

# Regional Profile

# Gorj county, Romania

*Initiative for coal regions in transition*

**EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

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# Gorj county, Romania

## GENERAL INFORMATION

**Country:** Romania

**Region Name:** Gorj county

**Region NUTS2 code:** R041 - Sud-Vest  
Oltenia

**Region NUTS3 code:** R0412 - Gorj

**Main urban centres in the region<sup>1</sup>:**

Târgu Jiu (73,545)

Motru (15,950)

Rovinari (10,246)

Turceni (6,891)

Rismana (6,359)



1. City population – Romania National Institute of Statistics Census 2021. As of 1 May 2024: <https://www.citypopulation.de/en/romania/localities/gorj/>

## Regional socio-economic profile

### General description of the socio-economic profile of the region

Together with four other countries, Gorj is located in the region of Southwest Oltenia. Next to Hunedoara country (Jiu Valley), Gorj is one of the two main coal regions in Romania. It has a population of 311,298 inhabitants (2023) – corresponding to 1.6% of the total Romanian and 17% of the total Sud-Vest Oltenia population – and steadily decreasing in the last decades (from 334,849 in 2014).<sup>2,3</sup> Gorj is a rural county with a population density of 56.3 persons/km<sup>2</sup> as compared to the national average of 81.3 persons/km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

Compared to national averages, unemployment rates in Gorj County are similar – 3% in Romania and 3.5%

in Gorj County, while the unemployment rate in Sud-Vest Oltenia is significantly higher (5.6%) in 2022<sup>5</sup>. This shows a decrease as compared to five years earlier with unemployment rates of 6.3%, 7.3% and 4% in Gorj, the region and the country, respectively.<sup>6</sup> The most important sectors in terms of employment are wholesale and retail trade (14.6%), manufacturing (11.9%), mining and quarrying (10.5% - of which 8.8% account for coal and lignite mining – decreased from 18.8% since 2008). While wholesale/retail and manufacturing are even more prominent at the regional level of Sud-Vest Oltenia and national level (around 17% for wholesale retail and above 20% for manufacturing), employment in the area of mining and quarrying is much lower (2.5% in Sud-Vest Oltenia and 0.8% in Romania as a whole).<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, GDP per capita in Gorj is almost as high as the national average (€11,400 vs €12,480) and higher than the regional average in Sud-Vest Oltenia (€9,500).<sup>8,9</sup>

Regional coal industry profile			
Coal mining			
Type of coal (e.g. hard, lignite/brown, peat, oil shale)	Lignite		
Type of coal extraction (e.g. surface or deep mining)	Surface mining		
Number of operating coal mines	8		
Production of coal [Mt annual]	16,425,000	Year of prod. Data:	
		2023 <sup>10</sup>	
Main coal mining enterprises			
Name	Ownership	Number of employees	Year of employee data
Husnicioara	Complexul Energetic Oltenia SA, majority state owned (CE Oltenia)	239	2024 <sup>11</sup>
UMC Motru		1,454	
UMC Rovinari		1,287	
UMC Jilt		1,393	
UMC Rosia Pesteana		1,247	
Mine reparation unit		82	
Closure and conservation unit		141	
Administrative office		99	
Total level of employment in coal mining (in the region)		5,942	

2. National Institute for Statistics. POP105A – Usually resident population by age group and ages, sex, urban/ rural area, macroregions, development regions and counties at January 1st. As of 11 April 2024: <http://statistici.insse.ro:8077/tempo-online/#/pages/tables/insse-table>

3. Eurostat. Population on 1 January by NUTS 2 region. As of 11 April 2024: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00001/default/table?lang=en&category=t\\_demo\\_t\\_demo\\_pop](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00001/default/table?lang=en&category=t_demo_t_demo_pop)

4. Eurostat. Population density by NUTS 3 region. As of 11 April 2024: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/demo\\_r\\_d3dens\\$defaultview/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/demo_r_d3dens$defaultview/default/table?lang=en)

5. Due to counting system applied by the National Institute for Statistics, many people are neither registered as employed nor as unemployed. Significant gaps exist between the total of employed+unemployed persons and the total number of people in 'workforce age'. Therefore, unemployment might be, in truth, significantly higher.

6. National Institute for Statistics. SOM103A – Unemployment rate by gender, macroregions, development regions and counties. As of 11 April 2024: *ibid.*

7. National Institute for Statistics. FOM105F – Employees at December 31 by economic activities at level of CANE Rev.2 (section and division), sex, macroregions, development regions and counties. As of 29 April 2024: *ibid.*

8. National Institute for Statistics. CON103I – GDP by macroregions, development regions and countries - calculated according NACE Rev.2 - ESA 2010. As of 11 April 2024: *ibid.*

9. Converted from Romanian Leu. 1 Leu = €0,2

10. Complexul Energetic Oltenia SA.

11. *Ibid.*

Regional coal power plant profile			
Coal power plants			Year of data
Number of coal power plants		2	2024 <sup>12</sup>
Installed capacity [MW]		2310	2022 <sup>13</sup>
Share of coal in regional power generation mix [%]		16.10%	2024 <sup>14</sup>
Main coal power plant operators			
Name	Ownership	Number of employees	Year of employee data
Turceni (4 operational units)	CE Oltenia	6,57	2024 <sup>15</sup>
Rovinari (3 operational units)		1,017	
Total level of employment in coal power plants (in the region)		1,674	

## Regional and local transition strategies and plans

### Status and timeline of coal transition / phase-out

The natural abundance of lignite within Gorj County has led to it becoming an essential part of the national energy market and the regional economy. The by-now largest lignite energy complex of the country (and 9<sup>th</sup> largest reserve in the EU) was first developed by Romania's communist regime in the early 1960s to support the fast-growing energy-intensive industry in the region. This brought radical changes to the landscape, environment and social fabric as workers started to settle in the towns around the lignite mines. When the Communist regime fell in 1989, Gorj was Romania's largest industrial hub with the mining industry as the largest employer in the region (around 55,000 in the 1990s), feeding into the county's budget – even today over 60% of the local income stems from the energy complex.

Lack of access to technology and means to implement these meant that the thermal power plants of Gorj operated at rather low efficiency and that power outages were common in the 1980s. Massive investments were needed to improve their efficiency when Romania

joined the EU and needed to adapt their thermal infrastructure to European environmental standards.

Given these developments, Gorj's coal industry has declined since the 1990s. Even after the emergence of CE Oltenia in 2012, redundancies continued and working conditions in the mines and thermal power plants worsened.<sup>16</sup>

Framed by Romania's National Integrated Energy and Climate Change Plan 2021 – 2030<sup>17</sup> and the National Recovery and Resilience Plan<sup>18</sup>, the 2022 Decarbonization Law<sup>19</sup> confirmed Romania's commitment to coal- and lignite-phase-out by 2032. Within this Law, the country plans to:

- decommission Romania's remaining 4920 MW of installed coal/lignite power generation capacity;
- establish measures for the rehabilitation of mines that have been closed; and
- introduce retraining and reskilling measures to cushion the socio-economic impacts on affected communities.

To follow a gradual timeline for closure, 3780 MW of installed power generation capacity should be taken out of operation by the end of 2025 and partly replaced through investments into gas-fired combined heat and power plants or renewable energy. The remaining capacities of the Turceni and Rovinari power plants will be maintained as a

12. Europe Beyond Coal "Coal Exit Tracker". As of 11 April 2024: <https://beyond-coal.eu/coal-exit-tracker/>

13. Rettig et al. Transition from Lignite in Gorj. Available at: <https://www-docs.b-tu.de/fg-energie-umwelt/ekonomik/public/Schriftenreihe-pdf/sr07.pdf>

14. Transelectrica. As of 24 May 2024: <https://www.transelectrica.ro/ro/web/tel/home>

15. Complexul Energetic Oltenia SA.

16. Bankwatch, 2C and European Climate Foundation. Project: Life Beyond Coal. As of 1 May 2024: <https://lifebeyondcoal.eu/#Title>

17. Ministry of Energy. National Integrated Energy and Climate Change Plan 2021 – 2030. Available at: [https://energie.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/NECP\\_EN\\_COM-1.pdf](https://energie.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/NECP_EN_COM-1.pdf)

18. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. Romania's National Recovery and Resilience Plan 2021 and 2023 Update. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/pnrr/>

19. Law No. 334 of 29 November 2022 for the approval of Government Emergency Ordinance no. 108/2022 on the decarbonization of the energy sector. Available at: <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliuDocument/262164>

technical reserve in the period 2026 – 2030 to ensure the safe and stable operation of the national power system. However, by 2031, coal and lignite extraction in Gorj (and Hunedoara) County and electricity production shall cease.

### Current regional strategies and plans for transition (including for economic development, diversification, and decarbonisation)

The **Just Transition Operational Programme 2021-2027**<sup>20</sup> for Romania earmarks EUR 2.14 billion for six counties (Dolj, Galați, Gorj, Hunedoara, Mureș and Prahova), of which Gorj receives the largest share of EUR 550 million. Based on the unique challenges and needs identified through the **Territorial Just Transition Plan for Gorj** (TJTP)<sup>21</sup>, interventions in Gorj focus on:

- Enterprise and entrepreneurship development including SMEs, social enterprises, business incubators/accelerators as well as technology transfer and support of female and youth entrepreneurship. Sectors seen as an opportunity for economic diversification include the manufacture of telecommunications and medical equipment, electronics and the production of batteries for electric cars. An enabling condition for the development of these areas is the presence of graphite resources in Baia de Fier.
- Support of the workforce, i.e. retraining and reskilling mine workers and other job seekers affected indirectly by the transition. Here, retraining should be targeted to the fields of medium and high technology-intensive manufacturing, IT&C, building construction/renovation, green energy production, and installation and maintenance of individual renewable energy solutions.
- Affordable green energy and clean mobility through small-scale renewable energy production, transmission and storage facilities at the household level and in public buildings as well as through green public transport investments and electric charging stations. Investments in green hydrogen and larger renewable energy facilities are also foreseen.
- Remediation, decontamination and conversion of former industrial sites.

The **National Recovery and Resilience Plan** (NRRP)<sup>22</sup> is Romania's overarching strategy to access EUR 28.5 billion of the Recovery and Resilience Fund. While some of the 66 reforms also focus on the digitalisation of public administration, health and education, it also defines investments to support green transition objectives, notably through urban mobility, clean energy and energy-efficiency renovation of buildings. The NRRP is the basis for Romania's Decarbonization Law which sets the deadline for coal- and lignite-phase-out to 2032. Further, it strengthens the legislative and regulatory framework for (private) investment in renewable electricity generation, green technologies and energy efficiency. The NRRP also facilitates the transition through de-bureaucratisation of the business environment and investments into vocational and technical education.

Romania's **National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2030**<sup>23</sup> sets the main objectives and guidelines for action towards the adoption and implementation of the principles of sustainable development until 2030. The strategy touches upon renewable energy and clean transport, the digital economy and industrial investments and promotes policies that support productive activities, create decent jobs, develop entrepreneurship through start-ups, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalisation and growth of micro, SMEs.

The **National Employment Strategy 2021-2027**<sup>24</sup> and the **National Green Jobs Strategy 2018-2025**<sup>25</sup> focus on social and employment objectives of Romania, in particular by guiding the country to the "green economy". Their key objectives are to stimulate entrepreneurship, diversify skills and create "green jobs", e.g. the field of environmental protection, water supply and sewerage services, waste management, forestry, renewable energy production, and thermal rehabilitation. To achieve this, the strategies stimulate investments into innovation, entrepreneurship, education and training programs and centres.

The key objective of the **Regional Development Plan of the South-West Oltenia Region 2021-2027**<sup>26</sup> is to increase the economic competitiveness of the region through modernization and development of the regional infrastructure, urban and rural fabric, agriculture and fisheries, and tourism as well as through investments into human resources in support of sustainable employment and inclusion and the enhancement of natural and cultural-historical heritage. These are well in line with just

20. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. Just Transition Fund Programme Romania. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/d98632d7357c5862cadee9e19b8392fb.pdf>

21. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. Territorial Just Transition Plan Gorj County. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/ptj-21-27/>

22. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. Romania's National Recovery and Resilience Plan 2021 and 2023 Update. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/pnrr/>

23. Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development. Romania's National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2030. Available at: <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/rom195029.pdf>

24. Ministry of Labour and Social Solidarity. National Employment Strategy 2021-2027. Available at: [https://mmuncii.ro/j33/images/Documente/MMPS/NOFM\\_2021-2027.pdf](https://mmuncii.ro/j33/images/Documente/MMPS/NOFM_2021-2027.pdf)

25. Ministry of Labour and Social Solidarity. National Green Jobs Strategy 2018-2025. Available at: [https://mmuncii.ro/j33/images/Documente/Munca2018/21082018\\_SN\\_Locuri\\_Munca\\_Verzi\\_2018-2025.pdf](https://mmuncii.ro/j33/images/Documente/Munca2018/21082018_SN_Locuri_Munca_Verzi_2018-2025.pdf)

26. Adroltenia, 2022. Regional Development Plan of the South-West Oltenia region 2021-2027. Available at: <https://pr2021-2027.adroltenia.ro/pdr-planul-de-dezvoltare-regionala-2021-2027/>

transition objectives in the region that further support the measures in energy efficiency, economic reconversion and diversification, competitiveness, skills development, and social inclusion as well as capacity-building of local public services, that are foreseen through the region's development plan. In addition, the **Regional Strategy for Smart Specialisation South-West Oltenia 2021-2027**<sup>27</sup> further encourages entrepreneurship, research and innovation, and partnerships and technology transfer.

Finally, the **Development Strategy of Gorj County 2021-2027**<sup>28</sup> set the overall development strategy for the county. Priority areas for development identified therein are:

- Renewable energy systems, energy efficiency and infrastructure
- Green diversification of economic activities of SMEs
- Skills development, up- and reskilling
- Repurposing of contaminated land
- Green urban public infrastructure and mobility
- Circular economy
- Social infrastructure and entrepreneurship
- Sustainable tourism, culture and heritage

### Principal actors in development and implementation of transition strategies and plans

#### At national level:

- Ministry of Investments and European Projects – Managing Authority of JTF Programme
- Ministry of Energy
- Ministry of Economy, Entrepreneurship and Tourism
- Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure
- Ministry of Labour

#### At regional level:

- Gorj County Council (incl. Just Transition Unit)
- Working Group for the Coordination of the Transition to Climate Neutrality
- Regional Development Agency Oltenia – Intermediate Body of JTF Programme

#### At local level:

- Local authorities of main centres (Târgu Jiu, Motru, Rovinari, Turceni)
- NGOs with an environmental focus (i.e. Bankwatch, Eco Civica, Eco Challenge, LAG Cheile Sohodolului) and social/cultural focus (i.e. Bee Teen focussed on youth involvement, TNG, Excelsior, Multilingua, Sprijin si intrajutorare Solidaritatea)
- Business association of Gorj
- Agencies (Public employment agency (AJOFM), Agency for Environmental Protection Gorj, County School Inspectorate, Forest Management Department Gorj)
- Constantin Brancusi University
- Trade unions
- Civic, social and sports clubs
- Media
- Political organizations

## Regional and local transition projects and initiatives

### Notable ongoing and recent transition-related initiatives and projects

One key project already under implementation is the project RenewAcad, a professional training and counselling academy for renewable energy initially funded under the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development. After a successful first phase in which over 700 people benefited from training and certifications, RenewAcad has now become an initiative that aims to activate former mining workers to become part of the fair energy transition. RenewAcad offers requalification opportunities in the wind farm industry or the construction and operation of solar farms.<sup>29</sup> To date (May 2024), a total of 54 people have completed training courses at the Rovinari RenewAcad Center – with many more interested in joining.<sup>30</sup>

In the past, Romania's Regional Operational Programme (ROP)<sup>31</sup> for 2014-2020 financed a total of 126 projects in Gorj covering a variety of topics: business

27. Adroltenia, 2021. Regional Strategy for Smart Specialisation South-West Oltenia 2021-2027. Available at: [https://www.adroltenia.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/RIS-SVO-21-27\\_martie-2021-avizata-CRI-aranjata.pdf](https://www.adroltenia.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/RIS-SVO-21-27_martie-2021-avizata-CRI-aranjata.pdf)

28. Gorj County, 2021. The Development Strategy of Gorj County 2021-2027. Available at: <https://www.cjgorj.ro/Data%20site/Dezbateri%20publice/Strategia%20de%20dezv%20a%20jud%20Gorj%202021-2027.pdf>

29. RenewAcad, 2024. Available at: <https://www.renewacad.eu/>

30. The Diplomat Bukarest, 2024. The RenewAcad Center in Rovinari has trained 54 students to become specialists in the green jobs of the future. Available at: <https://www.thediplomat.ro/2024/03/19/the-renewacad-center-in-rovinari-has-trained-54-students-to-become-specialists-in-the-green-jobs-of-the-future/>

31. European Commission. As of 25 May 2024: [https://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/in-your-country/programmes/2014-2020/ro/2014ro16fop002\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/in-your-country/programmes/2014-2020/ro/2014ro16fop002_en)

development (69 projects), green transition (16) social infrastructure (9), urban development (8), cultural patrimony (3), infrastructure (3), tourism (1), education (9), small municipalities (8). 64 of these projects were located in Târgu Jiu with half of them focussed on support for businesses, particularly SMEs.

Finally, several renewable energy installation projects are underway in the county: for example, the six units of Turceni power plant are in the process of being decommissioned. In the meantime, Romgaz is building a new 430 MW combined cycle power plant with gas as a transition fuel. Parts of the Rovinari mine are also already in the process of being converted into a solar PV farm. Furthermore, OMV Petrom is investing, together with CE Oltenia, into photovoltaic parks in Işalniţa, Tismana, Roşia & Rovinari. Through the JTF allocation for SMEs, a majority of beneficiaries will install renewable energy systems.

### Notable planned transition-related initiatives and projects

Two relevant calls have thus far launched under the Just Transition Operational Programme of Romania<sup>32</sup>:

- Development of Enterprises and Entrepreneurship - Investments for the development of SMEs supporting sustainable growth and job creation" (budget of EUR 299 million for Gorj county) open to SMEs and micro-enterprises<sup>33</sup>.
- Supporting Workforce Transition - Support for the adaptation of workers, businesses and entrepreneurs (budget of EUR 110 million) open to employment agencies, (employer) associations and organizations, local public authorities, universities, NGOs, and trade unions<sup>34</sup>. EUR 24 million have already been bookmarked under a non-competitive call for AJOFM in Gorj for reconversion and increase of administrative capacity. In their project(s), they need to involve also other social partners (university, trade union, NGO) and must develop measures for laid-off workers to develop skills in other relevant sectors (e.g. robotics). Here, the Constantin Brancusi University also plans to develop a project on building a training centre for workers to develop skills in priority sectors, in partnership with AJOFM.

Future calls expected under the JTF within 2024 should focus on support for micro- and social enterprises, business infrastructure, spin-offs/-outs and start-ups. Furthermore, calls are expected for investments into professional reconversion, maintaining highly skilled

workforce, renewable energy for households and public buildings, public transport and remediation, decontamination and reconversion of contaminated lands.

## Regional and local transition challenges and opportunities

### Nature and scale of key transition challenges

With both power plants of Gorj country scheduled to retire by 2032, there are several transition challenges to consider.

1,674 and 5,942 directly employed workers at the power plants and mines are set to lose their jobs and negatively affect the 160 companies in CE Oltenia's supply chain. According to the E3ME macroeconomic modelling<sup>35</sup>, approximately 50% of the turnover of these companies will be negatively affected, translating into an overall reduction in jobs in the region. It is expected that the jobs created through renewable energy and industry will not be able to absorb the available labour, especially skilled workers. Therefore, there is a particular need for retraining and specialisation of workers who are not eligible for retirement, matching with Romania's skills forecast into professions like electricians, electromechanics, tool operators, engineers/sub-engineers, machinists, hydraulic operators and energy installation operators. Reintegrating such a large number of affected workers poses particular challenges for the employment agency, its subordinate vocational training centres, as well as for public or private sector vocational training providers authorised to provide such training. Therefore, particular attention should be paid to early training in order to cope with the large number of people with long-term careers in activities requiring non-transferable or difficult-to-transfer skills to a low-emission economy. Salaries are also expected to be much lower in the low-emission economy than what workers were used to at thermal power plants: over 4000 lei in the coal sector versus the average net salary of the county of 2858 lei.<sup>36</sup>

Broader social impacts of the transition relate to the gender distribution in the region and impacts on already vulnerable groups. With a majority of CE Oltenia workers being men above the age of 40, often the sole breadwinners, it can be expected that the decarbonisation measures will lead to lower standards for entire households and increased financial responsibilities for women, children and young dependants at risk of dropping out of school. With the closure of coal industries, competition with women for available jobs will increase, risking increasing gender

32. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. As of 3 May 2024: <https://oportunitati-ue.gov.ro/en/program/programul-tranzitie-justa/>

33. Call closed in May 2024.

34. Call to close in September 2024.

35. According to a study by the Frankfurt School of Finance and Management funded by the EU Structural Reform Support Programme. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/1c0f712ea5d63755decc545234f10e56.pdf>

36. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. Territorial Just Transition Plan Gorj County. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/ptj-21-27/>



inequalities in the labour market. Furthermore, the transition puts at risk the already large group of workers employed in the informal sector and of residents living in poverty: 37% of the resident population living in disadvantaged urban areas and 21% of the population in marginalized urban areas such as Bumbești - Jiu, Tismana, Rovinari.

From an environmental perspective, there are extensive areas of damaged land that resulted from decades of mining, including 167,000 hectares of eroded land and 89,000 hectares of landslide-prone land. As far as contaminated sites are concerned, Gorj County has catalogued 13 contaminated sites where gases coming from the power plants have damaged the land, of which eight are in public ownership (of local municipalities) and are intended for the disposal of household waste. Five are owned by private companies and are contaminated with mercury waste, hydrocarbons, etc. In total, these sites cover an area of 166,574 square meters.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, from a governance perspective, there are other severe challenges related to a conservative system of administration, often characterized by a hierarchical and siloed approach that contradicts the transversal and holistic approach needed for the green transition. There is a lack of trust and cooperation across the levels of governance and within the society and shortcomings in the capacities of (local) public authorities as well as other stakeholders that lack experience and skills in identifying, developing and implementing transition projects. Participation and consultation with the local community are limited, leading to a low understanding of just transition objectives amongst the local population.

## Nature and scale of key transition opportunities

As regards the potential for economic diversification and development opportunities in the territory concentrate on the areas of transport systems, industrial engineering, engineering of materials used in manufacturing (e.g. per, rubber and plastics, non-metallic minerals, organic and inorganic chemicals, wood), health systems, equipment and technologies, photovoltaic energy production, as well as the development of the ITC sector. Gorj is also in a favourable economic position due to its graphite resources in Baia de Fier – a highly sought-after substance used to produce graphene, a product with multiple uses in telecommunications, medicine, electronics and the production of batteries for electric cars.<sup>38</sup> Premises like the Constantin Brancusi University allow Gorj to become a centre for innovation and research with a large pool of pupils with higher education and technical skills available.

According to a study by EPG (Energy Policy Group)<sup>39</sup>, Gorj is in a unique position as one of the areas with the highest solar power potential which could create 2.6 jobs per MW installed. Furthermore, the county is in a favourable position to attract companies amongst four key value chains: renewable energy and electricity grids; energy efficiency in buildings and heat pumps; batteries, components and infrastructure for electric vehicles; and green hydrogen-based technologies.

37. According to a study by the Frankfurt School of Finance and Management funded by the EU Structural Reform Support Programme. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/1c0f712ea5d63755decc545234f10e56.pdf>

38. Ministry of Investments and European Projects. Territorial Just Transition Plan Gorj County. Available at: <https://mfe.gov.ro/ptj-21-27/>

39. EPG, 2021. The sustainable transition of Gorj county. Available at: <https://www.enpg.ro/the-sustainable-transition-of-gorj-county/>

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## Initiative for coal regions in transition

The Initiative for coal regions in transition is led by the European Commission.

🔗 [ec.europa.eu/coal-regions-in-transition](https://ec.europa.eu/coal-regions-in-transition)

✉ [secretariat@coalregions.eu](mailto:secretariat@coalregions.eu)

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