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Table of Contents

Peace Education and Conflict Resolution: A Critical Review

(Ali Askerov)

5-35

Towards the sustainable concept of tourism development in Posavje region in Slovenia

(Božidar Veljković)

(Milan Ambrož)

36-59

Europeanisation of civil society sector in Central and Eastern Europe

(Mateja Rek)

60-86

PEACE EDUCATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Ali Askerov¹

| 5

Abstract

This article critically discusses peace education and its role in conflict resolution. Peace education is a powerful tool for social and personal change. The basic assumption about peace education is that the more people study and learn, the more capable they are to address issues and problems peacefully on different levels. The need for peace education exists in every aspect of our social lives. Also, it calls for a new awareness of how people think and tell their stories, which involve a highly developed sense of self and other. It deals with the movement from violence to nonviolence, which is tightly related to the process of learning and awareness. Is peace education, then, for everybody regardless of age, gender, social status, race, religion and ethnicity? This article is a critical analysis of peace education and the role it plays or may play in conflict resolution.

Key Words: peace, education, change, nonviolence, resolution

Introduction

Education is life itself

-John Dewey

Peace education is defined as a philosophy and a process involving skills such as listening, problem-solving, cooperation and conflict resolution (Harris, 1996). The process of peace education means empowering people with skills, attitude and knowledge to create a better and safer world (Harris and Morrison, 2003). The philosophy of peace education, on the other hand, teaches people nonviolence, love, compassion, and reverence for all life (Harris and Morrison, 2003). The

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major purpose of peace education is to confront indirectly violence in societies by teaching people about its causes and providing them with knowledge of alternatives (Harris, 2002). Peace education also seeks to transform the present conditions by changing social structures and patterns of thought that have created them (Reardon, 1988).

One of the major aims of peace education is to create in the human consciousness a commitment to the ways of peace. Students in peace education classes learn how to deal with conflicts nonviolently by motivating people to choose peace when faced with conflict. It can be argued that education about nonviolence can help counter violence largely. As Galtung pointed it out years ago, the goal of peace education should not be just to stop the violence, but rather to prepare children psychologically to learn how nonviolence can provide the basis for a just and sustainable future (Galtung, 1976).

The concept of peace is sometimes misunderstood, due to the fact that in the modern world understandings of peace vary from culture to culture, from context to context. For some people peace is absence of war, whereas for others peace means much more than the absence of war. Peace researchers have pointed that peace has both negative and positive connotation (Galtung, 1996, Harris and Morrison, 2003). In negative terms, peace means stopping some form of violence. Peace also has positive connotations involving justice, respect for human rights and rights for equal political participation. Kovel, for example, defines peace as a state of existence where neither the overt violence of war nor the covert violence of unjust systems is used as an instrument for extending the interests of a particular nation or group. As he argues, it is a situation where basic human needs are met, where conflicts are resolved through non-violent means, and all resources are shared for the benefit of all people. Put simply, peace is a concept that connotes more than a violence free situation (McIntire et al., 1976).

The simplest meaning of peace education refers to teaching about peace: what it is, and how to achieve it. Diamond and McDonald refer to education/ research/ training as one of the nine tracks that are necessary for successful peacemaking (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). The main idea here is to generate and transfer information about issues of peace and conflict, as well as peacemaking and conflict resolution.

This track suggests policy or action implications arising from that information. The basic assumption is that the more people study and learn, the more capable they are to address the problems on all levels. Studying the problems in details helps with producing alternative ways of resolving conflicts as well. It is argued that in order to change the world for better we must begin by educating people. The field of education is seen by Diamond and McDonald as a subsystem with basically two structural components: think tanks and educational institutions. The first includes research, analysis, and study programs, whereas the latter includes K-12, colleges, and universities offering instruction in peace and conflict resolution issues (Harris and Morrison, 2003).

G. Salomon (2002) argues that the scholarly aspect of the field of peace education is not as developed as its practical aspect. This fact results in some conceptual confusion related to its definition and goals that are well indented but not very clear. Insufficient empirical examination of the field does not allow us to perceive how effective the practice of peace education is. He also argues that there are basic conceptual distinctions between different types of peace education as they rely on different programs in different regions (Salomon, 2002).

Moreover, G. Salomon (2002) argues that peace education is not a single entity at least because peace itself has more than one meaning, as well as it is contingent on a context in which peace education takes place. Above all, as aforementioned, there is a distinction between positive and negative peace, where the former denotes collaboration, integration, and cooperation, and the latter denotes the absence of violence (Galtung, 1996). A second distinction relates to the sociopolitical context where peace education occurs (Rouhana and Bar-Tal, 1998). These might be regions of intractable conflicts, regions of ethnic or racial tensions, and regions of tranquility and cooperation. A third distinction pertains to the levels: local and global. Moreover, another distinction can be made between the political, economic, and social status of peace education participants. The most important distinction out of all these, according to Salomon (2002), is the sociopolitical one that determines the challenges peace education faces, its goals, as well as its ways of treating the different subgroups of participants.

Peace education is a broad field that combines many different academic fields, as well as it is taught in very different places such as day care centers, high schools, universities and informal places. Jan Maasen defines the main questions for peace education that are related to its contribution to the extension of the peace culture, as well as prevention of social polarization (Maasen, 1996).

Aspeslagh and Burns (1996) note that survival in the world is not only threatened by the possibility of wars between nations, ecological disaster, etc., but also by the erosion of human dignity, human rights and human aspirations. In this sense, peace education is essential for the service of human betterment in moral and ethical sense (Aspeslagh and Burns, 1996).

K. E. Boulding (1991) discusses the concept of stable peace that he defines as a situation between two independent nations in which none of them has a significant plan to go to war with the other. He argues that the study of stable peace that would contribute to international peace tremendously has been neglected for about 150 years. Stable peace has happened spontaneously as a learning pattern in national behavior, and is not related to any peace movements and organizations. There are a number of the conditions necessary for stable peace to appear, one of which is that change in the positions of national boundaries be removed from national agendas. Another condition is related to the intervention of one nation state into the domestic affairs of the other nation (Boulding, 1991).

V. F. Armengol argues that the conditions for a peace culture are also the conditions for social learning (Armengol, 1991), whereas E. Boulding notes that a peace culture is a learning culture that is a bridge between heart and mind preparing for change and difference (Boulding, 1991). C. Satha-Anand, on the other hand, calls for a new awareness of how people think and talk that involves a highly developed sense of self and other (Satha-Anand, 1991). The movement from violence to nonviolence is therefore tightly related to the process of learning and awareness. Learning as a process and awareness as an outcome are not related only to education of peace, they are also related to the awareness of the power to deference. As, for example, M. Gandhi argued, it would be impossible for the British to rule India by physical coercion alone. If the

Indians withdrew their consent to the British rule, its power would disappear (Grover, 2002). It might happen nonviolently because British physical power was based on obedience of people which if withdrawn would cause Indian independence. The history proved that this approach was correct in Indian case. T. Hobbes argued that power requires deference, and it is based on honor and obedience (Hobbes, 1968). In this sense, peace education may play a vital role in teaching and preparing people about their potential to deal with coercion, and empowering them to handle their differences nonviolently.

Goals of Peace Education

Peace education is a purposeful activity, the main aim of which is to achieve certain short- and long-term goals related to peace and non-violence at all levels starting from interpersonal to societal and global. Peace educators must address the immediate dangerous situations in the world, as well as to create in human consciousness the permanent structures that strengthen basis of peaceful coexistence which is instrumental for transformation of human values to promote nonviolence (Harris and Morrison, 2003).

Harris and Morrison (2003) discuss both short and long-term goals of peace education. The immediate tense situations should be addressed in the classrooms or workshops, the longer-term goals, however, are to create permanent human consciousness about peaceful coexistence helping to transform human values to promote nonviolence. Peace education warns people about the danger of their own destructive fantasies, and develops alternatives that make people peaceful in terms of their mind and behavior. Harris and Morrison (2003) have figured out a number of main goals of peace education to achieve immediate or long-term objectives. Those are evaluating the richness of the concept of peace, addressing fears, providing information about security, understanding war behavior, developing intercultural understanding, promoting social justice, stimulating a respect for life, and managing conflicts nonviolently (Harris and Morrison, 2003).

The wide variety and diversity of the goals of peace education show that it is a broad field combining many different academic disciplines. The process of liberating people from the old ways of thinking that bring

about aggression is not easy and straightforward, rather it requires great effort and ability that rest upon hard work and careful elaboration of a number of disciplines.

Teaching Peace Education

Teaching peace education essentially is not different from teaching conflict resolution. However, it can be different at certain points, since both of them involve many different disciplines. Both of them are about philosophy and process, but unlike conflict resolution, peace education is primarily about a realization of the power of nonviolence and a wish to promote social change (Harris, 2002).

Peace education also contributes to the in-dept analysis of root causes of the problems that bring about severe conflicts. Without understanding more fully the root causes of problems, for example, violence, formulating effective means to deal with it would be difficult. Therefore, it can be argued that peace education starts with studying world order with its character and institutions, because students must have an understanding of the strength of world institutions promoting world order and also the limitations of them. Education about the international order also enlightens students about the world with basic human needs (Azar, 1997, Burton, 1990), cultural differences (Avruch, 2003, Ross, 2007), and different political contexts. The importance of “global citizenry” (Harris and Morrison, 2003:123) is a result of interests in world order. It raises the notion of loyalty that extends beyond the boundaries of an individual country and culture to embrace the world as a single community. The notion of “species identity” put forth by Elise Boulding indicates the common identity of all people of the world (Boulding, 1988). Peace education, therefore, provides students with an awareness of the problems that confronts the world people rather than people of certain regions or countries.

Harris (2002:19) has pointed out “peace education is not *pacifism education*”. It does not intend to make people quiet, complacent, and content, rather it instructs them about strategies that can be used to address the problems. For example, Mohandas Gandhi used nonviolence to overthrow the British Empire in India, and Martin Luther King used it in the Civil Rights struggle in the US.

Peace Education and International Entities

The role of international organizations such as the UN, as well as nongovernmental and grass-roots organizations in peace education is remarkable. E. Boulding argues that successes of the important organizations such as the UN in dispute settlement and in promoting special assistance programs to particularly deprived populations such as women, children and refugees, are far more numerous than the failures, however it is the failures that are publicized (Boulding, 1987).

International nongovernmental organizations are part of a civilian grass-roots movement in the world (Tanqeren et al., 2005). They promote peace and justice, and the rise of the civilian movement in the world is very rapid. Boulding (1995) argues that the fast growth of NGOs is partly due to the women's groups that began at the end the twentieth century in the age of social reform. NGOs are seen as networking systems contributing social welfare and peace and justice among the people of the world (Boulding, 1995).

R. Aspeslagh (1996) argues that culture and internationalization is now gradually becoming a core of peace education. It is not, therefore, possible to ignore the role the nation-states on global peace. The role of nongovernmental organizations and movements in peace education is important, however, this doesn't necessitate denying the role of nation states in both positive and negative sense. If the notion of nation states still is in force, its impact on transnational movements is inevitable. The power, for example, of an informed international public opinion in influencing governments towards peace and nonviolence is huge. Obviously, this and similar questions raise the problem of legitimization of peace education.

Legitimacy of Peace Education

R. J. Burns (1996) specifies two issues of legitimacy of peace education. The first is related to the nexus between peace research, peace education and peace action. The major question about the legitimacy of peace education here is related to peace education as an identifiable task distinct from research, but at the same time distinct from action too.

The second question is about the praxis and the knowledge of peace education. This involves generation of peace knowledge for education, teaching approaches, and action framework making the choice of research paradigm important (Burns, 1996). Peace research, peace education and peace action have strong interrelationships, and all they constitute an integral aspect of the search for peace. Peace is a commonality for researchers, educators and activists. As Galtung argues, a strong formula for the content can be developed only by keeping peace research, peace education and peace action together (Galtung, 1974).

Burns (1996) identifies three problems for the legitimation of peace education arising from political will to use education as part of the process of control through its forms, contents and outcomes. The first problem is about legitimizing its epistemological foundation versus other approaches of the peace studies. The second problem is related to the legitimation of a framework of socio-political criticism that exposes structural violence. The third problem is about legitimating an educational process embodying the forms of social action, methods of decision-making, the roles assigned to individuals that are expected to bring about positive peace.

Cross-Cultural Dialogue and the Movement for Restorative Justice

One of the important contributions of peace education is to bring peace to the world through cross-cultural dialogues. The ability to resolve conflict by peaceful means is probably one of the most important skills that one can learn. Cross-cultural dialogue is one of those skills (Tanqeren, et al., 2005). Dialogue helps parties in conflict to liberate themselves from interlocking situations that are dangerous for the possibilities of searching alternatives that allow them to seek a solution to the problem that enables them both to satisfy their needs. This approach would permit the parties in conflict to achieve a gradual agreement effectively without all the transactional costs of digging into interlocked positions (Fisher et al., 1991).

It is argued that the roots of restorative justice are in the world's indigenous cultures where traditional methods of conflict resolution were used to settle the problems (Harris and Morrison, 2003). E. Boulding, for

example, talks about “healing circles” where community elders were listening to the parties in conflict to produce a peaceful resolution to the problem.² The peacemaking activity becomes more successful when it involves a gathering of more than those involved in the conflict. Traditional peacemaking stories told in those kinds of gatherings, and other rituals may seriously contribute to the resolution of the conflict.

The restorative justice model sees conflict as interactive; therefore crimes that individuals commit are accepted as against individuals and communities. This notion makes healing involve necessary recovery to individual relationships as well as to the community. Here the primary goal is reparations and restitution, not punishment *per se*, and in this regards it is the community’s responsibility to insure that victims and offenders are part of the restitution process. Traditional ways of nonviolent conflict resolution are still used in many parts of the world (Fry, 2006). Educating people on the vital role of grass-roots and traditional modes in promoting a culture of peace is important; and peace education plays a vital role in this regards.

Addressing Conflicts through Peace Education

Many scholars believe that education is a possible solution to conflicts an any levels, including ethnic conflicts (Bekerman and McGlynn, 2007). Sustained education is considered as necessary toward peace, but it is not sufficient by itself, since it depends on political, economical and social structures. Peace education needs to struggle against dysfunctional human relationships, as well as commit itself to more critical approaches through which it may disclose the historical forces and political structures that generate and sustain conflict in our world.

In the contemporary world the notion of societal peace has become more elusive, although the number of post-conflict states is growing which are turning from violence to political diplomacy in order to remove

² Elise Boulding, Mary Morrison, Lyn Haas, Cynthia Cohen and Gail Jacobson prepared a peace education curriculum, *Making Peace Where I Live*, a project designed for young people to meet peacemakers and peacebuilders in their own communities. See: http://www.cinfo.org/special_projects/hosted_sites/mapwil/cover_letter.html (Accessed 01.21.2009)

the enmity that has divided them (Johnson, 2007). However, as Johnson (2007) argues, relying on diplomacy as the major channel toward peace is less than satisfactory. In divided states, for example, “where deeply entrenched distrust of “the other” has impeded political progress toward peace settlement... political diplomacy alone is not able to mend the walls of division” (Johnson, 2007:21). As V. Volkan argues, in divided societies, sides hold on to their perception of the other as the enemy by tirelessly venerating their own “chosen traumas” and “chosen glories” (Volkan, 1998). This type of perception keeps going on because an older person unconsciously externalizes his traumatized self onto a developing child’s personality (Volkan, 1997). Zuzovski, moreover, argues that when people continue to harbor feelings of injustice towards “the other”, it is very difficult to negotiate a peaceful coexistence (Zuzovski, 1997). Therefore, to build sustainable peace in divided societies a dramatic change in the collective worldview is needed, and a reframed understanding of the other must be developed (Johnson, 2007). Then, education as a primary conduit for the transmission of knowledge, culture and values acquires extra importance. To succeed peace education must be systematically integrated and politically contextualized. Johnson (2007) among other argue that systemic approaches of peace education must include engagement at multiple levels of government, education ministry, political party systems, labor unions, commercial enterprise, school and university, and family and community.

a) The Integrative Theory of Peace and the Education for Peace

Peace and education are inseparable sides of civilization (Danesh, 2007). The main premise of the Integrative Theory of Peace (ITP) and the Education for Peace (EFP) program is that all human beings relate to themselves, the world, and life through the lens of their specific worldview. The main theme of the EFP is that effective and sustained peace education needs to focus on all aspects of human life: intellectual, emotional, social, political, moral, and spiritual.

As Danesh (2007) discusses, there are four subtheories of the ITP: (1) peace is psychological, political, moral and spiritual condition; (2) peace is the main expression of a unity-based worldview; (3) the unity-based worldview is a prerequisite for creating a culture of peace and healing;

(4) comprehensive, integrative and life-long education within the framework of peace is the most effective approach for a transformation from the metacategories of survival-based and identity-based worldviews to the metacategory of unity-based worldviews.

Based on this theoretical framework, the EFP curriculum is designed to be comprehensive, integrative, all-inclusive, and both universal and specific. It is comprehensive and integrative because it includes all aspects of peace-biological, psychological, social, historical, ethical and spiritual, and integrates them into one whole and all-inclusive framework. The “all-inclusive” aspect of the curriculum refers to the fact that it involves all members of the school community- teachers, students, administrators, and indirectly all parents. The “universal” principles of peace are fourfold: humanity is one; the oneness of humanity is expressed in the context of diversity; unity in diversity is a prerequisite for peace; and peace requires the ability to prevent and resolve conflicts without resorting to violence. Application of these principles is “specific” within every community, as it aims to safeguard and celebrate unique cultural heritage within the context of these “universal” principles.

As Danesh (2007) pointed out, according to integrative theory of peace, there are at least four conditions for a successful peace education program: (1) a unity based world-view; (2) a culture of peace; (3) a culture of healing; (4) and a peace-based curriculum for all educational activities. Education for peace program, in turn, is based on these conditions having four main goals: (1) assisting all members of the school community to reflect on their own worldviews in order to develop a peace-based worldview; (2) helping participants to create a culture of peace in and between their school communities; (3) creating a culture of healing in order to help members to recover from the damages of war and violence affecting their families, community members and themselves; (4) learning how to prevent new conflicts and resolving them by peaceful means (Danesh, 2007).

b) Adult Education

Some scholars discuss the importance of adult education for peaceful transformation of conflicts (Alger, 1996, Houghton and John, 2007, Nolan, 2007). Houghton and John (2007) argue that peace education

opportunities for adults in South Africa are rare, and short-term peace education interventions have limited impact. They also argue that peace education is something more than just acquiring knowledge and skills, because it does require more sustained peace education programs and growth of the peace educator community in South Africa (Houghton and John, 2007).

Nolan (2007), however, discusses adult education and community relations in Northern Ireland. The programs for adults in Northern Ireland include courses related to prejudice reduction, local history, assertiveness training, victim support, equality awareness, mediation skills, antisectarian workshops, listening skills, and so forth. All these courses of peace education make it explicit that integration, not segregation, is the end goal in Northern Ireland, which cannot easily be reconciled with strategies that build upon difference (Nolan, 2007).

Nolan (2007) has put that the peace process in Northern Ireland has been hailed, variously, as the successful resolution to one of the world's most intractable conflicts, and as a failed attempt to reconcile the conflicting claims of the two main ethnonationalist communities. At both these points, education is recognized as a central means. He examines the role played by adult learning. Nolan contrasts two fundamentally different approaches. The first approach is about the power of knowledge to dispel prejudice to create a world of shared values. The second one, however, is about a postmodern acceptance of different cultures that is important for a peace process that builds upon ethnic distinctions. As with the Dayton Accord and with other peace agreements brokered with international assistance, the consociational model of governance has been chosen for Northern Ireland in order to create a political equilibrium between the unionists and nationalists (Byrne, 2001). Such a political framework reverses the direction of previous integrationist educational policies in favor of a celebration of difference, an approach that is fraught with difficulties (Nolan, 2007).

Alger (1996) argues that adult education demands research that empowers local people for participation in peacebuilding. Therefore, there should be a new way of relationship between peace researchers and local communities. However, peace researchers primarily focus their research on the activities of the foreign-policy elites and their institutions

and practices, thus inadvertently serving the knowledge needs of these elite while tending to ignore the knowledge needs of lay people. Serving the needs of people will require peace researchers to be more attentive to the needs and local people, and to help them understand how they are linked to world political, economic and social systems (Alger, 1996).

c) Survival-Unity-and-Identity-Based Worldviews

In education for peace curriculum, three worldviews are identified: survival-based, identity-based, and unity-based. EFP program postulates that all conscious human activities are shaped and determined by our worldview which is an outcome of the education received from our families, schools and communities. Therefore, a comprehensive program of peace education requires attention to family welfare, parenting, school curriculum, pedagogical methodology, community relationships, economic conditions, sociopolitical policies, and leadership practices. In essence, true education is a process of creating a civilization of peace.

The survival-based worldview uses power for domination and control. This worldview is especially prevalent in times of crises and danger, such as natural disasters, terrorism and war. This worldview has existed since ancient times (Danesh, 2007).

The identity-based worldview aims survival, competition, and winning. In this mode, participants continuously strive for individual and group advantages in all realms of life- personal, familial, social, economic, political and so forth. This worldview is characterized by the domination of such issues as individualism, nationalism, racism, and other concepts that separate individuals and groups from each other. Danesh argues that within the framework of survival- and identity-based worldviews, competition, conflict, and even violence are generally the norm rather than the exception (Danesh, 2007).

The third world-view is based on the notion of unity that is related to three fundamental peace-related issues: safety and security for all; encouraging individual and group achievement and distinction; and providing opportunities for a purposeful life in a unified environment. This worldview is known as unity-based worldview within the parameters

of which society operates according to the principle of unity in diversity and holds as its final objective the creation of a civilization of peace (Danesh, 2006).

The EFP curriculum is formulated within the parameters of a unity-based worldview, and its main purpose is to help teachers, students, and staff to create a culture of peace in their school community. A culture of peace and culture of healing expects every single community member to involve in the peace process. The main objective of a culture of peace is to create an atmosphere of mutual trust, respect, and recognition (Danesh, 2007). Cultures of peace and healing require that the school curriculum as a whole be implemented within the framework of principles and mind-set of peace.

Peace Education, Power and Nonviolence

As mentioned above, power and nonviolence have a direct linkage between each other, and nonviolence and peace education are tensely related to each other as well. T. Hobbes (1968), a great philosopher of power, argued that any power would lose its meaning in the case of disobedience of the targeted people. Those who hold power always strive for more power in order to keep what they have gained (Hobbes, 1968).

The central premise of a nonviolent philosophy is that the use of violence is morally wrong. It prohibits any kinds of physical and psychological harm against human beings. Some expand the scope to include not only human beings, but all kinds of living creatures, and even the whole global ecosystem.³ Vellacott (2000) discusses nonviolent action as an agent of social change. It is also a way of life always striving for positive peace (Vellacott, 2000).

As Johansen (2007) discusses, the history of nonviolence has two traditions: the pacifist, and the pragmatic traditions. The pacifist tradition includes ideas and views from religions, philosophies, ethics and

³ The speech of Chief Oren Lyons of the First Nation on this topic at A. V. Centre for International Peace and Justice and the University of Manitoba in 2007 was very remarkable.

lifestyles. The pragmatic school, however, regards nonviolence as an effective and important political tools for communication, social movement, as well as a system of defense (Johansen, 2007).

The history of pacifist nonviolence shows that religious traditions dominating the history of pacifist nonviolence have been important for peace. Although almost all holy texts such as Bhagavad Gita, Bible, Koran, Tanakh, Guru Granth Sahib, Veda, etc. are subject to different interpretations, thus justifying violence in many different ways, there have always been groups of religious believers committed to nonviolence. Within Christianity, for example, churches such as the Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Quakers, as well as religions such as Jainism and Bahai are very firm in their nonviolent views and practice (Johansen, 2007).

The pragmatic tradition of nonviolence has its roots in those segments of society which have fought with peaceful means for freedom, human rights and democracy (Ackerman and Duvall, 2000). Johansen (2007) pointed out that people use nonviolent techniques in most modern social and political movements related to women's networks, trade unions, environmental groups, solidarity movements, and other parts of civil society.

People possess power in relation to one another. One person is powerful because another person is willing to defer to him (Grover, 2002). M. Gandhi, for example, argued in early 1900s that it would be impossible for the British to rule India by physical coercion alone, instead they ruled because enough Indians cooperated with them to make their rule possible. He argued that if the Indian people would withdraw their consent, British power would disappear. It might happen nonviolently because British physical power was based on obedience which if withdrawn would cause Indian independence (Gandhi, 1986).

Allen (2007) argues that Gandhi and his teachings can serve as a valuable catalyst allowing us to rethink our philosophical positions on violence, nonviolence, and education. Especially insightful are Gandhi's formulations of the multidimensionality of violence, including educational violence, and the violence of the status quo. Although Gandhi's peace education offers many possibilities for dealing with short-term violence,

its greatest strength is its long-term preventative education and socialization. Key to Gandhi's peace education means his ethical and ontological formulations of means-ends relations, as well as the need to uncover root causes and causal determinants and to free oneself from entrapment in escalating cycles of violence. Moreover, the dynamic complex relation between relative and absolute truth that includes analysis of situated embodied consciousness, tolerant diversity and inclusiveness, and an approach to unavoidable violence is central to Gandhi's teachings of peace education (Allen, 2007).

J. Johansen (2007) sees nonviolence as antithesis of violence which J. Galtung defined and categorized as direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence (Galtung, 1996). Direct violence is explained as harming people with intention; structural violence is the harm done by socio-political structures; and cultural violence refers to the cultural justification of direct and cultural violence (Galtung, 1969). Regarding nonviolence as antithesis of violence, Johansen (2007) discusses direct, structural, and cultural nonviolence.

Direct nonviolence refers to using nonviolent techniques to influence conflicts peacefully. The nonviolent methods and strategies used to directly confront decisions, laws, and systems that do not treat all humans equally are integrated parts of direct nonviolence. Structural nonviolence, on the other hand, involves the structures in a society that promote cooperation, recognition, reconciliation, openness, equality and peaceful actions in conflict situations. Civil society organizations and other democratic institutions are examples of such structures. Cultural nonviolence, however, includes those parts of the culture that transmit traditions of nonviolent behavior, and praise nonviolent values and qualities. Nonviolent traditions can be found in all cultures, religions and philosophies.

Teaching and Healing, and Forgiveness

Especially indigenous cultures are rich with the traditions of teaching in order to heal. The Indian communities view a wrongdoing as a misbehavior that requires teaching. Navajo culture, for example, approaches justice processes with different values and procedures from mainstream American society, thus making aboriginal peacemaking

different from the Western one. The Navajo Tribal Court has been recognized as a leading justice body among Aboriginal peoples. The strength of Navajo culture is that it copes with a coerced law that makes individual acts criminal, rather than trying to restore them to harmony with others. In Aboriginal cultures, peacekeeping is generally not concerned with such notions as punishment, revenge, control, determining who is right, and so forth, rather it is concerned with the ways that help people mend relationships, and return to harmony (Ross, 1996). The indigenous cultures and knowledge should be taken into account by the practitioners because they explain the shared origins of life, integrity of ecosystems, and bonds of kinship with non-human species (Byrne and Senehi, 2008).

The power of forgiveness in conflict transformation is discussed by many writers (Ehrlich, 1994). In this sense, the role of the family in human development beginning with early childhood is important. I. Harris (2003) discusses the role of morality pointing out that educating for peace is related to the development of human character. He noted that the foundations of peace are established in the early years of a person's development (Harris and Morrison, 2003). E. Boulding discusses that education is one of crafting human beings to become who they are (Boulding, 1989).

Cases of and Examples for Peace Education

C. Moffat (2007) discusses Northern Ireland's integrated schools as one model of peace and multicultural education. He examines possible approaches to the pedagogy of integrated education that brings together the notions of visible and invisible pedagogic discourses. He argues that it is needed to analyze what pedagogy means to teachers and how their practice gives meaning to their educational role. The pedagogical skills of teachers are as important as the school curricula especially in communities that have long experienced division and segregation (Moffat, 2007).

L. S. Johnson (2007) pointed out that the signs of division can be seen in every aspect of Northern Ireland society but especially illustrated in its segregated educational system where children attend separate schools by religious and cultural traditions (Johnson, 2007). In fact, sectarian

attitudes are tacitly reinforced in the educational institutions in Northern Ireland. As Johnson noted, about 95 percent of children in Northern Ireland go to the schools that can be considered “single-identity” schools. Only about 5 percent of all the schools in Northern Ireland are independent or integrated schools. As discussed above, the education system can also play a role in sustaining and perpetuating conflict. For example, this is the case in Cyprus where division among the Turks and Greeks is reinforced not only through the textbooks but also by the ethnocentric tenets that are espoused in the classrooms (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 2000). Consequently, systemic peace education approaches in divided societies has acquired a special importance lately.

Divided societies in post-conflict period struggle against their specific problems related to implementing initiatives aimed at rapprochement. It is argued that the educational system of Northern Ireland has succeeded to some extent to conceptualize and implement systemic peace education. Institutional, curricular and policy initiatives in Northern Ireland to support peace education goals on a system-wide basis is not observed in Cyprus, for example, since political settlement issues remain important in the island so that pursuing system-wide educational efforts is impossible. Political reasons often cause and exacerbate the “us versus them” dichotomy. The psychological separation of students and teachers in divided societies can be more dangerous than the geographic separation. Systemic peace education efforts canalized into addressing the issues of division may contribute to coexistence and creative tensions instead of violence and hatred that deepen separation and alienation (Johnson, 2007).

Feldt (2008) discusses the role of history in peace education in the Israeli-Palestinian context. Israeli and Palestinian histories are vital parts of the conflict between the two groups of people aiming at the destruction of the collective memory of the other. Feldt argues that history's role in peace education is rarely discussed from a theoretical and philosophical perspective but only from a realist and representationalist perspective. Israeli and Palestinian history underwent a remarkable revision during the 1990s and the new histories that appeared were labeled as New History and were generally considered as peace oriented. Peace education seems to be more reflexive in its perspective on history but its focus on recognizing the collective memory

of “the other” fails to recognize the effect of histories on the self before the other. This article suggests a new look at the uses of history in peace education (Feldt, 2008).

Turpin (2008) discusses that the Iliff School of Theology in Denver established a justice and peace concentration within its curriculum to respond to the challenges of racism, class and economic exploitation, sexism, and militarism. The paper discusses the temptations students experience when learning about justice and peace in contexts of privilege, as well as the pedagogical practices that emerged in this particular context, and the failures and limitations of these practices for individual and institutional transformation (Turpin, 2008).

In his article *Educating for Peace*, Almon (2008) discusses peace education intended for children. It is important to put an emphasis on peace education for children not only to educate them in a healthy way, but also to secure their future. Children’s views should be taken seriously in regards to peace and peace education, since conflict harms their psychology and physiology more than other segments of society (Almon, 2008).

Arweck and Nesbitt (2008) discuss that peace is one of the values at the heart of Sathya Sai Education in Human Values (SSEHV), the program of which seeks to promote human values in British schools, as well as in regards to educating pupils from different social, cultural or ethnic backgrounds towards greater tolerance and understanding. The program aims to achieve this as part of the statutory provision of physical, social and health education. Also, it aims the social, moral, cultural and spiritual development of pupils in community schools (Arweck and Nesbitt, 2008).

Sommerfelt and Vambheim (2008) pointed out that numerous educational efforts have been tried in order to address problems of conflicts and violence at various levels of society, and these efforts have been effective to various degrees. They discuss the effectiveness of the Swedish-based peace education project called the dream of the good (DODG), where they apply mind/body-oriented methods to develop non-violent attitudes and behavior in individual students (Sommerfelt and Vambheim, 2008). Smith (2008) discusses how US community colleges

play various roles in American higher education. Due to their wide-ranging diversity and open enrollment policies, they are frequently referred to as democracy's colleges (Smith, 2008).

Page's (2007) works provide some reflection and principles for the efforts of teaching peace to the military. According to him, the phenomenon of military personnel studying peace provides an interesting challenge from a peace education perspective, since the military is an institution that ultimately exists for war. He proposes a number of principles in regards to teaching peace to military that include respecting but not privileging military experience, emphasizing the just war tradition and the awareness of students of the case for nonviolence (Page, 2007).

Harris (2007) discusses the Virginia Tech school shootings of April 2007 and suggests that schools ought to support peace theory. He presents an overview of the three elements of peace maintenance, which are peace through strength, peacemaking, and peace-building. Harris posits that if Seung-Hui Cho, the murderer, had been exposed to peace education, the events could be averted (Harris, 2007). Moreover, Shorr (2007) presents his reflections on the aftermath of the Virginia Tech school shootings of April 2007. He suggests teaching peace education in schools, and highlights the dualistic nature of the pedagogy citing its research and teaching applications. An overview of the method is also presented, particularly in relation to the topic of peacemaking and interaction with such social issues as violence, war and social inequality (Shorr, 2007).

In her *Teaching War Literature, Teaching Peace*, J. Powers (2007) discusses literature taught in three different courses and the peace education approaches used for each, including epics in literature courses, Vietnam War literature, and literature of anger and hope. She recommends the teaching of war literature as an essential part of a peace education curriculum. Devastating events such as the Holocaust, the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombings and the Partition of India should be studied not only as history but also as literature, for deeper truths may emerge from metaphoric representation and descriptive details than can be provided by factual accounts (Powers, 2007).

Zembylas (2007) discusses how educators can use discourses of empathy and reconciliation to problematize the prevailing conflictive ethos in their curriculum and pedagogy. The ideals of empathy and reconciliation are examined through the lens of emotion. Educators should work to contribute toward the goal of reconciliation when conflict and trauma have a social and political manifestation. Zembylas suggests that discourses of empathy and reconciliation in curriculum and pedagogy are critical components of the reformation of peace education goals in a conflict-ridden society because of its power of rediscovery of commonalities with the other (Zembylas, 2007).

Zembylas and Karahasan (2006), a Greek and a Turkish Cypriots, put together an interesting article titled as *The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Pedagogical Practices: towards Pedagogies of Reconciliation and Peace in Divided Cyprus*. The authors argue that being raised in a divided country made people deeply concern with the ideological and affective practices that are used to perpetuate the existing stereotypes about “the other” within each community. They use as a point of departure their own personal narratives depicting the circulation of nationalistic technologies in education. The main argument of the article is that nationalistic education is a problem for achieving of peace and harmony. The authors analyze the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalistic pedagogical practices to figure out ways to disrupt those practices and invoke pedagogies of reconciliation and peace in both communities. They also emphasize the importance of considering personal stories of past trauma in critical terms to help people re-learn the wisdom of forgetting in order to remember that the weight of the past should not stand in the way of the future (Zembylas and Karahasan, 2006).

Biton and Salomon (2006) in their *Peace in the Eyes of Israeli and Palestinian Youths: Effects of Collective Narratives and Peace Education Program* discuss how they studied the effects of the collective narrative of a group in conflict and participation in a peace education program on youngsters' perceptions of peace. Participants in the study were 565 Jewish Israeli and Palestinian adolescents, about half of whom participated in a year-long school-based program; the other half served as a control group. Pre- and post-program questionnaires measured youngsters' free associations to the concept of peace, their explanations

of it, and its perceived utility, and suggested strategies to attain it. Initially, Israeli students stressed the negative aspects of peace, which means absence of violence, and Palestinians stressed its structural aspects such as independence and equality. Both Israeli and Palestinian program participants came to stress more the positive aspects of peace, which means cooperation and harmony, following participation in the program. The authors concluded that peace education can serve as a barrier against the deterioration of perceptions and feelings. It became evident that individuals' perceptions of peace are differently influenced by their group's collective narratives and more immediate experiences of current events. But they are significantly altered by participation in a peace education program (Biton and Salomon, 2006).

Bockarie (2003) argues that African peace education programs have achieved some success, but have not greatly affected oppressive policies in the most parts of the continent. He argues that it is not enough to work in the schools alone, rather educators must go to the wider community and take organizational links into account. Also, in African countries, government programs are sometimes biased, and macro-level factors have deep roots in history that affect current policies (Bockarie, 2003).

According to Weiss and Newcombe (2002), history can be seen as a race between education and disaster. They make an argument that the tragedy of September 11 must not be used as an excuse to start another war. They also argue that, women play crucial role in peacekeeping and promoting peace education. Therefore, their voices must always be built into peacebuilding strategies. The authors have pointed out that peace must be learned, and it is not inherited, therefore peace education is needed in communities as well as in schools. Weiss and Newcombe advocate integrating peace into education extensively (Weiss and Newcombe, 2002).

Conclusion

This essay has intended to examine the substance of peace education and basic concepts and theories related to it in order to examine the role of peace education in social life to address violence peacefully, and contribute to positive and peaceful social change. In essence, peace

education can contribute to the process of change at any level by initiating dialogue across cultures, social attitudes favoring nonviolence, settlement of disputes by peaceful means, acceptance of the rule of law and multicultural understanding (Cabezudo and Haavelsrud, 2007).

Also, education and community education can address the threats of violence by teaching people about alternatives to violence and empowering them to contribute to peace or peaceful resolution of problems. As in John Dewey's philosophy, the primary goal of peace education is about preparing learners- students, adults, parents, children, grass-roots leaders, and so forth- for active, responsible, and democratic citizenship. After all, creating peaceful individuals means creating a peaceful world (Staub, 2002). Peace education's mission to help people create an image of a better future and how to get there has empowering and inspiring effects on them.

Finally, peace education is for everybody regardless the age, gender, occupation, education and social status. It should be started in early childhood, however, because today's children are tomorrow's world citizens (Byrne and Senehi, 2008), and their healthy psychology is highly dependent on their education.

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TOWARDS THE SUSTAINABLE CONCEPT OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN POSAVJE REGION IN SLOVENIA

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Abstract

This study examines the role of a sustainable natural and social environment and contextually developing tourism based on visiting tourist type in tourism development in Posavje region in Slovenia. Overall results suggest that local residents' are generally satisfied with the tourism development. Their satisfaction is based on their quality of life the industry and cultural heritage that attract new tourists. Study reveals the fact that future tourism will be based on sustainable development where quality of life of the local residents has a primary role. The findings suggest that strong knowledge base about the tourists' psychographics changes that could indicate the destination life cycle and help destination managers to design appropriate strategies.

Key words: local residents, tourism development, tourist type, sustainability, planning, knowledge base, behaviour pattern

Introduction

The interest in community tourism has been building over past three decades. For a variety of reasons, many local communities have turned to tourism as a means of economic development. Tourism development evolves out of the urge for an economic benefit, and causes social, cultural and environmental destruction if it is not properly managed. In many cases, it is a vital step to economic growth of a community. It should be a source of new employment, revenues, and the

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enhancement of a community infrastructure that attracts other industries (Lankford and Howard, 1994: 145). Tourism development produces various impacts. Some of them are very positive and others can be very destructive for a local community and can hinder the tourism development. Many communities that enter the national and global tourism market face many difficulties in these areas. Negative impacts on host communities can be lessened by resident involvement in the planning of tourism development (Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001). Further, Thomas and Long (2000) argue that the tourism contribution to sustainable economic development is based on public and private sector attractions that must be nationally and internationally competitive. This is often because they misread the market and the communities' true competitive value. For better understanding of the tourism opportunities good knowledge of trends can lead to a better understanding of the community tourism system and may provide useful information to community and tourism planners (Mueller et al., 1970). In some cases, the tourism development is the only alternative for the local community, and should be carefully considered and researched. Developmental tourism practices that communities can use to satisfy tourists and local residents must be clearly articulated, tested and value based (Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Ambrož, 2008). Otherwise negative developmental and financial consequences can emerge.

The inbound tourism plays an important role in the economic progress of the Posavje region in Slovenia. So the knowledge of the tourist motives, intentions and their personalities that play the major role in the process of decision making about the destination visit, is important variable in determining the tourism development strategy. The knowledge about the necessities of visitors, comprehensive understanding of visitors, industry and services, quality of life and new jobs opportunities can contribute to the development of tourism in the Posavje region. There has not been developed an adequate tool for evaluating a systemic impact of residents' perception on tourism development. Neither standard economic analysis nor the life cycle approaches have yielded satisfactory results.

In this paper, we examine the impact of local residents' perceptions of industry and services, the quality of life, tourist types and job opportunities on tourism development in Posavje region. Our research

on tourism development is geographically specific. However, it is suggested that the principle of resident's perception of tourists as a planning tool is transferable and should be given serious consideration in any established, developing, or potential tourist-recreation region.

The impacts of tourism development

Many communities experience industrial restructuring and turn to tourism as the known contributor to the economy and as the creator of new jobs. Consequently, many residents are exposed to tourism for the first time, whereas established destinations experience increasing volumes of tourists. As the impacts of tourism development are not very well researched and understood, tourism planners are now challenged with understanding how the public perceives tourism in order to gain local support for its development (Harril, 2004). Two decades ago Pearce and Moscardo (1999) recognized the growing interest in tourism research and planning agendas. Along with some other researchers they propose that tourism should foster local community involvement in sustainable tourism development (Pearce & Moscardo, 1996: 31; Ambrož & Mavrič, 2005; Hall et al, 2005; Ambrož, 2008). Thomas & Long (2001) argue that formalized tourism planning that considers key development factors, strengthens the possibilities for a community to benefit from it. When tourism is based on sound planning and managed in a controlled way, it can generate substantial economic benefits. Besides, long-term sustainability of tourism has been the result of the ability of community leaders and tourism managers to minimize its costs. Therefore, it is very important that managers, leaders, and local residents understand the potential impacts of tourism and the importance of its' planning. Quality tourism planning enables them to integrate tourism industry into their community efficiently (Ambrož, 2008).

Due to the complexity of the impacts, tourism planning is a still very important rationale for today. The majority of tourism planners often consider tourism only in terms of economic impacts like the ability to create a new job and as the producer of the additional tax revenue. The range of tourism impact is usually wider and not linked only to economic issues. Additionally, planning is important to create an order in response to social and environmental degradation (Mason, 2003: 66). Williams

(1988) suggested that the goal of modern planning is to seek optimal solutions to perceived problems. It is possible to increase positive impacts of tourism and maximize development benefits that are the foundation for the production of predictable outputs. Wilkinson (1997), Mason (2003), Ambrož (2008), and Ovsenik (2008) suggested that a plan provides the rationale for and details of how to implement tourism within a country or region. Planning should set tourism within a wider economic and social context to secure its growth.

Hall (2000) sees some perspective in the future directed tourism planning. Gunn (1988: 15) shares the similar opinion and sees planning as clearly forward looking requiring some estimated perception of the future. Formica and Kohtari (2008) research suggest that the tourism industry will be facing major challenges and experiencing swift changes that only can be managed by adoption and implementation of proactive strategies. They link this argument to the global economy, changing market demographics, and emerging technology. Buhalis (1999) is more concrete suggesting that future tourism planning must be closely associated with destination marketing. He argues that marketing of destinations supported by new technologies should balance the strategic objectives of all stakeholders as well the sustainability of local resources. Destination marketing must lead to the optimization of tourism impacts and the achievement of the strategic objectives for all stakeholders. Hughes (2004:368) argues that sustainable tourism strategies should be developed not only in conjunction with the public or through public participation, but as forms of tourism development.

Many researchers propose different tools for the measurement of tourism development. Fesenmaier (2009) uses The Tourism Development Capacity Index (TDCI) that is an assessment tool that provides a framework for communities to benchmark or evaluates the impact of tourism development initiatives. TDCI measures change in both organizational and financial resources. Murphy & Murphy (2004) propose real world situations as the learning tool that can help communities to decide what type of development works best for them. Murphy (2003) concentrates on the event capacity of the local community and emphasizes the importance of community involvement through festivals and events sponsored by residents, and the development of local themes in the tourism product.

Butler (1980), Getz (1992), and Agarwal (1997) develops more holistic stance based on tourist area life cycle approach. They view tourism as an evolutionary activity that is constantly changing. The most relevant variable in their concept is the number of visitors as the most relevant variable for tourism planning. Lundtorp and Wanhil (2001) add the time and path measurement of the destination. They identify tourists that return to the destination and the one time visiting tourists, as a base of the future tourism planning. Further, Fariborz et al (2009), show that the sense of community is the other side of equation in tourism development building.

These approaches show that more integrated and systemic approach is needed to develop tourism that is based on the needs, expectations and desires of tourists that visit tourist destination. From this point of view, the identification of the natural and cultural resources which are the main attractions of the tourist destination is the capital question. For example, when deciding on holiday destinations in 2008, most Europeans named the location's environment and its overall attractiveness as the key consideration (31%). Cultural heritage (24%) and entertainment (15%) was the second and third ranked decisions in regard to factors that influenced a choice of destination. Cultural heritage was considered as a relatively more important attraction by those who plan to travel abroad (Eurobarometer, 2009: 47).

Resident perceptions towards the tourism development

The role of residents' attitudes and tourism development

There are many advantages to tourism development when local residents' perceptions about tourists visiting their region, are included in regional tourism planning. Attitudes that are formed out of residents' perceptions are solid base for the development of new tourism products and services. Attitudes have generally been defined as an enduring predisposition toward a particular aspect of the one's environment. This predisposition can be reflected in the way one thinks, feels and behaves with respect to that aspect. Thus, attitudes are structured along three dimensions: (1) cognitive, (2) affective, and (3) behavioral (McDoughall

and Munro, 1987: 87). A cognitive, affective, and behavioral component of attitudes is influenced by a number of factors, including situation factors, the way attitudes are formed, and the importance of an attitude (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980). Ap and Crompton (1993) provide limited support for this model comprising four strategies: embracement, tolerance, adjustment, and withdrawal. In summary, different types of residents cope in different ways with their perceived impacts of tourism development and tourists. By observing tourism development local residents know if they like or dislike it, and may react accordingly. The level of their reaction is likely to depend on the importance that they place on the perceived impact and the likelihood of it affecting their quality of life (Jennings and Nickerson, 2006: 119). Resident attitudes are influenced by the types of tourism and tourism development, by their lifestyles and personal values (Pitts & Woodside, 1986, Belisle & Hoy, 1980). Besides, they are influenced by the perceived community and personal benefits or negative impacts. It is evidently why resident attitudes are used to examine the development of different types of tourism (Bramwell, 2003; Jennings and Nickerson, 2006: 123).

Ap (1990: 615), Pearce et al (1996) and Perdue et al (1999) first recognized that a new theory is needed to address the resident attitudes toward tourism development. Three theoretical approaches and directions followed and were reviewed within the context of lifecycle (Butler, 1980; Doxey, (1975; Androtis, 2005), carrying capacity (Long et al, 1990), social disruption (Mason and Cheyne, 2000), social exchange (Ap, 1990; Ambrož, 2008), and social representation (Moscovici, 1984; Pearce et al, 1996; Ambrož and Mavrič, 2005). Recently, resident attitudes were modeled with the use of structural equation modeling (Gursoy et al, 2002). That type of modeling provides evidence of the importance of different perceived benefits and costs in influencing attitudes towards tourism and makes incremental progress in development of quality tourism planning.

Quality of life impact on tourism development

There is a need for a more systemic and dynamic tool of analysis and planning in order to lead tourism development towards a trajectory that satisfies needs, expectations and desires of both tourists and local

residents. The long term welfare of host communities is a very important goal that increases the possibilities of tourism development.

Economic benefits of tourism are usually considered to improve quality of life. Sometimes socio-cultural, economic, and environmental factors may not be as positive as it is desired by tourism planners (Liu et al, 1987). Jennings and Nickerson (2006:130) identified five factors that dynamically influence the quality of life for residents: a type and number of tourists, a type and number of residents, social exchange relations, social representations, and type of tourism development that can be used as a base for the tourism development. The perception held by local residents about the quality of their life may significantly affect the viability of a region as a tourist region and accordingly the efficiency of tourism development in the region. The results indicate that the perceived impacts of tourism, both positive and negative, increase with increasing levels of tourism (Long and Perdue, 1990). Though a tourism region may contain a wide spectrum and high quality of tourism resources, a distorted image may detract from realizing the potential use or optimum economic development. Wandered and Vogt (2000) argues that communities differ with respect to residents' support of specific tourism development options and attitudes toward tourism. Nevertheless, residents perceive tourism positively and support most specific types of development, especially when residents of the entire community are included in the development process (Jurowski & Uysal, 1997). Dong Wan Ko and Stewart (2002) argued that community satisfaction is influenced by perception of tourism impacts, and may be seriously considered in tourism development planning. Community satisfaction can vary because tourism destinations change over time. Changes are based on a variety of factors. Among them the most important are needs and preferences of tourists, changes in their life styles and changes in the quality of visiting place and facilities. It is often the case that natural and cultural attractions change, and the popularity of the area decreases. Dissatisfaction of residents' often brings distortion in the perception of tourists and tourism development.

Tourist type impact on tourism development

To see the effects of the tourists' presence and behavior on the residents' perceptions and attitudes, we must first analyse the tourist type. The quality of residents' perceptions of visiting tourist is based on the well modeled and developed tourist type. Cohen perceived this problem three decades ago (1988), stating that there is no such person as the tourist. According to Cohen, tourism is a multivalent activity and there is more than one type of tourist that travels. However, in spite of the Cohen's perceptions of a tourist, closer view of the Jacobsen (1996) investigation shows that the tourist is not a de-differentiated entity. Even if tourists look the same, they experience their vacations and the places they visit in a different way. One comes for relaxation, the other for pleasure, and the third to experience some spirituality. Some of them do not really care where they are. As long as the weather is nice and there is something to experience, they stay in the location. From this point of view Lengkeek (2001) reformulates the modes of the tourist experience by synthesis of the self and environment. The metaphorical context has a quality that can be referred to as 'out-there-ness', where no centre is relevant, but only orientations and metaphorical references. However, many researchers tried to develop several tourist typologies describing ideal tourist types (Cohen, 1972, Jafari, 1989; Jokinen and Veijola, 2002; Ambrož, 2005). Confronting an ideal tourist type with an individual tourist, produces the cognitive gap between those two. As a result, the need for constant comparison of these two tourist types is needed in the process of the development of new type of tourism on the tourist destination. Cohen (1972) and Jafari (1989) based their understanding of the individual tourist on his or her concrete experience that why people are attracted to specific destinations. Typifying tourist experiences are a difficult task, because the number of diverse types of destination visitors is growing rapidly and the destination competition intensively increases. However, future tourism planning can benefit from focusing on diverse tourist types on the long run developing the knowledge base for producing diverse tourism products and services.

Some analysts have recognized that an understanding of the tourist experience and the ideal tourist type requires constructing tourist typologies. Pearce & Lee (2005) developed Travel Career Ladder (TCL)

that examines the relationship between patterns of travel motivation and travel experience. Tourists were perceived to have more than one level of travel motivation. People with a higher travel experience level gave more emphasis to motivations regarding a self-development. Cohen (1972) founded his tourist typology on novelty and strangeness that are essential to the tourist experience constructing the organized mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer, and the drifter. The degree to which strangeness and familiarity prevailed in the tourist role, determined the nature of the tourists' experience as well as the effect on the host society. Cohen (1979) further developed five modes of tourist experience by analyzing the different meanings including the interests for culture and social life.

Plog (1974) proposed totally different view of a tourist type because he was convinced that motives of tourists change in time and space. He believed that tourism appeal to specific types of people. These types form a relatively predictable pattern of growth and decline corresponding to the evolution of tourists' psychographics change. Mckercher (2005) agreed that motives and personality form the decision for the tourist destination, but added that destination could offer multi-products satisfying different types of tourists, which influence a tourist decision making process. Further, Crouch (1994) found out that time and space additionally influence a decision to visit particular destination arguing that tourists are more attracted by distant destinations. For example, McKercher and Lew (2003) examined the Hong Kong outbound travellers and argued that the longer the distance they traveled, the longer the duration of stay and the more destinations they visit. Nicolau and Mas (2006) added prices as an important factor that affects tourist destination choice. According to them, choice may be moderated by physical, cultural and interpersonal motivations. Therefore, it can be argued that destination choice involves not only psychological, rational or irrational processes but is also affected by physical distance, cost, and time availability. Reisinger and Turner (1997) suggested that cultural backgrounds may affect motivations to travel to a foreign country after they investigated cultural aspects of Indonesian inbound tourism to Australia. Moreover, according to the study conducted by Kim and Lee (2000), the difference in travel motivation is likely to have resulted from a gap between different cultures. Kozak (2002) found similar results in differences between the motives of British and German tourists.

Finally, we can conclude that the tourism destination visit choice is the ultimate result of the personality, motivation and behavior of a tourist constructed by many influencing factors. A matrix consisting of an integration of personality, motivation and cultural familiarity together, should be considered when analyzing a tourist type and his or her choice for a tourist destination. A tourist type and its cultural, personal, and motivational background form a pattern of tourism types as a knowledge base to plan a tourism development in the particular region. When tourists visit tourist destination new offers can be presented to them based on previous interactions, transactions, and the current context of their interactions. Benefits can be substantial, because in particular case 46% new and 48% old products were sold (Infor Global Solutions GmbH, 2007: 5). Extreme types of travelers deserve special attention because they reflect different types of personality and travel behavior, and they fit differently in the time cycle of tourist destination and determine its success at different times.

Methodology

Instruments and sample

According to the purpose of this study, the overall process of developing the instrument for the study of tourism development was divided into three separate parts. Part one generated sample of items by a literature research and by the similar study conducted by Ambrož (2008). In part two data were drawn from a survey originally administered to respondents in Posavje region in 2009. Respondents were asked to rank their opinions on Likert-type scales and coded as 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). Participants, who volunteered, were asked to respond to a range of questions relating to their views on the tourism development in Posavje region in Slovenia. Respondents were assured that their individual responses would be treated as confidential. The data came from the survey which was administered to a sample of 170 local residents from Brežice, Krško, Brestnica, Kostanjevica, Cerklje ob Krki, Senovo, Dobova, Raka, Jesenice, Bizeljsko, Šentjernej (Table 1). Including the sample of 170 respondents the data were examined using principal component analysis as the extraction method and varimax as a technique of rotation. We did the importance measure in the study through the application of multiple regression analysis.

Table 1: Demographic data

1	gender	men	88 (51.76%)	
		women	81 (47.65%)	
2	age	average in years	34	
		range in years	17-70	
3	time of residence	average in years	30	
4	employment in tourist organization	average in %	7.5%	
5	education	high school	89	51.76%
		college	24	14.12%
		bachelor/university degree	54	31.76%
		master degree	3	1.76%
		doctorate	1	0,59%

Table 1 one shows demographic variables included in the questionnaire. Men and women are equally represented in the survey sample, and the age distribution is in the frame of expected working age. Average time span of residence of local residents' is long enough to clarify the attitudes of local residents toward tourism development. Only 7.5% of respondents work in the tourist organization.

A principal component factor analysis was applied to further purify the measurement of indicators. The factor structure of the study model is proving reliable by the Cronbach's alfa test. Varimax rotation was employed to principal components in order to extract latent factors and to reduce the number of variables. The independent variables and dependent variable were constructed from different sets of indicators:

1. Quality of life in which eleven survey items were found to load with each other factor loading < 0.50. These indicators include: satisfaction with services, clean, neat and tidy place, safety, minor traffic problems, service availability, leisure and entertainment facilities, well preserved natural environment, guarded privacy, enough shopping malls, "green lungs", cultural and other events. Quality of life scale was found to be reliable

with Cronbach's alpha 0.88, and explains 9.46 % percent of reliability in the factor structure. (Table 2),

Table 2: Factor Loadings on quality of life and tourism development

	factor	average	std	Cronbach's alpha
	Quality of life			
1	0.58	4.42	0.74	0.88
2	0.71	4.43	0.76	
3	0.74	4.50	0.82	
4	0.57	4.08	1.03	
5	0.67	4.54	0.70	
6	0.67	3.96	1.00	
7	0.56	4.24	0.97	
8	0.60	4.22	0.85	
9	0.52	4.36	0.85	
10	0.59	4.36	0.81	
11	0.56	4.07	0.84	
	Tourism development			
1	0.66	3.93	0.89	0.95
2	0.57	3.99	0.94	
3	0.70	3.93	0.91	
4	0.76	3.91	0.91	
5	0.72	3.98	0.86	
6	0.78	4.07	0.85	
7	0.75	3.98	0.87	
8	0.77	3.95	0.91	
9	0.58	4.35	0.82	
10	0.72	4.01	0.86	
11	0.78	3.98	0.90	
12	0.72	4.06	0.90	
13	0.79	4.05	0.82	
14	0.74	4.18	0.84	
15	0.77	3.92	0.95	

2. Industry and services in which seven survey items were found to load with each other factor loading < 0.50. These indicators include: higher education, industrial production, culture, high-tech production, agriculture, services, and handicraft. Infrastructure scale loaded on one factor explaining 48.56% of variance with Cronbach's alpha reliability 0.82. (Table 3),

Table 3: Factor Loadings on industry and services

	factor	average	std	Cronbach's alpha
	Industry and services			
1	0.55	4.18	1.00	0.82
2	0.59	3.93	0.90	
3	0.74	4.14	0.83	
4	0.64	3.75	1.03	
5	0.53	4.14	0.87	
6	0.71	4.31	0.70	
7	0.70	4.32	0.72	

3. Tourist type in eighteen survey items was found to load in three factors with each other factor loading < 0.40. Indicators for the cultural tourist type include: peace and relaxation, fun and pleasure, interested in culture, inheritance and history, other cultures, habits and customs, primitive environment and simple social relations, capture many impressions, seek business opportunities, they return every year. Indicators for the adventure tourist type include: short time visitor, adventure and danger seeker, addictions and sex pleasure seeker, constantly mobile. Indicators for the Casual type include: they are on motorcar round tour, come to our country by low-cost plane travel arrangements, are wanderers, are from Slovenia and just drop by. Tourist type scale loaded on three factors. Cultural tourist type scale explains 26.75% of variance with the Cronbach's alfa reliability of 0.82; adventure tourist type scale explains 11.13% of variance with Cronbach's alfa reliability of 0.57. Casual tourist type explains 6.69% of variance with Cronbach's alpha reliability 0.64. (Table 4),

Table 4: Factor Loadings on tourist type

	factor	average	std	Cronbach's alpha
	Cultural type			
1	0.47	4.42	0.78	0.82
2	0.54	3.85	0.90	
3	0.62	4.07	0.81	
4	0.71	3.90	0.89	
5	0.68	3.95	0.81	
6	0.76	4.04	0.81	
7	0.61	3.76	0.90	
8	0.52	3.76	0.99	
9	0.64	3.91	0.84	
10	0.70	4.07	0.87	
	Adventure type			
1	0.70	3.48	1.19	0.57
2	0.67	3.11	1.10	
3	0.65	2.43	1.25	
4	0.49	3.17	0.95	
	Occasional type			
1	0.71	3.51	0.93	0.64
2	0.42	3.04	1.11	
3	0.69	3.24	0.98	
4	0.70	3.62	0.85	

4. The dependent variable of tourism development was constructed from a set of fifteen questions based on the principal factor analysis in which all fifteen survey items were found to load with each other factor loading greater than 0.50. Indicators for the tourism development as the dependent variable includes: realistic and feasible tourism politics, politics that retains young people in the region, tourism opportunities in the region and financial investment in infrastructure. Further, dependent variable includes the realization of entrepreneurial opportunities in the field of tourism, locally managed tourism projects, quality information about tourism development, and effective regional and communal collaboration with a private sector in the field of tourism. Broad and open and well known tourism strategy that is nationally wide enough, inclusion of local residents in the tourism development, and strategic networking in the field of public-private partnership, are the indicators that show the

interconnected tourism development. Additional tourism product development and the production of new jobs show the effective side of tourism development in the region. This tourism development scale was found to be reliable with Cronbach's alpha 0.95, and explains 46.10 % of variability in the factor structure (Table 2).

Regression analysis

The independent variables: quality of life, infrastructure and cultural tourist type are significant and explain 60 percent variance on tourism development ($R^2_{adj} = .60$, $p < .001$). Quality of life explains the highest amount of variance ($\beta = 0.48$, $p < 0.05$). Infrastructure explains 23 percent of variance ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < 0.05$), and cultural tourist type explains 22 percent ($\beta = 0.22$, $p < 0.05$) of variance on tourism development (Table 5). Demographic variable age, education, time of residence, employment in tourist organization and gender are not significant. So we can expect the hypothesis that quality of life, infrastructure and cultural tourist type are positively related to the tourism development. Tourists somehow compete with local residents' when local resources are considered. When there are enough resources and the proper industry and services that assure residents' quality of life, positive attitude toward tourism is developed. Industry and services are important, because they are a base for new products and services in tourism and often attract tourists. The perception of tourist type by local residents indicates the current state of the tourism type in the region. Adventure tourism and daily or occasional tourism are not strongly perceived, thus they are not developed. Due to this it is important to mention, that only a small portion of respondents worked in the tourist organization, and their view of the tourism development in the region does not influence attitudes about tourism development.

Table 5: Regression analysis of the tourism development model

Variable	Beta coefficients	Partial coefficients	t
quality of life	0,48***	0.53***	8.04
Infrastructure	0,23***	0.27***	3.57
cultural tourist type	0,22***	0.28***	3.74
	Regression coefficients		
R ²	.78***		
R ² '	.61***		
R ² adj	.60***		
F	68.45		

*p< .05, **p< .01, *** p<.001

Table 6 presents the tolerance of the independent variables and their variance inflation factors respectively. The *tolerance* of a variable is defined as 1 minus the squared multiple correlation of this variable with all other independent variables in the regression equation. Therefore, the smaller the *tolerance* of a variable, the more redundant is its contribution to the regression (i.e., it is redundant with the contribution of other independent variables). Tolerance of quality of life, infrastructure and cultural tourist type in the regression equation shows that all three substantially contribute to the dependent variable »Tourism development«.

Table 6: Tolerance of independent variables and variance inflation factor

Tourism development	Tolerance	Variance inflation factor (VIF)
Quality of life	0.67	1.50
Industry and services	0.56	1.77
Cultural tourist type	0.67	1.49
Maximum (VIF)		1.77
Mean (VIF) valu		1.59

The diagonal elements of the inverse correlation matrix for variables that are in the equation are also sometimes called *variance inflation factors* (VIF; e.g., see Neter, Wasserman, Kutner, 1985). This terminology

denotes the fact that the variances of the standardized regression coefficients can be computed as the product of the residual variance (for the correlation transformed model) times the respective diagonal elements of the inverse correlation matrix. If the predictor variables are uncorrelated, then the diagonal elements of the inverse correlation matrix are equal to 1.0. For correlated predictors, these elements represent an "inflation factor" for the variance of the regression coefficients, due to the redundancy of the predictors. Essentially variance inflation factors show as to which proportion of the variances of the regression coefficient estimates is inflated as in comparison to a situation where the explanatory variables are not linearly related. In empirical econometrics, it is usually a convention to suspect a very high degree of multicollinearity if the (VIF) is greater than 10. In Table 6, the maximum (VIF) is only 1.77, which is not too far from 1. The mean VIF value is only 1.59, which again is not too large a figure to indicate the incidence of multicollinearity in the model. Thus, the results from Table 6 pass the multicollinearity test.

Discussion and conclusion

In this study, we examine factors that contribute to tourism development in the Posavje region. Though much research has focused on tourism development, the study that includes residents' perception of tourist type is new. In the future all successful tourism destinations will be strongly tourist customer oriented. A tourist type and its cultural, personal, and motivational background form a pattern of tourism types. When we put these patterns in the local or regional environment, we can simulate a model of future tourism development.

In addition, we examine the quality of life and its impact on tourism development to support our hypothesis. Only residents' that perceive quality of their life through services and proper industry and services, have positive attitudes to tourism development. Tourists and local residents' especially in developed tourist destinations compete for the local resources. If there are plenty of resources and are easily accessible, residents' attitudes toward tourism are positive. When the situation is reversed, residents' have difficulties to see any benefits from tourism development. As we already found out, no demographic variables significantly explain tourism development. The main reason is

that very little respondents in the study really have some income from tourism. Future research on much wider population might reveal opposite results.

This study reveals that local residents' were generally satisfied with the tourism development. They see resources for its development in the future. We did not see any statistical relationship between time of residence and tourism development, though all generations were included in the study. It seems that when quality of life is somehow on the accepted level, and there is enough industry that produces jobs, a potential for tourism development is growing. There are no differences regarding male and female residents, the age of residents and their education. When we summarize, we can conclude that future tourism development will be based on sustainability and the quality of the local natural and social environment and its potential resources. Constantly developing tourist destination will further build the potential for production of new products and services shaped by ever changing tourists' needs, expectations and desires.

There were few limitations in the study. The project was pilot by nature. More sophisticated and extensive research is needed to understand the influence of images and attitudes of local residents' toward tourism. The data set was limited in terms of providing heterogeneity in the education variable. More than fifty one percent of respondents have high school education. Although our regression model does not identify education as a significant variable in explaining tourism development in the region, we believe a more heterogeneous sample with respondents with higher education might offer some insights in the role of education in predicting future tourism development.

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EUROPEANISATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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Abstract

In postsocialistic period, the civil society sector in countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) experienced a series of transformations of both functional and normative nature. In these processes it is difficult to overlook the importance of exposure to Western concepts of understanding and organizing civil society, while the effects, which occurred due to the inclusion of CEE countries to European Union, take privileged place. The purpose of this article is a.) to determine what where the effects of the EU accession processes on the development of civil society in the CEE countries; and b.) to assess the extent and quality of involvement of civic organisations from countries of CEE into transnational European civic networks.

Key words: civil society, transition, East-Central Europe, europeanisation, EU

Introduction

After the disintegration of socialist regimes in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) more favourable political and social conditions have incurred for the development of diverse and plural civil society sector and for citizens to form different civil society organisations (CSOs) and participate in various fields of policy processes in these countries. We use the term 'civil society sector' or 'organised civil society' to refer to a "broad array of organisations that are essentially private i. e. outside the institutional structures of government; that are not primarily commercial and do not exist primarily to distribute profits to their directors or owners; that are self-governing; and that people are

free to join or support voluntarily” (Salamon, 2003, 4). Additionally, our understanding is grounded in theories that claim, that these organisations are characterized by their intermediary role. It is assumed that they can act as a bridge between the grassroots of the society and political institutions, where policy making that affects the whole of the society takes place. Pestoff (1992) takes a bit broader approach, stating that CSOs mediate between the family and the local community, state and market and as such mediate between the formal and informal, public and private, and profit and non-profit. Finally their intermediary role can be understood also in Berger and Luckamns' (1995) understanding of 'intermediary institutions' mediating between individuals and established action patterns. They provide individuals with the opportunity to express their personal values and to contribute to the value system of the society. By doing so, they contribute to the production and dissemination of meaning.

After the breakdown of the socialist regimes, a foundation boom of CSOs took place. It was triggered by societal interests, needs and desires, which were going along with the process of political and social change from authoritarian to democratic rule. However, as Mansfeld et al (2004) point out, civil society in CEE countries did not start from scratch in 1989. There already existed traditions of civic engagement and non-profit activity that originally were affiliated with social movements, the churches or the gentry. But the characteristics of these activities differed greatly from those in democratic systems. One of major distinctions was the level of differentiation of civil society and freedom of civic activities. While in socialist regimes one can talk about a »forced homogenization of civil society« (Mansfeld, 2004: 102) and mandatory participation in state-controlled civic organizations (Howard, 2003) the tendency of competitive democratic systems is focused on the internal differentiation of civil society as well as freedom of choice and freedom of participation in public activities.

The nature of CSOs which under socialist rule had been subordinated under “mass social organisations, which closely adhered to the ideology of the ruling party” (Kubik, 2000) started to change in the 1980 and even more radically after the breakdown of the former regimes. They have experienced a series of transformations of both functional as well as normative nature. In these processes it is difficult to overlook the

importance of exposure to Western conceptions of civil society. Particularly in the 1990s foreign donors were eager to supply financial assistance to CSOs as this was seen as a good way to promote democracy. Among Western impacts on the development and organizing of civil society sector in CEE those that accrued due to association processes of CEE countries to the European union take a privileged place (see for instance Schimmelfening in Sedelmeier, 2005; Petrova in Tarrow, 2007; Glenn, 2008).

The purpose of this article is: a.) to determine and summarize the effects of the EU association process on the development of civil society sector in CEE countries; and b.) to assess the extent and quality of involvement of CSOs from CEE in European transnational civil society networks.

Based on the analysis of relevant literature, data and case studies, and own study - focus group: *Social capital, civic involvement and quality of governance in the European Union*, which was held in December 2005 in Brussels (Rek, 2007) in the framework of the EU's 6th framework CONNEX project – we will be looking for basic characteristics of »Europeanization« of civil society sector in CEE countries. Additionally we will be interested in the ways and extent of involvement of CSOs from CEE into transnational civic networks organized at the EU level. We will be especially interested in the conditions of such participation as we would like to understand, whether CSOs from CEE have developed capacities to function as equal partners in European associations and as such represent interests on people from CEE in similar manner as their counterparts from older, already established European democracies do.

The process of Europeanization

For decades, European studies have mostly been concerned with explaining European integration and Europeanization processes themselves. Debates between neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism, and the 'multi-level governance' perspective were evolving around the question of how to account for the emerging European polity. But most of the literature studying the effects of EU membership on the new member states used the Europeanization framework to assess patterns of policy transfer, the scale of domestic adaptation and the institutional and administrative capability of the new members to meet EU standards

as defined by 1993 accession criteria agreed in Copenhagen and the European Commission's prescriptive advice which framed the accession negotiations. Additionally, the literature on post-communist democratisation has focused mainly on the role of political parties and developments in institutional designs of individual state actors, while despite the importance of civil society and organised interests in a participatory model of democracy, few studies have analysed the impact of EU membership on interest intermediation in the new member states in a theoretically informed way and from a comparative perspective.

We should point out, that the scope of the use of the term Europeanization is broad and diversified (Fink-Hafner in Lajh, 2005, 17). Thus, in the scientific literature it is not possible to find a uniform definition of the concept of Europeanization, but it is defined in multiple ways and without clear boundaries. For some authors (see Cowles et. al, 2001) Europeanization means simply the transfer of decision-making authority to the EU level. The main problem of such an understanding is that we nearly equate the process of Europeanization with the process of European integration itself and the two concepts become substitutes for each other. Then there are authors who see Europeanization as a two-way process in which simultaneous influence between the Member States and the EU level arises (see Bomber and Peterson, 2000). While we can argue for the idea, that both levels influence each other, the difficulty of this approach remains the operationalization of this idea and particularly the creation of a constructive research strategy. Where do we begin to search for the cause and consequences of changing processes, when both units of the multilevel system of governance are interconnected?

Due to the problem of determining the dependent and independent variables, a number of authors prefer to understand the concept of Europeanization as a progressive influence of the EU on national and sub-national actors, their legal forms, decision-making and policy processes (as "top down" process). In this context Europeanization is regarded as a process through which the processes of European integration penetrate into the national sphere and, under certain circumstances, lead to the adaptation of domestic institutions, decision-making procedure and policy processes (see for instance Rometsch in Wessels, 1996; Hix and Goetz, 2001; Mair, 2004). However, the authors,

arguing for “top down approach” to studying Europeanization, differ depending on what they give priority to – some focus on the mechanisms of these processes, other on the effects.

But the experience of new member states showed that Europeanization is not limited only to the member states of the EU. The effects of Europeanization are even much easier to identify in the candidate countries as "a more fresh, extensive, and abrupt adaptation" Pridham (2001, 52). This is where the enthusiasm over linking Europeanization especially with new members, or even more specifically, new members from former socialist block, derives from. The fact that in the period of transition to democracy, when changing the whole of political and economic system, a whole series of institutional and regulatory changes have been made in these countries attracted a series of researchers studying the process of Europeanization. Due to the associational processes of countries in CEE to EU, these countries and their political, economic as well as civil society structures were pushed in the direction of greater convergence with various institutional models that exist and are in fact also constantly changing within the EU¹. Direct institutional adjustment at the national level as well as adjustments in individual public areas, were namely requested from the accessing candidate countries already before their full membership in the EU. Therefore, it was argued, “the candidate countries were subject to almost the same adaptation pressures of Europeanization as member states” (Fink-Hafner and Lajh, 2005, 29). Grabbe (2003) even believes that these pressures are basically the same as in the case of old member states, but broader and deeper in extent. In this context she defines Europeanization as "the impact of EU accession process on national patterns of governance in CEE" (Grabbe, 2001, 1014).

The EU is therefore often seen as a catalyst and facilitator of the transition to democracy. By pressuring on candidate countries to meet certain criteria, EU encouraged democratic development, respect for

¹ It is assumed that non-compliance would cause an adjust pressure comes. Hence, "lower than compatibility (consistency) between the European and national institutions, the more adaptation pressures" (Caporaso et al., 2001, 7).

fundamental human rights, and opening of the political system in these countries (see for example, Perez-Barragan, 2005; Bulmer and Lequesne, 2005; Knill, 2008; Iancu, 2009). This certainly does not mean that the effects of those processes were uniform. As we will argue in the next chapter, we can describe the process of Europeanization of civil society sector in a similar manner as Fink-Hafner and Lajh (2005) describe the case of political institutions: "The dynamics of adjustment of domestic political institutions is the result of both domestic (endogenous) and external (exogenous) factors, as well as the mutual interaction between both" (Fink-Hafner and Lajh, 2005, 116).

In addition, we cannot overlook the fact that "a united Europe is still a project of social elites, not the broad population" (Adam, 2008). The European Union is without a doubt a structure that was constructed on the principle of "top down" approach led by the new Eurocratic structure (Van Deth, 2006; Velikonja, 2005). One of the main challenges of Europeanization, therefore, remains social integration, as well as the formation of European public sphere (Habermas, 1991) and not only integrative institutional reform. These challenges are particularly acute when it comes to issues of Europeanization of civil society. Similarly, when it comes to effects of Europeanization on the development of civil society sector in CEE, which will be the main focus of next chapter, it is manageable to observe these process in terms of changing the institutional and organisational forms of civil society sector. A much bigger challenge is to analyze the transfer of norms and values associated with normative conceptions and functioning of civil society sector.

The Europeanization of civil society sector in CEE

In December 1994, at the Essen European Council, it was decided in particular, to use the resources of the Programme of Community aid to the countries of CEE (Phare programme) as part of the strategy for rapprochement between the ten CEE countries and the European Union with a view to their future accession. The Phare programme, as a pre-accession instrument, was the main channel for the European Community's financial and technical cooperation with the countries of CEE. Its activities concentrate on two priorities: a.) helping the administrations of the candidate countries to acquire the capacity to

implement the Community *acquis*; b.) helping the candidate countries to bring their industries and basic infrastructure up to Community standards by mobilising the investment required, particularly in areas where Community rules are increasingly demanding: environment, transport, industry, product quality, working conditions etc.

From March 1997 the program was focused on two priority areas, namely support for institutional development with the aim of training the administration in candidate countries in accordance with European standards (30 per cent of the funding) and co-financing of investments (70 per cent of the money) to achieve the European Union *acquis*. If, therefore, the PHARE program works as a means to transition to a market economy until 1997, it has now become an important element of pre-accession assistance in the field of economic and social cohesion. In 1999 it was completed also with the SAPARD program (of agriculture and rural development) and ISPA (transport and environmental infrastructure).

The first priority (support for institutional development) was further divided into the transfer of knowledge and transfers of physical capital, which was not limited only to state administration structures but included also the development of civil society sector in candidate countries. The financing intended for civil society sector development was carried through the *PHARE Democracy Program*, *Lien (Link Inter European NGOs) Program*, *Partnership Program* and the *PHARE Access program*. In the framework of the PHARE program, there was also a range of smaller, national targeted programs, which were aimed at strengthening civil society in each country individually. But despite quite an extensive assistance (both financial and technical) to the CSOs development a number of authors (Stewart, 2008; Rail, 2003; Gasior-Niemec, 2007) claim that the effects of these »inputs« were surprisingly small. However, this doesn't mean that there were no effects.

One of the areas where the EU had a significant impact on the development of civil society sector in CEE countries, was in changing the balance between CSOs performing essentially expressive function – such as cultural expression, community organisations, human rights, environmental protection etc. and CSOs performing essentially service function – such as the provision of health, education or welfare service

(Salamon, 2004). The EU funded programs gave priority and thus promoted the development of service-oriented CSOs, which were poorly developed in post-socialist states, mainly because of "state monopoly" of provision and implementation of social services both from the times of socialist regime as well as after its collapse. In the background of such orientated of funding programs Raik (2003) sees the desire to harmonize the civil society sector in countries of CEE with the existing situation in the older member states, where the type of CSOs, offering social service activities is the domain one. A whole range of social services in these countries is in the domain of local community associations and not exclusively the domain of state responsibility.

Another area of influence (and in accordance providing financial and technical assistance) concerned emphasizing the importance of particular fields of civic engagement. CSOs working in the fields of human rights, sustainability of democracy or minority rights had large sums of EU funds available, while some other fields of civic engagement were completely overlooked (Cram, 2008). Certain types of CSOs were therefore strongly promoted, mainly those, whose activities were aligned with rules or goals set in EU documents, such as Copenhagen criteria or *acquisi*, while actual (local) context, situation or needs that existed in each country didn't have major influence on the development, planning and distribution of EU funds intended for the development of CSOs in CEE. In practice, this often meant that civil society organizations indiscriminately modify their operations and activities only to be able to receive funding from EU programs.

In addition, their work has become primarily project-oriented, the acquisition of resources for their activities became based on their ability to raise funds on the "unstable market of EU funding programs" (or from other donors) and the development of expertise, whose central feature was a good knowledge of this market. The development of such specific *know-how* was a very positive development, which enabled the internationalization of civil society sector in CEE. But what was missing was the introduction of long-term strategic ways of organizing and developing of sustainable organisations. EU funding programs, unlike some other international donors, didn't offer basic or bridging funds for CSOs which would facilitate the development of organisations core activities, their identity and long-term strategies, their ability to align their

activities with actual needs of the grassroots of the society or to say specific publics they worked with. Longer-term positioning of these organizations in the context of the wider society and facilitating of networking with potential partners in both public and private sector didn't seem to be a priority. Stewart (2005, 7) even believes, that top-down, short term project orientation of EU funding fostered the »monopoly of short-sightedness« and gave a clear sign to CSOs, that they are subordinated to the EU institutions guidelines. She claims that even though the EU programs were meant to strengthen the development of civil society sector and foster networking among CSOs from CEE with those from old member states, this networking was based on hierarchical principals, where EU institutions determine the context of such development and networking, while CSOs from CEE have only little impact to express their actual needs arriving from the context of their activities and through that influence the development, implementation and evaluation of funding programs.

One of the positive sides of EU funding programs to strengthen civil society sector in the accession countries, was, that funding didn't necessary involve national governmental authorities, which was typical for other areas, but was offered directly to CSOs. Raik (2003) claims that this approach contributed significantly to increasing the capacity and resources of many CSOs, as they obtained knowledge, special *know-how*, connections and ability to take responsibility for the administration and management of EU projects and themselves participate in decision-making for the allocation of resources. Direct funding accelerated the intensity of learning and professionalization of individuals working in CSOs, which prepared them for more effective fundraising from Structural funds and Cohesion funds.

However Krzeczunowicz (2004) claims that in these processes in each of the candidate countries a small number of large, well-connected CSOs were privileged. He argues (2004, 6-7) that this didn't just affect the development of organisational structures of civil society sector but also sent a message about the normative requirements of such developments. »It created a perception of inferiority of smaller CSOs, which were strongly connected with the grassroots of the society, since it appeared, in accordance with the requirements of EU, that in comparison with more professional and bureaucratic larger

organizations, which were only loosely connected with the local publics, the smaller organizations weren't worthy of funding from the EU« (Krzeczunowicz, 2004, 7). Adam (2008) even considers the possibility of the development of the civil society elite. Bigger, better organized CSOs, which were able to accumulate the specialized knowledge and expertise that offered them a competitive advantage in obtaining EU funds, are usually located in capital cities. Financial resources and human capacity of these organizations therefore increased, but rarely meant also a wider involvement of several different, also smaller, local CSOs. This created and reinforced hierarchical relations (see, for example, Adam, 2008; Saurugger, 2008; Lagerspetz, 2002), as smaller, more "remote" CSOs had difficulties to access financing, as well as the expertise, know-how and connections needed to cooperate with foreign donors. This tendency was further promoted by extremely bureaucratic procedures of EU funding programs.

Bigger, better organized CSOs were also the once who started to represent the civil society in policy processes in CEE countries. By requiring increased civil society participation in political decision-making processes at the national level, the EU helped to justify the legitimacy of civil society organizations as actors in political decision-making both on the part of the civil society organizations and to government officials. If, for example, we mention the Strategy of Cooperation of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Cooperation with NGOs, which was accepted by the government of the Republic of Slovenia in October 2003, we find a statement, that »the entry of Slovenia into the EU in a special way triggered a more rapid change and encouraged the development of cooperation between governmental and non-governmental sector«. The process of building civil dialogue with the governmental structures of civil society organizations coincided with the process of integration of Slovenia into the EU. This can be also observed from the fact, that the government commission which was established to lead the dialogue with civil society sphere was established within the Government Office for European Affairs. Strengthening of civil society sector was considered as a condition set by the EU in becoming a member state as the European Commission explicitly recommended, that CSOs are to become and active and equal partners in proceeding and discussions leading to policy decision-making. From the point of view of the candidate countries it was particularly important to fulfil the

requirements that have been set by Copenhagen criteria. In accordance with them, a candidate state must ensure the stability of institutions providing and sustaining democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. Civil society organizations are among the entities that can contribute to ensuring the development in these areas. However, Stuart (2008) claims, that CSOs cooperation with governmental structures were created rapidly and this was less a process of mutual consent than an imposed version of democracy more or less directed by the EU Copenhagen criteria and the stipulation of the *aquis*. For this reason the cooperation didn't always function as the EU officials associated with the process anticipated. Stuart (2008, 225) believes, that this affected civil society development because national and local officials often had interpretations different from those propagated by the EU. CSOs were also not prepared to enter into dialogue with the authorities or needed time to gather resources (financial, human resources and social capital), develop expertise and confidence required (Šporar et al., 2003 , 12). Eventually however the organisational structures of CSOs strengthened, networks were created and their activities became more transparent. Gradually those organisations, whose interests were directed towards improving the state of civil society sector, linked and started to cooperate. Through networking they also became much stronger interlocutors to the governmental structures.

During the negotiation of the Association Agreements in the early 1990s, national governments from post-communist Europe were the main interlocutors voicing the interests of CEE at the EU level. They were the only legitimate representatives of their countries' interests at a time when the process of domestic political and socio-economic transition was still at a very early stage of development (Perez Solarzano Borragan, 2001). A decade later, the pre-accession experience, and the domestic political and socio-economic transformation have encouraged the flourishing of more sophisticated forms of pluralist representation such as CSOs which seek an active involvement in EU-related matters at the national and supranational levels. A number of authors (Raik, 2002; Blumer and Radaelli, 2005; Perez-Borragan, 2001) argue that the PHARE program also contributed significantly to the strengthening and increasing the density of informal contacts and links between CSOs in candidate countries (now mostly EU) and transnational civic networks

organized on the EU level. This led to the transfer of knowledge and values, which will be further discussed in the next chapter. This is also reflected in the ability of CSOs from CEE to participate in transnational networks, which enables them, at least in theory, to have a voice also on the EU level policy making.

To conclude, at the domestic level Europeanization of civil society sector is reflected on the interaction between CSOs and their national governments and parliaments and on the adaptation of CSOs structures and activities to the prospective EU membership. Finally, we should point out, that the inclusive model, offered by the EU, which was intended to strengthening the civil society sector in the candidate countries and new member states, to some extent also allowed to the relevant players to find ways of its adapting to domestic conditions and contexts. One cannot ignore the fact, that the EU had, in all countries of CEE, through formal and informal activities, big impact in the increasing importance and strength of CSOs in participation in policy processes in national level. However, despite a number of common features of EU funding programs intended for CSOs in CEE, the EU has never been intentionally or consistently promoted a single unified model of the development of civil society sphere, but also created opportunities for discourse, which were, despite the top-down processes and a share amount common feature also flexible enough for the selective adaptation (coordination) with the prevailing models of development of civil society sector in the relevant national contexts.

Inclusion of CSOs from new member states in transnational European civil society

The expanding transnational activity of CSOs from CEE and their exposure to the EU lobbying environment allowed for the exchange of norms and ways of doing between them. In this processes CSOs from CEE and their partners from old member states were faced with a number of challenges in terms of identification of suitable partners, trust, dependency, political culture, and diversity of interests that shaped the nature of their relationship.

In the period of approximation of CEE countries to the EU, CSOs from these countries weren't yet full members of European civic associations.

However, a number of CSOs already started to establish contacts with them. But in majority of cases they only played passive roles of observers as well as recipients of various resources and skills. Thus, CSOs from the acceding countries, in most cases did not participate in any decision-making of the European associations, and consequently did not have any impact on policy policies on the EU level.

At the same time, it was assumed that, when it comes to the articulation of interests in CEE, socialist heritage is still very present, while effective systems of interest articulation and representation still need to be developed. To overcome such situation, European associations offered different forms of aid to their prospective full members, aiming at strengthening the organizational, personnel and financial competences and recourses. Even though more than a decade has passed since, Perez (2005) still considers, that the articulation of interests in the former socialist countries is still faced with the institutional heritage of the previous political and economic arrangements, which to some extent still creates expectations and patterns of behaviour. She claims, that the articulation of interest and participation in policy consultation of CSOs from CEE are weak, while the understanding of lobbying and the possibilities, that it offers, is still unclear, even pejorative.

In such circumstances following question arises: are nowadays, when the states of CEE have become full members of the EUU, CSOs from CEE capable of performing the role of equal partners in European Associations. And, can they actively participate in consultative processes on the EU level?

Answering these questions was one of the reasons, why we organized a workshop called *Social capital, civil engagement and the quality of governance in the European Union*, which was held in the framework of EU funded 6th framework *Connex* project on the 1. December 2005 in Brussels. The workshop was conceived and executed as a focus group (Rek, 2007). The aim of our focus group was to gain additional insights into current reflections on the role, functioning and characteristics of civil society organized on the level of the EU, by bringing together practitioners (NGOs and interest groups representatives, policy makers

etc.)² working in the field of civil society in the EU with scientists researching these issues. The focus group consisted of discussions and reflections on following topics: 1) organizational aspects of civic engagement in EU; 2) the role of civic associations in EUs' decision-making processes; 3) inclusion of civic associations from new member states in transnational European civil society. The results of the discussion in the focus group will be together with the theoretical framework presented below.

The inclusion of CSOs from CEE to European civic associations and their exposure to environment of lobbying at the EU level facilitated the exchange of knowledge, norms and modes of action between the partners involved in transnational networks. New arrivals gained a better knowledge about political processes in the EU, access to communication networks and new contacts.

It was assumed that CSOs from CEE countries need to modify their mentality and behaviour patterns (see for instance Padgett, 2000; van Deth, 2006; Szabo, 2004). For example, Perez-Borragan (2001) states that a number of European Associations actually doubted, whether the organisations from CEE, they were cooperating with in order for them to become full members of their networks eventually, actually represent plural interests. They also stressed that the leadership of many CSOs from CEE is weak. Even today, after the accession of CEE countries to EU, identification of suitable partners seems to be a problem. One of the focus group participants described the situation as follows:

The established EU associations are facing quite some problems in acquiring members to EU associations in new member states (that they would like to attract, as they want to be representative), because in new member states civic organisations are badly organised in most cases, so in some cases individual organisations are being a member instead of

² 14 individuals (4 scientists, 2 representatives of business EU-associations, 1 representative of a think tank dealing with EU policies, 2 representatives of civic EU-associations, 4 representatives of liaison-offices in the field of research and a representative of European Commission) participated in our focus group. For further information on participants and outcomes of the focus group visit: <http://www.connex-network.org/>

associations, because the associations are simply not there. The established EU associations are facing quite some problems in acquiring members and associations to the EU new member states (that they would like to attract, as they want to be representative), because new member states, and civic organizations are badly organized, and most cases are in some cases individual organizations are instead being a member of associations, because the associations are simply not there.
--- President, Society of European Affairs Professionals

Besides, the spread of membership on such a diverse group of new members caused problems of internal organization of European associations and opened new dilemmas of creating a common policy of action. The European associations had to therefore, adopt their operational structure in according to the increase of membership. They also had to find mechanisms, which would help them to overcome problems in forming cohesive interest frameworks, as the interests of new arrivals may have been much different from already established ones in the network. It was therefore often necessary to resolve individual *policy* dilemmas in order to ensure and preserve the group cohesiveness (establishing the balance between European identity, the identity in the field of activity, while also including interests and identities of new member organisations), which is an important element of maintaining credibility *vis-a-vis* the EU institutions.

The next problematic feature, which was often attributed to the CSOs from CEE, is a poorly developed ability for cooperation and networking. It is not rare that the organizations in CEE, which represented same or similar interests, were not able to create a common front, which would give them a better chance in implementation of these interests. These problems were associated with lack of experience in lobbying in liberal regimes. This is the reason why the Western colleagues organized a series of events and processes, *know-how* transfers, which would allow CSO managers from CEE to better perform following functions:

1. to inform their members about EU legislation, funding opportunities and the development of civil society sector;
2. to represent their members in European associations;
3. to provide specific services for their members;

4. to provide trainings and seminars for their members in order to increase their knowledge about the EU (Peres, 2001; 177).

The European associations were prepared to provide new members in particular with:

- information on events related to specific *policy* areas in the EU;
- information on the structure of European institutions and legislative procedures in the EU;
- reports, elaborated by their analytical units and the expertise in specific policy fields
- information about potential sources of co-financing of European projects (Fink-Hafner, 1994, 229).

But they were more reluctant, when it came to sharing the leverages of power. Even after full membership, individuals and organisations from the old member states remained in the »inner circle« of organisations, which had contacts with the officials in the EU institutions, while the organisations and individuals from new member states mainly remained on the periphery of the decision-making processes. On the other hand, CSOs from CEE weren't really giving priority to participation and influencing of decision-making processes. Namely, the results of the survey *Eurochambers: Corporate Readiness for Enlargement in Central Europe* (2003, 2004) show that the majority of CSOs focused primarily on the exchange of expertise and training. As a consequence, the relationships built were often of asymmetrical nature, since CSOs from CEE were depending on the European Associations both in terms of know-how especially in terms of networks of contacts, related to the policy decision-making.

But CSOs from CEE weren't only active as members of European Associations. Even before the full membership to the EU organized interests from the CEE countries started to open their own non-governmental representation offices in Brussels, which was an already established practice of organized interests from old member states. The purpose of such Liaison offices is to expand the activities of advocacy and lobbying from national to the EU level. The number of representative offices established in Brussels is constantly expanding ever since the

CEE countries have become full member states. In 2005, Perez-Borrerano (2005: 5) wrote "nowadays, there are 38 offices operating in Brussels. The overall number does not even reach 2% of the Brussels based lobbying community, but the number of offices has more than doubled since 1996 and there are plans for further expansion "(Perez-Solarzano Borrerano, 2005). So, the development of Liaison offices or branches in Brussels, where interest groups extend their representation and organization activities from the national level to the European level, has been on the rise since the full membership of the new states to the EU. The status and representation arrangements of these offices are very varied and loose at times. Important is also networking among them (for instance The Network of Interest Representation Offices for Candidate Countries (NIROC) ³, Research, Innovation and Business Network for Central and South Eastern Europe (RIB Network)). But we should also stress out, that the establishing of Liaison offices in Brussels are still mainly limited to the field of business and research, while the cases of CSOs Liaison offices from new member states are extremely rare (for instance Polish NGO office in Brussels).

Activities performed by these representative offices from CEE, are very similar to the activities of comparable organizations in the old EU member states. They mainly include:

- informing members at the national level about relevant EU legislation, funding opportunities, relevant events and trends in the EU;
- promoting their members' interests at EU level;
- representing the interests and lobbying for members at the EU institutions and European associations;
- advising and providing operational assistance to members in communication with Brussels;
- on request, advising members about suitable consultation, law or PR-services in Brussels in accordance with a specific project or issues;
- other tasks that contribute to a better presentation of their members at European institutions and associations.

In our focus group, we asked the participants, to list those factors that enhance or hinder the implementation of such activities. The participants

pointed to the problem of visibility in Brussels and capacity to enter the already existing networks of influencing and lobbying.

Visibility in Brussels is very important, although it should be noted that its importance is often underestimated. When you are once present in Brussels, meet people, give suggestions, share experiences, get invitations to important meetings ... people that see ... you know processes ... you start to slowly but steadily creating an awareness of the presence and interests of new members in Brussels, but also contribute to a different understanding of EU affairs in the domestic arena.

--- *Research Advisor, Slovenian Business and Research Association (SBRA)*

Another problems the interest representation offices in Brussels (from new member states) commonly face is a lack of unified opinion about their role on the national level (national members and founders and funders) and a lack of long term strategically thinking and positioning of these organisations in Brussels.

In Czech republic there is the lack of structure, also in the research and civil society field, also the ministry is not dealing with it well, we often have no idea what is their position, so it is difficult to work in this environment and at the same time the civil society structures are not really build” In Czech republic there is the lack of structure, also in the research field and civil society, also the ministry is not dealing with it well, we often have no idea what is their position, so it is difficult to work in this environment and at the same time the civil society structures are not really built.

--- *Representative of CZELO (Czech Liaison Office for R&D)*

As with other already established liaison organisations from the old member states, there are also problems in communication with members on a national level. On the national level there is a lack of human and financial resources and lack of knowledge on how to get engaged in the policy processes in Brussels. There is also a lack of interest to get involved, as individuals and organisations don't feel affected by the activities on the level of the EU. A number of CSOs on national level lack human and financial resources as well as know-how.

There is also a lack of interest to get engaged in policy processes in the EU, as individuals and organizations do not feel affected by the activities on the level of the EU

A lot of times, what we do here, our services, sometimes they go only in one direction, we send the information to various organisations in Slovenia and we never get a response, and I think it is because they don't see how this could personally affect them. A lot of times, what we do here, our services, sometimes they go only in one direction, we send the information to various organizations in India and we never get a response, and I think it is because they do not see how this could affect them personally. And they don't feel that they can change anything over here, so there is a kind of apathy, and this was already mentioned earlier“And they do not feel that they can change anything over here, so there is a kind of apathy, and this was already mentioned earlier
--- Research Advisor, Slovenian Business and Research Association (SBRA)

Such views are problematic in terms of enforcement interests of people CSOs from CEE represent at the EU level, since in Brussels a very simple liberalistic principle has been formed: those who are not aware of their interests or don't actively represent and voice them in the eyes of others, don't really have them.

Moving from a learning period to a more active participation, where CSOs from CEE start contributing and taking the initiative, was stressed as a crucial point in the development of engagement of civil society actors to the transnational networks in the EU.

After the first year of full membership to the EU, what we noticed is that everyone is still learning the new process. We are new, we are learning, you have to learn this and that ... and that eventually has to change. You only have to, or can learn for so long, after that you have to start contributing and take that initiative of moving to that stage.
--- Secretary General, European Movement International

When looking at the ongoing EU projects, civic and other organized interest representation offices from the new member states are very active but are always working as partners. A shift from the partnership

role to taking that coordination role is needed. Additional problem is, that CSOs from CEE are often not seen as credible by the EU institutions, so it is still safer to ask a partner from an old member state to become a coordinator, because they are financially more viable, have more experience and a history of finalized projects and as such are taken as more credible. Civic organizations from the new member states are very welcome with a nice partner from an old member state, but they are rarely perceived as a centre.

Conclusion

Before we summon the key findings, it is necessary to point to an important limitation of this study, namely, the regional focus on civil society sector. It is actually difficult to talk of civil society sector in CEE countries as a homogenous phenomenon, since there are a number of differences among individual new EU members. Important differences in the characteristics of CSOs in CEE existed already in the eighties and similarly we can establish important differences in terms of development of civil society sector after two decades of democratization processes (see for example Adam et al, 2008). Despite a similar heritage of the development of civil society in CEE the individual countries themselves face their own context and circumstances of its developments. However, when it comes to Europeanization, it makes sense to look at them also in regional context, because this was also the main perspective of the »top down Europeanizing transfers«. They were all recipients of similar process of diffusion, learning and adaptation to formal and informal, rules, procedure, styles, ways of doing and shared beliefs and norms of the EU. In summary, as a significant move, which marked the development of civil society sector in CEE (as a result of the association to the EU) we can list following:

- changing the balance between CSOs performing essentially expressive function and CSOs performing essentially service function;
- emphasizing the importance of particular fields of civic engagement (for instance human rights, sustainability of democracy, minority rights);
- professionalization of CSOs management;

- altering the structure of relations between CSOs in the national environment - strengthening the hierarchical relations;
- justifying the legitimacy of CSOs as actors in political decision-making processes, both on the part of the part of CSO as well as government officials and the public;
- developing specific *know-how*, which strengthened the internationalization of civil society functioning;
- strengthening and increasing the density of informal contacts and links between civil society actors in candidate countries (now members of the EU) and the old members of the EU.

Today, many CSOs from CEE are full members of European civic associations. In the paper we have listed several factors that influenced their performance in these networks. Those that are most frequently mentioned are problems of weak organizational capacity, poor coordination, lack of financial resources and human resources. In addition, we indicated that the European associations hold back, when it comes to sharing the leverages of power. CSOs and individuals from the old member state often remain in the "inner circle" of organizations that have contacts with the bodies of the EU, while organizations from CEE remain on the periphery of decision-making processes.

Finally, equipped with all the above mentioned findings we can assess whether the civil society actors from CEE countries are equally competent to be engaged in the civil society networks organized on the EU level. It has already been argued, that the lack of infrastructure of civic organisations (especially international ones) and weaker representativeness and accountability of civic organisations can be hindering elements when considering engagements of civic organizations from Central and Eastern Europe on the level of the EU. Nevertheless we can establish that civil society organizations from Central and Eastern Europe can equally participate in the civil society organized on the EU level, if they poses adequate competences, know the EU affairs and are embedded in social networks in Brussels. However, the analysis showed that in case of civic organisation from CEE the competences needed to actively participate in transnational

networks on the EU level, are poorly developed. Among the reasons for such a state we can list following:

- lack of human and financial resources;
- lack of coordination, network building and synergy on national level;
- lack of initiative (the need for shift from partnership role to coordinator role);
- lack of interest to get involved, as individuals and organizations don't feel affected by the activities on the level of the EU;
- lack of unified opinion about their role;
- lack of long-term strategic thinking;
- need some time to become visible in Brussels, to become part of networks;
- poorly developed organized civil society (both domestic as well as internationally oriented).

However, we can expect that in the coming years we will witness an accelerated development of CSOs involvement from CEE countries at the EU level policy-making. With better positioning, expanding of existing structures, increased visibility, expansion of channels of communication and channels of influence in Brussels (it should be noted that these processes can't be achieved overnight) and history of finalized projects, CSOs from CEE should gain credibility. Besides, the added value of a small number of non-governmental representations from CEE in the Brussels lobbying arena, however, can be seen in entering of new approaches and enthusiasm to the networks of already established stable relationships and alliances. Therefore, we can understand the involvement of CSOs from the new members also as a process, which compels the networks at the EU level into new adaptations and establishment of new balances due to the integration of interests and modes of action of "new arrivals."

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