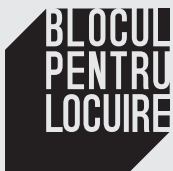


REPORT

**on forced evictions in Romania between
2008 and 2017**



BLOCUL pentru LOCUIRE (The BLOC for HOUSING) is a decentralized network of organizations fighting for communities' empowerment and political organizing against housing injustice. The BLOC was created as a result of the militant group actions for the right to housing, housing justice and the right to the city: Căși sociale ACUM (Social Housing NOW!), Frontul Comun pentru Dreptul la Locuire (The Common Front for the Right to Housing), E-Romnja, Dreptul la Oras! (The right to the City!), Asociația Chiriașilor Cluj (Cluj Tenants' Association), RomaJust Asociația Juriștilor Romi (RomaJust the Association of Roma Jurists), and the various forums for housing justice organized together in recent years, as well.

Report on forced evictions in Romania between 2008 and 2017

Summary:

- 3** ***I.*** Preamble
- 5** ***II.*** Blocul pentru Locuire’s research on forced evictions: Introduction and methodology
- 11** ***III.*** Research results
 - 11** *1. North-Western Region*
 - 16** *2. Central Region*
 - 19** *3. North-Eastern Region*
 - 23** *4. South-Eastern Region*
 - 27** *5. Southern Region – Muntenia*
 - 29** *6. București-Ilfov Region*
 - 30** *7. South-Western Region*
 - 33** *8. Western Region*
- 37** ***IV.*** Conclusions

- 43** *Annex*

I. Preamble

How do we define forced evictions?

According to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights ("Fact sheet 25 – Forced Evictions," 2014), the elements that, individually or combined, define forced evictions, are the following:

1. Temporary or permanent removal of persons from **a dwelling, land or both**;
2. Their removal from their dwellings or land is carried out **against the will of the occupants, with or without the use of force**;
3. People's removal from the dwellings is carried out **without providing alternative housing and adequate relocation, without adequate compensation** and/or access to productive land, as the case may be;
4. It is carried out **without the possibility of challenging either the decision or the process of eviction, without due process and disregarding the state's national and international obligations**.

The afore-mentioned document regarding forced evictions also draws attention to the following issues:

1. **Forced evictions do not necessarily involve the use of physical violence**; they can take place, for instance, through threat and intimidation, such as cutting access to utilities;
2. **Protection against forced eviction is not linked to property rights**. Regardless of the type of possession — ownership, public or private rental, cooperative housing, collective arrangements, lease, emergency/transitional housing or informal settlements, etc. — everyone has a right to be protected against forced eviction;

3. **By itself, an administrative or legal decision does not result in a justified eviction**. If that decision does not comply with international human rights standards and the obligations of states, in practice, it may still constitute a forced eviction. **To evaluate whether an eviction represents a forced eviction and to decide whether it is against international law**, according to the UN, it is necessary to analyze the following:

- The way in which evictions are decided (for instance, no consultation or participation, no information, no recourse mechanisms);
- The way in which evictions are planned (for instance under unjustified conditions, or without notification, available relocation or compensation);
- The way in which evictions are carried out (for instance, at night or in bad weather, or without protection for people or their belongings);
- The use of harassment, threats, violence or force (for instance, forcing people to sign agreements, using bulldozers when people are still salvaging their belongings);
- The results of the eviction (for instance, disruption of children's education, interruption of medical treatment, psychological trauma, loss of jobs and livelihoods, inability to vote because of homelessness, no access to basic services or justice because identity documents were destroyed during the evictions, etc.).

II. Blocul pentru Locuire's Research on Forced Evictions: Introduction and Methodology

Although evictions are a significant part of social changes in Romania, it is almost impossible to have a precise overview of the situation for several reasons. First, a methodology for recording evictions does not exist. The legal status of buildings and the eviction procedures have changed repeatedly, as have the ways in which this information was recorded. On the other hand, the fact that the bureaucratic recording of evictions is not clear, centralized, and public, becomes a way to eliminate the possibility of housing claims from evicted persons. As for the massive process of property retrocession, the registration of evicted persons' claims was achieved only partially, since it was not one of the goals of housing and urban development policies after 1990. The cost of relocating the entire population of inhabitants of nationalized buildings in other public housing would have been astronomical, highlighting the monumental size of the entire process¹. As a result, the practice of retrocessions highlights who was chosen to bear the costs of this process – namely the evicted persons. Evictions also occurred in other situations, which were not directly related to housing retrocession, but which have borrowed the imagery of the "evictables", as would be the cases of tenants of the public housing fund (a fund that is insufficiently maintained by local governments).

From our investigations, the study of evictions has been so far conducted on a rather small scale, or as a secondary or contextual element of other social

processes. Amnesty International's 2013 Report² is a concrete example in which several cases of mass eviction are discussed together: **Coastei** (Cluj, 2010, 350 persons), **Craica** (Baia Mare, 2012, 500 persons), **Muncii** (Piatra Neamț, 2012, 500 persons). Cosima Rughiniș approaches the issue in a 2004 study³ that focuses on new social housing projects from several cities. Adrian Dan has a similar position to ours in a recent article⁴, in which he notices the lack of centralized information on evictions, and where he relies on media coverage as a source. Romani Criss and the European Roma Rights Center raised the issue of evictions, and repeatedly challenged it both publicly and legally⁵. In the recent years, the member groups of the Block for Housing have also described in various forms the occurrence of evictions.

Thus, between March 2018 and March 2019, the activists from the Block for Housing undertook a research study on evictions at a national level, reviewing the last 10 years, with the purpose of documenting how local public authorities deal with the issue, and how the online press reflects it, respectively. Unfortunately, our blunt verdict confirms the conclusions of both the National Agency for Roma, and the 2017 analysis on evictions by FEANTSA⁶: in Romania there is no solid data on evictions.

2 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/EUR39/003/2013/en/>

3 <http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00001919/>

4 https://econpapers.repec.org/article/edrswrgl/v_3a2_3ay_3a2018_3ai_3a1_3ap_3a6-29.htm

5 <http://www.errc.org/press-releases/romanian-roma-victimised-by-new-evictions>

6 <https://www.feantsa.org/download/romania-cfsh-jan-2017-final2599276833334601432.pdf>

1 In 2008, SAR estimated over 200,000 requests for real estate retrocessions in the country (SAR, 2008, www.sar.org.ro/files/330_Policy%20memo34EN.pdf)

Even if, during the study, we have identified some notable exceptions, **we do affirm that this phenomenon remains invisible for the sole purpose of allowing it to be practiced indefinitely, reproducing the housing dispossession of individuals with low incomes**, inferiorized and neglected in the process of decision-making in all areas of life, including housing, and without any accountability on the public administration's part.

The initial aim of the study was to carry out a press monitoring for the period 2008-2017, arguing that, starting in 2008, the online press, especially the local one, was beginning to develop.

1. The first stage started with the use of the ziare.com portal. We separately selected each county seat/capital through the options available on the site, after which we entered the search term "eviction" for each year. We then researched under-reported cases using online search engines. As the online news from the first part of the period analyzed is poorly archived, a significant number of indices have not been transformed into concrete data. The quantity and quality of the information is also determined by the number of media sources that can be found on ziare.com on each county seat – the number is random, with an average of five.

2. We subsequently requested information from the counties' General Departments of Security and Child Protection (DGASPC); which, for the most part, with the exception of the Bucharest sectorial DGASPC (detailed on page 29), declined their competence and directed us to the social security departments or services within their assigned city halls. Several institutions mentioned involvement in evictions. DGASPC Prahova participated in four evictions and established six protective measures for children and three for adults. The general department mentioned that, in such cases, the representative(s) of the institution evaluate the situation, advise and participate in the making of the plan for future measures and solutions. DGASPC Prahova has also established collaboration agreements with city councils in the county, covering potential situations where children are separated from their parents. In other cases, DGASPC Dolj participated in four evictions, without having a working strategy, and DGASPC Suceava in four evictions.

3. In the third stage of our research, we sent information requests to city halls on evictions, forms of support for homeless people, and the number of social housing they are administering. We sent these requests to the Social Security Services (DAS) in cit-

ies and municipalities in the country (over 300). More than half - 184 city councils for urban administrations - replied; the amount of information received from every institution and level of detail, all varied. 36 out of the 41 city halls of county seats also answered our request. In addition to the types of support provided for evicted persons, our main questions concerned "the number of evictions attended by a representative of the institution each year for the 2008 - 2017 period". The question was meant to evaluate the involvement of the local administrations in supporting the evicted persons, as well as to effectively evaluate the number of evictions reported.

Answers varied: there were cases where the number of evictions in which DAS participated was specified, cases where it was only recognized that, generally, evictions are happening, and, importantly, cases where the number of evictions from public housing was specified. The general conclusion is that, whenever support was offered in the form of housing alternative, it was given after the evictions took place and not before. In cases of evictions from restituted dwellings, the number of housing distributed to the evacuees was mentioned. However, this means that the people in question were often forced to apply for public housing themselves. We can deduce that for many persons at risk of eviction, the way in which they could get access to public housing was in itself a filter and a strong limitation. From the press monitoring, and from the experiences of the Block for Housing's member groups, we can conclude that numerous persons without any or reduced level of formal education, as well as with reduced opportunities for dealing with the transitional periods between dwellings, were the most affected by housing deprivation.

There were many surprises regarding the number of social houses owned by local governments,

as can be seen in the data presentation broken down by counties: some large cities have few dwellings, while some small cities own hundreds. There is no certainty whether these answers include only the number of social dwellings or if they also include state-owned housing, while the reverse could also be valid – cities that have reported zero social housing might potentially own public (state-owned) housing. This is why the respective data can only be used to begin a discussion, in a context where the number of public real estate at national level is below 2%.

In the answers offered by city halls, the DAS participation in evictions mainly referred to situations involving the public housing fund. In cases of eviction

from private real estate there were no separate reports, being rarely mentioned. Additionally, comparing the answers received from the DAS with the data obtained in the stage 1 (presented above) and stage 4 of the research (presented below), it appears that the DAS were not present and did not provide support in a very large number of evictions, probably even in cases of evictions of families with children or persons with disabilities, while activists were present in such situations.

4. The fourth stage consisted in obtaining data from the National Union of Bailiffs (UNEJ), through the Ministry of Justice (answer no. 5760/2019 / 12.02.2019 to a freedom of information request), after UNEJ had previously repeatedly denied our request. As demanded, the figures represent the number of "evictions from homes". UNEJ was established by Law 188/2000, liberalizing the profession of bailiffs that had been previously the responsibility of courts and tribunals, according to Law 92/1992. Practitioners are now required to maintain a register of activity, which is then centralized by the Chambers of Bailiffs attached to Courts of Appeal. Thus, UNEJ data is probably one of the most accurate starting points in clarifying the number of evictions in Romania that took place after 1989.

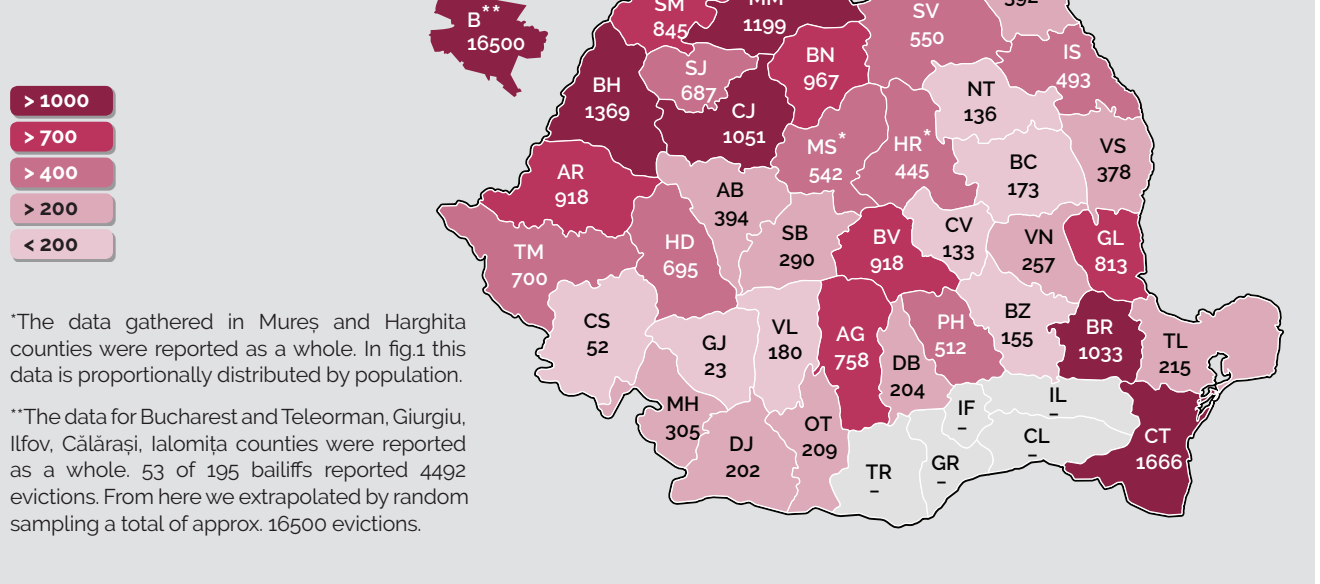
Regarding the period between 2001-2017 (some counties cover the period 1990-2017, and, for others, the data included the year 2018; not statistically significant), we were informed of a total number of **24.373** dwelling evictions. The data for Mures and Harghita counties was presented together; we divided it proportionally based on their respective pop-

ulation. Data from Călărași, Giurgiu, Ialomița, Ilfov, Teleorman, and Bucharest counties has also been reported together, and, in addition, data came from only 53 of the 195 active bailiffs. Assuming the bailiffs who reported the information are a random sample of about 27%, the estimated number of evictions through the executors in this region would be about 16.500 (4492 are reported). So, the total evacuations performed by executors at national level between 2001-2017 is estimated to be **36.300**. If we extrapolate the average of 2135 evictions per year for the entire period after 1989, we reach an estimate number of **64.000** evictions performed through bailiffs alone.

As we have found out through other methods of research, there is a considerable number of evictions which were not inventoried or centralized. Taking into account the period 1990-2000, which was left almost entirely unreported by the UNEJ, in addition to the other practices of undocumented evictions (evictions through administrative procedures, evictions from empty plots, etc.), we can say that, post-1989, the number of housing evictions in Romania is higher than 100,000. The people in situations of forced evictions often live in precarious conditions, burdened by the high costs of housing, which is why they live in overcrowded conditions, with more people or families dwelling one home. Therefore, the number of affected people differs from one eviction to another. How many people were actually affected by this estimated number of evictions made after 1989? If we consider that an eviction would affect only one household, considering the average number of persons per household calculated by the National Institute of Statistics for the year 2011 (2.66 persons /

Fig. 1

Foreclosure evictions 2001 - 2017



household), the number of affected people would be close to 300,000. But if each eviction would affect 5 households, applying the same ratio of people/household, we would get an approximate number of 1,330,000 evicted people. However, from press reports and from our own knowledge about various cases in Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Timisoara, we are aware that some evictions affected over 100 people⁷ at a time.

From the UNEJ data we can draw three main conclusions:

a) The highest number of bailiff evictions were reported for the wider region of Transylvania, as shown on the map (Fig. 1). A question for future research is whether this situation is due to an actual higher number of evictions triggered by retrocessions of residential buildings, or if the eviction procedure through enforcement was applied more frequently (and thus reported more frequently) in the region, unlike other regions where evictions were carried out through other unreported methods (pressure, threats, administrative procedure applied to persons indebted to utilities companies and state renters, etc.)

b) For the 2001-2008 period, the number of forced evictions decreased (Fig. 2), followed by an increase

7 One argument in this regard comes from the fact that most evictions with forced execution are performed in the presence / with the intervention of law enforcement, at the request of the executors, which is in itself an indicator that a higher number of people are affected during a particular eviction.

starting in 2009. Reasons might include the use of others methods of evictions and therefore under-reporting of evictions made through the enforcement procedure, after the promulgation of Law 10/2001 (the Law of Retrocessions through Administrative Procedures) or the role played by the financial crisis and by the related public policies of the government, as well as by the adoption of a new Code of Civil Procedures (2011) and of the procedure of speeding the eviction.

c) The number of evictions in which the executors called in law enforcement officers prevailed (Fig. 3). We can conclude that the vast majority of evicted people have left the buildings only due to the presence of the police, and that they, most likely, lacked a housing alternative.

5. Additionally, where members of the Block for Housing had access to other relevant information as a consequence of their activist work in various locations, these have been added to the data gathered in the respective counties, even if the events occurred before 2008.

Fig. 2

Foreclosure evictions 2001 - 2017

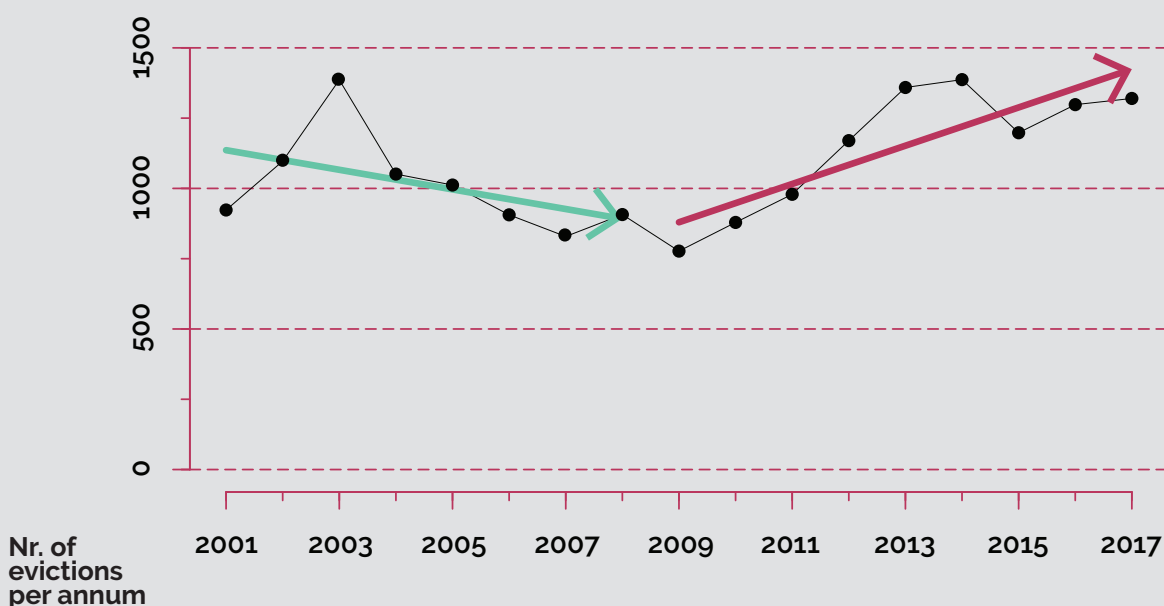
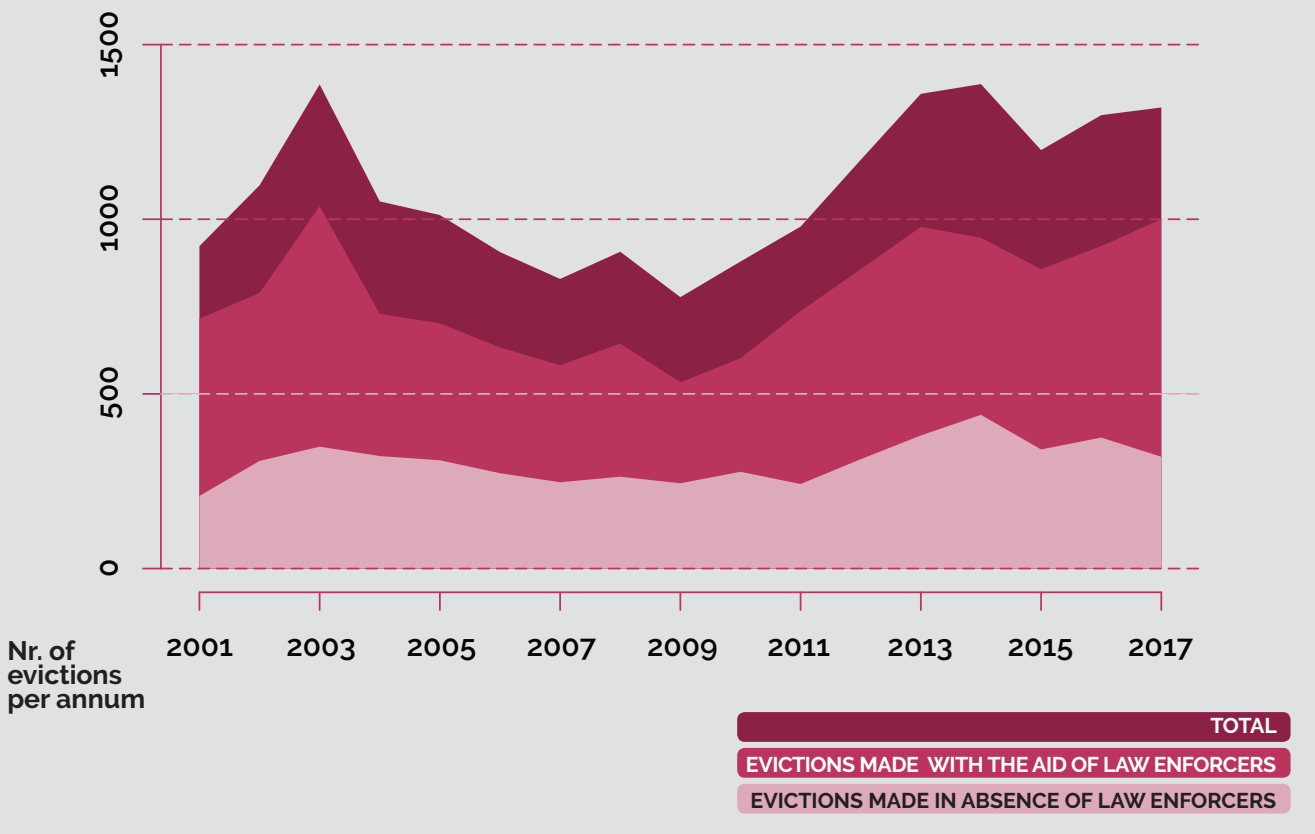


Fig. 3

Foreclosure evictions 2001 - 2017



—

The Block for Housing will continue the in-depth research on forced evictions from dwellings. This is why this research report is a working document, that could become, over time, the most comprehensive archive of evictions in Romania after 1990.

Based on these series of data, from the 4 stages of research plus the additional information we have gathered in the field, we followed five directions of analysis:

1. Anomalies in the data reported by DAS: the large number of evictions in which the institutions participated, the small number of social housing when compared with the overall population, the absence of evictions from DAS reports concerning big cities, the absence of forms of support for evicted persons or for persons found in precarious housing conditions;
2. Discrepancies between what the press reports and what some DASs have reported to us;
3. Causes of evictions reported by DAS and in the press;
4. Problematic aspects in media reports: racism, hatred towards the poor, insults, all affecting the dignity of the persons presented;
5. The attitude of and concrete measures taken by the local authorities to account or not account, respectively, for the securing of homes for individuals to whom private housing is unaffordable: answers such as 'I don't know', the recurrence of evictions from social housing, the number of social houses in each city, (the existence / lack of) support programs for people living in precarious housing conditions.

The results of the research are presented below, by counties, grouped in the 8 development regions.

III. Research results

1. The North-West Region

Bihor County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Oradea (19/169), Salonta (11/27), Marghita (6/77), Aleșd (0/0), Nucet (0/0), Săcueni (0/0), Ștei (0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 1369 evictions – 3rd place out of 37 counties .

c) Eviction procedures

In the town of Marghita, DAS responded by stigmatizing and blaming the persons evicted from social housing; they have no intervention/ support procedures in case of evictions - the only intervention procedures have the purpose of "evicting the badly-paying tenants, who acted in bad faith and did not pay their rent". The financial possibilities of the tenants living in social housing, their ability to pay their rent are not analyzed at all, although this is precisely the responsibility of DAS; we were not provided with any information that would support the evicted persons. Instead of analyzing the economic situation of the evicted persons, all that DAS Marghita reports is that the 6 evicted "badly-paying" families are Roma. In Oradea and Salonta, the intervention procedures are also aimed at evicting the tenants from social housing when they don't pay rent for 3 months in a row.

d) Modes of support

Salonta operates 27 social housing units; Marghita has 77 units; Oradea has 169 social housing and

71 places in the Oradea Night Shelter, very few for such a large population, above 196,000 inhabitants; families who support people with severe disabilities are exempt from paying rent; DAS Oradea collaborates with DGASPC Bihor (county's General Directorate for Social Security and Child Protection) which has emergency shelters for adults and children under its jurisdiction (which can provide only temporary residency). DAS Oradea is avoiding any responsibility in providing housing to people at risk, reporting that "the evicted persons [from social housing, n.ed.] no longer have the possibility of obtaining a home from the housing state fund or from the municipal one, according to the present legislation" and "evicted persons are informed that they have the possibility to identify a housing solution on the free market". Other smaller cities that have responded are prepared only for emergency accommodation (in shared spaces) in case of calamities.

e) Press monitoring

A press release by Oradea Real Estate Administration from 2008 announced that in the City Hall records there are 61 cases of tenants who have been or are to be evicted, and another 281 families are in risk of eviction, following retrocession lawsuits. Oradea's Temporary Accommodation Center no. 1 (Cominca Dorm) entered renovations in 2011, 11 persons with debts for rent and utilities being evicted without relocation; the option to stay at the Night Asylum from Gutenberg Street, in containers (without being able to take the furniture there) was offered to them. People in debt explained to the press that after a period in which they could not pay, they started to pay

again for nothing because the penalties were increasing, the debt was increasing, and they couldn't manage to keep up anymore. After refusing to go to the Asylum, the evicted persons occupied the public domain in front of the dorm. As he didn't fine/ expel them, the local police chief was to be sanctioned by the city hall. Although the press does not explicitly mention the ethnicity of the evicted, it refers to the occupation of the public domain as

"tribe"¹ (ro: șatră)

In 2012, due to renovations, the Oradea Real Estate Administration evicted the tenants from another Center of Temporary Accommodation (located on Atelierelor street), at one year after they had stopped renewing their lease contracts. Instead, it offered them accommodation at the Mihai Viteazul Technical College dormitory, where the tenants told the press that there is no running water at the sinks in the room²

Other mentions in the press:

<http://www.ziare.com/oradea/administratie/locuinte-sociale-pentru-sapte-familii-evacuate-581050>

<https://www.ebihoreanul.ro/stiri/ultima-or-31-6-20/satra-evacuati-de-primarie-11-oameni-si-au-instalat-tabara-sub-cerul-liber-foto--95814.html>

<http://www.bihon.ro/au-fost-evacuati-prin-forta-din-camin/1101019>

Bistrița Năsăud County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Bistrița (50/343), Sângeorz-Băi (0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 967 evictions – the 7th place in the country, out of 37.

c) From all the cities in Bistrița county, we received a response from Bistrița municipality and from the city of Sângeorz-Băi, the latter not owning any social housing and whose representatives did not reportedly participate at evictions. In Bistrița's case, between 2015 and 2018, 50 evictions were reported in which DAS participated, following the postponement of sentences of eviction since 2004, in the hope that the debts will be paid. The social housing fund contains 343 units, almost all of them having been built after 2010.

1 <https://www.ebihoreanul.ro/stiri/ultima-or-31-1/satra-din-fata-caminului-cominca-desfiintata-evacuati-au-fost-muta-%20ti-la-azilul-gutenberg-95874.html>

2 <http://www.bihon.ro/au-fost-evacuati-prin-forta-din-camin/1101019>

d) Press monitoring

However, the press reports on various evictions taking place in the city of Bistrița:

In March 2011, following the retrocessions, 40 evicted families received accommodation in a new block of social housing; other 35 evicted families following the retrocessions were still waiting for relocation³.

Half a year later, all 40 precariously-living families that lived in Grigore Moisil Technical College's dorm, have been evicted without being provided with relocation in social housing⁴.

At the end of October, 500 families had files in waiting for social housing and other 2000 for ANL (National Agency for Housing) housing. In 2010 and 2013, the press reports homeless people and people living in informal housing being removed from the city; the police and the gendarmerie destroyed the improvised housing and expelled people to the localities mentioned in their identity cards – in this way, the Bistrița City Hall deflected responsibility from themselves. The media accounts associate the Roma ethnicity of these people with begging and unhealthy living conditions – although there are pictures showing that people were drying clothes, which means that they were trying to manage household work⁵.

Cluj County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Cluj-Napoca (-), Gherla (0/0), Turda (0/190).

b) UNEJ Answer: 1051 evictions – the 5th place in the country, out of 37.

c) We received answers only from DAS Cluj-Napoca, Gherla and Turda. Not one of these keeps track of evictions. We found out that there are 190 social housing units in Turda and 50 places in Turda DAS Homeless Center.

According to the response received, Cluj-Napoca City Hall developed a regulation for the eviction of "abusive persons", approved by HCL 118/2010. Representatives of the Patrimony Department, Local Police and Municipal Police do participate in administrative evictions. DAS representatives participate in evictions in order to diagnose and counsel. In 2018,

3 <https://gazetadebistrita.ro/romiibistriteni-au-primit-locuinte-sociale/>

4 <https://gazetadebistrita.ro/primariaevacueaza-chiria-sii-din-internatul-de-la-grigore-moisil/>

5 <http://www.ziare.com/bistrita/stiri-actualitate/rromi-evacuati-cu-tot-cu-cei-13-copii-din-baraci-improvizate-1791471>

the Local Council started a program through which rent support is granted to marginalized people.

Data about Cluj-Napoca also comes from the action-research initiatives of Social Houses NOW!/ Casi Sociale ACUM!: according to information received from the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca, in 2014 there were 174 ANL dwellings, 1368 social houses, 100% occupied, including those from the old state housing fund that were not sold or retroceded (yet); in 2015, 12 dwellings were to be distributed to the people who applied in 2014; in 2007 and 2008, there were 1571 applications for social housing; in 2010 and 2011, during the crisis, there were 3820 applications, out of which 3325 were declared ineligible on account of one new criterion introduced by the local council: "Those who cannot prove a permanent income cannot have access to housing from the state housing fund" —precisely the case of marginalized people, who are thus excluded as "ineligible." Those who were evicted based on a court decision of "abusive occupation" and their descendants are also ineligible.

d) Press monitoring and activist research: hundreds of evicted persons

When requesting information from the Cluj-Napoca City Hall's Heritage Department, we were informed that they did not keep track of evictions even though the dwellings are in their administration. Based on the Social Houses NOW!/ Case Sociale ACUM!'s direct involvement in situations of eviction and in risk of eviction from the city of Cluj, we can identify six large types of evictions:

(1) the eviction from collective dwellings from the old housing state fund (one-floor buildings, some of them former workers' dormitories) located on public plots whose real estate value has increased considerably in the last 10 years (for example the eviction from December 17 2010 of over 300 people from the former Coastei street, following the mayor's decision to demolish the buildings and forcefully move the inhabitants to Pata Rât);

(2) the eviction from houses built without a building permit around legally-built houses, by the adult children of persons living in social housing (for example, the eviction from the mid-1990s of the families who illegally built a shack on a plot from Calea Turzii; with this occasion the degraded building that was legally rented was also demolished; as a result, the evicted people have looked for new, albeit similarly insecure alternatives, thus, at the beginning of the 2000s, all of them were living on the Cantonului street, in the Pata Rât area; the eviction from the former Coastei Street; or

the risk of evacuation from the Mesterul Manole Street in which about 10 families are to be found);

(3) the eviction of houses built without a building permit, around apartment buildings where tenants possessed ownership documents (for example, the state of "risk of eviction" in which 15 families on Stephenson Street are to be found);

(4) the eviction from deteriorated blocks found in the city hall's ownership, justified as a necessary step in order to renovate the respective building (for example, the eviction of the "NATO" Block, on Albac Street in 2001);

(5) the eviction from spaces that have a different destination than dwelling (for example, from cellars, civil defense shelters, bunker posts or other buildings or plots owned by the state), which are occupied by families who had no other housing alternatives (for example, the eviction of the 13 families from the Calăului House, on Avram Iancu Street in 2002, which were then moved into a bunker in the Mănăştur neighborhood, from where they were also removed by the city hall after a few months, being relocated on the Cantonului Street, in containers; the eviction of about 25 persons from a land own by CFR (the Romanian Railway Company) on Kővári Street, in 2006, through enforcement, and their relocation on Cantonului Street; the eviction from Anton Pann Street no. 22 of a family consisting of 7 persons, in June 2018, through a court decision, justified by their 'abusive occupation' of the building and disposing their relocation to a homeless center);

(6) the eviction from retroceded buildings on the basis of court decisions (from example, the evictions from Bulevardul Eroilor, Croitorilor Street, Turzii Street, all of which happened in the 2000s, and after which the evicted people were directed to the informal colony from the Cantonului Street).

In all the cases mentioned above, the evicted people became homeless people - either in the very exact meaning of the word, that is, without a roof over their head, or in the sense that they became persons living in containers offered to them by the city hall on Cantonului Street; in two decades, this has become an informal colony with over 170 households. An exception from this model was the eviction case of a group of 76 families from Coastei Street: 40 families have received modular homes built by the city hall with lease contracts in in Pata Rât, near the ramp of waste, while allowing the other families to informally build barracks on the surrounding area owned by the city hall.

Other types of evictions taking place in Cluj-Napoca are those from the houses of the old state stock, as a result of their removal from the housing fund on reasons of degradation; others are evictions from social housing when tenants stopped paying rent. In the former cases, the procedure followed by the local administration is the renovation of buildings and their distribution in the following year to the new applicants for social housing. Since 1990, with the exception of 2008, 2013 and 2014, the few units distributed to applicants are exactly those emptied in the previous evictions⁶.

In 2018 the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca launched the program of rent subsidy for the disadvantaged populations, through which it assumes to pay the partial or total rent (depending on the persons' income) directly to the homeowners. The major problem when applying this measure is the great difficulty or even the impossibility for the Roma families with children to find owners who will rent out to them. Not to mention the fact that through this measure, the city hall directs money from the public budget to the private owners, instead of creating public social housing.

Other press releases:

<http://www.ziare.com/cluj-napoca/jandarmi/90-de-tigani-alungati-dintr-o-tabara-de-langa-cluj-539498>

<https://www.stiridecluj.ro/social/sute-de-tigani-de-pe-strada-coastei-din-cluj-napocasunt-evacuati-la-aceasta-ora-de-jandarmi-sipolitisti>

<http://ftp.monitorulcj.ro/actualitate/9552-15-persoane-fara-adapost-evacuate-de-pe-strada-rasaritului#sthash.8vgMZHWP>

<http://www.ziare.com/cluj-napoca/stiri-actualitate/evacuare-cu-nemultumiri-la-mihai-viteazu-4256094>

<http://citynews.ro/din-oras/politistii-au-evacuat-o-tabara-de-tigani-din-manastur-ce-nereguli-au-mai-fost-gasite>

<https://www.stiridecluj.ro/social/familie-de-rromi-evacuata-cu-scandal-la-cluj-foto>

<http://www.ziare.com/cluj-napoca/stiri-actualitate/un-batran-evacuat-din-locuinta-sociala-cauta-ajutor-la-campia-turzii-7067713>

⁶ Years in which new social houses were constructed (in Oser district, 271 apartments) or renovated (Albac street - 24 apartments, Coroianu street - 46 apartments).

Maramureş county

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Baia Mare (- / 557), Borşa (3/5), Baia Sprie (0), Cavnic (0/0), Sălişte de Sus (0/0), Seini (0), Sighetu Marmăţiei (0), Târgu Lăpuş (0/1).

b) UNEJ answer: 1199 evictions – the 4th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers

The response of the Baia Mare City Hall informs us that DAS does not perform any eviction procedures, having only competences in the field of social inclusion. During the evictions, Local Police (a city hall department) provides protection to the people involved in such activities, that is, the bailiffs.

But the answer also refers to the "relocations of some residents from the marginalized areas of Craica, respectively Pirita" in the year 2012. Those citizens were offered "the opportunity to

visit the buildings and decide knowingly if they want to relocate to those spaces" from the

Electrolizei Street no. 15 – which is in itself an indicator of a forced eviction; the people of Pirita were described as "coming in big part from other localities". They were called to "demolish on their own initiative their improvised constructions". Thus, a total of 475 people came to live on Electrolizei Street no. 15.

Baia Mare owns 557 social housing units. According to the DGASPC Baia Mare's answer, forced evictions do not fall within its area of competence. Therefore, this authority assumes no competence in, and no responsibility for the dozens of forced evictions and relocations in Baia Mare over the last 10 years.

d) Press monitoring

In 2011, 100 families were threatened by the masked police and forcibly moved from the Craica informal housing district to the former Cuprom chemical factory, where many children and adults became ill due to the toxic environment⁷. We found out what happened with some of these families from a 2016 article. Their forced relocation was carried out under improper conditions, the building being in an advanced state of degradation, and the actual rooms were totally inadequate. An extreme example is the case of a family of 4 people who in 2016 was still living in a for-

⁷ <https://evz.ro/exclusiv-evz-auschwitz-ul-de-la-ba-ia-mare-2000-deromi-mutati-in-uzina-mortii-de-primar-984719.html>

mer toilet of two square meters, after being evicted from a social block scheduled for renovation⁸.

In 2014, under the pretext of illegal squatting, the Baia Mare City Hall announces large scale evictions from several social blocks found in peripheral neighborhoods (Craica, Pirită, Ferneziu and Horea) where over 2000 Roma people lived. In fact, the same article published in 2014 reports of periodic evictions from social blocks due to debt accumulation.

A recurring aspect in the press articles is the invocation of the need of social housing blocks to be renovated, as a good argument for the mass evictions. But the renovated dwellings are not destined for the most vulnerable: "In 2013, in March, they took us out to rehabilitate the building. It was rehabilitated, but now they don't want to give me back the apartment"⁹.

The statements of mayor Cherecheș revealed the explicit intention to expel the Roma, the poor, people who (no longer) lived with legal documents, and to enact the urban renewal of the peripheral spaces they occupied, in favor of a population considered meritorious and active¹⁰. In 2017, the mayor Cherecheș announced the plan of complete destruction of the Craica neighborhood, where over 1000 Roma live, for the construction of a public park and a "modern neighborhood". His statements do not reveal any concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of the neighborhood¹¹.

Another case of eviction identified in the press is that of a family living in an improvised home¹².

Satu Mare County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing

- 8 https://adevarul.ro/locale/baia-mare/viata-in-tr-un-wc-traiesc-romii-baia-mare-intr-o-mizerie-incredibila-fostele-birouri-cuprom-1_578b7b135ab-6550cb8f06838/index.html
- 9 https://adevarul.ro/locale/baia-mare/viata-in-tr-un-wc-traiesc-romii-baia-mare-intr-o-mizerie-incredibila-fostele-birouri-cuprom-1_578b7b135ab-6550cb8f06838/index.html
- 10 http://www.hotnews.ro/stiriadministratie_locala-17171072-pri-maria-baia-mare-evacua-romii-care-locuiesc-ilegal-loc-uintesociale-sau-improvizate-adevarate-pungi-saraci-e-locuri-care-dezvolta-potential-in-fractionalridicat.htm
- 11 http://www.hotnews.ro/stiriadministratie_locala-22101499-pri-marul-din-baia-mare-catalin-chereches-anunta-parc-pub-liccartier-locuinte-marginea-paraului-craica-unde-locuie-sc-ilegal-romi.htm
- 12 <http://www.informatia-zilei.ro/mm/actualitatea/o-co-cioaba-din-cartoane-de-pe-strada-ioan-si-ugar-iu-a-fost-evacuata>

units: Satu Mare (0/254 + 99 necessity housing), Arduud (0), Livada (0), Tășnad (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 845 evictions – the 10th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers / press monitoring

We received responses from four of the six cities of the county, including Satu Mare.

The response of the city hall's social security service mentions the eviction of a single person in 2016 due to the building's risk of collapse. That person received a social house. But through media monitoring we discovered two clear evictions that were made as follows: in 2010 six cottages built in Ostrov area were demolished following an eviction made in the presence of representatives from community police, city halls and of the cleaning company Florisal¹³. In 2011, in the presence of SPAS and of the Local Police, 3 families were evicted from the social block CD2, also from the Ostrov area¹⁴.

In addition, a 2008 article mentions the eviction procedure of 3 families from Ady Endre Street no. 12, without providing any details¹⁵. Satu-Mare City Hall, the only city hall that approached the subject, manages 254 social housing units and 99 emergency housing units. Social housing was granted to a person whose home was torn down. Additionally, in 2018, 29 families were evicted, out of which only "families of good faith, who have applied for social housing, who have an income and no disciplinary deviations" received another home¹⁶.

In other cases, the Social Emergency Center for Adults is mentioned as a space that functions as a night shelter.

Tășnad City Hall, which did not report evictions, mentions the local branch of Caritas charity as a solution for accommodation in case of emergencies. The other town halls that have answered, Arduud and Livada, did not report any evictions, nor the existence of any social housing.

d) Even if the DAS reports did not mention any evictions, we found out from the press that an eviction took place in the presence of representatives from the public service representatives and the local police.

- 13 <http://www.ziare.com/satu-mare/stiri-actualitate/evacuati-de-politisti-din-casele-ilegale-1410443>
- 14 <http://www.ziare.com/satu-mare/stiri-actualitate/trei-familii-evacuate-din-locuinte-2138496>
- 15 <http://www.ziare.com/satu-mare/familie/trei-familii-de-pe-strada-ady-endre-12-sunt-evacuate-de-vechiul-proprietar-383253>
- 16 <https://www.satmareanul.ro/2018/10/09/cladirea-de-pe-horea-6-sigilat-foto/>

Sălaj County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Jibou (2/1), Cehu Silvaniei (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 687 evictions – the 15th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers / press monitoring

Out of the four cities of the county, we have received information from Cehu Silvaniei and Jibou. The last one reports two evictions that took place in 2011 following the destruction of some apartments. The evictions happened after the court's final sentences. A number of 12 people lived in a socially-purposed building. There are no associations or foundations in town that own accommodation spaces. Cehu Silvaniei's administration tells us that there are no evictions during that period.

Romani Criss mentioned in a 2006 report¹⁷ that, in 2004, four families from Gâlgău were abusively evicted from four dwellings built on private property, adding up to 26 persons. Also in the 2004-2005 period, according to Romani Criss, hundreds of people were forcibly relocated from a dormitory building into other neighboring housing, after which some of them were permanently evicted following the expiration of their change-of-address card.

For 2013, other cases of eviction from the local housing fund were mentioned¹⁸.

2. The Cental Region

Alba County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Alba-Iulia (71/86), Cugir (2/0), Abrud (1/2), Aiud (0/5), Baia de Arieș (0/0), Ocna Mureș (0/33), Sebeș (0), Zlatna (0).

b) UNEJ answer: 394 evictions – the 21st place in the country out of 37. Data from 2001-2018 period.

c) City halls' answers

The responding municipalities stated that, in cases of eviction, they are using the procedures stipulated in the civil code, as none of them has a special protocol for such situations. Abrud in 2014, Alba Iulia in 2017,

17 www.romanicriss.org/Analiza%20locuinte%20aprilie%2006.pdf

18 <https://www.magazinalajeana.ro/social/locuinte-sociale-pentru-cinci-familii-nevoia>

and Cugir in 2012 offered assistance in evictions during the analyzed period; Alba Iulia and Cugir provided information to the persons in case of eviction. Either DAS does not know organizations that offer accommodation services in case of necessity, or these do not exist; only in Alba Iulia, the Orthodox Philanthropy has 50 seats in one shelter. In accordance with the reported data, since 2008, with the exception of one family from Alba Iulia in 2017 – not a single evicted person has received an alternative location.

In the county, there is a small number of social housing: 2 in Abrud, 5 in Aiud, plus modular housing of necessity, 33 in Ocna Mureș, 75 in Alba Iulia, plus 11 modular housing (too few for a city of 63,500 inhabitants); the rest do not own or have not answered. For 2017, in the city of Alba Iulia, DAS has reported a number of 71 evictions at which it was present. This is a pretty big number, considering the general lack of support in providing an alternative location for the evicted, the small number of social housing and the small number of evicted people who, in 2017, have received help for paying the rent - only 11 people. Cugir Town Hall reported 2 evictions in 2012, and Abrud Town Hall 1 evacuation in 2014.

Press monitoring showed a high risk of eviction throughout the county. In Sebeș, 30 families - 107 people are threatened with eviction from 2 workers' dormitory blocks that were retroceded. Also, after the retrocession of one block from Aiud, the evicted families became homeless and built houses on the banks of the Mures River. There are press reports about evictions in Cugir, Ocna Mures, Zlatna, Mihalt, but the most cases are in Alba Iulia. The main reported causes of evictions: retrocessions, the end of social housing contracts (Cugir), the danger due to the collapse of a ceiling of a mine gallery (Ocna Mureș), railway rehabilitation (Mihalt), the demolition of informal housing (Alba Iulia, 2016, 8 families, 30 persons), the construction of an underground car park replacing the Turturica block (Alba Iulia, 2017, 60 families, 150 persons); in Alba Iulia, in 2014, a tenant was evicted by the gendarmerie because of "her indecent outfit".

We have noticed that the ethnicity of the evicted persons is mentioned (in negative terms) especially when larger evictions are reported, implying several families / persons, for which no relocation is provided. Comparing this information to field data gathered by the members of Social Houses NOW !/ Casi Sociale ACUM!, we can affirm that in 2017, after more than 10 years of preparations in the city of Aiud, on Bethlen Gabor Street, over 70 of persons (about 20 families) were evicted from the building returned to

the Reformed Diocese of Transylvania. Most of these people had old rental contracts. In order to relocate them, the church made available 11 "mobile homes". At that time the town hall failed to build sufficient social housing on Hotar Street, a project started already in 2008 with the purpose of providing alternative houses for the evicted people from retroceded buildings. The neighborhood that would include a number of 30 houses, was located on the outskirts of the city, in the vicinity of the highway under construction, next to an old informal settlement of Roma, called Bufa. Out of this plan, two houses and a duplex house were completed in 2015. Also near the Bufa area, on the old polygon of the city, without any connection to public utilities, the city hall decided to locate in 2010 a number of 25 Roma families evicted from another retroceded building from the city center.

Evictions mentioned in press:

<http://www.ziare.com/alba-iulia/cugir/locatari-evacuati-pentru-ocupare-abuziva-de-locuinte-600734>

<http://www.ziare.com/alba-iulia/stiri-actualitate/o-familie-din-zlatna-isi-cere-drepturile-la-cedo-2179742>

<http://www.ziare.com/alba-iulia/stiri-actualitate/scandal-dezbracat-la-alba-iulia-chiriasa-evacuata-de-proprietari-pentru-tinuta-indecanta-4909334>

<http://www.ziare.com/alba-iulia/stiri-actualitate/casa-demolata-in-prezenta-jandarmilor-familia-care-locuia-acolo-s-a-opus-evacuarii-5031765>

<https://ziarulunirea.ro/foto-30-de-romi-nomazi-care-eracuc-cortul-pe-malul-raului-mures-in-zona-partos-evacuati-de-politia-locala-alba-iulia-378205/>

<https://alba24.ro/foto-video-a-inceput-evacuarea-blocului-turturica-oamenii-sunt-scosi-pe-rand-din-locuinte-de-jandarmi-si-politisti-601945.html>

Braşov County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Braşov (0/44), Râşnov (1/0), Fagaras (0), Ghimbav (0/47), Rupea (0/0), Bags (0/76), Victoria (0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 918 evictions – the 9th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers

We have received two answers from Braşov City Hall, but none of them mention the number of evictions. The employed methods of eviction are based on the Civil Code and on the Code of Civil Procedure. During the analyzed period, 123 living spaces were granted to the evicted people who have applied for. Also

mentioned is that currently there are 2,700 demands for social housing, of which about 600 are evicted from retroceded buildings. RIAL Braşov does not cooperate with other types of organizations that are offering accommodation.

Support for housing is very small: 44 social housing units in Braşov, 47 in Ghimbav, 76 in Săcele, while, in Săcele (particularly in the Gârcin neighborhood) thousands of people evicted from Braşov and other cities from the region live in precarious conditions¹⁹. Thus, thousands of people in the county are forced to live informally, in improvised, precarious apartments, rented "to workers", communally etc. Râşnov City Hall reported 1 eviction.

Other evictions mentioned in the press:

<http://www.bzb.ro/stire/aruncati-in-strada-pen-tru-o-datorie-de-700-de-lei-a61526>

<http://www.bzb.ro/stire/50-de-lei-chiria-dar-nici-pe-aia-n-o-platesc-a62930>

<http://www.bzb.ro/stire/final-fericit-pentru-familia-evacuata-din-locuinta-a61597>

Covasna County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Sfântu Gheorghe (8/32), Baraolt (1/0), Covasna (0/3), Întorsura Buzăului (0/3).

b) UNEJ Answer: 133 evictions – the 35th place in the country, out of 37 (Mureş and Covasna counties were reported together, the total of 969 being synthetically divided proportionally by population size).

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

Covasna has 3 social housing units, and Întorsura Buzăului 3 – the numbers reflects a very poor support for the people who cannot afford a house from the real estate market. Sfântu Gheorghe owns 32 social housing units. Although DAS reports managing a well-equipped social center and working with several organizations that are offering social accommodation services, according to press releases, the 30 people evicted in 2011 were supposed to be relocated in 3 housing containers. The people were evicted because the local authorities were planning to rehabilitate the building and turn it into a social housing block. According to the media, we understand that

¹⁹ <https://observator.tv/social/in-timp-ce-romania-isi-pierde-rapid-populatia-o-localitate-din-brasov-e-scena-unei-explozii-demografice-acolo-pestejumatate-dintre-locuitori-sunt-copii-229639.html>

"evicted Roma" are not seen as persons who would need social housing²⁰.

In another instance, in 2014, one family was evicted and 20 others were sued, all in a larger case where 110 families were moved to social blocks on the Lunca Oltului Street in the Sing-Sing area²¹.

Harghita County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Miercurea Ciuc (6/31), Gheorgheni (9), Cristuru Secuiesc (0/10), Toplița (0/57).

b) UNEJ Answer: 133 evictions – the 20th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

Miercurea-Ciuc City Hall reports 6 evictions during the analyzed period, in which representatives from the Patrimony Commission and the Legal Commission participated as well. Of these, two were made from retroceded buildings. 6 families were relocated in social housing units - we don't know whether they are the afore-mentioned evicted families. Accommodation for 26 evacuees was provided. The eviction procedure is based on obtaining the judicial sentence and its application by the bailiff. There are 31 social housing units in the city, 56 in Toplița, and only 10 in Cristuru Secuiesc. In Gheorgheni, 9 evictions were reported between 2012 and 2017.

In Miercurea-Ciuc, the families evicted from Nagy Imre street still live near the wastewater treatment plant, on Primăverii street. The eviction was based on a Local Council decision from 2004; 12 families were relocated in 8 metal shacks. The case was documented by Romani Criss and CNCD (the National Council for Combating Discrimination) in 2005, and by Amnesty International in 2010. In 2009, an interethnic conflict sparked between Hungarians and Roma in the village of Sânmartin; Roma people were driven out of their homes and took shelter in the woods. Romani Criss notes in a report about this event that the Town Hall has solved the situation by signing a protocol between the parties - a protocol which disadvantaged the Roma, and, moreover, it demolished several Roma houses. In the same year, a similar conflict broke out in the village of Sâncrăieni, where the Roma were threatened by Hungarian locals that they will have their houses burned; it was also solved with

20 <https://covasnamedia.ro/actualitate/romii-din-blocul-de-pe-strada-mikes-kelemen-au-fost-evacuati>

21 <https://covasnamedia.ro/actualitate/familie-evacuata-din-blocul-social>

a protocol that provided certain obligations for the Roma, as a requirement if they wanted to remain in the village.

The press releases from the 2008-2017 period did not cover evictions.

Mureș County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Târgu Mureș (27/770), Iernut (0), Luduș (0/0), Miercurea Nirajului (0/0), Sărmașu (0/0), Sovata (0), Târnăveni (0/63), Ungheni (0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 542 evictions – the 17th place in the country, out of 37 (Mureș and Covasna counties were reported together, the total of 969 being synthetically divided proportionally by population size).

c) City halls' answers

Of the 11 municipalities and cities, only the city halls from the localities of Târgu Mureș, Miercurea Nirajului, Sărmașu and Târnăveni responded. Târgu Mureș declares that the DAS representatives participated in 27 evictions that took place in accordance with the Civil Code and that they have a fund of 770 social housing (among the largest funds in the country); the other cities declared that they had not participated at any eviction, lacking protocols for such procedures and informing that their numbers of social housing units were 50, 0, and 63 respectively.

d) Press monitoring and other information

The press related an episode in 2011, in Târgu-Mureș, where circa 100 people were evicted by the Local Police, from 30 barracks in the Valea Rece neighborhood. After the eviction, the barracks were demolished²².

In 2012, 16 families consisting of around 70 people, were evicted from centrally located homes that were retroceded. The city hall said it could provide social housing for 4 of the 16 families²³.

By supplementing the above data with the information gathered from older researches made by members of Social houses NOW!, we can say that in Târgu-Mureș, during the respective period, the relocation process continued with a group of 9 families that initially (in the early 2000s) were evicted from a block from the Ady Endre neighborhood that has un-

22 https://adevarul.ro/locale/targu-mures/targu-mures-fo-to-scandal-valea-rece1_50aeb0697c42d5a6639f2533/index.html

23 <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/eveniment/evacuare-cu-scandal-la-targu-mures-pentru-16-familii-de-romi.html>

dergone renovation. For a while, they were allowed to build shacks on a field near this neighborhood. Then, the city hall tried to move them on a former playground near an old Roma community on Dealului street, but as the latter did not receive them, in 2011 they were moved again, this time in an adjacent village of the city, Mureșeni Sat. After the villagers organized to drive them out, Târgu-Mureș City Hall intervened again and directed them back to the city, showing them a plot of land where they could rebuild their shacks on the banks of the Mureș river. Then, they were moved again a few meters away, in order to free up a part of the plot that was retroceded. Meanwhile, other families were evicted from blocks situated in the Ady neighborhood and moved into 10 containers placed by the city hall on Băneasa street, opposite to the building dubbed "Castle" by the locals (an old building from the industrial area of the city, transformed into "social housing for Roma" in 2003 through a governmental program). In 2014, the whole area was "cleaned" by the City Hall, after which time we have no longer received any report on what happened to the evicted families.

Sibiu county

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Sibiu (?/1440), Cislădie (0/0), Dumbrăveni (0/0), Tălmăciu (0/2).

b) UNEJ Answer: 290 evictions – the 25th place in the country, out of 37. Data from 2001-2018.

c) City halls' answers

A few administrations from the Sibiu county responded: the city of Sibiu and the towns of Cislădie, Dumbrăveni and Tălmăciu, from a total of 11 urban units. From these, Tălmăciu has in its administration 2 social houses; they mention that an eviction from an ANL building took place, motivated by the unpaid debts. The city of Sibiu replied that it does not have any eviction procedure as the city hall does not have legal attributions in this field. As a result, it does not have any information on the number of evictions. They emphasize the support and guidance offered to the people who apply for social housing. The municipality has a night shelter, and DAS has partnerships with private organizations, but there are no organizations offering any accommodation. In the researched period, 98 people evicted from retroceded buildings did receive social houses, these people being considered by the city as rent aid beneficiaries. The Sibiu

municipality has one of the largest social housing funds in the country: 1440 units.

d) Press monitoring

SC Urbana S.A announced that evictions will take place in 2008, but we did not receive a confirmation that this had indeed happened²⁴. In 2010, a number of 150 families to be evicted from retroceded dwellings was mentioned²⁵. In 2012, an eviction of 40 people who lived in six rooms took place through a bailiff. In 2009, the lease contract, which began in 1986, expired, after which the inhabitants paid only for utilities. The city hall had sued them a few years before, accusing them of disturbing the peace and public order, lack of proper maintenance of the space, and of hosting persons were not specified in the contract. After the eviction, they moved to the bank of the Cibin River. The press does mention the ethnicity of the people, considering them the only ones responsible, caring less about their precarious economic situation²⁶.

3. The North-East Region

Bacău County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Bacău (156/270+197 fond de stat), Moinești (20/168), Buhuși (0/66), Dărmănești (0/0), Slănic Moldova (0/0), Târgu Ocna (0/150).

b) UNEJ Answer: 173 evictions – the 32th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers

In Bacău County, there are several forms of support for persons living in precarious conditions: 270 social houses and 197 housing units are in Bacău housing state fund; 66 social houses in Buhuși; 168 social houses (all occupied) in Moinești; a Social Services Center that manages a center for emergencies (a night shelter) with 8 rooms in Moinești; 150 social houses in Târgu Ocna; other organizations which collaborate with DAS Targu Ocna, with 400 accommodation places including in neighboring localities.

24 <http://www.ziare.com/sibiu/familii/continua-evacuarile-523448>

25 https://adevarul.ro/locale/sibiu/sibiu-sute-sibieni-pi-cior-strada-cauza-retrocedarilor-1_50ad3b4d7c-42d5a663913381/index.html

26 <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/ardeal/au-ramasfara-casao-familie-numeroasa-de-romi-a-fost-evacuta-dintr-unimobil-pentru-ca-l-audistru.html>

Bacău and Moinești city halls have reported 156, respectively 20 evictions from their own housing funds.

Since 2008, in the city of Moinești, DAS has participated annually in 1 to 6 cases of eviction, out of where, every year, between 2 and 20 people were affected; Moinești reported that all the evicted families were relocated in social houses. In cities like Dărmănești, DAS redirects homeless people to their extended families — so the problem is also individually solved, or provide emergency help (a very small sum of money).

On the Bacău City Hall's website, the people that are at the top of the waiting list (a list with 42 persons listed as priority cases) for receiving social housing have filed their applications since 2003-2004, which means that they are still waiting. The same situation can be observed with the applicants for ANL housing, intended for young people (a list of 110 people). Three evacuees from retroceded buildings received social houses in Bacău in 2015.

d) Press monitoring

From a 2008 article, we found that in Bacău, bailiffs summoned the tenants from several non-familial houses²⁷. Also in 2008, in Moinești, hundreds of tenants had no contract or they had unpaid debts and were in danger of being evicted²⁸. A year later, a woman was evicted from the Trabant car in which she used to live, in front of the house she lost in court²⁹. A family was evicted because they had unpaid maintenance debts³⁰.

In the first half of 2010, the town hall had already evicted 15 families due to accumulated debts³¹. In 2011, 28 evictions were being prepared by the local administration³². We discovered from another article that a woman suffering from cancer was about to be evicted in 2012, as well as that the living conditions in the building were very bad³³. From the following article we can understand the vision of the Moinești town hall concerning the social housing residents: they must always be on the move, "we will always

27 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/jandarmi/marii-datornici-evacuati-silit-568149>

28 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/moinesti/chiriasii-din-locuintele-sociale-au-minat-bugetul-moinestiului-707761>

29 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/evacuare-cu-cantec-asalt-asupra-batranei-din-trabant-824652>

30 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/sarbatori/in-strada-pentru-1000-de-lei-evacuati-in-pragul-craciunului-1064594>

31 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/primaria/primaria-bacau-a-evacuat-15-familii-in-sase-luni-1494516>

32 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/chiriasii-primariei-raman-pe-drumuri-2557103>

33 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/bolnava-disperata-si-la-un-pas-de-evacuare-primaria-bacau-ma-condamnat-la-moarte-2936108>

select them" — subjecting them to a serious form of housing instability³⁴. In 2012, in Bacău, another family inhabiting a retroceded building became homeless³⁵. In 2015, a family was evicted from the plot it took in leasing from the town hall, following the retrocession of that plot³⁶. In 2015, another family, with five children and three grandchildren was evicted for the second time from one studio apartment due to debts³⁷. Also in 2015, another family was in risk of eviction after paying for their justly purchased apartment, because the builder had mortgaged the apartment after signing the pre-contract, this being just an example among many other similar cases³⁸. In 2016, the town hall has evicted several families, possibly dozens, following judicial sentences³⁹. Two families were evicted in Onești, and 16 others living in the Evazatul block were to have the same fate⁴⁰.

e) Conclusions

The number of evictions reported by the local administrations is 176 (Bacău and Moinești), more than the 173 de evictions reported by UNEJ. We consider the real number of evictions to be significantly higher, based on the information found through press monitoring.

Botoșani County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Botoșani (-/72), Bucecea (0/0), Flămânzi (0/0), Săveni (0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 392 evictions – the 22th place in the country, out of 37. Data from 2001-2018.

c) City halls' answers

From Botoșani County, Botoșani City Hall was the only one to give us detailed information, namely from SC Locativa SA which manages the housing fund in the city: with a population of about 106,000 people, the city has a night center with 40 places, 72 social

34 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/sperante-pentru-moinesteni-din-ghetou-un-mo-del-de-bloc-social-2919738>

35 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/retrocedarile-arunca-oamenii-in-strada-3864957>

36 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/evacuare-cu-final-demolator-5385854>

37 <https://www.desteptarea.ro/evacuare-cu-cantec-pe-strada-depoului/>

38 <http://www.ziare.com/bacau/stiri-actualitate/o-bacauan-ca-s-a-trezit-ca-este-executata-si-risca-sa-fie-evacuata-din-apartamentul-in-care-locuieste-5421528>

39 <https://www.desteptarea.ro/primaria-bacau-a-inceput-evacuarea-rau-platnicilor/>

40 <http://www.onestiexpres.ro/blocul-evazatul-sub-amenintarea-evacuarii-locatarilor.html>

houses, ANL housing distributed to 36 families evicted from retroceded buildings (data for the 2008-2017 period). There is very poor support for access to decent housing in the county. In the 2010-2017 period, the press reported several cases of evictions from social houses in Botosani — individuals and families who have accumulated debts. The freed social houses are further distributed to those on the waiting list, provided that the debts of the persons who have previously dwelled are taken over, a requirement which is presumably illegal.

Other articles on the topic:

<http://stiri.botosani.ro/stiri/administratie/locuin-te-pierdute-din-cauza-datorilor.html>

<http://www.ziare.com/botosani/familie/locuinte-pentru-chiriasii-evacuati-din-casele-nationalizate-412420>

https://adevarul.ro/locale/botosani/botosani-chiriasii-datorii-mari-evacuati-locuintele-sociale-1_50ad8cea7c42d5a663972911/index.html

https://adevarul.ro/locale/botosani/botosani-locativa-in-ceput-evacuarea-rau-platnicilor-1_50aca08d7c42d5a663871d4a/index.html

<http://www.ziare.com/botosani/stiri-actualitate/chiriasi-ai-locativa-evacuati-cu-jandarmii-4574228>

<https://www.botosaneanul.ro//top-news/eva-cuare-cu-executor-si-bodyguardzi-la-o-femeiecare-a-stat-ani-de-zile-in-regim-de-hotel-galeri-e-foto/>

<https://www.botosaneanul.ro//stirea-zile/fe-meia-care-i-a-dat-cu-papucul-in-cap-primarul-ui-evacuata-din-locuinta-galerie-foto/>

Iași County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Iași (-/519), Hîrlău (0/0), Târgu Frumos (0/13)

b) UNEJ Answer: 524 evictions – the 18th place in the country, out of 37. Data from 1990-2001.

c) City halls' answers

Iași City Hall appeals to bailiffs in case of evictions of buildings in its property or in its administration, mentioning that evicted persons can no longer benefit from social housing. The city manages 519 social houses.

d) Press monitoring

The media suggests that there were at least 2 large waves of evictions from the public housing fund, in 2014, and in 2017. Hundreds of people were affected, some of them tenants with debts living in social housing, as well as squatters who have previously

been evicted by the town hall; they were described by the press as criminals and "bums". The representatives of Iași City Hall told the press in 2014: "These people have no place in a civilized environment, and they must go and find another village, another commune, another city, another country." Tenants were accused of destroying the housing fund managed by the municipality up to the point of it being demolished and that they destroy the heritage buildings rented as social houses, "hotbeds of infections" which the city hall wants to "sanitize". At the same time, the media reports that some of the central areas that the public authorities evict are areas of interest to real estate developers. Some of the evicted people interviewed by the press pointed out that the city hall did not offer them any solution to relocate. Other reports mentioned that the local authorities redirected evicted mothers to the Hecuba Mother and Baby Center (an NGO), and the others to the homeless center C.A. Rosetti.

<http://www.ziare.com/ziare-iasi/stiri-actualitate/boschetari-evacuati-din-viitorul-muzeu-municipal-4490695>

<http://www.ziare.com/ziare-iasi/stiri-actualitate/incepe-marea-evacuare-4554375>

Neamț County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Piatra Neamț (201/471), Bicaz (0/2), Târgu Neamț (0/6).

b) UNEJ Answer: 136 evictions – the 34th place in the country, out of 37.

The difference between the DAS Piatra-Neamț response (201 evictions only from the city, in a short period) and the UNEJ response (136 evictions throughout the county, in a longer period) is a concrete example of the fact that evictions through executors represent only part of all the evictions, which are carried out through various procedures.

c) City halls' answers

The municipality of Piatra Neamț, through S.C. Locativserv S.R.L., declared one of the highest number of evictions in the country for the 2013-2017 period: 201. According to their reply, the procedures are applied quite strictly, the tenants with debts being usually notified, summoned, sued, and, in the end, evicted. In 2012, 500 people were evicted from the Muncii street, people who were later relocated to Văleni 2 area, 7 km away from the center, beyond the de-industrialized area, near a river.

The 471 social houses and the over 1000 ANL houses are managed by S.C. Locativserv S.R.L., a company established in 2008. According to the online presentation, its majority shareholder, which is The Piatra Neamț Local Council, wants to develop it as a "competitive company on the market of real estate management services". Given that housing does not imply direct political responsibility, evictions appear to become the simple and harsh answer to the tenants' problems.

Through the particularly chosen construction sites for social housing, the municipality practically pushed hundreds of Roma on the outskirts of the city or even miles away from Piatra Neamț. For example, the Speranța neighborhood is clearly located outside the city, towards Izvoarele village, though less isolated than the Văleni 2 area.

To the total number of social houses reported per county the 2 from Bicaz and the 6 from Țirgu Neamț will be added, for a total of 479.

d) Press monitoring

The press discussed 14 eviction cases from Piatra Neamț, of more than 800 people in total. During the last eviction, which took place in 2016, 178 families were evicted. These are examples of evictions that affect many people (14 evictions and over 800 of people means an average of almost 60 people on eviction, or 1 case of evacuation with more than 170 families), which make us believe that our estimation of an average of 5 people per eviction, for all the evictions reported in the country, is even a modest estimate.

An article focused on the eviction of a group of people in 2008 provides a detailed description of the waste taken over after the eviction of about 130 people; they have been moved into social houses in

the area of Muncii street⁴¹. In 2009, in Roman, the eviction of 5 families / 25 persons from a retroceded house took place. One year later, in Piatra Neamț, 8 families and unmarried persons were selected in order to be evicted from the Technological High School Dormitory; families with children were relocated⁴². The ANL tenants were also exposed to the risk of eviction. Both in Roman, as well as in Piatra Neamț, the press mentioned cases in which rental and/ or maintenance debt accumulation led to evic-

41 <http://monitorulneamt.ro/blocul-d2-bomba-ecologica/>
42 https://adevarul.ro/locale/piatra-neamt/piatra-neamt-inceput-evacuarea-caminul-liceul-auto-1_50ae77d-87c42d5a6639cfc80/index.html

tions; 178 families were evicted this way in Piatra Neamț, in 2016⁴³.

Other press releases:

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/consiliu/chiriasi-evacuati-in-strada-1020983>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/strada/evacuare-cu-scantei-pe-strada-mihai-eminescu-784081>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/executare-cu-scandal-1724436>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/chiriasii-murdari-au-fost-evacuati-din-blocurile-anl-2472770>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/datornicii-din-blocurile-anl-vor-fi-evacuati-3418077>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/locativ-serv-a-dat-afara-doi-rau-platnici-3347161>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/drama-unei-femei-cu-sase-copii-3908300>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/chiriasii-rau-platnici-au-fost-evacuati-5264462>

<https://www.romanulfinanciar.ro/stiri-locale-sub-2015/53-noiembrie-2015/4955-politia-locala-roman-a-participat-la-evacuarea-unor-chiriasi-din-caminul-miron-costin>

<http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiri-actualitate/a-in-ceput-mutarea-rromilor-din-cartierul-speranta-5480789>

e) Neamț County is the only county presenting an inverse situation: the number of evictions declared by its main city – 201, is greater than the number of evictions reported by UNEJ over a seven-year longer period – 136. We thus deduce that at least a considerable part of these evictions took place through administrative procedures – a practice that the lawyers we have consulted considered to be potentially illegal.

Suceava county

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Câmpulung Moldovenesc (4/20), Frasin (0/0), Liteni (0), Milișăuți (0/0), Rădăuți (0), Salcea (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 550 evictions – the 16th place in the country, out of 37. Data from 2001-2018.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

Of the 16 cities (8 of them became cities in 2004), we received replies from 6. The DAS in the county seat did not respond. Câmpulung Moldovenesc mentioned the existence of 20 social houses. Four of the

43 <http://www.ziare.com/piatra-neamt/stiriactualita-%20de/178-de-evacuari-din-locuintele-anl-6891964>

DASs submitted that there were no evictions during the specified period. The answers to the other questions were negative, except for the details related to the bailiff's presence in case of evictions or the provision of emergency accommodation spaces in one case.

The press mentions a single eviction in 2013 of a family of 4 who were evicted from a social dwelling (arranged in a block drying room) following utility debts (www.radiotop.ro/familie-dataafara-din-casa-pentru-datorii-de-100-000-de-lei/).

Vaslui County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Vaslui (0/176), Huși (-).

b) UNEJ Answer: 387 evictions – the 23th place in the country, out of 37. Only 9 evictions reported for the 1990-2017 period.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

The only response we received was from the city of Vaslui, which reported zero evictions, that there were no associations working on the topic of housing with which they could collaborate and that it owned 176 social houses.

However, the press monitoring indicates that, in 2008, there was a forced eviction of a family of 5, under the order of Vaslui's mayor, in order to make room for the construction of a supermarket⁴⁴.

In addition, in 2008, 11 Roma families were relocated from Ștefan cel Mare street into rooms improvised in a former stable. The city hall targeted another 13 families in order to move them⁴⁵.

In 2017, a family of 3 was evicted from an apartment - possibly social housing - and remained right around the block for a while. The City Hall then provided them with a plot for the construction of a house (construction which was meant to be realized using their own resources)⁴⁶.

44 <http://www.ziare.com/vaslui/politisti/evacuare-cu-scandal-la-vaslui-387043>

45 <http://www.ziare.com/vaslui/husi/rromi-din-husi-mutati-in-corturi-si-grajduri-503423>

46 <http://www.vreameanoua.ro/evacua%C8%9Bii-de-la-hu%C8%99i-risca-sa-prinda-radacini-langa-blocul-din-care-au-fost-evacua%C8%9Bii>

4. Regiunea Sud-Est

Brăila County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Brăila (151/294), Făurei (0/0), Ianca (0/1), Însurăței (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 1033 evictions – the 6th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

We received information from DAS Braila that it took part in 151 evictions since 2008 - a substantial number. The only forms of support for the people either evicted or living in precarious conditions, which were reported from the county: 204 social houses in Brăila, 1 dwelling in Ianca, and a day center for 12 people in Făurei. This translates into insignificant support when compared to the county's population - over 180,000 inhabitants living only in the municipality of Braila.

The press reported on circa 20 families (80 people) evicted in 2015 and on other evictions of precariously-living people from social housing for not paying utility bills⁴⁷.

Another mention:

<http://www.ziare.com/braila/jandarmi/evacuare-cu-scandal-861311>

Buzău County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Întorsura Buzăului (1), Pogoanele (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 155 evictions – the 33th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

We have received answers only from DAS Pogoanele, who did not participate in any eviction and does not report the existence of any social housing, and from DAS Întorsura Buzăului, which reports a number of 3 social houses.

From the online press we found that in 2009 around 600 applications and files for granting a home were registered by the Rîmnicu Sărat Town Hall and that

47 https://adevarul.ro/locale/braila/evacuare-familiedoi-copii-mici-s-a-mutat-cerul-liber-cauzadatoriilorin-tretinere-1_50accab97c42d5a66389f2a1/index.html

it took "drastic measures" in order to evict indebted people - 30 families in that year⁴⁸.

In 2011, the Buzau Town Hall allowed an evicted family with children (identified by the press as Roma) to live in an improvised shelter until a humanitarian association intervened and assigned them an inter-modal container. In 2017, the mayor of Buzau threatened the poor with eviction from social housing living in the historical center so renovations and beautification could take place; people were to be relocated in reconverted thermal power plants. The press blamed the tenants for the condition of the buildings⁴⁹.

Constanța county

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Constanța (-/72+72 în 2017), Băneasa (0), Cernavodă (-/83), Eforie (-), Medgidia (0/68).

b) UNEJ Answer: 1666 evictions – the 2th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

From the response of the Autonomous Direction of Administration of the Public and Private Domain of Constanța, we discovered that evictions are generally carried out through the bailiff following a final court decision. In 2017, 144 social houses were included in the fund for evicted people, and 66 were distributed in December 2018 after the assessment of eligibility files. Rent subsidies were granted for 17 families.

DAS Cernavodă reported evictions only in the context of radiological emergency exercises.

We were notified about the existence of 83 social houses in Cernavoda and 68 in Medgidia. DGAS Constanța was established in 2015, so the information is limited. Among the Direction's objectives are the prevention of social marginalization, identifying needs and providing forms of social protection to evicted individuals. In situations of eviction, those responsible are: the Autonomous Direction of Administration of the Public and Private Domain; the courts; the Office Judicial Executor; the Inspectorate for Emergency Situations "Dobrogea"; other authorized institutions. They participated in an eviction at the request of a bailiff. Concerning the support provided: the relocation

48 www.sansabuzoiana.ro/cotidian.html?numar=3208

49 <http://stiridebuzau.ro/actualitate/video-planuri-ale-primariei-pentru-evacuarechiriasilor-care-au-ruinat-cladirile-din-centrul-vechi-al-orasului-1603.html>

in an elderly dormitory, supporting the preparation of documentation for social housing in the Henri Coandă social campus, emergency aid for paying the rent.

d) Press monitoring

Following the press monitoring, we have identified at least 8 evictions reported in the city of Constanța, with at least 20 families affected. Most articles have inflammatory, sensationalist, and racist headlines and content – e.g. "the gypsy horde". Among the cases presented by the media are evictions from improvised housing, evictions of persons living without legal forms and in improper conditions, evictions following debt accumulation by the tenants living in social housing. We found information about 3 evictions in Mangalia, where at least 30 families were affected, due to debts accumulated in social housing and ANL. In Eforie, the press reported in 2013 and 2015 the evacuation of 29 families from improvised housing on the town hall, involving over 100 people. The hostility of the media towards the evicted Roma families is obvious, the 2013 article being titled "Permanent abusers with temporary acts" and subtitled "Drama or manipulation". In Medgidia, the press reported in 2015 the eviction of several families from social houses, due to non-payment of rent and utilities. Although DAS Medgidia responded to our request, they specified only the number of social houses from the housing fund (68 units) and gave no other details regarding the procedure, number of evictions and the type of assistance offered to evicted people. In Năvodari, the press reported in 2016 the eviction of 20 families from an improvised home built on a town hall plot, for which they have paid rent for several years, until the contracts were terminated as the town hall made other plans for this particular plot. Another family was evicted from a social house in Năvodari for not paying its debts.

<http://observator.ro/evacuare-cu-scantei-mai-multe-familii-de-tigani-au-fost-evacuate-cu-mascatii-dintr-o-casa-recuperata-depr-oprietari-53950.html>

<https://www.cugetliber.ro/stiri-eveniment-politia-a-evacuat-satra-care-teroriza-zonaf-ar-188267>

<https://www.replicaonline.ro/apogeul-saraciei-locatari-in-blocurile-anl-evacuati-pentru-neplata-chiriei-145859/>

<https://www.telegrafonline.ro/evacuare-cu-scandal-prelungit-la-eforie>

<https://www.telegrafonline.ro/patru-familii-deand-539igani-evacuate-pentru-neplata-chiriei>

<http://observator.ro/stiri-politica-administratie-mai-multi-medgidieni-evacuati-din-locuintele-ociale-310973.html>

<http://www.ziare.com/constanta/stiri-actualitate/re-evacuarea-tiganilor-din-eforie-ainceput-5514625>

<http://observator.ro/stiri-eveniment-evacuare-scandal-peninsula-strada-arhiepiscopiei-347236.html>

<http://www.ziare.com/constanta/stiri-actualitate/familie-evacuata-din-henri-coanda-5634307>

<https://www.replicaonline.ro/hoarda-de-tigani-care-s-a-facut-stapana-pesto-un-imobil-din-strada-lahovari-greu-de-evacuat-294487/>

<https://www.telegrafonline.ro/zece-familii-evacuate-cu-scandal-la-mangalia>

<https://www.replicaonline.ro/evacuati-de-la-baraci-puteau-fi-oricand-striviti-de-construcitiile-pe-care-le-ocupau-abuziv-332991/>

<https://www.ordinea.ro/pisica-suzy-moare-cu-zile-intr-un-apartament-raedpp-sigilat-dee-xecutorul-dusu-cruzimea-dureaza-de-8-zilevi-deo/>

<https://www.replicaonline.ro/voi-sunteti-normali-familie-cu-doi-copii-minori-evacuata-abuziv-in-prag-de-iarna-337450/>

on-foste-vacuate-1_50ad216e7c42d5a6638f3ec7/index

https://adevarul.ro/locale/galati/galatidoua-familii-s-au-mutat-trotuar-fost-evacuate-casa-1_50acfc-577c42d5a6638d245f/index.html

<http://www.ziare.com/galati/stiri-actualitate/evacuati-in-strada-1781780>

https://adevarul.ro/locale/galati/galati-familie-sapte-copii-fost-evacuata-strada-cauza-datoriilor-1_50ae3e4c7c42d5a6639afeab/index.html

<http://www.ziare.com/galati/stiri-actualitate/azvarliti-in-drum-de-locatarii-indispusi-2440392>

<http://www.ziare.com/galati/stiri-actualitate/evacuare-cu-orice-pret-din-caminele-metalurgicului-2294108>

https://adevarul.ro/locale/galati/scandal-1_51b70aa8c7b-855ff567e83a8/index.html#tab-comentarii

<https://www.monitoruldegalati.ro/evenimente/evacuare-cu-mascati-si-scandal-pe-dogariei.htm>

<https://www.viata-libera.ro/societate/54822-galati-viata-libera-cotidian-caz-social-o-familiecu-doi-copii-a-ramas-in-strada>

<https://www.viata-libera.ro/eveniment/64811-scandal-mocnit-in-badalan-agroal-vreaevacuarea-chiriasilor-dar-locatarii-nu-se-lasadusi>

<https://www.viata-libera.ro/societate/65613-ofamilie-din-galati-in-pericol-de-evacuare-optcopii-ar-putea-ajunge-in-strada-de-sarbatori>

Galati County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/number of social housing units: Galați (590/776+2708 „normal”), Berești (0/0), Tecuci (-/95).

b) UNEJ Answer: 813 evictions – the 11th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answer and press monitoring

In Galați, DAS reported its presence in 590 evictions within 10 years - the highest number we received. But in answering our questions related to the working procedure and the information provided to evicted people, they referred exclusively to cases of eviction from social housing on the grounds of breaches contractual obligations; this excludes the evicted persons from any further request for social housing. However, press reports show a greater diversity of evictions between 2010 and 2018, which have affected at least 150 people. Among these we find: living without legal documents in dangerous conditions, evictions from retroceded buildings, and an eviction from a private property which the city hall did not accept in exchange for a public plot. In all these cases we observe the authorities' total lack of responsibility regarding the housing difficulties of the people whose ethnic identity is tendentiously reported by the media.

<https://adevarul.ro/locale/galati/galati-mai-multe-familii-locuiau-ilegal-stadii>

d) Considering that the 813 evictions reported by the UNEJ covers a period seven years longer than the period reported by DAS from the county's main city, where 590 evacuations were performed (the

highest number reported in the country), we deduce that a significant part of the actual evictions took

place through other methods, such as psychological pressure, or following administrative paths that are potentially illegal.

Tulcea County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Tulcea (-), Babadag (0/10), Măcin (-/0), Sulina (-/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 215 evictions – the 27th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

We received a partial response from DAS Tulcea and one from Babadag (10 social housing). Both use the Phoenix Emergency Social Center from Tulcea in or-

der to provide shelter for homeless people. Sulina has not reported evictions nor the existence of social housing. However, an Amnesty International online report shows the demolition of 40 unauthorized homes in the Zagen area of Tulcea, and the eviction of inhabitants in March 2011. No housing alternative was offered to them⁵⁰.

Another article depicts the eviction of 15 families in order to make room for a touristic mini-delta, built with EU funds⁵¹.

In 2017, 5 people were evicted; they were social security beneficiaries within an association which had not gained accreditation after five years of activity, for lack of an ISU approval. Apparently, 94 people were targeted, although what happened is not clear.⁵²

The 2006 Romani Criss report mentions the eviction of about 40 Roma families (200 people) from an illegally occupied building on Alunişului street, donated by the owner to the municipality, which refused to redeem it.

Vrancea County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Focşani (55/114), Adjud (0/291), Mărăşeşti (0/0), Odobeşti (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 215 evictions – the 26th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers

Of the five cities, Panciu did not answer. Focşani City Hall reports 55 evictions between 2015 and 2017, the others report zero. Focşani declares that they request the presence of bailiffs in case of evictions. While there are 114 social housing units in the county seat, in Adjud there are 291, a substantial number, especially when compared to the number of inhabitants - below 15,000. There are no eviction procedures in Marasesti, neither are there social houses. In Focşani, rent assistance is granted to persons with severe disabilities or to their representatives, according to Local Council Resolution no 40/2000. The Red

50 www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/28000/eur-390042011ro.pdf

-- https://adevarul.ro/locale/tulcea/galerie-foto-tulcea-ilegalii-zagen-treceti-buldozerul-noi-1_50ad-8d947c-42d5a66397340a/index.html

51 https://adevarul.ro/locale/tulcea/galerie-foto-tulcea-ilegalii-zagen-treceti-buldozerul-noi-1_50ad-8d947c-42d5a66397340a/index.html

52 www.obiectivtulcea.ro/inceputevacuarea-batranilor-de-la-casa-dobrogeana

Cross provides modular housing to "vulnerable population living in marginalized urban communities".

d) Press monitoring

The press presented a case from 2010, of someone evicted due to unpaid 4-year debts. The Focşani City Hall decided to give the empty home to another social case⁵³.

In 2015, eviction procedures began for the tenants living in the "NATO" G2 block in Focşani, motivated by their accumulated debts⁵⁴.

In 2016, the Focşani City Hall evicted 6 families from Revolutiei Street because of their debts through a bailiff. Another 8-10 families were targeted⁵⁵.

In total, 57 families were evicted from the G2 block, through the abusive action of the Focşani City Hall, which was aiming to reclassify the legal status of the block; this was also observed and amended by the CNCD – The National Council for Combating Discrimination⁵⁶.

5. The South Region – Muntenia

Argeş County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Piteşti (17/394), Curtea de Argeş (0), Mioveni (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 758 evictions – the 12th place in the country, out of 37. The only county reporting for 1990-2017.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

From the DASs' responses, apart from Piteşti in 2011, none of them offered any assistance in evictions since 2008; neither Mioveni (32,000 inhabitants), nor Curtea de Argeş (27,300 inhabitants). In 2011, in Piteşti there were 17 evictions from social housing of people who had not paid their rent or utilities for more than 3 consecutive months; after eviction the fate of these families is unknown, as DAS Piteşti did not report any other forms of housing support. In addition to the 394

53 www.ziare.com/focsani/stiriactualitate/dat-afara-din-apartament-pentru-datorii-la-stat-de-25-000-lei-1567273

54 www.ziare.com/focsani/stiri-actualitate/dat-afara-din-apartament-pentru-datorii-la-stat-de-25-000-lei-1567273

55 www.ziaruldevrancea.ro/special/social/1588836045-vid-eo-au-continuat-evacuarea-din-blocurile-groazei-de-pe-strada-revolutiei.html

56 https://adevarul.ro/locale/focsani/pri-marul-focsani-sanctionat-cn-cd-discriminarea-romi-lormotivul-evacuat-50-familii-locuintele-sociale-datorii-enorme-1_5b029500df52022f753d011c/index.html

social housing units found in the administration of Pitești City Hall (to a population of over 155,000 inhabitants), we have no other information regarding the existence of other social housing in the county.

Press articles showed us the insecure housing situation of the people living in social housing; here people arrive after evictions — for example, in 2009, following retrocessions, the evicted were relocated in the block G1 from the Războieni district of Pitești, where, in 2013, deadly explosions and evictions took place. Another ground for eviction is the impossibility of paying the social rent — for example, in Câmpulung, between 2013 and 2014.

Other press articles:

<http://www.ziare.com/pitesti/stiri-actualitate/doua-familii-din-blocul-g1-evacuate-cu-mascatii-3902174>

http://www.curier.ro/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=45816&Itemid=374

Călărași County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Călărași (41/444), Budești (0/0), Fundulea (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: not reported separately, probably hundreds, according to the situation in the neighboring counties.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

We have received data from Călărași city, from Fundulea, which mentioned zero evacuations, and from Budești, which mentioned the existence of an NGO which also provides assistance to people living in precarious conditions. The municipality of Călărași initiates evictions based on the court decisions, for not complying with the contractual clauses. During the analyzed period, the report mentions DAS participation in 41 evictions. Some of the evicted people were relocated in social houses – up to 21 people. The municipality has a total of 444 social houses.⁵⁷

Dâmbovița County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Târgoviște (8).

57 <http://www.ziare.com/alarasi/stiri-actualitate/evacuare-cu-scandal-de-la-blocul-m9-1358446>

-- https://adevarul.ro/locale/alarasi/alarasi-primaria-i-a-evacuat-abuziv-locatarii-m9_1_50bd40ca7c-42d5a-663c92e74/index.html

b) UNEJ Answer: 204 evictions – the 29th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

In Târgoviște, DAS declined its responsibility regarding social housing. Although they reported their participation in 8 evictions during the mentioned period, they also stated that DAS does not have any intervention procedure in case of eviction. As an alternative for the evicted persons, DAS suggested accommodation in night centers for a limited time.

Only in 2015, media reported the eviction of 12 families (approx. 50 persons) from a dormitory, a building rented by the municipality to a high school. In 2013 the building was transferred for free to the Wallachia University - this was the moment when families received an eviction order.

The City Hall declines any responsibility towards the evicted families, named by the media "the Roma from the no 2 dorm". At the beginning of 2016, the local press offers a post-eviction report, mentioning discussions between the evicted and the local DAS, who provided them accommodation in the city's social centers⁵⁸.

Giurgiu County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Giurgiu (14/236), Bolintin Vale (-/2).

b) UNEJ Answer: not reported separately, probably hundreds, according to the situation in the neighboring counties.

c) City halls' answers

Giurgiu reports 236 social houses (almost the same number as Craiova, 270,000 inhabitants, although it has a population of about 61,300 inhabitants).

DAS Giurgiu reported 14 evacuations and it referred exclusively to the evictions caused by the accumulation of debt in social housing, which absolves the authorities of the responsibility of offering other alternatives. In Bolintin Vale, according to the DAS data, there is no working procedure in case of evictions, thus the representatives of the authority were not present at any eviction; the proposed alternatives are the 2 social houses found in the town's housing fund.

d) Press monitoring

58 <https://www.gazetadambovitei.ro/social/romii-din-caminul-2-evacuati-de-la-1-aprilie-30-de-copii-raman-in-strada/>

In contrast to the report given by the local authorities in 2014 the press presents a situation of 160 families at risk of eviction from the Istru block; the building was in an advanced state of degradation. According to the online press, local authorities provide solutions depending on the status of the tenants, promising relocation to those with legal documents. The media reports in 2016 and 2018 that Giurgiu City Hall renovates buildings in the area, supplying the number of ANL and social housing units, without any mention or information about the 160 evicted families.

Other press articles:

<http://informatiadegiurgiu.ro/au-inceput-evacuarele-la-istru-pana-la-sfarsitul-saptamanii-caminul-c-va-fi-dezafectat/>

<http://www.giurgiuveanul.ro/stiri/continua-evacuarea-in-ghetoul-giurgiuului/>

<http://giurgiupeurse.ro/situatia-din-cartierul-istru-este-exploziva/>

<https://jurnalgiurgiuvean.ro/primarul-municipiului-giurgiu-explica-ce-se-intampla-cu-locuintele-in-cartierul-istru-unde-va-fi-amenajata-o-noua-parcare/>

<http://giurgiu-news.ro/news/in-dex.php/2018/02/15/fata-noua-pentru-cartierul-istru/>

Ialomița County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Slobozia (4/34), Amara (0/0), Fetești (0), Țândărei (-/1), Urziceni (-/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: not reported separately, probably hundreds, according to the situation in the neighboring counties.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

The actual number of evictions in Ialomița County may be low due to several factors. It is currently one of the least populated counties. Its county seat, Slobozia, had a population of only about 8000 inhabitants in 1948, and urbanization practically occurred during socialism. Therefore, the number of nationalized residential buildings, as well as the number of retrocessions, must have been very small. The press does not mention any eviction. Regarding the eviction procedures, Slobozia and Urziceni refer to the New Code of Civil Procedure. Municipalities report that there were 4 people evicted in 2014, in Slobozia, and 1 in Urziceni, in 2017. There are 34 social houses in Slobozia. A relocation alternative presented to those evicted in Slobozia is the Bora Homeless Center. The 4 evicted persons received a subsidy from the Local Council, in order to pay their rent.

Prahova County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Ploiești (38), Bușteni (6/148), Sinaia (3/140), Câmpina (2/0), Azuga (0), Breaza (-/0) Boldești-Scăieni (-/0), Plopeni (0), Slănic (0/0), Urlați (0), Vălenii de Munte (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 512 evictions – the 19th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

We have received answers from 11 of 14 urban administrations within the county. The municipalities of Ploiești, Bușteni and Câmpina reported 38, 6, and 2 evictions, respectively, during 10 years. The eviction procedures mentioned in the answers are varied. The New Code of Civil Procedure (NCPC) is mentioned, also Law 114/1996 or just the "final sentence". However, these may be variations due to the different understandings of our question or due to a different approach in housing fund management. In Ploiești, the Local Council Decision no 106/2013 was adopted, regarding eviction through administrative procedures. According to their statement of justification, the procedure is carried out in the case of units rented from the national housing fund through the mayor's disposition, as a measure to avoid the length and high costs of evictions⁵⁹.

Regarding the number of social houses, we only received information from two cities: Ploiești - 233 (plus 11 for emergencies), and Busteni with 148. In Ploiești social housing is managed by the Administration of Community Social Services, unlike other local authority units, where social housing falls under the direction of the patrimony. The evicted persons do not receive any form of social protection, if they are considered at fault.

A special situation is found in Sinaia, where the distribution of "social housing for persons evicted from homes returned to former owners", and who do not fall under Law 114/1996, have been reported; in ten years, there were 412 people relocated through that measure. Sinaia is an example to be followed in terms of accessing governmental funds through the "Construction Program of Social Housing for Tenants Evicted from the Nationalized Houses" through which 140 social houses were built.

The difference of housing funds between cities does not follow the criterion of population size, and we even found major contradictions. For example

59 [www.ploiesti.ro/Hotarari/2013/06_\(29_martie_2013\)/106.pdf](http://www.ploiesti.ro/Hotarari/2013/06_(29_martie_2013)/106.pdf)

Câmpina, a city of about 30,000 inhabitants, does not have a single social house. Housing alternatives for the evicted people, mentioned by municipalities, are almost non-existent. In Ploiești there is an Emergency Social Center with overnight accommodation and lunch provided by the canteen of a private foundation. The press mentions only one case of eviction in which a family ended up sleeping under a bridge after renting a home in Ploiești for many years, in a house provided by the Town Hall that was eventually retroceded⁶⁰.

It is unclear if during the analyzed period, with the mentioned exception, there were no forced evictions - where the evicted persons had no alternative and were therefore not evicted - or these were simply not covered by the media.

Teleorman County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Alexandria (14/166), Turnu Măgurele (0/0), Zimnicea (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: not reported separately, possibly hundreds, according to the situation in the neighboring counties.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

Alexandria municipality has 166 social houses, the evictions being carried out according to the Civil Code; CPC Turnu Măgurele and Zimnicea do not have any social houses. In Alexandria, 40 families from the "B-blocks" of social houses were in risk of eviction in 2015, when a bailiff and law enforcement agents began the procedure, but, eventually, the eviction was postponed. The sentence had been given for not paying the rents⁶¹. Two months later, 12 families were evicted; the article mentions that there no solution was given to them⁶².

60 <http://www.ziare.com/ploiesti/stiri-actualitate/evacuati-sub-cerul-liber-podul-de-la-sud-pe-postde-acoperis-1624494>

61 <https://www.mediasudtv.ro/actual/social/pes-te-40-de-familii-vor-fii-evacuate-din-locuintele-sociale.html>

62 www.mediasudtv.ro/actual/social/au-inceput-evacuare-ile-persoanelor-restante-din-bloculb.html

6. București-Ilfov Region

București

The districts' DAS only participate in evictions if they are called in by bailiffs, namely if minors are involved or social cases are handled:

- District 1 reported only 15 cases in which DAS representatives participated in 2008;

- District 2 reported between 3 and 28 cases per year — in total 157 since 2008, so similar to Brăila who has a population two times smaller — which tells us that possibly DAS District 2 loses sight of many eviction cases;

- District 3 did not collect data until 2016, when 18 evictions were reported, and in the following year a total of 15; from the experiences of The Common Front for the Right to Housing, we know that many of these are mass evictions (such as the one on Vulturilor Street or Șerban Vodă), each case leaving more than 100 people affected;

- District 4 had 43 evictions in 2017, out of which 17 with minors - a significant number of evictions;

- District 5 also participated in many evictions, more than 20 per year since 2014;

- District 6 is less involved in evictions — participated in 1-7 per year; rather, it offers emergency and temporary support, which transfers the responsibility to the individual (night accommodation, inclusion in the residential center for the elderly, financial aid for rent payment) and considers that people can manage by themselves: "the measures of protection are granted at the request of the person and with their consent; some evicted people refused these proposed solutions, opting for alternative solutions: accommodation with relatives, acquaintances from Bucharest or from other parts of the country".

These are the solutions reported by the DASs in București, which did not report how many social houses have been distributed from AFI at the moment and how many have been granted to applicants per year. To all this, we added the known evictions from the experience of The Common Front for the Right to Housing, some reported in the press:

- the massive evictions of the old city center, during the renovation period of 2005-2009, with estimates of about 5000 people, most of them evicted without relocation⁶³;

63 <https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-arhiva-1142270-micul-paris-transformat-centru-istoric-anul-2010.html>

- massive evictions in the Traian Hall area from 2011-2012, with estimates of about 1000 persons, most without compensation or relocation⁶⁴;
- slow but constant evictions from areas with non-familial houses Zăbrăuți-Ferentari (especially in the first part of the analyzed period);
- constant evictions due to retrocessions in nature (concerning buildings taken over abusively); In a January 2018 conference at the National Agency for the Roma, geographer Bogdan Suditu stated that more than 100,000 people were evicted as a result of the retrocessions in București since the 90s.

From the data on the website of the București City Hall - collected in 2017 and depicting the state of affairs in 2016 - we discover that in the last years there were over 22,000 applications for social housing, 3400 being evicted persons, while only 18 social houses were available (0 in sectors 1, 2, 3 and 6) - a number which is both insignificant and startling.

Ilfov County

Three of the county's cities, Chitila, Buftea, Măgurele, reported that they have not established eviction procedures and do not manage social dwellings. The city of Otopeni has a number of 266 public houses, out of which only 2 are social, Pantelimon - 10, Popești-Leordeni - 3. We meet a single eviction case reported in the city of Pantelimon, after which the person was assigned public housing. In Pantelimon, the rent aid procedure is formalized through HCL 95/2016, although it was not granted during the analyzed period.

7. The South-West Region

Dolj County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Craiova (-/234), Segarcea (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 202 evictions - the 30th place in the country, out of 37. Data from 2011-2017.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

The response of Craiova City Hall points out that most of the evictions are related to the retrocessions, those evicted being relocated in social houses with priority. The number of evictions was not communicated. For the 2008-2017 period, the Craiova local

media reported 11 situations of evictions, in which 98 families were affected - that is over 500 people (here the evictions affect a large number of people, on average about 50 persons per eviction). They were evicted from retroceded or improvised dwellings. When the latter were demolished by authorities, some groups of evicted people were even expelled from the city.

An example of a press title: "Roma EXPELLED from Craiova, accompanied by the gendarmes to the exit of the city." The Social Security Directorate of Craiova reports 234 social houses, but does not detail the number of evictions they participated in, nor about the intervention procedure. Unlike city halls, which conveniently refer only to evictions from social housing (the affected persons for whom they no longer have the responsibility to secure a home from state funds), DAS Craiova only selectively invokes evictions from housing retroceded to former owners, referring to the existence of a housing fund to which the evicted tenants have priority, according to OUG 68/2006.

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/rromi/zeci-de-tigani-evacuati-de-primarie-din-gospodariile-ilegale-570488>

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/copii/o-familie-evacuata-va-primi-sprijin-financiar-din-partea-primariei-539847>

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/greva/viata-de-caine-in-tabara-evacuatiilor-502365>

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/copii/lacrimi-si-disperare-670249>

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/copii/traiesc-in-padure-546713>

<http://www.ziare.com/antonie-solomon/craiova/dumitale-nu-ti-dau-nicio-atentie-512163>

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/greva/6-familii-traiesc-in-corturi-pe-strada-509830>

https://adevarul.ro/locale/craiova/Tiganii-protesta-fata-demolariile-baracilor-margine-orasului-afisand-ban-nere-fata-teatrului-1_50aeg2887c42d5a6639e0e56/index.html

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/politia/romii-evacuati-din-craiova-insotiti-de-jandarmi-pana-la-iesirea-din-oras-3321272>

<http://www.ziare.com/craiova/stiri-actualitate/evacuare-cu-scandal-in-cartierul-valea-rosieun-barbat-s-a-urcat-pe-bloc-si-ameninta-dedoua-ore-ca-se-sinucide-5559011>

64 https://m.adevarul.ro/news/bucuresti/bulevardul-uranus-1_52dc174bc7b855ff569eb49d/index.html

Gorj County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Târgu Jiu (0/558), Turceni (0/0), Țicleni (0/10)

b) UNEJ Answer: 23 evictions – the 37th place in the country, out of 37. Data from 2011-2017.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

According to DAS, Targu Jiu, a city of 82,000 inhabitants, has 558 social houses. Although it has one of the largest housing funds (for example Craiova, a city with almost 270,000 inhabitants, reports only 234 social houses), the local authority declares that it has no working procedure and has not participated in any eviction.

In contrast to those stated by DAS, press reports regarding the eviction of 100 families (over 200 people) from the ACH neighborhood stretch from 2011 up to 2015. The land on which the Hydroenergetics Construction Company (ACH) built the working-class neighborhood in 1985, was retroceded in 2010.

The former workers of the state-owned company paid rent until 2014 when their barracks were demolished. In 2015, the press reports that the former tenants have gone to other counties. The articles in the media are visibly sensitive to the new owners who cannot exercise rights on their own land, while painting those threatened with eviction as rowdy and aggressive. In Rovinari, where DAS did not respond to our requests, the press reported two evictions, in 2011 and 2014. These were among the few cases in which the media also discussed the solutions offered to the evicted by the town hall, although their representation was made in sensationalist terms, insisting on the misery in which they lived, on the bad smell and on the large number of "puradei" (racist term for Roma children). The "Romanian residents, who've passed their second youth, and who have no chance of recovering their lives" are presented in a much more empathetic and humane tone. As in other cases, the 2011 eviction of tens of people from a block owned by the Rovinari town hall was motivated, in addition to the accumulation of debt, by the desire of the administration to modernize the building, considered to be unhealthy.

From a 2014 article on another eviction from a private block, we learned that a part of the evicted persons were some of those evicted in 2011. This time 9 families received social houses, but those with larger debts were abandoned by the authorities.

http://www.romaniatv.net/35-de-gorjeni-printre-care-si-copii-evacuati-din-locuintele-lor-din-cauza-datorilor-uri-ase_128958.html

<http://www.ziare.com/tg-jiu/stiri-actualitate/chiriasi-cu-datorii-evacuati-la-rovinari-cu-scandal-2531719>

<https://jurnalul.antena3.ro/stiri/observator/evacuare-cu-scandal-29-de-copii-preluati-de-autoritati-662256.html>

<http://www.ziare.com/tg-jiu/stiri-actualitate/evacuati-din-blocul-politiei-suntem-victime-in-scandalul-caragea-4273566>

https://www.pandurul.ro/articol/cartierul-achdin-targu-jiu-a-devenit-un-morman-de_59377.html

https://adevarul.ro/locale/targu-jiu/targu-jiu-video-fotogalerie-scandal-cartierul-ach-locatari-executorul-olaru-1_50aed-2b57c42d5a663a0f4f5/index.html

https://adevarul.ro/locale/targu-jiu/targu-jiu-video-fotogalerie-scandal-cartierul-ach-locatari-executorul-olaru-1_50aed-2b57c42d5a663a0f4f5/index.html

<http://www.ziare.com/tg-jiu/stiri-actualitate/ordin-de-evacuare-pentru-o-familie-cu-trei-copii-6056498>

https://www.ig_j.ro/eveniment/evacuare-cu-scandal-la-turcinesti-un-barbat-turnat-benzina-pe-el.html

<http://www.ziare.com/tg-jiu/stiri-actualitate/foto-au-ramas-sub-cerul-liber-dupa-opt-anide-procese-pentru-terenul-de-sub-locuinta-6650903>

d) There are very few evictions reported by UNEJ for an entire county (compared with the counties in the region, it is an anomaly), for a large enough period of time, which may indicate that other types of evictions might have been more frequent than those realized through a bailiff.

Mehedinți County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Drobeta Turnu-Severin (17/351), Strehaia (0/15)

b) UNEJ Answer: 305 evictions – the 24th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

There are no procedures in the city of Drobeta Turnu-Severin regarding evictions. DAS mentioned that they had no jurisdiction in the case of private buildings. In case of evictions from DAS's own buildings, a debt rescheduling is offered, alongside the distribution of social houses on behalf of other family members, or land distribution for "building social constructions". In the provision of social housing the evicted people are not evaluated separately. There

are 351 social housing units in the city, a higher number than in many cities with larger population.

DAS Strehăia responded to our request by only informing us that the local social housing fund comprises 15 units. The county press analysis shows, however, a strange and worrying recurrence: all mass media reports of evictions in Drobeta Turnu Severin refer only to fires in social housing blocks, some resulting in the death of the inhabitants.

Following the 4 fires reported by the press between 2011 and 2016, about 400 people were evicted. However, the solutions offered by the authorities were not mentioned. Repeated fires may indicate the poor quality of materials used in the construction of social houses and the low level of concern for the lives of people in need.

In 2009, the mayor of Drobeta Turnu-Severin announced that about 200 families might have been in need of a house as a result of the evictions from retroceded buildings⁶⁵.

Olt County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Slatina (1), Caracal (0/51), Drăgănești-Olt (0/0), Scornicești (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 209 evictions – the 28th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

Three of the contacted town halls, Caracal, Drăgănești-Olt and Scornicești, responded to the request;

we found out that Caracal manages 51 social houses. According to the press, in 2011, 17 Roma people have been evicted from social houses in Slatina due to debt accumulation. The eviction was implemented by a bailiff on the 22nd of November, just before the coming of winter. Among them was a 17-year-old mother, ill with AIDS. According to the town hall's statements, the administration's list included the eviction of 20 other people occupying social houses left by the contract holders. From a statement, we learn that the town hall would have signed contracts with them with the condition of paying the debts of the former tenants, a practice that contravenes the present legislation. The G6, a 144-room block, was to be demolished at the will of the local administration,

65 <http://www.ziare.com/constantin-gherghe/severin/lo-cuinte-pentru-evacuati-din-casele-nationalizate-766225>

and a part of the tenants were to be moved to other dwellings⁶⁶.

Another article shows that the administration had experienced difficulties in finding a bailiff for this case the year before; during this time, no housing solution was searched for the evicted. The block was demolished in 2012. In its place, a park was set up⁶⁷.

Tenants with up-to-date payments have been moved into other dwellings in the former Concis headquarters⁶⁸.

In Balș town we found that in the block G6 (coincidentally wearing the same name), an investigation of the tenants' situation was carried out in 2016, after which 12 people who "illegally dwelled" were evicted. The intervention of the masked police consisted in legitimizing 60 people. Town hall employees were present⁶⁹.

Vâlcea County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Râmnicu Vâlcea (45/280+216 spații de locuit), Băile Govora (-/13), Berbești (0), Brezoi (0/0), Călimănești (0/0), Horezu(0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 180 evictions – the 31th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

For special cases, Horezu presents the possibility of using pensions and hotels (235 places in total). The same town hall describes some of the steps it started to take for the construction of social and ANL housing. In Râmnicu Vâlcea, through DAS, the city hall offered emergency aid to 37 people for debt payment to prevent evacuation. In the first response, DAS stated that no representative of the institution participated in the evictions, with some bailiffs contacting them in some cases that eventually have not been carried out. Three evicted persons were accommodated in the "Ioana" emergency center, during the analyzed period – probably evicted before 2008, ac-

66 www.ziare.com/slatina/stiri-actualitate/zeci-de-romi-din-slatina-au-fost-evacuati-ieri-cu-mascatii-din-blocul-g6-2617082

67 https://adevarul.ro/locale/slatina/video-demolar-ea-blocului-saracilor-g-6-slatina-avanseaza-rapid-doua-etaje-disparut-mai-ramas-doua-1_50b63e3e7c42d5a663a5946c/index.html

68 www.craiovaforum.ro/stiri/diverse/start-la-demolar-ea-blocului-g6-2.html

69 www.evenimentdeolt.ro/eveniment-new/eveniment/locatarii-blocului-de-locuin-e-sociale-g-6-din-bal---trezi-ide-masca-i--db62aefc7f224a01b4d063868a6c58c5

cording to the previously mentioned reply. However, in a response to our request for clarification, Râmnicu Vâlcea City Hall mentioned the participation of its representatives in 45 cases of eviction from the houses of the municipality, after which the people "independently solved their housing situation, without the need for forced eviction". The town hall owns 280 social houses and 216 dwelling spaces in former school dormitories. Five people evicted from retroceded buildings have received social housing during the analyzed period.

d) Press monitoring

The press mentions several evictions, particularly from the neighborhood of Colonie Nuci, situated on the outskirts of Râmnicu Vâlcea. In early November 2010, the bailiff hired by City Hall evicted 4 Roma families (31 people, including 23 children) following some decisions from 2008-2009 related to debt accumulation. The mayor was unmoved by their situation⁷⁰. Most likely, this is about a block of the Soda Govora Plant, which is to be turned into employee housing by a Polish company, according to a recently published article⁷¹.

In 2013 evictions continued in the area with another 10 families, also through a bailiff and again following the accumulation of debt. From the article we find that in the area, a total of 90 families live in social housing, of which a quarter were relocated in barracks that had been repaired. Access to utilities (water, electricity) in the area is limited⁷².

7. The Western Region

Arad County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Chişineu-Criş (0/0), Ineu (0/0), Nădlac (0), Pîncota (0/0), Pecica (0/0), Sebiş (0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 918 evictions – the 8th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers

Of the DAS respondents, none of them reported that it administers social housing; in the Pecica, alterna-

70 www.voceavalcii.ro/4338-23-de-tiganusi-au-fost-sco-si-in-strada-de-primarul-romeoradulescu.html

71 www.ziare.com/rm-valcea/stiri-actualitate/familii-aflate-in-pragde-evacuare-ameninta-cu-greva-foamei-1509510

72 https://adevarul.ro/locale/ramnicu-valcea/foto--zece-familii-romi-fost-evacuate-ghetoul-margin-ea-municipiului-ramnicu-valcea-1_524d5d43c7b855ff-56f51a0d/index.html

tive accommodation are located in a neighboring village, not within the city; in Chişineu-Criş only the two dormitories of educational units and the community center are possible accommodations –without any social housing, this emergency solution was found; within the town there is also an ANL block with 20 apartments. Either the DAS are not aware, or there are no other organizations able to provide accommodation services in case of necessity.

d) Press monitoring:

In 2008, it was estimated that 350 families from Arad were to be evicted from retroceded buildings; the construction of the social houses from Tarifului Street⁷³ was planned in this regard. In the Vladimirescu commune, a family with 16 children were to be evicted after the building had been won in court by the owners who lived in Germany⁷⁴. Also in 2008, two families were evicted, a man threatening to set himself on fire⁷⁵. From another article we found out that in 2009, there were 183 applications for social housing from families evicted from retroceded buildings⁷⁶. In 2010, 128 apartments on Tarifului street, practically located outside the urban area, were distributed to the evicted people from retroceded buildings⁷⁷. In 2010, the county of Arad had the biggest number of foreclosures⁷⁸. A family living in a tent was evicted for the second time in 2011⁷⁹.

Caraş Severin County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Caransebeş (25/19 sociale şi 86 fond de stat), Bocşa (0/149), Anina (0/60).

b) UNEJ Answer: 52 evictions – the 36th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers

A number of 149 social houses was reported to us for the town of Bocsa, almost as many as in Oradea

73 <http://www.ziare.com/arad/familie/locuinte-pentru-evacuati-din-casele-nationalizate-638751>

74 <http://www.aradon.ro/evacuati-238n-plina-iarna/news-20080125-06172242>

75 <http://www.ziare.com/camelia-tuduce/arad/o-chiria-sa-dintr-un-imobil-revendicat-de-viceprimarul-aradului-a-incercat-sa-si-dea-foc-367325>

76 http://www.aradcity.ro/?x=stiri&id_tip=10&id_stire=7514

77 <http://www.bursa.ro/peste-120-de-familii-si-persoane-singure-evacuate-in-imobile-retrocedate-se-vor-muta-in-locuinte-noi-42284017>

78 <http://www.aradon.ro/primul-judet-la-apartamente-executate-silit/news-20100905-05020159>

79 <http://www.aradon.ro/evacuati-pentru-a-doua-oara-din-cort/943562>

— although the population of Bocşa is rather small and decreases with each census (according to INS data), and its economic development is reduced. For Caransebeş, DAS reported 19 social houses and 86 houses in the state fund; there, in recent years DAS has participated in 25 evictions, out of which 20 occurred after retrocessions. The press did not monitor these topics.

d) Press monitoring:

For an entire county and for a large enough period of time, there are also very few reported evictions (and compared to other counties in the region, among which there should not be such large discrepancies), which might indicate that other types of evictions are more frequent than those through the bailiff.

Hunedoara County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Deva (59/587), Orăştie (64/92, including the container type 64 homes of necessity), Aninoasa (0/324), Brad (0/40), Petrla (-), Simeria (0/0).

b) UNEJ Answer: 695 evictions – the 14th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

From Hunedoara County, the cities of Lupeni and Călan did not provide responses to our request, but the local press reported evictions as a result of the poor maintenance of the buildings, in one of them after a fire, and in the other after the ceiling collapsed. According to the media, Lupeni City Hall announces its request to the Government to purchase some housing modules (containers). In Orăştie, housing containers have become the main solution for the local authorities. What DAS reported as a successful solution (the "chance" to occupy a newly built container housing), the press calls the "ghetto of the Roma expelled by authorities on the outskirts of the municipality Orăştie": "Dozens of families in need, mostly Roma, were sent to live in a small neighborhood recently established by the local administration of Orăştie. After being evicted from their homes, people were forced to move into housing containers. The new ghetto on the outskirts of Orăştie has been developed as an extension of a neighborhood populated mostly by Roma families"⁸⁰.

In Deva, DAS reports 587 housing units — quite a large number — out of which about half are of dormitory type, located in the three non-family blocks

called Condor, Rempes and Minier. In 2015, 75 people from the Condor dorm were evicted, accused of living there without legal forms, after which the building, degraded and disconnected from utilities, was closed, as rehabilitation was being planned. According to the press, only 7 families were relocated to two other non-family dormitories (Rempes and Minier), while the others "were sent to their localities of origin"⁸¹.

Although Condor was scheduled to go into renovation in 2016, the press reports in 2018 that three other families living without legal forms were evicted from the building⁸².

In the Rempes block, another 125 room dormitory from Deva, 6 families were threatened with eviction in 2013, due to accumulated debt to utilities. Being unable to pay and living precariously, they "asked for the clemency of the authorities", who showed "one last gesture of goodwill" and allowed them to stay 6 months longer, on winter time: "In order not to become homeless, each family must sign a commitment for the payment of debts in the following six months. And not only to sign, but also to fulfill this commitment. It's a gesture of good will and I hope you will show good faith and start paying your debts. It's all we can do in order to help you", said the mayor of Deva⁸³.

This is a good example for the way in which providing houses to people without financial possibilities is considered by the authorities an act of leniency and goodwill, and not a fundamental right. The price the authorities put on the lives of the poor is also revealed by the measure in which building norms are respected in the construction of social housing blocks. In a press release from 2017, we read that the roof of the same Rempes dormitory was ripped off during a powerful storm, leaving the 15 families who were living in the attic without a roof: "The Rempes dormitory had no ceiling, only plasterboard and some wooden chains. (...) The locals of the Rempes dormitory have told us that, even though they announced the owner of the building (which is Deva City Hall) on several occasions that it rains inside their apartments, no one

81 www.ziare.com/deva/stiri-actualitate/ze-ci-de-persoane-evacuate-din-caminuldenefamilisti-de-pe-aleea-motilor-5822802

82 www.replicahd.ro/caminuldenefamilisti-condor-fost-evacuat/

83 www.mesagerulhunedorean.ro/familile-cu-probleme-din-caminul-rempe-dindeva-au-scapat-de-evacuarepri-marul-i-a-mai-pasuit-sase-luni/

has ever come to carefully and correctly evaluate the roof and ceiling problem"⁸⁴.

Other press releases:

https://adevarul.ro/locale/hunedoara/ghetoul-romilor-alungati-autoritati-periferia-municipiului-orastie-1_53f4bc1b-0d133766a86f0262/index.html

<http://www.zvj.ro/articole-45143-Resmeri+++++a+in-ceput+Evacuarea+chiria+ilor+ilegal+nbsp.html>

<http://www.ziare.com/deva/stiri-actualitate/primaria-hunedoara-a-inceput-evacuarea-chiriasilor-rau-platnici-6885120>

Timiș County

a) Responses received from the city halls (DAS) and evictions reported/ the number of social housing units: Timișoara (-/253), Sânnicolau Mare (-/10), Jimbolia (-/0), Deta (0/0), Făget (-/8.)

b) UNEJ Answer: 700 evictions – the 13th place in the country, out of 37.

c) City halls' answers and press monitoring

Of the 10 cities, 5 answered, including Timișoara. Among them, Sânnicolau Mare, Deta, Făget and Jimbolia reported zero evictions, the first three having a total of 20 social housing units. 253 others are found in the administration of the Timișoara City Hall (a very small number in relation to the population, to the need for housing, and compared to the number of social housing units in other smaller cities in the region - for example Deva, with 587 housing units). The first response of the Timișoara City Hall skips the questions regarding the eviction procedures and the number of evictions, but mentions that a person evicted in 2016 received accommodation. At the second request, this time to the Direction of Buildings, Lands and Various Assets (DCTDD) we were informed that, during the analyzed period, 218 social houses and dwellings of the state fund were distributed to the persons evicted or in risk of eviction from retroceded buildings. DCTDD hasn't sent us the number of evictions either. DAS Timișoara manages a center for homeless people with 54 places and an accommodation center for the elderly with 82 places and collaborates with two foundations that offer a total of 120 accommodation places. DAS provides information for social housing applications to the evicted persons and carries out social surveys at the request of the DCTDD - 55 surveys for the 2014-2017 period.

84 <https://glasul-hd.ro/dezastrul-de-la-caminul-rempes-blocul-social-al-primariei-deva-avea-un-plafon-formatoar-din-laturi-plastic-si-gips-cartongalerie-foto/>

Press monitoring reveals at least 12 evictions, which means about 170 people and over 40 families, most of them from Timișoara. In 2008, the Polytechnic University evicted 7 people with the help of the City Police⁸⁵.

In 2009, a mother and two children were evicted from a retroceded state house where they lived for 10 years through a bailiff and in the presence of the police⁸⁶.

In June 2009, according to an article, 18 people were evicted from a street where they had been living in improvised homes for several months. In this article we see a few scathing linguistic elements, recurring in a significant number of media pieces: they "were wasting time", "took possession of the space", "all kinds of huts", "gathered their belongings"⁸⁷. Another article claims that 50 people were evicted in June, then in September, and a part of them, as well as other people who joined them (80 in total) were evicted again from a plot in some empty space within the city. Based on the recordings of local police, it turns out that they lived in caravans. "The local policemen surprised the homeless people" and took them to the precinct⁸⁸.

In 2012, 18 homeless people who were living in the yard of a former factory from Calea Buziașului area were evicted by the local police, environmental inspection and city police⁸⁹. A month later, the local police returned to the area and it seems that they "chased away" other people (at least 7, as shown in the photo) who lived illegally in a building⁹⁰.

In 2013, the local police from Lugoj evicted several people living in caravans on the bank of the Timiș river⁹¹.

In 2013, from the same area in Calea Buziașului, the local police and the 2nd Police Precinct evicted another 18 homeless people, and demolished their improvised houses. The article claims that they could

85 www.ziare.com/stiritimisoara/universitate/evacuare-in-forta-599177

86 www.ziare.com/stiritimisoara/drumuri/evacuare-cu-scandal-la-timisoara-814397

87 www.ziare.com/stiritimisoara/ambulanta/evacuati-din-colibe-908200

88 <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/timis/tabara-de-nomazi-evacuata-de-politistii-locali-din-timisoara-80-de-persoane-au-fost-amendate.html>

89 www.opiniatimisoarei.ro/boschetarii-aciuiti-in-zona-buziasului-optica-din-timisoara-luatipesus-din-adaposturi-de-politistii-locali/14/09/2012

90 www.ziare.com/stiritimisoara/stiri-actualitate/alungati-dintr-o-locuinta-care-nu-le-apartinea-3330808

91 www.ziare.com/stiri-timisoara/stiri-actualitate/i-auscosafara-din-lugoj-o-satra-detiganii-nomazi-a-fost-evacuata-de-politia-locala-3931332

be the same persons evicted a year ago. (www.opiniatimisoarei.ro/boschetarii-who-made-their-age-in-the-hut-in-the-hut-in-the-zonabuzias-from-timisoara-get-on-the-top-of-the-local-police/ / 08/03/2013).

In Lugoj, in 2017, two families were evicted through a bailiff from social houses because of debts. Even if the debts were not large, the penalties reached several thousand lei. The mayor announced that another 10 families would follow⁹².

We noticed that there is a great deal of malice from the authorities of Timișoara, determined to drive away, frighten, fine, imprison, and punish homeless people.

92 <https://lugojinfol.ro/social/2422-a-inceput-sezonul-evacuarilor-blocul-social-al-primariei-lugoj-luat-cu-asalt-de-jandarmi-politisti-si-un-executor-judecatoresc>

IV. Conclusions

1. Local media, institutional racism

In order to understand their causes, socio-economic inequalities must be analyzed within a historical context, within the context of slavery, ethnic repression and the Holocaust, and within the context of persistent institutional racism. The type of discrepancies that the Roma population struggles with are, among other things, the effect of austerity policies in the last decades (that automatically lead to growing economic inequalities). It must be emphasized that these inequalities have a strong impact on property ownership, on quality of life and housing security (in precarious areas, at the periphery, in areas without utilities, in informal settlements at risk of eviction).

Based on the online media analysis, we can conclude that racism and hate instigation towards people with low incomes and living in precarious conditions are very common among authorities and the press. Also, the racist and anti-poor people discourse results in the "chasing of the unwanted" from certain areas, which becomes a practice legitimized by the press, acceptable to the local authorities and accepted by neighbors. For example, in Baia Mare, the mass evictions from the social apartment buildings from several peripheral neighborhoods (Craica, Pirița, Ferneziu and Horea), where over 2000 Roma people live, are justified by framing their presence there as illegal squatting and presenting the inhabitants as undesirable. In this case, the process of legitimizing evictions and denigrating the inhabitants happened over a longer period of time through repeated public discourses. Also, in Sfântu Gheorghe, several people were evicted because local authorities intended to

rehabilitate the building and turn it into social housing; the "evicted Roma" are not represented as persons who could live in these houses, and authorities don't even consider offering them such an opportunity. The representatives of Iași City Hall declared to the press in 2014: "These people do not belong in a civilized environment, and they have to go to find another municipality, another city, another country". Our press monitoring followed several illustrative cases, which highlight racism and discrimination based on economic criteria. Therefore, we consider the increase of the CNCD (the National Council for Combating Discrimination) budget and capacity necessary, in order to follow, notify and sue the institutions responsible, when necessary.

To illustrate the relationship between institutional racism and precarious living, we highlighted a few articles from the local press. In the local press, in general, we find that local authorities are disorganized, do not report the legal steps taken during eviction procedures, and have no plans for the evicted people. For instance, we can look at the statement of the Rîmnicu Sărat mayor, Viorel Holban, referring to a situation of possible eviction, in 2009: "We don't know exactly what will happen, but in any case, we will take drastic legal action"¹.

Moreover, we have identified many articles which show that authorities do not take responsibility for situations of eviction or for precarious living conditions, exclusively blaming dwellers of social housing, and promoting the idea that they are not trustwor-

1 www.sansabuzoiana.ro/cotidian.html?numar=3208

thy, as illustrated in an article describing a possible eviction in Galați in 2010: "Only one thing matters: that the five children now have the chance to live together with their parents. Going forward, everything depends on Mihaela and Vasile

Țaga's engagement to pay up their debt to City Hall"². The mayor of Galați, Silviu Bacalum, declared in another situation, in 2015, that "The City Hall states that it cannot legally intervene in this matter and that the fault is entirely that of the tenants. At the beginning of April, the Dumitriu family will be evicted if they do not pay their debt. They are not the first, nor the last people in this situation. It is best for them to look for a place where they can live for a while"³.

Some newspapers published numerous racist articles during the period we looked at, with many local press articles using racist expressions beginning with the title: "At the notification of Free Thought (local newspaper), police evicted the gypsy camp that terrorized the Lighthouse area!"⁴ or "the hoard of gypsies that became 'masters' of a building on Lahovari street, was HARD to EVACUATE!"⁵.

In many online press articles the eviction of Roma from social or improvised housing was presented as "cleaning the area" and establishing justice for the "honorable" people living in the vicinity of these houses, while racist terms such as "șatră" – gypsy camp, "tuciuriu" – darkish/blackie, "puradei" – gipsy children, "gypsies", etc were used to describe Roma residents. For example, in Free Thought (2013), we found the following description: "Scandals and misery - that's what the inhabitants in the immediate vicinity of Access Gate 5 in the port of Constanta, in the Lighthouse area, had to endure for the last two months, after a bunch of Roma gathered in the port valley. Yesterday at noon, after Free Thought reported this situation to the authorities, the Roma were expelled, and the green area cleaned"⁶.

The 'Observer' publication (2013) follows the same pattern: "The Gypsies were protesting while all their gipsy children were lined up in Indian file (single row) around the goods recovered from the house which

2 <https://www.viata-libera.ro/societate/18057-familia-taga-nu-va-mai-ajunge-in-strada>

3 www.viata-libera.ro/societate/65613-o-familie-din-galati-in-pericol-de-evacuare-opt-copii-ar-putea-ajunge-in-strada-de-sarbatori

4 www.cugetliber.ro/stiri-eveniment-politia-a-evacuat-sastra-care-teroriza-zona-far-188267

5 www.ziare.com/constantina/stiri-actualitate/hoarda-de-tigani-care-s-a-facut-stapana-pestei-un-imobil-din-strada-lahovari-greu-de-evacuat-6406468

6 Idem 4

they were abusively occupying for a long period of time."⁷

Other public authorities' statements found in the press feed racism; for instance, the statement of the mayor of Mangalia, Radu Cristian, in 2016: "The mayor stated that it is not normal that public money be used to support people who abusively occupy City Hall's houses and who, instead of getting a job, prefer to live off committing crimes such as burglaries and robberies. 'For many years, the residents of the neighborhood have been reporting crimes committed by those who are not from Mangalia and who should go back where they came from. City Hall plans to clear and sanitize the area, we intend to build modern social housing, which would be legally occupied by people who have jobs'"⁸

Other types of statements come from neighbors, such as one recorded in 2013 from a resident in the area where social houses are located in Constanta: "We've got rid of trucks, and now the Roma popped up."⁹

Through this racist vision, "driving away" those without access to a decent home becomes a measure justified by the press, accepted by the rest of the population, and legitimate for local authorities, even though it contravenes Law 116/2002 (Preventing and Combating Social Marginalization). A series of racist statements are attached to the situations in which Roma are evicted, which leads to discrediting tenants living in social housing and, in particular, of Roma people living in poverty: "We have many Roma in Eforie who have received social houses from City Hall. I don't understand what the fuss is all about"(Robert Șerban, mayor of Eforie, 2013).¹⁰

The description is often plainly racist: "a young blackie listens to music on his headphones, totally disinterested. [...] While the workers were cleaning, the little gypsies were watching silently from up the road. Thus, the only solutions remains to constantly fine them - an inefficient solution, as they do not pay the fines!"¹¹

7 <http://observator.ro/evacuare-cu-scantei-mai-multe-familii-de-tigani-au-fost-evacuate-cu-mascatii-dintr-o-casa-recuperata-de-proprietari-53950.html>

8 www.telegrafonline.ro/zece-familii-evacuate-cu-scandal-la-mangalia

9 www.cugetliber.ro/stiri-eveniment-politia-a-evacuat-sastra-care-teroriza-zona-far-188267

10 www.telegrafonline.ro/evacuare-cu-scandal-prelungit-la-eforie

11 Idem 9

In Călărași, in 2016, the "Călărași Observer" editorial staff sent a request to the Public Service of Thermal Plants and the Administration of Housing Fund Calarasi (SPCTAFL), regarding the number of tenants evicted so far from social housing, ANL, and also from the state housing fund. In addition to the fact that the publication is discussing an important topic, which affects the life of the entire local community, the article presents the situation objectively, with a strictly informative purpose, without value judgments that may harm certain categories of people.¹²

The mass media is in a position of power and plays an essential role in shaping public and political opinion. Considering the numerous instances of hatred and racism in the press, the following priorities should be considered:

a) increasing the capacity of the National Council for Combating Discrimination in order to apply sanctions and fines for publications that promote and publish content that is racist and instigates hate towards people who are fighting poverty;

b) educating journalists to present forced evictions in an ethical, responsible, and supportive way - for example, following the solidarity methods presented in the Guide for the Prevention of Forced Evictions, proposed by the Bloc for Housing.¹³

2. Anomalies in the data reported by DAS

First, we noticed a very low level of support for people who cannot afford shelter, who have no resources to cover their living costs, who live in precarious conditions, are at risk of eviction, are living without documents or without shelter. Next, we highlight a few anomalies.

There are cities (for example Oradea or Săcele) in which the number of social houses is very small in relation to their population and people's need for housing; there are also entire counties (for example Alba, Arad, and Botosani counties) where the reported number of social housing is very small, and from which we have barely received any answers to our request. In counties like Bacău, however, there are forms of support for people living in precarious conditions, but those are not enough in relation to population and needs of people with low incomes. There are people living in extremely precarious conditions

12 <https://observatorcl.info/2016/01/12/24-de-chiria-si-au-fost-evacuati-din-locuintele-sociale/>

13 <https://bloculpentrulocuire.ro/2019/03/29/ghid-pentru-prevenirea-evacuarilor-fortate/>

(in Baia Mare for instance, where a family of four lived in a former washroom, in 2016) and for whom the authorities do not offer support and do not intervene.

We noticed that the cities with the highest number of social houses compared to the population are not the largest and most developed cities, but cities like Târgu Jiu (with 558 units), Giurgiu (with 236 units - as many as Craiova, which is a city four times larger), Bocșa (with 149 units, almost as many as Oradea), Adjud, Sinaia. So, social housing is lacking precisely where the population density and the need for housing is the highest; social housing is provided in small cities, with slower economic development, with no real estate interests. In the city of Galați, DAS reported 590 evacuations over 10 years - the largest number reported. This highlights the magnitude of this phenomenon, Galați not having a special urban development area. We wonder where the high discrepancy in the number of evictions reported comes from - some DAS in cities with a similar or even higher number of residents are reporting a significantly lower number of evictions.

3. Discrepancies and invisibility

We noticed a large discrepancy between the number of evictions reported by DAS and those reported by the press. Under-reporting the number of evictions is a worrying sign for several reasons: it shows a lack of support for people at risk, a lack of recognition of the extent of this social phenomenon, and it conceals both the systemic causes of evictions and the lives of evicted people - who are therefore ignored.

For example, in Giurgiu, in contrast to reports from local authorities, the press presented, in 2014, a case of 160 families living in a building in an advanced state of degradation, and which were at risk of eviction. In Piatra Neamț, the DAS reports numerous evictions, but the press reports even more, and on a larger scale: in 2012, 500 people were evicted from Muncii street, who were moved in the Văleni 2 area, 7 km away from the center, past the de-industrialized area and a river.

Although most of the evictions reported by the press are those of poor, vulnerable people, DAS' presence, in order to provide social assistance and to monitor the situation, is rarely mentioned. We are concerned about the discrepancy between the role of DAS in such cases and its lack of responsibility towards evicted persons or people at risk of eviction. We believe that there is an urgent need to monitor and sys-

tematically record all types of evictions (public, private, with or without law enforcement participation).

Moreover, we see enough cases where DAS seems to punish people rather than provide social assistance: the evicted or even homeless people are judged for their situation, and urged to find a solution by themselves and to have no expectations of any kind of housing support from authorities. In large and developed cities like Bucharest, Cluj and Timișoara, we noticed a high level of legitimization for this kind of approach: the authorities in Timișoara evicted the most precarious persons (people without shelter) even from makeshift shelters necessary for their survival; Bucharest authorities evicted thousands of people without relocation – entire micro-neighborhoods – leaving thousands of empty houses and plots behind; Cluj authorities operate in successive evictions, pushing poor people further and further out of the city.

4. The main reasons of evictions

The eviction reasons described in the press and in the City Halls' reports are the accumulations of debt for rent and utilities, the occupation of social housing without legal forms after the termination of contracts (sometimes due to debts) and improvised housing. These main causes are related to:

- a) very high housing costs;
- b) lack of resources for decent and adequate housing, which that affects many people;
- c) public policies that limit access to housing for entire categories of people - such as relocations, evictions without relocation for people in debt (who also lose the right to access other forms of support for housing), evictions from informal housing.

Our press monitoring showed that local authorities use the rehabilitation/renovation of social houses as a pretext for eviction, to drive out unwanted tenants. The media reports that some of the areas where public authorities undertake evictions are areas of interest for real estate developers (this is why, in contrast with larger cities, the smaller ones, where there are no real estate interests, have a greater number of social housing compared to their population). In some cases, even the simple anticipation of a development can lead to violent evictions: for example, in Timișoara, 18 people without shelter who lived in the courtyard of a former factory in the Calea Buziașului area were displaced with the intervention of local police. Moreover, there are situations like those in Slatina and Botosani, where authorities condition

granting new social housing rental contracts by the payment of previous tenants' debts - which is greatly increasing the costs of social housing and is blocking the access to a home for the most vulnerable.

People living in nationalized houses are still living at risk of eviction and homelessness. The Administration of the Real Estate Fund from Bucharest and the National Authority for the Restitution of Properties states that the process of retrocession is not completed, with thousands of files still pending.

On the other hand, according to the tally of necessary social housing units centralized by the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration, based on the information communicated by county prefects, more than 16,200 people at risk of eviction/demolition have been identified in 2017. In addition, in the same database, the number of persons living in informal housing and "without the possibility of entering legality", reached circa 52,000 people. The latter may become victims of evictions, even if the authorities will begin legality procedures, as the respective households cannot cope with the costs implied by these measures (their home being unauthorized, the costs of authorization will most likely exceeding their financial possibilities). Estimates from this database, however, are still modest, due to a lack of information: Giurgiu County did not communicate data, some prefects did not specify the number of persons, but only the number of families, and only 2082 people in need of social housing were reported for Bucharest, even if at the municipality level there are over 23,000 applications for social housing and more than 11,300 marginalized families who do not own a home in the city.

Moreover, through a request for public information addressed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Record of Persons Unit¹⁴, Bloc for Housing received a report stating that, from 2010-2017, between 82,400 and 115,000 people with provisional identity cards were recorded every year – these are people who do not have a residence, who have no one to provide them with an address, and who have no personal or family resources to obtain permanent identity cards.

Based on the results of these searches, we believe that there is a need for public policies to counteract systemic forms of precariousness. It is also vital to prohibit evictions without relocation solutions in adequate housing. Without this measure, the lives of tens, and even hundreds of thousands of people will continue to be affected.

5. Responsibility and unaccountability

Although authorities' responsibility to the people without decent housing, at risk of eviction, with incomes below the cost of living, is stipulated in various national laws and strategies, in reality, it is minimal. So much so that the responsible authorities (for example the Directions of Social Assistance) seem to forget that this itself is their mission and their very reason for existence; instead, they judge and punish those in living in precarious conditions. The press often supports this unaccountability. Our research has revealed some mechanisms through which the authorities try to avoid any accountability:

- a) The recurring separation between those residing within the city and those outside, allowing authorities to chase the latter away easier, and receive support from the press;
- b) The recurring eviction of people who accumulate debt, and who are then considered "guilty", and for which relocation solutions are almost never sought, no matter how serious their situation is (which is, itself, often never monitored);
- c) The press frequently reports fires and degradations of social housing blocks (for example, in Drobeta Turnu Severin, Lupeni, Călan, Deva) – this shows the decreased accountability of authorities to provide quality housing for people with low income.

We mention some illustrative cases from our research:

- DAS Oradea avoids taking any responsibility ensure housing for people at risk, reporting that "evicted persons [from social housing, n.ed.] no longer have the possibility of obtaining a dwelling from the housing state fund or from the municipal one, according to the present legislation" and "evicted persons are informed that they have the possibility to identify a housing solution on the free market".
- On Bacău City Hall's website, we can see that people at the top of the list (a list with 42 persons listed as priority) for receiving social housing have filed requests in 2003-2004, which means that they have been waiting since then.
- The City Hall declines any responsibility towards evicted families, labelled "the Roma from dorm 2" by the media.
- In the city of Slatina, on the grounds of the former building where poor people lived, they built a park.
- In Tulcea, the houses of 15 families were demolished, and they were evicted in order to make

room for the construction of a mini-delta for tourist destination with European funds.

- One of the common practices of authorities in situations of eviction without relocation (see for example the cases from Iasi and Bucharest), is the separation of families, for accommodation in shelters: mothers and children are directed to social centers, sometimes of NGOs, and men are directed to homeless centers. Behind the mere impression that a housing solution is offered, separating families often causes even more vulnerability, which is why many families refuse this option - it is not a real solution to housing needs.
- Another practice found in the examples from Buzau, Cluj, Lupeni, Oradea, Oraştie, Tg Mureş, Sfântu Gheorghe, etc., is the relocation of evicted persons (whole families) in housing containers. These rarely represent dignified living conditions, although people with very low incomes do accept them, due to the lack of other options. We believe that responsible authorities should provide dignified living conditions, according to the current legislation.
- Sinaia, in contrast, has a larger number of social housing, accessing governmental funds through the "Construction Program of Social Housing for Tenants Evicted from Nationalized Housing" of the Development Ministry. In Râmnicu Vâlcea, the municipality offered support for 37 people in the form of emergency aid for debt repayment, through the DAS, in order to prevent evictions.

In this context, we consider it necessary to budget, both at a local and at a central level, this kind of support, as well the monitoring (possibly with sanctions) of local authorities to ensure they take responsibility, as assigned to them by Law 114/1996 on housing and Law 116/2002 on combating social marginalization - namely the responsibility to ensure the right to housing for all affected persons, especially for those at risk of social exclusion.

6. Final Observations

Our analysis shows that to this day, in Romania, there is no clear and explicit approach with regard to forced evictions, that would be able to identify the structural causes of this phenomenon and avoid a racialized approach. The national legislation did not transpose provisions of international laws on the subject, or an understanding of forced evictions in the manner presented in the preamble of this report. Even at the local level, we do not identify substantial measures of the town hall apparatus (at the inter-

section of patrimony and assistance directions, and local police) that can prevent evictions which leave people homeless - both directly, without a roof over their heads, but also in the broader sense, without proper housing. Instead, we see legal measures that, instead of effectively preventing evictions or offering increased protection to the people at risk of eviction, have become increasingly favorable to the very institutions that evict people, starting in 2010. In Romania, only one regulation seems to protect potential evacuees, that stipulated in Law 202/2010 which prohibits evacuation during winter, although it does not apply to the persons illegally occupying a house.

We know that:

- many people are affected by poverty and social exclusion (35.7% in 2017), by burdening costs of housing (15.4% of the whole population and 39.4% of the poor), debt for utilities (28.8% of the whole population and 40.4% of the poor);
- social benefits do not significantly reduce poverty;
- the percentage of public housing is below 2% of the total housing fund, and
- there are no legal measures to prohibit and/or prevent forced evictions that leave people homeless.

Therefore, based on the data we have gathered (from our present research, from previous research and from our field experience), we can draw the conclusion that **evictions are one of the most serious processes that dispossess housing from people with low income. It affects their life expectancy and quality and, as such, requires increased attention from decision-makers.**

As a result, the following issues require urgent attention:

- 1)** The prohibition of forced evictions by law, that is to say no eviction should take place without relocation to adequate housing.
- 2)** Local public authorities, in particular the Directions of Patrimony and Social Assistance, must prevent forced evictions of tenants from state and/or social housing, as per the Social Assistance Law, the Law for the Prevention of Social Marginalization, the Law on the Child Protection, the Law regarding Persons with Disabilities.
- 3)** The Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labor and Social Justice, the Ministry of Development, the Ministry of Interior, the National Union of Bailiffs, and other institutions, should systematize and make public

all information (at the national level) regarding the different types of evictions, in order to raise awareness of the magnitude of the phenomenon and identify appropriate measures.

- 4)** Centralizing and collecting data regarding all types of evictions should enter into the obligations of local public authorities, especially the heritage/ housing services and others social assistance services.



Annex

City Halls request for public information based on Law 544/2001:

- 1)** What are your institution's stipulations and working procedure regarding evictions of persons living in the city (except for natural disasters)? If your institution does not have attributions in this area, please indicate who has these attributions at city level.
- 2)** The number of evictions where a representative of your institution took part in each of the following years: 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017;
- 3)** What type of information is provided to evicted persons by the representatives of your institution who participates in the procedure?
- 4)** What are the alternatives for evicted persons proposed by your institution?
- 5)** Does the institution cooperate with other organizations (foundations, associations, churches, etc.) that offer accommodation services? What accommodation capacity do they have?
- 6)** The number of evicted persons who benefited from accommodation in shelters that your institution manages, for each of the following years: 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017?
- 7)** The number of evicted persons to whom social housing was assigned, for each of following years: 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017.
- 8)** How many social housing units managed by public authorities exist in your city?
- 9)** The number of evicted persons to whom a form of rental support was granted, for each of the following years: 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017?

*This research was produced by
The BLOC for HOUSING, during 2018,
by George Zamfir (research coordinator)
Ștefania Vintilă (researcher)*

*With the contribution of: Enikő Vincze,
Ioana Florea, Ioana Vlad, Mihail Dumitriu,
Robert Blaga, Vasile Gâlbea (legal aspects)*

*To read or review the data base developed
within the research, please contact us at:*

bloculpentrulocuire@gmail.com

This Report was produced as part of BLOCUL pentru LOUIRE's programmes
"Action platform for housing justice in Romania" (2018) and
"Action against labour exploitation and housing deprivation" (2019)
made within Desire Foundation framework,
and with the aid of Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeast Europe



Supported by Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeast Europe
with funds of the German Federal Foreign Office.
This publication or parts of it can be used by others for free as long as they
provide a proper reference to the original publication.
The content of the publication is the sole responsibility of
Desire Foundation and BLOCUL pentru LOUIRE, and does not
necessarily reflect a position of RLS





Romanian version of Eviction Prevention Guide here:
http://bit.ly/GhidPrevenireEvacuari_2019