



The Europeanization of the Romanian society and the tendential modernity

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Abstract

The study examines the tendential modernity as an explanatory factor of the particularities of the Europeanization of the Romanian society. I start from the thesis that the evolution of the Europeanization process in Romania is closely associated with the process of accession to the European Union, finalized after the passing through a sinuous and difficult route. The analysis of the Europeanization of the Romanian society pursues the stages of its formation in the local context. Due to the fact that Romania will still continue to be a society in transition, the most critical and relevant problem regards the dependency of the Romanian society on the strong societies in Europe. Under these circumstances, the question is, whether Romania will represent a periphery of Europe, or a national community with a European standard of development. Europeanization in its real sense does not mean “westernization”. Through the adherence to the European Union, Romanian society has the chance to put an end to the successive transitions known over its modern history, generators of tendential modernity. The Europeanization constitutes the fundamental purpose of the modernization processes of the Romanian society.

Keywords

Europeanization, European Union, modernization, society in transition, tendential modernity

Introduction

In this study I will explore a topic that has been insufficiently approached in the papers referring to the post communist era, i.e. the research of the Europeanization process of the Romanian society in the context of the interaction between the national society and the EU.

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In my approach I start from the thesis that the evolution of the Europeanization process in Romania is closely associated with the process of accession to the European Union, finalized after the passing through a sinuous and difficult route. Ever since December 1989, right after the fall of the communist regime, Romania has turned towards the European values and the European integration have stated directly and unconditionally. Afterwards, several programmes and strategies meant to prepare the Romanian society for accessing to the European structures have been adopted successively.

It must be said that the enlargement of the European Union materialized in the association of countries with different levels of economic and social development and, therefore, the European Community has taken over all the problems resulting from the disparities between its members. A local problem of the Europeanization has appeared and it is different from the theme of the general Europeanization. The analysis of the Europeanization of the Romanian society pursues the stages of its formation in the local context. The Europeanization process influences directly or indirectly the national societies. The Europeanization cannot be constructed only according to a plan from Brussels, but, also according to the local requirements of each country of the EU.

The local particularity of the Europeanization between the new and old members of the European Union is given by the reports from the period of the pre-accession. Prior to the integration of other countries, the European Community was built up of consolidated democracies and strong economies. Step by step, countries with a lower development standard have been accepted: Greece, Portugal, Spain and, in 2004 and 2007, the European countries from the Central and Eastern Europe considered semi-peripheral or peripheral, accede to the EU.

The European Union has decided upon the parameters which are supposed to be reached by the Central and Eastern European countries in order to become members without imposing discrimination among them. As a rule, all European countries irrespective of their level of development have been accepted as potential members.

In fact, the European integration cannot avoid the relationship between the developed Western Europe and the less developed Eastern Europe. Under these circumstances, the new members of the EU have sensed, one way or the other, the status of dependency from the western countries. We mention just as an example the 'Acquis Communautaire', the total body of European Union (EU) law applicable in the the EU Member States, initiated and decided by the western countries.

From the point of view of the geopolitical position and historical heritage, Romania belongs to the Eastern European states, which obviously results in the particularity of the accession to the European Union, namely, the diminution of the gap between the EU members is not possible without a new modernization of the national society. In my article I discuss this modernization conferred by Europeanization.

The study is organized in four parts. First I present a short synthesis of some theories of Europeanization, necessary for understanding the impact of the European Union on the state. In the second section I analyse the national context in order to underline the role of the local environment in the Europeanization of the Romanian

society in the post communist era. In the third section I examine the tendential modernity as an explanatory factor of the particularities of the Europeanization of the Romanian society.

Europeanization

If before 1990 the topics referring to the European Community were approached mainly in studies dedicated to international relations, after the extension of the organization towards Central and Eastern Europe, a distinct field of European Studies has been established. Certainly, the Europeanization has been examined during the XX century but, after the fall of the communism it received new meanings, as one of the most important problems in the new European context remains the adequacy of the internal institutional framework of each member state of the EU to the community norms.

There are several definitions of Europeanization, but almost all of them originate in the analysis of Europeanization in Robert Ladrech's definition: an incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making' (Ladrech 1994, p. 69). By 'organizational logic' Ladrech understands the 'adaptive processes of organizations to a changed or changing environment'.

Because of the multiple processes experienced by the European Union, in the study of European realities, a distinction between European integration and Europeanization is necessary. On the one hand, the transformation of social and institutional structures of the member states of the EU occurs through the pressure of the European community institutions on the internal policies and decisions of the main actors and, on the other hand the Europeanization takes place at the same time with the deepening of the interdependencies between the European states. The two processes – the community constraints and the mutual dependency- are closely associated. As a result, the European integration is the act of strengthening the influence and the decisional power of the European community, the sovereignty being transmitted from the national level to the European level and the Europeanization means the change produced in the internal context of each country through enforcing in models, norms and community policies, which imply substantial modifications in the national policies and in the institutional framework of their adoption and implementation.

The Europeanization process is complex and difficult because of its profound implications on the entire system of relationships, rules, norms, traditions and habits of each member state of the EU. That is why most of the researchers point out as a fundamental dimension of Europeanization, the contrast between the way the national state works, built upon the concept of national community interest, and the EU directions of internal change in the national societies. (Cowles, Caporaso & Risse, 2001). Other researchers believe that the concept of contrast gives sense to the incompatibility of the internal structures with the transformations unleashed by Europeanization: the less compatible Europeanization is with the internal contexts, the greater is the pressure of the EU on the internal structures to adapt to the European norms (Börzel/Risse, 2003, p. 69).

Radaelli conceives Europeanization like as a process of „construction, diffusion and institutionalization” of the EU rules, which shape the „internal discourse, the identities, the political structures and the public policies” (Radaelli, 2003, p. 30). The Europeanization as a macro process leads to the assertion of Europeanism directly within a state. Indisputably, the European values, the Europeanism and everything that is related to European culture and civilization have circulated within the national framework in the natural process of acculturation with a long tradition in the entire European area. The selection criteria and the options for Europeanism belong to the individuals and to the groups beyond their belonging to a national community and the existence of the political regimes.

It is not less true that Europeanization has at least two models: the model of Europeanization through innovation and the model of Europeanization through imitation. The first derives from the intimate association between the internal governmental decision and the European development policy of the national society. The second reflects the trans-governmental process of imitation beyond the ministerial decision towards Europeanization. (Trondal, 2005). In the literature about Europeanization the emphasis is focused on the interaction between European level and national level (Cowles, Caporaso & Risse, 2001) and on the mechanisms through the impact of Europeanization on the internal policy.

Europeanization is discussed as a process which takes place under the guidance of the EU, necessary for any state interested in the EU accession (Grabbe, 2003; Papadimitriou and Phinnemore, 2008). For the purpose of its finalisation, it has been acted by virtue of the principle of conditionality, intrinsic to the EU program of expansion towards the Central and Eastern Europe. Conditionality is the negotiation strategy of the stimulants granted by the EU to a state so that its government can realize the conditions of accession to the EU (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2004, p. 662). Basically, the candidate countries have to respect the criteria decided during the Copenhagen Summit and to adopt the ‘Aquis Communautaire’.

These few directions of the Europeanization theories underline both the complexity of the European integration process and the diversity of the context in which it takes place.

The European Union has two categories of countries: on the one hand, those with a consolidated democracy and on the other hand the former communist states with a currently formal democracy, democratizing countries. Democracy is an European value and a criterion of accession to the EU. The former communist countries, which are now EU members, have lived simultaneously the experience of democratization and Europeanization. Alexander (2008, p.930) considers the new democracies in the South Eastern Europe as hybrid regimes, where the democratic conditions have different levels of accomplishment „political pluralism, free press, compliance with the civil rights.” The transition from the communist governance to the democratic governance took place through the modification of the institutions taken over from the socialist society.

The process of European integration has brought to the present the theory of centre-periphery (Dragojevic, 2002). The European countries are regarded as transition

countries from the center of Europe, represented by the West, through the European periphery (Central Europe and the Baltic) to the countries from the periphery of Europe (Eastern Europe and Southern-Eastern Europe). In reality the Europeanization is not uniform, it is unequal (Eder, 2004) because of the existence in the EU of more Europes: the old Europe and the new Europe, the Europe from zone or the Europe within the Schengen space. Being a space of multiple democracies, EU is heterogeneous according to the criterion of democratic tradition.

The question is whether there is an organic association between democracy and the market economy in the ex-communist states, which have become members of the EU. The answer deserves a detailed analysis but for the present subject, the idea is being outlined, about a certain de-synchronization between the democracy in course of consolidating and the evolution of the society, according to the criteria of the market economy.

The national context

Any analysis about the Europeanization of the Romanian society must start from the historical realities lived by the Romanian state in the period before 1989. Unlike other communist states, Romania has distinguished itself by a characteristic policy towards the Economic European Community (The Common Market), going as far as officially acknowledging this international organization.

As an expression of its independent external policy, on the 1st of January 1974 Romania was the first communist country included in the Generalized System of Preferences of the European Community, fact which allowed the export of the Romanian agricultural products on the markets of the EC countries (Papadimitriou and Phinnemore, 2008, p.18). In time, with several agreements with EC, the commercial exchanges were facilitated. Also, together with the Agreement regarding Romania-EEC, the 26th of July 1980, Romania was the only communist country which acknowledged *de facto* and *de jure* The Economic European Community as an international entity. The agreement on the industrial products stands is a conclusive proof.

Thanks its own experience with the European Community after 1990 Romania should have had a different evolution in the relationship with the EU than the other ex-communist states, because it was the only country from the communist space which had commercial and diplomatic relations with the Common Market. The Romanian State had in 1990 a professional body qualified in European Community issues, diplomats and specialists in varied sectors connected to the European organization.

Although made official, the relationships with EC were suspended because the communist regime adopted in the 80's the isolationist position and neglected the new trends in the economical and political international relations, expression of which was the globalization as interconnection process of all social-economical dimensions of contemporaneous life. The relationship with EC was concentrated on economic relations and as far as politics was concerned, the communist regime from Romania and the political system in the member-countries of the EC were divergent.

This is how Romania learned the paradox of losing the benefits of its position as a privileged partner in relationship with the European Community before 1989. In fact, this position of Romania is not singular. It is enough to mention the case of Yugoslavia before 1989 with the most liberal policy of citizen mobility in the European space, which did not count at all in the decisions made by the EC regarding the events which took place in the ex-Yugoslavian space in the 90's. On the other hand, other ex-communist countries have benefited, after 1990, from favourable treatment from the European Community and had greater benefits from this organization, even though these states did not recognize officially and did not have strong relationships with the Common Market before 1989. Right after 1989 Romania had to accede from the status of marginalised European state to the one of European Union member.

We will keep in mind a certain evolution of Romania's position on the relationships with the EU with direct effect on the Europeanization process. The changes produced after 1989 created the framework for Romania to continue relations with the European Economic Community, but in a different political and geopolitical context. Starting with 1990 diplomatic relations between the new regime in Bucharest and the EEC have been established. In 1991 the Agreement of Commerce Cooperation was signed but it didn't come into force until February 1995.

An event with significant consequences was the 21st of June 1995, the signing by the leaders of the parliamentary parties from Romania of the Snagov Declaration, a document which established the national strategy for Romania's preparation for the accession to the European Union. In the Declaration from Snagov it has been unconditionally stated that „The strategic national objective of Romania's adherence to the European Union is constituted by a nodal point of solidarity and convergence of the country's political and social strengths, representing a historical chance of promoting the fundamental ideals and interests of the Romanian people, its identity and traditions, in a wide international opening, the possibility that, through own efforts sustained by a extensive cooperation, the discrepancies towards the advanced countries to be attenuated and eliminated in time and the modernization in Romania to be accomplished, according to the exigency of the transition to the informatics society and the creation on this basis of the prerequisites for the increase of the living standards and life quality of all Romanian citizens”. The official request of accession to the EU was submitted on the 22nd of June 1995 together with the National Strategy of Preparation of Romania's accession to the EU.

Even though the public institutions, the non-governmental organizations, mass media acted so that the problematic of the accession to and integration in the European Union should become a priority of the Romanian society, the EU institutions made many requests regarding Romania's acceptance to the European structures and especially regarding the preparation of the public opinion for the conditions of the country's accession to the European Union, since some of them were quite restrictive.

In the action of preparing the accession to the EU, it started from the premise of a country situated, until then, outside of the European space, which was false. That heritage of the Romanian state earned from the official relationships between Romania

and the European Community was ignored without a motivation. Even this inheritance was strangely thrown overboard out of ideological rationalities, especially by interest groups inside of the country.

Still, at the level of the European Union its experience with the Romanian state before 1989 must have counted in the decision of Romania's acceptance, but in the new context there was a strong necessity of *going through certain stages in the preparation of the accession to the European Union*. If before 1989 the EC was perceived just as an international organization with which the Romanian state cooperated mainly in the economic field, today the relations between the two entities are settled on different principles and have different objectives. Starting with 2007, as a country belonging to a certain geopolitical space, that is eastern European countries, Romania became a member of the European community, participating in decision-making on the European and world-wide space. As a result, the accession to the EU has as main effects the Romanian society conformity to the institutional structures of the EU on the basis of a dominant logic of conformity. The dominant logic of pro-activeness, which has the advantage of pointing out the quality of integration as a key variable of the Romanian development model, becomes an alternative reference for the visions and actions dedicated to the European integration (Dragomirescu, 2007, p. 12). The new Europeanization of Romania has happened through phases of internal environment adaptation to the EU standards: the coming in force of the Agreement of Association to the European Union (February 1995), the presentation of the official request of accession to the European Union (June 1995), the beginning of negotiations for accession with the European Commission (February 2000), the closing of these negotiations (December 2004), the signing of the accession treaty (1st January 2007). As shown, the process was a complex and difficult one for a country with a specific modern evolution which will be discussed below.

Even though, as mentioned, Romania has an experience of decades in the relations with the European Union and was among the first countries that demanded the accession to the EU, its acceptance as a member was postponed for almost three years, in comparison with the 10 countries accepted in 2004. The entire process of preparation took place in a context dominated by the pressure of the EU institutions and of the application of the decisions made in Brussels without diminishing the role of the internal context, especially of the political one. The Romanian public opinion has agreed over the idea of accession at an opinion level and less at the European line of conduct and mentality, because these were and still are, unstructured. An exercise of integration and knowledge of the Europeanization mechanisms was the implementation of common projects within the Development Programmes- research framework IV, V and VI, of PHARE, TEMPUS Socrates or e-Europe+ Programmes. The purpose was for the Romanian organizations and thus the Romanian society to become familiar with the rules and norms of the community institutions. The building of consortia with European partners was an important way of learning, especially in the field of best practices, since the Romanians were forced to adopt norms which do not belong to them, because they entered an organization with rules established by those who had built it. Some of these

norms have inevitably come into conflict with values, stereotypes and local mentalities, but also with the historical inheritance. This way Romania was asked to give up certain particularities because they did not coincide with the main directions of the accession to the EU. Anyway it is clear that a lucid attitude regarding its own inheritance is needed. The communist inheritance contributed to the particularity of Europeanization process. It is not insignificant that the communist regimes granted Romania the status of developing country because its economy at the beginning of the 90's was, in spite of the accelerated industrialization plans, predominantly agricultural, an inheritance taken over from the pre-war society.

The development gap between Romania and the western European states could be recognized explicitly. The relationships with EC were disclaimed from this position.

The accession to the EU was prepared especially with regard to the democratization of the candidate countries, a process where the international dimension played a decisive part in countries from central Eastern Europe. EU was the most influential external factor in this region. (Raik, 2004, p. 567).

The European Union used instruments of promotion and support of democracy in the candidate countries, one of them being the financial assistance. In the 90's only 1% of the total funds offered by the EU to these countries was directed towards actions in support of democracy (Wedel, 2001, p. 87.). The national states considered European integration a component in the creation of their own democracy. The integration of the candidate states to the EU constitutes a fundamental element of the public discourse, which can produce a certain type of democracy. There is a discourse of European integration (Raik, 2004, p. 573) both in the official discourse and in the debates in the public space. In the discourse regarding the European integration key words have been used: *inevitability, expertise, competition, acceleration, objectivity, conditionality*, terms whose real meaning has not been grasped by the Romanian public opinion. Still, in spite of all this, the polls, either those taken by Romanian institutes or Eurobarometers, indicate the existence of a large number of Romanians in favour of Romania's accession to the European Union. In 2009 the Romanians continue to be optimistic regarding the future of the European Union - 67% (in 2006 the same percentage existed, according to Eurobarometer 66), continue to have a positive image of the European Union - 62%, continue to believe that Romania's membership to the EU is a good thing - 66% and to believe that Romania benefits from its membership to the Union - 63% (Eurobarometer 71).

In exchange, at the European Union level, the optimism regarding the future of the Union is at about the same level (64%), but the proportion of those with positive evaluations regarding their country's participation to the Union diminishes at the level of the entire European Union to half of the polled population. Therefore, 56% of Europeans appreciate that their country benefits from the EU membership, 53% believe that the participation in the Union is a good thing and 45% have a positive image about the European Union.

It is important to show the difference between the favourable public opinion for the EU accession and the real attitude towards the European integration. The positive

image of the European Union is strongly connected to what this means at a personal level. For some Romanians, European Union means freedom of travel, study or work on the EU territory - 47%, democracy - 39%, economic prosperity - 29%, peace - 28%, Euro currency - 27%, social protection - 17% (Eurobarometer 71). It shows that these values are not options for a large number of Romanians, a conclusion strengthened by the appreciations concerning Romania's status within the European Union. Only 41% of the questioned Romanians believe that Romania's voice counts in the European Union and only few over a third (36%) that Romania's interests are taken into consideration by the EU.

A particularity in the Romanian public space remains the absence of Euro sceptics. In fact it is the same situation as in modernity. The Romanian culture has never known anti-modern or anti-western work, only the dispute between traditionalists and modernists. Romania has never organized a referendum for consulting the population over the acceptance of accession to the EU such as for example in Estonia where 67% of the citizens expressed their agreement for their country to enter the EU (Raik, 2004, p. 586).

The Europeanization in Romania occurs primarily in the act of acceptance of the EU norms, because it is the only way to achieve convergence with the European community policies. Not as many initiatives as actions have been initiated to adjust the EU requirements to the internal context.

The postponing of the accession to the EU is qualified as Balkan exception (Papadimitriou, Gateva, 2009), Romania being improperly considered a Balkan country. A decision of an international EU forum, of postponing the accession together with Bulgaria, would constitute an argument for Romania's inclusion in the Balkan space, which is obviously an error. The Balkan exception appears to be derived from the idea that the Balkan countries represent something unique, because of their cultural and political tradition and because of their common history. Historically, Romania's direction was decided long ago, even during the communist period. Since the break of the modern era, the trend of European modern evolution has already been assigned, we would say, unconditionally. The association of the two countries, Romania and Bulgaria, by the EU in the decision for accession at the same date has nothing to do with belonging to the Balkan space. Indisputably, Romania belongs to central Europe and its decoupling in 2004 from the accession with the other 10 countries accepted has, in my opinion, a motivation rather related to its proximity to ex-Soviet states and their relations with the EU. By this, we do not want to deny the significance of the lower economic level of our country in the process of European integration. If we were to compare Romania with Cyprus it is not hard to observe that this country did not meet all the accession standards and was still accepted on the 1st of May 2004.

Europeanization and tendential modernity

The EU accession comes mandatory with the Europeanization process of the whole European space of the new entity. The question is whether Europeanization is a

continuation of the modernization which has taken place historically in each country or it determines a new modernity which comprises the entire EU area?

Modernity actions, embellished by the Europeanization process, take place in the European Union space with effects on the internal policies, structures, norms, state-society relations and internal constitutions in Europe.

All discourses from the Romanian public space invariably associate the Europeanization with a new modernization, showing the existence of a modernization deficit which is expected to be overcome during the European development. The second modernization is in fact the Europeanization of the Romanian society in the long term economic, social and institutional process which will make Romania an organic integrated state in the European space. Romania's integration in the European Union has as primary direct consequence the modernization of the state.

The Europeanization impact on the Romanian society takes place in the context of a certain type of modernity, the tendential modernity. Romania distinguishes itself through a succession of transitions, none of them finalized, because the modernity was and still is a process of institutional political construction which has priority before the economic development. The tendential modernity is a driven modernity, the result of rear guard modernity and not of a progressive modernity. The idea of tendential modernity asserts rather a separation between idea or projects and actions or policies. In this case the ideas are finalized, but not the consequent actions to those ideas. The tendential modernity refers to the actions and the existing ideas of modernity in the Romanian society, actions and ideas which, however, remain partial and not finalized, and the modernity represents more an aspiration, an objective to achieve but never entirely accomplished (Schifirneț, 2009a, 2009b).

The tendential modernity derives from the acts of modernization within a national state and it is the measure of the degree of modernity produced by the national state. The Romanian state has given priority to the national construction and the problems concerning the economic and social development have been postponed or subordinated to the national matter. It is still essential to shape a national identity in the geopolitical context in which the Romanian nation exists.

The Europeanization emphasizes another type of identity, the European identity centred on common values for the entire space of the European Union. The tendential modernity explains the direction towards Europeanization in the context in which the Romanian society has experienced a succession of transitions, none of them finalized. The Europeanization is itself a transition process accompanied by several unknown aspects.

If the Europeanization of the developed countries follows the trend of the second modernity or that of the postmodernism, the Europeanization of the Romanian society takes place under the trajectory of a different modernity than the western one, the tendential modernity.

An argument of this type of modernity is conferred by the Declaration from Snagov, signed on the 21st June 1995 by the representatives of all parliamentary parties, a political document to support the National Strategy of Preparation for Romania's

accession to the EU. In this document it is stated that the common market of EU has been created by states situated on a relatively equal level of technological development and wealth and the acceptance of former communist countries would lead to the functioning of a structure of states with different levels of development. Therefore it has been admitted that as regards the development level and implicitly of modernization, in 1995 Romania was at a level of 1:6 relatively to the EU average and 1:4 compared to Greece and Portugal, the least developed countries of the EU, countries from the south part of Europe. This underlined the difficulties which Romania could meet regarding the establishment of the accession moment around year 2000.

The tendential modernity is also a result of the fact that the Romanian society more or less adopts towards the EU the same visions and attitude as before the accession, dominated by the mentality of the national etatism. Even though Romania was the first former communist country to present in 1995 a sketch of accession strategy to the EU, it did not manage to value this initiative and thus other countries opened in 2000 all negotiation chapters with the EU, while Bulgaria opened 19 and Romania only 9. The Gordian knot of the preparation for the EU accession was the incompatibility of the Romanian economy with the European Union, first of all, because of the slow privatization pace caused by the lack of capital.

As stated above, the modern evolution of the Romanians has become visible mainly in the political institutional construction and not in the edification of the economic frame, because the particularities of historical evolution did not allow a capitalist-like economic development. Indeed, in Romania the modernization was in the first place politically achieved by political groups, whose mentality and behaviour were modern, but without the necessary economic foundation. This direction of modernization is crossing today the Europeanization of the Romanian society, the latter taking place under the same parameters as modernization.

Europeanization depends a lot on the elites and the communication of the Romanian society with the EU structures is mainly accomplished by elites. When we say elite we refer to all categories of elites: political, scientific, cultural, financial, economic etc. In a society of tendential modernity, the elites tend to a stronger compliance to the decisions taken outside the national framework. In fact, today we assist to the spatial organization of the elites in special structures. The financial technocrat elites claim specific spatial requests, regarding the material support of their interests and practices: „In short: elites are cosmopolitan, people are local. The space of power and wealth is projected throughout the world, while people’s life and experience is rooted in places, in their culture, in their history” (Castells, I, 2010, p. 446). Although oriented towards the exterior, the Romanian elites are not entirely cosmopolitan, they oscillate between cosmopolitanism and localism. A part of the elites belongs to the cosmopolite networks, but they do not have enough strength to decisively influence Europeanization. The mass action seems to be more powerful than the pressure from the elites in the Romanian society, currently situated in the tendential modernity stage. The role of elites in the Europeanization of the former communist countries has been argued, elites who have internalized the negative political culture oriented towards populism and nationalism

(Gallina, 2007, p.75). In this context, positive and negative Europeanization are discussed. The first is conferred by the EU accession and the second takes shape from the nationalization of the political issues. The behaviour of the elites from these countries is immoral, of fight for the political power in contrast with the moral principles of the liberal democracy. The tendencies of the „negative Europeanization” can be found in Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Slovakia. These tendencies do not only include the Euro scepticism, but the whole conduct of rejection of the projects and acts of integration in the EU. The negative Europeanization derives from the internal policies, based on populism, polarity and nationalism (Galina, 2007, p. 84). The Romanian elites are not Euro-sceptic indeed, as proof stands, there is no party without a European program to which the electorate can adhere. Through the clientele effect of a good part of the leading elites, the European spirit is being deformed and thus, they produce a „negative Europeanization”.

Europeanization will occur inside a profound Romania, a very complex and contradictory reality. The EU integration is expected to produce, at least in the beginning, a cleavage between the elites and the profound Romania.

Some of the EU member states, especially the ones in the south of the continent, have experienced the tendential modernity. Because of the historical particularities, these countries have regions, for instance the south of Italy, where the civic organizations are missing, which explains the inefficiency of the political institutions (Putnam, 1993), which are still in the phase of the tendential modernity, so that many elements of modernity cannot coagulate as stable structures in all social sectors. The modernity slowly and with difficulty penetrates a complicate network of social-institutional structures of the traditional society.

The fall of the communist regime has created huge and unimagined hopes, many of them being pressed intensely on a deeply frustrated population, because of several privations imposed in the period before 1989. One of these hopes was the free circulation/mobility in Europe.

Non-economic internal factors have influenced the post communist evolution in the absence of a truly functional market economy, in all social structures. One of the strongest non-economic factors has always been politics. The post communist period has revealed the importance of the political competition in the functioning of the society on the principles and standards of democracy.

The expression of tendential modernity is to be found in the specificity of the power alternation process in Romania. The vote for change did not belong to a powerful opposition to the governing party but it has been exercised as a negative reaction towards the governments. It was not the governing programs that got the votes, these being in fact too little discussed by the political competitors and the public opinion.

The question arises whether Europeanization in Romania in this historical context seems to be rather an experiment than a process of changing ways of thinking, individual conduct of a great mass of the Romanians? The reference to the experiment has in sight the translation of some consequences, resulting from the Europeanization constraints towards other groups whose European awareness is not consolidated yet. The

population is not informed or consulted regarding issues concerning integration and Europeanization. Because the Romanian society has historically subscribed to model of modernization mainly different from the western one, Romania ended up manifesting its position through inhibitions and even passivity sometimes, in stating clear the requests which result from the status of being a EU member. That conscience of European, found in the proper European conduct of de facto and not only de jure member of the European community, does not even exist in the case of elites. In the Romanian public space, ideas about the EU, the Europeanization and development are being discussed, but these do not translate into actions of influence of the European policies with direct effects on Romania and on the EU.

Another characteristic of the tendential modernity is given by the low visibility of the reformers in the public space and in the act of the political or governmental decision. Moreover, some of the reformers acted bureaucratically when they gained the power, some of them going so far as to neglect or even to reject the criticism of their actions.

The tendential modernity is best illustrated by the attitude of the leading groups towards the way the benefits resulted from the status of member should be highlighted. There is a clientele system historically constituted, perpetuated after the country's adherence to the EU as well, in fact a continuation of the patrimonial and neopatrimonial state, where the centre of the political and administrative power is dependent on the „the arbitrary of the local feudals” (Țăranu & Stănciugelu, 2009, p. 10). For instance, the uninominal vote and the direct popular legitimacy, democratic values, are distorted so that, they contribute to the increase of the local power through the appearance of informal institutions in parallel with the formal administration institutions.

Even though it is a new modernity resulted from structural changes in the Romanian society, derived from the quality of EU member, the Europeanization takes place in the own benefit of the cliental groups whose own position, for instance, should be strengthened by attracting European funds, not only in Romania but in the whole European space.

The fundamental factor with direct influence on Europeanization is the perpetuation in time of the rural civilization and culture, resistant to the modern values. The process of modernization has taken place in an agricultural society lacking financial sources and thus of capital and of resources for a capitalist development, which determined the modernity to be tendential.

The Europeanization takes place mainly at political and institutional level in a society with strong rural life and with different values from those characteristic to a society with organic modernity. As already stated, the adoption of clear decisions regarding agriculture and the village has been postponed for two hundred years. (Schifirneț, 2007, 2009b). Romania has experienced modern transformations, some of them substantial but they have managed to reach the rural community only to a low degree. This can be explained through the fact that „the expropriation of the peasants and their transformation in agricultural proletarians” has not been accepted. (Georgescu, 1992, p. 143). The modernization has been made only for the real benefit of an outnumbered group and the rest of the population, predominantly rural, had to bear

with the exorbitant costs of the maintenance of some institutions, which did not contribute to modernization for the benefit of the state.

The Europeanization of the Romanian society takes place over the contemporaneous village, which is subject to chaotic changes because of the modernity deficit, resulting from giving up the great agricultural property and returning to the individual property, a generator of tensions and deformation, of underdevelopment and poverty. There is a latent conflict between the EU directions of sustaining the great property and the conservation of the small agricultural property in Romania. The financing strategies for the Romanian agriculture, including those of the EU, have proved efficient, given the share of agriculture in the GDP and the occupied population in this sector- 40%.

Europeanization takes place in a society which encounters several gaps, contradictions and discrepancies; because the state has had limited resources and the social Romanian actors could not have access to external resources, except in insufficient percentage. The state has controlled any act, regarding the allocation of resources, including the European funds. Because through privatization large sectors of the economy have been transferred in the property of foreign companies, the Romanian state lacks the force of its own economy and production. Today the Romanian state administrates only an underdeveloped agriculture and precarious public services. In Europeanization, the multinational companies which have become owners of the industry and of the Romania's natural resources play an important role (Schifirneț, 2009b).

It is not insignificant that some Romanians have taken the way of Europeanization by getting employed in the European space in order to achieve professional aspirations. The working migration in other EU member states is based not on the level of incomes but on the experiences related to the workplace. Europeanization will be achieved probably with this critical mass. If the indigenous model of modernization has been applied by the elites by forcing the mass to change, Europeanization will be made by the cohorts of migrant workers in the European countries.

Romania modernizes and europeanizes at a different pace, according to the social environment. A part of the private sector europeanizes faster than the state sector. The big cities have a much faster speed of European modernization than the small towns. The hardest situation is the one of the village, because of the accumulation of deficits of modernization, caused firstly by its inability of adapting to the economic and technological evolution nowadays.

Conclusions

Because of the fact that after the European integration Romania will still continue to be a society in transition, the most critical and relevant problematic regards the dependency of the Romanian society on the strong societies in Europe. Under these circumstances, the question is, whether Romania will represent a periphery of Europe or a national community with a European standard of development. Europeanization in its real sense

does not mean “westernization”. Romania needs to value its national advantages if it wants to participate actively in Europeanization and globalization.

If this new modernization will be achieved only by the strict application of the rules of the European Community, it risks leading to shapes without content, as those generated by the indigenous modernization. The Europeanization cannot be reduced to putting into practice the Brussels decisions and leading to transgressions which can create rejection reactions. This way we will have a bureaucratic modernization, based on schemes and plans, which will not respond to the challenges derived from the evolution of the profound Romanian society in the new context of Romanian integration. It remains important, that the European institutions understand that the Europeanization of the Romanian society can be beneficial both for the Romanians and for all Europeans, only as far as it responds to the real necessities of the Romanians.

Through the adherence to the European Union, Romania has the chance to put an end to the successive transitions known over its modern history, generators of tendential modernity. The Europeanization constitutes the fundamental purpose of the modernization processes of the Romanian society. Anyhow for the European integration, the Romanians have no other way but the Europeanization of the society in all its components.

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