INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE CAPACITY FOR INSTITUTION

BUILDING WITHIN THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR

OF ROMANIA

by

CAROL JOAN BYG HEIFNER

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Adviser: Dr. Victor Groza

Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

May, 1999

UMI Number: 9927311

Copyright 1999 by
Heifner, Carol Joan Byg

UMI

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Copyright c (1999) by Carol Joan Byg Heifner

I grant to Case Western Reserve University the right to use
this work, irrespective of any copyright, for the University's
own purposes without cost to the University or to its students,
agents and employees. I further agree that the University
may reproduce and provide single copies of the work, in any
format other than in or from microforms, to the public for
the cost of reproduction.

_____
        (sign)

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

We hereby approve the thesis/dissertation of

_____Carol Joan Byg Heifner_____

candidate for the _____Ph.D._____degree.*

(signed)_____Victor Auz_____
            (chair of committee)

_____Alice K. Johnson_____

_____Jane Drue_____

_____John A. Yankey_____

_____

_____

(date) November 24, 1998_____

AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE CAPACITY FOR INSTITUTION BUILDING WITHIN THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR OF ROMANIA

Abstract

by

CAROL JOAN BYG HEIFNER

This study identifies the capacity for institution building for civil society development in Romania. A secondary analysis of raw interview data obtained in June, 1996, as part of The Listening and Learning in Romania Project of the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, is utilized for the study. The identification of the capacity for institution building is based on the two concepts of growth and maintenance, drawn from General Systems Theory, and the two concepts of prevailing codes and linkage points, drawn from institution building theory. This exploratory, qualitative, analysis identifies a primary Capacity for Growth for institution building of moderate to vigorous strength. The specific areas in which a Capacity

ii

for Growth is identified are: Political Culture, Services, Education, Economic, Business, Religion/Church and Agriculture and Village Life. A Capacity for Maintenance for institution building is identified in several subcategories of the area of Political Culture. These areas include: the Transition, the General System, Government, Human Relations, Religion/Church and External Relations. The findings from this study provide descriptive and predicative data regarding the nature and direction of civil society development in Romania. The descriptive data further elaborate the social context of institution building in Romania. The findings have implications for social welfare theory development, policy and practice.

iii

In Memoriam:

Professor Ioan Aluas, Sociologist

1927-1994

Acknowledgements

A project of the magnitude and duration which is represented by this study could not have been completed without the help of many others. Although it is impossible to acknowledge everyone who has had a part, there are some who readily come to mind and who most certainly must be acknowledged.

Special thanks are due to my parents Cecil and Violet, whose consistent engagement in the intellectual, civic, and spiritual dimensions of life continues to serve as a powerful model. To my husband Dennis who has risen to new heights in his sacrificial role of headship. To my children Janine, Renee and Denise who have long ago graciously accepted the fact that they do not have a traditional mother. To Dr. Alice Johnson and Dr. Victor Groza who enabled me to make my first trip to Romania in 1993 and who have supported me in this project. To my friends in Cleveland: Michael and Lois, Ed and Alice, and Fr. Vladimir, for their encouragement, support and hospitality. To Pat Knutson for her friendship and editorial assistance. And last, but not least, special appreciation is extended to the people of Romania for their continued willingness to participate in research endeavors when for them the topic of study is often far from the realm of abstract academic ideas.

v

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

Glossary of Terms by Theory

SYSTEMS THEORY

<u>Systems Theory</u>: An integrative theory of systems in which the concepts and principles apply to all systems, organic and social, large and small, from atoms to the universe.

<u>System</u>: "A complex of elements in interaction being of an ordered (non-random) nature (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 109). "An organized whole made up of components that interact in a way distinct from their interaction with other entities, and which endures over some period of time" (Anderson & Carter, 1974, p. 164).

<u>Subsystem</u>: The parts or elements of a system characterized by organization and structure.

<u>Suprasystem</u>: A larger whole of which a specific system of interest is a part. The system of interest is referred to as the focal system. The family is a suprasystem for a person. The personality system is a subsystem of the person. The community is a supra system for the family.

<u>Development</u>: The process of "differentiation of an original whole which segregates" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 69) and moves toward "higher order, heterogeneity and organization" (p. 41). The survival and development of systems is accomplished by the dynamic balancing and interaction of two opposing trends. These two trends have been referred to as, "maintenance" and "change" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 196), "expressive" and "instrumental" (Parsons & Bales,

x

1955), and as "communal" and "agentic" (Bakan, 1966).

Growth/instrumental/agentic Trend: The system trend oriented toward the "manipulation of the environment in the interest of goal attainment" (Parsons & Bales, 1995, p. 401), and the acquisition and utilization of energy within the system (Anderson & Carter, 1974; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Turner, 1986), also referred to as adaptation.

Maintenance/expressive/communal Trend: The system trend which is oriented toward the integration and cohesion of the system.

Transition: A "critical time" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 70) within a system in the process of moving toward a state of "higher order, heterogeneity and organization (p. 41) characterized by loss of system performance and undeterminancy (p. 70).

Equifinality: In systems theory, "the same final state may be reached from different initial conditions and in different ways" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 40). An example is the growth of children to adulthood under varying conditions, given the prerequisites for physical survival (Anderson & Carter, 1974).

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social Development: "(A) process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development" (Midgley, 1995, p. 25).

Sustainability: The endurability of social development projects in the presence of minimal deleterious effects to ecological and human environments.

INSTITUTION BUILDING

Institution building: The introduction of new organizations into an environment, or the reconstitution of existing organizations for the purpose of integrating innovation within a system.

Institutionalization: The thorough integration of innovation into the larger social system evident by established supportive norms and behaviors (Esman in Eaton, 1972).

Fit: From institution building theory, the degree of compatibility between innovative organizations and the norms and values and existing technologies and potentialities in the environment.

Prevailing codes: One of two primary variables related to "fit" in institution building theory which focuses on the accepted ways of making sense of the world and behaving (Landau in Eaton, 1972) evident in the values, norms and customs of society. This concept is an example of the concept of the maintenance trend in

systems theory as applicable to the relationship of organizations to the larger environment.

Linkage points: One of two primary variables related to "fit" in institution building theory which focuses on technologies and potentialities within the environment which are compatible with proposed change (Landau in Eaton, 1972). This concept is an example of the application of the systems concept of growth to social systems in the relationship of organizations to the larger environment.

CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil Society: The social space between the private realm of the individual and the public realm of the state, which is sanctioned by the state. It is made up of a network of free associations and organizations which fulfill a mediating function within the social structure.

Social Capital: Factors such as trust and dependability, which contribute to cohesiveness within a social system and which are viewed as resources. It is part of the maintenance trend in a social system.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM AREA

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the subsequent, rapid collapse of

Communism in the Soviet bloc, have set off a chain of events in the region of

Central and Eastern Europe unprecedented in history. States which formerly had

been under one-party Communist rule are now seeking to make the transition to

more democratic forms of government. The idea of civil society has played a

significant role in both the fall of communism and during this period of transition

(Bernard, 1993ab; Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a; Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

Civil society is a particular type of social structural arrangement which

emerged in the West under unique circumstances over a period of several hundred

years (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). Civil society is characterized by a social

space which is between the individual and the state and which is protected by the

state (Bernhard, 1993ab; Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). This social space is the

midrange of social relations within the social structure. It is within this midrange

social space, that the activities of the society are conducted as people join together

to accomplish common purposes, such as worship, philanthropy, advocacy, and

sociability. Civil society is made up of the networks of relations and constellations

of interactions among associations, organizations and institutions within this social

space (Johnson & Wright, 1997). Some examples of groups and associations

1

which are part of the social space within civil society include: community groups, clubs, membership associations, educational and religious institutions, social service agencies, foundations, and advocacy and self help groups (Salamon & Anheier, 1997).

The emergence of civil society as a social structural arrangement, and of democratic forms of government have, in the West, been so intertwined, that the two are often confused. However, the social structural arrangement alone is not a sufficient condition for democracy (Bernhard, 1993a; Nelson, 1996; Pehe, 1996). The associational and organizational network of relations within the civil society sector allows for the ongoing socialization of citizens into democratic norms and values which are necessary for the perpetuation of democracy. This network of associations and organizations within the civil society sector facilitates the expression of the interests of all sections of the society, rather than just those of a simple majority (Shils, 1991).

Due to the importance of the network of relations and associations within the civil society sector in the perpetuation and maintenance of democracy, institution building has been a major strategy in social development (Eaton, 1972; United Nations, 1982). Institution building is a social change strategy based on the introduction of new, or the reconstitution of existing organizations within a society for the purpose of system innovation.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, institution building within the civil society sector of the former communist bloc countries has been a focus within the overall strategy of democracy promotion by the United States (Carothers, 1996). Activities involved in democracy promotion have included: election monitoring; programs for constitutional, parliamentary and judicial reform; and assistance for the strengthening of local government. There have been programs to improve civic education, to develop human rights and advocacy organizations and to support independent media and unions (Carothers, 1996, p. 1).

Romania has been one of the countries to receive this democracy assistance (Carothers, 1996). However, in addition to the fact that the events that contributed to civil society development in the West did not occur in the countries of the East, Romania, one of the former Soviet Bloc countries, did not experience any liberalization before the events of 1989 (Carothers, 1996; Gallager, 1995; Les, 1995; Tismaneanu, 1989). Since that time, progress in making the reforms considered important to the transition process has not occurred as rapidly as anticipated by either members of the society or by outside observers (Gallager, 1995; Tismaneanu, 1992). Consequently, the question arises, what is the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania? This study seeks to answer that question.

STUDY FORMAT

The study is divided into four sections. The first section is introductory, the second presents the methodology, the third presents the results of the study. The fourth section presents a summary discussion of the findings, conclusions of the study, implications, and recommendations for further study. The introductory section consists of the theoretical background for the study, the historical context of the study, the implications of the study, and a review and critique of relevant studies.

Since this study reflects a developmental perspective, the theoretical section begins with a summary of major concepts drawn from General Systems Theory. This theory is the most comprehensive of the theories utilized in this study and it includes the concepts and dynamics of development, transition and change (Bertalanffy, 1968). Two primary developmental trends considered essential to the development of any system will be drawn from this theory and utilized to define "capacity" in the analysis section.

Social Development is the second theory which is presented. Social development represents an approach to social change which has itself changed over time from an emphasis on aid to more participatory and sustainable approaches. The social development section is followed by a section on institution building.

Institution building is a specific strategy for social change which emerged out of social development theory. Two concepts from institution building theory

are linked with the two essential trends for development drawn from systems theory. These two concepts further elaborate the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. The institution building theoretical section is followed by a section on civil society.

The civil society section begins with the historical background of the development of civil society in the West and the specific characteristics related to civil society. This is followed by a discussion of the renewed interest in civil society in both the East and the West; in the East because of its emergence, and in the West, because of its decline. Four sequential stages are identified in the trend toward civil society development in Central Europe. In focusing on the last two stages, four factors are introduced as being especially influential in shaping the nature and direction of civil society development.

The theoretical section closes with a discussion of a problem common to both the East and West related to civil society, that of reconstituting society. The concept of social capital is introduced in this section. The theoretical section is followed by the historical context which provides background for the study. The historical background section examines four formative elements in the development of civil society in the East; four aspects in the social and cultural realm which are considered most critical in shaping the character of this civil society development. The historical background section is followed by a second section which focuses specifically on Romania.

The background section is followed by a review and critique of related studies, concluding with a discussion of the implications of the study.

The methodology section begins with a description of the design of the original study. This is followed by a description of the design of the present study beginning with a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology. In addition, the design section includes subsections describing the following content: the data organization and management procedures and data analysis approaches. The third section presents the results of the research. The fourth, presents a summary discussion, conclusions, the implications, and recommendations of the study.

By means of introduction to the theoretical section a glossary of terms is placed prior to the beginning of Chapter I. A summary of the linkages of theoretical concepts which are utilized in this study is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Linkage of Theoretical Concepts

1.	Systems Theory:	Offers the broad concepts of development and transition involved in the process of change.
	Development:	In systems theory includes the dynamic activity of two opposing, essential trends: the expressive, communal, integrative, maintenance trend, and the innovative, instrumental, agentic, adaptive, growth trend.
2.	Social Development:	Is a planned process of social change rather than a natural organic process as reflected in systems theory.
3.	Institution Building:	Is a strategy of planned social change induced by the introduction of new organizations and institutions within a society, or by the reconstitution of existing organizations and institutions. An Institution building concept, refers to the values and norms of a society which are part of the maintenance trend within the social system.
	Prevailing Codes:	An institution building concept, refers to technologies and potentialities within a society which are part of the growth trend.
	Linkage Points:	An institution building concept, refers to technologies and potentialities within a society which are part of the growth trend.

(table continues)

| 4. Civil Society: | The midrange within the social structure, between the private realm of individual and the public realm of the state which is comprised of free associations and organizations which are protected by the state and which perform a mediating function within the social system, targeted for institution building within Eastern European countries. |
| Social Capital: | Refers to qualities of interpersonal relationships which contribute to cohesiveness within social systems, which are viewed as a resource, and which are part of the maintenance trend within a social system. |

SYSTEMS THEORY

Development:

Expressive/Communal/Maintenance trend

Instrumental/Agentic/Change trend

Social Development: Planned Social change

Institution Building: Strategy of planned change

Prevailing Codes: Expressive/Communal/

Maintenance trend

Linkage Points: Instrumental/ Agentic/Change trend

Civil Society: Mediating Social Structure,

area targeted for institution

building.

Social Capital: aspect of the

maintenance trend.

Figure 1.1

Figure of Theoretical Linkages

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Systems Theory

The broad topics of this study are transition, change and development as applied to the spectrum of social systems: groups, organizations, communities and societies. General Systems Theory, as formulated by von Bertalanffy (1968), and elaborated on by Bakan (1966) and Parsons and Bales (1955), is utilized in explicating these broad concepts. The following section presents the characteristics of systems theory which render it useful for this study. It will include definitions and descriptions of the major concepts of the theory.

Systems theory has great utility for a study of this type for a number of reasons. First, it is a comprehensive theory, both broad and inclusive, which helps in understanding systems in a general way. The basic principles and dynamics apply to all systems, biological or social, micro or macro, including plants and humans, persons and cultures, atoms and the universe. Additional theories relative to specific systems can be integrated. Here systems theory will be applied to groups, organizations, communities and cultures. Secondly, systems theory has "practical application" for both "understanding and prediction" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 196). By applying systems concepts in the description of the organization,

development, and interaction of systems, understanding is obtained from which predictions can be made.

A system is defined as "a complex of elements in interaction being of an ordered (non-random) nature" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 109) or for comparison, as "an organized whole made up of components that interact in a way distinct from their interaction with other entities, and which endures over some period of time" (Anderson & Carter, 1974, p. 164). Of importance in these definitions are the concepts of parts, wholes, and ordered interaction. The interaction among the parts within a system constitutes the dynamics of the system and the patterned or ordered interaction within systems constitutes the organization and structure of the system (Anderson & Carter, 1974).

In terms of parts and wholes, the concept of subsystem is used to denote the parts or elements of a system of interest, which are characterized by organization and structure, while suprasystem is used to denote the external whole of which the system of interest is a part. Additionally, it is understood that the whole system is more than a simple sum, or aggregate, of the parts (Bertalanffy, 1968) and that systems are at one and the same time both wholes, comprised of subsystems, and parts of larger wholes. (Figure 1.2)

The patterned, non-random interaction among the parts of a system is the process within a system which makes up the organization and structure of the system. It is this patterned interaction which enables a system to be identified as

Supra-system

Subsystem
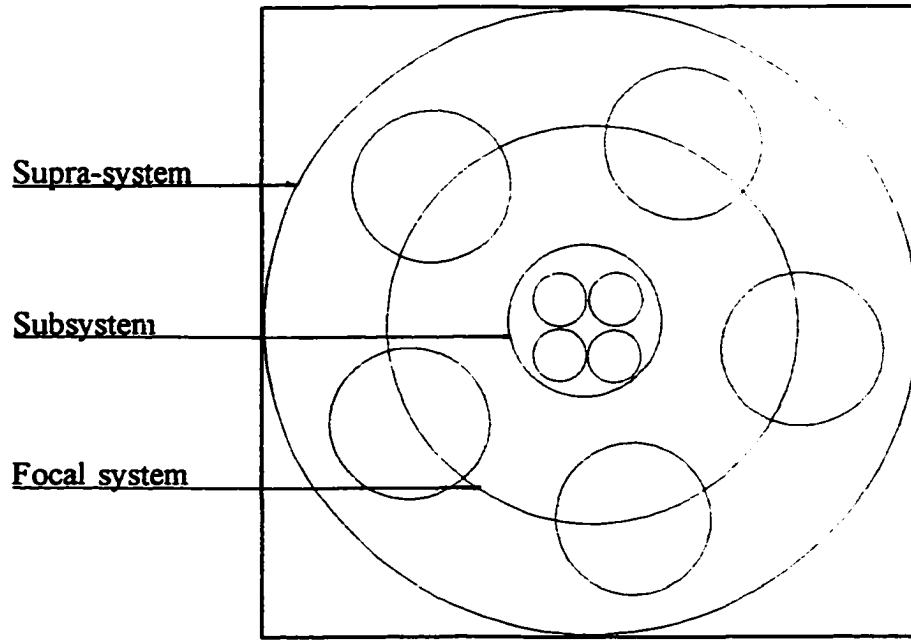
Focal system

Figure 1.2

Systems Levels

such (Bertalanffy, 1968). In other words, a system is not discernable without this organization and structure.

The way or manner in which the interactions within a social system become ordered or patterned, the way it is organized and structured, depends upon the values, or what is perceived to be good and desirable, and the purposes, or aims or intentions of the system (Parsons cited in Turner, 1986). These values, are

maintained by accepted norms, or rules for behavior and belief. The patterned interactions which comprise the structure of a system become self reinforcing and maintaining.

The interaction pattern among elements in systems is nonlinear and multidirectional (Bertalanffy, 1968). One implication of this nonlinear, multidirectional relationship potential is that a change in any element in a system necessitates a change in the entire system (Bertalanffy, 1968). Another implication of this multidirectional interaction, is the principle of equifinality. This means that in systems, "the same final state may be reached from different initial conditions and in different ways" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 40). This concept is helpful in considering the development of civil society in the East, where conditions that were present in Western development do not exist.

Development, transition, and change in systems occur in a progressive manner. Systems tend toward "higher order, heterogeneity and organization" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 41). This process involves "differentiation of an original whole which segregates" and in turn, leads to "transition to a higher order" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 69). This process of segregation, differentiation, and transition, is referred to as "development" or as "progress" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 70).

The transition period to a higher order is a "critical time" in systems (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 70). Especially during a transition, a system is in an

undetermined state and the system undergoes a loss of system performance. If the system is able to adapt, it then "starts off in a new way of behavior" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 46). However, the more components of a system become specialized, the more they become "irreplaceable" (Bertalanffy, 1978, p, 70). It is possible for the loss of parts during the transition process to contribute to the complete breakdown of the system (Bertalanffy, 1968). Although Bertalanffy's theory is sufficiently abstract so as not to be able to clearly define his meaning, it is interpreted to mean that, as specialization takes over more and more of the functions in a system, other parts are rendered unable to fulfill these functions. The loss of too many of these functions during times of transition and change may contribute to the complete breakdown of the system.

The life, or survival, of systems is described as "maintenance of disequilibria" (Bertalanffy, 1978, p. 191). This "disequilibria" in systems is due to the dynamic interaction of two simultaneously occurring, opposing, trends within it. These two trends have been referred to variously as, "maintenance" and "change" (Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 196), "two qualitative modes of differentiation" (Parsons & Bales, 1955, p. 22), "axes in the differentiation of systems of action" (Parsons & Bales (1955, p. 378) and as, "two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms" (Bakan, 1966, p.14-15). These system trends or modes fulfill different system functions, both necessary for the survival of the system, and

the balance of their expression is important in the maintenance of the equilibrium of the system (Bakan, 1966; Bertalanffy, 1968; Parsons & Bales, 1955).

The maintenance trend in systems (Bertalanffy, 1968) is termed "expressive" by Parsons and Bales (1955) and as "communal" by Bakan (1966). The goal orientation of the maintenance trend is toward integration and tension reduction in the system and the "attachment of member units to each other in their distinction from that which is non system" (Parsons & Bales, 1955, p. 401). In other words, the maintenance trend is oriented toward the cohesion of the system and it is this cohesion which differentiates the system from that which is non system.

The change trend in systems is referred to as "instrumental" by Parsons and Bales (1955) and as "agency" by Bakan (1966). The orientation of the instrumental/agentic trend, is toward goal attainment and the adaptation of the system (Parsons & Bales, 1955). Goal attainment has been defined as the "gratification of the units of the system" (Parsons & Bales, 1955, p. 401). Goal attainment consists of prioritizing system goals and organizing resources for their attainment (Turner, 1986, p. 69). Adaptation has been defined as the "manipulation of the environment in the interest of goal attainment" (Parsons & Bales, 1955, p. 401). Adaptation consists of activities oriented toward the securing or obtaining of energy from the environment and the distribution of energy within the system, (Anderson & Carter, 1974; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Turner, 1986). The

agentic trend of the system is focused on the "organism as an individual" and consequently is oriented toward, "self protection," "self assertion," and "self expansion" (Bakan, 1966, p. 14-15). In this respect, the agentic trend is oriented toward the system as an autonomous whole.

Due to the outer directed, expansionist oriented nature of the instrumental/agentic system trend, this trend will be referred to as the growth trend in this study. Change in a system more clearly suggests movement from one state toward another. For this reason, change could conceivably be toward maintenance or toward growth. Because both the maintenance oriented trend and the instrumental/agentic, growth-oriented trend in systems are essential to system development, they will be taken together to constitute, "capacity" for development, for the purposes of this study.

The process of survival of systems occurs within the context of a dynamic stability achieved through the balanced interaction of these two fundamental system trends or goals. A certain tension is inherent in the "maintenance of disequilibria." This tension is associated with progress in a system since it represents the malintegration of elements in a system inherent in the process of increased differentiation and organization (Parsons & Bales, 1955). If the stability of the system is not maintained during the change process, the system can become overwhelmed. On the other hand, if the system is heavily oriented to maintenance at the expense of growth, it becomes stagnant.

The preceding section has introduced Bertalanffy's (1968) General Systems Theory and an elaboration of the theory by additional theoreticians. The basic concepts and principles of systems theory important to understanding development, transition, and change in social systems were discussed and the two concepts of special importance in the analysis of "capacity" for institution building from a developmental perspective were identified. The following section will present the concept of development specific to social development and change. The concept of social development will provide a context for the additional concepts of institution building and civil society development.

Social Development

A review of the literature quickly reveals that social development is not easily defined. Definitions of the concept vary among theoreticians representing differing academic disciplines and definitions vary among different practitioners within the same discipline whose views reflect different strategies and purposes. Understanding of the concept has also changed over time (Midgley, 1995).

Some of the disciplines associated with social development include anthropology, economics, political science, sociology, and social work. Differences exist among these theoreticians concerning various aspects of development, such as

the causes of underdevelopment, the importance of intervention, and the purposes and approaches of social development.

A commonality in the meaning among disciplines and theoreticians is, social development as a rationally planned, deliberately implemented process of social change (Blase, 1986; Cernea, 1985; Eaton, 1972; Midgley, 1995; United Nations, 1882). Social development is also associated with notions of improvement or betterment of some sort, and is most often thought of in terms of prosperity, modernity, and progress (Midgley, 1995). Finally, there is general consensus among theoreticians that the purpose of social development as planned social change is for the well-being of society as a whole (Cernea, 1985; David, 1991: Midgley, 1995; Pandey, 1996; Sharma & Walz, 1992). This shared meaning of social development as a rationally planned process is distinguished from the systems concept of development, as the normally occurring developmental process of increased differentiation and organization leading to transition or transformation to a higher level or stage within a system, which is an organic, natural, process.

Although the concept of social development is theoretically underdeveloped in general, this is even more the case in the profession of social work (Midgley, 1995). One of the primary theoreticians in social development in social work is Midgley (1995). His definition best reflects the values and purposes of the social work profession at this time and it is used in this study. Midgley (1995) defines social development as "a process of planned social change designed to promote the

well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development" (p. 25).

A brief overview of the evolution of social development from an historical context adds further clarification to the concept. Earlier in this century, social development was associated with the process of industrialization occurring in western nations and in those nations that were in the process of being colonized (Midgley, 1995). During that time, social development took the form of "aid," offered by donor governments or organizations, to less fortunate regions and countries (Eaton, 1972; Meyer, 1992; Midgley, 1995).

Particularly after WW II, social development activities became more focused on technical assistance (Eaton, 1972; Midgley, 1995; World Bank, 1982). This technical assistance was provided by foreign experts representing "interests in their own government to aid the cause of development and modernization of a host country" (Eaton, 1972). These efforts were primarily directed toward economic development and aimed at developing major social institutions (Eaton, 1972; Midgley, 1995; United Nations, 1982).

Because approaches to social development have historically reflected planned interventions introduced by outside agents, they have come to be characterized variously as, "top-down," "blue-print" (Blase, 1986, p. 7), "silver bullet," (Pandey, 1996, p. 68) and "cookie-cutter" (Quigley, 1996, p. 17) strategies. These approaches not only represented outside intervention efforts based on a

predetermined plan, but they also represented outside values and interests as well (Eaton, 1972; Sharma & Walz, 1992).

The passage of time has contributed to greater appreciation of the limitations of such "top-down," "blue-print" approaches and has influenced the direction and focus of current trends in social development strategies (Blase, 1986; Cernea, 1985; Oliveira & Tandon, 1995; Midgley, 1995; Pandey, 1996; Quigley, 1996; United Nations, 1982). This focus has been directed toward the remediation of two major concerns. The first major concern is "uneven" or "distorted" development and the second is "sustainability" (Oliveira & Tandon, 1995; Midgley, 1995; Quigley, 1996: Sharma & Walz, 1992: United Nations, 1982).

Uneven or distorted development is most often thought of economically and is evident by the continued presence of poverty and oppression in the midst of affluence (Midgley, 1995). However, uneven or distorted development is also evidence of disparities in roles, power and influence (Sharma & Walz, 1992). These disparities in roles are most evident between the country planning assistance and the country receiving assistance. This disparity is apparent when countries with the capital, the technology and the will, extend their purposes, values, and resources to developing countries. There has been a growing concern over this continued unevenness in development, not only between rural and urban areas within countries, but also between regions of the world such as North and South

and East and West (Oliveira & Tandon, 1995; Midgley, 1995; Putnam, 1993a;

Sharma & Walz, 1992).

Theoreticians disagree regarding the causes of these disparities. These

disagreements range from the one extreme of claiming that the cause is due to the

backwardness of the traditionalism found within the developing countries

themselves, to the other extreme, of claiming that the disparity is due to the

exploitive effects of development and modernization efforts themselves, which

serves to benefit the modernizers (Midgley, 1995; Sharma & Walz, 1992).

However, there is agreement that this unevenness in development is a reality and

that despite all the resources, skills, and technology that have been directed toward

development, the results have, by and large, been "marginal," "unsatisfactory"

(United Nations, 1982, p. 2) and disappointing.

Sustainability is generally understood to refer to endurability. However, the

term has two particular foci in the development literature. The first reflects an

ecological concern and has to do with the endurability of the environment. This

concern has emerged from a growing awareness of the environmental damage

wrecked by continued unchecked economic development. It often evokes images

of polluted air and water or the destruction of fragile environments like primal rain

forests or unique wetlands. However, entire human populations of some areas of

Africa are presently in danger of extinction due to the consequences of

developmental strategies, perhaps to suffer a fate similar to that of indigenous

peoples in various other regions of the world who have gone before them (Hoff & McNutt, 1994; Midgley, 1995; Oliveira & Tandon, 1995; Sharma & Walz, 1992). Other populations have been displaced by development projects such as highways, dams, and irrigation systems (Midgley, 1995). Ecological Sustainability includes the inextricable relationship between the ecological balance of the physical environment and the welfare of humanity (Gellner, 1995; Midgley, 1995).

The second focus regarding the concern of sustainability in development has to do with the endurance of the purposes, programs and projects of development efforts themselves, especially once outside assistance for projects has been withdrawn (Carothers, 1996; Pandey, 1996; Quigley, 1996; United Nations, 1982). The endurance of past development efforts has also been less than satisfactory (Blase, 1986; Carothers, 1996; Cernea, 1985; Oliveira & Tandon, 1995; Midgley, 1995; Quigley, 1996; United Nations, 1982). In some cases organizations have failed outright (Esman & Uphoff in Putnam, 1995). In other instances, development projects have endured, but without realizing the intended impact or desired improvements (Carothers, 1995; Cooperrider & Pasmore, 1991; United Nations, 1982).

An examination of the literature in terms of suggestions made to address the issues of uneven or distorted development and sustainability in social development, has led to an identification of several recurrent themes for consideration in future

development efforts. There are commonalities in the recommendations for these two concerns suggesting that they may have common roots. See Table 1.2.

These recommendations encourage a multidisciplinary, cross sectoral, holistic or integrative approach for future development efforts (Midgley, 1995; Pandey, 1996; Quigley, 1996; United Nations, 1982). This approach encourages consideration of the interactive relationship among the state, the market and social factors in development endeavors (Pandey, 1996; Midgley, 1955). It encourages the inclusion of economic, social, cultural and religious factors (United Nations, 1982).

Greater attention and consideration of the importance of the role of traditional cultural values, beliefs and norms in the success of development efforts is emphasized (Cernea, 1985; Kattak in Cernea, 1985; Midgley, 1995; Sharma & Walz, 1992; United Nations, 1982; Uphoff in Cernea, 1985). This recommendation is based on the recognition that social development requires changes in values and behavior and that automatic acceptance of imposed values cannot be assumed. Both of these factors are seen to have contributed to past failures (Kattak in Cernea, 1985; United Nations, 1982). Instead, future development strategies are encouraged to demonstrate greater sensitivity to and understanding and appreciation of, cultural values, beliefs and norms (Midgley, 1995; Sharma & Walz, 1992; Uphoff in Cernea, 1985; United Nations, 1982). The importance of a social justice orientation toward social development is also stressed

Table 1.2

Recommendations for Sustainable Development

1. Multidisciplinary, holistic, integrative approaches:
   Includes consideration of the interactive relationship among the state, the market and social factors; encourages the inclusion of economic, social cultural and religious factors; encourages the inclusion of a variety of professional perspectives.
2. Social Justice Orientation:
   Promotes equality, social integration, and inclusion; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and for religious and cultural diversity; support for the common person and protection for the vulnerable and disadvantaged.
3. Needs Based:
   A framework for assessment which focuses on resources which are not readily evident in the system as perceived by members of the system.
4. Community Development:
   Developmental activities conducted at the community level.
5. Participation:
   The inclusion and involvement of community members in all stages of a change effort beginning with initial planning and continuing through ongoing project maintenance.
6. Asset Based:
   A framework for assessment based on the perceived assets or resources and strengths within a system which can be utilized in the accomplishment of system goals.

(Hoff & McNutt, 1994; Midgley, 1995; Oliveira & Tandon; Sharma & Walz, 1992). This perspective reflects approaches which promote equality, social integration and inclusion. It embodies respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for religious and cultural diversity. A social justice perspective is oriented toward the protection and support of the interests of the common person with special attention given to the interests of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups (Oliveira & Tandon, 1995; Pandey, 1996).

Lastly, concern about the issues of uneven development and sustainability has led to recommendations that development activities be centered on the needs of people, with an additional emphasis on the participation of people in decisions affecting them and in all stages of the development process (Cernea, 1985; David, 1991; Oliveira & Tandon; Midgley, 1995; Pandey, 1996; Quigley, 1996; United Nations, 1982). Community development approaches, with a needs based orientation toward change, and which include the participation of people in their own communities are recommended (Cernea, 1985; Midgley, 1995; United Nations, 1982). Needs based, participation oriented development strategies empower people to mobilize their own capacities and dependence is avoided (Cernea, 1985; Uphoff in Cernea, 1985). Participation oriented strategies destroy stereotypes by enabling people of traditional cultures, to engage in self reliant and responsible activities, carried out with demonstrated seriousness and skill (Uphoff in Cernea, 1985). Participation avoids co-optation of projects and distortion of development purposes

by power elites (Uphoff in Cernea, 1985) and participation proves to be a more efficient and effective means of social change (Uphoff in Cernea, 1985).

Multidisciplinary, holistic, integrative, participatory approaches to community practice with a social justice perspective, based on assessment of needs and assets have been a part of the traditional social work practice repertoire. However, critics from within the discipline have noted that over reliance on needs assessment and less of an emphasis on an identification of assets have contributed to "deficiency-oriented policies and programs" (Hardcastle, Wenocur, & Powers, 1997, p. 167). As a result there has been a renewed emphasis on the identification of community assets as an essential part of the community assessment process (Delgado, 1996; Hardcastle, Wenocur, & Powers, 1997; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1990; Naparstek & Dooley, 1997).

An asset oriented assessment of a community is seen to secure sustainability by gaining the investment of community members in activities which affect them and in the development of their own capacities (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1990). Although the truism attributed to Carl Rogers, "that the solution to the problem lies within the problem itself," has been applied to individual change situations, it is being newly applied to community development due to the greater appreciation of the fact that "development must start within the community" (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1990, p. 2)

This concludes the subsection on social development. Issues related to defining social development were discussed and a social work definition was presented. The evolution of social development approaches beginning from an aid approach to a more developmental approach based on participation and identified needs was delineated. The recent issues of uneven development and sustainability were discussed and recommendations specific to these issues were offered.

The above section on social development has prepared the way for the two remaining subsections of the theoretical framework portion of this study. These two remaining subsections present the key concepts of this study, those of institution building and civil society development, respectively.

Institution Building

This subsection will begin with a summary of the historical background and theoretical formulation of institution building. Then the major assumptions and theoretical concepts of institution building relative to this study will be discussed. The subsection on institution building will be followed by a subsection on civil society development, which will conclude the theoretical section of this study.

Institution building, in this study, is conceptualized as a change effort specifically directed toward the civil society sector of a country. The concept of institution building emerged historically in the 1950s and 1960s when the emphasis

in international social development began to focus on technical assistance (Eaton, 1972; United Nations, 1983). It was within the context of technical development activities that the idea of the professional developer, who was trained as a developmental specialist, evolved (Eaton, 1972).

Within academic institutions a select group of persons who had experience in foreign assistance programs and who also had an interest in the training of developmental specialists, began a more systematic study of institution building (Eaton, 1972). The eventual result of this systematic focus on the study of institution building was the establishment of a consortium, the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building (Eaton, 1972). It was within this consortium that the basic elements of the institution building conceptual framework were formulated (Eaton, 1972). The principle theoretician in this process was Milton Esman, who is considered the "architect" of what came to be called the "Pittsburgh" model of institution building.

Two primary conceptualizations from this model are linked with maintenance and change, the two systems trends drawn from systems theory, to further elaborate the social change role performed by organizations in the social sector. The theoretical model also further explicates the dynamics of social change based on institution building as a specific strategy.

Institution building, in the Pittsburgh model, is defined as "planful establishment of new organizations to serve purposes which are judged by those in

power to require autonomous administrative intervention and special linkages to the larger social system, different from those which can be provided by already existing administrative units" (Eaton, 1972, p. 13).

This definition of institution building was based on an administrative model of social change in which outside agents introduced institutional change within a foreign cultural context. Evidence of the application of this model is scattered in the literature (Blase, 1986). Blase (1986) has provided the most comprehensive review which includes rural development activities in Central America, Community Health Work in India, and a commercial irrigation project in the Philippines among many others. This review is among the body of literature in which the recommendations for sustainability in development was drawn.

Consequently, the institution building model utilized in this study is based on a reformulation of the previously stated definition in order to include the recent recommendations for sustainability in development. This reformulated definition incorporates the concept of participation and social change purposes which have been determined as important by representatives from within the culture itself, rather than an administrative approach.

The theoretical aspects of the institution building model which pertain to the principles and dynamics of change brought about by new and reconstituted institutions within a culture are retained, but the in this study the definition of institution building is reformulated to read: institution building is the <u>assisted</u>

establishment of new organizations or reconstitution of existing organizations,

based primarily on the participation of members of the community in both the

determination of needs and the establishment and maintenance of said

organizations. Further definition and description of assumptions and theoretical

concepts of the Pittsburgh institution building model follow.

The institution building model is based on several assumptions. A primary.

assumption of the institution building model is the systems theory principle, that

the emergence of a more complex system is dependent on a subsystem capable of

sustaining it (Landau in Eaton, 1972). The institution building model assumes a

democratic rather than coercive process of planned change (Eaton, 1972). Social

planning from the institution building model is approached from a "guidance" or

"social learning" perspective (Eaton, 1972, p. 24.). Institutions provide the

organizational context in which members of society learn new technologies and

acquire the accompanying normative commitments necessary for the direction and

maintenance of the intended innovation/s (Eaton, 1972). In terms of development,

the assumption is made that "development constitutes a transformation of the

decision premises of a given cultural community so as to legitimate technical

decisions" (Landau in Eaton, 1972, p. 94). In other words, development from the

institution building perspective introduces a more technical/rational model of

decision making in societies which are characterized as traditional.

Institution building performs two basic systems functions in the process of social change (Landau in Eaton, 1972). The first is an innovative function and the second is an integrative function. The innovative function can be likened to the growth or instrumental/agentic (Bakan, 1966; Bertalanffy, 1968; Parsons & Bales, 1955) trend in a system and the integrative function can be likened to the maintenance or communal trend (Bakan, 1966; Bertalanffy, 1968; Parsons & Bales, 1955) in systems. As stated previously, balance in the growth and maintenance trends is considered important for the stability and development of the system (Bakan, 1966; Bertalanffy, 1968). This balance contributes to sustainability.

Social change, from the institution building theoretical perspective, is "induced" in a society through the formation of new or "reconstituted" formal organizations (Eaton, 1972). These organizations perform an innovative function by serving as the means by which new values, functions, and technologies, social and/or material, are introduced into a society.

The integrative purpose of the institution building process is the "institutionalization" or complementarity of these respective values, functions, and/or technologies into the larger society. The institutionalization of the innovative organization is defined as "the establishment, protection and fostering normative relationships and action patterns with linked organizations in the larger social system and the attainment of normative acceptance in the environment

(complementarity)" (Esman in Eaton, 1972, p. 14). This definition could also be referred to as sustainability.

In summary, the innovative function of institution building is accomplished by the introduction of new values, norms, behaviors and technologies through new or reconstituted organizations. The integrative function of institution building is accomplished when the new or reconstituted organization and the changes represented are accepted into the larger society.

Institution building contributes to "development" in traditional societies by opening up the system and introducing more rational, empirical elements. The institution building model specifically introduces rationally based variables into the decision-making process which in turn are seen to contribute to more rationally based behavior. In addition, the norms needed to maintain this more rationally based method of decision-making and behavior eventually become incorporated into the system (Landau in Eaton, 1972, p. 94).

From an institution building perspective the prevention of excessive societal dislocation during the social change process is an essential consideration. Excessive dislocation is not only disruptive but is also potentially destructive to the system (Landau in Eaton, 1972). An accurate appreciation of the "fit" between the planned social change effort and the existing environment is necessary in the prevention of dislocation. This "fit" involves two variables.

The first variable related to "fit" has to do with an identification of the potential linkage points between the proposed or reconstituted organization and the larger external environment (Landau in Eaton, 1972). Linkage points consist of technologies already existing in the environment together with other environmental factors which are compatible with the elements in the proposed change (Landau in Eaton, 1972). Mapping of these linkage points is a primary strategy in institution building and knowledge of the growth oriented and innovative elements present in the environment is essential to this mapping (Landau in Eaton, 1972). From a social systems perspective, linkage points in a society can be seen as those aspects of the society which are part of the growth trend, such as adaptation and goal orientation.

The second variable related to "fit" is referred to as prevailing codes; the accepted ways of making sense of the world and behaving (Landau in Eaton, 1972). A description and understanding of these codes of living are essential for optimizing the possibility of "fit." These codes include the values, norms, and customs of the society (Landau in Eaton, 1972). From a social systems perspective the prevailing codes of a society can be seen to be elements of the maintenance trend in a society.

The size of an organization is another important consideration in institution building strategies. An intermediate size organization is considered optimal for

both the innovative and integrative functions of institution building. This is due to

characteristics generally attributed to organizations of intermediate size.

Characteristics of intermediate organizations which make them most

desirable for the purpose of social change through institution building have been

well delineated by Landau (in Eaton, 1972). Intermediate size organizations are

flexibly structured and open. Communications are "diverse," multichanneled and

informal. The ethos and relational structures of intermediate size organizations

involve more primary group relations than larger more formal organizations. There

is more social space allowed to members and the membership tends to be more

pluralistic. From a time perspective, decision-making processes tend to be shorter

than in large formal organizations and they consequently reflect more free market

behavior (Landau in Eaton, 1972).

To summarize, from the institution building perspective, the internal

environment of an intermediate organization approximates the external environment

of a traditional society. The flexible structure of intermediate organizations is

more suitable to "mediate" the "stresses" and "strains" encountered in the change

process (Landau in Eaton, 1972, p. 99). Consequently, an intermediate size

organization is least likely to create dislocation in the larger society in the process

of social change. The characteristics of an intermediate organization provide an

optimum environment for socialization into new values and behaviors inherent in

the change process. This socialization is seen as an essential step to the institutionalization of change initiatives, and hence, to sustainability.

This subsection has presented a background of the emergence of the institution building model as a social developmental strategy. Institution building was defined and a reformulated definition which incorporated more recent recommendations for sustainability and which is more consistent with the focus of this study was provided. Basic assumptions of the model were presented. The roles and dynamics of institution building as a social change strategy were presented. The characteristics of intermediate organizations in institution building and the benefits they contribute to the process of social change completed this subsection on institution building.

Institution building as a social change strategy has particular relevance to the development of civil society. Civil society represents one designation of a sector of society which is composed of organizations, generally of intermediate size. Civil society, in the literature, is often spoken of either in terms of a social structural arrangement with attendant characteristics and functions or as an idea which developed within the context of changing historical circumstances.

The following subsection on civil society will begin with an overview of the historical development of civil society as a social structural arrangement that arose in the West from a unique convergence of historic events. This overview will be written from a social systems perspective. The defining characteristics and

features which accompanied the development of civil society, and which have come to be associated with civil society as an idea, will be described. A review of the current resurgence of interest in the idea of civil society in both the East and West will follow. The civil society section will close with a discussion of differing aspects related to this renewed interest.

Civil Society

Over the period of history, man, as a social and ideological being, has organized himself into societies, which are of course, social systems. Consequently, these societal social systems also reflect the two primary system trends of maintenance and growth (Bakan, 1966; Parsons & Bales, 1955). However, up until the recent past for some of the world, and still for much of the world, the maintenance system trend has been and remains dominant in the social order of these societies (Gellner, 1994).

Social order in any society is based on the ideological component of the social system, a "shared culture" and acceptance of entrenched paradigms (Gellner, 1994). This social order is maintained by ideology, for example religion or superstition, and/or by coercion (Gellner, 1994).

Societies organized around the maintenance system trend have generally been referred to as "traditional" (Eaton, 1973; Gellner, 1994). Traditional societies

are characterized by the fusion of the primary elements in the organization of the societal system, the maintenance or social order trend which includes the ideological aspect, and the growth or the productive trend (Gellner, 1994). There is no clear separation among these aspects within traditional societies. Instead, the social order is "sacralized" (Eaton, 1972; Gellner, 1994) or considered to have a sacred character.

It is the fusion of these essential spheres of life that maintains the stability and strength of the social order in traditional societies (Gellner, 1994). Relationships and social roles in traditional societies are stable and highly ritualized. They are maintained by patronage and a "proliferation of minor rules" which necessitates the cultivation of a reservoir of good will with associates (Gellner, 1994, p. 7). Status is associated with rank, power and wealth. Social roles are both internalized and externalized (Gellner, 1994). Personal identity is secure but inescapable (Gellner, 1994).

It has been suggested that the concept of the individual as known in the West does not exist in traditional societies due to the thorough integration of the person into sub-units of society (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992). This thorough integration of persons within a society may preclude the development of the concept of "self" as an individual. Gellner (1994) suggests that this rigid integration of the person may be perceived as stifling and oppressive to the growth of "individuals," however, it is necessary for the maintenance of the social order.

Further, it is suggested, the concept of "freedom" in the West which is an important aspect of civil society, is based on this lack of a prerequisite social integration (Gellner, 1994).

The perception of members of a society can suggest the primary orientation of the society: toward growth or toward maintenance. The experience of a member of a growth oriented society may range from freedom and autonomy to isolation and alienation. The experiences of a member of a maintenance oriented society may range from restriction and oppression to connectedness and unity. It is these perceptions that have particular utility for this study.

To this point, there has been a discussion of the characteristics of traditional societies which are oriented toward the maintenance trend. Now the discussion turns to the emergence of a new social order which occurred in a very specific region, under specific conditions over a period of history. These conditions have generally been identified as the Reformation (16 century), the Enlightenment (18 century), and the Industrial Revolution (18 century) (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992). These events, associated with the development of western civilization, transformed ideas about the nature of the person, of authority, of truth, and of the social order (Seligman, 1992).

The Reformation contributed toward a new conceptualization of religious faith. Religious faith became characterized as individualistic or "egotistic," "other-worldly" and doctrine-based, displacing the "social," "civic," "this worldly," and

"communal," orientation which had been characteristic of classical western Christian religion until that time (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992). Additional changes, which contributed to a new intellectual tradition based on reason, were introduced by the Enlightenment. These changes in religious perception and the attendant approach to truth and knowledge to a large part contributed to the industrial revolution.

The unique combination of these conditions leading to the emergence of "civil society" occurred in North Western Europe where the Protestant Reformation began (Bernhard, 1993b; Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a), and later extended to North America where the idea was primarily influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment (Seligman, 1992a). These historical origins of civil society are linked in Northern Europe with the rise of mercantilism and the emergence of a merchant class during the late medieval and early modern period (Bernhard, 1993b).

Civil society, from a social systems perspective, was a social arrangement in which the maintenance and growth trends were separate in the social system, and the growth trend tended to be dominant. More specifically, it was a social order in which the producing/economic function and the warrior/statesman (social control function) were separated (Gellner, 1994). With the rise of mercantilism and the emergence of a merchant class, economic activity and its social space began to acquire more and more autonomy within the system, eventually acquiring

enough strength to "challenge the power of monarchies" (Poggi cited in Bernhard, 1993b).

It was precisely this separation between the economic/production function from the warrior/statesman function in the social order which could distinguish the arrangement as "civil" society (Gellner, 1994). Within this context a new class arose, a class of merchant and guildsmen, who were independent, not being serfs, nobility or military, but "civilian." This class acquired privileges of local governance and economy within the feudal system and became characterized as the "Third Estate" (Bernhard, 1993a, p. 3).

Within this sphere evolved a code of conduct based on "civility," the mutual recognition of the dignity of the individual and common membership in the political community (Shils, 1991). This "civility" is seen to be at the heart of the concept of civil society (Seligman, 1992b).

Because of the complexity of the social order today, definitions of civil society vary greatly. Civil society may broadly refer to the entire social system organized into two sectors: the economic/productive (growth oriented) and warrior/political (maintenance oriented). Or the definition of civil society may be more narrow and refer to the specific sector of society which is separate from the government. Lastly, civil society may be used to refer to the network of relations among private, nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations and associations, found in the sector between the person and the state (Salamon & Anheier, 1997).

Since the emergence of civil society in North Western Europe, it has become distinguished from more traditional social arrangements in a number of ways. Specific characteristics, functions, and dynamics have become associated with this separation of sectors and have come to distinguish civil societies. The following section will discuss these distinctive elements of civil society. See Figure 1.3.

State

Family

Civil Society

Sector
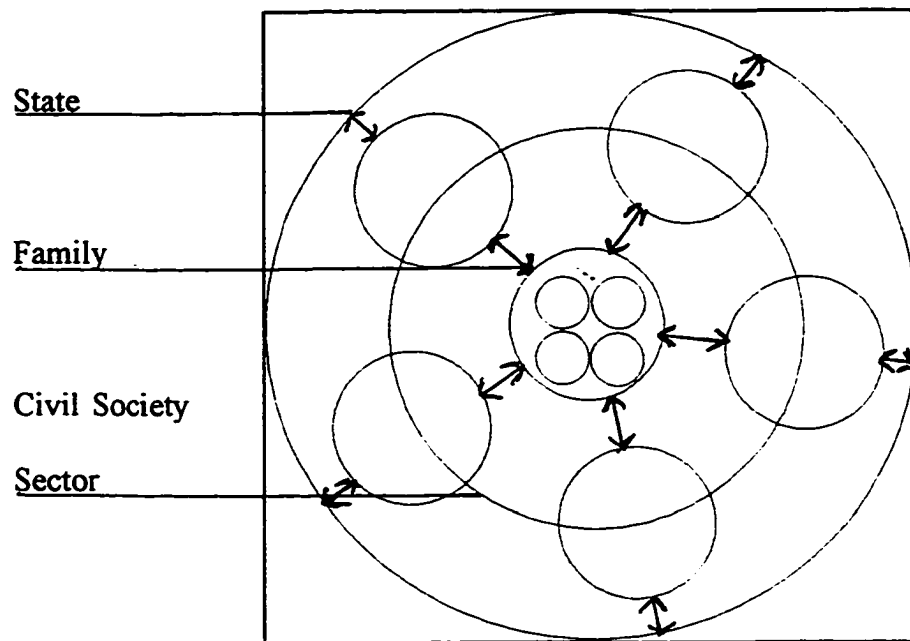
Figure 1.3

Systems View of Civil Society Idealized

Civil society has become characterized by a plurality of institutions which, on one hand, opposed and balanced the power of the state (Gellner, 1994, Hyden,

1997; Shils, 1991), but on the other hand was controlled and protected by the state (Gellner, 1994; Hyden, 1997; Seligman, 1992a). The function of the opposing and balancing activity of the plurality of institutions within the civil sector, and the protecting and controlling activity of the state, is seen as stabilizing within the social system.

Pluralism is defined as the value and presence of different views and multiple forms of being within a society. The notion of pluralism implies the inclusion and participation of diversity in society. Pluralism has been considered an essential element of civil society. It allows for individual choice implicit in the concept of "liberty" associated with this social arrangement (Gellner, 1994).

The separation of the governmental sector from the economic, consisting of a plurality of institutions, contributes to the efficiency, innovation, and expansion in the economic sector which is associated with the development of capitalism (Gellner, 1994). This separation entails the distinction between "interest" or making money (production) and political power (Gellner, 1994). This separation of economic interest from political interest enables the free expression of activity in the economic sector unhindered by political interests (Gellner, 1994). In addition, this social space of free expression was not limited to economic interest alone but allowed the expression of any type of self interest (Seligman, 1992).

Another characteristic associated with the separation of the economic/producing sector and the political sector in a civil society, is that political

power and economic power are also more separate. Economic power is not necessarily associated with political power and positions of political power are not rewarded with disproportionately large economic advantages (Gellner, 1994). The concept of status based on birth or rank, which is also seen as entitlement to both economic and political power is not inherent in the notion of civil society (Gellner, 1994; Shils, 1991). Theoretically, power in a civil society is associated with characteristics such as merit or achievement (Gellner, 1994).

Civil society is also characterized by what has been referred to as "modularity" or individualism (Gellner, 1994). The basis of the social order is premised on the concept of the individual in which the orientation of social commitments is on the fulfillment of agreements and contracts rather than on appeals to status or position (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). Inherent in this concept is the view of the individual as self-policing and personally accountable, who has internalized commitments and obligations, a "privatization of virtue" rather than virtue viewed as residing in the community or state (Gellner, 1994).

It is within the context of the concept of the individual that issues of rights becomes relevant. The bases of rights, contracts and compacts evolved differently in Western Europe than in the United States. In Europe rights are granted by the State and contracts or compacts take precedence over the rights of the contracting parties (Seligman, 1992). In the United States rights are seen as rooted in the autonomous person as a moral agent (Seligman, 1992).

Another characteristic of civil society is cultural homogeneity in which there is a standardization of understanding and expression which transcends the immediate social context; context-free communication (Gellner, 1994). This cultural homogeneity enables geographic and occupational mobility associated with innovation, expansion and growth, particularly within the economic sector of society (Gellner, 1994).

The identity of members of a civil society is determined by their possession of literacy in this homogeneous culture and its conceptual intuitions and by their understanding of the "rules of the game" and of the social world (Gellner, 1994 p. 104). Their activities within the society are self selected and based up personal interest and proclivity (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992). Additionally, this cultural homogeneity contributes to a nationalism in which the state and culture are unified (Gellner, 1994). Ethnic identity is not associated with status but with participation in a culturally defined pool (Gellner, 1994). Ethnicity does not interfere with membership in civil society.

Civil society is also characterized as an instrumental and rationally based social order (Gellner, 1994). The limitations of rationality as an organizing factor for a social order is acknowledged within civil society. The stabilizing influence of a common culture derived from subjective factors in social organization is also acknowledged (Gellner, 1994). However, inherent in this rationality is an objectivity which situates responsibility and guilt within the person rather than in

the social order (Gellner, 1994). This social arrangement, which acknowledges the limitations of rationality and the separation of fact from value, is more ambiguous and uncomfortable than a morally derived social order. However, such a rational, instrumental social order "lives on a certain ambiguity, a compromise between faith and its absence and the obligation of honest doubt" (Gellner, 1994, p. 143). It is pointed out that doubt is based on reason and the use of the intellect, characteristic of civil society, whereas distrust is based on personal experience in relationship, characteristic of traditional societies.

Finally, the pluralistic nature of the institutional arrangements of the economic and political sectors, and their balance within the societal system, fulfills a countervailing function which retards destructive tendencies by the predominance of any one sector over the other. It retards the destruction of the individual by the combined power of the social order; the destruction of the productive sector by the state; the destruction of the state by the productive sector; and, today, with the increased power of the productive sector, it restrains the destruction of the ecology and social fabric by the this sector (Gellner, 1994). However, an unanticipated consequence of this social structural arrangement may be the failure to countervail the demands of individualism (Seligman, 1992ab). This failure within the realm of civil society has contributed to a renewed interest in civil society in the West. This renewed interest will be discussed in the following section.

46

In summary, civil society can be described as an instrumental social order which is modular, open, mobile and growth-oriented (Gellner, 1994). In systems terms, a civil society is an open social system arrangement in which the growth trend takes precedence.

Recently there has been a renewed interest in the concept of civil society (Gellner, 1994, Hyden, 1997; Putnam, 1995a; Seligman, 1992ab). This renewed interest has occurred almost simultaneously in both the East and the West but for entirely different reasons. In the West, and especially in the United States, this interest has been associated with concern regarding the apparent decline of civil society and with the loss of the social bonds which constitute community; in other words, the reconstituting of civil society (Putnam, 1995; Seligman, 1992a). In the East the interest has been regarding the development or construction of civil society (Seligman, 1992a).

It has been asserted that the situations in the East and West are but "mirror-images" (Seligman, 1992b) of each other and that they are of such import as to constitute "crises in the representation of society" (Seligman, 1992a, p. 57). There is also agreement among theoreticians that the nature of the problem in both the East and the West, and the solution, is to be found in the reestablishment of trust (Putnam, 1993b, 1995; Seligman, 1992a).

The following section will begin with documentation of the decline of civil society in the United States. This will be followed by a discussion of the failure of

the idea of civil society as it has evolved in the United States today. Then there

will be a brief discussion of the emergence and appeal of the idea of civil society

in the East. There will be a summary of the renewed interest in civil society from

a systems perspective. Finally, this sub-section will close with a discussion of the

concept of social capital which includes the concept of social trust. Social trust has

been identified as the common point of beginning, both for the reconstitution of

civil society in the West, and for the construction of civil society in the East

(Putnam, 1995; Seligman, 1992a).

Renewed Interest in Civil Society. The decline in civil society in

the United States has been noted by Putnam (1995) in his study of participation in

civic activities. He noted a "sharp" and "steady" decline in "almost every measure

of direct engagement in politics and government" over the last generation (Putnam,

1995, p. 68). These findings occurred within the social context where

circumstances which normally encourage civic engagement were most prevalent.

There has not only been a decline in civic engagement in terms of voter turnout

and political participation, but also in such activities as religious participation,

membership in unions, civic and fraternal organizations, and in volunteerism. In

addition, there has been a decline in participation in less formal social activities

such as in league bowling. Finally, Putnam (1995) expressed concern regarding

the loss of social bonds even at the level of the neighborhood and family, citing

the loosening of family bonds, both in the nuclear and extended family, a decline in neighborliness, and a decrease in social trust.

It has been suggested that this decline in civil society is "inherent" within the Western model of civil society itself, especially as it has evolved in the United States (Seligman, 1992a). The original idea of civil society was premised on a common belief in the transcendent principle of Reason and a transcendent morality. These ideas are no longer held. Instead, the rational, autonomous, agentic, moral, individual is seen to be the locus of the moral order (Seligman, 1992a, p. 8). The individual, rather than the "shared realm of sociability," came to represent the "universal and ethical foundation of the social order" (Seligman, 1992a, p. 147). The problem in the West then becomes how to "represent the ties and relations between morally autonomous and agentic individuals" (Seligman, 1992a, p. 94). What will be the vision which retains the autonomy and agentic nature of the individual while at the same time incorporating the shared ideas, ideals, and values which constitute the "public" realm (Seligman, 1992a)?

The resurgence of interest in the idea of civil society in the East has been associated with the fall of Marxist-Communism and with the transition to democracy in the Newly Independent States (Bernhard, 1993ab; Gellner, 1994; Pehe, 1996; Les, 1995; Putnam, 1993a; Seligman, 1992ab; Shils, 1991). Marxist-Communism and Civil Society, based on liberalist ideas, have common historical roots. However, Marxist-Communism was decidedly against the idea of civil

society and the values it represented, focusing on the value of solidarity rather than that of individualism (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). It has been suggested that it is this decided repression of civil society within the former Communist bloc countries which has contributed to the preservation of the idea and its eventual emergence (Gellner, 1994; Shils, 1991).

There are various dimensions to this renewed interest in the idea of civil society in the East. Civil society has been used as a slogan to represent an ideal, a model, or a standard (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992ab). However, the two dimensions to the idea of civil society which have had the greatest appeal are, the legal and institutional framework which will enable individuals to act on their individual and group interests in the public sphere (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a; Weigle & Butterfield, 1992), and, the institutional and ideological pluralism which prevents a monopoly of power (Gellner, 1994).

The following "working definition" of civil society, synthesized from recent literature on Central Europe, has been offered as applicable to the Newly Independent States (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). "(T)he independent self organization of society, the constituent parts of which voluntarily engage in public activity to pursue individual, group, or national interests within the context of a legally defined state-society relationship" (p. 3).

This definition clearly conveys the idea of civil society in the East European countries as an activity in process; the reconstitution of society. These

authors point out two aspects of this definition or activity. The first is the development of the institutional basis for the self-organization of society which consists of the establishment of the legal framework. This framework defines the state-society relationship and legalizes independent activity within society by social groups. The second aspect is what Weigle and Butterfield (1992 p.3) refer to as the, "orientation of civil society." The orientation of civil society refers to the predisposing factors within the culture which are formative in the nature and direction of the development of civil society within society. Such factors as what personages are involved in the process of development, the goals they represent, and what dominant values are present in the culture regarding independent activity within the public space, are included in this concept of cultural orientation (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

Four stages in the trend toward civil society development in Central Europe have been identified (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). These stages are as follows:

> the defensive, in which private individuals and independent groups actively or passively defend their autonomy vis-a-vis the party-state; emergent, in which independent social groups or movements seek limited goals in a widened public sphere which is sanctioned or conceded by the reforming party-state; mobilization, in which independent groups or movements undermine the legitimacy of the party-state by offering alternative forms of governance to a politicized society; and institutional, in which publicly supported leaders enact laws guaranteeing autonomy of social action, leading to a contractual relationship between state and society regulated eventually by free elections (p. 1).

The authors claim that the regime type, whether Central European or post-totalitarian, takes precedence in influencing the character of civil society development within the respective countries during the first two stages. However, in the last two stages of civil society development, social and cultural factors take precedence and contribute to the unique character of the developing sector within the respective countries (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

Included in the social and cultural factors which are instrumental in shaping the character of civil society development in the mobilization and institutional stages are such aspects as historical precedent, the nature of the political culture, the various forms of nationalism, and the "social context of institutional development" (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 2). These factors will be briefly elaborated in turn.

Historical precedent refers to the historical development of the culture particularly in terms of social structural arrangement and the degree of public social space and in terms of experience with democratic processes. Political culture is developed within the historical context and consequently is closely linked to historical precedent. It includes the attitudes and norms related to the state, bureaucracy, change and diversity (Tismaneanu, 1995). The various forms of nationalism refer to the vying interests being represented within a society in attempts to shape a common view of the state or nation. Finally, the social context of institutional development involves those aspects within the social environment

which impinge on institutional development. Other theoreticians have also identified the preceding factors as critical to the development of civil society in the post communist countries (Seligman, 1992ab; Bernard, 1993ab; Gellner, 1994; Tismaneanu, 1992; Verdery, 1996).

A review of the development of the idea of civil society in the West and of its emergence in the East supports Seligman's (1992ab) assertions discussed previously. These assertions are reiterated here. The first is that the situations found in the East and the West are "mirror images" of each other (Seligman, 1992b, p. 7). The second is that the issue common to both is related to the "nature of trust" (Seligman, 1992ab). Last is that the task at hand in both regions is the reconstitution of society in a manner which affirms a sphere of public life beyond the state, yet protected by it, while at the same time affirming, but transcending, individual existence (Seligman, 1992ab). Each of these assertions will be addressed in turn.

In spite of the divergent nature of the development of society in the East and the West, the idea of civil society and Marxism have common roots. The roots of both are found in the thought of philosophers in the premodern period (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). These philosophers were concerned with resolving the tension or contradictory quality between the public/private or universal/particular intentions within society (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). In systems terms this tension can be seen to be between the two necessary trends for

the development of a system, the instrumental/agentic/growth trend and the expressive/communal/maintenance trend. It is repeated that the well-being of the system is dependent on the balance between these two trends (Bakan, 1966; Parsons & Bales, 1955).

The instrumental/agentic/growth trend has been the primary trend in both systems. However, the configuration of the social structures in the East and West were polar opposites, hence the "mirror image" analogy. In the West, and particularly in the United States, civil society evolved as a social structure based on the rational, autonomous, agentic, moral, individual (Seligman, 1992a). In the East, Marxist-Communism was based on the rational, autonomous, agentic, moral State; the dominance of common/universal interest over particular/individual interest. In other words the sectors of society consisted of the State and the individual, an atomization of society in which trust was limited to personal relations. See Figure 1.4.

It is clearly accepted that such a State repressed individual development and the development of a distinct social space separate from the State (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). In the East the problem is how to constitute a society with an autonomous public domain without the concept of an autonomous individual (Seligman, 1992a). The question becomes, where does morality reside? Conversely, in the United States, the public sphere, premised on the rational, agentic, autonomous, moral, individual, has become dominated by

State

Family

Civil Society

Sector
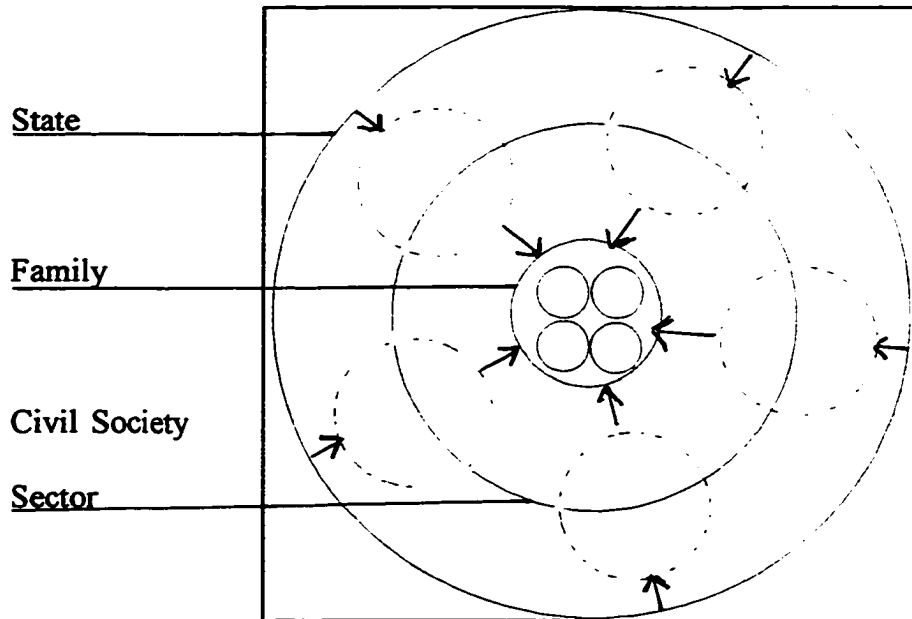
Figure 1.4

Atomization of Society by the Moral State

particular/individual interest over common/universal interest. It has become

"privatized" and has lost its cohesiveness for lack of any transcendent unifying

principle (Seligman, 1992ab). In this case, trust has become abstracted and

generalized within the process of modernization and differentiation (Luhmann,

cited in Seligman, 1992a). Similar to the Eastern case, individual trust is limited

to private, personal relations (Giddens cited in Seligman, 1992a). See Figure 1.5.

Although there is probably less agreement about this tyranny of the

individual to the destruction of the public sphere in the United States, the social

structure can be characterized as consisting of a collection of individuals and the
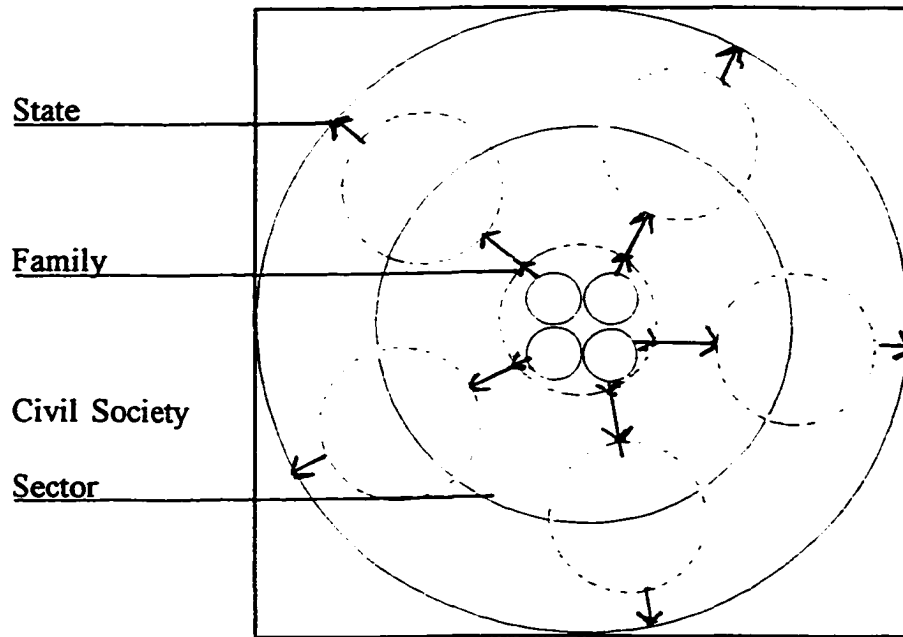
Figure 1.5

Atomization of Society by Privatized Morality

State

Family

Civil Society

Sector

state. The problem in the West then becomes how to constitute a society with autonomous individuals but without a unifying transcendent belief (Seligman, 1992ab). The question in this case also becomes, where does morality reside?

In systems terms, both the East and the West can be said to be at a point of transition in the process of transformation to a new level of development. As an aside, there also appears to be a simultaneous transition and transformation at the international level. In all cases the rational, instrumental, agentic, growth system trend has had ascendancy. However, in the case of the East, this trend has been

situated in the state, and maintained through coercion, which has been detrimental to individual, instrumental, development and to the development of a mediating sector. Morality was seen to reside in the State (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a).

In the United States, the rational, instrumental, agentic trend has been situated in the moral, autonomous, individual, and has contributed to an incursion of the private into the public realm, eroding its civic and mediating character (Hyden, 1997; Seligman, 1992a). This social arrangement has contributed to the instrumental/agentic growth of individuals and of society, but to the detriment of the expressive/communal/maintenance trend both within individuals and within society. Morality was seen to reside within the individual.

From a systems perspective, the social structure of society can be seen as the patterned interaction which emerges as the system seeks to maintain equilibrium while mediating the tension between the instrumental/agentic/growth trend and the expressive/communal/maintenance trend within it. This is the realm in which system survival is worked out. The nature of the patterned interaction of these trends within society, whether diffused or separated, traditional or modern, and which aspects take ascendancy, determines the character of the society (Gellner, 1994). Civil society can be seen as a particular type of patterned interaction which accomplishes specific system functions.

It is possible that within this theoretical formulation civil society is only appropriate for a particular growth period in a system and that there is enough

flexibility within the structure of civil society to accommodate variation of emphases within the overall structure. From this perspective civil society may be seen as a social structural arrangement which is in ascendancy in the Newly Independent States of the East and which is in decline in the West. In the East the growth trend may be exerting pressure for greater expression of instrumental/agentic attributes at the individual and group levels. In the West, the maintenance trend may be exerting pressure for the expression of expressive/communal attributes at the individual and group levels. In both instances, the system is in a state of transition and transformation, and both systems are experiencing a crisis in the representation of society (Seligman, 1992a).

It is uncertain what form this reconstitution of society will take in each region. However, the elements foundational to the development of civil society, which consist of historical precedent, political culture, nationalism and the social context of institutional development, are present and available for observation (Putnam, 1993a; Verdery, 1996; Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

A broad definition of civil society is suggested for the purpose of this study. A broad definition affirms the mediating system function which takes place in the civil society sector without making prior assumptions about the underlying premises upon which it is based. It allows for the unique character of civil society development within transition states at this time in history. For the purposes of this study civil society will be defined as follows: Civil society is the social space,

separate from the private realm of the individual and from the realm of the state,

but sanctioned by the state, made up of a network of associations and

organizations. It is within such a realm that society is reconstituted, that the

unique shape, based on emerging societal values, is actualized.

This is the moral realm. It lies neither within the individual nor within the

state, but rather within the relationship or interaction between and among persons.

It is only within relationship that morality has any meaning. A state may be

spoken of as moral on the basis of the morality of its agents and a person may be

termed moral in terms of the nature of their behavior, but the morality itself does

not lie within them apart from the nature of their relations.

The fate of Marxist-Communism in the East has demonstrated the fallacy of

the ability of the State to mandate or coerce morality (Gellner, 1994). The decline

of civil society in the United States has pointed to the fallacy of the ability of the

individual to lead a moral life based on reason alone. The limitations of the State,

the individual and reason in the establishment of a communal life which is neither

oppressive nor tyrannical, has been made evident. The question becomes, how will

society be constituted under these circumstances?

As stated above, systems theory would indicate that society emerges, and

will emerge, in the working out of the tension between the instrumental and

communal trends. Also, that the emergent social order in the East and West will

represent the values already present in the system. Systems theory suggests in

addition that this tension between the instrumental and communal trends is never resolved, but rather, is in a continual process of resolution in each interaction within the system. Regardless of the nature of the society, whether it be diffused or structured, traditional or modern, or any other variation, interaction at all levels involves individuals. It is within this interaction between and among individuals that morality is accomplished and has meaning. It is the individual who is accountable for moral behavior. Each individual at all times is accountable for his/her choices regarding instrumental/agentic/growth and expressive/communal/maintenance. This continual choosing is necessary, regardless of whatever predisposing factors may be present, both within the individual or the environment.

Given the present "crises of representing society" in both the East and the West (Seligman, 1992a, p. 57); and given that the social structure of society emerges within the context in which it finds itself; and given that this social structure emerges through the process of interaction between and among its members in their attempt to resolve the tension between the instrumental/agentic/growth trend and the expressive/communal/maintenance trend, the question becomes: What will be the basis of this interaction between and among members of society which will construct society and shape the social structure?

Two theoreticians with an interest in the idea of civil society have suggested that the answer may lie in the development of trust. The first theoretician, Putnam (1993a), formulated his ideas on civil society through his research on civic engagement and social capital conducted in Italy. He later conducted a study on civic engagement in the United States. The second theoretician, Seligman, (1992a) studied the development of the idea of civil society from antiquity up until the current crises and utilized data from the European Value Survey conducted in twelve European countries in 1982 and 1990.

The concept of trust fits within the broader concept of social capital developed by Coleman (1988). Coleman (1988) developed the concept of social capital in contrast to human and physical capital, capital referring to a commodity that can be converted for use. Contrary to the characteristics of human and physical capital where the productive capacity lies within an entity and consequently is finite, the productive capacity of social capital lies within the structural relations between and among actors and tends to be self reinforcing. Social capital is a derivative quality or value that "comes about by a change in the relations among persons that facilitate action" (Coleman, 1988, p. S100). Putnam (1993b) has referred to the self reinforcing tendency of social capital as a "cycle of virtue" (p. 177).

There are elements within social organization which contribute to the production of social capital (Coleman, 1988). These elements include the norms

and sanctions of obligation, expectation, cooperation and reciprocity which contribute to the perception of the worthiness of persons and the predictability and trustworthiness of the social environment (Coleman, 1988).

According to Putnam (1993b) trust is generated through personal experience of reliability in interaction. Trust involves familiarity, intimacy and acquaintanceship (Putnam, 1993b; Seligman, 1992b). Trust and the generation of social capital are also related to the homogeneity and size or scale of social systems (Putnam, 1993b; Seligman, 1992ab). Similarity among members lends itself to mutuality. Small groups or organizations are more conducive to informal and intimate interaction.

Another important aspect in the creation of social capital is that the environment in which social capital is generated cannot, by definition, be totally open. Social relations which include the norms and sanctions of obligation and expectation can only occur in a bounded system (Coleman, 1988). In other words, as was stated earlier, a totally open system ceases to exist since it is not identifiable as a system due to the lack of any predicable, patterned interaction among the parts. A system that is in a state of equilibrium is characterized by a permeable boundary which is neither totally open nor totally closed (Anderson & Carter, 1974). In the case of social capital the amount of social capital available in a system can be seen as a derivative of the "embeddedness" or density of social

relations within that social system and is a significant factor in the identification of a system.

Another important characteristic in the creation of social capital is that it is generated as a byproduct of group interaction (Coleman, 1988). This characteristic in the creation of social capital has several implications. One is what has been referred to as the "public goods" nature of social capital (Coleman, 1988, p. S116). This means that social capital generated through group interaction benefits the group more than each member individually. Consequently, group members can easily underestimate their contribution to the benefit of the group which, in turn, can lead to what has been called "underinvestment" (Coleman, 1988, p. S117). Underinvestment is the tendency to withdraw from an interaction when the obligation to the group is perceived to be disproportionate to the benefit to the self (Coleman, 1988). A final implication of the public goods and by-product characteristics of social capital is that it can easily be created and destroyed indirectly and inadvertently (Coleman, 1988).

When social capital, its characteristics, and the factors that contribute to its development are examined, it is evident that the embeddedness of traditional societies represents a great deal of social capital. It is also evident that the "liberation" from the norms of reciprocity and expectations found in traditional cultures, that "liberation" which contributed to the development of civil society, was a "trade off" in favor of the expression of more instrumental interests by

individuals. Rather than in the embedded relations characteristic of a traditional culture, social capital in modern, complex societies is generated within the networks of interactions, associations, organizations and institutions which comprise the civil society sector (Putnam, 1993b).

The above is recapitulated as follows: In the East, individual, instrumental/agentic/growth oriented activities were not allowed expression under Marxist-Communism. At present, there is an impetus toward this expression in an expanding civil society sector. The factors of historical precedent, political culture, nationalism, and the context of institutional development, have been identified as predispositional in the development of the unique character of this sector within this region (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). The trust which is generated in the development of stable networks of relations has also been identified as important in the development of the civil society sector (Putnam, 1993ab; Seligman, 1992ab). The joint contribution of innovation and integration provided by groups, associations, organizations and institutions, within the civil society sector, and the stabilizing effect this contribution has during times of transition has been presented. The importance of sustainability and participation in social development has been discussed. Finally, the capacity for the generation of social capital and social trust that groups, associations and organizations and institutions within the civil society sector offer has been shown. Consequently, the question in this study is: What is

the capacity for institution building in the civil society sector of the former

Communist bloc country of Romania?

This question concludes the theoretical portion of this study. The major

concepts and orientation used in this study have been delineated. This section

began with the most comprehensive of the theories, General Systems Theory

(Bertalanffy, 1968). The dynamics of transition and change in systems were

presented. The two main system trends of growth and maintenance, important in

the development of any system, were identified as the two concepts which will

constitute "capacity" in this study. A discussion of social development followed.

This discussion included the change in orientation in social development strategies

from aid to development and introduced the two current issues of sustainability and

participation. Social development was followed by a presentation of the institution

building model as a specific social development strategy. The background of this

model and the main concepts and dynamics of this strategy were presented. The

institution building concept of linkage points, the technologies which are

compatible to change and growth oriented tendencies present within the culture,

was linked to the social systems concept of the instrumental/change developmental

trend. The institution building concept of prevailing codes, consisting of the

values, norms and customs of society, was linked to the social systems concept of

the maintenance developmental trend.

The theoretical portion of this study closed with the concept of civil society. The development of civil society in the West from a social structural perspective was presented first. The primary characteristics and functions linked with civil society in the West were included. This was followed by a discussion of the renewed interest in civil society in both the East and the West. Concern for the decline of civil society in the West and a discussion of related issues were presented.

After a discussion of the decline of civil society in the West, there was a discussion of issues related to the renewed interest in the concept in the East and a delineation of four stages identified in the trend toward the development of civil society in Central Europe (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). It is suggested that the countries of the former Soviet bloc are in the last two stages of this development and that social and cultural factors are most significant in shaping the unique character of this sector at this time (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

Four factors within the social and cultural context which are seen to be most influential in the formation of civil society in the East were delineated (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). These four factors are: historical precedence, political culture, nationalism and the social context of institutional development.

After the discussion of the development of civil society in the East, there was a discussion of the similarities between the East and West regarding civil society today. This similarity was found to be in the developmental task of

reconstituting society (Seligman, 1992a). The theoretical section closed with the concept of social capital (Coleman, 1988) as an ingredient in this developmental task and of institution building as one means of developing social trust, an element of social capital.

The following section provides more specific background to the study. It addresses the concern for the capacity for institution building in the civil sector of society in Romania. It first addresses factors common to the development of civil society in the region. This is followed by a discussion of the case of Romania. In both instances, the discussion is organized around the four factors seen as significant in the formation of civil society in the East by Weigle and Butterfield (1992).

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Formative Elements in the Development of Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe

Although there has been enthusiasm about the idea of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe since the fall of communism (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a), there has been debate about the applicability of the Western model within the Eastern context (Pehe, 1996; Seligman, 1992a). The issues of historical

precedent, nationalism, political culture, and the social context of institutional development, have been mentioned by various authors as critical factors in the development of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe (Gellner, 1994; Pehe, 1996; Putnam, 1993a; Seligman, 1992a; Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). Although there is some overlap in aspects of these topics, they will be used as the primary organizational concepts for this discussion. This subsection will begin by discussing these aspects as they relate to the region of Central and East Europe. The specific case of Romania will be discussed in more detail at the close of this subsection.

Historical Precedent. The divergence in the development of the East and West in terms of civil society has been traced back to the period referred to as the "crisis of feudalism;" the period of 1300-1450 (Szucs, cited in Bernard, 1993b; Seligman, 1992). Even though the initial response in both regions to this crisis was "absolutism," the progression of development in these regions took very different directions from that time until the present (Bernhard, 1993ab; Seligman, 1992a).

Development in the West included the retention of desirable aspects of feudalism which were preparatory for capitalism and the formation of the nation state system (Bernhard, 1993ab). The outcome of this process in the West was the subordination of society to the state but with autonomy from the state and the

development of parliamentary democracies with political parties and civil society (Bernhard, 1993ab).

The "absolutist" response in the East, most notably in Russia, was to "bind the society into a much tighter relationship to the monarchy" (Szucs, cited in Bernhard, 1993ab). The outcome in the East was that society was "nationalized" and feudalism became consolidated into a new and stronger form (Bernhard, 1993ab). In all cases, in the East the powers of the state were strengthened (Schopflin, cited in Seligman, 1992a).

This "nationalized" variant of feudalism has a number of identifying characteristics. The strength of the nobility and the development of an entrepreneurial class was limited. The aristocracy that did develop became integrated into the state structure and they controlled the process of modernization. This modernization consequently was associated more with a view that the state was "modern" and the rest of society was "backward" and of little interest as a target for reform (Janos cited in Seligman, 1992a; Schopflin, cited in Seligman, 1992a, p. 159). With this dynamic, Western "liberal" ideology was used to solidify State power rather than to reform the system. Further, under Ottoman rule, the gentry of the feudal class was seriously weakened and the role of local officials was basically limited to collecting taxes from the peasantry (Bernhard, 1993ab). So again, there was no opportunity for the development of a separate entrepreneurial class.

After the Ottoman period, parliamentary governments still were not able to achieve full status in regard to the monarchy (Stokes, cited in Bernhard, 1993ab). The monarchies maintained independence from the parliaments and were not entirely accountable to them. Censorship of the press was greater than in the West and there was legal discrimination against "certain national, religious, and social groups" (Bernhard, 1993a, p. 5).

The inter-war period was the first genuine opportunity for many states in this region to attempt to institute democratic forms of parliamentary government. However, again, the Western model was used to maintain state power in a society unprepared for liberalization (Bernhard, 1993ab).

After WW II, the region came under the control of the Soviets and civil society was completely suppressed. The major objective of the Soviets was to dispose of any potential threat to their authority. This included the exile, imprisonment, or execution of politicians; the disbanding of organizations such as trade unions and political parties; the dismissal of professors; usurpation of the control of business, the press, publishing and broadcasting; the closing of churches and seminaries; and, the persecution and subversion of the clergy and laity (Rose, 1994). The submission of the people was maintained by controlling the essential consumer products and by a system of rewards based on compliance to party demands (Rose, 1994). Romania and Bulgaria experienced the most severe

repressive measures against resistance (Bernhard, 1993b; Carothers, 1996; Gallager, 1995; Tismaneanu, 1993; Verdery, 1996).

In summary, the development in the East from the feudal period on has reinforced a strong statist position defined as a predisposition toward a strong centralized state government. There has never been a period in the history of this region when there has been a restraint of government in favor of individual interests, and the possibility for the development of a separate civil society has been consistently thwarted.

Nationalism. Nationalism is considered to be another major factor in the development of civil society in the Central and East European countries. Because of the historical development described above, the process of nation-state development that took place in the West has not had opportunity to occur in the East. Two stages have been identified in this process of nation building (Smith, cited in Seligman, 1992a). The first is called, "crystallization," which consists of the unification of a national identity which is inclusive of all ethnic groups (Seligman, 1992a, p. 160). The second is "universalization of citizenship" (Seligman, 1992a, p. 160). In this stage the criteria for participation in the political and social life of the nation is formalized and becomes universalized to all members of the society (Smith, in Seligman, 1992a). Gellner (1994) has referred to nationalism as "the marriage of state and culture" (p. 113).

Since this twofold process did not occur in the East, significant minorities exist who have not yet been integrated into society (Seligman, 1992a). Further, in regions where there was a diverse mix of cultures within the same geographical area and social structure, with different "political, cultural and religious boundaries," there has been a lack of any cohesive unifying principle (Gellner, 1994, 115). There is disagreement among social scientists regarding the gravity of this lack of national unity.

The process of integration of ethnic minorities in the West occurred over an extended period of time and included the development of a national identity made up of a common territory, cultural system, and historical memories (Seligman, 1992a). The process of integration was facilitated by "linguistic assimilation" and "social mobilization" and the development of "psychologically mobile personalities" (Lerner, cited in Seligman, 1992a, p. 160). This concept of psychologically mobile personalities is similar to Gellner's (1994) concept of "cultural homogeneity."

As discussed previously, the concept of cultural homogeneity is a standardization of understanding and expression within a society which is not contextual, but rather is common to all. Cultural homogeneity enables the development of "modular man;" the person as an individual. This is possible because possession of this standardization in understanding and expression enables individual freedom of choice in terms of geographic and occupational mobility and thus the development of an individual identity (Gellner, 1994).

72

Since the bureaucratic structures of state rule in the East have formed before the development of a national identity, there is the view that the state generates national feeling rather than the view that a national identity emerges out of an integrative process (Seligman, 1992a). Also since regimes often appealed to an "ideology of national exclusion" to retain power, the idea of a nation with inclusive citizenship never emerged (Seligman, 1992a, p. 162). Seligman (1992a) sees this lack of integration as a threat to the development of civil society.

On the other hand, Gellner (1994) has suggested that ethnically based national associations appear to be able to become crystallized almost instantly. Whether or not this is consistent with Western values, such groups may facilitate the development of civil society since they represent a "culturally defined pool" rather than a position within an enmeshed social structure (Gellner, 1994, p. 127). Membership in a culturally defined pool enables an individual identity and mobility, both of which are necessary for civil society development. It appears that it may be extreme forms of ethnic chauvinism which are most detrimental to the development of civil society (Ryabenuk, cited in Rau, 1993). However, the ultimate effect of ethnic groups within the process of nationalization and in the development of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe remains to be seen.

Nature of the Political Culture. Although the historical experience of a strong statist orientation in the East has greatly influenced the political culture

in that region, it is the Soviet influence which has had the most profound effect

(Tismaneanu, 1992). The characteristics which best describe the nature of the

political culture which has been inherited by today's transition governments are

summarized below.

The first characteristic of the political culture, held over from the past, is

reliance on unofficial channels and networks of informal relations rather than on

official formal means. It was through these informal means, such as the

"underground" and the "black market," that things got done and self interest could

be maintained (Rose, 1994).

Secondly, and perhaps most significantly, is a pervasive lack of trust and

confidence in formal institutions (Gellner, 1994; Rose, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). A

1993 survey of trust in key institutions conducted in Russia indicated that most

respondents distrusted seven out of ten major institutions of civil society (Rose,

1994). These results also held for the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and

Poland. Conversely, it was found that Russians put their trust primarily in

television, the army and the security police (Rose, 1994). The implication of these

results indicated that, rather than trust, there was a general distrust in key

institutions.

The European Value Survey, conducted in twelve European countries in

1982 and 1990, provides a longitudinal view. This survey shows a decline in trust

in institutions such as the parliament, the media, and trade unions which are

important in the establishment of civil society (Seligman, 1992a). The most trusted

institutions reported in this survey were the Church and the family (Seligman,

1992a). Again these results suggest that there is a general lack of trust in the

majority of key societal institutions.

This pervasive distrust of institutions under communist regimes was

exacerbated by a number of factors. The system was commonly characterized by

inefficiency and incompetence in the delivery of state services. Bribes were often

necessary to obtain "free" state services and instances of corruption were frequent

(Rose, 1994).

In addition, the independent organized activity which is essential to a civil

society was not allowed. The expression of individual opinion was viewed as

"dangerous" and possibly "subversive" (Rose, 1994). The organizations that

existed, such as trade unions and writers guilds, were meant to contribute to the

task of building socialism (Rose, 1994). These organizations were puppets of the

party-state and sometimes membership was mandatory (Les, 1994; Rose, 1994).

Since the fall of communism, there has been a proliferation of political

parties (Rose, 1994). However, this very multiplicity has prevented the emergence

of any one party that represents a broad spectrum of the public opinion (Rose,

1994). Those dissident groups, which had been cohesive under the old rule, have

fallen into quarreling and factions (Rose, 1994). These conditions mitigate against

the formation of interest groups, and "pacts" of elites seen as a necessary ingredient

of a civil society and of a nascent democracy (Nelson, 1996). In fact, only small groups of elites exist out of which such "pacts" can be formed. This is true regardless of what type of defining criteria is used, for example, class or economic power (Nelson, 1996). Consequently, it is doubtful whether any sort of base for popular support is likely to emerge from this area in the near future (Nelson, 1996).

The efforts that have been made toward democratic rule have fallen short of full implementation. For example, in the Czech Republic, which is one of the countries considered to have come the furthest on the road to democracy, there is still evidence of a lack of "true respect for the rule of law" or of a "democratic spirit" (Pehe, 1996, p. 27). The lower chamber of the Czech parliament failed to implement the constitutional mandate for the upper chamber of the parliament, thereby failing to institute the intended check on their own exercise of power (Pehe, 1996). The parliament has also failed to implement a constitutional mandate calling for the subdivision of the country into regions (Pehe, 1996). In summary, the political culture in the Newly Independent states is characterized by the continued importance of informal and unofficial means of communication. There are norms which have promoted a system based on inefficiency, incompetence and corruption. Consequently, there is a pervasive lack of trust in formal institutions. There is no established set of norms for the organization of civic groups to function in a climate of debate and compromise. Instead, there is

continued evidence that those in power tend to exercise it to their own benefit rather than to the upbuilding of a truly civil society.

Social Context of Institutional Development. The social context of institutional development is seen to overlap the political context due, in part, to the all encompassing quality of the party-state apparatus prior to the time of transition. Only recently has a social space been slowly carved out contributing to the eventual demise of the communist system and to the subsequent emergence of nascent civil society.

The following description of this gradual process of change is based largely on Weigle and Butterfield (1992). The gradual process of carving out the social space occurred in the context of a system in which it was not possible to influence the state through freely chosen representatives who could influence public policy. Neither was it possible to pursue private interests in a public space which was granted legal protection. Consequently, those who did not accept these conditions had the choice of withdrawing to the private sphere of the family or of taking their interests underground.

Within these narrow strictures it was only possible to seek the establishment of as much autonomy in the public space as possible while not threatening the power or legitimacy of the regime. The assumption of this approach was that civil society would emerge within the confines of the post-totalitarian state. Bernhard

(1993a) has referred to this stance as dissidence or revisionism. The position that was held in common among dissidents in all the countries of the region was that "the state had no moral or legal right to deprive individuals and groups of autonomy or independent action (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 7). It has been suggested that the roots of this gradual change sprang up due to a crisis within the system. This crisis has been referred to as a "failure of enculturation" (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 5). The party-state was unable to bring about the internalization of its values. Subsequently, the state began to try to mobilize interest groups and integrate them into the institutional apparatus of the state within the process of modernization. This attempt also failed and the conflict between the interests of the party-state and those of the society became more apparent.

At this juncture, when the gap between the interests of the society and those of the party-state became more pronounced, a defensive stance against the party-state's all encompassing control became evident. This defensive stance, for the procurement of greater individual and social autonomy within a public social space, took different forms in different countries due to differences in the nature of institutional relationships and cultural dispositions (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). For example, in Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel appealed to the consciences of the people by exhorting them to "live in truth" rather than to succumb to the practice of engaging in public behavior that was inconsistent with private values (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 6). Because "moral numbness" had been a means by which

post-totalitarian regimes maintained power (Tismaneanu, 1992, 139), the moral

obligation to demonstrate congruence between personal and public values was

stressed. Whereas, in East Germany, individual independence within a public

social space was asserted as a "civic obligation" (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 6).

In some cases groups were organized to represent this defensive stance. For

example, in Poland, there was the Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR)

and the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights in Poland

(ROPCiO). In Czechoslovakia, there was the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted

(VONs) and the movement known as Charter 77. Havel was one of the Charterists

of this group which was successful in opening the public social space in the cause

of the defense of human rights (Tismaneanu, 1992).

Several factors have been identified as influential in this process of

organizing in defense of a public social space. These are "the degree of

identification with the regime, the level of economic satisfaction, the autonomy of

the intelligentsia and the propensity of society to organize" (Weigle & Butterfield,

1992, p. 6). In other words, the less the populace perceived their interests being

represented by the regime, the greater the economic dissatisfaction and the more

tendency there was within the system to organize, the more likely it was for

activity to occur for the purpose of opening up a public social space. For these

reasons, the most active groups emerged in Poland (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

The first crisis in the failure of communism, which elicited a defensive response, was followed by a counter response by the party-state and the precipitation of a second crisis. In counter response, the population was offered a package of benefits and privileges, in terms of wages and consumer goods, in exchange for their withdrawal from "active politics" and "unsanctioned public association" (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 10). There were variations within the different countries in the region regarding the nature of this contract and the response. However, the general result was to inhibit organized activity in the public realm within the decade of the 1970s (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

At the same time certain classes of privileged members of society, such as "trusted members of the nonparty intelligentsia, the cultural and professional elite, and natural sciences," were given more freedom as professionals on the acceptance of party rule (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 10). The end result of this reasserted dominance over the public space by the party-state was to reveal the regime's inadequacy in economic and political terms and to raise the threat of a second crisis. The party-state's response to this second threat was to reopen the sphere of independent activity by granting legitimacy to organized independent groups. Although it was the regime's intent to displace some of the burden of their inadequacy upon these groups, this reopening allowed for the development of a civil society (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

It was in Poland that this emergence first began to appear through the activities of a federation of strike committees known as Solidarity. This group had been organized and supported by workers and intellectuals and it grew quickly. The emphasis of this reform movement was on "an expansion of civil liberties and human rights" and was referred to as "new evolutionism" (Michnik, cited in Weigle & Butterfield, 1992, p. 11). However, this position still was premised on the idea that the most that could be hoped for would be a self-organized independent society within the Communist structure.

As independent activity became more and more evident, the party-state began to concede more participation while at the same resorting to oppression, arrest, delay tactics and restriction of resources. Party splits over strategy resulted and this provided an opportunity for various groups to exploit for further concessions. Eventually this process led to the complete demise of the regimes and the foundations of civil society were laid on the independent activity organized from below, which had originally been intended to strengthen society in the face of Communist domination (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). The primary concern at the initial stage in the development of civil society was the lack of unifying factors which could provide a stabilizing influence in this development.

The preceding subsection has presented an overview of the formative factors in the emergence of civil society in East and Central Europe organized around the concepts of historical precedent, political culture, nationalism and the

social context of institutional development. In general terms, aspects of the stages

of civil society development presented in this summary are applicable to the

country of Romania. However, at this point the aspects more specific to this

development in Romania will be considered. Again, this discussion will be

organized around the topic areas of historical precedent, nationalism, political

culture, and the social context of institutional development.

The Case of Romania

Historical Context. It is important to keep in mind that the writing

of history is a political activity and that the history of Romania became especially

politicized under communism (Deletant, 1991; Verdery, 1991). This writing and

rewriting of history does not lend itself well to the reliability of analysis by an

outside reader. In addition, an adequate history of the development of independent

activities as an element in the development of civil society in Romania has yet to

be written. With these qualifications in mind the review will begin.

Bearing in mind that various theories of the origin of the Romanian peoples

have been promulgated, depending on the political usefulness at the time, it is

generally accepted that an important element in the formation of the identity of

Romania is the claim to Latin roots (Deletant, 1992; Treptow, 1995). This claim

goes back to the middle of the first century B.C. According to the Greek historian

Herodotus, this kingdom, whose people were commonly called "Geto-Dacians,"

was strong enough to stop the expansion of the Roman Empire into Southeastern

Europe. However, this kingdom was eventually conquered by the Roman Emperor

Trajan and colonized. It was through this colonization that the Latinization of the

population took place (Deletant, 1991, Treptow, 1995). An important aspect of

this Latin identification is the distinction of language and culture from Slavic

neighbors who share the Eastern Orthodox Religion.

The second major factor in the development of Romania is the claim to

Christianity. The Daco-Romanian population north of the Danube was

Christianized by the end of the first millennium through the efforts of missionaries

from as far away as Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt (Joanta, 1992). This

Christianization occurred through a gradual process of face to face sharing rather

than by order of a political authority. The point of this organic development of

Christianity is emphasized because it is claimed to have led over the centuries to a

strong tradition of spirituality within the life of the people referred to by Fr.

Dumitru Staniloae as an "integral" spirituality (Joanta, 1992, p. xv), and it is very

likely instrumental in a strong propensity toward an "organic" view of change as

noted by Gallager (1995).

Other potential implications of the strong spiritual orientation reflected in

the Romanian culture are an emphasis on spiritual rather than materialistic values,

and an emphasis on experiential rather than rational knowledge (Gallager, 1995).

Orthodox Christianity claims neither to be a "philosophy" nor an "ethical system" nor a "religious dogmatism" but a "science which cures" through a direct, personal relationship with the living God, supported by the life of the church and in the faith community (Vlachos, 1994, p. 29-30).

The emphasis on spiritual values noted above does not negate rational knowledge, material life and social change, but rather, these aspects of life are subject to and organized around life in the spirit. Although this orientation is foreign to a Western rational, materialistic, technical orientation (Gallager, 1995), in the interest of avoiding an ethnocentric perspective and in keeping with the social work values of self determination and social justice, it is well to seriously consider this strong cultural element. It is also possible that the spiritual element will exert more effort at expression during this transition period due to the inability for full expression in the past. It also must be pointed out that, at the same time, the fastest growing religion in Romania "has been evangelical Protestantism" (Gallager, 1994), which certainly will be an additional influence in the development of civil society.

Another major factor in the identity of Romania is the claim to the historic regions of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. These territories were gradually consolidated over a period of history. The territory of Transylvania came under Hungarian rule over a period of several centuries. Later, through the Ottoman

conquest, it was under Turkish domination. Finally, Transylvania came under the rule of the Hungarian crown (Johnson & Wright, 1997; Treptow, 1995).

The principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, Banat, and Dobrudja were consolidated in the fourteenth century and it was during this time that the struggle against the Ottomans began (Treptow, 1995). These principalities were able to maintain a degree of autonomy under Turkish suzerainty.

The beginning of the modern age in Romania developed in the context of European development when balance of power concerns were prevalent among the major powers of the time. Following an uprising led by Tudor Vladimirescu in 1821, the eventual restoration of native princes to the thrones of Bucharest and Iasi, and the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829, Ottoman domination in the area came to an end (Treptow, 1995).

Modern Romania was born with the election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as prince of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859 while the country remained under Russian military occupation (Treptow, 1995). Romania gained her independence in 1877 during the reign of Carol I of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and she became a kingdom in 1881. This period was heralded as an era of great cultural achievement noted by the works of Mihai Eminescu and Ion Creanga and the art of Nicolae Grigorescu. Romania became a unified state with the addition of Transylvania for the first time in 1918, at the conclusion of World War I.

The inter-war period was the first opportunity Romania had as a country to experiment with democracy and it was during this time that elements of today's political culture can be found. So, for the purposes of this study, the topic of political culture will be addressed within a historical context in the following subsection.

Political Culture Prior to the Communist Era: The Inter-War Period.

Several political doctrines began to be expressed during the inter-war period. The primary ones included neo-liberalism, peasantism, and social democracy.

Neo-liberalism was represented by the National Liberal Party and represented the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and the banking sector (Treptow, 1995). However, contrary to classical liberalism which advocated for complete individual freedom, neo-liberalism represented a more protectionist stance, favoring strong state involvement in economic and social life and a "consolidation of the position of the bourgeoisie" (Treptow, 1995, p. 408).

The Peasantists maintained that they represented the main producing class in society. They favored a balanced growth between agriculture and industry, and a "broad based democracy" in the development of a peasant state (Treptow, 1995, p. 409).

Social Democracy was represented on a more limited basis during the inter-war period. The view represented by this group was that "the progress of

Romania" was "indispensably linked to the progress of capitalism" (Treptow, 1995, p. 410). The hope of this group was for reforms which would improve both material and spiritual life (Treptow, 1995).

Although different political doctrines were represented by various political parties as shown above, divisions existed within these parties rather than doctrinal cohesiveness (Treptow, 1995).

The National Liberal Party maintained the primary influence on policy. This party took important steps in consolidating the unification of the country, and limited the threat of extremism by outlawing both the Romanian Communist Party in 1924 and the Iron Guard in 1933 (Treptow, 1995).

During the 1930's, the democratic system in Romania gradually lost its credibility. This period was characterized by a general lack of democratic political culture. The king took steps to consolidate his power and politicians earned the reputation of acting only in their own interest (Treptow, 1995). Legally granted freedoms such as public meetings and freedom of the press were denied. Decision-making consisted of "back room strategies" rather than open debate (Treptow, 1995, p. 444). Eventually, in 1938, the country was ruled by a royal dictatorship which later became a totalitarian regime. In the face of the ensuing war and the resultant loss of territory, the king finally was forced to abdicate on September 6, 1940 (Treptow, 1995).

Through a "percentage agreement" between Stalin and Churchill in October,

1944, Romania became subject to Soviet domination rather than to the allied

support for which they had hoped (Treptow, 1995). The significance of this event

in the psyche of the Romanian people cannot be minimized and has been referred

to as a perceived "debt" to be paid back to the country by the United States

(Carothers, 1996).

Eventually the two provisional governments failed as the country tried to

conduct a war while being itself an occupied nation. Eventually the country came

under complete Soviet domination with the installation of the Groza government

(Treptow, 1995).

Political Culture and the Communist Era. As was true of the other

communist bloc countries, all aspects of life in Romania came under the control of

the Communist Party during the period of Soviet domination. The economy

became collectivized by the state control of industry and agriculture. Opponents to

communist authority were labeled as "fascists" or "collaborators" and were subject

to harassment. The political parties were disbanded and their leaders were

exterminated. The faculties of philosophy and letters were disbanded and

professors were removed from their offices. Although little of this era is really

known, the civil society of the inter-war era was destroyed (Treptow, 1995).

Much of what has been previously written regarding the condition of society in Central and East European countries during the Communist era can be applied to Romania as well. However, after a period of Russification, there was a period of liberalization beginning in 1958. During this period foreign policy relations became more oriented toward the West, amnesty was granted to political prisoners, and there was more of a spirit of hope when Nicolae Ceausescu took leadership in 1965.

There was in fact a period of liberalization after 1965. The passport system was liberalized. Small scale businesses and enterprises were established. The greatest amount of freedom was allowed in the area of culture (Treptow, 1995). The Writer's Union was given more latitude. There was a modernization in education with an emphasis on the hard sciences. Contacts with American and European educational institutions were developed and Western cultural works became available.

However, this period of liberalization came to an end in 1971 after the Ceausecus' return from a visit to China at which time Ceausescu announced his intent to begin a "mini-cultural revolution" (Treptow, 1995, p. 550). From this period on there were greater controls in almost all aspects of life. The period of "great oppression" and the "cult of personality" began (Treptow, 1995).

The exercise of initiative was destroyed due to Ceausescu's complete control over decision making. A policy of forced industrialization led to excessive foreign

debt and shortages within the country. Staple foods were rationed. Livestock was to be registered and raised on contract with the state. Travel was restricted. The standard of living fell and there were strikes and worker unrest. The communist ideology was reimposed in education and there was censorship of publications and restriction of foreign contact (Treptow, 1995).

An especially severe program of austerity was ushered in during the last nine years of the Ceausescu regime, 1980-1989. This program was precipitated by the president's determination to reduce the foreign debt. These austerity measures had the final result of reducing the population to poverty. Food shortages became severe. The policy of the systematic razing of villages and the relocation of peasants to new agro-industrial centers was announced.

Two factors especially relevant to the political culture of the time and to the eventual development of civil society include: the erosion of the legitimacy of Ceausescu's government and a growing expression of opposition (Treptow, 1995). This loss of legitimacy was brought about by Ceausescu's consistent practice of placing family members and friends in party leadership positions. Consequently, talented party members who maintained some freedom of thought and who could constitute a genuine political elite became more and more excluded and limited to peripheral roles (Treptow, 1995).

Growing opposition became evident within this climate of oppression and repression in the areas where limited freedoms remained. This was particularly so

in the areas of literature, medicine and the hard sciences. In 1971, a member of the central committee, and editor-in-chief of the magazine, Romania literara, Nicolae Breban, expressed his displeasure at the imposition of the party ideology into culture and was dismissed from his editorial position. In 1977, a group of about 200 persons, known as the "Goma Movement," wrote several open letters and studies which were critical of the government and of the effects of communism on the country. Others expressed their dissatisfaction with the regime through open letters to leaders in Romania or to international forums on an individual basis. Representatives of minority populations, most notably the Hungarians, also made their criticism known to the regime. Specific literary personalities and others became known as important Romanian dissidents during this time, each expressing their view individually (Treptow, 1995).

However, the real or imagined threat of the Securitate, the secret police, prevented the organization of a dissident movement. But by the end of the 1980s, the growing unrest of the people began to erupt into uprisings and spontaneous revolts which were quickly stopped by the army. In March of 1989 six former communist officials wrote an open letter to Ceausescu informing the international community of the abuses of his regime and asking for his resignation. The subsequent absence of any apparent softening on his part, especially in the midst of the collapse of the Berlin wall and the swift changes in the rest of the region, hastened his demise (Tismaneanu, 1991; Treptow, 1995).

A revolt erupted in Timisoara on December 16, 1989, when it was rumored

that a Hungarian minister, Laszlo Tokes, was to be arrested by the Securitate.

Later, on December 21, a student uprising erupted in Bucharest. In a general

atmosphere of confusion and unrest a provisional council took control of the

country. Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were given a hasty trial, condemned to

death on charges of genocide and the destruction of the national economy, and

were executed on December 25, 1989 (Treptow, 1995).

A provisional government, The National Salvation Front, took control of

the government. On January 3, 1990 political parties were reestablished. This

marked the end of the communist era and a beginning on the road to democracy.

Political Culture in the Post Communist Era. Unsurprisingly, the

political culture of the past, characterized by a strong, authoritarian, statist

orientation, marked by elitism and corruption and with little impetus toward real

reform, has continued into the present (Carothers, 1996; Gallager, 1995;

Tismaneanu, 1992). Society itself was atomized by the oppressiveness of the

Ceausescu regime and characterized by a pervasive distrust of organized power and

of members distrust of each other (Carothers, 1996). In addition, there was a

cultural intolerance to difference which had been exacerbated by Ceausescu's

policies (Tismaneanu, 1992).

Perhaps of most importance to the development of civil society in Romania today is Vladimir Tismaneanu's (1992) assertion, regarding this political culture, that the 1989 "revolution" represented "anti-communist," "anti-authoritarian" and "anti-ideological" public sentiments (p. 247). He suggests that these sentiments account, in part, for Romanians reticence to solidify into political parties as an expression of defiance against the "politization" of the public sphere under communism (p. 247).

At the same time that the legacy within the political culture of Romania has been one of authoritarianism and oppression and that the revolutionary response has been against such oppression, there is a hesitancy or lag in recognition that, in a democracy, there are no external "saviors" (Tismaneanu, 1992). At present, the political culture remains with "immoderate" and "unreasonable" elements waiting to be modified into a more cohesive and confident political culture (Tismaneanu, 1992).

The November 1996 election of Emil Constantinescu of the Democratic Convention (CDR) represents the first major change in the direction of government. An increase in the percentage of CDR representatives in the parliament gives further hope for real reform (Johnson & Wright, 1997). The degree to which these events represent changes in the political culture remains to be seen.

Nationalism. As with history, nationalism has been one of those areas which has been open to manipulation by the powers in Romania (Carothers, 1995; Gallager, 1995; Verdery, 1991). As stated earlier, the twofold process of "crystalization" and "universalization of citizenship," seen as important in the process of nation building, did not occur in Romania (Seligman, 1992a). In the case of Romania significant minorities have not yet been integrated, specifically the Hungarians and the Roma (Treptow, 1995). However, again, there are differences of opinion among theoreticians regarding the seriousness of this lack of integration to the development of civil society. Some theoreticians suggest that the rapid manner in which ethnic groups can crystalize may in fact speed the process of civil society development (Gellner, 1994). Others suggest that it may only be extreme chauvinism which is detrimental to civil society development (Ryabenuk cited in Rau, 1993). Still others suggest that nationalism may be a "driving force" in the development of civil society (Ryabenuk cited in Rau, 1993, p. 102).

Not surprisingly, given the importance of a national identity in the process of nation-building, nationalism has been an identifying characteristic of modern Romania (Gallager, 1995). Some of the specific characteristics associated with this nationalism include: xenophobia, anti-Semitism, egalitarianism, nonmaterialism, and spirituality as opposed to rationalism (Gallager, 1995) as discussed above. The presence of these characteristics are not difficult to understand within the context of the historical experience of Romania whose destiny has so often been at the

behest of outside powers and due to the importance of the role of the Orthodox Church in this historical development.

Some of the specific representatives of these various elements in the process of nation building include the more extreme elements of "Romanian Hearth" or Vatra Romaneasca which is associated with the political party of Romanian National Unity (PUNR) and the "'Greater Romania" Party (PRM)"' (Verdery, 1996, p. 89). The "Romanian Hearth" or Vatra Romaneasca Union was founded in Tirgu Mures in February of 1990. Unity and solidarity in the national interest is a theme of this organization (Gallager, 1995). Consequently this group is suspicious of democratic processes and reluctant to accept ethnic pluralism (Gallager, 1995).

Hungarian interests are represented by a coalition of groups called the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania (HDFR) (Gallager, 1995). This organization claims that the Hungarians in Transylvania are a "co-inhabiting nation living in the Romanian state" who are deserving of laws which protect their national identity (Gallager, 1995, p. 121). The emphasis of this group is upon "collective" rights, rather than individual rights (Gallager, 1995, p. 120). Such claims have been interpreted as requests for favoritism and as threatening to national unity (Gallager, 1995). There is also a party representing Roma interests.

Social Context of Institutional Development. As has been stated earlier, the social context of institutional development overlaps with the political

culture. However, whereas in the case of the Central European states it was possible for a civil space to be carved out within a reforming communist system, no such liberalization occurred in Romania (Carothers, 1996; Gallager, 1995; Mihut, 1994; Tismaneanu, 1991). Consequently, pluralism, one of the chief components of democracy and of civil society development, had no opportunity to be expressed or to be established. As a result, immediately after the 1989 revolution, there was what has been referred to as an "institutional vacuum" and a "crisis of authority" (Mihut, 1994, p. 412).

After the collapse of the communist system the transitional government in Romania moved quickly to implement the institutional changes necessary for a democratic form of government. For example, one of the first acts of the transitional government was to enable the formation and registration of political parties and other organizations (Mihut, 1994). An Electoral Law, which formed a constitutional basis for the government quickly followed in March of 1990 (Mihut, 1994), and the present constitution was adopted in November, 1991 (Mihut, 1994).

However, even though these "institutional" changes were put into print, the social components supportive of these changes have been slow to follow. Soon after the events of December, 1989, they began to look more like a party coup than a revolution (Tismaneanu, 1992). It soon became apparent that those who were managing the reform were in fact "reform communists" who had been involved with the administration of the country for the past forty years and who were

primarily motivated to retain their power (Tismaneanu, 1992). The Securitate

remained to harass and intimidate.

Although there has been a great proliferation in the formation of all types

of social and political, public and private groups and organizations since 1989, it is

important to be reminded that this fact, in itself, does not necessarily mean that

there is a pluralist network (Mihut, 1994). This is true, in part, because the

necessary framework to influence institutions and bureaucracies is still being

defined (Mihut, 1994). In addition, people still are reticent to join groups because

of their past experience of regimentation (Carothers, 1996; Mihut, 1994; Verdery,

1996). Finally, when people do join groups, at this point in the development of

civil society, these are likely to be groups which reflect narrowly defined "self-

interest" rather than a broad "public interest" orientation (Carothers, 1996, Mihut,

1994).

This subsection addressed the specific case of Romania based on the four

factors seen as influential in the nature and direction of civil society development

in that country. These four factors included historical precedent, political culture,

nationalism and the social context of institutional development.

It is the social context of institutional culture which is the focus of this

study. Within this social context lie the elements which are formative in this

beginning stage of civil society development in Romania. Two factors in the

social context of institutional development in Romania are seen as primary in the

delayed opening of a public social space. One was the failure of Ceausescu to

introduced any reform measures while other Soviet bloc countries were doing so.

The second was the questionable commitment of political elites to institute true

democratic principles after the events of 1989 and up until the November, 1996

elections (Carothers, 1996; Gallager, 1995; Tismaneanu, 1992).

This study more specifically focuses on the social context of institutional

culture by seeking to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil

society sector of Romania. The data utilized in this study were gathered from

representatives from within this social context.

The previous section of this study includes an extensive literature review

which provided the theoretical framework and background material specific to civil

society development in Central and Eastern Europe in general, and in Romania, in

particular. The primary theoretical concepts of growth and maintenance as part of

"capacity" for development in the civil society sector were introduced. These

concepts were related to the two concepts of "prevailing codes" and "linkage

points" drawn from the institution building theoretical model.

The developmental trends of civil society as a social structural arrangement

in both the East and the West and related issues were presented. The concept of

social development and the recommendations for participatory and sustainable

approaches were delineated. The role of institution building as a social

development strategy which meets these criteria was offered.

Finally, a discussion of the development of civil society in the East, and more specifically in the case of Romania, was presented. This discussion was organized around the topics of historical precedent, political culture, nationalism and the social context for institutional development. It was emphasized that this study fits most specifically within the social context for institutional development and seeks to provide both descriptive and predictive data for the further understanding and development of this sector. The following section will present a review and critique of a study specific to development in this sector.

Although all the material presented to this point represents an extensive review of the literature in a number of areas, a more narrowly focused review of the literature specific to the development of civil society in Romania yielded only one study which is closely related to the topic of this research. This related study will be reviewed and critiqued in the following section.

REVIEW AND CRITIQUE OF RELATED STUDIES

The only related study found in the literature is a field-oriented evaluative study of American democracy assistance programs provided in Romania since 1990. This study was conducted by Carothers (1996) between October, 1994, and October, 1995. Carothers is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Data for his study was gathered from "approximately" 150 interviews obtained from "members of parliament, political party workers, judges, lawyers, trade unionists, journalists, civic activists, executive branch officials, professors, local government officials, university students, and business people" (Carothers, 1996, p. 6).

The majority of the interviewees were from Bucharest with a "significant number" (Carothers, 1996, p. 6) also drawn from Iasi and Craiova. Additional interviews were obtained from Americans in Bucharest and Washington DC, who had worked on democracy assistance programs, USAID and State Department officials, and academic specialists on Romania from both Europe and the United States.

Carothers chose a qualitative methodology to enable depth rather than breadth of analysis in his evaluative study (p. 7). In addition to the interview data, information was obtained from others who may have had direct knowledge of the subject matter, from local studies, from media reports, and from the evaluator's personal observations.

The specific purpose of the evaluation was to assess the effects of United States democracy assistance projects in Romania and to obtain the views of recipients of the assistance regarding how these efforts were perceived and valued. A more general purpose of the evaluation was to provide a greater understanding

of the transition process in the region and to provide feedback for the improvement of future assistance efforts.

The evaluation focused on democracy assistance projects in seven areas: 1. political parties; 2. elections; 3. rule of law; 4. parliament; 5. civil society; 6. trade unions; 7. media. Assistance to local governments, educational assistance and visitor programs were also included, although they were not directly linked to democracy assistance projects.

The general conclusion of the assessment was that the positive effects were "modest to negligible" (p. 91) and that there were modest negative effects. The civil society sector was one of the areas where more positive results were noted. Assistance in the civil society sector was limited to civil advocacy oriented projects. However, this assistance did contribute to the development of new Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) within this sector. There has been some effect on government policy making as well as some increase in public understanding of social and political issues in the major cities.

The reasons ascribed for the very limited results were: the small amount of assistance provided in relation to the enormity of the task, but commensurate with the results; efforts directed to unmotivated institutions and organizations; and reliance on short term training methods of assistance (i.e., a relief vs. a developmental perspective toward assistance). The reasons cited for the modest success in the civil society sector were: there was a greater willingness to transfer

funds directly to Romanian organizations by the project managers; the small size of the organizations which enabled more efficiency in getting the assistance to the appropriate people; and the "participation of motivated Romanians" (p. 93).

One negative effect of the democracy assistance efforts was, "the aggravation of a siege mentality" (p. 94) brought on within the power structure by partisan assistance approaches directed specifically to opposition political parties and election assistance. A second negative effect was the creation of dependency by reinforcement of the view of assistance as an end in itself.

Subjective effects of democracy assistance efforts were also identified in the evaluation. These effects were of a more personal and psychological nature. Contrary to what might be expected these effects were identified by recipients as being of the most importance. These effects included a sense of moral and emotional support and a sense of empowerment.

Recommendations for future democracy assistance efforts included: programs which reflect the values of "participation, representation, pluralism and openness" (p. 129) and strategies which promote decentralization, such as support for development in the areas of business, media, and religious institutions. Finally, assistance methods which are based on collaboration and capacity building were recommended. These types of methods are designed to specifically include local community members in all aspects of the planning and administration of assistance projects.

Carothers provided information that is helpful in understanding United States democracy assistance activities conducted in Romania since 1990. His evaluative study provided descriptions of the rationale for these projects, of the types of projects, of the methods of implementation, and of the perceptions of recipients regarding the effects and value of this assistance. This information can be utilized by assistance providers for designing future projects. The recommendations of the study can help future providers to avoid the mistakes of past projects and to build on the work already done.

The focus of the evaluation, limited to United States democracy assistance projects, leaves the remainder of the social sector yet to be systematically studied. Since the data were gathered primarily from the cities of Bucharest, Iasi and Craiova, no comprehensive conclusions, common to the country, can be drawn and no comparison between and among regions can be made.

The description of the methods used for data collection and analysis lacked the specificity necessary to make a judgment regarding the validity and reliability of the findings or to enable replication. There was no specificity regarding the exact number of interviews, the number of respondents from each city, the methodology used to track sources, or the number represented in each category. There was no indication of what interview questions were asked or how the interviews were approached. There was no documentation of how additional interviews from persons with direct knowledge of the subject were obtained or

used, or how many there were. There was no specification of how many local studies and media reports were obtained or how they were analyzed and applied to the study. There was no description of the data analysis process itself. Finally, there was a very limited theoretical framework provided which could contribute to further theory development.

In closing this section it is important to point out that, since Carothers' (1996) study was evaluative in nature, and since the findings were presented in book form which was intended for a general audience, there may have been a conscious decision on the part of the researcher to omit details specific to the research and analysis process. However, when this study is critiqued as a piece of qualitative research several concerns are noted. Qualitative studies are primarily judged by the standards of "credibility" and "trustworthiness" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Krathwohl, 1985; Patton, 1990). These standards are best met when all aspects of the research process and the rationale taken at points of decision-making are made as explicit as possible (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990). Consequently, the lack of specificity in terms of the total number of interviews obtained, the number represented in the different categories listed, the methods used to locate and track sources, and the interviewing procedures and data analysis process procedures utilized, weaken confidence in the reported results.

The lack of evidence in the literature regarding systematic studies related to civil society development in Romania, the narrow focus of the Carothers' (1996) study, and the lack of specificity in his design suggest that a large territory remains to be researched and indicates the need for the utilization of more explicit methods. At this stage in the development of Romania, exploratory research methods, which provide more depth than breadth, continue to be most appropriate (Patton, 1990). This study is based on more explicit, systematic, qualitative research methods in order to provide a comprehensive examination of the social context of institution building in Romania. The following section will discuss the implications of the study which will be followed by a description of the research design.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are theory development, policy and practice implications to this study. The implications of the study in each of these three areas will be discussed in turn. First, this study fits into the broad theoretical framework of systems theory. Systems theory provides the comprehensive framework for understanding and describing the dynamics and principles of change and development in systems. The results of this study can provide a baseline which can suggest the nature and direction of change in a segment of a society which is undergoing a transition period and is redefining its structure. In this instance, the findings of the study can

contribute to an elaboration of systems theory in regard to societal systems in periods of transition.

This study also utilizes a social development theoretical approach. From this perspective, it addresses the issues of uneven or distorted development and sustainability which have been identified in the social development literature. It also seeks to heed the recommendations for multidisciplinary, cross sectoral, holistic and integrative approaches to social development as well as to consider the traditional cultural values, beliefs and norms of developing societies (Carothers, 1996; Cernea, 1986; Midgley, 1995; Pandey, 1996; Quigley, 1996; United Nations, 1982). As such, this study has potential to contribute to social development theory, particularly in the area of sustainability. The concepts of uneven or distorted development, and inclusiveness and cultural sensitivity are seen to be included in the concept of sustainability.

Institution building is a more specific, low-level theory utilized in this study. Institutions and organizations are entities within the social system which enable innovation of new modes of being in times of social change. At the same time, organizations and institutions also fulfill an integrative function which helps to maintain system stability during these critical times. Institutions and organizations which are based on democratic principles are also socializing mediums which can contribute to the democratization process in the Newly

Independent States. Data obtained in this study contributes to the elaboration of the institution building theoretical model.

In addition to the general areas of potential application stated above, this study is focused on a specific aspect of institution building theory as a social change strategy. This aspect is referred to as "fit" in the development of new organizations based on an identification and analysis of the "prevailing codes" and "linkage points" found within the society. The identification and analysis of these prevailing codes and linkage points can provide further elaboration of the concept of "fit" in the theory of institution building.

In this study, civil society is the specific space within the social system in which the strategy of institution building is directed. The progression in the development of civil society in the West is known. However, few of the conditions that were present in Western civil society development are evident in the East. Consequently, the transitional stage in the East represents a unique laboratory for the study of the development of civil society (Seligman, 1992a). Potentially, this study will contribute to understanding of this development by providing a description of the social context for institution building within this sector.

It has also been suggested that a "crisis of representing society" (Seligman, 1992a, p. 57) is present in both the East and the West and that the situation in each is a "mirror image" (Seligman, 1992b, p. 7) of the other. If this is so, knowledge

obtained in this study may also have applicability to the reconstitution of society in the West.

Social trust has been identified as a critical element in the reconstitution of civil society in both the East and the West (Putnam, 1995; Rose, 1994; Seligman, 1992ab). Trust is seen to be an aspect of the concept of social capital (Coleman, 1988). The characteristics of the network of relations of associations and organizations within the civil society sector are considered conducive to the development of social capital in modern societies (Putnam, 1993b). It has been suggested that "new strategies for development" and strengthening the "market economy and democratic institutions in the formerly Communist lands and Eurasia center," based on the concept of social capital are just as necessary as those of financial and human capital (Putnam, 1993b, p. 6). This study may prove to be helpful in the theoretical area of social capital and social trust as well.

There are several dimensions to the policy implications of this study. The study itself presents a model which reflects a policy orientation directed toward community development and toward the development of social capital. The data obtained in this study are from community representatives. Consequently, they reflect the policy concerns and the motivation for change existing within the system. These data enable the tailoring of policy and program initiatives to existing realities rather than the promotion of policies which are based solely on the values and views of outside agents.

The results of this study may also have important practice implications. There has been an emerging internationalization of Social Work practice. This study raises issues and offers a model for practice at the macro level within a foreign country based on the application of social work values and principles. As such, it contributes to the knowledge and practice base in the domain of international social work.

Since the data were gathered utilizing the social work practice principles of self determination, participation, and individualization, the results represent the views and opinions of intended participants of future social development activities. Consequently, as in the case of policy implications, a social work practice implication is that future projects and programs can be founded upon relevant realities identified by representatives from within the system itself. Utilization of the model described in this study by practitioners in the future can enable the continued relevancy of programs and projects based on the intentions of community representatives.

In addition, data obtained in this study will enable future assistance efforts to be directed toward supporting already existing initiatives, representing a strengths perspective. This approach is in keeping with the social work values of self determination and empowerment and it is also consistent with Carothers' (1996) recommendation encouraging the support of existing reform coming from the people themselves.

Finally, this study may have application to social welfare in the United

States as the system moves toward decentralization and privatization and states

look toward local capacity and community-based responsibility for the development

of services. As resources continue to shrink in the United States, perhaps

something can be learned from the application of a model in a country which has

never known such abundance.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

To identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania, a secondary analysis of interview data gathered in June, 1996, was conducted. These data were originally obtained as part of The Listening and Learning in Romania Project (LRR), of the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Since the current study is based on a secondary analysis of LRR data, the design of the LRR project is described first. The description of the design of the LRR project is followed by a description of the methodology utilized in the present study.

The description of the design of this study begins with a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of a qualitative methodology. The rational for the choice of a qualitative research strategy is given. This description and rationale is followed by subsections presenting the process of data organization and management. The results of the data analysis are presented in chapter III.

THE LISTENING AND LEARNING IN ROMANIA PROJECT

The Listening and Learning in Romania Project was a data gathering phase in one of the components of a proposed strategy for the development of an Institute for Civil Society Development at the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. The LLR project

110

was designed to serve as a model for community development projects and incorporates the principles recommended for sustainable development. The project reflects a multidisciplinary, social justice approach to planned change based on the principles of community participation and of the assessment of needs and assets obtained from within the context of change. One proposed outcome of the Listening and Learning in Romania phase was the establishment of regional councils in Romania. These councils were envisioned to serve as "incubators" and "supporters" of local community building efforts.

A Leadership Team from the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences organized and directed this project. Team members consisted of: Dr. Alice K. Johnson, Associate Professor; Dr. Victor Groza, Associate Professor; Roland F. Smith, Adjunct Instructor and interim Field Education staff person; and Ovidiu Gavrilovici, a Romanian participant of the Cleveland International Program. Professor John Yankey and Zoe Breen Wood of the Center for Public Leadership and Service and affiliated with the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences also provided consultation and technical assistance.

The purpose of the Listening and Learning Project was: "to work with community members to carry out an assessment of community assets and opportunities," "help community people to ascertain the appropriate form and make-up of the (community) councils," to "identify possibilities for local

community-building ventures," and to develop a unifying framework for future

projects in Romania (Center for Public Sector Leadership and Service, n.d.).

Data Collection/Interview Teams

Interviews obtained for the LLR were designed to be conducted by teams of

three persons: an American social work student, an American social work faculty

person or professional from participating American universities and organizations,

and a Romanian, bi-lingual, "cultural interpreter." There were 2-3 teams assigned

to each region. In addition to these teams, a Leadership Team comprised of four

faculty members from participating universities, traveled to each region and

interviewed key leaders and provided debriefing for the regional team members.

Team Training

A two day training session was held for the American team members before

departure to Romania. The bi-lingual (Romanian) cultural interpreters did not

receive training. The training session began with an introductory period in which

team members were given the opportunity to examine their motives for

participation in the project and to consider what might be their unique contribution.

An overview of the Institute for Civil Society Development and its relationship to

the LLR project was presented together with the goals and objectives of the LLR Project and the responsibilities of team members.

Special practice sessions were scheduled for role playing the interviewing process. Interviewing guides and data collection forms were provided. Team members were instructed to use the interview guide as a guide only and to modify the questions to fit the person being interviewed and/or the occasion. Teams were provided with packets containing additional materials which included: interview guides, planning sheets, interview consent forms, summary sheets, and debriefing forms along with other necessary materials and supplies (see Appendix A). Team members also participated in an overview/briefing regarding the history, geography, politics and culture of Romania. They were also advised regarding how to speak and act in Romania and how to work with an interpreter.

The Sample

The data were obtained from a nonprobability or judgment sample of key informants selected by a combination of purposive and snowball techniques. Key informants are people who can be expected to be especially knowledgeable, often because of their position or status, regarding the area of inquiry (Patton, 1990). A purposive method was chosen for the selection of the sample because of the compatibility of this method with the dual research and practice purposes of the

study. A purposive method offers "depth" of information about the area of inquiry, from "information rich" cases (Patton, 1990, p. 169). The snowball or chain sampling method is a method for gathering information rich cases in which purposively identified subjects are asked to suggest additional subjects considered knowledgeable in the area of inquiry (Patton, 1990).

Access to the key informants was gained by members of the Leadership Team who have had ongoing contact with key people from the universities and the Human Service community in Romania since 1991. Contact persons from each region were selected from this group made up of prior acquaintance. These persons were asked to coordinate the interview project in their respective regions or arrange for another coordinator.

The community contact persons were provided with background materials regarding the project. They were asked to identify key informants from the following categories and arrange for initial interviews: 1) universities, 2) Nongovernmental Organizations, NGOs, 3) religion/church, 4) local government, 5) business, 6) public administration, 7) students and young leaders, 8) ethnic and cultural groups, 9) professional leaders, 10) representatives from International Organizations, 11) local media, 12) any other category not included in the above (Unpublished documents). No further pre-established criteria for the selection of key informants were provided. Once the initial interviews were conducted the respondents were asked to recommend other key leaders to be interviewed.

Protection of Human Subjects

This research was approved by the Protection of Human Subjects Review

Committee of Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. It was expected

that subjects would not encounter any unusual risks beyond those incurred in daily

living due to their participation in the research. A written explanation of the

project and a statement of the procedures for safeguarding confidentiality in the use

of the data were given to the subjects. They were also asked to sign a written

consent form. Both of these documents were translated into Romanian.

The Interview Procedure

Once the initial interviews were set up, the teams conducted the interviews.

The format for the interview session included: a period of introductions followed

by a description of the purpose of the interview, explaining and signing of the

consent form, and then the interview proper. Interview sessions lasted from

approximately 30-90 minutes.

In almost all cases the professional or faculty member of the team

conducted the interviews and the student member of the team was responsible for

the process recording of the interviews. In a small number of cases, after student

members had acquired experience through observation and participation of several

interviews, they were allowed to conduct some of the remaining interviews. The interview teams were responsible for writing up the summary results of the interviews, using the summary forms provided in the interview packet.

Initial Data Analysis

Team Members gathered together for a one day debriefing session approximately two months after the data collection period. Team members were asked to bring regional profiles which they had developed utilizing the summary sheets. Data from the summary sheets were compiled into region reports. A final report was completed in December of 1996 as part of a master's student project.

DESIGN OF THIS STUDY

Secondary Analysis

To identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania, a secondary analysis of the data obtained in the LLR project was conducted. A qualitative research strategy was chosen for this analysis. A summary of the strengths and weaknesses of a qualitative methodology and the

rationale for the choice of a qualitative research strategy in the design of this study follows.

Qualitative research methods have a number of strengths. The compatibility of these strengths with the purpose of the research is the primary consideration in choosing such a strategy. In regard to the research purpose, a qualitative methodology provides information about process rather than about causal relationships between or among already identified variables (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990). Qualitative strategies focus on the nature of reality as "socially constructed" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 4). The focus of the data gathering, analysis, and interpretation is based on consideration of the subject's frame of reference, the social context, and the research setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990). Qualitative strategies are oriented to the study of naturally occurring events within a natural rather than an experimental setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1898). They are particularly oriented toward exploration and discovery (Patton, 1990). Consequently, qualitative strategies lend themselves particularly well to research related to unknown societies and system innovations (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Finally, qualitative research strategies offer depth of understanding in regard to the phenomenon under study and are particularly suited to the examination of complexity and detail (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990).

A major weakness of qualitative methods is related to the issue of generalizability (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Maxwell, 1996; Patton, 1990). Due to the strengths of qualitative strategies in terms of addressing the particularities of context, setting, and the subject's frame of reference, which offers depth of information rather than breadth, the findings have limited generalizability. This generalizability is referred to as "internal generalizability" (Maxwell, 1996). This means that the findings can only be safely generalized to the group from which they have been drawn or to similar cases. Finally, qualitative methods are not intended to measure or analyze causal relationships between variables (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

A qualitative methodology was selected for the present study due to the strengths of this strategy in relation to the purpose of the study. This study is an exploratory and descriptive examination of an hitherto unexamined area: the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania based on data gathered from five regions of Romania.

These data provide further understanding about two processes: the development of innovation within a system and the development of civil society in a country which is unfamiliar to the West, a country which has not experienced the historical conditions which were present in the development of civil society as it is known in the West.

The data obtained have their basis in the perceptions of key informants within a natural setting. These respondents are closest to the domain of inquiry. Consequently, the data obtained are expected to closely reflect the empirical domain under study (Patton, 1990).

Because this study is based on a secondary analysis of the data, validity may be an issue of concern. This is especially true when there is a question about the appropriateness of the use of data which has been initially collected for one research purpose, but later used for another research purpose. In the case of this study the express purpose of the LLR Project, to "identify possibilities for local community-building ventures," is essentially identical to the purpose of the present study, to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. Consequently, concern regarding the validity of the data usage for the purpose of this study is minimal.

There are several factors related to the data gathering and the interpretation of the data which could introduce bias into the data. First, in most cases, the interviews were conducted in Romanian through the use of a cultural interpreter. The presence of this interpreter could have influenced the interview in some way. For example, the presence of this person may have inhibited the expression of certain sorts of statements or facilitated the expression of others for reasons unknown to the researcher. In addition, what was interpreted and how it was interpreted, depended on this cultural interpreter. It was possible for the interpreter

to be selective in the process of interpretation and to interject their own perspective into the process.

Second, the interview notes were taken by American Masters level students. Consequently, what was transcribed was dependent on what the recorder heard and how carefully the recording was done. Third, the analysis was conducted by a person from another culture. In this case, it is possible that nuances of meaning and contextual implications could have been overlooked even though this researcher has had familiarity with the culture.

The Data Analysis

Research Questions. Specific questions considered at the beginning of the analysis were: Is there evidence of a capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania? If so, what is the nature and direction of this capacity?

Approach to the Analysis. The general approach to the data analysis was based on "Grounded" theory. The name is derived from the fact that the findings are "grounded" in, or closely reflect, the context from which they are drawn (Patton, 1990). The term is attributed to Glaser and Strauss and can be found in their 1967 publication (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990). The

interviews from which the written documents utilized in this study were drawn, were conducted in face to face contact with the interviewees in a naturalistic setting. The respondents were asked to provide their own impressions and perceptions to the interview questions.

The more specific type of analysis chosen for this study has been referred to as an "orientational qualitative inquiry" (Patton, 1990, p. 86). In an orientational, qualitative study the particular theoretical orientation of the study is stated at the beginning of the research process. This theoretical orientation in turn suggests which concepts are most important in the analysis and how the findings will be interpreted (Patton, 1990).

The concepts utilized in the content analysis for this study were the developmental concepts of growth and maintenance drawn from systems theory, and the concepts, "linkage points" and "prevailing codes," drawn from institution building theory.

The two systems concepts of growth and maintenance were taken together to identify the "capacity" for institution building within the civil society sector. This choice was made since both of these trends are considered essential to the development of a system. The growth trend is oriented toward expansion, innovation and instrumental acquisition within the system. This trend provides the momentum for development within the system. The maintenance trend is oriented toward conservation, integration, cohesion, and unity within the system.

This trend is oriented toward the acquisition and preservation of communal elements during the developmental process within the system. The maintenance trend is the momentum within the system oriented toward stability.

Evidence of balance between these two trends within the system indicates a relatively stable system. A primary orientation toward the growth trend within the civil sector indicates a capacity toward growth within the dynamic process of development in the system. An extreme predominance in the growth trend in the system could be destructive. A primary orientation toward maintenance within the civil sector, indicates an inhibiting and stabilizing system trend within the system. An extreme orientation toward the maintenance trend in the system could be regressive and ultimately destructive as well.

The systems concepts of growth and maintenance were utilized to answer the question regarding the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania, both in terms of the direction of the capacity for institution building, whether it was toward growth, toward maintenance, or of a mixed growth and maintenance orientation, and in terms of the nature of that capacity, whether it was strong, moderate or weak.

The question of the nature of the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania was elaborated further based on the two institution building concepts of "linkage points" and "prevailing codes." This more thorough analysis enables additional specificity regarding institution building theory. The

specific areas mentioned in the data in terms of growth, provide evidence of the current technologies and potentialities existing within the system at the time the data were gathered. These specific areas are those which are likely to show growth and which are likely to be amenable toward future institution building efforts. The specific areas mentioned in terms of maintenance suggest the elements within the system which are stabilizing at the time the data were gathered and which are likely to be amenable to stabilizing the system in future institution building efforts.

According to social work practice theory, expressions of hopes and visions are examples of goal statements which can be expected to reflect the orientation of the respondent toward change (Maple, 1984). Therefore the identification of the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania is based on evidence of growth and maintenance system trends identified in responses of the interview subjects as recorded in written documents.

Criteria considered indicative of a growth orientation toward system development within the civil society sector of Romania includes statements reflective of the respondent's desire for, or value of, growth, in terms of the acquisition of technology or resources, the manipulation of the environment, or for innovation, expansion, creation, or rationality. The criteria considered as indicative of a maintenance orientation toward system development within the civil society sector of Romania, is the explicit or implicit expression of the desire for, or value of, concepts such as stability, collaboration, coordination, cooperation, integration,

conservation, tension reduction, cohesion, or related concepts, in the statements of the respondents as recorded in written documents.

The Sample

The data sample utilized to identify the capacity for institution building in the civil society sector of Romania consisted of xeroxed copies of written documents generated by the LLR project of the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. These written documents include process recording notes obtained in the interview setting and summary sheets containing information drawn from the process recording notes. Two items on the interview guide and recorded on the summary sheets specifically addressed goal statements which are indicative of a maintenance or growth orientation. The first has to do with the respondent's hopes and visions and the second has to do with the suggestions and recommendations of the respondent. The data analysis is confined to these two portions of the interview documents. The final sample consists of written documents for 196 interviews distributed by region, as follows: 44 from Iasi, 39, Cluj-Napoca, 19, Oradea, 42, Timisoara, and 52 from Bucharest.

The Data Analysis Process

The data analysis process includes the following steps: 1) organizing the data, 2) coding the data 3) conducting a content analysis, 4) developing descriptive results, and 4) analyzing and interpreting the findings. Each of these four areas are presented in turn in the remaining portions of this study.

Organizing the Data. At the beginning of the data analysis process, two notebooks were obtained. One had been used to record the steps used in the process and the other had been used to record thoughts during the process. The documents for analysis had been grouped by city when they were made available to the researcher.

The first step in the data organization process was to review the written documents for completeness and usability. Only those documents with identifiable, legible, explicit, or implicit goal statements in terms of hopes and visions for the future, and recommendations were retained. There were some duplicate copies of documents which were omitted from the sample.

Some variability in the form of the data was discovered during this initial process. This variability included: summary sheets accompanied with copies of the process recording notes of one, two, or three recorders, summary sheets alone, and

process recording notes alone. A regional comparison of the variability found in the form of the data is shown in Table 2.1.

This variability in the data by region was as follows: Iasi, 44 interviews in total, 16 with summary sheets and 2 sets of notes, 23 with summary sheets and 1 set of notes, 3 with summary sheets only, and 2 with notes only; Cluj-Napoca, 39 interviews in total, 7 with summary sheets and two sets of notes, 5 with summary sheets and 1 set of notes, 1 with a summary sheet and 3 sets of notes, and 26 with notes only. Of this 26, 14 had explicit goal statements and 12 implicit. The Oradea sample consisted of documents for 19 interviews, 1 had a summary sheet and 2 sets of notes, 12 with summary sheets and 1 set of notes, 1 with a summary sheet only, 2 with no summary sheets and 2 sets of notes, and 3 with 1 set of notes only. In the Timisoara subsample for 42 interviews, 17 had summary sheets and 1 set of notes, 18 summary sheets only and 7 with notes only. Lastly, in the documents for Bucharest representing interviews for 52 respondents, there were 7 with summary sheets and 2 sets of notes, 38 with summary sheets and 1 set of notes, 4 summary sheets only, and 3 with notes only.

There are several possible implications to this variability in the form of the data. In some cases the variability appears to have been due to management of the data after it was obtained. For example, it appears that not all of the interview teams completed summary forms of their process recording notes and therefore

only the notes were available. In other instances, the summary sheets were completed and were separated from the process recording notes.

It also appears that this variability in the form of the materials may reflect variability in the interview process itself. For example, it appears that the professional social worker conducted the interview in most instances; a student recorder may or may not have been present. It also appears that a cultural interpreter was usually present, but, if the interviewee was an English speaker, this may not have been the case. In a few instances the interview was conducted by the student. In several instances more than one interviewee participated in the interview in one setting. In this case the material was considered as representing one respondent. One interview was conducted informally on a bus and another appears to have been a telephone interview.

Once the usable documents were sorted, they were organized by interview team if identifiable. If the interview team or interviewer was not identifiable the documents were designated as interviewer unknown. The decision to organize the documents from each region by interview team was made in order to maximize the systematic and consistent review and analysis of the data and to optimize accuracy in deciphering handwriting style.

There were instances in which the interview guide was not closely followed. In some of these cases a more clinical model of interviewing was

Table 2.1

<u>Variability in the Form of the Data Across Regions</u>

	Region				
Data Form	Iasi	Cluj-Napoca	Oradea	Timisoara	Bucharest
Summary sheets only	3		1	19	4
Summary sheets and 3 sets of notes		1			
Summary sheets and 2 sets of notes	16	7	1		7
Summary sheets and 1 set of notes	23	5	12	17	38
2 sets of notes			2		
1 set notes alone	2	26	3	7	3
Total N	44	39	19	42	52

apparent. For example, to address the topic of hopes and recommendations for the future, the respondent was apparently asked to project what they would do if by chance a miracle happened and all things were possible. In other instances they were asked, "What could change to make things better?" There were instances of an obstacles solutions interviewing format. There was one instance of a response being suggested to the respondent. In this case, the respondent did not make a response to the suggestion.

In the data analysis process all the documents for all cases were carefully reviewed. However, only those statements which addressed hopes, visions for the future, and recommendations, were chosen for the analysis. Once the written documents had been reviewed and organized by region and interview team, the analysis by region was begun.

Coding the Data. The first step in preparation for analysis was the development of a regional code book. This book contained the designated code for the region, the category of civil society within the region, the respondent's documents in the total from the region, and for the interview teams. It became apparent in the process of coding for sectors that there was some overlapping of categories listed in the LLR Project design, for example: overlapping of NGOs and Representatives of International Organizations, and of Local Government, Public Administration and Professional Leaders. It also became evident that several respondents could logically represent more than one sector: for example, a college

professor who also was the founder of a Nongovernmental Organization, or involved in business. When a respondent could represent more than one category, they were coded according to the category which was represented as their primary role identification. The interviews were only counted in one category. Although elementary and high school teachers could be categorized as Professional Leaders, the University category was expanded to include Education.

There are five regions of Romania represented in the sample: Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Timisoara, and Bucharest. There were 12 categories from within the civil society sector represented in the total sample. These categories were: 1) universities/education, 2) Nongovernmental Organizations, NGOs, 3) religion/church, 4) local government, 5) business, 6) public administration, 7) students and young leaders, 8) ethnic and cultural groups, 9) professional leaders, 10) representatives from International Organizations, 11) local media, and 12) any other category not included in the above.

Respondents are not found in all the categories in all the regions, and the number of respondents within categories varies within and across regions. Table. 2.2 shows the number of respondents within each of the 12 categories found within the five regions of Romania.

Table 2.2

Respondents Represented in Categories of Regions in Romania

Categories	Region				
	Iasi	Cluj-Napoca	Oradea	Timisoara	Bucharest
University/Ed	4	7	5	7	7
NGOs	5	6	4	8	16
Rg/Church	6	3	2	1	1
Local Gov.		2		1	
Business	5	4		10	3
Public Ad.	1	4	3	4	3
Students/Young Leaders	6	2		2	4
Ethnic/Cultural	4	3		1	3
Prof. Leaders	4	6	3	2	4
Representatives of Intl. Orgs.	1	1	1	2	5
Media	4		1	4	2
Other	4	1			4

Note. Lengthy category titles have been abbreviated.

Finally, codes are given for 14 identifiable interview teams, including the leadership team, with an additional code designated for documents without identifiable interviewers.

Content Analysis. The content analysis was first conducted within regions in the following order: Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Timisoara and Bucharest. The regional analyses were followed by regional and category comparisons and analysis of the total sample. The first step in the regional analysis process was the generation of a document for the content analysis. As each interview represented by the associated written documents was coded into the code book, the identification code was typed into the computer. The identification code was then followed with each statement made by that respondent which was related to the hopes and vision, and suggestions and recommendations portions of the interview. Once the document for the content analysis was completed the content analysis was begun.

Capacity for Growth Oriented Statements. The goal statements related to the hopes, vision, suggestions and/or recommendations of each respondent were examined. Statements which either explicitly or implicitly expressed a desire for, or the value of, the acquisition of technology and resources,

the manipulation of the environment, innovation, expansion, creation, growth or rationality, or related concepts, were coded as growth oriented.

<u>Capacity for Maintenance Oriented Statements</u>. Statements which either explicitly or implicitly expressed a desire for, or the value of, stability, collaboration, coordination, cooperation, integration, conservation, tension reduction or cohesion, or related concepts, were coded as maintenance oriented.

The materials representing each respondent were then coded as: growth oriented, maintenance oriented, or mixed, containing both growth and maintenance oriented responses. This coding indicated the identified general orientation or capacity of that respondent toward institution building as a Capacity for Growth, containing only growth oriented goal statements, or Capacity for Maintenance, containing only maintenance oriented statements, or of a Mixed Orientation, containing both growth oriented and maintenance oriented statements.

This initial coding and analysis was completed in one month's time from the day it was begun. The 44 interviews from the region of Iasi which had been coded first were reread and recoded to check reader reliability. During this second reading two of the 44 interview documents were coded differently from the initial reading, yielding a coefficient of stability of 95%.

After the general orientation of the Capacity for Institution Building of the regional sample was identified, the interviews were grouped by the category from

within the civil sector which they represented, for example: University/Education, NGOs, Business, etc. Then analyses were conducted to identify the orientation of the Capacity for Institution Building found within each category of civil society from the region: whether Growth Oriented, Maintenance Oriented, or of a Mixed Orientation.

After the Capacity for Institution Building for the categories of the civil society sectors from within the region had been identified, the contribution of the respective categories from the civil society sector to the general orientation of the capacity for institution building of the regional sample was identified. In other words, the percentage of contribution, represented by the specific categories of civil society found within the region are identified in relationship to the general regional capacity.

The implications of the results of the analysis of the category contributions to the general capacity for institution building of the region are highly speculative. This is due to the range of variability found in the number of respondents per category of civil society within the regions. Cross category comparison within regions and category comparisons across regions are also highly speculative because of this variability in the number of respondents represented within the categories and in the number of categories within the regions. Consequently these results are considered only in very general and tentative terms and are displayed in Appendix B.

Numerous additional analyses of the data were conducted. For example, regional case reports were written for each region in which the same process of analysis was conducted as was used for the country. Comparisons between and among categories from within the regions and the specific areas of capacity for growth and capacity for maintenance were conducted. However, due to the variability in the numbers of categories of civil society found within the regions and also the variability in the number of respondents within the categories, these analyses were not found to be very fruitful. When it was discovered that the results were quite homogeneous across the regions, it was decided to combine the data for the entire country and only highlight the regional differences.

After the capacity for institution building within the categories of civil society from within the regions had been analyzed, the general capacity for institution building of the categories within the total sample for the country of Romania was analyzed. Finally, the individual growth and maintenance oriented goal statements from within the written documents were grouped as Capacity for Growth statements and Capacity for Maintenance statements. These broad categories were then subcategorized into specific areas of Capacity for Growth and Capacity for Maintenance in institution building.

This further subcategorization was based on commonalities found in the content in terms of the focus of the goal statements. For example, if the statement was a suggestion for pensions for the elderly which keep up with inflation and for

residential homes, this statement was categorized as Capacity for Growth and

subcategorized in the area of Services. If the statement said that the government

should provide pensions for the elderly which keep up with inflation, the statement

was categorized as Capacity for Growth in the area of Political Culture and,

further, as government policy regarding services to the elderly. Table 2.3 provides

definitions of the key concepts used in this orientational analysis and examples of

the utilization of these concepts.

This method of subcategorization allowed for further elaboration on the

nature of the capacity for institution building in the civil society sector. The

growth oriented attitudes and values and the specific areas of growth suggest

elements existent within the system which can serve as a base line and which are

likely supportive of institution building efforts. The maintenance oriented attitudes

and values indicate the areas which are likely providing stability to the system

during the transition process. These are areas which can be tapped for the

integration of institution building efforts.

This concludes the methodology portion of this study. This section began

with a description of the design for LLR Project. Then the design utilized in the

secondary analysis of the data for this study was described. This description

included a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of a qualitative methodology

and the rationale for the selection of a qualitative strategy for this study. The

approach to the analysis of the data was presented and the steps taken in the

137

organization, coding and analysis of the data were described. The following section presents the research results.

Table 2.3

Key Concepts for An Orientational Inquiry With Examples

Growth Trend:

The system trend oriented toward expansion, innovation and instrumental acquisition. This trend provides the momentum for development within the system.

Capacity for Growth:

For the purposes of this study, a Capacity for Growth is defined as evidence identified in the goal statements of respondent's of the desire for, or value of, the manipulation of the environment, or innovation, expansion, creation, rationality or related concepts. The statement, "need to develop the infrastructure," is an example of a Capacity for Growth goal statement.

Maintenance Trend:

The system trend oriented toward conservation, integration, cohesion, and unity. This trend is oriented toward the acquisition and preservation of communal elements within the system during the developmental process. The maintenance trend is the momentum within the system which is oriented toward stability.

Capacity for Maintenance:

For the purposes of this study, a Capacity for Maintenance is defined as evidence identified in the goal statements of respondent's of the desire for, or the value of, concepts such as stability, collaboration, coordination, cooperation, integration, conservation, tension reduction, cohesion or related concepts. The statement," (A) unifying factor to create community," is an example of a Capacity for Maintenance goal statement.

Linkage Points:

The concept of linkage points, drawn from institution building theory, refers to technologies and potentialities within the system which are compatible with a proposed change (Landau in Eaton, 1972). For the purposes of this study, linkage points are the more specific values and areas in which a Capacity for Growth was expressed. For example, the statement, "need to develop the infrastructure," is a Capacity for Growth goal statement further subcategorized and representative of a linkage point in the area of Services and more specifically, to that of basic services.

_____   (table continues)

Prevailing Codes:

The concept of prevailing codes, drawn from institution building theory, refers to the accepted ways of behaving and making sense of the world evident in the values, norms and customs of society (Landau in Eaton, 1972). An example is the statement, "unifying factor to create community," which is categorized as a Capacity for Maintenance goal statement. Utilizing the concept of prevailing codes, this statement is subcategorized in the area of Political Culture as representative of a value oriented toward the maintenance of the general system.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the secondary analysis of interview data gathered in five regions of Romania in June, 1996. The purpose of this study is to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. The two system's theory concepts of growth and maintenance, both of which are considered essential for the development of any system, are taken together to constitute capacity for institution building for this analysis.

Initially, these two systems concepts are utilized to identify the general capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. Then these two concepts are utilized along with the institution building concepts of linkage points and prevailing codes to further elaborate the capacity for institution building within Romania in terms of the nature and direction of that capacity.

The findings of this analysis provide a comprehensive description of the social context for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. They contribute to theory regarding two processes in social systems: the transition process within a social system generally and, more specifically, the process of the development of a specific type of social structural arrangement, civil society, within a former communist country. The findings of this study provide a baseline for future assessment of the process of civil society development in Romania. The specific areas in which a Capacity for Growth and a Capacity for Maintenance

140

were identified suggest areas which may be targeted for future institution building efforts. Finally, the specific areas of Capacity for Growth and Capacity for Maintenance suggest areas for policy development and implementation.

The question addressed in this study which seeks to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania, is implicitly oriented toward the identification of an impetus toward growth and innovation inherent within the civil society realm of the social system. This predisposition toward growth is due to the innovative role associated with institution building as a strategy for change in the process of social development. Capacity, as stated previously however, for the purposes of this study, is defined as the identification in the data of either of the two trends necessary for the development of a system: the instrumental, agentic, innovative, growth trend, or the expressive, communal, integrative, maintenance trend. In the approach to the analysis, the question of capacity for institution building is answered first in terms of the general orientation or direction of capacity; whether towards growth, towards maintenance, or of a mixed growth and maintenance orientation. Then the question is answered more specifically in terms of the strength of the orientation of capacity for institution building, whether weak, moderate or strong.

Lastly, the nature and direction of the capacity for institution building is elaborated. This elaboration is based on the systems concepts of growth and maintenance and the institution building concepts of "linkage points" and

"prevailing codes." The utilization of these concepts identifies the specific areas in which a Capacity for Growth and a Capacity for Maintenance are found. These more specific areas of Capacity for Growth and Capacity for Maintenance suggest the areas which can serve as a baseline for assessing change in the transition process from the time the data were gathered to the present. They also suggest the areas which can be tapped for optimizing the "fit" of future institution building efforts.

The results of the analysis are presented beginning with the General Orientation of Capacity for Institution Building of the country of Romania. These results are based on the general orientation of the interview documents from the five regions of Romania. Interview documents in which respondents expressed only growth oriented goal statements are identified as Capacity for Growth. Interview documents in which respondents expressed only maintenance oriented goal statements, are identified as Capacity for Maintenance. Interview documents in which respondents expressed both capacity for growth and capacity for maintenance goal statements are identified as Mixed Orientation. The results of this analysis reflect these three possible orientations toward Capacity for Institution Building: Capacity for Growth, Capacity for Maintenance, and Mixed Growth and Maintenance Capacity.

Following the presentation of the General Orientation toward Capacity for Institution building based on interview documents, the General Orientation of

Capacity for Institution Building of the country of Romania, based on individual statements from within the documents from the five regions of Romania is presented. In this analysis each goal statement from within the interview documents is grouped as Capacity for Growth or Capacity for Maintenance. The results from this analysis represent these two dimensions of Capacity for Institution Building within Romania.

Next, the results of the regional analyses and the regional contributions to the General Capacity for Institution Building of the country of Romania are presented. These findings are followed by the analyses of the capacity for institution building found within the categories of the civil society sector from across Romania and the contributions of these categories to the General Capacity for Institution Building of the country of Romania.

Finally, the specific areas of Capacity for Institution Building in Romania, both in terms of Capacity for Growth and Capacity for Maintenance, are presented. The more specific areas of Capacity for Growth and Capacity for Maintenance are discussed both in terms of commonalities in the data from across all five regions of Romania and also in terms of specific aspects of capacity which are unique to each region.

CAPACITY FOR INSTITUTION BUILDING WITHIN THE CIVIL SOCIETY

SECTOR OF ROMANIA

General Capacity

The results of the analysis of interview documents drawn from 196

interviews conducted in five regions of the country of Romania, based on the

systems concepts of growth and maintenance, identified 110, or 56%, which were

growth oriented, 12, or 6% , which were maintenance oriented, and 74, or 38%,

which were of a mixed growth and maintenance orientation. There was no

evidence in these data of a regressive trend. In other words, there were no

statements expressing a desire to maintain the status quo or to return to the past.

There is a total of 864 individual goal statements within the interview

documents. The analysis of these individual goal statements, which had been

grouped according to Capacity for Growth or Capacity for Maintenance, reveal the

following results. There is one statement from a Bucharest respondent which

expresses "no hope." This statement reflects an absence of a goal and the absence

of a capacity either toward growth or toward maintenance. The remaining 863

individual statements were goal oriented. Of these individual statements, 709, or

82%, are growth oriented, and 154, or 18%, are maintenance oriented.

These numerical results, first based on interview documents, and secondly based on individual statements within interview documents, indicate a primary orientation toward growth in terms of direction of capacity for institution building. This primary orientation of capacity for Growth within the civil society sector appears to be moderate to vigorous in strength.

Regional Capacity

A comparison of the general orientation of Capacity for Institution Building based on interview documents in each of the five regions of Romania is shown in Table 3.1. These data indicate that the Capacity for Growth is most vigorous in the regions of Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, and Timisoara. The Iasi data are slightly oriented toward a Capacity for Growth and the Bucharest data appear to be primarily oriented toward a moderating state, with a preponderance of mixed growth and maintenance oriented interviews.

However, when the individual statements within the interview documents are analyzed, as shown in Table 3.2, the orientation toward Capacity for Growth and Capacity for Maintenance found within the regions appear more consistent across the regions and differences in capacity are less pronounced. For example the range of the Capacity for Growth orientation is from 79% in Iasi, to 86% in Cluj-Napoca and Timisoara.

When the General Capacity for Institution Building based on the interview results from the five regions is considered, along with the General Capacity based on individual statements from the regions, it can more confidently be said that a Capacity for Growth is the primary trend for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania based on these data. This primary trend appears to be most vigorous in Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, and Timisoara, and more moderated in the areas of Iasi and Bucharest. However, these results must be considered along with the variability in the manner with which the data were obtained within and across regions and in the variability in the number and size of the categories of civil society which are represented within and across the regions.

Category Capacity

The Orientation toward Capacity for Institution Building of the categories of civil society represented in the data for the country of Romania is shown in Table 3.3. Keeping in mind that there is considerable variation in the number of respondents per category, it appears that the categories within civil society which are most disposed toward growth are those of University/Education, Business, and Professional Leaders. The categories which appeared to be more moderating within the system are those of NGOs, Religion/Church, Public Administration, and Local Media.

Table 3.1

Regional Capacity for Institution Building Based on Interview Documents

		Orientation		
Region	N	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
Iasi	44	50%	2%	48%
Cluj-Napoca	39	74%		26%
Oradea	19	68%	11%	21%
Timisoara	42	64%	10%	26%
Bucharest	52	37%	10%	54%

Note. N = the number of interviews in the regional samples. Values are rounded

off.

Table 3.2

Regional Capacity for Institution Building Based on Individual Goal Statements

		Orientation	
Region	N	Growth	Maintenance
Iasi	253	79%	21%
Cluj-Napoca	147	86%	14%
Oradea	62	85%	15%
Timisoara	139	86%	14%
Bucharest	262	80%	20%

Note. Percentages are rounded off.

Table 3.3

Orientation toward Capacity for Institution Building of the Categories of

Civil Society in Romania

		Orientation		
Categories	N	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	30	70%	7%	23%
NGOs	39	38%	2%	54%
Religion/Church	13	46%	8%	46%
Local Government	3	100%		
Business	22	77%	5%	18%
Public Administration	15	47%	7%	47%
Students/Young Leaders	14	57%		43%
Ethnic/Cultural Groups	11	55%		36%
Professional Leaders	19	68%		32%
Representatives of International Organizations	10	40%	20%	40%
Local Media	11	45%	9%	45%
Other	9	56%		44%

Note. N= the total number of respondents in each category from all the regions of

Romania.

The representation of the various categories found within the civil society

sector of Romania is shown in percentages in Table 3.4. The contributions of

these categories of the civil society sector of Romania to the total capacity for

institution building within the civil society sector of Romania based on these data,

is also shown in Table 3.4.

Given the apparent primary orientation toward growth of some of these

categories, such as Business, and the primary orientation toward moderation of

some of the categories such as NGOs, the predominance in representation of these

categories in the total sample may have skewed the results slightly. Also, the

disproportionate representation of Business in Timisoara, and NGOs in Bucharest,

may have skewed the results toward growth in Timisoara and toward moderation in

Bucharest. The tables which show the Capacity for Institution Building of the

categories of civil society from each region of Romania, and the contribution of

these categories to the Regional Capacity for institution building are shown in

Appendix B.

Areas of Capacity

In order to identify the more specific areas of capacity for institution

building, the individual goal statements from the total sample are grouped

according to orientation toward capacity, either as Capacity for Growth or

Table 3.4

Category Contribution to Capacity for Institution Building Within the Civil Society

Sector of Romania

		Orientation		
Categories	N	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	15%	11%	1%	4%
NGOs	20%	8%	2%	11%
Religion/Church	7%	3%	---	3%
Local Government	2%	2%		
Business	11%	9%	---	2%
Public Administration	8%	4%	---	4%
Students/Young Leaders	7%	4%		3%
Ethnic/Cultural Groups	6%	3%	---	2%
Professional Leaders	10%	7%		3%
Representatives of International Organizations	5%	2%	1%	2%
Media	6%	3%	---	3%
Other	5%	3%		2%

Note. N= percentage of sector representation in the total sample of Romania.

Percentages are rounded off. Dashes indicate values less than one percentage

point.

Capacity for Maintenance. These individual statements are then examined more carefully to identify commonalities in the goal statements by utilizing the systems concepts of growth and maintenance and the institution building concepts of linkage points and prevailing codes.

Capacity for Growth oriented statements contain either growth oriented attitudes and values or specific areas in which growth is suggested, or in which an impetus for growth is evident. The Capacity for Maintenance statements contain either attitudes and values which are oriented toward cohesion or integration within the system, or specific areas in which maintenance is suggested.

The Capacity for Growth oriented attitudes and values represent those which are requisite for the innovative dimension of institution building activities within the system. The specific areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified represent the potentialities and technologies within the system which can serve as linkage points for institution building efforts within the system.

The Capacity for Maintenance oriented statements reflect attitudes and values which are requisite for the integrative dimension of institution building activities within the system. Not all of the specific areas in which a Capacity for Maintenance is identified fit the definition of prevailing codes, in terms of prevailing norms and values. Some of the Capacity for Maintenance oriented attitudes and values appear to be more "emergent" rather than "prevailing" in

nature. For this reason, the findings in the area of Capacity for Maintenance are less discrete.

The content analysis of the 709 individual Capacity for Growth goal statements identify seven major areas representative of linkage points in the system. These areas are: 1) Political Culture, 306 statements; 2) Services, 188 statements; 3) Education, 73 statements; 4) Economic, 73 statements; 5) Business, 55 statements; 6) Religion/Church, 10 statements; and 7) Agriculture/Village Life, 4 statements.

All of the individual Capacity for Maintenance goal statements, with the exception of one, reflect values which are oriented toward conservation, cohesion, integration, collaboration, cooperation, coordination, or related concepts in regard to change, the state, bureaucracy and diversity as broadly defined. Consequently, all but one of these 154 Capacity for Maintenance statements are classified in the area of Political Culture. These 154 Capacity for Maintenance goal statements categorized as Political Culture are then subcategorized into six specific areas of Political Culture. These six areas are: 1) the Transition, 14 statements; 2) the System, 29 statements; 3) the Government, 6 statements; 4) Human Relations, 74 statements; 5) Religion/Church, 4 statements; and 6) External Relations, 26 statements. The remaining maintenance oriented goal statement not categorized as Political Culture is oriented toward the conservation and preservation of the environment.

The specific areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified and the number of individual responses from each region within these areas are shown in Table 3.5. The specific areas in which a Capacity for Maintenance is identified and the number of individual responses from each region within those areas are found in Table 3.6. Some of the names of the areas have been abbreviated.

A more thorough discussion of the specific areas of Capacity for Growth for institution building and Capacity for Maintenance for institution building within the Civil Society Sector of Romania follows. This more detailed analysis of the data provides further elaboration on the nature of the Capacity for Institution Building within the Civil Society Sector of Romania. It provides a description of the social context for institution building within the civil society sector. It provides a delineation of the growth oriented attitudes and values requisite for innovation within the system, and it describes the specific areas within the system which can serve as linkage points for institution building activities. It provides a delineation of the maintenance oriented attitudes and values within the system requisite for the integration of institution building efforts. Consideration of both of these dimensions of Capacity for Institution Building can optimize the possibility of the "fit" of institution building efforts.

Table 3.5

Areas of Capacity For Growth in the Five Regions of Romania

		Region			
Areas	Iasi	Cluj-Napoca	Oradea	Timisoara	Bucharest
Political Culture	55	66	14	77	94
Services	53	29	25	18	63
Education	28	12	8	2	23
Economic	28	9	6	14	16
Business	25	11		8	11
Rel./Church	8				2
Ag./Village Life	4				
Total Number	201	127	53	119	209

Note. Some of the names of the areas have been abbreviated.

Table 3.6

Areas of Capacity for Maintenance in the Regions

		Region			
Areas	Iasi	Cluj-Napoca	Oradea	Timisoara	Bucharest
Environment	1				
Political Culture:					
Transition	11	1		1	1
System	4	4		3	18
Government	5				1
Human Relations	20	12	9	15	18
Religion/Church				1	3
External Relations	11	3			12
Total Number	52	20	9	20	53

Note. Some of the names of the areas have been abbreviated.

Areas of Capacity for Growth

1. Political Culture. The largest area in which a Capacity for

Growth is evident in the individual goal statements of respondents is that of

Political Culture. Political culture is defined as the area in which attitudes, norms

and values regarding change, the state, bureaucracy, and diversity, are evident

(Tismaneanu, 1995). There are 306 individual goal statements, or 35% of all the

individual statements in the area of Political Culture. Political Culture is also the

largest area in which a capacity for growth is identified in all of the regions of

Romania with the exception of Oradea, where it is the second largest area.

Since the focus of this study is on the capacity for institution building

within civil society, and since values are the principles which contribute to the

organization and structuring of society (Parsons cited in Turner, 1986), the fact that

35% of all the goal statements are in the area of Political Culture is especially

significant. The explicit and implicit values expressed in the individual statements

in the area of Political Culture, are the values which will contribute to the future

organization of the social structure in Romania. The fact that statements in the

area of Political Culture take precedence over more tangible and material concerns

is noteworthy. The strength of these findings indicates that a substantial value base

is present in these data for supporting institution building initiatives and for the

development of civil society.

The Capacity for Growth goal statements in the area of Political Culture are further subdivided into growth oriented attitudes and values specific to four areas of Political Culture. These four subcategories of Political Culture are: the Transition, State and Local Government, Mentality, and Diversity. Each of these subcategories of Political Culture are discussed in turn. Table 3.7 summarizes the themes of these four subcategories and provides examples.

The Transition Process. The first subcategorization of the area of Political Culture to be discussed in this section is that of the Transition Process. Growth oriented goal statements in this subcategory reflected attitudes and values specific to the pace of the Transition Process, or regarding comments and suggestions specific to the Transition, or hoped for outcomes of the Transition Process.

Regarding the pace of the transition, there is general agreement in the data that the transition process was necessarily a lengthy and difficult one. It is the sentiment that it will take at least a generation before the transition will be complete. This will allow time for the maturation of a new generation of young people which will have a different educational background, perspective, and experience in living.

Table 3.7

<u>Summary of Themes of Subcategories of Political Culture</u>

<u>The Transition:</u>

This subcategory contains 80 statements regarding the pace of the transition, suggestions and recommendations specific to the transition, and hoped for outcomes of the transition such as:

Pace

- slow, will take time
- disappointment changes not instituted earlier

Suggestions and recommendations

- start from the inside
- regional models
- follow up
- eliminate corruption
- establish rule of law
- supportive legislation for development, privatization, development of middle class and civil society

Hoped for outcomes

- normal, civilized society
- found a family, have a job
- have an ordered life

<u>State and Local Government:</u>

This subcategory contains 114 statements directed toward changes in the state and local governments. Suggestions for general changes, policy changes and for specific legislative changes are included in this subcategory, such as:

- restructuring and decentralization
- policy changes
- local autonomy
- participatory methods of decision making

(table continues)

The Mentality:

This subcategory contains 76 statements calling for a change in the attitudes acquired during the communist period referred to as the "mentality." Suggestions and recommendations for a "new" mentality are also included in this area. For example:

Mentality characterized by
- lack of conscience
- distrust and suspicion
- dependency and complacency
- lack of a work ethic

Suggested changes
- motivation, initiative and responsibility
- self determination
- trust
- care for others
- civic minded business people
- responsible, trustworthy, civic minded political leaders

Diversity:

This subcategory contains 36 growth oriented goal statements related to social difference and respect for human rights such as:

- general appreciation of difference
- social justice and rights orientation toward women, children, Gypsy population and people with AIDS

There was general frustration and disappointment that changes had not been instituted earlier in the transition process. In the words of one respondent, "Everything was at the beginning for a long time," and "important steps were not made."

More specific attitudes regarding the pace of the transition process varied across the regions. There is general acknowledgement in Iasi and Cluj-Napoca, that patience is required. Responses in Timisoara convey a general attitude of hope and optimism. Expressions in Bucharest are characterized by frustration, disappointment and pessimism. It is speculated that the more negative tone of Bucharest may be due to unmet expectations which could have been unrealistically raised at the beginning of the transition process when a dramatic influx of aid and assistance poured into the capital city.

Regarding the transition process itself; there were several comments and suggestions regarding past assistance efforts and suggestions regarding needs to expedite the process. A Timisoara respondent comments that some of the representatives that had come to Romania with international assistance groups did not have credibility in their own countries, but came with the assumption that "everything from the West" was "good." Suggestions are made for development efforts to "start from the inside," begin in communities, rather than "everywhere in the country," and be based on regional models. There is also a desire for

continuity and follow-up for assistance projects. A respondent in Oradea, quipped, "come back 10 years from today to see how things have progressed."

Several suggestions regarding the Transition are of a general nature and are directed toward the entire system. For example, there is general agreement that elimination of corruption within the system is necessary. Needs are identified within the general system for strategic planning, international assistance, consultation and technical information.

There are also several suggestions regarding the Transition which call for political changes at the national level. Included in these changes are a call for more law and order, for the establishment of a legislative framework which encourages development, privatization, expansion of a middle class, and the development of civil society. Recommendations are made for a truly democratic system with representative political parties, leadership development, and the use of advocacy for changes in policy. The sentiment is expressed that those in power need pressure on them in order for "things to go better."

The last area in which Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements regarding the Transition are identified focuses on hoped for outcomes of the Transition. These Capacity for Growth goal statements reflect hopes in regard to the general society, the various regions of Romania, and personal concerns. Included in the hopes expressed for the general society are the desire that Romania would become more "normal" and "civilized, that she would become "a country

characterized by openness toward the world, ideas, and technology," and become a place characterized by "freedom" "democracy," "health," "happiness," and "prosperity."

A sense of civic pride is evident in the statements of various respondents from different regions across the country. For example, in Capacity for Growth statements found in Cluj-Napoca and Timisoara, respondents hoped that their respective cities would progress to the point where they would be comparable to cities found in the West. In a completely different vein, one respondent felt that art should "be supported by a good society." Examples of hopes regarding the outcome of the Transition which are of a more personal nature and which have a poignant quality are those which express a desire for "a permanent job," to "found a family," and to have an "ordered life."

State and Local Government. The second subcategorization of Capacity for Growth goal statements in the area of Political Culture is made up of comments and suggested changes directed toward the State and Local Governments. General changes, policy changes, and specific legislative changes are called for.

Several comments regarding the State are of a negative and pessimistic nature. The most pessimistic comment regarding the State and change, came from a Cluj-Napoca respondent who made the comment, that "the new communist

government" had been installed. A respondent in Bucharest said that people in Romania, "hate" institutions, and state institutions in particular, adding further, that state institutions had lost their meaning and credibility. Parliament is characterized as "slow," "uninterested," and motivated by self interest. It is pointed out that trust needs to be regained. Recommendations are made for the reorganization, restructuring and decentralization of the government and for the replacement of old officials, who "do not know new ideas," with younger people with training.

A number of broad policy changes are suggested to be instituted by the government. These include recommendations that the government promote a "new image" of Romania abroad; adopt a rational approach to both the state and the economy; and seek means to retain educated Romanians within the country. Policy changes of an economic nature are suggested to encourage foreign investment, private business, and civil society development, and to provide tax incentives for contributions to non-profit organizations.

Policy changes are also suggested in the area of Human Services. For example, for the development of education and research which will be internationally competitive; for the development of family services as an alternative to institutionalization of children; for better pensions for the elderly; for more services to gypsies; and for increased funding for medical professionals and the expansion of medical benefits to include social needs. There is one suggestion

from Cluj-Napoca that the State Government adopt policies to support agriculture and village life.

The Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements in the area of Political Culture and subcategorized into the area of policy changes directed toward the State Government reflect a strong sentiment for the value of a solid legal foundation for the organization of the country and respect for the rule of law. This strong sentiment is most evident in Cluj-Napoca. However, Capacity for Growth oriented attitudes and values which are directed toward legal changes are found in the data from all regions of Romania with the exception of Oradea. Legal changes are specifically recommended to: "allow more freedom of trade and independence;" change the status of state officials from those of political appointees to that of public employees; protect large groups of people such as the handicapped, children at risk, the elderly, and the unemployed, without creating dependency; establish a national agency to, "take care of the work force," made up of representatives of the government, employees, and representatives of industries and trade unions; offer incentives to hire the handicapped; clarify property rights to distinguish between state and local government property, and private, public and group property; establish a bankruptcy law; and laws which offer incentives to nongovernmental organizations to develop group homes.

Changes directed toward Local Governments are characterized by calls for decentralization and local autonomy. All of the regions, with the exception of

Oradea, call for more local autonomy. Changes in tax policy in which more of the taxes collected from the regions would be returned to them for their discretionary use are especially stressed. A respondent from Iasi said, "people paying taxes want to see this money back into the community." In the words of a respondent from Cluj-Napoca, "I want to feel like I work for my community, not Bucuresti." A respondent in Iasi pointed out that taxes returned to the regions can be used punitively when the local administration is of a different party from the state administration.

Local autonomy is also called for in terms of decision-making and participation. For example, a respondent in Cluj-Napoca, suggests that problems should be considered by the majority of the population, rather than by politicians and political leaders. Suggestions for the use of participatory and group process methods of decision making, such as round table discussions, Think Tanks, and local district councils are made by respondents from Timisoara and Bucharest.

The value of positive leadership is stressed. In the words of a Cluj-Napoca respondent, "bad leadership/management" equals "bad results." Qualities associated with positive leadership included: freedom from political and competitive motivation; a sense of civic responsibility rather than of self interest; the ability to analyze a situation, recognize what needs to be done, and to take action; and finally, "a big heart."

Mentality. The third subcategory of the area of Political Culture, in which Capacity for Growth oriented attitude and value goal statements are evident is that of Mentality. There is strong agreement among respondents that the lingering effects of patterns of thinking cultivated under years of communism, referred to as "the mentality," have been a major obstruction to progress in negotiating the transition. Characteristics associated with this old mentality include: lack of a conscience; dependence and complacency; a basic distrust such as interpersonal distrust, distrust of institutions, and distrust and suspicion regarding the motives of assistance providers; suspicion associated with private industry, and profit with unfair and illegal practices; and a diminished work ethic.

A lengthy list of desirable attributes associated with a changed mentality are offered. Attributes are suggested in regard to individuals, business representatives, citizens, political leaders, and professionals. Several suggestions are also made for helping to change the mentality.

Individualistic as well as communal attitudes and values are evident in the attributes suggested for a new mentality for individuals. Some of these individualistic values are reflected in suggestions for energy, motivation, initiative, self sufficiency, pride, and thinking for oneself. Examples of communal attitudes and values include suggestions that people be more sensitive, polite and respectful. It is hoped that people will care for their surroundings, their homes, yards, schools and communities. It is hoped that there will be a rediscovery of Romanian values,

both personal and collective, and that these values will be incorporated into the lives of all age groups. People are encouraged to develop trust, consider the good of all, and acquire a greater sense of community.

Values which are directed toward citizens, include: that they become responsible voters, responsible workers, and community minded; that they will lobby for policy change and that they will, "follow up initial enthusiasm with action."

Growth oriented attitudes and values expressed in terms of business include the hopes that people will perceive Romania as a resource rather than looking outside for assistance and that they will learn the advantages of an open market and value private initiative and hard work. The value of risk taking, both personally and economically is espoused. The importance of developing trust in business and identifying partners for collaboration is stated. Private business representatives are encouraged to become more involved in social problem solving. Finally, the hope that "honest" and "correct" people could establish "flourishing" businesses is expressed.

Capacity for Growth attitude and value statements are also directed toward political leaders. It is hoped that there will be trustworthy political leaders who will listen to community needs and "act," and that there will be community leadership which will exhibit a civic spirit. The value of professional ethics is also expressed. For example, the suggestion is made for, a "gatekeeping" system to

maintain a "high level" of ethics in the professions such as in education, medicine, and business.

A final value indicative of a new mentality is that for openness in communication. This openness is seen as especially necessary regarding communication about sexuality, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, and problem pregnancies.

A number of Capacity for Growth oriented attitude and value statements are directed toward remediation of the old mentality. These suggestions especially reflect points within the system which might serve as "linkage points" for institution building. Education regarding civil rights and duties, respect for the law, and in a rational approach toward decision making and problem solving was suggested. A realistic presentation of social needs in the mass media is encouraged. A respondent offered what he considered, "a simple formula," "Raise money, raise culture, raise mentality."

Diversity. The final subcategory in the area of Political Culture in which Capacity for Growth attitude and value statements are identified is that of Diversity. No individual Capacity for Growth statements regarding Diversity are found from the regions of Oradea or Timisoara. The attitude and value statements regarding Diversity show some regional differences in emphasis. Some of the Capacity for Growth attitude and value statements relative to Diversity are general

in nature. Others are specific to particular groups in society. Some offer suggestions in response to issues regarding Diversity. Some offer suggestions for methods of raising public awareness regarding social difference.

General Capacity for Growth statements regarding diversity in the area of Political Culture are exemplified by the desire expressed by a Iasi respondent to "gain broader understanding of other cultures and attitudes." A Cluj-Napoca respondent felt that a "larger vision about social things" is needed. He went on to express the values of tolerance and understanding and affirmed the contribution he felt "diverse feedback" offers to the development of self knowledge. In addition, a Cluj-Napoca respondent encouraged Romanians, to "see the good in man" rather than the negative.

Regional differences are evident in regard to the specific minority groups and the types of concerns which are the focus of diversity oriented statements. For example, in Iasi, the rights of women and children are emphasized. In Cluj-Napoca, respect for the rights of the Gypsy population is a focus. In Bucharest, the rights of women and children and issues related to AIDS and gay rights are mentioned. A desire for "rebirth of the Ukrainian national spirit" and recognition of Ukrainian writers is expressed in Bucharest as well. These differences may be a function, at least in part, of the groups which are represented by the key informants or perhaps by the special interests of the interviewers. Other interests and concerns

might have been identified had key informants from different groups been represented in the data.

Attitudes expressed regarding women in Iasi, include the desire that they "will be taken more seriously, appreciated, and treated equally." The hope is expressed in Bucharest, that women "realize their power" and become "more involved in political life."

Regarding children, in Iasi, it is the hope that children will learn to express themselves. In Bucharest it is a desire that children "learn their rights and duties," and the "rights of their parents and the duties of their teachers."

Representatives of the Gypsy community expressed the desire to obtain all constitutional rights, to receive education and to be offered the means and possibilities necessary for life. There is a desire "not to be taken in the most negative aspects" but rather, to be treated with tolerance and to have the positive aspects of the Rom presented in the media. There is a desire to "try to learn their own problems," and recognition that "when you ask you must give back something."

In Bucharest, there is a desire that the "stigma attached to individuals with AIDS would disappear." The statements made by a gay respondent indicated that an individualistic perspective and preoccupation on "work" and "money" takes precedence over concerns for social justice and individual rights for him personally.

A number of suggestions are offered in response to issues related to Diversity. Included in these suggestions are: the development of policies to protect the rights of women and children; to encourage community leaders to provide financial support to groups who are working to find peaceful solutions to ethnic and cultural differences; to empower people internally to find ways of dealing with ethnic sensitivity and cross-cultural situations without conflict; the organization of advocacy and interest groups; education for parents and teachers regarding the rights and needs of children; parents to serve as role models for their children; the education of people regarding human rights through school conferences, seminars with local authorities and the distribution of brochures; the election of women to "many offices;" and the "participation of men supporting women's organizations."

In summary, a significant Capacity for Growth is evident in the data specific to attitudes and values regarding change, bureaucracy, the state, and diversity, referred to as Political Culture. These are the attitudes and values within the civil society sector which are conducive to institution building. Attitudes and values supportive of institution building within the civil society sector of Romania are especially evident in the areas of the Transition, State and Local Government, the Mentality, and Diversity. The remainder of the areas in which a specific Capacity for Growth is identified, represent points within the civil sector which can serve as "linkage points" for institution building efforts. A discussion of these

more specific areas follows. Table 3.8 shows the contents of the area of services in summary form.

2. Services. The second largest number of individual Capacity for Growth goal statements is identified in the area of Services. Capacity for Growth goal statements related to Services are further subcategorized according to those which are directed toward Services in General, City and Residential Services, Cultural and Leisure Services, Health and Medical Services, Social Services, and toward the Professionalization of service providers.

The statement "if the whole level of knowledge and welfare of the community is raised, then all individuals will benefit," is an apt characterization of the overall tone of the individual Capacity for Growth statements found in the area of Services. Capacity for Growth oriented statements categorized as General Services, include those directed toward improvements in all areas of society from the basic infrastructure, such as for streets, roads, bridges, and utilities, to the environment and the culture. Financial assistance, consultation, technology, training, and materials from external sources are seen as necessary for development in these areas.

City and Residential. Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements subcategorized as city and residential services are especially concerned for the quality of life in the cities of Romania. There is common agreement among

Table 3.8

Summary of Subcategories of the Area of Services

General Services

- improve basic infrastructure
  streets, roads, bridges, utilities

City and Residential Services

- civilized clean cities, utilities, adequate housing, police
  protection, airports, shopping, and parking

Cultural and Leisure

- libraries, sport halls, theaters, parks and clubs for youth

Health and Medical

- modern hospitals, adequate technology, bed space, medicines,
  social services included and private sector

Social Services

- full range of social services for poor, unemployed, homeless,
  orphaned, abandoned, abused, handicapped, addicted and
  elderly

- comprehensive system of social protection
- comprehensive child welfare system
  - based on deinstitutionalization
  - normalization for handicapped

respondents that their particular city be "clean" and "civilized." However, other city services are also desired. For Iasi, the hope is for a system for cleaning the streets, regular garbage collection, regular access to hot and cold water, water metering, air pollution testing, and sufficient housing for young families.

For the residents of Cluj-Napoca, there is the desire for an International airport and a "good head of police." A Timisoara respondent not only wanted a cleaner town, but also "and soul of people."

There is an especially long list of suggested improvements for the city of Bucharest in addition to the desire for a "cleaner town." Included are: improve the sidewalks, keep the streets clean, fix the water pipes and electrical system, regular garbage collection, renovate store fronts, paint the buildings, keep the grass, and improve the shopping system. There is the desire for a "more involved police force," with a reduction of crime, removal of "hookers at the rail station," fewer street children, fewer beggars, and involvement in situations of abuse. A need for housing is also expressed in Bucharest, and again, especially, housing for young people.

Cultural and Leisure. The desire for a rich and varied cultural life is evident in the Capacity for Growth suggestions offered for leisure and cultural activities. Included in this category are: recommendations for libraries, such as, a public library rich with cultural texts and philosophical texts, in Iasi, and an

American library and reading room in Timisoara; increased cultural arts development using actors and theaters as fundraisers; support for the National theater in Cluj-Napoca; theaters for children; area parks and parks for children; sport halls; clubs for youth, and a Scouting Program.

Health and Medical. Improved health and medical services are of concern to respondents in Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, and Bucharest. In Iasi, there is a desire "to see a beautiful hospital, a civilized hospital," with "adequate" facilities. There also is a desire for "accessible" medical care and a private sector for health. In Cluj-Napoca, the desire is for an expansion of medical services to include social services. Poor patients are kept in the hospital longer than necessary because they are not able to pay the travel expenses necessary for follow-up care. Medication is expensive and difficult to obtain. In Bucharest, funds are needed for more hospitals. There is a need for more bed space, and improved out patient services. The recommendation is made for "free medication for all." Doctors need access to improved medical technology, and the need for social services as an extension to medical services is reiterated in Bucharest.

Social Services. The area of Social Services is by far the largest subcategory evident in the broader category of Services. Taken together, these statements reflect a desire for the full range of social services; for the poor,

unemployed, homeless, orphaned, abandoned, abused, neglected, sick, handicapped, elderly, despondent, addicted and afflicted.

The creation of a comprehensive system of social protection is envisioned as a national project supported by a larger allocation from the state and supplemented by nongovernmental organizations. This vision includes social services in every town and social service centers within sectors of larger cities. These city and sector centers are envisioned to provide professional, comprehensive, multidisciplinary services, such as treatment for alcoholics and support for families, counseling, crisis intervention, conflict resolution, behavior modification, parenting, and teen counseling.

The orientation toward services is decidedly toward deinstitutionalization, especially the deinstitutionalization of children. There is a desire for institutional reform and less state control. In the case of necessary institutions, such as orphanages and homes for the severely handicapped, there is the desire that standards meet those required for European institutions.

Specific recommendations for orphanages include: art therapy, discharge planning for children when they reach the age of maturity so that they do not fall into the ranks of the unemployed and homeless, and a sponsorship program for advanced education for orphans.

In addition, a considerable number of the Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements in the subcategory of Services are directed toward the needs of children.

Taken together these statements are directed toward the development of a comprehensive child welfare system. Elements of such a system include: sex education, especially for teens; problem pregnancy counseling; services for families in cases such as poverty, alcoholism, and abuse; recruitment, selection, and training of foster families; recruitment of Romanian adoptive families; and consideration of, and planning for adoption, only as a last resort. Needs are expressed for models for a foster care system, and for information for the training and certification of foster families.

Additional Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements recommend such services as: outreach to poor families and youth; easily accessible daily meals for street children; soup kitchens; a collection system similar to the Salvation Army; shelters for abused women and children; abuse prevention programs; residential facilities for alcoholics; Alcoholic Anonymous programs; telephone hot lines; conflict resolution services; and, specific to Oradea, a non-church affiliated kindergarten available to all children.

Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements are also directed toward Services for special needs children. A Iasi respondent's desire to "create as normal environment as possible" for children with special needs, is reflected in many of the recommendations made in this area. Recommendations made for special needs children include those for adequate resources, diagnostic procedures and skills for the identification and remediation of mental and physical disabilities; for day care

and a weekend home; and for a day school, with comprehensive services,

rehabilitation, group therapy, music, play groups, a car, field trips, advocacy

groups, parent training and support groups.

More specific Capacity for Growth goal statements are directed to the needs

of the deaf in Cluj-Napoca and Timisoara, and to the needs of the blind in Oradea.

There is a desire for the establishment of an association for the deaf; for models

for a deaf association; and for exchanges of information between countries

regarding deaf matters. Other areas in which a Capacity for Growth is evident

relative to the needs of the deaf include: legal assistance, interpreters, a universal

sign language, expanded work opportunities, and sheltered workshops for the

unemployable. A Capacity for Growth in Cluj-Napoca is identified for immediate

local access to ear molds so that proper fit could be assured. A Capacity for

Growth is also identified for the development of international connections for the

blind with other blind, and for the creation of work opportunities for every blind

person.

A number of Capacity for Growth goal statements identified in the data are

directed toward services related to AIDS in Romania. A Capacity for Growth is

evident for the development of an organization to conduct a national educational

campaign regarding AIDS. This organization is also envisioned to provide

emergency assistance and support groups for staff. An orientation toward Growth

is evident in the suggestion for improved accuracy in epidemiology and reporting

of disease in Romania, particularly regarding AIDS. This accuracy is necessary for needs assessment and for obtaining funds for intervention programs. Capacity for Growth goal statements are also directed toward: easier ways of obtaining government stipends for people with AIDS; better and more reliable ways of obtaining medication for children with AIDS; and more group homes for children with AIDS.

A Capacity for Growth also is identified for the creation and provision of services for the elderly. Services recommended for the elderly include: adequate pensions which keep up with inflation, advocacy groups, senior centers, and residential care facilities.

Finally, a number of Capacity for Growth statements are directed toward the professionalization of services. The profession of social work received the most emphasis. A Capacity for Growth is identified for expanded awareness and appreciation of the role of social work in the community and the creation of space in the community for this role. Training for social workers and other helping professionals is recommended. Educational placement in city sectors for practice with families, family violence, alcoholism, and parenting is included as part of this training. There is the hope that a "strong and healthy" professional social work association will develop and that opportunities for social workers will increase. Licensure for social workers, with periodic renewal, and opportunities for public and private practice are also recommended.

This concludes the second largest area in which a Capacity for Growth is identified, that of Services. There is a strong orientation toward the development of a comprehensive social service system in the country of Romania represented by these key informants. Services and suggestions for development are recommended for the basic infrastructure and in the specific areas of: City and Residential Services, Cultural and Leisure Services, Health and Medical Services, Social Services, and for the Professionalization of services. Social Services and the needs of children are of special concern to these respondents. The specific areas suggested in the category of services can serve as a baseline for assessing development since the time these data were gathered. They also suggest areas within the system in which "linkage points" for institution building are evident. The subcategorization of individual Capacity for Growth statements to be addressed next is that of Education. A summary of the Capacity for Growth in the area of Education is shown in Table 3.9.

3. Education. Education is the third area to be presented in this study. However, the area of Education and the Economic area both contain 73 individual Capacity for Growth oriented statements. Therefore, the area of Education and the Economic area are ranked together in the third position in terms of the number of individual Capacity for Growth statements. Capacity for Growth oriented goal statements, "linkage points" for institution building in the area of

Table 3.9

Summary of the Area of Education

EDUCATION

Education seen as "key" to development in
Romania

University:
- modernized and expanded curriculum,
  teaching methods, and equipment in
  university education
- more fair admission procedures
- enrichment opportunities for students

Special Education:
- expansion of special education programs
- mainstreaming
- specialized training for teachers
- use of the Hungarian language

Public Education:
- expansion of public and community
  education

Education, are directed toward the general system, the university system, special education, public education, and private education.

Education is named as a "key" factor in the future development of Romania. Education is seen as a means to improve the quality of life, raise morale, and to elevate moral standards. A Capacity for Growth is identified in Iasi directed toward the establishment of Iasi as an "academic center with an international reputation." A Capacity for Growth is also identified in Iasi for the establishment of a school of philosophy, and for the development of an organization for philosophical research.

A Capacity for Growth in the general system of education of Romania is identified for: the enhancement of education at all levels; enrichment opportunities for intellectuals; provision of funding, technology, computers, materials and equipment; and for the modernization of facilities.

A Capacity for Growth in educational policy is present to: develop higher educational standards; stimulate increased attendance and participation of the Gypsy population in education; include psychology in teacher training; incorporate art at all levels; and to extend religious education to children in the lower grades.

A Capacity for Growth in the university system is identified for: expansion of program offerings; increased number of skills labs for language training; improvement in social work education with more theoretical framework and practice experience; increased practicums in nursing and psychology; a degreed

program in social work in Timisoara; a Master of Social Work Program in Oradea; a pool of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work graduates for the development of advanced programs in social work; international support for social work education; expanded and expedited international exchanges; and improved training in special education.

A Capacity for Growth is evident in the university admission process for the development of a more "credible" process which is consistent with an applicant's academic abilities, and for the provision of volunteer tutors to assist students in preparation for university entrance exams. Capacity for Growth goal statements are directed toward improvement of student life through: the creation of enrichment opportunities; the development of student organizations and through activities which promote dignity, provide stimulation, and enable practical experience in democratic processes.

A Capacity for Growth in special education is evident in the hopes for: the successful mainstreaming of handicapped children; expansion of the deaf education program; special education in the Hungarian language; specialized training for teachers in deaf education; development of a universal sign language; the use of videos to assist in universalizing sign language across Romania; and practical education for "real" jobs for deaf children.

A Capacity for Growth is identified in public education and community education through the use of mass media to educate the public and raise awareness

regarding topics such as special needs children and the transmission of AIDS. Opportunity for growth also is evident in the area of educational programming for television and radio. A Capacity for Growth in private education is identified in Bucharest for assistance in the establishment of a Baptist University and for the development of Ukrainian schools.

Proactive Capacity for Growth statements are contributed by a teacher in Oradea who wants to set up a "pen-pal" program for her children and an English teacher in Bucharest who is actively trying to "treat her students with respect" and serve as a "role model" for them.

In summary, a Capacity for Growth, "linkage points" for institution building, are identified in all areas of education in Romania: in the general system, the university system, special education, public and community education, and in private education. Capacity for Growth in the Economic area will be considered next. A summary for the Capacity for Growth in the Economic and Business areas is shown in Table 3.10.

4. Economic. The Economic area is ranked third for Capacity for Growth in Romania, along with the area of Education. Both of these areas contain 73 individual statements. There is considerable consistency in the statements identified as Capacity for Growth in the Economic area. This consistency contributes greater weight to these findings and may indicate a greater Capacity for

Table 3.10

<u>Summary of the Economic and Business Areas</u>

ECONOMIC

Economic situation seen as root cause for many of the country's social ills and as a hinderance to democracy development. Suggestions include:

- restructuring agriculture, tourism and industry
- development of free trade
- privatization,
- foreign investment
- lower interest rates
- reduced rents
- promotion of travel and work opportunities outside Romania
- limitation of rate of inflation
- close of unprofitable state enterprises

BUSINESS

Suggestions:
- elimination of corruption
- legal framework favorable to foreign investment
- international partnerships, consultation,

Needs:
- information, computers, technology training in leadership, management, needs assessment, budgeting, investment, personnel management, grant writing

Opportunities:
- for business development in
  - tourism
  - bakery
  - food processing

Growth in terms of urgency than that reflected in the areas which contain a larger number of individual statements but which represent a more diverse number of concerns.

A significant number of The Capacity for Growth statements in the Economic area simply state the need for, "more money." The gravity of the economic situation in Romania is seen to be the root cause of many of the country's social ills and a hinderance to serious consideration of democracy. There is a strong impetus for an overall change and improvement in the economic system for the benefit of all and a vigorous orientation toward Capacity for Growth in the Economic system for the development of a middle class and civil society.

A Capacity for Growth specific to Economic policy is evident for: a plan such as the Marshall Plan; restructuring the economy through agriculture, tourism and industry; strong financial support for agriculture; continued privatization; the promotion of travel and work opportunities outside Romania; free trade with Moldavia; foreign investment, especially in the area of textiles; lower interest rates; limitation of the rate of inflation; and for the close of unprofitable state businesses and hospitals.

Additional areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified are: job creation; job opportunities for young people, unskilled laborers, actors, technicians, and degreed professionals; increase in the number of workers; reduced rents; tourism; handicapped accessible facilities; an American sister city program; and

foreign investors and specialists who understand the structure and are not taken in by the "big sharks, and who can help people understand the benefits of a free market economy.

There are several Capacity for Growth statements in the Economic area identified in Timisoara which indicate an optimistic and proactive stance. One respondent says that he has "great hope for economic opportunity in Timisoara." Another also expresses optimism and a third espouses the value of staying optimistic. Finally, a respondent states, "my place in the future is to create more job opportunities so Timis can grow."

In summary, based on the consistency of the data identified as indicative of an orientation of Capacity for Growth in the Economic area, there is a pressing need for growth in this area. Economic growth is seen as necessary for the alleviation of economically based social problems and for serious consideration of democracy. There is need for overall economic development, expansion of a middle class and development of civil society. Foreign investment and technology are especially needed.

<u>5. Business</u>. There are 55 individual Capacity for Growth statements in the area of Business. This area is fourth in rank of the areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified. It is the fifth area in which specific results are presented. Considerable consistency is also found in these data.

Foreign investment, consultation, and international collaboration and partnerships are seen as especially important for the development of business in Romania. The elimination of corruption and the negative image associated with business in Romania, and the development of a legal framework for secure foreign business involvement are seen as necessary. Attitudes identified for growth in business include motivation and the desire to "make something." A Capacity for Growth exists for the development of a civic sense within the business community which recognizes the importance of civil society and contributes to the needs of the community.

Specific areas in Business in which a Capacity for Growth, or "linkage points" for institution building, are identified include: information, computers and technology to increase efficiency and quality; mechanisms for the development of international business contacts and partnerships; training in leadership, management, needs assessment, market analysis, prioritization, budgeting, investment planning, personnel management and grant writing.

A Capacity for Growth in Business and "linkage points" for institution building are identified for the development of very specific businesses in different regions of the country. For example, in Iasi, opportunities are identified for the development of an organized system of tourism with a transportation system and "service friendly personnel," for a vegetarian restaurant, and for a bakery specializing in whole grain breads. In Cluj-Napoca there is an impetus for the

development of a food processing industry through the Reformed Church. Finally, there is interest in Bucharest for the expansion of tourism and the establishment of a private art museum.

6. Religion/Church. The area of Religion/Church is the sixth area to be discussed in which a Capacity for Growth and "linkage points" for institution building, are identified. See Table 3.11 for a summary of the Capacity for Growth in the areas of Religion/Church and Agriculture/Village Life. Capacity for Growth statements in the area of Religion and Church are limited to the Orthodox and Jewish faiths. There are 10 individual statements in this area with 8 of these coming from Iasi, and 2 from Bucharest.

In Iasi, a Capacity for Growth and "linkage points" for institution building in the Orthodox church are identified for the development of "credible, ethical and relevant" church leadership, and for the development of church programs to "reach out" and "assist people" in their daily needs. There also is an impetus for open mindedness toward priests from non-Orthodox countries who can serve as examples of the "Christian way of life" to traditional Orthodox. In Bucharest, a Capacity for Growth in the Orthodox Church is directed toward the development of more "trained" and "motivated" personnel.

A Capacity for Growth is evident in the Jewish community of Iasi where there is a desire for the community to "come alive and begin to grow."

Table 3.11

Summary of the Religion/Church and Agriculture/Village Life Areas

RELIGION/CHURCH

Specific to the Orthodox and Jewish faiths

Orthodox:

- more credible, responsible, relevant and ethical leadership
- openness toward foreign clergy
- church programs to meet people's needs

Jewish:

- instruction in the Torah
- means of passing on religious and cultural heritage

AGRICULTURE/VILLAGE LIFE

- modernization of agriculture
- need resources, technology irrigation technology

Development opportunities in the Jewish community include instruction in the Torah and in ways of passing on the Jewish religious and cultural heritage to future generations. There is concern in the Jewish Community of Bucharest that without change, in 15 years, it "will not exist."

7. Agriculture/Village Life. The final area in which a Capacity for Growth and "linkage points" for institution building is identified is that of Agriculture and Village Life found in the Iasi data. Agriculture and the village are seen as the traditional economic and cultural bases of Romanian society. A Capacity for Growth is identified for the modernization of agriculture through the addition of resources and technology, especially irrigation technology, and for the renewal of village life so that hope can be restored.

This concludes the discussion of the specific areas identified in the data in which a Capacity for Growth is found. The first area to be discussed and the largest area in terms of number of individual Capacity for Growth statements, is that of Political Culture. This area consists of Capacity for Growth goal statements which reflect values and attitudes regarding change, the state, bureaucracy, and diversity. The attitudes and values identified in the area of Political Culture are those which are requisite to institution building within the civil society sector of

Romania. Growth oriented attitudes and values are identified in regard to the Transition process, the State and Local Governments, the Mentality, and Diversity.

The second area in which Capacity for Growth oriented goals are identified is that of Services. Growth oriented statements in this area indicate specific "linkage points" for institution building within the area of Service. Overall, a significant desire for improvement in the general welfare of the people of Romania is evident in these data. A Capacity for Growth is specifically identified in the areas of City and Residential Services, Cultural and Leisure Services, Health and Medical Services, Social Services, and Professionalization of services.

Education and the Economic area, are ranked together in the third position based on number of individual Capacity for Growth statements. Education is valued in Romania. It is considered to be a key element in future development. Capacity for Growth goals in Education are directed toward the general system, the university system, student life, special education, public education, and private education.

There is considerable consistency in the Capacity for Growth goal statements in the Economic area. Although the Economic area is equal in size to the Education area, this consistency adds weight to the findings. There is a dire need in Romania for economic resources and economic development. Capacity for Growth goal statements in the Economic area are directed toward Economic

policies which support a free market, privatization, and the development of a middle class. Specific suggestions for growth were offered.

Business is the fifth area in which a Capacity for Growth is presented. Individual statements in this area also show considerable consistency. Capacity for Growth goals are directed toward the creation of a legal and social framework which is conducive to Business development. Investment, consultation, and training are needed in the Business community.

Capacity for Growth Goals are also identified in the area of Religion/Church and Agriculture/Village Life. Capacity for Growth goals in the area of Religion and Church are limited to the Orthodox and Jewish faiths. Capacity for Growth goals directed toward the Orthodox Church are specific to openness, and to leadership and program development. Capacity for Growth goals in the Jewish community are oriented toward renewal and growth.

Agriculture and village life are seen as the traditional economic and social bases of Romanian cultural life. There is a dire need for modernization and renewal in this area.

The specific areas in which individual Capacity for Maintenance goal statements are directed are discussed next.

Areas of Capacity for Maintenance

There are 154 individual Capacity for Maintenance goal statements identified in the data. All of these Capacity for Maintenance statements, with the exception of one, reflect values oriented toward conservation, cohesion, integration, collaboration, cooperation, coordination, or related concepts in regard to change, bureaucracy, the state or diversity (Tismaneanu, 1995). Consequently, these statements are broadly categorized into the area of Political Culture. They are then subcategorized into six specific areas of Political Culture: the Transition, the System, the Government, Human Relations, Religion/Church, and External Relations. The remaining Capacity for Maintenance statement is related to the Environment.

The findings identified as Capacity for Maintenance reflect the values and points within the system which are oriented toward maintenance. They offer a base line for assessment of stabilizing factors found within the system during the process of social change. They suggest the values that are likely to be contributing to the shape of civil society development in Romania. They suggest the points within the civil society sector, "prevailing codes," which may be tapped for the integration of institution building efforts. See Table 3.12 for a summary of the areas in which a Capacity for Maintenance is identified.

Table 3.12

Areas of Capacity for Maintenance

154 Individual Statements

One encouraging young people to recognize their unity with the environment

Remaining 153 in the area of Political Culture

Reflect conserving, integrative statements regarding change, the state, bureaucracy, and diversity

THE TRANSITION

14 individual statements

most reflective of prevailing codes

Suggest:
- basic level of political and economic safety and security necessary to negotiate transition successfully
- natural rather than "forced" or "coerced" process
- preservation of the culture
- organized but not secularized
- integration of moral and spiritual values
- linkage of material and spiritual dimensions
- parallel economic and cultural development
- freedom and responsibility

SYSTEM CHANGE

29 individual statements

Maintenance oriented values for mutual understanding, social concern, openness in communication, inclusivity, trust, participation, collaboration, cooperation directed toward the general system

(table continues)

GOVERNMENT

6 individual statements suggesting:

- establish trust for government officials
- continuity in laws
- moderation in political parties
- development of NGO sector for balance in system

HUMAN RELATIONS

74 individual statements

most reflective of "emerging codes"

directed toward more egalitarian, collaborative, cooperative, and facilitative relationships between and among levels of society, sectors of society, and groups, organizations and statuses within society such as:.

- Government and NGOS and Business
- NGO & NGOs
- businesses with each other
- representatives of NGOs
- state and local government leaders
- teachers with parents and students
- parents and children
- neighbors

RELIGION/CHURCH

4 individual statements

- rediscover, reintroduce and foster Christian values into society, such as honesty, industry, and motivation.
- assistance providers support the history of country by restoration and rebuilding old and vulnerable churches.

(table continues)

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

26 individual statements

Oriented toward preservation of what is unique to Romania while establishing and maintaining relationships external to Romania such as:

- fair image in international media
- fair document for entrance into EU
- free communication with Moldavia

bulk of statements in regard to foreign assistance providers directed toward ethnocentric and paternalistic approaches such as:

- recognize and value what Romania has to offer
- collaboration and consultation as important as money
- strategies should be tailored to Romanian views
- providers should not be in the way
- should not take money out of the country

1. Political Culture and The Transition. The Capacity for

Maintenance statements which addressed the Transition process reflect a

maintenance approach toward the process of change and toward means of

accomplishing the transition. These maintenance oriented values, or "prevailing

codes," identified in the data regarding the approach to the transition process, stress

the need for a basic level of political and economic safety and stability in order to

successfully negotiate the Transition Process. There is a desire that the process be

"natural" rather than "coerced" or "forced." There is a desire that the process be as

uniform across the country as possible.

Maintenance oriented values, or "prevailing codes," which reflect suggested

means of negotiating the transition, include those for: preservation of the culture;

organization but not secularization; integration of moral and spiritual values;

linkage of the material and spiritual dimensions of life; parallel economic and

cultural development; individual freedom coupled with community responsibility;

development of local links rather than of international links; community

participation and cultural investment by foreign investors; cultural development

which is accessible to all; and an expanded world view about "cultural techniques"

which are utilized to enrich already existing traditions.

2. Political Culture and System Change. Capacity for Maintenance

goal statements are identified which are directed toward the broad societal and

community levels of the General System. Capacity for Maintenance goals, "linkage points," specific to the broad societal system include: to strengthen the good state sectors and consolidate the general economy for the good of all; that "social practice" and "acts of mercy" reflect faith rather than become a substitute; that the Romanian people not forget where they are coming from; and that "everyone is able to maintain their own values" and "way of being," and at the same time "respect others."

There is considerable consistency in the Capacity for Maintenance goal statements found in the data which are directed toward the establishment of community which is felt to have been destroyed under communism. These Capacity for Maintenance oriented statements identify the values of, mutual understanding, social concern, inclusivity, participation, open communication, trust, collaboration, and cooperation, as key to the establishment of community within the general system.

Specific suggestions directed toward the creation of community include: emergence of a transcendent unifying factor; development of more efficient means of interpersonal communication; and development of informal relationships in which people can trust each other, discuss issues, communicate freely without fear, network, collaborate and "get things done." In the words of one respondent, under the old system "we were just 'fools,'" community was not encouraged, "it was dangerous."

3. Political Culture and Government. Stabilizing and integrative values are not only expressed in terms of the Transition process and the System in general, but are also extended to the government. There is a general desire for more positive government interaction. Additional maintenance oriented values related to the government are: that the President and members of the government could be trusted; that there be clarity and continuity in laws from one administration to the next; that there be moderation rather than polar extremes in political parties; and that democratic development proceed peacefully and that difference be integrated into society without violence. Lastly, the development of the NGO sector as a balance in the system, and governmental support for, and consultation with this sector, are encouraged.

4. Political Culture and Human Relations. The largest number of individual Capacity for Maintenance goal statements identified in the data reflect cohesive and integrative values directed toward relationships. These maintenance oriented goals are directed toward the establishment and maintenance of more egalitarian and mutual relationships between and among different levels and sectors of society, across sectors, among and between groups and organizations, and across statuses. The development of interpersonal skills and relationships at the individual and family levels are also encouraged. The maintenance oriented statements in this area appear to more accurately reflect "emerging codes," rather than "prevailing

codes," since they represent suggestions for restructuring the nature of relationships in a manner opposed to traditional social arrangements.

Regarding the government, there is an impetus to find ways to work cooperatively and peacefully with governmental structures. There is a desire for institutional clarity regarding the status of NGOs and for governmental recognition and support for NGOs. More equality in relations between the government and NGOs, and education for the development of positive relations are suggested. Exchanges of information and joint ventures are called for between the government at all levels, and NGOS, schools, and businesses.

At the local level, a recommendation is made for collaborative problem solving between government officials, labor, and employers, regarding problems of unemployment. The desire is expressed that there be more "cooperation between the powers" that "rule the community." Cooperative and collaborative working relationships are recommended between regional leaders and the local authority, and between mayors and county councils, and mayors and NGOS. The recommendation is made that NGOs "present programs," and consult with the mayor on "a regular basis." In Iasi, the recommendation is specifically made for a "strong collaboration between the church and the mayor through Metropolitan Daniel."

Regarding relations among sectors, there is a desire for a sharing of information and education among the administration, business, NGOs, media and

political sectors. Finally, cooperation between the Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, Liberals and Ecologists is called for.

Various specific suggestions are oriented toward the establishment and maintenance of community. For example, the suggestion is made to create and encourage interest in coordination between the cultural and economic communities. The creation of community with "neighbor helping neighbor" without expecting "anything in return," is encouraged. Citizens working together on concrete community projects, such as recycling, and planning for the future are suggested as means of creating community.

Maintenance oriented goals are directed toward the development of partnerships, coalitions, networks and collaborations between and among different agencies and organizations. These relations are encouraged to be conducted in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect. Maintenance oriented suggestions are directed toward interagency cooperation both within regions and across the country. Mutual relationships are encouraged for sharing information, raising funds, and helping others. Partnerships based on similar interests are also recommended for the lower industries such as business with business, hospital with hospital, and school with school.

There are maintenance oriented goals directed toward networking and collaborative relationships between institutions; for interfacing between institutions and private groups; and for open relationships between children's institutions and

the community. There are maintenance oriented goals for more openness in the university system between Deans and professors and linkages between NGOs and educational programs. Connections between families and schools, and improved student/professor, and teacher/pupil relations, are encouraged.

Capacity for Maintenance goal statements are directed toward the establishment and improvement of relations between different groups. Networking and relationships of mutual understanding are encouraged between rural and urban residents for their mutual help; between older "established professionals" and younger "motivated" people; and between the Orthodox and neoprotestant. There is an impetus toward reduction of problems between religious groups and toward the development of the Christian church as a "living community" of "love in action."

At the interpersonal and family levels, Capacity for Maintenance goal statements are oriented toward the development of communication skills and improved communication within families and between families, and toward the establishment of connectedness in communities. Informal social events are encouraged as a means of fostering interpersonal relationships and establishing social contacts. Development of friendship groups in an atmosphere of mutual caring, "like family," where people "work together," and help each other without expecting anything in return, is encouraged.

A number of Capacity for Maintenance statements are directed toward the integration into society, of stigmatized, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups such as the elderly, disabled adults and children, children with AIDS and cancer, people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, orphans, and children from institutions. The general attitude conveyed in these Capacity for Maintenance statements is exemplified in the sentiment of one respondent who said she, "dreams of a community which is inclusive of all." The hope is expressed that community education will reduce the stigma associated with AIDS, and encourage people to practice compassion.

Finally, a gay respondent espouses remaining "closeted" for the sake of participation in the larger society, because, from his point of view sexual orientation is a private matter.

5. Political Culture and Religion/Church. The area of

Religion/Church is also an area in which Capacity for Maintenance statements are evident. There are three statements which call for the "rediscovery," "reintroduction," and fostering of Christian values such as honesty, industry and motivation. Of a more concrete nature, the suggestion is made that, an "honorable" way of providing assistance, would be to invest in the history of the country by rebuilding and restoring old and vulnerable churches.

6. Political Culture and External Relations. A number of Capacity for Maintenance oriented statements are identified in the area of External Relations. These maintenance oriented goal statements, or "prevailing codes," are directed toward the preservation of the unique aspects of Romania while establishing and maintaining relations external to the Romanian border.

Among these externally oriented Capacity for Maintenance goal statements are those directed toward the presentation of an accurate image of Romania in the international media and of the "struggles" and "successes" which have been experienced during the transition. There is a desire for a "fair" document for Romania's entrance into the European Union.

A spirit of unity is reflected by one respondent in Cluj-Napoca who expresses the "hope" and certainty that the "whole world will be like one nation." Consistent with the desire for closer ties with the larger world community, several goal statements are directed toward the facilitation of international collaboration and exchanges for "common people," and for exchanges of information among professionals.

Capacity for Maintenance oriented goals specific to Iasi, include those directed toward free communication with Moldavia, and advocacy for maintenance of minority rights of Romanians in other countries.

However, the bulk of the goal statements in this subcategory are directed toward relations with foreign assistance providers. These maintenance oriented

goals are directed toward: fostering foreign relationships which recognize and value what Romania has to offer; those who are "prepared" to do the job; and those who recognize that consultation and collaboration are as important as money and goods. The statement is made that the Romanian people are a "very proud people." Assistance providers are cautioned not to come in and "do it the American way." Projects need to be tailored to Romanian views and to the different regions. In addition, providers are advised "not to demand a present in order to receive money," and not to come in and "take money back to America." It is stated that, what is needed is more "elaborate collaboration," with "honest people," who will not "be in the way." And finally, "not to be let down by people who have come before and don't come back."

Environment. There is one statement which implies the value of maintenance of the environment. This Capacity for Maintenance statement from Iasi, is directed toward encouraging the young in understanding that, "there is one nature and one environment." Although one statement from one region does not represent a "theme," this statement is included as representative of a Maintenance oriented goal statement from a theory and practice perspective. It suggests one point within the system where a potential for institution building might be present. It also represents the end range from most to least in terms of the areas which are

represented in the data. From this perspective, this statement gives some indication of the range of priorities represented within the data.

In summary, all of the individual Capacity for Maintenance goal statements, with the exception of one, are categorized in the general area of Political Culture and subcategorized into areas regarding the Transition, the general System, the Government, Human Relations, Religion/Church, and External Relations. A lone Capacity for Maintenance statement is related to the Environment. Values and attitudes, and specific suggestions oriented toward maintenance in these areas were presented.

This concludes the presentation of the results of a secondary analysis of written documents obtained from 196 interviews conducted in Romania in June, 1996. These results are presented in answer to the research question regarding the capacity for institution building found within the civil society sector of Romania. An elaboration of the nature and direction of that capacity was also provided.

The General Orientation of Capacity for Institution Building of the country of Romania, based on interview documents from the five regions of Romania was presented first. Then the General Orientation of Capacity for Institution Building based on individual statements from within the documents was presented. Next, the results of the regional analyses and the regional contributions to the General Capacity for Institution Building was presented. This was followed by the analyses of the Capacity for Institution Building found within the categories of the civil

society sector from across Romania and the category contributions to the General

Capacity for Institution Building. Finally, the specific areas of Capacity for

Institution Building in Romania, both in terms of Capacity for Growth, and

Capacity for Maintenance, were presented, based on commonalities in the data

from across all five regions, and also in terms of aspects which were specific to the

regions of Romania.

A Capacity for Growth in Institution Building is identified within the civil

society sector of Romania. This Capacity for Growth is moderate to vigorous in

strength. There is some regional variation in strength of the Capacity for

Institution Building. A strong Capacity for Institution Building is identified in the

regions of Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, and Timisoara. A more modest orientation

toward growth is identified in Iasi. The primary trend in the Bucharest interview

data is of a mixed maintenance and growth orientation. When an analysis of

individual statements within the interviews is conducted, these regional differences

tend to lessen.

A Capacity for Growth is specifically identified in seven areas. These areas

are: the Political Culture, Services, Education, Economic, Business,

Religion/Church, and Agriculture/Village Life. These are the areas which can

serve as a base line for assessing change in the transition and in the Capacity for

Institution Building since the time these data were gathered. The area of Political

Culture is made up of the growth oriented attitudes and values which are requisite

for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. The remaining six areas, are those in which more specific "linkage points" for institution building are identified.

All of the Capacity for Maintenance statements, with the exception of one, which is in regard to the environment, are categorized as Political Culture. These statements reflect attitudes and values which refer to change, the state, bureaucracy, and diversity as broadly defined (Tismaneanu, 1995). The specific areas of the Political Culture in which a Capacity for Maintenance is identified are those of the Transition, the System, Government, Human Relations, Religion/Church, and External Relations.

These areas, along with the statement regarding the Environment, represent the areas which can serve as a base line in assessing change since the data were gathered. They indicate areas in which "prevailing codes," and "emerging codes," are likely to be operative. These areas are the areas which can be tapped for integrating institution building initiatives.

A summary discussion of these results, and conclusions and recommendations are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter represents the conclusion of this study. In this final chapter an overview of the study is presented first. This overview is followed by a summary discussion and conclusions of the research results. Then the theoretical, policy, and practice implications of the study are presented. The chapter closes with a discussion of the limitations of the study and recommendations based on the results of this research.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the subsequent rapid collapse of Communism in the former Soviet bloc countries, set off a chain of events unprecedented in history. The idea of civil society played an influential role in the collapse of the communism structure within these former state controlled societies as well as in the subsequent efforts of these countries to move toward more democratic forms of government (Bernhard, 1993a; Weigle & Butterfield, 1992).

Civil society, as it is known in the West, developed through a unique convergence of events, which occurred over a period of several hundred years (Gellner, 1994; Seligman, 1992a). Few, if any of these conditions have been present in the history of these former Soviet bloc countries. The securing of a social space between the private world of the individual and family, and the

211

domain of the empire or state, has been identified as a particularly important factor in the development of civil society (Gellner, 1994). Civil society has been defined as the midrange within the social structure in which people join together to accomplish common purposes. For example, to conduct business, worship together, and to engage in charitable and recreational pursuits (Johnson & Wright, 1997; Salamon & Anheier, 1997).

The gradual securing of a social space has been identified as a step in the process which eventually led to the collapse of communism in the former Communist countries of Central Europe (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992). Romania, however, was one of the countries of Eastern Europe which experienced the greatest amount of oppression under the rule of the communist dictator Ceausescu and the least amount of reform before the events of 1989. Unlike the majority of the former Soviet bloc countries, little opportunity existed for the securing of a social space within the social structure.

Given this absence of factors predisposing to the development of civil society in Romania prior to 1989, the impetus for this study was the need to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of this country. The present study is based on a social work practice model for community development. This social work model is based on the social work values and principles of: respect for the inherent worth and dignity of the person,

the right to self determination, participation, and social justice (Compton &

Galaway, 1989).

The Approach

In order to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil

society sector of Romania, a secondary analysis of written documents was

conducted. These written documents were generated from interviews obtained in

Romania, in June, 1996, as part of the LLR project, of the Mandel School of

Applied School of Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland,

Ohio.

One of the purposes of the LLR project was to "identify possibilities for

local community-building ventures" (Center for Public Sector Leadership and

Service, n.d.). This purpose was very compatible with the purpose of this study; to

identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of

Romania. Because the present research purpose is very compatible with the

original purpose for which the data were gathered, validity concerns normally

associated with a secondary analysis are considered to be minimal.

The written documents utilized for the secondary analysis were obtained

from interviews with key informants from five regions of Romania: Iasi, Cluj-

Napoca, Oradea, Timisoara, and Bucharest. These key informants represent

various categories found within the civil sector of Romania, such as education,

NGOs, business and the media. The data analysis is confined to goal statements

made by the respondents in response to two portions of the interviews. These

portions sought the respondent's hopes and vision for the future and suggestions

and recommendations.

The findings of this study represent only one aspect of capacity for

institution building within the civil society sector of Romania; the direction,

motivation, or orientation of the will of key informants already engaged in the civil

society sector at the time the data were gathered. These respondents can rightly be

expected to have been predisposed toward growth in the civil sector; first, because

of their active participation within the sector; second, because of the purpose of the

project for which the data were obtained.

The findings obtained from this study are based on an orientational

qualitative approach to the data analysis (Patton, 1990). An orientational

qualitative method was chosen because of the overall compatibility of this method

with the exploratory descriptive nature of the research purpose. Since only one

study in the area of civil society development in Romania was identified in the

literature, the domain of study remains essentially unresearched. In this instance,

exploratory approaches are called for which offer initial depth of understanding at

the expense of breadth. Once key variables have been identified and theoretical

clarity has been gained more quantitative methods may be appropriate.

The strengths of a qualitative method for this research purpose includes the fact that it enables the identification of a baseline for further research regarding a social process, that of the development of civil society. A qualitative methodology is also especially suited to this research because of the focus on the subject's frame of reference, the social context and the research setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990). Finally, this methodology was employed for the present study because of its suitability for research of a naturally occurring event in which depth of information is considered paramount to the issue of generalizability (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990). A major weakness of a qualitative approach is that the findings of the study can only be safely generalized to the group from which they are obtained, or to similar cases (Maxwell, 1996; Patton, 1990).

This orientational qualitative approach utilizes two concepts drawn from systems theory and two concepts drawn from institution building theory. The two systems concepts of growth and maintenance are taken together to constitute capacity for institution building. These two concepts represent two primary trends considered necessary for the development of any system (Bertalanffy, 1968; Bakan, 1966; Parsons & Bales, 1955). The growth systems trend is the innovative, instrumental, expansionist trend within a system (Bakan, 1966; Parsons & Bales, 1955). The maintenance system trend is the conserving, integrative, expressive, stabilizing trend within the system (Bakan, 1966; Parsons & Bales, 1955).

Institution building is premised on the innovative and integrative role which organizations perform in the enculturation of new technologies and attendant norms and values in planned processes of social change (Esman in Eaton, 1972). The innovative function in institution building theory is related to the growth system trend in systems theory and is referred to as "linkage points." The integrative trend in institution building theory is referred to as "prevailing codes." This concept is comparable to the maintenance trend in systems theory. An assessment of the linkage points and prevailing codes within society provides data regarding the presence of the two institution building dimensions necessary for the "fit" of institution building efforts within society.

The systems concepts of growth and maintenance enables an identification of the capacity for institution building, within the civil society sector of Romania, in terms of direction of capacity; whether toward growth, toward maintenance, or of a mixed growth and maintenance orientation. These concepts also enable an identification of the nature of that capacity in terms of strength; whether vigorous, strong, moderate, weak, or regressive.

The institution building concepts of "linkage points" and "prevailing codes" enable a further refinement of the nature of the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector. It allows an identification of the attitudes and values present in society which are supportive of innovation and growth, and those which are stabilizing and integrative. They also allow an identification of the

specific areas within society which can be tapped for the linking and integration of institution building efforts in order to optimize "fit."

SUMMARY DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Utilizing the systems concepts of growth and maintenance, a capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania is identified within these data which is growth oriented, and moderate, to vigorous in strength. The low end of these results, or the finding of a moderate capacity, is based on interviews from the five regions of Romania. The more vigorous range of the findings is based on individual statements from within the interviews. Since these findings were obtained from informants within the civil society sector who can be expected to be most disposed toward a capacity toward growth for institution building, they are not surprising.

Regional differences in capacity for institution building are found. Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, and Timisoara showed a strong Capacity toward Growth. A more modest orientation toward growth is identified in Iasi. Bucharest shows a preponderance of a moderating trend, with the highest percentage of interviews containing a mixture of growth and maintenance oriented statements.

Several factors need to be considered in regard to regional differences in capacity for institution building. There are regional differences in the number of respondents from the various categories of civil society represented in the data

which may account for some of the regional differences. For example, the variation in the number of respondents from the Business category in Timisoara, the University category in Cluj-Napoca, and NGOs in Bucharest.

There are also several factors which may influence the Bucharest results. Since there is a disproportionately large representation of NGO respondents in the Bucharest data and since findings from this category indicate a tendency toward moderation in capacity in this group, this could account for the strength of the moderating trend in this area. It is also possible that since Bucharest is the capital city, and since the greatest amount of aid came into that city at the beginning of the transition period, expectations may have been unrealistically raised and disillusionment may have set in by the time the data were gathered. It is also possible that Bucharest, as the capital city, experienced the greatest amount of social disorganization following the events of 1989 and that the system in Bucharest is now moving away from growth, toward more stability.

However, differences in the regional results diminished somewhat when a regional comparison is conducted based on individual statements within the interviews rather than on the interview documents themselves. The greater consistency found in the strength of capacity for institution building obtained when individual statements from within interview documents are examined is surprising. This consistency suggests more homogeneity across the regions than the interview documents alone would indicate.

Only very general results are obtained from an analysis of the capacity for institution building within the categories of the civil sector which are represented in the various regions of Romania. This is due to the fact that there is considerable variability in the number of categories from the civil sector that are represented in the various regions, and in the number of respondents found within these categories. This variability makes meaningful cross sector analysis, both within and across regions, impossible.

However, the results of an analysis of the Capacity for Institution building found within the categories of the civil society sector from the entire country of Romania indicate that the categories of: University/Education, Business, and Professional Leaders appear to be disposed toward a Capacity for Growth. The categories of NGOs, Religion/Church, Public Administration, and Media appear to be moderating in orientation. These findings are general in nature. They are offered cautiously. They are however, consistent with the generally accepted functions of these categories within society.

A more refined analysis of the data, based on the institution building concepts of linkage points and prevailing codes, initially poses some difficulty. This difficulty arises in regard to goal statements which reflect attitudes and values rather than concrete suggestions or recommendations. When attitudes and values are expressed, lack of conceptual clarity distinguishing the concepts of linkage

points, defined as technologies and potentialities within the system, and prevailing codes, defined as the values, norms and customs of a society, becomes evident.

This lack of conceptual clarity necessitates the inclusion of growth oriented attitudes and values into the area of Political Culture. This inclusion expands the concept of linkage points, to incorporate the growth oriented attitudes and values which are requisite for institution building within the civil society sector along with the more concrete and easily recognizable areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified.

This lack of conceptual clarity also necessitates clarification regarding the concept of prevailing codes, since many of the identified maintenance oriented attitudes and values appear to be more emergent rather than prevailing in nature. However, this initial lack of conceptual clarity also enables a richer analysis of the data.

These results are unexpected and interesting. The surprise at these findings is due in part, to the fact that Romania has often been characterized as very traditional in nature, when in fact, the attitudes and values evident in both the growth and maintenance categories would dispute this characterization. In both cases, the findings in the areas in which a Capacity for Growth and a Capacity for Maintenance are identified, suggest attitudes and values which are likely formative in the emerging system, and they suggest points for the linking and integration of institution building efforts within the system for the optimization of "fit."

The areas in which a Capacity for Growth in institution building is

identified are: Political Culture, Services, Education, Economics, Business,

Religion/Church, and Agriculture and Village Life. All of the individual Capacity

for Maintenance statements, with the exception of one, are categorized in the area

of Political Culture. One lone Capacity for Maintenance statement is related to

unity with the environment. This statement is retained in the reporting of the data

as indicative of the end range of the Capacity for institution building goal

statements.

The remainder of the individual Capacity for Maintenance statements are

subcategorized into six areas of Political Culture: the Transition, the general

System, Government, Human Relations, Religion/Church, and External Relations.

A summary discussion of the findings in the specific areas in which a Capacity for

Growth, and a Capacity for Maintenance are identified, follows.

Political Culture is the area in which there are the largest number of

individual Capacity for Growth goal statements. This finding is important for at

least two reasons. First, the purpose of this study is to identify the capacity for

institution building within the civil society sector. Secondly, from a systems

perspective, the attitudes and values of a society are those which direct the

organization and development of the social structure (Parsons cited in Turner,

1986). Consequently, such strong evidence of the requisite attitudes and values for

the development of civil society within the area of Political Culture strengthens confidence in the capacity for institution building within the civil sector.

Requisite attitudes and values for linking institution building initiatives within the civil society sector of Romania are identified in the areas of the Transition, State and Local Government, the Mentality, and Diversity. Requisite values which are expressed in regard to approaches to assist in the transition process are supportive of methods which: start from the inside, are community based, use models which are adapted to the locality, and which include follow up.

The requisite values for institution building within the civil sector expressed as helpful for the successful completion of the transition include those for: the elimination of corruption and the institution of democratic processes, a strong legal foundation, respect for the rule of the law, privatization, leadership, honesty, and planning. Linkage points for institution building are identified for international assistance, consultation, and technical assistance.

Capacity for Growth oriented values supportive of institution building within the civil society sector in regard to the State and Local governments include those for: reorganization, restructuring, and decentralization of the governmental structure in a climate of trust. Additional values supportive of institution building within the civil society sector and directed toward the government are those for: local autonomy, participation, civic responsibility, rational planning, tax reform, privatization, an open market, and a comprehensive system of social protection.

Growth oriented values supportive of a change in mentality are expressed. These values include those for private initiative, trust, risk taking, a rational approach to problem solving and decision-making, appreciation of the value of an open market, hard work, social concern, political participation and responsibility, respect, and courtesy.

The last area of the Political Culture in which growth oriented values supportive of institution building within the civil society sector is identified, is the area of Diversity. An impetus toward growth in terms of respect for the rights of women and children, children with AIDS, and minority groups such as the Gypsy population and Ukrainians is identified. Linkage points are identified for: policy changes which protect human rights, the development of advocacy groups, and for education for the reduction of stigma related to AIDS. The specific groups mentioned in the area of diversity may be a function, at least in part, of the groups which are represented by the key informants.

The remainder of the specific areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified reflect more concrete areas in which an impetus for growth is evident and in which linkage points within the sector are evident. A strong capacity for institution building is identified in the area of Services. There is a strong impetus for overall improvement in the health and welfare of the entire population. Linkage points are especially evident for the development of the basic infrastructure, improvement in city and residential services and for cultural and

leisure services. Development opportunities are identified in the area of health and medical services. Linkage points are evident for modernization of facilities and technology, for the development of a private health care sector, for increased access to medication, and for social services provided with medical services.

The greatest impetus for growth in the area of services is directed toward the development of a comprehensive system of social protection made up of public, private and non-governmental components. There also is a strong impetus for the creation of a comprehensive child welfare system based on the principle of deinstitutionalization. The value of the professionalization of services is evident in these data related to services. There is a special emphasis on the professionalization of social work services. This finding might be a function, at least in part, of the purpose of the research project and the selection of respondents in this sample.

The area of Education and the Economic area are equal in size in terms of the number of individual goal statements found within each area. Both of these areas represent areas which are resources for the country. Linkage points identified in the area of Education are for: the modernization of facilities, expanded program offerings and for modern materials and teaching methods. A Capacity for Growth is evident in the areas of education in general and for university education, special education, and public and private education. The values of equality, respect for human rights, and diversity are evident in these data.

The Economic area is equal in size to the area of Education. Considerable consistency is found among the statements in this area. These findings indicate that there is a pressing need for economic development. Economic improvement is seen as necessary for the alleviation of economically based social problems and for the serious consideration of democracy.

Linkage points for institution building in the economic area are evident for: the development of policies supportive of a free market economy, the provision of resources, foreign investment, technical assistance, and specialists, the development of manufacturing, tourism, and agriculture, and for job creation.

Since both the Education and Economic areas represent areas within the social structure which are resources for the development of the system, the strength found within these areas provides some indication of the capacity for development within the civil society sector. The deficits within the Economic area are seen as a major inhibitor for institution building. However, this deficit in the Economic area also indicates an area of opportunity for development.

The Economic area is conceptually more comprehensive than that of Business. However, the two cannot be easily separated. Growth in the area of Business is an essential ingredient to economic development and to the growth of a middle class. For these reasons, growth in the area of Business is also closely associated with the capacity for institution building within the economic sector of Romania, addressed next.

Capacity for Growth statements in the area of Business also show considerable consistency. Linkage points for development in the area of Business are evident for: foreign investment, consultation, collaboration, partnerships, training, technology, and for specific business ventures.

The last two areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified are those related to Religion and the Church, and Agriculture and Village Life. Growth oriented goal statements regarding the church and religious life represent the Orthodox and Jewish faith communities. Regarding the Orthodox, linkage points are evident for visits from clergy from non Orthodox countries. Opportunities for growth and linkage points within the Orthodox community are also evident for program development and leadership training of Orthodox personnel. Within the Jewish community, linkage points for institution building are identified for education in the Torah and for means of passing on the Jewish religious and cultural heritage to future generations.

Agriculture and Village Life are seen to be the traditional bases of Romanian economic and cultural life. Linkage points are identified for the development of agriculture and for the renewal of hope in the village, through the provision of resources, technology and the modernization of farming methods.

The Capacity for Maintenance goal statements which are categorized as Political Culture are subcategorized into the six areas of: Transition, General

System, State and Local Government, Human Relations, Religion/Church, and External Relations. A single statement is related to unity with the Environment.

Capacity for Maintenance values directed toward the transition process are oriented toward a basic level of economic and political stability and safety and toward a natural and uniform process of change. Additional Capacity for Maintenance values identified as operative within the system and indicative of prevailing codes are oriented toward: preservation of the culture, organization without secularization, the integration of moral and spiritual values with material development, and parallel economic and cultural development. There also is a value for individual freedom coupled with responsibility.

There is considerable consistency in the Capacity for Maintenance goal statements which are directed toward the establishment and maintenance of community which had been destroyed under communism. Maintenance oriented values reflected in these statements are those of: mutual understanding, social concern, inclusivity, participation, open communication, trust, and collaboration. Some of these values may be more reflective of emerging values rather than of prevailing codes.

Maintenance oriented values operative in the system regarding the government are directed toward: more positive government interaction, the development of trust, clarity and continuity of laws, and toward, moderation, balance, and peace within the political system.

The area of Human Relations is the area in which the largest number of individual Capacity for Maintenance statements are identified. The goal statements identified in this area are oriented toward the establishment and maintenance of more egalitarian and mutual relationships between and among the different levels of society and sectors of society, across sectors, among and between groups and organizations, and across statuses. There is an impetus for the integration into the system of disadvantaged, marginalized, and stigmatized groups. The development of interpersonal skills and relationships at the individual, family and community levels is also encouraged. The values identified in this area are the most likely to be indicative of emerging codes rather than prevailing codes.

There is a Capacity for Maintenance for the "rediscovery" and "reintroduction" of Christian values into the system and a concrete opportunity for reconstruction and restoration of old, vulnerable churches.

Finally, a number of Capacity for Maintenance goal statements are oriented toward the establishment and maintenance of external relations which are guided by the values of openness, mutual respect, and self determination. There are a number of Capacity for Maintenance goal statements which were directed specifically toward assistance providers. These statements reflect the values of, respect for the inherent worth and dignity of the client, participation, and the right to self determination. Recommendations are also made for locality based and collaborative models of intervention. These values are very consistent with social

work practice principles and models! They represent prevailing codes which are receptive to community development endeavors which are based on social work practice principles and models.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, based on these data, a Capacity for Institution building within the civil society of Romania was identified. The direction of this capacity for institution building within the civil sector is oriented toward growth. The strength of the Capacity toward Growth within the civil society sector is moderate to strong.

There is some regional variation in the strength of the Capacity for institution building based on interview data. A Capacity for Growth appears strong to vigorous in the regions of Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, and Timisoara. It is moderate in Iasi and appears to be oriented toward stabilizing the system in Bucharest. The regional variation in strength of capacity is less pronounced in an analysis of the individual statements from the various regions. These data indicate a strong orientation toward growth across the system with the most vigor evident in Cluj-Napoca, Timisoara, and Oradea, and a strong orientation in Iasi and Bucharest.

Linkage points for institution building endeavors are evident in these data both in terms of the requisite growth oriented values found within the Political Culture and in specific areas in which a Capacity for Growth is identified.

Existing potentialities and technologies which may serve as linkage points for future institution building endeavors are identified in the areas of Services, Education, Economics, Business, Religion/Church, and Agriculture/Village Life.

Prevailing codes are identified in maintenance oriented values which are directed toward the preservation and cohesion of the system. These values indicate values which are likely to be operative within the system. It is very likely that these maintenance oriented values are contributing to the shape of the development of civil society. These maintenance oriented values also suggest points within the system which are likely to be amenable to the integration of institution building efforts.

Prevailing codes are identified in the values operative in the transition and those which are likely to be influential in shaping the development of the system during the transition process. The maintenance oriented values which are identified in regard to the restructuring of social relationships at all levels in the system are more likely to be reflective of emerging codes. Maintenance oriented values are also identified which are likely to be operative in relationships external to the country, particularly in regard to relationships with foreign assistance providers. There was a lone maintenance oriented statement which is oriented toward instilling a sense of unity with the environment in young people.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are a number of theory development, policy and practice implications related to the findings of this study. A delineation of these implications follows.

Specific to theory development regarding civil society, the findings of this study provide a comprehensive description of the social context for institution building within the civil society sector of a former communist country. As such, this study contributes to the broad, multidisciplinary area of theory regarding civil society.

The two primary concepts of growth and maintenance, utilized in this study, were drawn from General Systems Theory (Bertalanffy, 1968). The specific areas within the civil society sector in which a Capacity for Growth and a Capacity for Maintenance were identified represent the areas which can serve as a base line for assessment of development within the civil society sector of Romania since the period in which the data were gathered. As such, these findings contribute to systems theory, both in terms of offering a base line for the assessment of a social system in a period of transition, and in terms of the development of a special sort of social structural arrangement; that of civil society in a former communist country.

This study also contributes to institution building theory. The approach to the study represents a model in the application of the principle of "fit," drawn from institution building theory based on the concepts of linkage points and prevailing

codes. These concepts were utilized in the analysis in order to optimize "fit" for institution building initiatives. The application of the concepts of linkage points and prevailing codes has added clarity and refinement to these concepts. It has helped clarify the distinction between attitudes and values within the environment which are requisite for institution building and the more concrete linkage points within the system. The application of the concept of prevailing codes has helped to distinguish the concept of prevailing codes from that of emerging codes.

The following section briefly discusses theoretical implications of a more speculative nature. The assertion was made by Seligman (1992a) that "crises in representing society" (p. 57) are present both in the East and the West and that the situation in each is a "mirror image" (Seligman, 1992b, p. 7) of the other. If it is accepted that the social structural arrangements of Romania and the United States are mirror images of each other to the degree that the civil realm in Romania was inhibited by the all powerful state, and if we accept that the civil realm in the United States is eroded by the all powerful individual, then this analogy holds. This is true since in the case of the United States, the civil realm is eroded from the bottom up and in the case of Romania the civil realm is inhibited from the top down.

From a systems perspective, utilizing the concept of the importance of a balance between both agentic/growth oriented elements and communal/maintenance oriented elements within the system, it can be speculated that there would be

movement in the process of restructuring society in Romania, toward the introduction of agentic/instrumental elements, balanced by maintenance oriented elements, at the individual and civil realms where they have been absent. The findings of this study support this speculation.

It can also be speculated that there would be movement within all realms of the social structure within the United States toward more communal/maintenance oriented elements. A very limited perusal of the literature regarding organizations within the civil sector provides evidence of such a movement. For example, according to Mattessich & Monsey (1992) and Scheff and Kotler (1996), human service, and arts organizations are moving away from an emphasis on autonomy, expansion, and growth. Instead, these organizations are moving toward "strategic collaborations" in order to survive crises in growth and a shrinking funding base (Scheff & Kotler, 1996, p. 52). However, it must be pointed out that the above speculation is clearly speculation and beyond the specific intent of this study.

Although it was not an explicit purpose of this study to address the concept of social capital, evidence supportive of this concept, specifically trust and the establishment of community for the maintenance of the social system, were identified. To this degree, the present study contributes to theory development regarding the concept of social capital.

This study contributes to social work practice theory. The model of the initial LLR project, and that of this research, are both based on a social work

practice model for community development in the social development of a foreign

country. The social work model of community development utilized, reflects the

principles of participation and self determination. This study offers a model of

community development which integrates concepts from systems theory, institution

building theory, and the practice principles of self determination, participation, and

social justice. These are concepts and principles which have been identified as

important for sustainability in social development (Carothers, 1996; Cernea, 1985,

Midgley, 1995, Quigley, 1996).

The data utilized in this research represents one aspect of a comprehensive

social work assessment for practice intervention; that of identification of client

goals. This research is a model of the identification of client goals for the purpose

of community development in a foreign country; based on the social work

principles of participation and self determination. As such, this research

contributes to social work practice theory as a model which integrates a practice

purpose with a research purpose.

The findings of this study also contribute to social work policy development

in the area of international social work. The specific areas in which technologies

and potentialities, linkage points for institution building, are identified within the

system, suggest areas which are amenable for policy and program development,

and practice initiatives. Since the findings are based on responses of key

informants from within the sector of the regions, they are also in keeping with the social work practice principles of self determination and participation.

Since there was a change in the administration of the government with the election of Emil Constantinescu in November of 1996, and since there has been a considerable passage of time since these data were gathered, they may no longer be representative of the population within the civil society sector. For this reason these data offer the greatest utility as a base line for assessing change in the transition process. For the greatest utility for direct policy and practice initiatives, the continued validity of these findings should be assessed before policy and/or programs are initiated.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are a number of limitations to this study. These limitations are related to both the design of the original LLR study and to the design of the study. In regard to the design of the LLR study, the joint practice and research purposes of the initial data gathering process weakened the utility of the results for research purposes alone. The practice orientation allowed discretion to the interviewer in regard to how the interview could be approached to obtain the data. This lack of consistency among interviewers contributed to less rigor in the data.

The fact that the data were gathered in another culture, from persons with another language also is a cause for concern regarding the data. Although a

"cultural interpreter" was used to act as an interpreter, what was interpreted, and how it was interpreted depended on this person. It also must be noted that the "cultural interpreters" did not receive training or orientation. It is possible that simply the fact of the presence of the interpreter alone, was enough to influence the respondent in unknown ways and thereby also the gathering of the data.

Another potential source of bias could be introduced into these data through the process of selection of the key informants. In most cases first contacts were chosen by regional coordinators. The persons who were chosen reflected the knowledge and interests of these coordinators. It is also possible that the personal research interests of interviewers may have influenced this selection process since the key informants were selected after interview teams had arrived on site.

A final limitation related to the design of the original study was the use of interview teams and the interview process which included the use of process recording notes rather than audio tapes. Although there are feasibility and practice considerations supportive of this choice, the data are weakened for research purposes.

There are several limitations of the findings which are related to the design of this study. The use of written documents from interview data rather than from transcriptions of audio taped interviews weakens confidence in the data. The apparent inconsistency in the interview process weakens confidence in the data. The lack of consistency in the number of categories of civil society represented

across the regions and the number of respondents within the categories of civil society within and across the regions made meaningful category analysis more difficult.

The fact that the data were obtained from a culture other than that of the researcher also raises questions about potential bias. Cultural nuances may have been missed. The use of an orientational method of inquiry and conceptual clarity in the approach to analysis adds credibility to the findings. The recoding of a subsample and the establishment of a coefficient of stability also increase confidence in the findings. These data were also analyzed in many different ways so that over the process of the analysis there were numerous opportunities for the researcher to check and recheck the findings. This process of checking and rechecking adds credibility to the findings.

However, there are several approaches that could increase confidence in the data in future research of this type. A trained second reader could be utilized. A random sample could have been drawn from the total sample of 197 interviews and the analysis could have been performed on these data and generalized to the total.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study represent a base line in the development of a social system in the process of transition. They also represent the development of a new form of social structure, that of civil society. The first and most obvious recommendation based on the findings of this study is that a follow-up study be conducted.

A follow-up study is recommended to identify changes in the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania since the time these data were gathered. The direction and shape of civil society development within Romania since these data were gathered could also be assessed. The use of a research design in which an equal number of respondents per category within the civil society sector which are randomly chosen would be ideal. A replication study based on new data is more feasible and could prove fruitful in assessing changes in the capacity for institution building and in the process of civil society development.

Further study of the capacity for institution building within the various categories of groups found within the civil society sector, such as business, NGOs, Media, and Religion/Church, is recommended. The findings in this study are, at best, very tentative, concerning the capacity for institution building found within the categories of the civil sector in Romania. Further research to elaborate on the capacity for institution building found within the categories of civil society could contribute to knowledge regarding institution building theory, and to systems

theory, both in terms of the capacity for institution building which the different categories within the civil sector exhibit and in terms of the role various categories within society play in the overall development of civil society in a former communist country.

Finally, research designed similar to this study, and conducted with respondents from sectors of society not represented in this study, such as laborers and villagers, is recommended. Sectors of society not represented in this study could exert considerable influence in the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania and in the direction and shape of civil society development.

In closing it is reiterated that this study examined only one aspect of the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania, that of the direction of the will of key representatives from categories within that sector. There are other factors which are equally, if not more, powerful within the system, which will ultimately determine the shape and direction of the restructuring of Romanian society. These largely unresearched areas comprise another vast domain for future research which can lend further understanding to the nature and direction of civil society development in Romania. Findings gained from further research in this larger domain can broaden the understanding obtained from this initial analysis of the direction of the will of 196 purposively selected representatives from categories of the civil sector from across the country in June of 1996.

This concludes the final chapter of this study to identify the capacity for institution building within the civil society sector of Romania. This chapter presents an overview of the study, a summary discussion of the findings, a discussion of the theory, policy and practice implications of the study. And the chapter concludes with recommendations based on the model of the study and its findings.

REFERENCES

Anderson, R. & Carter, E. (1974). Human Behavior in the social environment: A social systems approach. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Bakan, D., (1966). The duality of human existence. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Bernhard, M. (1993a). The origins of democratization in Poland: Workers, intellectuals and oppositional politics. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Bernhard, M. (1993b). Civil society and democratic transition in East Central Europe. Political Science Quarterly, 108(2), 307-326.

Bertalanffy, L. von (1968). General systems theory: Foundations, development, applications. New York, NY: Braziller.

Blase, M. G. (1986). Institution building: A source book (Rev. ed.). Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Carothers, T. (1996). Assessing democracy assistance: The case of Romania. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Center for Public Leadership and Service. The institute for civil society development. (Available from Center for Public Sector Leadership and Services, Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, 10900 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, OH 44106-7164).

Cernea, M. (1985). Putting people first: Sociological variables in rural development. Washington, DC: The World Bank for reconstruction and Development.

Coleman, J. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. American Journal of Sociology, 94 (Supplement), S95-S120.

Compton, B. R., & Galaway, B. (1989). Social work processes (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Cooperrider, D. I. & Pasmore, W. A. (1991). The organizational dimension of global change. Human Relations, 44(8) 763-787.

241

David, G. (1991). Participation in social development for the 1990s: Yes, but how? Social Development Issues, 13(3), 14-28.

Deletant, D. (1991). Rewriting the past: Trends in contemporary Romanian historiography. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 14(1), 64-86.

Delgado, M. (1996). Community asset assessments by Latino youths. Social Work in Education, 18(3), 169-178.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) (1994). Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Eaton, J. W. (Ed.). (1972). Institution building and development: From concepts to application. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Esman, M. J. (1972). The elements of institution building. In J. W. Eaton (Ed.), Institution building and development: From concepts to application (pp. 21-39). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Gallager, T. (1995). Romania after Ceausescu. Edinburgh, Great Britain: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Gellner, E. (1994). Conditions of liberty: Civil society and its rivals. New York, NY: Penguin Books USA Inc.

Hardcastle, D. A., Wenocur, S., & Powers, P. R. (Eds.) (1997). Community practice: Theories and skills for social workers. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hoff, M. D., & McNutt, J. G. (Eds.) (1994). The global environmental crisis: Implications for social welfare and social work. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Hyden, G. (1997). Building civil society at the turn of the millennium. In J. Burbidge (Ed.), Beyond prince and merchant: Citizen participation and the rise of civil society (pp. 17-46). New York: PACT Publications.

Joanta, S. (1992). Romania: Its hesychast tradition and culture. Wildwood, CA: St. Xenia Skete.

Johnson, A. K. & Wright, B. T. (1997). Civil society in Romania: An evolving partnership. In J. Burbidge (Ed.), Beyond prince and merchant: Citizen participation and the rise of civil society (pp. 143-160). New York: PACT Publications.

Kattak, C. P. (1985). When people don't come first: Some sociological lessons from completed projects. In M. M. Cernea (Ed.), Putting people first: Sociological variables in rural development (pp. 325-356). Washington, DC: The World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Krathwohl, D. R. (1985). Social and behavioral science research. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Ltd.

Landau, M. (1972). Linkage, coding, and intermediacy: A strategy for institution building. In J. W. Eaton (Ed.), Institution building and development: From concepts to application (pp. 91-109). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Les, E. (1995). Europe's emerging third sector: East and West. In M. D. de Oliveira & R. Tandon (Eds.), Citizens strengthening global civil society, (pp. 195-237). Washington-CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation.

Maple, F. (1984, February). Consultation skills for school social workers. Workshop sponsored by the Iowa Department of Public Instruction and the Iowa School Social Work Association.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Mattessich, P. W., & Monsey, B. R. (1998). Collaboration: What Makes It Work, (8th printing). Saint Paul, MN: Publishing Center, Amherst H. Wilder Foundation.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996). Qualitative research design: An interactive approach. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

McKnight, J. L., & Kretzmann, J. (1990). Mapping community capacity. Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University.

Meyer, C. (1992). A step back as donors shift institution building from the public to the "private" sector. World Development, 20(8), 1115-1126.

Midgley, J. (1995). Social development: The developmental perspective in social welfare. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Mihut, L. (1994). The emergence of political pluralism in Romania. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 27(4), 411-422.

Naparstek, A. J., & Dooley, D. (1997). Countering urban disinvestment through community-building initiatives. Social Work, 42(5), 506-514.

Nelson, D. (1996). Civil society endangered. Social Research, 63(2), 345-368.

Oliveira, M. D. de, & Tandon, R. (1995). An emerging global civil society. In M. D. de Oliveira & R. Tandon (Eds.) Citizens strengthening global civil society, (pp. 1-17). Washington-CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation.

Patton, M. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (Second ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Pandey, R. (1996). Report on the NGO Forum "95 and World Summit for Social Development." Social Development Issues, 18(1), 68-78.

Parsons, T., & Bales, R. (1955). Family socialization and interaction process. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Pehe, J. (1996). After the Soviet Empire: Civil society in democratizing states. Current, 381, 27-30.

Putnam, R. (1993a). Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, R. (1993b). The prosperous community. Current, 356, 4-9.

Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. Journal of Democracy, 6(1), 65-78.

Quigley, K. (1996). Conversations on democracy assistance. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.

Rau, Z. (Ed.) (1993). [Review of the book The emergence of civil society in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union]. Canadian-American Slavic Studies, 28, 109-110.

Rose, R. (1994). Rethinking civil society: Post communism and the problem of trust. Journal of Democracy, 5(3), 18-30.

Salamon, L. & Anheier, H. (1997). The civil society sector. Society, 34(2), 60-65.

Scheff, J., & Kotler, P. (1996, January/February). How the Arts Can Prosper Through Strategic Collaborations. Harvard Business Review, 74, 52-62.

Seligman, A. (1992a). The idea of civil society. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Seligman, A. (1992b). Trust and the meaning of civil society. International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, 6 (1), 5-22.

Sharma, S. & Walz, T. (1992). Social development in third world nations: A reflective assessment in the shadow of the 21st century. Social Development Issues, 14(2/3), 13-27.

Shils, E. (1991). The virtue of civil society. Government and Opposition, 26, 3-20.

Tismaneanu, V. (1989). Personal power and political crisis in Romania. Government and Opposition, 24(2), 179-198.

Tismaneanu, V. (1992). Reinventing politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Tismaneanu, V. (Ed.) (1995). [Book review Political culture and civil society in Russia and the new states of Eurasia]. Europe-Asia Studies, 48(8), 1424-1426.

Treptow, K. (Ed.) (1995). A history of Romania. Iasi, Romania: The Romanian Cultural Foundation.

Turner, J. H. (1986). The structure of sociological theory (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

United Nations, (1982). Elements of institution-building for institutes of public administration and management. New York, NY: Department of Technical Co-operation for Development.

Uphoff, N. (1985). Fitting projects to people. In M. M. Cernea (Ed.), Putting people first: Sociological variables in rural development (pp. 359-395). Washington, DC: The World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Verdery, K. (1991). National ideology under socialism: Identity and cultural politics in Ceausescu's Romania. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Verdery, K. (1996). What was socialism, and what comes next?. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Vlachos, H. (1994). Orthodox psychotherapy: The science of the fathers (E. Williams, Trans.). Levadia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery. (Original work published 1994).

Weigle, M., & Butterfield, J. (1992). Civil society in reforming communist regimes: The logic of emergence. Comparative Politics, 25 (1) 1-24.

Weitzman, E. A. & Miles, M. B. (1995). Computer programs for qualitative data analysis: A software source book. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

World Bank (1982). IDA in retrospect: The first two decades of the international development association. World Bank: Oxford University Press.

Appendix A

247

Listening & Learning in Romania (LLR) Project
Interview Guide

Preparation:

- Try to understand as much as you can about the person to be interviewed.
- Discuss with interpreter what you want to get out of the interview, the questions you will be asking.

Start of Interview:

- Exchange cards if appropriate.
- Thank the person for interview and establish rapport.
- Give purpose for the interview. Give person the introductory statement with letters.
- Get "Informed Consent Form" signed and proceed with interview.

Questions: (Modify questions to fit the person and occasion.)

1. Could you tell us more about yourself and your role in the community?

2. Could you tell us more about the community? What groups are there, who are key people? (Probe for ethnic, religious groups and how they fit in.)

3. What in your estimation are the major strengths and assets of the community (for social and economic development)?

4. What are your hopes (your vision) for the community?

5. What resources, including the assets you already have, do you need to get there?

6. What has been the effect of international assistance (international aid, technical assistance and training) on the community (the country) thus far? (**Probe for:** What organizations sponsored it? What new capabilities/abilities have these experiences provided? What has been the positive and negative impact of these programs?)

7. Ask questions on "Ethnic Conflict Interview Form."

Closing:

- Thank them again. Remind them that we want to get back to him/her. Get assurance that is permitted.

- Ask interviewee for recommendations of other key leaders that we might interview.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY QUESTIONS

1. What religious groups live in your community?
   Catholic
   Jewish
   Orthodox
   Baptist
   Unitarian
   Other _____

2. What ethnic groups live in your community?
   Jews
   Turks
   Serbians
   Ukrainians
   Bulgarians
   Hungarians
   Germans
   Other _____

3. How are these groups perceived by the community?

4. Has there been any incidents or problems between the Romanians and these groups in the last five years? Can you describe these incidents?

5. Is there cooperation among different religious groups? If so, how do they cooperate together?

6. Is there cooperation among different ethnic groups? If so, how do they cooperate together?

7. What kind of tension, problems, or conflicts exist among the different religious groups?

8. What kind of tension, problems, or conflicts exist among the different ethnic groups?

9. Can you talk about these tensions, problems, or conflicts?

10. What are the problems caused by different groups?

11. What are the good things these groups bring to the community?

12. Who else in your community might be knowledgeable about these groups, their roles in your community, and any problems with these groups?

Interview Summary

This summary is to be completed by the interviewer with the assistance of the recorder.

Date of Interview: _____

Name of Person
    Interviewed:_____

Address:_____

Phone:_____

1. Positions, Occupations, Roles in the Community:

2. Affiliations, Connections with people, organizations, groups:

3. Composition of the Community:

4. Strengths, Assets of the Community for social and economic development:

5. Hopes, vision for the community:

6. Effects of International Assistance (aid, training) on community and country. Who gave the assistance and what positive or negative impact did it have?

7. Key areas of religious and ethnic conflict?

8. Key areas of religious and ethnic cooperation?

9. Suggestions and Recommendations of the person being interviewed:

10. Suggestions of the interviewer regarding follow up with this person:

Interviewer: _____   Date: _____

Listening & Learning In Romania (LLR) Project
Regional Team Debriefing Form

Region:_____   Number of Interviews:_____

Profile of the Region:

Key People, Institutions, Assets for Social and Economic Development:

Emerging Vision for the Region; Role of Planning/Coordinating Mechanism:

Major Obstacles and Limitations to Social and Economic Development:

Specific Recommendations for ICSD Next Steps:

Interview Team: _____   Date:_____

Appendix B

256

Table A.1

Capacity of Categories in Iasi Region

Category	N	Orientation Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	4	4		
NGO	5	1		4
Religion/Church	6	3		3
Local Government				
Business	5	5		
Public Administration	1	1		
Students/Young Leaders	6	2		4
Ethnic/Cultural	4	1	1	2
Professional Leaders	4	2		2
Representatives of International Organizations	1			1
Local Media	4	1		3
Other	4	2		2

Note. The letter N represents the number of respondents

found in each category.

Table A.2

Category Contribution to Regional Capacity of Iasi

	Orientation		
Category	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	9%		
NGOs	2%		9%
Religion/Church	7%		7%
Local Government			
Business	11%		
Public Administration	2%		
Students/Young Leaders	5%		9%
Ethnic/Cultural Groups	2%	2%	5%
Professional Leaders	5%		5%
Representatives of International Organizations			2%
Local Media	2%		7%
Other	5%		5%

Note. Figures are rounded up to the next highest percentage.

Table A.3

Capacity of Categories in Cluj-Napoca Region

		Orientation		
Category	N	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	7	5		2
NGO	6	5		1
Religion/Church	3	1		2
Local Government	2	2		
Business	4	3		1
Public Administration	4	2		2
Students/Young Leaders	2	2		
Ethnic/Cultural	3	3		
Professional Leaders	6	5		1
Representatives of International Organizations	1	1		
Local Media				
Other	1			1

Note. The letter N represents the number of respondents found in each category.

Table A.4

Category Contribution to Regional Capacity of Cluj-Napoca

Category	Orientation		
	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	13%		5%
NGOs	13%		3%
Religion/Church	3%		5%
Local Government	5%		
Business	8%		3%
Public Administration	5%		5%
Students/Young Leaders	5%		
Ethnic/Cultural Groups	8%		
Professional Leaders	13%		3%
Representatives of International Organizations	3%		
Local Media			
Other			3%

Note. Figures are rounded up to the next highest percentage.

Table A.5

Capacity of Categories in Oradea Region

		Orientation		
Category	N	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	5	5		
NGO	4	3		1
Religion/Church	2	1	1	
Local Government				
Business				
Public Administration	3	1		1
Students/Young Leaders				
Ethnic/Cultural				
Professional Leaders	3	3		
Representatives of International Organizations	1			1
Local Media	1		1	
Other				

Note. The letter N represents the number of respondents found in each category.

Table A.6

Category Contribution to Regional Capacity of Oradea

	Orientation		
Category	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	26%		
NGOs	16%		5%
Religion/Church	5%	5%	
Local Government			
Business			
Public Administration	5%		10%
Students/Young Leaders			
Ethnic/Cultural Groups			
Professional Leaders	16%		
Representatives of International Organizations			5%
Local Media		5%	
Other			

Note. Figures are rounded up to the next highest percentage.

Table A.7

Capacity of Categories in Timisoara Region

		Orientation		
Category	N	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	7	5	1	1
NGO	8	2	1	5
Religion/Church	1			1
Local Government	2	2		
Business	10	7	1	2
Public Administration	4	3		1
Students/Young Leaders	2	1		1
Ethnic/Cultural	1	1		
Professional Leaders	2	2		
Representatives of International Organizations	2	1		1
Local Media	4	4		
Other				

Note. The letter N represents the number of respondents found in each category.

Table A.8

Category Contribution to Regional Capacity of Timisoara

Category	Orientation		
	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	12%	2%	2%
NGOs	5%	2%	12%
Religion/Church			2%
Local Government	2%		
Business	17%	2%	2%
Public Administration	7%	2%	
Students/Young Leaders	2%		2%
Ethnic/Cultural Groups	2%		
Professional Leaders	5%		
Representatives of International Organizations	2%		2%
Local Media	10%		
Other			

Note. Figures are rounded up to the next highest percentage.

Table A.9

Capacity of Categories in Bucharest Region

| Category | N | Orientation | | |
		Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	7	2	1	4
NGO	16	4	2	10
Religion/Church	1	1		
Local Government				
Business	3	2		1
Public Administration	3			3
Students/Young Leaders	4	3		1
Ethnic/Cultural	3	1		2
Professional Leaders	4	1		3
Representatives of International Organizations	5	2	2	1
Local Media	2			2
Other	4	3		1

Note. The letter N represents the number of respondents found in each category.

Table A.10

Category Contribution to Regional Capacity of Bucharest

	Orientation		
Category	Growth	Maintenance	Mixed
University/Education	4%	2%	8%
NGOs	8%	4%	19%
Religion/Church	2%		
Local Government			
Business	4%		2%
Public Administration			6%
Students/Young Leaders	6%		2%
Ethnic/Cultural Groups	2%		6%
Professional Leaders	2%		6%
Representatives of International Organizations	4%	4%	2%
Local Media			4%
Other	6%		4%

Note. Figures are rounded up to the next highest percentage.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

150mm

6"
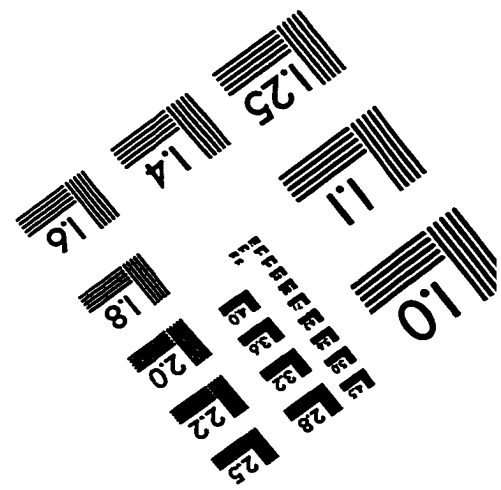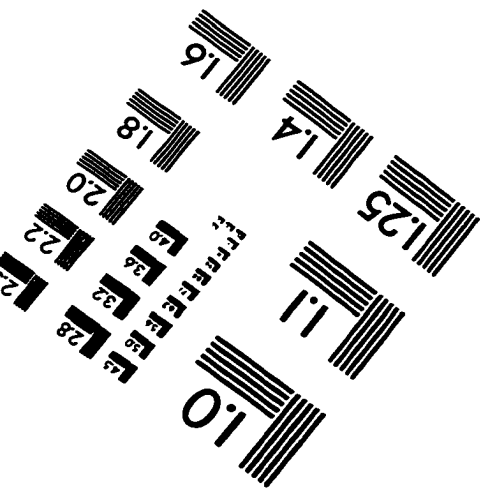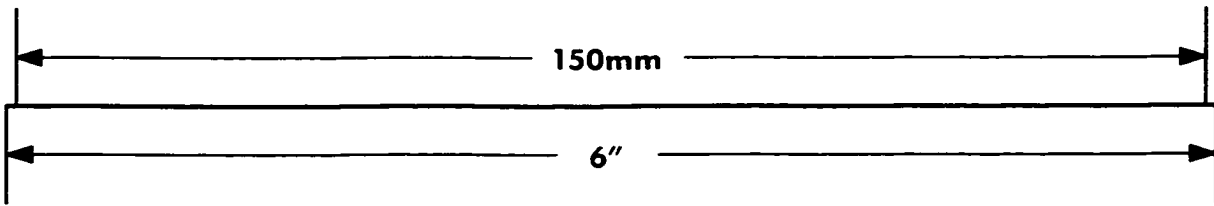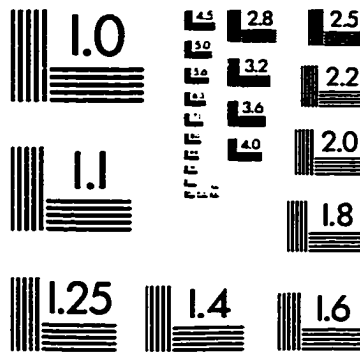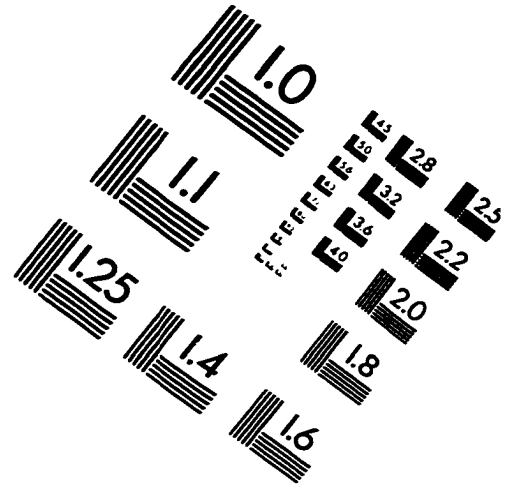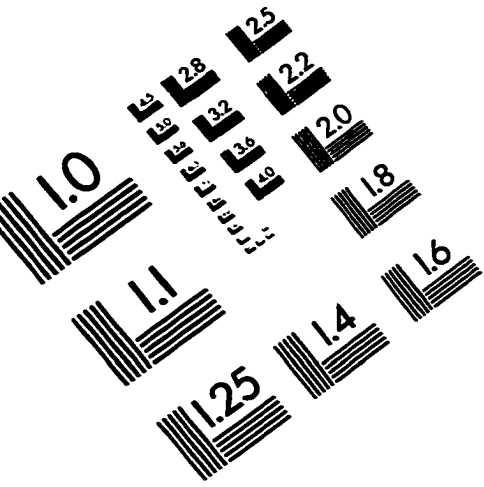
APPLIED IMAGE . Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989