

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 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; Gallagher, 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 (Gallagher, 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

<p>1. <u>Systems Theory:</u></p> <p><u>Development:</u></p>	<p>Offers the broad concepts of development and transition involved in the process of change.</p> <p>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.</p>
<p>2. <u>Social Development:</u></p>	<p>Is a planned process of social change rather than a natural organic process as reflected in systems theory.</p>
<p>3. <u>Institution Building:</u></p> <p><u>Prevailing Codes:</u></p> <p><u>Linkage Points:</u></p>	<p>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.</p> <p>An Institution building concept, refers to the values and norms of a society which are part of the maintenance trend within the social system.</p> <p>An institution building concept, refers to technologies and potentialities within a society which are part of the growth trend.</p>

(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 THEORYDevelopment:

Expressive/Communal/Maintenance trend

Instrumental/Agentic/Change trend

Social Development: Planned Social changeInstitution Building: Strategy of planned changePrevailing Codes: Expressive/Communal/

Maintenance trend

Linkage Points: Instrumental/ Agentic/Change trendCivil 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

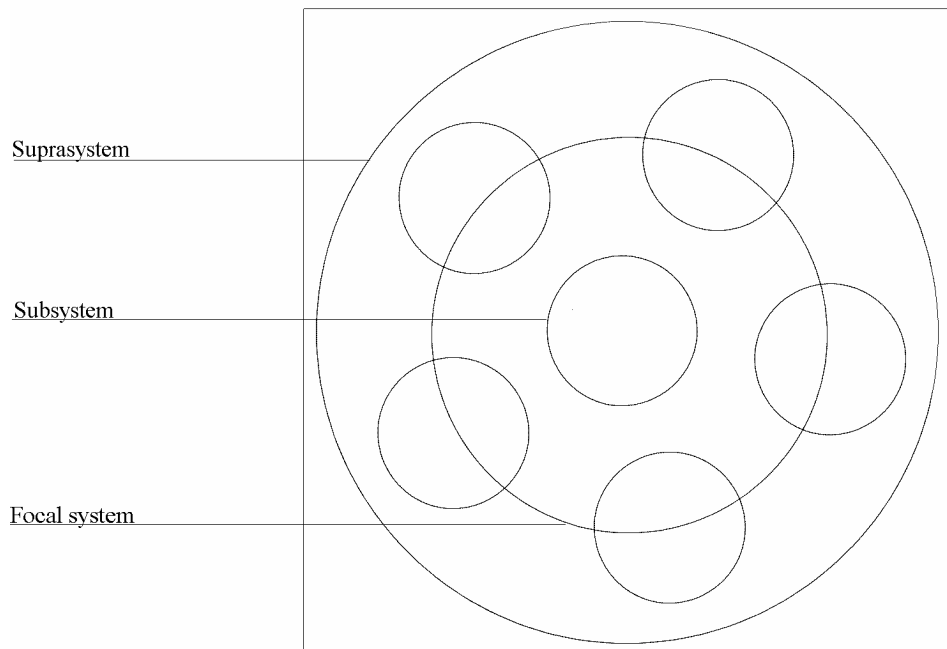


Figure 1.2

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/agentive 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 durability. However, the term has two particular foci in the development literature. The first reflects an

ecological concern and has to do with the durability 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, 1995). 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).

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.

The importance of a social justice orientation toward social development is also stressed (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 in this study the definition of institution building is reformulated to read: institution building is the assisted 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/agentive (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.

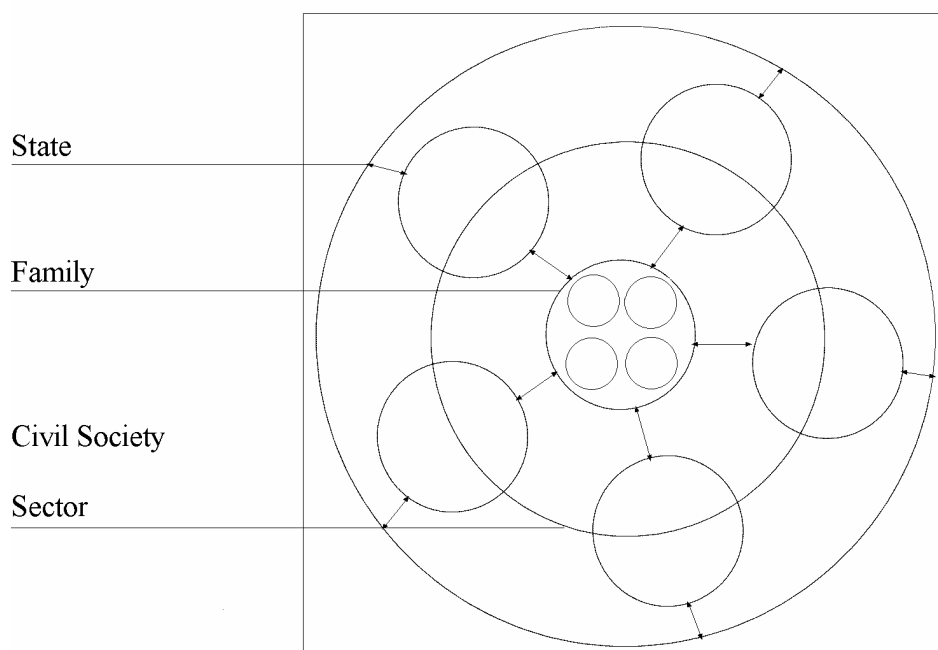


Figure 1.3

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.

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/agentive/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.

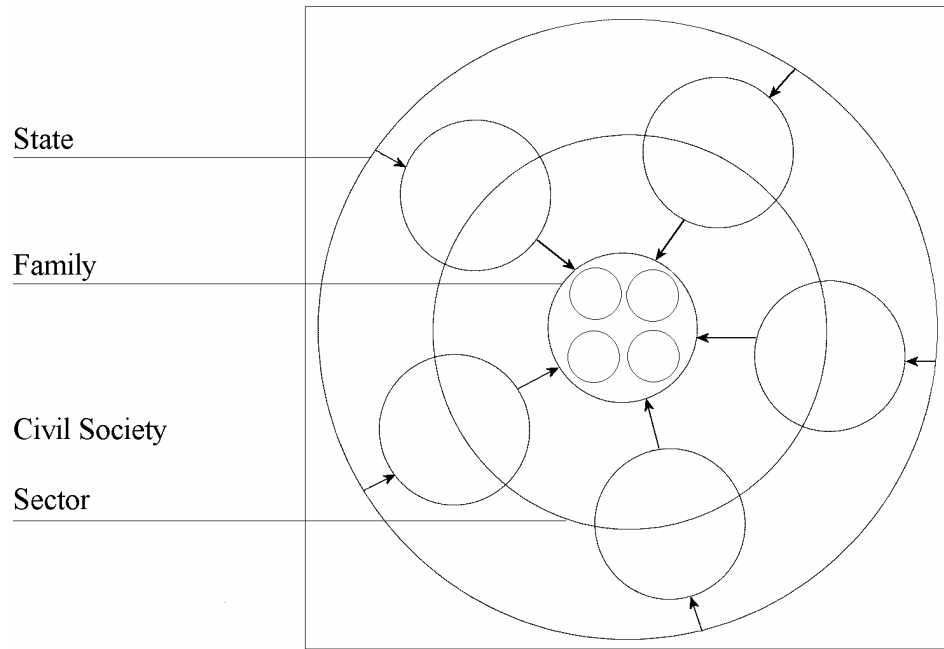


Figure 1.4

Atomization of Society by the Moral State

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 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 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?

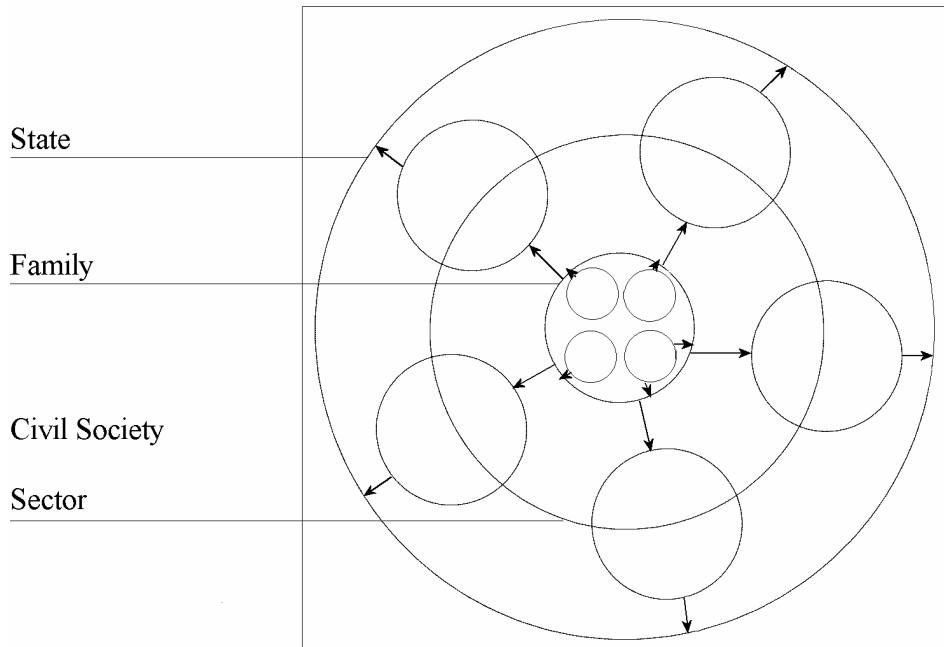


Figure 1.5

Atomization of the Society by Privatized Morality

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/agentive 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/agentive/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/agentive/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/agentive/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 Bernhard, 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; Gallagher, 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).

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 Gallagher (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 (Gallagher, 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; Gallagher, 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; Gallagher, 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; Gallagher, 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