



**UNIVERSITY OF CRAIOVA
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICAL SCIENCES SPECIALIZATION &
CENTER OF POST-COMMUNIST POLITICAL STUDIES
(CESPO-CEPOS)**

**REVISTA DE ȘTIINȚE POLITICE.
REVUE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
No. 60 • 2018**



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ANNIVERSARY STATEMENT

Mission and Vision Statement on the 60th Issue of the “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques”

Anca Parmena Olimid *
Cătălina Maria Georgescu**
Cosmin Lucian Gherghe ***



Introduction

The internationally indexed journal “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques” (hereinafter **RSP**) highlights the latest innovative researches in the field of political sciences, transition studies, post-communist policy-making, social behaviour and information studies for security. By appealing to the

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relationship to the cognate social sciences disciplines, the contents of the journal enable a quest for interdisciplinarity considering the discussed concepts, the emerging debates and the published analyses.

The journal “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques” was inaugurated in 2004 and in December 2018 marks the launch of its 60th issue of the journal.

The first issue of the journal (April 2004) seems to be launched at a sensitive time for the Romanian post-communist landscape going beyond the traditional analysis of the “transition cycle” to the new paths of the European and Euro-Atlantic “policy cycle”.

RSP Anniversary Mission Statement

The current contents of the “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques” combine a detailed research of the EU policies, institutions, competition rules, European policy-making, legal provisions charging a variety of issues and debates: security essentials, defense strategies, human rights, social phenomenon, cultural heritage, educational experiences, health indicators.

Furthermore, the journal sets a new policy-analytical standard aimed to pinpoint the theoretical and policy landscape by exploring well-defined views and approaches according to its editorial statement in original articles, case studies, editorial notes, conference reports, book reviews.

Over the last fourteen years, the contents of the “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques” marked a rigorous scientific review dedicated to the latest concepts and approaches in the field of action and theory in transition, rule of law and the quality of democracy in post-communist landscape by highlighting a wide range of topics in social and political sciences.

RSP Articles Selection Policy

The contents of the “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques” help the students and researchers to understand the typology of the concepts and approaches that individualize the post-communist countries and their unique transition by underlining the policy-making, the transition theories, the rule of law, the human rights, the internal political framework, social policies, the institutional structures, the reform measures etc.

Moreover, the journal offered core details topics to enable the immediate recognition of the integration project and the substance of the community acquis mapping the following sections:

- social and economic programmes;
- fiscal and monetary policies;
- rule of law and human rights;
- freedom and security;
- justice and home affairs;
- external policies.

In this context, the journal also



EDITORS' NOTE

charts the following issues and debates in the EU policy-making: the shared competences; the principle of proportionality; the principle of subsidiarity etc.

RSP Research and Thematic Issues

That is the point of the journal: enabling the usage of multi-source data and information approaching:



- The Eastern and Western challenges;
- the EU institutional governance;
- the Euro-Atlantic strategic framework;
- the framework of the EU integration project;
- NATO strategic concepts;
- the EU paths and symbols;
- the EU civic political culture;
- the social and gender policy;

- the inner analysis of the social action and protection of rights in multilevel governance;
- the rights and liberties consignments in hybrid societies.

Other important aim of the journal is to framework an in-depth analysis of the EU external policies and the impact of the common foreign and security policy, the cohesion policy and the enlargement policy. The journal also aims to map the EU privacy and data protection policy by introducing to the reader the policy aims and objectives. The contents of the “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques” serve as a focused guide to map the latest policy agenda settings and the strategic framework of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

Moreover, the journal recognises the cross-research purposes of the societies in transition by framing:

- the perceptions of the social phenomenon;
- the building of the rule of law;
- the media space;
- the “online citizens” behaviour and the public participation;
- the legitimation of the social action and the democratization practice;
- the civil society and the civic political culture;
- the communication pitfalls in health systems;
- the economic recession and the quality of life;
- the impact of the private and public investments during the reform process;



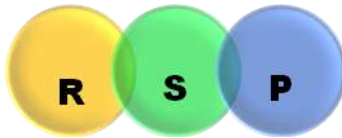
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- the accuracy of the education development at national, European and international level.

RSP upcoming updates

Moreover, the forthcoming issues of the journal will incorporate various policy-making processes at national, regional and European level by contextualizing the public policy area, the administration and leadership, the security data and by pinpointing the institutional actors and the levels of the analysis. The journal will seek to maintain its interdisciplinary nature and to encourage the submission of original papers that will examine the new grounds of the emerging area of the empirical research.

The Editors



EDITORS' NOTE

Patterns of Change and Development in Comparative Policy Analysis

Note of the Editors of the *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*

Issue 60/2018

**Anca Parmena Olimid* ,
Cătălina Maria Georgescu**,
Cosmin Lucian Gherghe*****

29 years after the fall of Communism through Central and Eastern Europe the research community's endeavors to analyse the post-Communist transitions towards democratic regimes have found themselves stimulated by the state of affairs of present democratic societies.

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The challenges faced by some regimes throughout the EU and in third countries throughout the world in different stages towards an institutionalized democracy draw the attention of academia to judge various situations and tender plausible solutions.

It is the working task of the *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (RSP)*, on its anniversary Issue 60/2018 to bring forward up-to-date, high quality and original researches exposing different positions, methodologies and perspectives in the patterns of change and development in comparative policy analyses:

- a) policies regarding the international migration phenomenon,
- b) newcomer parties' policies,
- c) labour policies on gender mainstreaming,
- d) public health policies and human development,
- e) education policies.

The authors have sized their researches to capture the state-of-the-art solutions in analytical studies on the following dimensions:

- statistical data analyses
- use of relative and absolute indicators for validation of hypotheses
- in-depth case studies
- comparative analyses
- content analysis

As such, the goals assumed in Issue 60/2018 of *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (RSP)* is to advance the up-to-the-minute researches and test for the validation of working hypotheses on the following features:

- (1) Detailed statistical analysis and discussions the challenges raised by the international migration phenomenon on the work-life balance, social change and family life and working behavior in European societies (Alexandra Porumbescu, Livia Pogan, *Social Change, Migration and Work-Life Balance*)
- (2) Estimating and testing research hypotheses on the newcomer parties political and electoral management performance and party institutionalisation within democratic transitions (Olga Brunnerova, *Institutionalisation of Newcomer Parties in Theory and Practice: the Case Study of ANO 2011*)
- (3) Discussions on women's rights, gender transformations, participation, use of stereotypes, gender mainstreaming and power distribution across several professional areas of the workfield such as military service and culture during post-Communist transition (Aleksandra Zamojska, Agata Stępień, *Through Communism to Modernity – Working Polish Women, Gender Mainstreaming Military and Culture Sector – Bipolarity and Women's Stereotypes of Labour Power*)
- (4) Quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the European Commission health programs working documents envisaging the future of public health policies and cohesion policies (Anca Parmena Olimid, Daniel Alin Olimid, *Trends in Monitoring*)

EDITORS' NOTE

Health and Human Development: Key Assessment Terms in the European Commission Staff Working Documents (May 2012 - May 2016)

- (5) Comparative statistical analysis on the use of performance indicators in drafting education policies, with a special attention to testing and assessment schemes bringing forward futile solutions for the increase in the quality and efficiency of national education systems (Gabriela Motoi, *Using Performance Indicators to Design the Outlook on Quality and Efficiency of Education Systems. A Comparative Analysis (Romania-France) of Students' Results at International Assessments*).

The RSP Editors wish to express all their gratitude to the contributors and authors of *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques* whose efforts and cutting-edge shares in analytical endeavour have levied the role of RSP in the academic community. It is the credo of RSP Editors reaching this anniversary moment on Issue 60 to maintain the high level of scientific discipline for the future. The RSP Editors also wish to deliver their acknowledgement to all the participants in the Annual International Scientific Conference Series *After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny* minutely organised by the Center of Post-Communist Political Studies (CESPO-CEPOS) whose research outcomes are mainly disseminated through the *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*. Thus RSP Editors wish to advance the invitation for future collaboration in the field of social and political sciences to increase the scientific impact of the original materials published. So far, the concurrence of RSP Editors in their quality of board or regular members, RSP International Advisory Board, CESPO-CEPOS staff, volunteers and friends contributions aided to the creation of what has been proudly styled the "CEPOS community". On this anniversary occasion RSP Editors express their desire to forward the connection of the scientific space, to boost the emergence of the RSP original products on the high profile international scientific databases, citation and indexing services and to increase the exposure of the research in the field of social and political sciences.

Wishing you all the best,

The Editors



ORIGINAL PAPER

Social Change, Migration and Work-Life Balance

Alexandra Porumbescu*

Livia Pogan**

Abstract

In light of the recent data issued by the Romanian Institute of Statistics regarding Romanian emigration, we argue that the size and impact of this phenomenon on the various aspects of social life, especially the labor and family ones, are worth considering. The work-family balance is a theme increasingly often set on the table in the current sociological research, being given the extensive context of changes in the world, intensified when massive foreign emigration is engaged, such as the current situation in Romania. The aim of this paper is to analyze the ways in which international migration and the work-family balance are interconnected, by emphasizing the interlinks created and the ways social change affects them, as well as the reverse effect of these phenomena on the continuous process of social change.

Keywords: *social change; work-life balance; international migration; social effects.*

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Social Change, Migration and Work-Life Balance

Introduction

The particular social landscape caused by Romanian transition and the liberalization of population movement, generated by the accession to the European space, is defined by both positive and negative effects. The most important phenomenon, involved in most of the fields of activity, is the migration abroad, for work, of various demographic categories in Romania (Miftode, 2006: 3). The effects are numerous and different, some of them impacting on the subjective dimension of personalities, and others are objective, following the pattern of transition towards a different type of civilization and intra-societal relations.

The Romanian society was not ready to support the shock of international migration without risks. Among the social consequences of these significant population migratory flows we recall: the effect on families as most affected institution, as, the migration of usually one of the spouses leads to a deterioration of the family links, and, thus, the functionality of the core-group in society; children are highly affected both within the family, as well as regarding their status at school, public perception, and emotional well-being. Such effects will mirror later on the social functioning of individuals.

International human migration represents, by itself, a form of change in the society: when individuals migrate, they change not only their residence and work place, but also their behavior, the rules they obey, the institutions they refer to, and, most important, the type of relationships they engage into. The effects of these individual changes become, in time, obvious in the entire community they belong to, affecting both the members of the host community and the ones left at home. Although perceived as a means to evolution, granting access to a better life, some of the effects of migration, especially in the field of private life, can imply suffering and misbalance.

Despite the fact that each of the concepts under scrutiny may represent different study topics, we aim at creating a correlation between them. Regarding the scientific approach, we propose a conceptual frame in which the two phenomena under discussion, work-life balance and emigration can be analyzed, and by referring to the social effects of migration, based on a series of statistical data issued by the Romanian institutions, we will highlight its effects on the work-family balance. Furthermore, we aim at creating a correlation between the information presented for each of these elements in order to design study perspectives meant at better understanding the ways in which social change occurs through migration.

Furthermore, a closer study of the effects that international population movement has on the families of the migrants reveals the importance of the social networks that connect the migrants to their families, thus creating informal bridges between their origin and destination areas. Migrant networks are, as Massey defines them, “sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey, 1988: 396). The importance of these networks resides in the fact that they lower the costs of migration, both the financial and the psychological ones: migration networks work both ways, on the one hand, granting simplified access to a new country, and, on the other hand, facilitating communication with those left at home. And this second aspect, despite being less tackled in the specialized literature, is the one that empowers migrants to acquire a better balance between their work environment and their private lives. In fact, as some studies reveal, “these networks are conduits through which influences flow back from the destination to the origin and

impinge upon the family. These influences can be carried back by the migrants themselves when they return periodically or permanently to the origin, or they can flow back to the origin through letters, phone calls and other means” (Hugo, 2002: 20).

Social Change

Several sociological studies have been dedicated to explaining the meaning of social change and how it occurs, applying various sets of theories to different fields of study, including political science, economics, international relations, and especially sociology. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, “Social change, in sociology, represents the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behavior, social organizations, or value systems”. Social change can be analyzed taking into consideration two dimensions: “the hard one”, including processes such as inflation, migration, unemployment and “the soft dimension”, characterized by discrete aspects, such as mentalities, values or perceptions.

Most researchers that analyze social change speak about human development, seeing it as a path of evolution from traditional societies to modern ones and postmodern societies. From a theoretical perspective, we must say that social change can be conceptualized using two main categories of perspectives: the systemic theories and the processual or dynamic ones, built around the concept of “agentivity”.

When analyzing the effects of change, we can classify them into positive and negative ones. We can thus mention the so called “state of welfare”, where medical services are up to date, hunger and poverty are eradicated. Some authors speak about “risk society” (Beck, 1992) or “spiritual decrease” (Bădescu, 2011).

Among the characteristics of social change, as a process, scholars, such as Portes, include the idea that, just like the effects of migration, the “effects of social change are similarly diverse. They can be organized in a hierarchy of “micro-processes” affecting individuals and their immediate surroundings; “meso-processes” affecting entire communities and regions; and “macro-processes” affecting full societies and even the global system” (Portes, 2010: 1540). As long as migration does not occur as an immense population movement, it is unlikely for it to cause social change at global level. But, the little alterations of identity and habits inherent to this kind of process do contribute to the transformation of societies.

The systemic changes that occur in a society at a given time usually result in transformations that affect all the sectors of life. The Romanian Revolution from 1989 was such an event that brought many changes, affecting severely the workforce – over 10 million persons suffered between 1989 and 1999 from unemployment, layoffs, change of career path, forced retirement (Abraham, 2000). These type of situations were identified in most of the migration studies as push factors, building along to the decision of leaving the community of origin in seek of a better life. Therefore, such economic facts determined many Romanians to leave the country, searching for better financial opportunities. Migration, as a form of protest and abandon, may be considered a strategy for facing social change (Voicu, 2005).

International migration

Migration is a widely discussed phenomenon in different societies and represents the focus of numerous academic debates. Though many studies tackle the causes of this process and the origins of such decision, our aim is to analyze the effects of migration on the balance between work and family life. “Several sides of human life

Social Change, Migration and Work-Life Balance

come to be affected by such consequences, involving the realms of social life, religion, culture, economy, and politics. These effects necessarily occur in two locations: at the starting point of migration, wherefrom the possible migrants are held to leave, and at the destination point” (Porumbescu, 2013: 189). Therefore, it is important, first of all, to examine the dimension of the migratory flows and to compare their evolution. The data provided by the National Institute of Statistics in Romania reveals the size of this phenomenon, and allows us to compare the evolution of the number of people who decided to emigrate, either temporary or permanently, differentiated by the criteria of gender. The gender of the migrant is of high importance in the work-family life balance rhetoric, as, in most of the Romanian families, the roles assumed by each of the members of the family is well defined. In this context, for example, a mother leaving for work in another country will pass on her traditional household duties to one of the remaining members of the family, the husband, or even to one of the children. Furthermore, several aspects of the personal life of the migrant are likely to be influenced by criteria such as gender.

In order to better understand the significance of the numbers presented, it is important to define the terms in the meaning that this institutions uses them, and to present the data collecting methods used. According to the National Institute of Statistics, “temporary emigrants” regards the persons who emigrate outside the national borders for at least 12 months. *Emigration* defines the action by which a person, who previously had a regular residence in Romania, stops residing on this territory for a period of time that is or is expected to be of at least 12 months. The Romanian domicile of a person is the address where he/she declares to live, as registered in the Identity Card, and stated in the evidences of the national administrative institutions.

Regarding the methods used to estimate the migrant flows by the Romanian National Institute of Statistics, they consist in getting together and correlating information produced by data sources. The data regarding the emigration and immigration flows were estimated based on several data sources, the main ones being: the data provided by the national institutes of statistics in Italy and Spain, the “mirrored” statistics regarding international migration – Romanian immigrants declared by the other states which are labeled as “emigrants” in the Romanian statistics and the other way round – and the data provided by national institutions – such as the number of immigrants reported by the General Inspectorate for Immigration.

As shown in the tables bellow, a close examination of the figures that describe temporary and permanent emigration from Romania reveals the fact that most of such movement is non-permanent and, in many cases, it can be presumed that it involves the separation of husband and wife. Such separation, even if for a determined amount of time, results in changes that usually affect the entire family. Children are often left in the care of a single parent, or in most unfortunate cases, with other members of the extended family who cannot guarantee the same kind of emotional and educational climate as a normal family. Therefore, entire generations are faced with the daily reality of missing parents, either by personal experience or by acknowledging those of their friends and colleagues. This inherently leads to building new social and institutional mechanisms meant to help children and youngsters cope with these absences.

Romanian emigration boosted immediately after 2007, along with the newly acquired freedom of movement, as now citizens could search better employment in other European states and return home more easily. Regarding temporary emigration, the year 2010 brought along a decrease in the number emigration, mainly due to the

diminishment of the effects of the economic crisis on the internal economy. During the previous years, during “the economic crisis, population’s income has severely decreased, because of the fact that unemployment rate was increasing. Also, public and private sectors encountered severe pay cuts and also a severe decrease of job vacancies” (Motoi, Gheorghită, 2017: 38). This created the perfect economic environment for emigration decisions to be made. But the decrease only lasted for a couple of years, as, starting with the year 2015, the numbers exceeded one hundred thousand emigrants per year again.

The temporary migrants are the ones that impact most on the social changes, especially in their home communities. The type of circulatory migration they perform enables them to circulate different kind of external influences, thus proposing and promoting change back at home. Romanians working abroad usually return with new cars, new consumption habits, new ideas regarding education and raising children, different approaches to gender roles, and the social behavior of imitation allows the multiplication of these models. It is, however, difficult if not impossible to estimate the impact they may have in their destination communities, as the most documented type of behavior is that of adaption, with Romanians taking over the foreign examples, rather than vice versa.

Table 1. Temporary emigration from Romania (2008-2016)

<i>Year</i>	Male	Female	Total
2008	151 164	151 632	302 796
2009	105 778	140 848	246 626
2010	85 663	112 322	197 985
2011	87 389	108 162	195 551
2012	70 163	100 023	170 186
2013	65 303	96 452	161 755
2014	87 356	85 515	172 871
2015	104 700	90 018	194 718
2016	100 533	107 045	207 578
2017	111 662	107 665	219 327

*Data collected from the Romanian National Institute of Statistics
(<http://statistici.insse.ro:8077/tempo-online/#/pages/tables/insse-table>)*

If in the case of temporary emigrants the situation was somehow stable, the situation of permanent emigration is completely different. The data presented in Table 2 reveal an increasing trend in the permanent emigration from Romania, the total numbers for the year 2017 being almost triple the ones for the year 2008. So, in less than ten years, more than 150 000 Romanians, about the size of a medium Romanian city, have decided to leave the country with no intention of returning. Another aspect noticed by analyzing these data is that the percent of female citizens emigrating is constantly larger throughout the years than the percent of male citizens, a situation that impacts on the evolution of the work-life balance. On the one hand, one must regard the effects on the family members left at home, who now need to deal with the absence of one of the members and undertake their roles, including, in the case of women migrants, those of mothering, taking care of the household, and even the elders in many situations. On the other hand, the process of integration in the host communities is often recalled as difficult and time consuming, thus leading to a certain delay or even cancellation of

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personal life related plans, such as getting married, starting a family or having children. All these effects of international migration result in adding more pressure to the already precarious balance between the work-related environment and the private life.

Table 2. Permanent emigration from Romania (2008-2017)

<i>Year</i>	Male	Female	Total
2008	3069	5 670	8 739
2009	3 768	6 443	10 211
2010	2 917	4 989	7 906
2011	8 527	9 780	18 307
2012	8 174	9 827	18 001
2013	8 526	10 530	19 056
2014	4 776	6 475	11 251
2015	6 521	8 714	15 235
2016	10 007	12 800	22 807
2017	10 198	12 958	23 156

*Data collected from the Romanian National Institute of Statistics
(<http://statistici.insse.ro:8077/tempo-online/#/pages/tables/insse-table>)*

The general trends in international migration are often influenced by factors that take places at a macro social level. In the case of Romania, 2007 was the year of Romania's accession to the European Union, the relaxation of legal conditions attached to the act of migration representing a push-factor for many. In addition to this, the economic crisis affected the Romanian economy deeper starting with the year 2008. Therefore, the numbers for this year and the next are slightly bigger than the next ones in the matter of temporary migration. However, long-term decisions such as permanent emigration are usually based on an internal negotiation that takes into account several aspects of life, such as the political system, the educational facilities, the healthcare services etc. Based on this assumption, we can argue that the obvious growth in the total amount of Romanian permanent emigrants (from eight thousand in 2008 to twenty three thousand in 2017, almost three times more) is less due to financial factors, but more likely to the evolution general life conditions in Romania.

Moreover, the individual process of migration is often a difficult and challenging one. In such an emigrational context, the emigrant finds himself in the position of leaving the culture he originated in, and facing the need to integrate himself into a new culture. The process of integration is often described by migrants as being a rather difficult and time-consuming one, experiencing a certain degree of identity alteration and reconstruction. It is undeniable that such transformations have the capacity to induct changes in the life of a person, changes that are replicated, on a larger scale, in the communities the migrant belongs to.

Migration is, by itself, deeply involved with the processes of social change. "As a cause of change, migration has been analyzed from a cultural perspective that emphasizes its potential for value/normative transformation and from a structural perspective that highlights its demographic and economic significance" (Portes, 2010: 1549). Based on this type of argumentation, several migration studies performed in Romanian communities reveal common features regarding social evolution. For instance, Anghel concludes that, in many places of origin, "the local economy

dependents on the migrants' financial remittances; significant differences appear between the migrants and the non-migrants, the families of the migrants having more money than the others; a strong effect of social transformation occurs, throughout the changes inside the families, by rearranging the social layers and by building consumption models associated to migration" (Anghel, 2009: 261).

Work-life balance

When speaking about private life and work demands, especially for women, first studies emphasized the negative relation of the two domains, through phrases such as "work-family conflict" or "work-life negative spillover". Individuals, both women and men nowadays, consider themselves affected by the work-family or family-work conflict. This concept was first used to define the conflict "produced by simultaneous pressures from work and family roles that are mutually incompatible" (Greenhaus, 1985: 76-88).

A lot of factors from both working environment and family sphere can contribute to the appearance of work-family conflict. Numerous researches found certain demographic conditions that have the potential to cause strain and pressure for employees, such as the number of children, lack of family support (from the partner, other relatives, friends, colleagues or superiors), taking care of elders or dependent relatives, housekeeping, for example. Subjective conditions, among which we can mention low levels of support between the two partners, emotional problems between family members, are sources of causing conflict from the family sphere. Working environment can also bring problems that affect this balance, through role ambiguity, overloading, long working hours, problematic relationships with colleagues or superiors, over qualification, redundant tasks.

The imbalance between work and family life produces undesired effects at three levels: time, tension and behavior. Researchers speak about time-based work-family conflict when the time necessary for achieving a role makes it difficult accomplishing the requests of the other role, while when the stress born from one role affects the performance of the other one, people are confronted with tension-based imbalance. (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000: 76-88). We can also identify behavioral conflict, when the behavior required by one of the roles becomes an impediment in performing the other.

Individuals make choices depending on their values, preferences, socio-cultural unwritten norms or inherited behavioral patterns. All these factors influence peoples' decisions of time allocation to personal versus professional activities, engagement and expected behaviors.

The socio-professional status, manifested by income level and education level, ensures access to a certain type of care, to a more or less satisfactory category of services. In addition, it is known that those with higher education also have greater material resources. So, we can say that education can be a key to access better jobs, high quality care services for children or elder relatives with health problems or financial resources to hire help for house chores, such as cleaning, cooking, gardening, for example. These aspects are of main importance when we speak about work-family balance, because previous studies have shown that support, both instrumental and emotional, is very important in balancing the two domains (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000). Also, good day care centers for children are considered a satisfactory solution that allows mothers to return faster at work and if the conditions in such centers are

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good, the risk of the little ones to get sick decreases, and therefore work absenteeism decreases. Some companies even include in their family-friendly policies such facilities, as in-house kinder garden or subventions for paying such external services.

Many Romanians choose to migrate hoping that other countries will manage to meet their needs, providing better services than their country of origin. On the other hand, the chances of left at home children to have a proper education are questionable.

Professor Greenhaus, a researcher who constantly analyzed the work-family relationship, considers that the individual is the most important part of this balance, inviting everyone to anticipate or at least acknowledge the results of their behavior or attitudes (Greenhaus, Stoeva and Chiu, 2002). This perspective is based on studies that analyzed the impact that specific personality characteristics have on the way that each person manages the two main life domains – personal and professional life.

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Accelerated social changes have led to new settlements of the traditional roles of women and men, even if we discuss about family relation or professional status. In addition, the working environment is often characterized by a constant state of job-hunting and employee-hunting, employers ask from their workers multiple and transferable skills, availability for work under time pressure for most part of the work program and fierce competition is a feature of almost all sectors, so that the job for life, until retirement, is no longer much of a current.

The desire to have a successful career, otherwise natural, may be the expression on the one hand of the individuals' personal wishes to assert their own values, or the need to overcome financial hardship in many cases, especially in poorer areas, as unfortunately it is the case of our country. It should also be noted that work is one of the basic activities, necessary in the life of a healthy adult (physically, mentally and socially, as "health" is defined by the World Health Organization), with multiple benefic effects, not only the material ones, when conducted in a reasonable way. Labor relations, working environment, challenges of solving various tasks are as many ways and opportunities for building a social identity and a healthy self-image.

But we can also talk about a manifestation of the culture of individualism without limits in the light of Fukuyama's findings, when the need to work is pathologically exacerbated, we might say, not only to purchase the minimum resources for subsistence, but to bring other psychological benefits for the individual (recognition of self-worth, self-affirmation, confirmation of potential) - cases of workaholism. It is assumed that this channeling of all the resources for the professional sector will lead to a deficit in personal life, the appearance of health problems or deterioration of relations that often, after a period, also reflect on the optimal functioning of the individual in the organization (Grzywacz and Marks, 2000a).

In countries where for a large part of the inhabitants their number one problem is the economic survival, this lesser involvement in family life is seen as a given, not the will of the individual, because his professional involvement is considered a sacrifice of the employee, who is working to ensure a decent living for the family who supports him. This is about cultural factors, in Hofstede's terminology, as moderators of perception of a balance or imbalance between private and professional life.

In the situations when these needs and desires- be them mere survival or social recognition- cannot be met in the labor market of the country they belong to, more and more people make the decision to emigrate, in search for a new and better life, especially

in professional terms. As shown before, the effect of such decision in the personal life of the individual can, and often does, result in imbalance, frustrations, and a strong need to return to the environment the subject is familiar to.

However, international migration can also positively impact not only the professional but also the personal lives of those involved, and, therefore, benefit the relationship between these instances. In the globalized world we live in, longer distances are easily travelled, communication is almost instant, and positive examples and better life and time-management skills acquired in a foreign community can be replicated in the home communities. These effects are most often noticed in the high-skilled migrants categories, due to the fact that “in absolute values, the migration rate for highly qualified people has increased, owing, on one hand, to a higher level of education in the countries of origin, and, on the other hand, to better infrastructure, to improved transportation and to the development of international organizations and state connections” (Goga, Ilie, 2017: 93).

Alert changes of the recent years also affect the work environment, its contents, the structure of conjugal roles, family and social capital. Thus, the 8 hours working schedule is no longer a constant; development of modern communication techniques and remote transmission of information facilitates permanent connection to work, which inevitably brings both advantages and disadvantages. In addition, the traditional "life job", until retirement, is missing or is increasingly less common in the current economic environment, characterized by instability and uncertainty.

Labor contents have also changed, employers often requiring adaptability, ability to work overtime and with deadlines, multiple skills, transferable, besides expertise, technical knowledge, specific to ascertain occupation.

When analyzing family relationships, is remarkable the shift from the traditional role of men as breadwinner of the family, to couples where both partners produce income and single-parent families. Some researchers talk about poor division of roles in the modern family, caused mainly by the inclusion of women in working life. It was also noted that the structure of conjugal roles is conditioned by the instructional and cultural background of the partners, the socio-professional category they belong to, outer relations of the conjugal core with extended family, friends, neighbors and other close (Grzywacz and Marks, 2000b: 125).

Furthermore, migration is one of the major changes that can occur in one's life, affecting the economic sector but also his/her private life. Family is often the most affected institution by migration, given that the migration of usually one of the spouses leads to a deterioration of the family connections. Statistics show that in many cases “migrant workers undertake much of the service sector work, which makes others work-life balance possible and yet their own work-life balance negotiations are often neglected” (McDowell and Batnitzki, 2011: 685).

Migration often favors changing mentalities and reconsidering gender-related prescriptions. One particular consequence of migration affects children remaining at home. The National Authority for Children Rights and Adoption shows that over 80.000 Romanian children need psychological, social and educational support, as their parents work in other countries. Starting from their emotional well-being, self-esteem, to public perception and status, both in school and other social circumstances, the functioning of these children is highly and permanently affected by their parent's absence.

In these cases, delinquent behaviors tend to occur more often, as grandparents or the parent left at home are confronted with lack of authority, being incapable to

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control the children. Negative situations such as school failure, drug or alcohol consumption, criminal acts are reported. Such facts contribute to growing tensions among family members and in many cases divorce.

The above-mentioned issues affect not only personal and family life, but will also have a negative impact, in most cases, on the working behavior of the person. As many of the studies argue, in such situations we can speak about a negative spill-over between the two domains.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Institutionalisation of Newcomer Parties in Theory and Practice: the Case Study of ANO 2011

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Abstract

An increasing popularity of new political subject has been noticeable across Europe in recent years. Yet, many of these subjects have only been able to sustain themselves for a limited time. The aim of this paper is to investigate the process of institutionalisation of political parties, through which they become stable and consolidated elites. The aim is to present a modified concept of institutionalisation, based on the work of David Arter and EinaKestilä-Kakkonen (2014). On three separate levels, this concept explores the electoral, internal and legislative dimensions of institutionalisation. Quantitative indicators that are useful when comparing a larger amount of cases are also provided. This approach is then tested in practice and applied to the party ANO 2011, which became a major political force in the Czech Republic.

Keywords: *political parties; institutionalization; the Czech Republic; ANO 2011; newcomer parties.*

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Political parties form an integral part of the party system and are crucial for a well-functioning democracy. Stable and predictable parties generate clear expectations about their political actors, their behaviour, overall structure and rules of party competition. They carry out fundamental representative functions more effectively and have less motivation to violate democratic conventions and principles (Tavits, 2013: 1; Randall, Svåsand, 2002:6; Meleschevich, 2007: 16; McMenamin, Gwiazda, 2011:838). Although success in elections is beneficial for political parties since it paves the way to new resources and power, it is still only a short-term success. New parties are less consolidated, and when exposed to functional pressures can very easily be destabilized. Success in the next elections shows that the individual party has managed to cope with the first critical period, or that the new obligations and pressures arising from parliamentary actions did not have an immediate disintegration effect (see Bolleyer, Bytsek, 2013). However, it is possible to observe tendencies to neglect the issue of the institutionalisation – “*the process by which organisations acquire value and stability*” (Huntington, 1986: 12) – of political parties as such (More frequently research connects the exploration of political party institutionalisation and the party system institutionalization, without making a clear distinction between these two processes (see Randal, Svåsand, 2006: 8; Randall, 2006: 9; Sandbrook, 1996; Markowski, 2001: 56; Randall, 2006: 2).

The aim of this paper is to look into the process of the institutionalization of political parties. An approach that is suitable for the research of newcomer party institutionalization in the newly established democracies of the post-communistic region of Central and Eastern Europe is discussed, before testing this concept on a practical example. Next, a framework modified to suit the analysis of newcomer parties in the post-communist region is presented. This framework is then applied to ANO 2011, which though the course of the past two parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic became a major political force. However, institutionalization of this party and thus its future is far from certain.

There is a wide range of meanings and concepts of institutionalisation. From focusing on formal sets of rules, to the inclusion of various aspects of culture and with very diverse sets of phenomena which institutionalisation is combined with (see Levitsky, 1998: 79). The original concept of institutionalisation originated in sociology, specifically from approaches based on structural functionalism (Strauber, 2015: 135), and was previously used in political research in connection with political organisations. Samuel Huntington (1986), generally considered the ‘originator’ of institutionalisation focused research of political parties, proposed to measure the degree of institutionalisation on the basis of four dimensions: *adaptability*, *organisational complexity*, *autonomy* and *coherence*. Many experts followed Huntington’s approach to institutionalisation and operationalised it. There have been numerous studies into the theoretical background of the research of institutionalisation (see Panebianco, 1988; Levitsky, 1998; Harmel, Svåsand, 1993; Randall, Svåsand, 2002; Basedau, Stroh, 2008 or CasalBértoa, 2016). The difficulty with employing most of the concepts used in the research of institutionalisation and complicating the possibilities of subsequent reproduction of their research is twofold. First, as with the concept of Randall and Svåsand (2002), the operationalisation of the individual indicators is not sufficient and thus the individual indicators that are used to access the individual dimensions are left to possible interpretation. Second, as with the concept of Basedau and Stroh (2008), the

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criteria are often clearly designed to explore the institutionalisation in developing countries, their operationalisation and use as testable indicators in a different environment is complicated.

Examination of institutionalization in the context of Central Europe

In Central Europe, during the past decades, numerous newcomer parties have been able to secure seats in Parliament – few of them however managed to secure a permanent place in the party system¹. When exploring the institutionalization in the post-communist region it is important to take several specific characteristics of these newly formed democracies into consideration. Most importantly, often party systems are not yet fully established. Electorates are volatile, often changing the fragmentation of the systems which complicates government formation. Even if these democracies appear stable and formed at some point, they often underwent a noticeable change in recent elections. The process of institutionalization thus cannot be perceived as a finite one. De-institutionalization may occur due to a loss of electoral support, as a result of political affairs, personnel changes, political failures or disintegration of formal structures (see Harmel, Svåsand, Mjelde, 2016). Moreover, the institutionalisation does not necessarily happen simultaneously on all levels of party development. Whereas the party can be strongly institutionalised in some aspects, successful institutionalisation may be prevented by inadequate institutionalisation in others.

The most suitable foundation for this line of research appears to be the approach of Arter and Kestilä-Kakkonen (2014). The authors assume that an institutionalised party needs to have a stable electoral base or permanent supporters, an organisational structure, a member core, a sufficient supply of candidates and a dispersion of roles and authority. Its representatives act as a coherent legislative party who, if needed, will support the government of their party. The fundamental advantage of this theoretical point is that the authors do not expect parties to achieve some state of “perfect institutionalization” in all dimensions simultaneously, thus depicting the asynchronous nature of the institutionalization process (see Arter, Kestilä-Kakkonen, 2014).

The following analysis shows how the institutionalisation in the new post communist democracies can be researched on three separate levels, showing that the process can be strong in one aspect of institutionalisation, but weak in another. Based on Arter and Kestilä-Kakkonen’s approach (2014) the division into the electoral, internal and legislative institutionalization dimensions is being preserved. This bears witness to the turbulent and volatile party development in Central Europe. The aim of this paper is to refine the concept of Arter and Kestilä-Kakkonen whose research was tailored to suit one specific party, and introduce operationalized subcategories which would then be transferable to different parties and countries, providing a tool for cross-party analysis. More quantitative indicators are employed for these reasons as well. The approach is then applied to the case of the Czech political party ANO 2011, showing its application in practice and testing if the concept of Arter and Kestilä-Kakkonen’s research can be

¹ Many of these parties defined themselves as “non-traditional”, forming an imaginary counterpart to the established elites. For instance, in Poland the Palikot’s Movement in 2011 or Kukiz ’15 and Nowoczesna movements in the 2015 elections were successful, as well as the Alliance of the New Citizen in 2012, the OL’ANO in 2002 and #SIEŤ in 2016 in Slovakia, or the Public Affairs in 2010 or ANO and The Dawn of Direct Democracy in 2013 in the Czech Republic. In Hungary, parties such as Jobbik or Politics Can Be Different were elected to the parliamentary body both in 2010 and 2014.

modified in such a way to suit the needs of the research of institutionalisation in other countries. The institutionalisation process will be tested on:

Electoral level of Party Institutionalisation

This level of analysis is based on the *social rootedness* dimension and also partially reflects the aspect of *value infusion*. An institutionalized party will have a relatively stable electorate base and a recognizable core of supporters; a volatile electorate and weak party identification suggests a low level of electoral party institutionalization.

Level and homogeneity of electoral gains – a party can be considered more institutionalized if it represents a valid political alternative for an increasing number of voters that is evenly distributed over the territory. As indicators, the electoral gains of past elections, surveys of electorate's preferences and party nationalizations scores expressing the heterogeneity of territorial distribution of electoral support can be used.

Existence of characteristic electoral core – if the party is “rooted” in a certain social circle, it is easier to find a specific strategy for its electoral campaign and to adapt the overall image of the party to attract as many voters from the desired electorate group.

Voters' identification with the party – while the charisma of a leader of few elites is capable of attracting voters in the short term, the more institutionalized are those parties the voters of which identify themselves primarily with the party (and its programme) as a whole.

Affiliated organizations and spreading of values – parties that have their own think-tanks, educational programmes, community organization or specific, or host social and cultural events, as well as own party press etc. can use these platforms to make others more aware of the values they hold and better shape the identity of their party in voters' minds.

Internal level of party institutionalisation

Although a party leader or a group of founders can rely purely on their charisma and avoid the primary need to build a strong party organization, the stronger the internal party institutionalization, the greater the prospect of the party's survival beyond its original founders. An institutionalized party should have *systemness*—a clearly defined internal structure and developed organizational procedures, respected both by the party elite and by the regular members. Simultaneously, the party should not be dependent on an external actor, thus possessing *decisional autonomy*.

Membership base – a stable membership base which grows without significant fluctuations indicates a higher degree of institutionalization. It suggests a sufficient party socialization and establishment of inner party culture.²A supportive indicator in this category may be the number of local and regional organization, as well as the member to voter ratio.

Candidate base – parties are perceived as more institutionalized if they are able to nominate candidates on an adequate scale to all types of elections without any problems. A lack of candidates or controversy in creating ballots can reflect in a negative way the state of the party's organizational base and can seriously jeopardize the party's election results.

² However, it is necessary to reflect that some of the parties may have a minimum membership core, but a broad base of “registered supporters”.

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Distribution and regulation of power – increased institutionalization takes place if the rules governing the organizational structure, the distribution of power and the appointment of party positions function in the party. The frequent exchanges of senior management or the lack of rank member ability to influence party leadership has a negative effect on institutionalization.

Diversification and independence of resources –Diversification of income strengthens the party's decisional autonomy and allows it to endure changes in the income (for which the Gini coefficient may be a useful tool). If the party is dependent on the financial support of an external actor, it could be forced to adjust its own objectives in line with the will of its sponsor, whereas the ideals and policies becomes secondary to keeping the party alive.

Legislative level party institutionalization

The creation of a trusted body of elected representatives at local or parliamentary level and functional party clubs points toward the party's *cohesion*. A reliable club enables the party to enforce policies and laws and to be perceived as a stable and predictable player. If representatives of the party are volatile, or frequent objects of political affairs, the public as well as other political actors can intentionally or unintentionally change their perception of this party, modifying their aspirations and expectations toward it.

Political defection – defection of party members can indicate dissatisfaction with the party line, particularly in parties with a strong leader. In some cases, parties try to cope with a low level of cohesion by setting up barriers against defection (e.g. in the form of forced signatures of contracts subjecting representatives to fines), which needs to be properly reflected.

Party splitting – party factionalism can have devastating effects on the club's legislative work and damage the party's reputation. Such a split is undesirable in terms of institutionalisation, since it complicates the work of the representatives' club, and it is negatively perceived by the public. However, the tolerance of different opinion groups within the party and its clubs is appropriate and strengthens the institutionalization process, unless factions within the party endanger the legislative cohesion of the club.

Non-conformist behaviour – if it is possible to document a non-conformist behaviour of individuals towards the parent party that led to warnings, disciplinary actions or exclusions from the club, the reputation caused by these affairs can damage the party's institutionalization process.

The institutionalisation of a business-firm party: the case of ANO 2011

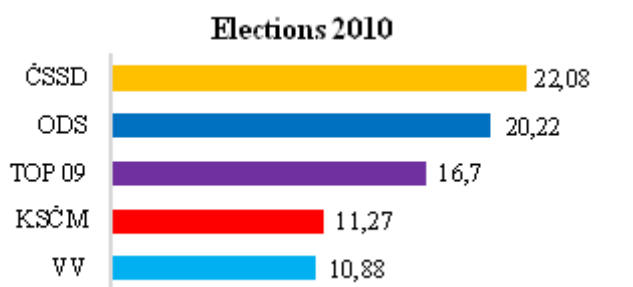
On 11 May 2012, the ANO 2011 movement was registered with the Czech Ministry of Interior. Its foundation is linked to the previous initiative of its founder, Andrej Babiš, called *Akcespokojenýchobčanů* (the Action of Dissatisfied Citizens), which criticized the state of the Czech society and the level of corruption. From a political newcomer, Babiš quickly established a major force, reinforcing his power through the subsequent elections on both local and national level. However, after only 7 years in politics and after his second major success in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies, Babiš struggles to form a functioning government that can gain the trust of the lower house and rule the country.

The first breakthrough of ANO came in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2013. With 18,65 % of the vote the movement placed second and gained 47

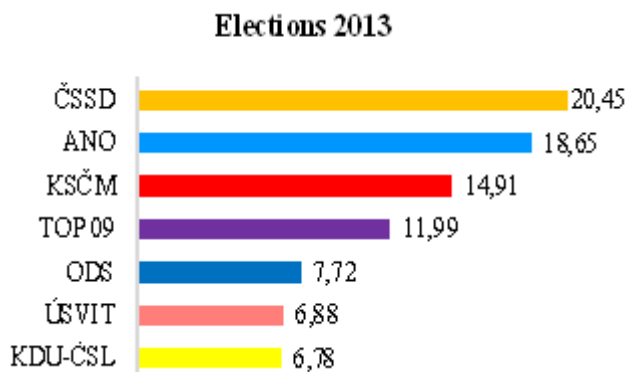
mandates out of a total of 200, only 2 shy of beating the Social Democrats (ČSSD). In 2017 the party dominated the elections, seizing victory in all 14 regions. Notably, the heterogeneity of electoral gains of ANO was very low in both elections to the Chamber of Deputies.

The party has more homogenous support than any other party in the Czech Republic. Only two years later, in the local elections of 2016, the party won in 9 out of 13 regions and got 176 local representatives. However, in the elections in Prague and in the Senate elections the party still struggled, not being able to provide enough strong representatives for person–rather than party-oriented elections.

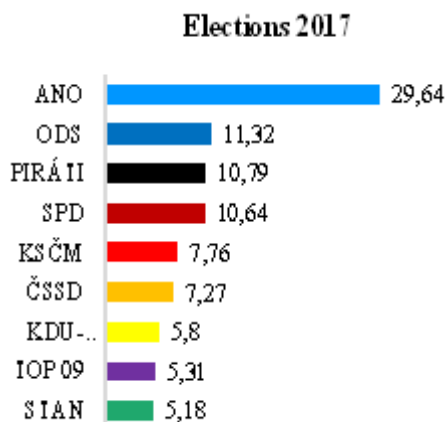
Figure 1. The results of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic, 2010-2018



Source: Volby.cz (2017)



Source: Volby.cz (2017)



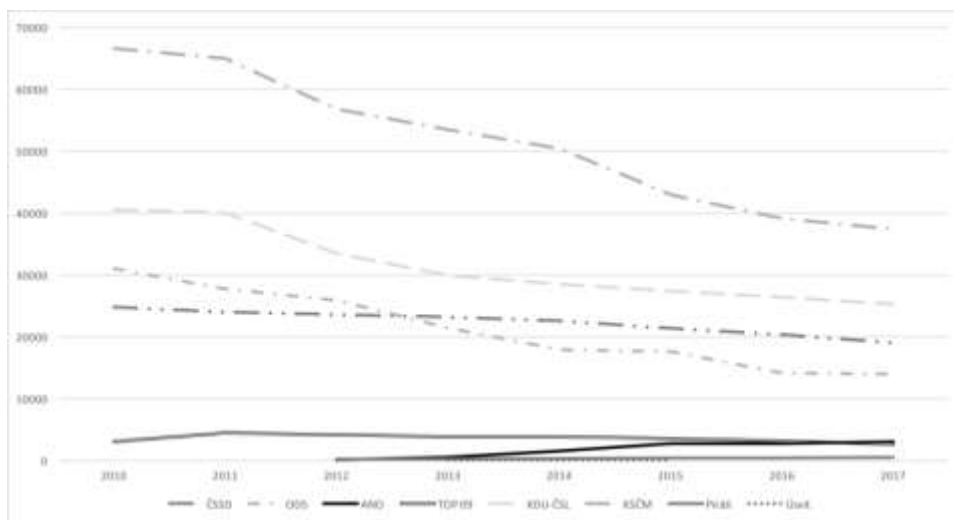
Source: Volby.cz (2017)

It is apparent that ANO is not rooted in any specific segment of society. The party program lacks a unifying ideological framework and reflect diverse requests of the electorate, focuses on the electoral base of the former government coalition in 2013. More than three fifths of its voters came from the Civic Democrats (ODS), the TOP 09 party and the Public Affairs (VV). This attests more to the state of disappointment of the Czech centre-to-right voters than to the ideological profile of ANO. In 2017 most of the ANO's electorate came from the left-wing specter, while more than a third of voters of ČSSD from the previous elections switched to Babiš in 2017, as did a considerable number of new voters and the Communist party (KSČM) electorate. ANO then does not target any specific socioeconomic group. Its voters being spread evenly between age, profession and education groups in 2013 and leaning more towards the 60+ age group, middle to lower education and manual laborers and unemployed/retired categories (for more detail see Gregor, 2014; Beníšková, 2017; Šoulová, 2017). Crucial for the party is the identification of its electorate with the person of its leader. Babiš represents the image of the whole party, accompanying local leaders on billboards for local elections, keeping a dominant position during party negotiations and media events, as well as maintaining strong influence within the party itself.

The main channel for ANO to communicate with the electorate are social media. The party and Babiš himself maintain active Facebook and Twitter pages. The party also recurrently prints election newsletters. Connected to ANO is the youth organisation *Mladé ANO* (Young ANO), established in 2015, and the *IPPS* (Institute for politics and society) a think-tank which was established by Babiš to cultivate Czech political and public space, to nurture new politicians for ANO and to define new strategies and goals in regards to the politics of the Czech Republic (IPPS 2018).

The membership base of ANO is extremely limited and exclusive. There is a six month waiting period for the applicants, as well as extensive set of requirements.³ Members of ANO are strongly monitored, and need to report any proceedings with their persons. The party also has mechanisms to exclude members effectively (for more detail see Charvát and Just, 2016 or Kopeček and Svačinová, 2015). These barriers have been justified by the party as precautions against political tourists and careerists, seeking professional and experienced members only (Válková, 2013). Nevertheless, the membership base of ANO is growing slowly, especially around the time of local elections. The party also has access to a large group of so-called registered supporters, who help to spread the values of the party and root it within society. ANO does have enough motivated members to establish an organisational structure in the region of the Czech Republic, keeping a steadily growing number of local cells as well as a stable number of regional organisations. The candidate base of ANO also shows evidence of strengthening of institutionalisation. Although the party still has issues finding strong and well-known candidates for elections to the Senate and on the municipality levels, in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies the percentage of candidates who are members of ANO grew significantly between 2013 and 2017, where 92 % of all candidates have been affiliated with the party.

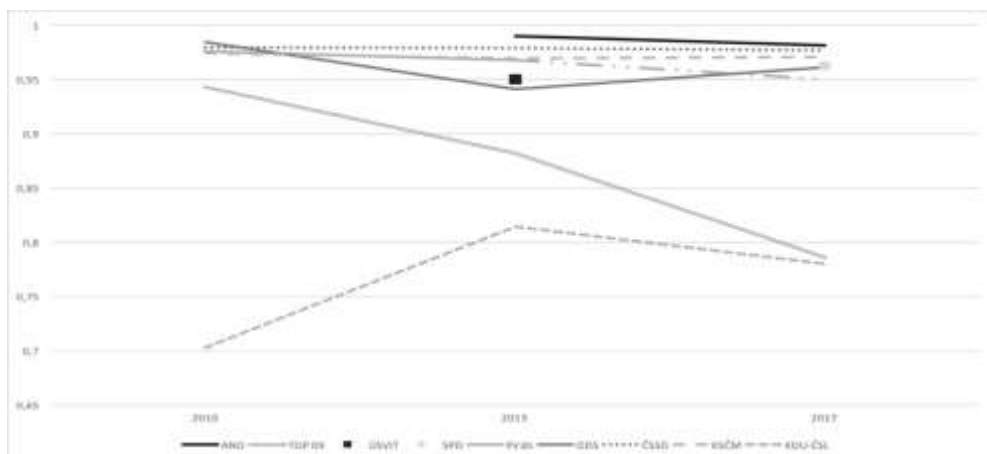
Figure 2. Number of party members of selected parties, 2010-2017



Source: Válková, H. (2013); Strauber, J. (2015); Kopeček, L., Svačinová, P. (2015). Charvát, J., Just, P., (2016); Anobudeli.cz. (2018) and author's research

³ Including for example a CV, clear criminal record and debt statements and more.

Figure 3. Nationalisation levels for selected parties, 2010-2017



Source: Volby.cz (2017), calculated according to Golosov (2016)

The distribution and regulation of power within ANO is uneven. Babiš keeps firm control over the party through formal and informal mechanisms. The directive leadership, strong control over the inner workings of the party and the personnel prevents large fluctuation in the party elite and frequent alterations in the top tier party management. But it also prevents the common members from influencing the party affairs. The position of Babiš was strengthened over time. After the 2013 quarrel between Babiš and newly elected party co-chairmen, only trusted members are elected into top party positions, and the party congresses of 2015 and 2017 granted the chairman even more power, making him irreplaceable during political negotiations and able to intervene into the candidate list construction, as well as granting the authority to change, cross off, add or change the order of candidates, even after the lists have been accepted by the party organs (see i.e. Charvát, Just, 2016).

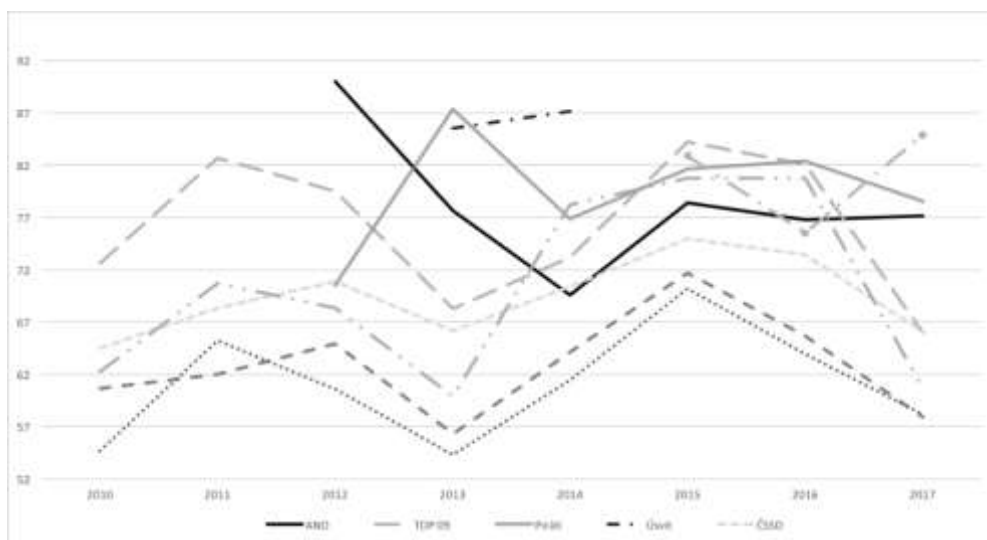
Table 1. Number of ANO's organisations

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Local organisations	0	59	187	236	247	260
Regional organisations	19	91	90	92	97	97

Source: anobudelip.cz (2018)

The party's financing is also problematic due to the lack of diversification. In the first years of the party existence, gifts from Babiš and companies owned by his holding Agrofert represented about 88 % of its income. Although the income has become more heterogeneous in recent years, the party still heavily relies on donations and major portions of its finances are loans, limiting the party's decisional autonomy and financial stability. Another problematic aspect is the number of subsidies from the state and from the EU heading towards companies associated through personal ties and personnel with ANO, which can constitute a substantive conflict of interests in the future.

Figure 4. Heterogeneity of income of selected parties, 2010-2017.
Calculations: Gini coefficient



Source: politickefinance.cz (2018)

Since the leader of ANO has an unusually strong position within the party, and he is surrounded by a group of loyal party elite members, exiting the party is one of the few ways members can express dissatisfaction. The elites then dispose of a strong control when it comes to expelling members from the party or removing them from party offices. A high degree of discipline is apparent in ANO, with only one MP switching parties⁴. (PsP 2018). This discipline is more prominent with elected representatives and the governmental level. On the other hand, on the local and regional level, disputes and rifts between party clubs in town and local governments are more common, leading to the dissolution of local organisations, removal of local elites from offices etc. ANO tries to deal actively with these issues (see Charvát, Just, 2016: 96).

More than party switching, there is a gradual trickle of party members leaving ANO, which is on top of that quite often publicised, with many members mentioning similar reasons for their decision to depart from ANO. These include the non-democratic ways in which the party is organized on the inside and its authoritarian leadership, abandoning original policies and ideals, intrigues, and the majority not being respected etc. All these lead to numerous representatives from the regional levels of the party leaving ANO throughout last couple years.⁵

As its membership base is quite small and with high barriers towards new members and members leaving, when their opinions do not match the ones of the party's

⁴Kristýna Zelenková left ANO in 2016, expressing her discontent with the leadership, changing in the party's policies and inner relationships, later joining the TOP 09 party (Kopecký, 2016).

⁵In the Southern Bohemia region, about 20 members left the party in connection to the way the pre-election campaign was handled in 2016, in the Olomouc region 12 members out of 40 members of the local organisation left. The same happened in Českolipsko and in the Liberec region, where several representatives stepped down from the candidate list for the elections. In Prostějov, the leader of the list, Hana Naclerová, and with her 11 other members, left out due to the dissatisfaction with the power linkage in Prostějov City.

leadership, there is no severe factionalism within ANO. Nor is there an ongoing debate between opinion groups that would support the exchange of opinions and formulation of policies. Yet, from time to time, ANO has to deal with splits of party clubs of representatives on the local level or within local organizations. This led to the dissolution of several local organisations. Some of the dissatisfied former members of ANO formed a new platform called PRO 2016, however this movement was not successful in the past elections. At the very latest from 2015 there have been media mentions of nonconformist or burdensome members being expelled from the party and of party organisations being dissolved to solve intra-party issues.⁶ ANO claims that these members acted against the party moral codex or statutes, or that they harmed the party by their actions. On the other hand, the expelled members claimed, similar to the members who left ANO out of their own will, that the party is organized in authoritarian way, and that their opinions were not tolerated.

Conclusion

An institutionalised party should be able to overcome challenges. The better the party is able to adapt to changes in political affairs, the less it is threatened with de-institutionalisation, which can break up even seemingly successful parties (see Arter, Kestilä-Kakkonen, 2014: 937). The degree of institutionalization influences how a party is able to cope with the pressure arising from public office, how it can solve conflicts and prevent the potential outflow of supporters, and to promote its policies. Political science research has been addressing the question as to why some parties are unified and cohesive, while others collapse shortly after their initial success for some time now. This research has not yielded a generally accepted answer. The institutionalisation process thus stays to a certain extent "*somewhat enigmatic*" (McMenamin, Gwiazda, 2011: 838). There is still a lack of understanding why certain parties are in fact institutionalized and others are not. Still, the phenomenon of institutionalisation is not only an interesting theoretical puzzle, but also a recurring theme in the literature on democratic consolidation and the subject of interest in the practical research of post-communist democratic transitions (Tavits, 2013; CasalBértoa, 2016).

The goal of this paper is to give an insight to the complex process through which political parties gain their value and stability. In this paper, after a critical review of approaches available, an approach based on the work of David Arter and Kestilä-Kakkonen 2014, is applied, with 11 indicators being operationalized within 3 levels of party institutionalisation. The fundamental advantage of this approach is that these parties are not expected to achieve a state of "perfect institutionalization" in all dimensions simultaneously, thus allowing for depiction of the asynchronous nature of the institutionalization process.

This framework is then applied to the case of Andrej Babiš's party ANO 2011, a business-firm party established in 2012 that through last couple of years became the most successful "newcomer" in the party system. It is apparent that as to the electoral institutionalisation the institutionalisation of ANO is strengthening when it comes to the electoral gain and the levels of its nationalisation. However, the party still lacks a more

⁶ In this way, the local organisation in the city of Karlovy Vary has been dissolved in 2014, as well as in Liberec and Frýdland in 2016. This year proved to be challenging for the party on the regional level. Members have been expelled from the party in Prague district 4, where two members did not follow the instructions of the Chairman of the local organisation, as well as several members in České Budějovice, who acted against the party's wishes.

discernible electoral core and the identification of the electorate primary lays with the leader of the party. These two criteria correspond with the fact that ANO is labelled as a business-firm party (Charvát, Just, 2016). ANO is very active when it comes to spreading of values, disposing of both affiliated organisations an electoral party press, as well as a possible access to the Babiš-owned media. On the internal level, although having a small to non-existent member base and the authority of the strong, founding leader, who supplies a large portion of the party's income are one of the prominent characteristic of a (not only) business-firm party, ANO's membership base has slowly increased, in a very controlled and purposeful manner (especially around the time of local elections), successfully supplying candidates for elections. Although ANO is far from aspiring to become a mass party, with its approximately 3000 members, there have been proclamations that accepting more members into the party is possible. The party also has both regional and local organisations, with the number of regional organisation increasing rapidly between 2014-2016. The distribution and regulation of power is very uneven, with Babiš and a small core of loyal supporters being in charge and even strengthening the leaders' powers over time. The income has become more disperse over the years, yet it is far more homogenous than for instance the income of "established" parties, with large portion of the income being supplemented by loans and gifts from Babiš's own holding Agrofert. These aspects, as well as the amount of subsidies that come from the state and the EU towards the companies associated in one way or another with members of ANO, can prove dangerous for the long term institutionalisation of the party.

On the level of legislative representatives, it is possible to observe a very strong position of the leader within his party, with high levels of party discipline, especially on the MP level. Although, at the very latest from 2015 we could have seen mentions of nonconformist or burdensome members being expelled from the party and of local organisations being dissolved to solve intra-party issues, the "second man" of ANO, Jaroslav Faltýnek, is very active when dealing with frictions, splitting or squabbles within the party on the ground himself.

From the analysis outlined it becomes clear that the levels of institutionalisation of ANO are either strengthening or being kept at stable level, with potential problems rising from the business-firm model affecting the party's finances and the inter-party relationships, with the strict rule of Babiš on one hand keeping the party together and on the other, posing a risk in the case, that Babiš would have to step down as the party leader. Yet, the party is striving to improve its cohesion find loyal local elites, to build a regional and local organisation and to improve the heterogeneity of the party's income, with very controlled increase of the membership base and the occasional (and not negligible) party frictions and factionalisms being swiftly dealt with by the elite's ruling hand.

The approach of Arter and Kestilä-Kakkonen (2014) can be modified and applied to the research of the institutionalisation of political parties within the post-communistic bloc, even though it was designed to research the case of the populist True Finns party. After applying the modified concept on the case of ANO 2011, it becomes clear that indeed the institutionalization does not indeed to take place at all levels simultaneously, nor that we can a priori assume that successful institutionalization can take place only if the political subject has a mass membership base, nationwide electoral support and large parliamentary group, allowing for a better reflection on the institutionalization process of new political parties in post-communist Central Europe –

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as the process as a whole is a fluid one, the institutionalization of different aspects of an individual party is similarly so. While parties may be strongly institutionalized in some aspects, as in the case of ANO, successful establishment within the system may be prevented by inadequate adaptability or inability to root in the society. The question remains, if ANO as a party will be able to become a value itself, surpassing the individual goals of its elites and gain stability and durability in the future; these may not even be the goals of the party's leader, who built ANO as his own political project and his "firm". However, there are indicators that the party is, at least on some levels, moving towards institutionalisation, albeit a very fragile one.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Through communism to modernity – working Polish women, gender mainstreaming. Military and culture sector – bipolarity and women’s stereotypes of Labour Power

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Abstract:

The situation of Polish women and their rights including access to resources can have a satisfactory appearance. However, this is just a lonely, first impression. Women have to fight for status and opportunity improvement in the professional arena, which is definitely in need of strengthening and improvement. The study of women and their working area situation, based on examples from Poland assisting in the creation of the self-questioning, in a better understanding needs and lack of woman manifestation gaps. Which kind of implementation can balance the invisibility of women’s work. Considerations on the stereotype of women's participation in professional areas, traditionally dominated by men, show transformations. In art and military service, men are dominant, but nonetheless there is a visible transgression of the presence of power and movement towards female professionals. Gender mainstreaming has started to exist in many areas of professional life previously unavailable for women.

Keywords: *gender mainstreaming; women; military; art; Poland.*

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Through Communism to Modernity – Working Polish Women, Gender...

Women in Poland since joining the European Union. Gender mainstreaming. Military and culture sector – bipolarity and women's stereotypes of Labour Power

While discussing the issue of gender mainstreaming, we focus on two opposite and seemingly different areas of women's activities: creating art and being a soldier. Moving in the sphere of theoretical considerations as well as observing the practical aspect of these two areas, we noticed that: 1. women's professional activities in occupations recognized as male-dominated, ipso facto, takes place; 2. it is marginalized; 3. Stereotypically, it's not obvious; 4. women develop in non-traditional jobs for women and have the right to do so.

Women in the Polish Army – historical view

Women in the army have always been present. When we examine the past, we can see their supporting presence throughout history. The nature of their role has changed over the centuries.

In the turbulent history of Poland, women started taking on the role of being a soldier, most notably during the November Uprising in 1831. The unforgettable and heroic figure of Emilia Plater – captain of the Polish Army who, together with her friend, Maria Prószyńska, created a several hundred-strong insurgent unit participating in battles with the Russian forces – is still a symbol of patriotism and courage. Captain Emilia shared all insurrectionary hardships with her subordinates. It won her the devotion and respect of the general public, but put a strain on her reputation among the elite. Also, in the 19th century, a Polish bard – Adam Mickiewicz – created the model of the Polish Mother, a national symbol of a woman bringing into the world the defenders of the motherland which was then torn between the invaders¹.

Women were involved in all the national uprisings and independence movements of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the beginning of the twentieth century they played an important role in the formation of paramilitary organizations. On the eve of the outbreak of World War I and in the years 1914 - 1918 they were actively involved in conspiratorial shooting organizations, the Polish Military Organization, and later in the Volunteer Legion of Women. They provided weapons, were couriers, scouts, and carried out difficult combat tasks. In an organized and legal manner, they operated in the elite Female Intelligence Department. While in disguise, assuming a male identity, about 130 women – soldiers – fought on the front line.

During World War II, women actively took part in the resistance movement. Several thousand Polish women enlisted in the Women's Auxiliary Service, and even in the ranks of the Home Army², exclusively female units were created to carry out acts of sabotage, assassinations and liquidation of informers and agents. Women operated as paramedics, doctors, secretaries, radio telegraphists, telephonists, cooks, storekeepers and drivers, as well as flight mechanics.

¹ There were three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that took place toward the end of the 18th century and ended the existence of the state, resulting in the elimination of sovereign Poland and Lithuania for 123 years.

² The Home Army (Polish: Armia Krajowa) was the dominant Polish resistance movement in Poland, when occupied by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union during World War II.

After the Second World War, the first post-war recruitment of women to the Polish Army took place in 1988. At that time, the Armed Forces began recruiting women among graduates of such fields of study as medicine, pharmacy and psychology. This unique style of recruitment was conducted so that a woman could obtain an officer's rank after only a short military training, without the necessity of completing military school. Such rules were maintained until 1999, and the presence of women in the army remained at a fairly stable approximate level of 0.30% (Palczewska and Drapikowska, 2014: 98-100).

Release of access to military service for women

Changes in the field of mainstreaming in the actual access of women to military service can be noted from 1999. This is directly related to Poland's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in that same year. One of the necessary requirements for a signatory country has been the opening of full-time careers and accessibility for women in the military. Due to joining NATO, female secondary school graduates were able to enrol in military schools. In 2000, 163 women were admitted to military schools and academies, in the following year – 33. Between 2000 and 2001, 24 women were admitted for military service with specialities in the army (<https://www.nato.int/ims/2001/win/poland.htm>). The introduction of this novelty was associated not only with the necessity for the military to open up to a quantitative change – more women in various positions and specialities, but also qualitative – access to officer schools, the need to provide infrastructure. Following the necessity of launching these changes, there was also a need to revise attitudes and beliefs related to the actual presence of women in the Armed Forces. The women's service somehow forced the breaking of stereotypical beliefs, related to the division of professions into those reserved only for men, and strictly for women.

The year 2003 was when we could notice the initial qualitative breakthrough. At that time, the first graduates had left the military schools and were directed to perform full-time service in military units. However, due to the lack of experience, women were almost never sent to participate in peacekeeping missions.

Legal regulations

Subsequent changes clearly indicating the presence of women in the Armed Forces concerned legal regulations. The issue of the rights of professional soldiers related to parenthood was regulated in the Act of 11 September, 2003 concerning the military service of professional soldiers. Article 65 of this Act includes matters related to maternity, paternity, parental leave and the rights of professional soldiers – pregnant or breastfeeding women (<http://www.wojsko-polskie.pl/pl/pages/prawo-niezbednik-zolnierza-kobiety-m/>).

Professionalisation of the army as an opportunity for women?

The next turning point for the presence of women in the Polish Army was a reform, carried out in 2007, aimed at the professionalisation of the army, which resulted in the abandonment of the Reserves. After abolishing conscription, women had greater opportunities to join the army and bring their potential to the corps of professional soldiers. The professional army has become a new labour market, where qualifications were the main criterion for employment.

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Year 2013 marked the 25th anniversary of women's military service in the Polish Army. The percentage of women serving in the army at that time was 2.86%, or 2706 female employees deployed in all corps and types of the Armed Forces (Palczewska, Drapikowska, 2014: 100). In 2015, statistics indicated 4.3%, and in 2016, 5% of women soldiers [this was the third largest increase among NATO members (0.7%)] (Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives, 2016: 10). Up until December 31, 2017 in the Polish Armed Forces, 5829 female soldiers performed professional military service in all their personal corps, which represents 5.73% of the total headcount. In the corps of officers there were 1525 women: 897 non-commissioned officers and 3407 private soldiers (<http://www.wojsko-polskie.pl/pl/pages/kobiety-w-wp-statystyki-t/>). They usually fulfilled the roles of communications officers, medics, psychologists, logistics specialists or IT specialists. Due to their trustworthiness and favourable perception in the public eye and their ability to contribute to the positive image of the institutions, they also served as spokespersons (Kuśmirek, 2017: 114-115). Male soldiers started perceiving women more sympathetically in positions related to medical service, military administration and military education (Baranowska, 2016: 36-46). As far as women commanders are concerned, there were: platoon leaders (191), team leaders (164) and company commanders (80). The small female presence among the higher ranks may result from family responsibilities (births and the upbringing of children), a preference for mainly administrative work (e.g. activities during foreign missions); thus limiting their ability to quickly achieve a higher standing (Kuśmirek, 2017: 114-115). The majority of female soldiers serve in land forces and the lowest percentage in special forces.

Most women have the rank of second lieutenant and lieutenant, which is the lowest officer rank. The highest rank held by a woman in active service is a colonel (Palczewska and Drapikowska, 2014: 102). However, in the current political discourse, there is a conversation about the need to change this situation. Both the President and the National Security Bureau are conducting activities aimed at promoting women to the rank of general (Lesiecki, 2018; Goluch, 2018).

The dynamic growth of women's presence in the army is also connected with the creation and recruitment to the National Guard (NT), which was established in January 1, 2017. Currently, women in this formation constitute 10% of the total headcount, as reported in an interview conducted by me in 2018 with one of the NT commanders. This number is largely influenced by the availability of service in the local areas where the women live, without the necessity for relocation and weakening of family ties.

The body representing women soldiers in the army is the Council for Women's Affairs. Based on the Decision No. 19 / MON of the Minister of National Defence from March 7, 2018 regarding the functioning of the Council for Women's Affairs in the Ministry of National Defence, its position was strengthened and subordinated by the Chairman of the Council directly to the Minister of National Defence. This was introduced in order to enable a faster and direct response to all situations requiring urgent intervention in the service of women soldiers. The Council also includes representatives of the National Guard (<http://www.wojsko-polskie.pl/pl/pages/rada-ds-kobiet-h/>).

The Council for Women's Affairs

The Council for Women's Affairs is the military entity that deals with the integration of gender perspectives in the armed forces. The President of the Council for Women is also Plenipotentiary of the Minister of Defence for Women's Military Service. The plenipotentiary analyses the issues influencing the service of women and evaluates new laws and regulations based on their effect on the service of women. The Coordinator for Equal Treatment was appointed in 2015 and is responsible for monitoring the Ministry of Defence's (MoD's) compliance with the principle of equal treatment. The Coordinator identifies cases of discrimination and takes action to counteract them (Summary of the National Report...).

Gender challenges

The historical and legal condition of the functioning of women soldiers in the Polish Army described above, is free from neither stereotypes nor the challenges of the contemporary dynamics associated with so-called gender mainstreaming. A change in the pattern of the role of women in the armed forces, dictated by global social changes, has not overcome the traditional problems related to the service of women. These include: stereotypical thinking about women in the army, fulfilling service in a male-dominated environment; difficulty in reconciling family responsibilities with professional work; threats related to violence (mobbing); difficulties related to the fulfilment of professional aspirations.

Research on the attitudes of male soldiers towards women's military service conducted in 2013 by M. Palczewska and B. Drapikowska (2014) shows that only one in every ten soldiers is a supporter of women's military service and presents the view that women should not be subject to any restrictions on access to positions. The opposite opinion was expressed by one third of the respondents. The presence of women in the army has many critics. Every sixth man declares a reluctance to see women in military service and is an opponent of women joining the ranks of the army, while every third man accepts this fact as an element of the changing social reality (Palczewska, Drapikowska, 2014: 105).

B. Czuba conducted research on the adaptation of women to military service. Analysis of the results shows that the male superiors associate the adaptation of women mainly with professional competences, competences in the sphere of managing emotions, character traits, social impact, material conditions (providing elements necessary to perform the service). According to male commanders, effective professional selection would facilitate the process of women's adaptation to service. It would allow such dysfunctional features attributed to women as: individuality, lack of diligence, shyness, avoidance of cooperation, low mental resistance, sensitivity and excessive emotionality (Czuba, 2012: 369-376) to be eliminated.

Opponents of women's military service also express views that women lower soldiers' morale, distract men's attention while performing tasks and are fragile physically. Instinctively, men protect a woman in the situation of struggle at the expense of efficiency and effectiveness of completion of a task. Overcoming the belief that a woman is not capable of performing military service is still a challenge for male soldiers and society (Kuśmirek, 2017: 111). Moreover, the differences between men and women are often emphasized due to different cultural roles and social expectations for both sexes. These factors undoubtedly make it harder for women to adapt and find acceptance

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in a strictly male-dominated environment, and the effort – mainly emotional – needed to become a part of the male group is high. Women are subject to strong pressure to adapt to the masculine world; in effect, they strive to become like men (in their appearance and demeanour). This happens at the expense of their femininity, which in turn strengthens into androcentrism and perpetuates masculinisation in the army (Renzetti and Curran, 2005: 456).

The small number of women in the Polish Army, oscillating around 5% of soldiers, and the barely rudimentary systemic solutions that would be responsible and introduce gender issues to the mainstream of military narrative, inhibit women from influencing the organizational culture of the army. They are outside the mainstream systemic solutions, as well as they are stuck in the paradigm of the stereotype, which, ironically, they often perpetuate.

We do connect women function in the masculinised world of stereotypically masculine professions. In which the space for femininity exists in the imaginatively spiritual sphere, leading us not only towards army environment but also artist profession. It is a world in which a woman on the one hand is worshipped, immortalized, as a muse and inspiration, while on the other hand, she is actually outside the margins of the mainstream of active work in art. A woman appears in these two mentioned areas of professional activity as an enigmatic, almost invisible task performer. Both in the military and visual arts sectors, the presence of women, in the prevailing discourse, becomes a trivial joke among the full pathos and the stabilized consciousness of belonging to this sphere only for men. In both these spheres, women exercised a silent role as observers and companions, caregivers, and were the mental and physical support of the everyday life of the public and private man. These slim, passive traits, accompanying women for centuries, have stabilized the view that a woman is properly passive. It is an element of the masculine world's equipment. Its existence is the background for displaying male action and development, leaving space for men, women retreating and fulfilling a servile role. Specifically, creating heroes and geniuses whom history remembers and the mechanisms that have arisen over the centuries, until now they are active in the form of vivid, fleshy stereotypes.

Post-communist life of women artists

Women and communism, this slogan is usually associated with the icon of socialist art – the image of a girl on a tractor; however, this is just a superficial popular image. The stereotype of women who were forced by the totalitarian regime to perform a hard job is also obsessed with thinking today. We were used to thinking about women in post-war Poland according to popular patterns.

Immediately after the Second World War, the Communist government mobilized Polish women to participate in the job market. They were expected to contribute to the post-war reconstruction of the country, as well as to their home budgets. Due to lower overall wages, many men could no longer act as sole breadwinners. Even though from that moment on, the majority of women in Poland held jobs outside their homes, they were never treated equally (*Polish Women under Communism...*).

You are convinced that these women were forced to work outside the home. After work, they lined up to start the arrangement of their houses in a poorly equipped household. As a result, women were overwhelmed, neglected; they did not have enough time for themselves and other people of today's generation of democratic Europeans. In other words, communism chased women from the home and deprived them of their

femininity. Was it really like that?

The professional activities of women have become a phenomenon on a social scale comparatively recently, since the 60s and 70s of the 20th century. Especially in Poland and other countries of central and eastern Europe, the number of working women, including married women, grew dynamically after the Second World War, something conditioned by industrialization and an extensive socialist economy based mainly on physical work. The number of women in employment in those years became higher in Poland, Czechoslovakia or East Germany than in Western European countries. The reason for this phenomenon was low wages. Women had to take up employment because it was difficult to maintain a family on one salary. At the same time, the state's policy was aimed at facilitating women's professional activities by creating institutions for childcare: nurseries and kindergartens, day-care centres.

Paid maternity leave was introduced and, over time, three-year unpaid parental leave as well. So was this time for artists who could find the time to create? The artist understood intuitively the limits of this controlled freedom and he did not intend to lose it, thus respecting the rules of the game imposed on him. Paradoxically, this was supported by the heritage of socialist realism, the fear of the involvement of art in externalities, a complex politicization of art, deeply rooted in the mentality of the Polish artist. The trauma of linking art with communist propaganda (constituting the essence of socialist realism) was transferred to any political involvement of all artistic creation. This traumatic experience thus functioned as a negative reference point of Polish “thaw” modernism, thereby reinforcing – paradoxically – conformist attitudes (*Polska sztuka...*, 2005).

The situation of the art path in the period of breakthrough

The lack of political criticism in Polish art of the 1960s and 1970s, or at least the lack of explicit criticism of the system of power in Polish neo-avantgarde art in general, and in conceptual art in particular, is a very characteristic phenomenon. This feature clearly distinguishes Polish culture from other cultures of Central Europe, especially Hungary, where neo-avant-garde art (including conceptualism) was strongly politicized. Hungarian artists consciously gave political significance to art. The creators of Czechoslovakia, especially during the so-called normalisation, after the suppression of the Soviet Bloc of the Soviet Spring, usually avoided expressing political criticism, but their actions took on such meaning in the context of their political repression. In Poland – paradoxically – the relatively greater artistic freedom favoured political opportunism rather than critical attitudes, or at least did not provoke political issues in artistic activities. The soft totalitarian system resulted in mitigation of critical attitudes aimed at the power structures along with the systemic changes that occurred in Poland.

First, the number of light industry plants was falling, in which the majority of employees were employed women. So, at the beginning of the transformation, they lost their jobs more often than men who became unemployed. The employment rates of both women and men dropped significantly and the unemployment rate grew, reaching its highest level of 20% in 2003.

At the same time, the transition to a market economy has created opportunities for self-employment and development of entrepreneurship. Many women have benefited from this opportunity, and the same woman appeared in new role – a businesswoman, and also start individual creative work in the fields of visual arts.

With accession to the European Union, Poland had to implement legislation

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regarding the prohibition of discrimination in employment. One of the fundamental principles of European Union policy is the belief that we women have the same right to take professional work and under the same conditions as men (this was contained in the treaties establishing the European Economic Community).

It also affected the sphere of art, where women could, curiously, face European colleagues. In the organizational structure of the European Union, as well as institutions responsible for monitoring the situation of women, there is also a budget for projects for equalizing women's opportunities on the labour market. We therefore have a comprehensive approach to combating discrimination against women in the economy (Lisowska, Sawicka, Titkow et al. 2009).

The breakdown of structures and the new unknown "freedom" and thus the free boundaries and ocean of possibilities was originally based on contact, exchange, legal attainment of novelties and peeping over overseas friends. In reference to the trends not even European but American, the subject of the body appears as a centre and medium.

In this particular example, the artist's body has more of a mystical than a physical character; he does not talk about pleasure, sexual tensions, eroticism; it is not a critique of sexism and patriarchy, etc., but is associated with sacrifice, transformation, independence and national identity. It is – in contrast to postmodern attitudes – instrumental to the spirit (*Polska sztuka...*, 2005).

Through selected studies of biographies and creativity have shown the relationship that took place between education, emigration, creation and the fate of the painters. The women's surnames are very well known, but also those unknown in the circulation of art. The reasons for the absence of painters in the history of art are complex. It seems that one of the important factors may be emigration. If the artists were enjoying popularity in exile, their talent was often overlooked in their own country, and their art was absent in family pages.

The political background of change and artistic female search

1985 Transgression Art

Transgression in art is a shocking breaking of norms, violation of taboos, crossing the limits of sensitivity. Proponents of transgression in art argue that every avant-garde art is actually a transgressive art and that transgression is full of art in all epochs. This is of course not true, because in the art of all ages there are many representations of death, suffering and cruelty, but this is not transgression by today's understanding (*1985, Sztuka transgresyjna...*).

1990 Neo-conceptualism

In the early 1990s, a new trend called neo-conceptualism was promoted in the US and Great Britain. There are no aesthetic or program issues in this trend. The art gallery is a cabinet of curiosities. The program works were a dead shark in a huge tank filled with formalin, by Damien Hirst in 1991, and a "boiled" artist's bed with a teddy bear, a pile of cigarette butts and used tights, by Tracy Emin in 1999 (*1990 Neokonceptualizm...*).

Contemporary art is art created to date since the end of World War II, and actually from the beginning of the so-called "cold war" – the political, economic and ideological war between the communist East and the democratic West (*Chronologia...*).

In common (and probably right) conviction, communism is associated with a collectivist totalitarian system in which state terror suppresses all manifestations of

independence, whereas democracy is associated with the system of individualist freedom (*Paradoks sztuki współczesnej...*).

The general shift from manufacturing to services as a source of employment has also affected the field of visual art, changing the labour market for curators as well. Their position in the division of labour has become closer to that of artists, in the sense of becoming much more unstable, short term, flexible and exploited (Erić and Vuković, 2013).

Communism treated women in a different way than in other southern European countries. In addition, the basic difference between post-communist countries after joining the European Union is the distance that women did not have to exceed in order to match the changes in the situation of women in neighbouring countries. These roles were mainstream, a new flow of possibilities and ways in the field of art and culture. It should be remembered that various kinds of scholarship for young artists (nowadays there are less and less restrictions), so women, have been given the opportunity to fuse with the world of the west, with new artistic trends and globalization of information and reflection of artists on the forefront of world artists. This was easier, fluent, suggested the possibility of greater mobility, so not only creating for these Polish artists, but also visiting galleries, museums etc., organizing contacts, knowledge of creating an artistic team to present creative achievements abroad.

Katarzyna Kozyra, known in the world of art, has, thanks to numerous scholarships in this German DAAD, maintained a stable local career (starting her own foundation) and to sound on the international instrument string in the world.

Considering the preparation and reliability of the artistic workshop in the visual sphere, i.e. music, dance and theatre, it should be added that Polish artists have attained their position with a very conservative but very trained preparation by highly improved technical and workshop capabilities.

This moment of breath from abroad was the possibility of combining these two forces to represent the homeland with the talent and predispositions of the workshop. The curiosity of a somewhat separated country and the situation of women aroused a feeling of exoticism and gave artists the opportunity to challenge themselves, leaving the communist in a new creative, social and political place. Beata Stasińska mentions in her article that she remembers an explosion of energy and possibilities right after 1989, seeing in it an eruption of energy, somehow chaotic, actually years of chaos in art (creating a big stir and building new quality). Art circles were created in the mid-1980s in Wrocław, Kraków and Zielona Góra.

It seems that, without the support of the members of the European Union, foreign intellectuals and creators, the situation of an artist named Nieznalska would be completely different. In the alterglobalist movement, in intellectual centres, in universities among academics clearly seeing the consequences of the current socio-economic course and artistic environment, increasingly oppressed by censorship, judicial judgments for artists have become the expression. It was support and the idea of co-creating European art, including Polish artists, that spread the possibility of a stronger and deeper awareness of the democratic commentary.

Beata Stasińska in her interview reminds us that the 90's are deleting the word, the dominance of visual culture. Lost literature that does not apply to all post-communist societies equally. And we, referring to Poles, explain that we have adopted the hierarchy imposed on us in the early 1990s: now the economy, now our moment, the democratic order. It explains that we are beginning to talk seriously about these times only after the

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1920s, to enforce something as citizens from politicians whom we call our representatives.

Aneta Grzeszykowska at Raster Gallery

A multimedia artist of the Raster generation, Aneta Grzeszykowska is a creator of photographs and films, where the themes of intimacy, absence, disappearance and dismemberment are prominent. Along with her husband, Jan Smaga, she has created a significant body of work, such as the architectural photography projects Plans and YMCA, using digital techniques to alter images. Her solo career focuses mostly on symbolic narratives of childhood traumas and womanhood. Her exhibition at the Zacheta National Gallery of Art in Warsaw, *Death of a Maiden*, examines the themes of invisibility and anonymity. Her 2007 film, *Black*, utilises her own naked body, and her film *Headache* is a dance pantomime ending in dismemberment (Brannigan 2016).

Artists who created an emblem with their art

Teresa Murak: during two actions taken in 1989 at the Centre of Polish Sculpture in Orońsko and in 1991 in New York's PS 1, Teresa Murak lay in a bathtub with moist cress seeds until the plants germinated. We call her our Polish *Mendieta*.

Sowing Teresa Murak is a repetition of the same basic activities in ever new realizations and contexts. It gives them the character of ritual and eternal practices, connected as much with pagan beliefs as with Christianity (*Teresa Murak...*, 2016).

We need not refer only to examples from Poland and the breakdown of the structures of the 80s to see the parallels between the actions of women from the rest of the world and their unfortunately initial steps in the world of women's art.

In 1993, Rachel Whiteread was the first woman to win the Tate Gallery's Turner Prize. Gillian Wearing won the prize in 1997, when there was an all-woman shortlist, the other nominees being Christine Borland, Angela Bulloch and Cornelia Parker. In 1999, Tracey Emin gained considerable media coverage for her entry *My Bed*, but did not win. In 2006 the prize was awarded to abstract painter, Tomma Abts. In 2001, a conference called *Women Artists at the Millennium* was organized at Princeton University. A book by that name was published in 2006, featuring major art historians such as Linda Nochlin analysing prominent women artists such as Louise Bourgeois, Yvonne Rainer, Bracha Ettinger, Sally Mann, Eva Hesse, Rachel Whiteread and Rosemarie Trockel. Internationally prominent contemporary artists who are women also include Polish artist Magdalena Abakanowicz, in the international team of those who made history of art: Marina Abramović, Jaroslava Brychtova, Lynda Benglis, Lee Bul, Sophie Calle, Janet Cardiff, Li Chevalier, Marlene Dumas, Marisol Escobar, Jenny Holzer, Runa Islam, Chantal Joffe, Yayoi Kusama, Karen Kilimnik, Sarah Lucas, Yoko Ono, Jenny Saville, Carolee Schneeman, Cindy Sherman, Shazia Sikander, Lorna Simpson, Lisa Steele, Stella Vine, Kara Walker, Rebecca Warren, Bettina Werner and Susan Dorothea White (*List of 20th-century...*). The art of women from Poland in the transformation period showed the possibilities and draws the air of otherness and diversity that art used to live. The times of the breakthrough came with great talents, women who devoted themselves entirely to art writing the history of Polish art. They created a record of culture and art in the area of interesting political and social changes, inspiration for every woman – the creator.

Conclusions

Undoubtedly, it can be said that women undertaking the performance of male professions and entering the male labour market with impetus have become an inalienable part of it. The dynamics that accompany this phenomenon: marginalization, discrimination and maintaining stereotypes of division of the roles are no longer able to stop this wave of change and bring back women to perform only service roles in favour of the need to create strong men. Women have the right to perform male professions, pursue them in spite of social convictions, sometimes at the expense of their own femininity, but always in the name of something greater – development, art, creativity, self-expression.

The merger of these professional comparisons gives us the opportunity to understand the essence of women's achievements in the professional sphere under Polish conditions. The communist and post-communist panorama of the arrangements, the principles of the functioning of the Polish widens the spectrum of understanding of the subject of femininity and their limit gives the character of possible understanding and awareness of the overcoming decade of changes. This is information necessary to broaden the gender seasons in these extreme examples, giving the unification of the majority of the perception problem and the existence of women in the world's working area conditions. Let us view this perspective with great attention, giving future benefits to women and awareness of men who consider themselves democrats.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Trends in Monitoring Health and Human Development: Key Assessment Terms in the European Commission Staff Working Documents (May 2012 - May 2016)

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Abstract:

The present paper provides a systematic review of the European Commission Staff Working Documents (SWD) in the field of the health programmes launched in the period May 2012 - May 2016. The key findings of the research are that: 1) the results reveal a complex research of more than fifty topics in the field of health and human development in the European Union (EU); 2) the examination of the relationship among three thematic areas of the health programmes (core health system indicators; health policies and strategies and human – public-health approach). On the other hand, the research enables a quantitative and quality content analysis of the EU documentation by underlying the differences between the data findings and evaluating the findings in the selected documents: SWD 1 entitled “Report on health inequalities in the European Union”, Brussels, September 2013 SWD(2013) 328 final; SWD 2 entitled “Investing in Health accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions, Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020”, SWD(2013) 43 final, Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD 3 “Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions Ex-post Evaluation of the 2nd Health Programme 2008-2013 Decision No 1350/2007/EC establishing a second programme of Community action in the field of health (2008-13)”, SWD(2016) 243 final, Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD 4 “Implementation of the Health Programme in 2010”, Brussels, 23.5.2012 SWD(2012) 142 final; SWD 5 “Implementation of the second Programme of Community action in the field of health in 2011”, Brussels, 7.5.2013, SWD(2013) 154 final.

Keywords: *health; health system; EU; Commission Staff Working Document; human development.*

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Introduction

The analysis of the EU vast legislation and documentation responds to the needs of the scientific community enabling the data comparison of the legislative sources. The present research focuses five health programmes launched by the European Commission in the period May 2012 - May 2016. The study not only involves the evaluation of the performance of the selected topics in the Commission Staff Working Documents, but it also investigates the data collected in various thematic areas of the analysis of health and human development. This research appears to enable a vital analysis to estimate the impact of health programmes effects in the EU. The present research presents a complex monitoring of the health and human development relevant terms in the period May 2012-May 2016 by mapping the impact of the policies and strategies within the EU institutional governance.

Problem statement

Interest in mapping health system, human development and related terms as a research tool for the EU policies has increased in the last ten years. The monitoring of the EU official documentation shows that the online tools vary on the type of the documentation, the interest of searching and the type of the health information. The objectives of the research are: *i*) to identify the core areas of the health programmes research taking into account the EU main policies and strategies launched in the period May 2012 – May 2016; *ii*) to provide a research framework for addressing health and human development terms usability in the EU documentation. The major contributions of the research are: *i*) well-grounded themes of analysis and research objectives that are based on the monitoring of the Commission Staff Working Documents; *ii*) the proposal of a methodological framework conducted in collaboration with the themes of analysis and the relevant terms in the field of health system and human development in the selected period.

Literature review

The aim of this section is to review the latest researches in the field including: the monitoring of the public health system; the paths of the health communication, the health promotion policies and strategies; the challenges of the EU documentation. Particular objectives of the literature overview focus the following main objectives: *i*) the health information and the behavior on the web (focus on the determinants of the usage patterns, consumer professionals and the consequences of the internet use for the health communication) (Higgins, Sixsmith, Barry, Domegan, 2011); *ii*) the quality of the health information and the credibility of the websites assessing health topics by focusing on the content of the health data posting or “the national health initiatives” in order to ensure “system trust” (Platt, Jacobson, Kardia, 2018); *iii*) the recent studies enabling the analysis of the EU integration “with consequences for health” and the impact of the EU health care policies and strategies “on health care systems” (Greer, 2014); *iv*) the analysis framework of the European Commission focusing the monitoring of population, human capital and inclusion in the Social Agendas n^o 38 - n^o 47 (October 2014 - April 2017) (Olimid, Olimid, 2018); *v*) the EU regulatory framework of health and health services linking the EU institutions, the EU legislative process and the EU legal provisions in the field of the health programmes (Greer, Hervey, Mackenbach, McKee, 2013); *vi*) the health data and information “on consumer-oriented websites” for

“specific patient populations” (Rew, Saenz, Walker, 2018); *vii*) the monitoring of the public health and the systematic review of the major topics including “community interventions” (Elliott, Crombie, Irvine, Cantrell, Taylor, 2004); *viii*) the linkage between the personal health, the health outcomes and the health education “designed to promote patient compliance” (Belcastro, Ramsaroop-Hansen, 2017); *ix*) the focus on the “population perspective” and the “public health” determinants (Berman, 2011).

Methodology

The methodology used to map the health and human development is described with regard to fifty-one terms used as keyword searches in five documents: *i*) *SWD 1* entitled “Report on health inequalities in the European Union”, Brussels, September 2013 SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels, 09.2013; *ii*) *SWD 2* entitled “Investing in Health accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions, Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020”, SWD(2013) 43 final, Brussels, 20.2.2013; *iii*) *SWD 3* “Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions Ex-post Evaluation of the 2nd Health Programme 2008-2013 Decision No 1350/2007/EC establishing a second programme of Community action in the field of health (2008-13)”, COM(2016) 243 final, Brussels, 10.5.2016; *iv*) *SWD 4* entitled “Implementation of the Health Programme in 2010”, SWD(2012) 142 final, Brussels, 23.5.2012; *v*) *SWD 5* entitled “Implementation of the second Programme of Community action in the field of health in 2011”, SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013.

Data types and legislative sources

The study enables a content analysis of the European Commission documentation by encompassing a wide range of programmes in the field of health and human development as the health programmes industry have generated a large amount of information and data based on the EU legal provisions. There have been important developments in the EU health legislation in the last ten years with impact on the health systems, healthcare management, particularly the health patient-centered approach. Five European Commission Staff Working Documents issued in the period May 2012-May 2016 are analyzed and discussed in this study.

The *first document* analyzed is entitled: “Report on health inequalities in the European Union”, Brussels, September 2013 SWD(2013) 328 final and it overviews the processes and policies concerning the health inequalities framing the situation since 2000. The report highlights the engagement for “an equitable distribution of health” and future initiatives concerning the “social investment for growth and cohesion” (Report on health inequalities...., 2013). Moreover, the report addresses the “solidarity in health” and structures the factors and mechanisms governing the health progress as follows: the social development; the health data management; the social commitment; the needs for the vulnerable population; the impact of the EU health policies involving the network between the health systems and the social policies.

The *second document* is entitled “Investing in Health...” SWD(2013) 43 final, Brussels, 20.2.2013 and it establishes a four-policy framework by recognizing: 1) the role of the healthcare sector; 2) the value of health for the human capital and for the

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economic development; 3) the improvement of the health systems and the contribution of the human resources; 4) the health promotion and the investments in human capital by linking EU policy coordination, social protection and development cooperation.

The *third document* is entitled “Report ...Ex-post Evaluation of the 2nd Health Programme 2008-2013 Decision No 1350/2007/EC establishing a second programme of Community action in the field of health (2008-13)”, Brussels, 10.5.2016 COM(2016) 243 final and it maps two objectives of the EU health programmes for the period 2008-2016: 1) the promotion of the “human health and safety” and 2) the monitoring and the evaluation of the public health.

The *fourth document* is entitled “Implementation of the Health Programme in 2010”, Brussels, 23.5.2012 SWD(2012) 142 final and it focuses the health security, the health promotion and the health information. Moreover, the same document addresses the public health conditions and policies.

The *fifth document* is entitled “Implementation of the second Programmes of Community action in the field of health in 2011”, Brussels, 7.5.2013 SWD(2013) 154 final and it also enables the joint actions of the health security, the health promotion and the health information and it illustrates the implementation of the health programme objectives.

Phases of the research methodology

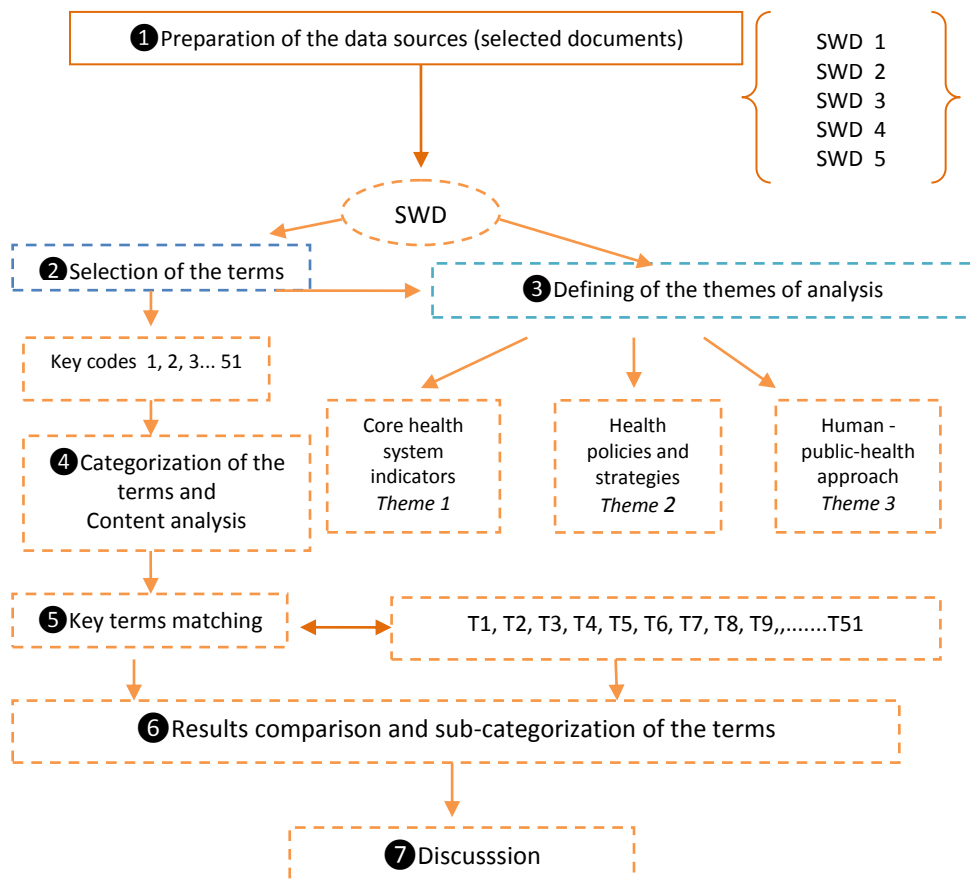
The methodology of the research examines the frequency of the fifty-one selected terms in the above mentioned documents. The results reveal high attention to the selected terms within the European Union (EU) institutional governance enabling a seven-stage methodology roadmap here including:

- *Stage 1.* Preparation of the data sources (selected documents);
- *Stage 2.* Selection of the terms (fifty-one key terms networking health and human development as follows: health (T1); health systems (T2); diseases (T3); healthcare (T4); inequalities (T5); population(s) (T6); patient(s) (T7); citizens (T8); life expectancy (T9); policy (T10); action(s) (T11); national (T12); public health (T13); knowledge (T14); health inequalities (T15); health services (T16); health promotion (T17); EU health (T18); need(s) (T19); health policy (T20); ageing (T21); health strategy (T22); protection (T23); health risks (T24); human (T25); growth (T26); cohesion (T27); activity (T28); crisis (T29); health status (T30); life (T31); security (T32); exclusion (T33); behaviour(s) (T34); economic(s) (T35); EU (T36); Member States (T37); health programme (T38); young(er) (T39); health outcomes (T40); social (T41); poor (T42); prevention (T43); social protection (T44); education(al) (T45); training (T46); income (T47); information (T48); work(force, ing, er(s)) (T49); people (T50); vulnerable (T51);
- *Stage 3.* Defining of the themes of analysis (Theme of analysis 1. Core health indicators; Theme of analysis 2. Health policies and strategies; Theme of analysis 3. Human - public-health approach);
- *Stage 4.* Categorization of the key terms codes (Theme of analysis 1 including the terms: T1 - T17; Theme of analysis 2 including the terms T18-T34 and Theme of analysis 3 including the terms T35-T51) and the assessment of the five documents (content analysis);
- *Stage 5.* Presentation of results (key terms matching);

- *Stage 6.* Results comparison and sub-categorization of the terms (analysis of the results displayed in Table 1-3 and Charts 1-3 following the sub-categorisation of the terms: 1. High-frequency terms (more than 100 results); 2. Relative-high-frequency terms (between 50-99 results); 3. Medium-frequency terms (between 10-49 results); 4. Low-frequency terms (between 1-9 results); 5. No data (*) (0 results);
- *Stage 7.* Conclusions. (Diagram 1).

Another aspect of the methodology requires the identification of the units of the analysis for the research of the working documents. Furthermore, the key codes (T1, T2, T3.... T51 in Diagram 1, Table1 1-3, Chart 1-3) are used to pinpoint each selected term and for the results to be easily verified. Other important element of the research tasks the identification of the legal documentation (SWD1 - 5) and of the terms having the highest priority for the health and human development research grouped in three thematic areas: Themes of analysis 1-3. In this direction, the terms are focused and discussed in greater detail by identifying the objectives and standards of the selected documents.

Diagram 1. Research methodology (phases)



Source: Authors' own compilation

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Diagram 1 also establishes a sharing health policy by displaying the themes of analysis and the corresponding health terms model. Moreover, Diagram 1 highlights a structural and functional health documentation monitoring and measurement. On the other hand, linking terms to the themes of analysis in the monitoring of the five selected Commission Staff Working Documents is a strategy that has enabled complex results and commentaries.

Research questions

The aim of the present research is to identify the health and human development terms related to the Commission Staff Working Documents, especially relating the three themes of analysis above mentioned. Formulating research questions can add value and clarity for the problem statement and the selecting themes of analysis. A quick overview of the research questions provides an interdisciplinary approach of the study relating the terms frequency, the health information, the human capital, the policy coordination, the health systems needs and the social protection. This research approach leads to an understanding of the health programmes components. There are six main questions mapped by the research: *Q1*. What are the most used terms in the EU documentation? *Q2*. What themes, policies and strategies are being assessed in this documentation? *Q3*. What changes are required to the legislative process or to the institutional governance to improve health and human development management within the EU framework? *Q4*. How can the existing legal provisions be coordinated in a determined period to reduce the programmes implementation gaps? *Q5*. What types of initiatives can be established at the EU level to enable effective and adequate health and human development programmes management? *Q6*. What changes are needed to planning and coordinating of the health programmes?

Research findings and discussion

The research findings of the health and human development terms increasingly emphasize the role of the legislative sources. To process data and information, the research target requires including three themes of analysis. By enabling these themes, the research focuses the role of the EU services and functionalities. Most of the research on the health system indicators, the health policies and strategies and the human - public-health approaches has focused on underlying system design for health data and information sharing and implementation. Each theme of analysis points the status and frequency of seventeen selected terms and it is structured as an inter-linked model obtained by merging the four levels of the terms frequency: high; relative-high level; medium and low frequency.

Theme of analysis 1: Core health system indicators

The theme of analysis 1: Core health system indicators shows the following results: 1. High-frequency terms (more than 100 results): T1 (health in SWD 1-5) and T5 (inequalities in SWD 1); T15 (health inequalities in SWD 1); 2. Relative-high-frequency terms (between 50-99 results): T4 healthcare (85 results in SWD 2); T11 (action(s)) in SWD 1 and SWD 5); 3. Medium-frequency terms (between 10-49 results): T2 (health systems in SWD 1, SWD 2); T3 (diseases in SWD 2); T4 (healthcare in SWD 1); T6 (population(s) in SWD 1 and SWD 2); T7 (patient(s) in SWD 4 and SWD 5); T12 (national in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4, SWD 5); T13 (public health in SWD 2, SWD 4

and SWD 5); 4. Low-frequency terms (between 1-9 results): T2 (health in SWD 4 and SWD 5); T4 (healthcare in SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T6 (population(s) in SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T7 (patient(s) in SWD 3); T8 (citizen in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4); T9 (life expectancy in SWD 2 and SWD 4) ; T13 (public health in SWD 3); T14 (knowledge in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 5); T16 (health services in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); 5. No data (*) (0 results): T9 (life expectancy in SWD 3 and SWD 5).

Table 1. Core health system indicators findings

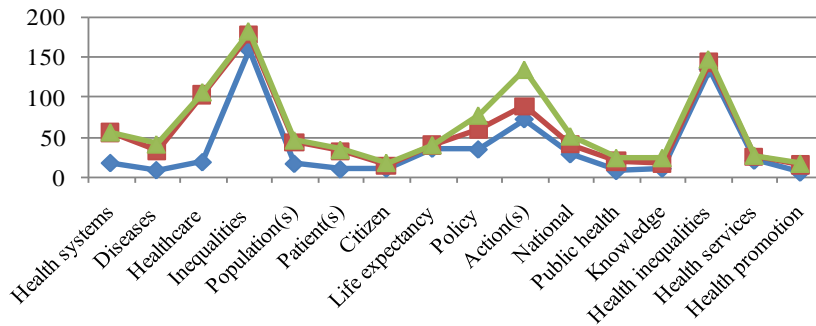
Codes of the terms	Term	SWD(2013) 328 final Brussels, 09.2013	SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013	SWD(2016) 243 final Brussels, 10.5.2016	SWD(2012) 142 final Brussels, 23.5.2012	SWD(2013) 154 final Brussels, 7.5.2013
		SWD 1	SWD 2	SWD 3	SWD 4	SWD 5
T1	Health	421	305	101	225	210
T2	Health systems	17	39	*	6	5
T3	Diseases	8	25	8	74	17
T4	Healthcare	18	85	3	5	2
T5	Inequalities	160	18	4	13	8
T6	Population (s)	16	28	2	1	7
T7	Patient(s)	9	23	2	15	13
T8	Citizen(s)	10	5	3	4	11
T9	Life expectancy	35	5	*	2	*
T10	Policy	34	26	17	9	19
T11	Action(s)	72	17	45	44	65
T12	National	28	13	10	33	36
T13	Public health	7	13	4	38	28
T14	Knowledge	10	7	7	9	4
T15	Health inequalities	135	9	3	13	8
T16	Health services	20	6	1	1	3
T17	Health promotion	5	11	1	20	19

Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data of the: SWD 1 entitled "Report on health inequalities in the European Union", Brussels, September 2013 SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels, 09.2013; SWD 2 entitled "Investing in Health accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions, Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020", SWD(2013) 43 final, Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD 3 "Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions Ex-post Evaluation of the 2nd Health Programme 2008-2013 Decision No 1350/2007/EC establishing a second programme of Community action in the field of health (2008-13)", COM(2016) 243 final, Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD 4 "Implementation of the Health Programme in 2010", SWD(2012) 142 final, Brussels, 23.5.2012; SWD 5 "Implementation of the second Programme of Community action in the field of health in 2011", SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013.

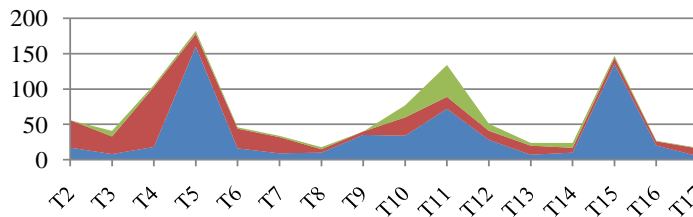
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Chart 1 also shows the health-agenda setting effects in that it designates the status of the high-frequency and relative-high-frequency terms such as: health, inequalities, healthcare, action(s). Moreover, Table 1 and Chart 1 intend to focus the medium-frequency terms by establishing the profile of the core health systems indicators: health systems in SWD 1 and SWD 2; diseases in SWD 2 and SWD 4); healthcare in SWD 1; population(s) in SWD 1 and SWD 2; patient(s) in SWD 4 and SWD 5; public health in SWD 2, SWD 4 and SWD 5.

Chart 1. Core health system indicators findings (variation of terms and code of the terms)



Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels 09.2013; SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD(2016) 243 final; Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD(2012) Brussels, 142 final, 23.5.2012; SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013



Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels 09.2013; SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD(2016) 243 final; Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD(2012) Brussels, 142 final, 23.5.2012; SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013

Theme of analysis 2: Health policies and strategies

The theme of analysis 2: Health policies and strategies shows the following results: 1. High-frequency terms (more than 100 results): no results; 2. Relative-high-frequency terms (between 50-99 results): no results; 3. Medium-frequency terms (between 10-49 results): T18 (EU health in SWD 5); T19 (need(s) in SWD 1 and SWD 2); T21 (ageing in SWD 1 and SWD 2); T23 (protection in SWD 1); T25 (human in SWD 2); T26 (growth in SWD 1 and SWD 2); T30 (health status in SWD 1 and SWD 2); T31 (life in SWD 22); 4. Low-frequency terms (between 1-9 results): T18 (EU health in SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T20 (health policy in SWD 1, SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); 5. No data (*) (0 results): T23 (protection in SWD 4 and SWD 5);

T26 (growth in SWD 4 and SWD 5); T27 (cohesion in SWD 5); T29 (crisis in SWD 3 and SWD 4; T33 (exclusion in SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T34 (behaviour(s) in SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5).

Table 2. Health policies and strategies findings

Code of the terms	Term	SWD(2013) 328 final	SWD(2013) 43 final	SWD(2016) 243 final	SWD(2012) 142 final	SWD(2013) 154 final
		Brussels, 09.2013	Brussels, 20.2.2013	Brussels, 10.5.2016	Brussels, 23.5.2012	Brussels, 7.5.2013
		SWD 1	SWD 2	SWD 3	SWD 4	SWD 5
T18	EU health	9	7	5	1	15
T19	Need(s)	40	19	7	8	1
T20	Health policy	2	3	7	2	1
T21	Ageing	15	19	2	1	4
T22	Health strategy	2	1	1	1	*
T23	Protection	17	2	1	*	*
T24	Health risks	2	2	*	2	*
T25	Human	5	12	1	8	5
T26	Growth	14	22	4	*	*
T27	Cohesion	16	16	1	1	*
T28	Activity	11	11	2	6	6
T29	Crisis	3	7	*	*	1
T30	Health status	11	12	1	*	*
T31	Life	6	37	2	13	4
T32	Security	5	1	1	8	15
T33	Exclusion	7	3	*	*	*
T34	Behaviour(s)	13	3	*	*	*

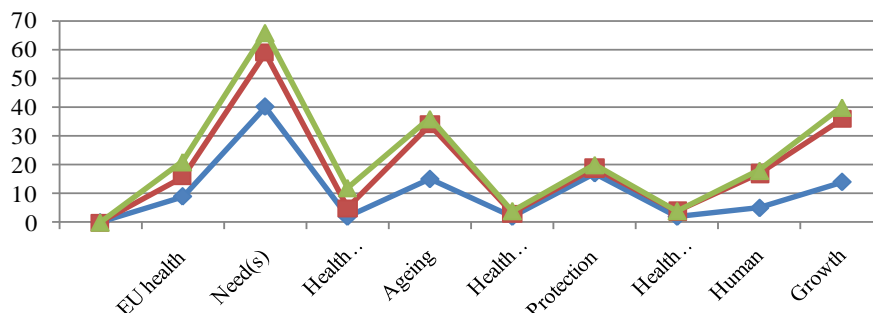
Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD 1 entitled "Report on health inequalities in the European Union", Brussels, September 2013 SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels, 09.2013; SWD 2 entitled "Investing in Health accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions, Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020", SWD(2013) 43 final, Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD 3 "Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions Ex-post Evaluation of the 2nd Health Programme 2008-2013 Decision No 1350/2007/EC establishing a second programme of Community action in the field of health (2008-13)", COM(2016) 243 final, Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD 4 "Implementation of the Health Programme in 2010", SWD(2012) 142 final, Brussels, 23.5.2012; SWD 5 "Implementation of the second Programme of Community action in the field of health in 2011", SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013.

For the purpose of monitoring the terms relevant for the health policies and strategies, Table 2 and Chart 2 present the terms codes from T18 to T34 and suggest that the terms and the area of research differ from health status to health risks and from health policy to the areas of protection and cohesion. Moreover, Table 2 and Chart 2 suggest the fundamental challenges of the health policies and programmes in the selected period: exclusion, health risks, ageing and crisis. The same results point the

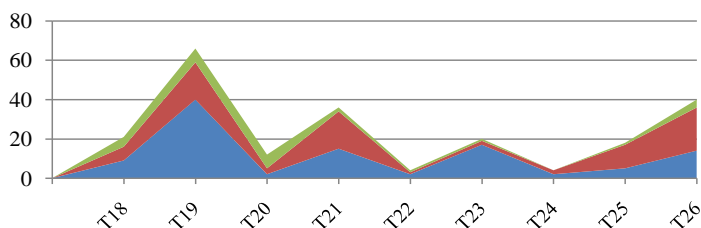
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important role of the following terms: security (SWD 1-5), life (SWD 1-5) and need(s) (SWD 1-5).

Chart 2. Health policies and strategies findings (variation of terms and code of the terms)



Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels 09.2013; SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD(2016) 243 final; Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD(2012) Brussels, 142 final, 23.5.2012; SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013



Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels 09.2013; SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD(2016) 243 final; Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD(2012) Brussels, 142 final, 23.5.2012; SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013

Theme of analysis 3: Human - public-health approach

The theme of analysis 3: Human - public-health approach shows the following results: 1. High-frequency terms (more than 100 results): T36 (EU in SWD 1, SWD 2, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T41 (social in SWD 1); 2. Relative-high-frequency terms (between 50-99 results): T35 (economic(s) in SWD 2); T36 (EU in SWD 3); 3. Medium-frequency terms (between 10-49 results): T37 (Member States in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T38 (health programme in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T40 (health outcomes in SWD 2); T41 (social in SWD 2); T42 (poor in SWD 1 and SWD 5); T43 (prevention in SWD 2 and SWD 4); 4. Low-frequency terms (between 1-9 results): T40 (health outcomes in SWD 1); T41 (social in SWD 3 and SWD 4); T45 (education(al) in SWD 3, SWD 4, SWD 5); T46 (training in SWD 2, SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5) 5. No data (*) (0 results): T44 (social protection in SWD 3, SWD 4 and SWD 5); T47 (income in SWD 3, SWD 4, SWD 5); T50 (people SWD 3 and SWD 5); T51 (vulnerable in SWD 3 and SWD 5).

Table 3. Human - Public-health approach findings

Code of the terms	Term	SWD(2013) 328 final Brussels, 09.2013	SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013	SWD(2016) 243 final Brussels, 10.5.2016	SWD(2012) 142 final Brussels, 23.5.2012	SWD(2013) 154 final Brussels, 7.5.2013
		SWD 1	SWD 2	SWD 3	SWD 4	SWD 5
T35	Economic(s)	71	59	1	3	10
T36	EU	383	197	83	250	267
T37	Member States	106	30	34	16	11
T38	Health programme	9	12	19	20	19
T39	Young(er)	4	2	*	5	*
T40	Health outcomes	4	15	*	*	*
T41	Social	104	46	3	2	11
T42	Poor	15	7	*	*	17
T43	Prevention	7	20	1	27	*
T44	Social protection	14	1	*	*	*
T45	Education (al)	143	7	1	1	3
T46	Training	13	2	3	8	8
T47	Income	34	16	*	*	*
T47	Information	21	10	6	54	6
T49	Work (force, ing, er(s))	29	16	17	64	17
T50	People	42	33	*	14	*
T51	Vulnerable	23	7	*	1	*

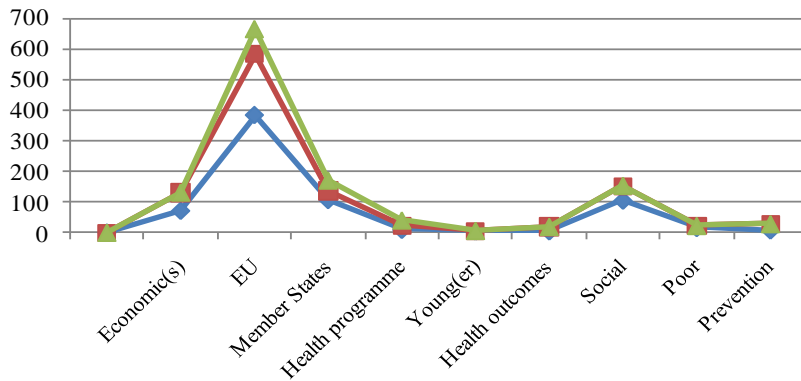
Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data of the: SWD 1 entitled "Report on health inequalities in the European Union", Brussels, September 2013 SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels, 09.2013; SWD 2 entitled "Investing in Health accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions, Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020", SWD(2013) 43 final, Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD 3 "Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions Ex-post Evaluation of the 2nd Health Programme 2008-2013 Decision No 1350/2007/EC establishing a second programme of Community action in the field of health (2008-13)", COM(2016) 243 final, Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD 4 "Implementation of the Health Programme in 2010", SWD(2012) 142 final, Brussels, 23.5.2012; SWD 5 "Implementation of the second Programme of Community action in the field of health in 2011", SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013.

Table 3 and Chart 3 outline the human - public-health approach by suggesting future health programme priorities, developing indicators and social protection processes. Other important topics (EU and social aspects) specify the inner coordination of the health and human development outcomes providing an interdisciplinary approach

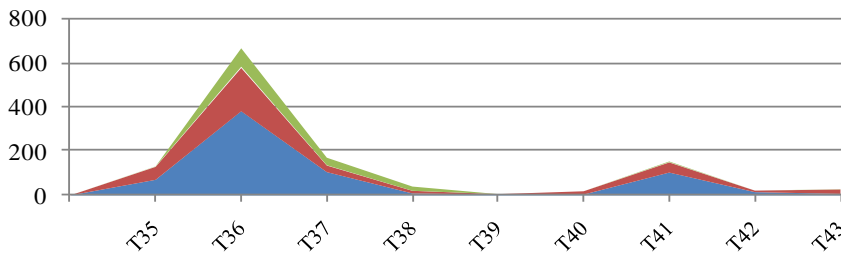
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of the research. In short, Table 3 and Chart 3 results are a step toward the health system-building and human capital involvement by addressing interrelated information in the field of: economy (T35 and T47); EU membership (T36 and T37); social networks (T41, T42, T44, T49, T50 and T51); youth and training (T39 and T46).

Chart 3: Human - public-health approach (variation of terms and code of the terms)



Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels 09.2013; SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD(2016) 243 final; Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD(2012) Brussels, 142 final, 23.5.2012; SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013



Source: Authors' own compilation based on the content analysis using multi-source data: SWD(2013) 328 final, Brussels 09.2013; SWD(2013) 43 final Brussels, 20.2.2013; SWD(2016) 243 final; Brussels, 10.5.2016; SWD(2012) Brussels, 142 final, 23.5.2012; SWD(2013) 154 final, Brussels, 7.5.2013

Conclusions

The present study researches the EU existing working documentation and identifies how the legal information and related topics are integrated into the health programmes in the period. The results of the research sample the high, relative-high, medium and low-frequency of the topics and make specific recommendations on the extent of the topics usage, the specific characteristics of the monitored documentation, the feasibility of the health and human capital programmes to enable social protection within the EU framework. Theme of analysis 1 introduced the core health systems terms

and justified the research of the health and human development terms by pointing a range of key topics: health, health systems, healthcare, population, health inequalities. Theme of analysis 2 detailed the health policies and strategies and explored the conceptual challenges of the field: ageing, health risks, cohesion, crisis, security, exclusion. Theme of analysis 3 addressed both public health and human approaches to indicate a link between the usage of the terms: social, poor, prevention, young, people, vulnerable. Furthermore, the topics and the data monitoring from the five researched sources construct a health and human development map that relates all fifty-one terms and develops: 1) new understandings and approaches of the management policies in the field; 2) new assessments of the public health management and the EU programmes strategies; 3) new findings identifying health trends and priorities.

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RESEARCH NOTES

Using Performance Indicators to Design the Outlook on Quality and Efficiency of Education Systems. A Comparative Analysis (Romania-France) of Students' Results at International Assessments

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Abstract:

Through this article we aim to analyse, using the perspective of comparative statistics, the quality and efficiency of two education systems - the Romanian and the French one – based on the following indicators: student results at national and international assessments; results in graduation exams; the share of students studying a foreign language. Regarding the results of the students at national and international assessments, there will be taken into account especially the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS). It will also be analysed, in a comparative manner, the results of the graduation exams registered by Romanian and French students, starting from the reports prepared by the Ministry of National Education (Romania) and the French Ministry of Education, Youth and the Voluntary Sector. Thus, the purpose of this article is, on the one hand, to highlight the similarities and differences between the two social subsystems and, on the other hand, to outline some examples of good practice that can be used to correct existing problems in both countries.

Keywords: *education system; performance indicators; assessments; results.*

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Context: why PISA?

PISA assessment tests, as well as other evaluation tools (such as TIMMS or PIRLS) are indicators that are used to analyse the effectiveness of education systems, in addition to other important indicators such as: the insertion rate of graduates at different levels of education, the performance rate from one educational level to the next one, the dropout rate etc. In essence, tools for assessing pupils' skills are seen, as we would present in the following paragraphs, both a cause for the implementation of possible educational reforms and its consequence (OECD, 2004).

Why is it often referred to the results of PISA tests, as compared to the results of other evaluation tools? Because, compared to them, the PISA program has a number of features that differentiate it from other programmes and better highlight its usefulness:

a) first of all, PISA is based on the assessment of skills and not of the curriculum in different societies, which can lead to the achievement of those international rankings and comparative analyses between education systems; b) secondly, by conducting inquiries every three years, PISA offers a guarantee of the “periodicity of the tests and of the diachronic coherence” (Bottani, 2006: 10-11) and c) thirdly, the PISA assessment is based only on 3 areas of competence, and on a well-defined sample (15-year-old pupils).

It should be noted that these characteristics represent for some specialists in the field of educational sciences the strengths of the PISA tests, but for other specialists they can be considered vulnerable points, which could make us doubt the usefulness of the evaluation results: more precisely, you cannot evaluate the performance of an education system using only the skills assessment (and not also the curriculum), using a small set of areas where you test students' skills, or applying the tests to a narrow category (sample) of school population. In all PISA survey countries, the results obtained by the pupils are expected after each “wave”, being the subject of numerous media debates, at the level of policy decision makers and educational stakeholders and governance actors (Sauvageot, Dalsheimer, 2008).

In addition, what is interesting is that the countries with the best PISA test results (for example Finland, which occupies Europe's 1st position in 2015) are those who pay higher salaries to teachers, per capita GDP, and have the highest percentage of GDP invested in education. Beyond the criticism of these assessment tools (some of them will be presented in the last paragraph of this article), especially criticisms that regard their objectivity and relevance, the PISA tests are increasingly considered “self-evident” (Roegiers, 2004: 38-39).

What is PISA and could it be used to measure the quality and efficiency of educational systems?

Together with TIMMS or PIRLS, PISA (officially launched in 1997) represents a standardized assessment tool that has emerged as a result of societies' efforts to evaluate their education systems, trying not to measure what pupils know, but if they possess those skills considered to be “indispensable at the age of 15, in order to live in democratic and market economy societies” (Bottani, 2006: 12).

If, by the end of the 1950s, the differences in educational systems in OECD countries were considerable and the extent of these systems was still relatively small, forty years later, the PISA test framework was based on the “standardization of educational models that has narrowed differences between education systems by aligning them with each other (Ball, 1998: 130-199).

This evaluation program was put into practice by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in the late 90s and since 2000 has allowed harvesting, every three years, data on 15 years pupils performance in what has been called *literacies* in three areas: reading literacy, mathematical literacy and scientific literacy. The age of 15 is not accidentally chosen in most OECD countries because at this age the pupils are near the end of compulsory education and thus some of the key competences acquired during the ten years of formal education can be measured.

Therefore, it is not the skills or knowledge that are actually taught in the classes that are evaluated through the PISA tests, but rather the use of a “baggage” that allows the in-depth understanding and resolution of situations that an adult might encounter in his personal, public or professional life (OECD, 2007: 16, Schleicher, 2007).

Thus, PISA tests aim to assess the presence or absence of skills considered to be “essential” for an adult’s life (OCDE, 1999).

The results of these evaluation tests serve for comparative analyses between the education systems of the different countries participating in the PISA evaluation program and their number is increasing. Thus, if only the OECD member countries (43 countries) participated in the first testing campaign in 2000, their number increased gradually to 57 (in 2003) and reached to 72 (2015). Of the 72 countries that participated in the 2015 wave, 35 countries were OECD countries and 37 countries were partner countries. Each PISA test wave begins with the pre-test stage, one year before the actual test, involving between 4500 and 10,000 pupils in each country (<http://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/>). The 2018 survey was attended by pupils from 80 countries, of which 35 are OECD countries and 45 partner countries.

Even though some authors have a prudent attitude towards the use of PISA results for comparative purposes, the fact that the number of countries participating in the PISA assessment has increased more and more, demonstrates that many societies have identified PISA’s opportunity to see where they are in relation to other societies, and even in relation to themselves, over time. In this sense, Bolivar (2011: 64) argued that “PISA has managed to occupy the public education space like no other type of report or survey”. The statistics resulting from the centralization of PISA-related data are not only the score obtained by pupils; in other words, statistics can be viewed on the OECD website showing the link between the characteristics of the school or the environment in which the pupil comes from and its educational outcomes.

Thus, we can consider that the PISA evaluation has a dual nature: on the one hand, it is a knowledge production activity useful to think education, and, on the other hand, an approach that put into evidence the “good practices” in a kind of educational benchmarking between societies.

In this way, PISA can influence the national education policies, being a tool of “soft governance”, which is based on indirectly suggested recommendations, not having an imperative regulatory character (Barroso, Carvalho, 2008).

And this “soft governance” can be exemplified by analysing PISA's influence on educational policies across different societies, over time. For example, according to Breakspear (2012), following a standardized survey of 37 participating countries at PISA, the representatives of 17 of them answered that PISA had had a strong influence on the educational policies. In addition, 26 countries rated PISA as a very important program in terms of their ability to measure the effectiveness of education systems.

Pisa 2015 Results: A comparative analysis: Romania-France

This section of the article aims to analyse, in a comparative manner, the results from the PISA tests of Romanian and French students at the 2015 wave. On one hand, France participated in international surveys on the assessment of student achievement, from its beginning. The active presence of its delegates in the development of survey tools can be highlighted. This participation is accompanied by a position that is often critical or even sceptical of the orientations followed. On the other hand, Romania participated for the first time in PISA testing in 2000, with only one absentee, in 2003. If we compare the results recorded by Romania to all the PISA survey waves with those recorded by France, we will notice the differences that exist between the two societies; for this article we chose to present, in the table above, only the results obtained by the two countries in the PISA tests of 2015.

Table 1: PISA results in France and Romania (2015)

Country (by order of ranking)	Science	Reading	Mathematics	Science, Reading and Mathematics	
	Average score at PISA 2015	Average score at PISA 2015	Average score at PISA 2015	Percentage of performing students in at least one subject (level 5 or 6)	Percentage of underperforming students in all three subjects (below level 2)
OECD average	493	493	490	15.3	13.0
Finland (1st rank in Europe)	531	526	511	21.4	6.3
France	495	499	493	18.4	14.8
Romania	435	434	444	4.3	24.3

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Tables I.2.4a, I.2.6, I.2.7, I.4.4a and I.5.4a. *PISA 2015 Results in Focus*, p. 5

From the above table, it can be seen that pupils in both countries recorded results below those of Finnish students in all three areas (Finland having an average score of 531 in Science, 526 in Reading and 511 in Mathematics). In other respects, the French pupils results are approaching or even surpassing the OECD average scores, especially in Reading (with a score of 499 points, comparing to 493 OECD average score) and Mathematics (with a score of 493 points, comparing to 490 OECD average score). The percentage of performing pupils in at least one subject (level 5 or 6) was 18,4% and that of the low performers – 14.8%.

In addition to the data presented in the table above, which may lead us to consider the French education system as being more performing than the Romanian one (compared to the results achieved), the PISA 2015 Report revealed a paradox: although it can be considered a performance education system (registering scores close to Finland, 27 rank, out of 72), at the same time it is a system of education that generates social inequality. This conclusion is also confirmed by the theories of some French authors who have analysed the relationship between the two variables (education systems and

school inequalities), concluding that the former are one of the causes for the second (see Duru-Bellat, 2002; Duru-Bellat, Suchaut, 2005; Mons, 2007).

Thus, pupils from the most disadvantaged backgrounds are four times less likely to succeed than others (a 2 years gap between favoured and disadvantaged ones). At the same time, pupils with an immigrant background are more likely to be socially disadvantaged than non-immigrant pupils (a 3 years gap). However, even when compared to pupils of the same socio-economic status, they are generally less successful in PISA testing than non-immigrant pupils.

These conclusions are transforming France in a country of social reproduction, in which a large part of the school success is linked to social origin (pupils of better (favoured) social origin have better results than others), which is confirming the theoretical perspectives on the inequality of chances (Bourdieu, Passeron, 1970; Boudon, 1993).

At the same time, the results of the PISA 2015 survey highlighted the fact that Romania ranks 48th out of 72. Romania's results in Science (the focus area on the 2015 tests) are 435, compared to the OECD average score of 493, and the best score for Singapore, which was 558. The results for Romania can be compared to those obtained by countries such as Moldova, Albania, and Turkey, Cyprus, the United Arab Emirates, Uruguay (OECD, 2015; Motoi, Lazăr, Ștefan, 2018: 114).

In Reading, Romania has accumulated 434 points, with performances similar to Uruguay, Bulgaria or Trinidad and Tobago and higher than those of Mexico and Thailand (OECD, 2015; Motoi, Lazăr, Ștefan, 2018: 114).

As for the results recorded in Mathematics, Romania recorded the average score of 444 points (445 points in 2012, when Mathematics was the main domain), with similar performances to countries like Greece, Bulgaria, Cyprus, or Argentina and Turkey, compared to the results of PISA 2012 (OECD, 2015; Motoi, Lazăr, Ștefan, 2018: 114).

In all the three analysed areas (reading, science, mathematics), Romania is at a great distance compared to the European average. Thus, according to PISA 2015, 42.9% of pupils are "functional illiterates", compared to an average OECD of 29.1%; in mathematics, the share is 39.9% of pupils who do not manage, compared to an average of 24.4%; and the share of very poorly educated pupils in science is 38.5% compared to the European average of 23.1% (OECD, 2015).

What can be observed from the comparative analysis of the results obtained in France and Romania at PISA 2015? First of all, that the problems specific to the education systems are different: if the French education system faces, among other things, the problem of equity and educational social justice, the Romanian education system still has disfunctionalities related to the level of pupils' basic competences; this fact makes it a priority of public policies and educational reforms in the future to address the issue of reducing the rate of functional illiteracy and the attainment of European social policy objectives in the field of education and training, according to which, the share of youths (pupils under 15 years) "who do not have adequate capacities in terms of reading, mathematics and science will have to be up to 15%" (Ilie Goga, 2014: 202).

Moreover, in Romania, the problems faced by the education system are structural: insufficient allocation from the national budget (only 3.1% of GDP in 2016), poor infrastructure (especially in rural areas), high school dropout rate especially in socio-economic and especially in rural areas (and it is well known that "long-time outside school generates a massive risks to social integration of young people" – Pricină,

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2018: 71), a correlation between education and the labour market significantly reduced through the low involvement of socio-economic representatives (employers) in the development of the curricula, especially at the technical and vocational education level or even at the university level (Niță, Ilie Goga, 2014: 112). In long term, those problems, still persisting can contribute to other social problems, such as long-time outside school and family, such as the time spent on the streets or neighbourhood, generates a massive risk to social integration of young people.

Critics. How can we use PISA to measure the quality and efficiency of educational systems?

Generally, critics of PISA tests start from the following questions: *What does PISA want to assess? Through this program, is it assessing what is important for any educational institution? If a country scores poorly on the PISA assessment, does it mean that its education system is inefficient and non-performing?* As they are designed, the PISA assessment tests aim, in particular, to compare student performance in a particular country with other countries in order to make adjustments at the education system level, rather than in order to certify the competences and school achievements of pupils. However, their influence on the educational systems becomes such that, imperceptibly, their influence extends to the contents of certification tests of student achievement, both national and regional or local, or even to the plans and project in which this certification falls within.

There are also critical points that highlight the fact that PISA tends to classify, to tidy up, rather than to help the pupils; the primary concern is no longer centred on the pupil and his learning (Roegiers, 2012).

Therefore, the school is increasingly stripped of its primary function, which is to learn and help the pupil to learn, in favour of an attitude of attributing to the pupil the responsibility of his learning and process of skills development. As Roegiers tells us, the use of standardized international tests “helps to divert the educational system from its social role” (Roegiers, 2010: 7).

The PISA tests, as they are currently organized, do not take into account the specificity of the national educational programs, nor the hourly volume of each discipline, nor the percentage of allophones (as for example, the Italians of the Greek in Montreal, or the Romanian in Italy). Also, the tests do not take into account and the fact that the “tested” pupils come from different nationalities, with different cultural backgrounds (if we think, for example, of the history of Finland). These cultural antecedents lead to different student responses to questions.

Another problem is the use, since 2015 vague, of computerized questionnaires, without having first asked the question of *what effects the use of this tool would have on pupils?* However, certain problems and weaknesses of these computerized tests appeared in 2015: for example, the difficulty of some young people to use them (from countries where the ICT in education is not so well developed (Motoi, Lazăr, Ștefan, 2018); the impossibility to go back on an answer; different behaviour of the pupils in front of the computer according to their nationality etc.

Last, but not at least, other perspective of analysing the PISA is the absence in these tests of the “life skills” dimension, to which international institutions, such as UNESCO or UNICEF attaches increasing importance (De Ketele, 2006, 2009).

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Photo gallery CEPOS Events

- CEPOS FACEBOOK ACCOUNT:
<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Center-of-Post-Communist-Political-Studies-CEPOS/485957361454074>

TRANSPORT

The 9th International Conference "After communism. East and West under Scrutiny" (2019) will be held in Craiova, a city located in the South-Western part of Romania, at about 250 km from Bucharest, the national capital. The airport of Craiova (<http://en.aeroportcraiova.ro/>) has flights to Timisoara, Dusseldorf, Munchen, Ancone, Rome, Venezia, London, Bergamo etc. Other airports, such as Bucharest (Romania) (<http://www.aeroportul-otopeni.info/>) is located at distances less than 240 km from Craiova and accommodate international flights.

Train schedule to Craiova can be consulted at InterRegio CFR (<http://www.infofer.ro/>) and SOFTRANS (<http://softrans.ro/mersul-trenurilor.html>).

CEPOS CONFERENCE 2019 FEES AND REGISTRATION REGISTRATION DESK

The Conference Registration Desk will be opened from Friday, 29th of March 2019 (from 08.00 a.m. to 18.00 p.m.) until Saturday 30th of March 2019 (from 08.00 a.m. until 14.00 p.m.), for registration and delivery of conference bag with documents to participants. The Conference Registration Desk is located in the lobby of the University House Club, 1st Floor.

REGISTRATION FEES

70 euros / first paper and 20 euros/ second paper (same author(s)) can be paid directly via bank transfer on CEPOS Bank account as follows:

Details for online payment

Banca Romana pentru Dezvoltare (BRD)
Owner: ASOCIATIA CENTRUL DE STUDII POLITICE POSTCOMUNISTE
Reference to be mentioned: CV taxa participare si publicare CEPOS
Account Number: RO64BRDE170SV96030911700 (RON)

MEALS AND OTHER ORGANIZING DETAILS

The registration fee covers:

- * Conference attendance to all common sessions, individual and special panels
- * Conference materials (including a printed version of the Book of Abstracts of the Conference)
- * Conference special bag - 1 for every single fee paid, no matter the number of authors/paper
- * Coffee Breaks-March 29, 2019 – March 30, 2019. During the two days conference, 3 coffee breaks are offered.
- * Welcome reception (March 29, 2019)
- * Lunch (March 29, 2019) offered in the University House Mihai Eminescu Gala Room
- * A Festive Gala Dinner and Cocktail (March 29, 2019) offered in the University House Mihai Eminescu Gala Room
- * A Free Cocktail Buffet will be served from 19:00 p.m. to 21.00 p.m.
- * A Free Entrance Voucher is provided inside of each Conference Bag.
- * Lunch (March 30, 2019)
- * Certificate of attendance (offered at the end of the conference March 30, 2019)
- * Publication of the Conference Papers in the International Indexed Journal Revista de

CEPOS NEW CALL FOR PAPERS 2019

Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (previous publication of the 2012-2018 Conference papers is available at

<http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/acces.php>

* One original volume of the International Indexed Journal Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (where the personal conference paper was published) will be delivered to the authors (an additional fee of 10 euros is required for the mailing facilities)

* Computer & Internet Facilities. There is available videoprojector and connection to Internet services.

* Language. The official language of the Conference will be English. The Organizing Committee does not provide simultaneous translation.

NEW! FREE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAMME OF THE CEPOS CONFERENCE 2019

* Participants in CEPOS CONFERENCE 2018 have free access to the Social and Cultural Program of the Seventh Edition of the International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny, Craiova, 29-30 March 2019: including free guided tours of the:

Craiova Old City Tour and CEPOS Headquarters
Museum of Arts Craiova, <http://www.muzeuldeartacraiova.ro/>
Oltenia Museum (all sections included):
<http://www.muzeulolteniei.ro/index.php?view=content&c=26>
Casa Baniei <http://www.muzeulolteniei.ro/index.php?view=content&c=26>

CERTIFICATES OF ATTENDANCE

Certificates of attendance will be offered at the end of the conference on Saturday, March 30, 2019

INTERNATIONAL INDEXING OF REVISTA DE ȘTIINȚE POLITICE/REVUE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES

Revista de Științe Politice/Revue des Sciences Politiques is an International Indexed Journal by:

ProQuest

ERIH PLUS

ProQuest Political Sciences

EBSCO

CEEOL

KVK

Gale Cengage Learning

Index Copernicus

Georgetown University Library

Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB

Journal Seek

Intute Social Sciences.

Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques. Indexing and abstracting in other relevant international databases, services and library catalogues (Statistics 2015-2018)

CEPOS NEW CALL FOR PAPERS 2019

Google Scholar

https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=geaF_FgAAAAJ&hl=ro

ProQuest 5000 International

<http://tls.proquest.com/tls/servlet/ProductSearch?platformID=1&externalID=770&vdID=614505/PMID99909>

Birmingham Public Library, United Kingdom

<http://www.bplonline.org/virtual/databases/journals.as/px?q=R&p=36>

Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

http://sfx.lib.byu.edu/sfxlcl3?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore_date_threshold=1&rft.object_id=100000000726583&rft.object_portfolio_id=&svc.holdings=yes&svc.fulltext=yes

Miami University Oxford, Ohio, USA

<http://www.lib.miamioh.edu/multifacet/record/az-9ce56f97d1be33af92690283c0903908>

German National Library of Science and Technology

<https://getinfo.de/app/Revista-de-%C5%9Ftiin%C5%A3e-politice-Revue-des-sciences/id/TIBKAT%3A590280090>

Bibliotek Hamburg

<http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/recherche/elektronische-angebote/elektronische-zeitschriften/detail/titel/144583.html>

Sabre Libraries of University of Sussex, University of Brighton and Brighton and Sussex NHS

<http://sabre.sussex.ac.uk/vufindsmu/Record/1584224X/Details>

University of Southern Denmark

<http://findresearcher.sdu.dk:8080/portal/en/journals/revista-de-stinte-politice%28ca92579a-2621-46ec-946f-21e26f37364d%29.html>

Edith Cowan Australia

<http://library.ecu.edu.au:2082/search~S7?/.b2071921/.b2071921/1%2C1%2C1%2CB/marc~b2071921>

University College Cork, Ireland

<http://cufts2.lib.sfu.ca/CJDB4/CCUC/journal/375867>

Region Hovedstaden Denmark

<http://forskning.regionh.dk/en/journals/revista-de-stinte-politice%2811468a3a-a8be-4502-b8d6-718255c47677%29.html>

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WorldCat

<https://www.library.yorku.ca/find/Record/muler82857>

York University Library, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

<https://www.library.yorku.ca/find/Record/muler82857>

The University of Chicago, USA

https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/sfx_1000000000726583

Wellcome Library, London, United Kingdom

http://search.wellcomelibrary.org/iii/encore/search/C__Scivil%20law__Orightresult__X0;jsessionid=86D8DE0DF1C54E503BEF1CB1168B6143?lang=eng&suite=cobalt

The University of Kansas KUMC Libraries Catalogue

<http://voyagercatalog.kumc.edu/Record/143742/Description>

University of Saskatchewan, SK

<http://library.usask.ca/find/ejournals/view.php?i>

Academic Journals Database

<http://discover.library.georgetown.edu/iii/encore/record/C%7CRb3747335%7CSREVIS TA+DE+STIINTE%7COrightresult?lang=eng&suite=def>

Journal Seek

<http://journalseek.net/cgi-bin/journalseek/journalsearch.cgi?field=issn&query=1584-224X>

Sherpa

<http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/search.php?issn=1584-224X&showfunder=none&fIDnum=%7C&la=en>

University of New Brunswick, Canada

<https://www.lib.unb.ca/eresources/index.php?letter=R&sub=all&start=2401>

State Library New South Wales, Sidney, Australia,

[http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~\\$1?i1583-9583/i15839583/-3,-1,0,B/browse](http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~$1?i1583-9583/i15839583/-3,-1,0,B/browse)

Electronic Journal Library

https://opac.giga-hamburg.de/ezb/detail.phtml?bibid=GIGA&colors=7&lang=en&flavour=classic&jour_id=111736

Jourlib

<http://www.jourlib.org/journal/8530/#.VSU7CPmsVSk>

Cheng Library Catalog

<https://chengfind.wpunj.edu/Record/416615/Details>

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Open University Malaysia

<http://library.oum.edu.my/oumlib/content/catalog/778733>

Wayne State University Libraries

<http://elibrary.wayne.edu/record=4203588>

Kun Shan University Library

http://muse.lib.ksu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft_val_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucvpress

Western Theological Seminar

<http://cook.westernsem.edu/CJDB4/EXS/browse/tags?q=public+law>

NYU Health Sciences Library

<http://hsl.med.nyu.edu/resource/details/175011>

Swansea University Prifysgol Abertawe

<https://ifind.swan.ac.uk/discover/Record/579714#.VSU9SPmsVSk>

Vanderbilt Library

http://umlaut.library.vanderbilt.edu/journal_list/R/139

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozial

http://www.wzb.eu/de/node/7353?page=detail.phtml&bibid=AAAAA&colors=3&lang=de&jour_id=111736

Keystone Library Network

<https://vf-clarion.klnpa.org/vufind/Record/clarion.474063/Details>

Quality Open Access Market

<https://zaandam.hosting.ru.nl/oamarket-acc/score?page=4&Language=21&Sort=Ascending&SortBy=BaseScore>

Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB (Electronic Journals Library)

http://rzblx1.uni-regensburg.de/ezeit/searchres.phtml?bibid=AAAAA&colors=7&lang=de&jq_type1=KT&jq_term1=REVISTA+DE+STIINTE+POLITICE

Harley E. French Library of the Health sciences

<http://undmedlibrary.org/Resources/list/record/129818>

Open Access Articles

http://www.openaccessarticles.com/journal/1584-224X_Revista_de_Stiinte_Politice+---

Vrije Universiteit Brussel

<http://biblio.vub.ac.be/vlink/VlinkMenu.CSP?genre=journal&eissn=&issn=1584-224X&title=Revista%20de%20Stiinte%20Politice>

The Hong Kong University

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http://onsearch.lib.polyu.edu.hk:1701/primo_library/libweb/action/dIDisplay.do?vid=HKPU&docId=HKPU_MILLENNIUM22899443&fromSitemap=1&afterPDS=true

Biblioteca Universitaria di Lugano

https://en.bul.sbu.usi.ch/search/periodicals/systematic?category=10&page=34&per_page=10&search=

Olomuc Research Library, Czech Republic

http://aleph.vkol.cz/F?func=find-&ccl_term=sys=000070018&con_lng=eng&local_base=svk07

California State University Monterey Bay University

http://sfx.calstate.edu:9003/csumb?sid=sfx:e_collection&issn=1584-224X&serviceType=getFullTxt

University of the West

<http://library.uwest.edu/booksab.asp?OCLCNo=9999110967>

Elektronische Zeitschriften der Universität zu Köln

http://mobil.ub.uni-koeln.de/IPS?SERVICE=TEMPLATE&SUBSERVICE=EZB_BROWSE&SID=PETERSPFENNIG:1460334557&LOCATION=USB&VIEW=USB:Kataloge&BIBID=USBK&COLORS=7&LANGUAGE=de&PAGE=detail&QUERY_URL=jour_id%3D111736&REDIRECT=1

Biblioteca Electronica de Ciencia y Tecnologia

http://www.biblioteca.mincyt.gob.ar/revistas/index?subarea=148&area=34&gran_area=5&browseType=discipline&Journals_page=17

University of Huddersfield UK

<http://library.hud.ac.uk/summon/360list.html>

Saarlandische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Germany

<http://www.sulb.uni-saarland.de/index.php?id=141&libconnect%5Bjourid%5D=111736>
EKP Publications

<http://www.sulb.uni-saarland.de/index.php?id=141&libconnect%5Bjourid%5D=111736>

OHSU Library

<http://www.ohsu.edu/library/ejournals/staticpages/ejnlr.shtml>

Valley City State University

<http://www.ohsu.edu/library/ejournals/staticpages/ejnlr.shtml>

Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Spain

<http://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/->

Archivos/Revistas_de_libre_acceso_xseptiembre_2010x.pdf

Drexel Libraries

<http://innoserv.library.drexel.edu:2082/search~S9?/aUniversitatea+%22Babe%7Bu0219%7D-Bolyai.%22/auniversitatea+babes+bolyai/-3%2C->

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1%2C0%2CB/marc&FF=auniversitatea+din+craiova+catedra+de+stiinte+politice&1%2C1%2C

Impact Factor Poland

<http://impactfactor.pl/czasopisma/21722-revista-de-stiinte-politice-revue-des-sciences-politiques>

Pol-index

<http://catalogue.univ-angers.fr/OPD01/86/61/40/00/OPD01.000458661.html>

ILAN University Library

http://muse.niu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft_val_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucvpress&set.user.locale=en_US

Dowling College Library

<http://www.dowling.edu/library/journaldb/keyword4.asp?jname=revista>

Universite Laval

http://sfx.bibl.ulaval.ca:9003/sfx_local?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore_date_threshold=1&rft.object_id=100000000726583&rft.object_portfolio_id=&svc.fulltext=yes

For more details about the past issues and international abstracting and indexing, please visit the journal website at the following address:

<http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/acces.php>.

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONAL INDEXING OF THE PAST EDITIONS (2014-2018)

CEPOS Conference 2018

The Eighth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 23-24 March 2018) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 15 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

Conference Alerts, <https://conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=186626>

Sciencesdz, <http://www.sciencedz.net/conference/29484-8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>

ManuscriptLink,

<https://manuscriptlink.com/cfp/detail?cfpId=AYAXKVAR46277063&type=event>

Maspolitiques, <http://www.maspolitiques.com/ar/index.php/en/1154-8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>

Aconf, https://www.aconf.org/conf_112399.html

Call4paper, <https://call4paper.com/listByCity?type=event&city=3025&count=count>

Eventegg, <https://eventegg.com/cepos/>

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10 times, <https://10times.com/after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
Biblioteca de Sociologie, <http://bibliotecadesociologie.ro/cfp-cepos-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny-craiova-2018/>
Science Research Association <http://www.scirea.org/topiclisting?conferenceTopicId=5>
ResearcherBook <http://researcherbook.com/country/Romania>
Conference Search Net, <http://conferencesearch.net/en/29484-8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
SchoolandCollegeListings,
<https://www.schoolandcollegelistings.com/RO/Craiova/485957361454074/Center-of-Post-Communist-Political-Studies-CEPOS>
Vepub conference, <http://www.vepub.com/conferences-view/8th-International-Conference-After-Communism.-East-and-West-under-Scrutiny/bC9aUE5rcHN0ZmpkYU9nTHJzUkRmdz09/>
Geopolitika Hungary, <http://www.geopolitika.hu/event/8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>

CEPOS Conference 2017

The Seventh International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 24-25 March 2017) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 10 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases: Ethic & International Affairs (Carnegie Council), Cambridge University Press-<https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2016/upcoming-conferences-interest-2016-2017/>

ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS
LIST <http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2017/03/7th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
CONFERENCE ALERTS-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=171792>
10TIMES.COM-<http://10times.com/after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
Hiway Conference Discovery System-
<http://www.hicds.cn/meeting/detail/45826124>
Geopolitika (Hungary)-<http://www.geopolitika.hu/event/7th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Academic.net-<http://www.academic.net/show-24-4103-1.html>
World University Directory-
<http://www.worlduniversitydirectory.com/conferencedetail.php?AgentID=2001769>
Science Research Association-
<http://www.scirea.org/conferenceinfo?conferenceId=35290>
Science Social Community-<https://www.science-community.org/ru/node/174892>

CEPOS Conference 2016

The Sixth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 8-9 April 2016) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in the following international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

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ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS-
<http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2016/04/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Oxford Journals – Oxford Journal of Church & State-
<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2016/02/06/jcs.csv121.extract>
Conference Alerts-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/country-listing?country=Romania>
Conferences-In - <http://conferences-in.com/conference/romania/2016/economics/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Socmag.net - <http://www.socmag.net/?p=1562>
African Journal of Political Sciences-
http://www.maspolitiques.com/mas/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=450:-securitee-&catid=2:2010-12-09-22-47-00&Itemid=4#.VjUI5PnhCUk
Researchgate-
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283151988_Call_for_Papers_6TH_International_Conference_After_Communism_East_and_West_under_Scrutiny_8-9_April_2016_Craiova_Romania
World Conference Alerts-
<http://www.worldconferencealerts.com/ConferenceDetail.php?EVENT=WLD1442>
Edu events-<http://eduevents.eu/listings/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Esocsci.org-<http://www.esocsci.org.nz/events/list/>
Sciencedz.net-<http://www.sciencedz.net/index.php?topic=events&page=53>
Science-community.org-<http://www.science-community.org/ru/node/164404/?did=070216>

CEPOS Conference 2015

The Fifth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 24-25 April 2015) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 15 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF CANADA, CANADA-
<http://natocouncil.ca/events/international-conferences/>
ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS LIST-
<http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2015/04/fifth-international-conf>
GCONFERENCE.NET-
http://www.gconference.net/eng/conference_view.html?no=47485&catalog=1&cata=018&co_kind=&co_type=&pageno=1&conf_cata=01
CONFERENCE BIOXBIO-<http://conference.bioxbio.com/location/romania>
10 TIMES-<http://10times.com/romania>
CONFERENCE ALERTS-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/country-listing?country=Romania>
<http://www.iem.ro/orizont2020/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/lista-3-conferinte-internationale.pdf>
<http://sdil.ac.ir/index.aspx?pid=99&articleid=62893>
NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM-
<http://www.nationalsymposium.com/communism.php>

CEPOS NEW CALL FOR PAPERS 2019

SCIENCE DZ-<http://www.sciencedz.net/conference/6443-fifth-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
ARCHIVE COM-http://archive-com.com/com/c/conferencealerts.com/2014-12-01_5014609_70/Rome_15th_International_Academic_Conference_The_IISES/
CONFERENCE WORLD-<http://conferencesworld.com/higher-education/>
KNOW A CONFERENCE KNOW A CONFERENCE-
<http://knowaconference.com/social-work/>
International Journal on New Trends in Education and Their Implications (IJONTE) Turkey <http://www.ijonte.org/?pnum=15&>
Journal of Research in Education and Teaching Turkey-
<http://www.jret.org/?pnum=13&pt=Kongre+ve+Sempozyum>
CEPOS CONFERENCE 2015 is part of a "consolidated list of all international and Canadian conferences taking place pertaining to international relations, politics, trade, energy and sustainable development". For more details see <http://natocouncil.ca/events/international-conferences/>

CEPOS Conference 2014

The Fourth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny, Craiova, 4-5 April 2014 was very well received by the national media and successfully indexed in more than 9 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases such as:

American Political Science Association, USA-
<http://www.apsanet.org/conferences.cfm>;
Journal of Church and State, Oxford-
<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2014/01/23/jcs.cst141.full.pdf+html>;
NATO Council of Canada (section events/ international conferences), Canada,
<http://atlantic-council.ca/events/international-conferences/>
International Society of Political Psychology, Columbus, USA-
http://www.ispp.org/uploads/attachments/April_2014.pdf
Academic Biographical Sketch,
<http://academicprofile.org/SeminarConference.aspx>;
Conference alerts, <http://www.conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=121380>;
Gesis Sowiport, Koln, Germany, <http://sowiport.gesis.org/>; Osteuropa-Netzwerk,
Universität Kassel, Germany, http://its-vm508.its.uni-kassel.de/mediawiki/index.php/After_communism_:East_and_West_under_scrutiny_:Fourth_International_Conference
Ilustre Colegio Nacional de Doctores y Licenciados en Ciencias Politicas y Sociologia, futuro Consejo Nacional de Colegios Profesionales, Madrid,
<http://colpolsocmadrid.org/agenda/>.



RSP MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

GUIDELINES FOR PUBLICATION

REVISTA DE ȘTIINȚE POLITICE. REVUE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES (RSP)

Email: Manuscripts should be submitted online at cepos2013@gmail.com with the following settings:

Page setup: B5 JIS

Paper title: For the title use Times New Roman 16 Bold, Center.

Author(s): For the Name and Surname of the author(s) use Times New Roman 14 Bold, Center. About the author(s): After each name insert a footnote (preceded by the symbol *) containing the author's professional title, didactic position, institutional affiliation, contact information, and email address.

E.g.: Anca Parmena Olimid*, Cătălina Maria Georgescu**, Cosmin Lucian Gherghe***

* Associate Professor, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Political Sciences specialization, Phone: 00407*****, Email: parmena2002@yahoo.com. (Use Times New Roman 9, Justified)

** Lecturer, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Political Sciences specialization, Phone: 00407*****, Email: cata.georgescu@yahoo.com. (Use Times New Roman 9, Justified)

*** Lecturer, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Political Sciences specialization, Phone: 00407*****, Email: avcosmingherghe@yahoo.com. (Use Times New Roman 9, Justified)

Author(s) are fully responsible for the copyright, authenticity and contents of their papers. Author(s) assume full responsibility that their paper is not under review for any refereed journal or conference proceedings.

Abstract

The abstract must provide the aims, objectives, methodology, results and main conclusions of the paper (please submit the papers by providing all these information in the abstract). It must be submitted in English and the length must not exceed 300 words. Use Times New Roman 10,5, Justify.

RSP MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

Keywords

Submit 5-6 keywords representative to the thematic approached in the paper. Use Times New Roman 10,5, Italic. After the keywords introduce three blank lines, before passing to the Article text.

Text Font: Times New Roman: 10,5

Reference citations within the text Please cite within the text. Use authors' last names, with the year of publication.

E.g.: (Olimid, 2009: 14; Olimid and Georgescu, 2012: 14-15; Olimid, Georgescu and Gherghe, 2013: 20-23).

On first citation of references with more than three authors, give all names in full. On the next citation of references with more than three authors give the name of the first author followed by "et al."

To cite one Article by the same author(s) in the same year use the letters a, b, c, etc., after the year. E.g.: (Olimid, 2009a:14) (Olimid, 2009b: 25-26).

References:

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References of the same author are listed chronologically.

For books

Olimid, A. P. (2009a). *Viața politică și spirituală în România modernă. Un model românesc al relațiilor dintre Stat și Biserică*, Craiova: Aius Publishing.

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Tables and Figures

Tables and figures are introduced in the text. The title appears above each table.

E.g.: Table 1. The results of the parliamentary elections (May 2014)

Proposed papers: Text of the Article should be between 4500-5000 words, single spaced, Font: Times New Roman 10,5, written in English, submitted as a single file that includes all tables and figures in Word2003 or Word2007 for Windows.

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