

DIALOGUE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

Report on the state of civil society in Romania 2005

Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF)

CIVICUS Civil Society Index

An international action-research project coordinated by CIVICUS:
World Alliance for Citizen Participation

FOREWORD

The Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF) is a Romanian non-governmental organization (NGO), which was founded in Bucharest in December 1994. Throughout its existence, CSDF's mission has been to increase the social impact of the NGOs through direct action and by developing their capacity, through cooperation, networking, representation and services. Considering CSDF's strong commitment to strengthening the Romanian civil society sector, CSDF's involvement in the CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI) project came naturally.

The implementation of the Romanian CSI would have not been possible without the support of the many stakeholders who were involved in the project in various ways. The overall process, which resulted in the Romanian civil society diamond, has been viewed positively by the stakeholders involved in the process. They have welcomed the efforts to provide a more structured view of Romanian civil society. The CSI implementation in Romania is one of only a few attempts in Romania to include not only NGOs, as had been done previously, but also other important civil society actors, particularly trade unions, in an analysis of civil society. It has become apparent that there was a need to know more about Romanian civil society.

We believe that through the CSI we will succeed in putting together many of the pieces of the civil society puzzle. We also believe that the project results offer structured information on many essential characteristics of Romanian civil society. Through this process we seek to achieve another positive outcome: to provide answers and raise important questions. From this perspective, we hope the CSI will be perceived as a point of reference for future research and policy making in Romania.

*Carmen Epure, Executive Director
Civil Society Development Foundation*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF) implemented the Civil Society Index (CSI) in Romania, during 2003-2005, based on the CSI methodology developed by CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation. Having also participated in the pilot phase of the CSI, CSDF had the opportunity to study the evolution of civil society in a comparative manner and to re-approach various key stakeholders working in the field of civil society.

The National Advisory Group (NAG), an expert team from various areas of civil society, made a unique contribution to the project. CSDF would like to express its appreciation to the members of NAG who contributed to the development of the project and its outcomes during the course of two years: Laura Balut (Princess Margarita of Romania Foundation), Doina Crangașu, Diana Cristea (Bethany Foundation), Cristian Ghinea (SAR), Ruxandra Datcu (USAID), Mona Gotteszman (Prochild Federation), Istvan Haller (ProEuropa League), Bogdan Hossu (Cartel Alfa), Gabriela Ivașcu (Donors Forum), Paul Lacatuș (Capital magazine), Alexandru Lăzescu (Romania Gateway), Dina Loghin (SEF Iași), Radu Mateescu (Concept Foundation), Viorel Micescu (CENTRAS), Ileana Neamțu (CASPI), Diana Nițulescu, Luana Pop (University of Bucharest), Otilia Pop (Government Department for Institutional Analysis -DAIS), Anca Socolovski, Adrian Sorescu (Pro Democracy Association) and Oana Stere (Prochild Federation).

We would also like to thank our colleagues Ileana Hargalas, Octavian Rusu, Ionut Sibian and Oana Tiganescu for their support of the project from its early stages.

This project would not have been possible without the involvement of civil society representatives that have contributed through consultations and by providing data which was used for this report.

Valentin Burada

Researcher, Institute for Political Research, University of Bucharest

Diana Berceanu

Programme Co-ordinator, Civil Society Development Foundation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
TABLES OF CONTENTS	
TABLES AND FIGURES	
LIST OF ACRONYMS	
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	
INTRODUCTION	
I CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX PROJECT AND APPROACH	11
1. PROJECT BACKGROUND	11
2. PROJECT APPROACH	12
II CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA	16
1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	16
2. CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA	19
3. MAPPING OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA	20
III ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY	22
1. STRUCTURE	22
1.1 Breadth of Citizen Participation in Civil Society	22
1.2 Depth of Citizen Participation in Civil Society	24
1.3 Diversity of Civil Society Participants	24
1.4 Level of Organization	26
1.5 Inter-Relations within Civil Society	27
1.6 Civil Society Resources	29
Conclusion	31
2. ENVIRONMENT	32
2.1 Political Context	32
2.2 Basic Rights and Freedoms	36
2.3 Socio-economic Context	37
2.4 Socio-cultural Context	38
2.5 Legal Environment	40
2.6 State-Civil Society Relations	41
2.7 Private Sector - Civil Society Relations	43
Conclusion	45
3. VALUES	46
3.1. Democracy	46
3.2 Transparency	48
3.3 Tolerance	51
3.4 Non-violence	52
3.5 Gender Equity	53
3.6 Poverty Eradication	55
3.7 Environmental Sustainability	56
Conclusion	57
4. IMPACT	59
4.1 Influencing Public Policy	59
4.2 Holding the State and Private Corporations Accountable	62
4.3 Responding to Social Interests	63
4.4 Empowering Citizens	66
4.5 Meeting Societal Needs	69
Conclusion	71
IV STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF ROMANIAN CIVIL SOCIETY	72
V RECOMMENDATIONS	75
VI CONCLUSION	77
APPENDICES	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY	108

TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

TABLE I.1.1.: Countries participating in the CSI implementation phase 2003-2005.....	11
TABLE II.2.1: Types of CSOs included in the study.....	20
TABLE II.3.1: Social forces categories.....	21
TABLE III.1.1: Indicators assessing the extent of citizen participation.....	22
TABLE III.1.2: Indicators assessing depth of citizen participation.....	24
TABLE III.1.3: Indicators assessing diversity of civil society participants.....	24
TABLE III.1.4: Distribution of NGOs by region.....	25
TABLE III.1.5: Indicators assessing level of organisation.....	26
TABLE III.1.6: Indicators assessing inter-relations within civil society.....	28
TABLE III.1.7: Indicators assessing civil society resources.....	29
TABLE III.1.8: Types of resources owned by NGOs.....	30
TABLE III.1.9: Types of logistic owned by NGOs.....	31
TABLE III.2.1: Indicators assessing political context.....	32
TABLE III.2.2: Indicators assessing basic rights and freedoms.....	36
TABLE III.2.3: Indicator assessing socio-economic context.....	37
TABLE III.2.4: Indicators assessing socio-cultural context.....	38
TABLE III.2.5: Indicators assessing legal environment.....	40
TABLE III.2.6: Indicators assessing state-civil society relations.....	41
TABLE III.2.7: Indicators assessing private sector – civil society relations.....	43
TABLE III.3.1: Indicators assessing democracy.....	46
TABLE III.3.2: Indicators assessing transparency.....	48
TABLE III.3.3: Corruption among various groups of people.....	49
TABLE III.3.4: Indicators assessing tolerance.....	51
TABLE III.3.5: Indicators assessing non-violence.....	52
TABLE III.3.6: Indicators assessing gender equality.....	53
TABLE III.3.7: Indicator assessing poverty eradication.....	55
TABLE III.3.8: Indicator assessing environmental sustainability.....	56
Table III.4.1: Indicators assessing influencing public policy.....	59
TABLE III.4.2: Indicators assessing holding state and private corporations accountable.....	62
TABLE III.4.3 Indicators assessing responding to social interests.....	63
TABLE III.4.4: Indicators assessing empowering citizens.....	66
TABLE III.4.5: Indicators assessing meeting societal needs.....	69
TABLE IV: Participation at regional stakeholder consultations.....	83
Table VI: Attitude of newspapers towards civil society.....	91

Figures

FIGURE 1: Civil society diamond.....	6
FIGURE I.2.1: Civil society diamond tool.....	13
FIGURE II.3.1: Social forces map.....	20
FIGURE III.1.1: Subdimension scores in structure dimension.....	22
FIGURE III.2.1: Subdimension scores in environment dimension.....	32
FIGURE III.2.2: Government effectiveness.....	35
FIGURE III.2.2: .Level of trust in other people.....	39
FIGURE III.3.1: Subdimension scores in values dimension.....	46
FIGURE III.4.1: Subdimension scores in impact dimension.....	59
FIGURE VI.1: Civil Society Diamond.....	77

LIST OF ACRONYMS

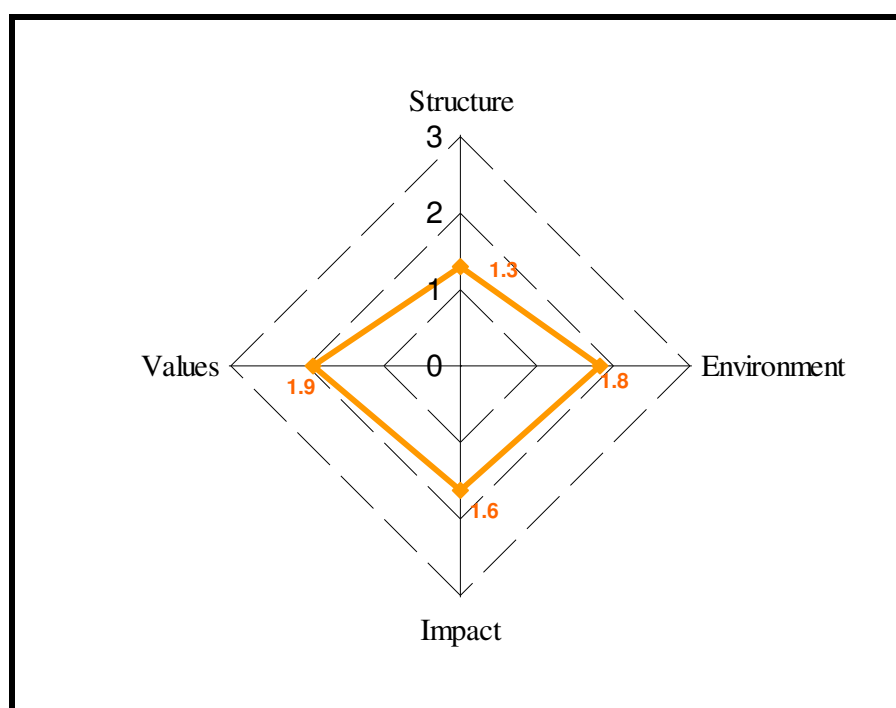
ARC.....	Association for Community Relations
CASPIS	The Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Commission
CENTRAS.....	Centre of Assistance for Nongovernmental Organizations
CES.....	Economic and Social Council
CPI.....	Corruption Perceptions Index
CRDE.....	Resource Centre for Ethno cultural Diversity
CSDF.....	Civil Society Development Foundation
CSI.....	Civil Society Index
CSO.....	Civil Society Organisation
CSR.....	Corporate Social Responsibility
ELDR.....	European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party
EPP.....	European Popular Party
EU.....	European Union
FNOPC.....	Federation of Organizations Active in Child Protection
FOIA.....	Freedom of Information Act
GAD.....	Group for Analysis and Debate in Child Protection
GRAPS	Governance reform and sustainable partnerships
HRR.....	Human Rights Report
IDEA.....	Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance
IMAS.....	Institute of Marketing and Surveys in Romania
IPP.....	Institute of Public Policies
MMSSF.....	Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family
NAG.....	National Advisory Group
NCO.....	National Coordinating Organisation
NGO.....	Non-governmental organisation
PD.....	Democratic Party
PNL.....	National Liberal Party
POB.....	Public Opinion Barometer
PRM.....	Greater Romania Party
RSQ.....	Regional stakeholder questionnaires
SME.....	Small and Medium Enterprises
UDMR.....	Hungarian Democratic Union
UNOPA.....	National Union of People Affected by HIV/AIDS Organizations)
USAID.....	United State Agency for International Development
WVS.....	World Value Survey
VAT.....	Value Additional Tax

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During 2003 and 2005, the Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF), as the CIVICUS Civil Society Index's (CSI) implementing partner in Romania, collected information and input from a broad range of civil society representatives, citizens, experts and researchers on the state of civil society in Romania. Using a comprehensive framework of 74 indicators and drawing on extensive data collected by the project team, the project's National Advisory Group (NAG) assessed the overall state of civil society in the country, which can be summarized in a visual graph (see figure 1), the Civil Society Diamond.

The Civil Society Diamond for Romania is rather well-balanced among its four dimensions (structure, environment, values and impact) and is of moderate size. Whereas civil society's structure is considered slightly weak, the assessment for the other dimensions yielded somewhat more positive results. Civil society's values received the highest score (1.9) indicating that Romanian CSOs practice and promote positive values to a relatively significant extent.

FIGURE 1: Civil society diamond



The CSI project brought to light many new insights, some of which challenge existing wisdom on civil society in Romania. These highlights are briefly summarized below.

The examination of civil society's **structure** in Romania reveals that it remains the weakest of the four dimensions. Low citizen participation, together with a poor level of organization and limited inter-relations among civil society organizations (CSOs), represent obstacles for the development of a strong civil society sector. Although on the organisational level civil society is relatively diverse and thriving, it is affected by the lack of financial resources and qualified personnel. Since individual charitable giving, state funds and private companies' contributions remain limited, Romanian CSOs continue to rely heavily on foreign financial support. The CSI assessment revealed that CSO umbrella bodies are often seen as incapable of effectively voicing and addressing civil society's common interests and concerns. As a result, and due to reasons ranging from financial issues to personal mistrust, informal types of cooperation are preferred to formal coalitions.

Sixteen years after the fall of communism, Romanian civil society is still coping with the negative legacy of the totalitarian regime. However, civil society's **environment** in Romania has been improving over the last few years and can be regarded as relatively enabling to civil society operations and conducive to long-term sustainability. Among all political, legal, or socio-economic factors, corruption has the most negative influence on the development of civil society. The level of cooperation between civil society and the government, business sector and public at large remains low. The CSI assessment found that private companies are mostly seen as indifferent towards civil society. As for the general public, 90% of the Romania's population do not trust other citizens. This clearly inhibits the development of a mass-based civil society. Corruption is another serious issue affecting all levels of Romanian society.

Romanian civil society promotes and practices positive **values** to a relatively significant extent. The CSI assessed that although CSOs are active in promoting transparency in public affairs, the existence of genuine internal transparency and accountability within CSOs remains limited. This situation could possibly be related to the overall level of mistrust and corruption within Romanian society, as well as the dependence of CSOs on foreign donors, rather than on local constituencies. While CSOs generally comply with all transparency requirements towards international donors, they are less interested in opening themselves to public scrutiny domestically.

Democracy and tolerance are values that Romanian CSOs have traditionally promoted, as made apparent by the fact that since the fall of the totalitarian regime in 1989 civil society actors have been actively involved in rebuilding the Romanian society on the basis of democratic institutions and inter-ethnic tolerance. Environmental sustainability and, particularly, gender equity are not regarded as "traditional" or indigenous values by most of Romanian society, and are embraced by only a limited number of social actors. However, the CSI revealed that CSOs active in promoting these values have become essential partners (if not indispensable, as in the case of environmental NGOs) for the Government and foreign donors, and that they are catalysts for social change. A large number of Romanian CSOs are engaged in projects aimed at eradicating poverty, either by directly supporting the poor or by creating opportunities for disadvantaged or marginalized categories of people.

Donors and CSO representatives alike consider the **impact** of civil society initiatives on Romanian society to be crucial. The CSI assessed the overall impact of civil society in Romania to be moderate. There are some areas where the impact is more visible and others where it remains rather limited. More specifically, CSO representatives identified a particularly strong role played by civil society in meeting societal needs directly. However, on the whole, civil society has a rather negative public image. This is reflected in the fact that CSOs' activities continue to remain invisible to the majority of the population, and CSOs are more oriented to the donors' priorities and unable to build local constituencies. CSOs have been more successful informing and educating citizens and empowering marginalized people, than in building capacity for collective action, resolving common problems or empowering women.

Finding instruments to influence public policy has been an area of focus for Romanian civil society. Over the last few years important steps have been taken, particularly through the adoption of legislation on the freedom of access to public information and on public participation in the process of decision-making. As a result, CSOs have become more involved in influencing public policy. Due to the specific structure of the Romanian economy, with a very large public sector and state owned companies, CSOs' efforts have focused more on holding the state accountable and less on holding private companies accountable. After the communist experience, the state management of the economy was discredited and was perceived as very inefficient, while new models of private ownership and management were generally seen as a positive alternative.

Since 1989, Romanian civil society has developed a series of positive features. During the CSI consultation process, several strengths were identified and are considered significant achievements

worthy of building on further. First, the majority of stakeholders believe that civil society in Romania has reached a visible level of maturity. It is diverse and in many fields there is a good level of CSO specialization and professionalism. Where genuine partnerships and cooperation among CSOs are developed they have proved to be efficient and successful. Romanian civil society managed to become a credible partner for foreign donors and therefore has benefited from their support. This support has been vital for the existence and development of Romanian civil society.

At the same time, many enduring structural weaknesses remain. There is limited involvement of citizens in associational life. This not only endangers CSOs' financial sustainability, but also raises questions about the broader legitimacy of civil society advocacy activities. Because many CSOs lack real constituencies, they have become oriented towards foreign and institutional donors. In general, Romanian civil society still suffers from a lack of sufficient financial resources. Poor relations between civil society and the business sector exist, and the state offers only limited support. Dependence on foreign donors, which are gradually pulling out of the region, complicates the situation even further. A sense of competition for scarce resources, and mutual mistrust, results in cooperation among CSOs remaining weak. Moreover, Romanian civil society has not managed to develop a common identity. Its role in society is, for the most part, ignored by the public and its public image remains marked by negative stereotypes.

At the end of the CSI consultation process, and based on the overall results of the CSI, a series of general recommendations were formulated. These recommendations suggest finding ways to and putting more effort into improving citizen participation, building bridges between civil society and the business sector and strengthening cooperation among CSOs. In terms of future priorities for civil society actions, the strengthening of civil society's "watchdog" role, improving the advocacy capacity of CSOs and building capacity for influencing the national budgeting process were identified. A final recommendation concerned the need to improve the public image of the sector.

The overall CSI process is regarded as a positive and is seen as an important contribution by participating stakeholders. They acknowledge the effort made to map and create an image of civil society in Romania, which attempts to include not only NGOs, as it had been previously done, but also other important civil society actors, such as trade unions. However, knowledge is still limited about other types of actors, such as informal civil society actors.

The CSI project tried to assess the overall state of Romanian civil society over the past four years. Its findings seek to contribute to charting the way forward for civil society's development. As the CSI study found, further development of Romanian civil society will require a focus on finding ways to involve more citizens in civil society initiatives, empowering people for collective action, resolving joint problems of the local communities and building local constituencies for civil society's advocacy work. Regarding the structural features of civil society, particular attention needs to be paid to the strengthening of networks, cooperation, communication and self-regulation within civil society, but also increasing the impact of civil society actions on government and society at large.

Thus, this project provides Romanian civil society with a collectively owned and generated roadmap for the future. It is hoped that the participatory and knowledge-based nature of the CSI project has laid the groundwork for civil society and other stakeholders to act upon the goals set forth in this report, to strengthen Romanian civil society and make it more sustainable.

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of the Civil Society Index (CSI) in Romania, carried out from September 2003 to November 2005, as part of the international CSI project coordinated by CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation. The CSI is a participatory action-research project assessing the state of civil society in countries around the world. The aim of the project is to strengthen the role of civil society in the elaboration of public policies and to identify civil society's weaknesses or challenges through a participatory process, involving civil society actors and other stakeholders.

The CSI is implemented in each participating country by a National Coordinating Organisation (NCO), the Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF) for Romania, guided by a NAG and the CSI project team at CIVICUS. CSDF's team was responsible for collecting the information on the state of civil society from a variety of primary and secondary sources and coordinated the activities of the national advisory group (NAG). The members of NAG provided expertise to the CSDF team and were responsible for adapting the methodology for the Romanian context, conducting a social forces analysis and scoring the 74 indicators which correspond to the four dimensions of civil society. Together these provide a comprehensive assessment of the state of civil society. The CIVICUS CSI team provided training and technical assistance to the CSDF team involved in the project.

The CSI is an international comparative project currently involving more than 50 countries from around the world. The aim of the CSI is to provide useful knowledge on civil society and to strengthen civil society. In order to make the cross-national analysis possible, CIVICUS developed a specific research instrument that allowed adapting the methodology to country specific factors. Even though during the implementation the project team faced several constraints, as various civil society representatives consulted during the implementation of the project in Romania questioned the methodological approach, CSDF's team managed to address these methodological aspects and provide a comprehensive and realistic picture of the state of Romanian civil society.

Structure of the Publication

Section I of the report, "Civil Society Index Project and Approach", provides a detailed history of the CSI, its conceptual framework and research methodology.¹

Section II, "Civil Society in Romania", provides a background on civil society in Romania and highlights some specific features of Romanian civil society. It also describes the use of the civil society concept in Romania as well as the definition of civil society employed by the CSI project. Last, it describes the exercise of developing a map of civil society by the members of the National Advisory Group (NAG).

Section III, entitled "Analysis of Civil Society", is divided into four parts – Structure, Environment, Values and Impact – which correspond to the four main dimensions of the CSI. The presentation of the results according to individual dimensions and subdimensions is intended to be a resource repository, and readers looking for an overall interpretation of the report should refer to the conclusion. This section also makes reference to a range of case and overview studies, which are described in greater detail in Appendices 3 to 5.

Section IV, "Strengths and Weaknesses of Romanian Civil Society" summarises the ideas, arguments and opinions raised at the National CSI Seminar, which was held on 17 July 2005 in Bucharest. More than 100 participants from CSOs, academic institutions, business and the media had the opportunity to comment on, criticise and supplement the findings through their participation in plenary sessions and small group discussions.

¹ See also Appendix 1: The Scoring Matrix and Appendix 2: A Survey of Methods.

Section V, “Recommendations” provides the many recommendations raised by participants at the National CSI Seminar and other project events. These recommendations focus on concrete actions on how to strengthen civil society and its role in Romania.

Section VI of the report presents the key conclusions of the project’s findings and offers an interpretation on the report’s implications for the overall state of Romanian civil society.

I CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX PROJECT AND APPROACH

1. PROJECT BACKGROUND

The idea of a CSI originated in 1997, when the international non-governmental organisation (NGO) CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation published the *New Civic Atlas* containing profiles of civil society in 60 countries around the world (CIVICUS 1997). To improve the comparability and quality of the information contained in the *New Civic Atlas*, CIVICUS decided to embark on the development of a comprehensive assessment tool for civil society, the Civil Society Index (Heinrich/Naidoo 2001; Holloway 2001). In 1999, Helmut Anheier, the director of the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics, played a significant role in the creation of the CSI concept (Anheier 2004). The concept was tested in fourteen countries, including Romania, during a pilot phase lasting from 2000 to 2002. Upon completion of the pilot phase, the project approach was thoroughly evaluated and refined. In its current implementation phase (2003-2005), CIVICUS and its country partners are implementing the project in more than fifty countries (see table I.1.1).

TABLE I.1.1: Countries participating in the CSI implementation phase 2003-2005²

1. Argentina	19. Germany	37. Palestine
2. Armenia	20. Ghana	38. Poland
3. Azerbaijan	21. Greece	39. Romania
4. Bolivia	22. Guatemala	40. Russia
5. Bulgaria	23. Honduras	41. Scotland
6. Burkina Faso	24. Hong Kong (VR China)	42. Serbia
7. Chile	25. Indonesia	43. Sierra Leone
8. China	26. Italy	44. Slovenia
9. Costa Rica	27. Jamaica	45. South Korea
10. Croatia	28. Lebanon	46. Taiwan
11. Cyprus ³	29. Macedonia	47. Togo
12. Czech Republic	30. Mauritius	48. Turkey
13. East Timor	31. Mongolia	49. Uganda
14. Ecuador	32. Montenegro	50. Ukraine
15. Egypt	33. Nepal	51. Uruguay
16. Fiji	34. Nigeria	52. Vietnam
17. Gambia	35. Northern Ireland	53. Wales
18. Georgia	36. Orissa (India)	

In Romania, the project was implemented by CSDF from September 2003 to November 2005. CSDF applied to conduct the project, due to the CSI's aim to combine a comprehensive assessment on the state of civil society with the identification of concrete recommendations and actions on part of civil society stakeholders.

² This list encompasses independent countries as well as other territories in which the CSI has been conducted. This is the complete list of countries participating in the CSI as of March 2006.

³ The CSI assessment was carried out in parallel in the northern and southern parts of Cyprus due to the de facto division of the island. However, the CSI findings were published in a single report as a symbolic gesture for a unified Cyprus.

2 PROJECT APPROACH

The CSI uses a comprehensive project implementation approach and broad range of research methods. At the core of the CSI lies a broad and encompassing definition of civil society, which informs the overall project implementation process. To assess the state of civil society in a given country, the CSI examines four key dimensions of civil society, namely its structure, external environment, values and impact on society at large. Each of these four dimensions is composed of a set of subdimensions, which again are made up of a set of individual indicators. These indicators form the basis for the CSI data collection, which includes secondary sources, a population survey, regional stakeholder consultations, a media review and a series of case studies. The indicators also inform the assessment exercise undertaken by a NAG. The research and assessment findings are discussed at a gathering of key stakeholders, whose task is to identify specific strengths and weaknesses and make recommendations on key priority actions to strengthen civil society. The CSI project approach, conceptual framework, and research and assessment methodology are described in detail in the remainder of this section.⁴

2.1 Conceptual Framework

How to define civil society?

At the heart of the CSI's conceptual framework is obviously the concept of civil society. CIVICUS defines civil society as the space between the family, state and market, where people come together to pursue their interests (CIVICUS 2003). In this respect and different from most other civil society concepts, the CSI has two interesting features. First, it aims to go beyond the usual focus on formal and institutionalised CSOs, and to take account of informal coalitions and groups. Second, while civil society is sometimes perceived as a sphere in which positive activities and values reign, CIVICUS seeks to also include negative manifestations of civil society in the assessment. The concept therefore covers not only charitable associations or environmental organisations, but also groups such as skinheads and aggressive sports fans. The CSI assesses not only the extent to which CSOs support democracy and tolerance, but also the extent to which they themselves are intolerant or even violent.

How to conceptualise the state of civil society?

To assess the state of civil society, the CSI examines civil society along four main dimensions:

- The **structure** of civil society (e.g. number of members, extent of giving and volunteering, number and features of umbrella organisations and civil society infrastructure, human and financial resources);
- The external **environment** in which civil society exists and functions (e.g. legislative, political, cultural and economic context, relationship between civil society and the state as well as the private sector);
- The **values** practiced and promoted within the civil society arena (e.g. democracy, tolerance or protection of the environment) and
- The **impact** of activities pursued by civil society actors (e.g. public policy impact, empowerment of people, meeting societal needs).

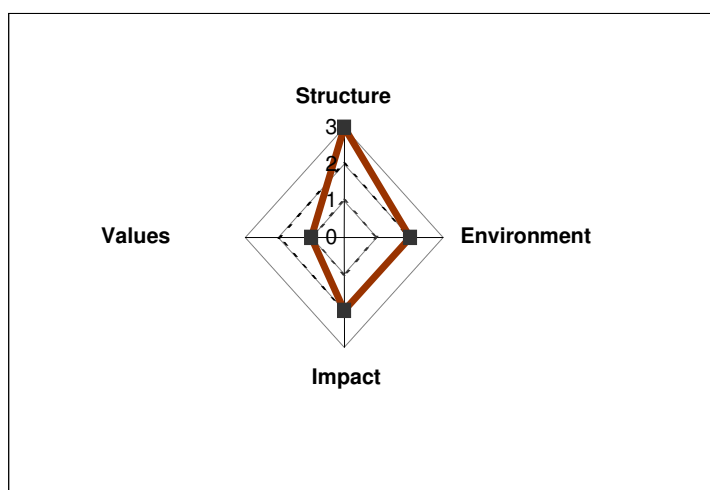
Each of these main dimensions is divided into a set of subdimensions which contain a total of 74 indicators.⁵ These indicators are at the heart of the CSI and form the basis of the data presented in this report. The indicator – subdimension - dimension framework underpinned the entire process of data collection, the writing of the research report, the NAG's assessment of Romanian civil society and the presentations at the National Seminar. It is also used to structure the main part of this publication.

⁴ For a detailed description of the CSI approach, see Heinrich (2004).

⁵ See Appendix 1.

FIGURE I.2.1: Civil society diamond tool

To visually present the scores of the four main dimensions, the CSI makes use of the Civil Society Diamond tool (see figure I.2.1 for an example).⁶ The Civil Society Diamond graph, with its four extremities, visually summarises the strengths and weaknesses of civil society. The diagram is the result of the individual indicator scores aggregated into subdimension and then dimension scores. As it captures the essence of the state of civil society across its key dimensions, the Civil Society Diamond can provide a useful starting point for



interpretations and discussions about how civil society looks like in a given country. As the Diamond does not aggregate the dimension scores into a single score, it cannot and should not be used to rank countries according to their scores on the four dimensions. Such an approach was deemed inappropriate for a civil society assessment, with so many multi-faceted dimensions, contributing factors and actors. The Diamond also depicts civil society at a certain point in time and therefore lacks a dynamic perspective. However, if applied over time, it can be used to chart the development of civil society over time as well as compare the state of civil societies across countries (Anheier 2004).

2.2 Project Methodology

This section describes the methods used to collect and aggregate the various data used by the CSI project.

2.2.1 Data Collection

The CSI recognized that, in order to generate a valid and comprehensive assessment of civil society, a variety of perspectives need to be included – insider, external stakeholder and outsider views, ranging from the local, regional to the national level. The CSI therefore includes the following set of research methods: (1) Review of existing information, (2) Regional stakeholder consultations, (3) Population survey, (4) Media review and (5) Fact-finding studies.

It is believed that this mix of different methods is essential to generate accurate and useful data and information, but also to accommodate the variations of civil society, for example in rural vs. urban areas. Also, the CSI seeks to utilize all available sources of information to avoid ‘re-inventing research wheels’ and wasting scarce resources. Lastly, the research methodology is explicitly designed to promote learning and, ultimately, action on the part of participants. Besides feeding into the final national-level seminar, data collection processes also aim to contribute to participant learning. This is done, for example, through group-based approaches that challenge participants to see them as part of a “bigger picture”, think beyond their own organisational or sectoral context, reflect strategically about relations within and between civil society and other parts of society, identify key strengths and weaknesses of their civil society and assess collective needs. It is important to note that the CSI provides an aggregate need assessment on civil society as a whole and is not designed to exhaustively map the various actors active within civil society. Yet, it does examine power relations within civil society and between civil society and other sectors and also identifies key civil society actors when looking at specific indicators under the structure, values and impact dimensions.

⁶ The Civil Society Diamond was developed for CIVICUS by Helmut Anheier (see Anheier 2004).

For the CSI study in Romania, it was possible to implement the entire list of proposed data collection methods, yielding an extremely rich information base on civil society. The specific methods are listed below in the sequence of their implementation:⁷

Secondary sources: The project team began with a review of information from the many existing studies and research projects on civil society and various related subjects. This information was synthesised in an overview report on the state of civil society in Romania.

Regional stakeholder survey: A total of 57 representatives of CSOs, public, local and central administrations, businesses and other areas of civil society from five different towns (Bucharest, Tirgu Secuiesc, Iasi, Constanta and Sinaia) answered a questionnaire regarding the state of civil society in Romania. The selection of the towns took into account the characteristics of the regions where the towns are located.

Regional stakeholder consultations: In the five locations mentioned above, survey respondents were invited to take part in a consultation meeting where they were asked to identify civil society's strengths and weaknesses, as well as opportunities and threats for each of the four dimensions of civil society.

Mapping Civil Society: Members of the NAG drew a map of civil society's key components, based on influence, by arranging them in a two dimensional space. The distance of organisations from the centre represents their position within civil society and indicates how strongly they belong to civil society.

Representative national survey: A survey of a representative sample of 1,067 adults from urban areas was conducted. Survey questions referred to the level of involvement of citizens in humanitarian actions within communities, level of CSOs involvement within communities and the extent of CSOs' response to people in need.

Media monitoring: Four major media newspapers were monitored over a period of seven months (February 2004 through August 2004) regarding their coverage of civil society actors, related topics and values. The newspapers monitored in Romania were *Romania Libera*, *Libertatea*, *Adevarul* and *Evenimentul Zilei*.

Regional electronic survey: A total of 144 CSO actors responded to an electronic questionnaire sent by email together with the CSDF electronic newsletter *Voluntar*.

2.2.2 Data Aggregation

The various data sources were collated and synthesized by the CSI project team in a draft country report, which was structured along the CSI indicators, subdimension and dimensions. This report presented the basis for the indicator scoring exercise carried out by the NAG. In this exercise, each indicator was rated on a scale of 0 to 3, with 0 being the lowest assessment possible and 3 the most positive. The scoring of each indicator was based on a short description of the indicator and a mostly qualitatively defined scale of scores from 0 to 3.⁸ This NAG scoring exercise was modelled along a "citizen jury" approach (Jefferson Centre 2002), in which citizens come together to deliberate, and make a decision on a public issue, based on presented facts. The NAG's role was to give a score (similar to passing a judgement) on each indicator based on the evidence (or data) presented by the National Index Team (NIT) in form of the draft country report.

In Romania, the scoring process was conducted as follows: First, the members of the NAG scored each indicator individually. Then, an average of the scores was calculated for each indicator, from which the scores for the subdimensions and dimensions were calculated through averaging. For approximately a quarter of the 74 indicators, determining the final score was straightforward and it did not require a judgment by the NAG, as these indicators were quantitatively defined and therefore did not leave any room for interpretation (e.g. indicators 1.1.1.; 2.4.1). The scores for the remaining indicators were discussed thoroughly and eventually agreed on by the NAG. The final scores of the four dimensions (structure, environment, values and impact) were plotted to generate the Civil Society Diamond for Romania. The

⁷ See Appendix 2 for more detailed information on each of the methods.

⁸ See Appendix 1.

NAG meeting was held at the CSDF office on 28 June 2005. As mentioned above, national seminar participants were asked to validate and change the indicators, if necessary.

2.3 Linking Research with Action

The CSI is not a strictly academic research project. As its declared objective is to involve the actors of civil society in the research process, to contribute to discussions about civil society and to eventually assist in strengthening civil society, it falls into the category of action-research initiatives.

In the case of Romania, the extent of widespread stakeholder participation in the CSI took place on several levels. First, from the very start, the NAG, made up of a diverse group of consultants and advisors, guided the project implementation. The group comprised representatives of CSOs, regional authorities, politicians and specialists in civil society research. At the beginning of the project, the NAG had the opportunity to amend the definition of civil society used for the purpose of the project and to provide input on the planned methodology. The NAG discussed the interim findings from the project and in the end developed an assessment of the state of civil society in Romania.

Another interactive element of the project was the use of stakeholder consultations, which were organised in five locations around Romania. The aim of the consultations was to bring together a wide range of CSO representatives from various areas, such as child protection, human rights, environment, trade unions and social providers, as well as stakeholders from local and central public administrations, business, academics, media and donors. The participants were encouraged to express their opinion on Romanian civil society from the perspective of the four dimensions presented in the project.

The National Workshop, held at the end of the project, aimed to engage stakeholders in a critical discussion of, and reflection on, the results of the CSI initiative, in order to arrive at a common understanding of its current state and the major challenges identified within Romanian civil society. This was a prerequisite for the second goal, namely for participants to use the findings as a basis for the identification of specific strengths and weaknesses, as well as potential areas of improvement for civil society in Romania. Participants had the opportunity to discuss these in four workshops corresponding to the dimensions of civil society, to offer their comments and even to change the scores given by the NAG. The discussions were recorded and formed an important input in this report.

Overall, every attempt was made to be as participatory and consultative as possible during the entire course of the project implementation.

2.4 Project Outputs

The CSI implementation in Romania yielded a range of products and outputs, such as:

- A comprehensive country report on the state of civil society in Romania;
- A list of key recommendations, strategies and priority actions for strengthening civil society in Romania, developed by a broad range of stakeholders;
- Several in-depth reports on the research and consultations conducted as part of the CSI project and
- Consultative meetings with civil society stakeholders, discussing the state of civil society in Romania.

II CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The emergence of civil society in Romania, as in other post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, is the result of a relatively recent social process. The space, created by the post communist institutional upheaval since 1989, between the market and the state is being filled by this emerging civil society (Epure et al. 1998).

Until the mid-nineteenth century, there were no significant civil society activities in Romania. Civil society traditions developed at a relatively late stage in the history of the country (Epure et al. 1998). Historically, compared to Central and Western Europe, philanthropy and non-profit activities were not as deeply rooted in regions with ethnic Romanian populations (Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania), which form the modern state of Romania. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, there were several important barriers to modernization that prevented the emergence of a genuine civil society in the Romanian provinces. Such barriers included geo-political instability, caused by the fact that the emerging Romanian state stood at the borders of three competing empires (Austro-Hungarian, Tsarist and Ottoman), prolonged foreign rule, which inhibited the development of strong political and societal institutions, the rural nature of the provinces, the general agrarian nature of Romanian society and the failure of the dominant Orthodox Church to stress the value of charity in its theology (Epure et al. 1998).

The situation in Romania, during the second half of the nineteenth century, underwent important changes during the period of systematic modernization, which can be described as a deliberate political, cultural and economic “synchronization” of Romania with Western countries. The institutional basis for the development of civil society and the non-profit sector were established in the period between the two World Wars. The Constitution of 1923 provided the first full recognition of citizens’ freedom of association, and the brief democratic interlude of the interwar period led to the emergence of a new, albeit fragile, civil society, as cultural and sport association began to flourish and the Romanian Red Cross began to emerge, together with many other organizations targeting disadvantaged groups (ARC 2003:11). However, the development of this expanding new civil society was brought to a halt by authoritarian regimes during the Second World War, and was further suppressed during the subsequent communist period.

After the Second World War, during communist rule, the totalitarian regime eliminated all possible competitors to its power, ranging from businesses and trade unions, to churches, newspapers and voluntary associations. By the 1950s and 1960s most of the remaining civil society structures were either already destroyed or subordinated under the ruling party (ARC 2003:11). The atomizing effect that these policies had on society led to a very powerful state and the isolation of individuals and families. It also prevented the development of larger, alternative social relationships. Although the goal of the state was the total destruction of civil society, some moderate forms of a civil society or, perhaps more accurately, a zone of resistance and civic initiatives remained alive, and gained force in the final stages of the authoritarian state.

A ‘benign’ civil society began to develop in the 1970s and 1980s. In this period, civil society did not have the militant character that was beginning to develop in other Eastern European countries and mainly consisted of outdoors clubs-(for-hiking and caving), and environmental protection and cultural associations. In some cases, these CSOs had a significant number of voluntary members and were mainly funded by the state or through communist organizations (ARC 2003:12). However, during communism there was no such thing as an independent civic movement. In Romania, there was no organized movement of dissidence led by intellectuals with deep social roots, which would be

comparable with the Charta 77 movement in Czechoslovakia or Solidarnosc in Poland. The rare dissidents were either isolated individuals or mass labour movements with clear social agendas, such as the miners' strike in 1977.⁹ The regime tried to enhance its legitimacy by mobilizing ordinary citizens in staged mass events, under the banner of regional organizations, such as youth movements, ethnic minorities associations, craftsmen or professional associations or cultural groups. Most of these events and organizations were strongly ideological, as carriers of the official Communist doctrine, and subject to the interests of the totalitarian regime. (Stoiciu 2001:14).

Due to the unfavourable communist legacy, the re-emergence of a non-profit sector after 1989 proved to be a lengthy and difficult process. In the absence of a genuine associative culture, the emergence of a new civil society needed to be built on a different bedrock, placing greater value on elements related to the non-governmental status and social mission of the associations (Epure et al. 1998). In order to master the painful dynamics of the complex transition processes, the development of a strong civil society and the sustainability of a non-governmental sector were considered essential for the positive post-communist evolution of Romanian society. Therefore, international institutions, Western governments and various foreign donors developed programmes to support the emerging Romanian civil society.

In its recent history, since 1989, two different stages of development of Romanian civil society can be identified. At the beginning, in the early 1990s, civil society had to liberate itself from the legacy of the totalitarian regime and fight to create an autonomous space, outside the state. In the second half of the 1990s the political environment improved and civil society began to have a better profile and play more diverse roles in Romanian society.

From 1990 to 1993, civil society was typically perceived as the “public enemy” of Romania’s new power structures. Then President of Romania, Ion Iliescu, a former member of the communist regime, clearly expressed the general perception of the ruling parties at that time by labelling the participants of the 1990 University Square protest movement “a bunch of hooligans and junkies” (ARC 2003:12). Since then, a portion of Romania’s civil society (mostly civic organizations) have found their legitimacy in opposition to what it perceived as the direct heirs of the former communist party.

Over the following years, the relations between NGOs and political decision makers slowly improved. In 1996, a Christian Democratic coalition won the national elections (the Democratic Convention) and a “democratic” president was elected. The new governmental coalition was supported by civil society, particularly by Civic Alliance, which was very influential at the time. Many prominent NGO leaders joined the new administration as presidential advisors, ambassadors and government officials. Nevertheless, the initial great expectations by civil society representatives were not met. In fact, the shift in government had some unpredicted negative effects. The democratic political change was regarded by international donors as a sign that democracy was consolidating, and, as a consequence, aid to civic organizations dropped dramatically (Stoiciu 2001:14). Thus, for the first time, CSOs started to consider the new challenge of ensuring the sustainability of Romanian civil society. However, while they limited their support for civic organizations, foreign donors continued to contribute to the development of the NGO sector, focusing especially on the development of the field of social services. A rapid increase in the number of NGOs was registered in this period. On the other hand, this phenomenon was also accompanied by numerous scandals relating to corruption and abuses, such as fraud or tax evasion. To many, the victory of the Democratic Convention in the elections of 1996 was mainly due to the support provided by civil society. Therefore, in the context of the difficult economic conditions after 1996, the

⁹ The miners' strike in 1977 took place in Jiu Valley, an area with large scale coal exploitations. In the strike were involved 35,000 miners who had social and economic demands. The miners also attempted to set up a free trade union. Their actions were perceived as attempts to undermine the system and provoked immediate repressive responses. Many of the leaders of the miners' strike were imprisoned or disappeared. The miners' strike from 1977 was considered one of the first major blows to the legitimacy of the communist regime in Romania.

disaffection with the “democratic” government spilled over to the image of NGOs, since the disappointed electorate linked these organisations with the discredited government (ARC 2003: 12-13).

Relations between civil society and the new social democratic government of 2000 were difficult, and the Government was accused of attempting to control the mass media and civil society. However, the formal institutional dialogue between government and civil society organizations (CSOs) improved, and CSOs used the European Union (EU) conditionality requirements to advance their agenda. The recent change in power, in 2004, has been perceived very optimistically by CSOs, as the new government is considered to be more open to supporting and cooperating with civil society. However, while much of the tension in the relations between civil society and government has been eased, genuine cooperation remains limited.

2 CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA

The Concept of Civil Society Used in this Study

“When people refer to civil society in Romania they mean different things. For some, civil society is thriving and it is a force that must be reckoned with. For others, it is continuously under the threat of apathy, lack of resources, state interventionism or indifference, media bashing or media hype” (Stoiciu 2001:16).

According to Andrei Stoiciu, there are currently two opposing views on civil society in Romania. On the one hand, there are analysts who believe that the emergence of a non-profit sector in Romania is a result of relatively recent social processes. According to this approach, the traditional rural or parochial values did not provide sufficient incentives for the development of a true civil society. Moreover, the role of the church and communist era associations are considered factors slowing down the development of modern civil society. On the other hand, there are those who believe that the actual model of civil society, inspired by Western values, is promoted by a group of gatekeepers, a clique of notorious public opinion leaders who refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the genuine local community-based associations (Stoiciu 2001:17-18). These two views are in a sense related to the tension between modernizers, who believe the Western model of civil society is the only viable way for societal development, and traditionalists, who consider civil society to be yet another imported construct that does not necessarily reflect the domestic needs and context.

Another phenomenon, which has much to do with the events of the early 1990s in Romania and the birth of modern civil society in the country, refers to the fact that typically when people in Romania speak of “civil society”, they actually only mean NGOs, and do not take into account the diversity of existing CSOs, such as trade unions, employers associations and professional associations. A reason for this is that civic and social service NGOs are organizations that never really existed under communism and their creation has been strongly encouraged and supported by foreign donors. Trade unions, and some cultural and sports associations, are less often included under the label of “civil society”, since they tend to be generally associated with the former communist regime.

The concept of civil society used in this study refers to all types of CSOs, including “positive” and “negative” organisations, as well as formal and informal forms of association. Even though the project generally refers to positive actions undertaken by CSOs, negative aspects were also covered by the study.

Based on the list provided by CIVICUS, NAG members operationalised the concept of civil society (see table II.2.1). From the onset, the NAG agreed that political parties should not be included among the structures included in the research definition of civil society. Even though, as a structure, political parties are CSOs, they act more like interest groups of influential people, providing a selection pool for the individuals who participate in public decision making and in exercising political power. Another factor that the NAG took into consideration, in deciding to exclude political parties from the analysis, was the procedural differences between political parties and other organisations of civil society, such as the minimum number of members, which is much higher for political parties.

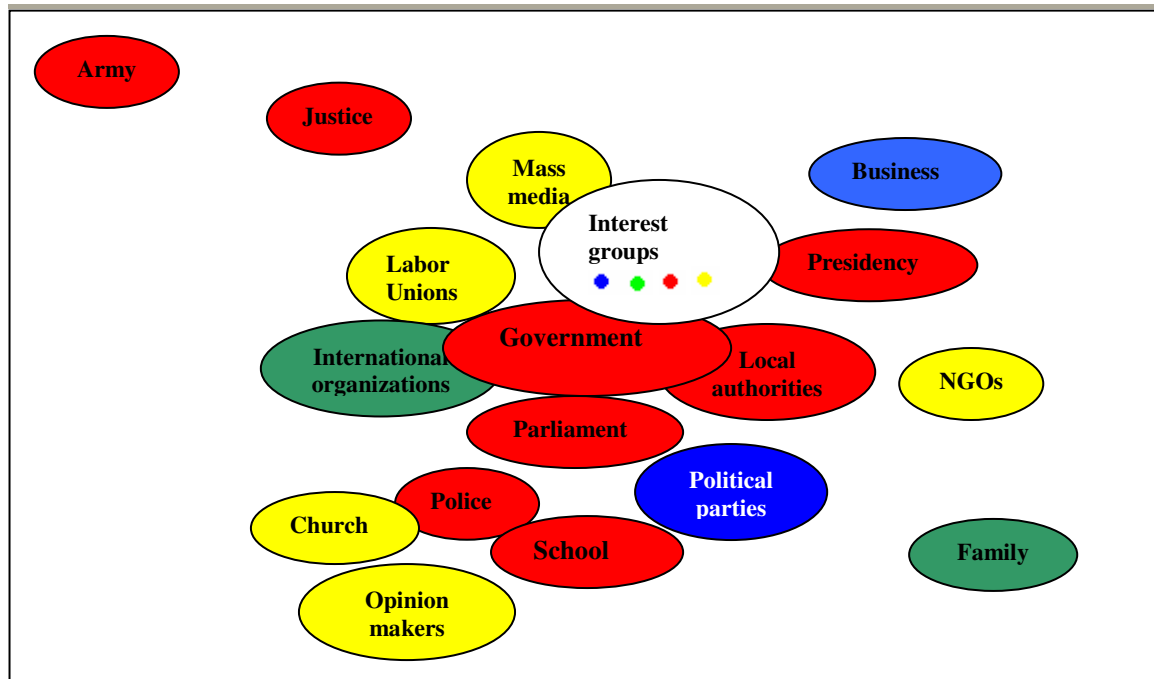
TABLE II.2.1: Types of CSOs included in the study

1. Religious organisations	11. Local organisations (villages associations, local development organisations)
2. Trade unions	12. Associations/local groups (associations of parents)
3. Advocacy organisations (e.g. civic actions, social justice, peace, human rights, consumers group)	13. Economic organisations (cooperatives, mutual savings organisations)
4. Service Providers (education, health, social services)	14. Ethnical/traditional/indigenous associations/ organisations
5. Training and research organizations (think tanks, resource centres, non-profit schools, public education organizations)	15. Environmental organisations
6. Non-profit mass media	16. Cultural organisations
7. Women’s associations	17. Sport clubs and recreational organisations
8. Youth and students’ associations	18. Donors and fundraising institutions
9. Socio-economic marginalized groups’ organizations	19. Networks, federations and support organisations
10. Business and professional organisations (chambers of commerce, professional organisations)	20. Social movements (peace rallies)

3 MAPPING OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA

In order to establish an overall picture of the forces active within civil society, the NAG conducted a social forces mapping exercise. The aim of this participatory exercise was to identify the major forces impacting civil society and to explore the relations between them.

Figure II.3.1 presents the results of the exercise. The larger the circle, the more power this actor is believed to wield. The different colours denote the societal sectors to which the respective actor belongs: red = state, blue = business, yellow = civil society and green = other actors. The map showed that Romanian society is dominated by state institutions, namely government, local authorities and Parliament. Another important actor on the scene is business interest groups. The other significant forces impacting Romanian society are interest groups (generically known at the local level as “local barons”), political parties and the mass media.

FIGURE II.3.1 Social forces map

To explore the main actors in the civil society sector and their relations more deeply, a civil society map was produced by the NAG, employing the same approach as the social forces map. The NAG identified a total of 21 various forces and categorized them in four categories, according to their level of influence. This exercise showed that CSOs, mainly NGOs have a medium level of influence on Romanian civil society. The most powerful NGOs are the professional, business related and advocacy ones.

According to their level of influence the social forces were included in four categories as seen in the table below:

TABLE II.3.1: Social forces categories

	Very High	High	Medium	Low
1	Government	Political parties	Church	Army
2	Local authorities	President	Public opinion makers	Family
3	Interest groups	Mass media	School	
4		Parliament	Police	
5		International organizations	Business	
6		Labour unions	NGOs	
7		Justice		

The exercise also allowed the NAG to develop a comprehensive view of the state of civil society in Romania and was the starting point for the implementation of the CSI project.

III ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

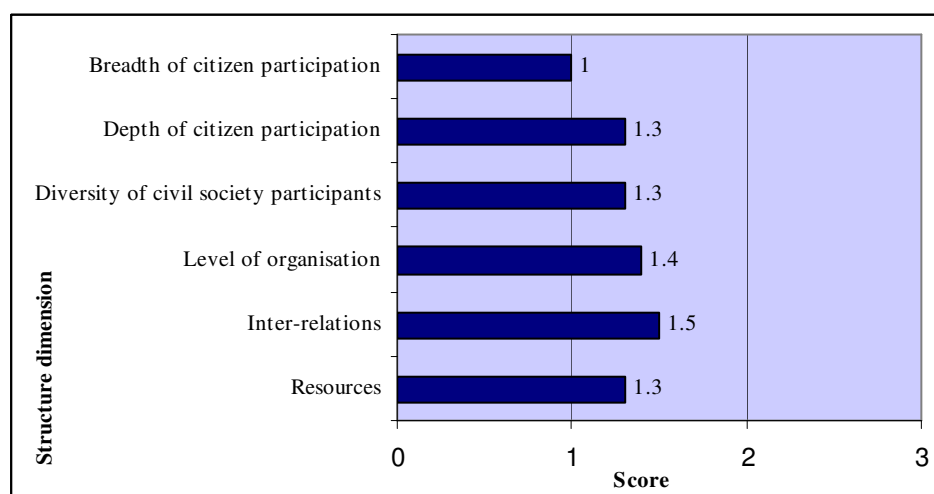
In this section the main information and data collected during the course of the project implementation is presented. The analysis is structured along the individual indicators, subdimensions and dimensions.

The section is divided along the four dimensions: *Structure, Environment, Values and Impact*, which make up the CSI Diamond. Findings for each subdimension are examined in detail.

1. STRUCTURE

This section describes and analyses the overall size, strength and vibrancy of civil society in human, organizational and economic terms.

FIGURE III.1.1: Subdimension scores in structure dimension



1.1 Breadth of Citizen Participation in Civil Society

This subdimension looks at the extent of various forms of citizen participation in Romanian civil society.

TABLE III.1.1: Indicators assessing the extent of citizen participation

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.1.1	Non-partisan political action	1
1.1.2	Charitable giving	1
1.1.3	CSO membership	1
1.1.4	Volunteer work	1
1.1.5	Community action	1

1.1.1 Non-partisan political action. Several surveys and studies show that a minority of Romanian citizens have ever undertaken any form of non-partisan political action (e.g. written a letter to a newspaper, signed a petition; attended a demonstration).

In the CSDF/ISRA survey, carried out as part of the CSI (CSDF/ISRA Center Marketing Research, 2005), almost 60% of those interviewed declared that during 2004, they never attended a demonstration, march, strike or signed a petition. The rest of the respondents (around 40%) declared that they participated to such actions (around 30% rarely or very rarely, 7% sometimes and about 4% declared they take part to this kind of activities often or very often).

1.1.2 Charitable giving. In Romania a minority of people donate to charity on a regular basis. The CSDF/ISRA survey revealed that 39% of Romanian citizens made donations in 2004 (9% of them often or very often and 30% sometimes), while 44% never made donations during the year. Another survey shows that 38% of Romanian citizens made a donation in the last 12 months (2002), while 55% have donated in an organized manner, since 1990 (Association for Community Relations 2003: 23).

1.1.3 CSO membership. A minority of Romanian citizens belong to at least one CSO. According to the Public Opinion Barometer from October 2003 an estimated 9% of the Romanian citizens are members of at least one CSO, defined as professional association, political party, trade union, religious group, environmental group, sports association or any other organization and association which does not generate any income. The 2003 USAID NGO Sustainability Index also estimated that only 7% of Romanians were members of an NGO, compared to 41% who belonged to condominium associations or 36% to labour unions.

The membership of trade unions is officially estimated at around two million members (*Starea sindicatelor in Romania* 2000). Half of the Romanian working population belongs to a trade union. Romania is considered to have the highest percentage of trade union members of all the EU accession countries (Freedom House, *Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*). However, mass media have shown that these data are exaggerated. Some analysts also question the reliability of this information (Aurora Trif 2004: 54). Trade unions have suffered substantial decreases in membership, as they have been heavily affected by the process of economic transition. The privatization of public assets has eroded their recruitment base, which relied heavily on the workers in the state-owned companies

Opinions expressed during the NAG meetings indicated, however, that formal membership does not reflect the genuine participation in civil society actions. The Public Opinion Barometer from October 2003 seems to provide data consistent with this observation. According to this survey, only 6% of Romanian citizens take part in non-profit civic activities (such as church choir, artistic group, football teams or charitable actions). A study from 2003 also suggests that formal membership represents an invalid measure of the actual involvement of citizens in civil society activities (Niculescu 2003: 151).

1.1.4 Volunteer work. In Romania a very small minority of people undertake volunteer work on a regular basis (at least once a year). In a study conducted by ARC, only 8% of those interviewed declared they had ever volunteered in an organized manner (ARC 2003: 38). The CSDF/ISRA survey also showed that around 7% of citizens did voluntary work regularly. An additional 25% indicated that they did voluntary work sometimes or rarely.

The public attitude towards volunteering is consistent with these data. In November 2000, the Institute of Marketing and Surveys in Romania (IMAS) conducted a study "*Opinions and Perceptions about NGOs in Romania*", IMAS, November 2000), where, when asked whether they had ever considered volunteering with an NGO, only 8.3% of those interviewed answered affirmative (Giurgiu 2001).

In Romania, like in other countries from Eastern Europe, volunteerism has been perceived as associated with Communism and, as a result, it has remained weak. There is still widespread memory of the communist era's "forced volunteering" which keeps people away from engaging in volunteer activities. However, over the last years there has been growing interest in volunteering, especially among young people, particularly among students, who regard it as an opportunity to get professional experience, to connect with other people or to use it as a stepping stone for a permanent job. Of those interviewed in a study from 2003, 55% consider volunteering in an NGO, association and/or organization is an effective participatory act (Niculescu 2003: 146-147).

1.1.5 Community action. A minority of Romanian citizens have participated in a collective community action within the last year (e.g. attended a community meeting, participated in a community-organized event or a collective effort to solve a community problem).

Empirical data on this issue is scarce. However, results from the CSDF/ISRA survey revealed that in 2004, 37% of citizens were directly involved in solving a specific problem of the community, while 63% declared they have been involved very rarely or never.

1.2 Depth of Citizen Participation in Civil Society

This subdimension looks at the depth of various forms of citizen participation in Romanian civil society.

TABLE III.1.2: Indicators assessing depth of citizen participation

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.2.1	Charitable Giving	1
1.2.2	Volunteering	3
1.2.3	CSO membership	0

1.2.1 Charitable giving. Romanian citizens who give to charity on a regular basis donate on average per year between 1% and 2% of their personal income. A study published by the ARC in 2003, indicates that the average annual amount donated by individual Romanians is around 2% of an individual's income or 1% of a household's income (ARC 2003: 25)

1.2.2 Volunteering. In Romania, volunteers generally dedicate a substantive amount of time per month for volunteer work, however, there is limited data concerning the average amount of time devoted by volunteers per month. An older study by CSDF, from 1997, showed that the average amount of volunteer hours varied depending on the field of activity. In 1996, the weighted average could be estimated as 15.5 hours per month. In 1997, the estimated volunteer hours decreased substantially, and the average monthly amount of hours of volunteer work was evaluated at around seven hours (CSDF/CURS 1997).

The answers in a 2005 CSDF electronic survey among 144 organizations shows that most volunteers (almost 50%) work between 10 and 20 hours per month, 25% work 25-40 hrs/month and 14% work 80-120 hrs/month. According to the data of the survey, it seems that a volunteer in the sectors of culture, education, youth and environment dedicate more hours per month than the average.

1.2.3 CSO membership. According to the World Value Survey (WVS 1999 – 2002 wave), less than a quarter of CSO members belong to more than one organisation, indicating that even among CSO members, engagement in multiple CSOs is not common.

1.3 Diversity of Civil Society Participants

This subdimension examines the diversity of the civil society arena. It analyses whether all social groups participate equitably in civil society or whether there are any groups which are dominant or excluded.

TABLE III.1.3: Indicators assessing diversity of civil society participants

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.3.1	Representation of social groups among CSO members	2
1.3.2	Representation of social groups among CSO leadership	1
1.3.3	Distribution of CSOs around the country	1

1.3.1 Representation of social groups among CSO members. Generally Romanian CSOs represent most significant social groups. However, the view expressed during the consultations with the stakeholders has been that some important social groups tend to be under-represented in the Romanian CSOs.

In Romanian civil society certain social groups tend to be better represented than others. Stakeholders expressed the opinion that middle class citizens are generally more likely to have a genuine participatory spirit and become involved in CSOs activities more often than people from other social strata. Since the middle class still represents a small portion of the population within Romania, this aspect is considered to have important effects on the size and scope of civil society as a whole. At the same time, the shared opinion has been that large segments of the population are under-represented in CSOs, such as poor people (representing 29% of the total population) or rural dwellers (making up around 40% of the Romanian population).

There are also differences in the representation of ethnic groups in CSOs. *The Ethnic Relations Barometer*, produced by Metro Media Transylvania for the Resource Center for Ethnocultural Diversity (CRDE), provides evidence supporting this observation. For example, 19% of ethnic Hungarians are a member of a CSO, compared to only 5% of ethnic Romanians (CRDE/ Metro Media Transylvania 2001).

1.3.2 CSO leadership. There is an absence of significant social groups in the leadership of CSOs. During the regional consultations, stakeholders agreed that disadvantaged social groups and the poor are under-represented at the leadership level of CSOs. They agreed that women are well represented, especially in the NGO sector. Some of the most visible Romanian civil society personalities are women. However, there are differences depending on the type of CSO, as some organization are more feminized (e.g. women or child protection organizations) or masculinised (e.g. sports organizations) than others.

Rural dwellers are generally absent from CSO leadership. Most CSOs active in the rural areas are rural development organizations or professional associations concerned with specific agricultural issues. However, many are generally located in major cities rather than rural areas, and their leadership is also made up urban residents.

1.3.3 Distribution of CSOs around the country. In examining the distribution of CSOs around the country, evidence shows that CSOs are largely concentrated in urban areas. Two-thirds of NGOs are based in urban areas and one-third in rural areas.

The regional distribution of registered NGOs (see table III.1.4) suggests that around one-fifth of NGOs are Bucharest-based; more than two-fifths are based in western counties; less than one-fifth are based in Moldavia and the rest are based in the south of the country.

Table III.1.4: Distribution of NGOs by region

Region	% of CSOs	% of population
Bucuresti	19.9	16.3
Banat and Crisana	13.2	13.4
Moldova	14.9	18
Muntenia and Oltenia	14.7	24.6
Transylvania	37.3	22.2

Source: ONGBit

This data reflects the image of a numerically strong NGO sector based in Bucharest and Transylvania, and a weak sector in the east and south of the country. The regional distribution of CSOs can be explained through the distribution of resources for CSOs across the country. Most of the resources available to CSOs are concentrated in Bucharest, in the major urban areas and in Transylvania, since these regions are traditionally better developed in terms of economy and infrastructure. However, there are also cultural conditions which explain the regional distribution of CSOs. Research has shown that citizens in different regions of Romania have different perceptions, degrees of trust and level of

participation in CSOs. For instance, a study published in 2005 (Bădescu 2005) confirms that inhabitants from Transylvania are more aware of NGOs than individuals in other parts of Romania. Other data shows that there is a greater propensity for Transylvanians to give to NGOs than for individuals in other regions of the country. They also support ‘associational’ NGOs, for example, NGOs that have civic or social service as their primary missions, more often than individuals from other parts of Romania.

1.4 Level of Organisation

This subdimension looks at the extent of infrastructure and internal organization within Romanian civil society.

TABLE III.1.5: Indicators assessing level of organisation

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.4.1	Existence of umbrella bodies	<u>1</u>
1.4.2	Effectiveness of umbrella bodies	<u>1</u>
1.4.3	Self-regulation within civil society	<u>1</u>
1.4.4	Support infrastructure	<u>2</u>
1.4.5	International linkages	<u>2</u>

1.4.1 Existence of umbrella bodies. A large majority of trade unions and employers associations are affiliated with federations. According to trade union representatives, the affiliation rate for trade unions, SME associations and pensioner organizations is around 90%.

The situation for NGOs has been less clear. During the regional stakeholder consultations the participants were generally able to identify several important Romanian umbrella organizations, including: the Federation of NGOs Active in Child Protection (FONPC), ProChild Federation, National Union of People Affected by HIV/AIDS Organizations (UNOPA), The Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation (Fundatia pentru Parteneriat) and Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF). Yet, the perception expressed by civil society representatives was that only a small minority of Romanian CSOs belong to a federation or umbrella body of related organizations. In an electronic survey conducted in 2005 by CSDF, 25% of the respondent organizations declared that they are affiliated to national federations.

Donors have indicated that at least one umbrella organization exists in nearly every field, at the local or regional level (van Teeffelen 2003a). Previous research has shown that umbrella organizations tend to exist more within fields than across fields (Dakova et al. 2000). A study conducted by a volunteer team for CENTRAS, based on an analysis of the collection of CSDF electronic bulletin “Voluntar”), presented during the NGO National Forum in June 2005, identified 116 concerting structures of NGOs.

1.4.2 Effectiveness of umbrella bodies. A relative majority of participants of the CSI stakeholder consultations (40%) consider federations, networks and umbrella bodies to be quite inefficient in defining and achieving their goals. However, 30% of respondents think they are efficient. Another study found that NGOs’ participation in networks is sometimes seen as superficial and limited to informal exchanges of information (*Trust for Civil Society* 2004: 18).

Although the general opinion is that federations and umbrella bodies are largely ineffective in achieving their defined goals, there are positive examples of successful umbrella organizations. One example, which was also referred to by the stakeholders consulted for this project, was that of the Federation of Organizations Active in Child Protection (FNOPC). A new successful example was presented during the latest NGO National Forum (June 2005), when UNOPA (the National Union of People Affected by HIV/AIDS Organizations) reported on its major achievements over the last five years, namely its lobbying in favour of people affected by HIV/AIDS.

Even though positive examples exist, their number is limited. Two reasons were offered for the lack of a greater number of strong umbrella structures. First, they used to be viewed negatively since they were seen as compromising the autonomy of individual CSOs. Second, the legacy of large dominant Communist structures makes it difficult for CSO representatives to see the advantages of federative forms in a democratic system (Dakova et al. 2000).

1.4.3 Self-regulation within civil society. There have been several initiatives of self-regulation within the NGO sector. However, only a small minority of CSOs has been involved and the impact is judged as extremely limited.

NGOs began to elaborate a *Code of Ethical Practice for NGOs*. The code was meant to provide instructions on good practice in the areas of NGO performance, yet it has not met the general agreement of the sector (Dakova et al. 2000). Therefore, uniform ethical practices have yet to be developed. International donors have also been supportive of self-regulatory initiatives within civil society. For example, the EU, through the Phare Access programme intended, unsuccessfully, to encourage the initiatives of self-regulation within the NGO sector.

One field in which self-regulation is successfully taking place is social services. This type of NGO, especially those active in the child protection field, have codes of ethics and best practice manuals. In addition, the new legislation regarding social services (GO 68/2003) requests that the social service providers adopt rules of performance based on standards of quality in social services.

1.4.4 Support infrastructure. Support infrastructure exists for some sectors of civil society and is expanding. However, only certain types of organizations have access to these resources.

The latest *NGO Sustainability Index Country Report* mentions that the number of NGO resource centres increased from 2003 to 2004. Currently, 13 volunteer centres exist in cities around the country, linked in an informal network. The rating for the “Infrastructure” dimension in the latest USAID NGO Sustainability Index is a moderate 3.5, indicating a situation where resource centres are active in major population centres, and provide services, such as distributing grants, publishing newsletters, maintaining a membership database, running a library of NGO literature and providing basic training and consulting services. This finding is supported by the results from the regional stakeholder survey, where half of the respondents assessed the level of support infrastructure for civil society to be quite low and another 40% considered it to be sufficient.

1.4.5 International linkages. A moderate number of Romanian CSOs have international linkages. Whereas, two-thirds of regional stakeholder survey respondents stated that a low number of CSOs have developed international linkages and stakeholder consultations indicated that generally it is the large organizations and umbrella bodies that have access to international networks. The CSDF electronic survey from 2005 paints a more positive picture and found that 43% of the respondents have declared that their CSOs (mostly formal NGOs) are part of international networks.

Additionally, unions and economic chambers are very well networked at the international level. Romanian trade union federations and nationally representative employers associations are affiliated with international bodies such as: the European Trade Union Confederation, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour or, respectively, the International Organization of Employers, the Union of Industrial and Employers Confederation of Europe (Trif 2004).

1.5 Inter-Relations within Civil Society

This subdimension analyses the relations among civil society actors in Romania

TABLE III.1.6: Indicators assessing inter-relations within civil society

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.5.1	Communication between CSOs	<u>1</u>
1.5.2	Cooperation between CSOs	<u>2</u>

1.5.1 Communication between CSOs. The extent of communication between Romanian civil society actors is limited. Civil society actors are rather reluctant in sharing information with each other.

Three-quarters of stakeholders assessed the level of communication and information-sharing between civil society actors to be low. This evidence confirms previous research that identified a lack of shared information within the Romanian nongovernmental sector (Dakova et al. 2000). NGOs expressed reluctance to share information with others for different reasons. Often because of a commonly perceived exaggerated competition between CSOs. The limited information exchange between CSOs is also related to the cultural aspects that are common to the whole of Romanian society, where suspicion, individualism and mistrust prevail, and the level of social capital is very low (Dakova et al. 2000).

1.5.2 Cooperation between CSOs. Romanian civil society actors cooperate with each other only occasionally on issues of common concern. Only a few examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances and coalitions can be identified. Thus, the perception regarding the willingness of Romanian CSOs to cooperate is most often negative.

As in the case of communication between CSOs, few organizations make attempts to form cooperative links. Their representatives claim that they are afraid to establish partnerships because they could be cheated and misled by their partners. Another explanation offered by CSO representatives is that many negative experiences of cooperation relate to leadership issues (Dakova: 2000). Other reasons why cooperation among NGOs at the national level is limited include: the competition for scarce financial resources and personal conflicts (Ourania Roditi-Rowlands: 2002). Competition for funds is the most frequent reason invoked for the poor cooperation between Romanian NGOs, followed by visibility or a better relationship with public institutions (*Trust for Civil Society*: 18). A foreign donor has summarized the whole context in this way: “*The cooperation between NGOs was difficult: backbiting, gossip and interpersonal problems were dominating*” (van Teeffelen 2003a).

Most of the formal coalitions involve powerful organizations from large cities, especially Bucharest. The trend is for larger and ‘influential’ NGOs to develop projects with smaller NGOs, especially in the countryside (Ourania Roditi-Rowlands: 2002). The lack of resources and information prevent small or medium organizations to establish formal networks or coalitions, or to join the already existing ones. One reason is that most coalition meetings take place in Bucharest and require the presence of an NGO representative. Such activities demand human or financial resources unavailable to small organizations. Therefore an alternative form of cooperation has been developed to overcome these obstacles: the non-hierarchical-thematic coalition networks, which can be described as ad-hoc coalitions, organized around specific issues, exchanging information and attempting to mobilize support, sometimes united only via internet forums or email lists (e.g. 200 NGOs were part of the e-lists on 1% law theme). The latest USAID NGO Sustainability Index Report for Romania also mentions this transformation, reporting that even though information exchange between NGOs has increased, as a result of Internet expansion and media involvement in covering civil society actions, the number of formal (juridical) coalitions has remained lower than the non-formal ones. An electronic survey by CSDF from 2005 confirms this. The percentage of participation in informal coalitions at national level is slightly higher than that to formal coalitions (approximately 26% of the respondent CSOs were part of informal coalitions compared to 23% which took part in formal coalitions).

In spite of the generally rather grey image, there have been a number of successful examples of cooperation between CSOs, most of which took place within specific sectors. According to a report by the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe, “more coherent efforts to work together have been identified on sub-sectors when the public agenda becomes ‘hot’” (*Trust for Civil Society*: 18). Among the recent positive examples mentioned during the regional stakeholder consultations are the coalition that fought for the support of the “1% law” and the working group on social services themes (NGO and public administration representatives that brought important comments which led to changes to the social service legislation), as well as the “Coalition for a Clean Parliament”, that aimed to inform the electorate on the past of the candidates in the national elections.

A majority of stakeholders (61%) indicated in the regional stakeholder questionnaire that there are few examples of organizations from different sectors of civil society forming alliances, networks or coalitions on issues of common concern. Indeed, cooperation between different sectors of civil society, such as trade unions, employers associations and NGOs is less common. However, the media analysis provided some examples of occasions when NGOs and trade unions united and campaigned together, such as the campaign against the opening of Bistroe channel in the Danube Delta, an Anti-corruption Alliance and a coalition for the adoption of new electoral norms.

1.6 Civil Society Resources

This subdimension examines the resources available for civil society organizations in Romania.

TABLE III.1.7: Indicators assessing civil society resources

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.6.1	Financial resources	<u>1</u>
1.6.2	Human resources	<u>1</u>
1.6.3	Technical and infrastructural resources	<u>2</u>

1.6.1 *Financial resources.* On average, Romanian CSOs have inadequate financial resources to achieve their goals. During the stakeholder consultations a general concern about the financial sustainability of Romanian NGOs was expressed. Financial viability continues to be an essential issue for the development of the NGO sector in Romania, as most of the organizations depend on foreign grants, which will decrease over the next years due to the upcoming EU accession. There are already cases of organizations which needed to dramatically cut their activities, as the foreign funding ended. Another significant aspect that influences organizations’ financial viability is the limited domestic support for NGOs, as local fundraising efforts are not successful at generating significant income. So far, most NGOs have not been able to develop local constituencies capable of providing a minimum financial security. The poor economic conditions and, equally important, general pessimist perception on these conditions, are other factors preventing Romanian CSOs to rely on domestic funding. At the same time, NGOs so far have not been able to build the image of an essential and credible actor in the Romanian society, and this is another reason why domestic financial support for NGOs remains limited.

In order to balance the absence of grant income, many NGOs have started to diversify their income sources and became more business-oriented through engaging in commercial activities such as training and consultancy services or sale of products made by beneficiaries (in most cases people with disabilities who learned a qualified job with the help of NGOs).

A 2005 survey by CSDF, with answers from 144 CSOs (mostly NGOs) shows that for 21% of the consulted organizations financial resources represent a serious problem. The majority (41%) describe their financial resources as *inadequate*, 35% are satisfied with the available funding for their organizations and only 2% are very content with their financial resources, which they regard as safe. Environmental organizations seem to be the most affected by poor financial situation, with almost half

declaring their financial resources to be a very serious problem and an additional 40% considering their financial resources to be inappropriate. Similar percentages are found in the sectors of education, culture and youth CSOs. Some CSOs, such as trade unions and economic chambers are in a better situation than most of the NGOs, as they are usually able to self-sustain.

1.6.2 Human resources. A large majority of the CSOs involved in a CSDF electronic survey in 2005 were satisfied with the human resources available to them: 55% declared themselves rather satisfied with the human resources at their disposal and 15% saw the situation of their human resources as very good. Less than 5% of organizations considered their human resources to be problematic and 25% described the situation of the human resources available to them as rather inappropriate.

In spite of this positive self perception, other studies point out that human resources available to CSOs in Romania continue to remain limited. The *USAID 2003 NGO Sustainability Index Country Report* evaluates that “human resource capacity is a serious problem. NGO personnel are generally not well trained, especially in management, and many NGOs operate with very small staffs, usually just three or four people”. Many NGOs have suffered from an inability to retain well-qualified staff. Since NGOs lack resources it is difficult for them to keep trained, often unpaid, staff who are attracted by employment in business which offers better salaries and career development opportunities.

Difficulties in raising funds for salaries force many NGOs to reduce permanent staff or to hire personnel on a project-by-project basis. Volunteers have become a very important resource for many NGOs, for some it is the only one available. The stakeholder consultations provided evidence that many small grass-root organizations rely on the work of volunteers without having the necessary professional staff. A study conducted in 1999 showed that 35% of Romanian NGOs used volunteer work on a frequent base, 18% from time to time and 26% exclusively volunteer work (Stoiciu 2001: .40). Although recent precise data is lacking, the consultation with the stakeholders and the electronic survey carried out by CSDF within the CSI project have proven that many NGOs continue to rely heavily on volunteer work.

1.6.3 Technological and infrastructural resources. On average, CSOs have most of the technological and infrastructural resources they require to achieve their defined goals.

Possession of a proper infrastructure (a permanent office and IT and communication equipment such as computers, faxes, printer and copiers and internet connection) represents an essential aspect for CSOs in implementing their activities. Donors, like the European Union, have allowed the beneficiaries to buy equipment through the Phare Funds and a number of Romanian CSOs have benefited from these opportunities. A majority of regional stakeholder survey respondents said they have the necessary infrastructure. An analysis of CSDF’s ONGBit database indicates that on average Romanian CSOs possess the basic necessary technological and infrastructural resources (see tables III.1.8 and III.1.9).

TABLE III.1.8: Types of resources owned by NGOs

Type of resources	%
E-mail	71%
Access to Internet	66.8%
Library	64.2%
Subscription for publication	52.7%
Other resources	5.7%

Source: ONGBit

TABLE III.1.9: Types of logistic owned by NGOs

Type of resources	%
Phone	91.2%
Computer	74.7%
Fax	65.5%
Television	43.2%
Equipment related to their activity	42.8%

Source: ONGBit

Some types of organizations seem more likely to be affected by the lack of technological and infrastructural resources, not surprisingly these are the small grassroots NGOs as well as environmental, cultural and youth CSOs.

Conclusion

The major structural weaknesses of the Romanian civil society remain low levels of citizen participation in associational life, together with a poor level of organization and limited inter-relations among civil society organizations (CSOs), which represent obstacles for the development of a strong civil society sector. Despite many attempts by CSOs to mobilize citizens around issues of public concern at both local and national level, the response from the population has remained modest.

Although it has slowly and gradually improved, the level of organization within Romanian civil society remains weak, with limited communication and cooperation among CSOs and across the different sectors. Albeit an essential issue for the development of the CSO sector in Romania, financial viability continues to be an enduring weakness. Romania still struggles with difficult social and economic conditions, and since individual charitable giving, state funds and private companies' contributions remain limited, Romanian CSOs continue to rely heavily on foreign financial support.

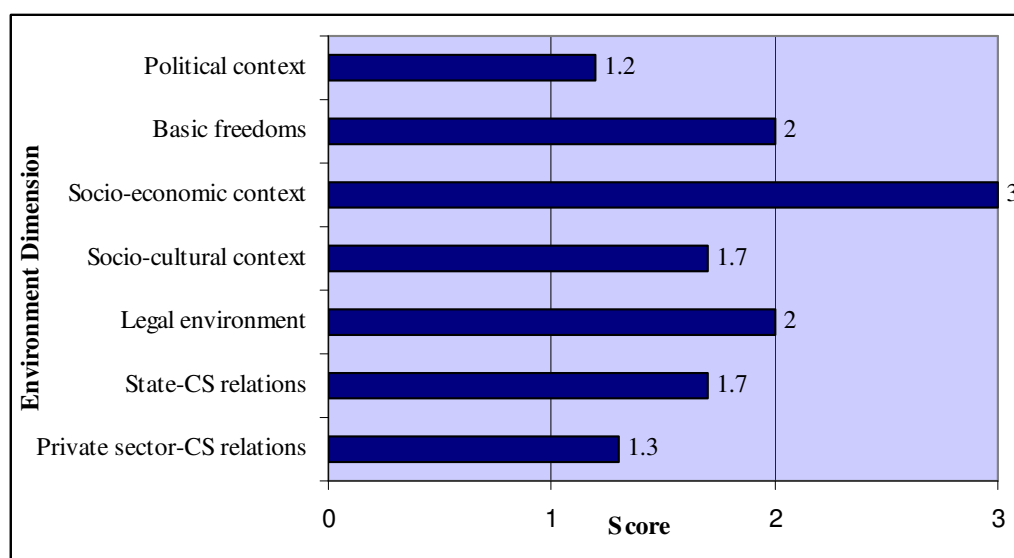
The CSI assessment also revealed that CSO umbrella bodies are often seen as incapable of effectively voicing and addressing civil society's common interests and concerns. As a result, and due to reasons ranging from financial issues to personal mistrust, informal types of cooperation are preferred to formal coalitions.

There are also a few positive aspects. There is a good representation of the various social groups among CSO members. Volunteers continue to remain a very important resource for many Romanian NGOs. Another positive aspect is that in the past considerable investments have been made, mostly by international donors, for the creation of resource centres which can continue to be utilized.

2. ENVIRONMENT

This section describes and analyses the overall political, social, economic, cultural and legal environment in which civil society exists and functions.

FIGURE III.2.1: Subdimension scores in environment dimension



2.1 Political context

This subdimension examines the political situation in Romania and its impact on civil society.

TABLE III.2.1: Indicators assessing political context

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.1.1	Political Rights	2
2.1.2	Political competition	2
2.1.3	Rule of law	1
2.1.4	Corruption	0
2.1.5	State effectiveness	1
2.1.6	Decentralisation	1

2.1.1 Political rights. Romanian citizens are endowed with substantial political rights and meaningful opportunities for political participation. Nonetheless isolated restrictions on the full freedom of citizens' political rights and their participation in political processes continued to be reported.

In the national Constitution, Romanian citizens are granted the right to freely elect their representatives and to organize themselves into political parties. However, new regulations regarding the formation of political parties limit the fulfilment of political rights. Under the new law, political parties are required to have at least 25,000 members in order to have legal status. Previously, political groups needed the support of 10,000 persons and had to be established in at least 15 counties, and in the early 1990s, a party needed the support of only 251 people. This new regulation is seen as an undemocratic way of restricting the constitutional right of freedom of association and as a move by major parliamentary parties to ensure their dominance in the political arena. This action also prevents the creation of regional parties and the representation of local interests in local elections.

Romanians can change their government democratically. According to the international monitoring group Freedom House (*Freedom in the World 2004*, Freedom House), the legal framework for elections and laws related to the formation of political parties and the conduct of presidential and parliamentary

elections, as well as governmental ordinances, provide an adequate basis for democratic elections. The elections since 1991 have been considered generally free and fair by international observers. Although there was an increased control by the ruling party over mass media, the conditions for the last national and local elections in Romania were generally seen as fair. Still, for the first time in the last ten years, there were allegations of fraud affecting 3 to 5% of the vote, as a series of internal observers have signalled (e.g. Pro Democracy). The suspension of the use of voter cards and the widespread use of supplementary lists were seen as opportunities for multiple voting and massive fraud. *The 2004 Human Rights Report for Romania*, released by the US Embassy in Romania also considered that the national elections from 2004 were characterized by widespread irregularities.

Freedom in the World 2004 Report, by the international organization Freedom House, granted Romania a score of 2 (on a 7-point scale, with 1 indicating full political rights and 7 indicating absence of political rights) with regards Political Rights. In 2005, as a consequence of the fraud allegations from the national elections in November 2004, the score for Political Rights dropped to 3 (*Freedom in the World 2005, Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom*, Freedom House).

2.1.2 Political competition. The Romanian political arena can be described as containing multiple parties, which have a certain level of institutionalization. However, they generally lack ideological distinction.

Since 1990, Romania has been using an electoral system of proportional representation. Due to successive changes of the electoral and political party laws, the number of parties gradually decreased from more than 250 before 1996, to 59 in 2000 and to less than 20 in 2004. An electoral threshold to gain parliamentary seats of 5% of the vote, which increased prior to the 2000 elections, and modifications to the law on political parties favour big parliamentary parties.

The post communist political arena in Romania was largely dominated by the successor of the former communist party, currently the Social Democratic Party (PSD). In 1996, the opposition parties organized as the Romanian Democratic Convention (CDR) and managed to win the national elections and form the new government in alliance with the Democratic Party (PD). The dominant position of the PSD was re-established after the national elections in 2000. It started to fade away after the local elections in June 2004, when two main opposition parties, the National Liberal Party (PNL) and the PD, organized themselves into an alliance called Justice and Truth (Dreptate si Adevar – D.A.) and managed to secure important electoral gains. While in the elections in November 2004, the alliance formed by PSD and the Humanistic Party (PUR) managed to obtain a better score than D.A. alliance, in the end, after the election of Traian Basescu (PD), as President of Romania, D.A. convinced the PUR (currently named the Conservative Party) and the Hungarian Democratic Union (UDMR) to form a coalition Government. The sixth parliamentary party is the Greater Romania Party (renamed for a short while Greater Romania Popular Party - PPRM), which controls around 13% of the seats in the Romanian Parliament.

Romanian political parties continue to search for stable ideologies. The National Liberal Party (PNL) is a liberal party affiliated to the European family of liberal parties, represented in the European Parliament, by the European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party (ELDR). However, there is a strong wing inside the party which presses for giving up the traditional liberal doctrine in order to become affiliated to the European Popular Party. The Democratic Party (PD) was at the origins a social-democratic party. It sought the full membership in the European Socialist Party group. Nevertheless, as in the meantime, PSD was accepted as a full member by the European socialist group there are voices within PD asking for an affiliation to the European Popular Party (EPP), and therefore a change in the doctrine of their party. For a short period even the Greater Romania Party (PRM) sought the affiliation to EPP. However, it soon abandoned this idea and remains a nationalist party, under the authoritarian command of its populist leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor. The Conservative Party also changed several

ideologies before applying for membership within the EPP family. The Hungarian Democratic Union (UDMR) represents the interests of the Magyar minority and is affiliated to the EPP.

2.1.3 Rule of law. The rule of law and the independence of justice are two of the most important issues Romania has been facing over the last 15 years. There is a low level of confidence in the law by citizens and violations of the law by citizens and the state are not uncommon.

Citizens' low confidence in the law is directly related to the lack of trust in the main institutions ensuring law enforcement, which are perceived as highly corrupt. According to the latest *Public Opinion Barometer* (POB) (May 2005), only 25% of the Romanian citizens trust the justice system, while only 36% show a high level of trust in the police.

At the same time, organizations like Amnesty International or local watchdog organization APADOR-CH have highlighted that there are still isolated situations where representatives of the police or judiciary authorities abuse the law. For example, Roma NGOs continue to claim that police use excessive force against Roma and subjected them to brutal treatment and harassment (Human Rights Watch 2004). A recent case of a person dying after being beaten by several police officers was extensively reported on by the mass media.

While generally attributed to the legacy of communism, independence of the judiciary has been a high profile issue on the national political agenda, since the EU has firmly linked the independence of the judiciary with granting the membership for Romania in 2007. In 2002, the European Commission called for a "comprehensive reform" of the Romanian judiciary. As part of the reform process, constitutional changes, adopted in October 2003, formally made the judiciary independent from the government (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House). Nevertheless, Freedom House's score for Romania's *Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Framework* continues to be the worst among all EU accession countries. The main problem has been the undue control exercised by the executive institutions, despite the recent legal changes, over the judicial system. The Public Prosecutor has long been considered, by many international observers, to have excessive powers, and much of the judiciary is still packed with Ceausescu-era holdovers (*Freedom in the World 2004. Romania*, Freedom House). However, the newly elected President and Government have set as one of the top priorities reforming the judiciary system.

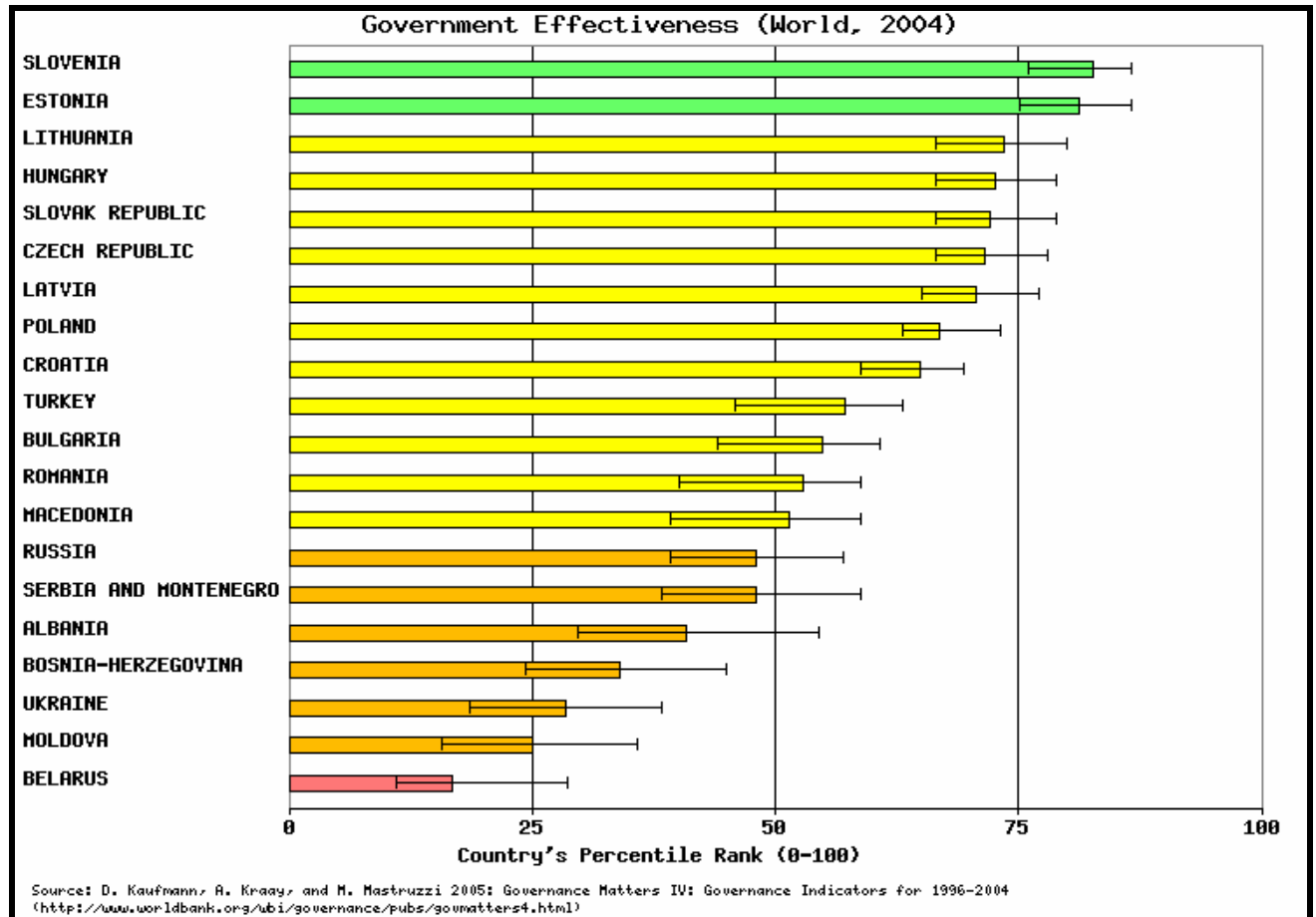
2.1.4 Corruption. Romania is perceived as a highly corrupt country, both by Romanian citizens and by international monitoring organizations. In the POB from October 2004, 62% of Romanian citizens consider that corruption has increased over the last four years (*Public Opinion Barometer*, October 2004). In the POB from May 2005, 78% of those interviewed considered that corruption is spread in all the sectors of society (*Public Opinion Barometer*, May 2005).

According to Transparency International, Romania remains the most corrupt of the EU accession countries. In the Corruption Perceptions Index 2004, produced by Transparency International, Romania's score is 2.9 (with 0 being the most corrupt and 10 the least) and the Country Rank is 87 out of 146. The score represents a slight improvement from the 2003 CPI score (2.8) and 2002 (2.6). Nonetheless, Romania dropped ten places since 2002. Transparency International acknowledges in its *2004 National Report on Corruption* for Romania that over the last years there has been a tendency of strengthening the legal and institutional capacity to counter corruption in most of the public sector fields. However, as of 2004 little has been done in order to bring to justice the "high-level corruption", where persons in senior public offices, important politicians or businessmen are involved.

2.1.5 State effectiveness. The capacity of the Romanian state bureaucracy is considered limited. Romania scores last among EU accession countries in the World Bank's composite index of government accountability, effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, control of corruption and political stability.

The percentile rank of Romania is 52.9. (For comparison, among the countries in the region, Slovenia's percentile rank is 82.7, Bulgaria's is 54.8, Moldova's is 25 and Belarus's is 16.8).

FIGURE III.2.2: Government effectiveness



More important, Romania experienced the least improvement in performance between 1998 and 2002 among all the states included in this panel study. The 2004 *Nations in Transit Report* by Freedom House awards Romania a medium score of 3.75 for governance (on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 representing the best and 7 representing the worst) which keeps the score for this dimension unchanged since 2001. These scores confirm Romania's low grades on public administration reform in the European Commission's 2003 progress report on accession (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House). There is a widespread impression that the reform that has taken place throughout the government has been disingenuous, and that laws are passed to create the appearance of change rather than to effect change and improve the system (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House). Corruption and inefficiency of Romania's state bureaucracy are closely interconnected. According to Freedom House, administrative corruption in Romania is closely correlated with the government's inability to deliver fair and timely service to the public. "The majority of citizens who are not "connected" and do not have the resources for bribes (about 50 percent of the population) are quite dissatisfied with the quality of public service they receive" (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House).

2.1.6 Decentralization. In Romania, the sub-national percentage of general government expenditure (including public institutions under local authority control, partially—or fully—financed by own resources) has increased from 10.6% of total government spending in 2000 to 19.2% in 2003. Local budget procedures are subject to new legislation effective from 2004 designed to improve their stability and efficiency (European Commission - Economic Policy Committee 2004). However, decentralisation is still considered to be implemented unevenly across the country, particularly since the decentralisation of responsibilities to the local authorities has not been matched by a correspondent reallocation of

resources. At the same time, the formal institutional reformation has not been accompanied by an increase in genuine local initiatives. The need for more general decentralisation remains. Major donors have continued to engage in decentralisation programmes, mainly focused in the areas of popular participation and local capacity building.

2.2 Basic Rights and Freedoms

This subdimension examines to what extent basic freedoms are ensured by law and in practice in the Romania.

TABLE III.2.2: Indicators assessing basic rights and freedoms

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.2.1	Civil liberties	<u>2</u>
2.2.2	Information rights	<u>2</u>
2.2.3	Press Freedom	<u>2</u>

2.2.1 Civil liberties. Civil liberties in Romania are generally respected and there are only some isolated violations. The Romanian Constitution guarantees the basic rights and freedoms for its citizens. As a general rule, Romania respects freedom of speech, and citizens have the right to freely congregate, associate and submit petitions. In general, NGOs can operate without restrictions from the state, and trade unions and professional associations are free and can participate in the institutional tripartite structure. Nonetheless, there have been reported isolated violations. In 2003, a bill passed as an emergency ordinance required that NGOs get approval from a ministry in order to register and they were prohibited from using certain names and acronyms, such as “national,” “institute,” or “academic”. Civil society representatives considered that Government’s intentions to impose stricter rules for the establishment of new NGOs represented an attempt to limit the citizens’ freedom of association. According to the HRR 2004, some trade unions alleged that union registration requirements were excessive. Members of MISA (an organization of yoga practitioners) have publicly spoken out about the violation of their civil rights and the excessive use of force against them by the judiciary and police authorities.

In the Freedom House Reports *Freedom in the World* for 2004 and 2005, Romania scores 2 for the dimension *Civil Liberties* (On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is the best), indicating a widespread realization of these rights.

2.2.2 Information rights. Legislation regarding public access to information is in place, but in practice, it is still difficult to obtain government documents.

In 2001, the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) advocated for by a coalition of civil society groups, entered into force and since then has increasingly become a frequently used tool by mass media and civil society organizations. However, there are still problems with fully putting into practice the benefits of this new legislation (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House).

Reports by the Romanian Academic Society (SAR) and IPP show that there is a relatively good formal compliance to FOIA by state institutions. However, the number of individual citizens who make use of the two acts to access information is relatively low (Stan et al. 2004). One year after FOIA was enacted the evidence shows that it was implemented formally and superficially in two-thirds of the agencies surveyed, but the first substantial step, consisting in drafting a list with the documents accessible to the public, was undertaken in only 16% of the public administration offices (*Policy Warning Report - Romania 2003*, (SAR: 10-13)).

It is still common for state institutions to not publish the working versions of draft Acts and other documents (*Nations in Transit. 2004 Romania*, Freedom House). Also, during the accession negotiations

with the European Union, CSOs complained about the unwillingness of the Government to allow them free access to the negotiation documents.

2.2.3 Press freedom. The true extent of media freedom is still a matter of concern in Romania. Press freedoms continue to be affected by negative developments within the mass media sector *Freedom of the Press 2005* rates Romania with a score of 47 indicating “partly free”. The score is again the worst among all EU new members and candidate countries.

The most visible negative phenomena within Romanian mass media are ‘oligarchization’ and self censorship. During the previous government’s tenure, the ruling party maintained control over prime-time television, both public and private, through *inter alia*, self-censorship by editors, as private TV network producers owed large sums to the state budget in unpaid contributions to social security and other taxes and were therefore vulnerable. Moreover, the Government used the advertising budget of the still large state sector to buy advertising in friendly newspapers or electronic media (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House). According to SAR, media (in) dependence seems to be in relation with the perceived political influence of the media (SAR 2005:13-14). Media seems to greatly influence the government's agenda and this represents another reason why the governments feel a need to control it (SAR 2005).

The situation of the local mass media is considered even worse. Local “barons” own or control most newspapers and TV stations through advertising. Moreover, in 2003, there were reports of violence against journalists investigating corruption, presumably instigated by local political barons (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House).

2.3 Socio-Economic Context

This subdimension analyses the socio-economic situation in Romania. It evaluates to what degree socio-economic conditions in the country are conducive or represent a barrier to the effective functioning of civil society

TABLE III.2.3: Indicator assessing socio-economic context

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.3.1	Socio-economic context	3

2.3.1 Socio-economic context 3

To operationalise the concept of ‘socio-economic environment’, eight indicators were selected, which represent the different means through which the socio-economic context can potentially impact on civil society: 1) Poverty; 2) Civil war; 3) Severe ethnic or religious conflict; 4) Severe economic crisis; 5) Severe social crisis; 6) Serious socio-economic inequities; 7) Illiteracy and 8) Lack of IT infrastructure.

For each of these indicators a specific benchmark was defined which indicated that the respective indicator presents a socio-economic barrier to civil society. The benchmarks and data for these eight indicators for Romania are presented below:

1. *Widespread poverty - do more than 40% of Romania live on less than 2 US\$ a day?* No. World Development Indicators, 2004 indicate that 20.5 % of the Romanian population lives on less than 2 US\$ a day and 2.1% lives on less than 1US& a day. The measurement of poverty in Romania is made using the concept of “severe poverty”, which shows that in 2002 11% of Romanians were living in severe poverty.
2. *Civil war - did the country experience any armed conflict during the last five years?* No. No armed conflict took place since the 2nd World War.
3. *Severe ethnic or religious conflict?* No. Since the ethnic violence that opposed ethnic Romanians and Hungarian minority in Tirgu Mures, in 1990, the relations between the two communities

have constantly improved. Since 1996, UDMR, the ethnic Hungarian political party, has been directly or indirectly involved in the national governments. The self-determination indicator from The Peace and Conflict Ledger 2003 (CIDCM) for Romania scores 3, signifying that it has successfully managed one or more self-determination conflicts since 1980.

4. *Severe economic crisis – is the external debt more than the GDP?* No. Romania is not in a severe economic crisis; GDP is not smaller than the foreign debt. In 2004 Romania's foreign debt represented 28.6% of the national GDP (Romania's GDP was 36 billion USD and its foreign debt was 11.5 billion USD) (Romanian Ministry of Finance, June 2004).
5. *Severe social crisis?* No. In the last two years Romania has not experienced any serious social crisis.
6. *Severe socio-economic inequities, i.e. is the Gini-coefficient > 0.4?* No. The Gini coefficient for 2002 was 0.29 (The Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Commission (CASPI))
7. *Pervasive illiteracy - are more than 40% of the adult population illiterate?* No. Illiteracy is not widespread in Romania. In 2000 3% of the adult population was considered illiterate, mainly older people, rural dwellers and Roma people (Millennium Development Goals Report, Romania 2004).
8. *Lack of IT infrastructure – are there less than 5 IT hosts per 10.000 inhabitants?* No. According to ITU 2003 there are 23 Hosts per 10.000 inhabitants. The less optimistic prospects for the Romanian IT infrastructure, for 2004, were of 57,03 PCs per 1.000 inhabitants (Millennium Development Goals National Report, 2003). However, only 38% of those living in the urban area have access to a computer, while the percentage in the rural area is much lower, 11% (Public Opinion Barometer, October 2004).

The analysis of civil society's socio-economic environment showed that none of these socio-economic barriers is presented in Romania. Romanian civil society is operating in a conducive socio-economic context. However, significant poverty levels and the still relatively poor access to Internet for a large part of the Romanian population, especially in the rural areas can be considered obstacles for the future development of Romanian civil society.

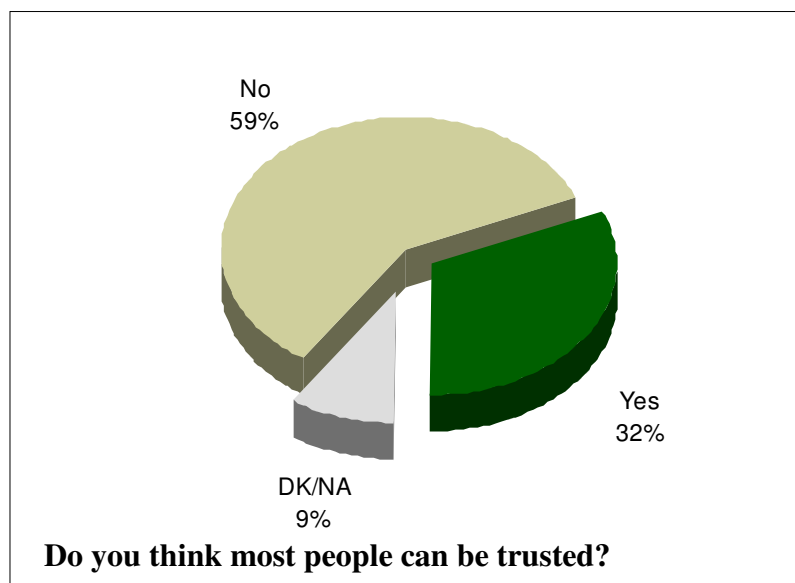
2.4 Socio-Cultural Context

This subdimension examines to what extent socio-cultural norms and attitudes are conducive or detrimental to civil society.

TABLE III.2.4: Indicators assessing socio-cultural context

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
<u>2.4.1</u>	Trust	<u>1</u>
<u>2.4.2</u>	Tolerance	<u>2</u>
<u>2.4.3</u>	Public spiritedness	<u>2</u>

2.4.1 Trust. There is widespread mistrust among members of Romanian society. The experience of the totalitarian regime and the recent post-communist transformation left many people disappointed and increased the level of mistrust in the Romanian society. This is a feature common to all post-communist countries. In the POB from October 2004, 59% of those interviewed considered that most people couldn't be trusted. The results of the POB from May 2005 show that 90% percent of the Romanian population considers that it is advisable to act cautiously in relation to the others.

FIGURE III.2.3. Level of trust in other people

Source: OSF Public Opinion Barometer – October 2004

2.4.2 Tolerance. Romanian society is characterized by a moderate level of tolerance. Generally tolerance is perceived as a traditional norm, well rooted in the Romanian society. However, in reality, prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards certain groups are widely present. According to an IPP/Gallup Survey from 2003, Romanians are against the presence of sexual minorities (40%) and religious minorities (Jehovah's Witnesses 25% and Muslims 19%) in Romania, while 13% think that Roma should not be allowed to live in Romania. Eighty-two percent of Romanians share the prejudice that Roma are more prone to breaking the law. Hungarian minority's perception by most of ethnic Romanians has improved over the years, while Germans' image remains positive. Although, on average, studies and surveys do not show a profoundly aggressive intolerance, the intensity of intolerant manifestations vary according to the specific group against which they are directed. The most discriminated groups in Romania are sexual minorities, Roma minority and persons living with HIV/AIDS. The tolerance index calculated on the basis of the *WVS. 1999 – 2002 Wave*, is 1.9, indicating a medium level of tolerance within the population.

2.4.3 Public spiritedness. On average, Romanians exhibit a moderate level of public spiritedness. Public spiritedness is defined here as the extent to which people consider it acceptable to engage in activities, such as avoiding a fare on public transport, cheating of taxes and claiming illegitimate government benefits. In the POB, from October 2004, 6% of those interviewed found it acceptable to travel by train, without buying a ticket, 5% agreed with using the public transportation without a ticket, when there in no ticket collector and 9% considers it normal to make private calls from the office, when no one sees them. In a survey conducted by the Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2002), when Romanian citizens were asked to give their opinion on the key of success in their country, 93.4% answered that it was important to be honest, while 5% considered that one should rely on trickery and fraud. The *WVS 1999 – 2002 Wave* Public Spiritedness Index score is 2.0 on a scale from 1 to 10 (1 representing the highest level of public spiritedness and 10 the lowest).

NAG and various stakeholders considered however, that when it comes to public spiritedness, data about self-perceived attitudes in the Romanian case have to be treated very cautiously, as they do not reflect

the daily reality. For example, mass media often provides examples of large scale operations against large groups of people travelling without tickets, by the national Romanian Railways Public company (CFR). As a result of people travelling without tickets, CFR threatened stop service to some of its most vulnerable destinations. The Public Transportation Union from Romania (URTP) reports percentages of people travelling without paying of 15%-18%, three times higher than in other European countries, indicating a widespread lack of public spiritedness.

2.5 Legal Environment

This subdimension examines the legal environment for civil society and assesses to what extent it is enabling or disabling to civil society.

TABLE III.2.5: Indicators assessing legal environment

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.5.1	CSO registration	<u>2</u>
2.5.2	Freedom of CSOs to criticise the government	<u>2</u>
2.5.3	Tax laws favourable to CSOs	<u>2</u>
2.5.4	Tax benefits for philanthropy	<u>2</u>

2.5.1 CSO registration. According to the USAID 2003 *NGO Sustainability Index for Romania*, NGOs have little trouble registering as an organisation. Basic legislation addressing the main aspects of CSOs operations is in place: governmental ordinance 26/2000 replaced the outdated law 21/1924 and regulates the registration, operation and dissolving of associations and foundations. Under Law 21/1924 in force till 2000, the legal registration had two steps: extra judicial and judicial with the request of acquiring authorization from relevant line ministry. G.O. 26/2000 regulated the registration and activity of associations and foundations attempting to simplify registration. However, there have been some recent legal changes that in the view of NGO leaders negatively affected their work: ordinance 37 from 2003 introduced a requirement of approval from the relevant ministry to register new associations and foundations, though NGOs eventually managed to reverse this provision; the new Labour Code made short term employment difficult and fiscally more expensive; the volunteerism law made working with volunteers more bureaucratic and expensive. Moreover NGOs were prohibited from using certain names and acronyms, such as “national,” “institute” or “academic,” although the ordinance cannot be enforced retroactively for NGOs that already carry such names. The new regulations in the field of social services require organizations to acquire administrative licenses for functioning, valid since 1 January 2005. Thus all the organizations operating in the field of social services, according to OG 68/2003 revised and completed, have the obligation to obtain the accreditation for the provided services, and if their activity regards the special measures for child protection, they will be obliged to get licenses for these services, according to Law 272/2004.

Trade unions and religious cults are not subject to the frame law of NGOs, being regulated separately by special laws. According to the 2004 *Human Rights Report on Romania* released by the US Department of State in February 2005, some trade unions alleged that union registration requirements were excessive.

2.5.2 Allowable advocacy activities. There are no formal barriers to CSOs criticizing the government and public administration. The law 52/2003 regarding transparency in the decision making process gives NGOs the opportunity to influence the decision making process. Before 2004, relations between state authorities and watchdog organizations criticizing the government were often very tense, particularly in the context of CSO criticism for the lack of reform in the justice and administrative sector and for the lack of political will in dealing with corruption and CSOs favourable to the Government were generally rewarded.

The data from the regional questionnaires reflect that among civil society stakeholders (58% of the answers) the general opinion is that existing legislation is not very supportive to advocacy activities. However, 27% consider that there are no important legal restrictions to advocacy initiatives.

Since the Romanian legislation does not draw formal barriers to advocacy activities, while at the same time law 52/2003 regarding transparency in the decision making process offers a starting point for undertaking advocacy initiatives, the answers in the regional questionnaires probably reflect the difficulties CSOs meet when trying to actually influence policy making. Therefore it can be concluded that although the existing legislation allows advocacy activities, so far there has not been established a functional framework where CSOs can interact positively with public authorities.

2.5.3 Tax laws favourable to CSOs. The tax system contains some incentives favouring CSOs as tax exemptions or preferences are available from some taxes and for some activities.

Recent changes in the Fiscal Code aimed to strengthen the financial sustainability of CSOs. Several stipulations establish a series of tax free revenues from occasional organisational activities such as: fundraising events with a participation fee, fairs, raffles, and conferences with social or professional purposes. Additionally, NGOs do not have to pay VAT, unless their economic activities generate more than 100,000,000 ROL (3,500 USD), turnover per annum. Besides this provision, non-profit organizations may require the reimbursement of VAT paid for the goods and services directly financed from relief funds or non-reimbursable loans granted by foreign governments, international bodies, foreign or local charity and not-for-profit organizations. This category also includes the donations of natural persons in the circumstances established by the Ministry of Finance.

There are some specific organizational types which benefit from additional taxation provisions. Exemptions from paying profit tax are allowed for testamentary foundations and for organisations for the blind, invalids and handicapped. CSOs with a public utility statute benefit from a limited number of advantages compared to other NGOs, such as the exemption from taxation for revenues resulting from advertising and publicity, and the exemption from paying excises for any imported products, originated from donations or directly financed through non-reimbursable loans, as well as through programmes for scientific and technical co-operation.

2.5.4 Tax benefits for philanthropy. In Romania there are tax benefits available for a fairly broad set of purposes or types of organizations. A law regulating non-profit giving – sponsorship and corporate giving exists. The incentive for sponsorship consists in the fiscal facility included in the law: a tax deduction of 3% of the turnover, but no more than 20% of the due taxes). The law lists the fields towards which sponsored amounts can go, such as sport, religion, culture, environment, scientific research and humanitarian activities. Since the fiscal year 2005 individual tax payers can direct up to 1% (2% since the fiscal year 2005) of their due taxes toward NGOs. Many NGO representatives generally view the legal framework for corporate sponsorship and for the individual 1% provision as good opportunities for establishing financial sustainability for their organisations (Trust for Civil Society 2004).

2.6 State-Civil Society Relations

This subdimension describes and assesses the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the Romanian state.

TABLE III.2.6: Indicators assessing state-civil society relations

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
<u>2.6.1</u>	Autonomy of CSOs	<u>2</u>
<u>2.6.2</u>	Dialogue between CSOs and the state	<u>2</u>
<u>2.6.3</u>	Support for CSOs on the part of the state	<u>1</u>

2.6.1 Autonomy of CSOs. In Romania the state accepts the existence of an independent civil society but CSOs are subject to occasional unwarranted government interference.

While at the national level, the autonomy of civil society is not considered a major problem, at the local level, a more visible influence of public authorities on CSO work has been reported. One example that was used by NAG in the discussions on this indicator was the case of Pro Europa League, an NGO based in Tirgu Mures. After having criticized the local mayor, the CSO was threatened with eviction from the publicly owned building, which it was occupying. The conclusion drawn by the NAG was that in many localities there is a dependent and clientelistic relationship between CSOs and the public administrations and political actors. Similarly, the vast majority of respondents in the regional questionnaires (88%) consider that there have been some attempts by the State to control the CSOs. According to the *2004 Human Rights Report for Romania*, released in February 2005, there were also reports of government interference in trade union activity. Some unions claimed that the Government interfered in trade union activities, collective bargaining, and strikes, and alleged that union registration requirements were excessive. State intervention in the arena of industrial relations (trade unions and employers associations) in Romania is considered to remain very substantial (Trif 2004).

As public financing for CSOs is still limited in Romania, financial dependence on the state is not a widespread problem for the civil society sector. There are a few CSOs however, which are becoming increasingly dependent on state subsidies, mostly in the field of social services, culture, sports and youth.

2.6.2 Dialogue between CSOs and the state. The state dialogues with a relatively broad range of CSOs, but on a largely ad-hoc basis. Although the efforts to establish institutionalized relationships between NGOs and the government date back to 1994, relationships with central government improved significantly following the 1996 election of a government that openly acknowledged the role of NGOs in Romanian society (Dakova et al. 2000). Since then, the government has established systems and structures to enable dialogue with the sector at both national and local levels. At the central government level, each Ministry set up an office to interact with NGOs, through consulting with and informing NGOs about governmental programs and activities. However, not all offices are effectively fulfilling their role. Some of the most active offices operate within the Ministries of Labour, Social Security and Family; Defence; Education; European Integration and Culture. At the local level, liaison officers deal with NGOs.

NGOs generally feel that interaction is better at the local level and that their opinions and suggestions are listened to and taken seriously, although there are localities where the relationship with local authorities remains weak. At the national level, CSOs are sometimes invited to participate in the formulation and discussion of new legislation or policies, although civil society representatives argue that it is mainly for PR purposes and that actually the Government rarely takes into account suggestions coming from civil society. There is very limited access to the legislature, which inhibits the contribution of NGOs to the development of public policy (USAID 2003 NGO Sustainability Index).

Problems with Romania's capacity to implement the reforms needed for European accession have constrained the Government to initiate cooperative working groups between the Department of European Integration and the NGOs across the country. The Government started to consult the civil society actors especially in preparing the accession negotiations with the EU for several *acquis* chapters, as well as in drafting the bills concerning NGOs activities.¹⁰ The mobilization of NGOs around judicial reform also prompted the government to invite public debate on draft laws previously sent to the Parliament, despite already having the necessary majority to pass them (Freedom House, *Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*).

¹⁰ The French term *acquis* (or sometimes *acquis communautaire*) is used in European Union law to refer to the total body of EU law accumulated so far. For candidate states (such as Romania) the accession to the EU is conditioned by the adoption of the *acquis*.

In the process, the government's perception of NGOs has continuously improved and NGOs' expertise and contributions are increasingly being acknowledged.

During the regional consultations, stakeholders indicated that another reason for the improved relations between CSOs and the State was the appointment of former CSO leaders and experts to these government offices. Despite of all these improvements, the vast majority of the respondents (86%) in the regional stakeholder questionnaires consider that dialogue with the State takes place occasionally or that it is based on single issues. Another 10% believe that the dialogue is non-existent.

Although a rather large number of consultation mechanisms have been established, the dialogue is perceived by CSOs as yet another way for the Government to prove its will to embrace transparency and good governance standards but nothing more. Beyond this formal appearance, CSO representatives feel that their opinions are generally not taken into account, that the existing dialogue does not lead to policy changes and that it is just a PR tool at the hands of the Government.

2.6.3 Support for CSOs on the part of the state. In Romania only a very limited range of CSOs receive state support. Legal mechanisms for direct funding of NGO activities by the Romanian state are available only in several areas such as sports, assistance to the disabled, social assistance, and human rights (International Center for Not-for-Profit Law 2000).

The provision of social services is the most common of all NGO activities in Romania and public funding for social services can be received by NGOs through Law 34/1998. The Government has clearly recognized the value of this mechanism to fund NGOs in the social field. For example during 2001-2002, it funded child welfare NGOs to implement the National Interest Programs in the amount of \$6 million (*USAID 2003 NGO Sustainability Index*). However, overall public funding for Romanian NGOs remains relatively low. Data provided by the Ministry of Labour Social Solidarity and Family (MMSSF) indicate that until 2004 only 238 grants from the state budget totalling less than 82 billion ROL have been provided. 8,550 beneficiaries of the social assistance services offered by the NGOs have used the public funds contracted according to law 34/1998. According to the data provided by MMSSF, around 25% of the beneficiary costs are ensured from these funds. However, this percentage is dropping since the number of beneficiaries increases at a higher pace than that of the budgetary allocation (*USAID 2004 NGO Sustainability Index*, forthcoming). NGO representatives, consulted as part of this project, have stressed that access to public funding is complicated by the fact that the bureaucratic mechanisms applied to the beneficiaries of law 34, are even more difficult adhere to than those imposed by the EU (which are generally considered as extremely strict).

Cultural and youth NGOs also rely heavily on state funding. However, as was pointed out during the regional stakeholder consultations, public funding for these organizations is scarce.

2.7 Private Sector-Civil Society Relations

This subdimension describes and assesses the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the private sector.

TABLE III.2.7: Indicators assessing private sector – civil society relations

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.7.1	Private sector attitude to Civil Society	1
2.7.2	Corporate social responsibility	2
2.7.3	Corporate philanthropy	1

2.7.1 Private sector attitude to civil society. Although a series of positive private sector initiatives are becoming more visible, the general attitude of the private sector towards civil society actors remains generally indifferent.

According to the *Report of the consultation process in Romania*, produced by the Trust for Civil Society, Romanian civil society stakeholders felt that during the last few years there have been several examples of organizations which have succeeded in creating an ongoing partnership with businesses. In spite of that, during the regional stakeholder consultations carried out by the CSDF team, the general opinion was that businesses usually ignore civil society activities. Business representatives, consulted by the Trust for Civil Society, observed that one of the reasons why private sector attitude towards civil society is generally indifferent is that “only few businesses have a strategic thinking and this has an impact on their attitude towards getting involved in solving community problems” (Trust for Civil Society: 2004). However, the new Fiscal Code has created for the first time real fiscal incentives for the private companies to engage in supporting civil society activities.

2.7.2 Corporate social responsibility. The concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR) has three main aspects: a responsible approach to employees, a responsible approach to the environment and a responsible approach to the community within which a company operates. A positive trend that has been seen at the level of the business sector in the last years is a growing interest in CSR, especially at the level of larger or international companies. Major companies are beginning to take the potential negative social and environmental impacts of their operations into account.

The interest of the Romanian business sector for this field is expressed through the substantial popularity that an event like Gala “People for People” organized since 2003 by the ARC and the US Commerce Chamber in Romania (AmCham Romania). In June 2004, over 100 projects participated in a competition for the best corporate social responsibility initiatives. The total value of the projects was 6.4 million euro.

There is evidence that major companies in Romania have begun to develop CSR strategies. Some of the most important companies in Romania are those working in the oil, concrete and pharmaceutical industry. Due to their field of activity large companies like Lafarge Romcim, Carpatcement or Holcim have a particular interest in the field of environmental protection and try to build their corporate social responsibility identity mainly on this dimension. Companies in the oil industry have also developed CSR strategies, getting involved in supporting environmental protection initiatives. For example Rompetrol supported environmental NGOs in Constanta and their activities related to the Black Sea ecosystem. The same company was awarded a prize for the best corporate report in 2004. Companies from the pharmaceutical industry build their CSR identity by financing projects in the field of health care.

Although often engaged in offering sponsorships or small donations, smaller Romanian companies, especially those at the local level, show very little interest in CSR.

2.7.3 Corporate Philanthropy. A limited range of Romanian CSOs receive funding from the private sector. While there are organizations for which these resources represent a considerable part of their income, most CSOs depend very little on private business donations. According to Ministry of Finance data, in 2002 sponsorships and donations accounted for 34.4% of NGO income (*USAID 2003 NGO Sustainability Index*).

Funding from business sources is distributed unevenly across civil society’s fields of activity. The areas which received most of the funding from the business sector are religious (13%) and educational and research activities which together receive 9.8%. Issues such as charity, health and social services are also high up in the hierarchy. On the other hand environmental protection, human rights and democracy are given a lesser interest by companies (ARC 2003: 33-34).

The study on Romanian philanthropy, undertaken by the ARC and Allavida in 2003, indicates that 61% of all businesses surveyed have never made any donation to charitable purposes. The percentage of

companies supporting CSOs' activities is even more limited. Even if they occupy the first place among the recipient organizations, NGOs receive only 18.4% of the total business donations (closely followed by schools and kindergartens (17.1%) and Church with 16%) (ARC 2003:33). The data shows that the average donation of companies in Romania is around 0.4% of their annual turnover. Comparatively, studies completed in US show that on average a company makes a donation of around 1.2% of its annual pre-tax income (ARC 2003: 34).

Conclusion

Sixteen years after the fall of communism, Romanian civil society is still coping with the negative legacy of the totalitarian regime. However, the environment on which civil society depends has gradually improved, and could be regarded as relatively enabling to civil society operations and conducive to long-term sustainability, especially in the context of Romania's efforts to join the European Union. Although in economic terms over the last years Romania did not face any major crisis, it continues to be a transition country, with numerous socio-economic problems and imbalances.

Civil society has played a major role in creating a better legal environment and in guaranteeing the basic freedoms for Romanian citizens. The political context, however, continues to be a significant barrier for a more enabling environment. Corruption remains the major problem for the Romanian society in spite of both external pressures on the national government towards fighting this phenomenon and of an increasing effort by domestic civil society to determine positive changes. Problems in the justice system and administrative capacity are other important political weaknesses which have a negative impact on Romanian civil society.

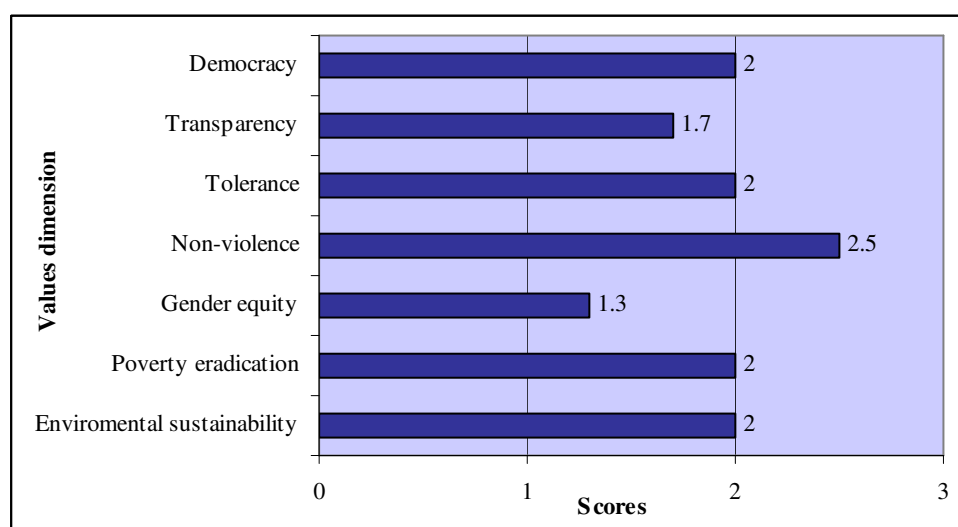
Relations between civil society and private sector remain very precarious, despite encouraging attempts for change. Although mechanisms of dialogue with public authorities have been developed, CSOs believe that the dialogue with the state has only a decorative role and that it serves the PR needs of the Government in its relation with the EU and other international actors. Support from the state to the civil society is very limited and CSOs still fear that a closer relation with the state might lead to a loss of autonomy. From a socio-cultural perspective, social capital remains a weakness of the Romanian society with dominant features such as widespread mistrust and a relatively low level of public spiritedness.

Although much remains to be done, the overall external environment improved over the last years. It is important to notice that there are no major institutional or legal barriers for civil society activities. It is rather the current level of social trust and the enforcement of the existent legal and institutional framework which represent the major weaknesses within the environment dimension.

3. VALUES

This section describes and analyses the values promoted and practiced by Romanian civil society.

FIGURE III.3.1: Subdimension scores in values dimension



3.1 Democracy

This subdimension examines the extent to which Romanian civil society actors practice and promote democracy.

TABLE III.3.1: Indicators assessing democracy

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.1.1	Democratic practices within CSOs	<u>2</u>
3.1.2	Civil society actions to promote democracy	<u>2</u>

3.1.1 Democratic practices within CSOs. A majority of Romanian CSOs function on democratic principles. Here, the internal democracy within CSOs is assessed through examining the way leadership is selected in an organization and through the extent to which members influence decision-making processes. During the stakeholder consultations the issue of the selection of the leadership within CSOs was not debated with a particular interest. NAG explained this by referring to the fact that usually in the Romanian NGOs there is a high degree of overlapping between executive roles (board members overseeing the general strategy and orientation of an organization) and decisional roles (executive positions running the daily activities of an organization). The procedure of holding elections within CSOs is more specific to voluntary membership organizations.

However, Romanian NGOs are guided by democratic principles. In more than 50% of the organizations surveyed through the regional stakeholder survey the proposals of the employees/members are taken into consideration; in 48% the employees/members are consulted whenever decisions are taken; in 29% they are only informed about the decisions which have been taken, while in only 8% of the cases the proposals of the employees are not taken into consideration at all.

While in the voluntary membership organizations the influence of ordinary members on the decision-making process can be seen more directly, in the case of the more professionalized organizations, which employ a great number of people, the perception on the existence of democratic practices within the organization must be understood differently. A study on the Romanian NGOs suggests that in many cases horizontal decision-making structures and informal working cultures are highly appreciated by NGOs in contrast to past experiences of totalitarianism and compared with hierarchical structures in

business and Government. In this respect, NGOs are usually perceived as encouraging staff creativity and initiative, a feature that is usually associated with democratic practices understood as the ability of management to communicate with members/employees and to engage them in the decision-making process in the organization, and the willingness of members/employees to participate and respect the decisions that have been reached (Dakova et al. 2000).

3.1.2 Civil society actions to promote democracy. In Romania there are still important CSOs working on promoting democracy, which are perceived as a driving force in promoting a democratic society and their activities in this area enjoy a strong public visibility. However, as Romania is now considered a fairly democratic country, civil society role as a key player in the democratic transformation of the country has lost much of its strength, and resources (both by international donors and Romanian CSOs) are being diverted to other sectors, such as governance and transparency.

In the early 1990s, CSOs used to perceive their role as opposed to the political groups in power which were seen as undemocratic and illegitimate heirs of the former communist regime. That is why one of the most important roles that CSOs adopted since the beginning was that of a democratizing factor in Romanian society (*Nations in Transit 2004 Romania*, Freedom House). The main tool in achieving this goal was by a democratic discourse and by importing and promoting the good practices developed by foreign CSOs. Their activity was eased and supported by the fact that for a long period of time, democratic development in Romania was seen by foreign donors as problematic and there was a substantial interest to invest in this field. Moreover, later on, as democracy became one of the fundamental prerequisites for EU membership and as Romania was obliged to fulfil the Copenhagen political criterion, CSOs were seen as promoters of democratic values within the Romanian society. They came to be accepted as indispensable partners by both Romanian Government and the EU. For these reasons there can be identified successful organizations having the objective of establishing a democratic society in Romania. Pro Democracy Association is one of the most visible organizations, both in terms of the people it has always been able to mobilize and of the impact of its activities. Watchdog organizations like SAR, IPP or Centre for Independent Journalism (CRJ) have also been very active in the promotion of democratic values.

The most publicized advocacy campaign in 2004 was the campaign led by “The Coalition for a Clean Parliament”. The coalition formed by important NGOs was aiming to inform the citizens on the biography of the candidates at the Parliamentary elections, from two points of view: corruption and conflict of interests. The result of this campaign was that tens of candidates were withdrawn from the electoral lists by their parties.

In defence of the democratic values, a series of coalitions have been built, sometimes bringing together different sectors of the Romanian civil society. In 2003, a coalition of six NGOs closely monitored the drafting of a new law on the establishment of political parties, and pressed for the reduction of the number of required members for registration of a new party. A coalition of NGOs and trade unions created a human chain around the Parliament building, protesting against the attempts to block public access to the files kept by the former secret police *Securitate*.

During the stakeholder consultations, there was widespread agreement on the important role of CSOs in promoting democracy. Most of the respondents were able to indicate activities by Pro Democracy Association on several issues such as the change of the Constitution, the political parties financing, or the electoral code. Mass media was also particularly interested in reflecting the campaigns by CSOs to promote democracy. This type of campaigns (such as “The Coalition for a Clean Parliament” in 2004) has been offered a better visibility, often expressed in placing extensive information and commentaries on the first page or in other important sections of the newspapers.

3.2 Transparency

This subdimension analyses the extent to which Romanian civil society actors practice and promote transparency. Table III.3.2 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.3.2: Indicators assessing transparency

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.2.1	Corruption within civil society	<u>2</u>
3.2.2	Financial transparency of CSOs	<u>1</u>
3.2.3	CSOs actions to promote transparency	<u>2</u>

3.2.1 Corruption within civil society. Generally, instances of corrupt behaviour within civil society are occasional. However, there are certain types of CSOs where instances of corrupt behaviour are more frequent.

NGOs in Romania are still affected by their negative image in mass media in 1998, when the media frequently stereotyped NGOs as organizations primarily used for smuggling cars and receiving foreign donations for the benefit of their founders. Of course, there were many cases where the fraud was real, however, the generalization of these cases led to the creation of a bad name for the entire NGO sector.

More recently, NGOs have been accused of being mere tools for political parties' used for financing or other electoral purposes. Several cases of illegal financing of political parties by NGOs have been presented in the mass media (see for instance *Fundatiile, gurile de varsare a banilor negri catre partide*, in *Adevarul*, February 08, 2003). The phenomenon also caught the attention of CSOs. For instance, it prompted an initiative by Pro Democracy Association, which, especially in 2005, carried out a campaign aiming at the adoption of stricter rules on the financing of political parties, including imposing more control over the money coming from various foundations close to several political parties.

During the local elections in Bucharest in 2004, one of the candidates to the mayor office, allegedly involved in a corruption scandal, used the support of several already controversial NGOs in an advertising campaign claiming that civil society supported his innocence. This prompted the reaction of other CSOs (particularly Pro Democracy Association) which strongly protested to such manipulative and immoral practices involving the image of the entire civil society (see for example *Marian Vanghelie isi cumpara nevinovatia*, in *Evenimentul Zilei*, 25 April 2004).

There were also several mass media reports accusing NGOs of having preferential access to public money, based on the close relations between ruling party members and/or important governmental officials and the boards of these NGOs (*Asociatiile si fundatiile PSD, favorizate la sacul cu bani publici*, Cristian Oprea, in *Evenimentul Zilei*, 6 February 2004; *Niste tarani de utilitate publica*, Cristian Oprea, in *Evenimentul Zilei*, 13 July 2003). For example, in *Nations in Transit 2004 Romania*, the Romanian Open Society Foundation is quoted as presenting evidence that out of the 14 NGOs certified by the end of 2003 for the statute of public utility, three were presumably connected to the former Prime Minister.

Trade unions are more frequently associated with corrupt practices. For instance the mass media has presented cases of trade union high representatives, from the mining industry in the Jiu Valley, using their organizations to increase their personal wealth. Recently, trade union leaders, from the oil industry and railways, were accused in the mass media of being involved in private business with state agencies or former state owned companies.

As can be seen in table III.3.3, the perceived level of corruption among civil society representatives by the public is very low compared to other categories of the Romanian society. However, it has dropped from 18% to 15% from 2001 to 2002.

Table III.3.3: Corruption among various groups of people

“According to you, how widespread is corruption among the following groups?”

(Percent of respondents who answered "nearly all" or "most" are involved in corruption):

Groups	2001	2002
Police officers	64	55
Customs officers	63	55
Members of Parliament	66	55
Doctors	54	52
Judges	56	50
Lawyers	55	50
Political party and coalition leaders	54	46
Municipal officials	48	46
Ministers	58	45
Businessmen	45	44
Officials at ministries	55	44
Public Prosecutors	49	41
Administration officials in the judicial system	52	41
Municipal councillors	43	40
Local political leaders	48	40
Bankers	45	37
Investigating officers	45	35
Tax officials	49	33
University professors and officials	25	22
Teachers	20	18
Journalists	22	15
CSOs Representatives	18	15

Source: Regional Corruption Monitoring Survey, SELDI 2002:20

On the other hand the prevailing self perception by civil society representatives is that corruption is affecting all levels of Romanian society, including CSOs and their donors. 48% of the respondents to the regional stakeholder survey consider that cases of corruption within civil society are frequent or very frequent, while only 41% think that these cases occur occasionally or very rarely.

3.2.2 Financial transparency of CSOs. A majority of Romanian CSOs make their financial accounts publicly available. However, good practices related to financial transparency (such as ensuring that annual financial reports are accessible to the wide public) are still less developed.

The regional stakeholder consultations showed that 64% of the respondents declared that their organizations make their financial accounts publicly available. However, other evidence suggests that the situation is more complex than that. NGO representatives involved in a study on the Romanian NGO sector from 2000 considered that one of the serious issues in the sector was the lack of accountability, transparency and ethical practice.

Financial transparency of CSOs is not a value promoted and internalized by most of the organizations, but it remains rather simply a legal requirement from public authorities and foreign donors. Most of the funding programs in progress (Phare, World Bank) have specific regulations requiring that the applying organizations attach to the funding proposal request annual reports, financial statements and audits, for the previous fiscal year.

Opinions expressed during the regional stakeholder consultations have showed that Romanian CSOs are still unable to make their financial situation easily accessible to the public (sometimes because they do not realize that this is important for their credibility, other times simply because they lack the financial capacity to do it).

There are however, good practice examples, where NGOs openly disseminate information about their activities and finances. The Romanian Donor Forum, a network of donors and financing organizations, has continued its activity of supporting and promoting transparency and responsibilities among the NGOs by organizing the contest of Best Report Annual Report and NGOs are increasingly becoming aware of the necessity to publish annual reports and to be more transparent.

3.2.3 CSOs actions to promote transparency. Romanian civil society is a driving force in demanding government transparency. However, broad-based support for such initiatives has been rarely achieved.

Over the last years transparency has been one of the most important issues on the agenda of Romanian NGOs. In 2001, a domestic coalition of NGOs successfully pressed for the passage of the Free Access to Information Law 544/2001 (FOIA). Moreover a permanent Coalition for Transparency was created and became extremely active in 2003. The coalition used FOIA to push for transparency in areas as diverse as state subsidies, phone tapings, and environmental protection. It won several lawsuits against government agencies on the basis of FOIA, each forcing the government to increase transparency in public administration (*Nations in Transit. Romania 2004*, Freedom House).

Unlike democratic values, which have been usually championed by a rather small group of CSOs, transparency legislation has become a tool used by a broader range of organizations. The Romanian USAID *NGO Sustainability Index Country Reports* have constantly stressed the important progress made in this field. In 2004, there have been recorded a series of important successful activities by Romanian NGOs in transparency promotion both at local and national level. The Club of Cyclo Tourism “Napoca” convinced the Court of Cluj Napoca to revoke a decision of the Cluj County Council regarding the integrated management of waste in the Cluj County. This was the first time when an NGO was successful in obtaining the revocation of a normative document issued by a local authority in an abusive way by violating the law on transparency. Another successful example of transparency activity by NGOs, was the sanction of the Local Council from Selimbar, Sibiu County, for violation of the law 52/2003 regarding transparency. The local Council was sanctioned because it had imposed a tax on the citizens, 100 times higher than the real price, for requesting documents of public interest.

At the national level, the CRJ won a first battle in the Court against the Government’s refusal on giving information regarding the list of institutions receiving public money for advertising contracts. APADOR-CH won in the Constitutional Court the trial against the Government on the establishment of an informational integrated system - a structure aiming to concentrate the data bases of all local and central authorities.

In 2003 more than 150 NGOs advocated against provisions in the draft Law on political party financing allowing political parties to receive financial support from NGOs. Unfortunately, regardless of their letters of protest to the parliament, the presidency, the media, and international donors, those provisions remained in the final version of the law. Similarly unsuccessful were civil society efforts to include stronger provisions regarding conflict of interest and asset disclosure in the new anticorruption law. The government consulted with civil society hastily and very late in the drafting process. The law was adopted using the legislative mechanism of a vote of confidence, which further restricted possibilities for consultation (*USAID 2003 NGO Sustainability Index Country Report*).

During the stakeholder consultations, representatives of CSOs were able to provide various examples of initiatives by CSOs or of public campaigns dedicated to government transparency. Most of the respondents indicated Transparency International as the main organization dealing with this issue. There were also mentioned the initiatives related to FOIA or activities undertaken by organizations such as the Media Monitoring Agency Academia Catavencu or Pro Democracy Association.

Although several successful examples of civil society initiatives in this respect have been identified, the NAG gave this indicator a score of 2. A more positive score was ruled out, since NAG members considered that only a limited number of CSOs were actually involved in promoting transparency.

3.3 Tolerance

This subdimension examines the extent to which Romanian civil society actors and organizations practice and promote tolerance.

TABLE III.3.4: Indicators assessing tolerance

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.3.1	Tolerance within the civil society arena	<u>2</u>
3.3.2	Civil society activities to promote tolerance	<u>2</u>

3.3.1 Tolerance within the civil society arena. Romanian civil society is a relatively tolerant arena. Instances of racism, discrimination and intolerance within the sector are rare and actors explicitly racist, discriminatory and intolerant are isolated from civil society at large.

62% of respondents to the regional stakeholder survey consider cases of intolerant civil society behaviour to be rare or occur occasionally. Only 21% believe that they are dominant features within the civil society arena. However, evidence of intolerant forces within Romanian civil society, as defined in this study could not be found. In Romania intolerance is usually considered a characteristic of the nationalist and extremist voices gathered around the political party Greater Romania Party. The 2003 Human Rights Report for Romania released by the embassy of the United States in Bucharest presented the case of the "*New Right*" organization (a small political extremist group with nationalistic, xenophobic views) that harassed verbally and physically members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Bucharest and Iasi. *Noua Dreapta* members also became visible whenever the issue of sexual minority rights was raised. However, they do not have any political influence and they have a limited membership. They become visible only through a series of conferences, street leaflets and internet manifestos.

In 2004 there was organized for the first time in Romania a sexual minorities festival. In May 2005, a Gay and Lesbian Festival and a march in the streets of Bucharest was met with mixed reaction by public authorities, individuals, CSOs, and the Orthodox Church. Several CSOs organizations, initially supportive of the event, eventually withdrew their support. Several others CSOs opposed the organization of the event, on moral and religious grounds. This has proved that tolerance of sexual minorities is still a sensitive issue for the Romanian society.

3.3.2 Civil society activities to promote tolerance. There are CSOs that have a specific mandate to promote tolerance. There are examples of specific civil society actions, programmes, coalitions and public campaigns aiming to promote tolerance. However, the civil society does not act as a whole in promoting this value. Mass media is increasingly supporting these campaigns and the coverage of these activities is positive.

There are various Romanian CSOs which have as their specific goal the development of tolerance in society. There are many organizations that focus on Roma's rights, on the prevention of social exclusion of mentally and physically disabled people, people living with HIV/AIDS, refugees and sexual

minorities. In Transylvania particularly, where are concentrated important minority groups (Hungarians, Germans, Roma), are based a number of CSOs working for the improvement of inter-ethnic relations.

Activities by NGOs aiming to promote tolerances enjoy an increasingly good visibility in the mass media. One reason for this improvement are some of the very programmes developed by CSOs. For instance the Center for Independent Journalism has elaborated guides of good practice for the journalists writing about minorities or about HIV/AIDS.

NGOs and public authorities have organized awareness campaigns, very often supported by foreign donors, for the promotion of social inclusion of mentally and physically handicapped people, of persons living with HIV/AIDS or of refugees. In 2003, the National Union of the Organizations of Persons Affected by HIV/AIDS (UNOPA) monitored the treatment of persons, many of them children, who were infected with HIV/AIDS. As intolerance against Roma still remains a sensitive issue, several major campaigns were carried out in order to fight it. Romania CRISS - Roma Center for Social Intervention and Studies has implemented “Steps towards Tolerance”, a program for the promotion of tolerance and social inclusion of Roma. In 2003, UNICEF together with the Federation of NGOs Active in Child Protection, launched a national campaign entitled “Leave No Child Out”, fighting discrimination against Roma children. A sexual minorities festival was organized for the first time in 2004 by the ACCEPT Foundation. In May 2005 a Gay and Lesbian Festival and a march in the streets of Bucharest were also organized. In 2004 ACCEPT Foundation has undertaken a monitoring study on the treatment of sexual minorities in the mass media.

3.4 Non-violence

This subdimension describes and assesses the extent to which Romanian civil society actors and organizations practice and promote non-violence.

TABLE III.3.5: Indicators assessing non-violence

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.4.1	Non-violence within the CS arena	<u>3</u>
3.4.2	CS actions to promote non-violence	<u>2</u>

3.4.1 Non-violence within the civil society arena. Due to the tragic violent events from the early 1990s, Romanian CSOs are generally committed to the principle of non-violence. Acts of violence by civil society actors are extremely rare and they are usually denounced.

In March 1990 there were violent clashes among ethnic Romanians and Hungarians in Tirgu Mures. The same year violence broke up in Bucharest opposing civic organization and individuals manifesting against the Government, and miners from Jiu Valley, supporting the regime. Miners, organized around their trade union leaders repeated their violent interventions in 1991 and later in 1999. In 1999, in response to the miners’ violence, CSOs organized non-violent marches in Bucharest condemning those violent acts. Since then there have not been reported other similar high scale violent events within the Romanian society, although sometimes strikes organized by various trade unions have limited violent episodes.

Acts of violence are still present within the Romanian society, most often as manifestation of football hooligans. Sometimes they are associated with racist hatred against Roma population. Only very recently clashes between football fans and the violent and racist actions they were promoting have become a subject of public debate. In the RS questionnaires, 14% of the stakeholders expressed the view that there are no actors within civil society who use violence in order to express their interests. 51% consider that violence occurs only rarely or occasionally while 16% think that it dominates.

Romanian CSOs are generally committed to the principle of non-violence and do not use force either in the relations among them or in pursuing their interests. If acts of violence occur sometimes during strikes organized by trade unions, they are results of individual decisions rather than intentional methods used by the organizations. From this point of view, NAG considered that in 2005 the Romanian civil society organizations meet the basic features of a genuine civil society, generally behaving in a polite, tolerant and non-violent way.

3.4.2 Civil society actions to promote non-violence and peace. Violence *per se* is not a major issue on the CSOs agenda. It is mostly violence directed against children and domestic violence that continue to be important issues that mobilize some Romanian CSOs.

In Romania prevailing social attitudes still consider domestic violence as “normal” (*Amnesty International*, 2004). The Center for Partnership and Equality (CPE), a local NGO, published a comprehensive study on the effects of domestic violence December 2003. Its nationwide survey of 1,806 individuals indicated that approximately one in five women suffer violence from their husbands or partners. Although the Law on Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence was adopted by the Romanian Parliament in May 2003, regulations for its implementation were not put in place.

Romanian CSOs have become involved in organizing public campaigns against domestic violence as well as advocacy initiatives for improving the legislation concerning domestic violence. Mass media generally supports this kind of campaigns. The most active in this field have been women organizations. For instance the Center for Mediation and Community Security (CMSC) from Iasi, in co-operation with the Advertising Agency McCann Erickson and the Open Society Foundation launched in 2002 a national campaign against domestic violence. In Timisoara SCOP association (for children and parents) and APFR (for the promotion of Romanian women) have established help-lines for persons affected by domestic violence.

Stakeholders indicated in the RS consultations other examples of CSOs acting for the elimination of domestic violence or of violence directed against children: Save the Children Romania with the campaign “*Bătaia nu-i rupta din rai*” (campaign against violence directed on children); the Center for Conflict Management initiated by FPDL; the campaigns against domestic violence carried out by CPE. However, evidence of activities inspired exclusively by peace and non-violence values is scarce. In the context of the military intervention in Iraq by the US-led coalition, PATRIR organized a march for peace. The echo of this manifestation was yet very feeble. Throughout April and May 2005, Romanian CSOs mobilized and manifested for the release of three Romanian journalists and of their guide who had been kidnapped in Iraq.

3.5. Gender Equity

This subdimension analyses the extent to which Romanian civil society actors practice and promote gender equity.

TABLE III.3.6: Indicators assessing gender equality

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.5.1	Gender equity within the CS arena	<u>2</u>
3.5.2	Gender equitable practices within CSOs	<u>1</u>
3.5.3	CS actions to promote gender equity	<u>1</u>

3.5.1 Gender equity within the civil society arena. Women are equitably represented as leaders and members of only particular sectors of Romanian civil society.

Most of the stakeholders (45%) have mentioned in the regional stakeholder questionnaires that sexist instances or discrimination against women within the civil society are rare (26%), or occasional (16%), 17% consider that such attitudes do not exist within civil society, while 19% think that these instances dominate. Consequently the opinions were very divided, indicating different understandings and experiences. In spite of all these mixed views, some opinions expressed in the stakeholder consultations but also by NAG have stressed that compared to other sectors, civil society (particularly through its NGO component) has a good record in terms of gender equity.

A CSDF survey has shown that in 90% of all the CSOs consulted, women are represented in leadership positions. Some of the most important and influential Romanian NGO leaders are women. The organizations where women are never absent from the leadership are usually in the fields of child protection and social services, while predominantly masculine leadership seems to be more frequent in the case of environmental organizations (70%) and professional associations.

On the other hand, women can be found in extremely low percentages (under 10%) in the governing structures of trade unions. In this respect, Romanian trade unions lay at the bottom of the European hierarchy (Ghebrea et al. 2004: 21).

3.5.2 Gender equitable practices within CSOs. Gender equity practices have never occupied the top of civil society agenda. This reflects the broader context of Romanian society where gender is at the bottom of the public agenda.

Usually in the CSOs with paid staff the labour norms generally applicable to all the Romanian employees are respected. In order to understand why gender equity is not an issue for the Romanian civil society it is useful to look at the general national context. Romania has a relatively good legislation on gender equity on the labour market, even though improvements are still required. There is a special law in this respect - Law No. 202 of 19 April 2002 on equal opportunities for men and women (particularly Articles 1 and 6).

The gender pay gap has decreased constantly from 1995 to 2002, from 21 percent in 1995 to 17 percent in 2002. In October 2002, women earned 82.6 of men's average income. A report released by the Center for Partnership and Equality (CPE) indicates that this evolution is not due to an explicit policy to encourage the elimination of gender pay gap, but is the result of a system of establishing the salaries on the basis of working time, qualification for the work and the length of service (Open Society Institute 2005: 93-97). The gender pay gap is estimated to be bigger in the private sector than in the public sector mostly because although officially most employees have the legal minimum wage, many payments for salaries are made unofficially. In Romania few private companies or state institution have strategies meant to ensure gender equity.

Important sectors of the CSOs are perceived as very feminized. Due to the fact that from the point of view of gender balance the situation is perceived as being satisfactory, there are neither particular preoccupations nor formal strategies developed by the CSOs sector concerning special policies to ensure special arrangements for gender equity.

3.5.3 Civil society actions to promote gender equity. In Romania there are few NGOs which have as a specific mission the promotion of gender equity. Several civil society activities in this area can be detected, yet their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by civil society as a whole.

Gender issues are low on the national public agenda and Romania continues to perform poorly in some of most important indicators related to women situation (van Reisen 2005). Political representation of women is also very low. After the 2000 elections, the central representation of women reached a record

of 10.3% (in comparison with 5.5% in the previous legislature) while the local representation had even lower figures (3% for mayors, 6% for local counsellors and 5% for county counsellors). The November 2004 elections did not significantly change the situation in terms of percentages – at central level the imbalance still remains at around 10% for women and 90% for men.

There are no state policies to promote women's participation in the labour market, such as promoting flexible working arrangements, or supporting women to re-enter the labour market after taking leave to care for children. Similarly, there are no state policies or initiatives to reduce the gender pay gap, even if in the discourse of state official representatives the gender pay gap reality is recognized and mentioned (Open Society Institute 2005: 93-97). There have been developed no state policies aimed at involving men in sharing family responsibilities and issues such as reconciling work and family life, changing attitudes on gender stereotypes, or encouraging men to take greater family responsibilities are absent from political discourse. The most visible specific programs and initiatives in these fields are still addressed by non-governmental organizations or other civil society actors.

A research study carried out by AnA - The Romanian Society for Feminist Analyses in 2001 identified 56 NGOs having gender equity as an objective (either as their main objective or as a secondary goal) (Bocioc 2003). This number is very low when considering the total number of active Romanian NGOs (estimated at around 10,000) and to the total population of the country (22 million people). And it is even lower when taking into account that, as we have already mentioned, an even more limited number of the 56 organizations have as their unique mission, and are specialized in, the promotion of women rights. To this number, several trade unions can be added, which are also interested in the promotion of gender equity (for example the Romanian Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions, or Cartel Alfa).

NGOs have initiated campaigns for promoting a more important role for women in politics. In 2004, for example, a group of 25 NGOs led by the Center for Partnership and Equality (CPE) lobbied the leaders of the main political parties on equal access of women to decision in public life. The NGOs requested that 30% of the eligible seats on the electoral list be occupied by women. In November 2004, UNDP in consultation with the Romanian Gender Network and with support coming from other foreign donors involved various NGOs in a project aiming to achieve a gender-balanced participation in political life.

The salience of gender equity on the public agenda is very low and the visibility of CSOs promoting this value is rather limited. In the regional consultation, only a few stakeholders could mention examples of initiatives in this field. The most frequent examples referred to the campaigns against domestic violence by CMSC Iasi and to the campaign on promoting women in politics by Equal Opportunities for Women (SEF).

3.6 Poverty Eradication

This subdimension examines to what extent Romanian civil society actors promote poverty eradication.

TABLE III.3.7: Indicator assessing poverty eradication

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.6.1	CS actions to eradicate poverty	<u>2</u>

3.6.1 Civil society actions to eradicate poverty. The response to poverty problems in Romania has been the development of a relatively strong social services NGO sector. Thus, a number of civil society activities in the area of poverty eradication can be detected.

The poverty rate for 2002 was estimated by the World Bank at 29% of the total Romanian population (*Romania: Report on Poverty*, World Bank October 2003). According to the WB and CASPIS data, the categories the most affected by poverty are those living in the rural areas, as well as Roma.

The response to the serious poverty problems by the Romanian CSOs was the development of a strong social services sector. While this was recognized as an important contribution to the alleviation of poverty, very few organisations have initiated major projects against the roots of poverty. The mass media has reflected only one example: in July 2005, two major trade union federations – BNS and CNS Cartela Alfa-, Anaconda Foundation and the daily newspaper “Curierul National,” have launched a national campaign for fighting against and eradicating poverty. The “0% Poverty” campaign was part of the international programme Global Campaign Against Poverty (GCAP).

There are, however, CSOs that develop activities aimed at helping unemployed and socially vulnerable persons through the provision of training and job mediation. During the regional consultations the stakeholders indicated as important activities in the field of poverty eradication the projects developed by the RSDF. However, 72% of the respondent could not indicate any example at all. Romanian NGOs working for the alleviation and eradication of poverty benefited mainly from the support of foreign donors such as World Bank, the EU Phare Programme, Western European and US foundations, but also from public funding. In 1998 the Romanian Social Development Fund (RSDF) was established by the Romanian authorities. A significant number of NGOs (as well as local communities and local authorities) have been supported through this fund to develop projects for the benefit of poor rural communities and of disadvantaged groups.

A particular attention has been given to Roma situation. A successful example was a campaign organized by the association Press Monitoring Agency-Academia Catavencu, “Roma go to school”, an awareness campaign very visible in mass media.

3.7 Environmental Sustainability

This subdimension analyses the extent to which Romanian civil society actors practice and promote environmental sustainability.

TABLE III.3.8: Indicator assessing environmental sustainability

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.7.1	CS actions to sustain the environment	<u>2</u>

3.7.1 Civil society actions to sustain the environment. A number of Romanian civil society activities in the area of environmental sustainability can be detected. Broad-based support and public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.

Although the Communist legacy of intensive industrialization has left deep scars, and serious pollution and sustainable development problems exist, environmental issues have a low salience of the on the Romanian public agenda. A great deal of damage has been caused by industrial production methods and this trend appears to be continuing, the recent pollution of the Tisa and the Danube rivers, for example. In the context of the Romania’s desire to join EU, a series of important reforms have been carried out in order to meet the European environmental acquis. This has provided an important opportunity for NGOs active in this field.

The size of the environmental field of Romania NGOs is quite small (around 5% of all the organizations). The number of the active environmental NGOs was estimated in 2004 at 60-100 (Potozky 2005). Around 78% of them operate at local and regional level, 12% at national level and 9% are active on multiple levels. However, environmental CSOs exist in almost all parts of the country. They sometimes carry out activities of public education and awareness-raising in local communities or activities of cleaning limited areas (small rivers, parts of some forests, or tourist sites). There have also

been cases where environmental CSOs took action against private or state own companies which had violated the environmental protection norms.

Although there have been a few successful experiences at national level (a national coalition – Natura 2000 and a project by Terra Mileniul III aiming at fostering the dialogue with the political parties and the Government on environmental protection issues) the impact at national level is evaluated as more important at local and regional level. The most visible actions at national level were some campaigns strongly reflected in the mass media such as: the campaign against the project Drakula Park (a campaign which attracted the support of UNESCO and eventually led to the abandoning of a controversial tourist project by the Romanian Government), and the campaigns „Save Rosia Montana” (a campaign against a planned gold exploitation in south-western Romania which had also an international echo), „Save Danube’s Delta”, „Save Vama Veche”. The impact of environmental NGOs has been considered extremely consistent at local and regional level. Local campaigns were carried out in Constanta (by the organization Mare Nostrum), in Targu Mures and in Cluj, by local coalitions (such as ECOCLUJ). Local environmental NGOs have been active in projects of rural sustainable development and particularly in the management of protected areas and biodiversity conservation.

However, their impact is limited. For instance only 39% of the respondents in the regional stakeholder questionnaires have given examples of environmental campaigns or other activities by CSOs, and they referred to the big national campaigns. Their audience is also generally limited to the small number of activists engaged in these actions. Mass media reflects environmental concerns only accidentally (the CSI mass media review shows that only 6% of the news items reflect the activities of environmental organizations), and pay more attention to the nation-wide campaigns or to issues that have other implications than strictly environmental (usually issues that are related to national politics, corruption or to the EU negotiation process). There are however, successful examples of involving mass media in reflecting environmental CSOs initiatives. The media review analysis has shown that some newspapers pay more attention to environmental issues than others. An example of constant direct involvement by CSOs in writing on environmental issues is offered by the environment section of “Academia Catavencu” with regular contributions by some green organizations. Others newspapers (e.g. *Cotidianul*) seem also more interested in reflecting environmental issues and civil society initiatives in this area.

Conclusion

Romanian civil society practices and promotes positive values, such as democracy, transparency and tolerance to a relatively significant extent. In many cases, however, civil society as a whole has been less capable of rallying forces around these values. A large number of Romanian CSOs are engaged in projects aiming to eradicate poverty, either by directly supporting the poor, or by creating opportunities for disadvantaged or marginalized categories of people to escape poverty.

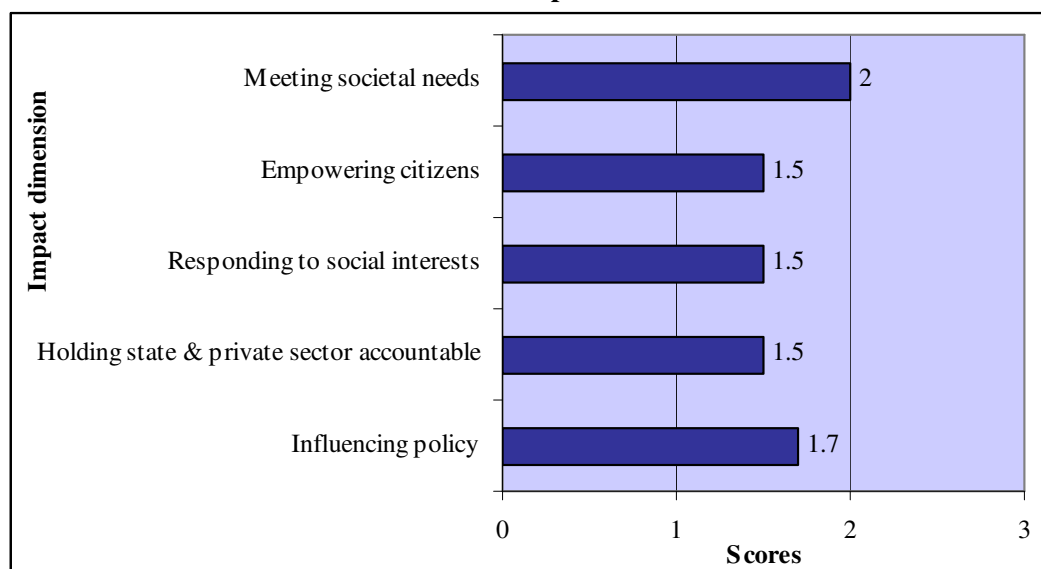
The CSI assessed that although CSOs are active in promoting transparency in public affairs, the existence of genuine internal transparency and accountability within CSOs remains limited. This situation could possibly be related to the overall level of mistrust and corruption within Romanian society, as well as the dependence of CSOs on foreign donors, rather than on local constituencies. While CSOs generally comply with transparency requirements towards international donors, they are less interested in opening themselves up to public scrutiny domestically. Romanian CSOs are also reluctant to become very transparent as they are engaged in a competition for scarce resources with other organizations. At the same time, they are heavily oriented towards foreign donors, and consequently pay limited attention to opening up to public domestic scrutiny. Corruption still represents a major problem and which is reflected upon all sectors of the society (including civil society) thus good practices need to be developed in this field and in order to internalize transparency and accountability as a value rather than as a mere legal necessity.

Democracy and tolerance are values that Romanian CSOs have traditionally promoted, as made apparent by the fact that since the fall of the totalitarian regime in 1989 civil society actors have been actively involved in rebuilding the Romanian society on the basis of democratic institutions and inter-ethnic tolerance. Environmental sustainability and, particularly, gender equity are not regarded as “traditional” or indigenous values by most of Romanian society, and are embraced by only a limited number of social actors. However, the CSI revealed that CSOs active in promoting these values have become essential partners (if not indispensable, as in the case of environmental NGOs) for the Government and foreign donors, and that they are catalysts for social change. A large number of Romanian CSOs are engaged in projects aimed at eradicating poverty, either by directly supporting the poor or by creating opportunities for disadvantaged or marginalized categories of people.

4. IMPACT

This section describes and analyses the extent to which civil society is active and successful in fulfilling several essential functions within Romanian society.

FIGURE III.4.1: Subdimension scores in impact dimension



4.1 Influencing Public Policy

This subdimension describes and assesses the extent to which Romanian civil society is active and successful in influencing public policy

Table III.4.1: Indicators assessing influencing public policy

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.1.1	Social policy impact	<u>2</u>
4.1.2	Human rights impact	<u>2</u>
4.1.3	Impact on national budgeting process	<u>1</u>

In 2004 NGOs have been more active in advocacy initiatives and some NGOs have gained recognition for their advocacy and lobby capacity. The elections, EU accession and the negotiations with EU have been well exploited by NGOs. Advocacy topics have been also more diverse: anti-corruption, clean Parliament, electoral legislation revision, equal opportunities, transparency, environment, 1% law, child protection and social services.

The latest USAID NGO Sustainable Index Country Report rates the Advocacy dimension of Romanian NGO sector with a moderate 3.3. This score indicates that „there are advocacy organizations which become politically active in response to specific issues. It also describes a situation where activists choose to meet with executive branch officials instead of discussing with the legislative branch that is perceived as being weak. At the same time they often present their concerns to inappropriate levels of government (local instead on national and vice versa). Think tanks and scholars initiate alternative policy analysis. Information sharing and networking within the NGO sector to inform and advocate its needs within the government begins to develop.”

Comparatively with previous years, public policy influencing by CSOs has been facilitated by the strengthening of cooperation structures within the Government’s bodies: the offices from ministries and local government in charge with interacting with NGOs, through consulting and informing NGOs about

governmental programs and activities. Some ministries have started to publish on their websites the bill drafts and have invited the stakeholders to send their comments and proposals. The new governmental coalition brought in power after the national elections from November 2004 has among its officials former high profile civil society representatives as well as persons known for their supportive attitude towards civil society (for instance the Minister of Justice was formerly a notable NGO leader, while the former Minister of Culture played a key actor in several important civil society initiatives).

However, the most discernable impact by CSOs remains dependent on the support by international actors such as states, international organizations (e.g. World Bank, IMF, UN agencies, EU) and other foreign donors or international NGOs. EU accession process has remained the main incentive for the Government in consulting with Romanian CSOs on the adoption of legislation and policies. CSOs' input has been generally successful on aspects that corresponded to international institutions' concerns. The policy impact studies carried out within this project have revealed a pattern in CSOs actions aimed at influencing public policy: in order to be successful in the negotiations with the Government, they seek first of all international support for their causes.

4.1.1 Social Policy Impact. Social services NGOs are the most numerous and active organizations in Romanian NGO sector. The organizations in the field of child protection have been particularly able to participate at the elaboration of the new legislation on children. As the issue of child protection was high on the public agenda and the NGOs active in this field have received a strong support from international actors, the outcomes of their activity have been very often positive. Other social service provider CSOs were also very active in trying to influence social policy. Especially influencing the adoption of favourable legislation for the organizations operating in this field was one of the main concerns of these specific CSOs. A group of CSOs active in social services mobilized and took part in the public debate on the draft law regulating the provision of social services (GO 68/2003). The Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family (MMSSF) organized eight public debates on the legislation regarding social services (GO 68/2003, GO 86/2004, law 217/2003). Other meetings among NGOs and the MMSSF took place throughout the year. After the attempts by an initiative group formed by 15 NGO representatives failed to determine the modification of GO 68 in the Romanian Parliament, discussions with MMSSF continued (see also *Annex 3, Social Policy Case Study*).

4.1.2 Human Rights Impact. Roma rights as well as the rights of physically or mentally disabled persons are examples of fields where Romanian organizations have tried to influence public policy.

An important public policy impact has been recorded in the last years in the field of children rights where Romanian NGOs, supported by international institutions and donors, have become very active and visible. Over the last years, under the external pressure, particularly from the European Union, the Romanian authorities started a real reform in the field of child protection. Efforts were made in order to draft a new legislation and to develop standards for services. Romanian CSOs became aware of the need to observe the child rights in the new legislation and in daily practice.

Throughout 2002-2003, Save the Children undertook, a programme aimed at fighting violence against children ("*Bataia nu e rupta din rai*"). A campaign was organized in order to raise public awareness on this issue. Since the first drafts of the Law on the legal status of adoptions and the law on protecting and promoting child rights were produced, Save the Children organized local consultations and national debates on these issues, with more than 300 participants and specialists in the field of child protection in Romania. Lobbying activities were carried out in order to influence the adoption of new legislative norms for the child protection. As a result of the recommendations and observations elaborated and submitted by Save the Children to the National Authority for Child Protection and Adoption, the Government General Secretariat and Parliament. A series of amendments, essential for respecting child rights according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, were also introduced in the final version in 2004.

Thus, banning child corporal punishment was included (Law 272/2004), the importance of establishing the institution of a Child Ombudsman was recognized and a chapter on the abused or neglected child's special protection was also introduced (*See Annex 3, Human Rights Case Studies*)

4.1.3. Civil Society's Impact on National Budgeting process. Civil society activity influencing the overall national budgeting process is very limited and focused only on specific budget components.

A report of the IMF from 2002 considers that the elaboration, the presentation and the approval of the national budget is an open and transparent process (IMF 2002). In theory, trade unions and employers' organizations are in a better position for taking part in the drawing up of the national budget and they participate in the Economic and Social Council (CES), a tripartite body (representatives of the Government, trade unions and employers associations) established in 1997, with a consultative role. In fact, however, CES activity has a little impact on extremely important issues such as the national budget.

Consultation within the CES is very often avoided by many state institutions. According to the most recent available CES Annual Report (2004), in 2004 the percentage of consultation was of only 38% of all the adopted laws and policies. This fact reveals in fact a low degree of influence by the social dialogue mechanism. Moreover, in less than half (48%) of the adopted acts that passed through CES, the opinion or the observations of the CES were actually taken into account. Of all the draft laws analysed by CES in 2004, 6% were related to the national budget (CES 2004). In July 2004, this frustrating situation caused for the trade union confederation Cartel Alfa to criticize the Government for the approval, without the consultation of the social partners, of the governmental ordinance on the modification of the budget for 2004. The representatives of Cartel Alfa declared then that the ordinance did not pass through the Economic and Social Council and therefore it was illegal.

Beside their involvement in the CES, trade unions declare they monitor closely the activity of state institutions in order to defend workers rights. They have a considerable impact in influencing the legislation related to pension, workers rights, level of wages, social benefits for workers and pensioners. Changes in the legislation take place either by direct negotiation with the government, or as a result of strikes and other forms of protest. Trade unions also usually focus on the budget components that are particularly important for them (the level of salaries in the public sector and in different industrial branches, transfer of public funds to state company in difficulty etc).

Employers' organizations have also been reported to be very well positioned in order to influence budgetary provisions, usually through informal channels. For instance, some of the current Government officials come from the business sector and were even leaders of employers associations.

NGOs have become to be more active at influencing the local budgeting process. There have been several important project aimed at empowering citizens and building capacity for local NGOs for influencing the local budgeting process. In 2004 through GRASP programme (Governance reform and sustainable partnerships) was developed the Budget Transparency Toolkit, including a methodology of public hearings organization and public consultations on the draft budgets. In 2003-2004 Pro Democracy Association carried out DIALOG Programme throughout the country aiming at involving citizens in the debate over the local decision making and local budget adoption, while since 2001 IPP has elaborated reports and offered expertise in this field.

However, there has been little impact by NGOs on the national budgeting process. Think tanks (like SAR or IPP) have sometimes criticized the Governmental budgets and have tried to suggest proposals for the improvement of the taxation system, the expenditure priorities and the way public money is effectively spent. The only and visible way in which Romanian NGOs have managed to influence the national budgeting process is indirectly, through the modifications in the New Fiscal Code (*see Adoption of 1% Law Case Study, in Annex 3*).

4.2 Holding the State and Private Corporations Accountable

This subdimension analyses the extent to which Romanian civil society is active and successful in holding the state and private corporations accountable.

TABLE III.4.2: Indicators assessing holding state and private corporations accountable

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.2.1	Holding the state accountable	<u>2</u>
4.2.2	Holding private corporations accountable	<u>1</u>

4.2.1. Holding state accountable. Civil society is increasingly active in this area, but, for the moment, the overall impact is limited. There have been several examples of CSOs that attempted to monitor state performance and to hold the state accountable and some of them have had a discernable impact.

More than two thirds of the persons interviewed during the stakeholder consultations, considered that civil society has a limited role in holding state accountable. However, in spite of this general perception, during the last years there have been examples of NGOs successfully active in holding state accountable. The latest *USAID NGO Sustainability Index Country Report* provides such examples. They are related to the opportunity that was offered to NGOs by the adoption of Law 52/2003 regarding transparency in the decision making process. The adoption of Law 544/2001 on free access to information and Law 52/2003 regarding transparency in the decision making process have been regarded as major successes of CSOs in rendering the state more accountable. They opened the way for more CS involvement in this area.

Based on this law, the Club of Cyclo Tourism “Napoca” convinced the Court of Cluj Napoca to revoke a decision of the Cluj County Council regarding the integrated management of waste in the Cluj County. This was the first time when an NGO was successful in obtaining the revocation of a normative document issued by a local authority in an abusive way by violating the law on transparency.

- Another successful example was a group of NGOs that obtained the sanctioning of the Local Council from Selimbar, Sibiu County, for violation of the law 52/2003 regarding transparency. The local Council was sanctioned because it had imposed a tax on the citizens for requesting documents of public interest 100 times higher than the real price.
- A coalition of CSOs managed to press for the cancellation of a governmental project in the field of tourism (Dracula Park) which represented a menace to both the environment and the historical and cultural heritage of a Transylvanian town, Sighisoara, and of its surroundings.
- At the central level, the Centre for Independent Journalism (CRJ) won a first battle in the Court against the Government’s refusal to give information regarding the list of institutions which had received public money for advertising contracts.

These are examples showing that NGOs have learnt to use the legislation for which they had previously advocated in order to hold state accountable. Watchdog organizations such as SAR, IPP or the Romanian branches of Transparency International and Amnesty International occasionally monitor the manner in which state institutions implement reforms or respect their internationally assumed obligations and they never hesitate to criticize and to make recommendations.

The CSI mass media review reveals that Romanian trade unions and professional organizations play a monitoring role in the labour sector and have particular means of influencing Government’s decision-making (through strikes, petitions and other forms of protest). Their actions have a strong visibility.

At the same time it is obvious that the role of CSOs in holding the state accountable has been paralleled by the pressures exerted by international actors (political conditionalities imposed by the EU, international financial institutions, Western governments) towards determining the Government to

reform and to adopt good governance practices. CSOs have generally supported these external initiatives. It is also true that, maybe, they relied too often and too much on these external pressures and, consequently, played a less proactive role.

4.2.2. Holding private corporations accountable. Romanian civil society activity in holding private corporations accountable is very limited. There are a few examples of CSOs which have monitored and opposed the activities and the irresponsible impacts of behaviour of private corporations. However, even though successful, their impact remains isolated.

Almost a half of those interviewed in the stakeholder consultations have evaluated the actions of CSOs in holding private companies accountable as being limited and 25% consider that CSOs play no role at all in this respect.

Mass media has given a particular attention to trade unions actions in their relations with private companies. In the NGO sector it is usually the environmental organizations and consumer protection associations that are more active in holding private corporations accountable. In 2001 in Romania there were over 127 consumer associations organized into 16 federations and one confederation.

- One of the first examples of successful initiatives by NGOs in holding private corporations accountable is the campaign "Clean air for Tg-Mures", carried out from 1996 to 1999, by the RHODODENDRON Association. The purpose was to reduce the pollution emitted by S.C Azomures SA, a chemical combine producing chemical fertilizers. As a consequence of the anti-study initiated by RHODODENDRON, of scientific debates, counselling and not least due to the scientific report presented on public debate in September 1999, Azomures was refused the environmental authorization until fulfilling the required specifications. This bound SC. Azomures SA to make a 10 million USA investment in the field of environment protection during the next five years, in order to reduce pollution and make it bellow the limits specified by the legal regulations.
- In 2004 there was a very strong campaign against the planned opening by Gabriel Resources Corporation, of a gold exploitation in the mountains from south-eastern Romania. A series of initiatives brought together environmental NGOs, trade unions, student organizations and other CSOs. The coalition „Save Roşia Montana” was formed and managed to mobilize foreign support (including through lobbying the European Commission). These actions have managed until now to block the mining company project. Important parts of the mass media have reflected positively these actions and have openly sided with the CSOs.
- Recently “Save Danube Delta” has also managed to obtain the interdiction of fishing for a series of endangered fish species by the private industrial fishing companies in the Danube Delta.

These cases remain isolated however, although they seem to multiply and to represent a promising starting point and a model for future civil society initiatives.

4.3 Responding to Social Interests

This subdimension analyses the extent to which Romanian civil society actors are responsive to social interests.

TABLE III.4.3 Indicators assessing responding to social interests

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.3.1	Responsiveness	<u>2</u>
4.3.2	Public trust in CSOs	<u>1</u>

4.3.1 Responsiveness. Civil society actors generally respond efficiently to priority social concerns. There are only isolated examples of crucial social concerns that did not find a voice among existing civil society actors.

The issues that were the highest on the public agenda over the last years were poor economic situation, corruption and particular issues related to the situation of children in Romania. At the same time Romanian citizens were very dissatisfied with politicians and the political life, and they considered that this was where most of the causes for the corruption were to be found.

Mass media review brings evidence that CSOs' actions have been indeed responses to these preoccupations of the Romanian citizens.

- Among all NGOs in Romania, social services organizations are the most numerous (around 25% according to the CSDF NGO database). The data provided by our mass media review show that the proportion of this type of organizations represented in the mass media, when leaving out trade unions, is more than 30%. At the same time, while most of the news items in our media review represent CSOs in a neutral manner (78%) and only 14% in a positive manner, in the case of the news items referring to social services organisations the percentage that reflect a positive view on their activities is 37% (*See Appendix 4, Mass Media Review*). This could be an indication of the fact that NGOs respond indeed to the major concern of the population regarding poor economic conditions and the limited capacity of the state to provide the needed social services to the citizens.
- As it have already been mentioned, campaigns against corruption and for the reformation of the Romanian political system and practices were very visible in the mass media (the CSI media review shows that 12% of all the monitored news items related to civil society activities had as the main topic the fight against corruption). At the same time an increasing attention was paid to NGOs working in the field of child protection, as it was one of the most sensitive themes frequently reflected in the mass media (news items having as the main topic children issues represent 12% of the total).

Previous studies have also pointed out that the most visible and appreciated CSOs by the public are those that serve immediate social needs (Dakova et al. 2000). Issues that appear to have less public appeal are environment, women and minorities. CSOs operating in these fields enjoy a lower popularity and this is very well reflected in the mass media. Evidence from the CSI media review confirms this situation: news items related to environmental problems count for only 5%, while gender issues for only 1%; references to environmental CSOs represent 6% of the total, and women organizations are present in 1% of the total news items.

It is also true that many of the „hot” issues on the public agenda were brought there by international institutions and foreign donors. Therefore, Romanian CSOs have often been accused of responding rather to international donors' preoccupations than to the community needs (Porumb 2001, Negulescu 2004, USAID 2004). For instance, children situation was not a traditional issue on the public agenda. Although the problem was real and it demanded indeed an urgent solution, it was still not a priority (just as it happens now with environmental issues or gender equity). However, since children situation was a very sensitive issue for the international community, a lot of pressure was put on the Romanian authorities and a lot of funds were directed to Romanian NGOs. Thus it has also become one of the top issues on the CSOs agenda (According to the CSI media review data, children situation (and corruption) is the second important issue in the news related to civil society activities). Data from the latest USAID NGO Sustainability Index also suggests those whiles NGO-provided goods and services respond to community needs, needs are generally identified by foreign donors, or by NGOs in an unsystematic manner. One if the issues that need further involvement by CSOs is rural development. Over the last few years, however, activities by CSOs in this field have multiplied, mainly due to an increased concern by foreign donors, the scale of the problems in this area demands more to be done.

Mass media review and stakeholders' reports suggest that, although there are still unresolved problems, generally, the most pressing issues on the public agenda have a response from Romanian CSOs. It is also true that this response tends to be more substantial in all the cases where domestic public agenda and international donors' agenda meet.

4.3.2 Public Trust. Even though confidence levels seem to go up, only a small minority of the population has trust in civil society actors.

Population trust in civil society actors has increased in the last years. In October 2003, only 18% of the respondents in the Public Opinion Barometer (POB) trusted NGOs. According to the POB from May 2005, 28% of the Romanian citizens trust NGOs. This represents an increase of 4% since October 2004, and yet it remains a very low share. This increase is likely to be a result of the more active NGOs over the last years (especially by social services and advocacy organizations), but it also reflects a change in the way public image of NGOs is presented by the mass media. The gap between mass media and NGOs opened in 1998, as a result of the media "campaign" against alleged wide spread corruption cases within the NGO sector (smuggling of used cars and use of foreign donations for personal purposes), seems to close. Nevertheless, even though the proportion of positive news about NGOs is increasing, mass media still do not provide extensive coverage on NGOs activities and events. The media review section (Appendix 6) provides supporting evidence for this. Examining the form of reporting on civil society reveals that civil society is rarely a focus of media analysis beyond news reporting. The large majority (96%) of news items monitored were just news stories related to civil society, of which 60% were news in brief. Only 2% of the items were opinion pieces about civil society activities. The data indicates that civil society in Romania seems to be a rather superficial object of media coverage, yet not an influential shaper of public opinion through the media.

Trust in trade unions is even lower than in NGOs. Over the last ten years trust in trade unions has varied consistently: from a record high of 30% in May 1999, to a record low of 14% in May 2000 and then again up to 25% in October 2002. In October 2004 (the most recent time when trust in trade unions was included in a POB) 18% of the respondents declared they trusted the trade unions.

How much do you trust trade unions? (% "enough" and "very much")

May 1999	May 2000	October 2002	October 2004
30%	14%	25%	18%

Source: Public Opinion Barometers (May 1999 – October 2004)

The variations, with trust in trade unions dropping in electoral years (2000 or 2004), can be explained mainly by the involvement of trade union leaders in politics, sanctioned drastically by mass media and probably also by the public opinion as a whole.

The last NGO Sustainability Index (USAID) score for "Public Image" dimension is 3.8. According to USAID methodology this value describes to a situation where media does not tend to cover NGOs because it considers them weak and ineffective, or irrelevant. Individual NGOs realize the need to educate the public, to become more transparent, and to seek out opportunities for media coverage, but do not have the skills to do so. As a result, the general population has little understanding of the role of NGOs in society.

Lack of trust in CSOs has been associated with lack of information about civil society activities. Even though citizens might perceive improved conditions of life which were produced through CSOs activities, they are not usually aware of who is really behind these improvements. Moreover, organizations do not have clear constituencies and therefore they have difficulties in communicating their identity and services (Trust for Civil Society 2004: 18).

4.4. Empowering Citizens

This subdimension describes and assesses the extent to which Romanian civil society is active and successful in empowering citizens, especially traditionally marginalized groups, to shape decisions that affect their lives.

TABLE III.4.4: Indicators assessing empowering citizens

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.4.1	Informing/educating citizens	<u>2</u>
4.4.2	Building capacity for collective action and resolving joint problems	<u>1</u>
4.4.3	Empowering marginalized people	<u>2</u>
4.4.4	Empowering women	<u>1</u>
4.4.5	Building social capital	<u>2</u>
4.4.6	Supporting/creating livelihoods	<u>1</u>

4.4.1 Informing/educating citizens. CSOs are active in informing and educating citizens on public issues. They are usually able to communicate their messages through media to the public. CSOs are involved in educating citizens about government policy/ programmes that affect them. Several organizations have acquired a significant degree of specialization in public information and education. In spite of these achievements, the impact is rather limited.

In the survey made by ISRA for CSI, close to a quarter of respondents declared that they knew about NGOs which had informed citizens on public issues in 2004. The latest USAID NGO Sustainability Index Country Report for Romania also acknowledged that NGOs play an important role in informing citizens and in raising awareness on various social problems. A broad network of Citizen Advising Bureaus has been established across the country with Phare funding.

Various NGOs have continued to develop social and information campaigns with the support of foreign donors, such as EU Phare Programs. These campaigns have addressed issues such as: prevention of family abandonment (Save the Children Romania), domestic violence (Open Society Foundation), gathering books for rural schools (Smile Foundation), healthy life style (Partner for Life Foundation), disabled people rights, Roma rights and promotion of tolerance towards Roma (Romani Criss). Other campaigns have targeted violence, refugees' rights and health. The Coalition for a Clean Parliament has developed the project „Vote with Opened Eyes”. The campaigns have been broadcasted by TV stations and radio, yet not always the public opinion acknowledged the NGOs involvement in those campaigns. At the same time studies and papers issued by some NGOs such Romanian Academic Society, Transparency Romania, Institute for Public Policies, Media Monitoring Agency – Academia Catavencu, Pro Democracy Association were publicized by media. Pro Democracy Association has carried out campaigns of civic education.

One of the conclusions drawn in the stakeholder consultations was that although Romanian CSOs are involved in information campaigns on a various number of issues, very often the citizens are not aware of the role these organizations play in informing them and in raising public awareness on important societal issues.

4.4.2 Building capacity for collective action and resolving joint problems. Civil society activity in building the capacity of people to organize themselves, mobilize resources and work together to solve common problem is rather limited and the impact is also limited.

In the survey made by ISRA for CSI, 17.6% of respondents declared that they knew about NGOs which had mobilized citizens for collective action. The opinion of civil society representatives consulted within this project has been that although civil society is willing to get involved in this type of activities, the

impact is limited. In the mass media there is scarce evidence of civil society activity in this respect. Citizens usually expect from NGOs the direct provision/distribution of assistance and their mobilization is more difficult to achieve. At the same time impact for such activities is also more difficult to evaluate.

However, initiatives by CSOs aimed at building the capacity for people to organize themselves can be detected. Some successful examples were financed through EU Phare Programmes. For instance in 2003 in Jimbolia the 5 local NGOs have created a Community Development Centre. The same year in Adjud a local NGO (Asociatia de Comunicare, Relatii, Dialog CORDIAL) created a partnership with the town's mayoralty in order to mobilize the citizens for environment protection activities. Pro Democracy Association, through its local clubs, has been particularly active in building capacity for collective action in communities across Romania. Through two of its programmes, „Supporting participatory democracy in Romania” and “Efficient Administration through Public Participation” it has tried to mobilize citizens around important issues for their local communities, to help them formulate and communicate their interests and needs to local administrations and to get them involved in the local decision-making.

Moreover, a very important factor directly related to this aspect is the fact that most of the foreign donors encourage NGO programmes where the beneficiaries are involved in the activities carried out and create ownership over the results of the projects. The numerous projects financed through EU Phare programmes are such examples.

4.4.3 Empowering marginalized people. Civil society is active in empowering marginalized people. Most of the CSOs involved in this field report having helped marginalized people take control over the decisions that affect their lives. However, the overall impact is rather limited.

Many Romanian CSOs develop projects aiming at training and educating marginalized people. The most visible in the mass media are those regarding initiatives for providing Roma citizens with knowledge and skills allowing them to better integrate the society. Organization providing social services for disabled people are also involved in helping them find an appropriate job. There are also a few organizations working for the reintegration of former detainees (Prison Fellowship). Some organizations undertake projects aimed at helping institutionalized children to escape social exclusion after they reach the age of 18 and have to leave the care institutions.

However, the empowerment impact of such initiatives is rather limited and it is not very visible on a larger scale. Previous research on NGOs active in this field has shown that among many of them there is a tendency to understand beneficiaries as „recipients” rather than as „active participants” (Dakova et al., 2000). More effective organizations in the empowerment of marginalized people have proved to be the organizations whose members belong to marginalized groups themselves or who are close relatives to them (for instance people with disabilities or parents of children living with certain diseases or disabilities). Another factor that influences the real overall impact of social services CSOs is the fact that marginalized categories from rural areas have fewer chances to be covered than urban categories. Although a majority of the problems lie in the rural areas, CSOs active in solving these problems have operated mostly in urban localities. Certain marginalized categories have also been less covered by CSOs programmes (elderly for instance).

4.4.4 Empowering women. In Romania civil society activity in empowering women is limited and there is no discernible impact. Civil society efforts to empower women usually are limited to the activities of women organizations. Their impact is still limited and societal problems for Romanian women persist.

It is usually women organizations that are involved in the field of women empowerment. There have been several campaigns of fight against domestic violence which were supported by media campaigns. There were also projects directed towards empowering particularly vulnerable categories like Roma young girls. For instance, the Center for Partnership and Equality (CPE) has developed a series of

activities aimed at empowering women such as “Women’s Leadership - Increasing Women’s Participation to the Decision-Making Process” and “Education of the Young Girls from Orphanages in Order to Decrease Their Vulnerability to the Traffic”. NGOs have also contributed to the elaboration of the new legislation concerning the domestic violence (CPE for example).

Yet gender issues occupy a modest place on the mass media coverage of civil society. Only 1% of the total database entries in our media review refers to this topic and to women associations’ activity.

Romanian women continue to be subjected to domestic violence. According to a 2002 UN survey, 45 % of women have been verbally abused, 30% physically abused and 7% sexually abused. A national study quoted in the national newspaper *Adevarul* in June 2004 alleges that in 2003 at least 800,000 women were victims of domestic violence (*Cu cel putin 800 de mii de romance victime ale violentei, Agentia Nationala pentru Egalitatea de Sanse intre femei si barbati - solutia birocratica a Ministerului Muncii, Adevarul, 14 June 2004, p.3*). Trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of prostitution has continued to be another serious problem for Romania. In 2003 a research produced by “The Gallup Organization Romania” showed that 17% of Romanian women admitted they were sexually harassed. In spite of this situation, and although necessary legislation has been adopted, in 2004 no complaint was submitted to the legal authorities.

4.4.5 Building social capital. This indicator measures the extent to which civil society build social capital among its members. According to the data provided by the World Value Survey (WVS 1999 – 2002 wave) in Romania the percentage of CSO members, which trust other people is about the same (11.6%) as the percentage of non-CSO members, which trust other people (9.7%). This would indicate that civil society does not play any meaningful role in building social capital.

However, Romanian civil society representatives have considered that this view is rather reductionist and that there are also other dimensions of social capital which are not taken into account. Civil society stakeholders consider that civil society does contribute, even though moderately, to building social capital in society. NAG members considered that Romanian CSOs have developed (or sometimes imported) a set of values and attitudes upon which social capital depends and that working within a CSO represents an important means of socialization throughout which open society attitudes and values are acquired. Therefore, although so far there is no concrete evidence to support this argument, NAG suggested that the levels of trust, tolerance and public spiritedness of members of civil society must be considered as at least moderately superior to those of the society as a whole.

4.4.6 Supporting livelihoods. There are examples of Romanian NGOs active in supporting employment or income generating opportunities, especially with projects directed to disadvantaged people. Most of these activities are related to the provision of training and counselling for unemployed persons and to the creation of alternative sources of revenue for people in the poor, rural or disadvantaged communities, through rural sustainable development).

Foreign donors, among which World Bank (small grants programme), PHARE (Access programme), Allavida (Learning Participation, Trust. Allavida Community-Based Organisation Development Programme), or Carpathia Foundation, have supported CSOs in developing activities in these areas. The Romanian Social Development Fund was another important donor. The impact of these programmes is however, difficult to evaluate, and the visibility of such programmes is low.

Training and counselling for unemployed persons was another field of activities for CSOs, with a particularly important role for trade unions. The target group has been the people hardest hit by industrial restructuring and people risking exclusion and poverty. According to the web page of the National Council for the Professional Formation of the Adult Population, in July 2005 there were registered a total of 2,617 courses of apprenticeship, qualification, re-qualification, specialization and

increased professionalism. Of all these courses, 689 were offered by nongovernmental associations, professional associations, foundations, employers association, trade unions and student associations. The courses offered are financed from public funds, Phare, funds offered by other donors and own resources and are directed to any person in search of a job.

CSOs activities in this field were also financed through programmes such as RICOP (an investment of 84 mil. Euro over a period of four years) or “The labour market and modernization of the trade unions” (financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and Swiss Labour Assistance) have been successful in offering counselling and training to unemployed people. Out of around 80,000 people who had benefited from the services offered within RICOP, more that 20,000 were later able to find a new job.

4.5 Meeting Societal Needs

This subdimension examines the extent to which Romanian civil society is active and successful in meeting societal needs, especially those of poor people and other marginalized groups.

TABLE III.4.5: Indicators assessing meeting societal needs

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.5.1	Lobbying for state service provision	<u>2</u>
4.5.2	Meeting societal needs directly	<u>2</u>
4.5.3	Meeting the needs of marginalized groups	<u>2</u>

4.5.1 Lobbying for state service provision. Civil society has become more active in lobbying for state service provisions. However, its impact remains rather limited.

As State has remained the main actor in this area trade unions as well as different other CSOs have demanded a greater involvement by the State in solving and responding to certain categories of social problems. Romanian citizens have higher expectation for more and better involvement by the state in service provision. A survey from 2002 (Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance 2002), shows that a majority of the population is dissatisfied with the quality of basic social services provided by the state. POB also confirm these findings. The POB from May 2005 shows that Romanian citizens are dissatisfied with the activity of the Government in the field of health (74%) and regarding the standard of living (72%). Reforming and improving the health system (more efficient and transparent allocation of funds, curbing corruption) was one of the issues where watchdog organizations demanded that the state take action (for example a report by the Institute for Public Policy (IPP) in 2003.)

4.5.2 Meeting societal needs directly. Romanian civil society is very active in service delivery. Successful examples of promotion of self-help initiatives exist, yet they remain rather isolated and the provision of alternative means, outside the state, for communities to raise their level of material development is not very frequent or successful on a long term. Overall, despite the efforts by CSOs, due to the magnitude of the social problems, the impact remains rather limited.

Romanian NGOs have lobbied for changes in the social services provision legislation. Privatization of particular areas of social intervention has been supported especially by NGOs active in the social services and child protection fields. However, there has not been a real debate on the appropriate division of labour among providers of social services (e.g. state, market, civil society). The NGO activity in the field of social services provision is regulated through OG 68/2003 modified by OG 86/2004, two legislative documents on the elaboration of which the NGOs have brought an important contribution. There have been included stipulations concerning the financing of the social services based on the principles of competition and efficient use of public funds. Law 208/1997 allows NGOs to set up and run social canteens with monies from local authorities.

71% of the stakeholders who responded in the regional stakeholders questionnaires consider that CSOs have so far managed to meet pressing societal needs, while only 27% consider that these organizations have done nothing or too little. In the mass media review, the representation for this indicator is relatively good. Social services are present in 20% of all the articles monitored. Besides being the second most visible CSOs in the mass media below trade unions (38%), social services organizations receive the most positive representation, overwhelmingly when compared to any other type of CSO. Stakeholders consulted within the CSI project have usually agreed that social services provision is one of the strengths of the NGO sector as a whole. Previous research also revealed that NGOs most visible to and appreciated by the public are those that serve social needs (Review of the Romanian NGO Sector)

Most common social service activities offered were: social canteens, temporary shelters for persons leaving institutions, day care centres, home care services, temporary housing centres for counselling, hot-line advice.

From the point of view of the promotion of self-help initiatives however, the impact is more limited. There have been many examples in the previous years of initiatives directing to meeting societal needs that ceased when the donors' financial involvement ended. Civil society representatives have complained about the apathy of beneficiaries in helping themselves (Dakova et al. 2000). Communities do not take a proactive role and they lack confidence in themselves.

The latest *USAID NGO Sustainability Index* rates the Service Provision indicator with 3.1 which indicates that the contribution of NGOs to covering the gap in the field of social services is acknowledged by the government, although this is only rarely accompanied by funding in the form of grants or contracts. The same report shows that the Ministry of Labour Social Solidarity and Family (MMSSF) has allocated 238 subventions from the state budget totalling less than 82 bil. 8550 beneficiaries of the social assistance services offered by the NGOs have used the public funds contracted according to law 34/1998. According to the data provided by MMSSF around 25% of the beneficiary costs were ensured from these funds.

4.5.3 Meeting the needs of marginalized groups. CSOs are perceived to be slightly more effective than the state in meeting the needs of marginalized groups.

In the survey by CSDF/ISRA within CSI project, Romanian citizens were asked to give their opinion on which is the degree of effectiveness in responding to marginalized people needs. The NGOs with 56% came second after the international organizations (62%), and before the Church (54%), and the business sector (48%). The state was the last mentioned, with only 43.2% of those interviewed considering that it is able to respond properly to people in need.

Most of the activity of Romanian social services NGOs is directed to particularly vulnerable categories. Physically or mentally disabled persons, people living with HIV/AIDS, institutionalized children, elderly are the categories which benefit mostly from social services NGOs.

During the consultations within CSI, some stakeholders considered that CSOs are more efficient than the state in the provision of social services because they are, by definition, organizations essentially based on the free association in order to meet certain needs, which often are not offered by the state. They are also specialized organizations and they are better rooted within the communities than state agencies usually are. However, one of the weak points of social services organisations was identified in the fact that actually many of them develop imported programs, which are not very well connected to the community they are serving.

Conclusion

Donors and CSO representatives alike consider the **impact** of civil society initiatives on Romanian society to be crucial and an important indicator of civil society's stage of development. The CSI assessed the overall impact of civil society in Romania to be moderate. There are some areas where the impact is more visible and others where it remains rather limited. More specifically, CSO representatives identified a particularly strong role played by civil society in meeting societal needs directly. However, Romanian CSOs have been less able to hold the state and private corporations accountable, and in many respects have manifested the tendency to rely on international actors (such as the EU, US government and international financial institutions), as external political conditionalities have been seen as more effective in shaping the Romanian government's behaviour. On the whole, civil society also has a rather negative public image. This is reflected in the fact that CSOs' activities continue to remain invisible to the majority of the population, and CSOs are more oriented to the donors' priorities and unable to build local constituencies. CSOs have been more successful informing and educating citizens and empowering marginalized people, than in building capacity for collective action, resolving common problems or empowering women.

Finding instruments to influence public policy has been an area of focus for Romanian civil society. Over the last few years important steps have been taken, particularly through the adoption of legislation on the freedom of access to public information and on public participation in the process of decision-making. As a result, CSOs have become more involved in influencing public policy. Due to the specific structure of the Romanian economy, with a very large public sector and state owned companies, CSOs' efforts have focused more on holding the state accountable and less on holding private companies accountable. After the communist experience, the state management of the economy was discredited and was perceived as very inefficient, while new models of private ownership and management were generally seen as a positive alternative.

IV STRENGTHS & WEAKNESSES OF ROMANIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

This section presents the main outcomes of the regional stakeholder consultations (RSCs), NAG meetings and the National Seminar, which took place at the end of the project. At the National Seminar, more than 100 participants from CSOs, government agencies, academic institutions, business and the media had the opportunity to comment on, criticise and supplement the findings through their participation in plenary sessions and small group discussions. During the RSCs, as well as during the National Seminar, participants were invited to work in four groups to provide insights on the strengths and weaknesses of Romanian civil society, as well as to provide recommendations for future actions in order to strengthen civil society. Each group debated and examined one of the four CSI dimensions: structure, environment, values and impact. In the end, certain common themes and ideas emerged among the groups, regarding broad strengths and weaknesses of Romanian civil society.

Although a certain amount of subjectivity was discernable (especially concerning the values and impact), stakeholders were generally critical of both the external environment imposed on civil society and of internal matters, which are closely related to their activity (values, impact and particularly structure).

On certain issues the opinions varied. For instance, the relation between state and civil society was considered a strength by some participants, while others saw it as a weakness. The relation between civil society and mass media was also debated, and stakeholders had different perspectives on this issue. However, there were many points on which the participants agreed. This section aims to include as many of these varying opinions as possible. It is interesting to note that participants of the CSI consultations were rather self-critical about structural problems within civil society and found more weaknesses within Romanian civil society than strengths.

1. STRENGTHS

Most of the strengths identified by the stakeholders relate to the capacity of CSOs, in terms of professionalism and specialization, to follow and accomplish their missions. Stakeholders have expressed the view that Romanian CSOs have so far acquired a valuable experience which allows them to find the most appropriate ways for meeting societal needs and responding to public concerns.

- **Maturity of civil society.** Participants of the consultation process expressed the belief that enough time has passed for Romanian civil society to mature. They supported this affirmation by showing that since 1989 a “natural selection” process has taken place among CSOs, at the end of which only the “serious” ones, those which truly represent the values of civil society, have survived. The “surviving” organizations are better prepared and equipped to take action, and there is a higher level of trust and communication among them.
- **The diversity of CSOs within the civil society sector.** This was one of the civil society’s strengths, which was raised most often during discussions. In the participants’ opinion, the large diversity of CSOs is a guarantee that most social concerns will be taken into account by civil society. It is also a starting point for open and constructive competition between CSOs.
- **The existence of NGOs with targeted activities.** Complementary to the stated diversity of CSOs, the specialization of many organizations has been acknowledged as a sign of progress for civil society in Romania. Several organizations were mentioned as the most prominent examples: Save the Children (child protection and children rights), Pro Democracy Association (promotion of democracy and civic participation), Centre of Assistance for Nongovernmental Organizations CENTRAS (NGO resource centre) and the Romanian Academic Society (think tank).

Specialization was seen as an attribute of the efficient allocation of resources and the increasing professionalism of CSOs.

- **The increasing professionalism of CSOs** was also listed as a strength of civil society. Although civil society still struggles from a lack of adequate human resources, a professional base has developed, mostly with the assistance of foreign donors and good practices have been developed. The most notable evidence was provided by social service NGOs which have developed professionalized personnel and codes of good practices in a relatively short period of time. CSOs are also seen as sources of expertise for the government, especially in fields such as social services, human rights and environmental protection.
- **The orientation of NGOs toward meeting citizens' needs.** Most stakeholders agreed on this point. Among civil society representatives, there is a high level of awareness regarding the existence of specific needs of local communities and certain social groups. Civil society is considered to be in a better position to understand and respond to social needs than other social actors, such as state, private companies or foreign institutions.
- Regional stakeholders also indicated that **the existence of partnerships and networks at the local and regional level** were a strength of Romanian civil society. However, this reflects the situation in specific regions rather than throughout the country, since the level of cooperation among CSOs varies from one region to another. The most notable examples came from Transylvania, which has examples of successful forms of cooperation among civil society organizations in major cities, such as Cluj Napoca or Targu Mures.
- **The existence of foreign donors and the EU accession** were also mentioned as strengths of Romanian civil society, in terms of environment. The provision of financial resources, know how and political support by these international agents has been regarded as very important for the development of Romanian CSOs.

2 WEAKNESSES

Most of the identified weaknesses relate to the structural weakness of civil society as a whole, in terms of its level of organization, quality of operations, low levels of citizen participation and the inability of CSOs to present a credible message about their positive role and impact to the public.

- **Communication and cooperation among CSOs** was a structural weakness of Romanian civil society which frequently arose. This was seen as a major weakness, which negatively affects most civil society activities. Discussions of the issue pointed to several weak aspects of civil society, such as lack of communication and consultation between the sectors, and within the civil society sector, and an unwillingness to form coalitions of CSOs. The lack of effective formal and informal networks, as well as Romanian CSOs' lack of interest in joining various European networks, were also identified as weaknesses. According to some opinions expressed by stakeholders, poor communication and cooperation among CSOs contributes to a lack of coherence of the activities carried out by Romanian CSOs. Romanian civil society, as a whole, lacks the necessary cohesion, and is unable to raise a common voice to have a more significant and efficient impact on public policies and state accountability.
- **A sense of competition for scarce resources** was perceived as the cause of the weak levels of cooperation among CSOs. Several participants suggested that the conditions for disloyal competition are created by a lack of equal opportunity for NGOs to access resources and the concentration of power among those who control information. Smaller CSOs and organizations based outside of the capital feel that larger organizations in Bucharest benefit from the advantage of being closer to the nexus of information and decision making on the distribution of resources, and that sometimes they are very selfish in using this advantage.
- This context of general mistrust may in part explain another aspect which has been identified as a serious weakness of civil society: **the lack of transparency of CSOs' activities.** CSOs are

often afraid of being more transparent in their activities and strategies, because they fear this might represent a weakness in the competition with other organizations for resources.

- **The lack of financial resources available to CSOs** was another major weakness that was identified. As mentioned above, this is explained by the general lack of involvement by Romanian citizens, and the still poor living conditions of the majority of the population, which does not allow them to contribute directly to the financing of civil society activities. At the same time, the weak capacity of the private sector and governmental to provide financial support to CSOs was also emphasised as a weakness. CSOs representatives feel there is “a conservative mentality of authorities in financing CSOs”, and “the authorities do not help civil society, they are only promising and do not put in practice the decisions that are made.” It was stressed that the absence of state financial support is visible at the local level, where there is a lack of local funding for NGOs. Moreover, even when these funds exist, it was suggested that sometimes their allocations might be influenced by politics.
- **Poor relations between civil society and the business sector** are also seen as a significant weakness. The minimal involvement of the business sector in the development of partnerships with CSOs was pointed out. The “gap between civil society and the economic environment” was explained by both the “mentality of the business sector regarding civil society” and by the fact that the message from civil society for the business sector is in the early stages of development and not coherent. The overall conclusion was that the involvement of the business sector is not sufficiently encouraged by CSOs or the Government. Most CSOs have not done enough to gain the trust of the business sector and have not developed strategies or incentives to attract the support of the private companies.
- **The dependence on foreign funding** was also regarded as a weakness. The volume of foreign funding continues to decrease, and civil society stakeholders have expressed fear that after the accession of Romania to the EU foreign donors will drastically limit their presence in Romania. Interestingly, participants reaffirmed the vital importance of foreign donors for CSOs’ activities, however, felt that relations with donors cause some problems, which were identified as weaknesses, such as donors’ bureaucratic practices and paternalism
- Although some participants felt that the dialogue between CSOs and Government has improved and considered it a strength of the Romanian civil society, the majority of the stakeholders believed that **the relation between state and civil society remains weak**. Two of the most frequently mentioned opinions were, “[t]he state does not consult CSOs in the decision making process” or “the consultation of the nonprofit sector by government is only decorative.” Moreover, consultation procedures are usually perceived as very difficult, and recommendations from civil society are not taken into account. More specifically, civil society stakeholders indicated that “the stiffness of the public authorities to receive input from CSOs”, “the hostile attitude of public servants towards NGOs” and “the unfriendly attitude of some public servants” are some of the problems.
- **The difficulty in disseminating information through mass media** is another weakness of Romanian civil society. Stakeholders involved in the consultation process felt that the low credibility of Romanian CSOs, as was revealed in the opinion polls, can partly be explained by the low visibility of positive civil society activities in the mass media. Even when CSOs are involved in successful social campaigns, Romanian citizens are typically unaware of civil society’s role in those activities. Instead, the negative stereotypes circulated by the mass media are easily accepted by the majority of the population.

V RECOMMENDATIONS

During the consultations the participants focused their recommendations on the need to strengthen citizen participation in public life, particularly by increasing their involvement in the activities carried out by CSOs. The proposed recommendations for achieving this objective include:

Improving citizen participation

The involvement of citizens in the activities carried by CSOs was acknowledged as low; therefore, organisations should develop tools to educate citizens, in order for them to participate in different ways, such as individual charitable giving, developing volunteer opportunities and assisting in the development of civil society. The values promoted by civil society should be disseminated through programmes and initiatives aimed at introducing citizens to the role that CSOs already play in Romanian society. Some stakeholders said that such initiatives were carried out in the past, albeit not in a concerted way. They suggested that one possible solution could be to build on these past programmes and to update them.

Improving relations with public authorities and business

CSOs need to strengthen their partnerships with the authorities, particularly with local authorities in fields such as social services, youth, culture and environmental protection. CSOs should work with the central authorities to improve the legislative framework affecting CSOs' activity by ensuring their access to public funding, removing bureaucratic barriers, making it easier for them to attract business support and creating better conditions for lobbying and advocacy. This should be seen as a necessity by all CSOs. They should also advocate and lobby for the stronger involvement of authorities and business representatives in the activities developed by civil society at large. Another recommendation referred to improving professionalism of CSOs representatives in the relation with the business sector.

Improving cooperation within civil society

Building inter- or intra-sectoral coalitions, networks and groups will allow CSOs to raise a common voice and interact more efficiently with public authorities and business representatives. The consultations within the framework of the CSI process have been seen as an important step in building confidence among the different civil society sectors. CSO representatives have indicated that knowing more about the others helps build mutual trust. At the same time debating the state of the civil society as a whole contributes to creating a sense of common identity and confidence in the civil society and its values. It was recommended that such consultations be continued in the future.

Strengthening the “watchdog” role of CSOs

Participants to the seminar have come to the conclusion that CSOs should play a more important role as watchdogs. They should develop the capacity to react more quickly and in a more concerted way to potential irresponsible actions by both public authorities and private companies. The watchdog role of CSOs was seen as vital to Romania joining the European Union. The accession to the EU is expected to decrease external scrutiny on the domestic developments in Romania and take away the leverage of the political conditionalities. In this context, the indigenous CSOs should be prepared to fully perform their role of watchdog.

Strengthening the advocacy capacity of CSOs

CSOs should increase their awareness of the necessity to become more involved in shaping public policy. So far Romanian CSOs have been criticised for playing a rather reactive role and for embracing the priorities of foreign donors. Therefore, it was recommended that they adopt a more proactive role and prove they are capable of responding to social interests, by independently setting the public agenda. In order to do this, Romanian CSOs have to strengthen their advocacy capacity.

Influencing the national budgeting process

The case of influencing the drafting of the national budget was seen as an issue requiring more effort from the CSOs for the first time. However, at present CSOs have little capacity to play a significant role in this regard. The same conclusion was also drawn about the role CSOs must play in the future allocation of EU cohesion and structural funds, from which Romania will benefit. Therefore, civil society actors should become more interested in developing their capacity of budgetary analysis, monitoring and advocacy.

Improving the public image

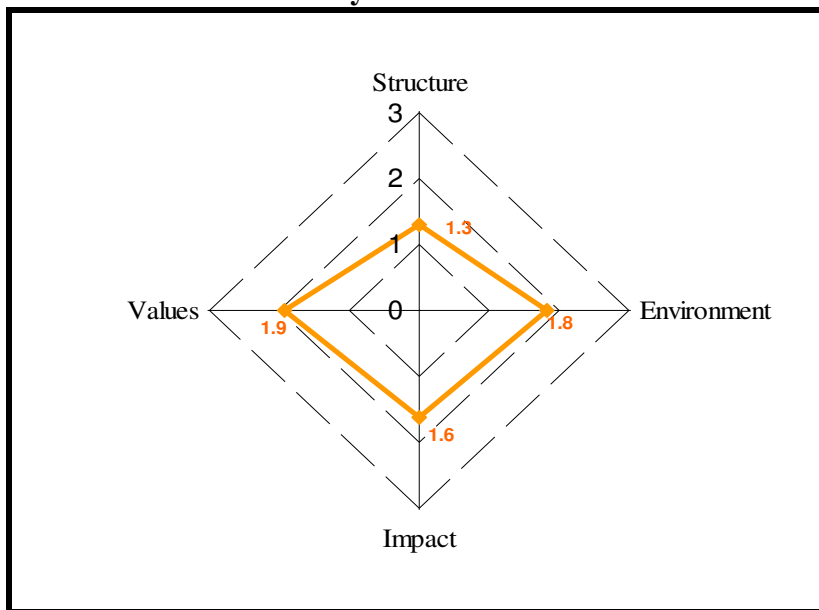
The public's general mistrust, regarding NGOs' actions and financial resources, influences all spheres of civil society. Thus, CSOs need to increase transparency by improving their annual reporting and increasing their openness to citizens, and by finding ways to be more accessible and more responsive to the public and citizen's interest. Mass media has a significant role in the dissemination of information to the public about CSOs actions. CSOs must make sure that their personnel are professional and capable of supporting and developing the relations between the CSOs and mass media.

VI CONCLUSIONS

The following concluding remarks synthesize the results of the comprehensive CSI project. They are based on the consultations with stakeholders, the deliberation within the NAG, secondary and primary data sources and the analysis of the final project results. They seek to provide, not only an overview of the Civil Society Index, but also clarification and analysis of the major findings, emphasizing the most interesting points.

As the civil society Diamond (see figure VI.1) reveals, structure is the weakest dimension of Romanian civil society. The very limited participation by citizens in associational life and the poor cooperation among CSOs are the main causes of this situation. On the other hand, the values promoted by Romanian civil society represent the most positive dimension of the assessment. Even in this dimension, however, there is an uneven interest by civil society actors in advocating for various values, with “post-materialist” values being relegated to a secondary role. The external environment influencing the shape and scope of Romanian civil society has improved in many respects. Nonetheless, enduring factors, such as corruption or the lack of social capital, continue to be serious obstacles for the further development of the sector. Romanian civil society has a relatively moderate impact on the overall domestic public space. Although very active, and with important contributions in many fields, domestic CSOs remain largely ignored by the rest of the society.

FIGURE VI.1: Civil Society Diamond



A rather weak structure, characterized by weak citizen participation and limited cooperation among CSOs

The major structural weakness of Romanian civil society remains the low level of citizen involvement in associational life. Despite many attempts by CSOs to mobilize citizens around issues of public concern, at both the local and national levels, the response from the population has remained modest. The lack of involvement has been mainly explained as a legacy from communism, which created an anomic society with a low level of social capital. In Romania, like in other Eastern European countries, involvement in community based initiatives has been associated with communist era “forced volunteering” and therefore remained weak. However, over the last few years there have been signs that when there is enough campaigning around an issue with a strong emotional impact, people tend to respond and get involved in community based initiatives. This was the case with the flooding, which affected large areas

of Romania and triggered a wave of solidarity around the country. In response to the flooding, a large number of people donated money and goods to the affected people.

Although it has slowly and gradually improved, the overall level of organization of Romanian civil society remains weak. CSOs are reluctant to share information with others and communication remains limited, often because of a commonly perceived exaggerated competition among CSOs. Cooperation exists; however, typically it is triggered by donors' imposing partnership as a model of good practice. Umbrella bodies exist in a limited number within specific sub-sectors of civil society and there is widespread lack of confidence in their effectiveness. A few attempts of self-regulation have been made, yet they proved unsuccessful. Financial viability continues to be an essential challenge for the development of the CSO sector in Romania. Most CSOs have developed a dependency on foreign grants, which are expected to decrease after Romania's accession to the EU. So far, most CSOs have not been able to develop local constituencies capable of providing them with a minimum of financial security; there is also limited domestic support for NGOs from the state, business and individual citizens. Since Romania still struggles with difficult social and economic conditions, the potential domestic funding base for CSOs remains rather limited.

An improving environment, but limited cooperation with the state and business sector

Important progress has been made in creating a better legal environment and in guaranteeing basic freedoms. Civil society has played an important role in achieving this progress. The overall political context, however, still remains challenging. Widespread corruption is still the major problem for Romanian society in spite of both external pressures on the national government and of an increasing effort by domestic civil society to bring about positive changes. Weak administrative capacity of the state, a difficult transition from the tradition of the centralized communist state and an inefficient juridical system, whose reformation has proved to be very complicated and which does not enjoy the trust of most citizens, are other disabling factors for Romanian civil society.

The relations between civil society and the business sector are very weak. The relation with the state and civil society has slightly improved over the last few years. It has evolved from a situation, at the beginning of the 1990s, where civil society and the state were overt enemies, to a moment in the mid 1990s when it improved and high expectations for a mutually fruitful relationship were created. These expectations soon led to disillusion and the relation can currently be best described, as was suggested during one regional stakeholder consultation, as "forced partners in a uneasy cohabitation." Although mechanisms of dialogue have been developed, CSOs believe that the dialogue has only a decorative role and that it serves the PR needs of the government in its relation with the EU and other international actors. Civil society representatives feel frustrated, because their opinions are not taken into account. Financial support from the state to civil society is very limited and CSOs still fear that a closer relation with the state might lead to a loss of autonomy.

Social services and child care attract the most of the resources and efforts, while "post materialist" values have a lower profile

Romanian CSOs are carriers of a set of values essential for a "civilised" society. Over time, influential CSOs have been very active in promoting particular values – such as democracy, transparency and tolerance. However, most of the time, civil society as a whole has been less capable of rallying forces around these values. For instance, although there are various CSOs promoting environmental sustainability and gender equity, these values remain still low on the national public agenda. This situation can be explained by the diversity of problems that Romania faced and is facing in its long and difficult transition from a totalitarian regime to democracy and from a centralized economy to a capitalist system.

The collapse of the former socio-economic fabric of the society created great challenges. Poverty, unemployment, the weak health care system and overall social safety net are the most urgent issues in need of being addressed. Most of the energy, both domestic and international, has been directed towards solving these concrete issues. Since the practical resolution of these issues was directly linked to the necessity of ensuring good governance practices, supporters of values, such as democracy and transparency have been more effective in promoting these values than those promoting 'less urgent' values. Despite this rather unfavourable context, a series of CSOs became engaged in promoting other essential values, such as tolerance, gender equity and environmental protection. Their task has been even more complicated, because these values have not been accepted as "traditional" issues, but rather as "imported" ones. The Romanian CSI findings reflect this situation, with higher scores for indicators describing values, such as democracy or poverty eradication and a lower score for gender equity. The score for environmental protection, however, is higher than expected. Environmental protection has not been a major concern for Romanian society. However, CSOs active in this field have gained an important position and become increasingly active, due to the external pressures on the national government in the context of the process of the EU accession and due to the continuing support by international donors dedicated to helping solve environmental problems.

A lower score for transparency reflects an external environment where corruption still represents a major problem for all sectors of society, including civil society. Although the assessment does not deny the important role of the most active CSOs in promoting transparency, it indicates that just as it is for the rest of Romanian society (including state and business), civil society must still develop good practices in this field and internalize transparency and accountability as a value rather than as a mere legal necessity.

Increasing impact and the importance of the international support

The overall score for the Impact dimension is relatively high when compared to the score for structure. This can be explained by the fact that Romanian CSOs have learnt to make the best use of rather limited resources and manage to carry out their activities in, sometimes, unfavourable conditions. Another, potentially more plausible explanation is that Romanian CSOs have been able to develop and operate effectively because they have benefited from the significant assistance and back-up by international actors (such as foreign donors, international organizations or foreign governments).

Romanian CSOs have not been very successful in holding the state and private corporations accountable. In the mission of holding the state accountable, domestic civil society had to "compete" with foreign actors interested in pressuring the Romanian Government for positive reforms and change (particularly the European Union). External pressures (such as the political conditionalities) have proven to be more effective than any domestic initiatives and consequently Romanian civil society has joined its voice with efforts of these international allies, typically taking on a reactive and supportive position. For a long while, a large part of the Romanian economy has been state-owned, which has generally come to be seen as a negative aspect, when compared to the more effective private ownership and management. For these reasons, civil society actors have been less preoccupied with holding private corporations accountable.

While they are seen as rather responsive to social needs, CSOs enjoy a low level of public trust and, when they are not ignored completely, their public image remains marked by negative stereotypes. This can be partly explained by the fact that most of Romanian CSOs remain donor driven and have not been able to develop local constituency. The dependency on the foreign donors has also made the organizations less interested in cultivating particularly good relations with citizens and mass media.

Most of the activities carried out by CSOs remain unknown to the majority of citizens. They show up in donors' final evaluation reports or in the annual reports of the organizations, but they are too rarely seen by the public. The mass media carries only a very limited number of articles on civil society initiatives and generally focuses on negative examples. Donors have been in a better position to judge the impact of

Romanian CSOs. They consider civil society's impact, described mostly as effectively identifying and directly solving societal problems, as one of civil society's strengths (Porumb 2001). Without the support of foreign donors, civil society's impact would probably have been proportional to the current level of development of Romanian civil society in terms of its citizen support, resources and level of cooperation. For example, the provision of social services by CSOs is an area generally acknowledged as being well developed. This is also reflected in the CSI assessment, where the "Meeting societal needs" subdimension scores highest among all of the subdimensions under the impact dimension. This achievement would not have been possible without support from foreign donors which have invested large amounts of funds in developing social services CSOs' capacity (e.g. through acquisition of equipment and transfer of know-how) and which have also provided the financial resources for the daily activities run by this type of organizations.

Romanian CSOs have also become more involved in activities aimed at influencing public policy in various areas. Romanian CSOs have been able to make their voices heard whenever they were supported by international actors. The EU has been particularly influential during the last few years and most CSOs' activities were driven by, or complementary to, EU objectives. The EU accession process has remained the main incentive for the government to consult with CSOs, mainly on the adoption of legislation and policies. The policy impact studies carried out as part of this project reveal a distinct pattern in CSOs' actions aimed at influencing public policy: if CSOs want to be successful in the negotiations with the government, they need to first seek international support for their causes. Thus, the importance of foreign influence on the overall development and dynamics of Romanian civil society should not be underestimated.

The overall CSI process is regarded as positive and seen as an important contribution by the participating stakeholders. They acknowledge the effort made to map and create an image of civil society in Romania, which attempted to include not only NGOs, as it had been previously done, but also other important civil society actors, such as trade unions. At the same time all of the participants expressed the need to know more about the Romanian civil society.

The Civil Society Index provides structured information on many of the essential characteristics of Romanian civil society. Through this process it is hoped that another positive outcome has been achieved: not only to provide answers, but also to raise important questions. From this perspective, the hope is that the Civil Society Index can be seen as point of reference for future research and policy making.

LIST OF APPENDICES

- Appendix 1: List of NAG members and people involved in the implementation of the project;
- Appendix 2: Overview of CSI Research Methods
- Appendix 3: Policy Impact Studies
- Appendix 4: Study on Civil Society in the Media
- Appendix 5: CSI Scoring Matrix
- Appendix 6: Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Philanthropy in Romania
- Appendix 7: Bibliography

Appendix 1

List of the National Advisory Group

1. Doina Crângașu – Executive Director, Princess Margarita of Romania Foundation;
2. Laura Băluț – Program Assistant, Princess Margarita of Romania Foundation;
3. Luana Pop – Professor, University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology;
4. Adrian Sorescu – Executive Director, Pro Democracy Association;
5. Radu Mateescu – Executive Director, Concept Foundation;
6. Paul Lăcătuș – Capital magazine;
7. Anca Socolovski – Government Department for Institutional Analysis (DAIS);
8. Diana Nițulescu – Government Department for Institutional Analysis (DAIS);
9. Otilia Pop – Government Department for Institutional Analysis (DAIS);
10. Ileana Neamțu – Director, CASPIS;
11. Cristian Ghinea – Romanian Academic Society (SAR);
12. Mona Gotteszman – Prochild Federation;
13. Oana Stere – Executive Director, Prochild Federation;
14. Dina Loghin – Executive Director, ȘEF Iași
15. Viorel Micescu – Executive Director, CENTRAS;
16. Istvan Haller – Executive Director, ProEuropa League;
17. Alexandru Lăzescu – President, Romania Gateway Association;
18. Bogdan Hossu – President, Cartel Alfa;
19. Ruxandra Datcu – Deputy Director, USAID;
20. Diana Cristea – National Director, Bethany Foundation;
21. Gabriela Ivașcu – Executive Director, Donors Forum;

People involved in various stages of the implementation of the project:

1. Ionuț Sibian – Program Coordinator, Civil Society Development Foundation (FDSC);
2. Octavian Rusu – Legal Advisor, Civil Society Development Foundation (FDSC);
3. Oana Țigănescu – Grant Manager, Civil Society Development Foundation (FDSC);
4. Ileana Hargalaș – Grant Manager, Civil Society Development Foundation (FDSC);
5. Carmen Răduț – Program Assistant, British Embassy;
6. Oana Iacob – Romanian Presidency;
7. Mihaela Lambru- Professor, University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology.
8. Monica Tomescu – Twinning Program Assistant, Ministry of Public Finance.

Appendix 2: Overview of CSI Research Methods

The CSI project research methods included a variety of methodological instruments, used during the study to achieve a complex and realistic imagine of Romanian civil society. Most of the methods used in the study were proposed by CIVICUS (stakeholders' consultations, media review, primary and secondary data gathering) but the project team also recommended an electronic survey for subscribers of CSDF weakly bulletin *Voluntar*. The methodological approach was divided in two sections: a review of secondary information and gathering of primary information (through primary research).

SECONDARY INFORMATION

The CSI research began in October 2003 with the review of existing information, data and resources regarding civil society, which was included an **overview report** on the state of the Romanian civil society. This report was mainly based on information provided by the Public Opinion Barometers as well as other studies carried out by various organizations.

PRIMARY INFORMATION

A set of primary research methods were proposed by CIVICUS in order to generate valid and useful information on the state of civil society and included: *regional stakeholder consultations, national surveys, fact finding* and a *media review*.

In order to gather information from different civil society actors regarding the state of civil society five **regional stakeholder consultations** were held between January 2004 and March 2005. The five towns selected for the consultation were chosen according to the country division in five historical regions. This is a commonly used criterion and it ensures demographic and socio-economic representativity across the country. In the beginning of the process, the NIT contacted local NGOs for assistance in organizing the meetings. The five towns selected were: Constanta (Dobrogea region), Sinaia and Bucharest (Muntenia region), Odorheul Secuiesc (Transilvania region) and Iasi (Moldova region).

Prior the consultations, CSDF with assistance from the local organisation sent invitations to local stakeholders and arranged the necessary logistic details. The aim of the meetings was to gather a broad range of civil society actors with good knowledge of civil society in the region and allow the debate on different aspects that characterise civil society. The participants to the stakeholder consultation represented diverse and representative actors from various fields within civil society.

The participants at the meetings were asked to answer a questionnaire regarding various issues concerning civil society and to take part in a SWOT analysis debate regarding all four dimensions of civil society.

TABLE IV: Participation at regional stakeholder consultations

Town	Number of participants
Constanta	12
Sinaia	10
Bucuresti	13
Odrheul Secuiesc	15
Iasi	7
Total	57

The questionnaire proposed initially in CIVICUS' toolkit was adapted to Romanian context and provided to the participants at the beginning of the meetings. Each stakeholder consultation usually lasted five hours, involved the participation of at least two representatives of the project team and was divided in three main sections: (1) participants filling in the questionnaires, (2) participants undertaking

a SWOT analysis exercise in four working groups and (3) discussions upon the conclusions of the working groups.

- (1) After an introduction to the CSI project, and to the aims of the consultation, each participant was asked to shortly present themselves. The definition of civil society was also presented and people were asked to define civil society in their point of view. Afterwards each participant received a questionnaire and was kindly asked to fill it in during a 30 minutes period.
- (2) After all participants completed the questionnaire, the CSDF representatives presented the four dimensions of civil society: structure, environment, values and impact. After the presentation, participants were asked to separate into four groups corresponding to the dimensions of civil society and to write down on a flipchart sheet the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of each dimension (SWOT analysis). During the exercise the project team moved from one group to another and if necessary defined the four dimensions of the civil society: Structure, Values, Environment and Impact in order to help the participants defining them more clearly from the point of SWOT analysis. Identifying regional differences was not the goal of the research, so participants were encouraged to discuss the characteristics of civil society as a whole.
- (3) A representative of each group was asked to present in front of all participants, the SWOT analysis for each of the four dimensions. Participants could thus draw an overall picture of the state of civil society.

In 2005, CSDF selected ISRA Research Institute to carry out a **representative population survey**.¹¹ The survey took place between February and March 2005 using a representative sample of 1067 adults. Considering the weak development of CSOs in most rural regions of Romania the research was conducted only in the urban areas. The main objectives of the study were to identify the involvement of people living in the urban regions, NGOs' activities within communities and identify the way the main state institutions respond to requirements of citizens in need. The selection of the population questioned in the research was based on age, geographical region and genre stratification criteria.

The **fact finding process** gathered the information that was not necessarily published or publicly disseminated and was an ongoing process during the entire implementation of the project. The fact finding process sought to make use of as many possible published and unpublished documents/data (e.g. studies, papers, surveys or statistics prepared by CSOs, CSO umbrella organizations, government agencies or donors - see Appendix 6) and conducted a study of civil society's impact on several priority policy issues (*social services, child protection, financial provisions for supporting CSOs activities*) (see Appendix 3).

The **media review** is another primary research method which provides useful information on the state of civil society and specific civil society activities/actors which are reported in the media and to establish whether and how civil society is represented in the media. The selection of media to be monitored took into consideration the following criteria: daily frequency, geographical coverage (national), and accessibility in terms of time and resources for the monitoring team. Taking in consideration the above the team proposed the written mass media to be Romania's source of data. Thus, between February – August 2004 four newspapers with national coverage were monitored (*Adevarul, Evenimentul zilei, Libertatea* and *Romania libera*). Further detail is provided within Appendix 4: Study on Civil Society in the Media.

¹¹ The company was chosen based on a selection process that included 3 offers from various research companies.

Internet survey

The lack of data regarding some of the issues studied (such as volunteering or affiliation to coalitions) put the project team in the situation where information could not be provided for certain indicators and thus the score could not rely on any kind of data. Therefore an internet survey on CSDF subscribers to the electronic newsletter *Voluntar* was conducted by the project team between May and June 2005 and 144 organisations answer to the questionnaire. The electronic questionnaire offered information on the level of satisfaction regarding the human and financial resources, CSOs resources (i.e. office equipment), affiliation to federations or formal and informal coalitions and number of volunteers.

Appendix 3

Social Policy Case Study

The piece of legislation regulating the provision of social services (Governmental Ordinance GO 68/2003) was vital for the organizations providing social services as their mission. Therefore, CSDF managed to mobilize a group of 20 NGOs which took part in the public debate on the draft law. In 2004, the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family (MMSSF) organized eight public debates on the legislation regarding social services (GO 68/2003, GO 86/2004, law 217/2003).

A few observations and proposals made by these NGOs were included in the final text of the law (accreditation of all social services providers, not only private ones), while others were not taken into consideration (control on the NGOs only for State financing sources or membership in the evaluation, monitoring and control commission by NGOs representatives).

A seminar was organized by CSDF where representatives of the MMSSF were invited. Following this seminar, discontented NGO representatives formed an initiative group (of about 15 persons) asking for the modification of GO 68. Proposals for the modification of the law were submitted to the Parliament. This action failed to produce any favourable result and GO 68 was adopted by the Senate on 10 November 2003 without any proposal being accepted.

Later on, a group of NGO representatives met the state secretary from MMSSF and agreed on a concrete collaboration on the normative acts which were to be adopted in 2004.

In 2004, GO 68/2003 was eventually modified by GO 86/2004. NGOs made an important contribution to the elaboration of both legislative documents. Stipulations concerning the financing of the social services based on the principles of competition and efficient use of public funds were included. Moreover, the new funding conditions seek to make it impossible to restrict free access of all the providers of social services, be they public or private. The provision and development of social services is made on the basis of identifying and evaluating the needs and the situations at the local and county level, and financing comes from the local budget for the primary social services and from the county budget for the specialised ones. New stipulations, introduced by the modification from 2004, concern the financing of the social services through the contribution of the beneficiaries, while the detailing of the procedure remains to envisage the application methodology.

Human Rights Case Study

Domestic violence against children has been a frequent occurrence in Romania. Traditionally, corporal punishment was seen as normal and attributed an educational value. However, mass media has often presented cases of extremely violent and cruel treatment to which children were subjected.

Against this traditional attitude, throughout 2002-2003, Save the Children undertook, a programme aimed at fighting violence against children (*"Bataia nu e rupta din rai"*). A campaign was organized in order to raise public awareness on this issue. Since the first drafts of the Law on the legal status of adoptions and the law on protecting and promoting child rights were produced, Save the Children organized local consultations and national debates on these issues, with more than 300 participants and specialists in the field of child protection in Romania. Lobbying activities were carried out in order to influence the adoption of new legislative norms for the child protection. As a result of the recommendations and observations elaborated and submitted by Save the Children to the National Authority for Child Protection and Adoption, the Government General Secretariat and Parliament. A

series of amendments, essential for respecting child rights according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, were also introduced in the final version in 2004.

Thus, banning child corporal punishment was included, (Law 272/2004) the importance of establishing the institution of a Child Ombudsman was recognized and a chapter on the abused or neglected child's special protection was also introduced.

Influencing public policy in the field of child protection: organized structures for lobby and advocacy

Since 1989, child protection has been one of the most sensitive issues for Romania. Over the last few years, under external pressure, especially from the EU, Romanian authorities began a real reform in the field of child protection. Efforts have been made to draft a new legislation and to develop standards for services.

Romanian NGOs, which were already very much engaged in offering assistance to vulnerable categories of children, have become aware of the need to observe the child rights in the new legislation and in daily practice. In this context, a group of NGOs formed the Federation of NGOs Active in Child Protection, which has become an example of a national network of organizations successful in influencing national policies in this field. The Federation of NGOs Active in Child Protection FONPC is an umbrella organization and it has 49 members active in child welfare and protection in Romania.

ProChild Federation is another important example of national umbrella organization, with 44 members, involved in representing the interests of NGOs active in this field. In 2003, with the support from the Princess Margarita Foundation, CSDF and Prochild Federation established the Group for Analysis and Debate in the field of child protection (GAD). GAD aimed at providing the basis for children right NGOs to facilitate lobby and advocacy initiatives.

At the beginning of 2002, an advocacy group was established by FONPC and ProChild Federation. The advocacy group closely followed the evolution of the Law project on child protection draft law on child protection and pleaded on behalf of the two federations that particular recommendations on children protection are taken into account. The last version of the Law included some of the provisions demanded by the advocacy group.

In 2002, the National Authority for Child Protection began financing NGO projects. The national strategy is considered to be more coherent and NGOs felt that they are regarded as legitimate, professional and reliable partners. In many counties, public-NGO partnerships are thought to have be a natural way of solving problems of children and families.

The adoption of “1% Law”

The adoption of “1% Law” has been considered one of the major achievements of the Romanian NGO sector in the last few years.

The major concern which stood as the basis of this initiative was the need for an alternative and safe source of funding to international donors, which are expected to dramatically decrease their presence in Romania after Romania becomes a member of the EU. Other identified benefits for Romanian NGOs were: reducing political dependency strengthening the relationship with the beneficiaries and increasing the public awareness and trust in NGOs.

The most important conditions which have positively influenced the adoption of this provision were the full support from influential MP(s), the close distance to the elections from 2004 and the adoption of the new Fiscal Code at the end of 2003.

The 1% Law had as a model the similar legislation from Hungary and other countries in the region. It was included as an amendment to the Fiscal Code, adopted as Law 571/2003, Title III. The Income Tax, Chapter X. The Annual Global Income Tax, Article 90.

Some of the initial elements of the proposal had to be abandoned during the negotiations. At the beginning, the coalition requested a “2% Law”. In the end the Chamber of Deputies accepted only 1%. At first, the intended outcome was a special law on 1% provision. Eventually, however, the provision was introduced in the Fiscal Code. Initially, the amendment included the same percentage proposal for corporations. Yet, during the negotiations another solution was agreed upon for the business environment: a provision through which Romanian businesses are allowed to deduct from their income tax up to 0.3% of their annual turnover or up to 20% of the owed profit tax as sponsorships for NGO sector initiatives.

The whole process of forming a coalition around this issue, lobbying and getting the provision adopted took place in a very short time from September to December 2004.

At a seminar from 12 to 13 September 2003, the idea was debated by forty representatives of some of the most important NGOs in Romania. A meeting between NGOs and the Minister of Finance, Mihai Tănăsescu, took place on 30 September 2003 and the idea of a percentage law was proposed. On 2 October 2003, NGO representatives, with the support of Mona Muscă, MP, met again with the Minister of Finance for further consultations. The Minister agreed in principle with the idea and considered that the most appropriate and fastest way to proceed would be to submit the provision as an amendment to the Fiscal Code. At that moment the Fiscal Code was just a legislative proposal waiting to be sent to the Parliament in order to be debated in November 2004. On 30 October 2003, the NGOs met again and agreed to launch the 2% Initiative campaign. Two important Romanian NGOs, the Open Society Foundation (OSF) and the CSDF organized the signature-raising campaign among other organizations. In only four days more than 200 signatures in support of the amendment were gathered, together with suggestions on the proposal. In addition to the support of Mona Musca, other MPs from the major parliamentary parties were lobbied and accepted to co-sponsor the amendment: Viorel Hrebenciuc (PSD), Emil Boc (PD) and Marko Bella (UDMR). Ambassadors or other diplomatic representatives of the EU, USA, Germany and France were also approached and they agreed to support the initiative. On December 8, 2003, OSF and FDCS organized a final meeting with the participation of all the parties involved so far: the Minister of Finance, the MPs sponsors, diplomatic representatives and NGOs. They all agreed to support “The 2% Initiative” in Parliament. The amendment was submitted to Parliament and was on the table of the Budget and Finance Committee. The Committee adopted the proposal, but only at the level of 1% of income tax. The provision regarding corporations was dropped as a corporate tax credit provision was already part of the government’s original Fiscal Code proposal. On 13 December 2003, the amendment was put to vote in the full session of the Chamber of Deputies. The result was that the 1% level was eventually approved.

Appendix 4

STUDY ON CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE MEDIA

Introduction

In Romania, the mass media plays an important role in informing the public and shaping attitudes. According to the POB from May 2005, 62% of Romanian citizens trust mass media (which comes third in the hierarchy of the most trusted institutions in Romania, after the Church and the Army).

A specific study on the representation of civil society in the Romanian media was conducted as part of the CSI. The study draws on the monitoring of four major newspapers in Romania during the period from February to August 2004. The four publications were: *Adevarul*, *Evenimentul Zilei*, *Libertatea* and *Romania libera*. The monitoring was carried out by CSDF. The media monitoring process was guided by the criteria outlined by CIVICUS, which involved an initial screening of the media for civil society related news, followed by the classification of this news according to standardized criteria. Then, the data was inputted into an MS-Access database which was used to analyse the data. CSDF selected four national daily newspapers, the main criterion of the selection being the relevance of these sources in the Romanian mass media sector (ratings). NCOs also felt that the four newspapers cover the major ideological orientations and they also have a diversity of publication profiles.

Research Findings

In the following, we present the main findings of the CSI drawn from the Media Study.

Quantity:

For the period February – August 2004, in the four newspapers there were recorded 339 news items related to civil society issues. The frequency of reporting varies considerably among the four newspapers. It depends on the overall size of the publication, but also on the editorial policy of each newspaper. Of all the entries from the database, most news items related to civil society issues were found in *Adevarul* (145 news items - 43%). *Romania libera* had the next highest number of news items with (78 news items - 23%), followed by *Evenimentul Zilei* (74 news items - 22%) and *Libertatea* (42 news items - 12%).

Examining the form of reporting on civil society reveals that civil society is rarely a focus of media analysis beyond news reporting. The large majority (96%) of items monitored were news stories relevant to civil society, of which 60% were news in brief. Only around 2% of the items were opinion pieces about civil society activities. The absence of a larger number of editorials, or analytical articles may indicate that civil society in Romania seems to be a rather superficial object of media coverage, and not an influential shaper of public opinion through the media. The position of a news item within the structure of a newspaper is an indicator of the importance that is attached to the respective piece of information. Only 22%, of the total number of articles referring to CSOs, occupy very prominent positions in the monitored newspapers.

Issues

The main topics presented related to labour and unemployment (41%), mostly referring to strikes, labour laws and working conditions. Other important topics in the Romanian mass media related to children (12%), corruption (12%), health (6%), advocacy (5%) and environmental issues (5%). Corporate Social Responsibility, with 3%, reflects mainly the ability of major companies to attract the interest of mass

media for their charitable activities, philanthropic events and CSR campaigns. Gender issues occupy a modest place on the mass media agenda (1%).

Of the news items, 65% reflect activities that took place at national level, 28% at local level and almost 7% at regional level.

Actors

There are stark differences in the frequency and prominence of reporting on different types of CSOs. The CSOs that receive most of the attention are the trade unions (38%). Social services CSOs are also well represented with 20%, followed by advocacy organizations (18%). A relatively high percentage refers to CSOs active in education, training and research (7%). According to CIVICUS' methodology, this category also includes think tanks. In Romania think tanks are among the most active organizations in the field of advocacy. Therefore, in order to get a more accurate perception of the real situation, the percentage of organizations which operate as advocacy CSOs should be upgraded with several percents. Environmental CSOs are present in 6% of the total reviewed news items.

Civil Society image in the mass media:

Most of the news items (78%) represent CSOs in a neutral manner; 8% express a negative image and 14% see civil society positively. Among the most visible CSOs in the mass media, social services organizations that receive the most positive representation (37% positive representation – 31 positive references, the highest number; among all the others organizations none receives more than 4 positive references). CSOs active in education, training and research (including think tanks) receive only neutral and positive representation. Trade unions receive the highest number of negative representations (in 8 news items), although as a percentage this represents only 5% of all news items related to trade unions.

Over half (53%) of the total news items refer to the *impact* that CSOs have. While most of the articles reflect CSOs' impact in a neutral manner, 11% are positive and only 2% negative. Comparing the representation of civil society along the four dimensions of the CSI, the impact dimension receives the most positive representation, while the other three dimensions get less positive ratings. Thus, civil society's activities targeting government, the corporate sector and society at large not only receive most coverage, but also the most positive coverage. It seems that, at least through the lenses of the media, civil society is regarded as active and successful in impacting on the development of Romanian society at large.

Values promoted by civil society are reflected in 22% of the total news items. Only 16% of these news items related to *values* were positive, while 22% reflect a negative image of the civil society, as seen by the mass media. This more negative image on the values dimension of civil society is not unusual. This dimension contains the indicators for tolerance and corruption within the civil society as well as the values promoted by CSOs (tolerance of sexual minorities or Roma for instance). Previous mass media monitoring reports on tolerance of sexual minorities (produced by ACCEPT) and of Roma (elaborated by Media Monitoring Agency Academia Catavencu) showed that although tolerance by journalists attitudes to these two categories have improved over the last few years, discriminatory stances continue to be frequent in the Romanian mass media. This fact, and the critical attitude by journalists toward corruption within some CSOs, helps explain the higher negative percentage in the reflection of the values dimension.

Conclusion

The findings of the media study indicate that certain civil society issues are described more often than others in the media outlets examined here. For example, trade unions, social services organisations and advocacy NGOs clearly dominate the reporting. However, most of the coverage does not involve civil society actors themselves and is limited to a factual presentation of events. Civil society groups and

individuals do not seem to have sufficient space to present their own views in the media. When there is a better focus on civil society issues, it is usually in instances where negative aspects are reflected in a more detailed manner. Overall, treatment of civil society issues in the Romania media is rather common, yet superficial and focused on a small subset of CSOs.

The CSI media study helps provide a better understanding of the media's perception of civil society issues and actors. The findings of the media study show that a large proportion of CSOs are rarely represented in the media. Building the PR capacity of NGOs, foundations, faith-based organisations and other civil society actors, as well as providing a forum for exchanges between media and civil society actors could address this concern.

Another conclusion is that newspapers (mass media) attitudes towards civil society vary. Some of the media monitored manifest a more positive attitude towards civil society issues and CSOs. For instance of the four monitored newspapers, *Evenimentul Zilei* stands out as the friendliest medium to CSOs, *Romania libera* has the lowest number of negative references, *Adevarul* is rather balanced.

It is thus important for CSOs to find those media which are the most open towards their activities and to try to cultivate better relations with the others.

Table VI: Attitude of newspaper towards civil society

Medium	Negative (%)	Neutral (%)	Positive (%)
<i>Adevarul</i>	10	79	11
<i>Evenimentul Zilei</i>	10	61	29
<i>Libertatea</i>	5	84	10
<i>Romania libera</i>	1	90	9

ANNEX 5 - THE CSI SCORING MATRIX

1 – STRUCTURE

1.1 - Breadth of citizen participation

Description: How widespread is citizen involvement in civil society? What proportion of citizens engage in civil society activities?

1.1.1 - Non-partisan political action

Description: What percentage of people have ever undertaken any form of non-partisan political action (e.g. written a letter to a newspaper, signed a petition, attended a demonstration)?

A very small minority (less than 10%).	Score 0
A minority (10% to 30%).	Score 1
A significant proportion (31% to 65%).	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%).	Score 3

1.1.2 - Charitable giving

Description: What percentage of people donate to charity on a regular basis?

A very small minority (less than 10%).	Score 0
A minority (10% to 30%).	Score 1
A significant proportion (31% to 65%).	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%).	Score 3

1.1.3 - CSO membership¹²

Description: What percentage of people belong to at least one CSO?

A small minority (less than 30%).	Score 0
A minority (30% to 50%).	Score 1
A majority (51% to 65%).	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%).	Score 3

1.1.4 - Volunteering

Description: What percentage of people undertake volunteer work on a regular basis (at least once a year)?

A very small minority (less than 10%).	Score 0
A small minority (10% to 30%).	Score 1
A minority (31% to 50%).	Score 2
A majority (more than 50%).	Score 3

1.1.5 - Collective community action

Description: What percentage of people have participated in a collective community action within the last year (e.g. attended a community meeting, participated in a community-organised event or a collective effort to solve a community problem)?

A small minority (less than 30%).	Score 0
A minority (30% -50%).	Score 1
A majority (51% to 65%).	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%).	Score 3

1.2 - Depth of citizen participation

Description: How deep/meaningful is citizen participation in CS? How frequently/extensively do people engage in CS activities?

1.2.1 - Charitable giving

Description: How much (i.e. what percentage of personal income) do people who give to charity on a regular basis donate, on average, per year?

Less than 1%	Score 0
1% to 2%	Score 1
2.1% to 3%	Score 2
More than 3%	Score 3

¹² This indicator is very popular among academics and is sometimes used as a single proxy for the strength of civil society (Welzel 1999)! However, available data on this indicator still has many shortcomings, particularly on a cross-national level (Morales Diez de Ulzurrun 2002). We consciously designed the indicator scores so that they are broad enough to yield a valid score as each of the four scores covers between 20-30 percentage points. We hereby avoid having to measure the exact percentage of CSO members among the population.

1.2.2 - Volunteering

Description: How many hours per month, on average, do volunteers devote to volunteer work?

Less than 2 hours	Score 0
2 to 5 hours	Score 1
5.1 to 8 hours	Score 2
More than 8 hours.	Score 3

1.2.3 - CSO membership

Description: What percentage of CSO members belong to more than one CSO?

A small minority (less than 30%)	Score 0
A minority (30% to 50%)	Score 1
A majority (51% to 65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

1.3 - Diversity of civil society participants

***Description:* How diverse/representative is the civil society arena? Do all social groups participate equitably in civil society? Are any groups dominant or excluded?**

1.3.1 - CSO membership

Description: To what extent do CSOs represent all significant social groups (e.g. women, rural dwellers, poor people, and minorities)?

Significant social groups are absent / excluded from CSOs.	Score 0
Significant social groups are largely absent from CSOs	Score 1
Significant social groups are under-represented in CSOs.	Score 2
CSOs equitably represent all social groups. No group is noticeably under-represented.	Score 3

1.3.2 - CSO leadership

Description: To what extent is there diversity in CSO leadership? To what extent does CSO leadership represent all significant social groups (e.g. women, rural dwellers, poor people, and minorities)?

Significant social groups are absent / excluded from CSO leadership roles.	Score 0
Significant social groups are largely absent from CSO leadership roles.	Score 1
Significant social groups are under-represented in CSO leadership roles.	Score 2
CSO leadership equitably represents all social groups. No group is noticeably under-represented.	Score 3

1.3.3 Distribution of CSOs

Description: How are CSOs distributed throughout the country?

CSOs are highly concentrated in the major urban centres.	Score 0
CSOs are largely concentrated in urban areas.	Score 1
CSOs are present in all but the most remote areas of the country.	Score 2
CSOs are present in all areas of the country.	Score 3

1.4. - Level of organisation

***Description:* How well-organised is civil society? What kind of infrastructure exists for civil society?**

1.4.1 - Existence of CSO umbrella bodies

Description: What percentage of CSOs belong to a federation or umbrella body of related organisations?

A small minority (less than 30%)	Score 0
A minority (30% to 50%)	Score 1
A majority (51% to 70%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 70%)	Score 3

1.4.2 - Effectiveness of CSO umbrella bodies

Description: How effective do CSO stakeholders judge existing federations or umbrella bodies to be in achieving their defined goals?

Completely ineffective (or non-existent).	Score 0
Largely ineffective.	Score 1
Somewhat effective.	Score 2
Effective.	Score 3

1.4.3 - Self-regulation

Description: Are there efforts among CSOs to self-regulate? How effective and enforceable are existing self-regulatory mechanisms? What percentage of CSOs abide by a collective code of conduct (or some other form of self-regulation)?

There are no efforts among CSOs to self-regulate.	Score 0
---	---------

Preliminary efforts have been to self-regulate but only a small minority of CSOs are involved and impact is extremely limited.	Score 1
Some mechanisms for CSO self-regulation are in place but only some sectors of CSOs are involved and there is no effective method of enforcement. As a result, impact is limited.	Score 2
<u>Mechanisms for CSO self-regulation are in place and function quite effectively. A discernible impact on CSO behaviour can be detected.</u>	Score 3

1.4.4 - Support infrastructure

Description: What is the level of support infrastructure for civil society? How many civil society support organisations exist in the country? Are they effective?

There is no support infrastructure for civil society.	Score 0
There is very limited infrastructure for civil society.	Score 1
Support infrastructure exists for some sectors of civil society and is expanding.	Score 2
<u>There is a well-developed support infrastructure for civil society.</u>	Score 3

1.4.5 - International linkages

Description: What proportion of CSOs have international linkages (e.g. are members of international networks, participate in global events)?

Only a handful of “elite” CSOs have international linkages.	Score 0
A limited number of (mainly national-level) CSOs have international linkages.	Score 1
A moderate number of (mainly national-level) CSOs have international linkages.	Score 2
<u>A significant number of CSOs from different sectors and different levels (grassroots to national) have international linkages.</u>	Score 3

1.5 - Inter-relations

***Description:* How strong / productive are relations among civil society actors?**

1.5.1 - Communication¹³

Description: What is the extent of communication between CS actors?

Very little	Score 0
Limited	Score 1
Moderate	Score 2
<u>Significant</u>	Score 3

1.5.2 – Cooperation

Description: How much do CS actors cooperate with each other on issues of common concern? Can examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances/coalitions (around a specific issue or common concern) be identified?

CS actors do not cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. No examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances/coalitions can be identified / detected.	Score 0
It is very rare that CS actors cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. Very few examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances / coalitions can be identified / detected.	Score 1
CS actors on occasion cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. Some examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances / coalitions can be identified / detected.	Score 2
<u>CS actors regularly cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. Numerous examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances / coalitions can be identified / detected.</u>	Score 3

1.6 – Resources

***Description:* To what extent do CSOs have adequate resources to achieve their goals?**

1.6.1 - Financial resources

Description: How adequate is the level of financial resources for CSOs?

On average, CSOs suffer from a serious financial resource problem.	Score 0
On average, CSOs have inadequate financial resources to achieve their goals.	Score 1
On average, CSOs have most of the financial resources they require to achieve their defined goals.	Score 2
On average, CSOs have an adequate and secure financial resource base.	Score 3

1.6.2 - Human resources

Description: How adequate is the level of human resources for CSOs?

On average, CSOs suffer from a serious human resource problem.	Score 0
On average, CSOs have inadequate human resources to achieve their goals.	Score 1
On average, CSOs have most of the human resources they require to achieve their defined goals.	Score 2

¹³ Communication also includes information sharing between civil society actors.

On average, CSOs have an adequate and secure human resource base.	Score 3
--	---------

1.6.3 - Technological and infrastructural resources

Description: How adequate is the level of technological and infrastructural resources for CSOs?

On average, CSOs suffer from a serious technological and infrastructural resource problem.	Score 0
On average, CSOs have inadequate technological and infrastructural resources to achieve their goals.	Score 1
On average, CSOs have most of the technological and infrastructural resources they require to achieve their defined goals.	Score 2
On average, CSOs have an adequate and secure technological and infrastructural resource base.	Score 3

2 - ENVIRONMENT¹⁴

2.1 - Political context

Description: What is the political situation in the country and its impact on civil society?

2.1.1 - Political rights

Description: How strong are the restrictions on citizens' political rights (e.g. to participate freely in political processes, elect political leaders through free and fair elections, freely organise in political parties)?

There are severe restrictions on the political rights of citizens. Citizens cannot participate in political processes.	Score 0
There are some restrictions on the political rights of citizens and their participation in political processes.	Score 1
Citizens are endowed with substantial political rights and meaningful opportunities for political participation. There are minor and isolated restrictions on the full freedom of citizens' political rights and their participation in political processes.	Score 2
People have the full freedom and choice to exercise their political rights and meaningfully participate in political processes.	Score 3

2.1.2 - Political competition

Description: What are the main characteristics of the party system in terms of number of parties, ideological spectrum, institutionalisation and party competition?

Single party system.	Score 0
Small number of parties based on personalism, clientelism or appealing to identity politics.	Score 1
Multiple parties, but weakly institutionalised and / or lacking ideological distinction.	Score 2
Robust, multi-party competition with well-institutionalised and ideologically diverse parties.	Score 3

2.1.3 - Rule of law

Description: To what extent is the rule of law entrenched in the country?

There is general disregard for the law by citizens and the state.	Score 0
There is low confidence in and frequent violations of the law by citizens and the state.	Score 1
There is a moderate level of confidence in the law. Violations of the law by citizens and the state are not uncommon.	Score 2
Society is governed by fair and predictable rules, which are generally abided by.	Score 3

2.1.4 – Corruption

Description: What is the level of perceived corruption in the public sector?

High	Score 0
Substantial	Score 1
Moderate	Score 2
Low	Score 3

2.1.5 – State effectiveness

Description: To what extent is the state able to fulfil its defined functions?

The state bureaucracy has collapsed or is entirely ineffective (e.g. due to political, economic or social crisis).	Score 0
The capacity of the state bureaucracy is extremely limited.	Score 1
State bureaucracy is functional but perceived as incompetent and / or non-responsive.	Score 2
State bureaucracy is fully functional and perceived to work in the public's interests.	Score 3

2.1.6 – Decentralisation

¹⁴ For most of the indicators, secondary data sources are available for a broad range of countries. For each indicator, the scores indicate how to translate the original secondary data into the 4-point scale of the CSI scoring matrix.

Description: To what extent is government expenditure devolved to sub-national authorities?

Sub-national share of government expenditure is less than 20.0%.	Score 0
Sub-national share of government expenditure is between 20.0% and 34.9%.	Score 1
Sub-national share of government expenditure is between 35.0% than 49.9%.	Score 2
Sub-national share of government expenditure is more than 49.9%.	Score 3

2.2 - Basic freedoms & rights

***Description:* To what extent are basic freedoms ensured by law and in practice?**

2.2.1 - Civil liberties

Description: To what extent are civil liberties (e.g. freedom of expression, association, assembly) ensured by law and in practice?

Civil liberties are systematically violated.	Score 0
There are frequent violations of civil liberties.	Score 1
There are isolated or occasional violations of civil liberties.	Score 2
Civil liberties are fully ensured by law and in practice.	Score 3

2.2.2 - Information rights

Description: To what extent is public access to information guaranteed by law? How accessible are government documents to the public?

No laws guarantee information rights. Citizen access to government documents is extremely limited.	Score 0
Citizen access to government documents is limited but expanding.	Score 1
Legislation regarding public access to information is in place, but in practice, it is difficult to obtain government documents.	Score 2
Government documents are broadly and easily accessible to the public.	Score 3

2.2.3 - Press freedoms

Description: To what extent are press freedoms ensured by law and in practice?

Press freedoms are systematically violated.	Score 0
There are frequent violations of press freedoms.	Score 1
There are isolated violations of press freedoms.	Score 2
Freedom of the press is fully ensured by law and in practice.	Score 3

2.3 - Socio-economic context¹⁵

***Description:* What is the socio-economic situation in the country and its impact on civil society?**

2.3.1 - Socio-economic context

Description: How much do socio-economic conditions in the country represent a barrier to the effective functioning of civil society?

Social & economic conditions represent a serious barrier to the effective functioning of civil society. More than five of the following conditions are present: 1. Widespread poverty (e.g. more than 40% of people live on \$2 per day) 2. Civil war (armed conflict in last 5 years) 3. Severe ethnic and/or religious conflict 4. Severe economic crisis (e.g. external debt is more than GNP) 5. Severe social crisis (over last 2 years) 6. Severe socio-economic inequities (Gini coefficient > 0.4) 7. Pervasive adult illiteracy (over 40%) 8. Lack of IT infrastructure (i.e. less than 5 hosts per 10.000 inhabitants)	Score 0
Social & economic conditions significantly limit the effective functioning of civil society. Three, four or five of the conditions indicated are present.	Score 1
Social & economic conditions somewhat limit the effective functioning of civil society. One or two of the conditions indicated are present.	Score 2
Social & economic conditions do not represent a barrier to the effective functioning of civil society. None of the conditions indicated is present.	Score 3

¹⁵ This sub-dimension/indicator is not broken up into individual indicators to facilitate and simplify scoring. The sub-dimension/indicator consists of 8 socio-economic conditions which are of importance to civil society. The scores for this indicator are designed in such a way that they indicate how many socio-economic obstacles are there for civil society (max: 8; min: 0). The task for the NAG scoring meeting is to simply verify the number of obstacles (as identified by the secondary data) and assign the score accordingly.

2.4 - Socio-cultural context

Description: To what extent are socio-cultural norms and attitudes conducive or detrimental to civil society?

2.4.1 - Trust

Description: How much do members of society trust one another?

Relationships among members of society are characterised by mistrust (e.g. less than 10% of people score on the World Value Survey (WVS) trust indicator).	Score 0
There is widespread mistrust among members of society. (e.g. 10% to 30% of people score on the WVS trust indicator).	Score 1
There is a moderate level of trust among members of society. (e.g. 31% to 50% of people score on the WVS trust indicator).	Score 2
There is a high level of trust among members of society (e.g. more than 50% of people score on the WVS trust indicator).	Score 3

2.4.2 - Tolerance

Description: How tolerant are members of society?

Society is characterised by widespread intolerance (e.g. average score on WVS-derived tolerance indicator is 3.0 or higher).	Score 0
Society is characterised by a low level of tolerance (e.g. indicator between 2.0 and 2.9).	Score 1
Society is characterised by a moderate level of tolerance (e.g. indicator between 1.0 and 1.9).	Score 2
Society is characterised by a high level of tolerance (e.g. indicator less than 1.0).	Score 3

2.4.3 - Public spiritedness¹⁶

Description: How strong is the sense of public spiritedness among members of society?

Very low level of public spiritedness in society (e.g. average score on WVS-derived public spiritedness indicator is more than 3.5)	Score 0
Low level of public spiritedness (e.g. indicator between 2.6 and 3.5)	Score 1
Moderate level of public spiritedness (e.g. indicator between 1.5 and 2.5)	Score 2
High level of public spiritedness. (e.g. indicator less than 1.5)	Score 3

2.5 - Legal environment

Description: To what extent is the existing legal environment enabling or disabling to civil society?

2.5.1 - CSO registration¹⁷

Description: How supportive is the CSO registration process? Is the process (1) simple, (2) quick, (3) inexpensive, (4) Following legal provisions (5) consistently applied?

The CSO registration process is not supportive at all. Four or five of the quality characteristics are absent.	Score 0
The CSO registration is not very supportive Two or three quality characteristics are absent.	Score 1
The CSO registration process can be judged as relatively supportive. One quality characteristic is absent.	Score 2
The CSO registration process is supportive. None of the quality characteristics is absent.	Score 3

2.5.2 - Allowable advocacy activities

Description: To what extent are CSOs free to engage in advocacy / criticize government?

CSOs are not allowed to engage in advocacy or criticise the government.	Score 0
There are excessive and / or vaguely defined constraints on advocacy activities.	Score 1
Constraints on CSOs' advocacy activities are minimal and clearly defined, such as prohibitions on political campaigning.	Score 2
CSOs are permitted to freely engage in advocacy and criticism of government.	Score 3

2.5.3 - Tax laws favourable to CSOs

Description: How favourable is the tax system to CSOs? How narrow/broad is the range of CSOs that are eligible for tax exemptions, if any? How significant are these exemptions?

¹⁶ The score is derived by averaging the means for the three variables (1. claiming government benefits, 2. avoiding a fare on public transport, 3. cheating on taxes).

¹⁷ This indicator combines a number of individual quality characteristics of the registration, namely whether the registration is (1) simple, (2) quick, (3) inexpensive, (4) fairly applied and (5) consistently applied. The process of using these five 'Yes/No'-variables for the scoring of the CSO registration indicator by the NAG follows the process outlined for sub-dimension 3. The indicator scores are defined by how many of these five quality characteristics are existent/absent.

The tax system impedes CSOs. No tax exemption or preference of any kind is available for CSOs.	Score 0
The tax system is burdensome to CSOs. Tax exemptions or preferences are available only for a narrow range of CSOs (e.g. humanitarian organisations) or for limited sources of income (e.g., grants or donations).	Score 1
The tax system contains some incentives favouring CSOs. Only a narrow range of CSOs is excluded from tax exemptions or preferences and/or exemptions or preferences are available from some taxes and some activities.	Score 2
The tax system provides favourable treatment for CSOs. Exemptions or preferences are available from a range of taxes and for a range of activities, limited only in appropriate circumstances.	Score 3

2.5.4 - Tax benefits for philanthropy

Description: How broadly available are tax deductions or credits, or other tax benefits, to encourage individual and corporate giving?

No tax benefits are available (to individuals or corporations) for charitable giving.	Score 0
Tax benefits are available for a very limited set of purposes or types of organisations.	Score 1
Tax benefits are available for a fairly broad set of purposes or types of organisations.	Score 2
Significant tax benefits are available for a broad set of purposes or types of organisations.	Score 3

2.6 - State-civil society relations

Description: What is the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the state?

2.6.1 – Autonomy

Description: To what extent can civil society exist and function independently of the state? To what extent are CSOs free to operate without excessive government interference? Is government oversight reasonably designed and limited to protect legitimate public interests?

The state controls civil society.	Score 0
CSOs are subject to frequent unwarranted interference in their operations.	Score 1
The state accepts the existence of an independent civil society but CSOs are subject to occasional unwarranted government interference.	Score 2
CSOs operate freely. They are subject only to reasonable oversight linked to clear and legitimate public interests.	Score 3

2.6.2 - Dialogue

Description: To what extent does the state dialogue with civil society? How inclusive and institutionalized are the terms and rules of engagement, if they exist?

There is no meaningful dialogue between civil society and the state.	Score 0
The state only seeks to dialogue with a small sub-set of CSOs on an ad hoc basis.	Score 1
The state dialogues with a relatively broad range of CSOs but on a largely ad hoc basis.	Score 2
Mechanisms are in place to facilitate systematic dialogue between the state and a broad and diverse range of CSOs.	Score 3

2.6.3 - Cooperation / support

Description: How narrow/broad is the range of CSOs that receive state resources (in the form of grants, contracts, etc.)?

The level of state resources channelled through CSOs is insignificant.	Score 0
Only a very limited range of CSOs receives state resources.	Score 1
A moderate range of CSOs receives state resources.	Score 2
The state channels significant resources to a large range of CSOs.	Score 3

2.7 - Private sector-civil society relations

Description: What is the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the private sector?

2.7.1 - Private sector attitude

Description: What is the general attitude of the private sector towards civil society actors?

Generally hostile	Score 0
Generally indifferent	Score 1
Generally positive	Score 2
Generally supportive	Score 3

2.7.2 - Corporate social responsibility

Description: How developed are notions and actions of corporate social responsibility?

Major companies show no concern about the social and environmental impacts of their operations.	Score 0
Major companies pay lip service to notions of corporate social responsibility. However, in their operations they frequently disregard negative social and environmental impacts.	Score 1

Major companies are beginning to take the potential negative social and environmental impacts of their operations into account.	Score 2
Major companies take effective measures to protect against negative social and environmental impacts.	Score 3

2.7.3 - Corporate philanthropy¹⁸

Description: How narrow/broad is the range of CSOs that receive support from the private sector?

Corporate philanthropy is insignificant.	Score 0
Only a very limited range of CSOs receives funding from the private sector.	Score 1
A moderate range of CSOs receives funding from the private sector.	Score 2
The private sector channels resources to a large range of CSOs.	Score 3

3 - VALUES

3.1 – Democracy

Description: To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote democracy?

3.1.1 - Democratic practices within CSOs

Description: To what extent do CSOs practice internal democracy? How much control do members have over decision-making? Are leaders selected through democratic elections?

A large majority (i.e. more than 75%) of CSOs do not practice internal democracy (e.g. members have little / no control over decision-making, CSOs are characterised by patronage, nepotism).	Score 0
A majority of CSOs (i.e. more than 50%) do not practice internal democracy (e.g. members have little/no control over decision-making, CSOs are characterised by patronage, nepotism).	Score 1
A majority of CSOs (i.e. more than 50%) practice internal democracy (e.g. members have significant control over decision-making; leaders are selected through democratic elections).	Score 2
A large majority of CSOs (i.e. more than 75%) practice internal democracy (e.g. members have significant control over decision-making; leaders are selected through democratic elections).	Score 3

3.1.2 - CS actions to promote democracy

Description: How much does CS actively promote democracy at a societal level?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a democratic society. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.2 – Transparency

Description: To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote transparency?

3.2.1 - Corruption within civil society

Description: How widespread is corruption within CS?

Instances of corrupt behaviour within CS are very frequent.	Score 0
Instances of corrupt behaviour within CS are frequent.	Score 1
There are occasional instances of corrupt behaviour within CS.	Score 2
Instances of corrupt behaviour within CS are very rare.	Score 3

3.2.2 - Financial transparency of CSOs

Description: How many CSOs are financially transparent? What percentage of CSOs make their financial accounts publicly available?

A small minority of CSOs (less than 30%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 0
A minority of CSOs (30% -50%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 1
A small majority of CSOs (51% -65%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 2
A large majority of CSOs (more than 65%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 3

3.2.3 - CS actions to promote transparency

Description: How much does CS actively promote government and corporate transparency?

¹⁸ The NAG's task in scoring the indicator is to assess the significance of corporate support to civil society. Here, the score descriptions focus on two elements: (1) the overall size of corporate support to civil society, (2) the range of CSOs supported by the corporate sector. Please note that both elements are combined in the indicator score descriptions.

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and/or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in demanding government and corporate transparency. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.3 – Tolerance

Description: To what extent do civil society actors and organisations practice and promote tolerance?

3.3.1 Tolerance within the CS arena

Description: To what extent is CS a tolerant arena?

CS is dominated by intolerant forces. The expression of only a narrow sub-set of views is tolerated.	Score 0
Significant forces within civil society do not tolerate others' views without encountering protest from civil society at large.	Score 1
There are some intolerant forces within civil society, but they are isolated from civil society at large.	Score 2
Civil society is an open arena where the expression of <i>all</i> viewpoints is actively encouraged. Intolerant behaviour are strongly denounced by civil society at large.	Score 3

3.3.2 - CS actions to promote tolerance

Description: How much does CS actively promote tolerance at a societal level?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and/or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a tolerant society. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.4 - Non-violence

Description: To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote non-violence?

3.4.1 - Non-violence within the CS arena

Description: How widespread is the use of violent means (such as damage to property or personal violence) among CS actors to express their interests in the public sphere?

Significant mass-based groups within CS use violence as the primary means of expressing their interests.	Score 0
Some isolated groups within CS regularly use violence to express their interests without encountering protest from civil society at large.	Score 1
Some isolated groups within CS occasionally resort to violent actions, but are broadly denounced by CS at large.	Score 2
There is a high level of consensus within CS regarding the principle of non-violence. Acts of violence by CS actors are extremely rare and strongly denounced.	Score 3

3.4.2 - CS actions to promote non-violence and peace

Description: How much does CS actively promote a non-violent society? For example, how much does civil society support the non-violent resolution of social conflicts and peace? Address issues of violence against women, child abuse, violence among youths etc.?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions actually contribute to societal violence.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a non-violent society. CS actions in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility	Score 3

3.5 - Gender equity

Description: To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote gender equity?

3.5.1 - Gender equity within the CS arena

Description: To what extent is civil society a gender equitable arena?

Women are excluded from civil society leadership roles.	Score 0
Women are largely absent from civil society leadership roles.	Score 1
Women are under-represented in civil society leadership positions.	Score 2
Women are equitably represented as leaders and members of CS.	Score 3

3.5.2 - Gender equitable practices within CSOs

Description: How much do CSOs practice gender equity? What percentage of CSOs with paid employees have policies in place to ensure gender equity?

A small minority (less than 20%).	Score 0
A minority (20%-50%).	Score 1
A small majority (51% - 65%).	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%).	Score 3

3.5.3 - CS actions to promote gender equity

Description: How much does CS actively promote gender equity at the societal level?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions actually contribute to gender inequity.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a gender equitable society. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.6 - Poverty eradication

***Description:* To what extent do civil society actors promote poverty eradication?**

3.6.1 - CS actions to eradicate poverty

Description: To what extent does CS actively seek to eradicate poverty?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions serve to sustain existing economic inequities.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in the struggle to eradicate poverty. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.7 - Environmental sustainability

***Description:* To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote environmental sustainability?**

3.7.1 - CS actions to sustain the environment

Description: How much does CS actively seek to sustain the environment?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions serve to reinforce unsustainable practices.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in protecting the environment. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

4 - IMPACT

4.1 - Influencing public policy¹⁹

***Description:* How active and successful is civil society in influencing public policy?**

4.1.1 – 4.1.2 - Human Rights & Social Policy Impact Case Studies

Description: How active and successful is civil society in influencing public policy?

¹⁹ For a detailed description on the data sources and analysis of this sub-dimension, please refer to Section 3 of Part D.3 of the toolkit.

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.1.3 - Civil Society's Impact on National Budgeting process Case Study

Description: How active and successful is civil society in influencing the overall national budgeting process?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and focused only on specific budget components ²⁰ .	Score 1
Civil society is active in the overall budgeting process, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role in the overall budgeting process. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.2 - Holding state & private corporations accountable

Description: How active and successful is civil society in holding the state and private corporations accountable?

4.2.1 - Holding state accountable

Description: How active and successful is civil society in monitoring state performance and holding the state accountable?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.2.2 - Holding private corporations accountable

Description: How active and successful is civil society in holding private corporations accountable?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.3 - Responding to social interests

Description: How much are civil society actors responding to social interests?

4.3.1 - Responsiveness

Description: How effectively do civil society actors respond to priority social concerns?

Civil society actors are out of touch with the crucial concerns of the population.	Score 0
There are frequent examples of crucial social concerns that did not find a voice among existing civil society actors.	Score 1
There are isolated examples of crucial social concerns that did not find a voice among existing civil society actors.	Score 2
Civil society actors are very effective in taking up the crucial concerns of the population.	Score 3

4.3.2 - Public Trust

Description: What percentage of the population has trust in civil society actors?

A small minority (< 25%).	Score 0
A large minority (25% - 50%).	Score 1
A small majority (51% - 75%).	Score 2
A large majority (> 75%).	Score 3

4.4 - Empowering citizens

Description: How active and successful is civil society in empowering citizens, especially traditionally marginalised groups, to shape decisions that affect their lives?

4.4.1 - Informing/ educating citizens

Description: How active and successful is civil society in informing and educating citizens on public issues?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area but impact is limited.	Score 2

²⁰ The term "specific budget component" refers to a single issue or sub-section of the budget, such as the defence budget or welfare grants. Higher scores are assigned for those civil society activities, which provide an analysis, input and advocacy work on the overall budget.

Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3
--	---------

4.4.2 - Building capacity for collective action

Description: How active and successful is civil society in building the capacity of people to organise themselves, mobilise resources and work together to solve common problems?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.3 - Empowering marginalized people

Description: How active and successful is civil society in empowering marginalized people?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.4 - Empowering women

Description: How active and successful is civil society in empowering women, i.e. to give them real choice and control over their lives?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.5 - Building social capital²¹

Description: To what extent does civil society build social capital among its members? How do levels of trust, tolerance and public spiritedness of members of CS compare to those of non-members?

Civil society diminishes the stock of social capital in society.	Score 0
Civil society does not contribute to building social capital in society.	Score 1
Civil society does contribute moderately to building social capital in society.	Score 2
Civil Society does contribute strongly to building social capital in society.	Score 3

4.4.6 - Supporting livelihoods

Description: How active and successful is civil society in creating / supporting employment and/or income-generating opportunities (especially for poor people and women)?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.5 - Meeting societal needs

***Description:* How active and successful is civil society in meeting societal needs, especially those of poor people and other marginalised groups?**

4.5.1 - Lobbying for state service provision

Description: How active and successful is civil society in lobbying the government to meet pressing societal needs?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2

²¹ To score this indicator, we make use of the three measures of trust, tolerance and public spiritedness (see sub-dimension socio-cultural norms in ENVIRONMENT dimension):

- 1) Compute the three measures for two sub-groups of the population: (1) CSO members and (2) non-CSO members.
- 2) Compare each measure's score for the two sub-groups and establish which sub-group has the better score (i.e. indicating higher trust, tolerance and public spiritedness). If the score for CSO members is better than for non-CSO members, it indicates that civil society is contributing to the production of civil society. If the score is worse, it indicates that the involvement in CSOs is making it more unlikely for citizens to generate norms of social capital.
- 3) Please note that for some of the three indicators, civil society might add to, for others, it might diminish social capital. For the scoring of the indicator the overall picture is important.

Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3
--	---------

4.5.2 - Meeting pressing societal needs directly

Description: How active and successful is civil society in directly meeting pressing societal needs (through service delivery or the promotion of self-help initiatives)?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.5.3 - Meeting needs of marginalised groups

Description: To what extent are CSOs more or less effective than the state in delivering services to marginalised groups?

CSOs are less effective than the state.	Score 0
CSOs are as effective as the state.	Score 1
CSOs are slightly more effective than the state.	Score 2
CSOs are significantly more effective than the state.	Score 3

Appendix 6

Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Philanthropy in Romania (Case Study)

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a relatively new, yet expanding concept in Romania. It was first imported from abroad through trans-national corporations, which established part of their operations in Romania. The acquisition of Romanian companies by foreign investors, and the management philosophy and practices they brought with them further contributed to the development of a broader basis for CSR. International donors aimed at strengthening Romanian CSOs' sustainability have supported the development of CSR and the creation of closer relations of cooperation between the business sector and CSOs. In spite of visible progress and of successful examples, much remains to be done. Small Romanian companies, albeit involved in charity actions, remain largely ignorant of the concept of CSR. A study conducted by Allavida and the Association for Community Relations (ARC) to research the extent and characteristics of indigenous philanthropy in Romania showed that only 39% of Romanian companies made a charity donation in 2001 (ARC 2003). Moreover, statistics produced by the Ethos Association in 2004 revealed that only 5% of all companies in Romania have an annual budget for making donations. A quarter of them try to establish a strategy for donations and 70% take such decisions on ad-hoc and arbitrary basis (*Alternative de finanțare pentru ONG*, in Capital, 23 December 2004).

Several difficulties emerged in trying to carry out a case study on Romanian CSR using the CSI's suggested methodology. First, most of the major and successful Romanian companies are actually former Romanian companies which have been privatized into strong trans-national corporations. They either completely merged with foreign companies (adopting the foreign company's name) or are run by foreign (Western) executive management. A further difficulty was that exclusively Romanian owned and managed companies are generally not interested in producing high quality annual reports. Some are not listed on the stock exchanges; and, therefore, are not required to have annual reports at all. Also most of those legally required to have annual reports produce a very simplified standard report (containing only economic data and statistics), which is not suited for providing the kind of information needed for this study. Therefore, in carrying out this case study we have relied mainly on sources such as internet web pages of selected companies, mass media reports (particularly Capital financial weekly publication) and other previous studies or reports on the state of CSR in Romania.

Multinational companies were the first to set an example with regard to corporate philanthropy and CSR, and are considered to have started corporate philanthropy and CSR initiatives in Romania in the mid 1990s. The strategies for donating seem to differ according to the size of the companies. While small companies seem to base their decisions on rather emotional reasons, larger firms, such as the multinational companies, have imported the concept of CSR as an element of their PR strategies. However, often no mechanisms for interaction have been set up for management level personnel to interact with their partners in the civil society. Another trend, which is becoming more common, is for Romanian companies to hire PR Agencies in order to get the support for the engagement in and the management of CSR initiatives.

Connex, a multinational telecom company in Romania, began a payroll-giving program in 1998, and 350 employees initially signed up and agreed to donate a monthly amount from their salary for one year. The funds raised annually through payroll giving have been managed by the *Sirois Foundation*, set up by Connex to run its social programs. The foundation has offered moral support to disadvantaged children and the elderly, and it has promoted and protected their rights. It has worked with service-providing NGOs who have been awarded grants to implement programs falling within the scope of the foundation's mission. The number of employees involved in the payroll-giving program increased to 920

in 2002. Almost 60% of Connex employees participated in the program. As recognition of its employees' efforts to help their community, the company has established a policy of matching their donations each year. In 2002, the total amount donated was 65,000 euros. Apart from donating their money, employees also became involved in volunteer work with the children in the foundation's programs, either through distance adoption, going to orphanages or teaching children how to use computers and phones

GlaxoSmithKline (GSK), a multinational pharmaceutical and healthcare company with a strong position in the Romanian market, in 2002, established the "Partners for Life" Foundation to develop initiatives and community programs in partnership with public authorities and other social partners active in the healthcare area. The value of the Foundation's financial commitment in 2002-2003 was around 500,000 USD. Among the projects supported, the initiatives mainly aim at people living with HIV/AIDS (e.g. an Integrated Model of HIV/AIDS Care and Prevention, aiming to assess and reduce the risk of HIV mother-to-child transmission in Giurgiu County; The Right to Adolescence, a medical educational program for teenagers living with HIV/AIDS and their families; assistance for Hospice "Casa Sperantei" Foundation, the first charity organisation in Romania to take care of people suffering from incurable diseases in terminal phases; and the national anti-HIV/AIDS campaign "*Open your eyes. Open your heart*"). The Romanian Angel Appeal is one organization that has benefited from the support of GlaxoSmithKline, and it has managed to attract more than 300,000 euro, from the business sector, for a project directed to fighting the social exclusion of young people living with HIV/AIDS.

McDonald's Romania set up the Ronald McDonald Children's Charity of Romania in 1998. In 2002 the Ronald McDonald Children's Charity organised a fundraising campaign in connection with World Children's Day, and 130,000 euros were raised – mainly from individual donors. The money was used to build the Ronald McDonald House, which serves as a "home-away-from-home" and provide temporary accommodation for the families of children undergoing treatment for serious illnesses at nearby hospitals. Of the required investment of 500,000 euros, 50% was donated by the Ronald McDonald House Charity in the Netherlands (Ivascu 2003).

There is evidence that more major companies in Romania have begun developing CSR strategies. Some of the most important companies in Romania are those working in the oil, concrete or pharmaceutical industries. Most of which explicitly make use of the concept of CSR when describing the projects in which they take part.

Due to their field of activity (concrete and construction industry) large companies, such as *Lafarge Romcim*, *Carpatcement* or *Holcim*, have a particular interest in the field of environmental protection. They also try to build their CSR identity mainly on projects related to their field of activity (i.e. in-kind donations for rebuilding houses for the victims of flooding or participation to revitalization and conservation of architectural monuments). *Lafarge Romcim* is a partner of *Habitat for Humanity* in Romania. *Holcim* has invested in various environmental and community projects. In 2005 *Carpatcement* was one of the main sponsors of the Civil Society Gala. It has also expressed its interest to participate in a project for the revitalization and conservation of the historical centre of Bucharest.

Companies from the pharmaceutical industry build their CSR identity by financing projects in the field of health care. While the case of *GlaxoSmithKline* has already been presented, *Sicomed* and *Terapia Cluj* have also developed projects based on CSR. The CSR strategy of these companies also included donating products or financial support to the victims of the flooding in Romania, and also to the victims of the Asian tsunami.

Oil companies like *Petrom* and *Rompetrol*, two of the major players in the Romanian economy, are also involved in CSR projects. *Petrom* has invested into a media campaign where it has stressed out its partnership with UNICEF and the Romanian Red Cross. In its annual report *Rompetrol* shows a clear

interest in designing a strategy for CSR. It has also been a sponsor of the Civil Society Gala. Both companies have been involved in projects on environmental protection, but their support also included other fields, such as culture.

As the lack of visibility for CSR initiatives was considered to negatively influence public perception and to discourage others, potentially interested in getting involved in corporate philanthropy programs (Ivascu 2003), some of the non-governmental, international and corporate players have become involved in promoting giving and CSR among businesses in Romania.

The *American Chamber of Commerce (AmCham)* was one of the main promoters of CSR in Romania. *AmCham* and the *Association for Community Relations (ARC)* decided to organize a yearly event dedicated to those who have significantly contributed to philanthropy in Romania, through donations, volunteering and involvement in fundraising activities. The "*People for People*" Gala has been financed by the EU's Phare Program and the C.S. Mott Foundation. Its aim is to set an example and act as a stimulus for others in the future. The first Gala took place in May 2003 and rewarded individual and corporate donors, volunteers and NGO professionals. The organizer's goal is to encourage long-term cooperation between the business and charity sectors, and to make companies and citizens understand that it is up to them to contribute to finding solutions for the problems confronting Romanian society (Ivascu 2003). In 2004, in the competition for the awards of the "*People for People*" Gala 100 projects initiated by multinational companies, SMEs, NGOs and individuals were registered. The cost of the projects totalled over 6.4 million euro. In the opinion of a representative of the Romanian Donor's Forum, the *AmCham* and *ARC*'s *People for People Galas* have proven so far that "a greater number of initiatives than the sceptics would believe are taking place in Romania in the corporate philanthropy field" (Ivascu 2003).

The *European Commission* launched a campaign for the promotion of CSR among SME in the EU, accession countries and Norway. In May 2005, the National Council of Small and Medium Sized Private Enterprises in Romania CNIPMMR (a umbrella organizations representing the interests of Romanian SMEs), organized in Bucharest a conference for introducing the concept of CSR to all interested SMEs, larger companies, NGOs, universities and public authorities.

Within its *MATRA* Program *The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs* awarded a large grant to *Ratiu Foundation* for a two-year CSR program. The program, aiming to build CSR networks based on models in EU countries, started in March 2003. The initial step was the creation of business-to-business coalitions. The first coalition was created in Bucharest, followed by another network in Timisoara. Additional funds were approved by the Ministry to create a coalition in a third region, Iasi. The companies participating in the Bucharest coalition selected their first project *The Safety of Children in Traffic*, which was implemented with seed funds from the CSR program. The second step of the *Ratiu Foundation*'s program is to create partnerships with local authorities, identify social problems and see which of these can be addressed by companies in the community (Ivascu 2003).

Both Romanian NGOs and donors are becoming increasingly aware of the need to promote philanthropic behaviour in Romanian society. One of the NGOs active in the promotion of CSR has been the *ARC*. Aside from the *Philanthropy and Corporate Giving Study*, and the organizing of the "*People for People*" Gala, *ARC* has developed a *Community Giving Program* and *NGO ABC*, a program meant to explain to small and medium companies and to the general public the role, needs and benefits of the non-profit sector and to promote best practices and positive examples. The Romanian Donor's Forum, grouping the major donors for CSOs in Romania, has also been a major supporter of CSR.

Bibliography

- Alternative de finanțare pentru ONG* (2004) Capital, December 23.
- Amnesty International (2004) Available from: <<http://web.amnesty.org/web>> [Accessed March 2006];
- Anheier, Helmut K. (2004) *Civil Society: Measurement, Evaluation, Policy*. Location. Earthscan.
- Asociațiile și fundațiile PSD, favorizate la sacul cu bani publici* (2004) Cristian Oprea, in Evenimentul Zilei, February 06.
- Association for Community Relations (ARC) (2003) *Trends in Romanian Philanthropy: individual and business giving*.
- Badescu, Gabriel & Paul E. Sum (2005) *Historical Legacies, Social Capital and Civil Society: Comparing Romania on a Regional Level*, in Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 57, No. 1, January 2005.
- Bocioc, Florentina (coord.) (2003) *Women and Civil Society: Directory of Romanian NGOs*, AnA - The Romanian Society for Feminist Analyses, Bucharest 2003.
- Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală / Metro Media Transilvania (2001) *Ethnic Relations Barometer (Barometrul Relațiilor Etnice)*.
- CIVICUS (1997) *The New Civic Atlas. Profiles of Civil Society in 60 Countries*. Washington, DC, CIVICUS.
- CIVICUS (2004) "CIVICUS Civil Society Index Toolkit. Implementation Phase 2003-2004," material distributed at the Civil Society Index, Global seminar, September 21-26.
- Civil Society Development Foundation/CURS (1997), *The Associative and Philanthropic Behavior of Romanians*.
- Cu cel puțin 800 de mii de române victime ale violenței, Agenția Națională pentru Egalitatea de Șanse între femei și bărbați - soluția birocratică a Ministerului Muncii* (2004) Adevărul, June 14, p.3.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf (1990) *The Modern Social Conflict: An Essay on the Politics of Liberty*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Dakova, Vera, Bianca Dreossi, Jenny Hyatt, Anca Socolovschi (2000) *Review of the Romanian NGO Sector: Strengthening Donor Strategies* [Internet], September 2000. Available from: <<http://www.charityknowhow.org/romania.htm>> [Accessed May 2005].
- Economic and Social Council (CES), *Annual Report 2004* [Internet]. Available from: <<http://www.ces.ro>> [Accessed March 2005].
- Epure, Carmen and Daniel Saulean (1998), *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: Romania*, in Working Papers of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project.
- European Commission / The Gallup Organization Hungary (2002) *Candidate Countries Eurobarometer*, December 2002.

European Commission - Economic Policy Committee (2004) *The structural challenges facing the candidate countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey). A comparative perspective* [Internet], Brussels. Available from: <europa.eu.int/comm/economy_finance/epc/documents/2004/candidate_countries_final_en.pdf> [Accessed May 2005].

Freedom House. (2004a) *Freedom in the World 2004. Country Report*. Location, Freedom House.

Freedom House (2005) *Media Responses to Corruption in the Emerging Democracies: Romania* [Internet]. Available from: <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/reports/mediatxt.html>> [Accessed May 2005].

Freedom House (2004b) *Nations in Transit 2004 Romania*. Country Report. Location, Freedom House.

Fundația pentru Parteneriat (FP) (2003) *Finanțări 2002. Proiecte de succes*, Fundația pentru Parteneriat (FP), Miercurea-Ciuc.

Fundatiile, gurile de varsare a banilor negri catre partied (2003) Adevarul, February 08.

Ghebrea, Georgeta, Marina-Elena Tătărâm (2005). *O Sister Where Art Thou? Women's Under-Representation in Romanian Politics*, in *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, Vol. V, no. 1/2005, pp. 49-88.

Ghebrea, Georgeta, Marina Tataram, Ioana Cretoiu (2004) *Enlargement, Gender and governance: Analysing Female Visibility in Romania*, Meridiane, Bucharest 2004.

Ghebrea, Georgeta, Marina Tataram, Ioana Cretoiu (2005) *Implementing the EU Equality Acquis in Romania*, Nemira, Bucharest 2005.

Giurgiu, Anca (2001) *Volunteer Activity and the Volunteers in Romania*, in *Social Economy and Law Journal (SEAL)*, Autumn 2001.

Heinrich, Volkhart Finn. (2004) *Assessing and Strengthening Civil Society Worldwide: A Project Description of the CIVICUS Civil Society Index: A Participatory Needs Assessment & Action-Planning Tool for Civil Society*. Johannesburg, CIVICUS.

Holloway, Richard. (2001) *Using the Civil Society Index: Assessing the Health of Civil Society*. Location, CIVICUS.

Human Rights Watch (annually). *World Report, Romania*.

IMF (2002) *Romania: Report on the Observance of Standards and Codes--Fiscal Transparency Module* [Internet]. Available from: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2002/cr02254.pdf>> [Accessed May 2005].

Institute of Marketing and Surveys in Romania (IMAS) (2000) *Opinions and Perceptions about NGOs in Romania*, IMAS, November 2000.

Ionita, Sorin (2003) *The cargo cult of democracy in Romania*, in the *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, vol 3, no 1.

International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL) (2000) *Comparative Assessment of NGO/Government Partnership in Romania* [Internet]. Available from: <<http://www.arcromania.ro/documents/Comparative%20assessment%20of%20NGOGovernment%20partnership%20in%20Romania.htm>> [Accessed May 2005].

Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2002), *Survey Romania*, January – February 2002.

Ivascu, Gabriela (2005) *The Romanian Donors Forum: Celebrating Five Years*, in SEAL, Spring 2005.

Ivascu, Gabriela (2003) *Between Re-Emerging Traditions and New Models: Corporate Philanthropy in Romania*, in SEAL Journal, Autumn 2003.

Marian Vanghelie isi cumpara nevinovatia (2004) Evenimentul Zilei, April 25.

Millennium Development Goals Report (2003), produced by the Government of Romania with the assistance of the UN system in Romania, Bucharest 2003.

Mungiu, Alina (2005) "The Coalition for a Clean Parliament", *Journal of Democracy* - Volume 16, Number 2, April 2005, pp. 154-155.

Negulescu, Raluca (2004) *Shoes for Shoemakers: Sustainability of NGO Resource Centers in Romania*, [Internet]. Available from: <<http://www.aid-ong.ro/pdf/sustainability%202004.zip>> [Accessed May 2005].

Niculescu, Cristina (2003) *The Changing Status of Protest Participation*, in the *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, vol 3, no 1.

Niste tarani de utilitate publica (2003) Cristian Oprea, in *Evenimentul Zilei*, July 13.

OECD (2003) *The Non-profit Sector in a Changing Economy*.

Olteanu, Ion, Mihai Lisețchi și Ioana Avădani (2004) *Societatea civila si rolul ei in integrarea europeana*, presentation paper for Romanian NGO Forum, IXth Edition, April 22-25 2004, Bucarest, Romania.

Open Society Institute (2005) *Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. Monitoring law and practice in new member states and accession countries of the European Union* [Internet], Open Society Institute / Network Women's Program. Available from: <http://www.cpe.ro/romana/images/stories/continuturi/a_equal_20050502.pdf> [Accessed August 2005].

Peyroux, Olivier (2003) *Rôle et influence actuels des contre-pouvoirs associatifs et syndicaux en Roumanie*, in *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, Vol. III, no. 4/2003, pp. 987-1070

Pleines, Heiko (2004) *Social partners and captors. The role of non-state actors in economic policy making in Eastern Europe*, in the *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, volume 4, no 1.

Porumb, Alina , Catalin Gheorghe, Cristian Lazar, Dana Pîrtoc (2001) *Review of Donor Support for the NGO Sector in Romania*, Commissioned by the Romanian Donors' Forum.

Roditi-Rowlands, Ourania (2000), *Comparative study of the role of NGO's in Hungary and Romania* [Internet], The 3rd Annual Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop, Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government. Available from: <www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW3/Ourania_Roditi-Rowlands.pdf> [Accessed May 2005].

Romanian Academic Society (SAR) (2003) *Policy Warning Report*, Issue 1.

Romanian Academic Society (SAR) (2003) *Low state capacity hinders Romania's European accession*, in *Policy Warning Report - Romania 2003*.

Romanian Academic Society (SAR) (2005), *Policy Warning and Forecast Report. Romania in 2005*, January 2005.

Stan, Valerian, Raluca Maria Popa, Monica Tobă (2004) *Transparent and Participatory Governance. Current Practices and Recommendations for Improving the Access to Information and Participatory Decision-Making in the Local Public Administration*, IPP, September 2004.

Stoiciu, Andrei (Coord.) (2001) *Romania 2001. Making Civil Society Work*.

The Centre for Trade Union Resources (Centrul de resurse pentru sindicate) (2000), *The State of Trade Unions in Romania (Starea sindicatelor in Romania)*, Bucharest .

The Gallup Organization Romania (2002) *Indicii coruptiei. Monitorizarea regionala a coruptiei 2001-2002* [Internet], May 2002. Available from: <http://www.gallup.ro/romana/poll_ro/releases_ro/pr020517_ro/pr020517_ro.htm> [Accessed May 2005].

Transparency International (2004) *National Report on Corruption* [Internet]. Available from: <www.transparency.org> [Accessed March 2006].

Trif, Aurora (2004) *Overview of industrial relations in Romania*, South-East Europe Review, no 2, 2004.

Trust for Civil Society (2004), *Report of the consultation process in Romania*, consultation process facilitated by Association for Community Relations, May-August 2004.

UNOPA (2005) *Structurile de reprezentare : un catalizator pentru schimbare sociala, eficienta, professionalism*, presentation by Uniunea Națională a Organizațiilor Persoanelor Afectate de HIV/SIDA (UNOPA) for the Nongovernmental Organizations National Forum, 10th Edition, Bucharest, 23-25 June 2005.

USAID (2003) *NGO Sustainability Index Country Reports: For Central and Eastern Europe and Euroasia*. [Internet], Romania. Available from: <http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/dem_gov/ngoindex/2003/> [Accessed March 2006].

US State Department (2005) *2004 Human Rights Report for Romania* [Internet], February 2005. Available from: <http://www.usembassy.ro/Documents/Romania_HRR04_FINAL_2-14-05-EN.html> [Accessed May 2005].

van der Ven, Thomas (2003) *Government and law. Is your government doing all it can?* [Internet], The CNF Quarterly Journal published by the Co-operating Netherlands Foundations for Central and Eastern Europe, October 2003, Available from: <<http://www.cnfcee.nl>> [Accessed May 2005].

van Reisen, Mirjam (2005) *To the farthest frontiers: Women empowerment in an expanding Europe*, Europe External Policy Advisors.

van Teeffelen, Mariana (2003a) *Supporter and facilitator. History of the CNF in Romania* [Internet], The CNF Quarterly Journal published by the Co-operating Netherlands Foundations for Central and Eastern Europe. Available from: <<http://www.cnfcee.nl>> [Accessed May 2005].

van Teeffelen, Mariana (2003b) *Clutching straws. How NGOs try to survive* [Internet], The CNF Quarterly Journal published by the Co-operating Netherlands Foundations for Central and Eastern Europe. Available from: <<http://www.cnfcee.nl>> [Accessed May 2005].

World Bank (2001) *Diagnostic Surveys of Corruption in Romania*. Analysis prepared by the World Bank at the request of the Government of Romania.

World Bank (2003) *Romania: Report on Poverty*, October 2003.

World Values Survey (2002) *Romania* [Internet], 1999-2002 Wave. Available from: <<http://www.democ.uci.edu/democ/archive/romania.htm>> [Accessed 15 March 2006].