and they reflect the transformation both of the educational system and of the horizon of expectations and opportunities offered to the youth. First, it was a reduction, although not a radical one, of the percentage of young people having graduated 10 grades or less, which indicates that young people remain longer in the educational system than their parents. The most impressive reduction can be seen with the graduates of vocational schools, in particular in view of the post-1989 restructuring of industry. Moreover, the vocational learning system itself

experienced major changes, when a lot of institutions were dissolved or changed into academic learning high schools. Therefore, the number of young high school graduates is sensibly larger than that of their parents.

The most spectacular increase is in the university and postgraduate graduates. In sub-chapter 3.2 above, we noted that the differences in education between the parents' generations show a greater access to higher education over the years. Most probably such expansion continued to date and resulted in a threefold increase in the graduation rate of a higher learning institution as compared to their parents' generation, at the level of this sub-sample.

Although young people seem to have access to a higher educational level than their parents, they do not have equal chances to education. The data of our research show that, even if the children's education is better than their parents' education, the two are closely correlated and indicate a replication of the parents' learning level.

Table 3.27 Educational mobility (% calculated on the sub-sample of young people having concluded their studies, without non-responses; n=665)

Father's level of education (Line)	Respondent's level of education							Total
	Grade school (maximum 4 grades)	Primary (maximum 10 grades)	Vocational school	High school	Post-secondary	University	Post-graduate	
Primary school (maximum 4 grades)	40.0%	25.7%	11.4%	11.4%	0.0%	8.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Gymnasium (maximum 10 grades)	2.8%	35.8%	17.9%	38.7%	0.9%	2.8%	0.9%	100.0%
Vocational school	1.1%	11.6%	17.7%	48.6%	3.9%	11.6%	5.5%	100.0%
High school	0.4%	5.3%	4.9%	53.9%	3.3%	24.1%	7.8%	100.0%
Post-secondary	0.0%	3.0%	3.0%	36.4%	9.1%	36.4%	12.1%	100.0%
University	0.0%	1.7%	1.7%	20.0%	5.0%	51.7%	20.0%	100.0%
Postgraduate studies	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	28.6%	42.9%	100.0%
Total sub-sample	3.0%	12.8%	10.2%	44.1%	3.3%	19.0%	7.2%	100.0%

Note: The grey-colored boxes mark the respondents who maintain the same educational level as their fathers.

Just like the tide raising all the ships afloat, most young people seem to have benefitted from the expansion of the learning system. 75% of the faculty graduates have more education than their parents. But education has a strong social replication component whereby the parents transfer to their children the educational advantage either because they have better financial means and invest in their children's education, or because they instill in them the respect and appreciation of school and professional training.

The replication of learning differences from one generation to another can be analyzed by means of double-entry tables making a comparison between the parent's education and the child's education. Each line presents the graduation percentage of each form of education by the young people whose fathers graduated a certain form of education. For instance, we can see what percentage of young people graduated a faculty of the total young people whose fathers graduated a high school.

The data show the clear influence of the parent's education on the children's educational level. For instance, four in ten young people whose fathers have maximum 4 grades maintain the same low level of education; likewise, more than half of the young people whose fathers graduated a high school or a faculty inherit their parent's educational profile. On the opposite side of the educational hierarchy, the chances to graduate a higher learning institution are also unevenly distributed. For instance, less than 4% of the young people whose fathers graduated maximum 10 grades are faculty graduates; 32% of the young people whose fathers graduated a high school are faculty graduates and 72% of the young people whose fathers graduated a faculty are, in their turn, faculty graduates.

With regard to the descending inter-generation educational mobility, we point out that one youngster in ten – among the young people whose fathers graduated a vocational school or a high school – has a lower educational level than his parent's education.

As regards the ascending inter-generation educational mobility, 31% of the children whose fathers graduated maximum 4 grades graduate at least a vocational school; likewise, over 60% of the young people whose fathers graduated maximum 10 grades have a higher educational level.

This replication of the educational status has the form of a relative inequality: although there is more room at the top of the educational hierarchy, the top places are rather occupied by the young people coming from higher educated families. In order to better understand this phenomenon, we shall analyze the types of educational mobility by using a simplified structure of the levels of education. We shall simplify the seven initial categories into three large levels of education: 1) primary, secondary or vocational school; 2) high school or post-secondary; 3) higher education. We shall contrast the father's education with the respondent's education in order to emphasize the types of educational mobility.

Table 3.28 Educational mobility: simplified analysis (% calculated on the sub-sample of young people having concluded their studies, without non-responses; n=665)

		Respondent's level of education			
		Primary, secondary or vocational school	High school or post-secondary	Higher education	Total
Father's level of education	Primary, secondary or vocational school	21.4%	21.2%	5.7%	48.3%
	High school or post-secondary	4.2%	23.3%	14.1%	41.7%
	Higher education	0.5%	2.4%	7.2%	10.1%
	Total sample	26.0%	46.9%	27.1%	100.0%

Note: The grey-colored boxes mark the respondents who maintain the same educational level as their fathers.

Noteworthy are the differences in mobility between the three social origin types in view of education. Of the 10% of the respondents whose fathers are higher educated, more than two thirds remain at such higher-education level. On the other hand, the young people whose fathers have a lower level of education tend to inherit their fathers' educational level. It is true that, among the higher educated young people, the percentage of those having fathers who are high school or post-secondary graduates is double than the percentage of the young people whose parents have tertiary education, but the latter's total number is four times lower. In other words, the relative chances of a child whose father is a faculty graduate to replicate his father's high educational level are double than the chances of a child whose father is a high school graduate, even if in the end the latter will be, in absolute figures, in a larger number.

Further we shall focus on several classical measures of social mobility, as they result from our research. A first and simple measure of social mobility is obtained by summing up the grey-colored values on the diagonal. The sum of those values represents the percentage of the respondents who replicate the educational level of their fathers, i.e. who graduated the same type of learning institution as their fathers. This figure represents the percentage of "immobile" young people or the educational immobility rate.

By adding the percentages above and below the long diagonal (except for the "Total" column and line) we get the total educational mobility rate. By adding the percentages above the long diagonal (colored in grey) we get the descending educational mobility rate: when the children have lower education than their fathers' education. Likewise, by adding the values below the

long diagonal (colored in grey) we get information about the ascending educational mobility rate: when the children have higher educational level than the original educational level, i.e. their fathers' education.

In our research, 52% of the young people have the same educational level as their fathers; therefore they are mobile from an educational point of view. Only 7% of the young people fall in the descending mobility category, with a lower educational level than their fathers, and 41% exceeded their parents' level of education. In conclusion, most of the respondents who left the educational system either replicate their parents' educational performance, or register an ascending educational mobility; the number of the young people with a lower educational level than their fathers is very small. The total educational mobility rate (i.e. both ascending and descending) is 48%.

The analysis of the social mobility, which can be educational or class mobility, must also take into consideration the difference between 1) the structural mobility and 2) the individual mobility. Structural mobility is the result of the structural changes occurring between the parents' generation and the young people's generation. Because of the changes in the share of the types of education, some forms of education may become more frequent or others may become less utilized. The historical expansion of the tertiary system – from a form meant exclusively for the elites to a mass education – is such a structural change. Individual mobility is the result of individual efforts as well as of the advantages or disadvantages associated with the parents' social class (e.g., “the accident of being born in a poor family”).

Numerically, the structural mobility rate is calculated starting from the sum of the differences between the marginal values on each line and column, i.e. between the shares of various types of education expressed in percentages. The individual mobility rate is the difference between the total mobility rate and the structural mobility rate; in other words, it is that portion

of mobility that cannot be explained by pure structural changes at the level of the society.

In our research, the structural mobility rate is 23%, and the individual mobility rate is 25%. We point out again that the total educational mobility rate is 48%. In conclusion, within the entire educational mobility phenomenon, almost half of the mobility cases can be explained by changes only at structural level. In our case, the structural change between the parents' generation and the children's generation lies in the reduction of the percentage of young people with lower education than a vocational school simultaneously with the increase in the share of graduates of higher education institutions. On the other hand, a little more than half of the mobility cases can be explained either by individual characteristics, by the respondent's social advantage or disadvantage, or by individual phenomena.

These figures show a certain reserve in considering the young people's educational mobility as a considerable one. On the one hand, the fact that almost half of the young people reach another level of education than their parents can be associated with an increase in the education opportunities beyond the opportunities having faced their parents. However, almost half of the mobile young people owe their educational mobility to structural changes that have nothing in common with equal opportunities or with their own efforts or circumstances. Their mobility, largely an ascending mobility, resulted from the changes in the structure of the educational system, which occurred between the parents' generation and their own generation.

Further, we shall analyze the differences between the educational structure of the youth categories defined by gender, residential environment or historic region, and age categories. The table below shows a series of statistically significant differences between various socio-demographic categories in view of the young people's education.

Table 3.29 Educational structure: differences by gender, residential environment and regions, age groups. (% calculated on the sub-sample of young people having concluded their studies, without non-responses; n=665)

		Grade school (maximum 4 grades)	Primary (maximum 10 grades)	Vocational school	High school	Post-secondary	University	Post-graduate	Total
Total sub-sample		3.0%	12.9%	10.3%	44.2%	3.3%	19.1%	7.2%	100.0%
Gender	Male	3.0%	12.7%	14.0%	47.4%	1.4%	14.9%	6.6%	100.0%
	Female	3.0%	13.1%	6.1%	40.7%	5.5%	23.7%	7.9%	100.0%
Residential environment	Urban	2.1%	7.7%	8.5%	42.0%	3.2%	24.2%	12.2%	100.0%
	Rural	4.1%	19.0%	12.3%	46.8%	3.5%	13.0%	1.3%	100.0%

		Grade school (maximum 4 grades)	Primary (maximum 10 grades)	Vocational school	High school	Post-secondary	University	Post-graduate	Total
Total sub-sample		3.0%	12.9%	10.3%	44.2%	3.3%	19.1%	7.2%	100.0%
Historical region	Moldavia	1.3%	11.4%	16.1%	46.3%	3.4%	16.1%	5.4%	100.0%
	Wallachia	2.5%	16.0%	7.8%	46.7%	2.9%	17.6%	6.6%	100.0%
	Transylvania	5.4%	13.4%	8.5%	38.8%	4.0%	22.3%	7.6%	100.0%
	Bucharest	1.3%	4.0%	12.0%	48.0%	2.7%	20.0%	12.0%	100.0%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	8.6%	36.2%	15.5%	39.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	20 to 24 y.o.	2.1%	11.3%	8.2%	56.8%	3.1%	15.8%	2.7%	100.0%
	25 to 29 y.o.	2.9%	10.2%	11.1%	34.2%	4.1%	25.1%	12.3%	100.0%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

As compared to men, women are over-represented in the category of university and postgraduate graduates (31% women having graduated university and postgraduate courses versus 21% men with the same educational level). But, compared to women, men are over-represented in the category of high school or vocational school graduates. Only 6% of the women graduated a vocational school, possible explanations being both the reduced supply of professional courses for women, and the increased educational aspirations due to the expansion of education over the last two decades.

Moreover, it is a confirmation of the equalization of educational opportunities for women and men, a trend that was noticed at the level of the cohorts of parents. Therefore, the women in the sub-sample of young people no longer attending school courses are better educated than men, in particular as regards post-secondary or higher studies. With the generation of the parents of over-25 young people, the situation was directly opposite, i.e. the men/fathers had higher educational levels as against the women/mothers. From the gender disparity perspective, these data suggest a positive development, the equalization of the educational opportunities for men and women.

With regard to the differences by residential environments, we point out that the percentage of the young people with less than 10 grades is double in the rural area than in the urban area. Moreover, only 14% of the young people in rural areas are faculty graduates as against 36% of the young people in urban areas who graduated a faculty. Besides the differences in opportunities between the rural and the urban areas, the differences registered in this category might also result from the migration to town of the higher educated young people who originate in rural areas – which enhances the structural and development imbalances.

A similar hypothesis can be considered to explain at least part of the differences between regions as regards the education of young people. Therefore, 33% of the young people in Bucharest are higher education graduates, unlike only 22% of the young people in Moldavia; similarly, only 5% of the Bucharest young people have less than 10 grades, while the percentage of the young people with less than 10 grades in Wallachia and Transylvania is 19%.

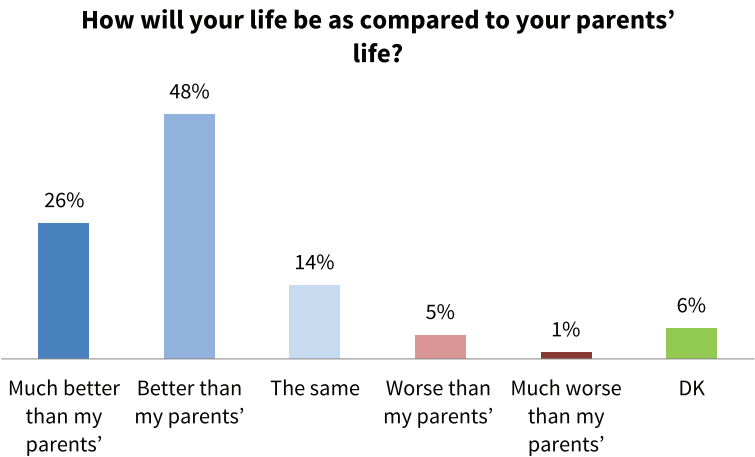
3.7

CONCERNS, ASPIRATIONS AND INTENTIONS TO EMIGRATE

In order to understand the Romanian young people's concerns about tomorrow, the best place to start is their perception regarding their own future. Our analysis starts from the answers to a question traditionally used in the specialized literature with regard to the young people's life in comparison with their parents' life. As shown in chart 3.5, most young people are relatively

optimistic about their future. About three quarters of the young people consider that, when they reach the age of their parents, their life will be better. Approximately 15% consider that their life will be somewhat similar to their parents' life, and only 6% consider that their life will be worse.

Chart 3.5. Assessment of the future



These figures would normally make us believe that all young people are highly optimistic about their future in Romania. However, if we look closer, the data is not as positive as we might expect. First, their optimism about the future seems to decrease as they get older. As we can see in Table 3.30, the young people between 15 and 19, who are not integrated in the labor market yet and who are likely to live with their parents, are

the most optimistic, while the young people between 25 and 29 are a bit more reserved. The young people in rural areas are consistently less optimistic than the young people in urban areas. Almost 80% of the young people in the urban area consider that they will have a better life than their parents, but there is a smaller percentage (70%) in the rural areas.

Table 3. 30. View on the economic future by residential environment, age and gender (Romania, n=1302)

		How will your life be as compared to your parents' life?					
		Much better than my parents'	Better than my parents'	The same	Worse than my parents'	Much worse than my parents'	DK
Total sample		26.4%	47.6%	14.3%	4.6%	1.2%	5.9%
Gender	Male	27.8%	46.9%	14.8%	3.7%	.8%	6.0%
	Female	25.1%	48.3%	13.8%	5.5%	1.5%	5.8%

		<i>How will your life be as compared to your parents' life?</i>					
		Much better than my parents'	Better than my parents'	The same	Worse than my parents'	Much worse than my parents'	DK
Total sample		26.4%	47.6%	14.3%	4.6%	1.2%	5.9%
Residential environment	Urban	25.5%	51.2%	12.8%	3.9%	.7%	6.0%
	Rural	27.6%	43.0%	16.3%	5.5%	1.8%	5.8%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	30.7%	46.4%	13.7%	1.5%	.9%	6.8%
	20 to 24 y.o.	24.1%	48.2%	14.1%	5.8%	.9%	7.0%
	25 to 29 y.o.	24.1%	48.4%	15.2%	7.0%	1.9%	3.5%
	30 and over y.o.						

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The young people' confidence in the future is not unitary, but it largely depends on their opportunities, which are influenced by their residential environment and the parents' economic possibilities. Similarly, the differences also depend upon age. The very young people make an assessment depending upon the way in which they imagine the Romanian society is functioning. The young people between 25 and 29 speak from the perspective of the working people and they are likely to understand more practically the opportunities they have, being more realistic (or cynical-realistic).

Chart 3.6 In 10 years' time, do you see yourself an accomplished person in Romania or in other country?

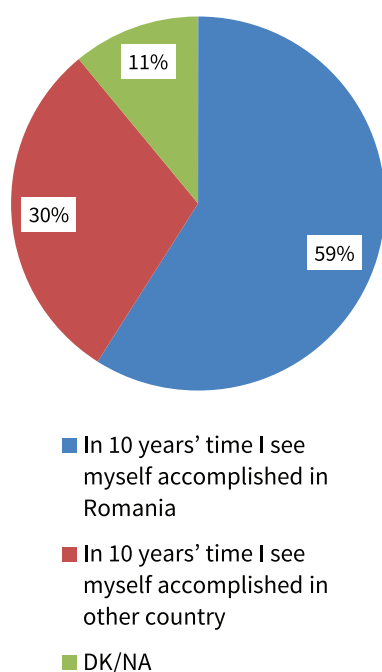


Chart 3.6 confirms this reality and shows that 30% of young people see themselves as persons accomplished in another country than Romania. The impulse to emigration having affected the Romanian population over the last ten years seems to continue among the younger generation as well. The possibility to emigrate is inherent in view of Romania's membership in the European Union, but the potential percentage of 30% is rather worrisome.

According to Table 3.31, the young people between 15 and 19 are most inclined to see themselves as accomplished persons in another country, in ten years' time. On the contrary, the young people between 25 and 29 have the smallest chance to see themselves as accomplished persons only in another country. The difference should not be very surprising as, for the young people between 15 and 19, a 10-year deadline is a reasonable period to finish their studies. The number of young people leaving the country to study abroad is increasing and it is likely to determine the very young ones to do the same. On the contrary, the young people over 20 begin to be integrated in the labor market, have families and/or are more likely to study or to have graduated in Romania, so their possibility to emigrate for studies is lower. Moreover, the literature on international migration reveals that the (international and internal) migration implies objective and subjective costs, and such costs tend to increase with age.

Table 3.31 View on the future, by residential environment, age and gender (Romania, n=1302)

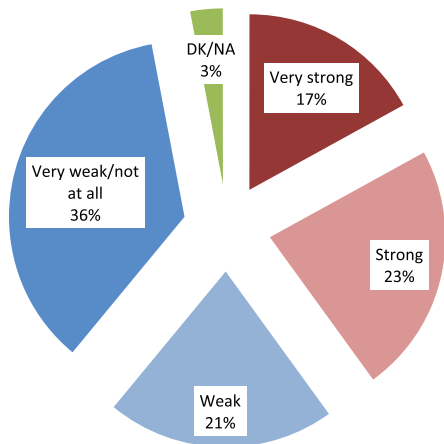
	In 10 years' time I see myself as an accomplished person in Romania	In 10 years' time I see myself as an accomplished person in other country	DK/NA	Total
Total sample	58.7%	30.2%	11.1%	100%
Barbat	53.2%	34.9%	11.9%	100%
Femeie	64.1%	25.5%	10.4%	100%
Urban	58.6%	30.8%	10.6%	100%
Rural	58.8%	29.4%	11.9%	100%
15-19 ani	55.1%	35.3%	9.6%	100%
20-24 ani	59.1%	30.1%	10.9%	100%
25-29 ani	62.6%	24.1%	13.4%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

We point out that men tend to have greater opportunities than women to see their future in another country. Moreover, these figures might also reflect the way in which the aforementioned traditionalist culture considers the role of women.

In order to better notice the international migration phenomenon, we included direct questions about the intentions to migrate. Chart 3.7 shows that about 40% of the young people have a rather strong desire to leave Romania – to study, to work, temporarily or for good. We should point out that this seems a rather polarized issue, because extreme options – those who want very much to leave and those who do not want to leave – are almost equal, standing together for 50% of the options.

Chart 3.7. How strong is your desire to leave Romania (to work, to study, for ever, etc?)



Noteworthy is the fact that most of the young people who want much and very much to leave Romania tend to see themselves as established in another country in ten years' time. So, almost 80% of the young people who see themselves as living in another country in ten years' time have a strong or very strong desire to leave, which means that for most of them such leaving would not be temporary but rather permanent. Even the 20% who see themselves living in Romania in ten years' time want to leave Romania, but it is likely that their living would be rather temporary.

Anyhow, we must note that these figures show an opinion not a commitment, and such opinion might be also influenced by a poor knowledge of the actual reality. Again, figures show that almost half of the young people between 15 and 19 want to leave Romania, while only 30% of those between 25 and 29 share the same view. Of course, one can argue that the young people belonging to the generation between 25 and 29 who wanted to emigrate had already done so and are not included in this study; but the data show that the three generations are pretty well balanced on this issue.

Table 3.32 Intention to emigrate by residential environment, age and gender (% total sample)

	How strong is your wish to leave Romania?					Total
	Very strong	Strong	Weak	Very weak/ not at all	DK/NA	
Total sample	17.1%	22.7%	21.4%	36.3%	2.5%	100%
Male	21.0%	24.1%	19.4%	32.9%	2.6%	100%
Female	13.3%	21.4%	23.2%	39.6%	2.4%	100%
Urban	16.1%	24.4%	22.8%	33.9%	2.7%	100%
Rural	18.4%	20.5%	19.5%	39.3%	2.3%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	15.0%	29.6%	21.4%	30.5%	3.5%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	18.8%	22.2%	23.0%	33.7%	2.3%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	17.6%	15.0%	19.3%	46.5%	1.6%	100%
In 10 years' time I see myself accomplished in Romania	8.0%	12.6%	23.0%	54.1%	2.4%	100%
In 10 years' time I see myself accomplished in other country	36.9%	42.0%	17.3%	3.6%	.3%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The reasons why young people want to leave the country are associated, as expected, with their aspirations of life standards. Chart 3.8 shows that more than half of the young people intending to emigrate want to do it for a better life. To them we should add the 12% who would emigrate to find a job and the 2% who would emigrate to start their own business. In total, 48% of the Romanian young people state that they would like to emigrate mainly because the economic situation of the country is not good enough. The percentage is quite high and if only half of the persons stating their wish to emigrate left the country, Romania would risk to find itself in an even more delicate situation in the future than it is already in. It is not clear whether these young people's needs can be met rapidly or exclusively by the country's

political management, but it is obvious that there is a significant desire to emigrate and that the European Union legal framework makes this process a relatively easy one.

Obviously, there are also other reasons of the external migration. For instance, 3% of the young people want to emigrate in order to have access to a better education. As long as their wish refers strictly to education, it is possible that their migration is rather a temporary one. The 6% who would emigrate to live in a country with a greater cultural diversity are part of those young people who would emigrate because of cosmopolitanism, cultural curiosity, the wish to see the world differently. Moreover, we note that about 1% of the young people who want to leave the country would do it in order to be closer to their beloved ones.

Chart 3.8 What is the main reason why you want to leave the country? (% of the total persons wishing to leave)

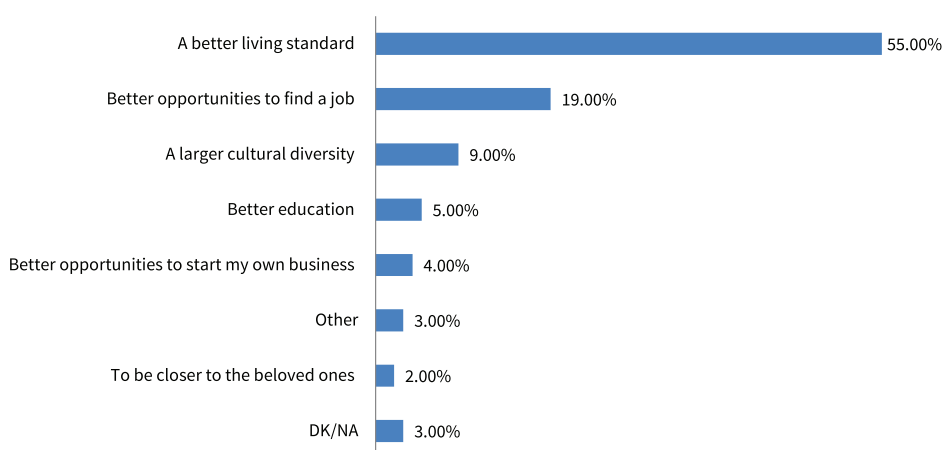


Table 3.33 helps us better understand this situation. The intention to emigrate seems to include two major facets. The first facet is associated with the young people's economic opportunities in the country. As we shall see, the young people in rural areas are much more inclined to leave the country for a better job or to start their own business. The difference between them and the young people in urban areas is probably due to the perception (which is a realistic one) of the lack of opportunities for the young people in the rural area. Thus, they want to find a job abroad precisely because they can hardly find a good job in the country and, we would add, maybe because, in certain regions wherefrom the largest part of the external migration originated, the existing migration networks can facilitate this process. Moreover, it is possible that in such areas the model of an accomplished life is defined by external migration. The corollary is that the young people in rural areas only rarely tend to emigrate for a better education, probably because they imagine they could not afford it.

The difference in opportunities can also be seen from the perspective of other data in Table 3.33, such as the desire to emigrate in order to live in a society with a greater cultural diversity. This type of emigration, which we have previously described as a cosmopolitan migration of cultural curiosity, occurs much frequently

with the young people in urban areas. Also, we learn that the desire to emigrate in order to get a better life standard increases with age, which reveals that young people, in their transition from school to labor market, become more disappointed with the opportunities they have in the country.

A second component or facet of the desire to migrate is associated with aspirations, with the plans and desires to live in another society and to get access to a better education. Not surprisingly, the young people are the happiest at this thought, while the young people between 25 and 29 are close to concluding their education, are likely to be married and/or to have found a relatively satisfying job in the country. The intentions of external migration seem to fade in time so that, as they get older, the young people's desire to leave from curiosity or for education decreases significantly. However, the wish to emigrate from economic reasons has higher chances to be fulfilled.

Finally, we point out a series of differences by gender in the wish to migrate abroad. As previously mentioned, women tend to have a slighter desire to emigrate than men, and the data show that they tend to have different reasons. Almost twice as many women than men would like to leave the country in order to get access to better education.

Table 3.33 Reasons of emigration by residential environment, age and gender (% calculated only for those wishing to emigrate)

	What is the main reason why you would like to leave Romania?								Total
	A better living standard	A larger cultural diversity	Better education	Better opportunities to find a job	Better opportunities to start my own business	To be closer to the beloved ones	Other	DK / NA	
Total sub-sample	55.1%	9.4%	5.1%	19.2%	3.9%	1.5%	3.4%	2.4%	100%
Male	59.6%	9.1%	3.1%	18.2%	4.3%	1.0%	2.9%	1.9%	100%
Female	50.1%	9.8%	7.4%	20.3%	3.4%	2.1%	4.0%	2.9%	100%
Urban	55.7%	11.6%	6.9%	13.7%	3.4%	1.7%	4.1%	3.0%	100%
Rural	54.2%	6.4%	2.7%	27.0%	4.5%	1.2%	2.4%	1.5%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	50.5%	10.9%	7.9%	22.8%	4.3%	1.0%	1.3%	1.3%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	53.7%	10.0%	5.0%	19.0%	3.7%	1.7%	4.3%	2.7%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	64.4%	6.2%	1.0%	13.9%	3.6%	2.1%	5.2%	3.6%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

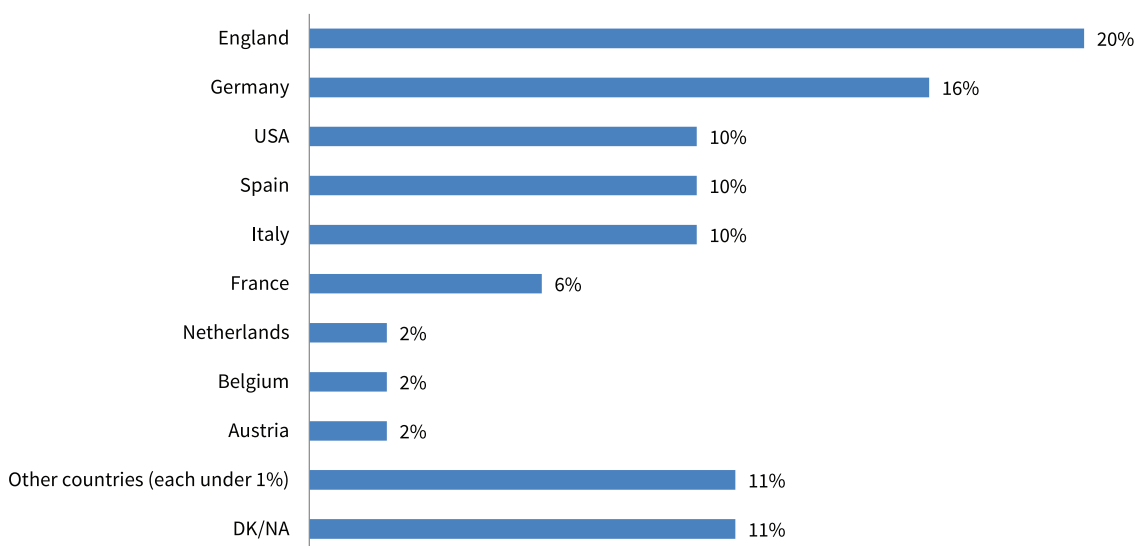
Which are the favorite destinations to emigrate? As seen in Table 3.34, there are several countries that seem more attractive for young people. They are England,

the favorite destination of 20% of the young people, Germany, the favorite destination of 16% of the young people, and Italy, Spain and USA, each favored by 10%

of the young people who plan to emigrate and have a destination. (Attention: these percentages do not refer to the total young people in Romania but only to the persons aged between 15 and 29 who state that they have a strong or very strong desire to leave the country, either to work, to study, temporarily or for good).

Besides those countries, we can see other destinations, such as Canada, Australia, South Korea or Japan, countries where the entry and labor conditions are much more difficult than in the European Union developed countries. Among “other countries” we also note destinations such as India, Argentina or the United Arab Emirates, but in very small numbers.

Chart 3.9 What country would you like to leave to (for work, studies, for ever, etc.)? Percentages calculated only for those wishing to leave the country.



Unlike young people in the urban areas, the young people in rural areas are more attracted by local destinations, i.e. in the European Union. We can note a significant difference between the young people in urban areas and the young people in rural areas as regards the migration to Italy and England. As regards England, there is also a considerable difference in the

age of potential emigrants. The youngest respondents seem to want to migrate to England more than the older ones. This difference is partially explained by the fact that most of the young people between 15 and 19 who want to migrate for better education want to leave for England or USA.

Table 3.34 Emigration destinations by residential environment, age and gender (39% of total sample, those who want much or very much to emigrate, n=519)

What country would you like to go to (to work, permanently, to study, etc.)?									
	England	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	USA	Other countries	DK/NA	Total
Urban	21%	7%	15%	7%	9%	11%	21%	8%	100%
Rural	20%	5%	20%	18%	12%	3%	12%	8%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	21%	5%	14%	12%	13%	9%	15%	10%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	21%	8%	20%	11%	9%	8%	16%	6%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	20%	5%	18%	11%	8%	6%	23%	9%	100%
Male	20%	5%	20%	10%	11%	8%	18%	9%	100%
Female	23%	8%	14%	13%	11%	7%	17%	7%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

The above figures should not surprise us too much. The wish to emigrate has been present among the general population for a long time, and the current data show that the young generation has, probably, an even stronger desire to do it than the older generation. Certainly, there was no way to determine without doubt whether the young people' desire was to settle abroad for good or only to emigrate temporarily – to study or to gather money.

However, we should note that the intention to migrate from economic reasons, in particular the migration of the young people who feel they have no opportunities

in Romania, is quite important and, in the absence of major changes, most of those young people will put their migration plans into practice. As previously mentioned, the young people in rural areas want to leave the country from very clear-cut reasons generally associated with economic issues. It is easily conceivable that the reasons of other nature, such as the need of education or cultural curiosity, might fade in time. On the contrary, the economic problems have greater chances to worsen and, thus, to put even more pressure on the persons already intending to leave the country.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

- The most frequent differences between young people as regards the socioeconomic context are associated with the distinction between the rural and the urban areas, followed by inter-regional ones;
- Not surprisingly in view of the reference population (i.e. young people aged between 15 and 29), the large majority of the respondents are not involved in a stable couple; women tend to marry at an earlier age than men and also to have children earlier.
- In their majority, the young people live with their parents or with their partner's parents. In rural areas more young people live in private houses (or in houses belonging to the family), having a larger number of rooms than in urban areas.
- Due to their higher incomes, the households in the urban area spend more money than the rural households; similarly, the young people in the urban area have a better supply of various goods – such as personal computers, cars – and a better access to modern communication means (internet, mobile telephony, etc.);
- Almost half of the young people consider their parents belong to the middle class, and one in three considers them in the working class. The material situation is the most important criterion of social classification used by young people when they refer to social classes; the level of education and the level of incomes are the next two criteria used to place themselves in a social class; in their majority, the young people consider that they belong to the same social class as their parents.
- The young people are better educated than their parents; as compared to their parents' generation, fewer young people attended technical courses.
- Almost half of the young people have another educational level than their parents, mostly a higher level. Approximately half of the young people who have a higher level of education than their fathers owe their ascending mobility to the structural changes in the educational system (or to its expansion).
- There are significant differences by residential environments and regional profile in the access to higher education. From this point of view, the young people in rural areas and in poor regions have lower prospects to graduate post-secondary or to follow university courses.
- Of the respondents having concluded their studies, women tend to be better educated than men;
- External migration represents an option for young people for the moment. A third of the respondents state that, in ten years' time, they see themselves accomplished in another country and almost 40% of the respondents state that they would like to leave Romania at a certain moment, even if only temporarily. Probably for some of them emigration is rather wishful thinking, but there are rather a lot of young people for which migration seems the only solution to a decent life. The most significant

such group is the group of the young people in the rural area who would leave the country because of the economic situation in Romania, in order to find a job in another country. There is a great difference between them and the young people in the urban area, and this only proves the deep gaps in the economic and social development during the post-communist transition in Romania.

- Even in spite of the relatively difficult economic situation, the young people seem extremely optimistic that they will have a better life than their parents. This optimism can originate in the difficult

situation their parents experienced during the post-communism transition, but it more probably originates in the opportunities these young people have to leave the country. Their optimism for the future is positively correlated with the desire to leave Romania but it is well represented also among the young people who, in ten years' time, see themselves as accomplished persons in Romania. This proves that most young people consider emigration as a contingency plan in case they will not get in Romania what they want from an economic point of view.

CHAPTER 4

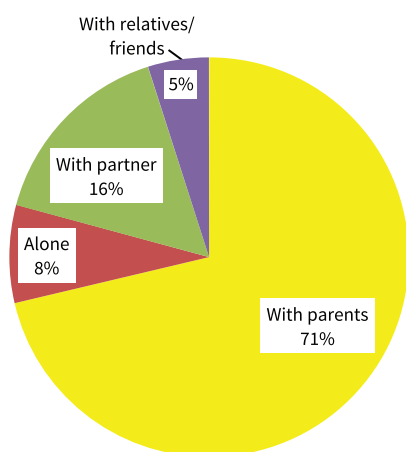
FAMILY AND SOCIETY

4.1

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS AND FAMILY

In studying the relationship between young people and their family, it is important to start from the finding that almost three quarters of the young people between 15 and 29 in Romania live with their parents. More precisely, 71% of the young people between 15 and 29 live with their parents, 8% live alone, 16% live with their spouse and 5% live with friends/relatives or another person. This question differs from the one analyzed earlier, in Table 3.10, which assesses the rate of the living in rented or privately owned dwellings.

Chart 4.1 With whom do young people live?



As many respondents are still underage and attend school courses, the percentage of those still living with their parents is not surprising. As seen in Table

4.1., the age is the main factor that differentiates the respondent's living arrangements. Almost 95% of the young people between 15 and 19 live with their parents, while only 38% of the young people between 25 and 29 are in the same situation. The two extreme categories show significant differences from the average as regards the other types of living arrangements as well. More than half of the young people between 25 and 29 live separately from their parents, alone (15%) or with their spouse (over 40%). However, the possibility to live alone or in other arrangement without their parents can also be interpreted as an economically independent formula, as we shall see further on. According to this criterion, the age between 25 and 29 seems the age at which the young people seek solutions to obtain such independence from their family.

The differentiation by gender of the answers at that question gives results that can be included in the national average, except for the category of young people living alone or together with the spouse. We can note that women have a double rate of living with their partner than men. The main explanation of such a difference is the fact that women marry earlier than men. Over 80% of the young people married until they are 24 years old are women, while men tend to marry later in life, as we shall see further on. In fact, this difference by gender can also be seen in the respondents who live alone. Most of them are men, mainly men aged over 24.

Table 4.1 The housing conditions by age, gender and residential environment (% total sample without non-responses)

		With whom does the respondent live?				
		With parents	Alone	With partner	With relatives/friends	Total
Total sample		72%	8%	16%	5%	100%
Gender	Male	75%	9%	11%	5%	100%
	Female	68%	6%	21%	5%	100%
Residential environment	Urban	70%	10%	15%	5%	100%
	Rural	74%	4%	18%	4%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	94%	1%	2%	3%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	76%	8%	9%	6%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	38%	15%	42%	5%	100.0

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

It seems that the residential environment does not affect significantly the living arrangement. The young people in the urban area and those in the rural area fall within the national average in this respect. The only important difference is between the young people who live alone. In the rural area, living alone is less common than in the urban area; from this perspective, it is more unusual for a youngster in the rural area to choose this living arrangement.

The arrangement to live with relatives or friends seems to be influenced neither by age, nor by gender

or by residential environment, which proves that this is rather a temporary, emergency arrangement, not a programmatic one.

Among the 71% young people living with their parents, the most common explanation offered for this arrangement is economic. More than half of the young people between 25 and 29 state that they would like to live alone but they cannot afford it economically.

Table 4.2 Reasons of the housing conditions by age groups (% total sample without non-responses)

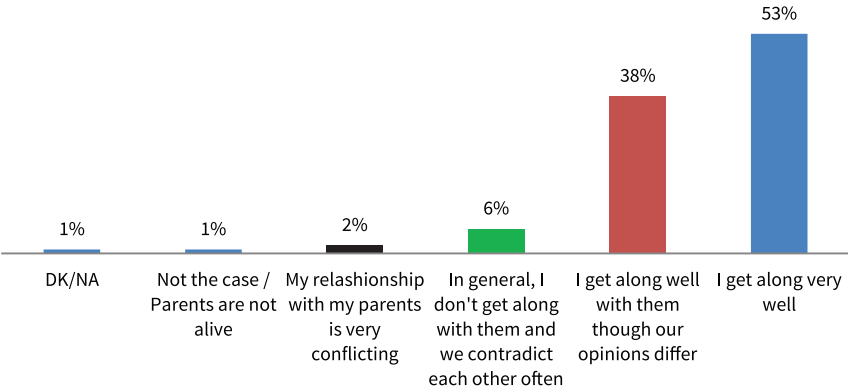
	You live with your parents because...			
	It is the simplest solution for everybody	My financial situation does not allow for anything else	My parents do not agree with my living alone	Total
Total	67.5%	29.2%	3.3%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	81.5%	13.3%	5.2%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	60.5%	37.4%	2.1%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	47.9%	50.9%	1.2%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Young people seem to get along well with their parents, despite their age, gender or residential environment. In fact, young people get along well with their parents even if they do or do not live with them. In all categories analyzed, about 90% of the young people state that

they get along well or very well with their parents, even if difference in opinions might occur; about 8% of the young people state that their relationships with their parents are quite contradictory.

Chart 4.2 How do you get along with your parents?



When asked about the person that had the greatest influence on the life decisions they made, 80% of the respondents named one of their parents. Of the parents, mother was considered by far as most influential on the decisions the young people made in their life. More than 50% of the young people between 15 and 19 designate their mother as the person with the greatest influence on their decisions, and the other age segments come close to this percentage as well.

The data also show a difference by gender in the answer to this question: boys declare they are more influenced by their father than by their mother, but the difference is 42% to 36%. The ratio is rather well balanced, because 60% of the girls having answered this question state that they are influenced by their mother as against 22% of them who say that they are more influenced by their male parent.

Table 4.3 Influences on the young people' life decisions by age group and gender (% total sample without non-responses)

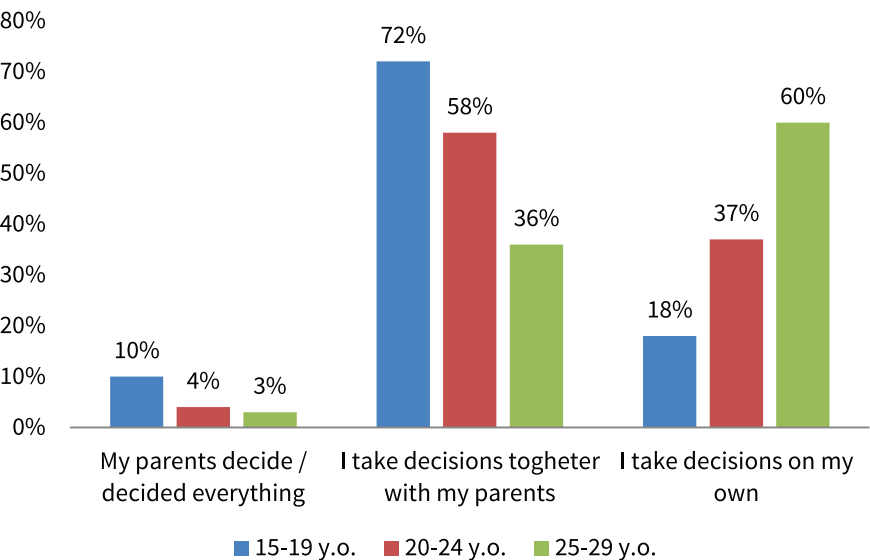
Who had/has the greatest influence on the decisions you had to make in life?					
		Father	Mother	Somebody else	Total
Total		32%	48%	19%	100%
Gender	Male	42%	36%	22%	100%
	Female	22%	60%	17%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	31%	54%	14%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	33%	45%	21%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	32%	43%	24%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

It is not surprisingly that, with age, the young people go away from the influence of their family. It is a natural reaction, primarily manifest in the young people who

no longer live with their parents, which supports the hypothesis about the economic (and psychological) independence that comes with age.

Chart 4.3 How did/do you make major decisions in life?



The conclusion is that the relationship between Romanian young people aged 15 to 29 and their families is a close or good one, which evolves quite naturally

with age, in the sense of a greater independence of the young people.

4.2

THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY RELATIONS

The young people' expectations of setting up a family are likely to emphasize the main characteristics of the family in the future. Therefore, in order to understand the future of the families in Romania we can start from the analysis of the young people' aspirations to have a family or to live in such a domestic arrangement. As per the data in Table 4.4., there still is a majority of almost 80% of the young people in Romania who want to marry or already are in a marriage or a partnership.

We note two major differences associated with age and gender. The older they get, the more persons change the desideratum of a family into a reality. Thus, 37% of the young people between 25 and 29 are already married, and 44% wish to marry, although they have

not reached that situation yet. Similarly, only 2% of the young people between 15 and 19 are already married, and 76% wish to marry in the future.

Another significant difference observed in this analysis is associated with gender: data confirm the aforementioned trend that women get married or are in a partnership earlier than men. 19% of the women are already married or in a partnership, and only 9% of the men are in the same situation.

A last remark refers to the fact that there is a percentage of young people (5%) who see themselves alone in the future. We point out that this percentage tends to decrease with age.

Table 4.4 Intentions regarding marital status (% total sample without non-responses)

	How do you see yourself in the future?				Total
	Married, with own family	In a relation with a partner without being married	Without a partner or marital obligations	Not applicable / I am already married/I am in a partnership	
Total	I am already married/I am in a partnership	15.9%	5.4%	14.2%	100.0%
Man	66.6%	18.0%	6.0%	9.4%	100.0%
Woman	62.5%	13.8%	4.8%	18.9%	100.0%
Urban	64.5%	18.2%	5.4%	11.9%	100.0%
Rural	64.5%	12.8%	5.4%	17.3%	100.0%
15 to 19 y.o.	75.7%	16.5%	6.2%	1.6%	100.0%
20 to 24 y.o.	70.3%	16.7%	5.4%	7.6%	100.0%
25 to 29 y.o.	43.8%	14.1%	4.4%	37.7%	100.0%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

As regards the expectations related to the number of desired children, the results of the survey show that there is no difference between the sub-groups under analysis. All the figures are almost evenly distributed by age groups, residential environment and gender. The average number of desired children is two; in other words, exactly half of the respondents wish to have maximum 2 children, while the other half wish to have more than 2 children. The average is slightly lower, around 1.9 desired children per each respondent. Under

such conditions, the issue of the demographic growth in Romania shall remain a highly difficult problem in the future as well. Normally, in order to maintain a constant amount of the population, the birth rate should be 2.1, higher than what is revealed now by the intentions of the Romanian young people. This situation demonstrates that, most probably, Romania will continue to be subjected to a demographic decline in the future.

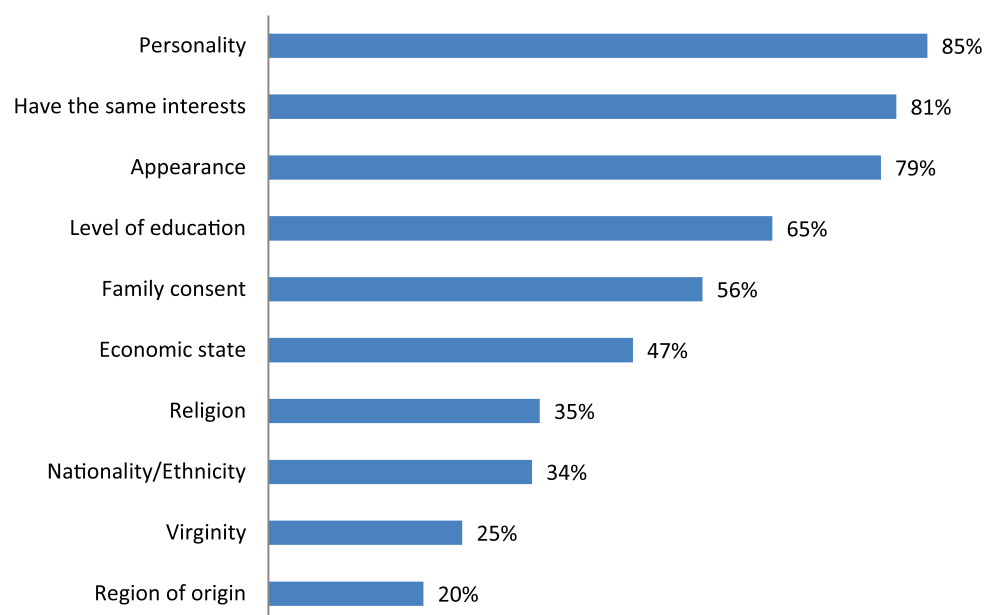
Table 4.5 Optimum age for marriage and number of wanted children by residential environment and age group (averages calculated per total sample without non-responses)

	Optimum age for marriage GIRLS?	Optimum age for marriage BOYS?	How many children would you like?	Mediana
	Media	Media	Media	
Total sample	24.7	27.5	1.9	2
Male	24.5	27.4	1.9	2
Female	24.8	27.6	1.9	2
Urban	24.9	27.9	1.8	2
Rural	24.4	27.1	1.9	2
15 to 19 y.o.	24.2	26.8	1.9	2
20 to 24 y.o.	25.0	27.8	1.9	2
25 to 29 y.o.	24.8	28.0	1.8	2

Fundamentally, we should point out that there is a general consensus that the optimum age for girls to get married is younger than the men's optimum age for marriage. This consensus is accepted by all sub-groups under analysis, including the girls, and it seems

it originates in a series of asymmetrical (and potentially discriminatory) expectations associated with the gender. The main reason lies in the tradition according to which girls should marry at a younger age than boys.

Chart 4.1. What is the most important thing in choosing a partner? (% total sample without non-responses)



Another indicator that might be of significance in better understanding the future of the family in Romania is what young people are looking for in a partner. The extent to which these factors are similar, in particular between genders, can be a significant perspective element. First, it should be important to point out that not all studied factors are deemed essential. For instance, the region of origin, virginity, ethnic group and

religion are factors that seem not very important for most young people under analysis.

Even the partner's economic situation seems to be only a slightly significant factor. However, the aspects associated with the direct interaction and compatibility between partners, personality, tastes and physical appearance seem to be the most important elements.

Chart 4.5 Importance of various factors in choosing the partner, by gender

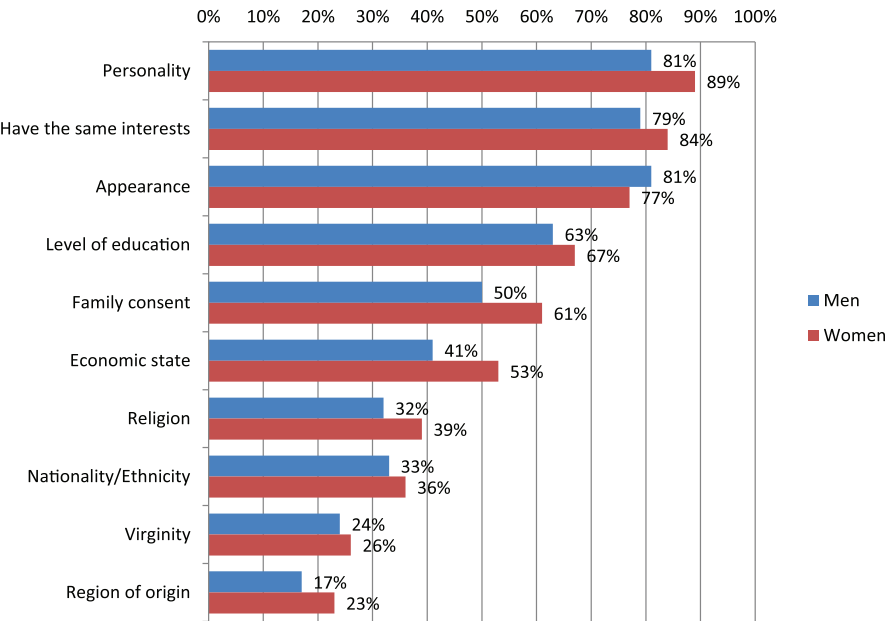


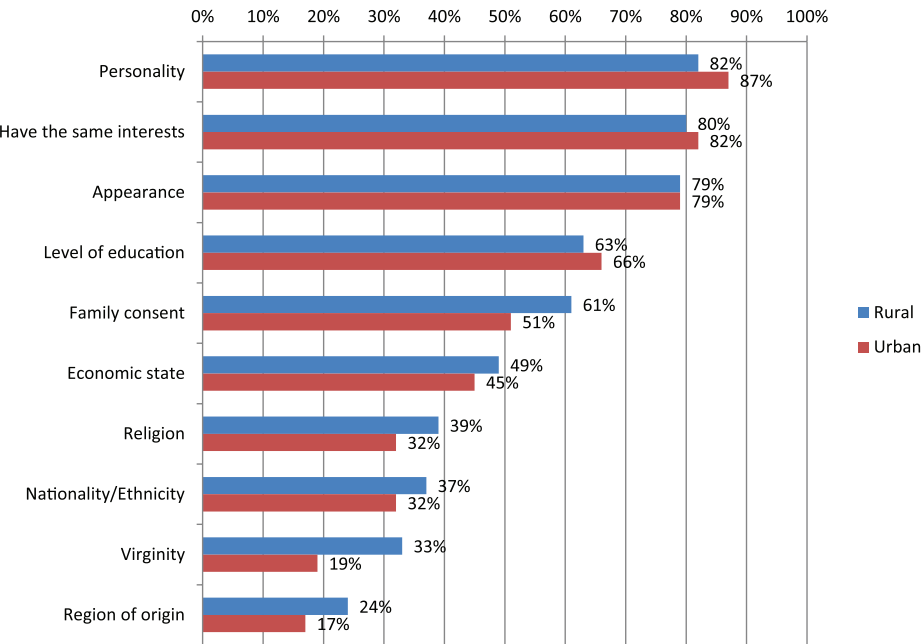
Chart 4.5, on the differences by gender in the expectations of a partner, shows that there is no difference in how such expectations are arranged, although there is a small difference in assessing their importance. In general, almost all analyzed aspects are more important for women – by 6% on an average – except for the physical appearance, where it seems that the young girls in Romania have lower expectations from men than men have from them. For instance, the economic situation is more important for women than for men, by 12%, while virginity is more important for women by only 2%.

So, at least two differences in the table above are significant in understanding the last years' evolution of the attitudes towards marriage. The first is the fact that more girls than boys seem to consider virginity as important to marriage. The existence of such equilibrium within the present young generation of

Romania suggests that the boys' expectations in this area decreased quicker and sharper than the society's pressure on girls to consider virginity as normative in a marriage.

A second aspect that needs to be analyzed here is the fact that the greatest disparity between genders with regard to their expectations from a partner is the economic situation. While only 40% of the boys consider that the partner's economic situation is a significant factor, almost 55% of the girls deem it an important factor. Once again, the difference can originate in traditions of asymmetrical expectations between the two genders, from which young people depart with great difficulty. For instance, it is possible that the partner's economic situation is more important for women just because the traditional view according to which the man has to bring more money in the family is still widespread among young people.

Chart 4. 6 Importance of various factors in choosing the partner, by residential environment



The differentiation by residential environments does not affect the hierarchy of significant aspects, but it changes the significance of the factors. Some of the registered differences seem to confirm the hypothesis of traditionalist attitudes, which are more predominant in the rural area than in the urban area. Another aspect

proving a major difference between the young people in the rural area and those in the urban area is the one associated with the family's approval of the partner. The importance of the family's consent is higher in the rural area, in particular with the girls in the rural area.

4.3 PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS

We pointed out earlier that the young people in Romania, like the young people in other countries, are quite close to their family, but it would be significant to assess their relationship with other groups of people, traditionally called social distance. This relationship is very important in understanding how trust is built among groups as well as an individual's capability to interact with other individuals or groups in the future. Specialized literature considers this type of trust as one of the significant ingredients for the good functioning of a society (see the aspects associated with generalized trust and social capital according to R. Putnam).

In our survey the respondents had to answer a question regarding the trust in certain groups, on a 1 (minim) to 10 (maxim) scale. In Table 4.6 we have the averages for each analyzed sub-group. The hierarchy resulted from this question puts, as expected, the close family on the first place, followed at a considerable distance by relatives and friends. This hierarchy shows a trust structure concentrated on the primary group the respondent belongs to, the appurtenance group, which also is the source of a series of assigned statuses.

Table 4.6 Average of the trust in various groups (total sample; averages calculated without non-responses)

Trust groups (average, 1-10)	Average
Members of your family (parents, brothers, sisters)	9.38
Your relatives	7.85
Your friends	7.35
Priests, pastors, etc.	6.67
School/high school/faculty/work colleagues	6.10
Persons of other religion, in Romania	5.63
Your neighbors	5.46
Persons having other political opinions	5.46
Persons belonging to other ethnic groups in Romania	5.30

Practically, young people trust more their family and relatives, whom they do not choose, than their friends, whom they choose themselves according to personal affinities, compatibilities or other criteria. Another nationwide survey confirms the fact that the

rest of the population has a trust structure even more concentrated on the primary group.⁴ Our data show that the young generation is more opened to other social groups than the older generation, although the figures are still far from the figures in Western Europe. A significant detail to be noted in this hierarchy is the high level of trust enjoyed by priests, pastors or other religious preachers in general. The level of trust in them is very high, close to the trust young people have in friends and higher than the trust in school//high school/faculty/work colleagues. This emphasizes the fact that, at least at a declarative level, religion is still very important among younger generations. At least at a first glance, young people seem to have a relatively reserved attitude towards the persons belonging to another ethnic group or having other political views. The situation seems better than among the remaining adult population, but it remains one of the major problems in our society. However, the breakdown of the questions associated with the social distance by ethnic groups reveals a pretty serious image of the young people in Romania.

Table 4.7 Average of the confidence in various groups by ethnic group (averages calculated without non-responses)

Confidence groups (average, 1-10)	Romanian	Hungarian	Roma	Total
Members of your family (parents, brothers, sisters)	9.42	9.43	8.14	9.38
Your relatives	7.87	7.97	7.27	7.85
Your friends	7.32	8.09	6.73	7.35
Priests, pastors, etc.	6.66	6.37	7.16	6.67
School/high school/faculty/work colleagues	6.09	6.36	5.72	6.10
Persons of other religion, in Romania	5.56	6.45	6.18	5.63
Your neighbors	5.40	6.17	6.03	5.46
Persons having other political opinions	5.42	6.08	5.65	5.46
Persons belonging to other ethnic groups in Romania	5.21	5.97	6.81	5.30

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

As proven by figures, young Roma and young Hungarians tend to have sensibly more trust in persons belonging to other ethnic groups in Romania than the Romanian majority. These data, to the extent to which they are accurate, invalidate one of the arguments generally invoked for the circumspection of the society about ethnic minorities, i.e. the lack of their desire to communicate/interact with the majority. Moreover, the data also show a greater trust of the Hungarian minority in friends than in relatives and generally a greater trust

in all groups than the Romanian majority. We remind the fact that the specialized literature considers the trust in people as a highly significant factor for the development of democratic values in a society.

The analysis of Table 4.8 shows differences in the answer to the question about the social distance among other sub-groups of the young population in Romania. As one can see, the differences are smaller than with the differentiation by ethnic groups in Table 4.7. Therefore, the only notable difference between the

4 Conform cercetării Fundația Multimedia pentru Democrație Locală, 2012 - <http://www.infopolitic.ro/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Prezentare-Rezultate-sondaj.pdf>

young people in the rural area and the young people in the urban area seems to be associated with their trust in friends. The young people in rural areas display a lower trust in friends than the young people in urban areas. If we also consider the young people in Bucharest, things change quite significantly. The young people

in Bucharest seem to consistently have more trust in people than the national average. The average trust of the Bucharest young people is 6.92, pretty close to the average registered by the Hungarian minority, even if the differences originate in other indicators.

Table 4.8 Average of the confidence in categories of people by residential environment, age and gender (Romania, n=1302)

Confidence groups (average, 1-10)	Total sample	Urban	Rural	Bucharest	15 to 19 y.o.	20 to 24 y.o.	25 to 29 y.o.	Man	Woman
Members of your family (parents, brothers, sisters)	9.38	9.48	9.26	9.45	9.45	9.37	9.31	9.34	9.42
Your relatives	7.85	7.97	7.71	8.23	8.07	7.80	7.67	7.92	7.79
Your friends	7.35	7.64	6.96	8.10	7.64	7.32	7.02	7.34	7.36
Priests, pastors, etc.	6.67	6.50	6.88	7.26	6.95	6.59	6.41	6.42	6.90
School/high school/ faculty/work colleagues	6.10	6.24	5.92	6.65	6.42	6.06	5.75	6.19	6.01
Persons of other religion, in Romania	5.63	5.72	5.51	5.74	5.70	5.59	5.58	5.64	5.61
Your neighbors	5.46	5.54	5.36	5.85	5.59	5.28	5.52	5.53	5.39
Persons having other political opinions	5.46	5.44	5.48	5.58	5.59	5.35	5.44	5.58	5.35
Persons belonging to other ethnic groups in Romania	5.30	5.31	5.29	5.40	5.41	5.25	5.22	5.26	5.34

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Further, we note that there are significant differences as regards trust between the generations of young people under analysis. Therefore, the trust in friends, priests and colleagues tend to decrease with age. It is not very obvious if such difference comes from an environmental characteristic specific for the age or it is rather a generation difference that will continue in the future as well. In general, the youngest respondents tend to be more trusting of other people than older young people, as proven by this table. Likewise, the young people in the urban area are more trusting of others, even more so with the young people in Bucharest. Men and women seem to have a significantly different perception with regard to their trust in religious leaders (priests, etc.): women tend to have more trust in such persons than men.

It is also important to understand how young people generally interact with their friends and how satisfied they are with the group of friends they belong to. Table 4.9 shows that almost one in four young people does not feel he/she belongs to a group of friends, where

everybody knows everybody and they spend much time together. As one can see, more young people between 15 and 19 declare that they belong to such a group than the young people between 25 and 29. Part of this difference probably derives from the leisure time they have. The teenagers have more leisure time, while the young people between 25 and 29 are already employed and are likely to have less leisure time.

Moreover, the fact that more women declare they are not involved in such a group might be explained by the fact that at the age of 25 they commonly target marriage. Noteworthy is the fact that differences are relatively small between genders up to the age of 25-29, when almost one of two women states that she does not belong to a group of friends – that is, twice as many than the men of the same age. As mentioned earlier, there is a general expectancy that women marry around the age of 25, which would explain the women's retreat to the role of wife, more dedicated to family than to a group of friends.

Table 4.9 Friendship relationships by residential environment, age and gender

	Are you part of a group where everybody knows everybody and spend much time together?			How satisfied are you with your friends?				
	Yes	No	Total	Very satisfied/ Satisfied	Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied/ Dissatisfied	I do not have friends	Total
Total sample	75.1%	24.7%	100.0%	80.2%	14.1%	2.8%	2.8%	100.0%
Man	78.2%	21.5%	100.0%	78.5%	16.4%	2.8%	2.3%	100.0%
Woman	72.0%	28.0%	100.0%	81.8%	11.9%	2.9%	3.4%	100.0%
Urban	75.8%	24.2%	100.0%	83.6%	11.7%	1.6%	3.1%	100.0%
Rural	74.2%	25.5%	100.0%	75.8%	17.3%	4.4%	2.5%	100.0%
15 to 19 y.o.	81.0%	18.7%	100.0%	85.6%	11.1%	2.0%	1.3%	100.0%
20 to 24 y.o.	78.0%	21.7%	100.0%	81.4%	12.4%	3.2%	3.0%	100.0%
25 to 29 y.o.	64.2%	35.8%	100.0%	71.9%	20.1%	3.5%	4.5%	100.0%

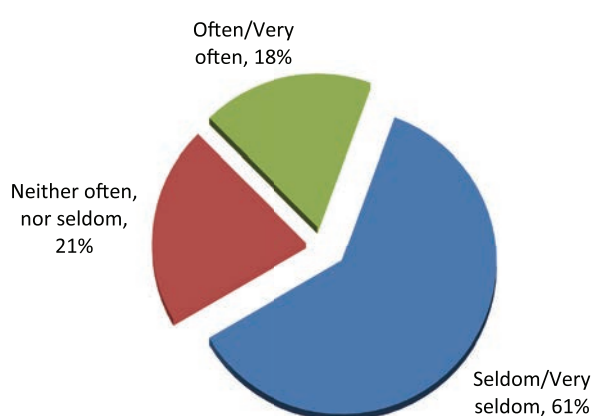
Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Further on, we can also see how satisfied young people are with their friends (we would like to underline that we refer to friends in general, not a group of friends). There is a significant difference between the young people in urban areas and the young people in rural areas. The young people in the rural area tend to be less satisfied with their friends, which might be explained by the fact that villages have a smaller population than towns, therefore the young people there do not have the possibility to change their group of friends and to seek other friends, as it is the case with the young people in urban areas.

We note that the young people between 25 and 29 are significantly less satisfied with their friends than the other age groups. An explanation of this difference

might be the fact that they have less leisure time as the age of 25-29 is the age when their philosophy of life changes significantly, focusing on marriage, family, job, migration, etc. The dissatisfaction is no longer explained by a difference between genders, as it was the case with the previous question. The only remarkable difference between genders is the one associated with the answer: "I do not have friends." Two thirds of the young people between 25 and 29 who declare they do not have friends are women. Therefore, the differences between genders is not perceptible when we look at all three generations under analysis. Until the age of 25, women and men seem to have similar trust relationships with their friends. The difference occurs at the age of 25, when figures start to vary.

Chart 4.7 How often have you felt discriminated? (% calculated for all forms of discrimination)



Another important dimension to be studied within the social distance chapter is the discrimination suffered by the young people in Romania. For this category we considered that somebody feels discriminated quite constantly if he/she identifies a type of discriminatory behavior often or very often. Therefore, we can say that approximately 18% of the young people in Romania feel constantly discriminated. If we also include in this category the young people who feel discriminated neither often, nor seldom, we reach a percentage of 39% of the young people in Romania who feel discriminated, as seen in chart 4.7. For expediency reasons we grouped together the “often” and “very often” categories and, respectively, the “seldom” and “very seldom” categories.

Table 4.9 confirms that there are not very much differences between most sub-groups under analysis, except for those grouped by ethnicity. Before discussing the trust averages by ethnic groups, we should point out that the sub-samples associated with these groups are very few. This is why our comments below should be treated with reserve. By far the Roma young people feel most frequently discriminated by the majority: one in three Roma young people declares he/she feels discriminated.

Women tend to feel discriminated more often than men; we also note that a person's perception of discrimination risks to lose sight of the discriminatory behaviors that have not been fully understood or received by respondents yet. Some discriminatory attitudes could be rather considered as tradition or unwritten law and, thus, not taken into account. Discrimination by criteria of gender is, maybe, a good example as the expectations of the society – which shapes the norm to which the self-perception of discrimination relates – tend to be quite traditionalist as regards the role of women in the society.

Another significant detail is the fact that young people living in Bucharest tend to feel discriminated more seldom (19% sometimes and 11% often or very often). In Table 4.8 above we saw that the Bucharest young people tend to trust people more than the national average of the young people in Romania. Most probably, this is the reason why the discrimination felt in Bucharest is somehow lower. Another potential explanation is the greater discrimination against the persons coming from another region or from rural areas, as we can see further.

Table 4.10 Frequency of all types of discrimination by residential environment, age and gender)

	How often do you feel discriminated (additive scale)			
	Seldom/Very seldom	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/Very often	Total
Total sample	60.8%	21.0%	18.2%	100.0%
Man	63.1%	19.3%	17.6%	100.0%
Woman	58.4%	22.8%	18.8%	100.0%
Urban	63.2%	18.7%	18.0%	100.0%
Rural	57.5%	24.1%	18.4%	100.0%
Bucharest	69.9%	18.8%	11.3%	100.0%
15 to 19 y.o.	63.4%	20.5%	16.1%	100.0%
20 to 24 y.o.	58.6%	22.4%	19.0%	100.0%
25 to 29 y.o.	60.2%	20.1%	19.8%	100.0%
Man	63.1%	19.3%	17.6%	100.0%
Woman	58.4%	22.8%	18.8%	100.0%
Romanian	61.3%	20.7%	18.1%	100.0%
Hungarian	55.1%	31.9%	13.0%	100.0%
Rom	50.0%	15.8%	34.2%	100.0%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

During this survey we asked young people about eight types of discrimination: discrimination by gender, economic discrimination, religious discrimination, ethnic discrimination, educational discrimination, political discrimination, discrimination by the place

of origin and discrimination by the residential environment. For an easier interpretation of Table 5.10, we included only the answers that assert the existence of a form of discrimination (“sometimes” and “often” variants). Moreover, the sum of the discrimination

scores in Table 4.11 exceeds the sum in Table 4.10 because some people feel discriminated from several reasons. Although for most categories we did not find significant differences between the sub-groups under analysis, there are some types of discrimination that seem to particularly affect some groups.

The most obvious such discrimination is the discrimination by gender - 6% of the women between 15 and 29 feel often discriminated because of their gender. If we consider only the 25-29 age category,

almost 10% of the women feel often discriminated because of their gender and 15% feel sometimes discriminated because of their gender.

However, the most widespread type of discrimination among the young people in Romania is the discrimination by economic situation. One in ten young people feels discriminated because of the economic situation. One in four young people in Romania feels discriminated because he/she is poor.

Table 4.11 Frequency of a type of discrimination by residential environment, age and gender (% total sample without non-responses)

	How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: your gender (male/female)?				How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: your economic situation (poor/rich)?			
	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total
Total sample	84%	11%	5%	100%	74%	16%	10%	100%
Urban	86%	9%	5%	100%	77%	14%	9%	100%
Rural	82%	13%	5%	100%	70%	20%	10%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	86%	10%	4%	100%	77%	16%	7%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	82%	13%	5%	100%	71%	17%	12%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	85%	10%	5%	100%	74%	16%	11%	100%
Man	88%	9%	3%	100%	75%	14%	11%	100%
Woman	81%	13%	6%	100%	73%	19%	9%	100%

	How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: your education?				How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: the ethnic group you belong to?			
	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total
Total sample	86%	10%	4%	100%	89%	9%	2%	100%
Urban	88%	9%	3%	100%	93%	6%	2%	100%
Rural	83%	12%	5%	100%	85%	12%	3%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	88%	9%	3%	100%	89%	10%	1%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	87%	10%	3%	100%	90%	8%	2%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	82%	12%	6%	100%	89%	7%	4%	100%
Man	86%	10%	4%	100%	90%	8%	2%	100%
Woman	86%	10%	4%	100%	88%	9%	2%	100%

	How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: your religion?				How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: your political options?			
	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total
Total sample	90%	8%	2%	100%	90%	8%	2%	100%
Urban	93%	5%	2%	100%	93%	6%	2%	100%
Rural	87%	11%	2%	100%	87%	11%	2%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	90%	8%	2%	100%	90%	7%	3%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	90%	8%	2%	100%	89%	9%	2%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	92%	6%	2%	100%	91%	7%	2%	100%
Man	91%	7%	2%	100%	90%	8%	2%	100%
Woman	89%	9%	2%	100%	91%	7%	2%	100%

	How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: the Romanian region you come from?				How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of: the residential environment (rural or urban) you come from?			
	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total	Seldom/ Very seldom / Never	Neither often, nor seldom	Often/ Very often	Total
Total sample	87%	9%	4%	100%	86%	10%	4%	100%
Urban	89%	7%	4%	100%	90%	7%	3%	100%
Rural	85%	11%	3%	100%	81%	14%	6%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	89%	8%	3%	100%	87%	8%	4%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	85%	12%	3%	100%	86%	11%	3%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	88%	7%	5%	100%	84%	11%	5%	100%
Man	88%	8%	3%	100%	87%	9%	4%	100%
Woman	87%	10%	4%	100%	85%	11%	4%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

Another type of discrimination is the discrimination by residential environment (i.e. village versus town). One in five young people who come from rural areas

feel discriminated because of this. The percentage is twice as high as in the general urban area and ten times higher than for the young people in Bucharest.

Table 4.12 Attitudes towards members of sexual minorities by residential environment, age and gender (% total sample without non-responses)

	Are homosexuals and lesbians acceptable persons?			Total
	Very slightly/ Slightly acceptable	Neither acceptable, nor unacceptable	Highly acceptable/ Acceptable	
Total sample	53.5%	23.9%	22.7%	100%
Man	54.6%	25.9%	19.4%	100%
Woman	52.3%	21.9%	25.8%	100%
Urban	49.4%	23.1%	27.5%	100%
Rural	58.8%	25.0%	16.3%	100%
Moldavia	62.2%	25.1%	12.7%	100%

	Are homosexuals and lesbians acceptable persons?			Total
	Very slightly/ Slightly acceptable	Neither acceptable, nor unacceptable	Highly acceptable/ Acceptable	
Total sample	53.5%	23.9%	22.7%	100%
Wallachia	50.0%	24.1%	25.9%	100%
Transylvania	50.4%	26.0%	23.6%	100%
Bucharest	57.1%	13.5%	29.3%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	55.6%	23.1%	21.4%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	50.5%	24.9%	24.5%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	54.5%	23.5%	21.9%	100%

Note: Bold figures show statistically significant differences

With regard to alterity defined based on the sexual orientation, the data of the survey confirm the fact that the relative majority display rejection attitudes towards homosexuals and lesbians. A little over one fifth of the young people consider that this minority is acceptable; 23% are relatively indifferent and 50% of the young people having voiced their opinion believe that homosexuals and lesbians are not acceptable.

The data analysis reveals some significant differences on this topic as well. The young people in urban areas

seem to be more opened to this minority as against the young people in rural areas. Among the young people in the urban area, the young people in Bucharest seem to be the most polarized: they either accept or reject the members of such minority. Furthermore, as seen in Table 4.12, a quarter of the women accept homosexuals without reservation, while less than 20% of the men have such an attitude. Similar situations can be met in other societies as well, where women are more tolerant of sexual minorities than men.

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

- The fact that almost three quarters of the young people between 14 and 29 and 50% of the young people over 18 in Romania live with their parents is primarily explained by the lack of economic or social opportunities for them. There are no data that could make us think that parents have an exceedingly great influence in the life of all young people between 15 and 29. On the contrary, the data show that young people, with age, develop gradually from making life decisions together with their parents to making such decisions alone.
- Young people are not encouraged, neither have they the opportunity to leave their parents' house and start their own life at 18 or when graduating the high school. Even with the young people that attend a faculty, quite often they prefer to attend a faculty in their native town, as much as possible, and to continue living with their parents.
- The data on the discrimination associated with persons belonging to ethnic minorities, in particular the Roma and Hungarian minorities, show that they generally feel more discriminated than the majority population. This invalidates the idea that the reason of their failure to adapt is the lack of their intention to integrate into society.
- The actual moment when young people decide to move from their parents is the moment of marriage. Therefore, the young people who marry generally live with their partner or actively look for possibilities to move.
- Marriage remains an institution valued by the young people in Romania, although the optimum age for marriage seems to be increasing. Therefore, the optimum marriage age for young people is 24.7 for girls and 27.5 for men – clearly older than with previous generations.

- Figures show that the young people of this generation do not wish many children. The average number of desired children is 1.9, and the median is 2 children. It is highly probable that Romania's population will keep decreasing in the following years as well because the level of replacement of existing generations is 2.1 children.
- The initial family is the group which enjoys the greatest trust on behalf of young people. The family is followed, at a considerable distance, by the group of relatives and the group of friends. As the group of friends is the only one of the three groups which the youngster chooses himself/herself, the lower trust in friends reveals a general attitude of lack of confidence in society in general. Moreover, various alterities (e.g., people belonging to another religion, ethnic group, those with other political opinions, etc.) enjoy much less confidence on behalf of our respondents.
- Almost one in five young people feels often discriminated and almost half of young people feel often discriminated or only sometimes for a reason. Discrimination is present in Romania and it is a problem that will affect the socialization of these young people in the future. The most frequent reason of discrimination is the respondent's material condition. Poor young people feel discriminated in their daily life. One in ten young people suffers from this reason, which is an extremely high occurrence that needs to be addressed in the future. Discrimination by gender is the second most frequent form of discrimination as felt by the respondents, in particular by the women.
- Besides the fact that young people feel themselves discriminated, there also are elements of a diversity-rejecting culture – mainly ethnic diversity and sexual diversity. Almost 50% of the Hungarian and Roma young people feel discriminated often or sometimes, from various reasons. Moreover, almost 50% of the young people consider homosexuals and lesbians as unacceptable or totally unacceptable.

CHAPTER 5

THE YOUTHS' EDUCATION AND THE EMPLOYMENT MARKET

One of the main objectives of this study is collecting information on the youths' involvement in the education system and on how they become active - or how they are getting ready to become active - on the employment market. The present chapter is divided along these lines in two subchapters.

We will first present details on the youths' education: their educational status, the subjective estimation of their experience in the educational system, their school results and the efforts they made. The research also includes questions on the occurrence of extra-school factors having an impact on education as such, be they legitimate such as private tutoring beyond school hours, with an impact on education, be they illegitimate, such as influencing evaluation and grades through informal payment. In the end, youths were

requested to evaluate the entire education system and to estimate the chances to find work after graduating from the last type of education.

The second subchapter is devoted to the youths' involvement in the employment market. We collected information on the respondents' current professional status and on the amount of working hours done every week. The second part is devoted to the relation between the youths' job and their education, and to their aspirations regarding work a professional field that they would prefer. The next research segment implied a subjective evaluation of the factors which are deemed important for finding a work, and for choosing a particular job or not. At the end, the study followed the youths' entrepreneurial interests and they volunteering activity.

5.1

YOUTHS AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Almost half of the youths in our sample are registered in a form of education. Of these, two out of three are at a school, a college, or a vocational school, nearly 30% take academic courses, and 7% are enrolled in a postgraduate master's or doctoral program. There is a significant difference related to the area of residence: almost 16% of the youths in urban areas take undergraduate academic courses, while only 10% of the youths in rural areas take academic courses at all.

We also remark the following regional difference. In Bucharest, given the extremely broad set of educational offers, we find a greater number of youths enrolled in post-graduate courses. The youths in Transylvania tend to be over-represented or more numerous in the

pre-academic educational establishments. However, we also observe that a higher number of respondents in Bucharest and Wallachia no longer attend any form of education. A potential explanation might be that they are attracted to the growing demand on the labor market (especially in Bucharest).

As expected, educational status is closely linked to the generation to which the interviewee belongs. Thus, over 80% of the teenagers (i.e., individuals between 15 and 19 years old) take undergraduate courses, 35% of the youths between 20 and 24 years old are enrolled in a faculty or take post-graduate studies and over 90% of the youths over 25 years old left the education system.

Table 5.1 The youths' education status (% sample total, excluding non-answers)

		I am in school/ high school/ vocational school	I am a student taking undergraduate courses	I am a student in a master's or doctoral program	I am no longer in school/ high school / faculty	Total
Total sample		29.9%	13.4%	3.2%	53.5%	100%
Residential area	Urban	28.9%	15.8%	3.8%	51.5%	100%
	Rural	31.1%	10.3%	2.3%	56.2%	100%

		I am in school/ high school/ vocational school	I am a student taking undergraduate courses	I am a student in a master's or doctoral program	I am no longer in school/ high school / faculty	Total
Total sample		29.9%	13.4%	3.2%	53.5%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	27.6%	13.5%	4.7%	54.2%	100%
	Wallachia	27.8%	13.6%	2.3%	56.3%	100%
	Transylvania	35.0%	13.4%	2.0%	49.6%	100%
	Bucharest	23.5%	12.9%	6.8%	56.8%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	80.4%	6.8%	.0%	12.9%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	2.2%	28.8%	6.2%	62.8%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	2.2%	2.4%	3.2%	92.2%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

Nearly half of the youths who take pre-academic courses are enrolled in a high school science department - more boys than girls; over a quarter of these youths go to humanities high schools, where the girls' number is double that of the boys'. Only a youth in nine goes to a vocational school - a type of education where boys are significantly over-represented.

On a regional level, we notice a higher number of students in the science department in Transylvanian high schools, and in the humanities department in Moldavian high schools, while Wallachian youths are most numerous in vocational schools compared to other regions.

Table 5.2 Types of pre-academic educational establishments. The percentage is calculated only regarding students in pre-academic educational establishments.

		Secondary school	Vocational school	High school science department	High school humanities department	Another type of high school	Total
Total sample		0.8%	10.9%	47.7%	26.4%	14.1%	100%
Gender	Male	1.6%	12.1%	52.7%	17.6%	15.9%	100%
	Female	0.0%	9.8%	43.0%	34.7%	12.4%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	0.0%	8.5%	39.4%	29.6%	22.5%	100%
	Wallachia	2.6%	13.8%	49.1%	25.0%	9.5%	100%
	Transylvania	0.0%	11.4%	53.2%	25.3%	10.1%	100%
	Bucharest	0.0%	3.3%	33.3%	30.0%	33.3%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

We note the presence in Bucharest of a very small number of youths in vocational educational establishments, plus a high number - one in three youths - enrolled in

other types of high schools (computer science being among the available specializations).

5.1.1 The subjective perception of school experience

The Romanian education system has been and still is subjected to extensive criticism from different categories of participants in society (e.g., politicians [when they represent the opposition], unions, parents, NGOs, opinion leaders). In the following pages we will

focus on the students' subjective experiences within the national educational system. The analysis in the following pages are based on the sub-sample of respondents that are still students (about 47% of the sample).

Table 5.3 How enthusiastic or eager are you when it comes to going to school/high school/faculty? Would you say that you usually feel wildly enthusiastic, very enthusiastic, somewhat enthusiastic or not enthusiastic at all when you go to school/high school/faculty?

Wildly enthusiastic/extremely joyful	10%
Very enthusiastic/joyful	20%
Sometimes enthusiastic, sometimes not enthusiastic at all	54%
Feeling just a little enthusiastic/joyful	9%
Feeling very little enthusiasm/joy	7%
I don't know/I'm not answering	0%

Over half of the respondents in our sub-sample, as defined above, are relatively ambivalent about the enthusiasm they feel when they attend courses at the educational establishment, but the percentage of youths with positive feelings - 30% - is two times higher than that of youths with negative feelings. They gave somewhat similar answers concerning the stress they feel while attending the actual courses. More precisely, almost one youth in 5 deems every day life

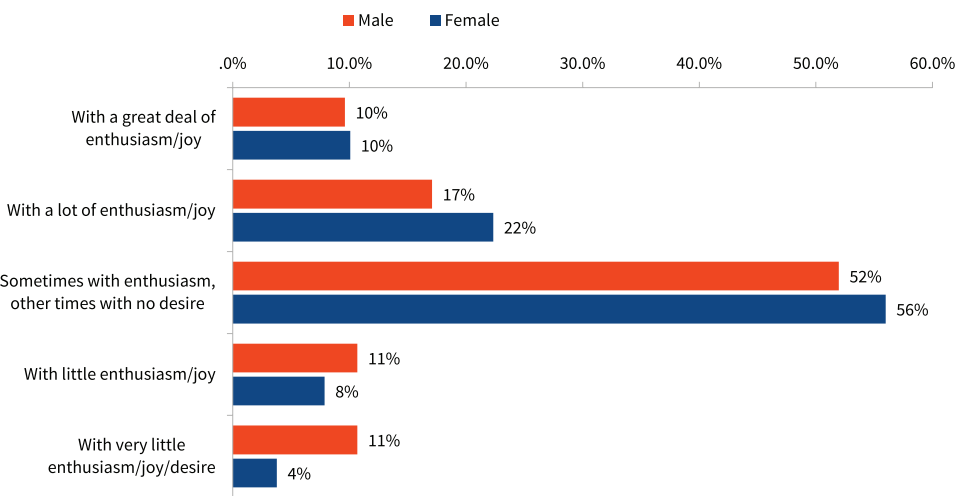
in the educational establishment hard or stressful, and one youth in 4 deems it easy and unstressful (see table below).

Table 5.4. What is daily life like in your school/high school/faculty? (% calculated for those who are still students)

Very difficult and stressful	3%
Difficult and stressful	15%
Neither difficult, nor easy	56%
Relatively easy and unstressful	20%
Very easy and unstressful	4%
I don't know / I'm not answering	2%

Again, more than half of the youths who are still students claim that school life is neither difficult, nor easy. The results of the two-term analyses show a number of region-based difference. Thus, the youths in Moldavia are the ones feeling the most enthusiastic and the least stressed during their studies. On the opposite side there are the youths in Bucharest who are the least enthusiastic and state that they feel classes/courses to be stressful and difficult.

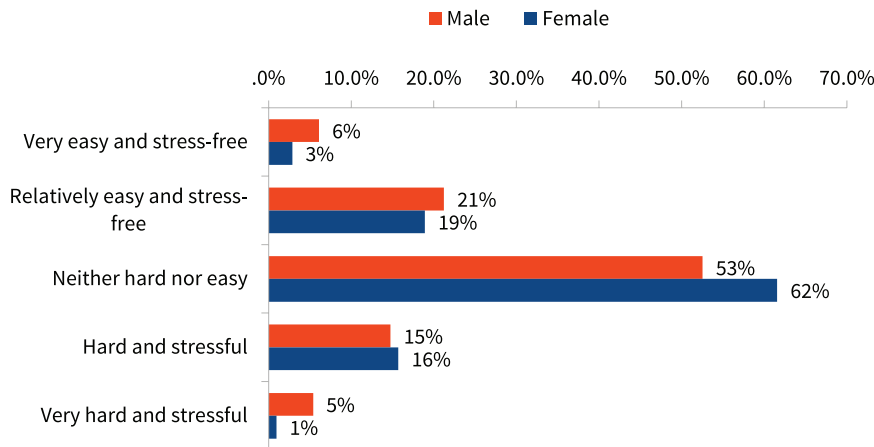
Chart 5.1 The youths' participation in education. Percentage from the total of the gender category



As shown in the chart above, there are significant difference according to gender in respect to the subjective evaluation of school experience. Generally it is girls who seem to be more enthusiastic than boys about school; as compared to girls, there are almost twice as many boys who say they are less or not at all enthusiastic about having to go to school. Regarding

the stress they feel while at school, girls generally tend to give moderate answers, 62% of them feeling neither stressed nor unstressed. Boys tend to experience more extreme forms of stress or relaxation than girls, claiming more often than girls to be either very stressed or not stressed at all about daily life in the educational establishment.

Chart 5.2 What is life in school seen as. Percentage of the total gender category



This interesting difference according to gender can also be associated to different ways to relate to school, due to personal experience there. Girls can hypothetically feel more enthusiastic about going to school because they feel a lower stress level there. Boys are much less enthusiastic, and they participation in the educational system makes them feel either indifferent, or hostile or stressed. In the next chapter we will see that these

difference according to gender are also maintained at the level of results and efforts made during the educational path. In other words, it is possible that the different efficiency level in school for boys and girls have an impact both on their attitude toward their experience at school and on the stress level they feel when relating themselves to the educational system.

5.1.2 Efforts and results during the educational path

The general average in the past year of the respondents to our research who are still students was 8.35. On average, the girls in our sub-sample scored a general average which is 0.6 points higher than the boys', which is a significant difference from a statistical point of view. We note that such a significant difference from a statistical point of view between the general average values obtained by the urban area youths and by the rural area youths. The general average of the former is 0.17 points higher than the average of the latter. This small difference, which is important from a statistical point of view, can be explained either by the less efficient work of rural area students, or by the higher generosity of urban area teachers when it comes to giving grades. Because there are no significant difference between the urban and the rural areas in terms of the time invested in studying or the subjective pleasure of attending classes, we tend to believe that there are other, exterior factors, having no connection to the youths' activity in school, which we should consider from a statistical point of view in order to understand why school results are so different. That is why we note that there is a significant difference from a statistical point of view of almost half a point between the results of youths aged between 20 and 24 years old

on the one hand, and youths aged over 25 years old, on the other hand.

The connection between the subjective experience of participation in the educational process and the results obtained is also maintained according to historical regions. The youths in Moldavia finished their final year of study with an average which is over a half of a point higher than that of the youths in Bucharest, a smaller difference being between those in Transylvania and those in Wallachia, to the detriment of the latter.

Table 5.5 The general average during the last school/ academic year. Percentage calculated for those who are still students.

Average of the sample total		8.35
Gender	Male	8.01
	Female	8.63
Residential area	Urban	8.42
	Rural	8.25
Historical region	Moldavia	8.56
	Wallachia	8.16
	Transylvania	8.46
	Bucharest	8.03

Average of the sample total		8.35
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	8.35
	20 to 24 y.o.	8.40
	25 to 29 y.o.	7.91

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

Another difference is between the various forms of education that the youths participate in. In general,

those who attend higher education courses (master's or doctoral programs) have a higher average than others, especially higher than the overall averages of youths attending a vocational school. In relation to those, youths attending higher education courses have an average higher by more than half a point. The difference are not significant from a statistical point of view, mainly due to the low number of young postgraduates in our sample.

Table 5.6 General average in the past school/academic year. Average on the total number of types of educational establishments for those who are still students.

	Vocational school	High school	Post-secondary school	University (undergraduates)	Master's	Doctoral program
General average for the past year	8.00	8.35	8.36	8.38	8.53	8.89

Despite relatively high overall average levels, the youths dedicate very little time to individual study. A little over half of the youths who responded to our research

spend less than two hours each day on educational activities outside the classroom/auditorium, and only 21% dedicate three hours or more.

Table 5.7 The number of hours dedicated to individual study outside the classroom. Percentage calculate for those who are still students.

		Maximum one hour a day	Between one and 2 hours a day	About 2-3 hours a day	About 3-4 hours a day	More than 4 hours a day	Total
Total sample		25.2%	27.6%	25.4%	14.2%	7.5%	100%
Gender	Male	36.6%	30.8%	20.1%	7.3%	5.1%	100%
	Female	15.2%	24.8%	30.0%	20.3%	9.7%	100%
Residential area	Urban	27.0%	26.2%	23.5%	15.4%	7.8%	100%
	Rural	22.6%	29.7%	28.0%	12.6%	7.1%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	14.6%	24.4%	32.5%	19.5%	8.9%	100%
	Wallachia	18.6%	27.9%	28.4%	16.9%	8.2%	100%
	Transylvania	32.9%	31.5%	19.8%	10.4%	5.4%	100%
	Bucharest	40.0%	18.2%	21.8%	9.1%	10.9%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	22.8%	29.7%	25.8%	14.8%	6.9%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	28.4%	23.1%	26.0%	13.6%	8.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	43.5%	26.1%	13.0%	8.7%	8.7%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

By analyzing gender difference, we begin to understand one of the sources of difference in the results of the educational environment. 30% of females spend 3 hours or more each day engaged in self-study, as opposed to just over 13% of males and there are 50% fewer males than females studying between 2 and 3 hours. Adding to the superior efforts made by females and the greater enthusiasm which they report in connection to participating in the educational process,

we already have two important sources of intrinsic motivation which may explain the different results according to gender.

Regarding the time dedicated to studying at home, the youths in Bucharest are polarized, being overrepresented both among those who spend less than an hour every day, but also among those who spend more than 4 hours a day studying. Respondents in Moldavia tend to spend more hours on individual

study than other youths, and most of those in Transylvania spend a maximum of two hours studying each day.

As a preliminary conclusion, we highlight the statistically significant relationship between satisfaction felt in relation to participation in the educational process, the efforts made to study, and the results obtained through grades. Although it is relatively intuitive to assume a causal relationship between these three phenomena we would not venture to issue an assessment of its direction. It is possible that the youths' intrinsic motivation might lead to a more significant time investment, associated with greater pleasure in going

to school and in engaging in educational activities, leading to results that are far superior to those obtained by youths who less motivated from the very beginning. But it is as possible to speculate on the educational system's malfunctions that can have a negative impact on the evaluation of youths, further affecting their subjective experience of involvement in school life and demotivating them in relation to self-study. Gender difference noted above tend rather to support the first explanation, either because of innate inclinations or because socialization and social expectations differ between genders.

5.1.3 External influence on youths' education

Our research followed two phenomena that have an impact on students' evaluation and efficiency in their

educational process: 1) corruption or informal payment in exchange of good grades; 2) private tutoring.

Table 5.8 As far as you know, can anyone in your school/high school/faculty get higher grades in exchange of amounts of money or small gifts? Percentage calculated for those who are still students.

		Yes, often	Yes, sometimes	Rarely	Very rarely/ Never/No	Total
Total sample		15.4%	25.7%	16.0%	42.8%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	14.2%	24.8%	13.3%	47.8%	100%
	Wallachia	22.0%	27.7%	16.8%	33.5%	100%
	Transylvania	10.8%	22.1%	17.2%	50.0%	100%
	Bucharest	14.8%	35.2%	14.8%	35.2%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	12.6%	24.9%	17.3%	45.2%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	19.4%	25.8%	12.9%	41.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	33.3%	37.5%	16.7%	12.5%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

Informal payment. Over 40% of the respondents stated that the grades they obtained in their educational establishment are not influenced by small gifts or money; however, 14% say that this sometimes happens, and more than one in three say that higher grades are sometimes or often obtained in exchange of illegitimate payments. A significant difference can also be observed between the historical regions inhabited by the respondents. In Bucharest and Wallachia precisely half of the respondents say their school grades are sometimes or often influenced by illegitimate payments to teachers, as opposed to 33% and 39% of the youths in Transylvania and Moldavia respectively. We have yet to find whether this difference, which is statistically significant, represents a regional variation in the actual practices in trading school results or they represent

just a difference in reporting this kind of situations, in visibility or regarding the social acceptance of these practices.

We remark that significant difference exist between generations: the number of youths over 25 years old who say they offered small gifts to get higher grades is two times higher than the number of youths under 19 years old who report the same practices; also, the number of youths aged 25 years old and over who claim to have "given a 'gift' " to get higher grades is 50% higher than the number of respondents aged between 20 and 24 years old who did something similar. We may give two explanations for these difference between generations. The first explanation is about a real difference between the frequency of these practices in different types of educational establishments. In other words, grades

might be “bought” more often in faculty than in high school, especially by students who need more time to graduate. But if the phenomenon is constant during the educational process, the second explanation may be either that youths have the tendency to keep silent about this phenomenon when they are younger, or that

they have the tendency to exaggerate about it when they become older. In order to test these hypotheses accurately, we present a segmentation, by levels of schooling, of the distribution of the illegal payment phenomenon.

Table 5.9 As far as you know, can anyone in your school/high school/faculty get higher grades in exchange of amounts of money or small gifts? Percentage calculated for those who are still students.

	Yes, often	Yes, sometimes	Rarely	Very rarely/ Never
Total sample	15.4%	25.7%	16.0%	42.8%
Vocational school	14.0%	30.2%	18.6%	37.2%
High school	13.0%	24.7%	16.3%	46.0%
Post-secondary school	25.0%	25.0%	16.7%	33.3%
University (undergraduate level)	20.4%	28.9%	13.8%	36.8%
Master's	15.2%	18.2%	18.2%	48.5%
Doctoral program	0%	0%	25.0%	75.0%

The only significant difference - although statistically insignificant - in the way youths enrolled in various forms of education are looking at informal payments is the one between high school students and faculty students. While 28% of the former category reply that such payments are common in high school, almost half of the students are aware of such practices. Therefore it is possible for corruption to be more prevalent indeed in higher education than in secondary education, but the question remains for future studies on this phenomenon. Two other potential explanations are 1) the lack of direct involvement in corrupting teachers (because it is the parents or others who do it) and 2) the practice of private tutoring in high school (but not in faculty), private tutoring which is often just a disguised form of corruption without involving the real training of the student.

Private tutoring. The vast majority of the youths in our research who are still students (74%) did not take

any private tutoring in the past year, while 19% had private lessons in science (mathematics/physics/chemistry/biology) and 6% attended private lessons in the Romanian language or social sciences, or a foreign language - 8%. English is by far the most popular foreign language for the youths who seek private tutoring. As for further difference between genders, there are twice as many girls as boys saying they had private tutoring - another factor that may contribute to explaining the girls' better school results.

As expected, urban youths have more financial possibilities than the youths in rural areas. In other words, the city inhabitants can afford to take up private courses more than inhabitants in rural areas, and out of the respondents to our research, 30% of urban youths sought some sort of private tutoring, as opposed to just over 20% of the youths in rural areas.

Table 5.10 Private tutoring. Percentage of youths who take private tutoring lessons for a certain subject - out of the total of the graduate respondents.

		A foreign language	Mathematics/ physics/ chemistry/ biology	The Romanian language or social sciences	Arts	No private tutoring	Total
Total sample		7.8%	19.2%	6.1%	0.7%	73.9%	100%
Gender	Male	5.9%	15.8%	5.9%	0.4%	77.3%	100%
	Female	9.5%	22.2%	6.3%	0.9%	70.9%	100%
Residential area	Urban	10.7%	21.7%	6.1%	0.9%	69.9%	100%
	Rural	3.7%	15.6%	6.2%	0.4%	79.4%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

However, it should be recalled that there is not such a big difference between the overall averages of urban versus rural youths, which shows a moderate impact of private training on educational results. Another expected result is that the vast majority of the youths who are benefitting from private training are less than 19 years old, as they are likely to prepare for the school leaving examination and / or admission exams at the few Romanian universities where admission exams are still held.

The transmission mechanism of the educational level from one generation to another is too comprehensive a theme for the purposes of this study. However, the available data allows us to formulate a working hypothesis that can be explored in more detail in the future. Thus, by comparing the academic achievement of graduate respondents, we notice that the youths with better educated parents perform better in school. On average, a youth whose father graduated only from elementary school has a lower average score of nearly one point than a youth whose father graduated from faculty. Also, a youth whose father attended postgraduate courses has an annual average half a point higher than if their parent had only graduated from high school.

The difference are statistically significant and have a major practical significance, they can influence the access opportunities to higher education and/ or quality education. When we test the difference between youths with fathers having different education levels, there is no significant difference in terms of the amount of time invested in education, nor in terms of the subjective experience of the educational process, not even concerning the subjective evaluation of the system (which is the topic of the following sub-chapter). The only notable and statistically significant difference relates to the result of private tutoring. There is a strong and statistically significant correlation between the father's education and the respondent's private tutoring. No youth in our sample whose father graduated from a maximum of four classes have private tutoring during the past year. The percentage of those with fathers educated in secondary school who did not have private tutoring is almost double that of respondents with parents with postgraduate studies.

Table5.11 The youths' annual school averages and the absence of private tutoring, divided by categories related to the education of the parent

Respondent whose father graduated from...	The respondents' annual average	Percentage of respondents who did NOT have private tutoring in the past year
Primary school (maximum 4 grades)	7.60	100.0%
Secondary school (maximum 10 grades)	8.08	84.2%
Vocational school	8.08	81.8%
High school	8.39	77.4%
Post-secondary school	8.62	62.2%
University	8.56	55.9%
Post-graduate courses (master's or doctorate)	8.92	46.2%
Total sample	8.35	73.7%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

This discrepancy can be explained by several hypotheses. Since education is correlated with income, better educated parents can afford to pay for tutoring for their children. Simultaneously, the same parents value the educational results of children more, and invest more in helping them, or inspire to the respondents a stronger desire to learn, more than they are inspired in the classroom. Whatever the reality may be, it is important to notice that youths with different social backgrounds do not seem to vary so much concerning personal efforts, or intrinsic motivation to participate in the educational process, but differ in their educational results. This difference reflects the disparity regarding extra-curricular training, generated in its turn by income inequality and by how much the family values education. If this causal relation is confirmed, we can say that is may very well be the way to explain the inequalities of school results and of social inequalities further on.

5.1.4 Perspectives on the quality on the education system and its adaptation to the requirements of the labor market

Youths are rather optimistic about the prospect of finding a job after graduation. The relative majority of the youths who are still students expect to find a job immediately after graduation (38%) and over one quarter (28%) believe they will find a job “a while after graduation”.

Table 5.12 Do you think that you will be able to find a job after graduating from school/high school/faculty? Percentage from the sub-sample of youths who are still students

Yes, I think I will find a job right after I graduate	38%
Yes, I think I will find a job a while after I graduate	28%
No, I don't think I will be able to find a job after I graduate	13%
I don't know	21%

Only one youth in eight thinks that he/she will find a job, whereas 21% of the youths don't know what to expect from the labor market yet.

There are significant difference between the historical regions of Romania. The youths in Moldavia are among the most confident that they will find a job at some time after graduation, while more than a quarter of the respondents in Bucharest believe that there will not find a job after graduation at all. More than a quarter of the youths in Transylvania do not know whether they will find a job or not, and the latter represent a much higher proportion than in other historical regions.

This perception may seem surprising keeping in mind that youth unemployment in Bucharest is lower than in Wallachia, but the youths in Wallachia are more confident than the youths in Bucharest that they will find a job immediately or some time after graduation.

This is why the respondents' evaluation seems rather to reflect a state of uncertainty or subjective pessimism than the objective constraints that are due to the economic situation of the respective regions. It is possible that the pessimism of the youths in Bucharest may be generated by their expectations which are too high regarding desirable jobs or the job of their dreams (i.e., those with high salaries and plentiful employee benefits [mobile phone, car] etc).

Satisfaction with the education system. Only 4% of the youths who responded to the questionnaire claim to be very satisfied with the education system, while 8% claim to be very dissatisfied. The majority (35%) say they are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, one youth in four claims he/she is dissatisfied and a slightly larger number are satisfied with the quality of education in Romania.

Coming almost as a surprise, the rural area youths claim they are significantly more satisfied with the quality of the education system in Romania than the ones in urban areas. A potential explanation for this phenomenon may start with the discrepancy between the different expectations of urban and rural area youths. Because of exposure to multiple sources of information or having the example of the few elite education establishments in Romania, the urban area youths may have higher expectations than those in rural areas, expectations which the actual education system that they are directly familiarized with does not meet.

Moreover, age difference are reflected in different evaluation attitudes. Whether they are exposed to better quality education or they have low expectations, teenagers (i.e., 15-19 year olds) are significantly more satisfied than youths over 25 years old with whatever the Romanian education system offers them.

Chart 5.3 Finding a job after graduating from the last form of education. Percentage of the total number of youths by historical region

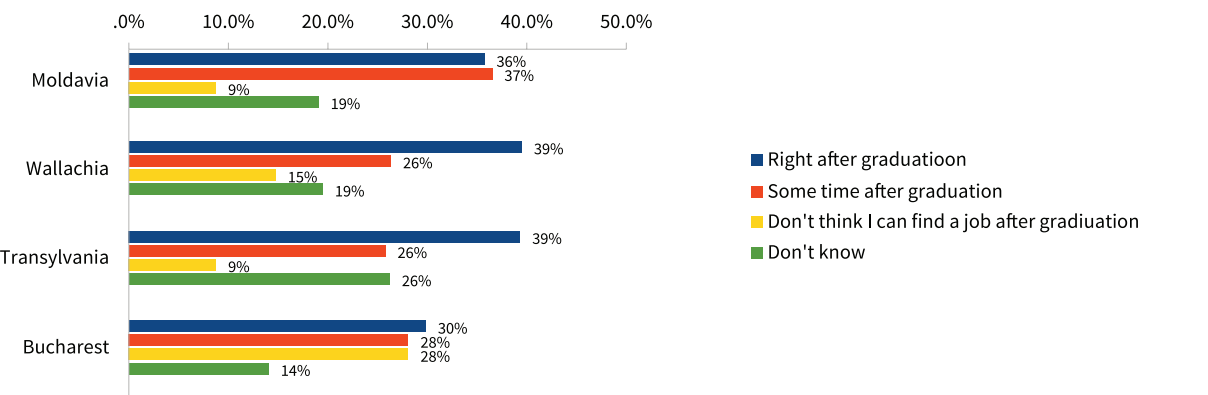


Table5.13 The degree of satisfaction with the education system (% sample total, excluding non-answers)

		Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Total
Total sample		3.8%	29.2%	36.1%	23.7%	7.2%	100%
Residential area	Urban	3.8%	25.5%	39.6%	24.1%	7.1%	100%
	Rural	3.8%	34.2%	31.4%	23.2%	7.3%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	8.5%	41.3%	31.0%	14.0%	5.2%	100%
	Wallachia	2.7%	23.5%	44.7%	23.5%	5.6%	100%
	Transylvania	2.7%	28.2%	32.9%	27.1%	9.2%	100%
	Bucharest	1.5%	25.8%	30.3%	32.6%	9.8%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	3.8%	34.2%	34.2%	22.4%	5.3%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	4.9%	25.7%	40.0%	21.5%	8.0%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	2.5%	27.5%	33.3%	28.1%	8.6%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

We remark again the significant difference on a regional level. Thus, the youths in Bucharest are more critical relative to the education system in Romania than other study respondents; that is, just over a quarter of the youths in Bucharest claim to be satisfied or very satisfied with the quality of the education system. The respondents in Transylvania are also relatively disappointed, 36% are at least dissatisfied with the quality of the education system. In exchange, almost half of the respondents in Moldavia claim to be satisfied with the education system in our country.

We may reiterate the explanation above: the satisfaction felt by the youths reflects both the quality of education and, mainly, their own expectations. Assuming for the moment, hypothetically, that the quality of the education system is the same in each historical region, the areas with higher economic status will generate higher expectations and higher reference for comparison, thereby making youths express their opinion as education consumers who are not so satisfied with the system.

5.2

YOUTHS AND THE EMPLOYMENT MARKET

Our study includes a section on the youths' activities and experiences on the employment market. We were interested in the type of employment, the efforts made and the relationship with the employer, the relationship between education, their professional

qualifications and their work. We also investigated the typology of youths who are neither enrolled in any form of education nor are professionally active, the youths' entrepreneurial intentions as well as their volunteering activities.

5.2.1 Types of youth employment

Within our sample, nearly one in three youths works full time, one in ten works part time or occasionally, and more than half are not engaged in any form of paid employment. There are more men employed full-time or in seasonal employment than women, and the latter are often employed part-time. Among the potential explanations of the gender difference is the

division of domestic labor, whereby women have more responsibilities and spend more at home than men, having less time to dedicate to a job. Another potential explanation is the gender-divided labor market, with certain types of part-time jobs for women rather than for men.

Table 5.14 Types of youth employment according to working time (% sample total, excluding non-answers).

		Full time	Part-time	Occasional or seasonal	Does not work	A different situation	Total
Total sample		31.4%	3.3%	6.8%	56.4%	2.1%	100%
Residential area	Urban	34.7%	4.0%	5.1%	53.7%	2.6%	100%
	Rural	27.1%	2.3%	9.1%	60.0%	1.4%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	27.6%	3.7%	10.7%	54.8%	3.3%	100%
	Wallachia	29.3%	3.5%	6.7%	59.6%	.9%	100%
	Transylvania	31.0%	3.1%	5.8%	58.6%	1.5%	100%
	Bucharest	47.4%	2.3%	3.0%	42.1%	5.3%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

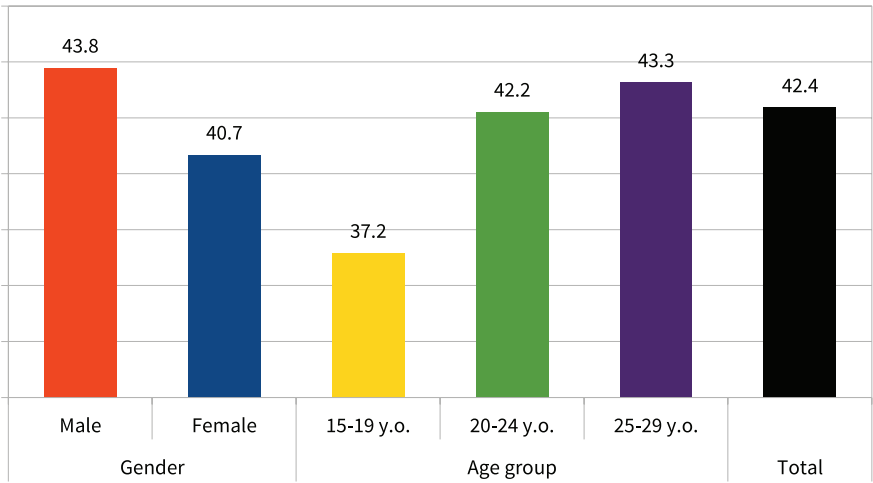
Employment is closely related to age, as expected. The youngest of our respondents rarely work full time or part-time and only one in twenty is involved in occasional or seasonal activities. In contrast, one in three youths between 20 and 24 years old, respectively two of three young people over 25 years old work full time, and the number of those working part-time or in seasonal jobs increases in parallel. Only one in five youths between 25 and 29 years old are not involved in any employment.

The forms of employment are differentiated both according to residential areas and to historic regions. A much higher number of youths are employed in urban rather than in rural areas, and over a third of them work full time. An almost double percentage of rural area youths as compared to those in urban areas, are involved in seasonal work, most likely in agriculture. Almost half of the youths in Bucharest have a full time job and this is the only area where the number of jobs exceeds the number of the unemployed, which confirms the capital city's status of main professional hub in relation to the rest of Romania. In Wallachia there is the highest proportion of unemployed youth and in Moldavia there is the highest proportion of youth having occasional or seasonal jobs.

This latter result can be explained both by the importance of agriculture in Romania's poorest historical region and by the low urbanization rate.

Excluding the over 56% who have no job (either because they attended some form of education or because they have not had a paid job in the past 12 months) later in this chapter we will analyze only the sub-sample representing those who did paid work during the past year. One such respondent worked on average just over 42 hours a week, over 2 hours more than the 40 hours that are set out in the statutory working week. Furthermore, at least one quarter of the youth belonging to this sub-sample reported 50 working hours or more each week, this being extra working time at least 25% higher than the legal norm for working hours. As expected, men work an average of 3 hours more per week than women, given the prevalence of full-time employment among the former as opposed to part-time work among the latter. The same relation between the distribution of the types of employment and working time is maintained for Age groups, the average working hours increased from just over 37 hours in the case of teenagers to over 43 hours in the case of youths aged over 25 years old.

Chart 5.4 Average total of working hours per week, divided by historical regions and residential area, from the sub-sample of professionally active youths



Interestingly, although fewer rural area youths work full time, urban area youths work 4 hours less than the former each week. Two potential explanations for this situation are based on the time requirements associated with different forms of employment. It is possible that the jobs in services or office work - which are specific to urban areas - to require observing the strict 8-hour schedule. On the other hand, work in agriculture or extraction industry and raw material processing industry - which are the most common in rural areas - may be associated with long working hours, even from dawn to dusk in intensive agricultural seasons. Another explanation is the informal contract between employer and employee (which is plausibly used mostly in rural areas), which may include additional working hours because the working hour program is not standardized according to the legal norms.

There is another notable difference in the case of working hours reported by respondents from different historical regions. While the youths in Bucharest work for a certain number of hours per week which is very close to the average number of working hours across the sample, the youths of Wallachia and Transylvania report lower levels of hours worked weekly; Moldavian youths work, on average, almost 49 hours every week. The above explanations for the difference between urban and rural areas can very well be used in this case. Moreover, we add another hypothesis: as Moldavia is the most precarious area of the Romanian historical regions regarding its economy, it is likely either that employers persuade their employees to do overtime under the pressure of the available manpower, or that employees spend more time at work in order to increase their wage income.

5.2.2 Aspirations versus reality: the relation between profession, occupation and activity sector

Not everyone does work according to their training. Just over 30% of the respondents work in the field that they trained for, and 15% of them work in a(n) related/ adjacent field. Nearly one in three youths in this sub-

sample are engaged in a completely different activity from that in which they are specialized, while one respondent in five has no professional qualifications.

Table 5.15 The relation between occupation and professional specialization. (% calculated out of the sub-sample of professionally active youths)

		I don't work, but I have no professional qualifications	I work in the profession that I was trained for	I work in a field which is close to the one I was trained for	I work in a totally different field than the one I was trained for	I cannot assess	Total
Total subeșantion		19.3%	30.5%	14.6%	31.2%	4.5%	100%
Gender	Male	23.3%	26.7%	15.7%	29.7%	4.7%	100%
	Female	14.5%	34.9%	13.3%	32.9%	4.3%	100%
Residential area	Urban	15.9%	35.7%	15.6%	29.1%	3.6%	100%
	Rural	24.3%	22.5%	13.1%	34.2%	5.9%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	47.7%	11.4%	4.5%	25.0%	47.7%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	24.0%	24.9%	12.4%	34.1%	24.0%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	11.6%	37.4%	17.7%	29.9%	11.6%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

The difference according to age groups which individuals go through are the easiest to understand. Teenagers generally work without professional qualifications or in a field which is unrelated to their training - they most likely have a temporary job or they work while pursuing their studies. The percentage of employees or workers without professional qualifications drops to 24% when it comes to youths between 20 and 24 years old and to 12% for youths aged 25 years old and over. One in four youths between 20 and 24 years old have a job according to their specialization, while the ratio is one in three for youths over 25 years old. With increasing age, the number of people working in fields unrelated to their training is reduced. The number of those who cannot assess the link between their work and their training is also reduced once we get to bigger age groups.

Rural area youths seem to find a suitable job to their training much less frequently than urban area youths. On the one hand, there are more rural area youths who work without having any professional qualifications - 24% as compared to only 16% in urban areas. On the other hand one in three youths works in a completely different field than the one he/she was trained for. The difference between the two residential areas can be explained by the employment structure in both these areas. In urban areas, there are more jobs and they are more diverse. Thus youths can plan their studies in view of getting employed in a job for which they may estimate the demand; moreover, the difference in the education level that we analyzed in the previous sub-chapter is detrimental to rural area youths, who come

to work either as unskilled workers or in an area in which they have no professional training.

In connection to the above, within our focus-groups, we approached the issue of the extent to which school prepares youths for the labor market. We may find out the opinion of the majority as it is well-synthesized in the following opinion belonging to a focus group participant in Bucharest:

A: *There is no connection between the education system and the labor market! Even if you graduated from a faculty with a certain specialization and you get hired in that certain position, to do that certain job, which is according to your training, the requirements for the job are completely different from what you studied, just as she said before! You are required to do and know completely different things than you studied in faculty, school, or high school...*

Moderator: *And why is this? Whose fault do you think it is?*

A: *Everyone's! It is the state's fault, and the employer's fault! Well, any employer tries to make as much money as possible, to make as much profit as possible, and on the other hand the state does not provide anything and it invests as little as possible in the youths' education and training! So it is everyone's fault, but it is actually we who are suffering, and I think that each and every one of us feels that, regardless of the field in which we work! There are faculty graduates who can't find work, and there are high school graduates or vocational*

school or even secondary school graduates who do specialized work, and I don't know how fair that is. (A, woman, Bucharest)

Another frequent problem related to access to the labor market is the required "work experience" – an absurd requirement in the opinion of many youths, since it is addressed to fresh high school or faculty graduates:

A: They want you to have work experience from the very beginning. So a young man or a young woman graduated from a faculty in a certain field, they want to get hired and the employer wants them to have work experience and there are cases where they missed that opportunity. You graduated from a faculty, you haven't found any job in that particular field that you studied and you most likely turn to professional reorientation. (A, woman, Cluj)

Similar opinions,

M: *When you go to a job interview, employers ask you if you have any work experience...and yes, there are traineeships organized during undergraduate studies, some are even paid traineeships in various companies. This helps a lot if you are a young employee in a company.*

A1: *Yes, but I had this problem even during my traineeship, because people were not willing to help. So you do volunteering work, and you want to do it, because there are many organizations that issue a certificate to confirm that you worked for them, and you go there and you want to work, but the people there say never mind, why don't you enjoy your holiday.*

A2: *Have you participated in a traineeship or have you done volunteering work because your faculty said you had to or because you actually wanted to?*

A1: *Funds were appropriated precisely for traineeships in a company.*

A2: *You go and work as a volunteer in a company that really needs you.*

A1: *Yes, indeed, that's what I thought too... At present I am a trainee in a big company in Cluj. It was extremely difficult to get there, my relations got me there. Because in the beginning they simply did not want to take me in. I did my part of the traineeship work, because my school said I had to, but now I extended the program and I'm still working there. But...I don't think it is what I should be doing. So it's not... I looked for a position in a big company, otherwise I wouldn't have got any job. (M, A2 men, A1 woman, Cluj)*

In the opinion of other respondents, the applicants' or fresh graduates' lack of experience is due to the education system, which is very poorly related to labor market requirements:

Moderator: *Thank you for your answers, I noticed that most of you talked about jobs or requirements for future jobs. Why do you think this is one of the biggest problems in Romania?*

M: *Due to the crisis, there are very many jobs, but according to requirements, you don't just start off from being a student with no professional qualifications and get a job.*

Moderator: *And why wouldn't employers hire someone like that?*

Male: *Because they want you to have work experience.*

Moderator: *And what is there to do in order to change this?*

F: *The education system, as I said in the beginning, is based only on theory, not on practical aspects, not even in faculty, and I'm talking about trades or professions, in faculty, at the Bucharest University of Economic Studies there is not practice program and students get to know about certain accounts which they cannot actually use properly and there should be some practice in this field, as well as in the health care field, there is no practical program in these faculties and what they learn there is not applied in practice.*

A: *The education system is very much focused on theory, but the labor market is based on practice and it needs people who are good practitioners, and on the other hand we graduate from vainglorious faculties and there's nothing we can do next.*

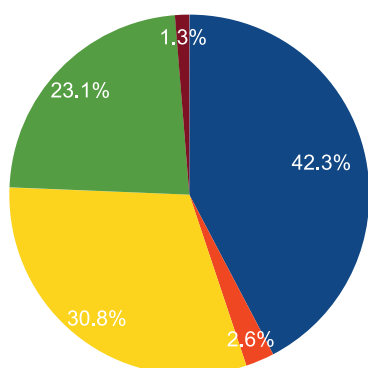
Moderator: *So a solution would be that the education system include a part that teaches you how to make a living, that should be useful for your job?*

F: *And even during faculty studies, I don't know, the organization where you go for the practical application of your theoretical studies should be certified and should even hire you, even before graduation or if you don't want to be hired while you're still a student, in Romania I think there are faculties that do that, the Police Academy does that, the Art School too, and I believe it is what they should be doing. It's the best solution we could think of. (M, male, F, female, A, female, Craiova)*

We can associate school results with gender differences regarding the transition to working life. Just as a reminder, girls are more satisfied than boys with the educational process, they work harder and achieve superior results. If school life determined careers to a certain extent, it should not come as a surprise that working women rarely lack professional qualifications and tend to work in the field for which they had been trained, as opposed to men.

Chart 5.5 What courses youths are taking in parallel to their job. Percentage of the total number of youths who work and study in parallel

- I work but I am also a student attending my first college
- I work but I am also a student attending my second college
- I work but alongside I'm attending a master's degree program
- I work but in parallel I am attending another school
- Other



Apart from most youths in our research who are either enrolled in the education system or are present on the labor market (actively or not), 6% of them work, but also pursue some kind of studies. Most of these latter youths are enrolled in their first undergraduate program or in a master's program.

All the youths in our research were asked about their professional aspirations. In terms of their ideal or desired work field, most of the respondents opt for the

private sector. The only exception is the tendency of youths from Moldavia to prefer to be employed in the public sector, which is the second option of all other respondents. International organizations are the third option as an employer of choice, leaving NGOs as a last option. We may remark a clear difference between men and women in their choice between a job in the public sector and in the private sector. For every man who prefers to be employed in the public sector, there are two men who prefer the private sector, while the ratio for women is more balanced.

There are two ways to explain the fact that such a large percentage (40.5%) of the girls said they prefer to work in the public sector: either risk aversion or a review of the structure of the labor supply. According to the first hypothesis, women prefer a secure job, even with lower remuneration. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the problems faced by women in professional reintegration after pregnancy/birth in the private sector.

The second hypothesis deals with the types of work requested in the private versus the public sector, because the latter provides more jobs in fields such as health care, education, public administration, where there is a tradition or an objective propensity for employing women (the so-called feminization of occupations). If we consider the specialization prevalent in the case of women, we can imagine their ideal job is within the public sector, as it has the most diverse and substantial offer in accordance with women's professional training.

Table 5.16 The preferred field of activity regarding jobs (% sample total, excluding non-answers)

		In the public sector	In the private sector/private companies	In non-governmental organizations	In international organizations	Total
Total sample		34.5%	54.0%	3.1%	8.3%	100%
Gender	Male	28.4%	59.4%	3.0%	9.2%	100%
	Female	40.5%	48.9%	3.3%	7.4%	100%
Residential area	Urban	32.9%	53.8%	3.1%	10.2%	100%
	Rural	36.7%	54.4%	3.2%	5.7%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	47.7%	43.1%	1.5%	7.7%	100%
	Wallachia	34.4%	54.5%	3.7%	7.4%	100%
	Transylvania	29.4%	57.6%	3.5%	9.4%	100%
	Bucharest	24.6%	63.6%	3.4%	8.5%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

The same explanatory structure can be applied to describe the Moldavia's singularity, where the ideal job seems to be one in the public sector. This may be either due to the job scarcity in the private sector, or

because of the lack of safety and/or because of lower remuneration, the youths in this region are more attracted to the safety and the reward that a job in the public sector can provide. At the other extreme,

Bucharest offers well-paid and relatively safe jobs in the private sector, enough to make 64% of youths to choose the private sector over the public sector, as

opposed to only 25% who would choose to work in the public sector.

5.2.3 Occupational profile

Regarding the jobs of the professionally active youths (46% of the entire sample), the most common are in the services field- 20% of active youths, then as higher education personnel - 20%, and as skilled workers - 16%. In the sub-sample of those who have a job, one young laborer in nine is an unskilled worker, and 4% work in agriculture. There is a strong enough link between the respondents' gender and their occupation - a phenomenon related to the above mentioned feminization/masculinization of occupations. Thus, men are often employed as skilled workers in industry, laborers or farmers, while women are better represented

in the services field or as higher education personnel. Gender distribution is quite intuitive, manual labor is more often associated with men, and office work or work involving a social activity is more common in women. As expected, at the countryside there are more young farmers than in urban areas, but also more workers, be they skilled or unskilled. The percentage of higher education personnel in rural areas - 31% - is, however, almost three times higher than in rural areas, given the highly specialization requirements of urban economy.

Table 5.17 Occupational status. Percentage of the sub-sample of professionally active youths

		Farmer	Unskilled worker	Skilled worker	Employee in the services field	Medium education civil servants	Higher education personnel	Small entrepreneur	Business owner	Another occupation
Total subsample		4.4%	12.9%	18.0%	22.3%	2.5%	23.0%	2.5%	2.1%	12.3%
Gender	Male	6.0%	16.5%	24.2%	17.9%	2.5%	17.2%	2.8%	1.8%	11.2%
	Female	2.5%	8.5%	10.6%	27.5%	2.5%	30.1%	2.1%	2.5%	13.6%
Residential area	Urban	1.3%	9.2%	14.2%	22.8%	2.8%	31.0%	2.2%	2.5%	13.9%
	Rural	9.3%	18.5%	23.9%	21.5%	2.0%	10.7%	2.9%	1.5%	9.8%
Historical region	Moldavia	3.1%	12.4%	15.5%	18.6%	5.2%	32.0%	3.1%	2.1%	8.2%
	Wallachia	7.4%	12.3%	18.4%	21.5%	3.1%	24.5%	1.8%	3.7%	7.4%
	Transylvania	3.8%	17.2%	21.5%	23.1%	1.1%	16.7%	1.6%	1.1%	14.0%
	Bucharest	1.3%	4.0%	12.0%	26.7%	1.3%	24.0%	5.3%	1.3%	24.0%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	6.9%	31.0%	17.2%	20.7%	.0%	.0%	3.4%	.0%	20.7%
	20 to 24 y.o.	5.7%	14.8%	17.1%	28.1%	2.9%	15.7%	1.0%	1.0%	13.8%
	25 to 29 y.o.	3.2%	9.6%	18.8%	18.1%	2.5%	30.9%	3.5%	3.2%	10.3%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

Regarding the difference between historical regions, we may notice a high percentage of Transylvanian youths employed as skilled or unskilled workers, but also the low percentage of youths who hold positions requiring higher education. A potential explanation may be the higher degree of industrialization in Transylvania, but with a limited labor supply in terms of employment of highly qualified experts. In Bucharest, on the other hand, there are fewer youths employed in industry or construction, but a higher number of employees in

the services field. We also remark that in Bucharest one youth in 20 is a small entrepreneur - the double number as compared to the national average.

There are some discrepancies between the occupational distribution of age groups. The percentage of unskilled workers in the sample decreases with the respondents' age, while the proportion of those who have jobs that require higher education increases, this being an understandable phenomenon because of the professionalization and the higher education of youths

after the end of their teenage years. A surprisingly large number of youths aged between 20 and 24 years old who work in the services field, possibly temporary jobs

or transition jobs between school and finding a job in a particular specialization.

5.2.4 Work conditions and income

From the sub-sample of those who work, at least one youth in 11 does not have a contract of employment. We remark the high percentage of non-answers (over 16%) which may hide many youths in this situation who do not know or do not want to elaborate on it. Almost 60% of young employees have a continuous contract of employment and 13% have a fixed-term contract of employment. Women are significantly more often employed for an indefinite period of time than men and the latter are more often employed without a contract.

According to the hypothesis above, the higher number of non-answers in the case of women suggests their

reluctance in disclosing their contractual situation. In the case of men, it is likely that many of their jobs are in the construction or the agriculture sector, which are well-known for the high rate of 'black market' employment. More than double the number of youths who work without a contract in rural areas as compared to urban areas comes in support of this statement. Also, fixed-term contracts are more common in youths in the countryside, while two out of three urban area youths who have a job also have a continuous contract of employment.

Table 5.18 types of contracts of employment. Percentage taken from the sub-sample of professionally active youths

		Continuous contract of employment	Fixed-term contract of employment	I have no contract of employment	A different situation	I don't know/I am not answering	Total
Total subsample		59.4%	13.2%	8.6%	2.4%	16.4%	100%
Gender	Male	57.0%	12.7%	13.0%	3.5%	13.9%	100%
	Female	62.2%	13.8%	3.6%	1.1%	19.3%	100%
Residential area	Urban	66.1%	11.8%	5.7%	2.3%	14.1%	100%
	Rural	49.8%	15.2%	12.8%	2.5%	19.8%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	52.1%	14.9%	9.1%	3.3%	20.7%	100%
	Wallachia	56.6%	13.2%	13.2%	.5%	16.4%	100%
	Transylvania	60.6%	13.3%	5.9%	3.9%	16.3%	100%
	Bucharest	74.4%	10.3%	3.8%	1.3%	10.3%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	20.0%	20.0%	12.5%	5.0%	42.5%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	53.8%	15.8%	11.7%	2.5%	16.3%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	68.8%	10.3%	5.8%	1.9%	13.2%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

When working overtime, more than one respondent in three receives an additional payment of and one in ten gets days off. While 21% of youths do not work overtime, one in eight works overtime without receiving any form of compensation. It is worthy of note that there are some regional variations. For example, overtime working hours bring about an income increase especially in Transylvania, or more days in Wallachia, but rarely do

they generate additional payment in Bucharest, where no less than 27% of youths say they are not rewarded in any way for the work they do outside office hours. Either the youth in Bucharest are being more exploited by employers than in other areas, or they are more ready to admitting it, given the much higher rate of non-answers outside Bucharest.

Table 5.19 Benefits for overtime working hours. Percentage taken out of the sub-sample of professionally active youths

		Additional payment	Extra free days	Neither additional payment, nor free days	Does not work overtime	A different situation	I don't know/I am not answering	Total
Total subsample		35.2%	9.5%	12.2%	20.5%	1.5%	21.2%	100%
Gender	Male	38.9%	9.5%	12.7%	19.3%	1.9%	17.7%	100%
	Female	30.9%	9.5%	11.6%	21.8%	1.1%	25.1%	100%
Residential area	Urban	37.6%	10.3%	13.8%	19.3%	1.7%	17.2%	100%
	Rural	31.7%	8.2%	9.9%	22.2%	1.2%	26.7%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	34.7%	7.4%	9.9%	20.7%	1.7%	25.6%	100%
	Wallachia	34.4%	12.2%	10.1%	19.0%	2.1%	22.2%	100%
	Transylvania	37.9%	7.9%	9.9%	21.7%	1.0%	21.7%	100%
	Bucharest	30.8%	10.3%	26.9%	20.5%	1.3%	10.3%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	15.0%	7.5%	12.5%	12.5%	.0%	52.5%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	37.1%	7.9%	10.8%	22.5%	.8%	20.8%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	36.3%	10.9%	13.2%	19.9%	2.3%	17.4%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

Teenagers who work receive additional payment for overtime less frequently than youths belonging to other age groups and they are among the fewest who claim that they do not work overtime. It is the youths aged between 20 and 24 years old that work overtime less frequently than youths belonging to other age groups, either due to the types of work they do, or to them preferring free time rather than anything else.

Table 5.20 Average income (calculated for working youths)

Gender	Male	1565.2
	Female	1354.6
Residential area	Urban	1624.3
	Rural	1249.8
Historical region	Moldavia	1295.8
	Wallachia	1337.3
	Transylvania	1522.0
	Bucharest	1908.3
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	824.3
	20 to 24 y.o.	1327.3
	25 to 29 y.o.	1647.2
Total		1470.0

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

On average, men earn per month 200 lei more than women, this being a statistically significant difference. But there is an even more striking difference between the average income of urban and rural area youths, from 1624 to 1250 lei per month, respectively. On a regional level, the largest gap is between Bucharest and Moldavia, the youths in Moldavia earning about 1300 lei per month, while the youths in the capital city earn about 1900 lei per month. This difference is obviously related to the economic development level, and to the wage opportunities in the two areas. Unsurprisingly, the youths' income tends to increase with age, the education level and the (self-declared) social class being associated with respondents' work experience, professional qualifications and field of activity.

5.2.5 How does one find and choose a job?

The most important factor in finding a job is represented by “friends or relations”, according to over a quarter of our respondents. Right after that come aspects related to an employee’s professional skills and education. Work experience is considered more important than formal training. The last aspects on our respondents’ list are political influence and luck as important factors in finding a job.

There is an outstanding difference between the youths in Bucharest and in Moldavia regarding their prospects on finding a job. In the case of the former, personal relationships are by far the most important,

and almost half of them consider them to be crucial. On the other hand, only 17% of the youths in Bucharest see formal education as a leading factor. In Moldavia, a youth in three believes that formal education is the most important factor, while one in five considers personal relationships as the most important factor. 8% of the respondents in Bucharest think that political networking is the most important factor, and the respondents in Moldavia represent twice the percentage of youths having this opinion. Last but not least, the youths in Moldavia are the least inclined to believe that luck is the main factor in finding a job.

Table 5.21 The factor which the youths consider as being the most important in finding a job in Romania (% sample total, excluding non-answers)

	Acquaintances / friends	Professional know-how / work experience	Education level	Political networking / political string-pulling	Luck	Total
Total sample	27.4%	23.5%	22.4%	15.3%	11.5%	100%
Moldavia	19.5%	23.2%	33.0%	16.9%	7.5%	100%
Historical region						
Wallachia	23.8%	22.4%	23.1%	17.9%	12.7%	100%
Transylvania	30.5%	25.2%	17.0%	14.1%	13.2%	100%
Bucharest	44.3%	21.4%	16.8%	7.6%	9.9%	100%
Age groups						
15 to 19 y.o.	25.3%	23.0%	28.9%	11.0%	11.9%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	26.3%	24.6%	19.6%	18.0%	11.5%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	31.3%	22.6%	17.9%	17.1%	11.1%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

We may rely on our previous analyses in interpreting these results. We saw that young Moldavians are among the most eager to work in the public sector, and, as many positions in the public sector are related to a patrimonial system, being a member of a political party or benefitting from political support are seen as decisive for employment. Moreover, public sector positions are more closely related to a diploma relevant for the job - for example, a medical assistant position, - while jobs in the private sector are more often given according to objective skills, irrespective of the level of education attained. (Of course, exceptions to this “rule” are those professions that require certain certifications - as in the case of doctors, nurses, etc.)

Another explanation may be related to labor market dynamics in certain sectors. Especially in the services field and in other areas where job descriptions are relatively interchangeable, and skill assessment is difficult and it takes time, a potential employee can get a recommendation from a trustworthy person,

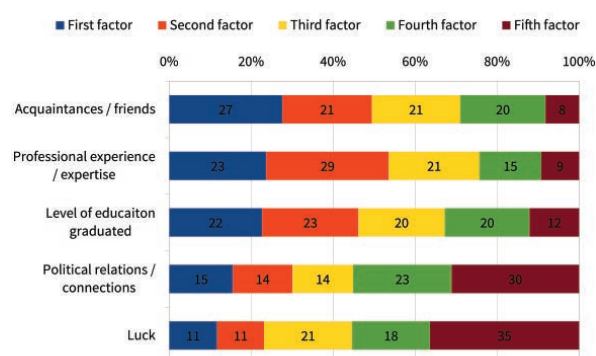
or may get informed about a job opportunity. This might explain the precedence of social relations in the opinion of the youths in Bucharest and Transylvania, the area with the best developed post-industrial, non-agricultural economy.

With the change of generations, we may remark a disenchantment effect, or even a deepening pessimism in respondents. While teenagers considered formal education as the most important factor in finding a job, its subjective importance decreases for older respondents, falling into third place behind the importance of the personal and professional skills. Moreover, there is an increase in the importance given to political networking, either due to personal experience with political meddling in the economy, or to exposure to public speeches on such meddling.

By far and unsurprisingly, the most relevant factor for choosing a job is salary. Therefore 61% of the youths consider salary of paramount importance, and 24% of them rank it as the second most important factor. Job

security is the criterion of choice reported by youths - 60% of them place it among the top two factors regarding its importance, and the factors right after it are intrinsic work satisfaction and the ability to work with agreeable people.

Chart 5.6 The relevant factors for choosing a job, in the order of their importance. Percentage out of the sample total, naming the factor



Except for the quasi-unanimity with which youths are in favor of salary as the main factor in choosing a job, there is some significant difference regarding other options. For example, rural area youths are more likely to choose a safe workplace than urban area youths, while urban area youth are more interested in a job that could offer them work satisfaction. On the one hand, this difference can be explained by the rural area reduced number of opportunities to find a stable job (as opposed to, say, seasonal work), leading to its valuation.

On the other hand, another explanation could be related to the type of work to which youths aspire. Intrinsic job satisfaction may be an important factor in line with the post-materialist values of youths with higher education and better qualifications, while other youths lean towards giving up the pleasure in their work for job stability.

Table 5.22 The factor which is considered to be the most important in choosing a job in Romania (% sample total, excluding non-answers)

		Salary	Job stability	The possibility to work with agreeable people	Work satisfaction	Total
Total sample		64.2%	18.6%	3.1%	14.1%	100%
Residential area	Urban	63.6%	16.5%	2.9%	17.0%	100%
	Rural	64.9%	21.3%	3.5%	10.3%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	64.2%	17.3%	2.0%	16.5%	100%
	Wallachia	61.1%	23.6%	3.1%	12.3%	100%
	Transylvania	65.5%	15.2%	4.3%	15.0%	100%
	Bucharest	69.5%	17.2%	1.6%	11.7%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

5.2.6 Youth unemployment

7.5% of youths in our sample declare themselves as unemployed. This percentage, obtained through the respondents' self-assessment, is lower than the one in European statistics, where Romania has a youth unemployment rate of 24.3% in the second quarter of 2014, slightly above the 22%⁵ European average. The major difference is how the unemployment rate is calculated in official statistics, where the basis for calculation is the number of employed youths, minus

those who are still students. The unemployed represent about 13% of all the professionally active youth in our sample. Moreover, European statistics calculate the unemployment rate for youths aged between 15 and 24 years old⁶, while the youths in our research include those up to 29 years old, who are generally more often employed.

If we exclude from our sample those who are still students, and those aged between 25 and 29 years old, the percentage of unemployed youths is 17.9% -

5 Eurostat, Youth Unemployment, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics

6 http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Youth_unemployment

much closer to the percentage in the official European statistics. It is likely that the difference is due to the fact that some youths did not declare themselves as “unemployed” for our survey; For example, one youth in ten claims that his/her employment status is “a different situation”. It is possible that the social stigma

associated with unemployment may determine some of the youths to be wary of their occupational self-assessment and to avoid using the term “unemployed”. Given these considerations, our figures largely reflect the official statistical figures.

Table 5.23 Types of employment, Percentage taken out of the total youth category, from the entire sample

		Employee or freelancer	Unemployed	Pupil or student	A different occupation
Total sample		40.9%	7.5%	41.6%	10.0%
Gender	Male	44.8%	8.8%	38.2%	8.2%
	Female	37.1%	6.1%	45.0%	11.8%
Residential area	Urban	43.8%	6.6%	42.4%	7.3%
	Rural	37.1%	8.6%	40.6%	13.6%
Historical region	Moldavia	40.6%	8.3%	39.8%	11.3%
	Wallachia	40.3%	9.5%	40.1%	10.0%
	Transylvania	37.8%	4.9%	47.0%	10.3%
	Bucharest	54.2%	7.6%	32.1%	6.1%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	6.5%	2.9%	86.5%	4.0%
	20 to 24 y.o.	46.2%	12.3%	28.9%	12.6%
	25-29 ani	75.9%	7.0%	3.0%	14.1%

Table 5.23 (Continuation) Types of employment

		Employed or freelancer	Unemployed	Pupil or student	A different occupation
Sample total		40.9%	7.5%	41.6%	10.0%
Sub-sample total (those who finished their studies– 53% of the sample total)		67%	13.3%	-	17.9%
The last education establishment that they graduated from (only for those who are no longer pupils or students)	Primary/secondary/vocational school	47.9%	18.3%	-	30.8%
	High school or post-secondary school	67.3%	14.4%	-	16.7%
	Higher studies	84.3%	6.7%	-	7.9%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

We will next analyze the profile of the youths who declare themselves unemployed, contrasting it especially with that of young employees, of youths who are still in the education system, and of those with a different occupation. The latter category includes a variety of respondents, including housewives and homemakers, people bringing up children, the unemployed, etc.

There is a small and statistically insignificant difference

between the number of unemployed men and women. Compared to other types of employment, women tend to be more frequently employed in education or to have another occupation - childcare or household being the two alternative and specific occupations for them. As more men in our sample are integrated in the labor market, there is a slightly higher risk for them than for women, but to a minor difference.

We notice a slightly higher unemployment risk for rural area youths rather than for urban area ones, but the difference is well below the threshold of statistical significance. Urban area youths have more employment opportunities: 44% of them are active on the employment market as compared to only 37% of the youths in rural areas. We also remark that some occupations are more prevalent in rural areas, this probably being another consequence of the reduced supply of jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities in rural areas.

In Bucharest and especially in Transylvania there are lower unemployment rates than in Moldavia and Wallachia. The greatest difference is between the percentage of the unemployed in Transylvania - 4.9% and in Wallachia - 9.5%, these being regions with significantly different economic development levels. The employment rate is very high in Bucharest - over a half of the youths have a job, while 47% of Transylvanian youths are attending some form of education.

The profile of the young unemployed is also influenced by their age. The percentage of unemployed youths increases rapidly after the end of their teenage years, but decreases somewhat after the age of 25 years old. Thus, only 3% of youths under 19 years old are unemployed, but the percentage reaches 12% for the category of youths aged between 20 and 24 years old, then being reduced to 7% for youths over 25 years old. The most likely explanation is a form of temporary or frictional unemployment after graduation. For youths older than 25, with only 3% of the youths still in the education system, the percentage of those who are looking for a job decreases by almost a half, because they either found something that meets their expectations or they adjusted their expectations to the market requirements.

Let us further analyze the occupational profile of the youths who graduated from some form of education, by education levels. In this section, we only discuss the 53% of respondents who say they do not attend any form of education at present. It is on this analysis level that we find the clearest link between unemployment risk and respondent characteristics. Thus, more than half

of the youths who graduated from vocational school at most are employed, while over 18% are unemployed and nearly 31% declare having a different occupation (given the arguments above, some of the latter may in turn be formally unemployed). The percentage of those who have a job increases by a constant ratio along with the level of education attained. Two thirds of the youths who graduated from high school or post-secondary school are employed or self-employed, and the percentage increases to almost 85% for those with higher education. As employment rate increases, the proportion of the unemployed in these categories decreases along with a higher educational level. Only one in seven high school or post-secondary education graduates is unemployed, which is also the case of only one in 15 youths with a B.A. or a higher diploma. Simultaneously, there is a decrease in the number of those who declare having a different occupation than those mentioned.

Two major conclusions can be drawn from these data. First of all, achieving a higher level of education is associated with higher chances of being employed or becoming an entrepreneur, and with a lower chance of being unemployed or not having an occupation. This may reflect a structured labor supply, where individuals with secondary or higher education are more wanted than those with lower level education. Also, the relation between unemployment and education may reflect both a higher flexibility from the part of graduates with higher education to adapt to the requirements of the labor market, and their ability to find employment opportunities. There is another explanation relying on an above-mentioned hypothesis. If youths spend a longer time being unemployed after graduating from the latest education form, it is possible that this period be longer for those who graduated from vocational school at most than for those who graduated from faculty, for example. This difference may be due to the labor supply for less skilled workers- if these jobs are less frequent, and there's a longer waiting time. Another explanation may be the youths' preference to remain outside the labor market until they achieve their transition to adult life.

Table 5.24 The respondent's profile, percentage taken out of the total number of employment types from the entire sample, respectively from the sub-sample of graduate respondents

		Employee	Unemployed	Pupil/ Student	A different occupation
Gender	Male	54.3%	58.5%	45.5%	40.5%
	Female	45.7%	41.5%	54.5%	59.5%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Residential area	Urban	60.9%	50.0%	57.9%	41.3%
	Rural	39.1%	50.0%	42.1%	58.7%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	20.9%	23.4%	20.2%	23.8%
	Wallachia	32.8%	42.6%	32.0%	33.3%
	Transylvania	32.6%	23.4%	39.8%	36.5%
	Bucharest	13.8%	10.6%	8.0%	6.3%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	5.6%	13.8%	73.3%	14.3%
	20 to 24 y.o.	39.9%	58.5%	24.6%	44.4%
	25 to 29 y.o.	54.5%	27.7%	2.1%	41.3%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
The most recent education establishment that respondents graduated from (only for those who are still in the education system)	Primary/secondary/ vocational school	18.3%	35.2%	-	44.1%
	High school or post-secondary school	47.5%	51.1%	-	44.1%
	Higher education	33.9%	13.6%	-	11.9%
	Total	100%	100%	-	100%

We will provide a short description based on the data in our research, focusing only on the profile of the unemployed. Thus the young unemployed are more men than women: two unemployed men against three young unemployed women in the sample total. The unemployed are distributed almost equally between urban and rural areas, 43% of whom are in Wallachia and only 11% in Bucharest. Moldavia and Transylvania contribute with 23% of the total number of the young unemployed. Most of the young unemployed in our research were between 20 and 24 years old- almost 60%. One in seven unemployed youths is under 19 years old and 28% are over 25 years old.

Excluding those still attending an educational establishment, we remark that just over a half of the unemployed graduated from high school or post-secondary school, and more than a third graduated only from primary school, the 10 compulsory grades, or a vocational school at most. Only 14% of the young unemployed are university graduates.

The two main conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis of the profile of the unemployed are that youth unemployment is closely linked to the youths' generational cycles and level of education attained. If the latter is causally related to employment opportunities and to the skills that youths can make use of on the labor market, the influence of the age structure remains an open topic. Since this is a cross study, potential further development could look at the impact of economic crisis in Romania and in the whole Europe. It is possible that generations younger than 25 years old might feel more powerfully the effects of structural restrictions on the labor market than youths aged over 25 years old, who would have been able to secure a job or a business opportunity before the economic crisis affected the employment market. A longitudinal study could clarify the extent to which youth unemployment is cyclical, associated to macroeconomics trends.

5.2.7 Entrepreneurial and volunteering initiatives

The respondents' majority in our research – 63% - do not have plans to open their own business during the next two years, but almost one quarter of them are thinking that most likely or surely they will become entrepreneurs. The businesses that youths are thinking about most frequently are in trade, agriculture, constructions or IT.

Table 5.25 Are you going to open your own business during the next two years? (% sample total)

Certainly, yes	7%
Probably, yes	15%
Probably not	18%
Certainly not	55%
I don't know/I'm not answering	5%

As they grow older, youths think more seriously about starting a business, 30% of youths aged between 25 and 29 years old being pretty confident that they will start something during the next two years. We also observe a significant difference between women and men; the latter are more inclined to believe that they will start their own business. These results fit relatively naturally with the one previously presented, regarding the occupational environment today. Men tend to show a lower risk aversion than women regarding

professional activity, either by showing clear preference when it comes to the private sector as compared to the public sector, or through a stronger entrepreneurial inclination.

The youths in Bucharest are among the most confident that they will soon start their own business, while the youths in Moldavia are among the most confident that they will not. In other words, the distinction between stability and the risk associated with a workplace is maintained even on the level of entrepreneurial intentions: poor areas are associated rather to a stable job and rich areas are more associated to individual entrepreneurial initiatives.

The question remains whether there is a causal relation in the following situation: do youths who prefer a job in the private sector or who have entrepreneurial intentions tend more to take risks or do we have to do with a response to the presence or lack of entrepreneurial opportunities on a regional level? If the latter are not accessible to those who seem reluctant to take any risk, then the tendency to taking risks and to setting up a business might be strictly irrational. Base on our data we may assert that entrepreneurial tendencies are related to the respondents' optimism, both regarding their own personal development, and the general condition of society.

Table 5.26 Entrepreneurial intentions for the next two years (% sample total, excluding non-answers).

Are you going to start a business during the next 2 years?		Certainly, yes	Probably, yes	Probably not	Certainly not	Total
Total sample		7.9%	15.9%	18.5%	57.7%	100%
Gender	Male	9.7%	17.9%	19.4%	53.0%	100%
	Female	6.2%	13.9%	17.7%	62.2%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	7.2%	15.6%	14.0%	63.2%	100%
	Wallachia	6.6%	17.1%	18.8%	57.6%	100%
	Transylvania	7.6%	16.3%	21.9%	54.2%	100%
	Bucharest	14.8%	10.9%	14.8%	59.4%	100%
Age groups	15 to 19 y.o.	4.6%	13.1%	15.4%	67.0%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	8.1%	16.8%	22.1%	53.0%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	11.9%	18.1%	17.8%	52.1%	100%

Note: Bold-type figures indicate a statistically significant difference

Almost 20% of youths who are confident about a much better future than the present are certain that they will start their own business, whereas only 3% and 9%, respectively, of those who think their situation is bad or very bad from an economic point of view. More than three in four respondents who foresee a major

economic decline in their personal life are certain that they will not start their own business. Similarly, almost 40% of those who see a significant improvement in the Romania's economy have strong entrepreneurial intentions, as opposed to under 10% of those who are pessimistic about the Romanians' economic future.

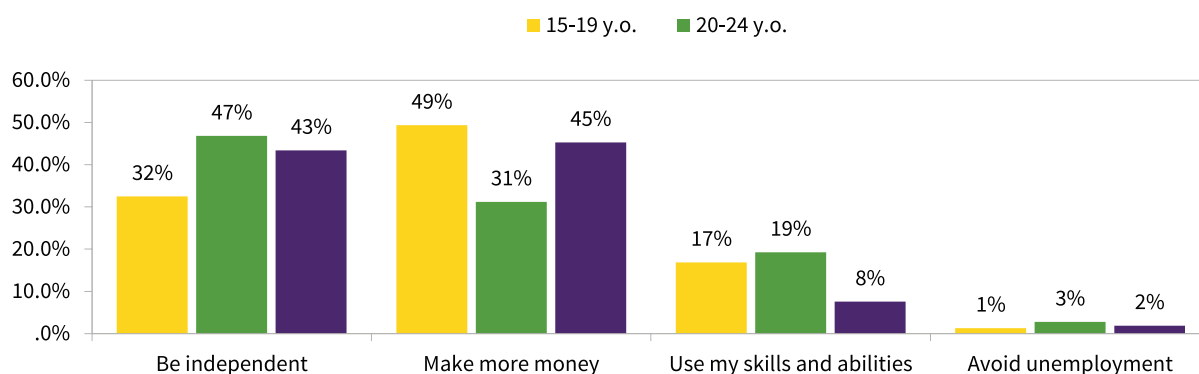
Table 5.27 What are your entrepreneurial intentions for the next two years and your assessment of the future economic status?

Are you going to start a business during the next 2 years?		Certainly, yes	Probably, yes	Probably not	Certainly not	Total
Total sample		7.9%	15.9%	18.5%	57.7%	100%
What do you think the economic status will be like in 5 years as compared to the present?	Much better than now	19.4%	17.7%	16.0%	44.0%	100%
	Better than now	6.6%	17.3%	16.9%	53.1%	100%
	The same	4.2%	11.8%	19.8%	61.1%	100%
	Worse than now	3.1%	14.1%	25.0%	56.3%	100%
	Much worse than now	9.1%	.0%	9.1%	77.3%	100%
How will the Romanians' economic status change in your opinion during the next 10 years?	It will greatly improve	8.7%	30.4%	13.0%	43.5%	100%
	It will slightly improve	10.4%	14.9%	18.4%	52.8%	100%
	It will stay the same	6.3%	13.5%	20.0%	53.4%	100%
	It will slightly worsen	9.0%	17.0%	16.0%	56.7%	100%
	It will greatly worsen	7.0%	17.4%	14.0%	58.1%	100%

It is very easy to understand why the optimism regarding people's own self may be associated to the wish to start a business (or not): the causal effect goes both ways, the hopes for the future encourage the respondents to start a business, which, in its turn, may radically improve the individual's economic status. But

the statistical link between entrepreneurial intentions and the bird's eye view on society moderately supports the assumption that a generic form of optimism is necessary for a youth to envisage an activity on his/her own, beyond the personal inclination toward risk or toward avoiding risk.

Chart 5.7 Entrepreneurial motivations. Percentage out of the total of age group sub-sample, for respondents who want to become entrepreneurs



Of those who want to start a business, a percentage of about 41% of respondents state that the main reason is independence or increasing their income. Only one in seven youths consider entrepreneurship primarily as a way to enhance their skills and abilities. There is a slight change in motivation in passing from one age group to another. Almost half of the teenagers who plan to start a business are motivated by the financial factor, while most youths aged between 20 and 24 years old seek independence.

The desire to earn more money is striking in youths over 25 years old, along with diminishing the desire to harness their abilities and skills. One possible interpretation would be that the successive phases of the distinct generations lead to a de-idealization of entrepreneurship, seen more as a path to social and financial independence and less as a way to achieve one's potential.

Volunteering. Almost 23% of the youths have been involved in volunteering during the past 12 months, a figure which is practically identical to the European average regarding youths⁷. This figure is higher than the percentage of 18% out of the total number of the

active population in Romania, which is one of the lowest percentage within the European Union⁸. The most important volunteering activities are, in the reverse order of their frequency, helping people with special needs, community service and organizing cultural events. In a relatively equal proportion, youths also participate in educational assistance programs for children, in organizing sporting events, and in religious or church-related activities.

Urban area youths reported participation rates in volunteering activities higher than those reported by rural area youths. Some potential explanations are 1) the difference between free time after the paid working hours, more in rural areas, and 2) more and more diverse volunteering opportunities in urban areas, especially based on the work of NGOs. Confirming the relation between involvement in volunteering activities and the available time, we may remark that there is a decrease in participation rates with increasing age. Between teenagers and youths over 25 years old, the percentage of volunteers in the whole age group is halved up to 16%.

Table 5.28 The frequency of volunteering activities (percentage calculated out of the 23% respondents from the sample who got involved in such activities)

Community service	Helping people with special needs	Organizing sporting events	Organizing cultural events	Helping children by ensuring private tutoring	Religious/ church-related activities	Activities in the economic sector/ firms/ companies	Other kinds of activities
22.5%	38.9%	14.4%	19.3%	16.5%	13.0%	8.1%	9.1%

A significant difference is found among youths in Moldavia and Bucharest, the former being more involved in volunteering than the latter. A potential significance of the low rate of volunteering among youths in Bucharest is the variety of activities available in the capital city - either regarding paid work, or activities done to spend free time, leading to a reducing interest in volunteering. In the case of youths in Moldavia, there is significant involvement in helping people with special needs, and in religious activities. The latter can be explained by the area's cultural profile, the high rate of assistance to people with low capacities (more than half of youths in Moldavia involved in volunteering) may result from the filling the gaps in the formal social work structures.

A slight gender segmentation is noticeable regarding volunteering activities. Men are more involved in community service or in sporting events, while women are more inclined to help people with special needs or to give education assistance to children. Another significant difference occurs in the type of volunteering activity done by rural area youths as compared to urban area youths. The former are more often involved in community service or religious activities, two types of activities that suggest a traditional culture of small, conservative groups. Urban area youths are more active in helping people with special needs, in organizing sporting or cultural events, and in helping children through sponsorship or tutoring.

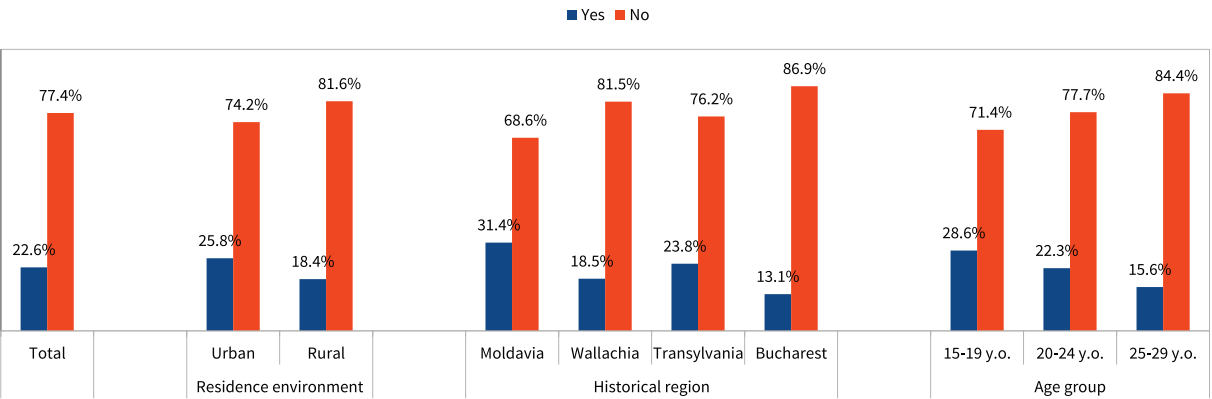
7 Eurostat, EU Youth Indicators, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/employment_social_policy_equality/youth

8 Educational, Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency, Directorate General Education and Culture Volunteering in the European Union http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/pdf/doc1018_en.pdf

Furthermore, the types of volunteering activities among youths seem to vary according to regions. For example, Transylvanian youths are relatively often involved in community service and in cultural service organization. These types of activities can be linked to the area's cultural traditions. Thus, a social phenomenon specific to Transylvania is known as "neighborhood", an informal

organization of communities that pursue common goals, in which youths were involved along with other neighbors in the region. In Moldavia the prevalent volunteering activities are helping people with special needs and religious activities, the importance of the region's traditional culture is again emphasized.

Chart 5.8 Participation in a volunteering activity during the past year, according to residential areas, historical regions and age groups.



We may remark a significant difference between generations as far as volunteering is concerned. Teenagers report higher participation rates in community service and organizing cultural activities and sporting events. Youths aged between 20 and 24 years old are characterized by a relatively high volunteering rate in private sector firms, where there

are, most likely, various forms of traineeship or university internship. Youths over 25 years old are more often involved in helping people with special needs, giving rise to an assumption of the fact that along with the transition to adulthood, they look after the elderly in their family more.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

- Almost half of the youths are enrolled in a form of education, more often in urban areas than in rural areas. There are more Transylvanian youths enrolled in vocational schools, and more youths in Bucharest enrolled in post-secondary schools.
- Girls are more often in the humanities department in high school, while boys are in the sciences department.
- Girls feel more enthusiastic than boys about taking part in the education process and experience a moderate stress level during it.
- There is significant difference between the annual average of girls and boys, between urban and rural area youths, and among Romania's historical regions.
- Boys spend less time than girls on individual study,
- There is a pretty strong link between the subjective experience of participating in the education process, the time investment in education, and formal results.
- Influencing teachers/professor in giving grades through illegitimate methods (small gifts, bribe,

etc.) seems like a phenomenon with regional variation, and the groups of older people experienced it more than teenagers.

- One quarter of the youths take private tutoring lessons, girls more than boys, and there are more urban area youths taking private tutoring lessons than rural area youths.
- The father's education is a positive influence both on the respondent's annual average, and on his/her non-formal education.
- Youths are generally more optimistic about their chances to find a job after graduation.
- Only one youth in three claims to be at least satisfied with the Romanian education system, and satisfaction increases with younger respondents.
- Two youths in five work; employment is higher in urban areas than in rural areas and more than half of the youths in Bucharest.
- The employment structure is different in urban areas from rural areas and from one historical region to another.
- In rural areas, youths work more hours on average than in urban areas.
- It is more frequently the case for women and youths in cities to work than for men, and than rural area youths respectively, having the job that they were trained for. The difference between training and the actual occupation becomes less significant with age.
- The respondents' occupations are associated to their gender, their residential area, and their age. Men are more often employed as workers, and women have jobs in the services field. Rural area youths generally work in agriculture or as skilled or unskilled workers, while urban area youths are more often employed in positions requiring higher qualifications.
- There are more men doing seasonal jobs or working on the black market than women, the latter being more often employed with a full-time contract of employment. Youths working in Bucharest enjoy job stability more than youths in the rest of the country, especially more than Moldavian youths. Job stability is also correlated with the respondent's age.
- Most of the youths who have a job receive some sort of benefits for working overtime, but in Bucharest more than one in four youths does not receive these benefits.
- The youths' income is substantially different and they are increased with age, men earning more than women, urban area youths earning more than rural area youths, the youths in Bucharest earning the most and the ones in Moldavia earning the least.
- Personal relations are considered essential to finding a job, the next factor being work experience and education. Employment strategies seem to differ between cultural-geographic regions, and they are distinct according to the respondents' age.
- Salary is by far the most important criterion in choosing a job, followed by the stability criterion.
- Over 20% of youths, especially men, aged over 25 years old, and/or from Bucharest, want to start their own business, being motivated especially by raising their income and gaining economic independence.

CHAPTER 6

PREFERENCES, LIFESTYLE AND LEISURE TIME

The questionnaire of our survey included a series of questions related to young people’s lifestyle, leisure time and consumption behaviors, as well as to the preferences of young people. In our paper, we will focus our analysis on the following three directions: 1) trends,

fashion and preferences; 2) watching TV shows vs. using the Internet; 3) alcohol and tobacco consumption and sexual relations; and 4) budgets allotted to leisure activities.

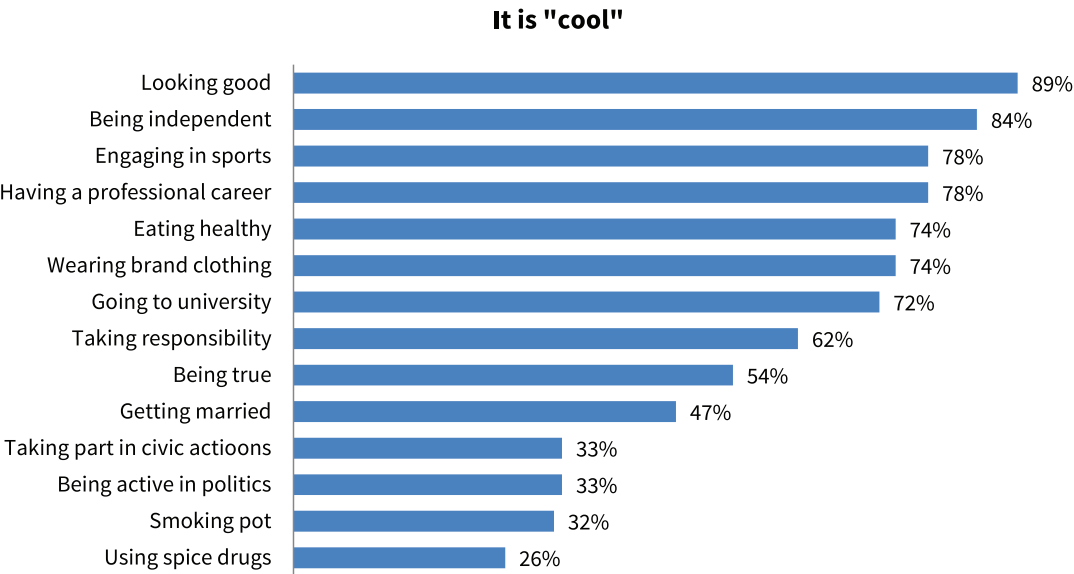
6.1

WHAT IS “COOL” (EN VOGUE) AND WHAT IS OLD FASHIONED?

Social pressure has been studied for a long time as a factor that is extremely important for understanding behavioral mechanisms and the formation of individual values. Traditionally, it has been deemed that social pressure is more effective in the case of young people, who are still shaping their habits, values and life decisions. In the context of a young generation that is also hyper-connected online, where information is transmitted fast, social pressure can have an even stronger effect on establishing individual priorities.

Chart 6.1 presents the perceptions of young people on some activities or ideas/attitudes young people could have nowadays. As can be seen, there are three categories of ideas and activities, as divided based on the preferences of young people: there are very popular/en vogue/cool activities/ideas (appreciated by three quarters or more of the young people), niche activities (appreciated only by between one quarter and one third of the young people) and a few activities placed somehow in-between the two categories.

Chart 6.1 What is en vogue?



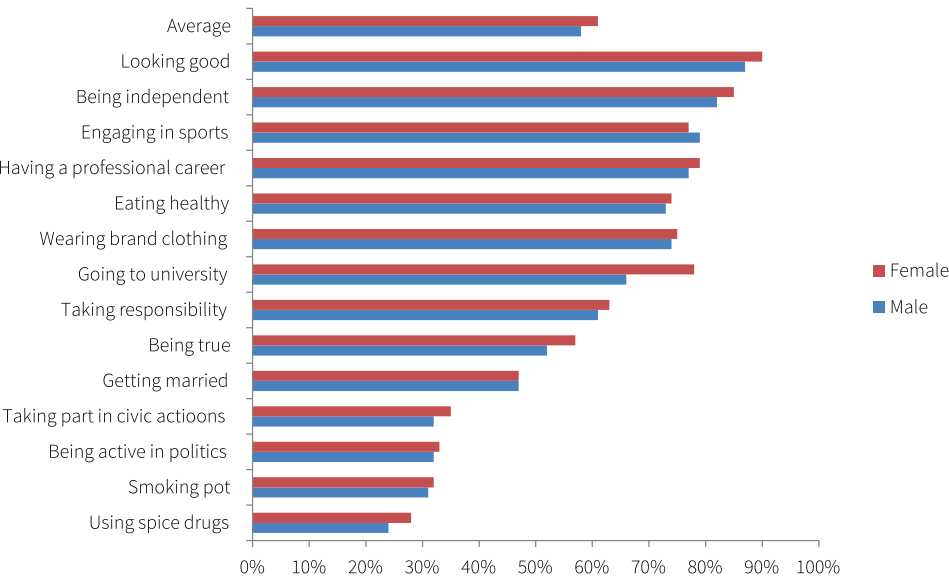
More important than the way in which these activities are distributed among young people is how these are divided into sub-groups. A very heterogeneous distribution of the perception on what is "en vogue" and what is not "en vogue" could influence the way in which

these young people are formed and may lead, in a long run, to an imbalance of values within a generation. Chart 6.2 attests the fact that there are some gender-based differences in the way this pressure is felt, but they are really significant from a statistical perspective

only in the case of the social pressure to study in a faculty, where more girls than boys state that this is en vogue/desirable. The difference in this case is of 12%, being statistically significant. Probably, such difference

will produce changes in the structure based on gender of faculty graduates of Romania in the next years, considering all the other factors under control.

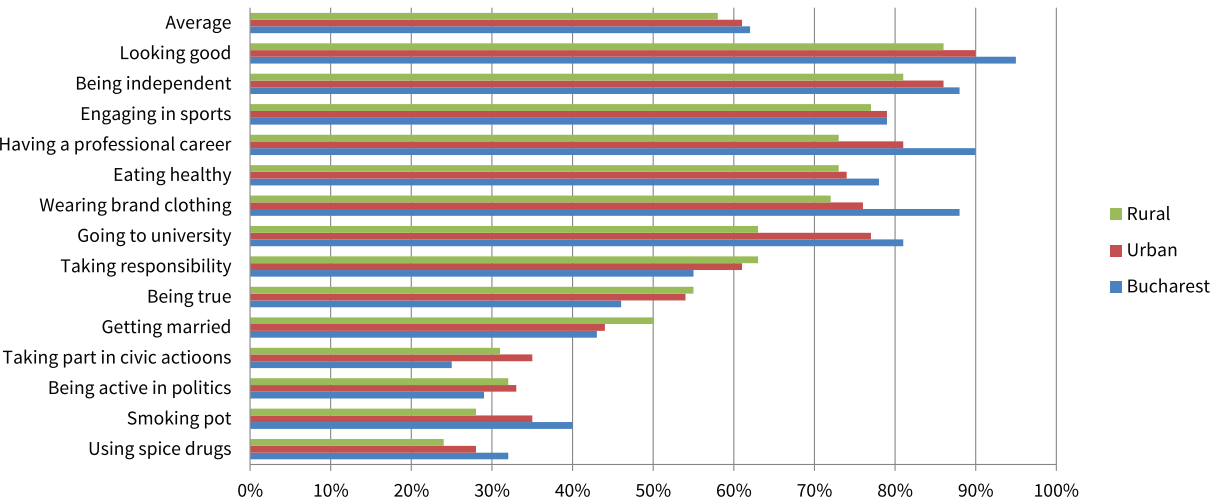
Chart 6.2 Gender-based perception on things “en vogue” (percentages “Yes”)



Some aspects measured on this scale imply also some financial autonomy of respondents, so that, normally, some disparity should exist between urban and rural areas. In order to emphasize even more this potential difference, and also because Bucharest is traditionally deemed to represent a very particular group, which sets the tone of “fashion” nationwide, we added a category composed exclusively of young people living in the capital city. As one can see in graphic 6.3, the differences between urban and rural areas are in general very small and do not change significantly the hierarchy established nationwide. By contrast, the young people

of Bucharest are extremely different from the young people of the rest of the country. First of all, we need to note the differences related to elements that are much more popular in Bucharest than nationwide, such as to wear brand clothes, to have a professional career, to attend a faculty or to smoke marijuana. Conversely, the elements that rather reflect a desire of interaction and community involvement, such as political activities, participation in civic actions and even marriage, are chapters at which Bucharest lags behind the national average.

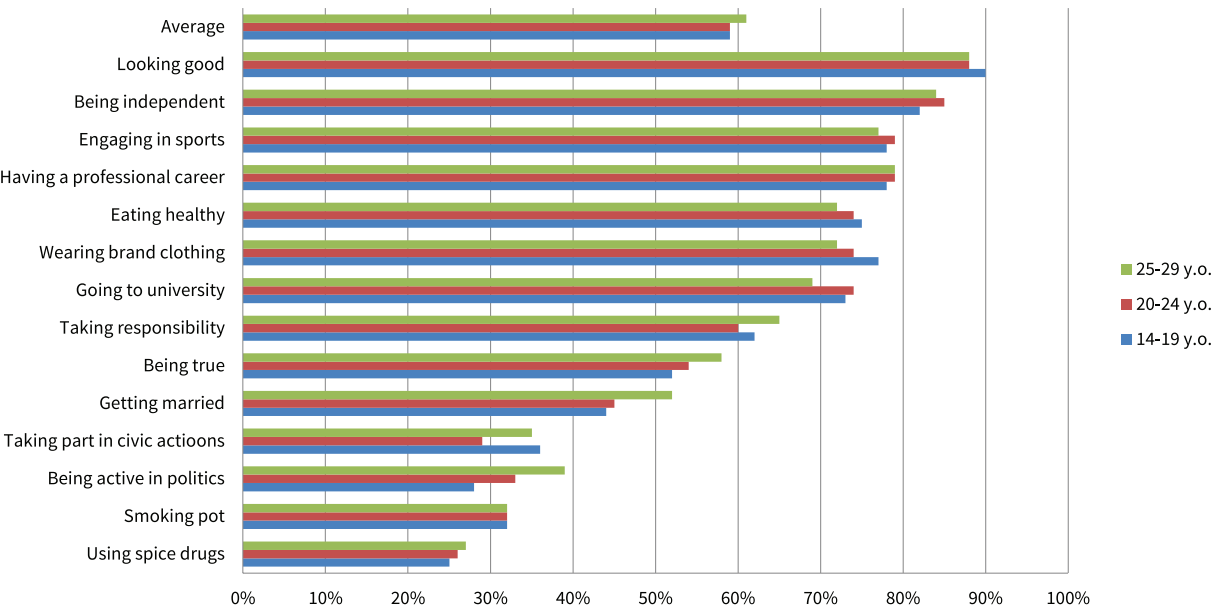
Chart 6.3 Perceptions on things “en vogue,” divided per residential areas and Bucharest



The graphic dividing the perception on "fashion" per ages also shows a society much less divided in Romania than discussed at specific moments. There is no doubt, the differences recorded between young people and elderly people are out of this discussion; they have always been major. The data of our survey confirm the fact that there is no major conflict within the category of young people between 15 and 29 years of age. This conclusion becomes even clearer when we want to make a comparison between the three generations composing the population studied by us. Thus, in Chart

6.4, we can see that there are few categories showing notable differences from one generation to another. The first such difference is related to marriage and faithfulness, where the older generation tends to deem them more en vogue than the younger generation. Such situation should not be surprising in the context in which we showed previously how an increasing age increases the willingness to have an own family, which induces also a change in the behavioral standards of couples.

Chart 6.4 Perceptions on things "en vogue," per age groups



A second and last difference we will discuss briefly here is the one related to the political participation, where we see that "to be active in politics" becomes attractive with age – a normal fact if we take into account the fact that young people between 15 and 17 years of age

do not have a voting right and are not very interested in politics. Anyway, as we will discuss in one of the following chapters, it appears that the relative aversion towards politics is a characteristic of the entire sample of young people.

6.2 TELEVISION OR INTERNET?

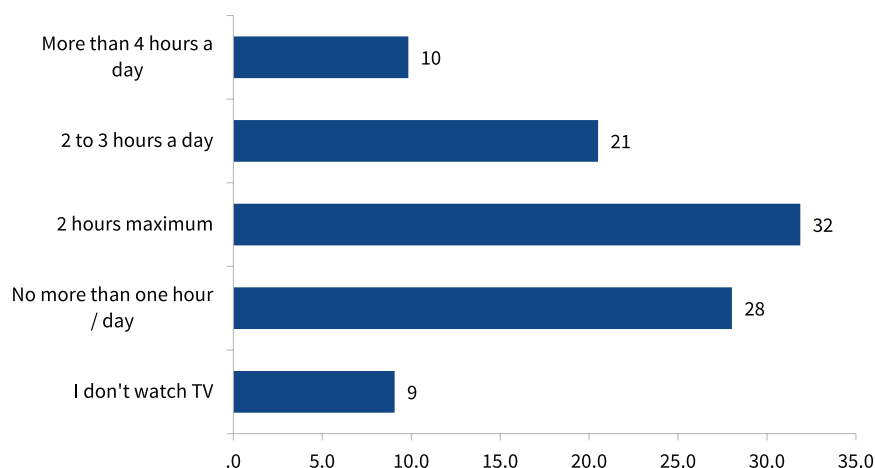
Less than one out of ten respondents states that he/she never watches TV. Most of the interviewed individuals spend maximum one hour (28%) or up to

two hours (32%) watching TV. One young person out of five spends between two and three hours every day, while 10% spend over four hours. Their distribution is

not influenced by the gender of respondents or by their living in urban or rural areas either, and one cannot

notice a significant difference among the three age groups subject to review.

Chart 6.5 How many hours do you spend watching TV per day? (Percentage out of the total number of young people)



As a whole, young people seem to be much less interested in TV shows than the rest of the population of Romania. In a recent study, Romanians ranked first among the European countries in terms of the time spent watching TV- on average, a respondent of the 2012 Médiamétrie study watched TV for five hours and 26 minutes⁹.

Probably due to more diverse opportunities for spending leisure time, young people of Bucharest are among those who spend the least time watching TV, compared to young people who come from other historical regions; young people of Wallachia seem to be some of the most avid television viewers.

Table 6.1 Time spent watching TV. Percentages out of the total number of young people of a historical region

	Maximum one hour per day	Maximum 2 hours per day	Between 2 and 3 hours per day	More than 4 hours per day	On the Internet	Total
Moldavia	26.5%	36.0%	16.0%	9.5%	11.6%	100%
Wallachia	27.1%	36.5%	22.7%	10.3%	3.4%	100%
Transylvania	27.7%	27.7%	22.3%	9.4%	11.8%	100%
Bucharest	35.3%	22.6%	16.5%	10.5%	12.8%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

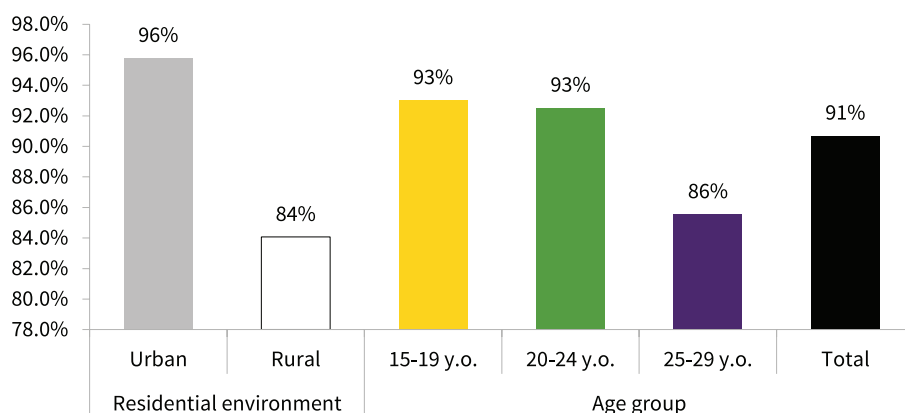
A possible explanation for the difference underlined above occurs when we discuss the use of the Internet. Nationwide, less than 10% of the young people do not have access at all to Internet (at home, at school, at work, etc.) This suggests that the rate of using the Internet is much higher among young people than among the entire population of the country, where a

little over 40% had access to the Internet in 2012¹⁰. A slight but significant difference can be noticed between urban and rural areas: while only 4% of the young people living in towns/cities do not have access to the Internet, the percentage of those without Internet in the rural areas is getting close to 16%.

9 Mediametrie, Eurodata TV *Une année de TV dans le monde*, 2012 <http://snptv.org/actualites/actualites fla.php?id=1305>, accessed on 16.11.2014

10 Internet use in households and by individuals in 2012, Eurostat http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-12-050/EN/KS-SF-12-050-EN.PDF, accessed on 16.11.2014

Chart 6.6. Access to the Internet (at home, at school, at work or in other locations) per residential areas and age groups.



Also, approximately 93% of the young people under the age of 24 have access to the Internet, compared to a little over 85% of those over the age of 24. A detailed analysis shows that this last effect is due exclusively to young people of rural areas. In other words, the penetration of the Internet in villages takes place particularly among

young people born after 1990: almost 90% of them are connected to the internet while one of four young people between 24 and 29 years of age from rural areas does not have access to the virtual environment considered here.

Table 6.2 Time spent on the Internet every day.

		Maximum one hour	Maximum 2 hours	Between 2 and 3 hours	Between 4 and 5 hours	6 hours or more	Total
Total utilizatori Internet		15.9%	20.1%	25.6%	22.2%	16.1%	100%
Gender	Male	12.4%	19.2%	25.7%	24.3%	18.4%	100%
	Female	19.4%	20.9%	25.5%	20.1%	13.8%	100%
Residential area	Urban	12.9%	17.8%	24.5%	25.2%	19.3%	100%
	Rural	20.4%	23.4%	27.2%	17.7%	11.4%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	16.9%	26.6%	26.6%	19.0%	10.9%	100%
	Wallachia	15.7%	21.3%	26.2%	19.5%	16.7%	100%
	Transylvania	15.4%	16.9%	26.0%	26.7%	14.9%	100%
	Bucharest	16.3%	14.0%	20.2%	21.7%	27.9%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	10.5%	16.9%	26.9%	27.9%	17.6%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	12.4%	20.7%	26.5%	23.0%	17.1%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	27.8%	23.4%	22.5%	13.4%	12.8%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

From among respondents who have access to the Internet at home, at school/faculty or at work, the largest part (25%) is represented by those who spend between two and three hours online, followed by those who spend between four and five hours online (22%) and, finally, by those 20% who spend maximum two hours online, from among those having access to the Internet. Approximately one of six young people

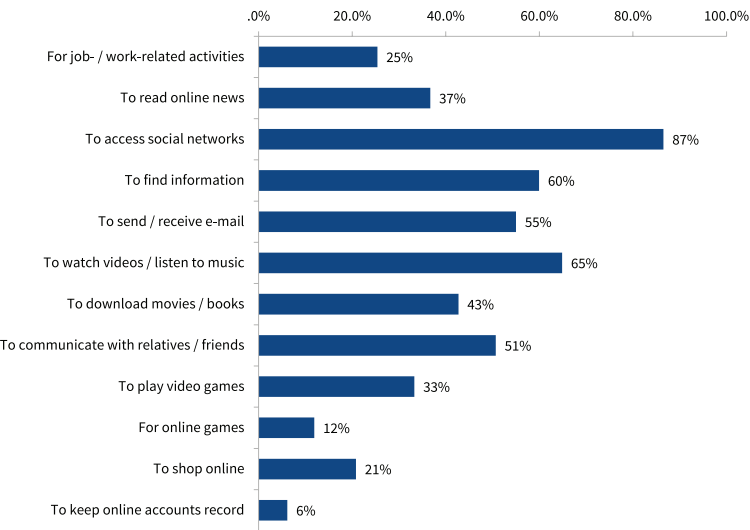
spends maximum one hour in front of the computer and the same number spends six or more hours per day using the Internet. Therefore, one can notice that young people tend to spend more time on the Internet than watching TV, this being a phenomenon specific to the young generations of our country and from other countries.

Moreover, there is an interesting relationship between the two kinds of leisure activities (i.e., Internet vs. TV): respondents without access to the Internet spend on average more time watching TV than any other type of respondents. From among those having access to the Internet, there is a positive correlation between the number of hours of Internet use and the hours watching TV, but only for those who do not spend too much time in front of the computer. There is a category of young people who spend little time both on the Internet and watching TV, either due to a lack of interest in the two environments or due to time constraints. The substitution of an environment with another is clear also in the case of those who spend more than 4 hours per day online: these watch TV shows to a much lesser extent.

Men spend significantly more time on the Internet than women. About 43% of the boys spend more than four hours on the Internet compared to the girls (34%). Young men use the Internet more than women in order to look for news or for online video games, while women are more inclined to use the Internet for activities related to work or to access social networks. Young people of Bucharest are some of the most

inveterate users of the Internet: more than one quarter of them spend over 6 hours online every day. Respondents of Moldavia are at the opposite end from the perspective of the time spent on the Internet. One can notice a distinction between rural and urban areas in respect of the time allotted to the use of the Internet and the areas of interest. While almost a half of citizens spend more than four hours on the Internet, almost a half of the respondents from rural areas spend less than 2 hours with this activity. Also, young people from urban areas use more the Internet in work interest, for online shopping of online banking records than those from rural areas; the latter are more inclined to access news websites or video games. Teenagers distinguish themselves for using the Internet as a main source of information, music videos and video games. When it comes to young people between 20 and 24 years of age, these use the Internet evenly for diverse things, while young people over 25 years of age are very active on the Internet from the perspective of activities related to their work, looking for news, shopping and online management of their bank accounts. Unsurprisingly, over nine out of ten teenagers use the Internet to access social networks.

Chart 6.7 Purposes for using the Internet (% out of the total number of those who access the Internet)



The use of the Internet and TV are associated in an obvious way with the characteristics of the origin family defined by the education of parents, as well as by their social class, as perceived by respondents. In brief, the more the parents are more educated and/or belong to a higher social class, the more their children report a more reduced time spent watching TV and a longer time devoted to using the Internet. Obviously, an important component of the origin family in this case is represented by the material resources available to young people who come from different social classes.

For space considerations, we will make a contrast between respondents who are Internet and TV, respectively, intensive consumers and those who use them very little or do not use them at all. In our data, these are respondents watching TV for more than four hours every day and those who spend more than six hours on the Internet, by contrast with those who do not watch TV or spend less than one hour on the Internet.

Table 6.3 Use of the Internet and TV. Percentage out of the total category based on the father's education level, and of the total category based on the parents' social class

		Hours spent on average watching TV every day		Hours spent on average on the Internet every day	
		More than four hours per day	I do not watch TV	Maximum one hour per day	Six hours or more per day
The last school graduated by the father	Primary school -maximum 4 grades	15.9%	2.3%	28.6%	23.8%
	Primary and secondary school -maximum 10 grades	9.7%	8.3%	26.1%	12.6%
	Vocational school	9.9%	7.2%	19.3%	11.9%
	High school	9.0%	7.6%	15.9%	16.6%
	Post high school education	11.4%	14.3%	7.1%	18.6%
	University	7.8%	11.4%	10.5%	19.1%
	Post university studies	0.0%	32.4%	2.9%	28.6%
The parents' social class	High class	5.7%	9.1%	16.5%	15.3%
	Middle class	8.2%	10.6%	11.9%	17.4%
	Workers' class	11.5%	7.2%	20.4%	15.6%
	Low class	14.4%	8.0%	21.5%	10.1%

In table 6.3, one can see that almost one third out of the young people whose fathers have postgraduate education never watch TV and practically none of them watch TV for more than four hours. The same tendency can be noticed to those whose fathers are graduates of post high school institutions or faculties, where percentages are of 14% versus 11%, respectively 11% versus 8%. At the opposite end, only 2% out of the young people whose fathers have maximum 4 grades do not watch TV shows, the percentage being of 8% among those with maximum 10 grades. At this low level of parental education, one can notice an intensive use of the Internet: almost 10% for those whose fathers have maximum 10 grades and 16% for those whose fathers have maximum 4 grades. This tendency is maintained also when we look at the parents' social class. When the social class is that of workers or the low class, the percentage of those who spend very much time watching TV is higher than that of those who do not watch TV at all, exactly opposite to those with parents belonging to the middle or high class.

Even if less pregnant, an effect of the social class and of the parents' education can be noted also in the case of the use of the Internet, but such influence is opposite. Among those who spend 6 hours or more on the Internet, the percentage of young people whose fathers are faculty graduates is double compared to that of those who spend online maximum one hour. When fathers have ten grades or less, the number of

those who spend maximum one hour on the Internet is lower than that of those who spend more than six hours. Things are the same for the relation with the social class. When parents belong to the middle or high class, the number of Internet intensive users is higher than or approximately equal to that of sporadic users, while when the parents' social class is that of workers or the low class, the percentage of intensive users drops below that of respondents who spend maximum one hour on the Internet.

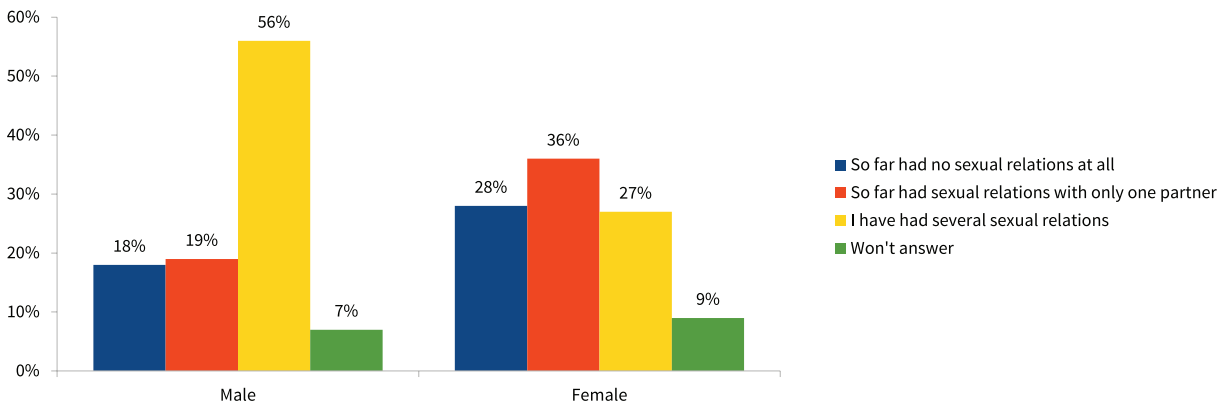
In conclusion, TV seems to be preferred by young people whose parents have a lower education level and/or belong to a more disfavored level social class, while the Internet is preferred by those whose parents have a higher education level and/or come from a higher-level social class. Hypothetically, the explanation of such differences may rely upon the material living conditions of young people (i.e., differences in incomes/ material status among origin families) and the cultural reproduction of practices for using communication means. TV is more within reach for poor families, both in terms of use costs and of the ease of access to the infrastructure and of using the equipment. Also, the use of the Internet is closely associated with some liberal professions and education forms associated to these. Moreover, there is also a factor of replication of parental practices, in which young people tend to imitate the leisure activities manner of their parents, including in respect of the use of the Internet and TV.

6.3 SEXUALITY

Our questionnaire included also a set of questions regarding the sexual life of young people and the use of contraceptives. Prior to proceeding to a review of the data in these areas, we need to make some methodological specifications. As a rule, the responses to such questions targeting a sensitive topic can be and are distorted by the so called effect of social desirability: a tendency of respondents to give answers conform to widely shared social norms. In other words, this effect implies the fact that respondents will over-report socially acceptable or positive behaviors and can gloss behaviors socially labeled as undesirable. More precisely, to the extent that young people believe that having sexual relations during the teenage or at very young ages (15-16 years) represents, from the perspective of the majority of adults, a socially undesirable behavior, it is very likely that he/she will not

report that he/she started his/her sex life (even though in reality he/she did so). There is no doubt, it is possible to exist also a reverse effect recorded among some respondents who, even though they have not started their sex life, they report they did so, in order not to be perceived as exceptions. It is very likely that this reverse effect, which is related also to “social desirability,” to be more pregnant among those over the age of 20 and/or 25, ages at which the absence of sexual experience may trigger negative labeling. It is practically impossible to estimate the magnitude of the effect of social desirability in the two cases/directions and, anyway, such estimates are not included in the scope of our research. Readers of this report need to remember that such distortions exist in all researches addressing sensitive topics, as is the case of our research.

Chart 6.8. Sexual relations per genders (% of the total sample)



Almost one quarter of the respondents reported that they had no sexual relation up to the moment of the interview, and 28% had relations with a single partner. Half of those who had at least one sexual relationship report that they always use contraceptive method, but more than one out of six has never used or, an extremely low percentage, has no idea what contraceptive methods are. More than a half of the men (a double percentage compared to that of women) report that they had several sexual relations, while 28% of the women did not have any sexual experience, while 36% had only one partner.

As expected, the oldest respondents are those who report most often that they had multiple sexual

experiences. Half of the young people between 15 and 19 years old report that they had no sexual relationship until now, the rate falling down to 12% and to 5%, respectively, for age groups between 20 and 24 years old and between 25 and 29 years old, respectively. Respondents from urban areas reported a number significantly higher of sexual relations with several partners than those from rural areas; the latter reported more often that they had relations with a single partner. A possible explanation, even though it is definitely not the only one, is a higher prevalence of sexual conservatism in villages, whether due to the social control in small communities or to cultural and religious traditions.

As a confirmation of the cultural cleavage in terms of sexual behavior, young people of Bucharest are among those with the most sexual relations but very rarely among those with no experience, while young people

of Moldavia and Wallachia are over-represented among those who either had a single sexual partner or no partner so far.

Table 6.4 Sexual activity (% of the total sample)

		I have not had any sexual relation so far	So far, I have had sexual relations with a single partner	I have had several sexual relations	I refuse to answer	Total
Total eșantion		23.2%	27.5%	41.4%	7.9%	100%
Residential area	Urban	23.6%	23.2%	44.8%	8.4%	100%
	Rural	22.7%	33.1%	37.0%	7.3%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	25.1%	29.5%	38.2%	7.3%	100%
	Wallachia	20.2%	28.7%	44.3%	6.9%	100%
	Transylvania	27.7%	24.7%	39.3%	8.3%	100%
	Bucharest	13.5%	29.3%	45.9%	11.3%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	50.1%	22.7%	19.8%	7.4%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	11.5%	29.6%	51.0%	7.9%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	4.8%	30.7%	55.9%	8.6%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Contraceptive methods are known by almost all respondents but are not used consistently among those who started their sexual life. More accurately, 12% of the respondents report that they do not use contraceptive methods and only one respondent out

of three reports that he/she always uses them. Almost one quarter of the respondents report that they use such methods only sometimes, and another quarter states that they did not need contraceptive methods because they did not start their sex life.

Table 6.5 Use of contraceptive methods (% of the total sample)

	How often do you use contraceptive methods?	Always	Sometimes	Never	I have not had sexual relations so far	I do not know what contraceptive methods are	I refuse to answer	Total
Total eșantion		33.3%	24.6%	11.9%	23.2%	1.3%	5.7%	100%
Gender	Male	35.0%	29.3%	11.1%	18.2%	1.7%	4.6%	100%
	Female	31.7%	19.9%	12.7%	28.1%	0.9%	6.7%	100%
Historical region	Moldavia	33.8%	25.8%	8.0%	25.1%	0.4%	6.9%	100%
	Wallachia	34.6%	25.9%	14.2%	20.2%	2.1%	3.0%	100%
	Transylvania	31.0%	22.1%	10.5%	27.7%	1.3%	7.4%	100%
	Bucharest	36.1%	26.3%	17.3%	13.5%	0.8%	6.0%	100%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	25.1%	11.8%	5.2%	50.1%	1.5%	6.3%	100%
	20 to 24 y.o.	39.4%	30.5%	11.1%	11.5%	1.3%	6.2%	100%
	25 to 29 y.o.	35.8%	32.9%	21.1%	4.8%	1.1%	4.3%	100%

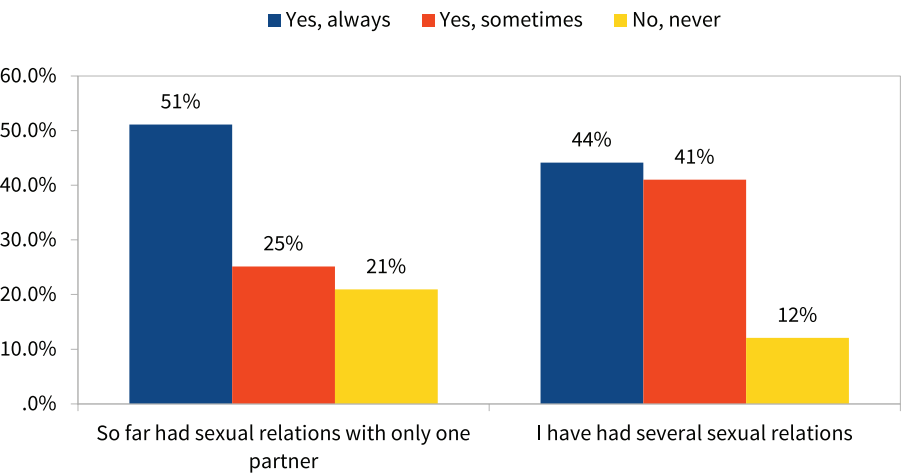
Men are those who report a higher rate of using contraceptive methods than women: two men out of

three use contraceptives sometimes or always, unlike only 50% of the women. When considering only the

77% of the respondents who had sexual relations (1000 out of 1302 respondents), we have 6 men who use contraceptives for each man who does not use them or uses them only sometimes. At the opposite end, we have 4 women using a contraceptive method for each woman who does not use any such method. Young people of Bucharest are among the most active users of contraceptive methods. Young people between

20 and 24 years of age report the highest rate of using contraceptive methods: 70% use them always or at least sometimes. Only 31% of the young people over the age of 25 use every time a contraceptive method, while 21% never use such methods. The most plausible explanation for this cohort consists of their attempt to procreate, especially for the married ones, who are over represented in this age group.

Chart 6.9 Do you use contraceptive methods? Percentage of the total category of young people based on sexual experiences



The use of contraceptive methods is associated to the respondents' sexual experience. In terms of those who had sexual relations just with a single partner, 21% never use contraceptive methods, and more than a half

use a contraceptive method, compared to less than 45% of those who had sexual relations with several partners. From the last category, 41% use contraceptive methods sporadically.

6.4

RISK BEHAVIORS: ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO CONSUMPTION AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE

Just like in the case of questions regarding sex life and the use of contraceptive methods, the answers to the questions on alcohol and tobacco consumption can be and are often distorted by the social desirability effect. Such effect refers to the tendency of respondents to underreport socially undesirable behaviors (i.e.,

alcohol and tobacco consumption) and to over report socially desirable behaviors.

With our reserves in mind, we note that approximately 21% of the Romanians smoke, and men are three times more among smokers than women¹¹. In our research, more than 42% of the young people smoke,

11 Eurostat, *Health at a Glance: Europe 2012*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264183896-en>

three quarters of them every day and one quarter only occasionally. The gender-based differences are maintained also in respect of young people, 40% of the men smoking daily, compared to only 23% of the women; two thirds of the women are nonsmokers. We can note also an increase in the rate of smokers related

to the transition to adult life. If 71% of the young people between 15 and 19 years old are nonsmokers, this percentage decreases down to 50% for those between 20 and 24 years of age, and down to 44% for young people between 25 and 29 years old.

Table 6.6 Alcohol and tobacco consumption (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

		Do you smoke?			Do you consume alcoholic drinks?				
		Yes, daily	Yes, occasionally	No	Yes, daily	Yes, a few times a week	Yes, but only on weekends	Yes, but very rarely	No
Total sample		31.7%	11.5%	56.8%	3.5%	8.3%	14.4%	39.4%	34.5%
Sex	Male	40.9%	13.2%	45.9%	6.1%	13.7%	20.4%	38.6%	21.2%
	Female	22.6%	9.9%	67.5%	1.1%	2.9%	8.4%	40.1%	47.6%
Historical region	Moldavia	26.1%	14.7%	59.2%	7.7%	11.7%	11.4%	7.7%	35.9%
	Wallachia	33.6%	10.3%	56.1%	2.3%	7.1%	11.3%	2.3%	34.3%
	Transylvania	29.1%	12.4%	58.4%	2.4%	7.9%	17.2%	2.4%	35.8%
	Bucharest	45.5%	6.1%	48.5%	3.1%	6.2%	20.8%	3.1%	27.7%

An interesting asymmetry of risk behaviors can be noticed between young people of Moldavia and those of Bucharest. While the latter smoke much more often than the former, young people of Moldavia consume alcoholic drinks more often than the respondents of the Capital City, who are more often weekend drinkers. The explanations start both from the local culture related to the building of the social personality and on the background of opportunities and ways of spending leisure time. In terms of smoking, besides some objective factors, such as the increasing price of cigarettes, social censorship is added in more traditional areas, which targets young smoking women in particular.

One out of four young men consumes alcohol at least once a week, while one out of three never consumes alcoholic drinks. The asymmetry between the risk behavior of men and that of women persists also in the case of alcohol consumption. One out of five men

consumes alcohol daily or a few times a week, while only one out of 25 women has a similar behavior. Almost half of the girls do not consume alcoholic drinks, while only 21% of the boys state that they never consume alcohol.

Chart 6.11 Alcohol consumption per age categories

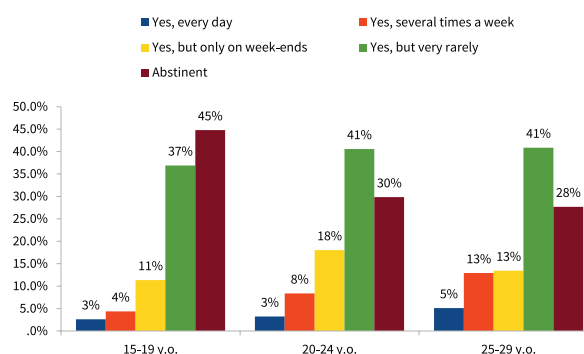


Table 6.7 Alcohol and tobacco consumption per residential areas.

	Do you smoke?			Do you consume alcoholic drinks?				
	Yes, daily	Yes, occasionally	Nonsmoker	Yes, daily	Yes, a few times a week	Yes, but only on weekends	Yes, but very rarely	Abstinent
Rural	31.7%	11.5%	56.8%	3.5%	8.3%	14.4%	39.4%	34.5%
Urban	40.9%	13.2%	45.9%	6.1%	13.7%	20.4%	38.6%	21.2%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

The life path of young people influences also their alcohol consumption. Between the group of those between 15 and 19 years of age and the group of those between 24 and 29 years old, the rate of those who consume alcohol daily is doubled, and the rate of those who consume alcohol a few times a week is tripled. Young people between 20 and 24 years of age are most inclined to drink only on weekends, while young people under the age of 19 years report the highest levels of total avoiding of alcoholic drinks.

Alcohol and tobacco consumption risk behaviors are, as expected, closely correlated. Those who drink more

often tend to smoke more, while nonsmokers are very inclined to be non-drinkers. Almost half of the young people who never smoke, never consume alcoholic drinks, and other 41% consume alcohol only very rarely, while the percentages drop down to 16% and to 35%, respectively, in the case of those who smoke daily. Occasional smokers tend to be even more occasional alcohol drinkers, almost one quarter of them limiting only to the weekend, and almost half of them consuming alcohol very rarely.

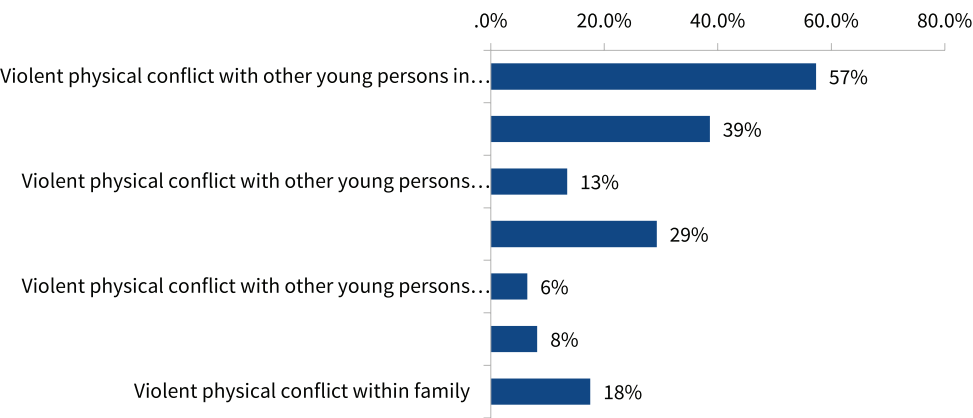
Table 6.8 Percentage of young people who are consumers of alcoholic drinks, out of the total category of smoking/nonsmoking young people

		Consumption of alcoholic drinks					Total
		Daily	A few times a week	Yes, but only on weekends	Yes, but very rarely	I never consume	
Total sample		3.4%	8.4%	14.1%	39.6%	34.6%	100%
Category of smokers / nonsmokers	Daily smokers	8.2%	17.1%	24.3%	34.9%	15.6%	100%
	Occasional smokers	2.0%	9.5%	25.9%	47.6%	15.0%	100%
	Non-smokers	1.1%	3.3%	6.0%	40.5%	49.0%	100%

About 13% of the respondents report that they were involved in one or more violent physical incidents in

the past 12 months. Almost one quarter of these are women, while three quarters are men.

Chart 6.12 Types of violent conflicts. Percentage out of the total number of young people involved in minimum one violent conflict in the past 12 months



More than a half of the respondents involved in acts of violence participated in a physical conflict with other young people of the neighborhood, and about one third in conflicts occurred in entertainment locations or

in education institutions. For all types of involvement in violent conflicts, men report a higher number of incidents than women. If we take a look at each gender, we notice that boys have higher chances to be involved

in a conflict in a night club or in a discotheque, or with the police at a demonstration, or as participants in sports events. Among the types of violence experienced

by girls, the violence in education institutions and, in particular, domestic violence can be mentioned.

Table 6.9 Involvement in acts of violence. Percentages calculated for young people who were involved in such acts at least once in the past 12 months

Types of conflict		Conflict with other young people of the neighborhood	Conflict with other young people in a night club, disco or café	Conflict with other young people on the stadium or at a sports competition	Conflict at school/ high school/ faculty	Conflict with the police (at protests)	Violent physical conflict in the family
Total sub-sample		7.6%	5.1%	1.8%	3.9%	1.1%	2.3%
Sex	Male	12.0%	8.7%	2.8%	5.6%	1.9%	2.8%
	Female	3.2%	1.5%	0.8%	2.2%	0.3%	1.9%
Residential area	Urban	7.1%	3.8%	1.6%	2.5%	0.8%	1.9%
	Rural	8.3%	6.8%	2.0%	5.7%	1.4%	2.9%
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	10.5%	4.1%	2.8%	7.2%	0.9%	2.4%
	20 to 24 y.o.	6.9%	6.3%	1.1%	3.0%	1.3%	2.6%
	25 to 29 y.o.	4.9%	4.9%	1.4%	.8%	1.1%	1.9%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Young people of rural areas are exposed to a higher risk than those of urban areas to be involved in a violent conflict. In urban areas, neighborhood or stadium conflicts are predominant, while young people in villages are more quickly involved in acts of violence

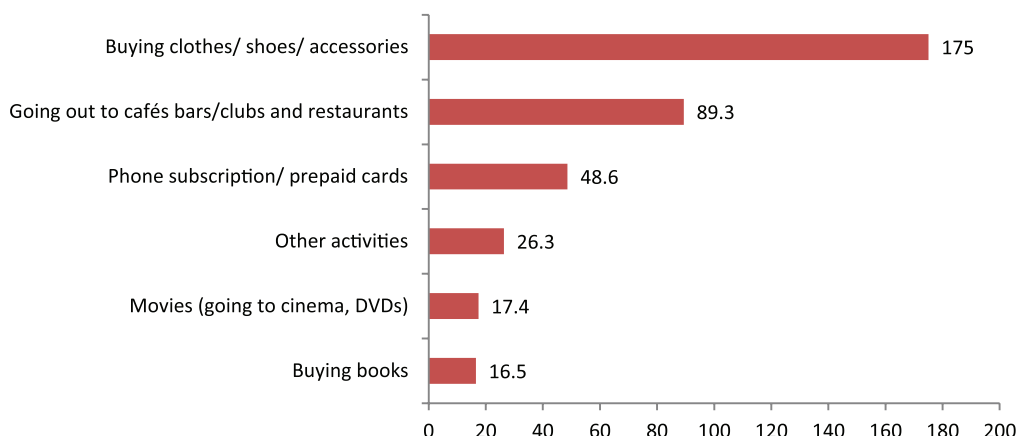
occurred in schools or in night entertainment locations. The involvement in conflicts with young people of the neighborhood is inversely correlated with the age, only one out of 20 young people over 25 years of age reporting such conflict.

6.5 EXPENSES ALLOTTED TO LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Acquisitions of clothes, shoes or accessories represent the most frequent expenses of the young people subject to our research, these investing on average RON 175 per month for such stuff. These are followed

by expenses for going out to a bar, café or a club (almost RON 90/month) and by the payment of the phone bill (almost RON 50 /month).

Chart 6.13 Average monthly expenses per types of activities. Average in RON per the entire sample



On average, young people spend less than RON 20 monthly for watching movies or for buying books. Probably due to higher material possibilities and to an easier access to pubs, shops and cinemas, compared to young people of rural areas, young people of urban areas spend on average by RON 27 more for going out to cafés, bars, etc., by RON 21 more per month for buying clothing, and by RON 8 more per month for watching movies.

In respect of going out, boys spend on average almost double for such activities compared to girls (RON 116 versus RON 60) and spend significantly more money for

watching movies. The only category in which girls spend an average amount higher than that spent by boys is for buying books (RON 22 /month). We note that, on average, boys spend by RON 60 more per month than girls for leisure activities. In general, expenses increase with aging, as young people have more (own) financial resources available. Thus, respondents with ages over 20 years spend significantly more for consumption in pubs and for buying clothes than younger people, and those over 25 years of age pay more money for telephony services.

Table 6.10 Average monthly expenses per types of activities (% of the total sample)

		Movies (going to cinema, DVDs)	Going out to cafés bars/clubs and restaurants	Buying clothes/ shoes/ accessories	Phone subscription/ prepaid cards	Buying books	Other activities
Total sample (RON, on average per month)		17.4	89.3	175.0	48.6	16.5	26.3
Sex	Male	20.9	117.0	180.1	49.0	11.6	29.1
	Female	13.9	61.6	170.0	48.1	21.5	23.5
Residential area	Urban	21.0	101.0	184.4	49.9	18.1	31.6
	Rural	12.6	73.9	162.9	46.9	14.5	19.9
Historical region	Moldavia	15.8	79.3	164.9	46.2	28.2	53.5
	Wallachia	12.1	83.0	168.3	48.2	11.1	23.4
	Transylvania	13.9	90.6	158.8	46.9	13.5	16.9
	Bucharest	49.0	125.2	275.9	60.6	19.9	7.5
Age group	15 to 19 y.o.	17.4	65.8	151.4	43.2	14.0	14.8
	20 to 24 y.o.	18.1	101.5	182.5	47.4	19.5	29.0
	25 to 29 y.o.	16.6	102.8	194.7	56.6	16.0	36.6

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

As expected, young people of Bucharest have a net higher purchase power than young people of other regions, spending significantly more money for

watching movies, going out, mobile telephony or buying clothes.

Table 6.11 Expenses for leisure activities (averages per total sample, excluding non-responses)

Socio-demographic and residential categories		Expenses for leisure activities; averages (in RON)
Sex	Male	399.69
	Female	331.68
Residential area	Urban	403.85
	Rural	321.07
Historical region	Moldavia	391.22
	Wallachia	338.21
	Transylvania	339.74
	Bucharest	522.17
Age group	Between 15 and 19 years old	295.56
	Between 20 and 24 years old	388.78
	Between 25 and 29 years old	422.38
The last school graduated by the father	Primary school(maximum 4 grades)	257.76
	Primary and secondary school(maximum 10 grades)	290.65
	Vocational school	319.22
	High school	374.85
	Post high school education	568.75
	University	435.84
	Post university education (master or PhD degree)	494.29
The parents' social class	Higher class	466.00
	Middle class	412.23
	Workers' class	327.77
	Lower class	206.26

As expected, children whose parents come from favored classes or whose parents have higher education levels

have more financial resources available and spend more on various activities.

6.6 CONCLUSIONS

- Differences in the lifestyle and leisure activities are most prominent between young people living in urban areas and those who live in rural areas; we note also differences due to the transition from one generation to another;
- Unlike adults, young people spend less time watching TV and much more time on the Internet. From among the respondents of our survey, the younger people (meaning the teenagers) appear as the most active Internet users, which is mainly used as an information and entertainment source.
- Boys tend to report that they use contraceptive methods to an extent significantly higher than girls, while the latter state that they had fewer sexual partners than boys.
- In respect of risk behaviors, boys tend to drink more alcohol, to smoke more, and to be involved more often in violent physical incidents than women.

- Significant differences can be noticed in respect of the capacity to spend money for leisure activities between rural and urban areas, as well as between Bucharest and the other regions of Romania.
- The parents' social class and education level are positively correlated with the use of the Internet and with more diverse opportunities to spend leisure time. Young people having parents with a high education level and/or coming from the higher or the middle class tend to use the Internet to a greater extent and to have more varied possibilities for leisure activities.

CHAPTER 7

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

In this chapter, we will address the topic of religiousness. According to a 2010 Eurobarometer survey measuring the level of religiousness in the European Union's countries, Romania ranked third, after Malta and Croatia, with 93% of the Romanians declaring themselves convinced by the existence of God. There is no doubt, this level of religiousness has effects also on other sides of the Romanians' everyday life.

Because religion is so important in people's lives, it tends to influence also the values based on which people filter behaviors acceptable in the society. For example, democratic societies that tend to be more religious and have the tendency to sanction, legally or morally, abortion, such is the case of Poland or Ireland. From this perspective, Romania continues to live under the stigmata of those over 20 years of the communist period when abortion was illegal, which led to real tragedies (for example, women deceased after surgery interventions in improper conditions, unwanted children, who were abandoned and afterwards institutionalized, etc.). Nowadays, according to the data of the World Health Organization, abortions seem to represent, unfortunately, the main contraceptive method in Romania, which has one of the highest abortion rates of the EU. Representatives of the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC) and of other religious cults from our country took position against abortions but, due to the fear of the public disgrace, did so less vehemently.

Instead, an area in which we have assisted to a quite virulent position taken by religious leaders – especially the Christian ones – was that of sexual minorities. As confirmed by the data of other opinion surveys conducted nationwide, the majority of the adult population of the country has negative attitudes towards sexual minorities. From this perspective, the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC) believed probably that an extremely visible public condemnation of homosexuality cannot generate resentments but, on the contrary, an approval of the majority of the population. For instance, during the time period of discussions referring to the amendment of the Constitution, ROC even militated for the introduction of a constitutional article that would have prohibited marriages between persons of the same sex or civil unions of the same sex, under circumstances where the Western Europe seems to walk to the opposite direction of recognition of fundamental rights for sexual minorities.

Romania seems to be, at least at a declarative level, a society in which religion plays a role that cannot be ignored, but studies of other countries show that young people tend to have much more secular attitudes than the general population. The evolution of the religiousness level can offer an idea on the evolution of our society in general and, even more, can reveal data on a potential conflict between generations which we will have to handle in the next years.

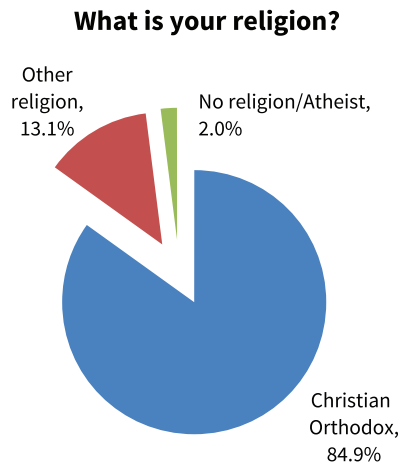
7.1

RELIGIOUS BELONGING OF YOUNG PEOPLE OF ROMANIA

Our discussion about spirituality needs to start from the context of the Romanian society. Almost all researches about religiousness in the European Union show that Romania is one of the most homogenous societies from a religious perspective. According to the 2011 census, 86% of the Romanians identify themselves as Orthodox Christians, 0.1% declare themselves as atheists or without a religion and the rest are of a different religious denomination, also Christian in general.

The situation is somehow similar among young people of Romania, except for the fact that atheism is slightly better represented. Thus, 85% of the young people deem themselves Orthodox Christians, 13% identify themselves as of other religion, and 2% state that they have no religion or that they are atheists. The very high ponder of Orthodox Christians is extremely similar to the religious structure of the general population. Obviously, this situation does not mean necessarily that the level of religiousness of young people is similar to that of the population.

Chart 7.11 Self-identification with a religion (excluding non-responses)



The division per rites does not differ depending on age or gender. The only notable differences noticed by us

are the regional ones and refer to the Roman Catholic cult; these differences are rather a manifestation of the Hungarian ethnic minority (part Catholic and part Protestant) and, maybe, of the tradition left behind by the German ethnic minority in Transylvania. Almost the entire difference seems to be explained by the complex religious history of Transylvania region.

However, the most relevant difference identified compared to the national average is that related to the identification as atheist. Young people are almost twenty times inclined to identify themselves as such compared to the general population measured during the most recent census. Unsurprisingly, the largest part of those who deem themselves as atheists live in urban areas. What is, maybe, surprising is that these are not necessarily in Bucharest, but rather in Transylvania, where the percentage of young people who identify themselves as atheists is almost double compared to that of the Capital City.

Table 7.1. Self-identification with a religion per residential areas, age and gender (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

What is your religion?							
	Christian Orthodox	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protestant	Neo-Protestant	Other religion	Atheist/without a religion
Total	84.9%	5.9%	1.2%	2.6%	3.1%	.2%	2.0%
Urban	86.2%	5.2%	1.5%	.9%	3.1%	.4%	2.7%
Rural	83.4%	6.9%	.7%	4.8%	3.2%	.0%	1.1%
15 to 19 y.o.	85.8%	6.1%	.9%	2.4%	2.4%	.2%	2.2%
20 to 24 y.o.	86.6%	3.8%	1.5%	2.1%	3.8%	.4%	1.7%
25 to 29 y.o.	81.8%	8.3%	1.1%	3.5%	3.2%	.0%	2.1%
Male	84.7%	6.8%	.9%	1.9%	2.8%	.3%	2.6%
Female	85.2%	5.0%	1.4%	3.4%	3.5%	.2%	1.4%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Further on, we have tried to analyze also the belief of young people under two aspects deemed distinct by us. Both were focused on the Christian rite, due to the fact that over 95% of the respondents identified themselves as such, in one of the existing denominations. The first aspect subject to review was that related to the religious values of respondents, which we took into account as spirituality and consisted of a scale of four statements related to the transcendent nature of the divinity. The

second aspect subject to review was rather related to the direct behaviors of the respondents, which we deemed compliance with the institutional canons required by Christian churches – such as fasting, pilgrimages or attending the weekly service. Through this two-folded analysis, we have tried to better understand the real situation of religiousness, whether it is only nominal or not and, partially, to better understand the future of the religious cult from Romania.

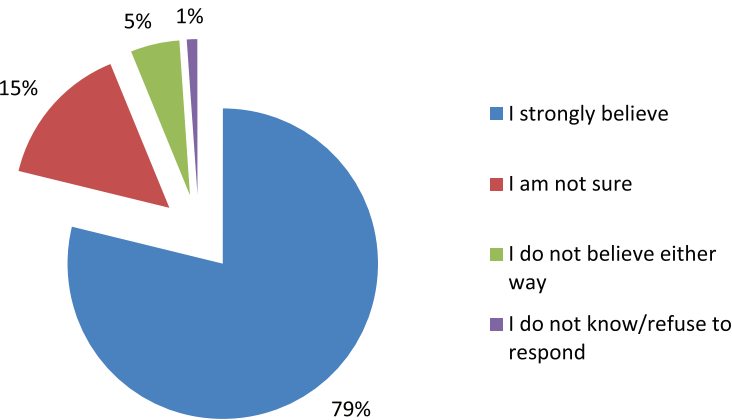
7.2

ASSESSMENT OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS RELIGION OF YOUNG PEOPLE OF ROMANIA

At the question “Do you believe or you are not sure that God exists?”, the distribution of answers reflects

a reality somehow distinct from that of declarative belonging to a certain religion.

Graph 7.2 Do you believe, are you not sure or don't you believe the following statement: “God exists”?



The option I do not believe either way in the existence of God could be normally seen as the definition of atheism, while the following alternative, I am not sure about the existence of God, could be viewed as the definition of the term of agnostic. Thus, based on this criterion, at

least 5% of the young population (Christians or of other religion) could fall under the scope of atheism, which is clearly higher than the percentage of 2% we have seen in Table 7.1.

Table 7.2. Opinions on the existence of God per residential areas and gender (% of the total sample)

Do you believe, are you not sure or don't you believe that God exists?					
	I strongly believe	I am not sure	I do not believe either way	I do not know/refuse to respond	Total
Total eșantion	78.9%	15.0%	5.1%	1.1%	100%
Urban	73.7%	17.6%	7.1%	1.6%	100%
Rural	85.7%	11.5%	2.5%	.4%	100%
Male	73.3%	18.8%	6.8%	1.1%	100%
Female	84.4%	11.2%	3.4%	1.1%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

To the extent that we accept that an individual who does not believe in any way in the existence of God is rather an atheist, the probable explanation of such misunderstanding would be that the question What is your religion? of Table 7.1 was interpreted at least partially as a reference to culture and not necessarily to the religious rite in itself. A possible development

of this explanation would be related to the effect of “social desirability” on the topic of religion. This effect refers to the tendency of respondents to over report socially desirable behaviors and attitudes and to omit socially undesirable behaviors or attitudes. We do not exclude the presence of the so-called effect of the “spiral of silence” either, for example, the tendency

of respondents to give answers compliant to those of the majority for fear of not being socially blamed or excluded. In this case, since there is a significant majority of the population that declares itself as Orthodox Christian, there is a propensity to identify themselves similarly, if respondents were baptized as Orthodox Christians or they live in an Orthodox Christian community.

This explanation is partially confirmed also by the fact that most of those who declare that they do not believe in the existence of God have identified themselves almost exclusively as Orthodox Christians under the previous question. Approximately 90% of those who declared themselves as being of other religion declared also that they were confident in the existence of God, while among those identified as Orthodox Christians, this percentage dropped down to 78%. Thus, one out of ten people who declare themselves as Catholics or Protestants does not believe in divinity, while for young people who declare themselves as Orthodox Christians the rate is double.

If we go further down the thread of this interpretation, we can see that the religiousness of young people is, however, significantly more fluctuating depending on gender and on the residential area than suggested only by the previous question. Thus, young people from rural areas believe significantly more in the existence of God than young people from urban areas. Similarly, women believe much more in the existence of God than men, this being another possible indication of their more traditionalistic attitude. A possible explanation for this situation is the fact that rural areas have kept their traditionalistic attitude closer to religion, to which we referred previously, while young people from urban areas have grown slightly less influenced by it.

The other questions related to spirituality have also generated similar and positive answers, but in a percentage lower than the affirmative answers to the question referring to the existence of God. The opinions of young people related to these topics seem to remain in a relation of proportionality with the answers to the first question, divided per residential areas and gender.

Table 7.3. Opinions on various questions regarding God (% of the total sample)

Do you believe, are you not sure or don't you believe the following statements...			
	Do heaven and hell exist?	Did God create the world?	Is God the source of moral rules and duties?
I strongly believe	63%	73%	64%
I am not sure	26%	18%	23%
I do not believe either way	8%	7%	9%
I don't know/I refuse to answer	3%	2%	4%

All the gender and residential area differences are maintained, almost in the same proportion as the differences noticed in Table 7.2, which shows a rather stable relation and the fact that questions measure the same dimension. Another difference that can be noticed in Table 7.4 is that spirituality (hereinafter, spirituality will be used according to the definition above) of young people decreases suddenly after they exceed the age of 19, after which it stagnates towards maturity. A possible explanation for this fact is that these young people still live with their parents in an overwhelming percentage and, probably, borrow their beliefs in relation to their own spirituality as long as they depend on them. After reaching their majority age, young people nuance or

develop their own opinions and values related to these topics and these are many times much more secular than those of their parents. In fact, one can notice also that, after reaching the age of 19, the opinions of young people are not a complete negation of the belief in God but are transferred to uncertainty. Thus, it is a passage from I strongly believe to I am not sure, while opinions clearly denying the belief in divinity seem to remain rather constant all along all age intervals. These are not influenced by getting out of adolescence, which probably suggests either that these young people did not grow in a very religious family or that the family's religiousness was not assimilated consistently by them.

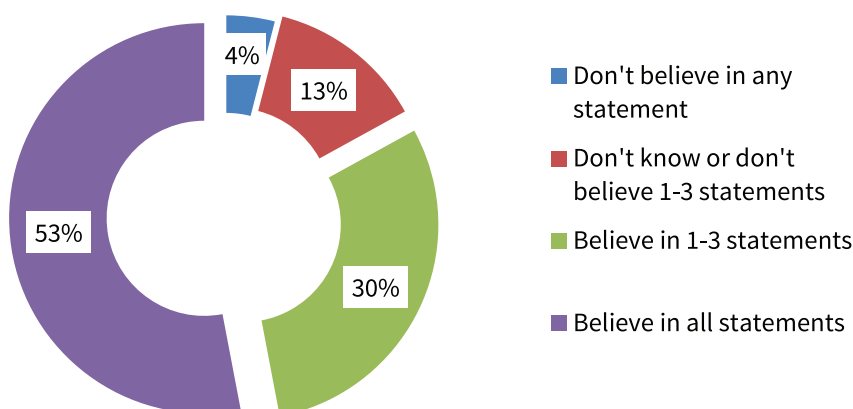
Table 7.4 Opinions on various questions regarding God (% of the total sample)

	Do heaven and hell exist?			Did God create the world?			Is God the source of all moral rules and duties?		
	I strongly believe	I am not sure	I do not believe either way	I strongly believe	I am not sure	I do not believe either way	I strongly believe	I am not sure	I do not believe either way
Urban	59.8%	26.9%	9.5%	67.7%	19.8%	9.8%	58.3%	24.4%	12.1%
Rural	67.8%	24.1%	6.2%	80.4%	14.9%	4.2%	72.0%	20.2%	5.8%
Total	63.3%	25.7%	8.1%	73.2%	17.7%	7.4%	64.3%	22.6%	9.4%
15 to 19 y.o.	67.5%	23.7%	7.8%	77.6%	15.0%	7.4%	66.0%	23.1%	9.2%
20 to 24 y.o.	60.3%	27.9%	7.7%	70.8%	19.0%	7.7%	62.3%	23.9%	9.2%
25 to 29 y.o.	61.8%	25.1%	8.8%	70.9%	19.3%	7.0%	64.7%	20.3%	9.9%
Total	63.3%	25.7%	8.1%	73.2%	17.7%	7.4%	64.3%	22.6%	9.4%
Male	59.3%	28.1%	9.9%	67.0%	21.5%	9.6%	58.3%	25.2%	12.7%
Female	67.3%	23.2%	6.3%	79.4%	13.9%	5.2%	70.2%	20.0%	6.1%
Total	63.3%	25.7%	8.1%	73.2%	17.7%	7.4%	64.3%	22.6%	9.4%

In addition to the responses to each individual question, it is important to take a look also at the way in which respondents answered globally the four statements used. We need to remind that all these statements define, based on our criteria, the Christian religious dogma on the nature of the world and divinity. We can see in Chart 7.3 how this division looks like in

fact. Almost 55% of the young population believes in all four statements related to the nature of the world and divinity, 30% believe in at least one of the four statements, 13% always oscillate between uncertainty and lack of faith, while 4% do not believe in any of the four statements.

Chart 7.3 Percentage of responses related to religiousness



Obviously, a study on the spirituality of Romanians requires a more nuanced and detailed analysis than the above, but even in this analysis one can notice a few things related to the religiousness of young people of Romania. The first, and maybe the most obvious observation, is the fact that 4% of the young population of Romania reject the four statements on the nature of the world and divinity, but only 2% of the same population identify themselves as atheists under the initial question. Therefore, we could say that it is possible that there is either a misunderstanding of the exact term of atheist or without religion or a stigma

attached to the concept, which does not allow young people to admit exactly what they believe.

The second observation would be related to the fact that the identification with the Orthodox Christian rite is sometimes an identification related rather to the culture of respondents than to the nature of their religious belief. Half of the 4% who stated that they do not believe in any of the statements declared previously that they were Orthodox Christians. Also, those who identified themselves as belonging to other Christian rites (Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic,

Protestant, Neo-Protestant) answered in a percentage of 75-80% that they had maximum confidence in all the four statements, while only 50% of those who identified themselves as Orthodox Christians are part of this category. Thus, while individuals who identify themselves with a minority religious rite have high chances to really accept the dogma of that religion and to have a strong faith in all these four statements, only half of those who identify themselves with the majority

religious rite, the Orthodox Christian one, are as strict with their faith.

The third observation is related to the nature of faith imbalance. Almost 75% of those who stated that they did not believe in any of the statements are men and belong to urban areas. These are divided almost evenly per ages, even though those who still live with their parents have high chances to borrow part of their parents' religious representations.

7.3

ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS BEHAVIORS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

The behavioral dimension of religiousness targets the behaviors promoted by ROC and by the Christian churches of Romania in general. This dimension is distinct from the previous one through the fact that it does not assess values, beliefs and attitudes of the respondents, but the practices in themselves and the extent to which such practices reflect the respondents' statements. The latter ones and also those referring to behaviors can be and are influenced by the so-called social desirability effect, meaning the tendency of respondents to over report socially desirable behaviors and to omit behaviors that do not observe norms shared by a group, the society, etc.

As one can notice from Table 7.5, this participation is very diversified per canons. Some are much more popular than others. For example, it seems that 60% of the young people participate often or very often in religious holidays and 57% of the young people pray often or very often. The least popular canon of the ones assessed in this study is that related to religious pilgrimages, where only 7% of the young people state that they participate often or very often. Confession, with 19% of the young people confessing often or very often, fasting, with 21% of the young people doing this often or very often, and participation in the weekly service, with 25% of the young people doing this often or very often, are also rather less popular.

Table 7.5 Frequency of religious behaviors (% of the total sample)

How often...	Do you go to the Sunday religious service	Do you pray	Do you confess	Do you participate in religious holidays	Do you go to religious pilgrimages	Do you fast
Very often	8%	18%	3%	23%	1%	5%
Often	17%	39%	16%	37%	6%	16%
Rarely	45%	28%	44%	25%	22%	37%
Very rarely	30%	15%	35%	14%	69%	41%
I do not know/I refuse to answer	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is important to mention also that these figures deserve to be viewed in a particular context. As we mentioned previously, young people under the age of 19 seem to borrow from the attitudes of their parents in respect of religion, which can make us believe that these borrow also from their parents' behaviors in their relations

with the church. For example, in families where there is a tradition to attend the Sunday religious services, accompanying the parents in such activity may be seen also as an obligation or a social networking way, not only as a manifestation of the personal interest of a young person in such activity. Also, we could prepare

an argumentation in the mirror, according to which young people over the age of 24, already integrated in the labor market, have less time to participate in activities of the church, even though maybe they would

like to do so. However, if we consider also the figures related to spirituality, which were analyzed previously, this theory is not confirmed.

Table 7.6.1. Participation in Church canons (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

	How often do you go to the Sunday religious service			How often do you pray			How often do you confess		
	Often or very often	Rarely, very rarely or never	Total	Often or very often	Rarely, very rarely or never	Total	Often or very often	Rarely, very rarely or never	Total
Urban	20%	80%	100%	53%	47%	100%	16%	84%	100%
Rural	30%	70%	100%	61%	39%	100%	23%	77%	100%
Total	25%	75%	100%	56%	44%	100%	19%	81%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	27%	73%	100%	58%	42%	100%	24%	76%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	24%	76%	100%	55%	45%	100%	18%	82%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	22%	78%	100%	55%	45%	100%	14%	86%	100%
Total	25%	75%	100%	56%	44%	100%	19%	81%	100%
Male	18%	82%	100%	47%	53%	100%	13%	87%	100%
Female	31%	69%	100%	65%	35%	100%	25%	75%	100%
Total	25%	75%	100%	56%	44%	100%	19%	81%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Table 7.6.2 Participation in Church canons (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

	How often do you participate in religious holidays			How often do you go to religious pilgrimages			How often do you fast		
	Often or very often	Rarely, very rarely or never	Total	Often or very often	Rarely, very rarely or never	Total	Often or very often	Rarely, very rarely or never	Total
Urban	56%	44%	100%	6%	94%	100%	17%	83%	100%
Rural	65%	35%	100%	9%	91%	100%	24%	76%	100%
Total	60%	40%	100%	7%	93%	100%	20%	80%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	67%	33%	100%	8%	92%	100%	22%	78%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	58%	42%	100%	9%	91%	100%	19%	81%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	55%	45%	100%	5%	95%	100%	18%	82%	100%
Total	60%	40%	100%	7%	93%	100%	20%	80%	100%
Male	54%	46%	100%	5%	95%	100%	14%	86%	100%
Female	66%	34%	100%	9%	91%	100%	26%	74%	100%
Total	60%	40%	100%	7%	93%	100%	20%	80%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

As we can see in Tables 7.6.1. and 7.6.2, the most important three canons of the Church are: participation in the Sunday religious service, prayer and participation in religious holydays. The first canon is observed often or very often by one out of four young people, while the other two are observed by more than a half of the young people.

The main factor differentiating the participation in such canons is the gender of respondents. In respect of all three canons, women participate in a higher percentage than men, both under the often and under the very often category. Age differences are more important in relation to the participation in the Sunday service, where frequent participation decreases with aging,

in the general group of young people of Romania. Similarly, the participation in religious holydays also decreases with aging (between 25 and 29 years of age), at least in respect of the often or very often category.

Table 7. 7. Participation in church canons per levels of religiousness

Religiousness	How often do you go to the Sunday religious service?			How often do you pray?			How often do you participate in religious holydays?		
	Often and very often	Rarely and very rarely	Total	Often and very often	Rarely and very rarely	Total	Often and very often	Rarely and very rarely	Total
I do not believe any statement (4%)	<1%	100%	100%	<1%	100%	100%	7%	93%	100%
I do not know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements (13%)	2%	97%	100%	10%	89%	100%	27%	72%	100%
I believe between 1 and 3 statements (30%)	13%	87%	100%	52%	47%	100%	62%	37%	100%
I believe all statements (53%)	39%	61%	100%	74%	26%	100%	71%	28%	100%
Total	24%	75%	100%	56%	43%	100%	60%	39%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Table 7.7 show us the relation between the respondents' statements referring to religion and their habit to participate in church canons. Unsurprisingly, the more faith respondents have in the four statements on the nature of the world and divinity, the more inclined they are to participate in canons of the church more intensely. The relation is elastic but we can see that it is not even from one institutional-religious activity to another. For example, even those who believe in all statements referring to faith participate in a percentage of 39% often and very often in the weekly service. Another example is that of those who do not believe in any of these statements and participate in a percentage of 7% in religious holydays, maybe as a result of a social pressure or as a way of observing the family tradition. Participation in religious holydays and prayer are the most popular religious activities but prayer seems to correlate better with a high level of spirituality than with something else. A possible explanation for this is precisely the fact that prayer is related to the personal sphere, which does not require a formal institutional framework, and which can be performed by a believer at home or at any moment he/she prefers, while other activities require costs of time and of other nature.

As a result, we can conclude that there are some behaviors related to institutionalized religion that are assumed consistently by several social categories– such as prayer – but also behaviors that are rather segregated per gender, residential area, and, in particular, individual level of spirituality. Such behaviors are the participation in the weekly service or even the participation in the major Christian holydays. However, this conclusion and the general figures

presented for religion-related behaviors do not need to be interpreted as a gap in the belief of young people of Romania. Even though, traditionally, the Orthodox Christian religion implies a very close relationship between the church and believers, in the last decades we have assisted to a personal or private expansion of a religious type, in particular for young people. This is more detached from the church and the traditional canons but continues to be very attached to the faith as such and to the values of Christianity.

Obviously, studies on religiousness resorting to poll surveys face the issue of distortions due to respondents. We refer here to two such distortions: the first distortion is related to the so-called social desirability effect or to appearances/prestige, which we discussed in the pages of this report. This effect refers to the tendency of respondents to over report socially desirable behaviors and to omit blamable behaviors. The second distortion can be induced by the so-called “spiral of silence,” the tendency of some respondents to be silent in respect of their own opinions because they believe that these are in contradiction to those of the majority and, by disclosing them, they could be socially isolated or stigmatized by the majority. In this case, in a country where pilgrimages and an ostentatious display of religious symbols are “en vogue”, less religious people or atheists could be afraid that, due to their minority opinions, they could be looked at with distrust or repudiated by the majority.

In the focus-groups created by us, we tried to investigate also such aspects. For instance, keeping in mind the Romanian proverb “do what the priest says not what

the priest does!,” we wanted to find out what the perception of young people on priests is. Do they trust them indeed or they see religion as a personal matter, not intermediated by priests, precisely because of the latter? Most of the participants in the focus-groups denounced the discrepancy between the religious teachings and the practices of representatives of the church:

A: For example, I have heard that now they intend to destroy a national park in order to build a monastery there!

R: Yes, precisely! And what is the use of that national cathedral! Let us be realistic! Jesus Christ used to preach leaning in a stick, wearing a kerchief and barefoot, so let us be realistic! **(A, man; R, woman, Bucharest)**

A1 And there is another thing, the Bible says that we need to get through all the church sacraments, marriage, baptism and other things, but we are compelled to pay in order to be able to baptize our children! Wait a minute, will I not be saved by God if I cannot marry or I cannot bury someone because I do not have the necessary money?!?

A2: So, a high school colleague of mine died in a car accident and had a very difficult situation; to the church where they went to bury him, the priest was our religion teacher, and did not want to bury him because his family did not have money to pay the necessary taxes! I was in shock: the late guy had been his student, so the priest could have accepted at least because of this but he didn't even want to hear about it!

A1: The thing is that we speak here about something divine and priests are allegedly by God's side, and they are allegedly His messenger on earth!

A1: There is also an issue related to the fact that almost all old people believe in church, in priests, and the latter take advantage of this, and threaten people saying that if they do not give money to the church, an earthquake stronger than the one of 1977 will come! A percentage of 80% of the old population will go and donate that money, because we are very faithful! And they take advantage of this weakness of ours! **(A1, A2, A3, women, Bucharest)**

The distrust in priests is based many times on anecdotic personal experiences:

A: I have a friend who wants to become a priest and I do not trust priests because I know what he is like, meaning that I believe that you need to have a gift to do something like this, but he gets drunk, goes to women and all kind of stuff like this! He said that he was interested only in the material side of this profession, as he wanted to live well! And I wonder

why should I go to a priest who, after he takes off his stole, is just like my friend?! (A, woman, Bucharest)

The opulence displayed by some priests and high representatives of the church is seen as a blamable behavior, not conform to the religious discourse, and represents a source of mistrust in priests:

S: I have seen priests with Lamborghini, Ferrari, not common cars, cars having hundreds of horse powers beneath their bonnet, not cheap cars. Cars meant to break asphalt beneath their wheels. Priests love adrenaline.

Moderator.: Why?

S: Because they have money! Do you think that if I had money, wouldn't I buy one like this?

Moderator: You trust them less than you trust the Church? I wonder why. You mentioned that they have cars, they have...

S: But why should I trust priests? I do not trust myself, since I say I go home and I go somewhere else, not to mention priests! How can they buy a Ferrari with their salaries of 10 – 15 million lei? **(S, man, rural Craiova)**

And yet, what is the use of going to church in such case?

A: I believe in God, I do not believe in priests, but when I go to church, I do it to get calm and to disburden myself. In church, there is a communion between you and God and you pray to God and He listens to you more and more. Because that's the place where... His home is.

G1: When I get there, I get calm. But I believe that God exists everywhere and that the place where you are does not matter.

G2: What it really matters is to believe, not to go to church.

G1: I know that He exists because when I needed Him... I know that God loves me. I had some problems and He never let me down.

I: I do not believe in priests... but I believe in God.

A: I do not believe in church at all because I notice very often how...for example, I went to Putna Monastery, where I paid RON 40 for an akathist... for other things...and everywhere I went, I had to pay money. Instead of giving money to the church, you would better buy a bottle of water, because you know that the water will get to someone who needs it. Speaking about God, I believe God loves me because I exist. This means that I am in harmony with the universe. **(A, G1, G2 women; I, man, Bucharest)**

7.4

RELIGION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ABORTION, CONTRACEPTION AND HOMOSEXUALITY

Simultaneously with the study on the religiousness of young people of Romania, maybe it is important to see also to what extent this has any effect on other attitudes adopted by young people in their lives. Maybe the handiest area of life (and, definitely, the one that drew most the attention of the media) on which we would expect religiousness to have an effect is that of sexuality.

Prior to analyzing the association between religiousness and this field of behaviors, let us examine first, with the help of Table 7.8, the opinions of young people on these topics. If we take into account the fact that an important part of the sample subject to review refers to individuals between 15 and 19 years of age, the figures are not necessarily surprising.

Table 7.8 Opinions about abortion, premarital sexual abstinence and homosexuality

What do you think about the idea of sexual abstinence prior to marriage?		Which of the following opinions is closest to what you think?		How acceptable are homosexual persons to you?	
Sexual abstinence is a value/virtue both for boys	22%	Abortions should be completely prohibited by law	19%	To a very large extent	8%
Sexual abstinence is a value/virtue for girls	16%	Abortions should be allowed only in cases of major emergency	37%	To a large extent	15%
Sexual abstinence represents a burden/a reason for psychological stress	10%	Abortions should remain allowed by law, as they are at present	36%	They are neither acceptable nor unacceptable	24%
Sexual abstinence is an old fashioned notion	41%	I don't know/ I refuse to answer	8%	To a small extent	20%
Something else	2%	Total	100%	To a very small extent/not at all acceptable	29%
I don't know/I refuse to answer	10%			I don't know/I refuse to answer	4%
Total	100%			Total	100%

The idea of sexual abstinence prior to marriage is perceived quite differently by young people. Almost 40% of the young people see sexual abstinence as a virtue, but only 22% of them see it as a virtue both for boys and for girls, while 16% see it as a virtue only for girls. One out of ten young people sees sexual abstinence as a burden or a source of psychological stress, and 41% of them see it rather as an old fashioned concept.

Abortion is an issue of a high potential importance for the future, even if nowadays this topic is seldom discussed at a political level. Over 50% of the young people would agree with an amendment of the current law on abortion in the sense of restricting the current rights. Almost 20% of them want abortion completely prohibited by law, while 37% of them would want

abortion to be allowed only in cases of major emergency (i.e., when the mother's life is jeopardized). Only 36% of the young people believe that abortions should continue to be allowed as they are by the current law – indeed, one of the most permissive of the European Union.

In the focus groups composed of young people of all regions of the country, we tried to thoroughly explore the religious reasons for options on abortions. It is clear that, on one hand, religion plays an important role in the anti-abortion option, as it results from the statement of a male participant:

S: *Because it is about the life of a human, there is no difference between one day in the mother's womb and a day on earth. There is no difference, since right*

from the moment when the child starts to grow, he receives life, and breathes like any of us, so this is a crime **(S, male, Craiova)**

Similarly

A: [Abortion should be] Completely forbidden.

D: No matter how much it is prohibited, who wants to do it, will do it.

A: Forbidden. Even if the child is not born, he is already a being, a living soul. **(A, female, D male, Iași)**

On the other hand, options in favor or against abortion have also other grounds, which are not necessarily or easily to associate with religiousness, as one can see from the extracts below:

G: Women who want to make an abortion should think maybe that they will not get rid only of a pregnancy they do not want but can cause also complications, because many doctors do not do this correctly, and many women remain infertile after this, and may never have children, and they should think that a child needs a family and, even if pregnancy happens, a child will bring them much joy. **(G, female, Iași)**

E: Can I ask a personal question those who are against abortion? Are they against abortion even in the case of a pregnancy that is the result of a rape?

A: Yes

Moderator: Is anyone in favor of it, someone who believes that abortion should be left allowed, as it is at present?

E: Yes.

Moderator: E, could you bring some arguments?

A: First of all, it is much more important than those cells and, secondly, a pregnancy poses risks even if you bring it to the term. You can have nausea, and maybe I do not want to have a child. There was an article in Al Jazeera written by a pregnant woman describing all the changes suffered by the body as a result of pregnancy. And since I do not want this, why should I get through all this? And let's not forget that 20 years ago, abortions were prohibited in Romania and so many women died because they resorted to all kinds of methods. **(E and A, females, Iași)**

A1: I think that the idea of family should also be promoted, because there are individuals 20 years old who decide to have a child, have a child but they are not married or something like this, and the child gets to live only with the mother, because the father does not want to hear about him anymore.

A2: I also believe that there should be more support, because there are persons who really want to have a child but who live from one month to another

and have nothing to offer to a child. They can offer absolutely nothing. And then, we think of people who do not care at all, who have 20 children whom they send to beg, but where will we get, and what we are going to do this way?!

A3: Or, there are others who get married, work hard to have a home, to be prepared for a child but succeed this only when they are about 40 years old, and when they want to have a baby, find that they are unable to have it! Or such babies are ill, because they are conceived too late! **(A1, A2, A3, females, Bucharest)**

Moderator: Do you think the abortion law should be prohibited?!

Voices: No, no!

R: Like Ceaușescu did?! I think that if they had not done what Ceaușescu did, I would not have had so many brothers now!

Moderator: Is there anyone who believes that it should be prohibited?!

Voices: No, no!

R: No, but I should focus on sexual education, in order to avoid getting there! If you want to start your sex life at the age of 14 or 15, to be protected, to know what you have to do in order to do that thing right! Because this is not like going shopping and buying a lipstick and, if you don't like it anymore, you stop using it. I believe this is a matter of maturity and I don't think that someone is grown up at the age of 15. I think we are not mature even at the age of 30! At the high school age, your main concern is to study and reach someone in life, not to raise a child! To sit at your desk and study! **(R, female, Bucharest)**

Tolerance towards sexual minorities is another issue that divides quite evenly the young people. If almost 50% of them believe that homosexuals are acceptable only to a small extent or not at all, other 47% believe that these are acceptable or deem them neither acceptable nor unacceptable.

As we can see in Table 7.9, unsurprisingly, in case of sexual abstinence prior to marriage, religiousness of respondents is most associated to the opinion about sexual abstinence prior to marriage. Thus, those who are more religious tend to deem abstinence a virtue – both for boys and for girls to a larger extent. Even if the association relation is quite strong, even in the group of the very faithful ones, over 30% believe that abstinence is an old fashioned concept, and other 9% believe that abstinence is a burden or a reason for psychological stress. As the religiousness of respondents decreases, the rejection of the idea of sexual abstinence increases, which confirms the hypothesis according to which the preference for premarital sexual abstinence is

associated to religiousness and/or to a so-called “traditionalism” of the population of Romania.

There are also other important associations that should be mentioned. The most important seems to be the association between gender and attitudes towards premarital sexual relations. Thus, abstinence is seen to a much larger extent as a virtue (both for both genders but in particular for girls) precisely by female respondents. This situation is related, indeed, to the data mentioned previously according to which

young women tend to be consistently more religious and more traditionalist than young men. Another important effect worth mentioning in this context – and linked to our observation – is the one related to the age of respondents and the opinion about abstinence. Almost two thirds of the young people between 15 and 19 years old who deem abstinence a virtue are in fact girls. With aging, women tend to have opinions more permissive and closer to those of men, even though they continue to remain more attached to the idea of abstinence.

Table 7.9 Opinions on sexual abstinence prior to marriage based on criteria of spirituality level, residential area, age and gender (% of the total sample excluding non-responses)

	Sexual abstinence is a value/virtue also for boys	Sexual abstinence is a value/virtue for girls	Sexual abstinence represents a burden/a reason for psychological stress	Sexual abstinence is an old fashioned notion	Something else	I don't know/I refuse to answer
I do not believe any statement	5%	10%	21%	55%	2%	7%
I don't know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements	10%	13%	8%	55%	3%	11%
I believe between 1 and 3 statements	18%	12%	9%	50%	2%	8%
I believe all statements	28%	18%	9%	32%	1%	11%
Total	22%	16%	10%	41%	2%	10%
Urban	20%	15%	9%	44%	2%	10%
Rural	24%	16%	11%	38%	2%	10%
Total	22%	16%	10%	41%	2%	10%
15 to 19 y.o.	24%	20%	8%	33%	1%	14%
20 to 24 y.o.	21%	12%	9%	47%	3%	9%
25 to 29 y.o.	20%	16%	11%	44%	1%	7%
Total	22%	16%	10%	41%	2%	10%
Male	17%	13%	11%	45%	2%	11%
Female	26%	18%	8%	37%	2%	9%
Total	22%	16%	10%	41%	2%	10%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Similarly to the case of sexual abstinence, it was expected that religiousness of young people be a factor for differentiating the attitudes towards abortion. More religious young people tend to support the restriction of the right to abortion to a larger extent. Thus, one

out of four very religious young people would want the complete prohibition of abortion and one out of three wants that these are allowed by law, as they have been allowed until now.

Table 7.10 Opinions on abortion based on criteria of spirituality level, residential area, age and gender (% of the total sample)

	Abortions should be completely prohibited by law	Abortions should be allowed only in cases of major emergency	Abortions should remain allowed by law, as they are at present	I do not know/I refuse to answer
I do not believe any statement	7%	19%	69%	5%
I do not know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements	11%	34%	48%	6%
I believe between 1 and 3 statements	14%	40%	39%	7%
I believe all statements	24%	37%	30%	9%
Total	19%	37%	36%	8%
Urban	17%	38%	36%	9%
Rural	21%	36%	38%	6%
Total	19%	37%	36%	8%
15 to 19 y.o.	20%	38%	31%	12%
20 to 24 y.o.	16%	35%	43%	6%
25 to 29 y.o.	20%	39%	36%	5%
Total	19%	37%	36%	8%
Male	18%	36%	36%	10%
Female	19%	38%	37%	5%
Total	19%	37%	36%	8%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

An important discussion about this topic could start precisely from the differentiation data that are not reflected in Table 7.10, namely a different attitude of women towards abortion. Everywhere in the world where abortion is deemed an important topic, women tend to have a much more liberal attitude towards

the legislation in the area, precisely because abortion is mainly seen not as much as a moral issue but as a practical one, which is faced solely by women. The fact that there is no differentiation per genders in this respect shows that perhaps this is not the vision existing in Romania.

Table 7.11. Opinions on abortion based on sexual experience (% of the total sample)

Sexual relations	Which of the following opinions is closest to what you think??				Total
	Abortions should be completely prohibited by law	Abortions should be allowed only in cases of major emergency	Abortions should remain allowed by law, as they are at present	I refuse to answer	
Total	19%	37%	36%	8%	100%
I had no sexual relationships by now	28%	38%	21%	12%	100%
I had sexual relationships with one or more partners by now	15%	37%	42%	5%	100%
I refuse to answer	17%	31%	31%	20%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Another factor with a high potential to influence the attitude of young people towards abortion is related to whether these had or not sexual relations until this moment. Theoretically, it is much easier to adopt a very restrictive attitude towards abortion if the topic of abortion has only a moral component, without considering the possibility of being involved personally in a situation that could be related to a case of abortion. As we can see in Table 7.11, the attitude of

young people towards abortion is, indeed, very closely connected to their own sex life. More than one quarter of those who had no sexual relations until this moment believe that abortions should be completely prohibited by law, while only one of five believes that these should be allowed by law, as they are now. Only 15% of those who had sexual relations still believe that abortion should be prohibited by law, while almost half of them believe that abortion should remain legal, as it is now.

Table 7. 12 Opinion on abortion and on the use of contraceptive methods (% of the total sample)

Do you use any contraceptive means or contraceptive method (e.g., condoms, contraceptive pills, the calendar method, intra uterine device, etc.)?	Opinion on abortion				Total
	Avorturile ar trebui să fie total interzise prin lege	Avorturile ar trebui să fie permise doar în caz de urgență majoră	Avorturile ar trebui să rămână permise prin lege, ca în prezent	Nu răspund	
Yes, always	15%	38%	42%	5%	100%
Yes, sometimes	14%	38%	44%	4%	100%
No, never	22%	35%	39%	5%	100%
No, because I had no sexual relations so far	28%	38%	21%	12%	100%
I refuse to answer	18%	30%	31%	22%	100%
Total sample	19%	37%	36%	8%	100%

Practically, Tables 7.11 and 7.12 show that attitudes towards abortion are closely related to sexuality. Those who have sexual relations and use regularly contraceptive methods have a more open attitude towards abortion.

It is interesting to see the evolution of the opinion on restricting the permission for abortions only for cases of major emergency. Neither the religiousness nor even the experience of sexual relations seem to make a difference, as one can see in Table 7.11. Thus, irrespective of the level of religiousness or of whether respondents had or not sexual relations, at least one third of the respondents believe that the right to abortion should be limited only to cases of major emergency. If there is a debate in the future on abortion in Romania, this might be one of the relevant attitudes in the public debate. Practically, our data indicate that religiousness is important rather in

respect of the attitude in favor or against abortions and much less or not at all in respect of the conditioning of abortion by emergency situations. Most probably, this option is deemed a middle option, the one offering an acceptable compromise between the moral blaming of abortion and the maximal or self-interested option to preserve the current status quo.

In fact, Table 7.12 confirms the fact that the respondents' sex life is closely correlated with their self reported level of religiousness. Data could be prefigured also from Table 7.9, where we studied the opinion on sexual abstinence and the level of religiousness. Of course, religiousness is not the only factor here. A factor much more relevant for the respondents' sex life is also their age. Also, as we discussed above in this chapter, the age in itself is an important factor in differentiating the respondents' level of religiousness.

Table 7.13 Number of sexual partners per levels of religiousness (Romania, n=1302)

Level of religiousness	I had no sexual relationships by now	I had sexual relationships with one or more partners by now	I refuse to answer	Total
I do not believe any statement	7%	86%	7%	100%
I don't know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements	11%	81%	8%	100%
I believe between 1 and 3 statements	20%	73%	7%	100%
I believe all statements	29%	63%	8%	100%
Total sample	23%	69%	8%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

The connection between religiousness and the attitude towards homosexuality is not surprising either. As we can see in Table 7.11, the more religious an individual is, the higher chances are that the person will deem homosexuality unacceptable. Approximately 53%

of the young people deem homosexual persons unacceptable. The persons more tolerant towards sexual minorities tend to be the least religious, at least from a formal perspective.

Table 7.14 Opinion on homosexual persons per levels of religiousness, residential area, age and gender (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

To what extent homosexuals and lesbians are acceptable persons?			
Level of religiousness (column)	Unacceptable	Neither acceptable nor unacceptable	Acceptable
I do not believe any statement	38%	19%	43%
I do not know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements	38%	26%	36%
I believe between 1 and 3 statements	51%	25%	24%
I believe all statements	60%	23%	17%
Total sample	53%	24%	23%
Urban	49%	23%	28%
Rural	59%	25%	16%
Total sample	53%	24%	23%
15 to 19 y.o.	56%	23%	21%
20 to 24 y.o.	51%	25%	25%
25 to 29 y.o.	55%	24%	22%
Total sample	53%	24%	23%
Male	55%	26%	19%
Female	52%	22%	26%
Total sample	53%	24%	23%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Like in the case of abortion, we also can see here effects associated to the gender of respondents. Even though girls tend to be more religious, they also tend to be more tolerant towards sexual minorities. One woman out of four deems homosexuals acceptable persons, while less than one man out of five has the same

opinion. There is also a difference between rural areas and urban areas. Thus, even though we can say that a person's religiousness influences his/her perception on sexual minorities, this is only one of the factors that determine tolerance.

7.5

CONCLUSIONS

- The figures of our survey indicate that the religious identification of young people of Romania represents only an aspect of the religiousness. Even though over 80% of the young people declare themselves as Orthodox Christians, one third of these does not believe in God or rejects other basic enunciations of the Orthodox Christian religion. The situation is slightly different among the general population, where a recent survey of the European Commission shows that over 90% of the Romanians state that they believe in God. Thus, for young people, the Orthodox Christian religion is rather a cultural label, a symbol of belonging to a majority/group than a profoundly religious identification. By contrast, those who identify themselves as having a different Christian religion (Protestants, Roman Catholics, Neo-Protestants, etc.) tend to declare more often that they believe in God and, also, tend to agree more often with the other basic statements of the Christian spirituality included in the questionnaire of our survey.
- Almost half of the young people believe in the four statements deemed by us as being basic for Christianity, but even these participate in a limited number in religious services or other canons. Over 60% of the young people observe religious holidays and pray, but the number of those who fast, or confess or go to the weekly service is much lower. This non-participation could be interpreted as a lack of time or as a difficulty to observe these church canons, but could be also interpreted as a new form of religious behavior. Thus, young people are much less tempted to show their religiousness in direct connection with the Church, and do it rather introspectively, through their behavior and values. Practically, data indicate a slight departure of young people from religion and a more significant departure from the institution of Church and from the canons imposed traditionally by this institution;
- Religiousness of young people seems to influence their scale of values on issues that are mentioned including by the religious dogma. The most interesting relation is that regarding the attitude of women towards three important aspects: sexual abstinence prior to marriage, abortion and tolerance towards sexual minorities. Women tend to be significantly more religious than men – both in terms of spirituality and in terms of observance of the regular church canons. As a result, we would expect women to be also significantly more conservative or closer to the position of the church in respect of premarital sexual relations, the issue of abortion and the attitude towards sexual minorities. Indeed, women tend to be more conservative than men in respect of sexual abstinence prior to marriage and the position towards abortion. However, women seem not to be very influenced by the Church's position in respect of the tolerance towards sexual minorities: women seem to be more tolerant than men in respect of homosexuality.
- The data provided by this research on the issue of abortion announce a possible important topic for the years to come. More than a half of the young population wants a restriction of the right to abortion in Romania. This effect is slightly diminished with aging, but even within the category between 25 and 29 years old, almost 60% of the young people would like that the legislation on abortion be restricted. Almost one fifth (19%) of the interviewed ones want the complete prohibition of abortions by law and over one third (37%) state also that abortions should be prohibited, except for cases where the mother's life is jeopardized. Under circumstances where data of the World Health Organization indicate that Romania is one of the countries with the highest rate of abortion of Europe (or, in other words, the country where abortion still represents the main contraceptive method), this topic might get visibility in the future, especially if it finds a political actor prepared to represent this type of ideas.
- A large part of the reason why the issue of abortion was ignored by politicians and by other groups is precisely the memory of abortion prohibition during the communist regime. Probably, many older people would see a discussion about the restriction of the rights to abortion as an unwanted return to the communism, but the young generation, probably because it was not exposed to that time period, does not see things in the same way. In the Western world, especially in the United States, abortion is an extremely politically polarizing topic, which was intensely fructified by the political parties in order to obtain

support. These data indicate that there is a high potential for debate in which an important part of

the population (especially the young population) would request amendment of the legislation.

CHAPTER 8

DEMOCRACY, POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE

The presence to vote in the elections of Romania is decreasing continuously since the beginning of the '90s. If in the parliamentary elections of 1990 the presence to vote was of 86% of the population, this figure has decreased dramatically in the past years. The lowest percentage of the presence to vote for parliamentary elections in Romania was that of 2008, when only 39% of the electors decided the composition of the legislative. It is true, part of this decrease can be explained also by a massive migration of Romanians. In 2012, the presence to vote increased, even though almost unperceivable, up to 42%. The presence to vote is only one of the issues of the democratic legitimacy of a society, but this is, maybe, one of the easiest to measure and to compare from an electoral moment to another.

It is important to see whether this decline of the presence to vote will be maintained in the future, when all young people subject to review in this report obtain a right to vote. A 2013 survey of the European Commission showed that almost two thirds (64%) of the European young people had the intention to vote in the European parliamentary elections of 2014, while approximately one third (35%) stated that it is unlikely that they will vote¹². The same EC report noted that young people are less interested than their parents in expressing their vote and show an increasing dissatisfaction with the manner in which politics works.

Under circumstances where the figures regarding the general participation to vote of Romania are among the lowest in Europe, it is expected that the intention of young people to participate is even lower than the most recent percentage of 42%.

Other extremely important elements of the democratic life that we should review carefully in respect of young people is their attachment to democratic institutions, their perception on effectiveness in the relation to the state institutions and, last but not least, their understanding of the way in which the structures of our own state and of the European Union operate. A 2013 study conducted by the London School of Economics and devoted to the support of democracy by young people of the European Union states that the main obstacle against a more intense participation of young people in the political life is the lack of confidence that their vote or action can make a difference¹³.

This topic is all the more interesting that a relative increase in the number of protests organized by the civil society, especially in Bucharest and other large cities, was recorded in the past years. Even though nominally they were attributed to precise causes, such as the dismissal of Raed Arafat in 2012 or the mining facility of Rosie Montană in 2013, these protests had constantly a political attitude directed in particular to anti-establishment and were initiated by large groups of young people.

8.1

INTEREST IN CLASSICAL FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

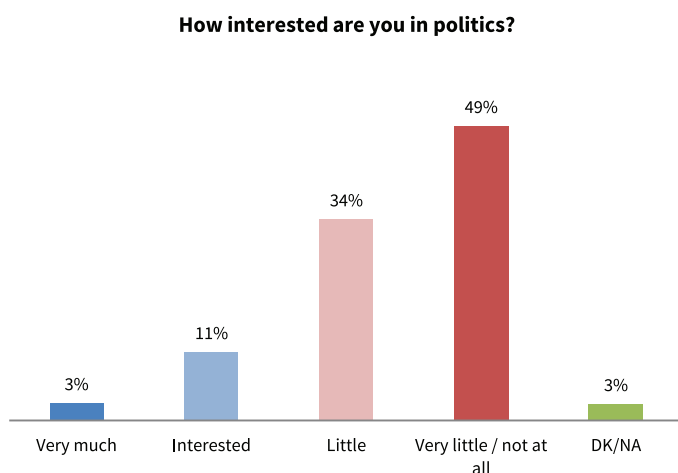
A discussion about the way in which young people understand the idea of politics should start from their formal participation in politics. This refers to the key moment of the democratic life of a state, namely the voting, and to the participation in what is generically called politics. We will discuss the direct interest of young people in voting, politics and in all actions that can be related directly to the form processes of a democratic system.

For this purpose, we will start with their interest in politics. Many surveys confirm the fact that the interest of Romanians in politics has decreased quite dramatically and this decrease may be noticed also among young people. Chart 8.1 shows us that the interest of young people in politics is extremely low, under 15% of the total population in question. Maybe we should mention also the virulence with which politics is rejected: almost 50% of the young people are very little or not at all interested in politics.

12 Flash Barometer 375, European Youth: Participation in Democratic life, 2013 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_375_en.pdf

13 LSE Enterprise, Youth Participation in Democratic Life, 2013 http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/youth/tools/documents/lse_study_on_youth_participation_2013.pdf

Chart 8.1 Interest in politics



Of course, in this analysis we need to also take into account the fact that one third of the respondents do not have a right to vote. For these, we can argue that they have not had the opportunity or the reason to become interested in politics yet.

Even with this explanation, the interest of young people of all ages in politics is very low and could be easily interpreted as a potential issue in the future, both in terms of the presence to vote and in terms of assuming the civic responsibilities necessary for maintaining a democratic society. In order to monitor them easier, we grouped those interested and very interested into a single category, and we eliminated non-responses from the analysis. Thus, as we can see in Table 6.1, the hypothesis according to which younger people are much less interested in politics is confirmed. These

have very few occasions to understand this topic or to discuss about it – because they are not interested in the topic and maybe because the formal education does not offer them good opportunities to better understand it.

The interest in politics tends to raise after reaching the majority age. Such increase is gradual, as expected, but it seems obvious that, once they obtain the right to vote and begin to be targeted by informative materials, by political communication or by election campaigns, young people start to be more interested in politics. Even though this level continues to be low, only 20% being interested in politics even among those between 25 and 29 years of age, the fact that an ascending trend of the interest in politics exists is a positive thing.

Table 8.1 Level of interest in politics per age groups, gender, residential area and region (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

	How interested are you in politics?		
	Interested/Very interested	Little/Very little/Not at all interested	Total
Total	15%	85%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	7%	93%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	18%	82%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	20%	80%	100%
Male	19%	81%	100%
Female	10%	90%	100%
Urban	15%	85%	100%
Rural	15%	85%	100%
Moldavia	23%	77%	100%
Wallachia	11%	89%	100%
Transylvania	13%	87%	100%
Bucharest	15%	85%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

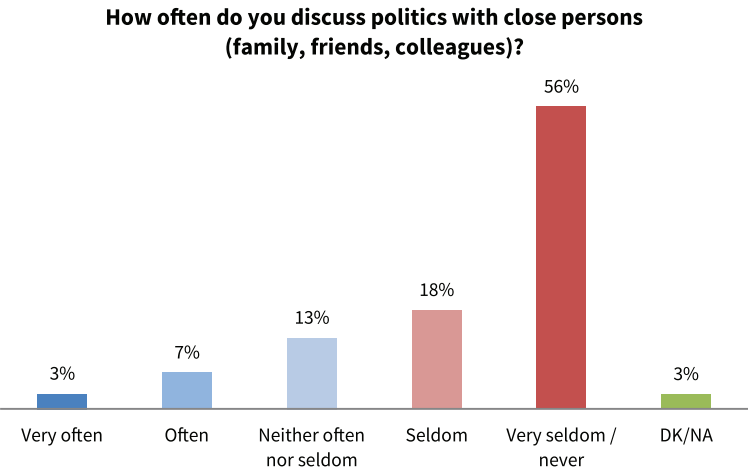
We also need to mention the difference of the interest in politics between women and men. Men tend to be more interested in politics than women. This effect is even boosted by age. If at younger ages, men and women are interested in politics almost to the same extent, the difference raises with aging. At ages between 25 and 29 years, men tend to be three times more interested in politics than women. There are many possible explanations for this status quo. One of them could be the fact that women are systemically discouraged to be interested and active in politics, an explanation that could find, to a certain extent, the illustration in the reduced number of women who are active in the high-level political life of Romania.

Another possible explanation is the fact that the very combative and polarized style of making politics in Romania is a rather competitive behavior. The literature in the field of psychology shows that a type of competitive behavior is rather manly, while the

female psychological type is closer to cooperation. Irrespective of which of these explanations is closer to reality, it is certain that there is a very significant gender discrepancy in respect of the interest in politics, and the current data indicate that between 25 and 29 of age, women tend to be only marginally more interested in politics than those between 15 and 19 years old.

Data also show us that there is no difference between the interest in politics of young people from rural areas compared to those from urban areas. Instead, there are regional differences in the interest in politics: on average, Moldavia seems to be much more interested in politics than the other regions of the country. The difference is almost double, at least compared to Wallachia. The difference is quite surprising, especially taking into account the fact that Moldavia falls within the national average in terms of the presence to vote, for example, at the general elections of 2012.

Chart 8.2 Frequency of discussions about politics with close people



As we can see, almost from any angle, the interest of young people of Romania in politics is extremely low. This very low interest is verified also by the question on discussions related to politics young people could have with their families, friends or colleagues. As we can see in Chart 8.2, only 10% of the young people discuss politics often and other 13% discuss politics neither often nor rarely. Similarly, we note the very high number of those who show a total lack of interest in relation to or in discussions about politics. Thus, approximately 50% of the young people are not at all interested in politics and more of them state that they

discuss politics very rarely or never with people with whom they spend their time.

The interest in politics is definitely closely correlated with the frequency of discussions about politics, as we can see in the table. Of course, at this point, we can mention two hypotheses that make the connection between the relation between attitudes and behavior: 1) young people do not discuss politics because they are not interested in it; or 2) since young people are not interested in politics, they do not discuss such things.

Table 8.2 Frequency of discussions about politics per age groups, gender and region (% of the total sample, excluding non-responses)

How often do you discuss politics with those close to you (family, friends, colleagues)?				
	Very often/Often	Neither often nor rarely	Rarely/Very rarely/ Never	Total
15 to 19 y.o.	7%	8%	85%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	11%	17%	72%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	12%	17%	71%	100%
Total sample	10%	14%	77%	100%
Male	11%	16%	73%	100%
Female	9%	11%	81%	100%
Total sample	10%	14%	77%	100%
Moldavia	18%	10%	72%	100%
Wallachia	7%	19%	74%	100%
Transylvania	8%	11%	80%	100%
Bucharest	7%	13%	80%	100%
Total sample	10%	14%	77%	100%

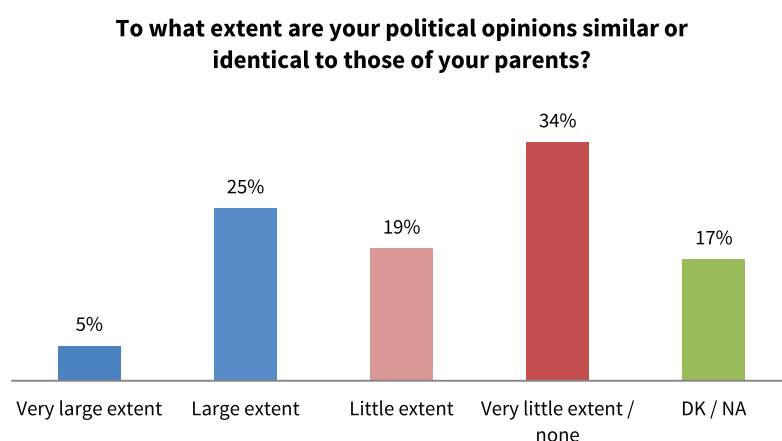
Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Table 8.2 confirms a few of the aspects discussed previously. Thus, both the interest and the frequency of discussions about politics raise significantly with aging. Thus, we get from one young man out of three who discusses politics ever (from very often down to rarely) at ages between 15 and 19 years up to one young man out of two who discusses politics ever at ages between 25 and 29 years. One can notice also a relevant gender difference, even though this is not as large as the one suggested by the previous question about the interest in politics. While the differences between rural areas and urban areas are not significant, we reiterate the existence of differences among regions. Thus, young people of Transylvania and Bucharest have the lowest

chances to discuss politics, while young people of Moldavia have the highest chances to do so. Moreover, almost 20% of the young people of Moldavia report that they discuss politics often or very often with those close to them.

As we can see, similarly to the interest shown for politics, the frequency of discussions about politics is reduced. Maybe, the next step would be to wonder why there is this reticence in discussing politics with the close ones. Probably, the most important reasons would be the lack of tradition of political conversations and the lack of attractiveness of the way in which politics is practiced in Romania.

Chart 8.3 Similarity of political opinions between parents and children



A possible explanation, which would fit also the theory of the conflict between generations, would be the fact that young people do not agree with the opinions of their parents. In the United States of America, where there are numerous studies related to the political preferences of young people and those of their parents, the level of identification between young people and their parents is very high, around 70%¹⁴. In Romania, this similarity is much lower, only 30%; instead, over 33% of the young people seem to have opinions completely different from their parents.

Table 8.3 shows that respondents of the segment between 25 and 29 years of age tend to report political opinions significantly more similar to their parents' compared to young people between 15 and 19 years old. More clearly, as they are aging, young people have the tendency to adopt the political opinions of their parents. This hypothesis is incompatible to the idea that teenagers, if they have political opinions, often tend to have political opinions rather different from their parents', as a symbol of revolt against authority, parents, etc.

Table 8.3 Similarity between the political opinions of parents and children, per age groups, gender, residential area and housing status (% of the total sample)

	To what extent are your political opinions similar to those of your parents?			
	To a large or very large extent	To a small or very small extent	I don't know/I refuse to answer	Total
15 to 19 y.o.	26%	52%	22%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	30%	53%	17%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	33%	54%	13%	100%
Total sample	30%	53%	17%	100%
Male	31%	54%	15%	100%
Female	28%	52%	20%	100%
Total sample	30%	53%	17%	100%
Urban	29%	52%	19%	100%
Rural	30%	54%	16%	100%
Total sample	30%	53%	17%	100%
Do not live with parents	30%	53%	17%	100%
Live with parents	30%	53%	18%	100%
Total sample	30%	53%	17%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Another nuance worth remembering from these data comes precisely from the lack of statistically significant associations between the residential area and the identification with the political opinions of parents.

According to Table 8.4, there is a statistically significant association between having opinions about politics similar to the parents' and the interest in politics. We cannot state that there is a single factor causing the

others, but it becomes quite obvious that there is a strong connection among the three. Children who discuss politics often with their parents have higher chances to be interested in politics and to have political opinions similar to their parents'. Children who discuss politics very rarely or never with their parents tend to have no idea whether their political opinions are similar to those of their parents and tend to be even less interested in politics.

¹⁴ <http://www.gallup.com/poll/14515/teens-stay-true-parents-political-perspectives.aspx>

Table 8.4 Similarity between the political opinions of parents and children, based on the frequency of discussions on political topics and on the interest in politics (% of the total sample)

How often do you discuss politics with those close to you (family, friends, colleagues)?	To what extent your political opinions are similar to your parents'?			
	To a large/To a very large extent	To a small extent/To a very small extent/Not at all	I don't know/I refuse to answer	Total
Very often/Often	69%	29%	2%	100%
Neither often nor rarely	52%	44%	4%	100%
Rarely, very rarely	22%	59%	20%	100%
I do not know/I refuse to answer	%	28%	72%	100%
Total sample	30%	53%	17%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

This connection can and maybe even did determine a spiral of disillusion and disinterest in politics that started, most probably, precisely from the parents. These, in the absence of a consistent participatory political culture, transmitted similar ideas including to their children and, unfortunately, similarly politically apathetic. Political education, like almost any type of education, starts first of all from the relation with parents. Under circumstances where young people of Romania have to choose between the education they receive at home, most of the times one leading to apathy, and the education they receive in education institutions, most of the times being absent or inadequate, their apathy or political alienation level is not at all surprising.

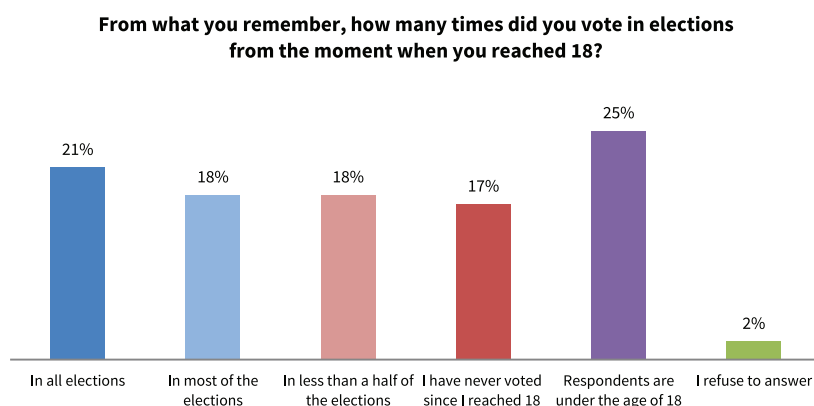
Part of this political apathy can be noticed also in Chart 8.4, which assesses the self reported presence to vote of young people of this sample. Thus, we can see that 21% of the young people state that they went to vote in all elections since they reached the age of 18. If we put aside the 25% of the young people who do not have a right to vote yet, the percentage of those who state that they participated in voting in all elections in which they could vote, under the law, reached 28%. Other 18% of the entire sample and 24% of those who have a right to vote state that they voted in most of the

elections in which they could vote, according to the law. Figures are arguably higher than the real presence to vote of young people; the exit polls conducted during the 2012 parliamentary elections showed that young people were the group that participated in voting to the largest extent. It is very likely that, in this case, we deal with distortions induced by “social desirability”, i.e., the tendency of respondents to over report positive/socially desirable behaviors (e.g., to vote in the elections) and to remain silent on behaviors running counter to widely shared social norms.

The existence of this distortion may suggest that young people perceive the presence to vote as something desirable, something that should be done. This is encouraging. Even though the presence to vote is low, maybe young people understand that it would be good for them to participate in a larger number, even if they do not necessarily do it.

Even in spite of this type of distortion, the data referring to the reporting of a previous voting are important. The specialized literature deems that the best predictor of the presence to vote in the next elections is the presence to vote in the previous ones. If this hypothesis is valid also for Romania, the figures can be deemed pretty encouraging.

Chart 8.4 Participation to vote



As we argued earlier, the interest in politics and the self reported presence to vote raises with aging. Unsurprisingly, young people over the age of 20 tend to report a presence to vote significantly higher than those between 15 and 19 years old – a sub-group that includes also those who do not have a right to vote. Anyway, data indicate that the presence to vote tends to raise with aging. Another factor important to mention is the fact that women report a presence to vote almost identical to that of men, even though, as we saw previously, they are under the level of men at almost all the indicators related to the interest in politics or to the socialization of politics. Practically, as

Tables 8.1 and 8.5 show, women are less interested in politics than men but vote (report to have voted) in the same number as them.

Also, there is a difference among residential areas but, if we look carefully, the sum of those who state that they voted in all elections and of those who state that they voted in most of the elections is equal. Indeed, also the figures of the exit polls of the recent elections show us that in rural areas we deal with a more consistent presence to vote, while people of urban areas go to vote rather in elections they deem more important (local and presidential ones).

Table 8.5 Self reporting on the presence to vote per age groups, gender, residential area and interest in politics (% of the total sample)

	From what you remember, how many times did you vote in elections from the moment when you reached 18?						
	In all elections	In most of the elections	In less than a half of the elections	I have never voted since I reached 18	Respondents are under the age of 18	I refuse to answer	Total
Total	21%	18%	18%	17%	25%	2%	100%
Urban	18%	20%	19%	17%	23%	2%	100%
Rural	24%	15%	17%	16%	26%	1%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	7%	1%	2%	19%	69%	1%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	29%	23%	24%	22%	%	2%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	27%	32%	31%	7%	%	3%	100%
Male	21%	17%	18%	19%	23%	2%	100%
Female	21%	19%	18%	14%	26%	2%	100%
Interested and very interested in politics	50%	28%	5%	3%	12%	1%	100%
Little/Very little interested in politics	16%	16%	21%	19%	26%	1%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

As expected, a respondent who declares himself more interested in politics has higher chances to state that he/she went to vote. Almost 80% of those interested and very interested in politics state that they went to vote in all or most of the elections, while approximately 32% of those very little or not at all interested in politics state the same thing.

From the previous discussion it results that, in general, we deal with low levels of interest in politics and of participation to vote. An analysis per age sub-groups suggests, as expected, that, as they get older, young people become more interested in politics, more tempted to discuss politics with their family, colleagues and friends, and tend to go to vote to a larger extent.

8.1

PARTICIPATION IN PROTEST FORMS

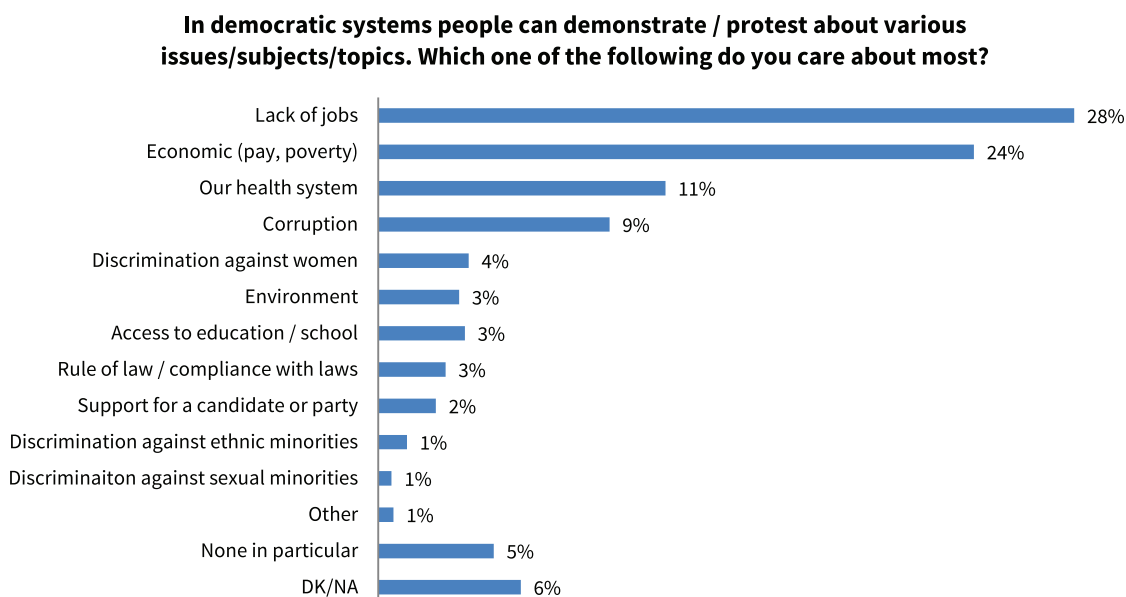
Informal political participation is represented by political activities that are not necessarily foreseen or expected in a democratic society, but can affect the political decisions adopted by that society. The clearest example of this type of informal political participation is the protest. As we mentioned also previously, in the past years we have assisted to several moments in which protest movements have monopolized the public space and made politicians take a position to these or take into account the grievances expressed by protesters (see the case of the return of Raed Arafat to the Health Ministry, the resignation of Boc Cabinet, or the waiver of the envisaged reform of the health system, etc.)

Afterwards, the protests of 2013 referring to the Roşia Montană cyanide-based exploitation of gold reserves had a longer duration than those of January 2012 and brought more participants in the street, in particular in Bucharest and Cluj. Estimates vary between 50,000

and 100,000 participants, most of them being young people. These protests reached also their purpose after the legislative initiative regarding Roşia Montană was withdrawn from the parliament. Both protests (those of 2012 or those of 2013) enjoyed a very high participation of young people.

Chart 8.5 shows that there exists a good mobilization potential for such protests, with almost 90% of the young people who mention a cause or a theme about which they care very much. The most important such themes are those related to the economic welfare. As we can see, 28% of the young people are not interested in the topic of the lack of jobs, and other 24% are not interested in such economic issues, such as the level of salaries or the poverty of the population. Other topics of relevance for young people are the health system, which draws the attention of 11% of the young people, and corruption, which draws the attention of 9% of the young people.

Chart 8.5 Protest topics



All other issues are nominated in a percentage below 5% by young people and can be deemed rather secondary issues. Anyway, the three topics mentioned previously would be topics of major interest for more than two thirds of all young people between 15 and 29 years of age of Romania, who represent 3 million people out of the total population of the country.

A division of such topics per ages does not reveal statistically significant differences, except for the interest in the difficulties existing in the education

system and those related to environmental protection among young people between 15 and 19 years old. Most probably, this happens precisely because this group is directly interested, as any potential new rules in the education area affect them first of all. The interest in environmental protection is also significantly higher in this age group, probably as a result of a higher interest paid to this discipline in the school curricula of these young people.

Table 8.6 Opinions regarding potential protest topics per age groups, gender, residential areas and interest in politics (% of the total sample)

	In democratic systems, people may demonstrate/protest in favor of various issues/topics/themes. About which of the following issues/topics/themes do you care most?							
	Political support for a candidate	Corruption/ Rule of law	Jobs and economy	Health system	Discrimination	Environmental protection	Nothing special	Total
Total eșantion	2%	13%	55%	12%	6%	7%	6%	100%
Urban	2%	14%	51%	13%	6%	8%	6%	100%
Rural	3%	11%	59%	11%	5%	6%	4%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	2%	10%	47%	13%	7%	14%	7%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	3%	15%	58%	11%	5%	4%	4%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	3%	13%	59%	12%	4%	4%	5%	100%
Male	4%	14%	58%	9%	3%	6%	6%	100%
Female	1%	11%	51%	16%	8%	8%	5%	100%
Interested and very interested in politics	9%	17%	54%	12%	5%	2%	1%	100%
Little/Very little interested in politics	1%	12%	55%	12%	6%	8%	6%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

There are also notable gender-based differences in terms of the topics of interest for young people. In accordance with what we discussed previously, women are less interested in party politics but are much more interested in the health system and, unsurprisingly, in discrimination issues (both gender and ethnic-based discrimination and the one against sexual minorities). Instead, men are more interested in topics related to jobs and economy. Similarly, it seems to exist a difference also between the respondents from rural areas and those from urban areas in respect of the economic issues and of those referring to jobs. As we mentioned previously, young people from rural areas face poverty and difficulties in finding a job to a larger extent, and this is why they seem to be sensitive to such topics.

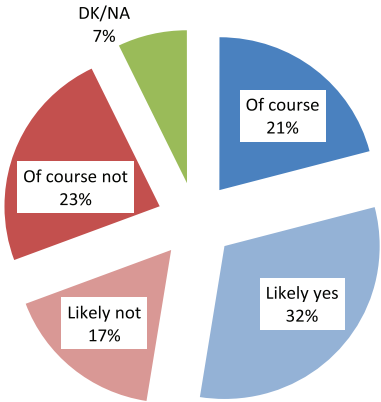
As confirmed by our data, there are significant associations from the statistical perspective between the interest in politics and the topics of interest for young people or the issues that can mobilize them in case of a protest. As we can see in the table above, about 10% of those interested in politics are also interested in the public support of a candidate/political party; instead, about 2% of those who are little or very little interested in politics would participate in actions for the public support of a party or candidate. Also, those more interested in politics seem to be more sensitive to topics such as the rule of law and corruption. It is important to mention that the ponder of those who are not interested in jobs and economy remains equal at all levels of interest in politics and is by far the most important topic.

A last observation is related to the topics that generate protests very often in the Western Europe and the United States: environmental protection and discrimination. Neither of the two topics seems to be very motivating: the topic of discrimination is important to 5.5% of the respondents and environmental protection is important to 7% of the respondents. Besides the fact that the environment and the discrimination are not deemed priorities by the relative majority of young people, the main supporters of these topics are people rather not interested in politics (or at least in classical politics, we would add).

The interest in certain topics can generate mobilization to movements for their support. As we can see in Chart 8.6, 21% of the young people would definitely participate in such protests and other 31% would probably participate. It is important to remember that this participation refers strictly to the topic deemed most important by them, so we could not say that the potential for participation in protest movements exceeds 50% in the group of young people in question as a whole.

Chart 8.6 Probability of participation in protest actions in the next 12 months

If the next 12 months saw protests or rallies in support of the subject you care about most, would you take part in such protests / rallies?



In order to illustrate what we mentioned previously, in Table 8.7 we included all topics announced previously for protests or demonstrations and we excluded all those who did not answer. Thus, we can see that some topics are more popular or mobilize better than others. Even though only 2% of the young people are not interested in the topic of “political support to a candidate”, almost 80% of these are very tempted to participate in a demonstration on this topic. The other topics do not attract very many willing persons, except for protests related to the health system, which mobilizes 60% of the 12% interested in this topic. Discrimination seems to be the topic with the lowest mobilization rate, a little bit under 50% out of the 5.5% interested in the topic.

Table 8.7. Probability of participation in protests/demonstrations on various topics

Topic/reason	If protests or demonstrations for supporting the topic about which you care most took place in the next 12 months, would you participate in them?				
	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Probably no	Definitely no	I do not know/I refuse to answer
Political support for a candidate	43%	37%	7%	13%	%
Corruption/Rule of law	23%	30%	17%	25%	5%
Jobs and economy	20%	35%	19%	22%	4%
Health system	32%	28%	15%	20%	4%
Discrimination	17%	32%	17%	26%	7%
Environmental protection	22%	34%	18%	22%	3%
Nothing special	7%	12%	12%	47%	22%
Total esantion	22%	32%	17%	23%	5%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Table 8.8 includes only those who said that they would participate in a protest or demonstration (definitely Yes and probably Yes), which sum up 54% of the young population, divided per topics of relevance to them. Again, we can see that the interest in politics is the most relevant predictor for the majority of the topics addressed. Thus, those interested in politics declare themselves as more willing to participate in political protests (in favor or against a candidate or party) or in protests related to corruption and rule of law. To the same extent, those interested in politics are less tempted than the average by protests or demonstrations related to jobs/economy or to schooling/environmental protection.

There is a visible discrepancy also between young people from rural areas and those from urban areas,

especially related to protests or demonstrations on economic topics (jobs, etc.) This is unsurprising since, as we mentioned previously, young people from rural areas are more affected by poverty and the lack of jobs than those from urban areas. The age differences also reveal different topics for which young people would mobilize. It is not surprising that the respondents of the age group between 15 and 19 y.o. are less interested in jobs and economy, because they have not reached the age for integration in the labor market. The corruption issue is also treated differently depending on age, probably because it implies a greater attention paid to politics, which we saw it was the case of young people between 20 and 29 years of age.

Table 8.8 Opinions on the topics for which respondents would go to protests based on the interest in politics, the residential area, age, gender and frequency (51% out of the total sample, those who want to participate in protests much or very much, n=661)

	In democratic systems, people may demonstrate/protest in favor of various issues/topics/themes. About which of the following issues/topics/themes do you care most?							
	Political support for a candidate	Corruption/Rule of law	Jobs and economy	Health system	Discrimination	Environmental protection	Nothing special	Total
Urban	4%	13%	51%	14%	5%	9%	3%	100%
Rural	3%	11%	61%	13%	5%	6%	1%	100%
Total sample	4%	12%	56%	14%	5%	7%	2%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	2%	10%	47%	16%	6%	15%	4%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	5%	13%	60%	13%	5%	4%	1%	100%

25 to 29 y.o.	4%	15%	60%	12%	5%	4%	1%	100%
Total sample	4%	12%	56%	14%	5%	7%	2%	100%
Male	6%	15%	59%	11%	3%	5%	2%	100%
Female	2%	10%	53%	17%	8%	10%	2%	100%
Total sample	4%	12%	56%	14%	5%	7%	2%	100%
Interested and very interested in politics	11%	17%	51%	12%	6%	3%	1%	100%
Little/Very little interested in politics	1%	11%	57%	14%	5%	9%	2%	100%
Total sample	4%	12%	56%	14%	5%	7%	2%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

The gender-based difference between the topics for which young people would participate in a protest is very important. Women are less interested in politics, but previous data show us that they would participate in protests in about the same proportion as men. The difference is that women would not participate to the same extent as men in protests on obviously political or politicized topics, such as the support of a candidate

or party or issues related to corruption/rule of law. As it seems, women are much more tempted to mobilize themselves for social topics, such as the health system, discrimination and schooling/environmental protection. The different mobilization interest reflects to a certain extent the gender stereotypes regarding the roles of men and women.

8.3

EFFECTIVENESS OF POLITICS AND CONFIDENCE IN THE MEDIA

Traditionally, the specialty literature in the area of political sciences deems the effectiveness of politics as the conviction of citizens that they can influence the political system one way or another. Initially conceptualized to predict political behaviors, such as the presence to vote, the civic participation and even the payment of taxes, the effectiveness of politics is now seen as one of the main barometers for measuring the soundness of a democratic system.

As studied today, the effectiveness of politics comprises two parts: internal effectiveness and external effectiveness. The internal one starts directly from citizens and the direct action of citizens in their interaction with the state. Practically, it represents the confidence that, through their actions, vote or any other legal means, citizens can influence the political process. The external effectiveness is related to the expectation of citizens that the state institutions will

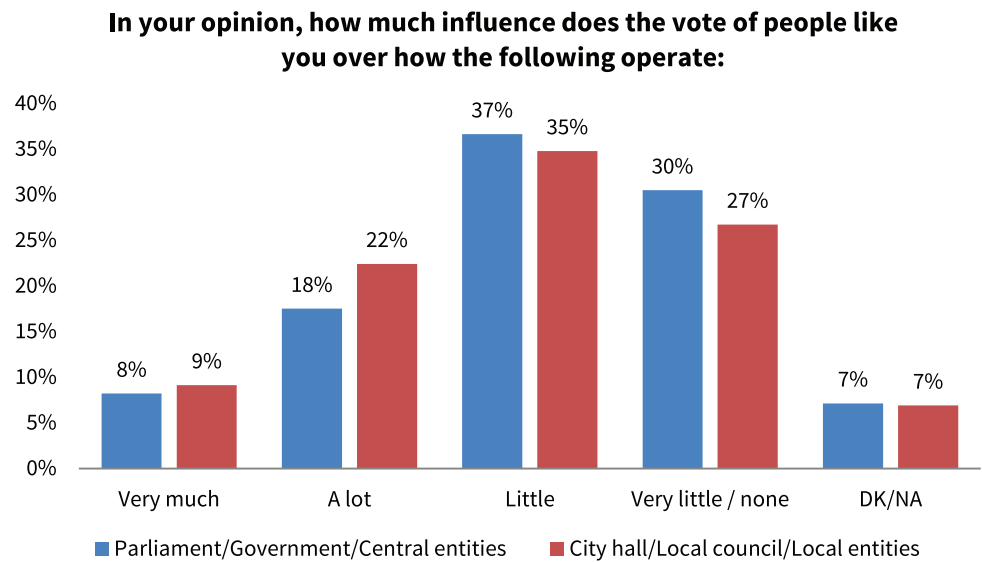
respond or will interact significantly with them.

Researches on this topic show that the effectiveness of politics has a very strong effect on the political (participatory) culture of citizens. Practically, the more citizens believe that they can influence the way in which the state operates, the more often they will vote, the more often they will denounce acts of corruption and the more often they will hold liable the state's institutions or representatives.

Chart 8.7 offers us a first picture referring to the internal effectiveness of young people of Romania, divided between the central institutions (the Government, the Parliament, etc.) and the local institutions (municipalities, local councils, etc.). As we can see from this graphic, effectiveness is quite low in respect of both, but young people feel in general more confident in their power to influence the local institutions. The reason is quite clear: in small communities, especially

in rural areas, the relationship between citizens and elected representatives is much more direct. Mayors and local councilors are people of the community, whom citizens can meet, can ask for an audience, can reach to discuss, which cannot be said to the same extent about representatives of the central institutions.

Chart 8.7 Effectiveness of politics



Young people of Moldavia region seem to have the greatest confidence in their influence on the vote results, both on the central institutions and on the local ones. Transylvania is not to a very significant distance behind, while people of Bucharest seem to have the lowest confidence in their power to influence the vote of local and/or central institutions.

In fact, the answer to the question on effectiveness is correlated quite well with the self reporting referring to the presence to vote of young people. Moreover, an anecdotic argument is also the fact that the presence to vote in Romania is in general proportional to the effectiveness reported by young people in this study. The regions where people vote more often are also regions where people have the impression that their vote counts. Even though the specialty literature states that the effectiveness of politics is transmitted quite well from parents to children, the situation in Romania is probably more complicated as a result of the fact that the perception of parents on the importance of voting is perhaps affected by the communist era, when voting could not change anything in fact.

Table 8.9 Opinion on the influence of the own vote per regions, residential area, age, gender and voting self reporting (Romania, n variable)

	In your opinion, how much influence has the vote of people like you on the way in which the Parliament/Government/central institutions operate? (n=1209)			In your opinion, how much influence has the vote of people like you on the way in which local institutions operate? (n=1212)		
	Much or Very much	Little or Very little	Total	Much or Very much	Little or Very little	Total
Urban	26%	74%	100%	30%	70%	100%
Rural	30%	70%	100%	39%	61%	100%
Total	28%	72%	100%	34%	66%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	33%	68%	100%	38%	62%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	28%	72%	100%	34%	66%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	22%	78%	100%	30%	70%	100%
Total	28%	72%	100%	34%	66%	100%
Male	29%	71%	100%	37%	63%	100%

	In your opinion, how much influence has the vote of people like you on the way in which the Parliament/Government/central institutions operate? (n=1209)			In your opinion, how much influence has the vote of people like you on the way in which local institutions operate? (n=1212)		
	Much or Very much	Little or Very little	Total	Much or Very much	Little or Very little	Total
Female	26%	74%	100%	31%	69%	100%
Total	28%	72%	100%	34%	66%	100%
Do not vote	18%	82%	100%	24%	76%	100%
Vote in all or in most of the elections	33%	67%	100%	39%	61%	100%
Total	26%	74%	100%	32%	68%	100%
Moldavia	31%	69%	100%	38%	62%	100%
Wallachia	28%	72%	100%	33%	67%	100%
Transylvania	29%	71%	100%	36%	64%	100%
Bucharest	17%	83%	100%	20%	80%	100%
Total	28%	72%	100%	34%	66%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

We mention the fact that respondents from rural areas have significantly more confidence in the power of their own vote than those from urban areas. In fact, also the rates of participation in voting in the rural areas are higher than those from urban areas from this point of view.

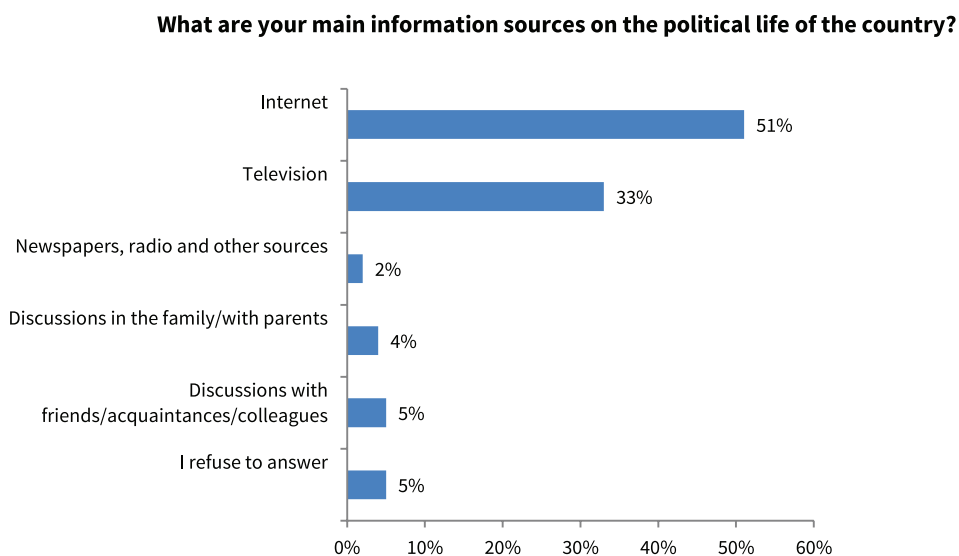
Another observation that needs to be mentioned in relation to Table 8.9 is connected to the relation between age and effectiveness of politics. Data indicate that the effectiveness of politics is quite high from the moment when citizens are granted the right to vote until the age of 25, after which it decreases significantly. Such decrease is more abrupt if we refer to the central institutions than to the local ones. In the case of political institutions at a local level, the perception of influence of young people between 25 and 29 years of age decreases, but remains of 30%, while in the case

of central institutions, the perception on the fact that citizens can influence hardly reaches 22%.

One of the important factors of the political activism of young people is also the way in which they get informed on politics. Particularly under the circumstances where the media market of Romania seems increasingly polarized, the information sources of young people can mediate their political interest and their ideological identification, as we will see below. Chart 6.8 shows more than a half of the young people who get informed about politics by means of the Internet, first of all. It is important to mention that they are divided between those who use social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) and those who read blogs or newspapers in the online environment. Anyway, the proportion is very high, especially if we compare the rest of the population, where, according to other CURS polls, over 80% of the adult population gets informed first of all from TV¹⁵.

15 The CURS poll of August 2014 was conducted on a sample of 1100 adult respondents, face to face, during the time period between 2 and 8 August;

Chart 8.9 Main sources of information regarding the political life in the country



Very many of those who get informed by means of the Internet are precisely those interested or very interested in politics. As we can see in Table 8.10, over 60% of those who declare themselves interested in politics get informed on the Internet, while only 44% of those very little or not at all interested in politics take information from this environment. The Internet offers more benefits. Besides the fact that, through its nature, it is easier to use by young people, news on the Internet

are transmitted almost in real time and allow for a much wider selection than any other environment. Practically, a young man who knows well to use the Internet, can, in theory, have access to any other media source (television, radio, newspapers, reports, etc.), at any moment, can easier choose the opinion leaders whom he/she trusts and can even have political discussions with friends and colleagues through the social media.

Table 8.10 Main source of political information and interest in politics per residential area, age and gender (% of the total sample)

	What are your main information sources on the political life of the country?						
	Internet	Television	Newspapers, radio and other sources	Discussions in the family/ with parents	Discussions with friends/ acquaintances/ colleagues	I refuse to answer	Total
Total sample	51%	33%	2%	4%	5%	5%	100%
Urban	53%	33%	2%	4%	4%	4%	100%
Rural	48%	33%	2%	5%	5%	6%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	48%	31%	2%	6%	5%	8%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	54%	32%	2%	4%	4%	4%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	50%	36%	3%	3%	4%	4%	100%
Male	54%	30%	2%	4%	5%	5%	100%
Female	47%	36%	3%	4%	5%	5%	100%
Interested and very interested in politics	61%	31%	1%	4%	3%	1%	100%
Little/Very little interested in politics	50%	33%	3%	4%	5%	5%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

In the mirror, with a decrease in the interest in politics, television consumption increases. Theoretically, one could argue that precisely the television consumption and the exposure to very politically polarized discourses could be one of the factors that lead to a decrease in the interest in politics.

Further on, we note small Internet consumption differences between young people from rural areas and those from urban areas. These differences are inherent and result rather from differences of economic status between the two groups. Since they do not have the same access to the Internet, young people from rural areas get informed to a larger extent from discussions, both with parents and with friends and colleagues, like is in fact the traditional model of communication of politics in rural areas that appears in the literature.

There are no very great differences between the media consumption divided per ages. The younger

respondents use slightly more discussions with parents and the family than the other groups, while those over 25 years of age start to get informed to a larger extent from the TV.

We will discuss below about the confidence in institutions – an important component of political sociology studies. As confirmed by the data of our survey, state institutions, especially the political ones at a central level “enjoy” very little confidence from young people. A mayor of a locality benefits from more confidence than any of the political institutions at a central level. In fact, in respect of the confidence in political institutions or bodies, political parties are extremely unpopular. For comparison purposes, only 6% of the young people have confidence in these. The same percentage of young people have confidence in the Russian Federation – the “traditional enemy” of Romania.

Table 8.11 Confidence in institutions, organizations, countries and groups

How much confidence do you have in the following institutions, organizations, countries or persons?	Very much	Much	Little	Very little	I do not know/I refuse to answer
Political parties	1%	5%	41%	49%	4%
The Parliament	1%	8%	41%	47%	3%
The Government	1%	11%	40%	44%	4%
The locality Mayor	2%	29%	39%	27%	3%
The General Prosecutor of Romania	1%	17%	41%	32%	9%
The Police	6%	36%	34%	21%	3%
The Church	16%	42%	23%	16%	3%
Judges	5%	30%	38%	23%	4%
The Romanian media (newspapers, TV, radio)	6%	22%	38%	30%	4%
Trade unions	1%	13%	40%	34%	12%
Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)	5%	23%	35%	27%	10%
The United States of America (USA)	6%	27%	32%	28%	7%
The Army	11%	42%	26%	17%	4%
The European Union (EU)	6%	34%	31%	24%	5%
NATO	6%	31%	33%	23%	7%
The Russian Federation	1%	5%	34%	52%	8%

As we can notice in Table 8.12, which integrates also the values of a CURS survey of August 2014, significant differences between young people and the general

population can be found most in respect of the confidence in political institutions.

Table 8.12 Confidence in institutions: young people vs. national values (% much and very much confidence, CURS surveys of July and August, 2014)

	How much confidence do you have in the following institutions?					
	Political parties	The Parliament	The Government	The Church	The Army	The European Union
Sondaj CURS tineri (iulie 2014)	6%	9%	13%	61%	57%	42%
Sondaj CURS la nivel național, populația adultă a țării (august 2014) ^a	9%	12%	18%	73%	68%	48%

Note: The CURS survey of August 2014 was conducted on a sample of 1100 adult respondents, face to face, during the time period between 2 and 8 August; only the answers to similar questions of the two surveys were included in the table.

There is an undeniable notable difference related to the confidence of young people in the very important institutions of the democracy of Romania – political parties, the Parliament and the Government. These differences have the potential of being quite alarming in the time period to come. Especially under circumstances where Romania is not a consolidated democracy, the low confidence in the democracy institutions can create a society with vulnerabilities and possible anti-democratic deviations. We note also a significantly lower confidence of young people in the Church, the Army and the EU compared to the national average, recorded by means of a CURS survey of August 2014. However, we mention that the Church enjoys the confidence of three fifths (61%) of the young people between 15 and 29 years old.

8.4

IDEOLOGICAL AFFILIATIONS AND SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

One of the major coordinates of the political discourse in the world is the ideological identification. The left, right and center had rather different meanings along the history and in different countries, but they remained some of the important coordinates of the political identification in the world. Political parties still build their discourses by resorting to the left and to the right, and their recourse to ideology refers traditionally to the public policies adopted by a party.

Because in Romania – like in other new democracies – there is not a very clear connection between the public policies adopted by a party and its ideological affiliation, the ideological distribution of young people in the political spectrum does not measure, in fact, the acceptance granted by them to a party or another. At the most, this can measure the relevance of political labels and not necessarily a predictor of the vote for a specific party. The traditional method for assessing the ideological orientation consists of a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 represents the left and 10 represents the right.

This question is often used at an international level in studies regarding political options; it was taken over also in other polls conducted in Romania by CURS or by other polling institutes. Some specialists expressed their reserves in relation to the use of this question for several reasons. First of all, the concepts of “left”/”right” have special connotations in the Central and Eastern European area compared to the Western Europe. Moreover, the “left” and the “right” have relatively different connotations also in the USA compared to the Western Europe.

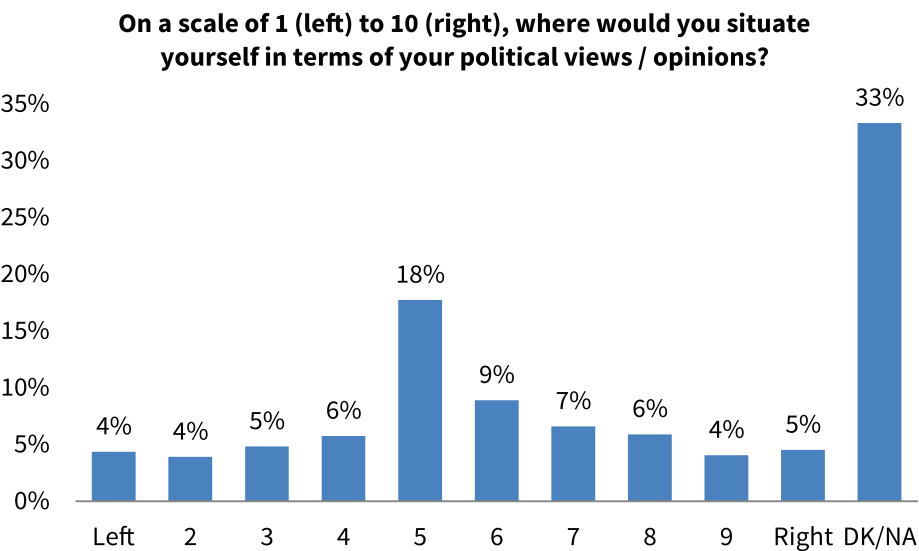
Secondly, invoking a so-called less developed political culture in the Central and Eastern European area, some analysts argue that the answers to such question would be distorted by the fact that the relevant concepts are not sufficiently known by the citizens of former communist countries. Thirdly, at a more general level, some voices believe that in the contemporary time period (marked by post-materialistic values and also by a dramatic economic and political crisis), the

“left” and the “right” no longer represent significant landmarks for understanding the political options of citizens. The criticisms mentioned above have a solid empirical basis and this is why, in interpreting the results of the analyses presented here, they need to be taken into account by the readers.

The first thing we need to remember when we study Chart 8.10 is that 33% of the young people did not offer

an answer, so that they were not taken into account in preparing this graphic. Further on, we can see that the distribution of the ideology among young people of Romania seems quite balanced between the left and the right. Most young people declare themselves as belonging rather to the center and there is no significant dominance of either of the extremes.

Chart 8.10 Self placement on the left-right ideological scale



In order to simplify things, we grouped the 1 to 4 answer versions in people who identify themselves as belonging to the left, 5 and 6 in people who identify themselves as belonging to the center, and 7 to 10 in people who identify themselves as belonging to the right. Thus, as we can see in Table 6.11, there is a quite consistent balance nationwide between the left and the

right, both being represented by approximately 20% of the respondents. Unsurprisingly, those interested in politics tend to answer to a larger extent the question about their own ideology; these have also higher chances to identify themselves as belonging to the right. In fact, almost half of those interested in politics declare themselves as belonging to the right.

Table 8.13 Ideological identification per categories such as interest in politics, level of religiousness, residential area, age, gender and voting habit (% of the total sample)

On a scale from 1 (left) to 10 (right), where would you place yourself from the perspective of your political views/opinions?					
	Left	Center	Right	I don't know/I refuse to answer	Total
Total	19%	27%	21%	33%	100%
Urban	17%	29%	22%	32%	100%
Rural	21%	24%	21%	35%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	17%	23%	18%	42%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	21%	28%	21%	30%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	19%	29%	25%	27%	100%
Male	18%	27%	23%	33%	100%
Female	20%	26%	19%	34%	100%

On a scale from 1 (left) to 10 (right), where would you place yourself from the perspective of your political views/opinions?					
	Left	Center	Right	I don't know/I refuse to answer	Total
Total	19%	27%	21%	33%	100%
<i>Religiousness</i>					
I do not believe any statement	17%	29%	24%	31%	100%
I don't know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements	15%	27%	29%	29%	100%
I believe between 1 and 3 statements	21%	28%	20%	32%	100%
I believe all statements	19%	26%	20%	35%	100%
Interested and very interested in politics	25%	19%	47%	9%	100%
Little/Very little interested in politics	18%	28%	17%	37%	100%

Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

As the interest in politics decreases, the number of those who do not offer an answer to the question referring to the political orientation increases very much, and the number of those who identify themselves as belonging to the right decreases. These reach almost a parity with the left. Practically, the difference recorded between young people who identify themselves as belonging to the left and those who identify themselves as belonging to the right consists mainly of those who declare themselves as interested in politics.

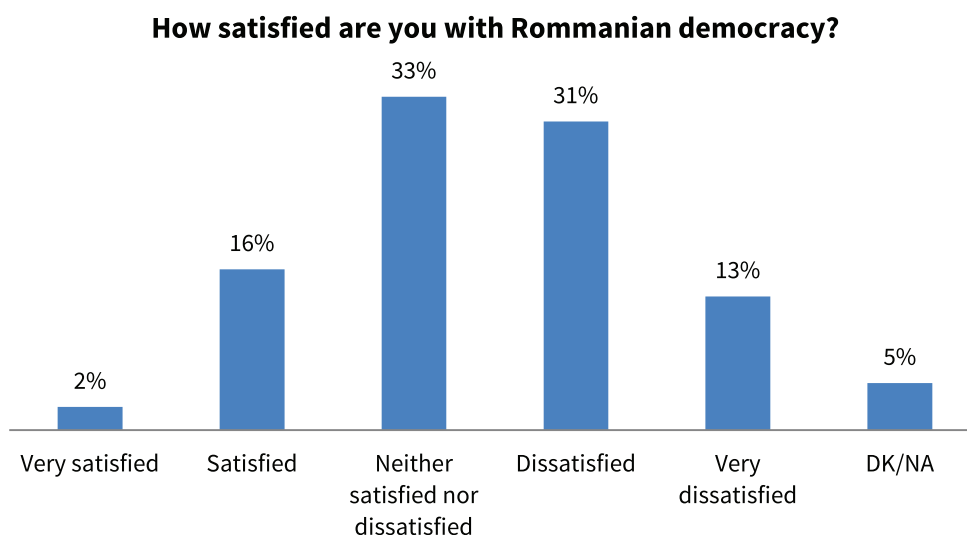
The relation between the political orientation (left/right) and the level of religiousness is interesting. The latter indicator was defined in a previous chapter based on the answers given to four questions about divinity. These questions are: 1) Does God exist? (Yes/No/I am not sure); 2) Do heaven and hell exist? (Yes/No/I am not sure); 3) Did God create the world (Yes/No/I am not sure); 4) Is God the source of moral rules and duties? (Yes/No/I am not sure). Thus, those who answered all the four questions affirmatively are defined in the category "I believe all statements", those who answered one, two or three of these statements affirmatively are defined in the category "I believe between 1 to 3 statements", those who answered "I don't know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements" are defined in the category "I don't know or I do not believe between 1 and 3 statements", and those who answered all statements negatively are defined in the category "I

do not believe any statement." Surprisingly maybe, we can see that respondents who reject spirituality have higher chances to identify themselves with a right-oriented ideology.

The chances of young people to answer the question referring to their ideological orientation tend to increase with aging. Also, besides the fact that these have more chances to answer the question, young people between 25 and 29 years of age have more chances to define themselves as belonging to the center or to the right. A similar direction can be noticed also in the gender-based differentiation, where we see that women tend to identify themselves rather with the center and less with the right than men.

We cannot tell at this moment whether there is a tendency of ideological orientation to the right after reaching the age of 25 or that this is, maybe, a delayed effect of the recent anti-communist discourse that determined the political orientation of these young people, but not of those born later. All those under the age of 25 were born after the collapse of the communism and were spared to a large extent by the virulent discourse of association between the left and the communist totalitarianism that was maintained active in the early '90s. In fact, from the age of 25 downwards, young people seem to divide quite evenly between the left and the right.

Chart 8.11 Satisfaction with the democracy in the country



Another important coordinate of the political perspective of young people of Romania consists of their satisfaction with the democracy of Romania. Chart 6.12 shows us that the opinions on the situation of democracy in Romania are quite divided. About 45% of the young people are dissatisfied and very

dissatisfied with it, and only 18% are very satisfied or satisfied; one third are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Somehow, this division seems to reflect the general distrust of young people in the political institutions of the democracy, discussed above.

Table 8.14 Level of satisfaction with the democracy of Romania based on the interest in politics, residential area, age and gender (% of the total sample)

How satisfied are you with the democracy of Romania?						
	Very satisfied or satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	I refuse to answer	Total
Total	18%	33%	31%	13%	5%	100%
Urban	19%	34%	31%	12%	4%	100%
Rural	18%	33%	30%	15%	5%	100%
15 to 19 y.o.	23%	36%	26%	8%	7%	100%
20 to 24 y.o.	17%	33%	30%	17%	4%	100%
25 to 29 y.o.	14%	30%	37%	15%	3%	100%
Male	17%	33%	31%	15%	4%	100%
Female	19%	33%	30%	12%	5%	100%
Interested/Very interested in politics	21%	34%	28%	16%	1%	100%
Little/Very little interested in politics	18%	33%	31%	13%	5%	100%
Left	17%	36%	32%	12%	4%	100%
Center	18%	38%	29%	13%	2%	100%
Right	19%	32%	36%	12%	1%	100%
I don't know/I refuse to answer	19%	29%	28%	15%	9%	100%

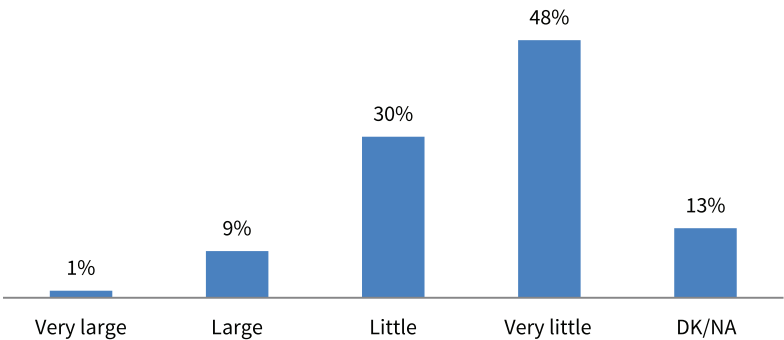
Note: Bold figures indicate statistically significant differences

Table 8.14 shows us that the interest in politics is correlated with more straightforward opinions on the democracy of Romania. Those more interested in politics tend also to be those who are either completely satisfied or completely dissatisfied with it. Further on, we mention the existence of a significant association between age and satisfaction with the democracy. Thus, the younger people tend to be more satisfied with the democracy, while young people between 25 and 29 years old tend to be less satisfied with it.

The data of our survey bring further hypothetical clarifications in respect of this low level of satisfaction. In Chart 8.12, we can see that our respondents feel very little represented by young politicians under the age of 30. This level of dissatisfaction is very high according to almost any standard. Almost 80% of the young people feel little or not at all represented by the people of their generation who are active in politics.

Chart 8.12. Attitude towards young politicians (under the age of 30)

To what extent do you feel represented by YOUNG politicians (under 30)?



On this background, what would be the ideal portrait of the politician preferred by young people? Let us see below some of the answers obtained in the created focus groups:

Moderator: What qualities should a politician have?

R: To look good!

Moderator: I refer to other qualities!

R: Precisely, knowing that he/she will do nothing, at least he/she should look good! I am happy with the wrapping!

A1: To be honest, first of all! Not to steal so shamelessly!

A2: To be filthy rich, in order not to be tempted to steal!

A1: I believe that he/she should be smart, first of all!

A2: You cannot steal if you are not smart! Trust me!

R: In fact, there is another problem: when I see that people sell their vote for an apple, in front of their house, I find this pathetic, honestly!

Moderator: But how could they win your vote?

D: By doing something!

A1: Or one should introduce a year as a probation period, to see what he/she is able to do and, if he/

she does something, we will vote him/her, and if not, he/she should never return after that 4-year mandate!

R: Frankly speaking, I would do mandates of one year, meaning that politicians should do something during that electoral year! And elections should be organized after each year. I believe that only then this country would look decent! **(R, A1, A2 women; D, man; Bucharest)**

In the opinion of other participants in the group discussions, the ideal politician should take his/her mandate seriously, with professionalism, just like a “job.”

Moderator: OK! What the ideal politician representing you should look like? What should a politician do to win your vote?!

A: I think he/she should do something, first of all!

M: In order to be able to something, he/she needs to know to do something!

C: To see his/her mandate as a job, and if I do my job for 8 hours, he/she as politician should have the dignity to also do his/her job for 8 hours, meaning that he/she should have the decency not to be surprised watching TV, sleeping or watching porn movies in the Parliament! He/she should have the

consciousness of parliamentary ethics that this is a job, that he/she is a parliamentarian, and that he/she is elected by people and has to do his/her job!
(A, M, C men, Cluj)

According to some male and female respondents, the best example of ideal politician is Raed Arafat who, paradoxically, is a technocrat:

G: *I have a question: is Raed Arafat a politician?!*

C: *He is a candidate to presidency, so, theoretically...*

G: *Him???*

C: *Or it was proposal, I saw it on a website!*

A: *He had just said that he did not want to get in the politics!*

M: *From what I remember, he was a secretary of state!*

Moderator: *And minister, but he was not a politician! Should I understand that someone like him wants to enter the politics?*

Voices: *Me too, me too!*

Moderator: *Why?*

M: *Reliability, work, perseverance, professionalism!*

I: *Because he brought something palpable, he improved!*

A: *It is something tangible!*

M: *He did something through his own work, based on his vision, and succeeded to change a system, which I haven't seen at others. It was mere words! Of course, there are exceptions, but too few! (M, man; I, A, G women, Cluj)*

Regarding the young politicians, the models are very rare, if nonexistent:

Moderator: *Coming back to politicians. Have you heard about them? Have you heard about young politicians? You mentioned the guy from HiQ band.*

I: *Among young people, in particular, he promoted very nicely. He had got out in the street, wearing T-shirts, and it was something very cool. I felt it was real and that he was not an idiot or something like this.*

C: *At a moment, it was an ecologist party. I do not know if it still exists.*

MODERATOR: *But do you believe that young politicians of Romania represent you?*

Voices: *No.*

MODERATOR: *You mentioned Elena Băsescu.*

Eduard: *Is that a politician???*

Iulia: *The very fact that she is the daughter of the president of the country disqualifies her from the very beginning. Especially that we discussed about nepotism earlier. This even at an unconscious level...(I, C, women; E man, Bucharest)*

Under these circumstances, if things continue like this, this dissatisfaction might persist also in the future or may even increase. The real problem of young people in relation to politics in Romania seems to be one related to the people who are part of these institutions. All data subject to analysis indicate distrust and dissatisfaction with these. Even though there are reasons for encouragement – the internal effectiveness of young people is pretty high – the most data predict a rather somber future for their participation in politics, if things do not change.

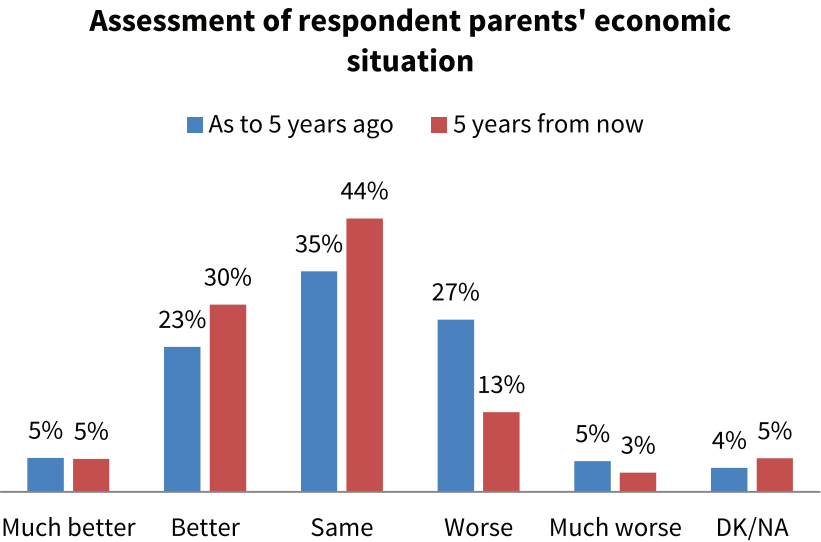
8.5

PERSPECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC FUTURE IN ROMANIA

The assessments of young people on the economic future of Romania offer us a clearer picture of their general satisfaction with the life of young people. We will begin with an assessment of the economic status of these respondents' parents. Chart 8.13 shows us that young people tend to assess the economic future of their parents based on the latter's economic past. Almost 30% of the young people believe that their

parents have currently a better economic status than 5 years ago, and 35% believe that the economic status of their parents will be better after 5 years. This optimism can be noticed also in the response rate referring to the maintaining of the economic status, where 44% of them believe that they will be the same compared to 35% of them who believe that their status is the same as it was 5 years ago.

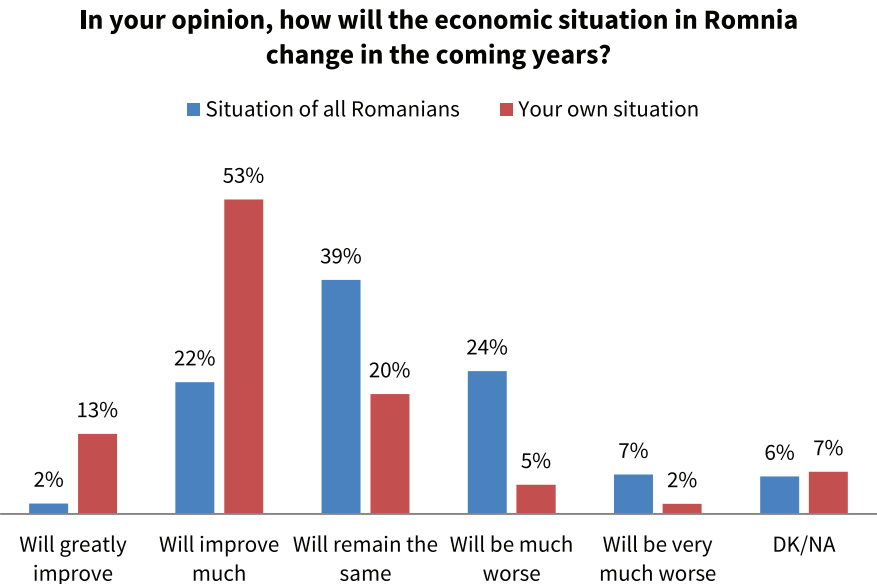
Chart 8.13 Assessment of the economic status of parents



For a better contrast, Chart 8.14 compares the assessments of the personal status of young people to those of the population of Romania. The recorded differences are notable. Much more young people have confidence in their capacity to have a better economic status in the future than in the capacity of the general population to reach the same goal. Over 60% of the young people are confident that their status will be better or much better in 5 years, while less than 25% of them believe that this will be the case for all Romanians.

These results confirm to a certain extent the difference between the internal effectiveness of young people and the relation between them and the political institutions, as this was discussed above. Young people feel in general more confident in their own forces. Even though they are not at all satisfied with the level of democracy of Romania or with the political institutions of Romania, young people believe that they can have a life better than their parents'.

Chart 8.14 Assessment of the personal economic status and of that of the country in the future



Another key for the interpretation of these data would be that the parents of these respondents lived a much more economically precarious life than the one offered to young people. From this perspective, young people seem to prove realism in relation to the status of their

origin families. Their confidence that their personal status will be much better can be attributed to the fact that young people are aware of the limited possibilities their parents had prior to 1990.

8.6 CONCLUSIONS

- The status of the political culture of young people of Romania is rather somber. Even though young people feel capable to change things in politics, they are very disappointed by the main political institutions of the country, especially by those at a central level. Young people are also extremely disappointed by the young politicians, and their interest in politics is low. Practically, young people as a group do not really want to have something to do with politics, as this is at present.
- However, all this disappointment of young people seems to have a quite strong outpouring in their confidence in the future. Very many young people are confident that they will have a life much better than their parents had. This confidence is, probably, related to the possibilities that are offered to them by the freedom of movement in the European Union.
- Political education, like almost any type of education, starts first of all from the relation with parents. Under circumstances where young people of Romania have to choose between the education they receive at home, most of the times one leading to apathy, and the education they receive in education institutions, most of the times being absent or inadequate, their apathy or political alienation level is not at all surprising.
- This generation seems to have a certain propensity to protest. Their apathy is directed towards the classical organized politics, but they seem to mobilize in case of protests on various topics. Their problem seems to be the fact that they did not find a way to make the transition between informal political participation – of protest and opposition – towards a formal political participation and the decision-making process;
- Young people included in our research get informed first of all by means of the Internet, which shows both a very good opening to new communication environments and a relative rejection of the classical traditional media, such as the television and the written press (currently dead);
- One third of the young people state that they do not identify themselves ideologically in any way, meaning that they do not have an answer to the question referring to political affiliation. Other 25% deem themselves as belonging rather to the center than to the left or to the right. Not all those who did not define themselves in terms of left/right are uninterested in politics. In fact, two thirds of those uninterested in politics have ideological convictions. Most probably, much confusion continues to exist in terms of placing the politics of Romania in an ideological spectrum. Still, the fact that many young people identify themselves ideologically in a way other than the one sought by them or that they are not interested in the politics of Romania indicates that they have basic notions regarding the ideological differences;
- At the moment, young people are placed relatively in a balance between the left and the right in the ideological and political spectrum of Romania. The issue generated by this situation at an ideological level could be precisely the fact that they do not find a representation of their ideology in any of the parties that participate regularly in elections.

APPENDIX

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESULTS AT THE LEVEL OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, my name is ... and I work at CURS, an independent institute for polling and marketing. Our Institute is performing a research into the youth of Romania, ordered by German Foundation Friedrich Ebert. I should tell you that you have been selected randomly, just like in a lottery. The data we compile will remain confidential your opinions will not be conveyed to other persons (or parents).

DIR. In your opinion, are things in Romania going the right or the wrong way?

Wrong way	65%
Right way	26%
DK/NA	9%

A2. How long do you watch TV every day?

No more than one hour a day	28%
2 hours maximum	32%
2 to 3 hours a day	20%
More than 4 hours a day	10%
I don't watch TV	9%
DK/NA	1%

A4. Do you have access to the internet (at home or in school / university / workplace)?

Yes=91%	No=9%	0. DK/NA
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A5. How many hours a day do you spend on the Internet? (% of persons who have access)

No more than one hour a day	16%
2 hours maximum	20%
2 to 3 hours a day	26%
4 to 5 hours a day	22%
About 6 hours or more a day	16%
I do not use the internet, no access	0%
DK/NA	0%

A6. What do you use the internet for? (OPERATOR: MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE) (%of persons who have access)

For job- / work-related activities	5%
To read online news	7%
To access social networks such as Facebook / Myspace / Hi5 / G+	18%
To find information (for school, work, curiosity, etc.)	12%
To send and receive e-mail	11%
To watch videos / listen to music	13%
To download movies / books	9%
To communicate with relatives / friends via chat, What's Up, Skype or other forms of instant messaging	10%

To play video games	7%
For online games (Second Life, Farm, etc.)	2%
To shop online / pay invoices / online reservations	4%
To keep online bank accounts record	1%
Other / Which?	0%
DK/NA	0%
I do not use the internet, no access	0%

A7. How much do you spend A MONTH, on average, for each of the following? (Averages)

OPERATOR: UN RASPUNS PE FIECARE LINIE/RÂND!		SUMA Average IN RON
A7.1.	For movies (going to cinema, buying DVDs, etc.)	17.4
A7.2.	Going to cafes / bars / restaurants / clubs	89.3
A7.3.	Buying clothing / shoes / accessories	175.0
A7.4.	Phone subscription / prepaid cards	48.6
A7.5.	Buying books	16.5
A7.6.	Other activity / What? _____	26.3

A8. Which of the following are, in your opinion, fashionable (or “Cool”) and which outdated (%)?

		Fashionable (Cool)	Not really fashionable	Totally outdated	DK/NA
A8.1.	Being true (to partner / spouse / friends / employer)	52%	32%	12%	4%
A8.2.	Taking responsibility	61%	31%	6%	2%
A8.3.	Being independent	83%	14%	2%	1%
A8.4.	Going to university	71%	20%	7%	2%
A8.5.	Having a professional career	70%	18%	4%	1%
A8.6.	Being active in politics	31%	35%	28%	6%
A8.7.	Taking part in civic actions and initiatives	31%	38%	25%	6%
A8.8.	Getting married	45%	35%	17%	3%
A8.9.	Looking good	87%	10%	2%	1%
A8.10.	Wearing brand clothing	73%	21%	4%	2%
A8.11.	Eating healthy	72%	22%	4%	2%
A8.12.	Using / smoking marijuana (“pot”)	28%	22%	40%	10%
A8.13.	Using spice drugs	23%	22%	44%	11%
A8.14.	Engaging in sports	76%	17%	5%	2%

A9. Do you smoke at present?

Yes, every day	31%
Yes, occasionally	11%
No (non-smoking)	56%
NA	2%

A10. Are you drinking alcohol at present?

Yes, every day	4%
Yes, a few times a week	8%

Yes, but only on weekends	14%
Yes, but very rarely	39%
I never drink	34%
NA	1%

A13. Which of the following best fits your situation?

So far I have had no sexual relations	23%
So far I have had sexual relations with only one partner	28%
I have had several sexual relations	41%
NA	8%

**A14. Are you using any contraceptives (e.g., condom, contraceptive pills, calendar method, IUD, etc.) ?
(OPERATOR: QUESTION TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS IRESPECTIVE OF GENDER!)**

Yes, always	33%
Yes, sometimes	25%
No, never	12%
No, because so far I have had no sexual relations	23%
I don't know what contraceptive methods are / am not informed of such things	1%
NA	6%

**A15. What is sexual abstinence (abstaining from sex before marriage) nowadays among the young?
(One choice only)**

Sexual abstinence is a value / virtue for boys as well as girls	22%
Sexual abstinence is a value / virtue for girls	16%
Sexual abstinence is a burden / reason for psychological stress	9%
Sexual abstinence is an old-fashioned thing	41%
Other / What _____	2%
DK/NA	10%

A16. To what extent are gay men and women acceptable persons?

To a very large extent	8%
To a large extent	15%
They are neither acceptable nor unacceptable	24%
To little extent	20%
To a very little extent / not at all acceptable	29%
DK/NA	4%

A17. At present abortion is legal in Romania. Some people claim that abortion should only be allowed when the mother's life is in danger, others feel that abortion should be completely banned. Which of the following is closest to what you believe?

Abortion should be completely banned	19%
Abortion should be allowed only in cases of medical emergency / when the mother's life is in danger	37%
Abortion should remain legal, just as it is now	36%
DK/NA	8%

B. RELIGION

B1. I will read a list to you with various groups or persons. Please tell me how much confidence you have in each group or person below, on a scale of 1 (no confidence at all) to 10 (total confidence).

How much confidence do you have in...? (ONE REPLY FOR EACH LINE!)	1 I have no confidence	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Total confidence	DK/NA
B1.1. Your own family (parents, siblings)	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	3%	7%	16%	69%	0%
B1.2. Your relatives	2%	1%	2%	2%	7%	6%	13%	18%	23%	25%	1%
B1.3. Your friends	3%	1%	4%	4%	10%	7%	14%	18%	22%	17%	1%
B1.4. Your neighbors	10%	8%	8%	9%	15%	11%	14%	10%	8%	6%	1%
B1.5. Your colleagues from school / high school / university / work	7%	5%	7%	6%	12%	11%	16%	15%	11%	7%	4%
B1.6. Persons who have another religion than you, in Romania	9%	7%	5%	7%	16%	10%	13%	13%	8%	5%	6%
B1.7. Persons who have other political opinions than you	10%	6%	5%	7%	17%	11%	13%	10%	6%	5%	10%
B1.8. Priests, parsons, etc.	9%	4%	4%	4%	10%	8%	10%	16%	17%	16%	3%
B1.9. Members of other ethnic groups in Romania	14%	7%	7%	7%	14%	11%	11%	11%	8%	5%	6%

B3. How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of the following factors?

How often have you felt discriminated in Romania because of...	Very often	Often	Neither often nor rarely	Rarely	Very rarely / not at all	NA
B3.1. Your gender (man/woman)?	1%	4%	11%	16%	67%	1%
B3.2. Your economic status (poor/rich)?	2%	8%	16%	20%	53%	1%
B3.3. Your religion?	0%	2%	8%	10%	79%	1%
B3.4. Your ethnic group?	0%	2%	9%	11%	76%	2%
B3.5. Your education?	1%	3%	10%	16%	69%	1%
B3.6. Your political options?	0%	2%	8%	12%	73%	5%
B3.7. The region of Romania you are from?	0%	3%	9%	14%	71%	2%
B3.8. Your original residence environment (rural or urban)?	1%	3%	10%	15%	70%	1%

B4. 1. Which of the following values do you PRIMARILY appreciate? (ONE CHOICE ONLY)

Personal dignity (identity/education)	47%
Social prestige or respect (social status or position)	10%
Altruism (helping others)	8%
Material fortune	7%
Tolerance (acceptance and respect for persons with other opinions or from other groups than yours)	4%
Competitive spirit	3%
Fairness	19%
Creativity, innovation spirit	2%
DK/NA	1%

B4.2. Which of the following values do you appreciate SECONDARILY?

Personal dignity (identity/education)	22%
Social prestige or respect (social status or position)	15%
Altruism (helping others)	16%
Material fortune	8%

Tolerance (acceptance and respect for persons with other opinions or from other groups than yours)	9%
Competitive spirit	6%
Fairness	21%
Creativity, innovation spirit	2%
DK/NA	2%

B4.3. Which of the following values do you appreciate THIRDLY?

Personal dignity (identity/education)	11%
Social prestige or respect (social status or position)	12%
Altruism (helping others)	13%
Material fortune	9%
Tolerance (acceptance and respect for persons with other opinions or from other groups than yours)	14%
Competitive spirit	8%
Fairness	22%
Creativity, innovation spirit	7%
DK/NA	4%

B5. In the past 12 months, have you engaged in any volunteering, unpaid? (OPERATOR: While unpaid, school or university practice activities are NOT volunteering activities!)

Yes	22%
No	76%
DK/NA	2%

B6. Which of the following forms of volunteering have you engaged in over the past 12 months? (OPERATOR: Multiple answer!) (% of persons who did perform such activities)

Community service	16%
Helping persons with special needs / disabilities / elderly	27%
Organizing sports events	10%
Organizing cultural events (festivals, concerts)	13%
Helping children in the form of tutoring / private lessons	12%
Religious / church activities	9%
Activities in the economic sector / businesses / companies	6%
Other / What? _____	6%
Not the case / did not perform any volunteer work	1%

B8. What is your religion?

Christian-Orthodox	85%
Roman-catholic	6%
Greek-catholic	1%
Protestant (reformed, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Unitarian, etc.)	3%
Neo-protestant (Baptist, Pentecostal, Adventist, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc.)	3%
Muslim	0%
Other / Which? _____	0%

Atheist / no religion	1%
DK/NA	1%

B9. Do you believe, are not sure or do not believe in the following:

	Cred cu tărie 1	Nu sunt sigur/ă	Nu cred în nici un fel	NS/NR
1. God exists	79%	15%	5%	1%
2. Heaven and hell exist	63%	26%	26%	3%
3. God created the world	73%	18%	7%	2%
4. God is the source of moral rules and obligations	64%	23%	9%	4%

B10. HOW OFTEN DO YOU...?	Very often	Often	Rarely	Very rarely / never	DK/NA
1. Attend religious service on Sunday	8%	17%	45%	30%	0%
2. Pray	18%	39%	28%	15%	0%
3. Say confession	3%	16%	45%	35%	1%
4. Attend religious festivals (Easter, Christmas, Ascension, etc.)	23%	37%	25%	14%	1%
5. Go on religious pilgrimage	1%	6%	22%	69%	2%
6. Observe lent	4%	16%	37%	41%	2%

C. FAMILY AND FRIENDS**C1. Who are you living with at present?**

Alone ► GO TO C3	8%
Both parents	62%
	7%
Only with mother	2%
Only with father	16%
With spouse / partner ► ASK C2	1%
With friends	2%
With relatives (other than mother/father)	1%
With someone else/Who? _____	0%
DK/NA ► GO TO C3	

C2. Which of the following best fits your situation? (ONE CHOICE ONLY)

I live with my parents because it is the simplest solution for our family	54%
I/we would live alone if we could afford it	23%
I would like to live alone but my parents don't agree	3%
Other / What? _____	11%
Not the case / Respondent lives alone	0%
DK/NA	9%

C3. What are the relations between you and your parents?

I get along with them very well	53%
---------------------------------	-----

I get along with them though our opinions sometimes differ	38%
In general we don't get along and we argue often	6%
My relations with my parents are very tense	2%
Not the case / My parents are no longer alive	1%
DK/NA	1%

C5. Who in your family had/has the largest influence on the major decisions you had/have to make (e.g., choice of school / high school / university, moving to another town or country, dropping out of school, choice of partner / spouse, etc.)? (ONE CHOICE ONLY!)

Father	32%
Mother	48%
Brother	2%
Sister	2%
Paternal grandfather	1%
Maternal grandfather	1%
Paternal grandmother	1%
Maternal grandmother	2%
Grandparents in general	1%
Other / Who? _____	6%
DK/NA	4%

C6. How do you / did you make major decisions in life? (ONE CHOICE ONLY!)

My parents decide/decided everything	6%
I make decisions jointly with my parents	56%
I make my own decisions, independently	37%
DK/NA	1%

C7. How do you see yourself in the future? ONE CHOICE ONLY!)

Married, with my own family	62%
In a relationship with a partner, without being married	15%
Without a partner or marital obligations	5%
I am already married / in a relationship with a partner I am not married to	14%
DK/NA	4%

C8. In your opinion, what is the best age for marriage in the case of GIRLS?

Average: 24.7 Ani

C9. În opinia ta, care este vârsta cea mai potrivită pentru căsătorie în cazul BĂIEȚILOR?

Average: 27.5Ani

C12. Câți copii ți-ai dori(t) să ai?

Average: 1.9 COPII

C13. How important are the following factors in choosing a partner or a spouse? (OPERATOR: QUESTION TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS, WHETHER MARRIED / PARTNERED OR NOT!)

One response per line/row	Very important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Very little / no importance	DK/NA
C13.1. Partner's religion	12%	23%	23%	28%	14%	0%
C13.2. Partner's economic situation	9%	38%	26%	18%	8%	1%
C13.3. Family's agreement	17%	39%	23%	13%	7%	1%
C13.4. Virginit	8%	17%	24%	34%	16%	1%
C13.5. Personality	35%	49%	11%	3%	1%	1%
C13.6. Physical aspect	25%	53%	16%	5%	0%	1%
C13.7. Level of education	18%	46%	23%	9%	3%	1%
C13.8. Having same interests, tastes	35%	46%	13%	4%	1%	1%
C13.9. Region they come from	4%	16%	25%	34%	20%	1%
C13.10. Nationality / ethnicity	9%	25%	26%	24%	15%	1%

C14. Are you part of a circle of friends where everyone knows everyone and you spend much time together?

Yes =75%

No =25%

DK/NA =0%

C15. How satisfied are you with your friends?

Very satisfied	25%
Satisfied	55%
Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	14%
Unsatisfied	2%
Very unsatisfied	1%
DK/NA	0%
NC – I have no friends	3%

C16. In the past 12 months, were you involved in a...	Yes	No	DK/NA
C16.1. Violent physical conflict with other young persons from your neighborhood	7%	92%	1%
C16.2. Violent physical conflict with other young persons in a night club, disco or café	5%	94%	1%
C16.3. Violent physical conflict with other young persons on a stadium or at a sports event	2%	97%	1%
C16.4. Violent physical conflict at school / high school / university	4%	95%	1%
C16.5. Violent physical conflict with other young persons whose political opinions differ from yours	1%	98%	1%
C16.6. Violent physical conflict with the police (during rallies)	1%	98%	1%
C16.7. Violent physical conflict within the family	2%	96%	2%

D. CONCERNS AND ASPIRATIONS

D3. How much do you want to leave Romania?

Very much	17%
Much	23%

Little	21%
Very little / not at all	36%
DK/NA	3%

D4. To what country would you like to go (to work, permanently, to study, etc.)? (% of the persons who want to leave, much and very much)

England	16%	Austria	2%
Belgium	2%	Canada	1%
Denmark	1%	France	6%
Germany	6%	Italy	10%
Great Britain	4%	Netherlands	2%
Spain	10%	SUA	10%
Sweden	1%	Hungary	1%
Other	7%		
NS/NR	11%		

D5. What is the main reason why you would like to leave Romania? ONE CHOICE ONLY!)(% of those who want to leave)

To improve my living standard	55%
For more cultural diversity / to meet / live among different people	9%
For a better education	5%
Because I stand better chances to find a job	19%
Because I would stand better chances at starting my own business	4%
To be close to those dear to me	2%
Other / What? _____	3%
DK/NA	3%
NC/Not the case/Does not want to leave country	0%

D6. How do you see your life 10 years from now?

Better than at present 75%	Same 13%	Worse than at present 3%	DK/NA 9%
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E. SCHOOL AND PROFESSIONE

E1. What is your current status?

I am in school / high school / vocational school	30%
I am an undergraduate student	13%
I am a student in a Master's or Doctor's degree program ► ASK E2	3%
No longer in school / high school / university	53%
DK/NA	1%

OPERATOR: questions from E2 to E7 to be asked only of those who are currently in school / high school / university (responded with codes 1 or 2 or 3 to question E1.

E2. How enthusiastic or anxious are you about going to school / high school / university? Would you say you go to school / high school / university with very much enthusiasm, much enthusiasm, little enthusiasm or no enthusiasm?

Very much enthusiasm / joy	10%
----------------------------	-----

Much enthusiasm / joy	20%
Sometimes with enthusiasm, other times with no desire	54%
Little enthusiasm	9%
Very little enthusiasm / desire	7%
DK/NA	0%

E3. How is everyday life in your school / high school / university?

Very hard and stressful	3%
Hard and stressful	15%
Neither hard nor easy	56%
Relatively easy and stress/free	20%
Very easy and with no stress at all	4%
DK/NA	2%

E4. What was your general average in the school year that just ended? GENERAL AVERAGE: 8.3**E5. To your knowledge, in your school / high school / university can better grades be obtained by way of small gifts or money?**

Yes, often	14%
Yes, sometimes	23%
Seldom	14%
Very seldom/Never/No	39%
DK/NA	10%

E6. How many hours a day do you devote to studying for school / high school / university, outside classes?

No more than 1 hour a day	24%
One or two hours a day	27%
Circa 2-3 hours a day	25%
Circa 3-4 hours a day	14%
More than 4 hours a day	7%
DK/NA	3%

E7. What private lessons did you take in the school year that just ended? (OPERATOR: Multiple choice answer)

A foreign language / Which? _____	7%
Mathematics/physics/chemistry/biology	17%
Romanian language or social science	6%
Arts (music/musical instrument / painting)	1%
I have not taken any private lessons	67%
DK/NA	2%

E8. Do you think you will be able to find a job after graduating school / high school / university?

Yes, I believe I will find a job right after graduation	38%
Yes, I believe I will find a job some time after graduation	28%

No, I don't believe I will find a job after graduation	13%
Don't know	21%

FOR ALL RESPONDENTS:

E9. How satisfied are you with the quality of the Romanian education system?

Very satisfied	4%
Satisfied	28%
Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	35%
Unsatisfied	23%
Very unsatisfied	7%
DK/NA	3%

E15. Are you employed now?

Yes, full time	31%
Yes, part-time	3%
Yes, occasionally or seasonally	7%
No	56%
Other / What? _____	2%
DK/NA	1%

E16. How many hours a week do you work (when you do work)?

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WEEKLY HOURS WORKED: 42.4 ore

E17. Which one of the following matches your situation?

I work but have no professional qualification	19%
I work in the profession I trained for in school / high school / university	30%
I work in a domain that is close to what I trained for in school / high school / university	15%
I work in a domain that is totally different from what I trained for in school / high school / university	31%
I cannot tell	4%
Not the case / Respondent does not work	0%
DK/NA	1%

E18. Irrespective of whether you are currently employed or not, what of the Following sectors would you like to work in? (OPERATOR: ONLY ONE CHOICE!)

The public sector (including education, health, public administration, army, police, etc.)	32%
The private sector / private companies, multinational companies, etc.	50%
Non-governmental organizations	3%
International organizations (e.g., UN, World Bank, UE, etc.)	8%
DK/NA	7%

I will read a list of factors to you that people in our country regard as important so as to find a job in Romania. Please rank these factors in an order of importance in finding a job in Romania

E19A. Which of the following is the PRIMARY factor in terms of importance

Acquaintances/friends	27%
Professional expertise/experience	23%
Level of education graduated from	22%
Political relations/connections	15%
Luck	11%
Other / Which? _____	0%
DK/NA	2%

E19B. Which of the following is the SECONDARY factor in terms of importance?

Acquaintances/friends	21%
Professional expertise/experience	29%
Level of education graduated from	23%
Political relations/connections	14%
Luck	11%
Other / Which? _____	0%
DK/NA	2%

E19C. Which of the following is the THIRD factor in terms of importance?

Acquaintances/friends	21%
Professional expertise/experience	22%
Level of education graduated from	20%
Political relations/connections	14%
Luck	21%
Other / Which? _____	1%
DK/NA	2%

E19D. Which of the following is the FOURTH factor in terms of importance?

Acquaintances/friends	20%
Professional expertise/experience	15%
Level of education graduated from	20%
Political relations/connections	23%
Luck	18%
Other / Which? _____	0%
DK/NA	4%

E19E. Which of the following is the FIFTH factor in terms of importance?

Acquaintances/friends	8%
Professional expertise/experience	9%
Level of education graduated from	11%
Political relations/connections	30%
Luck	35%
Other / Which? _____	1%
DK/NA	6%

I will read a list of factors to you that people in our country regard as important so as to accept or change their job. Please rank these factors in an order of importance in accepting a job in Romania.

E20A. Which of the following is the PRIMARY factor in terms of importance?

Pay	62%
Job security	18%
Opportunity to work with people one likes	3%
Satisfaction with work one does	13%
Other / Which? _____	2%
DK/NA	2%

E20B. Which of the following is the SECONDARY factor in terms of importance?

Pay	24%
Job security	44%
Opportunity to work with people one likes	13%
Satisfaction with work one does	15%
Other / Which? _____	2%
DK/NA	2%

E20C. Which of the following is the THIRD factor in terms of importance?

Pay	8%
Job security	22%
Opportunity to work with people one likes	31%
Satisfaction with work one does	35%
Other / Which? _____	2%
DK/NA	2%

E20D. Which of the following is the FOURTH factor in terms of importance?

Pay	4%
Job security	13%
Opportunity to work with people one likes	46%
Satisfaction with work one does	31%
Other / Which? _____	3%
DK/NA	3%

E20E. Which of the following is the FIFTH factor in terms of importance?

Pay	1%
Job security	1%
Opportunity to work with people one likes	4%
Satisfaction with work one does	3%
Other / Which? _____	33%
DK/NA	58%

E21. Do you intend to start your own business in the coming 2 years?

Definitely yes=7%

Probably not=18%

DK/NA=5%

Probably yes=15%

Definitely not=55%

E23. What is the main reason why you wish to start your own business? (% of those who do want to start a business)

Be independent	42%
Make more money	41%
Use my skills and abilities	14%
Avoid unemployment	2%
Other / WHICH? _____	1%
DK/NA	0%
Not the case / Does not want to start a business	0%

F) DEMOCRACY**F1. How often do you discuss politics with those close to you (family, friends, colleagues)?**

Very often	3%
Often	7%
Neither frequently, nor rarely	13%
Rarely	18%
Very rarely / never	56%
DK/NA	3%

F3. To what extent are your political opinions similar or identical to your parents'?

Very large extent	5%
Large extent	25%
Little extent	19%
Very little extent / not at all	34%
DK/NA	17%

F5. As far as you can remember, how many times have you voted in elections since you turned 18?

All elections	21%
Most elections	18%
Less than half the elections	18%
I have never voted since I turned 18, though I did have an opportunity to do so	17%
DK/NA	24%

INTPOL. How interested are you in politics?

Very interesting	3%
Interested	1%
Little interest	34%
Very little interested / not at all	49%
DK/NA	3%

PROT1. In democratic systems people can march / rally in support of certain issues / subjects / topics. Which one of the following do you care about most? (ONLY ONE CHOICE!)

Political issues / support for a candidate or party	2%
Issues related to lack of jobs	28%
Situation in the Romanian health system	11%

Economic issues (pay, poverty)	24%
Access to education / school	4%
Environment issues	3%
Corruption	9%
Rule of law / compliance with laws	3%
Discrimination against women	4%
Discrimination against ethnic minorities	1%
Discrimination against sexual minorities	0%
Other / What? _____	1%
No issue especially (DON'T READ!)	5%
DK/NA	6%

PROT2. If in the following 12 months protests or rallies were organized in support of the matter you care about most, would you take part in such protests/rallies?

21% Definitely yes

17% Probably not

8% DK/NA

31% Probably yes

23% Definitely not

F6. In your opinion, how much influence does the vote of people like you have over the way the following entities works?

How much influence...?	A great deal	A lot	Little	Very little/ none	DK/NA
1.Parliament/Government/Central entities	8%	18%	37%	30%	7%
2. Local entities (municipality, prefecture, local administration, etc.)	9%	22%	35%	27%	7%

F7. What are your main sources of information concerning political life in the country? (MULTIPLE CHOICE)

Internet	26%
TV	34%
Newspapers	8%
Radio	7%
Discussions with family/parents	10%
Discussions with friends/acquaintances/colleagues	11%
Other / What?	1%
DK/NA	3%

F8. In politics people talk about left and right. On a scale of 1 (left) to 10 (right), where would you situate yourself in terms of your political views/opinions?

4%	4%	5%	6%	18%	9%	7%	6%	4%	4%	33%
Left								Right		DK

F9. To what extent do you feel YOUNG politicians (under 30) represent you?

Very large extent	1%
Large extent	9%
Little extent	30%

Very little extent / not at all	47%
DK/NA	13%

F10. How much do you trust the following entities, organizations, countries or persons?

		Very much	Much	Little	Very little / not at all	DK/NA
F10.1.	Political parties	1%	5%	41%	49%	4%
F10.2.	Parliament	1%	8%	41%	47%	3%
F10.3.	Government	1%	11%	40%	44%	4%
F10.4.	My mayor	2%	29%	39%	27%	3%
F10.5.	Prosecutor General of Romania	1%	17%	41%	32%	9%
F10.6.	Police	6%	36%	34%	21%	3%
F10.7.	Church	16%	42%	23%	16%	3%
F10.8.	Judges	5%	30%	38%	23%	4%
F10.9.	Romanian mass media (dailies, TV, radio)	6%	22%	38%	30%	4%
F10.10.	Trade unions	1%	13%	40%	34%	12%
F10.11.	Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)	5%	23%	35%	27%	10%
F10.12.	United States of America (USA)	6%	27%	32%	28%	7%
F10.13.	Army	11%	42%	26%	17%	4%
F10.14.	European Union (EU)	6%	34%	31%	24%	5%
F10.15.	NATO	6%	31%	33%	23%	7%
F10.16.	Russian Federation	1%	5%	34%	52%	8%

F11. How satisfied are you with democracy in Romania?

Very satisfied	2%
Satisfied	16%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	33%
Dissatisfied	31%
Very dissatisfied	13%
DK/NA	5%

G) GOVERNANCE and DEVELOPMENT**G1. How serious are the following problems in Romanian society?**

	Very serious	Serious	Little serious	Very little serious	DK	NA
1. Poverty	64%	31%	3%	1%	0%	1%
2. Unemployment	59%	36%	4%	0%	1%	0%
3. Environment pollution	38%	40%	16%	4%	1%	1%
4. Terrorist threat	23%	30%	30%	13%	2%	1%
5. HIV/AIDS pandemic	29%	33%	26%	8%	3%	1%
6. Conditions in state medical assistance / health system	50%	40%	8%	1%	0%	1%
7. Improper implementation of the laws	50%	37%	7%	1%	2%	2%
8. Job insecurity	60%	31%	6%	1%	1%	1%

	Very serious	Serious	Little serious	Very little serious	DK	NA
9. Workplace hazards (including improper labor conditions)	30%	40%	20%	5%	3%	2%
10. Romanians leaving abroad	45%	33%	14%	6%	1%	1%
11. Delinquency / crime	41%	39%	15%	3%	1%	1%
12. Climate change	24%	36%	27%	9%	2%	2%
13. Corruption	64%	28%	4%	2%	1%	1%
14. Lack of affordable housing	46%	39%	10%	2%	2%	1%
15. Energy prices (natural gas, electricity, fuels, etc.)	53%	36%	7%	1%	2%	1%
16. Large inequalities between people	41%	37%	15%	4%	1%	2%

G2. In your opinion, how will people's economic situation change in Romania in the next 10 years?

Greatly improved	2%
Much improved	22%
The same	39%
Much worse	24%
Greatly worse	7%
DK/NA	6%

ECP1. What is your parents' economic situation now as compared to 5 years ago?

Much better	6%
Better	23%
Same	35%
Worse	27%
Much worse	5%
DK/NA	4%

ECP2. What do you think your parents' economic situation will be in 5 years as compared to now?

Much better	5%
Better	30%
Same	44%
Worse	13%
Much worse	3%
DK/NA	5%

ECP3. What do you think YOUR economic situation will be in 5 years as compared to now?

Much better	13%
Better	53%
Same	20%
Worse	5%
Much worse	2%
DK/NA	7%

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS**GENDER:** Bărbat 50% Femeie 50%**AGE (current years):**

15-19 ani: 35%

20-24 de ani: 36%

25-29 de ani: 29%

ETHNICITY. What is your nationality?

91% Roman 5% Maghiar 3% Rom 0% German 1% Alta/Care? _____ 9% NS

CHILDREN. Do you have any children

Da=13%/Câți? In Average 1,4

Nu=88%

NR=9%

MARITAL STATUS. You are currently...?

Legally married	14%
Divorced	1%
Widowed	0%
Separated, without formal divorce	0%
In a partnership/couple but not married	19%
Not married, not in partnership	65%
Other / What? _____	1%
DK/NA	0%

EDUCATION. What is the latest school you graduated from? How about your parents?

<i>Latest school for....</i>	Grade school (maximum 4 grades)	Primary (maximum 10 grades)	Vocational	High school	Post-secondary	University	Postgraduate (master's or doctor's)	DK
Respondent	4%	29%	6%	42%	2%	13%	4%	0%
Mother	4%	15%	16%	40%	7%	12%	3%	3%
Father	3%	11%	23%	38%	5%	13%	3%	4%

RSTAT. What is your current school status?

I am a student with a vocational school	3%
I am a high school student / What grade? _____	26%
I am a student in post-secondary school	1%
I am an undergraduate student at university / What year? ____	13%
I am a Master's degree student / What year? ____	3%
I am a Doctor's degree student / What year? ____	1%
I am no longer in school / high school / university	53%
Other / What? _____	0%
NA	1%

Current occupational status of...	Employee / employer / active	Pensioner	Unemployed	Housewife	Other	DK
FAOS. Father	67%	12%	4%	5%	10%	2%
MAOS. Mother	62%	11%	3%	17%	5%	2%

FAOCC. Father's occupation		MAOCC. Mother's occupation	
Farmer	6%	Farmer	5%
Unskilled worker	9%	Unskilled worker	10%
Skilled worker in industry / constructions, etc.	40%	Skilled worker in industry / constructions, etc.	26%
Working in services (vendor, etc.)	9%	Working in services (vendor, etc.)	20%
Public employee with medium education	7%	Public employee with medium education	6%
Employee with higher education	11%	Employee with higher education	11%
Small entrepreneur (owns company, no employees)	3%	Small entrepreneur (owns company, no employees)	1%
Entrepreneur (employer)	3%	Entrepreneur (employer)	2%
Other / What? _____	6%	Other / What? _____	11%
DK	6%	DK	7%

DOT. Assets	Yes	No	DK/NA
1. Have bicycle	48%	51%	1%
2. Have tablet (Android, Apple, etc.)	35%	64%	1%
3. Have internet connection at home	88%	11%	1%
4. Have cable TV or satellite TV at home	95%	4%	1%
5. Have portable modem for internet	50%	49%	1%
6. Have land-line phone	46%	53%	1%
7. Have mobile phone	95%	4%	1%

PGOSP. How many people live in the same household as you (including respondent): On average 3.6.

M1. How many desktop computers in your home? On average 0.8.

M2. How many laptop computers in your home? On average 0.7.

M3_1. Do you own a car? 22% Yes, how many? On average 1.1. 78% No 0% DK/NA

M3_2. Do your parents own a car? 49% Yes, how many? On average 1.2. 51% No 0% DK/NA

M4. How many rooms in your apartment / house? On average 3.3. 99% DK/NA

M5. Cam câte cărți ai în casa în care stai?

None	6%
No more than 10	12%
10 to 20 books	12%
21 to 30 books	12%
31 to 50 books	16%
51 to 100 books	15%
Over 100 books	23%
DK/NA	4%

M6. At present I...

Live with my parents / in-laws, we rent	15%
Live with my parents / in-laws in an apartment / house they own	62%
I live without my parents, I rent	6%
I live without my parents, in an apartment / house I own (or my spouse owns)	14%

Other / What? _____	3%
DK/NA	0%

M7. In your house / apartment, do you have a room all to yourself (not shared with siblings)?

Yes 70% No 28% NC 0% DK/NA 2%

M9. What is the monthly expenditure in your household for food, maintenance, clothing, school, entertainment?

OPERATOR, TAKE DOWN AMOUNT IN RON: On average 1433. 888. DK 999. NA

OCUP1. So, what is your current status? (OPERATOR: If someone works but IN PARALLEL also goes to a form of school, check the appropriate codes!)

I am employed, full-time	30%
I am employed, part-time or occasionally	7%
I am a freelancer / have own business	2%
Other / What? _____	1%
Unemployed	7%
Pupil	28%
Student	12%
Other / WHAT? _____	10%
DK/NA	3%

WSTU. (Only for those who work but in parallel also go to a form of school) Which one of the following best fits your situation?

I work but in parallel am also FIRST-TIME UNDERGRADUATE student (distance education, etc.)	41%
I work but in parallel am also SECOND TIME UNDERGRADUATE student (distance education, etc.)	2%
I work but in parallel am also a student in a MASTER'S or DOCTOR'S degree program	30%
I work but in parallel am also going to another school (evening high school, post-secondary, etc.) / WHAT SCHOOL? _____	22%
Other / WHAT? _____	1%
DK/NA	4%
NOT THE CASE	0%

OCUP2. What is your occupation?	
Farmer	4%
Unskilled worker	11%
Skilled worker in industry / constructions, etc.	16%
Working in services (vendor, etc.)	20%
Public employee with medium education	2%
Employee with higher education	20%
Small entrepreneur (owns company, no employees)	2%
Entrepreneur (employer)	2%
Other / What? _____	11%
DK	12%
Not the case / Pupil / Student	0%

OCUP3. What is your type of employment contract?

Labor contract for INDETERMINATE time	59%
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Labor contract for DETERMINATE time	13%
I do not have a contract	9%
Other / What? _____	3%
DK/NA	16%
Not the case / does not work	0%

OCUP4. What happens when you work overtime or weekends?

I get overtime pay	35%
I get extra days off	10%
I get neither overtime nor days off	12%
I do not work overtime	21%
Other / What? _____	1%
DK/NA	21%
Not the case / does not work	0%

VEN. What was your net income last month? On average 1470 RON

TIPSC. (ONLY FOR PUPILS) What is the profile / type of the school you go to?

Primary school	1%
Vocational school	11%
High school, sciences	48%
High school, humanities	26%
Other type of high school / What? _____	14%
DK/NA	0%
NC/Not pupil	0%

CPAR. What social class are your parents in?

Upper class	7%
Middle class	48%
Working class	32%
Lower class	10%
DK/NA	3%

FCPAR. What is the main factor that makes you say your parents are in the _____? (ONLY ONE CHOICE!)

Their material status (properties, etc.)	36%
Their level of education	16%
Their income / pay	27%
Their occupation	18%
Other / What? _____	0%
DK/NA	4%

CRESP. What class would you put yourself in?

Upper	7%
Middle	57%
Working	22%

Lower	10%
DK/NA	4%

FRESP. Why do you put yourself in the _____ social class? (ONLY ONE CHOICE!)

My material status (properties, etc.)	36%
My level of education	28%
My income / pay	16%
My occupation	12%
Other / What? _____	2%
DK/NA	6%

COMP. If you were to think of your parents' economic status (properties, income, wealth, assets, etc.), when you are their age do you think your status will be better, same or worse?

My status will be much better than my parents'	26%
My status will be better than my parents'	48%
Same	14%
My status will be worse than my parents'	5%
My status will be much worse than my parents'	1%
NS	6%

TENYR. Which of the following is closest to how you see yourself?

In 10 years' time I see myself as successful in Romania	59%
In 10 years' time I see myself as successful in another country / Which?	30%
DK/NA	11%

In which country (% calculated only for those who selected second option above)

England	14%	Austria	2%	Belgium	1%
France	6%	Germany	14%	Italy	10%
Norway	1%	Netherlands	2%	USA	8%
Spain	8%	Sweden	1%	Great Britain	4%
Other					8%
NA					21%

Young people's aspirations and worries help us to understand how they perceive the present and how they might shape the future. What are the main preoccupations of youth? To what extent do they differ from their parents' generation? And if young people are the future, what are their chances and opportunities for achieving their goals and for making use of their skills and qualifications? What is their economic situation, what kind of jobs do they get and how satisfied are they with their social situation and economic perspectives?

To answer these and other questions, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has issued the study *Romanian Youth: worries, aspirations, values and life style*, a sociological research, representative for youth in Romania aged 16-29 years.

The analyses, opinions and interpretations in this Report belong exclusively to its authors and do not in any way reflect the position of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Romania.



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