



Spatial Inequalities in Banking Access: Evidence from Romania

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ABSTRACT

Financial inclusion in Romania expanded as reflected in the rising share of the adult population holding a bank account, which increased from 58.5% in 2017 to around 80% by 2026. However, these gains are not spatially uniform and the territorial distribution of physical banking infrastructure determines whether formal inclusion translates into effective access to financial services. This paper examines the spatial distribution of bank branches and ATMs in Romania and the resulting territorial inequalities in access between urban and rural areas. Grounded in financial geography, the study combines longitudinal official indicators (FRED/IMF and World Bank, 2004–2024) with GIS-based mapping of georeferenced branch and ATM locations at the local administrative level (LAU2, 2026 snapshot). The results reveal a structural shift in the banking system: the number of commercial bank branches fell by roughly half, from 6,338 in 2008 to 3,314 in 2024, whereas the ATM network remained comparatively stable at around 10,000–11,000 units over the same period. This points to a transition toward cost-efficient, hybrid service delivery. The provision of infrastructure is strongly concentrated in Bucharest-Ilfov and a few major regional centres, while rural and peripheral areas, particularly in the eastern part of the country, remain underserved. These territorial patterns should be interpreted in the context of ongoing banking digitalization. However, because the study does not directly measure digital literacy, connectivity, or the actual use of digital banking services, it cannot determine the extent to which digital channels compensate for declining physical access. The paper contributes a fine-grained, commune-level (LAU2) spatial assessment of banking infrastructure for an emerging European economy, a scale rarely applied beyond a few Western countries, and offers evidence relevant to spatial planning and financial inclusion policy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The geography of banking infrastructure may be an economic factor that determines regional development and spatially structured services

integrated into settlements' organization. The territorial distribution of commercial bank branches and automated teller machines (ATMs) shows the connection between demographic structure, market dynamics, and urban hierarchy. Although the literature

has extensively analysed the relationship between financial development and economic growth, little attention has been given to the spatial configuration of banking infrastructure and its implications for territorial inequality, especially in emerging economies. While spatial studies of branch closures, ATM access and banking deserts are well developed for countries such as the United Kingdom, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, New Zealand and the United States, fine-grained analyses at the local administrative (LAU2) level remain scarce for Central and Eastern Europe, and GIS-based territorial assessments of banking infrastructure in Romania are largely absent.

From an economic point of view, the presence of physical branches of banks increases the transactional performance for households and companies, facilitates deposit mobilization and credit intermediation (Ji et al., 2023). Luca (2014) considers that spatial behaviour is a result of many advantages that companies take into consideration when they choose a certain location. Usually, banks act on profitability criteria. The decisions related to branch location are determined by population density, commercial activity, accessibility, and income concentration (Hammam et al., 2023). In consequence, market-based location strategies tend to favour urban centres, while sparsely populated rural areas may experience withdrawal of banking services.

From a geographical perspective, banking infrastructure supports the functional organization of settlements as a component of the service network. Its spatial distribution engages with urban-rural disparity (Bîrsanuc et al., 2021), regional polarization, and demographic changes (Nicula et al., 2019; Pacurar et al., 2016; Zotic and Alexandru, 2024). The polarization of financial services in urban areas shows agglomeration economies and the benefit of spatial proximity to large consumers markets (Wei et al., 2024). In contrast, peripheral territories may encounter a decrease in service accessibility and emphasize core-periphery patterns (Saepulloh et al., 2025). Thus, the geography of banking is important for both economic analysis and spatial planning. According to the European Central Bank (2024), in the European Union, the number of banks branches has constantly decreased since the global financial crisis. This is mostly due to strategies for cost efficiency, mergers and acquisitions, and, most importantly, because of the development of bank digitalization. Digital transformation changed traditional banking models (Oprea and Nicula, 2026; Simionescu and Nicula, 2024; Simionescu and Nicula, 2025) and also sped up the reorganization of territorial banking networks. In this context, the spatial reorganization of banks branches and ATMs may cause differentiated spatial effects rather than homogeneous performance gains. In Romania, the number of bank branches decreased from 6,338 in 2008 to 3,314 in

2024, but the number of ATMs increased from 3,290 in 2004 to a peak of 11,492 in 2015, stabilizing at around 10,242 by 2024 (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2026). Also, statistical indicators show that Romania had 20.7 commercial bank branches per 100,000 adults in 2024, a level that remains below the European Union average (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2026). In terms of ATMs, in 2024 the data show 63.7 per 100,000 adults (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2026); regional differences nonetheless persist, with more limited ATM access in parts of Moldavia compared to other regions (National Bank of Romania, 2024). In contrast, major urban centres and metropolitan regions, especially Bucharest-Ilfov, focus on a high share of financial infrastructure. Pre-existing territorial inequalities are maintained by financial infrastructures that tend to follow market potential and urban dimension (Wei et al., 2024). The withdrawal of physical branches can lead to “financial desertification”. This concept is used to describe areas with limited bank variety and access due to closures (Burgstaller, 2017). In this sense, digital banking reduces some accessibility constraints, but it does not fully substitute face-to-face bank services in regions characterized by lower digital literacy. This hinders the adoption of digital technologies for different demographic categories (Oprea et al., 2025). It is necessary to make a fine-grained spatial assessment of banking infrastructure in order to respond to all these changes. A territorial analysis can identify concentration patterns, service gaps, and structural disparities between urban and rural areas (Boțan et al., 2015). In this context, Romania is an important case study among emerging European economies, considering that it is a country with rapid development of bank digitalization and persistent regional disparities. The general aim of the paper is to analyse the spatial distribution of banking infrastructure in Romania and evaluate territorial inequalities between urban and rural areas in terms of accessing financial services. To make this aim operational, the study pursues five specific objectives: (i) to describe the national long-term trends in banking infrastructure, namely the evolution of the number of bank branches and ATMs; (ii) to map the territorial distribution of branches and ATMs at LAU2 level; (iii) to measure urban-rural disparities in access to this infrastructure; (iv) to test whether the ATM network compensates, in spatial terms, for the contraction of the branch network; and (v) to derive policy implications for financial inclusion and spatial planning. Objectives (i) and (ii) correspond to research question 1, objective (iii) to research question 2, and objective (iv) to research question 3. To pursue these objectives, the study combines longitudinal official indicators (FRED/IMF and World Bank) describing national trends with GIS-based mapping of georeferenced bank-branch and ATM locations extracted from

OpenStreetMap at the LAU2 level. The paper contributes to existing literature through a fine-grained, commune-level (LAU2) spatial assessment of banking infrastructure for an emerging European economy. This is a scale rarely applied beyond a few Western countries, which combines longitudinal indicators with GIS-based methods. It highlights the asymmetric evolution of banking infrastructure, characterized by a decline in bank branches, a relative stabilization of the ATM network after its mid-2010s peak, and increasing financial inclusion. The study also shows that digitalization reshapes rather than eliminates territorial disparities in access to financial services, reinforcing core-periphery patterns between urban and rural areas. The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the theoretical framework, Section 3 describes the data and methodology, Section 4 discusses the empirical results, and Section 5 concludes with the main findings and policy implications.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section develops the analytical framework that guides the empirical analysis. Rather than reviewing the literature as a sequence of contributions, it organizes existing research around the mechanisms through which banking infrastructure becomes territorially uneven, grouped into three connected dimensions: the financial-geographic logic of location and urban hierarchy; the dynamics of branch closures, banking deserts and their partial compensation; and the role of digitalization in reshaping, rather than removing, spatial inequality.

2.1. Financial geography and territorial inequality

Financial geography emphasizes the spatial anchoring of financial systems and the territorial consequences of banking structures (Ji et al., 2023). From this perspective, financial infrastructure is not a neutral space, since it privileges economically dense nodes and marginalizes peripheries (Dymski, 2009). The location of bank branches follows a profitability logic, in which decisions respond to population density, commercial activity, accessibility, and income concentration (Hamam et al., 2023; Luca, 2014). The resulting polarization of financial services in urban areas reflects agglomeration economies and the value banks attach to proximity to large consumer markets (Wei et al., 2024).

In post-transition European contexts, this hierarchy is further shaped by institutional heritage, foreign-bank penetration, and uneven financial development (Beckmann et al., 2018), producing a spatial pattern across Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe (CESEE) countries, and in

Romania in particular, where branch density is markedly higher in metropolitan centres than in peripheral regions (Rodríguez-Pose and Sandu, 2025). Even technological change does not flatten this geography, as fintech development generates spatially uneven effects on bank performance, interacting with local economic structures and innovation capacity in ways that can deepen rather than reduce territorial disparities (Zhao et al., 2024).

Taken together, these contributions suggest that the territorial distribution of banking infrastructure is governed primarily by profitability and urban hierarchy rather than by territorial equity, which provides the analytical basis for examining whether the Romanian banking network reproduces a similar core-periphery structure.

2.2. Spatial accessibility, branch closures and banking deserts

A growing body of work measures spatial access to banking services in order to capture territorial inequality, using accessibility metrics and network analysis to relate supply nodes to population demand. Floating catchment area techniques reveal spatial variations in access to branches across urban and rural contexts and show that some neighbourhoods remain underserved relative to population needs, even within metropolitan areas (Langford et al., 2021). Against this background, branch withdrawal emerges as a central mechanism of territorial exclusion. Spatial-interaction modelling of branch closures in New Zealand demonstrates that closures reconfigure accessibility patterns and affect peripheral areas disproportionately (Morrison and O'Brien, 2001), while more recent evidence shows that low-income and rural communities bear the heaviest burden, intensifying pre-existing disparities (Clark et al., 2024). The closures undertaken during the early COVID-19 period widened these gaps further, exposing the vulnerability of peripheral populations to structural shocks (Higgs et al., 2022). Where branches retreat, the credit channel itself weakens, since financial intermediation retains a strong local dimension and branch closings attenuate local loan issuance (Nguyen, 2019). This dynamic gives rise to “financial desertification”, a term describing territories with limited banking variety and access following closures (Burgstaller, 2017), and has prompted models that seek to restore spatial equity, including compensation through postal networks (Baldassarre et al., 2025; Sonea and Westerholt, 2021). Whether ATMs can fulfil this compensatory role is, however, contested, as ATM distribution tends to mirror the broader branch pattern and may either mitigate or reinforce spatial inequities (Clark and Duley, 2025), and proximity alone does not guarantee effective access (Fibæk et al., 2021).

The literature therefore indicates that branch withdrawal produces measurable banking deserts and that automated or postal alternatives compensate only partially. This is a tension that the present study examines directly by comparing the spatial footprints of branches and ATMs across Romanian LAU2 units.

2.3. Digitalization, ATM networks and financial inclusion

Across the European Union, the number of bank branches has declined steadily since the global financial crisis, driven by cost-efficiency strategies, mergers and acquisitions, and above all by the digitalization of banking (European Central Bank, 2024).

Digital transformation has reshaped traditional banking models and accelerated the reorganization of territorial networks (Oprea and Nicula, 2026; Simionescu and Nicula, 2024, 2025). In settings where the adoption of digital services is uneven or where cash use persists, physical access to ATMs remains a primary spatial dimension of inclusion. Detailed geospatial evidence from Austria shows pronounced regional variation in ATM access, with machine presence closely tied to settlement density and existing banking infrastructure (Stix, 2020), and comparable findings from Switzerland confirm that ATM density follows population concentration and urban centrality, reinforcing hierarchical spatial patterns (Trütsch, 2022). Optimization models based on transaction data make the underlying logic explicit, showing that ATM networks are configured for efficiency and demand maximization rather than territorial equity (Khan and Yesmin, 2016; Ramdani and Setiawan, 2024). The consequences fall unevenly across the population. In the United States, low-density ATM and branch environments overlap spatially with vulnerable groups (Van Leuven et al., 2024), and reduced accessibility carries tangible economic costs, correlating with lower rates of new firm formation and shaping the capital structure of small and medium

enterprises (Ho and Berggren, 2020, 2024). Rural and ageing populations are particularly exposed, because lower digital literacy hinders the adoption of digital channels across demographic groups (Oprea et al., 2025) and because peripheral territories experience a cumulative decline in service accessibility that sharpens core-periphery divides (Saepulloh et al., 2025).

Overall, this strand of research suggests that digitalization does not eliminate territorial inequality. It creates new forms of exclusion for populations with limited connectivity and digital skills, a proposition that motivates the present assessment of how branch contraction, ATM provision and expanding account ownership combine across Romania's urban and rural territories.

Building on this theoretical framework, the study addresses the following research questions:

- How has the spatial distribution of bank branches and ATMs evolved in Romania after 2008?
- What disparities exist between urban and rural areas in access to banking infrastructure?
- To what extent does the ATM network compensate for the reduction of bank branches?

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data and methods section aim to explain how the empirical framework of the analysis on the spatial distribution of banking infrastructure in Romania and the differences between urban and rural areas was built. The research starts from the premise that access to financial services is influenced not only by the development of the banking system, but also by the territorial structure of the population, the urban hierarchy, and the regional economic dynamics. In this context, in order to highlight territorial patterns and potential disparities in access to financial services, the analysis combines statistical data on the evolution of banking infrastructure with spatial analysis tools. The data sources, indicators, periods, units of measurement, territorial levels, and analytical roles are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Data sources, indicators, coverage, and analytical role.

Data source	Indicator or dataset	Period	Unit of measurement	Territorial level	Role in the analysis
FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis / IMF Financial Access Survey	Number of commercial bank branches, series ROUFCBODCNUM	2008-2024	Number of branches	National	Analysis of the long-term contraction of the physical branch network
FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis / IMF Financial Access Survey	Number of automated teller machines, series ROUFCACNUM	2004-2024	Number of ATMs	National	Analysis of the expansion, peak, decline, and subsequent stabilization of the ATM network
World Bank Open Data	Commercial bank branches per 100,000 adults, indicator FB.CBK.BRCH.P5	2014-2023	Branches per 100,000 adults	National	Population-standardized assessment of physical branch availability

Statista Market Insights	Bank-account penetration	2017-2029	Percentage	National	Description of formal financial inclusion; the series includes forecast values for the final years
OpenStreetMap contributors / Geofabrik Romania extract	Commercial bank locations identified through amenity=bank	2026 snapshot	Georeferenced points and number of mapped branches per LAU2 unit	LAU2	Mapping branch distribution and identifying banked, limited-service, and potential banking-desert areas
OpenStreetMap contributors / Geofabrik Romania extract	ATM locations identified through amenity=atm	2026 snapshot	Georeferenced points and number of mapped ATMs per LAU2 unit	LAU2	Mapping ATM distribution, measuring urban–rural disparities, and assessing the spatial presence of automated services
[Insert the actual source used for the administrative boundary layer]	LAU2 administrative boundaries and legal urban–rural status	2026 or reference year of the layer	Administrative polygons and categorical urban–rural classification	LAU2	Spatial aggregation of bank branches and ATMs and comparison between urban and rural units
Ziarul Financiar, via Statista	Leading banks by total financial assets	2024	Million Romanian lei	Banking institution	Contextual assessment of banking-sector concentration
Ziarul Financiar, via Statista	Leading banks by net income	2024	Million Romanian lei	Banking institution	Contextual assessment of the financial dominance of major banking institutions

Source: authors' compilation based on the data sources listed above.

The empirical basis of the study is built on several official statistical data sources and international databases. The data regarding the evolution of the number of bank branches and the ATM network were extracted from the FRED database of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. It compiles macroeconomic and financial indicators for numerous economies, including Romania. For the analysis of the dynamics of the banking infrastructure, data series cover the 2004-2024 period, the analysed interval capturing both the period of expansion of banking networks after Romania's accession to the European Union and the subsequent period characterized by the territorial reorganization of the banking system in the context of the digitalization of financial services.

Additional data on the evolution of bank-account penetration were obtained from the Statista Market Insights platform. This indicator complements the measures of physical banking infrastructure by describing the broader evolution of formal financial inclusion among the population. The use of these indicators allows for the simultaneous assessment of the physical infrastructure of the banking system and the level of financial integration of the population. Also, information published in financial stability reports by the National Bank of Romania was used for the analysis. Data on the main banking institutions in Romania were also analysed, depending on the size of assets and financial performance, in order to contextualize the territorial organization of the banking system. This information comes from statistics synthesized by economic publications and reflects the degree of concentration of the banking sector. The

analysis of this data is useful for understanding the location strategies of the banking infrastructure, because the dominant institutions in the system have a major role in configuring the territorial network of branches and ATMs.

The spatial unit of analysis used in the research is the territory of Romania, analysed through the lens of differences between urban and rural areas and, to a certain extent, by reference to the regional structure of the country. The choice of this scale is justified by the fact that access to banking services is strongly influenced by the structure of settlements and population distribution. The specialized literature shows that banking institutions locate their infrastructure according to market potential, which favours large cities and regional economic centres. In this sense, the differences between urban and rural areas represent an appropriate framework for assessing possible territorial inequalities in access to financial services.

The empirical analysis used several statistical indicators that allow the assessment of access to banking infrastructure. In the economic literature, a frequently used indicator is the number of bank branches per adult population, expressed as the number of branches per 100,000 adults. This indicator reflects the degree of physical access to banking services and allows for the comparison of the level of financial infrastructure between different countries or time periods.

The evolution of this indicator in the case of Romania provides information regarding the transformations of the banking system in recent years

and the decreasing trend in the number of physical branches. Another important indicator analysed in the study is the density of the ATM network. ATMs are important for financial infrastructure as they facilitate access to cash and certain basic banking services. In many contexts, the expansion of the ATM network was interpreted as a strategy of financial institutions that try to compensate for the decrease in the number of physical branches. The analysis of the evolution of this indicator allows the assessment of how the banking system adapted the territorial infrastructure to technological developments and the change in population financial behaviour. In parallel with these indicators, the evolution of the degree of penetration of bank accounts among the population was analysed. This indicator provides a perspective on the level of financial inclusion and the degree to which the population uses the services of the banking system. Even if the penetration of bank accounts does not directly reflect the territorial distribution of the financial infrastructure, its analysis contributes to understanding the general context in which access to banking services develops. The empirical strategy combines national longitudinal series with georeferenced point data. The longitudinal component includes the number of commercial bank branches from FRED (series ROUFCBODCNUM, 2008-2024), the number of ATMs from FRED (series ROUFCACNUM, 2004-2024), the number of commercial bank branches per 100,000 adults from World Bank Open Data (2014-2023), and bank-account penetration from Statista Market Insights (2017-2029). These series are used exclusively to describe temporal trends at the national level and are analysed as raw counts, percentages, and standardized ratios without log transformation, since the analysis is descriptive rather than inferential.

The spatial analysis relies on georeferenced point data extracted from the 2026 OpenStreetMap Romania dataset provided through the Geofabrik platform. Bank branches were identified using the tag *amenity=bank*, while ATMs were identified using *amenity=atm*. Because the extract represents a single 2026 snapshot, the resulting maps describe the current spatial distribution of banking infrastructure. Temporal change is assessed only through the national longitudinal series, and no claim is made regarding changes in the LAU2-level spatial distribution over time.

Exact duplicate records were removed, while records without valid geographic coordinates or located outside the Romanian LAU2 administrative boundaries were excluded from the spatial analysis. The cleaned bank-branch and ATM points were assigned to LAU2 administrative units through a spatial join. The resulting data were aggregated as mapped counts and presence-absence indicators for each of Romania's 3,181 LAU2 units, following the GIS-based cartographic approach used in previous territorial analyses of

Romania (Avadanei et al., 2019). LAU2 units were classified according to their legal administrative status, with municipalities, towns, and the sectors of Bucharest treated as urban and communes treated as rural.

To link the concept of a banking desert directly to the indicators used in the analysis, a potential banking desert is operationally defined as an LAU2 unit containing neither a mapped commercial bank branch nor a mapped ATM in the 2026 OpenStreetMap snapshot. An LAU2 unit without a mapped bank branch but containing at least one mapped ATM is classified as a limited-service area, because it provides access to cash and a restricted range of automated operations without offering the full range of services available at a bank branch. An LAU2 unit containing at least one mapped bank branch is classified as a banked area, irrespective of the presence or number of ATMs. This classification is therefore based directly on two observable indicators: the number of mapped bank branches and the number of mapped ATMs within each LAU2 unit. It also provides the operational basis for interpreting the presence or absence of banking infrastructure in Figures 1 and 2.

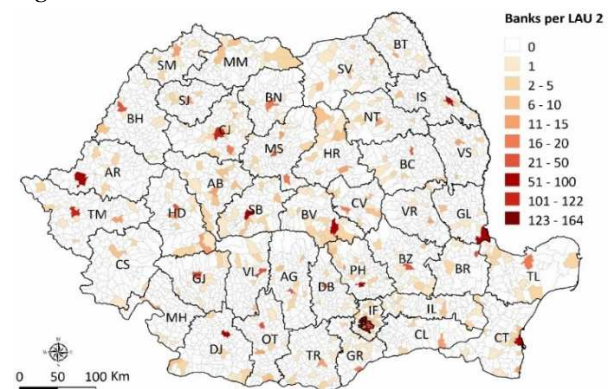


Fig. 1. Spatial distribution of bank branches in Romania at LAU2 level (source: authors' elaboration based on OpenStreetMap data retrieved from Geofabrik, 2026).



Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of ATMs in Romania at LAU2 level (source: authors' elaboration based on OpenStreetMap data retrieved from Geofabrik, 2026).

Because OpenStreetMap is a collaborative dataset, the absence of a mapped facility does not necessarily demonstrate the definitive absence of banking infrastructure. Consequently, the term

“potential banking desert” refers specifically to the absence of mapped physical banking access points within an LAU2 unit. The classification does not account for travel time to facilities in neighbouring administrative units, opening hours, service quality, mobile banking units, digital accessibility, or the actual use of banking services. The spatial data are therefore used to identify relative territorial patterns rather than exhaustive infrastructure totals, while national totals are reported from the official FRED/IMF series.

The interpretation of the results was carried out in relation to theoretical concepts from economic geography and financial geography, such as territorial polarization and the centre-periphery relationship. In this sense, the distribution of banking infrastructure was analysed in relation to the urban hierarchy and the economic structure of the regions. The methodology adopted in this research provides a coherent framework in order to assess the territorial distribution of banking infrastructure in Romania. This approach allows us to observe the differences between urban and rural areas and contributes to understanding how the reorganization of the banking system influences the population's access to financial services.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Building on the methodological framework outlined in the previous section, the empirical analysis combines descriptive statistical indicators with spatial representation techniques. The GIS-based approach facilitates the visualization of spatial disparities across local administrative units, while the use of longitudinal data allows the examination of dynamic changes in financial inclusion and infrastructure over time. The results provide empirical evidence on the spatial reconfiguration of banking infrastructure in Romania and its implications for territorial disparities in financial access. The indicators are drawn from different but complementary periods, according to data availability: account penetration is reported for 2017-2029, the number of ATMs for 2004-2024, the number of commercial bank branches for 2008-2024, and branch density per 100,000 adults for 2014-2023. Each series covers the full span available from its source and characterizes the corresponding long-term trend, whereas the LAU2 maps reflect the 2026 spatial snapshot. The analytical framework is organized around four pairs of figures that reflect complementary dimensions of financial accessibility and infrastructural transformation.

4.1. Spatial distribution of bank branches and ATM infrastructure

The spatial distribution of banking infrastructure in Romania at the LAU2 level is

presented in Figures 1 and 2, which show the territorial patterns of bank branches and automated teller machines. Interpreted together, the maps indicate how financial infrastructure is geographically organized and how access to banking services differs across the national territory. Figure 1 presents the spatial distribution of bank branches. The map reveals a strong concentration of banking institutions in the main urban centres of Romania. Clearly, the highest densities are visible in Bucharest, which represents the dominant national financial hub. The capital city is the primary economic, administrative, and financial centre and concentrates a larger number of banking institutions compared to the rest of the country. Besides Bucharest, there are several regional urban poles that also display relatively high concentrations of bank branches. Cities such as Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara, Iași, Brașov, Constanța, and Sibiu appear as important secondary financial nodes within the national banking network. These urban centres function as regional service hubs where economic activity, population density, and business generate favourable conditions for the presence of financial institutions. In contrast, the majority of LAU2 units across Romania show very low values or a complete absence of banking institutions. This pattern is particularly evident in rural territories and peripheral regions, which are characterized by lower population density and weaker economic activity. Therefore, the spatial distribution presents a pronounced urban-rural disparity in banking infrastructure, where financial services are mostly concentrated in metropolitan and urban centres at the county level. A similar but not identical pattern can be observed in Figure 2. It illustrates the distribution of ATMs across the same territorial units. ATMs also tend to cluster around major cities, but their spatial distribution appears slightly more dispersed compared to bank branches. This indicates that the ATM network, as automated physical infrastructure, partially compensates for the limited presence of traditional banking offices in certain areas. Still, the highest densities of ATMs remain in large urban areas and regional economic centres. Bucharest again is the location with the largest number of machines, followed by major regional cities such as Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara, Iași, and Constanța. These areas combine high population density with an increased demand for financial services, which explains the substantial presence of both branches and automated access points. Compared to bank branches, the ATM network appears more present in smaller towns and secondary urban centres. This shows the strategic behaviour of financial institutions, which often locate ATMs as a cost-efficient alternative to physical branches in territories with limited market potential. Automated infrastructure allows banks to be present in the territory and provide basic services, such as cash withdrawal and simple

transactions with lower costs. In spite of this, large areas of rural Romania still present limited ATM availability. In many LAU2 units, only one machine appears or none at all, which indicates that physical access to cash remains geographically uneven. This pattern suggests that although ATMs attenuate some constraints related to accessibility, they do not fully eliminate territorial disparities in financial service provision. Taken together, Figures 1 and 2 confirm that Romania's banking infrastructure follows a hierarchical spatial structure. Financial institutions concentrate their physical presence in economically dynamic urban centres where demand for services is the highest. Peripheral and rural territories remain structurally less served, which reinforces the broader pattern of

territorial polarization between urban cores and rural peripheries. These findings are consistent with theoretical perspectives from financial geography and economic geography, which argue that financial infrastructure tends to follow market potential, settlement hierarchy, and regional economic development. In the Romanian case, the spatial distribution of banks and ATMs clearly mirrors the country's urban system, with large metropolitan areas acting as the main anchors of the national financial network. To quantify the patterns shown in Figures 1 and 2, Table 2 summarizes the distribution of mapped ATMs across the 3,181 LAU2 units, classified into urban and rural categories. The complete dataset is available in Appendix 1.

Table 2. Urban-rural distribution of mapped ATMs across LAU2 units in Romania, 2026.

Category	LAU2 units	Units with no ATM		Mapped ATMs	Share of ATMs (%)	Mean ATMs/unit
		no.	%			
Urban (towns, municipalities, Bucharest sectors)	319	156	48.9	1,182	87.4	3.71
Rural (communes)	2,862	2,732	95.5	171	12.6	0.06
Total	3,181	2,888	90.8	1,353	100	0.43

Source: authors' elaboration based on OpenStreetMap data (Geofabrik Romania extract, 2026).

Although urban units account for only about 10% of all LAU2 units, they concentrate 87.4% of the mapped ATMs, with an average of 3.71 ATMs per unit compared with 0.06 in rural communes; more than 95% of communes have no mapped ATM, against 49% of urban units. These shares describe the relative spatial distribution of ATMs mapped in OpenStreetMap rather than exhaustive counts, but they confirm a pronounced urban-rural divide in physical access to ATM infrastructure.

4.2. Financial inclusion and the evolution of ATM infrastructure

The data related to the evolution of bank account penetration between 2017 and 2029, as presented in Figure 3, indicates a steady increase in the share of the population holding a bank account. In 2017, approximately 58.5% of the population owned a bank account. Over the following years, this proportion increased and reached 66.1% in 2020 and surpassed 70% in 2022. According to the forecast, bank account penetration is expected to reach around 85.8% by 2029. This upward trend reflects a gradual expansion of financial inclusion in Romania. While bank account penetration captures formal inclusion within the banking system, it does not necessarily measure effective territorial access to banking services, especially in areas where digital literacy, internet connectivity, or physical infrastructure remain limited. This development is explained by the increasing use of digital banking services, the development of electronic

payment systems, and the increasing number of salary cards. Also, the rapid evolution of internet banking and mobile banking applications reduced the barriers to access to financial services.

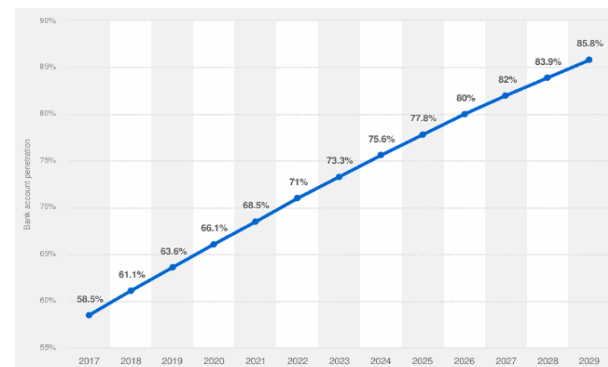


Fig. 3. Bank account penetration in Romania (2017-2029) (source: Statista Market Insights, 2025).

The increase in financial inclusion also reflects broader structural transformations in the Romanian economy. The formalization of economic activities also contributed to the expansion of financial participation among the population. In contrast, Figure 4 illustrates the evolution of the number of ATMs in Romania between 2004 and 2024. Unlike the strong upward trend in account penetration, the ATM network expanded rapidly in the second half of the 2000s, rising from 3,290 machines in 2004 to a peak of 11,492 in 2015, and then entered a phase of gradual decline and stabilization, reaching 10,242 by 2024. This trajectory reflects the early expansion of the banking network following EU accession, followed by restructuring and

the optimization of physical infrastructure as digital channels developed.

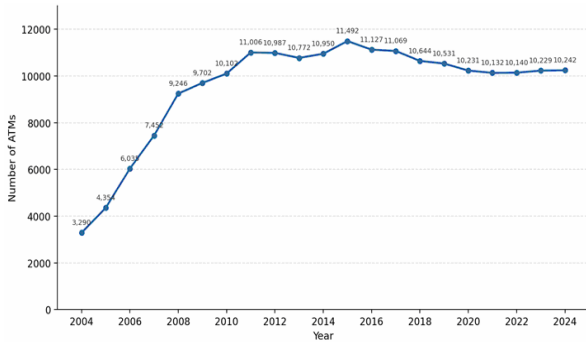


Fig. 4. Number of ATMs in Romania (2004–2024) (source: authors' elaboration based on FRED/IMF Financial Access Survey, series ROUFCACNUM, 2026).

The comparison between the two indicators shows an important structural dynamic in the Romanian banking system. While financial inclusion continues to expand, the growth of the physical ATM network is relatively limited. This suggests that the increase in financial inclusion is supported more by digital banking channels rather than by the expansion of traditional infrastructure. A large share of the population is integrated into the banking system, even though the number of physical access points does not increase notably. Digital banking services allow users to interact with financial institutions without relying on physical infrastructure. This transformation also has spatial implications. Physical access points such as ATMs remain necessary in territories where digital infrastructure or digital literacy is limited. Consequently, even if the overall number of machines stabilizes, their spatial distribution remains important in order to ensure balanced access to financial services across different regions. Taken together, Figures 3 and 4 show the transition of Romania's banking system toward a more digitally oriented model of financial access. Financial inclusion expands rapidly, while physical infrastructure evolves more slowly and becomes increasingly complementary to digital banking services.

4.3. Contraction of the bank branch network and declining physical access to banking services

The structural evolution of the bank branch network in Romania is presented in Figures 5 and 6. They both highlight the absolute reduction in the number of branches and the declining density of banking infrastructure relative to the adult population. Figure 5 presents the evolution of the total number of commercial bank branches in Romania between 2008 and 2024. The data show a clear and continuous decreasing trend. In 2008 the banking system operated 6,338 branches; the network then contracted steadily, falling to 5,140 in 2014, 4,393 in 2017 and 3,652 in 2020, reaching 3,314 branches by 2024, a decline of

almost half over the period. This confirms the ongoing restructuring of the banking sector's territorial infrastructure. A similar pattern can be observed in Figure 6, which measures the number of commercial bank branches correlated to the adult population.

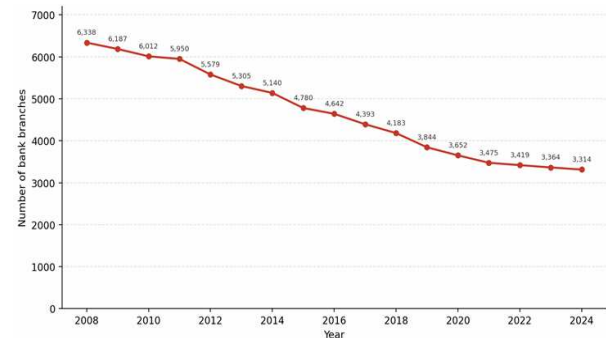


Fig. 5. Number of commercial bank branches in Romania (2008–2024) (source: authors' elaboration based on FRED/IMF Financial Access Survey, series ROUFCBODCNM, 2026).

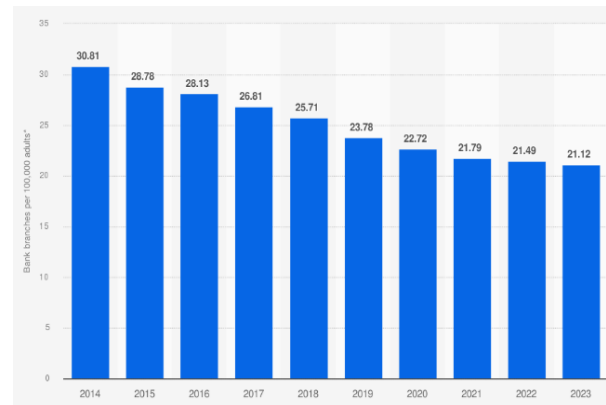


Fig. 6. Commercial bank branches per 100,000 adults in Romania (2014–2023) (source: World Bank Open Data, indicator FB.CBK.BRCHP5, 2025).

This indicator provides a transparent perspective on the accessibility of banking services as it standardizes the number of branches in relation to population size. The data indicate that the density of bank branches decreased over the past decade. In 2014, Romania recorded approximately 30.8 bank branches per 100,000 adults. By 2017, the indicator had already fallen to 26.8, and the downward trend continued in subsequent years. By 2023, the density of bank branches had declined to approximately 21.1 branches per 100,000 adults.

The interpretation of the two figures together shows a diminution of the physical banking infrastructure in Romania. Both the absolute number of branches and the adjusted density indicator of population show a gradual reduction. This trend indicates the wider structural transformation of the banking sector under the influence of digitalization, cost optimization strategies, and changing consumer behaviour. Behind this transformation is the rapid development of bank digitalization. Digital services, such as internet banking platforms, mobile applications, and performant electronic payment systems, reduced the

need for customers to visit physical branches for simple transactions. As a result, financial institutions optimized their territorial networks and concentrated branches in economically dynamic locations. Another important factor is operational efficiency. A network of branches involves costs related to staff, infrastructure, and administration. In response, many banks reduced operational expenses and invested more in digital service channels. Yet, the contraction of the branch network may also have spatial implications. Rural and peripheral regions, which already have limited financial infrastructure, may be affected by branch closures. In these territories, physical branches often are the main point of access for certain population groups, in particular for elderly individuals or residents with limited digital skills. Romania's banking system is undergoing a transition from a branch-based service model toward a more digitally oriented financial infrastructure. This transformation mirrors technological and economic trends, but it also raises important questions regarding the territorial balance of access to financial services across different regions of the country.

4.4. Concentration of the banking sector and its implications for territorial financial infrastructure

The leading banks in Romania, according to financial assets and net income as of Y 2024, are presented in Figures 7 and 8.

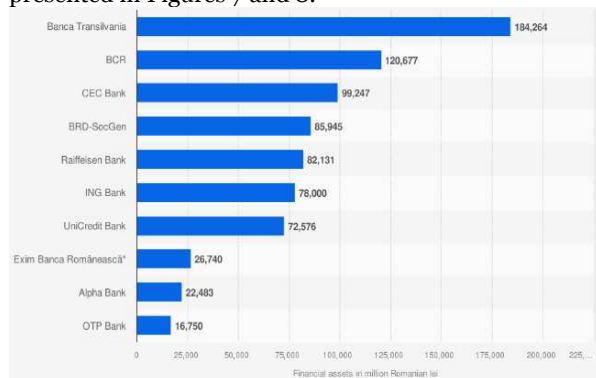


Fig. 7. Leading banks in Romania by total financial assets (2024) (source: *Ziarul Financiar*, 2025, via Statista, 2026).

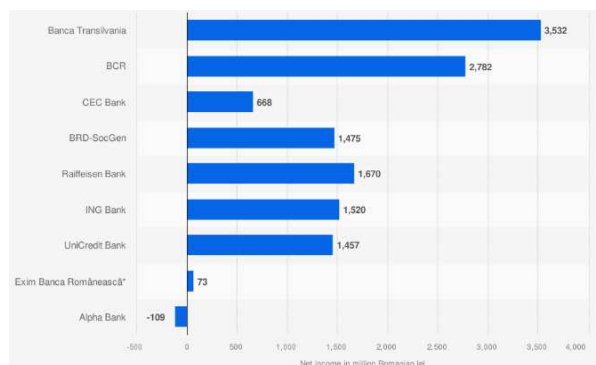


Fig. 8. Leading banks in Romania by net income (2024) (source: *Ziarul Financiar*, 2025, via Statista, 2026).

Interpreted together, the two figures show information about the degree of concentration within the banking system and the dominant role of a relatively small number of institutions. The data in Figure 7 shows that the sector is strongly dominated by several major institutions. Banca Transilvania (BT) has the leading position with financial assets exceeding 184 billion Romanian lei; the second position is held by Banca Comercială Română (BCR) with assets of approximately 120.7 billion lei, followed by CEC Bank, BRD – Groupe Société Générale, and Raiffeisen Bank, each holding considerable asset volumes. The presence of ING Bank and UniCredit Bank among the top institutions further indicates the strong participation of international banking groups in the Romanian financial system. At the lower end of the ranking are situated Exim Banca Românească, Alpha Bank, and OTP Bank, which operate with smaller asset volumes. It is to be mentioned that OTP Bank merged with Banca Transilvania in February 2025, and Alpha Bank was taken over by Unicredit Bank in August 2025.

A similar concentration pattern emerges in Figure 8, which presents the ranking of the same banks according to net income. Once more, Banca Transilvania holds the first position with a net profit of approximately 3.5 billion Romanian lei, then BCR follows with a net income of around 2.8 billion lei. The remaining banks, including Raiffeisen Bank, ING Bank, BRD-SocGen, and UniCredit Bank, also have strong financial performance but at lower levels compared to the leading banks. There can also be observed substantial disparities in profitability across institutions. While the largest banks generate important net income, the smaller ones record substantially lower results and, in some cases, even negative performance, as illustrated by Alpha Bank, which shows a negative value for the analysed year. The interpretation of the two figures presents a high degree of concentration within the Romanian banking sector. A limited number of institutions control the majority of financial resources and generate the largest share of profits. This structural concentration has implications for the spatial organization of banking infrastructure because large banks shape the territorial distribution of financial services. Their strategies for investments decide where branches and ATMs are maintained, expanded, or reduced. Usually, these banks prioritize market efficiency and profitability, and their territorial strategies often favour economically dynamic regions and large urban centres. As a result, the spatial distribution of banking infrastructure is closely linked to the strategic decisions of these dominant financial institutions. The regions with stronger economic activity, higher population density, and increased financial demand tend to attract a higher concentration of banking services. In contrast, peripheral or rural areas may experience a gradual reduction of physical

infrastructure. The structure of the Romanian banking sector is characterized by both institutional concentration and strong financial performance among the largest banks. This concentration strengthens the hierarchical spatial organization of financial services and contributes to the persistence of territorial disparities in access to banking infrastructure. These results provide direct answers to the first two research questions. Concerning the evolution of the spatial distribution of branches and ATMs (RQ1), the analysis shows a marked contraction of the branch network, from 6,338 in 2008 to 3,314 in 2024, alongside a relatively stable ATM network after its mid-2010s peak. Concerning urban-rural disparities (RQ2), both branches and ATMs are strongly concentrated in Bucharest-Ilfov and a few major regional centres, while most rural LAU2 units have few or no access points. With respect to whether the ATM network compensates for the contraction of the branch network (RQ3), the 2026 maps indicate that ATMs are somewhat more spatially dispersed than bank branches. However, this cross-sectional comparison cannot establish whether ATM deployment has compensated for branch closures over time. A formal assessment of temporal spatial compensation would require longitudinal georeferenced data on individual branch closures and ATM openings at the LAU2 level, which are not available in the present study.

Empirical results show a clear structural transformation of Romania's banking system guided by digitalization and institutional restructuring. The growth of financial inclusion, as reflected in the increasing share of the population holding bank accounts, occurs simultaneously with the contraction of the physical branch network and the stabilization of ATM infrastructure. This dual dynamic indicates a shift toward a hybrid model of financial access in which digital channels increasingly substitute traditional banking services. However, the spatial distribution of banking infrastructure remains uneven, with strong concentration in urban centres and limited access in rural and peripheral areas. Consequently, while digitalization increases overall accessibility, it does not fully eliminate territorial disparities. It rather reconfigures them within a new spatial logic of financial service provision.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The paper analyses the spatial distribution of banking infrastructure in Romania and the evolution of financial access in the context of digital transformation. The study emphasizes the structural changes that affect the banking system and their implications for territorial inequality through spatial analysis combined with statistical indicators. The results show that Romanian banking infrastructure has gone through an important

transformation over the past decade. The empirical analysis shows a contrasting trend in the evolution of physical banking infrastructure. The number of bank branches steadily declined both in absolute terms and relative to the population due to restructuring strategies adopted by financial institutions in response to technological change and cost efficiency requirements. The analysis of ATM infrastructure indicates a different dynamic. After an initial decline, the number of ATMs stabilized, which suggests that automated service points have a complementary role in maintaining access to basic financial services. The relatively limited expansion of the ATM network compared to the rapid growth of financial inclusion indicates that digital channels are becoming the primary driver of access to banking services. This study set out to analyse the spatial distribution of banking infrastructure in Romania and to evaluate territorial inequalities in access to financial services between urban and rural areas. The results meet this objective: they document the long-term contraction of the branch network and the relative stabilization of ATMs (RQ1), reveal a strong urban-rural divide in the LAU2-level distribution of both branches and ATMs (RQ2), and show that, while account ownership has expanded, physical access remains spatially uneven (RQ3).

The spatial analysis at the LAU2 level provides strong evidence of territorial disparities in banking infrastructure. Bank branches and ATMs are highly concentrated in major urban centres such as Bucharest and other regional cities, while rural and peripheral areas display significantly lower levels of financial infrastructure. These findings confirm that the geography of banking infrastructure in Romania is shaped by both economic and institutional factors. Large banks determine the territorial distribution of financial services and are guided primarily by profitability considerations. As a result, financial infrastructure tends to concentrate in regions with higher economic activity and stronger demand. Romania is transitioning from a branch-based banking model to a hybrid system that integrates digital services with a reduced physical infrastructure. This transformation improves efficiency and supports the expansion of financial inclusion. However, it also redefines the spatial logic of financial access. The available evidence suggests that digitalization has not fully compensated for the uneven territorial distribution of physical banking infrastructure, and it may reshape rather than remove inequality, potentially introducing new dimensions related to digital literacy, internet access, and the ability of individuals to use digital financial tools. In this context, the decrease in the number of bank branches could, in principle, affect certain population groups more than others, particularly in rural areas or among older individuals, although this paper does not test these effects directly

and the point is offered as a policy-relevant interpretation rather than an empirical finding. From a territorial perspective, the results suggest that the restructuring of banking infrastructure leads to the persistence of core-periphery patterns. Urban centres continue to function as dominant financial nodes and concentrate both physical infrastructure and economic activity. Peripheral regions, on the other hand, remain less integrated into the financial system, despite improvements in formal financial inclusion. These findings have important implications for both policy and spatial planning. To address emerging forms of territorial financial exclusion, several concrete interventions could be considered. Regulatory frameworks could define minimum territorial coverage standards for essential banking services and incentivize financial institutions to maintain a basic presence in underserved areas. Access in rural and ageing communities could be supported through mobile banking units and partnerships with the postal network, while public-private partnerships could promote digital financial literacy where connectivity and skills remain limited.

Finally, the systematic monitoring of branch and ATM closures in underserved areas would allow disparities to be detected and addressed before access deteriorates further. The study also contributes to the broader literature on financial geography through empirical evidence from an emerging European economy. Romania represents a pertinent case study due to its rapid digital transformation and persistent regional disparities. Despite its contributions, the study has several limitations. The spatial analysis relies on a single 2026 OpenStreetMap snapshot, so it captures the current distribution of banking infrastructure rather than its evolution over time, while temporal trends are documented only through the national FRED series. In addition, the study focuses on the physical banking infrastructure and does not incorporate regional indicators on the use of digital financial services, digital literacy, or connectivity. A further limitation concerns the temporal dimension of the spatial data. Although the 2026 OpenStreetMap snapshot provides georeferenced locations for both bank branches and ATMs, comparable historical point-level data on individual branch closures and ATM openings were not available. Consequently, the extent to which ATM deployment has spatially compensated for branch closures over time could be assessed only descriptively. In addition, the identification of potential banking deserts is based on the absence of mapped branches and ATMs within individual LAU2 units. Because OpenStreetMap coverage may be incomplete and the analysis does not incorporate travel time to facilities located in neighbouring units, these areas should be interpreted as potential rather than definitive banking deserts. Future research could address these limitations

by incorporating micro-level data and exploring the interaction between digital adoption and spatial accessibility. Further studies could also examine the socio-economic effects of changing banking infrastructure, particularly in relation to entrepreneurship, household financial behaviour, and regional development. In conclusion, the Romanian banking system is under transformation, characterized by increasing digitalization, declining physical infrastructure, and persistent spatial inequalities. Addressing these disparities requires integrated policy approaches that consider both technological and spatial dimensions of financial accessibility.

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APPENDIX 1. Number of ATMs by LAU2 administrative unit in Romania

Note: ATM locations were extracted from OpenStreetMap (Geofabrik Romania extract, 2026) using the tag amenity=atm, and aggregated to LAU2 administrative units (3,181 units). As OpenStreetMap is a collaborative dataset, its coverage is not exhaustive; the table therefore reflects the relative spatial distribution of mapped ATMs across the territory (1,353 mapped points) rather than the exhaustive national count reported by official sources (FRED/IMF). Of the 3,181 LAU2 units, 2,888 (90.8%) have no mapped ATM. Subsequently, they were not listed in the table below. Source: authors' elaboration based on OpenStreetMap data.

No. of ATMs	Administrative type	Locality (LAU2)
258	Sectors of Bucharest Municipality	BUCUREȘTI SECTORUL 1
117	Municipality (county seat)	CLUJ-NAPOCA
56	Municipality (county seat)	BRAȘOV
48	Municipality (county seat)	TIMIȘOARA
41	Municipality (county seat)	IAȘI
39	Municipality (county seat)	CRAIOVA
35	Municipality (county seat)	GALAȚI
25	Municipality (county seat)	BRĂILA
24	Municipality (county seat)	SIBIU
22	Municipality (county seat)	RÂMNICU VÂLCEA
20	Municipality (county seat)	CONSTANȚA
18	Municipality (county seat)	BOTOȘANI
17	Municipality (county seat)	BUZĂU
15	Municipality (county seat)	ZALĂU
15	Municipality (county seat)	TÂRGU MUREȘ
14	Municipality (county seat)	ORADEA
13	Town	OTOPENI
11	Municipality (county seat)	PLOIEȘTI
10	Municipality (county seat)	ARAD
9	Municipality (other than county seat)	SIGHIȘOARA
8	Municipality (other than county seat)	ODORHEIU SECUIESC
8	Municipality (county seat)	MIERCUREA CIUC
8	Municipality (county seat)	DROBETA-TURNU SEVERIN
7	Municipality (county seat)	SFÂNTU GHEORGHE
7	Town	VIȘEU DE SUS
7	Municipality (other than county seat)	MANGALIA
7	Municipality (county seat)	BACĂU
7	Municipality (county seat)	BISTRIȚA
6	Municipality (other than county seat)	DRĂGĂȘANI
6	Commune	BRAN
6	Commune	GHIRODA
6	Municipality (other than county seat)	VATRA DORNEI
6	Municipality (other than county seat)	HUNEDOARA
6	Municipality (other than county seat)	CAREI
6	Municipality (county seat)	SATU MARE
6	Municipality (county seat)	DEVA
5	Town	MIOVENI
5	Municipality (other than county seat)	CÂMPINA
5	Municipality (county seat)	FOCȘANI
5	Town	SOVATA
5	Municipality (county seat)	PITEȘTI
5	Municipality (county seat)	SLATINA
5	Municipality (other than county seat)	PETROȘANI
5	Municipality (county seat)	GIURGIU
4	Town	CĂLIMĂNEȘTI

No. of ATMs	Administrative type	Locality (LAU2)
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	LUGOJ
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	SEBEȘ
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	MEDIAȘ
4	Commune	FLOREȘTI
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	GHEORGHENI
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	HUȘI
4	Town	BUȘTENI
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	TECUCI
4	Town	VOLUNTARI
4	Municipality (county seat)	ALBA IULIA
4	Town	POPEȘTI LEORDENI
4	Municipality (county seat)	BAIA MARE
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	DEJ
4	Commune	DUMBRĂVIȚA
4	Municipality (other than county seat)	ORĂȘTIE
3	Commune	POIANA MARE
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	CALAFAT
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	CARACAL
3	Municipality (county seat)	CĂLĂRAȘI
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	ORȘOVA
3	Municipality (county seat)	TÂRGOVIȘTE
3	Town	PLOPENI
3	Municipality (county seat)	TÂRGU JIU
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	CURTEA DE ARGEȘ
3	Town	SINAILA
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	CARANSEBEȘ
3	Town	ZĂRNEȘTI
3	Town	GHIMBAV
3	Town	SĂLIȘTE
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	TÂRGU SECUIESC
3	Commune	PODU TURCULUI
3	Town	UNGHENI
3	Commune	SÂNMARTIN
3	Town	BORSEC
3	Commune	HĂRMAN
3	Commune	BACIU
3	Commune	CRASNA
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	ROMAN
3	Town	TÂRGU NEAMȚ
3	Town	SIRET
3	Municipality (county seat)	PIATRA-NEAMȚ
3	Town	NĂVODARI
3	Commune	BLEJOI
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	SIGHETU MARMAȚIEI
3	Municipality (other than county seat)	CÂMPULUNG
3	Commune	LIMANU
2	Commune	PIELEȘTI
2	Town	AMARA
2	Commune	MĂCIUCA
2	Town	BĂILE GOVORA
2	Town	HOREZU

No. of ATMs	Administrative type	Locality (LAU2)
2	Municipality (county seat)	REȘIȚA
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	VULCAN
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	CODLEA
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	FĂGĂRAȘ
2	Town	MIERCUREA SIBIULUI
2	Town	FĂGET
2	Town	BĂILE TUȘNAD
2	Town	PÂNCOTA
2	Town	CURTICI
2	Town	INEU
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	CÂMPIA TURZII
2	Town	MIERCUREA NIRAJULUI
2	Commune	IARA
2	Town	BĂLAN
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	SALONTA
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	FĂLTICENI
2	Commune	BAIA DE FIER
2	Town	NOVACI
2	Commune	FRUMUȘANI
2	Municipality (county seat)	SLOBOZIA
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	BRAD
2	Town	MIHĂILEȘTI
2	Commune	ȘTEFĂNEȘTI DE JOS
2	Town	SULINA
2	Town	URICANI
2	Town	TÂRGU FRUMOS
2	Commune	CHIȘCANI
2	Commune	MIROSLAVA
2	Town	EFORIE
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	REGHIN
2	Town	MĂGURELE
2	Town	SALCEA
2	Municipality (county seat)	SUCEAVA
2	Commune	GRECI
2	Municipality (other than county seat)	RĂDĂUȚI
1	Town	ZIMNICEA
1	Town	BECHET
1	Commune	SUHAIA
1	Town	CORABIA
1	Commune	CĂLĂRAȘI
1	Municipality (county seat)	ALEXANDRIA
1	Town	SEGARCEA
1	Commune	CETATE
1	Commune	OBÂRȘIA DE CÂMP
1	Commune	ADUNAȚII-COPĂCENI
1	Commune	GRĂDIȘTEA
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	FETEȘTI
1	Town	BUFTEA
1	Town	COSTEȘTI
1	Town	TURCENI
1	Commune	BRADU

No. of ATMs	Administrative type	Locality (LAU2)
1	Commune	COCORASTII COLT
1	Commune	BĂRĂGANUL
1	Town	ȚICLENII
1	Commune	VALEA CĂLUGĂREASCĂ
1	Commune	FILIPESȚII DE PĂDURE
1	Commune	RUȘETU
1	Town	BAIA DE ARAMĂ
1	Town	PUCIOASA
1	Town	FĂUREI
1	Commune	PIETROASELE
1	Commune	MEREI
1	Commune	VĂRBILĂU
1	Town	SLĂNIC
1	Commune	VERNEȘTI
1	Commune	UNGURIU
1	Commune	POLOVRAGI
1	Commune	BERCA
1	Commune	MORAVIȚA
1	Commune	MOROENI
1	Commune	BECENI
1	Commune	VALEA DOFTANEI
1	Town	AZUGA
1	Commune	TOPLICENI
1	Town	PREDEAL
1	Town	TĂLMACIU
1	Town	CISNĂDIE
1	Commune	GIROC
1	Commune	BOD
1	Commune	ȘURA MICĂ
1	Town	COVASNA
1	Commune	SĂSCIORI
1	Commune	ZĂBALA
1	Commune	ȘIBOT
1	Commune	ȘANDRA
1	Commune	TURIA
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	BLAJ
1	Town	SLĂNIC-MOLDOVA
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	BÂRLAD
1	Town	ABRUD
1	Commune	LUETA
1	Commune	VÂRFURILE
1	Commune	SÂNPĂUL
1	Commune	ȘIMAND
1	Town	IERNUT
1	Town	VAȘCĂU
1	Commune	ALBAC
1	Commune	LUNA
1	Commune	CORUND
1	Commune	ZETEA
1	Commune	LUNCA DE SUS
1	Commune	PRAID

No. of ATMs	Administrative type	Locality (LAU2)
1	Commune	SÂNDOMIC
1	Commune	SĂVĂDISLA
1	Municipality (county seat)	VASLUI
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	BEIUȘ
1	Commune	CRĂIEȘTI
1	Commune	JOSENI
1	Town	SARMAȘU
1	Commune	BATĂR
1	Commune	REMETEA
1	Commune	SĂVINEȘTI
1	Commune	DITRĂU
1	Commune	TULGHEȘ
1	Commune	NEGRENI
1	Commune	ZIMBOR
1	Commune	CEAHLĂU
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	TOPLIȚA
1	Town	BECLEAN
1	Commune	BIHARIA
1	Commune	VÂRȘOLT
1	Town	ȘIMLEU SILVANIEI
1	Commune	PERICEI
1	Commune	CICEU-GIURGEȘTI
1	Commune	BOROAIA
1	Town	GURA HUMORULUI
1	Town	DRAGOMIREȘTI
1	Town	CAVNIC
1	Commune	SANISLĂU
1	Commune	CÂRLIBABA
1	Town	BUCECEA
1	Commune	STRÂMTURA
1	Commune	SUCEVIȚA
1	Commune	RUSCOVA
1	Commune	SĂPÂNȚA
1	Commune	COMANA
1	Commune	CHIAJNA
1	Commune	POIENARII BURCHII
1	Commune	CRISTEȘTI
1	Town	PANCIU
1	Commune	ILIENI
1	Commune	BIERTAN
1	Commune	JINA
1	Town	LIPOVA
1	Commune	SURDUC
1	Commune	SCHELA
1	Commune	TUDOR VLADIMIRESCU
1	Commune	OANCEA
1	Town	IANCA
1	Commune	ȘUGAG
1	Town	CHITILA
1	Commune	DOBRA
1	Town	MIZIL

No. of ATMs	Administrative type	Locality (LAU2)
1	Commune	MARGINEA
1	Commune	GURA RÂULUI
1	Commune	ȘELIMBĂR
1	Commune	BELIU
1	Commune	EȘELNIȚA
1	Commune	SITA BUZĂULUI
1	Commune	PERETU
1	Commune	VOINEASA
1	Commune	PĂULEȘTI
1	Town	TĂȘNAD
1	Commune	JILAVA
1	Commune	BALOTEȘTI
1	Commune	COSTINEȘTI
1	Commune	BĂNEASA
1	Commune	COBADIN
1	Commune	RĂDUCĂNENI
1	Commune	VLĂDENI
1	Commune	CORBU
1	Commune	MURIGHIOL
1	Municipality (county seat)	TULCEA
1	Town	ISACCEA
1	Town	MĂCIN
1	Commune	LUNCAVIȚA
1	Commune	JURIOVCA
1	Commune	FELEACU
1	Town	CERNAVODĂ
1	Town	DĂRMĂNEȘTI
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	ONEȘTI
1	Commune	SMÂRDAN
1	Commune	RUNCU
1	Town	SIMERIA
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	TURDA
1	Commune	MOLDOVENEȘTI
1	Commune	CIUCEA
1	Town	BREZOI
1	Town	BĂILE OLĂNEȘTI
1	Municipality (other than county seat)	TURNU MAGURELE
1	Town	BREAZA
1	Commune	ARDUSAT
1	Commune	CIUREA
1	Commune	CRISTIAN
1	Commune	RODNA
1	Commune	PUTNA
1	Commune	AGIGEA